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The Chronology of the Graves of Circle B at Mycenae: A New Hypothesis*

GIAMPAOLO GRAZIADIO

Abstract

Recent discoveries have shed new light on the transition from the Middle to Late Helladic period in Greece and, more specifically, on the evidence from Grave Circle B at Mycenae. Homogeneous pottery groups belonging to the later burials in Circle B can now be identified on the basis of diagnostic examples of LM IA and/or LH I date (here called "Category A" vases). Such vases are associated, on the one hand, with specimens characteristic of the final MH and/or LH I period ("Category B" vases) and, on the other hand, with long-lived MH vessels ("Category C" vases).

Some of the later pottery groups belong to the very end of the MH period and can be considered contemporary with early LM IA; they can be ascribed to Late Phase I of Circle B. Other groups, the latest in the Circle B sequence, are of LH I date and can be assigned to Late

Phase II of Circle B. On the other hand, pottery groups including only long-lived MH examples and/or vases of late, but not strictly final, MH date can be attributed to the Early Phase of Circle B.

A comprehensive examination of the corresponding graves shows a general evolution from the Early Phase to Late Phase II: cists and small shaft graves develop into large, elaborate shaft graves; contracted interments are superseded by extended burials; reuse of graves becomes increasingly customary; and funeral offerings gradually increase in value. Finally, many firm connections between burials of Late Phase II and Early Mycenaean contexts, particularly the "royal" graves of Circle A, are noted.

INTRODUCTION

A considerable body of data is now available for the so-called "Shaft Grave period" as a consequence of the

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The following abbreviations are used in subsequent notes:

'Ακρωτήρι	M. Marthari, "Ἀκρωτήρι, κεραμεική ΜΕ παράδοσης στο στρώμα της ἡφαιστειακῆς καταστροφῆς," <i>ArchEph</i> 1980, 182–211.
Asine II.2	S. Dietz, <i>Asine II</i> , Pt. 2. <i>Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970–1974</i> . Fasc. 2. <i>The Middle Helladic Cemetery. The Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Deposits</i> (Stockholm 1980).
Conspectus	J.L. Caskey, "Investigations in Keos. Part II: A Conspectus of the Pottery," <i>Hesperia</i> 41 (1972) 257–401.
Corinth XIII	C.W. Blegen, "The Middle Helladic Period," in C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer, R.Y. Young, <i>Corinth XIII: The North Cemetery</i> (Princeton 1964) 1–12.

ΔΝ	G.E. Mylonas, <i>Τὸ Δυτικὸν Νεκροταφεῖον τῆς Ἐλευσίως</i> , (Athens 1975).
Eutresis	H. Goldman, <i>Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1931).
Fortifications	J.L. Davis, <i>Fortifications at Ayia Irini, Keos. Evidence for History and Relative Chronology</i> (Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1977).
Four Wells	P.A. Mountjoy, <i>Four Early Mycenaean Wells from the South Slope of the Acropolis at Athens</i> (Gent 1981).
House A	W.W. Cummer and E. Schofield, <i>Keos III, Ayia Irini: House A</i> (Mainz 1984).
House F	L.E. Preston, <i>House F: A Building of the Late Bronze Age at Ayia Irini on Keos</i> (Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1972).
Keos V	J.L. Davis, <i>Keos V, Ayia Irini: Period V</i> (Mainz 1986).
Kirra	L. Dor, J. Jannoray, H. and M. Van Effenterre, <i>Kirra. Étude de préhistoire phocidienne</i> (Paris 1960).
Κύκλος Β	G.E. Mylonas, <i>Ὁ Ταφικὸς Κύκλος Β τῶν Μυκηνῶν</i> (Athens 1973).
Lerna 1952–1953	J.L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna: 1952–1953," <i>Hesperia</i> 23 (1954) 3–30.
Lerna 1954	J.L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna: 1954," <i>Hesperia</i> 24 (1955) 25–49.
Lerna 1955	J.L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna: 1955," <i>Hesperia</i> 25 (1956) 147–73.
Lerna 1956	J.L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna: 1956," <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) 142–62.

vast increase in studies and excavation activities across the Aegean area. Nevertheless, Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae are still of paramount importance, providing valuable information about the transition from the Middle to Late Helladic period and demonstrating the emergence of a stratified elite group.

Full appreciation of the many cultural and historical implications of the Circles depends on an understanding of chronological interconnections among the graves. There is general agreement that the latest graves of Circle B and the earliest of Circle A were used during the LH I period. Evidence for the MH period is restricted to Circle B, and different diagnostic criteria, resulting in different groupings of graves, have been used by various scholars (Table 1). Mylonas suggested a partition into five groups, mainly on the basis of the evolution of the "Minyan" goblets and of cultural interconnections.¹ Grave typology and burial contexts are given more attention by Dickinson, who distinguished three main phases.² Dietz, by improving the Yellow Minyan goblet classification, first (1980) succeeded in identifying two chronologically distinct groups of graves;³ more recently (1984), he suggested three main groupings, separating the "MH IIIB" phase from the LH I period.⁴ Less analytical approaches focusing on specific problems have not substantially affected the established chronological picture.⁵

In order to establish as precisely as possible the date of each burial, a more detailed evaluation of the inter-

connections between various find contexts inside and outside the graves, with particular reference to pottery groups, is presented below. An attempt is made to reconstruct pottery groups belonging to each burial, taking into account the four different contexts of the burial offerings: 1) in situ, inside the grave; 2) near displaced burials, inside the grave; 3) removed and placed on the roof of the grave; and 4) removed and mixed into the fill.

In analyzing the composition of pottery groups, LM IA and LH I pottery and vases contemporary with LM IA are considered the most important elements. Associated pottery of less diagnostic character is analyzed in the light of MH and Early Mycenaean contexts from other sites: first, an attempt is made to identify vases with shapes characteristic of the very end of the MH and/or Early Mycenaean period; second, long-lived shapes—those occurring also in earlier MH contexts—are examined. Pottery groups are then assembled according to their composition and relative date. Finally, by arranging burials in accordance with the interconnections among their offerings, a relative chronology of the Circle B graves is proposed.

GENERAL PROBLEMS

Pottery Found Outside the Graves

Large amounts of pottery were found outside most multiple-burial graves of Circle B, in the fill of the shafts. Generally speaking, the material found outside the graves falls into three groups: 1) fragmentary pot-

<i>Manufacture</i>	H.B. Lewis, <i>The Manufacture of Early Mycenaean Pottery</i> (Diss. Univ. of Minnesota 1983).
<i>Origins</i>	O.T.P.K. Dickinson, <i>The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation</i> (SIMA 49, Göteborg 1977).
<i>ΠΕ</i>	G.E. Mylonas, "Προϊστορική Ἑλευσίς," in K. Kourouniotis, Ἑλευσινιακά (Athens 1932) 1–172.
<i>Phylakopi 1911</i>	R.N.L. Barber, "Phylakopi 1911 and the History of the Late Cycladic Bronze Age," <i>BSA</i> 69 (1974) 1–53.
<i>PK</i>	J.L. Davis, "Late Helladic I Pottery from Korakou," <i>Hesperia</i> 48 (1979) 234–63.
<i>Prosymna I, II</i>	C.W. Blegen, <i>Prosymna. The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum</i> Vols. I, II (Cambridge, Mass. 1937).
<i>SG</i>	G. Karo, <i>Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai</i> (Munich 1930–1933).
<i>TA</i>	E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, Ὁι Τύμβοι τοῦ Ἀργεῶς (Athens 1980).
<i>Transition</i>	J.B. and S.H. Rutter, <i>The Transition to Mycenaean. A Stratified Middle Helladic II to Late Helladic IIA Pottery</i>

Sequence from Ayios Stephanos in Lakonia (Los Angeles 1976).

¹ Κύκλος B, 270–75, 354–60.

² *Origins* 42–46.

³ *Asine* II.2, 80–81, 141–44.

⁴ S. Dietz, "Kontinuität und Kulturwende in der Argolis von 2000–700 v. Chr. Ergebnisse der neuen schwedisch-dänischen Ausgrabungen in Asine," in H.-J. Weisshaar, S. Dietz, and C. Podzuweit, "Zur ägäischen Frühzeit," *Kleine Schriften aus dem Vorgeschichtlichen Seminar Marburg* 17 (1984) 38–39.

⁵ M. Alden (*Bronze Age Population Fluctuations in the Argolid from the Evidence of Mycenaean Tombs* [Göteborg 1981] 90–104), for example, attributed most of the burials to MH III on the basis of the associated pottery. For the problems connected with specific graves, see also *PK* 257; H. Matthäus, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde II.1, Munich 1980) 27–30; J.L. Davis, *Rev. of Asine* II.2 in *AJA* 86 (1982) 137. More generally, see F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit 2: Die mykenische Zeit und die Gesittung von Thera* (Vienna 1976) 228–30; S. Iakovidis, "Royal Shaft Graves Outside Mycenae," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 6 (1981) 17–28. Both scholars agree with the groupings suggested by Mylonas (Κύκλος B).

Table 1. Proposed Relative Chronologies of the Circle B Graves

	Mylonas (1973)		Dickinson (1977)		Dietz (1980)		Dietz (1984)
<i>First group</i>	I, A1, A	<i>Early phase</i>	A1, A2, Ξ1, A2, Θ, Φ, Z, H, Σ, T	<i>MH IIIA</i>	(A), B, Z, H, I, Λ, A1, N, Ξ, Y	<i>MH IIIA</i>	Z, H, A1, Ξ (earlier burial), (P), Y
<i>Second group</i>	A2, Ξ, Ξ1, Π, H, P, Φ, Z						
<i>Third group</i>	B, N, Y, Σ (?), T (?)	<i>Middle phase</i>	B, I, K, Λ, A1, Ξ, Y			<i>MH IIIB</i>	A (probably also used later), B, Δ (fill), I, N, and perhaps Λ
<i>Fourth group</i>	Λ, Γ, K, A1						
<i>Fifth group</i>	Δ, E, O, M	<i>Late phase</i>	A, Γ, Δ, E, M, N, O, (P), Π	<i>MH IIIB/LH I</i>	Γ, (Δ), E, K, M, O, Π	<i>LH I</i>	Γ, Δ, E, K, M, O, Π, Φ, Ξ1, Ξ (later burial)

tery mixed into the fill; 2) vessels placed on the roof of the grave; and 3) shells and animal bones, occasionally associated with pottery. At the time of the discovery of the first graves of Circle B, S. Marinatos interpreted all the pottery from grave fill as evidence of funeral meals.⁶ Later discoveries have not confirmed this interpretation, and indicate that most materials found outside the graves were associated with removed burials. As in Circle A, pottery was found in abundance only in the fill of graves with several interments, while outside single-burial graves no complete vases were discovered.⁷ Conversely, no vases can be safely associated with skeletons displaced within several of the larger graves (e.g., Graves Γ, E, Δ, N, and O). Some of the vases found inside Grave I, on the contrary, were clearly associated with the earlier burial, but no complete vases were discovered outside the grave. The

situation in Graves M and Ξ is presumably similar to that of Grave I, but it is less clear because of the difficulty in attributing single vases to specific burials.

At the final closing of a shaft, attention was sometimes given to the vases from earlier burials. In Grave N, for example, a group of 11 vases had been heaped above the roof of the grave. Yellow Minyan goblets had similarly been placed on the roof of Grave Λ, and vases were found in the southwest corner of the roof of Grave O, probably placed deliberately on the same side as the heaped bones inside the grave. The possibility that all these vases may be associated with later burials is remote: in MH and Early Mycenaean times offerings were as a rule placed inside the graves near the bodies. In fact, pottery has seldom been found outside the graves and, in those cases, it can be related to ceremonies in honor of the dead after burial.⁸

⁶ S. Marinatos, "Περὶ τοὺς νέους βασιλικὸς τάφους τῶν Μυκηνῶν," *Γερασ Α. Κεραμοπούλου* (Athens 1953) 63–66. Nevertheless, cf. G. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae* (London 1957) 134–35.

⁷ For MH burial customs, see E.T. Blackburn, *Middle Helladic Graves and Burial Customs with Special Reference to Lerna in the Argolid* (Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1970). For reuse of MH graves, see O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "Cist Graves and Chamber Tombs," *BSA* 78 (1983) 59; C.B. Mee and W.G. Cavanagh, "Mycenaean Tombs as Evidence for Social and Political Organisation," *OJA* 3 (1984) 46–49. As

for Circle B, in addition to the pottery from removed burials and funeral meals, a few other sherds were reported from the fill: Κύκλος B, 145 (Grave A 2), 148 (Grave M), 226 (Grave Σ), 227 (Grave T), 228 (Grave Y). At least some of these sherds might belong to a period preceding the construction of Circle B.

⁸ For pottery found outside the graves, see G. Sotiriadis, "Προϊστορικά ἀγγεία Χαιρονείας καὶ Ἐλατείας," *ArchEph* 1900, col. 94; *Prosymna* I, 30–31, 34, 37–39; *Kirra* 55–56, 122; I. and R. Hägg, "Discoveries at Asine Dating from the Shaft Grave Period," *AAA* 8 (1975)

Further evidence of disturbances at the time of the later burials appears from fill deposits. Fragments of a silver cup and a bronze sword were found in the fill of Grave Δ; the objects had been placed on the floor with an earlier burial.⁹ Even the boar's tusk plates from the fill of Grave N probably belonged to a helmet found near the earlier burial.¹⁰ A fragment of gold headband from the fill can also be attributed to the same burial.¹¹ Clay vases were thus deliberately removed from inside the grave, perhaps because they were considered of little value or because they were regarded as containers for food for the journey into afterlife. In some cases, the vases placed inside the grave might have been smashed when the roof collapsed,¹² resulting in the mixture of removed pottery and fill.

The last group of materials from the grave (mainly shells and bones) undoubtedly comes from the meals eaten at the time of the burial.¹³ The fact that traces of funeral meals were found not only in reused graves but in single-burial graves as well rules out the possibility that such pottery is necessarily connected with displaced burials. Indeed, in Grave O a fragment of coal was found with the bones¹⁴ and some stone slabs from the fill of Graves I, K, and N might have been used as "trapezai."¹⁵

The pottery associated with organic remains was in the main extremely fragmentary and has not been fully published. In Graves N and O, however, such pottery was clearly separate from vases removed from inside the graves. Indeed, a LH I Vapheio cup associated with animal bones comes from the fill of Grave O, which gives clear indications about the chronology of the last funeral meal.¹⁶ A Yellow Minyan goblet from Grave E (E-79) may also be referred to the later phase of use because it contained the bones of a bird

and was carefully placed on the roof as a "food offering,"¹⁷ whereas many sherds from the removed vases were found mixed into the fill. The character of the fill deposits of Graves Γ and Δ is not clearly stated by Mylonas, who refers to pottery "ἐκ τῆς ἐπιχώσεως τοῦ τάφου," without further explanation. These fill deposits must also be considered heterogeneous on the basis of other considerations, however, and the vagueness of the publication does not affect, in itself, the interpretation of burial chronology.

Finally, one should note that the provenance of the human bones found in grave fill from Circle B is not always certain. In some cases the bones were probably from older MH graves disturbed by the construction of the shaft graves,¹⁸ but in Graves Δ, N and Σ an alternative explanation might be that the bones were from displaced burials, constituting further proof of the carelessness with which previous burials were treated.¹⁹

Pottery Groups Attributable to Specific Burials

While burial offerings from single-burial graves (Graves B, Z, H, K, Λ1, Ξ1, Π, and Υ) are contemporary, the reuse of graves sometimes makes associations more difficult to establish. A review of multiple-burial graves is therefore necessary to show which groups belong to each burial and compare homogeneous ceramic assemblages with groups outside Mycenae. The composition of each pottery group and bibliographic references can be found in Tables 2, 3, and 4.

Grave A. Grave A contained two burials. Of the more than 25 vases found by I. Papadimitriou, only eight were published. Associations are unknown.²⁰

Grave Γ. Four burials were found in Grave Γ. The pottery from the fill therefore includes vases from the

154–58; *TA* 91–92, pls. Δ1–3. For the ceremonies after burial, see *Prosymna* I, 38. However, a different explanation could be given for Graves B 32 and B 34 at Asine because both body and offerings were probably removed. The case of Grave BC 3 at Lerna (Blackburn [supra n. 7] 145–47) is uncertain, because pottery may indeed have been placed outside the grave or may have been removed when the grave was reused.

⁹ *Κύκλος* B, 80, 88, pls. 63, 71a (silver cup); 80, 85–86, pls. 67–68 (sword). For their attribution, see *Κύκλος* B, 82; *Origins* 44–45.

¹⁰ *Κύκλος* B, 158, 163, 176, pl. 154β (N-488).

¹¹ *Κύκλος* B, 158, 163.

¹² For the collapse of the roof in shaft graves, see: Å. Åkerström, "Mycenaean Problems," *OpAth* 12 (1978) 52.

¹³ *Κύκλος* B, 22 (Grave A), 37 (Grave B), 45 (Grave Γ), 80, 82 (Grave Δ), 110 (Grave I), 122 (Grave K), 158 (Grave N), 177 (Grave Ξ), 187 (Grave O), 211 (Grave P). Animal bones, shells, and traces of burning were also found

near some MH graves at Kirrha (*Kirrha* 58–59) and on the cover slabs of Grave 31 at Ayios Stephanos (W.D. Taylour, "Excavations at Ayios Stephanos," *BSA* 67 [1972] 219, 222). They may be explained in the same way. Alternatively, they may be related to some sacrifice in honor of the dead.

¹⁴ *Κύκλος* B, 187.

¹⁵ *Κύκλος* B, 110, 122, 158.

¹⁶ *Κύκλος* B, 187.

¹⁷ *Κύκλος* B, 91; *Origins* 45.

¹⁸ Such could be the case of the bones from Grave Γ (*Κύκλος* B, 45; Marinatos [supra n. 6] 63) and, according to Dickinson, from Graves Δ, N and P (*Origins* 42, 114 n. 10).

¹⁹ Such is Mylonas's interpretation about the bones from Graves Δ and N (*Κύκλος* B, 81, 158, 163). As for the bones from Grave Σ, see *Κύκλος* B, 226; *Origins* 114 n. 10. The bones from Grave P might belong to an earlier burial in the shaft grave preceding the Mycenaean tomb.

²⁰ *Κύκλος* B, 22. Note, however, that only seven of the published vases definitely are from this grave.

Table 2. Pottery Groups from Graves A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, and I

Grave A		Grave B	
A-1 (23–24, pl. 13α) A-2 (24, pl. 13β) A-3 (24, pl. 13γ) A-4 (25, pl. 14α, β) A-5 (25, pl. 14γ, δ) A-6 (25–26, pl. 13δ) A-7 (26, pl. 15α) A-8 (26–27, pl. 15β,γ)		B-10 (39, pl. 26) B-11 (39, pl. 26) B-12 (39, pl. 26) B-13 (39–40, pl. 26) B-14 (40, pl. 27α, β) B-15 (40–41, pl. 27γ) B-16 (41, pl. 24γ)	
Grave Γ			
Fill		Inside	
Γ-27 (57, pl. 44α) Γ-28 (57–58, pl. 44γ) Γ-29 (58, pl. 45α.1) Γ-30 (58–59, pl. 45α.2) Γ-31 (59, pl. 45β) Γ-31α (60, pl. 46α) Γ-32 (60, pl. 46β.2) Γ-33 (60, pl. 46β.1) Γ-34 (60–61, pl. 47α) Γ-35 (61, pl. 47γ) Γ-36 (61–62, pl. 47β) Γ-37 (62, pl. 47δ) Γ-38 (62, pl. 48α)	Γ-39 (62–63, pl. 48β) Γ-41 (63, pl. 50α) Γ-42 (63, pl. 49) Γ-43 (63–64, pl. 50β) Γ-44 (64, pl. 50γ) Γ-45 (64, pl. 51α) Γ-46 (65, pl. 44β.3) Γ-47 (65, pl. 44β.2) Γ-48 (65, pl. 51β) Γ-49 (65, pl. 51γ.1) Γ-50 (65–66, pl. 51δ) Γ-51 (66, pl. 51γ.2)	Γ-52 (66, pl. 52β) Γ-53 (66, pl. 52α) Γ-54 (66–67, pl. 52γ) Γ-55 (67, pl. 52ε) Γ-56 (67, pl. 52δ.2) Γ-57 (67–68, pl. 52δ.1) Γ-58 (68, pl. 53α.3) Γ-59 (68, pl. 53α.2) Γ-60 (68–69, pl. 53α.1) Γ-61 (69, pl. 53β.2) Γ-62 (69–70, pl. 53β.1) Γ-80 (69, pl. 53γ)	Γ-17 (53–54, pl. 41) Γ-18 (54–55, pl. 42) Γ-19 (55, pl. 43α) Γ-20 (55, pl. 43γ) Γ-21 (55, pl. 43β.2) Γ-22 (56, pl. 43β.1) Γ-23 (56, pl. 43β.3) Γ-24 (56, pl. 43β.4) Γ-25 (56, pl. 44β.1) Γ-26 (56–57, pl. 44β.4)
Grave Δ		Grave E	
Fill	Inside	Fill	Inside
Δ-65 (83–84, pl. 65δ) Δ-66 (84, pl. 66α) Δ-67 (84, pl. 66γ) Δ-68 (84–85, pl. 66β) Δ-69 (85, pl. 66δ.1) Δ-70 (85, pl. 66δ.2)	Δ-63 (82–83, pl. 65α) Δ-64 (83, pl. 65γ)	E-78 (94, pl. 78α) E-81 (94, pl. 79β) E-82 (95, pl. 80α.2) E-83 (95, pl. 80α.1) E-84 (95, pl. 80β) *E-79 (94, pl. 79α)	E-71 (92, pl. 77α) E-72 (93, pl. 77β) E-74 (93, pl. 77γ) E-75 (93, pl. 77δ) E-76 (93–94, pl. 78γ) E-77 (94, pl. 78δ)
Grave Z		Grave I	
Z-85 (103, pl. 89β) Z-86 (103–104, pl. 89α) Z-87 (104, pl. 90α) Z-88 (104, pl. 90γ) Z-89 (104–105, pl. 90δ) Z-90 (105, pl. 90β)	H-91 (107, pl. 91β) H-92 (107–108, pl. 92α) H-93 (108, pl. 92β) H-94 (108, pl. 92γ) H-95 (108–109, pl. 92δ)	SW corner I-106 (117, pl. 98β) I-107 (117–18, pl. 98δ) I-108 (118, pl. 98γ)	NW corner and S side I-96 (112–13, pl. 95β) I-97 (113, pl. 95δ) I-98 (113–14, pl. 95α, γ) I-99 (114, pl. 96β) I-100 (115, pl. 96α) I-101 (115, pl. 96γ.2) I-102 (115, pl. 96γ.1) I-103 (115–16, pl. 97α) I-104 (116, pl. 97β) I-105 (116–17, pl. 98α)

* Probably belonging to the later burial

References in parentheses are to Κύκλος B

three earlier burials. The vases found inside the grave, however, belong to a limited period. The vessels from the earliest burial had all been mixed into the fill.

Two vases, one LM IA, the other LH I, were found near (and thus date) the two latest burials. Nor can the second burial date to a much earlier period, since

Table 3. Pottery Groups from Graves K, Λ, Λ1, Λ2, M, and N

Grave K		Grave Λ	
	<i>Fill</i>		<i>Inside</i>
K-109 (123, pl. 103β)	Λ-116 (133, pl. 113)	Λ-117 (133–34, pl. 114α)	Λ-124 (137, pl. 116β)
K-110 (123–24, pl. 105α)	Λ-122 (136, pl. 115γ)	Λ-118 (134–35, pl. 114β)	Λ-129 (138, pl. 119α)
K-111 (124, pl. 105β)	Λ-125 (137, pl. 117α)	Λ-119 (135, pl. 115α.2, β)	Λ-130 (138, pl. 119β)
K-112 (124, pl. 106α)	Λ-126 (137, pl. 117β)	Λ-120 (135–36, pl. 115α.1)	Λ-131 (138, pl. 120α)
	Λ-127 (137, pl. 118α)	Λ-121 (136, pl. 115δ)	Λ-132 (132–33, pl. 120β)
	Λ-128 (137–38, pl. 118β)	Λ-123 (136–37, pl. 116α)	
Grave Λ1		Grave Λ2	
		<i>S side</i>	<i>N side</i>
Λ1-114 (144–45, pl. 127β.2)		Λ2-133 (146, pl. 128β)	Λ2-134 (146, pl. 128β)
Λ1-115 (145, pl. 127β.1)			Λ2-135 (146–47, pl. 128β)
Grave M		Grave N	
<i>N side</i>	<i>Central sector and SW corner</i>	<i>On the roof</i>	<i>Inside</i>
M-141 (151, pl. 132α)	M-136 (149–50, pl. 130β)	N-161 (165–66, pl. 141α)	N-157 (164, pl. 139γ)
M-142 (151–52, pl. 132β)	M-137 (150–51, pl. 130α)	N-162 (166, pl. 141β)	N-158 (164, pl. 139β)
M-143 (152–53, pl. 134ε)	M-138 (151, pl. 130γ)	N-163 (166, pl. 142α)	N-159 (164–65, pl. 140α, β)
M-144 (153, pl. 133β.1)	M-139 (151, pl. 131α)	N-164 (166, pl. 142β)	N-160 (165, pl. 140γ)
M-145 (153, pl. 133γ)	M-140 (151, pl. 131β)	N-165 (166–67, pl. 143α, β)	
M-146 (153, pl. 133α, δ)		N-166 (167, pl. 143γ)	
M-147 (153–54, pl. 133ζ)		N-168 (167–68, pl. 145α)	
M-148 (154, pl. 133η)		N-169 (168–69, pl. 145β)	
M-149 (154, pl. 133ε)		N-170 (169, pl. 145γ)	
M-150 (154, pl. 133β.2)		N-171 (169, pl. 146α)	
M-151 (154–55, pl. 134α)		N-172 (169, pl. 146β)	
M-152 (155, pl. 134β)			
M-153 (155, pl. 134γ)			
M-154 (155–56, pl. 134ζ)			
M-155 (156, pl. 134δ)			
M-156 (156, pl. 135α)			

References in parentheses are to *Κύκλος B*

the body was displaced when the bones were still articulated.²¹ Therefore, the pottery found in situ includes only a small part of the offerings of the second and third burials. The presence in the fill of vases of LM IA and LH I date supports this interpretation.

Grave Δ. Since there were three burials, the vases from the fill are presumably from the earlier burials. Even attribution of the two vases found inside the grave is controversial.²²

Grave E. Grave E appears to have been used for two subsequent burials, although only some teeth of the earlier burial remain. Apart from goblet E-79, the vases from the fill seem to belong to the first burial, while the others belong to the later burial.

Grave I. Although this grave contained two burials,²³ no significant amount of pottery was found in the fill. The association of vessels to burials, however, is relatively clear: the vases found near the skull, in the northwest corner, and those at the feet belong to the later burial; the offerings of the earlier burial consist of three vases found in the southwest corner.²⁴

Grave Λ. Grave Λ contained two skeletons. At the time of the construction of Grave Λ1 the grave may have been robbed through a hole found in the northwest corner. On that occasion the objects placed on the western side were probably disturbed,²⁵ but the vases found inside the grave can be attributed to the later burial, and those from the fill to the earlier burial.

²¹ For the goods of the second burial, see *Origins* 45–46.

²² G. Mylonas supposed that all the pottery from the burials preceding the last one was removed from inside the grave (*Κύκλος B*, 81), while Dickinson suggested that Δ-63, from the northeast corner, was one of the vases of the first burial and Δ-64 might belong to either of the later bur-

ials (*Origins* 45).

²³ A child's vertebra could be from another burial (*Κύκλος B*, 112), but, if so, it did not leave any other significant trace.

²⁴ *Κύκλος B*, 112; *Origins* 43; *Asine* II.2, 77.

²⁵ *Κύκλος B*, 130–31; *Origins* 43–44.

Table 4. Pottery Groups from Graves Ξ , $\Xi 1$, O, Π , P, Y, and Φ , and Vases without Context

Grave Ξ		Grave $\Xi 1$
<i>W side</i>	<i>Middle and E sector</i>	
Ξ -173 (179, pl. 156 α)	Ξ -174 (179, pl. 156 β)	$\Xi 1$ -184 (185–86, pl. 161 β .1)
Ξ -175 (179, pl. 156 γ)	Ξ -177 (180, pl. 157 β)	$\Xi 1$ -185 (186, pl. 161 β .2)
Ξ -176 (179–80, pl. 157 α)	Ξ -180 (180–81, pl. 156 η)	$\Xi 1$ -186 (186, pl. 161 β .4)
Ξ -178 (180, pl. 156 δ)	Ξ -181 (181, pl. 156 ζ)	$\Xi 1$ -187 (186, pl. 161 β .3)
Ξ -179 (180, pl. 156 ϵ)	Ξ -183 (181–82, pl. 158 α)	
Ξ -182 (181, pl. 156 θ)		
Grave O		
<i>From roof and SW corner</i>		<i>N sector and E side</i>
O-199 (194, pl. 171 γ)	O-209 (196, pl. 174 α)	O-190 (190–91, pl. 169 β)
O-200 (194, pl. 171 β)	O-210 (196, pl. 174 γ .1)	O-191 (191, pl. 169 γ)
O-201 (194–95, pl. 172 α .2)	O-211 (196–97, pl. 174 β .1)	O-192 (191, pl. 170 ζ)
O-202 (195, pl. 172 γ)	O-212 (197, pl. 174 β .2; γ .2)	O-193 (191–92, pl. 170 α)
O-203 (195, pl. 172 α .3)	O-213 (197, pl. 175 α .1)	O-194 (192, pl. 170 β)
O-204 (195, pl. 172 α .1)	O-214 (197, pl. 175 α .2)	O-195 (192–93, pl. 170 γ)
O-205 (195, pl. 172 β)	O-215 (197–98, pl. 175 β)	O-196 (193, pl. 170 δ)
O-206 (196, pl. 172 δ)	O-216 (198, pl. 176)	O-197 (193, pl. 170 ϵ)
O-207 (196, pl. 173 α)	O-188 (189–90, pl. 168 β)	O-198 (193–94, pl. 171 α)
O-208 (196, pl. 173 β)	O-189 (190, pl. 169 α)	
Grave Π		
Π -217 (208, pl. 191 α)	P-221 (222, pl. 197 α .1)	Y-229 (230, pl. 205 α .1)
Π -218 (208, pl. 191 γ .2)	P-222 (222, pl. 197 α .2)	Y-230 (230, pl. 205 β .1)
Π -219 (209–10, pl. 191 β)	P-224 (222–23, pl. 197 γ)	Y-231 (230, pl. 205 β .2)
Π -220 (210, pl. 191 γ .1)	(P-223) (222, pl. 197 δ)	Y-232 (230, pl. 205 γ .1)
		Y-233 (231, pl. 205 α .2)
		Y-234 (231, pl. 205 γ .2)
		Y-235 (231, pl. 206 β)
		Y-236 (231, pl. 206 α)
		Y-237 (232, pl. 206 γ)
Grave Φ		
Φ -238 (237, pl. 211 β)	Vases without Context	
Φ -239 (237, pl. 211 γ)	Cat. no. 551 (238, pl. 212 α)	
	Cat. no. 552 (238, pl. 212 β)	
	Cat. no. 553 (238)	
	Cat. no. 554 (238–39, pl. 213 α)	
	Cat. no. 555 (239, pl. 213 β)	

References in parentheses are to Κύκλος B

Grave Λ2. The vases found on the southern side of *Grave* Λ2 can be related to the earlier burial. The two other vases were associated with the child-burial occupying the northern side.

Grave M. Two persons were buried in Grave M. Four vases from the central sector and a hydria in the southwest corner probably constitute only a small part of the goods of a girl. Most of the vases from the northern part of the grave (14 from the northwest corner

and two from the northeast corner) were probably placed there on the occasion of her burial. The bones of a child, clearly the first deceased, were also found in the northwest corner. Since no vases were found in the fill, the child's pottery had probably been placed in the northern sector of the grave and cannot be clearly distinguished from the goods of the later burial.²⁶

Grave N. Two interments were found in Grave N.²⁷ The vases placed on the roof seem to form a ho-

²⁶ It is likely that at least the two vases separately placed in the northeast corner were part of the child's offerings (Κύκλος B, 149), but it is also possible that other vases from this burial were mixed with the group above the bones.

²⁷ A child's jawbone in the fill (Κύκλος B, 158, 163) might prove that the grave originally contained a third burial. If so, however, it did not leave any significant traces.

mogeneous group originally belonging to the earlier burial. On the occasion of the later burial, older remains were heaped along the west wall beneath a mudbrick structure. The later skeleton was found in the center of the grave, and some vases placed on the southern side of the mudbrick structure were certainly part of its funeral offerings.

Grave Ξ. Grave Ξ contained two interments. A young girl buried in the eastern half of the grave is clearly the most recent burial. In fact, another body, originally placed in a contracted position, had been moved to the northwest corner to make room for her. The vases found around the girl were certainly part of her goods. The specimens placed along the west side are more difficult to attribute because of the disorder caused by the limited space.

Grave O. Three persons were buried in Grave O: the last body lay in an extended position in the middle of the grave, while older remains had been heaped against the west side. The goods of the latest burial included vases placed along the eastern side and in the northern section of the grave. Presumably, the vases placed on the roof as well as the two vessels from the southwest corner of the grave belong to earlier interments, but it is not possible to attribute them to either of the burials.

²⁸ In general, see O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "The Definition of Late Helladic I," *BSA* 69 (1974) 112, 118; *Origins* 24–25, 28–29; *PK* 256–57; *Asine* II.2, 137–40; *Manufacture* 2, 104, 114, 135–38.

²⁹ *PK* 252–53, 257; J.F. Cherry and J.L. Davis, "The Cyclades and the Greek Mainland in LC I: The Evidence of the Pottery," *AJA* 86 (1982) 336 n. 8; *Manufacture* 122–38. More specifically, at Asine, "the Middle Helladic ware groups . . . are without discussion the dominating groups" and Mycenaean decorated ware found in LH I deposits amounts to about 13% of the total (*Asine* II.2, 140). Also at Kirrha, in spite of incomplete evidence (*Kirrha* 83), the Mycenaean pottery found in LH I–II deposits was estimated to comprise not more than 10% of the total, while all the other wares were clearly of the MH tradition (*Kirrha* 34).

³⁰ Pottery of the MH tradition, in fact, has been found together with Mycenaean pottery not only in tumuli (see, e.g., *TA* 51, pl. Γ36) or cist graves (Dickinson [supra n. 7] 62 n. 43; N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* [Lund 1938] 225, 228–30; *Lerna* 1956, 145, pl. 39f–h; *ArchDelt* 38 B' [1973] pl. 218a, β; Blackburn [supra n. 7] 251), but also in chamber and tholos tombs. For chamber tombs, see, e.g., A.D. Keramopoulos, "Θηβαϊκά," *ArchDelt* 3 (1917) 146, fig. 108; "Μυκηναϊκοὶ τάφοι ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ ἐν Θήβαις," *ArchEph* 1910 cols. 230–31, nos. 24, 25, figs. 22, 23; *Prosymna* I, pl. 4.1, 2, fig. 210, no. 342; fig. 185, no. 1048; fig. 195, no. 496; fig. 651, no. 499; fig. 269, nos. 808, 845. For tholos tombs, see, e.g., C.W. Blegen, "An Early Tholos Tomb in Western Messenia," *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 158–62, pls. 37–38; G.S. Korres, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Πύλου," *Prakt* 1975, 503–12; *Manufacture* 200. It should be noted, however, that

THE LATE PHASE OF CIRCLE B

The Pottery of Category A

In contrast to vases of MH type, LM IA and LH I pottery from Circle B is relatively rare, seemingly indicating that nearly all the graves belonged to the late MH period. The abundance of pottery of the MH tradition in Early Mycenaean domestic contexts has recently been stressed,²⁸ however, and the rarity of Mycenaean decorated ware also noted.²⁹ Early Mycenaean funeral contexts provide a similar picture³⁰ and a single-burial cist grave from Tiryns, containing 16 "MH" vases together with a LH I askos, can be considered one of the most representative examples.³¹ Therefore, closed contexts characterized by this coexistence of wares should be dated to LH I, regardless of the ratio of diagnostically LH I pottery to "MH" ware.³²

In this light, pottery diagnostic of LM IA and LH I is no doubt the most significant component of the latest ceramic assemblages in Circle B. Such diagnostic vases will be conventionally ascribed to Category A, and homogeneous pottery groups including them will be attributed to the Circle B Late Phase.³³

LH I Patterned ware. The following vessels represent LH I Patterned ware:

all the earliest tholos tombs found in Messenia show such a coexistence. Finally, complete vases of the MH tradition were also found in the sumptuous graves of Circle A (J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece* [London 1976] 235, Table 4; add also *SG*, pl. 174, no. 200, from Grave I); many similar fragments from Schliemann's excavations were probably from the graves themselves (*Origins* 47–48).

³¹ *AR* 1980–1981, 15, fig. 21; K. Kilian et al., "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1980," *AA* 1982, 419–20, figs. 36–38.

³² It should be noted that wares of the MH tradition were found in quantity in LC I contexts (Cherry and Davis [supra n. 29] 336–37; E. Schofield, "The Western Cyclades and Crete: A 'Special Relationship'," *OJA* 1 [1982] 14), but their presence outside the Aegean area, together with LH I decorated ware, demonstrates that they were also used for trade on a larger scale (L. Re, "Importazioni di ceramica di uso corrente nell'isola di Vivara," in M. Marazzi, S. Tusa, L. Vagnetti eds., *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo* [Taranto 1986] 162–64). Moreover, the evidence from Ayios Stephanos clearly shows that pottery of the MH tradition was produced in large quantities in early LH IIA (*Transition* 46–60), but it probably remained in use until LH IIB–IIIA:1 (*Four Wells* 52–56, 62–63, 76–77, but cf. C. Zerner in *Rev. of Four Wells* in *AJA* 87 [1983] 109–10). See also *Manufacture* 130–34).

³³ Note that Dickinson's "Late Phase" (Dickinson [supra n. 28] 112; *Origins* 22–23) has a quite different meaning; viz., the latest phase of the development of MH pottery; here "Late Phase" is used only in relation to the relative chronology of Circle B and means the latest phase of Circle B.

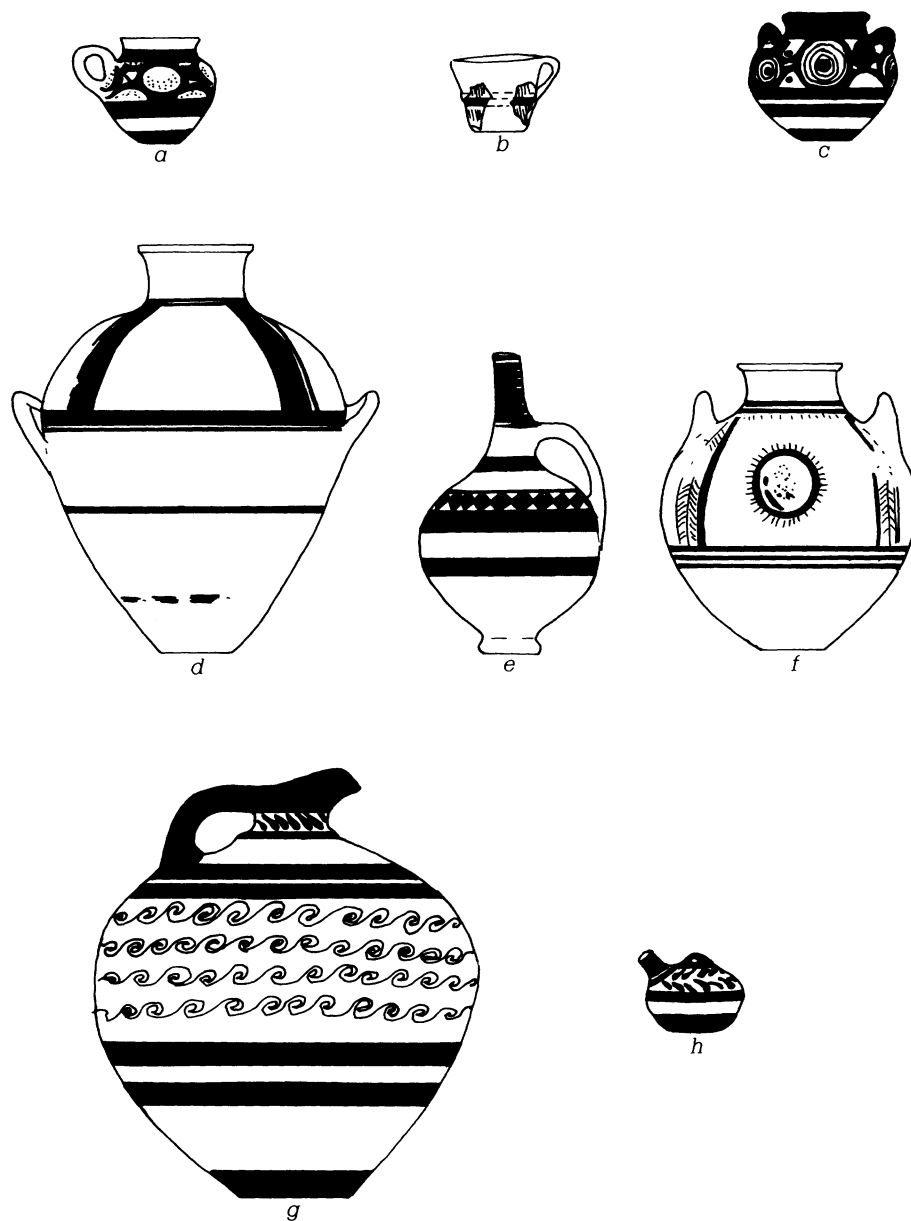


Fig. 1. Examples of vases assigned to Category A (a. Γ-19; b. Γ-54; c. Δ-64; d. E-71; e. K-110; f. N-158; g. Γ-18; h. M-154)

Γ-19: squat jug, from inside Grave Γ (fig. 1a);

Γ-54: Vapheio cup, from the fill of Grave Γ (fig. 1b);

Δ-64: jar, from inside Grave Δ (fig. 1c);

O-195: bridge-spouted jar, from the northern sector of Grave O; and a Vapheio cup fragment from the fill of Grave O.³⁴

Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted ware. This class has for a long time been dated to late MH.³⁵ Reviewing the evidence from many sites, J.L. Davis first suggested that it should probably not be regarded as transitional, but rather as characteristic of the LH I

³⁴ This sherd, only mentioned by Mylonas (*Κύκλος* B, 187), was found in association with the traces of a funeral meal.

³⁵ See, in general, D.H. French, *Notes on Prehistoric Pottery Groups from Central Greece* (Athens 1972) 33 (Class K: Polychrome "Mainland" Type); D. and E. French, "Pre-

historic Pottery from the Area of the Agricultural Prison at Tiryns," in *Tiryns. Forschungen und Berichte* V (Mainz 1971) 27 (Class 8: Polychrome Matt-paint: "Mainland"); J.L. Davis, "Polychrome Bird Jugs: A Note," *AAA* 9 (1976) 81-83, Group 2 (vases with bird decoration). For the diffusion of this ware, see *Transition* 51 n. 38; J.L. Davis,

period.³⁶ Also in the light of most recent finds,³⁷ Dietz's assertion that "this ware group should rather be considered a 'type fossil' for LH I than a 'late MH' ware" is fully justified and a diagnostic value may be attributed to this class.³⁸ The following vessels represent this class of Matt-painted ware:

- Γ-37: jar, from the fill of Grave Γ;
- Δ-63: stamnos, from inside Grave Δ;
- E-71: stamnos, from inside Grave E (fig. 1d);
- E-72: stamnos, from inside Grave E;
- K-109: jar, from Grave K;
- K-110: cut-away neck jug, from Grave K (fig. 1e); and
- N-158: jar, from the mudbrick structure of Grave N (fig. 1f).

LM IA pottery. LM IA pottery from Circle B includes:

- Γ-18: jug, from inside Grave Γ (fig. 1g);³⁹
- M-146, M-148, M-154: askoi, from the northern part of Grave M (fig. 1h);⁴⁰ and
- Λ-122(?): Vapheio cup, from the fill of Grave Λ. There

are still differences of opinions about the date of Λ-122.⁴¹

Pottery produced during LM IA. This section includes various mainland and/or Cycladic vases presumably produced during LM IA. In most cases, however, their exact place of manufacture is uncertain because of the lack of chemical or physical analyses.⁴² The following vessels have been catalogued:

- B-14: jar, from Grave B (fig. 2a). The floral motifs painted on the upper body of the jar are structured by the "torsional principle." This decoration can be compared to the late development of Melian "Black and Red Style"⁴³ and reflects LM IA influences;⁴⁴
- Γ-27: jug, from the fill of Grave Γ (fig. 2d). It is very similar to examples found in LC I contexts at Akrotiri and was probably imported from Thera;⁴⁵
- Γ-55: rounded cup, from the fill of Grave Γ (fig. 2j). It is one of the few examples of Fine Minoanizing ware found outside Ayios Stephanos, probably of LM IA date;⁴⁶
- Λ1-114: jug, from Grave Λ1 (fig. 2g). This jug is an example of "Cycladic Black and Red Ware," which occurs both in late MBA and early LBA contexts.⁴⁷

"Brauron and Keos in the Shaft Grave Period," *AAA* 10 [1977] 270 n. 2; and *PK* 241-43. See also finds from the following sites:

- Asine: Y. Backe-Forsberg, in I. and R. Hägg eds., *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine* (*Boreas* 4:2, Uppsala 1978) 58-59 no. 58, figs. 40, 42; *Asine* II.2, 107 no. 200, fig. 108; 132 nos. 300-303, figs. 124, 126.
- Athens: M. Pantelidou, *Αἱ Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀθήναι* (Athens 1975) 164; *Four Wells* 26, fig. 11.107.
- Filicudi: M. Cavalier and L. Vagnetti, "Frammenti di ceramica 'Matt-painted' policroma da Filicudi (Isole Eolie)," *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 335-44.
- Kea: *House F*, 58 nos. 10-11, pls. 15, 16; 85 no. 21a, b, pl. 25; 116 no. 22, pl. 31; 164 no. 19, pl. 39; *Fortifications* 99 N 20/10, pl. 21a; 102 N 24/9, pl. 21b; *House A*, 80, pl. 60a; 85, pl. 64b, e; pl. 64 nos. 835, 836.
- Kirra(?) : Y. Nikopoulou, "Ἀνασκαφὴ προϊστορικῆς Κίρρας," *AAA* 1 (1968) 145.
- Kythera: J.N. Coldstream and J.L. Huxley eds., *Kythera* (London 1972) 179 no. 19, pl. 51.
- Malthi: Valmin (supra n. 30) 302, pl. 4 no. 20.
- Naxos: Schachermeyr (supra n. 5) pl. 54g.
- Paros: Cherry and Davis (supra n. 29) 333 n. 2.
- Phylakopi: Cherry and Davis (supra n. 29) 337.
- Thebes: D.N. Konsola, "Preliminary Remarks on the Middle Helladic Pottery from Thebes," *Hydra* 1 (1985) 14; V. Aravantinos, "Tebe e il ruolo dei centri elladici nel commercio in età micenea," in Marazzi et al. (supra n. 32) 220 ns. 110-12.
- Thera: Ἀκρωτήρι 192-94, pl. 71a, β, δ.
- Tsougiza: Excavations 1985 (J. Rutter, pers. comm.).
- Unknown provenance: Schachermeyr (supra n. 5) pl. 54i.

³⁶ *PK* 256-58.

³⁷ The chronology of the examples from Asine, Kea, Korakou, Kythera and Thera (see supra n. 35) is established on a stratigraphical basis. The specimen from Well E at Athens

is regarded as an earlier throw-up (*Four Wells* 18). Moreover, the shape of one jug (supra n. 35: "Unknown provenance") is Mycenaean (Furumark Type 87), but it also has polychrome decoration.

³⁸ *Asine* II.2, 139 n. 278. It should be noted that some sherds from MC deposits at Phylakopi (*PK* 258 n. 96) and Kea (*Keos* V, 6-7, 55, 86; AA-9) are decorated in polychrome style, but without the burnished ground characteristic of Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted; they could be forerunners of LBA polychrome ware.

³⁹ Dickinson (supra n. 28) 113 n. 21; *Origins* 45.

⁴⁰ Dickinson (supra n. 28) 118 n. 62; *Origins* 44.

⁴¹ Dietz (*Asine* II.2, 144) considered this cup LM IA on the basis of shape and ripple decoration, but Dickinson (Rev. of *Asine* II.2 in *JHS* 102 [1982] 279) raised some doubts. More recently Dietz supposed that it could be a local imitation of an early LM IA type (Dietz [supra n. 4] 50-51 n. 10).

⁴² Note, for example, the objective difficulties in recognizing the area of production of Λ-116: Davis 1976 (supra n. 35) 82 n. 8 ("non-Cycladic"); J.L. Davis, "Minos and Dexithea: Crete and Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age," in J.L. Davis and J.F. Cherry eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory* (Los Angeles 1981) 155 ("probably Cycladic").

⁴³ C.C. Edgar, "Pottery Decorated with Flowers, in Black and Red Style," in T.D. Atkinson et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (London 1904) 125-29.

⁴⁴ *Phylakopi* 1911, 35-37.

⁴⁵ Κύκλος B, 57; *Phylakopi* 1911, 35.

⁴⁶ *Transition* 12 n. 14.

⁴⁷ For this class, see Atkinson et al. (supra n. 43) 118-23, pls. 20, 21; K. Scoles, "The Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age. A Synopsis," *BSA* 51 (1956) 20-21; *Phylakopi* 1911, 34-35; Davis 1976 (supra n. 35) 81-82, first group; *Asine* II.2, 84-85, 132, 139. For the persistence in LBA deposits, see *Phylakopi* 1911, 34; R.N.L. Barber, "Cyclades in the

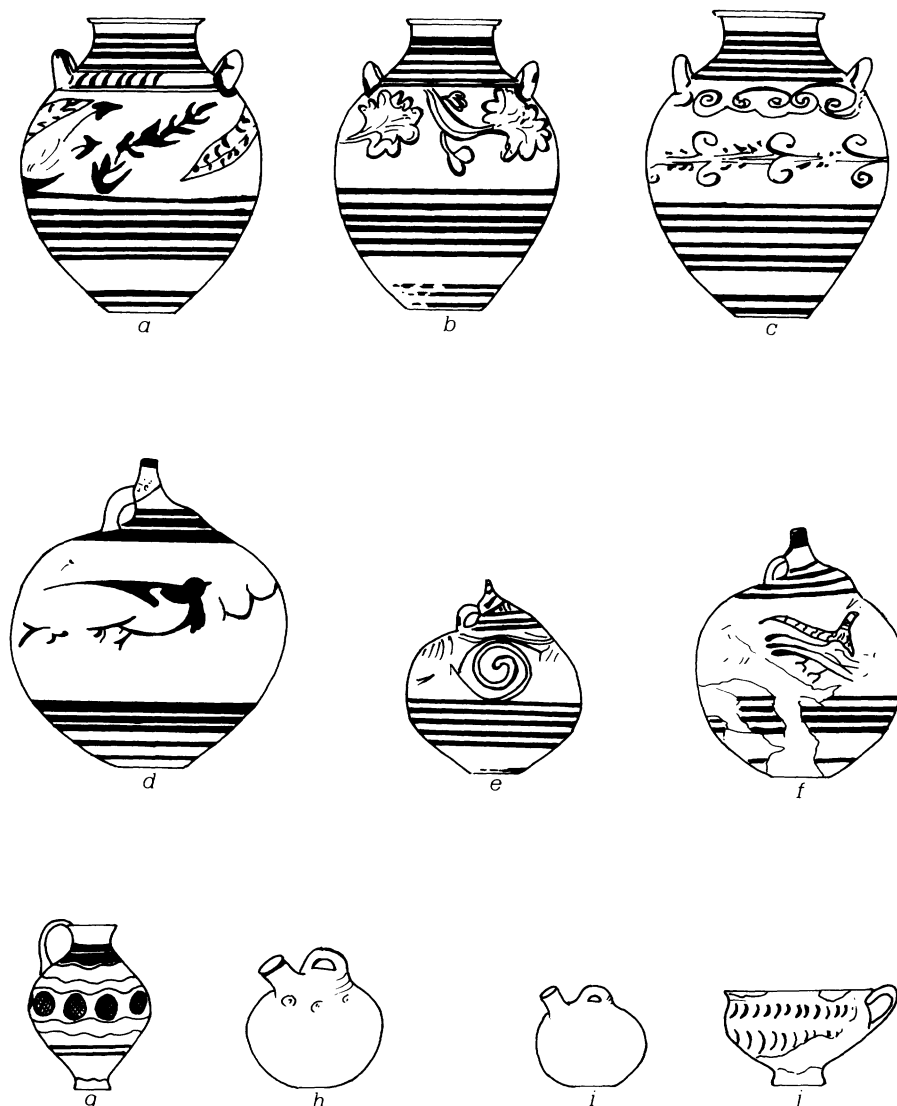


Fig. 2. Examples of vases assigned to Category A (a. B-14; b. N-168; c. N-169; d. Γ-27; e. N-166; f. N-165; g. Λ1-114; h. M-156; i. Υ-235; j. Γ-55)

Grave Λ1 is stratigraphically later than Grave Λ, which contained the Vapheio cup Λ-122 discussed above. This jug may be of LM IA date;

N-168, N-169: jars, found on the roof of Grave N (fig. 2b-c). They are similar to B-14 and could be by the same hand;⁴⁸

N-165: beaked jug, found on the roof of Grave N (fig. 2f). Its bird decoration can be connected with K. Scoles's

"Naturalistic Style," which occurs in LBA contexts as well.⁴⁹ This jug is probably contemporary with N-168, N-169, and N-166, for they were part of the same pottery group;

N-166: beaked jug, found on the roof of Grave N (fig. 2e). The shape is similar to that of N-165; comparable spiral decoration occurs on LBA vases.⁵⁰ It was found together with N-165, N-168, and N-169;

Middle Bronze Age," in C. Doumas and H.C. Puchelt eds., *Thera and the Aegean World 1* (London 1978) 376; *House A*, passim; Cherry and Davis (supra n. 29) 339; *Keos V*, 83; *Asine II.2*, 132-33 nos. 304-305. For Λ1-114, see *Phylakopi 1911*, 35; *Asine II.2*, 139 n. 280; for the decoration, cf. *Keos V*, 64: AF-5, pl. 64.

⁴⁸ Κύκλος B, 300-301.

⁴⁹ *Asine II.2*, 143 (with refs.); Cherry and Davis (supra n. 29) 339; *Keos V*, 84.

⁵⁰ Cf. Atkinson et al. (supra n. 43) pl. 26.1; R.M. Dawkins and J.P. Droop, "The Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos," *BSA* 17 (1910-1911) pl. 10, no. 141 (for the chronology cf. *Phylakopi 1911*, 38); S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera I* (Athens 1968) 33, fig. 47; *Excavations at Thera IV* (Athens

M-156: askos, from the northeast corner of Grave M (fig. 2h). Its shape recalls LM IA prototypes, perhaps with the Cyclades as intermediary;⁵¹

Y-235: askos, from Grave Y (fig. 2i). The shape of this vase was probably taken over from the LM IA repertoire;⁵²

Cat. no. 555: lug-handled bowl, without context. As Γ-55, it may be classified as Fine Minoanizing ware and attributed to a period contemporary with LM IA.⁵³

Other vases considered "possibly" or "probably" Cycladic by Davis (Γ-28, Γ-29, Γ-30, Γ-32, Γ-33, Δ-65, Λ-116, Λ-117, and N-170) might have been included in this section.⁵⁴ N-170, found on the roof of Grave N, and Λ-116, from the fill of Grave Λ, were actually associated with some of the above-mentioned specimens; others are similar in shape, but it is not possible to determine on the basis of decoration whether they belong to LM IA or to an earlier period.⁵⁵ They will therefore be taken into account below, as wares associated with Category A vases.

The Pottery of Category B

Several MH vases were found only in groups containing Category A vessels and may thus be regarded as diagnostic of the Circle B Late Phase. In light of previously published material, they may also be considered characteristic of the very end of the MH period and/or of the Early Mycenaean Age elsewhere. All these vases are included in Category B.⁵⁶

1971) pl. 69a; Schachermeyr (supra n. 5) pl. 59a; *House A*, 79, pl. 59.670.

⁵¹ For LM IA connections, see J.B. Rutter, "Stone Vases and Minyan Ware: A Facet of Minoan Influence on Middle Helladic Laconia," *AJA* 83 (1979) 467 n. 12; W.D. Niemeier, "Die Katastrophe von Thera und die spätminoische Chronologie," *JdI* 95 (1980) 56 n. 233.

⁵² *Origins* 43. For the shape, cf. A. Furtwängler and G. Löschke, *Mykenische Thongefässe* (Berlin 1879) pl. 10.47.

⁵³ *Transition* 12 n. 14.

⁵⁴ Davis (supra n. 42) 155.

⁵⁵ Amphora Γ-36 may be contemporary with LM IA. A horizontal foliate band, possibly taken over from the LM IA repertoire (cf. M. Popham, "Late Minoan Pottery: A Summary," *BSA* 62 [1967] pl. 77a, c; pl. 78b, d; 338, fig. 1.9), seems to be the main motif. This decoration, however, was also used earlier (Coldstream and Huxley [supra n. 35] pl. 28.103, 104, MM IIIB; *Transition* 31 no. 128, Oatmeal Minoanizing ware of Period II) and a Cycladic mediation cannot be excluded (cf. S. Hiller, *Alt-Ägina* IV, Pt. 1: *Mykenische Keramik* [Mainz 1975] pl. 2.18 and refs. quoted on p. 67 [nearly all of LC date]).

⁵⁶ In summarizing shapes, we will necessarily refer also to the above-mentioned Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted examples, because this class, although diagnostically LH I, continues the MH tradition and is closely linked to other wares of MH type.

Goblets without incised rings on the lower part of the body. With the exception of E-79 and maybe Λ-132,⁵⁷ none of Dietz's Group 2 goblets (fig. 3a)⁵⁸ can be ascribed to the Circle B Late Phase on the basis of associated pottery. In fact, most examples (Γ-49, 50, and 51 from the fill of Grave Γ; O-209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, and 216 from the fill of Grave O; M-141 and 142 from the northern part of Grave M) are from heterogeneous pottery groups; nor were specimens from homogeneous ceramic assemblages (Λ-132, from inside Grave Λ; M-137, 138, 139, and 140 from the eastern part of Grave M; Π-218, 219, and 220 from Grave Π) found with Category A vases. Other contexts, however, provide further clarifications. Most published goblets of this type undoubtedly come from domestic and burial deposits dated to LH I by the presence of Mycenaean Patterned ware.⁵⁹ Moreover, even though the more evident typological development can be seen in Yellow Minyan ware, other goblets with a plain foot occur in contemporary contexts.⁶⁰ However, goblets without incised rings were used with the older type (Dietz's Group 1 goblets) for part of the late MH period,⁶¹ as shown by the discovery of goblets of both types inside Grave Λ and at Asine in floor deposits ascribed to "late MH IIIA."⁶² These cases can probably be attributed to a transitional phase. The chronology of the goblets from Grave IV at Prosymna, Grave 1971-3 at Asine, and a floor deposit at Tsoungiza is still to be defined precisely.

⁵⁷ Goblet E-79 can be associated with the later burial of Grave E, whose offerings also included Category A vases. Λ-132, from inside Grave Λ, was part of a pottery group presumably later than the fill within which the debated Vaphio cup Λ-122, possibly of LM IA date (see supra n. 41), was found.

⁵⁸ *Asine* II.2, 80-81, 141-44.

⁵⁹ See, e.g., A.J.B. Wace, "Excavations at Mycenae," *BSA* 25 (1921-1923) 158 fig. 35, 174; *SG* pl. 175.955; *PK* 247, 249, fig. 9.193-98; *Asine* II.2, 124 nos. 242-48, fig. 121. Moreover, note that, according to Blegen, in the latest levels of the "MH II" stratum at Korakou, now dated to LH I (*PK* 256-57), such goblets were more commonly found than those with incised rings (C.W. Blegen, *Korakou. A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth* [Boston and New York 1921] 18).

⁶⁰ See, e.g., *ΠΕ* 109, 110 no. 316, fig. 86; G. Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas. An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica* (Princeton 1959) fig. 137.2; *Eutresis* 169, fig. 238.1 (from Third Level, similar to LH I examples, see *Eutresis* 172); *House A*, 85 no. 840, pl. 64.

⁶¹ Specifically referring to examples from Grave Π, Dickinson, too, does not exclude such a possibility (*Origins* 44).

⁶² For the goblets from Asine, see G. Nordquist, "Floor Deposits on the Barbouna Slope at Asine," *Hydra* 1 (1985) 20 no. 2, 30, fig. 1; 22 no. 14, 31 fig. 2. Note the prevalence of goblets with incised rings both in Grave Λ and the Barbouna Area deposits.

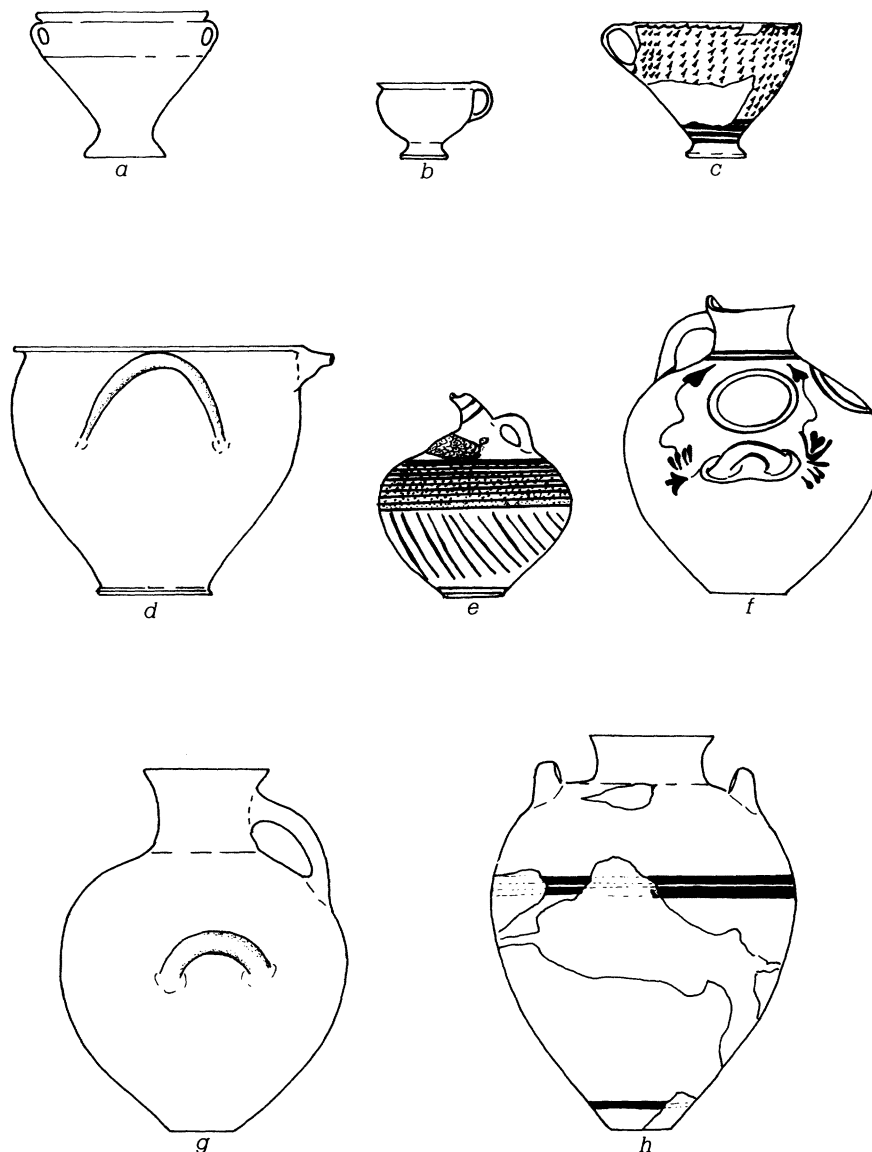


Fig. 3. Examples of vases assigned to Category B (a. Π-218; b. Γ-57; c. Λ-119; d. Ο-189; e. Γ-31; f. Γ-17; g. Ε-74; h. Γ-37)

ly, because they are associated neither with goblets with incised rings nor with diagnostically LH I pottery.⁶³ They are probably later than the transitional phase, however, and cannot be earlier than the very end of the MH period.

One-handed cups with sharply everted rims. Although some examples, including M-147, are in Yellow Minyan, this shape is primarily typical of Gray Minyan (fig. 3b). Only Γ-24, from inside Grave Γ,

can be attributed to the Late Phase on the grounds of associated pottery; other similar cups are part of heterogeneous groups, such as the fill material from Grave Γ (Γ-56, 57) and the pottery group from the northern part of Grave M (M-147, 148). Other finds, however, show that this shape is diagnostic of the Late Phase. Many similar cups occur elsewhere (e.g., Prosymna, Korakou, Ayios Stephanos, and Kea) in early LBA contexts⁶⁴ and examples—mainly in Gray Min-

⁶³ *Prosymna* II, 9, fig. 59 no. 55; *Asine* II.2, 43 nos. 29–33, figs. 38–45; J.C. Wright, "Excavations at Tsoungiza (Archaic Nemea): 1981," *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 387–89, P 716, pl. 91a.

⁶⁴ *Transition* 50 n. 35; *PK* 255 n. 80 (add also *House A*, 85 nos. 838, 839 pl. 64). In general, see also Rutter (*supra* n. 51) 466 n. 12, where the shape is thought to show Minoan influences.

yan—from other mainland sites are probably contemporary.⁶⁵ Despite the incomplete evidence from Circle B, it is therefore probable that this shape was one of the most significant innovations in the Minyan repertoire of the Early Mycenaean period.

Paneled cups. The problems connected with this shape (fig. 3c) have been carefully discussed by Davis.⁶⁶ Only two specimens from Circle B (Λ-119 and Λ-120, from inside Grave Λ) can be attributed to the Late Phase on the basis of the internal analysis;⁶⁷ another (E-81, from the fill of Grave E) was not associated with any Category A vases and four others (Γ-58, 59, 60, and 80 from the fill of Grave Γ) are from a heterogeneous pottery group. Specifically referring to these paneled cups, Davis suggested that some might be of LH I date.⁶⁸ In fact, even if this shape may be regarded as a chronological indicator of the last period of MBA in the Cyclades,⁶⁹ most of the datable examples from the mainland are dated to the LH I period,⁷⁰ and paneled cups from the mainland were exported to Thera at that time.⁷¹ Moreover, specimens very similar to Γ-59 and Γ-60 from Graves B 30 and 1971-3 at Asine seem to belong to a period corresponding to the Circle B Late Phase: the suggested date for Grave B 30 is “late MH IIIB down to

LH I,” and goblets without incised rings also occur in Grave 1971-3.⁷² The contexts of other known paneled cups have not been reported or the cups were associated with undiagnostic pottery,⁷³ but they do not occur in deposits ascribed by Dietz to MH IIIA.⁷⁴

Although precise chronological limits cannot be set, the evidence available so far supports the likelihood that paneled cups first appeared on the mainland at the very end of the MH period. Two Vapheio cups from graves of the Early Phase are decorated in the so-called Mainland Paneled Style, which might indicate that paneled cups were also in use before the Circle B Late Phase.⁷⁵ However, the decorative syntax of Λ-119 and Λ-120, two of the earliest panel cups, is very different from that of the Early Phase Vapheio cups. A diverse chronology and a dissimilar development of the Paneled Style on the two types of cups could therefore be hypothesized.⁷⁶

Kraters. Although only one krater (O-189, from the southwest corner of Grave O) was found in Circle B, this shape (fig. 3d) can be considered characteristic of the Early Mycenaean Age. Other dark-coated examples, as well as many similar Yellow Minyan and Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted kraters, can in fact be dated to this period.⁷⁷ A flattened rim, signifi-

⁶⁵ Many Gray Minyan examples were found at Eleusis (e.g., ΔN Vol. A, 330–31 nos. 529, 530 pl. 83β); other similar specimens are from Pefkakia (V. Miložič, *Nova iskopavanja u Makedonskom Glavnom Gradu Demetrijadi (Tesalija) 1967–1974* [Zabreb 1977] 15, 20, fig. 10) and Athens (Pantelidou [supra n. 35] 59–60 nos. 3–7, pl. 6β). For Yellow Minyan examples, see ΠΕ 109, fig. 85 no. 314; fig. 86 no. 317; O. Broneer, “Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis: 1931–1932,” *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 363, 364, fig. 35b; N. Ialouris, “Μυκηναϊκός τύμβος Σαμικού,” *ArchDelt* 20 A' (1965) 26 no. 60, pl. 16δ.

⁶⁶ J. L. Davis, “The Mainland Panelled Cup and Panelled Style,” *AJA* 82 (1978) 216–22.

⁶⁷ They are contemporary with a goblet without incised rings (see supra n. 57).

⁶⁸ Davis (supra n. 66) 221.

⁶⁹ *Fortifications* 145; *Keos* V, 83.

⁷⁰ *SG* pl. 173.943 (Circle A, Grave VI); Davis (supra n. 66) 221–22 (example with light-on-dark decoration from Lerna); *PK* 243 no. 73, pl. 74; 247 nos. 161, 162, fig. 9 (Korakou); *Four Wells* 49, 62 no. 404, fig. 30 (Athens). Other cups from Tsoungiza can be added (Excavations 1985, J. Rutter, pers. comm.).

⁷¹ Ἀκρωτήρι 194–97 nos. 1505, 1506, 1507, pl. 71γ, ε, pl. 72α.

⁷² Nordquist (supra n. 62) 25 nos. 33, 34, fig. 4, 28; *Asine* II.2, 38 no. 26, fig. 35 (for the goblets see also supra n. 63).

⁷³ See the examples listed by Davis (supra n. 66) 219–20.

⁷⁴ For these deposits, see *Asine* II.2, 142–43. Note, however, that Λ-119 and Λ-120 are ascribed to “MH III A” in accordance with the suggested chronology of Grave Λ. The

following period, his MH IIIB, corresponds to LH I (Davis [supra n. 5] 137; Dickinson [supra n. 41] 279) and MH IIIA is consequently a very late phase of MH. For a more recent interpretation, see Dietz (supra n. 4) 35–43.

⁷⁵ The two Vapheio cups are Z-86 and I-107. I am grateful to J. Rutter for bringing this problem to my attention.

⁷⁶ The panels on Λ-119 and Λ-120 are closely decorated and these cups are closer to Cycladic models (Davis [supra n. 66] 218 n. 9). The decoration on the two Vapheio cups, however, is in conformity with the mainland preference for geometrically subdivided decoration. In addition to many other Vapheio cups (e.g., ΠΕ 95, fig. 75; Blegen [supra n. 59] 24 fig. 34.3, 9, 12), paneled cups, such as those from Grave Γ and from Asine (supra n. 72), are also characterized by geometrically subdivided decoration, but they seem to be later than Λ-119 and Λ-120. Therefore, the latter style perhaps appeared first on early Vapheio cups and was afterwards adapted for panel cups.

⁷⁷ *SG* pl. 174.949; *PK* 241 no. 17, pl. 73c (Dark-coated kraters); *Eutresis* 165 fig. 231; *PK* 247 nos. 205–207, fig. 10 (Yellow Minyan); Blegen (supra n. 59) 29, fig. 40; C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries. A Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae* (Cambridge, Mass. 1928) 134, fig. 127.2; Wace (supra n. 59) 173–74, pl. 30; *Conspectus* 393, pl. 93; G 44–49; D. and E. French (supra n. 35) 27 fig. 4.15–16; *Tiryns. Forschungen und Berichte VIII* (Mainz 1975) 17 no. 27, pl. 18.2f; Davis 1977 (supra n. 35) 271, fig. 1.3; *PK* 243 nos. 52, 53, fig. 5 (Matt-painted). Matt monochrome kraters from Athens (*Four Wells* 40 nos. 279, 283, fig. 23) seem to be more similar to Dark-coated examples.

cantly different from that of the contemporary Polychrome "Aigina" specimens,⁷⁸ is the most distinctive feature of these kraters.

Beaked jugs. Only three beaked jugs (Γ-31, Γ-31a, and Γ-35) may be regarded as mainland products (fig. 3e). The other beaked jugs from Circle B may have been imported from the Cyclades and at least Γ-27, N-165, and N-166, included in Category A, can be dated to LC I/LM IA. The mainland specimens are not very different in shape from the presumably imported jugs, and they can be safely attributed to the Circle B Late Phase in spite of being from the fill of Grave Γ, a heterogeneous context.

Davis has clearly emphasized the differences between the Melian "Jugs with Bird Decoration in Black and Red Style" and the beaked jugs with bird decoration which were produced on the mainland during LH I.⁷⁹ Plain specimens from Tiryns and Grave Circle A and other mainland examples decorated with geometric motifs can be dated to the same period.⁸⁰ Finally, a jug of this shape from Argos is decorated in the same style as jugs Γ-31, Γ-31a, and a bridge-spouted jar from Asine contemporary with the Circle B Late Phase.⁸¹

Hydriai. Hydriai of two types can be distinguished among the Category B vases. The hydriai of the first type (Γ-17 and K-111) have an oval shape, a flat bottom, a cylindrical neck, a flaring rim, and a vertical handle from the rim to the shoulder (fig. 3f). The hydriai of the second type (E-74, E-75, E-77, and M-136), in Yellow Minyan, are generally larger than those of the first type, and have a vertical handle ex-

tending from mid-neck to shoulder (fig. 3g). Both hydriai of the first type can be ascribed to the Late Phase, because the pottery from Grave K and inside Grave Γ is chronologically homogeneous and includes Category A vases. This accords with the available evidence from other sites, since this shape mainly occurs in early LBA and even later contexts.⁸² Also, the double-circle motif on Γ-17 is comparable to patterns commonly found on LBA Matt-painted ware.⁸³

The hydriai of the second type can also be attributed to the Late Phase: the specimens from Grave E were associated with Category A vases, while M-136 was connected with the later burial in Grave M, together with goblets without incised rings. Moreover, the fact that they are similar in shape to the hydriai of the first type may confirm this chronology.

Two-handled jars. Only some of the two-handled jars from Circle B may have been produced on the mainland (fig. 3h), since many other examples are regarded as Cycladic imports.⁸⁴ Among the definitely Helladic specimens, N-158, O-190, and O-207 are smaller and have a more globular shape than the large jars Γ-37 and O-200. Γ-37 and M-158, in Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted ware, may safely be dated to LH I. O-190 must be ascribed to the same period, since it belonged to the last burial in Grave O together with a Mycenaean vase. The jars O-200 and O-207 were found on the roof of the same grave, but one cannot be sure to which burial they originally belonged. They could, however, fall within the Circle B Late Phase as well, because no related vases were found in earlier MH contexts⁸⁵ and most of the supposed Cy-

⁷⁸ For Polychrome "Aigina" kraters, see French (supra n. 35; class [m]); D. and E. French (supra n. 35) 27 (Group 9); *PK* 241 n. 26, 258–59; *Manufacture* 120. See also *Asine* II.2, 105, no. 196, figs. 107, 108; 112.231, figs. 115, 117; *Ἀκρωτήρι* 186–92, pls. 69a, β; 70a–δ; K. Kilian et al., "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1978–1979," *AA* 1981, 183, fig. 41.6.

⁷⁹ Davis 1976 (supra n. 35). Many of those occurring in Circle A (*SG* 149 no. 857; 164 nos. 946, 947, 952, figs. 80, 81; 165 no. 951; pl. 174.200, 950; *Origins* 115, Ch. III [3] n. 20, with detailed bibliography) are chronologically significant.

⁸⁰ For plain specimens, see *SG* 149 no. 857; Kilian et al. (supra n. 78) 183, 185 fig. 41.8; *ΠΕ* 95, fig. 76.226 (undefined chronology). For decorated examples, see *Ἀκρωτήρι* 193–94; *AK*, pl. 71δ; 194 (similar jugs from Kea).

⁸¹ For the jug from Argos, see *TA* 34, pl. Γ27.3–7. For the bridge-spouted jar from Asine, see *Asine* II.2, 43 no. 35, figs. 46, 47 (Grave 1971-3). For the decoration with "energisches Schägstrichen," see Dietz (supra n. 4) 30, 32 fig. 5 (ascribed to LH I).

⁸² *House F*, 59 no. 13, pl. 17; *PK* 246 n. 43; *Ἀκρωτήρι* 184–85 nos. 2130, 5334, 2549 pl. 68a, β, δ. For later speci-

mens, see *Four Wells* 19 nos. 1, 2, fig. 3; 21 nos. 20, 9823, pl. 4a; 26 nos. 102–104, 9873, 9877, fig. 11; *House A*, 60 no. 245, pl. 50; 71, pl. 55s–t. Other examples were ascribed to the "late MH" period on the basis of the supposed chronology of Circle B (S.A. Immerwahr, *Agora XIII: The Neolithic and Bronze Ages* [Princeton 1971] 66, 68 nos. 353, 354, pl. 25).

⁸³ Cf., e.g., Mylonas (supra n. 60) fig. 135.59; *Conspectus* 393 (Class 5); *Four Wells* figs. 12.117; 17.202; 22.257, 259; pl. 26a.393, 394; *House A*, 60 no. 245, pl. 50. For a similar motif in a late MBA context, see *Fortifications* 46–47, J 4/8, pl. 12a. However, it was probably also used earlier: O. Frödin and A. Persson, *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1930* (Stockholm 1938) 273, fig. 189.4 (MH II); the chronology of other examples (*ΠΕ* 92–93, fig. 72; 94, fig. 73.222; D. and E. French [supra n. 35] 9 pl. 11.6) is not defined.

⁸⁴ They are B-14, Δ-65, Λ-116, Λ-117, N-168, N-169, and N-170 (Davis [supra n. 42] 155).

⁸⁵ Only uncommon small jars, in fact, have similar handles: *ΠΕ* 86 no. 136, fig. 64; Ialouris (supra n. 65) 32 no. 97, pl. 22γ; *TA* 106, pl. Δ10.4β.

cladic prototypes can no doubt be attributed to the Circle B Late Phase.⁸⁶

Four-handled jars. Four jars (K-109, from Grave K; Λ-123, from inside Grave Λ; N-160, from inside Grave N; and O-193, from the northern part of Grave O) have an ovoid shape, a concave neck, a flat rim, and four horizontal handles—two on the shoulder and two on the widest part of the body (fig. 4a). Two other specimens, Γ-43 and I-99, in spite of a similarity in the handles, are assigned to another type because of differences in the shape of the body and the neck. The four jars can safely be ascribed to the Circle B Late Phase: K-109 and O-193 are in Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted, while the two others were asso-

ciated with diagnostic examples.⁸⁷ Moreover, some similar jugs were found in early LBA contexts, supporting such a chronology.⁸⁸

Ovoid stamnoi. Some stamnoi (E-71, 72, 76, from inside Grave E; Λ-124, from inside Grave Λ) are similar in shape to the above cited four-handled jars (fig. 4b).⁸⁹ In spite of the two vertical handles on their shoulder, two other examples (Δ-63, from inside Grave Δ; O-194, from the northern part of Grave O) are also similar in shape to the jars. Other stamnoi, however, differ in the shape of the neck and the rim, and must be considered separately. The examples included in this section can safely be attributed to the Circle B Late Phase, as they are either in Mainland

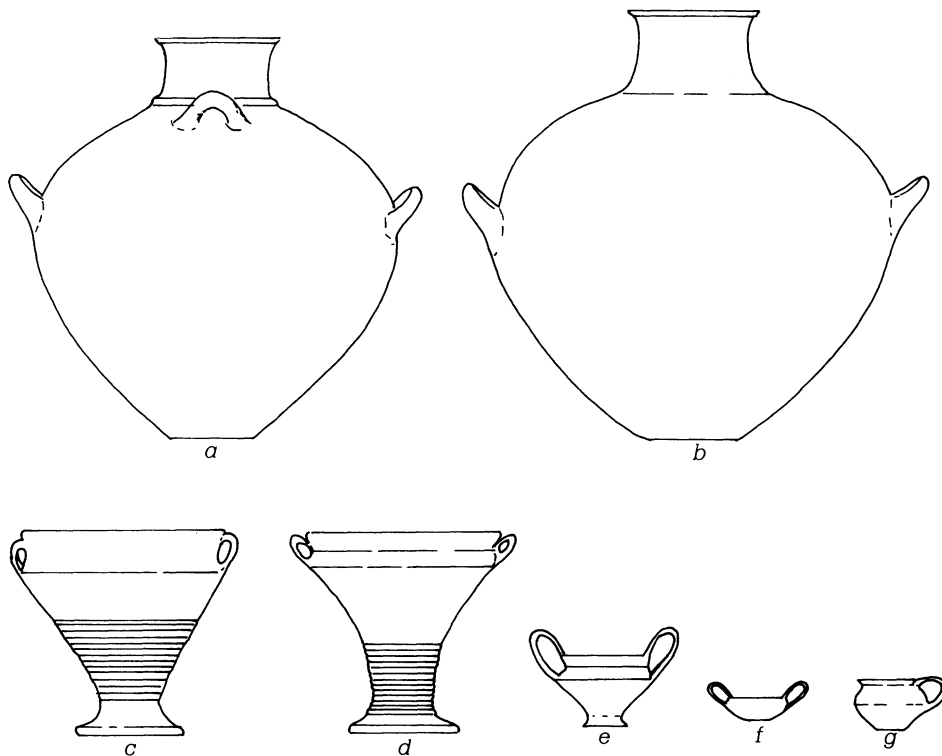


Fig. 4. Examples of vases assigned to Category B (a. Λ-123; b. E-76) and Category C (c. N-164; d. Y-233; e. Γ-23; f. H-94; g. Ξ1-187)

⁸⁶ Among the examples cited supra n. 84, B-14, N-168 and N-169 have been included in Category A, and N-170 was part of the same pottery group as N-168, 169. For the chronology of the pottery from inside Grave Λ, including Λ-116, see supra n. 57.

⁸⁷ N-160 was associated with the Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted jar N-158, while a goblet without incised

rings was found together with Λ-123.

⁸⁸ *Prosymna* I, pl. IV.380, 381; *Prosymna* II, fig. 185.1048; fig. 651.499; *Ἀκρωτήρι* 185–86 no. 5226, pl. 68γ; 192 no. 2599, pl. 70δ; 197 no. 2488, pl. 72γ; 198 no. 2485, pl. 72δ.

⁸⁹ Only E-76 has a more globular shape.

Polychrome Matt-painted (Δ -63, E-71, E-72, and O-194) or they were found together with vases of diagnostic value (E-76, Λ -124).

Stamnoi of this kind occur at other sites in final MH and early LBA contexts,⁹⁰ although examples with heavy everted rims have been found sporadically in earlier MBA deposits.⁹¹ The chronology of related vases and the fine fabric clearly show that these stamnoi constitute the apex of development of the shape and are characteristic of the Circle B Late Phase.

The Pottery of Category C

In addition to Category B pottery, many other vases were associated with Category A examples. Since similar examples were also found elsewhere in earlier MH contexts, they can be regarded as long-lived and undiagnostic. These vases, conventionally included in Category C, will be taken into account in connection with the pottery from the Early Phase graves.

General Comments

From a general point of view, all the pottery groups that include Category C vases together with either Category A or Category B vases must be attributed to the Circle B Late Phase, regardless of the proportions in which the various categories occur. On the basis of the presence of Category A vases, the following ceramic assemblages can be ascribed to this period: 1) the vase from Grave B; 2) the pottery from inside Grave Γ ; 3) the two vessels from inside Grave Δ ; 4) the pottery from inside Grave E; 5) the vases from Grave K; 6) the vessels found on the roof of Grave N; 7) the vases from the mudbrick structure of Grave N; 8) the vases from the northern section of Grave O, together with those along the eastern side; and 9) the pottery from Grave Y.

As already noted, the attribution of the Grave Λ fill to the Circle B Late Phase depends mainly on the dating of the Vapheio cup Λ -122. Other pottery groups may be added that contained Category B vases also diagnostic of the Circle B Late Phase: 1) the vases from the fill of Grave E, including the paneled cup E-81; 2) the pottery from the eastern half of Grave M as well as the specimen found in the southwestern cor-

ner, including four diagnostic goblets without incised rings (M-137, 138, 139, 140); and 3) the vases from Grave Π , including the Category B goblets (Π -218, 219, and 220). The pottery group from inside Grave Λ can also be dated to this phase, as it contained a goblet without incised rings, as can the contents of Grave Λ 1, which is stratigraphically later than Grave Λ itself.

In addition to the connections established by the repertoire of diagnostic shapes, it is possible to find further links between single vases. Some vases, in fact, are very similar in shape and decoration, probably being contemporary and from the same workshop: such is the case of N-170, from the fill of Grave N, and Δ -65, from the fill of Grave Δ , in addition to jars B-14, N-168, and N-169, mentioned above.⁹² Moreover, a bridge-spouted jar from Grave B (B-15) can be linked with Λ -118, a jug from inside Grave Λ ; both are painted with closely grouped motifs in contrast to the isolated motifs typical of late MH pottery. Only a few other examples similarly decorated have been found in contexts of the very end of the MH period,⁹³ which probably proves that the production of such vases was short-lived. Analyzing further the decorative repertoire, one can see naturalistic motifs, such as birds (Γ -31, K-110, O-200) or plant patterns (Γ -17); although these motifs are not completely new,⁹⁴ their increased popularity at this time may have been influenced by probable imports with naturalistic decoration, such as Γ -36, Δ -65, Λ -116, and N-165.

It is possible to identify general tendencies in types of Late Phase graves and grave goods rather than diagnostic elements. We can see, for instance, a typological evolution from cists or small shaft graves (e.g., Graves Z and H) to large, elaborate shaft graves, sometimes marked by a stele as in Circle A graves. The change from contracted to extended interments is therefore to be related to the gradual process of elaboration of the whole grave complex. There are, however, significant exceptions to this evolution: Grave Λ 1, although small, is stratigraphically later than the large Grave Λ , and the later burial in Grave E, whose offerings also included LH I pottery, had been laid in a contracted position. An increase in precious goods

⁹⁰ See, e.g., *SG* pl. 171.590, 591; pl. 174.948; *House F*, 58–59 no. 11, pl. 16; *PK* 246 nos. 89, 90, fig. 7; *Ἀκρωτήρι* 185 no. 5226, pl. 68γ; P.A. Mountjoy, "Some Early and Middle Helladic Pottery from Boeotia," *BSA* 75 (1980) 144 no. 74, fig. 6.

⁹¹ *Conspectus* 376: D 7, fig. 8; *TA* 74 no. 7 pl. Γ 48.4, 6.

⁹² *Origins* 45.

⁹³ *ArchDelt* 22 B' (1967) 182, pl. 131ζ; *TA* 112, pl. E7.1–4, fig. E19.

⁹⁴ Cf., e.g., birds painted on some jugs from Asine (Frödin and Persson [supra n. 83] 291, fig. 200.2; 295 fig. 203.2; *Asine* II.2, figs. 26, 28) and Argos (*TA* 48, pl. Γ 33.1–4; 48, pl. Γ 34.3–5). For plant motifs, see *Keos* V, 64:AF-6, pl. 64 (mainland import, from Keos V).

also marks the Late Phase burials.⁹⁵ It should, however, be noted that some of the later burials, such as those in Graves M and Π, are not particularly well-provided and the goods of the later burial in Grave N are of poorer quality than those of the earlier.

Various connections with Early Mycenaean objects other than pottery, as well as analogies of a general character, have already been emphasized.⁹⁶ More specifically, the chronology of some weapons can be established on the basis of related examples. If Karo's Type A swords were also produced prior to the Circle B Late Phase, the earliest specimens of Type B,⁹⁷ such as those from Graves A, Γ, and Δ, as well as the one-edged knife Δ-282 (Sandars's Type 6b),⁹⁸ are of LH I date. On the other hand, the four-rivet dagger (e.g., N-303) must be considered characteristic of the Circle B Late Phase as should sword N-304, which shows an archaic inlay possibly antecedent to some specimens from Circle A Grave V.⁹⁹ Grave Γ is further linked to the Circle A graves by the funeral mask found behind the head of the central skeleton,¹⁰⁰ and by the gold cup Γ-358, probably belonging to one of the earlier interments.¹⁰¹

Some pieces of jewelry associated with the last burial in Grave O (particularly earrings, bracelets, beads, and dress ornaments) are similar to finds from Circle A, mainly Grave III, and are roughly contemporary.¹⁰² Headbands also frequently occur in earlier contexts,¹⁰³ but at least N-390, associated with a LH I

burial, is very similar to many other Early Mycenaean diadems.¹⁰⁴ Finally, the bronze vases from Grave E have often been related to similar examples from Circle A Grave IV.¹⁰⁵ The general picture thus seems quite clear with respect to all classes of materials. Most connections, however, are established for the later and richer burials on the basis of objects from the "royal" graves of Circle A. Nevertheless, pottery—less affected by social differences and the display of wealth—can be used to achieve a more precise chronological definition of the Circle B Late Phase.

On the basis of pottery, one can assume that the very end of the MH period is contemporary with early LM IA. Dickinson implicitly suggested a similar equation when he asserted that "LH I must have started at a mature stage of LM IA . . ." ¹⁰⁶ and pointed out close connections between LH I and Kytheran LM IA, since the latter is certainly later than Cretan LM IA.¹⁰⁷

At Ayios Stephanos pure Period III deposits fall within the MH period. In Kytheran terms, however, Period III can be related to a phase between local MM IIIB and earlier LM IA, while in purely Cretan terms it is equivalent to "early, but not earliest LM IA" by virtue of certain interconnections.¹⁰⁸ Further evidence is provided by new excavations at Phylakopi where two stratified LC I phases have been distinguished: the earlier is characterized by LM IA imports and local imitations; the later contains for the

⁹⁵ Analyzing jewelry from Mycenaean and Minoan "Warrior" Graves, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier also recently referred to such an increase in precious goods (paper delivered at the conference "Problems in Greek Prehistory," Manchester, 14–18 April 1986). I am very grateful to her for allowing me to read the unpublished paper.

⁹⁶ See *Origins* 48, for the connections between male burials in Circle A Graves II and VI and the richest burials in Circle B and see *Origins* 49, for comparisons of offerings from Grave III with goods of the later burials in Graves E and O.

⁹⁷ In general, see SG 200–206; N.K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and Their Ancestry," *AJA* 65 (1961) 17–29; *Origins* 68. For the specimens from Circle B, see Κύκλος B, 311. For the Type A swords in contexts earlier than the Circle B Late Phase, see H. Walter, "Ἀνασκαφή στὸ λόφο Κολῶνα, Αἴγινα, 1981–1982," *AAA* 14 (1981) 185, fig. 6; Dietz (supra n. 4) 37–38. For Type B swords, see Dietz (supra n. 4) 33, fig. 6, 37.

⁹⁸ Κύκλος B, pl. 69γ. In general, see N.K. Sandars, "The Antiquity of the One-edged Knife in the Aegean," *PPS* 21 (1955) 183, 196 (List IX); *Origins* 135. For their diffusion, see also *Asine* II.2, 85–86 ns. 171–78. For the chronology, see *Asine* II.2, 86; Dietz (supra n. 4) 33, fig. 6.59, 37.

⁹⁹ For the dagger, see Κύκλος B, pl. 148a and cf. Dietz (supra n. 4) 33, fig. 6, 37, 39. For the sword N-304, see Κύκλος B, pl. 149β and cf. *Origins* 82 n. 3, 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Origins* 49; Dietz (supra n. 4) 39.

¹⁰¹ E. Davis, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* (New York 1977) 129–30; H. Matthäus, "Minoan Influence on the Greek Mainland during the Sixteenth Century B.C. and the Origins of Mycenaean Civilization," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 5 (1980) 40 (Variant C).

¹⁰² *Origins* 73–79.

¹⁰³ *Asine* II.2, 83–84; Dietz (supra n. 4) 38. In particular, see B. Kling, "Evidence for Local Style on the Shaft Grave Diadems," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 6 (1981) 29–38.

¹⁰⁴ This diadem is regarded as "practically identical" to examples from Peristeria and Graves I, III, and IV of Circle A by Iakovidis (supra n. 5) 9, while Λ-380 and O-410 are considered "very similar."

¹⁰⁵ Mylonas (supra n. 6) 143; *Origins* 45; Matthäus (supra n. 5) 29, 156.

¹⁰⁶ *Origins* 29.

¹⁰⁷ Dickinson (supra n. 28) 116–17.

¹⁰⁸ J. and S. Rutter emphasized LM IA imports in Deposit ε at Kythera, which contained vases contemporary or earlier than Period III (*Transition* 45–46). For a survey of Kytheran Deposit ε, see also *Manufacture* 83–85; note, however, that H. Lewis regards higher levels of Period III (Deposits π and κ) as possibly LH I (*Manufacture* 142–45), but even in such a case, other Period III deposits can be considered purely MH III and corresponding to Cretan LM IA.

first time LH I pottery and Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted together with more advanced LM IA.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, recent excavations at Akrotiri demonstrate that a destruction took place prior to the final catastrophe.¹¹⁰ The pottery found in the debris layer includes early LC I vases and imported LM IA products; on the other hand, mainland imports, which included LH I pottery, were found in deposits of the last architectural phase together with later LM IA pottery.¹¹¹ Dietz also linked his MH IIIA ("late") period with LM IA, considering the subsequent phase (his MH IIIB) contemporary with LH I and LM IA.¹¹² His equation, however, was based above all on the Vapheio cup Λ -122, whose connections with LM IA have been questioned. In spite of this, the evidence available so far indicates two phases on the mainland contemporary with LM IA: the earlier corresponds to the very end of the MH period, the later to LH I. In the later phase Mycenaean Patterned ware coexists with pottery of the MH tradition and LM IA imports, as clearly shown by Levels XII–XVI at Korakou and LH I deposits at Asine.¹¹³ Conversely, the mere presence of LM IA specimens or contemporary vases is not, in itself, decisive in ascribing a pottery group to one of the two phases.

We can refer to Dietz's classification of Yellow Minyan goblets, given that their development is well defined. There is no doubt, for example, that Group 1 goblets are generally earlier than those of Group 2. Not only are they hardly ever associated in the same deposit,¹¹⁴ but Group 1 goblets are often found with MH pottery, while Group 2 goblets generally occur in LH I contexts. Moreover, in Circle B, Group 2 goblets are from Grave O, which is stratigraphically later than Graves H and Z where goblets of the other type are found; finally, the pottery from the fill of Grave Λ includes only Group 1 goblets, although a goblet of Group 2 was associated with the later burial found inside the grave.

It is clear, therefore, that pottery groups including Group 1 goblets and vases of LM IA date can be considered earlier than groups containing goblets of the other type, LM IA pottery, and/or diagnostically LH I specimens. On this basis, an earlier subphase within the Circle B Late Phase, corresponding to the very end

of the MH period (Late Phase I), can be distinguished from a later subphase coinciding with LH I (Late Phase II). Late Phase I, contemporary with early LM IA, was probably a relatively short period. Pottery groups previously ascribed to the Circle B Late Phase can now be attributed to this earlier subphase (Table 5): 1) the vases from Graves B and Y, as they included both Group 1 goblets as well as specimens showing LM IA influences; 2) all the vessels found on the roof of Grave N, considering the presence of goblets with incised rings and the similarity, previously noted, among N-168, N-169, and B-14; and 3) the pottery found inside Grave Λ , which included both goblets of Group 1 and Group 2 and can be ascribed to a period transitional to Late Phase II. The following vases may also be attributed to Late Phase I: 1) some of the vases from the fill of Grave Δ removed from one of the earliest burials, since one of the vessels is very similar to N-170, found on the roof of Grave N; and 2) the vases from the fill of Grave Λ (assuming Λ -122 was produced during LM IA). Finally, the earliest burials in Graves Γ and E may also date back to this period, because the fill contained Category B vases, and subsequent burials belong to Late Phase II.

LH I patterned ware and Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted ware are no doubt the most diagnostic elements of Late Phase II. On this basis the following pottery groups can be attributed to this subphase: 1) the vases from inside Grave E; 2) the pottery from Grave K; and 3) the specimens placed on the mud-brick structure of Grave N. The following vases can also be ascribed to Late Phase II on other grounds: 1) The specimens belonging to the three later burials in Grave Γ ; these offerings include both the vases found in situ within the grave, as well as vases from the fill. Both deposits contained LH I pottery; 2) The vases of the two later burials in Grave Δ , if the stamnos Δ -63, in Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted, and the Mycenaean jar Δ -64 indeed belong to two different burials. On the other hand, if both belong to the last burial, the chronology of the second interment depends solely on the heterogeneous pottery group from the fill; 3) The vessels from Grave Λ 1, since the later burial in Grave Λ , which is stratigraphically earlier than Grave Λ 1, may be ascribed to a "transition-

¹⁰⁹ PK 258.

¹¹⁰ M. Marthari, "The Destruction of the Town at Akrotiri, Thera, at the Beginning of LC I: Definition and Chronology," in J.A. MacGillivray and R.L.N. Barber eds., *The Prehistoric Cyclades. Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology* (Edinburgh 1984) 119–33, esp. 132.

¹¹¹ *Ἀκρωτήρι* 182 n. 3 (with detailed bibliography).

¹¹² *Asine* II.2, 144.

¹¹³ MM IIIB pottery continued to be produced also in early LBA: M. Popham, "Notes from Knossos, Part I," *BSA* 72 (1977) 190; Davis (supra n. 66) 221; E.A. Catling, H.W. Catling, and D. Smyth, "Knossos 1975: Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I Houses by the Acropolis," *BSA* 74 (1979) 42–44, 72–78; P.P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery* (Princeton 1985) 117.

¹¹⁴ *Asine* II.2, 80.

Table 5. Summary of the Suggested Relative Chronology of Circle B Graves

Chronology	Pottery	Pottery Groups and Corresponding Graves (or Burials)		
Early Phase	Category C	Pottery groups from:	Grave Z Grave H Grave I (both burials) Grave Λ2 Grave Ξ (earlier burial) Grave Ξ1 [Grave (P)]	*Grave A1 *Grave A2 *Grave Θ *Grave Σ *Grave T *Grave Φ [Vases belonging to the later burial in Grave Ξ]
Late Phase I	Category A + Category B + Category C	Pottery groups from:	Grave B [the fill of Grave E (earlier burial)] [the fill of Grave Λ (earlier burial)] inside Grave Λ (later burial) the roof of Grave N (earlier burial) Grave Y	
		Some of the vases from:	[the fill of Grave Γ (earliest burial)] [the fill of Grave Δ (earliest burial)]	
Late Phase II	Category A + Category B + Category C	Pottery groups from:	[Grave A] inside Grave E (later burial) Grave K *Grave Λ1 inside Grave N (later burial) Grave Π	
		Vases belonging to the first burial in:	[Grave M] [Grave O]	
		Vases belonging to the burial(s) following the first one in:	Grave Γ Grave Δ (last burial or both of the later burials) Grave M Grave O	

* Chronology suggested on the basis of stratigraphy or grave form

[...] Possibly attributable to another phase or subphase

al" period leading to Late Phase II; 4) The pottery in Grave M belonging to at least the later burial; the group from the north sector of the grave, although heterogeneous, contained in fact two goblets without incised rings (M-141, M-142) and the one-handed cups M-147 and M-148, which have a shape characteristic of LH I; 5) The vases in Grave O belonging to at least the two later burials. A Mycenaean specimen was certainly associated with the last interment, while diag-

nostically LH I vases (such as the krater O-189 and perhaps the goblets without incised rings found on the roof) might belong to one or both of the earlier burials; and 6) The vases from Grave Π, because they included three goblets without incised rings and are later than the transitional pottery group from inside Grave Λ. Finally, as previously seen for Graves Γ and E, it is not possible to determine on the basis of the pottery whether Graves A, M, and O were first used

during Late Phase II, and suggestions of an earlier period of use are therefore merely speculative.

THE CIRCLE B EARLY PHASE

The Distinctive Features

The following pottery groups can be assigned to the Early Phase of Circle B: 1) pottery groups found in graves typologically or stratigraphically earlier than those of the Circle B Late Phase; and 2) pottery groups including only Category C vases. As indicated earlier, the smaller, less developed and poorer graves can be attributed to the earliest period of use of Circle B. The similarity among the smaller graves, although already noted by Mylonas,¹¹⁵ has been emphasized by Dickinson, who assigned most to the earliest of his phases.¹¹⁶ Such a distinction, however, is not absolute, because there are some remarkable exceptions.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the stratigraphical evidence clarifies the chronology of some graves. The construction of Grave Λ, for example, apparently damaged the previous Graves Λ2, T, and Φ. For the same reason, the large Graves A and O can be considered later than the smaller Graves A1, A2, Z, and H respectively.¹¹⁸ The repertoire of ceramic shapes from the typologically and stratigraphically earliest graves is very well paralleled in contexts earlier than the end of the MH period: in every case the main peculiarity is the presence of long-lived, undiagnostic types, such as those of Category C. Their repertoire includes shapes (particularly goblets, hydriai, and stamnoi) which are less developed than those of the corresponding examples of Category B. From analysis of stratigraphy, grave forms, and ceramics, it is therefore possible to attribute groups of vases from Graves Z, H, I, Λ2, Ξ, Ξ1, and Φ to the Early Phase. Graves A1, A2, Θ, Σ, and T, although no pottery was found in them, can also be assigned to this phase on grounds of typology and stratigraphy alone.

¹¹⁵ Κύκλος B, 34, 237.

¹¹⁶ *Origins* 42.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the small graves Λ1, M, and Π belonging to Late Phase II. At Aegina, however, in a shaft grave earlier than the final phase of MH a body was placed in a contracted position typical of Early Phase burials (Walter [supra n. 97] 182–84).

¹¹⁸ *Origins* 42.

¹¹⁹ Nordquist (supra n. 62) 20 no. 3 fig. 1; 22 nos. 13, 15, fig. 2.

¹²⁰ J. Rutter, "Middle Helladic Pottery from Tsoungiza (Archaic Nemea): A Brief Report," *Hydra* 1 (1985) 34.

¹²¹ For the examples from Aspis, see G. Touchais, "Aspis," in "Rapports sur les travaux de l'École Française en 1974: Argos," *BCH* 99 (1975) 708: the large amounts of Gray Minyan ware could indicate a date earlier than LH I. For

Early Phase Pottery (Category C)

As previously pointed out, Category C vases occur both in earlier and later graves of Circle B. A more careful analysis is now necessary in order to identify elements of continuity between the Early and Late Phase.

Goblets with incised rings on the lower part of the body. Yellow Minyan goblets of this type, i.e., Dietz's Group 1 goblets (fig. 4c) were found both in Early Phase graves such as Graves Z (Z-88, 89), I (I-100, 101, 102, 103), Ξ (Ξ-173, 174, 175, 176, 177) and in Late Phase pottery groups, such as the vases from Grave B (B-10, 11, 12, 13), Λ (Λ-125, 126, 127, 128, from the fill; Λ-129, 130, 131, from inside), Y (Y-230, 232, 234), and the specimens placed on the roof of Grave N (N-161, 162, 163, 164). Two other examples were from the southeast corner of Grave P (P-221, 222). All these goblets are substantially similar, except for Λ-125, which has a short stem with three plastic rings. The specimens from inside Grave Λ, being associated with a goblet without incised rings, are slightly later than the others.

The picture obtained from other contexts seems to confirm that goblets with incised rings were on the whole produced earlier than LBA. While the specimens from Building 1 and 2 of the Barbouna Area at Asine¹¹⁹ are probably contemporary with those from the later burial in Grave Λ, the examples recently found at Tsoungiza have been attributed to a late MH phase, certainly earlier than LH I.¹²⁰ Also, goblets from a debris layer in the Aspis, from Tumulus Δ at Argos, and from a floor deposit of House B at Asine are roughly contemporary.¹²¹ Other examples are from undefined contexts,¹²² but the extreme rarity of this shape in LH I deposits clearly demonstrates that goblets with incised rings were, as a general rule, superseded by goblets of the other type. However, the incised decoration may have survived sporadically until LH I, mainly in Gray Minyan specimens.¹²³

the funerary context, see TA 94–95, pls. Δ7, Δ8, Δ9. For the floor deposit at Asine, see Frödin and Persson (supra n. 83) 284–87.

¹²² Frödin and Persson (supra n. 83) 288, fig. 198.8; D. and E. French (supra n. 35) 31, fig. 3.17; ΔN Vol. B, 7 no. 603, pl. 91γ.

¹²³ Yellow Minyan goblets with scored stems from LH I deposits at Korakou were attributed "only generally to the late Middle Helladic or the Early Late Helladic period" (PK 255). In this connection a Yellow Minyan goblet from Grave 1971-3 at Asine could also be mentioned (*Asine* II.2, 38 no. 28, figs. 37, 44) as well as a Gray Minyan specimen from Grave Hπ-20 at Eleusis (ΔN Vol. A, 330 no. 526, pl. 82β) and perhaps a fragment from House B at Eutresis (*Eutresis* 136, fig. 184.2), which contained both MH and Early Mycenaean sherds (*Eutresis* 138).

Ring-stemmed goblets. Ring-stemmed goblets (fig. 4d) are mainly characteristic of Gray Minyan ware of middle-late phases of MH.¹²⁴ In Circle B the goblets were found in the fill of Grave Δ (Δ-69, 70) and in Grave Υ (Υ-229, 233), thus agreeing with evidence from other sites that they were in use in the period corresponding to the Circle B Late Phase.¹²⁵

Kantharoi. Among Category C pottery two types of kantharoi can be distinguished: those of the first type have a more or less marked carination and a conical foot (fig. 4e); the others are smaller and have a flat base and a semiglobular body (fig. 4f). Three kantharoi of the first type (Γ-21, 22, 23) can be assigned to the Circle B Late Phase; a similar specimen from Grave Α (Α-2) is difficult to date because of the problems connected with that grave. Another kantharos from Grave Ξ (Ξ-182) differs from the foregoing examples above all in the shape of the foot and in Matt-painted decoration.

Carinated kantharoi, both in Yellow Minyan and Matt-painted ware, apparently descend from Gray Minyan types with a flat or ringed base,¹²⁶ and are common in late MH contexts.¹²⁷ Moreover, specimens with a conical foot have often been found in deposits contemporary with the Circle B Late Phase.¹²⁸

Semiglobular kantharoi from Circle B are typologically similar: except for Z-87, which has a rather squat body, all the others have a rounded profile, a flat base, and a curving or slightly everted rim. They are in Yellow Minyan or are simply decorated with paint-

ed horizontal bands. Two examples (K-112 and Λ1-115) were found in Graves K and Λ1, and are ascribed to the Late Phase; others (Z-87, H-94 and I-108) were part of earlier pottery groups, while the remaining specimens (Γ-52, P-224, Cat. no. 495) cannot easily be dated on the basis of context. Similar kantharoi have frequently been found in late MH deposits,¹²⁹ but several can be attributed to the very end of the MH period¹³⁰ or to the Early Mycenaean period.¹³¹

Carinated cups. Two plain carinated cups (Ξ1-186, 187) with a conical or flat base were found in Grave Ξ1 (fig. 4g). This shape, of mainland origin,¹³² frequently occurs in Yellow Minyan ware of middle-late phases of MH,¹³³ but similar carinated cups no doubt remained in use until the end of the LH I period.¹³⁴

Loop-handled cups. The four examples from Circle B are rather different in shape (fig. 5a): they range from specimens with a more or less cylindrical body (Λ2-135, Φ-239) to cups with rounded (M-155) or semiglobular profile (Λ-121). They are all decorated with matt paint, except for M-155, which is in Gray Minyan ware.

The two specimens from Graves Φ and Λ2 can be assigned to the Circle B Early Phase while Λ-121, from inside Grave Α, can be attributed to the Late Phase. The cup M-155, from the northern sector of Grave M, was part of a presumably heterogeneous pottery group. The loop handle on the top of the rim is also characteristic of cups with biconical body and

¹²⁴ *Origins* 19 fig. 2 (Mature Minyan). For this shape in MC contexts, see *Conspectus* 376, fig. 8: D 1-4; *Phylakopi* 1911, 30 nos. 27, 201; *Keos* V, 84.

¹²⁵ *Eutresis* 135-38, fig. 183.7-10, 13; *House F*, 117, 121 no. 25; Nordquist (supra n. 62) 26 no. 37, fig. 4 (Burial B 32); *House A*, 93, 104. J. Davis pointed out the "scarcity" of ring-stemmed goblets in Levels XII-XVI at Korakou (PK 255), but they were also found in Levels IX and X (LH IIA) (*Manufacture* 124-25).

¹²⁶ Cf., e.g., ΠΕ 69 no. 28, fig. 43; *Eutresis* 139 fig. 187.3-4; 163 fig. 227.

¹²⁷ For other examples with conical foot, see, e.g., *Lerna* 1956, 154, pl. 43a-b; *BCH* 92 (1968) 1037, fig. 31; *TA* pl. Γ53.6; pl. E11.1-4. Other specimens, Burnished and Matt-painted, are from the Barbouna Area at Asine (Nordquist [supra n. 62] figs. 1-3 nos. 1, 17, 18, 23, 24). For Ξ-182, cf. *Corinth* XIII, 10, pl. 5.8-2; *Tiryns. Forschungen und Berichte* VIII (Mainz 1975) 25 no. 53, fig. 8.3, pl. 26.3; Nordquist (supra n. 62) 22 no. 16, fig. 2 (Red-burnished).

¹²⁸ For Matt-painted examples of this period, see supra n. 127, and *Transition* 36, ill. 10.246, 247 (Period III); 49, ill. 15.667-772 (Period IV); *PK* 243 n. 36. For Yellow Minyan specimens, see Wace (supra n. 59) 157; *SG* pl. 173.942; *PK* 249, fig. 9.190; Wright (supra n. 63) 387 P 708, P 722, pl. 92. For Gray Minyan examples, see ΔN Vol. A, 329-30 no. 525, pl. 82β. For a Red-burnished speci-

men, see *Asine* II.2, 43 no. 38, figs. 50, 57.

¹²⁹ Many examples are known from Prosymna and Argos (e.g., *Prosymna* II, 8, fig. 51.743; *TA* pl. A7.4) and other sites (*Lerna* 1952-1953, 11, pl. 7a; *Corinth* XIII, 9, pl. 4.5-3; *Kirra* pl. 50.52). Another specimen was found at Tsoun-giza together with a light-on-dark jug (see infra n. 187; J. Rutter, pers. comm.).

¹³⁰ E.g., kantharoi from Myloi and Argos associated with examples contemporary with B-15 and Λ-118 (see supra n. 93). Other specimens from Grave B 32 at Asine (Nordquist [supra n. 62] 26 no. 39, fig. 4) and from a shaft grave at Berbati (Åkerström [supra n. 12] 45 n. 30) can be added.

¹³¹ *SG* pl. 171.611; *Prosymna* I, 381; *Transition* 51 no. 722, ill. 16; K. Kilian et al. (supra n. 31) 419, figs. 36, 37.

¹³² *Κύκλος* B, 291; *Origins* 22, fig. 3.

¹³³ *Prosymna* II, fig. 43.572; K. Dimakopoulou and D. Konsola, "Λείψανα πρωτοελλαδικού, μεσοελλαδικού και ύστεροελλαδικού οικισμού στη Θήβα," *ArchDelt* 30 A' (1975) 69, fig. 9.3 pl. 32a.13γ (Gray Minyan); Pantelidou (supra n. 35) 59 no. 9, pl. 6β; *TA* pl. Δ8.5. For the conical base, cf. Frödin and Persson (supra n. 83) 287, fig. 198.5. For the strap handles, cf. ΠΕ 83, fig. 61.131; *Eutresis* 163, fig. 226.2.

¹³⁴ Cf. *House F*, 164 no. 19, pl. 39a; *PK* 247 no. 54 (Yellow Minyan specimen possibly of this shape); Kilian et al. (supra n. 31) fig. 37.

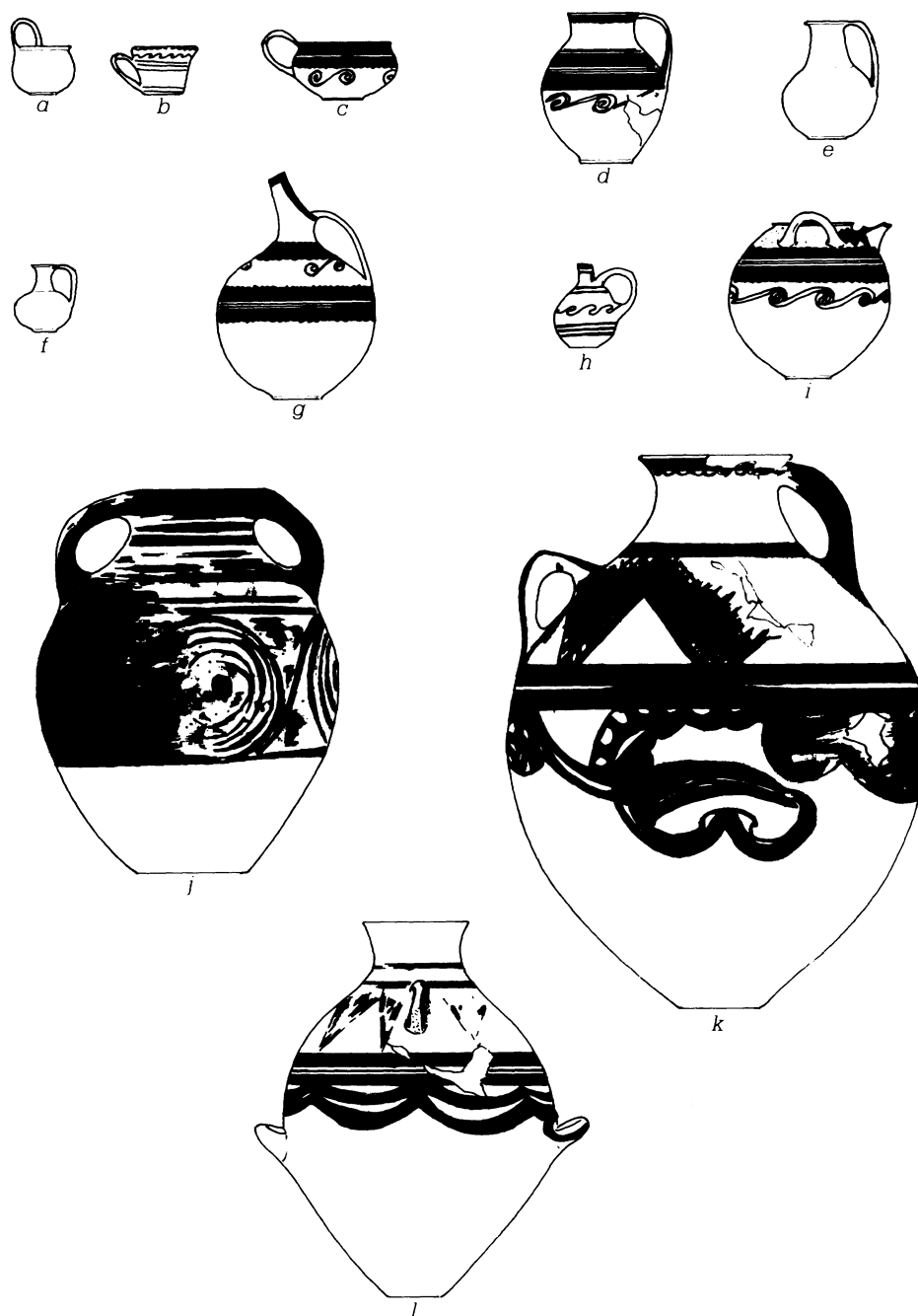


Fig. 5. Examples of vases assigned to Category C (a. M-155; b. I-107; c. H-93; d. I-105; e. Ξ1-185; f. Ξ-181; g. H-91; h. I-106; i. I-104; j. I-96; k. I-98; l. I-97)

everted rim which do not occur in Circle B, but which are very common in late MH and Early Mycenaean

contexts.¹³⁵ The cups with a rounded profile were probably used at the same time,¹³⁶ while the forerun-

¹³⁵ For examples from contexts contemporary with the Circle B Late Phase, see *Prosymna* II, 9, fig. 59 no. 54; Kilian et al. (supra n. 31) 419, fig. 37; Nordquist (supra n. 62) 25 no. 32, fig. 4.

¹³⁶ Loop-handled cups with rounded profile are very common in MH contexts; see, e.g., *Prosymna* II, 7, fig. 39.589,

fig. 43.571, 574, 592; *Corinth* XIII, pl. 5.11-3, 13-2; J.B. Rutter, "Fine Gray Burnished Pottery of the Early Helladic III Period: The Ancestry of Gray Minyan," *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 336 n. 21 (for the cup published in G.A. Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων* [Athens 1910] 15, pl. H' top row, left). For examples from contexts contem-

ners of the type with a cylindrical body can be found in much earlier deposits.¹³⁷

Vapheio cups. Only three Vapheio cups with Matt-painted decoration were found in Circle B (fig. 5b): two (Z-86 and I-107) are from Graves Z and I, attributed to the Early Phase; the other (Γ-53) is part of the heterogeneous pottery group from the fill of Grave Γ. The first two examples have a handle from the rim, or slightly below the rim, to the base and are decorated in Davis's Mainland Paneled Style. The other is more similar to Mycenaean examples in the handle position, and the chevron band painted on the middle of the body recalls the mid-rib on Early Mycenaean Vapheio cups.

The shape is no doubt of Minoan origin, but a Cycladic mediation cannot be excluded since cups of similar shape occur in MC deposits.¹³⁸ Besides the Matt-painted examples, such cups are common on the mainland among the unpainted wares and the presence of this shape in the Gray Minyan repertoire clearly reflects strong Aegean influences.¹³⁹ The list of Vapheio cups in Mainland Paneled Style includes specimens which can be dated from late MH down to the Early Mycenaean Age.¹⁴⁰ Plain or differently decorated Vapheio cups can be attributed to the same period,¹⁴¹ confirming that they were used contempora-

neously with the LH I patterned examples which, however, soon superseded them.¹⁴²

Tea-cups. Only one semiglobular cup with slightly everted rim (fig. 5c) was found in an Early Phase grave (H-93), but similar examples, mainly with Matt-painted decoration, occur in late MH¹⁴³ and LH I contexts.¹⁴⁴ Since related vases come from Crete, a Minoan inspiration seems likely,¹⁴⁵ possibly via the Cyclades; local MC pottery from Kea includes cups of this kind.¹⁴⁶

Wide-necked jugs. Most of the wide-necked jugs (Δ-67, H-92, I-105, Λ-118, Ξ-178) have a globular or squat globular shape and a wide, slightly flaring neck (fig. 5d); the jugs Γ-45 and Δ-68 have a short flaring neck and a wide mouth. Jugs H-92, I-105 and Ξ-178 are from Early Phase graves while another (Λ-118) can be ascribed to the Circle B Late Phase. Three others (Γ-45, Δ-67 and Δ-68), from the fill of Graves Γ and Δ, cannot be dated from the contexts. Although examples comparable to Γ-45 and Δ-68 are rather rare,¹⁴⁷ wide-necked jugs of the other type frequently occur in late MH deposits, even if some typological differences should sometimes be noted.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, similar Yellow Minyan examples were found in Early Mycenaean contexts and Furumark pointed out the continuity of this shape during the LH period.¹⁴⁹

porary with the Circle B Late Phase, see *Kirra* pl. 51.69 and maybe pl. 48.59; ΔN Vol. B, 104–105 nos. 764, 765, pl. 143β; 188, pl. 184β; Pantelidou (supra n. 35) 62 no. 1, pl. 9a; *Transition* 61 nos. 990, 991, ill. 19, pl. 17.33; Hiller (supra n. 55) 15, 67, pl. 2.20. For semiglobular examples, see ΔN Vol. B, 35 no. 650 pl. 116γ; *TA* pl. Γ42.5–6.

¹³⁷ *Lerna 1952–1953*, 17, pl. 9e.

¹³⁸ *Conspectus* 383, pl. 85: D-143; *Fortifications* 136–37, 140–41, 158–59; Davis (supra n. 66) 220 n. 12; *Keos* V, 86.

¹³⁹ For Minoan influences on Gray Minyan ware, in general, see Rutter (supra n. 51) 466 n. 12. As for Gray Minyan Vapheio cups, see IIE 70–71, fig. 46 nos. 51, 52; *Eutresis* 139, fig. 188.1; ΔN Vol. A, 330 no. 527, pl. 83a; Vol. B, 29 no. 637, pl. 113a; 59 no. 673, pl. 139a; 106 nos. 771, 772, pl. 143β; Dimakopoulou and Konsola (supra n. 133) 69, pl. 33δ.a–γ, fig. 9.1; *TA* 35, pl. Γ29.1; Konsola (supra n. 35) 12, fig. 2.1. A similar vase from Orchomenos is at the National Museum (IIE 71 n. 1). Many other unpainted examples similar to those from Prosymna (*Prosymna* II, 7, fig. 39.565) and Kirra (*Kirra* 136 nos. 52, 63, 64) were found at Eleusis (see, e.g., ΔN Vol. A, 20 no. 13, pl. 6γ) and Korakou (*PK* 247 no. 160, fig. 9).

¹⁴⁰ Davis (supra n. 66) 220. The following examples can be added: *ArchDelt* 28 B' (1973) pl. 218β (Paralimni); (?) *PK* 243 n. 34 no. 72, fig. 6; *Asine* II.2, 95 no. 113, fig. 91 (cf. Davis [supra n. 5] 138); P.-A. Mountjoy, *Orchomenos V. Mycenaean Pottery from Orchomenos, Eutresis and Other Boeotian Sites* (Munich 1983) 11, fig. 2.1 (Orchomenos), 47, fig. 17.1 (Drachmani-Piperi).

¹⁴¹ Many other examples with Matt-painted decoration

(e.g., *Prosymna* II, 7, fig. 39.588; *Asine* II.2, 43, no. 36, figs. 48, 57) can be added to the cups in Mainland Paneled Style.

¹⁴² Materials from the LH I floor deposit at Voroulia, on exhibition at the Chora Museum, include Vapheio cups belonging to different classes; the pottery assemblage from LH I levels at Korakou shows a similar juxtaposition (*PK* 238, 240, 243, 247). In addition to these examples, see, in particular, *SG* pl. 173.954; *Lerna 1955*, 156, pl. 39d; *Kirra* 93, 136 no. 63, pl. 52; 136 no. 64, 137 no. 71; P. Themelis, "Σκυλλοῦς," *ArchDelt* 23 A' (1968) pl. 125β.

¹⁴³ A.N. Skias, "Νεώτεροι ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῇ παναρχαίᾳ Ἑλευσινιακῇ νεκροπόλει," *ArchEph* 1912, 3, fig. 1.4; IIE 83, fig. 60.123; ΔN Vol. A, 293 no. 478, pl. 57γ; Vol. B, 147 no. 836, pl. 157γ; 200 no. 895, pl. 191β; *Keos* V, 65: AG-9, pl. 34 (Mainland import in Red and White on Lustrous Black ware).

¹⁴⁴ *Lerna 1955*, 156, pl. 39e; *House F*, 165, 168 no. 20, pl. 42 (LC II context); (?) *PK* 246 n. 37. See also *Kirra* 92, 134–35 nos. 56, 57, 58, pl. 50: these cups, associated with Graves 7 and 42, were originally attributed to MH IIIB, but probably are of LH I date (for the chronology of Graves 7 and 42, see Dickinson [supra n. 7] 62 n. 43).

¹⁴⁵ *Origins* 22 fig. 3 (semiglobular cup); *Manufacture* 79.

¹⁴⁶ *Fortifications* 137, 141, 145, 159; *Keos* V, 86.

¹⁴⁷ *Corinth* XIII, 10.7-1, pl. 4; ΔN Vol. B, 5–6, pl. 91a (Gray Minyan three-handled jug).

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, *SG* pl. 166 nos. 159, 160 (from burials earlier than Grave III); *Lerna 1952–1953*, 10, pl. 7b; *Corinth* XIII, 11.9-1, pl. 5.

¹⁴⁹ Blegen (supra n. 59) 58 fig. 80 (LH II); Wace (supra

Jugs with conical necks. Only one jug with a conical neck (fig. 5e) was found in Circle B (Ξ1-185). Similar jugs from Asine with monochrome and polychrome bird decoration were assigned by Dietz to his MH IIIA.¹⁵⁰ Several other examples from late MH contexts are substantially similar in spite of minor differences.¹⁵¹ The ceramic assemblage from a LH I cist grave demonstrates that this shape lasted until the Early Mycenaean period.¹⁵²

Squat globular jugs. Two Yellow Minyan jugs (M-152, from the heterogeneous pottery group of Grave M, and Ξ-181, from the mid-east sector of Grave Ξ) have a conical neck with a sharply offset rim like the previously considered jugs. Their shape (fig. 5f), however, may be more precisely connected with that of some small amphorae from Grave Γ.¹⁵³ Similar specimens have rarely been found and they could be dated both to the late MH and the Early Mycenaean period.¹⁵⁴

Cut-away neck jugs. Two types of cut-away neck jugs have been found in Circle B. The first type has a globular shape, with flat or raised base and rather high beak (fig. 5g); the second is smaller and more stumpy and has a piriform body, with a flat base, wider neck, and lower beak (fig. 5h). The Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted jug K-110, two jugs from Early Phase graves (H-91 and Z-85), and two others

from Grave A (A-5) and from the fill of Grave Γ (Γ-34) are of the first type. Similar vases seem to have been produced, probably under Cycladic influence, during the late MH period.¹⁵⁵ They sometimes occur in association with goblets without incised rings¹⁵⁶ or with LBA pottery,¹⁵⁷ and may be regarded as contemporary with the Circle B Late Phase.

The jugs of the second type are from Graves I (I-106) and Λ2 (Λ2-134) and can be assigned to the Early Phase. Their ancestors occur in much earlier contexts,¹⁵⁸ but other examples are as late as the specimens from Circle B and even later.¹⁵⁹ There is no doubt, therefore, that this shape survived a long time after the end of the MH period.¹⁶⁰ More generally, the MH repertoire includes cut-away neck jugs of other types.¹⁶¹

Bridge-spouted jars. Both bridge-spouted jars B-15 and I-105 have a raised base, a globular body, two handles on the shoulder, and an oblique spout (fig. 5i). The latter, however, can be considered older on the basis of the relative chronology of Graves B and I, as well as for typological and stylistic reasons.¹⁶² Although the Minoan origin of the shape is beyond question, the few mainland examples are hole-mouthed, lacking the everted rim such as that of B-15.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, as suggested by Dietz, the bridge-spouted jars with globular body may be re-

n. 59) 72 no. 20, pl. 34; 80 no. 10, pl. 42; PK 250, fig. 10.217; cf. also A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery. Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm 1941) 34 (Types 109–15).

¹⁵⁰ Frödin and Persson (supra n. 83) 291, fig. 200.2; 293–94, fig. 203.2; *Asine* II.2, 33–34 no. 23, figs. 26, 28. For the attribution to Dietz's MH IIIA, see *Asine* II.2, 84.

¹⁵¹ Many jugs of this type occur at Prosymna (e.g., *Prosymna* II, 7, fig. 39.566–68, 590, 591) and at Argos (e.g., *TA* pl. Γ30.5; pl. Γ33.1–4), but they have also been found elsewhere.

¹⁵² Kilian et al. (supra n. 31) fig. 37.

¹⁵³ They differ from jugs with a conical body mainly in the shape of the neck. They have, in fact, a rather squat body like some small amphorae (see infra n. 183 and *SG* pl. 171.614, 615); nevertheless, there is a general affinity of shape between the two types of jugs (*Asine* II.2, 82).

¹⁵⁴ A. J. B. Wace, "Laconia III. Early Pottery from Geraki," *BSA* 16 (1909–1910) 74, fig. 4, left; *ΔN* Vol. A, 331 no. 531, pl. 83γ; *Asine* II.2, 48, 82 no. 41, figs. 56, 57.

¹⁵⁵ *Origins* 22 (high-beaked jugs).

¹⁵⁶ *Prosymna* II, 9, fig. 59.53 (Grave IV); *Asine* II.2, 38 no. 25 figs. 33–34 (Grave 1971-3); Wright (supra n. 63) 387 P 723, P 724, pl. 91a. One example from Grave B 30 at Asine is probably contemporary (Nordquist [supra n. 62] 26 no. 36, fig. 4).

¹⁵⁷ Wace (supra n. 59) 157; *SG* pl. 170 no. 222; *Eutresis* 174, fig. 242.2; S. Marinatos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Πύλου," *Prakt* 1960, 196, pl. 151a.1; Ialouris (supra n. 65) pl. 6; *Conspectus* 392–93, pl. 93; G 41–43; Dimakopoulou and Konsola

(supra n. 133) 76, pl. 35β (Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted); (?) S. Korres, "Ἐρευνᾶν ἀνὰ τὴν Πυλῖαν," *Prakt* 1976, 276–77 n. 530; PK nos. 82–86, pl. 74b, 252 nos. 218–19 (for no. 82, see also *Manufacture* 119); *Manufacture* 127 (examples from East Alley Levels IX and X at Korakou, LH IIA). A Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted specimen was also found at Thera (Ἀκρωτήρι 194 no. 3726, pl. 71β).

¹⁵⁸ C. W. Zerner, *The Beginning of the Middle Helladic Period at Lerna* (Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1978) 116, B 1486/1, pl. 17 (Lerna V A); *TA* pl. A8.1–4.

¹⁵⁹ Blegen (supra n. 77) 129–31, fig. 122 no. 580; *Prosymna* II, 14, fig. 79 no. 698; *Corinth* XIII, 6, 7.1-1, 1-3, 2-1; 10.6-1, pl. 4; 12.13-1, pl. 5; *Asine* II.2, 38 no. 27, figs. 36, 44.

¹⁶⁰ Furumark (supra n. 149) 34 (Type 135); *Four Wells* 20 nos. 13–18, fig. 4; 26 no. 106, fig. 11; 36 nos. 216–18, 9774, 9882, pls. 17c, 18a; 38 nos. 252, 253, pl. 20a, b.

¹⁶¹ See, e.g., *ArchDelt* 22 B' (1969) pl. 131γ, ζ; *TA* pl. Γ52.4, 6.

¹⁶² *Κύκλος* B, 288.

¹⁶³ For Minoan origin, see *Κύκλος* B, 288; *Origins* 22; *Asine* II.2, 82. For hole-mouthed examples, see *Transition* 50 no. 690 ill. 15; PK 250 fig. 10.220, 221; *Asine* II.2, 43 no. 35, figs. 46, 47; 103 no. 178, figs. 99, 102. Different shapes (*Transition* 39 no. 329, ill. 11; (?) 50 no. 689, pl. 12.23; *Asine* II.2, 18 no. 9, figs. 5, 7) are rarer. An unpublished bridge-spouted jar—"provincial version"—found in a shaft grave at Berbati (Åkerström [supra n. 12] 45 n. 30) was considered "late MH."

garded as earlier than those with a piriform shape, such as the example from Grave 1971-3 at Asine.¹⁶⁴

Amphorae. The two amphorae from the later burials in Graves I (I-96) and Ξ (Ξ -183) are quite similar both in shape and in the polychrome light-on-dark decoration restricted to the upper two-thirds of the body (fig. 5j). The two jars A-3 and Γ -42 are very similar and confirm that the two shapes are difficult to distinguish from sherds.¹⁶⁵

At Ayios Stephanos similar vases, in Oatmeal Minoanizing ware, connected with Kytheran pottery,¹⁶⁶ were found as far back as the middle MH phases (Period I) and became uncommon only in Early Mycenaean deposits.¹⁶⁷ This is also true of other sites where this pottery was found.¹⁶⁸ Examples similar to the amphorae from Circle B are, however, exceedingly rare among the published materials.¹⁶⁹

Hydriai. Three hydriai, Γ -20, I-98 and N-157, differ from Category B hydriai in that they have a more ovoid shape and a concave neck without distinct rim (fig. 5k). Apart from the cylindrical neck with a flattened rim, the shape of another (E-78) recalls examples of Category C stamnoi, while Γ -20 and I-98 have additional vertical handles comparable to those on some stamnoi. Only I-98, from the southern sector of Grave I, can be assigned to the Early Phase; the others belong to Late Phase pottery groups and are clearly contemporary with the Category B hydriai. As suggested by typological connections with Category C stamnoi, vases of this type may have been used for a long time during the MH and even LH period.¹⁷⁰

Ovoid stamnoi. The Category C stamnoi (fig. 5l) are significantly different from those of Category B in the shape of the neck. Most (A-4, B-16, Γ -39, Δ -66, and N-159) have a neck tapering upwards with a sharply offset rim; the others are characterized by a more concave neck (I-97, I-99) or by a wider mouth (Γ -38, Γ -41, Y-236). Stamnoi A-4, Γ -41, I-97, and N-159 have two additional vertical handles on the shoulder, while the handles on I-99 are arranged in a similar manner to the four-handled jars of Category B. The stamnoi from Grave I (I-97, 99) can be attributed to the Early Phase; B-16, N-159, and Y-236 were found in Circle B Late Phase graves, and the remaining examples (A-4, Γ -38, Γ -39, Γ -41, and Δ -66) were from heterogeneous groups.

Generally speaking, the stamnoi of this type are descended from EH specimens¹⁷¹ and were used throughout the MH period.¹⁷² Although the corresponding examples of Category B reflect the more advanced stage of evolution, vases of this shape were also found in Early Mycenaean contexts, confirming that the development of ovoid stamnoi was gradual and that different types coexisted for some time.¹⁷³

General Remarks

As we saw from the above survey, most shapes of the Early Phase pottery groups also occur in the late MH, if not earlier, deposits.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, the presence of the goblets with incised rings both in Early Phase and Late Phase I pottery groups might indicate that such ceramic assemblages are contemporary, be-

¹⁶⁴ *Asine* II.2, 82.

¹⁶⁵ See *infra* ns. 183, 187.

¹⁶⁶ *Transition* 10-11, n. 13.

¹⁶⁷ *Transition* 23, 31, 39, 51.

¹⁶⁸ During old excavations at Asine examples of this class were found in deposits assigned to MH II and III (Frödin and Persson [*supra* n. 83] 277; 286 no. 5, Color Plate II, from House B, ascribed by Dietz to his "MH IIIA" [*Asine* II.2, 142 n. 303]). At Lerna, Caskey noted their presence in middle and especially late phases of MH settlement (*Lerna 1952-1953*, 29-30) and Zerner recently pointed out that examples with polychrome decoration occur later than Lerna VA in spite of the presence of other Minoan imitations in earliest MH levels (Zerner [*supra* n. 158] 163, 166, 169). According to preliminary reports of Nichoria excavations, such wares were mainly found in deposits of "later Middle Helladic phase" (R.J. Howell, in W.A. McDonald et al., "Excavations at Nichoria in Messenia: 1972-1973," *Hesperia* 44 [1975] 110-11). It should also be noted that some sherds were from the first building-stratum at Eutresis, belonging to a middle-late phase of MH (*Eutresis* 186, pl. 9.3), and from Circle A (Furtwängler and Löschke [*supra* n. 52] pl. 7.4).

¹⁶⁹ A. Harding, G. Cadogan, and R.J. Howell, "Pavlopetri: An Underwater Bronze Age Town in Laconia," *BSA* 64

(1969) 135, fig. 14.18; *TA* pl. E10.1-4 (white-on-dark decoration).

¹⁷⁰ For the persistence of water jars of the MH tradition into LH IIA, see *Manufacture* 128.

¹⁷¹ Zerner (*supra* n. 158) 161; G. Graziadio, "La fase iniziale del periodo medio-elladico ed il problema dell'origine della ceramica Matt-painted," *SMEA* 23 (1982) 36, 44.

¹⁷² For early MH examples, see Zerner (*supra* n. 158) 117, 157 B 1486/2, pl. 17, fig. 15; 158, 160-61; J. Deshayes, *Argos. Les fouilles de la Deiras* (Paris 1966) 123, pl. 15.7-2; 132, pl. 18.11. For later examples, see *Eutresis* 150, fig. 206.6; 166 fig. 232.1; 179, fig. 247; *Kirrha* 131 no. 39, pl. 47; Immerwahr (*supra* n. 82) 83-84 no. 329, pls. 22, 74; 88 no. 356, pl. 25; *TA* pl. E9.1-5.

¹⁷³ Cf. Blegen (*supra* n. 30) 160-61, pl. 38.6, 7; C.W. Blegen et al., *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia III* (Princeton 1973) 133, fig. 196.1; *PK* 245, fig. 7.97-105.

¹⁷⁴ In addition to the Category C vases previously considered, other vessels were part of Early Phase pottery groups. See, in particular, the spouted jug Z-90, perhaps of Cycladic origin (*Κύκλος* B, 289; *Origins* 42), the small jug Ξ 1-184 (cf. *Prosymna* II, 12, fig. 67.582) and the askos Ξ -180 (see *infra* n. 179).

longing to one undifferentiated phase. The differences in grave forms, however, as well as the stratigraphical evidence indeed indicate two distinct periods, and a comparative analysis of the funeral offerings leads to the same conclusions.

Certain general tendencies typical of the Late Phase I burials, namely an increase in quantity and quality of the goods, have already been emphasized and undoubtedly represent a significant change from the Early Phase. The vases of LM IA date are the most distinctive element, but the presence of Category B pottery in the groups of Late Phase I seems to show that new shapes appeared in the MH repertoire in the period corresponding to the Circle B Late Phase. Moreover, interconnections can be seen in the pottery of the two different periods.¹⁷⁵ Significantly, the bridge-spouted jar B-14 is decorated in a style like that of a Late Phase I jug (A-118), while another bridge-spouted jar from Grave I (I-104) resembles other Early Phase vases, such as H-91, I-98, and I-105.¹⁷⁶ A very elementary style of decoration, consisting of simple, horizontal bands executed with a certain negligence, occurs on the only painted pottery from Graves A2, E1, and Φ. This style seems, therefore, to be characteristic of the poorer graves of the Early Phase, since nothing in the later pottery corresponds to it. Moreover, the Early Phase vases, including specimens of high quality, are exclusively decorated with geometric patterns. It is therefore possible that naturalistic motifs were fully assimilated during the subsequent period under the influence of Minoan or Cycladic imports.

The offerings of the Early Phase burials thus generally follow the mainland traditions, whereas offerings of Late Phase I burials herald the rise of the Mycenaean civilization. It is clear that the Circle B Early Phase corresponds to a late, but not final, period of MH.¹⁷⁷ It is, however, difficult to make further chronological subdivisions.

Finally, it should be noted that the goods of the later burial in Grave E are relatively rich and include a faience bead like others from Grave Y (Late Phase I).¹⁷⁸ Although an askos associated with this burial (E-180) might be typologically less developed than an example

from Grave Y,¹⁷⁹ it is nevertheless possible that this burial belongs to a very late period of the Early Phase, if not to Late Phase I.

CONCLUSIONS

We can now attempt to summarize the evidence from Circle B and outline, as far as possible, the cultural evolution suggested by the comprehensive arrangement of the graves (Table 5). On the basis of the above survey, almost all the typologically less developed graves, closer to the traditional MH cist graves such as Graves Z, H, A2, E, E1, and Φ, have been assigned to the Early Phase. Only Grave I is of a larger size, roughly corresponding to some of the Late Phase graves. On the basis of grave typology, Graves A1, A2, Θ, Σ, and T can also be attributed to this phase, although no pottery was found in them. It is clear that most of these graves were intended for single burials, and in any case they date back to a period when the custom of reuse was rare. In the multiple-burial graves of this period (Graves I, A2, and E), in fact, the pottery of the earlier burials had not been removed from inside the grave in spite of the limited space, but simply heaped along the walls to make room for the later burials. Although no precise order of burial can be ascertained, three main groups can be recognized: one in the northeast sector of the Circle (Graves I, A1, and A2), another in the northwest sector (Graves E, E1, Θ, H, and Z), and a third one in the southeast sector (Graves A2, Σ, T, and Φ). The offerings are as a rule poorer than those of the Late Phase burials, and correspond more closely to the MH standard of offerings. The pottery is also very close to the local traditions in both shape and decoration. The offerings of the second burial in Grave E seem to represent a significant exception and may possibly be attributed to Late Phase I. Finally, the grave which originally occupied the area of Grave P can perhaps be added. If the pottery group from the southeast corner of the shaft is representative of its period of use, the grave is earlier than the Circle B Late Phase, because goblets with incised rings (P-221, 222) are part of that group, while Category A and B vases are absent.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ The interconnections among vases of the Circle B Late Phase have been previously noted. The resemblances among Early Phase vases from Graves H, Z and I were also emphasized by Dickinson (*Origins* 43).

¹⁷⁶ For the decoration of these Early Phase vases, cf. also Δ-67 and TA pl. B5.1, 2 (from a "MH II house" [TA 26]); pl. Δ10.6, 8.

¹⁷⁷ As clearly stated by Dickinson (*supra* n. 41) 279, and Rev. of MacGillivray and Barber (*supra* n. 110) in *Antiquity* 59 (1985) 240, a generally applicable subdivision of the MH period is not possible. Nevertheless, on the basis of

the evidence analyzed so far, it has been suggested that Late Phase I corresponds to the very end of the MH period and can be considered contemporary with early LM IA. On the other hand, the Early Phase can be distinguished as a separate period of use of Circle B. On a more general level, however, precise chronological limits cannot be set because of the heterogeneity of the MH period and the lack of Minoan connections.

¹⁷⁸ Κύκλος B, 341–42; *Origins* 43.

¹⁷⁹ Κύκλος B, 286.

¹⁸⁰ The construction of the Mycenaean tomb, in fact, dam-

In the first place, the offerings of the single-burial Graves B and Y and the vases belonging to the earlier burial in Grave N and to the later burial in Grave A have been ascribed to Late Phase I. The last burial in Grave Δ is no doubt of LH I date, but the chronology of the two earlier burials is uncertain, depending on the associations of the vases found inside the grave and on the heterogeneous character of the fill.¹⁸¹ One of these burials, however, could be considered contemporary with the earlier burial in Grave N on the basis of similarities between two vases from the respective fills. Considering the developed form of the grave and the richness of the offerings, the whole period of use of the grave seems to fall within the Late Phase. As previously pointed out, the later burial in Grave A can be considered transitional to Late Phase II, but Grave A itself may be regarded as later than the Early Phase on the basis of stratigraphy and grave form. Leaving aside the chronological problems connected with the fill, therefore, the relatively well-provided earlier burial probably belongs to Late Phase I.

The attribution to this subphase of the first burials in Graves Γ and E is even more hypothetical, because in both graves the fill contains Category B vases and the last burial can safely be dated to Late Phase II. In the case of Grave E, most of the fill belongs to the earlier burial, but it only includes elements which can be generically attributed to the Late Phase.¹⁸²

The 37 vessels from the fill of Grave Γ probably belonged to the three earlier burials. In addition to Category A and B vases, this heterogeneous group contained Category C vessels and other long-lived types,¹⁸³ but it is in any case impossible to associate them with specific burials. A certain period of time, however, presumably separates the earliest burial from the three others, which were roughly contemporary and can be ascribed to Late Phase II. In light of this, therefore, the construction of Grave Γ possibly dates back to Late Phase I.

Taken together, the Late Phase I graves represent a

significant change over those of the preceding period: large, fully developed shaft graves now make their appearance; single-burial graves, such as Graves B and Y, are also substantially larger and contain burials in extended position. An expansion of the previously constituted nuclei is evident. In the north sector, the central area was used for the construction of Graves B, Δ, and N, while in the south sector Graves A and Y were dug near earlier graves. The vast central-western sector possibly began to be used, if the earlier burials in Graves Γ and E indeed date back to this period.

As we have seen, there is a general increase in precious goods in the graves of this period, which clearly heralds the ostentation of wealth of some of the Late Phase II burials.¹⁸⁴ The evidence from pottery is equally interesting. The widespread presence of Category A vases testifies to more frequent contacts with the Aegean area and particularly with the Cyclades, which act as an intermediary with Minoan civilization. Moreover, the presence of shapes typical of Late Phase II wares represents a significant expansion of the previous repertoire, shown also by the adoption of shapes of island origin.

The presence of diagnostically LH I pottery and, to a lesser extent, goblets without incised rings facilitates the attribution of some burials to Late Phase II. On this basis, the vases from Graves K and II, as well as pottery groups belonging to the later interments in Graves E and N, can be ascribed to this period. Such diagnostic vases were also found inside Graves Γ and Δ and, as suggested above, the various phases of reuse can be attributed to Late Phase II in both cases. On the other hand, the chronology of Grave A1 is well established on the basis of stratigraphy.

The chronology of the first burials in Graves M and O cannot be determined exactly on account of the difficulties in reconstructing their offerings. In addition to some askoi of LM IA date, the heterogeneous pottery group from the north sector of Grave M includes, in fact, both Category C vases and specimens charac-

aged the preexisting shaft grave, but human bones and some vases found in the southeast corner of the shaft can probably be attributed to the shaft grave. A Yellow Minyan one-handled cup (P-223) and a semiglobular kantharos (P-224) were also part of this pottery group.

¹⁸¹ Except for Δ-65 (connected with N-170), the vases from the fill are not chronologically significant, being long-lived Category C examples.

¹⁸² The goblet E-79, however, although found in the fill, can be attributed to the later burial (see *supra* n. 17).

¹⁸³ Besides the vases already considered, we can mention the amphoriskoi Γ-46 and Γ-47, with conical neck and a sharply offset rim, which, although found also in LH I con-

texts (*SG* pl. 171.614, 615), are similar to some squat globular jugs of Category C (see *supra* n. 153). The chronology of phialai Γ-61 and Γ-62 (cf. *IIE* 77, fig. 52.382; *TA* 32.1-3) and of polychrome jar Γ-42 (see *supra* Category C amphorae) also cannot be defined on a typological basis.

¹⁸⁴ I. Kilian-Dirlmeier has recently pointed out a relationship between weapons and accumulation of funeral gifts both in Circle A and in Circle B, suggesting that wealth was in proportion to the military rank of the dead men (see *supra* n. 95). Such a correlation between military and social organization seems also to imply that the progressive display of precious goods is strictly connected with the progressive achievement of power by a differentiated military class.

teristic of Late Phase II.¹⁸⁵ It is clear, therefore, that if the latter belonged to the earlier burial, the first period of use can also be attributed to Late Phase II; if not, the construction of the grave may date back to an earlier period and only the later burial would belong to Late Phase II. The same situation would apply to Grave O. The goods of the latest burial include a Mycenaean vase; the heterogeneous group, with the vases from the two previous burials, contains pottery typical of Late Phase II.¹⁸⁶ In light of this, at least the second interment must be dated to this period, but it is equally possible that some of the diagnostic pottery originally belonged to the first burial. In this case, the grave was only used during Late Phase II. Grave A might, hypothetically, also be attributed to this period, despite the fact that only a few of the vases were published, without any reference to the burials. Apart from, perhaps, the small jugs A-6 and A-8 with light-on-dark decoration, none of the shapes of the published vases can be considered characteristic of the Late Phase.¹⁸⁷ The following general considerations, however, might still be significant. Grave A is stratigraphically later than Graves A1 and A2 and can, from this point of view, reasonably be considered to postdate the Early Phase. Moreover, not only does it correspond typologically to the largest shaft graves, but the richness of published objects (weapons, metal vases, gold ornaments, a faience cup) is also characteristic of Late Phase II. Of note in this regard is the presence of a Type B sword (A-253), first used in LH I. Finally, the stele with incised decoration clearly connects this grave with those of Circle A.

If we consider the Late Phase II graves in relation to the evidence from previous periods, they represent, broadly speaking, the climax of the internal evolution of Circle B. If we consider the grave typology alone,

the fact is not particularly evident. Only two of the new graves, Graves A and O, are at the same stage of development as those of Late Phase I; Grave M, although it contained two burials, is small, and the earlier offerings, as in the Early Phase graves, had not been removed. Of the single-burial graves K, Λ1, and Π, only the first is as large as the corresponding graves of the previous period, even if the small size of Grave Λ1 is attributed to accidental factors.¹⁸⁸ Numerous graves constructed during Late Phase I were, of course, also used in this period, which can, at least in part, explain the limited building activity of Late Phase II. Nor from a topographical point of view do we find any important new development, apart from a further expansion leading to an extensive occupation of the northern area and to a more concentrated exploitation of the southern sector.

The offerings of single-burial graves and Grave M represent exceptions to the substantial increase in precious goods in all the burials of this period, but in certain respects these graves do not fit typologically into the general picture of the Late Phase. There is no need to examine in detail all classes of materials associated with the Late Phase II burials, since they have been carefully analyzed by Dickinson, as part of his more general study of the Early Mycenaean period.¹⁸⁹ We can simply point out that there are clear connections between many objects from Circle A and offerings assigned to Late Phase II, which would again show that they were contemporary. It would, moreover, be superfluous to underline the obvious Minoan influence on many precious objects of this period, evidence of a "special relationship" between Mycenae and Crete.¹⁹⁰ It is in any case clear that such influences are the result of an intense circulation of goods and ideas in the Aegean. In terms of pottery, the most

¹⁸⁵ Other vases such as pyxides M-144, M-150 (cf. ΔN Vol. A, 238-39 no. 360, pl. 49β and many other similar examples from Eleusis), and the cup M-151 (cf., e.g., ΔN Vol. A, 77 no. 100, pl. 17β) cannot be dated precisely on the ground of comparisons.

¹⁸⁶ In addition to the previously mentioned vases, among the pottery of the heterogeneous group the following examples deserve to be noted: the askos O-188, which has a shape of EH ancestry (Graziadio [supra n. 171] 37 n. 23); the Yellow Minyan amphoriskoi O-202 and O-203, which probably belong to the Circle B Late Phase (cf. O-197, from the latest burial, and Y-237); the Gray Minyan amphoriskos O-204 (cf. E-82, E-83, and many other examples from Eleusis such as ΔN Vol. A, 237-38 nos. 352, 353, 357 pls. 48γ, 49β); the coarse jar O-205, which has a shape frequently found in MH (see, e.g., *Prosymna* II, 96, fig. 404.814; *Eutresis* 177 fig. 245.3, 178 fig. 246) and LH contexts (see, e.g., *PK* 25 [cooking ware]; *Four Wells* 22, fig. 6.27-39, pls. 6b, 7a; *House A*, 78 no. 593, pl. 58).

¹⁸⁷ As for jugs A-6 and A-8, cf. *Transition* 39 no. 295, pl. 5, fig. 10. The vases cited in *Transition* 39 no. 28 are probably contemporary. A vase similar to A-6 was found at Tsoungiza during excavations in 1985 (J. Rutter, pers. comm.). In addition to some Category C vessels, the following vases from Grave A can be mentioned: the polychrome jar A-3 (cf. supra n. 183 [Γ-42] and Frödin and Persson [supra n. 83] 286 no. 5, Color Plate II; Taylour [supra n. 13] 233 HS 30, pl. 45a; *Asine* II.2, 53 no. 44, fig. 58; (?) 92 nos. 92, 93 fig. 86); the goblet A-1 (cf. *Prosymna* II, 14, fig. 79.584; ΔN Vol. B, 16 no. 618, pl. 101a; 106 no. 770, pl. 143β; 201 no. 899, pl. 191γ); the kantharos with rounded profile A-7 (cf. *Transition* 36 ill. 10.257, ill. 11.297, 299 [MH examples]; *Transition* 50; *Asine* II.2, 125, fig. 121.249, 250, 251 [LH I examples]).

¹⁸⁸ *Origins* 43; its reduced size might have been the result of "an abortive attempt to cut a large tomb further north."

¹⁸⁹ *Origins* 66-86.

¹⁹⁰ *Origins* 54.

important event is the occurrence of the new Mycenaean pottery, included among the funeral offerings of Late Phase II. Contemporaneously, there is also a consolidation of the shapes of Cycladic origin in the repertoire of the MH tradition, and floral motifs, directly or indirectly connected with LM IA pottery, occur more frequently. Finally, the "Mainland Polychrome" represents the climax of the evolution of Matt-painted pottery and clearly shows the high technical level achieved by mainland potters.

We can now attempt to define more precisely the chronological connections between the Circles. The earliest burials in Circle A were no doubt contemporary with Late Phase II, as the LH I wares found in many graves suggest.¹⁹¹ Dickinson has therefore reasonably argued that Circle B was still in use when Graves VI and II were used and the first people were buried in Graves IV, V, and, perhaps, III.¹⁹² The entire burial sequence of the two Circles might have lasted little more than a century, corresponding to four generations. Circle B was probably in use for three

generations, Circle A for two. Moreover, Dickinson has suggested that the last generation of Circle B might have overlapped the first of Circle A. The burials of Circle B assigned above to Late Phase I amount to about half the number assigned to Late Phase II, and only Grave A was reused during Late Phase I. The majority of burials have been ascribed to Late Phase II, and several graves (Graves A, Γ, Δ, M, and O) were used for two successive burials during that period. It is therefore possible that, on the one hand, the Late Phase lasted longer than the Early Phase, but, on the other, that Late Phase I was shorter than Late Phase II. If Late Phase II was the longest phase and lasted more than a generation, the two Circles were thus contemporaneously used for somewhat more than a generation.

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¹⁹¹ Hooker (supra n. 30) 235, Table 4 (add also the vase from Grave IV cited in *Origins* 48 n. 22).

¹⁹² *Origins* 51.