

JOOST H. CROUWEL

PICTORIAL POTTERY OF THE LATEST BRONZE AGE  
AND THE EARLY IRON AGE\*

At the second of this series of Vienna Workshops I discussed the upsurge in pictorial vase painting during LH III C Middle (ca. 1150/1140–1100/1090 B.C.) (CROUWEL 2007). In this paper I will trace the subsequent history and development of pottery with pictorial decoration, up to the time of its revival, in Athens in Middle Geometric II (ca. 800–760 B.C.). The focus will again be on mainland Greece and Euboea (Lefkandi). I will refer throughout to the catalogue at the end, which is arranged chronologically and by region or island.

The pictorial material which can be attributed to LH III C Middle on stratigraphical and/or stylistical grounds presents a considerable variety of motifs, compositions and styles. The rich iconography comprises armed men on foot, in chariots or on board ships, as well as unarmed human figures, animals of various species, birds, fish and fantastic creatures. A wide variety of activities are shown. The vase shapes used are mainly ring-based kraters, but deep bowls, kalathoi and other open forms with pictorial designs also occur, along with stirrup jars and other types of jar, and other closed shapes.

In sharp contrast, very little pictorially decorated pottery can be assigned by find context and/or style to the succeeding, equally brief phase of LH III C Late (ca. 1100/1090–1060 B.C.). In much of Greece there is a pronounced decline, not only in the number of such finds but also in the range of shapes, motifs and compositions, and often in the quality of potting and draughtmanship as well. This decline is well illustrated by the very few finds from settlement contexts at the three sites – Mycenae, Tiryns and Lefkandi – that have up until now yielded the largest collections of pictorial pottery of LH III C date.<sup>1</sup>

At Mycenae, apart from the so-called ‘Late Bird Krater’, there is only a body fragment of a kalathos which stylistically belongs to LH III C Late (Fig. 1, Argolid Cat. no. 3). On the interior is a frieze of poorly drawn fish, with striped bodies, fringed tails and spiky fins, against a background of fringed concentric semi-circles.

The fragmentary ‘Late Bird Krater’ from the Citadel House Area is of ring-based type and has panelled decoration (Fig. 2, Argolid Cat. no. 4). The creatures set inside the panels enclosed by untidy triglyphs are identifiable as birds rather than animals by their two legs and what must be a raised wing. They are awkwardly drawn and reveal the hand of a painter unfamiliar with pictorial decoration. According to E. French (FRENCH this volume), the krater, whose base was pierced before firing, had functioned as a grave marker. She suggests the same function for the well-known ‘Mycenae Warrior Krater’ of LH III C Middle, which also comes from the south-western part of the citadel (VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.119. – SAKELLARAKIS 1992, no. 184).

---

\* I am most grateful to the organizers for inviting me to participate in the Vienna Workshop and to the editors for their patience. I also wish to thank J. Eerbeek, G. Skyte-Bradshaw and C. van der Wouw for their help.

<sup>1</sup> Much LH III C pictorial material from Mycenae and Tiryns is included in VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982. – SAKELLARAKIS 1992. – CROUWEL 1991. – GÜNTNER 2006. – For the pictorial finds from Lefkandi see now CROUWEL 2006a.

At Tiryns not a single pictorial piece has been assigned to LH III C Late (GÜNTNER 2000, 378).

As for Lefkandi, some pictorial pieces were found during the excavations of the 1960s on the Xeropolis peninsula in contexts of Phase 3, which dates to LH III C Late. Most of these are single body fragments of ring-based kraters, with remains of a chariot, a human figure, an animal, a fish and in two cases birds. They may well be “cast-ups” from the preceding Phase 2 which dates to LH III C Middle (CROUWEL 2006a, 234 and nos. A 2, B 9, C 5, E 11 and 21, F 11). Only two sets of joining sherds and two loose fragments, all belonging to a necked krater with a row of birds, may be more confidently attributed to LH III C Late (Fig. 3, Euboea Cat. no. 1). The birds have bodies rendered in outline, but with a solid interior, splaying, fringed tails, and narrow striped wings.

Reviewing the evidence for pictorially decorated pottery of similar date from other sites in the Argolid, there is a fragmentary kalathos from Asine (Fig. 4, Argolid Cat. no. 1). Like the kalathos fragment from Mycenae (Argolid Cat. no. 3), it features a frieze of fish on the interior; the fish, their bodies drawn in outline and with a wavy line fill, are again set against a background of concentric semi-circles, this time not fringed but outlined by dots. Curiously, the vessel was found in a Hellenistic tile grave on the Barbouna hill.<sup>2</sup> From House G at Asine comes a small globular stirrup jar, with a ship painted on its belly (Fig. 5, Argolid Cat. no. 2).

There are also a few pictorial pottery vessels of similar date from Messenia, including fragments of two ring-based kraters from the dromos of chamber tomb K 2 at Pylos-Pisaskion. One of these has remains of two goats, one eating from a tree, the other facing away from it (Fig. 6, Messenia Cat. no. 1). The goats' bodies are rendered in outline, with a wavy line inside. The fragments of the other krater preserve small parts of birds (?) in a panel (Messenia Cat. no. 2).

A fragmentary ring-based krater from the settlement at Ramouvouni-Lakkathela has somewhat better preserved birds in panels (Fig. 7, Messenia Cat. no. 3). The bodies are rendered in silhouette, the tails fan-shaped and striped. The panelled decoration and the pierced base recall the ‘Late Bird Krater’ from Mycenae (Argolid Cat. no. 4). The pierced base would suggest a ritual use or re-use.

From a re-used tholos tomb at Tragana comes the well-known straight-sided alabastron with a ship in a panel (Fig. 8, Messenia Cat. no. 4). The tomb also yielded part of a stirrup jar of similar date, with remains of a bird on the shoulder (Fig. 9, Messenia Cat. no. 5).

Three incompletely preserved pictorial vessels from Delphi in Phocis have been attributed to LH III C Late. One is a jar showing two creatures, identifiable as fish by the presence of dorsal and ventral fins, in a belly zone (Fig. 10, Phocis Cat. no. 1). The two other vessels are ridge-stemmed kraters, featuring birds, their solidly drawn bodies outlined by dots and with fan-shaped tails (Fig. 11, Phocis Cat. nos. 2–3). What remains of the birds on the kraters suggests the hand of the same painter.

The above survey of pictorially decorated pottery attributable to LH III C Late shows that there is very little of it (with the apparent exception of the western and north-western Peloponnese, for which see below). This stands in sharp contrast to the abundance, variety and quality of the pictorial pottery of LH III C Middle. Most of the pictorial pieces of LH III C Late have clear antecedents in the preceding phase. Of the vessel shapes represented, many are found, also with pictorial designs, in LH III C Middle: the ring-based krater (Argolid Cat. no. 4; Messenia Cat. nos. 1–3), kalathos (Argolid Cat. nos. 1 and 3), stirrup jar (Argolid Cat. no. 2; Messenia Cat. no. 5) and straight-sided alabastron (Messenia Cat. no. 4). Only the ridge-

<sup>2</sup> In addition, fragments of a krater attributed to LH III C Late from the Karamaniola area at Asine may show parts of two birds (SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986, 54 no. 392 and possibly no. 393, figs. 40, 42).

stemmed krater (Phocis Cat. nos. 2–3) and a unique type of necked krater (Euboea Cat. no. 1) are new, but regionally restricted shapes.<sup>3</sup>

With regards to the iconography, many motifs were known before: bird (Argolid Cat. no. 4; Messenia Cat. nos. 3–4 and possibly 2; Phocis Cat. nos. 2–3; Euboea Cat. no. 1), fish (Argolid Cat. nos. 1, 3; probably Phocis Cat. no. 1), goat (Messenia Cat. no. 1). As for the compositions, panelled decoration on kraters, featuring birds in the panels separated by central triglyphs (Argolid Cat. no. 4; Messenia Cat. no. 3), was fairly popular in LH III C Middle, as were friezes with fish on the interior of kalathoi (Argolid Cat. nos. 1, 3). The representation of goats and a tree (Messenia Cat. no. 1) is a variation on the theme of two goats, arranged antithetically and feeding on a tree or a leaved triglyph, known from ring-based kraters and deep bowls of LH III C Middle (CROUWEL 1991, 17, 22. – CROUWEL 2006a, 241–242). On the other hand, the rendering of the goats with a wavy line down their body is unknown in earlier vase representations.

The use of an unmanned ship, as the main motif (Argolid Cat. no. 2) or as part of panelled decoration (Messenia Cat. no. 4), may have a precedent in a stirrup jar from Skyros, assuming its attribution to LH III C Middle is correct (VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.95. – WACHSMANN 1998, 137, 139, fig. 7:21. – LENZ 1995, no. 72, fig. 66. – *RMDP*, 728, 735, 737 no. 49, fig. 284. – WEDDE 1999, 467, 473 no. A3). The type of ship depicted – an oared galley with a tall, often curved prow and bow, which also had a mast and sail – is certainly not new. It appears on several ring-based kraters of LH III C Middle from Pyrgos-Livanates (identified with ancient Kynos) in Phthiotis. The ships depicted have warriors on board and appear to be engaged in naval warfare (DAKORONIA 2006. – WEDDE 1999. – CROUWEL 1999, 456–459. – CROUWEL 2006b, 18–19).

Altogether, the pictorial repertoire shrank greatly in LH III C Late. Some vase painters still attempted panelled or other elaborate compositions, but these were now mostly rather poorly executed, thereby corresponding with a deterioration and simplification in pot-making in general. LH III C Late was actually a time of destruction, desertion and fragmentation in most of mainland Greece and the islands, after the increased prosperity and contacts in LH III C Middle.

The picture would be incomplete without taking the evidence from Achaëa, Elis and adjacent western Arcadia into consideration. In these areas, several cemeteries of chamber tombs, some of which were explored only recently, attest to rather prosperous communities, with a thriving pottery production, in LH III C (*RMDP*, 296–299, 365–366, 371, 404–405. – MOSCHOS this volume). Most of the pictorially decorated vessels that have so far been published or illustrated in print may cautiously be dated to LH III C Late rather than Middle.<sup>4</sup> The shapes used are mainly four-handled jars of a type characteristic of Achaëa and Elis at this time (*RMDP*, 371, 404). Two of the jars from the same cemetery in Elis (Elis Cat. nos. 2–3) have bird designs in a zone on the belly. The bodies of the birds are rendered in outline, with a fill of concentric semicircles and parallel chevrons respectively, and the creatures may have been painted by the same hand. Another jar (Fig. 12, Elis Cat. no. 4) shows stacked triangles, each with a so-called bird protome, in the shoulder area. This motif, incorporating only a stalk-like neck and a very simple head, had been widely used to enliven triangles and other abstract motifs in the Argolid and other parts of the Aegean in LH III C Middle (CROUWEL 1991, 23. – CROUWEL 2006a, 243).

Yet another four-handled jar (Elis Cat. no. 1) has a scene of a human figure and two birds, all rendered in silhouette, confined to the space below one of its twisted handles. A four-

<sup>3</sup> Apart from Delphi, the ridge-stemmed krater is also found on Kephallonia, but without pictorial decoration; see *RMDP*, 792, 460 no. 68, fig. 166 (with a reference to an unpublished example from Ayia Triadha in Elis).

<sup>4</sup> With little contextual dating evidence presently available, caution is required in assigning pottery from these areas to either LH III C Late or Middle; see *RMDP*, especially 402.

handled jar from Achaëa (Fig. 13, Achaëa Cat. no. 1) has a row of birds, also in a belly zone. The birds have fringed bodies and tails, the bodies consisting of concentric semi-circles and the tails of parallel horizontal lines.

More pictorial pottery of LH III C Late has been reported from recently excavated tombs in Achaëa. The finds include kraters or fragments thereof with warrior and chariot representations from Voudeni north-east of Patras, but these are as yet unpublished (*RDMP*, 365, 405. – MOMMSEN – MARAN 2000–2001, 98, 103).

It has very recently been claimed that another krater with elaborate pictorial decoration, from Ayia Triadha in Elis, which I for one had assigned to LH III C Middle, in fact also dates to this phase (Fig. 14. – SCHOINAS 1999. – VIKATOU 2001. – HILLER 2006, 185–187, fig. 5. – CROUWEL 2006b, 19, 22, fig. 6).<sup>5</sup> This fragmentary krater, with a prothesis scene, comes from chamber tomb 5 and is reported to have functioned as a grave marker; its find context and the other pottery from the tomb are not yet published.

A date in LH III C Late rather than Middle may perhaps also be most likely for some vessels from a cemetery at Palaiokastros in western Arcadia, which are on display in Tripolis Museum. So far two stirrup jars with pictorial designs among their elaborate decoration have been illustrated in print. On one, a group of six fish is shown in a panel on the belly. On the other vessel there are two antithetically placed birds in the same position. The fish and birds are rendered in silhouette, except for their heads which in the case of the birds are turned backwards (*AR* 1989–1990, cover = *RDMP*, 296, 298–299, pl. 1a. – BLACKMAN 1997, 33, fig. 43).

Pictorially decorated pottery is extremely rare in Greece in the ensuing Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods (ca. 1060–900 B.C.), although Crete is somewhat of an exception. Of Submycenaean date are two so-called duck askoi or bird vases, a type of pouring vessel with a bird-shaped body and three strut legs. The two examples come from tombs at Kanhadi in Achaëa and at Lefkandi respectively, and are incompletely preserved (Figs. 15–16; Achaëa Cat. no. 2 and Euboea Cat. no. 2). In both cases the body is divided into panels, the motifs inside these including animals of uncertain species rendered in silhouette.

Very few examples of Attic Protogeometric pottery display pictorial motifs. One is a belly-handled amphora from a Middle Protogeometric tomb (ca. 975–950 B.C.) in the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens (Fig. 17, Attica Cat. no. 1). The vessel, which was used as an ash-urn, features on the belly a horse beneath much more prominent wavy bands. A fragment of another such amphora preserves most of a similar animal in a panel, also on the belly (Fig. 18, Attica Cat. no. 2). In addition, a small neck-handled amphora of Late Protogeometric date, again from the Kerameikos cemetery, shows two horses in a panel on the neck (Fig. 19, Attica Cat. no. 3).

Also worthy of note is a fragment of a Protogeometric vessel of closed shape from “Stadt-West” at Tiryns (Fig. 20, Argolid Cat. no. 5). One of its patterned belly zones includes a panel with a scene of two confronted human figures, rendered entirely in silhouette. They may well be men engaged in a duel.

From Atalanti in Phthiotis comes a Late Protogeometric flask with a row of birds arranged vertically in a circle (Fig. 21, Phthiotis Cat. no. 1). The creatures are drawn in silhouette and highly stylized, almost like abstract motifs.

A Protogeometric tomb at Torone in Macedonia yielded a ring-based pictorial krater with pictorial decoration (Macedonia Cat. no. 2). The fragmentary vessel was repaired with lead clamps and used as an ash-urn. The painted decoration in the handle zone is badly worn, but probably showed a ship with a high, curving prow rather than a row of birds, as previously thought.

<sup>5</sup> Personal information I. Moschos at the Vienna Workshop. He regards the silhouette drawing of the various pictorial motifs as an indication of a late date.

It may be appropriate to mention here a fragment of another ring-based krater from the settlement at Kastanas, also in Macedonia (Macedonia Cat. no. 1). It preserves part of a ship, again with a high and curving prow, and comes from level 12 which is dated to LH III C–Protogeometric. Both this ship and that on the Torone krater are of the same galley type as those seen on the vessels dating to LH III C Late (Argolid Cat. no. 2; Messenia Cat. no. 4).

Among the Protogeometric pottery from Lefkandi on Euboea there are a few with pictorial motifs. A small hydria from a tomb in the Skoubris cemetery shows, in the shoulder area, two human figures seated opposite each other and holding bows-and-arrows (Fig. 22, Euboea Cat. no. 3). The archers, who seem to be taking aim at each other, are rendered in silhouette, with a dotted eye within their outlined heads. Spectrographic analysis of the clay indicates that the vessel was not made locally, but at some unknown place.

A tomb in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi contained a conical-footed skyphos with single wingless birds, entirely drawn in silhouette, below the horizontal loop handles (Fig. 23, Euboea Cat. no. 4). The vessel is not Euboean but an Attic Protogeometric import.

From a tomb at Dirmil on the Halicarnassos peninsula in south-west Anatolia comes a high-footed krater with a ship of galley type placed beneath one of its double-arched handles (Fig. 24, Anatolia Cat. no. 1). The krater may well be a Late Protogeometric Euboean import.

The very few pictorially decorated vessels of Submycenaean and Protogeometric date bear little resemblance to the pieces datable to LH III C Late. The shapes used are mostly new: the belly-handled and neck-amphorae (Attica Cat. nos. 1–3), flask (Phthiotis Cat. no. 1), hydria (Euboea Cat. no. 3), high-footed skyphos (Euboea Cat. no. 4) and high-footed krater (Anatolia Cat. no. 1). Only the ring-based krater (Macedonia Cat. nos. 1–2) occurs earlier with pictorial decoration. The duck askos or bird vase (Achaean Cat. no. 2; Euboea Cat. no. 2) may also have antecedents in LH III C.<sup>6</sup>

As for the pictorial motifs, the unmanned ship (Macedonia Cat. nos. 1–2; Anatolia Cat. no. 1) recalls earlier vase representations which show the same type of ship (Argolid Cat. no. 2; Messenia Cat. no. 4). Horses (Attica Cat. nos. 1–3) and birds (Phthiotis Cat. no. 1; Euboea Cat. no. 4) are traditional motifs, but their rendering bears no relationship to earlier representations. The animals are highly stylized, with their long legs and tail and spiked mane. Drawn entirely in silhouette, they are the first in a long series of Attic horse representations.

The ship, horse and bird are used as single motifs and not as part of more complex pictorial compositions. At the same time, there are two rare scenes involving human figures, two men possibly engaged in a duel (Argolid Cat. no. 5), and two seated archers (Euboea Cat. no. 2). They are sketchily drawn and in silhouette, as are the quadrupeds on the Submycenaean duck askoi or bird vases (Achaean Cat. no. 2; Euboea Cat. no. 2).

Two vessels of Attic Early Geometric I (ca. 900–875 B.C.) again have depictions of horses. In one case, an unprovenanced neck-handled amphora, two such animals are placed antithetically, on either side of a swastika, in a panel high on the neck (Fig. 26, Attica Cat. no. 5). In the other case, a drinking vessel of which only a fragment was found outside a house on the north slope of the Areopagus hill at Athens, part of a horse in a panel is preserved; originally there were probably two such animals, placed antithetically, as on the amphora (Fig. 25, Attica Cat. no. 4). The horses on both vessels closely resemble the Attic Protogeometric ones, except that their legs are now articulated, presaging the rendering of horses in later Attic Geometric vase representations.

Next in date is a fragmentary pedestalled krater of Attic Middle Geometric I (ca. 875–800 B.C.), which stood as a marker above a tomb in the Kerameikos cemetery (Fig. 27a–b, Attica Cat. no. 6). Apart from the very elaborate abstract decoration, there are two pictorial motifs, both in inconspicuous positions: a human figure, awkwardly placed in the spandrel above a

<sup>6</sup> For this shape, which may well derive from Cyprus, see DESBOROUGH 1972. – LEMOS 1994. – GUGGISBERG 1996, especially 282–283. – *RDMP*, 441 (for its occurrence in Achaean). – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 135–140.

double-arched handle, and a horse below the same handle. The human figure, who is entirely rendered in silhouette, is clearly a woman, her breasts indicated by parallel strokes and with the arms raised to the head. This was a gesture of mourning, as evidenced by later Attic Geometric vase representations.

As has often been pointed out, we have here the first of a series of monumental vessels – pedestalled kraters for men and belly-handled amphorae for women – which served as grave markers in Attica, and particularly Athens, during Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric I (ca. 800–735 B.C.) (see especially COLDSTREAM 1968, 23, 26, 29–41. – COLDSTREAM 2003, 110–114. – MOORE 2000, 18–20. – MOORE 2004, 1–8). The inconspicuously placed pictorial motifs on the first such krater (Attica Cat. no. 6) are clearly connected with the function of the vessel: the woman is mourning the dead man, while the horse is symbolic of his aristocratic standing. Interestingly, the woman on this fragmentary krater is drawn with a sinuous outline, quite unlike the later Geometric mourners. The horse depicted below the handle, like the ship on the Protogeometric krater from Dirmil (Anatolia Cat. no. 1), is rendered in the by now traditional Attic way, its articulated legs recalling the Early Geometric I ones (Attica Cat. nos. 4–5).

Three Euboean vessels or fragments with pictorial decoration from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi are contemporary with the Attic Middle Geometric I krater. One is a restored pyxis, its elaborate decoration including a panel with a ship accompanied by birds and fish drawn in silhouette (Fig. 28, Euboea Cat. no. 5). The ship, an old motif which in this case is shown with spears stacked in the stern and ready for use in warfare, is of the traditional galley type. The second pictorial piece, a krater fragment, preserves part of another such ship (Fig. 29, Euboea Cat. no. 6). The third is also a krater fragment, this time with the remains of a bird in a panel (Fig. 30, Euboea Cat. no. 7). The original vessel may have been painted by the same hand as the Lefkandi pyxis, in view of the similarities between the birds which are rendered in silhouette, except for their raised triangular wings.

Attic Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric I (ca. 760–735 B.C.) mark a dramatic upsurge in pictorially decorated pottery. Apart from the large kraters and amphorae, the vessels used include various smaller shapes. In addition to traditional, single images, such as the horse, bird and ship, the iconography now comprises a variety of subjects, involving human figures and animals of different species (see especially COLDSTREAM 1968, 23, 26–28. – COLDSTREAM 2003, 77–78; – MOORE 2000, 30. – STANSBURY-O'DONNELL 2006). Most striking are the elaborate scenes of funerals and land and sea battles in prominent places on the ceramic grave markers which were first produced in the Middle Geometric II workshop of krater New York MMA 34.11.2 and then in the Dipylon and Hirschfeld workshops of Late Geometric I. The specially made, grand vessels and their iconography reflect a desire on the part of leading Athenian aristocratic families for a visual statement of their wealth and status (for this and the wider eighth century social and historic context, see especially SHERRATT 2003).

Let us now briefly examine to what extent the pictorial repertoire of Attic Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric I was an original creation and how far it had antecedents. It has been suggested that the Athenian vase painters were inspired by rediscovered Mycenaean and other Bronze Age figured documents, such as painted vessels and larnakes and seal engravings (BENSON 1970. – HILLER 2006). There are indeed similarities, as regards motifs and compositions. With regard to individual motifs and the ways in which these were rendered, perhaps the best example is the goat with the legs folded under the body. This folded pose is seen on a fragmentary Mycenaean krater of LH III B and on Late Minoan seals, as well as on Attic and other Late Geometric painted vases (BENSON 1970, 59–60, pl. XVI, fig. 3 – CROUWEL 1991, 17 s.v. no. C 18, fig. 9 and pl. 2). Regarding the pictorial compositions, the fragmentary LH III C krater from a tomb at Ayia Triadha in Elis (Fig. 14 and p. 44), showing a prothesis with a bier, a raised checkerboard shroud over the dead body, mourners and (sacrificial) goats, at first sight seems to provide a prototype for the Middle Geometric II and later prothesis scenes. However,

this Mycenaean krater and its pictorial decoration are to be regarded not as evidence for the rediscovery of pictorial design but for continuity of the funerary ritual itself. Other practices seem to have continued too, such as chariot-driving and naval warfare; the types of chariot and ship also remained basically the same (CROUWEL 1999. – WEDDE 1999. – RYSTEDT 1997. – RYSTEDT 1999). In the case of the folded pose of the goats, the similarity is probably simply fortuitous rather than pointing to a Bronze Age model.

We have seen above that pictorially decorated vessels are rare in Attica and most of the rest of Greece during the period of some 300 years between LH III C Middle and Middle Geometric II. Indeed, pottery with pictorial decoration almost disappeared, as did the Mycenaean types of terracotta figurines.

The upsurge of pictorial vase painting, which included not only single images but also complex scenes, in Middle Geometric II Athens signifies the beginning of what was to become a long tradition. At the same time, two important motifs – the mourner and horse – and their rendering have local, Attic antecedents: both motifs are seen on the fragmentary, monumental krater of Middle Geometric I, and the horse already appears on a few earlier but post-Mycenaean vessels (Attica Cat. nos. 6 and 1–3).

A somewhat similar but less spectacular revival of pictorial vase painting can be observed in Argos and elsewhere (see LANGDON 2001). Crete is an altogether different case. The history of this island's pictorially decorated pottery and its possible local antecedents and foreign connections, in the latest Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, deserve discussion at yet another Workshop in Vienna!

## CATALOGUE<sup>7</sup>

### LH III C Late

#### *Argolid*

- 1 Asine, Barbouna hill. Hellenistic tile grave B 25 (Fig. 4). Kalathos, fragmentary. Inside, frieze with fish and concentric semi-circles. – HÄGG – FOSSEY 1980, 45–48 (grave B 25 no. 4), fig. 34. – SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986, 81, fig. 63. – *RMDP*, 188 no. 448, fig. 59.
- 2 Asine, House G (Fig. 5). Small stirrup jar. Ht. 8.2. Ship on belly. – FRÖDIN – PERSSON 1938, 300 no. 2, fig. 207:2. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.94. – WACHSMANN 1998, 140, fig. 7:22. – *RMDP*, 179. – WEDDE 1999, 167–168 no. B6.
- 3 Mycenae, citadel (Fig. 1). Kalathos, body fragment. Inside, frieze with fish and concentric semi-circles. FURTWÄNGLER – LOESCHKE 1886, 67 no. 415, pl. 40. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. X.95. – SAKELARAKIS 1992, no. 240. – GÜNTNER 2006, 61, fig. 35.  
Note: This sherd may join with another body fragment, without recorded provenance but reportedly from the Argolid: GÜNTNER 2000, 133–134, 297 no. 118 (“Fisch” 13B), pl. 66:2. – GÜNTNER 2006, 61, fig. 34.
- 4 Mycenae, Citadel House area (Fig. 2). Ring-based krater, so-called ‘Late Bird Krater’, incomplete. Ht. ex. 24.2; diam. base 15. Centre of base pierced. Panelled decoration, with remains of single birds in panels. – CROUWEL 1991, 23, 33 no. E 1, fig. 4. – CROUWEL 2006b, 21, fig. 18. – LENZ 1995, no. 42, fig. 17. – *RMDP*, 186, 188 no. 439, fig. 58.

#### *Messenia*

- 1 Pylos-Pisaskion, dromos of chamber tomb K 2 (Fig. 6). Krater, rim fragment. Diam. rim ca. 34. Slight ridge below rim. Parts of two goats to right, with tree. – TAYLOUR 1973, 230 (krater 3), fig. 290:4. – *RMDP*, 311, 359, 362 no. 141, fig. 125. – CROUWEL 2006b, 21, fig. 19.

<sup>7</sup> All measures in cm.

- 2 Provenance as 1. Krater, rim and body fragments. Panelled decoration, with parts of two birds (?) in one panel. – TAYLOUR 1973, 230 (krater 4), fig. 290:3a–c. – *RMDP*, 411, 359, 362 no. 142, fig. 125.
- 3 Ramovouni-Lakkathela, settlement, floor deposit (Fig. 7). Ring-based krater, about one quarter preserved. Ht. 36.4; diam. rim 45.3. Centre of base pierced. Panelled decoration, with remains of single birds in panels. – KARAGIORGA 1972, 18 no. 7, pl. Ka. – COULSON 1986, 14, 18 no. 2, fig. 2, pl. 1:2. – LENZ 1995, no. 71, pl. 3:1. – *RMDP*, 186, 311, 359, 362 no. 139, fig. 124. – CROUWEL 2006b, 21, fig. 20.
- 4 Tragana, tholos tomb 1 (Fig. 8). Straight-sided alabastron. Ht. 15.1–15.4. Panelled decoration, with ship in panel. – KOUROUNIOTIS 1914, 107–109 no. 11, figs. 13–15. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.92. – SAKELLARAKIS 1992, no. 255. – KORRES 1989. – LENZ 1995, no. 69, fig. 65. – WACHSMANN 1998, 137, fig. 7:17. – *RMDP*, 311, 357 no. 132, fig. 123. – WEDDE 1999, 467–468, 473 no. B7.
- 5 Provenance as 4 (Fig. 9). Stirrup jar, upper part. Part of bird in panel on upper body. – KOUROUNIOTIS 1914, 109–110 no. 12, figs. 16–17. – LENZ 1995, no. 70. – *RMDP*, 359.

### *Elis*

- 1 Ayia Triadha: Palioboukouvina, chamber tomb 26. Four-handled jar. Below one twisted handle, human figure and two birds. – ARAPOGIANNI 1997, 118, pl. 37στ. – TOUCHAIS *ET AL.* 1998, 783, fig. 97.
- 2 Kladeos: Trypes, chamber tomb 8. Four-handled jar. On belly, frieze of birds. – VIKATOU 2004, 332 (no. P 7617), pl. 95d, left.
- 3 Kladeos: Trypes, chamber tomb 11. Four-handled jar. On belly, frieze of birds. – VIKATOU 2004, 232 (no. P 8070), pl. 97c, right.
- 4 Kladeos: Trypes, chamber tomb A (Fig. 12). Four-handled jar. Ht. 38.2–39.5. On shoulder, row of stacked triangles with bird protomes. – *RMDP*, 391, 393 no. 78, fig. 137. – LENZ 1985, no. 111.

### *Achaea*

- 1 Ano Sychaina: Voudeni cemetery (Fig. 13). Four-handled jar. Ht. 36.5. On belly, frieze of birds. – VERMEULE 1960, 5 no. 2, pl. 1, fig. 1. – PAPADOPOULOS 1979, 68–70, 199 (PM 7), figs. 57b, 193b, 197d. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.136. – LENZ 1995, no. 59, pl. 3:2; – *RMDP*, 430. – GÜNTNER 2000, 275, “Liste” II.9, no. 500.

### *Phocis*

- 1 Delphi (Fig. 10). Jar, restored on paper. Ht. as restored 22.9. Parts of two fish (?) in belly zone. – *RMDP*, 785 no. 265 (identified as turtles), fig. 310.
- 2 Delphi, area of Roman baths east of the temple of Apollo. Ridge-stemmed krater, rim and body sherds, and with one horizontal loop handle. Diam. rim 31.8. In handle zone, parts of two birds. – LERAT 1961, 360, 362, fig. 45–46. – LENZ 1995, no. 7, fig. 16. – *RMDP*, 792 no. 296, fig. 313.
- 3 Delphi (Fig. 11). Ridge-stemmed krater, complete profile, restored. Ht. 24.5–25.4; diam. rim 26–26.5. In handle zone, part of bird. – LERAT 1935, 343, 356, fig. 14, pl. XXXI:5. – LERAT 1961, 361, fig. 47. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. IX.86. – MOUNTJOY 1990, 262, fig. 18. – *RMDP*, 782, no. 297, fig. 313. – LENZ 1995, no. 6, fig. 16.

### *Euboea*

- 1 Lefkandi, Xeropolis settlement (Fig. 3). Necked krater, two sets of joining neck and body fragments. Body zone with row of birds. – CROUWEL 2006a, 234, 243, 252 no. E 8, pls. 65, 70.

## Late Helladic III C–Protogeometric

### *Macedonia*

- 1 Kastanas, settlement, level 12. Ring-based krater, rim fragment. Part of ship. – WEDDE 1999, 468, 471, 473 no. B8. – JUNG 2002, 119–124, no. 406, pl. 44.



## Submycenaean

*Achaea*

- 2 Kanghadi, cemetery (Fig. 15). So-called duck askos or bird vase, incomplete. Ht. existing 11.6. On one side, two animals in a panel. – VERMEULE 1960, 11–12 no. 44, pls. 4, fig. 30, and 6:K. – PAPADOPOULOS 1979, 101–103 (PM 541) figs. 167a–c, 255, 256b–c. – POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, 344. – VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, no. XI.81. – LEMOS 1994, 230. – GUGGISBERG 1996, 63, 249 no. 193 (“Vogel” type A-2), pl. 13:2. – *RMDP*, 441.

*Euboea*

- 2 Lefkandi, Skoubris cemetery, tomb 19 (Fig. 16). So-called duck askos or bird vase. Ht. 8.3. Animals in panels. – POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, 116, 344 (tomb 19 no. 5), pls. 98, 254b. – LEMOS 1994, 230. – GUGGISBERG 1996, 90–91, 259 no. 283 (“Vogel” type A-10, variant A), pl. 21:2. – *RMDP*, 724.

## Protogeometric

*Argolid*

- 5 Tiryns, “Stadt-West” (Fig. 20). Closed shape, body fragment. In panel, two confronted human figures. – PAPADIMITRIOU 1987, pl. 19:1. – PAPPI 2006, 231, fig. 1.

*Attica*

- 1 Athens, Kerameikos, tomb 18 (Fig. 17). Middle Protogeometric. Belly-handled amphora. Ht. 47.2. In handle zone, horse below parallel wavy lines. – KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, 192–193, 207, 216, pls. 56, 58. – KÜBLER 1943, 5, 9, pl. 27 (Inv. no. 560). – DESBOROUGH 1952, 23–24, pl. 5. – BENSON 1970, 32–36, pl. VIII, fig. 4. – HURWIT 1985, 58–59, fig. 25. – LEMOS 2002, 60, pl. 83:3.
- 2 Athens, Kerameikos, tomb unknown (Fig. 18). Belly-handled amphora, fragment. On body, horse in panel. – KÜBLER 1943, 5, pl. 27 (Inv. no. 1260). – BENSON 1970, 36, pl. VIII, fig. 7.
- 3 Athens, Kerameikos, tomb 28 (Fig. 19). Late Protogeometric. Neck-handled amphora. Ht. 19.9. On neck, two horses in panel. – KÜBLER 1943, 5, 9–10, 16, 34, pls. 8, 27 (Inv. no. 911). – DESBOROUGH 1952, 41–42, pl. 6 (called amphora with handles from shoulder to lip). – BENSON 1970, 34, 36, pl. VIII, fig. 9.

*Phthiotis*

- 1 Atalanti. (N. Karageorgos plot), tomb II (Fig. 21). Late Protogeometric. Flask. Row of birds in vertical zone. – DAKORONIA 1990, 167, pl. 56a. – PARIENTE 1992, 885, fig. 65. – LENZ 1995, no. 114, fig. 114.

*Macedonia*

- 2 Torone, tomb 116. Ring-based krater, incomplete. Ht. 26.4. Mended with lead clamps. In handle zone, remains of ship rather than birds. – PAPADOPOULOS 1990. – PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 212–213 (tomb 116 no. 1), 450–451, 461, 471, fig. 172, pls. 326a–b. – LENZ 1995, no. 113, fig. 19. – LEMOS 2002, 49.  
Note: Also personal information A. Van de Moortel.

*Euboea*

- 3 Lefkandi, Skoubris cemetery, tomb 51 (Fig. 22). Middle Protogeometric. Hydria. Ht. 15.1. On shoulder, two archers seated opposite each other. – KOPCKE 1977, 36. – POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, 127–128 (tomb 51 no. 2), 348–349, 357, fig. 4, pls. 106, 210, 270d–e. – HURWIT 1985, 55, fig. 23. – LEMOS 2002, pl. 23:11. – STANSBURY-O’DONNELL 2006, 249–250, fig. 2.
- 4 Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, tomb 39 (Fig. 23). Late Protogeometric. High-footed skyphos. Ht. 8.8. Single birds below handles. – POPHAM – TOULOUPA – SACKETT 1982, 218, 235 (tomb 39 no. 19), pl. 29a–c. – HURWIT 1985, 59 n. 25. – LENZ 1995, no. 115, figs. 20–21, pl. 4:1–2. – POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pl. 122c.  
Note: Attic Late Protogeometric import.

*Anatolia*

- 1 Dirmil, chamber tomb (Fig. 24). High-footed krater. Ht. 46.9. Ship below double-arched handle. – BASS 1963, 358–359, pl. 83, fig. 15. – VAN DOORNICK, JR. 1982. – POPHAM 1987, 7 n. 7. – WEDDE 1999, 471 no. E 4 (dated to Early Geometric). – LEMOS 2002, 51, 212.

Note: Quite probably Euboean Late Protogeometric import.

## Early Geometric I

*Attica*

- 4 Athens, outside house on north slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 25). Drinking vessel, rim fragment. Part of horse in panel. – BURR 1933, 560 no. 22, fig. 19. – COLDSTREAM 1968, 13 with n. 4 (Agora P 1654). – BENSON 1970, 37, pl. IX, fig. 2.
- 5 No provenance (Fig. 26). Neck-handled amphora. Panelled decoration on neck, with two horses and swastika in panel. – COLDSTREAM 1968, 13, pl. 1k. – BENSON 1970, 37–40, pls. IV, fig. 1, V, figs. 1–2, IX, fig. 1. – HURWIT 1985, 63, fig. 28.

## Middle Geometric I

*Attica*

- 6 Athens, Kerameikos tomb 43 (Fig. 27a–b). Tall pedestalled krater, fragmentary. In spandrel above double-arched handle, mourning woman. Below same handle, horse. – KÜBLER 1954, 33, 124, 127, 135–136, 238, pl. 22 (Inv. no. 1254). – COLDSTREAM 1968, 20–21. – COLDSTREAM 2003, 61, 63, fig. 179h. – COLDSTREAM 2006, 160 and n. 8. – BENSON 1970, 39–40, 92–93, 96, pl. XXXII, fig. 4. – CARTER 1971, 28, 36. – HURWIT 1985, 64, 94, figs. 29–30.

*Euboea*

- 5 Lefkandi, Toumba, square XVI, 3 (Fig. 28). Pyxis. Ht. 29. Ship in panel. – POPHAM 1987. – CALLIGAS 1990, 77–78, fig. 1. – POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pls. 94:3, 107, 126e. – LENZ 1995, no. 116, pl. 5:3. – WEDDE 1999, 471, 474 no. E5. Note: The pyxis dates to local Sub-Protogeometric IIIa, which is contemporary with Attic Middle Geometric I.
- 6 Lefkandi, Skoubris, South Gully Fill (Fig. 29). Krater, body sherd. Part of ship. – POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, 267 no. 918, pls. 274, 284:11. – POPHAM 1987, 357. – CALLIGAS 1990, 78, fig. 2. – WEDDE 1999, 471, 474 no. E3. Note: Date as Lefkandi No. 5.
- 7 Lefkandi, Toumba, square XVI (Fig. 30). Krater, body sherd. Part of bird in panel. – POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pls. 95:20 and 107. Note: Date as Lefkandi No. 4–5. Another krater body sherd, with the same provenance and also showing part of a bird (POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pl. 95:21), may be from the same vessel (information I. S. Lemos).

## Index to illustrations

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Fig. 1 after VERMEULE – KARAGEORGHIS 1982, X.95 | Fig. 11 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 313:297                       |
| Fig. 2 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 58:439          | Fig. 12 after <i>RDMP</i> , fig. 137:78                        |
| Fig. 3 photograph M. R. Popham                  | Fig. 13 photograph J. L. Benson                                |
| Fig. 4 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 59:448          | Fig. 14 after SCHOINAS 1999, fig. 2                            |
| Fig. 5 drawing J. L. Benson                     | Fig. 15 after PAPADOPOULOS 1979, fig. 256b                     |
| Fig. 6 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 125:141         | Fig. 16 after POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, pl. 98:19,5 |
| Fig. 7 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 124:139         | Fig. 17 after BENSON 1970, pl. VIII, fig. 4                    |
| Fig. 8 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 123:132         | Fig. 18 after BENSON 1970, pl. VIII, fig. 7                    |
| Fig. 9 after KOUROUNIOTIS 1914, fig. 17         | Fig. 19 after BENSON 1970, pl. VIII, fig. 9                    |
| Fig. 10 after <i>RMDP</i> , fig. 310:265        | Fig. 20 after PAPPI 2006, fig. 1                               |

- Fig. 21 after LENZ 1995, fig. 20–21.  
 Fig. 22 after POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, pl. 106  
 Fig. 23 after LENZ 1995, fig. 22  
 Fig. 24 after BASS 1963, pl. 83, fig. 15  
 Fig. 25 after BENSON 1970, pl. IX, fig. 2  
 Fig. 26 after BENSON 1970, pl. IX, fig. 1
- Fig. 27a–b after BENSON 1970, pl. XXXII, fig. 4  
 Fig. 28 after POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pl. 107, Sq. XVI,3  
 Fig. 29 after POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, pl. 284:11  
 Fig. 30 after POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pl. 107, Sq XVI

## Bibliography

- ARAPOGIANNI, X.  
 1997 “Αγία Τριάδα”, *ArchDelt* 47, 1992 [1997], Chron 116–118.
- BASS, G.  
 1963 “Mycenaean and Protogeometric Tombs in the Halicarnassus Peninsula”, *AJA* 67, 353–361.
- BENSON, J. L.  
 1970 *Horse, Bird and Man. The Origins of Greek Painting*. Amherst.
- BLACKMAN, D.  
 1997 “Archaeology in Greece 1996–97”, *AR* 43, 1–125.
- BLEGEN, C. W. ET AL.  
 1972 *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia III. Acropolis and Lower Town. Tholoi, Grave Circle, and Chamber Tombs. Discoveries outside the Citadel*. Princeton.
- BURR, D.  
 1933 “A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit”, *Hesperia* 2, 542–640.
- CALLIGAS, P.  
 1990 “Early Euboean Ship Building”, 77–83 in: TZALAS 1989.
- CARTER, J.  
 1971 “The Beginning of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period”, *BSA* 67, 25–58.
- COLDSTREAM, J. N.  
 1968 *Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology*. London.  
 2003 *Geometric Greece. 900–700 BC* (2nd ed.). London – New York.  
 2006 “The Long, Pictureless Hiatus. Some Thoughts on Figurative Art between the Mycenaean Pictorial and Attic Geometric”, 159–163 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.
- COULSON, W. D. E.  
 1986 *The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia* (SIMA-Pb 43). Göteborg.
- CROUWEL, J. H.  
 1991 *The Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery* (Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959–1969, Fasc. 21). Oxford.  
 1999 “Fighting on Land and Sea in Late Mycenaean Times”, 455–460 in: LAFFINEUR 1999.  
 2006a “Late Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery”, 233–255 in: EVELY 2006.  
 2006b “Late Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery: A Brief Review”, 15–22 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.  
 2007 “Pictorial Pottery of LH III C Middle and its Antecedents”, 73–88 in: *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms II*.
- DAKORONIA, F.  
 1990 “Ατράντι”, *ArchDelt* 40, 1985 [1990], Chron 165–167.  
 2006 “Mycenaean Pictorial Style at Kynos, East Locris”, 23–29 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.
- DAVIS, E. N. (ed.)  
 1977 *Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece*. New York.

- DESBOROUGH, V. R. D'A.  
 1952 *Protogeometric Pottery* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology). Oxford.  
 1972 "Bird Vases", *CretChron* 24, 245–277.
- DESCEDRES, J.-P. (ed.)  
 1990 *EYMOYΣΙΑ. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (MeditArch Suppl. 1). Sydney.
- VAN DOORNICK JR., F. H.  
 1982 "Protogeometric Longships and the Introduction of the Ram", *IJNA* 11:4, 277–286.
- EVELY, D. (ed.)  
 2006 *Lefkandi IV. The Bronze Age. The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis* (BSA Suppl. 39). London.
- FRÖDIN, O. – A. W. PERSSON  
 1938 *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1930*. Stockholm.
- FURTWÄNGLER, A. – G. LOESCHKE  
 1886 *Mykenische Vasen. Vorhellenische Thongefässe aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres*. Berlin.
- GÜNTNER, W.  
 2000 *Figürlich bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns* (Tiryns. Forschungen und Berichte 12). Mainz.  
 2006 "Mycenaean Pictorial Vase-painters: a View from Tiryns", 51–61 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.
- GUGGISBERG, M. A.  
 1996 *Frühgriechische Tierkeramik. Zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Tiergefässe und der hohlen Tierfiguren in der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit (ca. 1600–700 v. Chr.)*. Mainz.
- HÄGG, I. – J. M. FOSSEY  
 1980 *The Hellenistic Acropolis and Later Structures on the Middle Slopes, 1973–77. Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine 4* (Boreas 4:4). Uppsala.
- HILLER, S.  
 2006 "The Prothesis Scene. Bronze Age – Dark Age Relations", 183–190 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.
- HURWIT, J. M.  
 1985 *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* Ithaca – London.
- JUNG, R.  
 2002 *Kastanas. Ausgrabungen in einem Siedlungshügel der Bronze- und Eisenzeit Makedoniens 1975–1979. Die Drehscheibenkeramik der Schichten 19 bis 11* (Prähistorische Archäologie Südeuropas 18). Kiel.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V. (ed.)  
 1994 *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Nicosia, 30–31 October 1993* (The Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus). Nicosia.
- KARAGIORGA, T. G.  
 1972 "Ανασκαφή περιοχής αρχαίου Δωριού", *ArchEph* (Chronika), 12–20.
- KOPCKE, G.  
 1977 "Figures in Pot-painting before, during, and after the Dark Age", 32–50 in: DAVIS 1977.
- KORRES, G.  
 1989 "Νέαι παρατηρήσεις επι της παράστασεως πλοίου της ΥΕ III Γ: 1/2 πύξιδος εκ Τραγάνας Πύλου", 177–202 in: TZALAS 1989.
- KOUROUNIOTIS, K.  
 1914 "Πύλου Μεσσηνιακής θολωτός τάφος", *ArchEph*, 99–117.
- KRAIKER, W. – K. KÜBLER  
 1939 *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1). Berlin.
- KÜBLER, K.  
 1943 *Neufunde aus den Nekropolen des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 4). Berlin.  
 1954 *Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts* (Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 5.1). Berlin.

LAFFINEUR, R. (ed.)

1999 *Polemos. Le Contexte Guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998* (Aegaeum 19). Liège – Austin.

LANGDON, S.

2001 “Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece”, *AJA* 105, 579–606.

LE MOS, I. S.

1994 “Birds Revisited”, 226–236 in: KARAGEORGHIS 1994.

2002 *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology). Oxford.

LENZ, D.

1995 *Vogel Darstellungen in der ägäischen und zyprischen Vasenmalerei des 12.–9. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Form und Inhalt* (Internationale Archäologie 27). Espelkamp.

LERAT, L.

1935 “Trouvailles mycéniennes à Delphes”, *BCH* 59, 329–375.

1961 “Fouilles à Delphes à l'est du Grande Sanctuaire (1950–1957)”, *BCH* 85, 316–366.

MITSOPOULOS-LEON, V. (ed.)

2001 *Forschungen in der Peloponnese. Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier '100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen', Athen 5.3–7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften 38). Athens.

MOMMSEN, H. – J. MARAN

2000–2001 “Production Places of Some Mycenaean Pictorial Vessels. The Contribution of Chemical Pottery Analysis”, *OpAth* 25–26, 95–106.

MOORE, M. B.

2000 “Ships on a ‘Wine-dark Sea’ in the Age of Homer”, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35, 13–38.

2004 *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum U.S.A. Fasc. 37). New York.

MOUNTJOY, P. A.

1990 “Regional Mycenaean Pottery”, *BSA* 85, 245–270.

PAPADIMITRIOU, A.

1987 *Die früheisenzeitliche bemalte Keramik aus Tiryns. Die Phasen I–V* (Ph.D. thesis). Freiburg.

PAPADOPOULOS, J. K.

1990 “Protogeometric Birds from Torone”, 13–24 in: DESCIEDRES 1990.

2005 *The Early Iron Age Cemetery at Torone* (Monumenta Archaeologica 24). Los Angeles.

PAPADOPOULOS, T. J.

1979 *Mycenaean Achaea* (SIMA 55). Göteborg.

PAPPI, E.

2006 “Argive Geometric Figured Style: the Rule and the Exception”, 229–237 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.

PARIENTE, A.

1992 “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991”, *BCH* 116, 833–944.

POPHAM, M. R.

1987 “An Early Euboean Ship”, *OJA* 6, 353–359.

POPHAM, M. R. – I. S. LEMOS (eds.)

1996 *Lefkandi III. The Early Iron Age Cemetery at Toumba. The Excavations of 1981 to 1994* (BSA Suppl. 29). London.

POPHAM, M. R. – L. H. SACKETT – P. G. THEMELIS (eds.)

1979/80 *Lefkandi I. The Iron Age. The Settlement. The Cemeteries* (BSA Suppl. 11). London.

POPHAM, M. R. – E. TOULOUPA – L. H. SACKETT

1982 “Further Excavations of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1981”, *BSA* 77, 213–248.

RUPPENSTEIN, F.

2007 *Die submykenische Nekropole. Neufunde und Neubewertung* (Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 18). München.

RYSTEDT, E.

1997 “Approaching the Question of Bronze-to-Iron-Age Continuity in Ancient Greece”, *Current Swedish Archaeology* 5, 147–154.

1999 “No Words, only Pictures. Iconography in the Tradition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in Greece”, *OpAth* 24, 89–98.

RYSTEDT, E. – B. WELLS (eds.)

2006 *Pictorial Pursuits. Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery. Papers from Two Seminars at the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1999 and 2001* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 53). Stockholm.

SAKELLARAKIS, J. A.

1992 *The Mycenaean Pictorial Style in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens*. Athens.

SANTILLO FRIZELL, B.

1986 *Asine II. Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970–1974. Fasc. 3: The Late and Final Mycenaean Periods* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 24:3). Stockholm.

SCHOINAS, CH.

1999 “Εικονιστική παράσταση σε όστρακα κρατήρα από την Αγία Τριάδα Ελείας”, 257–262 in: *Περιφέρεια*.

SHERRATT, S.

2003 “Visible Writing: Questions of Script and Identity in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus”, *OJA* 22, 225–242.

STANSBURY-O'DONNELL, M.

2006 “The Development of Geometric Pictorial Narrative as Discourse”, 247–253 in: RYSTEDT – WELLS 2006.

TAYLOUR, W. D.

1973 “Chamber Tomb K-2”, 224–237 in: BLEGEN *ET AL.* 1973.

TOUCHAIS, G. *ET AL.*

1998 “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1996 et 1997”, *BCH* 122, 705–998.

TZALAS, H. E. (ed.)

1989 *Tropis I. 1st International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Piraeus, 30 August – 1 September 1985. Proceedings* (Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition). Athens.

VERMEULE, E.

1960 “The Mycenaean in Achaia”, *AJA* 64, 1–21.

VERMEULE, E. – V. KARAGEORGHIS

1982 *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*. Cambridge (Mass.).

VIKATOU, O.

2001 “Σκηνή πρόθεσης από το Μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο της Αγίας Τριάδας”, 273–284 in: MITSOPOULOS-LEON 2001.

2004 “Κλαδέος”, *ArchDelt* 53, 1998 [2004], Chron 230–233.

WACHSMANN, S.

1998 *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. London.

WEDDE, M.

1999 “War at Sea: the Mycenaean and Early Iron Age Oared Galley”, 465–476 in: LAFFINEUR 1999.



Fig. 1 Mycenae. Kalathos fragment (Argolid Cat. no. 3)



Fig. 2 Mycenae. 'Late Bird Krater' (Argolid Cat. no. 4)



Fig. 3 Lefkandi. Krater fragments (Euboea Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 4 Asine. Kalathos (Argolid Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 5 Asine. Detail of stirrup jar (Argolid Cat. no. 2)

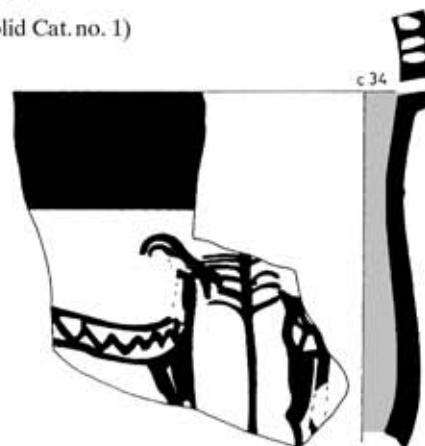


Fig. 6 Pylos-Pisaskion. Krater fragment (Messenia Cat. no. 1)

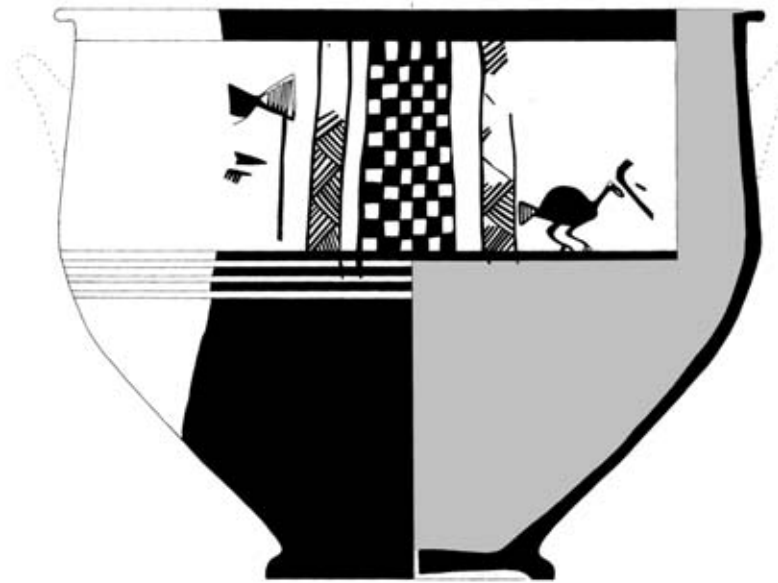


Fig. 7 Ramovouni-Lakkathela. Krater (Messenia Cat. no. 3)



Fig. 8 Tragana. Alabastron (Messenia Cat. no. 4)

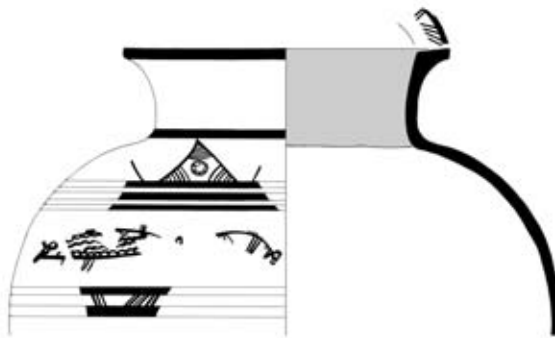


Fig. 10 Delphi. Jar (Phocis Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 9 Tragana. Part of stirrup jar (Messenia Cat. no. 5)



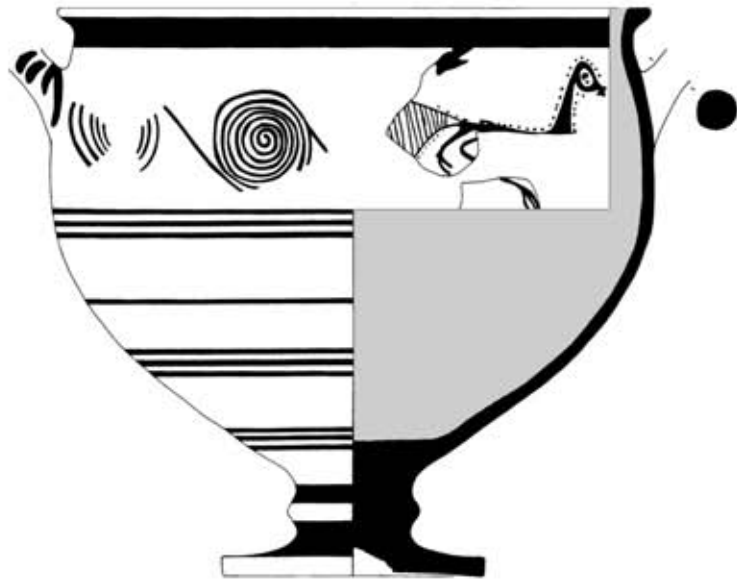


Fig. 11 Delphi. Krater (Phocis Cat. no. 3)



Fig. 12 Kladeos: Trypa. Jar (Elis Cat. no. 4)



Fig. 13 Ano Sychaina: Voudeni. Four-handled jar (Achaea Cat. no. 1)

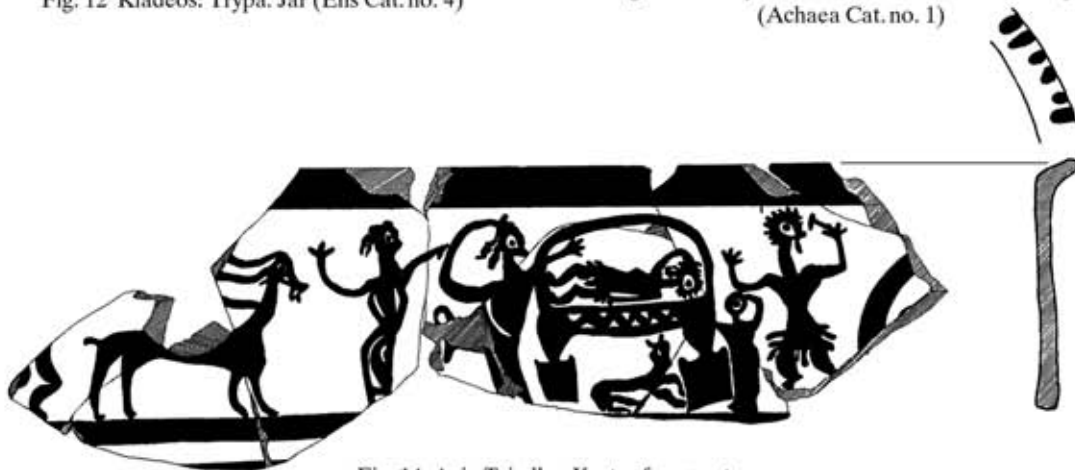


Fig. 14 Ayia Triadha. Krater fragment



Fig. 15 Kanghadi. Duck askos (Achaea Cat. no. 2)



Fig. 16 Lefkandi. Duck askos (Euboea Cat. no. 2)



Fig. 17 Athens. Detail of amphora (Attica Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 18 Athens. Amphora fragment (Attica Cat. no. 2)



Fig. 19 Athens. Detail of amphora (Attica Cat. no. 3)



Fig. 20 Tiryns. Fragment (Argolid Cat. no. 5)



Fig. 21. Atalanti. Flask (Phthiotis Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 23. Lefkandi. Detail of skyphos (Euboea Cat. no. 4)



Fig. 22. Lefkandi. Hydria (Euboea Cat. no. 3)

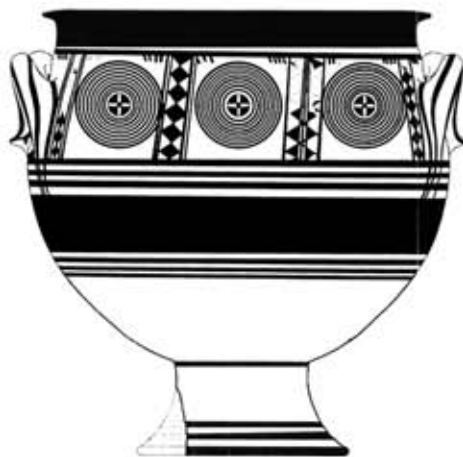
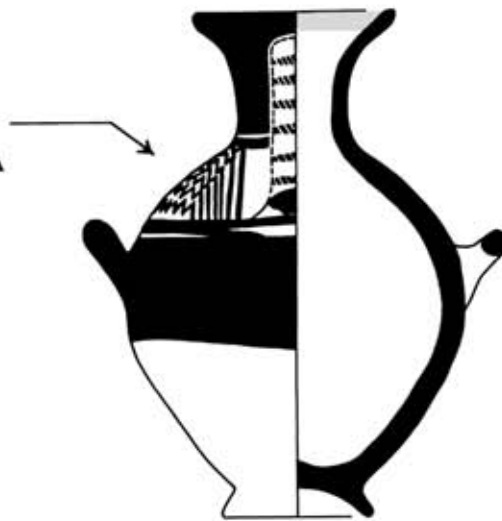


Fig. 24. Dirmil. Detail of krater (Anatolia Cat. no. 1)

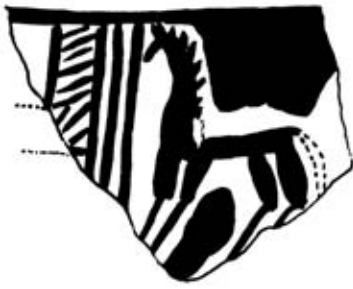


Fig. 25 Athens. Fragment (Attica Cat. no. 4)



Fig. 26 Athens. Detail of amphora (Attica Cat. no. 5)



Fig. 27a-b Athens. Details of fragmentary krater  
(Attica Cat. no. 6)



Fig. 28 Lefkandi. Detail of pyxis (Euboea Cat. no. 5)



Fig. 29 Lefkandi. Krater fragment (Euboea Cat. no. 6)



Fig. 30 Lefkandi. Krater fragment (Euboea Cat. no. 7)