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NEW EVIDENCE FOR LH III C LATE POTTERY FROM TIRYNS¹

My new analysis of the LH III C Late pottery from Tiryns first requires an explanation of the methodology and the material basis. In contrast to conventional methodology, it was not the stratigraphy of the Lower Citadel on which I concentrated in the beginning, but the different systems of chronologisation of the post-palatial period. At first I tried to characterise out those features which have been considered to be diagnostic for LH III C Late by different authors. I then based my analysis of the sources on this list of diagnostic features. I chose as my source the countless drawings of pottery from the publications of K. Kilian and C. Podzuweit – including his unpublished habilitation thesis – as well as the drawings stored in the Tiryns archive in Heidelberg. This approach was necessary because the pottery of the excavations in the Lower Citadel is not stored by context of find in the storehouse in Tiryns, but by the type of ware and parts of vessels. Therefore, a systematic compilation of LH III C Late contexts was not possible. However, during the extensive excavations under the direction of Kilian, pencil drawings of several tens of thousands of vessels and vessel fragments were made and afterwards stored in the Tiryns archive of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. Several 1.000 of these drawings were inked, photocopied and brought to Heidelberg. I examined these drawings systematically to identify vessels which displayed one or several of the features considered relevant for my analysis. Afterwards, the find contexts of these items were checked on the basis of Kilian's stratigraphy of the Lower Citadel in its revised version by T. Mühlenbruch (MÜHLENBRUCH 2005).

It is necessary to point out a basic terminological problem of this stratigraphy, namely the correlation of building horizons with the common ceramic phases (Fig. 1). Kilian took over the terms *LH III C Early*, *Developed*, *Advanced* and *Late* from the stylistic evolution of the pottery to embrace horizons which he considered as a unity from an architectural perspective. Therefore, in spite of using the same terminology Kilian's phases of LH III C in the Lower Citadel are not necessarily identical with these phases defined by pottery. Podzuweit, in turn, preferred pottery to architecture in assigning horizons to phases (MARAN 2007, x. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 7). Consequently, Kilian and Podzuweit differ in their assignment of horizons of the Lower Citadel to the phases of LH III C. I follow Kilian's system.

For a long time, the definition of LH III C Late has been regarded to be problematic, due to the lack of published significant find complexes and due to the evolution of pottery itself. There is general agreement that LH III C Late is mostly characterized by the omission of many pottery features diagnostic of LH III C Middle 2 as well as by the simplification and impoverishment of forms and motifs (RUTTER 1977, 4. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 360. – *MDP*, 181. – PODZU-

¹ I would like to thank Professor Joseph Maran for generously allowing me to use so far unpublished pottery drawings of C. Podzuweit's habilitation thesis and further drawings stored in the Tiryns archive in Heidelberg. Dr. Tobias Mühlenbruch kindly supported me in the contextualisation of the pottery finds within the post-palatial horizons of the Lower Citadel. Moreover, I want to thank Dr. Christina Sanchez and Dr. Carol Bell for their advice regarding the English translation of my text.

All drawings of pottery from the Lower Town are by the author, all drawings of material from the Lower Citadel have been re-worked by the author.

WEIT 1988, 222–223. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 217. – FRENCH forthcoming).² In order to avoid a ‘negative definition’ based on the absence of features, there was a search for forms and motifs which could have emerged in LH III C Late for the first time.

A survey of relevant publications provided some repeatedly mentioned diagnostic features for LH III C Late in the Argolid:³

1. small closed vessels (Lekythos FS 122, 123, 124; trefoil-mouthed jug FS 137, 138; feeding bottle FS 162; stirrup jar FS 175) with disintegrated fine line groups, i.e. different combinations of very broad, broad, narrow and very narrow body bands (*MDP*, 181–183, 185–189. – MOUNTJOY 1988, 5. – *RMDP*, 78–79, 177, 179, 184)
2. a horizontal wavy line FM 53 on the neck of huge closed vessels (RUTTER 1978, 60. – SHERRATT 1981, 379. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 388)⁴
3. krater FS 282 with straight or very slightly incurving upper body, squared rim and corresponding rim banding inside and outside (*RMDP*, 53, 79, 186, 188)⁵
4. monochrome deep bowl FS 284 with narrow reserved zone with undulating wavy line FM 53 (SHERRATT 1981, 79. – *MDP*, 191–192. – MOUNTJOY 1988, 4. – FRENCH forthcoming)⁶
5. multiple wavy bands/lines FM 53:21–22 on cups, kraters and deep bowls (*MDP*, 191–192. – *RMDP*, 79, 186, 188. – MOUNTJOY 2005a, 128, 159, 164–166)⁷
6. hatched or concentric triangles FM 51A, isolated semi-circles with filled centre FM 43 or the so-called ‘bivalve flower’ FM 18C on the shoulder of small closed vessels (SHERRATT 1981, 80. – *MDP*, 181–183, 189. – MOUNTJOY 1988, 6, 8. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 134. – *RMDP*, 78–79, 179, 184. – MOUNTJOY 2005b, 96)⁸
7. broad monochrome and reserved banding on closed vessels, with vessels sometimes showing a pattern in the reserved zones, frequently a wavy band FM 53 (SHERRATT 1981, 80. – *MDP*, 181–182, 184, 188. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 133: since LH III C Middle 2. – *RMDP*, 79).

Moreover, I analysed the stratification of selected diagnostic features of LH III C Middle 2 and the Submycenaean Phase in the Lower Citadel. Out of the huge number of type fossils of LH III C Middle 2, I selected some features whose lifespan is often considered to end with this phase:

² Still MOUNTJOY 1993, 109 states: “The pottery of this phase is not yet fully defined”.

³ This list must not be considered to be a *communis opinio* of LH III C Late type fossils. Some features are regarded to emerge earlier than LH III C Late by some editors of pottery material.

⁴ PODZUWEIT 1988, 222 places the start of this feature already in LH III C Advanced, i.e. LH III C Middle 2.

⁵ In contrast to Mountjoy, Podzuweit sees the beginning of these kraters already in LH III C Middle 2 (PODZUWEIT 1983, 370, 380. – PODZUWEIT 1984, 13. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 66). *MDP*, 175–176 still dated Lefkandi 2b including the relevant kraters in LH III C Middle.

⁶ In contrast to her earlier publications, Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 172) dates the beginning of those deep bowls already in LH III C Middle 2, and she particularly points to the evidence in Tiryns. The deep bowl with wiggly wavy line in the reserved zone in *MDP*, 192 fig. 254:5 has been wrongly included in the illustration in the context of LH III C Late (cf. MOUNTJOY 2004, 527). Podzuweit assumes the beginning of this feature as early as LH III C Advanced (PODZUWEIT 1983, 368. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 214. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 39–40).

⁷ In contrast to Mountjoy, Podzuweit places the beginning of the relevant kraters already in his LH III C Advanced (PODZUWEIT 1983, 370, 380. – PODZUWEIT 1984, 13. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 39–40, 66–67). Mountjoy (*MDP*, 156, 175–176) also sees the appearance of this feature in LH III C Middle, as she parallelises this phase with Lefkandi Phase 2b.

⁸ However, MOUNTJOY 2005b, 105 places the start of concentric triangles with solid centre and dotted frame already in LH III C Middle 2 on the Greek Mainland and even earlier on the Dodekannesos.

1. Close Style (RUTTER 1977, 3. – SHERRATT 1981, 71–73, 79. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 371. – *MDP*, 155–156, 181. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 223. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 55, 67–68, 71, 98. – *RMDP*, 50, 77, 79, 165)⁹
2. patterned carinated cups FS 240 and carinated cups with a bull's head protome on the top of the handle (SHERRATT 1981, 75–76. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 377–378. – PODZUWEIT 1984, 13. *MDP*, 155–156, 171–172. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 48–49, 114, 116, 210. – *RMDP*, 77, 170)
3. Kalathos FS 291 with pictorial decoration on the interior, where fish FM 20 is a particularly popular motif (SHERRATT 1981, 75–76. – *MDP*, 155–156, 179–180: since LH III C Middle 1. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 94, 100. – *RMDP*, 77, 174)

and features which are assumed to continue into LH III C Late, namely:

1. reserved and dotted rim of open and closed vessels (RUTTER 1977, 3. – SHERRATT 1981, 70. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 368, 380. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 214. – *MDP*, 156, 165, 177–178. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 32, 39, 52–53, 133, 214. – *RMDP*, 77)
2. multiple reserved lines on the monochrome exterior of open and closed vessels (RUTTER 1977, 3. – SHERRATT 1981, 70. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 361, 371, 374, 392. – PODZUWEIT 1984, 13. – *MDP*, 177–178, 191. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 214. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 36, 52–53, 55, 133, 187, 215. – *RMDP*, 77, 172–174).

For the Submycenaean Phase I chose the following features:

1. monochrome deep bowl FS 284 with narrow reserved zone with tight and wiggly wavy line FM 53 or zigzag FM 61 (RUTTER 1978, 60. – SHERRATT 1981, 383: since Phase 5 Late. – SHERRATT 1981, 79: since LH III C Late. – *MDP*, 195, 200. – MOUNTJOY 1988, 4, 15. – PAPADIMITRIOU 1988, 234. – *RMDP*, 57, 80, 190)¹⁰
2. vertical wavy lines FM 53 on the shoulders of stirrup jars (*MDP*, 195, 199).

A fourth group consists of further 25 features, whose stratification I analysed, as they seem potentially relevant for the characterisation of LH III C Late in Tiryns.¹¹ I will refer to a selected few of those features after discussing the mentioned type fossils.

⁹ In contrast to the common definition of Close Style as a miniature style (e.g. SHERRATT 1981, 71–73. – *MDP*, 155–156). – PODZUWEIT 2007, 67–68, 108, fig. 115, 116 also calls the Pleonastic Style of LH III C Middle 2 Close Style, although it clearly differs in its appearance from the proper Close Style. I divided those vessels classified by Podzuweit as Close Style into proper Close Style and Pleonastic Style/Rosettestyle on the basis of the drawings.

¹⁰ Podzuweit sees the beginning of this feature already in LH III C Middle 2 (PODZUWEIT 1983, 368. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 214, 216. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 39–40).

¹¹ The following features have been considered:

- closed vessel with tassel FM 72:6–8 or necklace FM 72:12–14 on the shoulder and antithetic loops FM 50:29–32 on the belly
- closed vessel with antithetic necklace FM 72:12–13 (e.g. PODZUWEIT 1979, 428 fig. 44:5 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 68:6)
- closed vessel with isolated semi-circles FM 43 with fringes and dotted frame on the shoulder
- monochrome closed vessel with a narrow reserved and patterned zone (except wavy band/zigzag)
- monochrome closed vessel with a narrow reserved zone with undulating wavy band/line FM 53
- monochrome closed vessel with a narrow reserved zone with tight and wiggly wavy band/line FM 53 or zigzag FM 61
- beginning disintegration of fine line groups on closed vessels
- 'Achaia'-banding (cf. MOUNTJOY 1990, 267–270) on closed vessels
- closed vessel with monochrome lower part and a narrow band on top
- cup or bowl, inside linear, outside medium rim band and wavy band FM 53 below
- monochrome open vessels like cup FS 215, conical kylix FS 275, carinated krater FS 282 or deep bowl FS 284 with a narrow reserved zone
- monochrome conical kylix FS 275 with a narrow reserved zone with undulating wavy band/line FM 53

Armed with my list of features, I analysed both the published pottery drawings and the unpublished ones stored in the Heidelberg Tiryns archive and selected relevant examples. I did not incorporate vessels from excavations earlier than those of Kilian, the pottery from the Syringes and vessels from the uppermost layers of the Lower Citadel, for which a Postmycenaean stratification was certain.¹² As a next step, the find contexts of the 228 relevant fragments and more or less complete vessels were checked in their stratification due to the system Kilian/Mühlenbruch. 175 individuals were assigned to one or more horizons of the Lower Citadel; the remaining pieces turned out to be from Postmycenaean strata only through this contextualisation. All of my figures are based on this list of 228 individuals.

The following horizons were grouped together for presentational purposes:

1. 19b–20a0 comprises horizons dating in LH III C Early and the early LH III C Middle 1. I did not expect any of the relevant features to appear in these horizons.
2. 20a2–21b0 covers sherds whose contextualisation was only possible in a broader range. Kilian saw horizon 21a as the beginning of LH III C Middle 2 on the Lower Citadel.¹³ These individuals could therefore be older than LH III C Middle 2, but they do not have to be so.
3. 21a0–21a1 are the horizons which in Kilian's view present the first building horizon of LH III C Middle 2 on the Lower Citadel.¹⁴
4. With the horizons 21b–21c we cover the acme of building activities and floors of LH III C Middle 2. Therefore, we have several, meaningful find contexts from these horizons, e.g. the stratified superposition of floors with several sherd plasters in room 127.
5. Horizons 21d–22a0 comprise the destruction and levelling of the LH III C Middle 2 buildings with horizon 21d, the following construction horizon 22a0 frequently being not easy to discriminate. Kilian sees the beginning of LH III C Late with horizon 22.¹⁵ Here we are confronted with the well-known phenomenon that terraces constructed as part of extensive building activities often mainly contain pottery of the previous phase.¹⁶ Therefore, one should expect the first type fossils of LH III C Late to appear in these horizons, even though in smaller numbers.

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- conical kylix FS 275 with ripped stem
 - krater FS 282 or deep bowl FS 284 with running spirals FM 46:58 with empty centres
 - krater FS 282 or deep bowl FS 284 with antithetic loops FM 50:29–32
 - krater FS 282 or deep bowl FS 284 with thin-thick-thin banding under the handle on the exterior (e.g. PODZUWEIT 1978, 488 fig. 36:6 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 13:5)
 - krater FS 282 or deep bowl FS 284 with monochrome lower part and a narrow band on top
 - deep bowl FS 284, inside linear or monochrome and medium rim band and wavy band FM 53 below on the exterior
 - monochrome deep bowl FS 284 with a narrow reserved zone with tight and wiggly double wavy band FM 53 or zigzag FM 61
 - monochrome deep bowl FS 284 with reserved hourglass motif (so-called 'Salami deep bowl')
 - monochrome deep bowl FS 284 with reserved base or lower part
 - Close Style derivatives (e.g. PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 114:7)
 - Pleonastic Style/Rosette Style (e.g. PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 116:1–10)
 - 'Teppichstil' after SCHACHERMEYR 1982, 161 (e.g. PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 119)
 - 'late triglyphs' FM 75 (e.g. *MDP*, 183 fig. 235:23,24. – PAPADIMITRIOU 1988, 233 fig. 3:10).

¹² Only for the feature of multiple wavy bands the uppermost layers have been included in the analysis.

¹³ PODZUWEIT 2007, 7 sees the beginning of LH III C Middle 2 in horizon 21b1.

¹⁴ PODZUWEIT 2007, 7 still assigns these horizons to LH III C Middle 1.

¹⁵ PODZUWEIT 2007, 7 places 22a0 in LH III C Middle 2 on the basis of the pottery.

¹⁶ This phenomenon was encountered several times in Mycenae, e.g. with the LH III B pottery from the post-palatial terraces under the LH III C Early 1 buildings (FRENCH forthcoming) or the LH III A2 pottery from the terraces constructed at the beginning of LH III B (FRENCH 1965, 161).

6. 22a1–22c0 covers the largest part of the LH III C Late buildings on the Lower Citadel – irrespective of the first building phase and the destruction layers of the latest buildings.¹⁷
7. Horizon 22d consists of the partly very thick layers of the destruction of the last Mycenaean buildings on the Lower Citadel.
8. Horizon 22 or younger comprises material which could be LH III C Late from its stratigraphic position, but a Postmycenaean stratification could not be excluded.
9. The term *Postmycenaean* designates all strata later than LH III C Late.

The stratification of diagnostic features of LH III C Middle 2 displays the expected pattern: Close Style and Pleonastic Style/Rosette Style have never been found earlier than horizon 21 (Fig. 2a–b), which is the beginning of LH III C Middle 2 after Kilian. Surprisingly, Close Style sherds continue in equal quantity up to the Postmycenaean layers. This may result from the massive building activities during LH III C Late, if one wants to keep the end of LH III C Middle 2 as the end of the production of Close Style vessels. Open and closed vessels with reserved and dotted rim and/or multiple reserved lines – under the rim and on the lower body, respectively – have never been found earlier than horizon 21 (Fig. 2c–d). As is commonly believed, those vessels seemed to be continuously produced in LH III C Late because the graphs' maxima in horizons 22a1–22c0 cannot be explained in another way. The kalathoi FS 291 with pictorial decoration on the interior, patterned carinated cups FS 240 and carinated cups with a bull's head protome on the top of the handle also first appear in LH III C Middle 2 (Fig. 2e–f). However, it remains to be seen whether they were still produced in LH III C Late. On the basis of the first appearance of those features we can determine the beginning of LH III C Middle 2 very well. Yet they continue into LH III C Late in great number, sometimes even more than before. This is partly due to secondary formation processes, and also due to the continuous use of old vessels, which maybe even continued to be produced.

Considering the distribution of the supposed type fossils of LH III C Late, some graphs confront us with surprising results (Fig. 3): Huge closed vessels with wavy band on the neck have hardly been found on the Lower Citadel (Fig. 3a). The oldest evidence (Fig. 4:1. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 369 fig. 3:4 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 97:14), however, stems from a context in LH III C Middle 2 sealed off by several floors of room 127 (LXII 43/81 X R 127), which leaves no doubt about the early start of this feature before LH III C Late.

The krater FS 282 with straight or very slightly incurving upper body, squared rim and corresponding rim banding inside and outside has only been found in the horizons of LH III C Middle 2 on the Lower Citadel (Fig. 3b). The latest context dates to 'horizon 22a0 or older' (Fig. 4:2 LXI 39/45 IVa R 100).¹⁸ This evidence calls into question the position of this type as an absolute diagnostic feature for LH III C Late. The mentioned krater bears a triple wavy line FM 53, which has been considered to be another type fossil of LH III C Late (Fig. 3c). This kind of multiple wavy band is evidenced as early as horizons 21b–c in meaningful contexts with two nearly complete kraters with triple wavy band, which do not show corresponding rim banding or a squared rim. The smaller krater (Fig. 4:3 LXII 45/79.80 IVa Nr. 11; LXIII 45/71 V; LXIII 45/71 VI R 136. – PODZUWEIT 1981, 209 fig. 58:8 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 26:2) was part of a sherd plaster around a storage jar in room 128 (horizon 21b2–21c0), the larger one (Fig. 4:4 LXII 43/83 X R 127 Nr. 9. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 380 fig. 6 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 26:1) has been taken as the substruction of a hearth in room 127 (horizon 21b1). Both vessels

¹⁷ PODZUWEIT 2007, 7 still classifies horizon 22a1 as LH III C Middle 2 on the basis of the pottery. In the light of the fact that I only included three relevant individuals from this horizon and that the important LH III C Late feature 'broad monochrome and reserved banding' is found in 22a1 for the first time, I saw no need for placing a section after horizon 22a1.

¹⁸ For the sake of statistics, the object was placed in the category 21d–22a0, although an older date is possible.

were surely in use for some years, probably at the same time, before they were intentionally selected for the construction of the sherd plasters.¹⁹ It is indisputable that open vessels with multiple wavy band were still produced in LH III C Late.²⁰ However, the evidence from Tiryns may call into question the position of this type as an absolute diagnostic feature for LH III C Late.

Considering the monochrome deep bowls FS 284 with narrow reserved zone with undulating wavy line (Fig. 3d), there is a possible first evidence at the beginning of LH III C Middle 2 (horizon 21a0). However, the sherds of this deep bowl (Fig. 4:5 LXII 41/11 VI) were found in the courtyard, where post-depositional processes may very well have dislocated the pieces. The first meaningful evidence was found in the layers of LH III C Late, one nearly complete individual inside a larnax (Fig. 4:6 LXII 43/99 X R 127 G 14. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 369 fig. 3:12 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 13:11), which Kilian dated to horizon 22a1.²¹ Thus, those deep bowls can be taken as diagnostic feature for LH III C Late in Tiryns, even though their infrequent appearance lowers their status as type fossil.

The same is true of the feature of ‘monochrome and reserved banding’ on closed vessels in settlement context, as close vessels are rarely found in parts big enough to identify this feature (Fig. 3e). However, there is no evidence for this feature before LH III C Late in Tiryns. The earliest context is again the larnax of horizon 22a1, where a small closed vessel with this feature was found together with the mentioned wavy band deep bowl (Fig. 5:1 LXII 43/99 X R 127 G 14. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 373 fig. 4:3 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 106:9). The excavations in the North-Eastern Lower Town also brought to the fore a small closed vessel with this decoration (Fig. 5:2 LXIX 30/36 VIII Nr. 43/99. – STOCKHAMMER 2008), but unfortunately it came from a disturbed context. The feature of ‘monochrome and reserved banding’ is obviously connected with the disintegration of the fine line groups (Fig. 3f). Even though vessels on which the beginning of this disintegration may be detected seem to appear already in horizons 21a0–21a1 at the beginning of LH III C Middle 2,²² disintegrated fine line groups in their proper definition have been found in the horizons of LH III C Late for the first time (Fig. 5:3).²³

Another feature confined to closed vessels are hatched or concentric triangles FM 51A, isolated semi-circles with filled centre FM 43 or the so-called ‘bivalve flower’ FM 18C on the shoulder of small closed vessels. All these motifs were not found in sufficient numbers in meaningful contexts to allow the determination of their exact chronological position.

In the discussion that follows, I will only discuss a small selection of the other 25 features I considered to be potentially relevant and whose stratification I checked: The only evidence for the so-called ‘Achaia-banding’ in the ceramic material from the Lower Citadel was found on a small closed vessel in horizon 21a1 (Fig. 5:4 LXII 44/09 Of. X R 127a. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 369

¹⁹ Ethnographic evidence (DAVID – KRAMER 2001, 99–100 with further literature) shows that huge mixing vessels can easily be in use for several years, sometimes even several decades, before they break into pieces. The value assigned to kraters, for example, is indicated by the repeated evidence of mending (PODZUWEIT 2007, 58). There is no reason to presume that these kraters were intentionally broken to construct the plasters, but they were very well chosen for this purpose. In Tiryns the sherd plasters repeatedly show a certain selection of shapes and vessel parts.

²⁰ It is possible, however, that deep bowls with multiple wavy band may start later than kraters with the same motif. The earliest evidence for deep bowls with multiple wavy band is an unpublished deep bowl from the horizons 21d–22a0 (LXIII 43/04 IV).

²¹ Mistakenly, Podzuweit gives LXI 43/99 R 127 G 14 as the find context. However, the position of the vessel inside the larnax is out of question (cf. KILIAN 1983, 280). The deep bowl seems to have broken into two halves, as a second unpublished drawing showing the rear side of the vessel is stored in the Tiryns archive.

²² E.g. stirrup jar from horizons 21a0–21c0 (LXI 42/39 VIb; LXI 42/24 VII) (PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 88:1).

²³ E.g. jug from horizons 22b–22c0 (LXI 35/53.55.64.65 IV KW 14; LXI 35/54.63.64 IVa KW 14; LXI 35/63 VI KW 14) (PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 106:6).

fig. 3:3 = PODZUWEIT 2007, fig. 88:4)²⁴, i.e. in the beginning of LH III C Middle 2. The vessel was probably found *in situ* on the floor of the oldest phase of use of room 127.

Monochrome deep bowls and cups with a narrow reserved and undecorated zone are also evidenced much earlier than expected. A deep bowl (Fig. 5:5 LXI 40/1–11 XII Nr. 46) built into a LH III C Early hearth substruction (horizon 19ba–19b1) is the oldest evidence. The second oldest piece comes from another hearth substruction, this time dating to horizon 21b1 in LH III C Middle 2 (Fig. 5:6 LXII 43/81.91 OfI. X Nr. 10 R 127. – PODZUWEIT 1983, 373 fig. 4:10).

It can still be considered the best indicator for a Submycenaean (or Early Iron Age) dating, if a monochrome deep bowl shows either a tight wiggly wavy line or zigzag in the narrow reserved zone. This feature has never been found in Mycenaean layers on the Lower Citadel and starts abruptly in the Postmycenaean layers. Only a small part of these deep bowls have been included in my statistics.²⁵

Stirrup jars FS 175 with vertical wavy lines FM 53 on the shoulder and without further patterning, such as those deposited in the graves of the Kerameikos cemetery (*MDP*, 199 fig. 267), have not been found on the Lower Citadel. Vertical wavy lines interspersed between other motifs on the shoulders of stirrup jars seem to appear in LH III C Late contexts for the first time.

CONCLUSION

The restricted number of type fossils for LH III C Late in Tiryns – monochrome deep bowls with a narrow reserved zone with undulating wavy line, disintegrated fine line groups and broad monochrome and reserved banding on closed vessels – as well as their infrequent appearance pose the problem of identifying LH III C Late in the North-Eastern Lower Town, where pottery possibly datable in LH III C Late has only been found in disturbed contexts. Rich LH III C Middle 2 ceramic complexes have been found in several areas of the Lower Town in meaningful contexts, e.g. in the North-Eastern Lower Town and in the old excavations of ‘Megaron W’ and ‘Haus O’.²⁶

Providing clear evidence for the continuation of the Town into LH III C Late remains problematic (STOCKHAMMER 2008). Two kraters from the North-Eastern Lower Town (Fig. 5:7 LXVIII 30/95 V. – Fig. 5:8 LXVIII 31–26 VI and LXIX 30/15 VIII Nr. 43/99), which so far would have been dated in LH III C Late on stylistic grounds, cannot be dated later than LH III C Middle 2 without reservation considering the evidence from the Lower Citadel.

In contrast, we have Submycenaean pottery in the form of one typical Submycenaean deep bowl from the North-Eastern Lower Town, even if once more from a disturbed context (Fig. 5:9 LXIX 31/25 VIII). The question whether we can postulate a settlement continuity from LH III C Early until the Submycenaean Period in part of the Lower Town, therefore, has to remain unanswered, if we believe that the definition of LH III C Late is still not precise enough. However, there is at least a possibility that while the inhabitants of Tiryns left the Lower Citadel in the course of the Submycenaean Period at the latest, the Lower Town of Tiryns may have been settled continuously from the beginning of the Post-Palatial Period into the Geometric Age.

²⁴ Podzuweit already 1983 recognises the reference of banding and ware to the North-West Peloponnesos (PODZUWEIT 1983, 384). It should therefore be considered to be an import from this area. – For a definition of *Achaia banding* cf. MOUNTJOY 1990, 267–270.

²⁵ Most of the relevant deep bowls illustrated by Papadimitriou have not been included in my statistics, as their stratification was Postmycenaean at first glance.

²⁶ For ‘Megaron W’ and ‘Haus O’ cf. GERCKE – HIESEL 1971, 14–15. – GERCKE – NAUMANN 1974, 15–17. – GERCKE – GERCKE – HIESEL 1975, 10–12. – The pottery from the excavations in the North-Eastern Lower Town has been edited as part of the Ph.D project of the author (STOCKHAMMER 2008).

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- Fig. 4 **1)** LXII 43/81 X R 127; **2)** LXI 39/45 IVa R 100; **3)** LXII 45/79.80 IVa Nr. 11; LXIII 45/71 V; LXIII 45/71 VI R 136; **4)** LXII 43/83 X R 127 Nr. 9; **5)** LXII 41/11 VI; **6)** LXII 43/99 X R 127 G 14
- Fig. 5 **1)** LXII 43/99 X R 127 G 14; **2)** LXIX 30/36 VIII Nr. 43/99; **3)** LXI 35/53.55.64.65 IV KW 14; LXI 35/54.63.64 IVa KW 14; LXI 35/63 VI KW 14; **4)** LXII 44/09 Of. X R 127a; **5)** LXI 40/1–11 XII Nr. 46; **6)** LXII 43/81.91 Of. X Nr. 10 R 127; **7)** LXVIII 30/95 V; **8)** LXVIII 31–26 VI; LXIX 30/15 VIII Nr. 43/99; **9)** LXIX 31/25 VIII

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Synthesis	Stockhammer	Podzuweit	Podzuweit	Kilian, Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch	Kilian, Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch
Argolid	Tiryns	Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Phases	Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Horizons	Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Phases	Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Horizons
LH III B2 Early	SH III B2 Früh	SH III B Mitte	16a0-16a7	SH III B Mitte	16a0-16a7
LH III B2 Late	SH III B2 Spät	SH III B Entwickelt	17a1-17a3	SH III B Entwickelt	17a0-17a3
		SH III B Ende	17a5-18	SH III B Ende	17a4-18
LH III C Early 1	SH III C Früh 1	SH III C Früh	19a1-19b1	SH III C Früh	19a0-19c
LH III C Early 2	SH III C Früh 2				
LH III C Middle 1 (Developed)	SH III C Mitte 1 (Entwickelt)	SH III C Entwickelt	20-21a1	SH III C Entwickelt	20a0-20a3
LH III C Middle 2 (Advanced)	SH III C Mitte 2 (Fortgeschritten)			SH III C Fortgeschritten	21a0-21d
LH III C Late	SH III C Spät	SH III C Fortgeschritten	21b1-22a1	SH III C Spät	22a0-22d
		SH III C Spät	22c1		
Submycenaean	Submykenisch			Submykenisch	

Fig. 1 Correlation of the building horizons of Tiryns with the ceramic phases

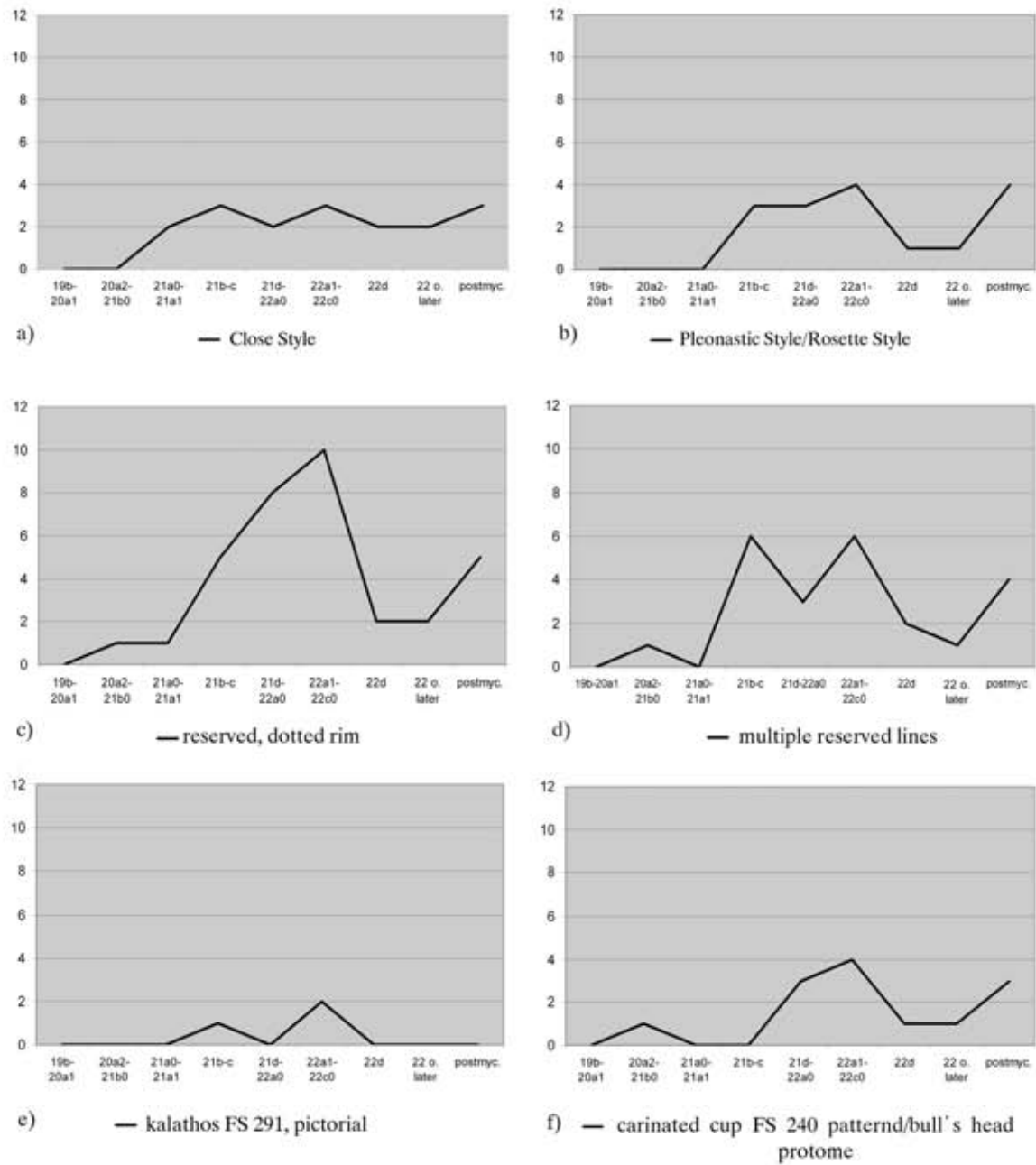


Fig. 2 Stratification of selected diagnostic features of LH III C Middle 2 in Tiryns

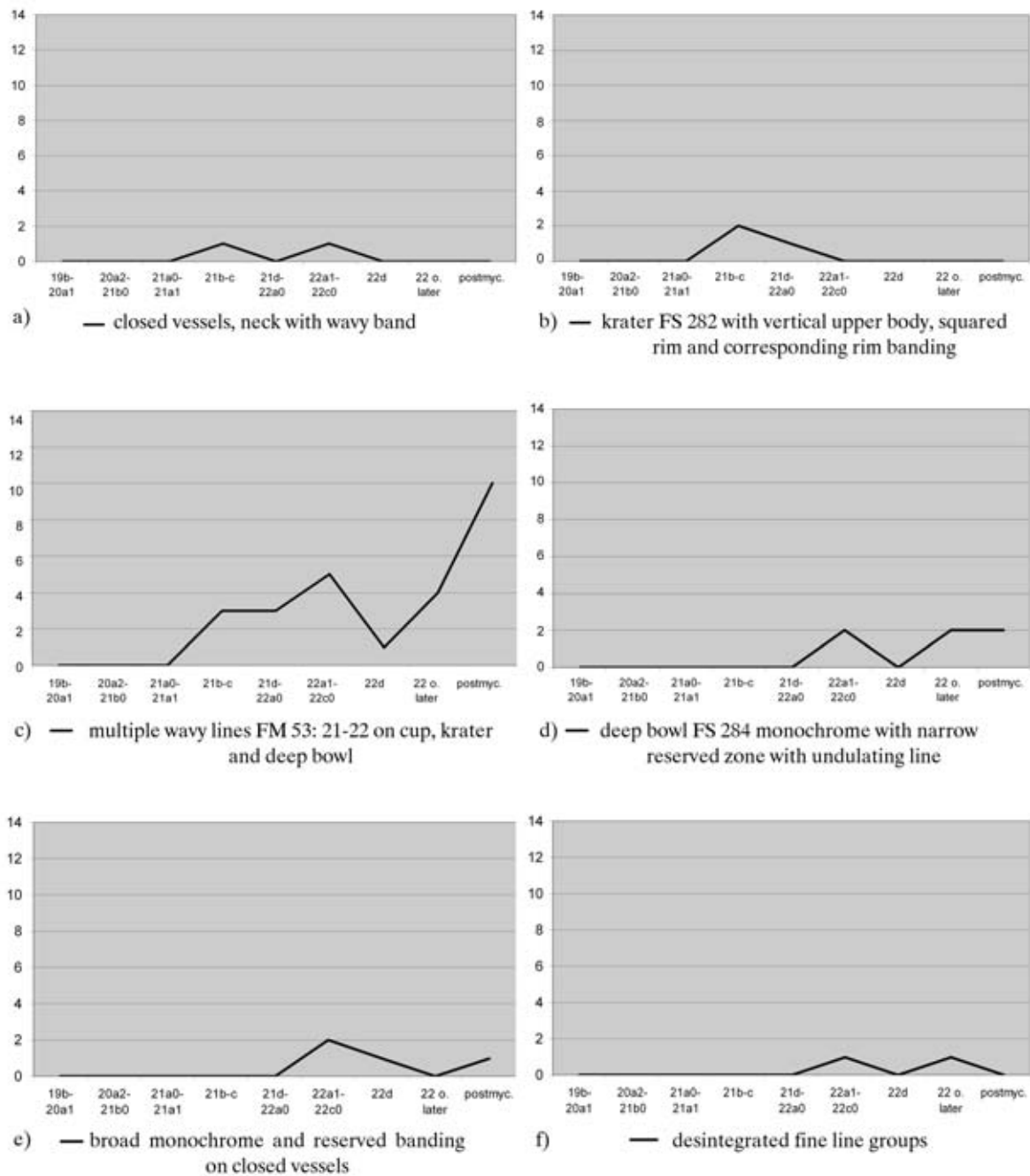


Fig. 3 Stratification of supposed diagnostic features of LH III C Late in Tiryns

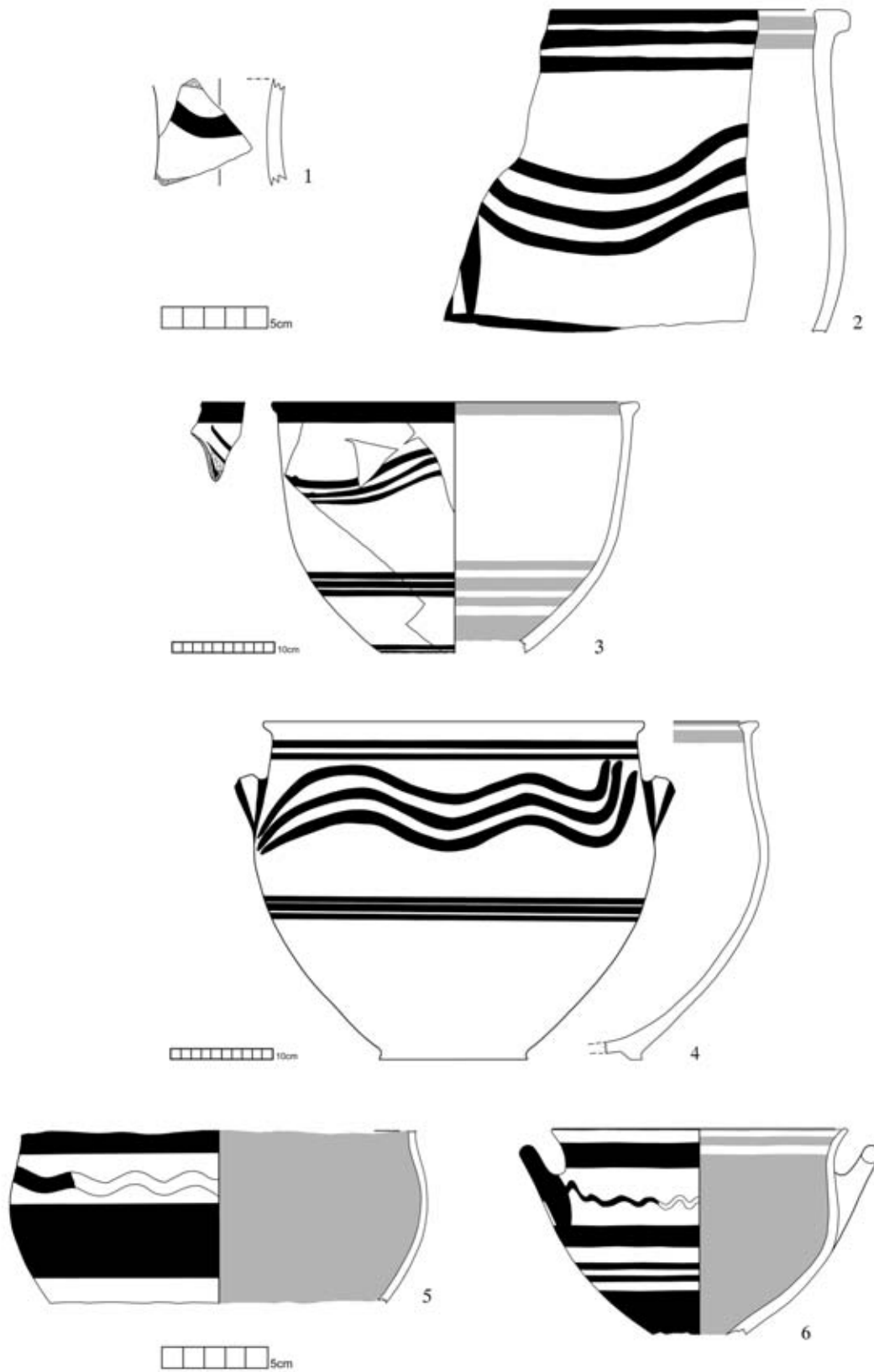


Fig. 4

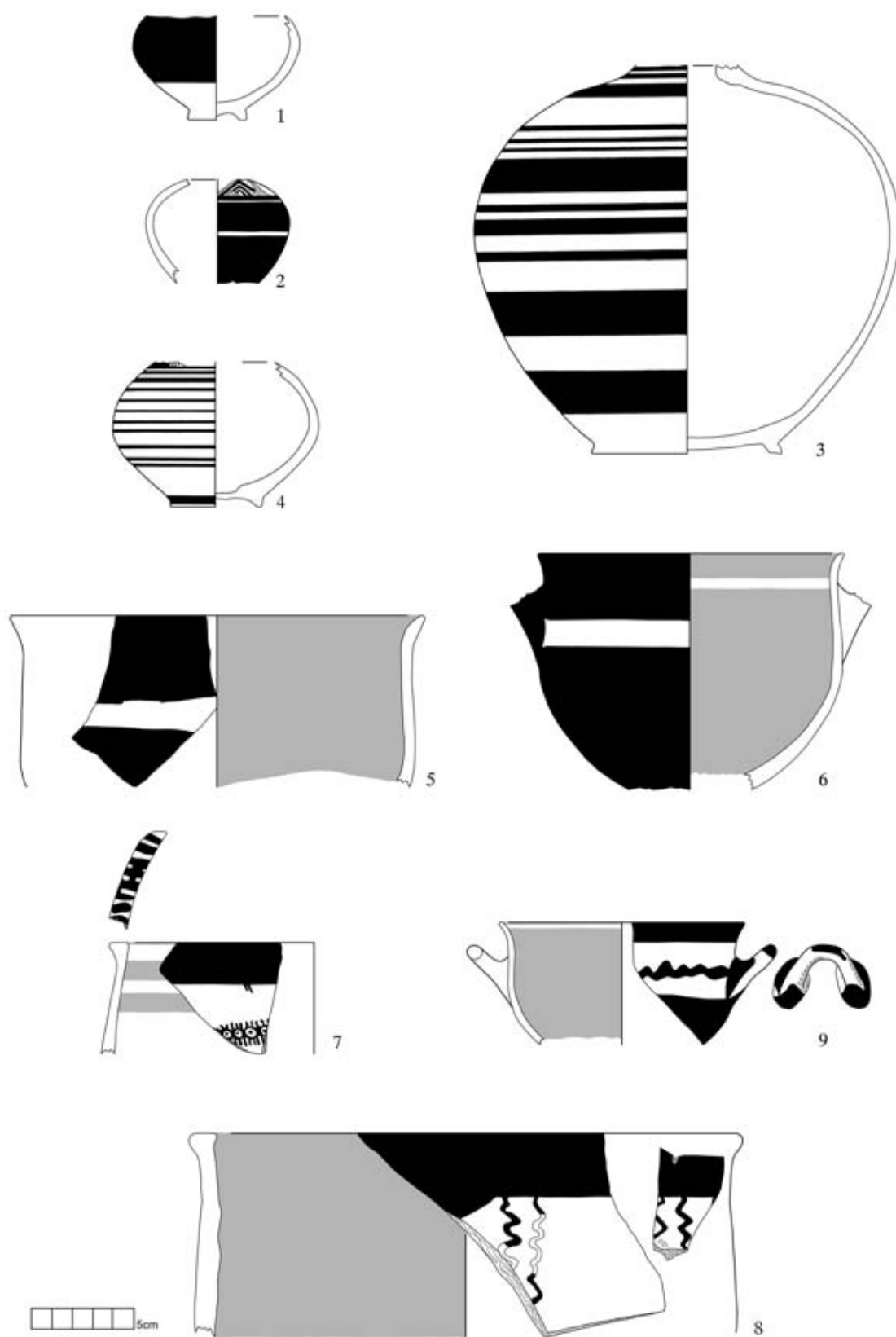


Fig. 5