

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

Soňa Wirghová¹

Abstract: During the excavations of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel of Tiryns by Klaus Kilian² in 1982–1983 and by Joseph Maran (campaigns 2000–2003),³ a sequence of late Palatial and Post-palatial Mycenaean layers and architectural structures was uncovered. They provide evidence for several turning points in the history of this location, which allow us to reconstruct a detailed pottery sequence from LH IIIB Early to the final Post-palatial period. In this paper, based on the pottery sequence in the area of Building XI and the Passageway to the North Gate the development of the painted Mycenaean wares from LH IIIB Early–Middle to LH IIIC Early will be outlined. The results of the study of the pottery found during the 2000–2003 campaigns will be supplemented by the material found in this area by Kilian. The focus will be on the local painted Mycenaean pottery. Preliminary observations on the development of local unpainted and local and Aeginetan cooking wares from this area will be given as well. Since the non-local ceramic vessels from this area provide important evidence for international goods exchange in the Palatial period, one section will be devoted to pottery of foreign origin. From the methodological point of view, the monocausal method was used to date stratigraphic contexts. In addition to this method, the polycasual method⁴ will be presented here based on the example of painted deep bowls.

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

Introduction

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

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

¹ Institute for Prehistory, Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Heidelberg, Germany; e-mail: sonicka.wirghova@gmail.com.

² Kilian 1988, 105–151.

³ Maran 2008, 35–111.

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

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

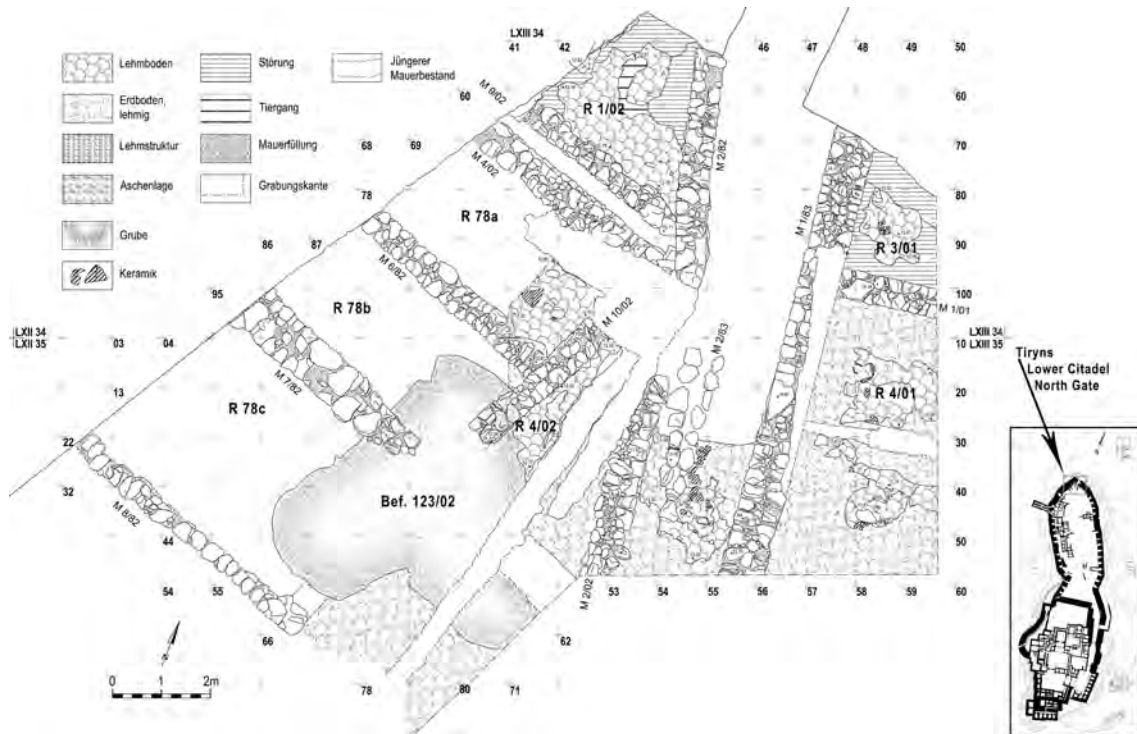


Fig. 1 Tiryns, Lower Citadel. Plan with the preserved structures from the northern tip of the Citadel (plan M. Kostoula).

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

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

⁶ Maran 2008, 38–65.

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

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



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

Architectural Development and Other Remains

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ Maran 2008, 40, figs. 6–7.

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

¹² Maran 2008, 46–48, fig. 18; Maran (personal communication).

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

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

There is no architectural evidence from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel from the earliest Post-palatial period. Dated to this first architectural phase of LH IIIC¹⁵ is a large pit (Befund-Nr. 123/02)¹⁶ with at least six skeletons.¹⁷ The pit cut the walls of the Rooms 78b and 78c of Building XI.

During the 2003 excavation, a pit (Grube 3/03) in the southwestern corner of Room 78c was identified.¹⁸ According to the stratigraphy, the pit is dated to the later phase of LH IIIC Early, but still part of Maran's first architectural phase of LH IIIC.¹⁹ In the first phase of its use, it had probably served as an oven or a hearth.²⁰ According to Maran, starting in the second architectural phase²¹ of LH IIIC²² in the western part of the excavations, a new building was constructed (Building Complex Raum 78a–c.2/02).²³

Stratigraphic Analysis

The pottery analysis presented in this paper was carried out based on the stratigraphic analysis undertaken by Maran and Mühlenbruch. Each square meter of excavated sediment²⁴ was thus dated according to its position in the corresponding layer sequence. For squares clearly found between two floors, precise dating to only one chronological phase was possible. Only these squares are part of the study presented here, together with in situ finds.²⁵ One exception is the stratigraphic phase LH IIIB Early–Middle as defined by Maran,²⁶ where no such assignment was possible.

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Maran 2008, 60–65, fig. 25.

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

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

¹⁹ Maran 2008, 60.

²⁰ Maran 2008, 65.

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

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

²³ Maran 2008, 65.

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

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

²⁶ Maran 2008, 38–41.

Pottery Analysis

First, a brief summary of the number of diagnostic sherds analyzed will be given (Tab. 1). This statistic includes only ceramic material excavated during the 2000–2003 campaigns in the area of Building XI and the Passageway. As mentioned above, for this article, Kilian's material²⁷ and some local and foreign shapes uncovered in the area of Building XV were used as an additional source of information to get a more complete picture of the ceramic repertoire for each phase.

It has to be pointed out that there is a significant difference between the number of diagnostic sherds in each phase (LH IIIB Early–Middle with 132 diagnostic sherds, in comparison to 2344 pieces from LH IIIB Final, Tab. 1²⁸). This fact certainly had an influence on the number of shapes identified from single phases. Early Mycenaean sherds are included in the count. Both closed shapes and shapes that are not identifiable as open are counted as closed.

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

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

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

For this study, the typology of deep bowls as defined by Eleftheria Kardamaki was used. Kardamaki identified two new types of deep bowls (Group C deep bowl²⁹ and a large Group A deep bowl) and clearly defined Group B deep bowls and the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior.³⁰ Philipp Stockhammer's terminology is used for deep bowls, cups FS 215 and kraters with monochrome interior and stemmed bowl type of banding, which he describes as 'deep bowl SB, cup SB, krater SB'.³¹ Stockhammer's study of the Post-palatial pottery from the Northeastern Lower Town served as a basis for the analysis of shapes first appearing in the stratigraphic phase (so-called 'Leitform').

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

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

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

²⁹ The discussed deep bowls are of FS 284.

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

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

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

Painted Fine Ware

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Painted Fine Ware of the Palatial Period

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

Closed shapes which are present include a piriform jar found in situ,³³ alabastra (Fig. 3.11–12), probably the jug FS 110³⁴ (Fig. 3.10) without a hollowed rim, and stirrup jar FS 171, etc. (Fig. 3.13). On the clay floor related to the building attested by Walls 5/03 and 6/03 under the LH IIIB

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

³⁴ Diameter 7.4cm.

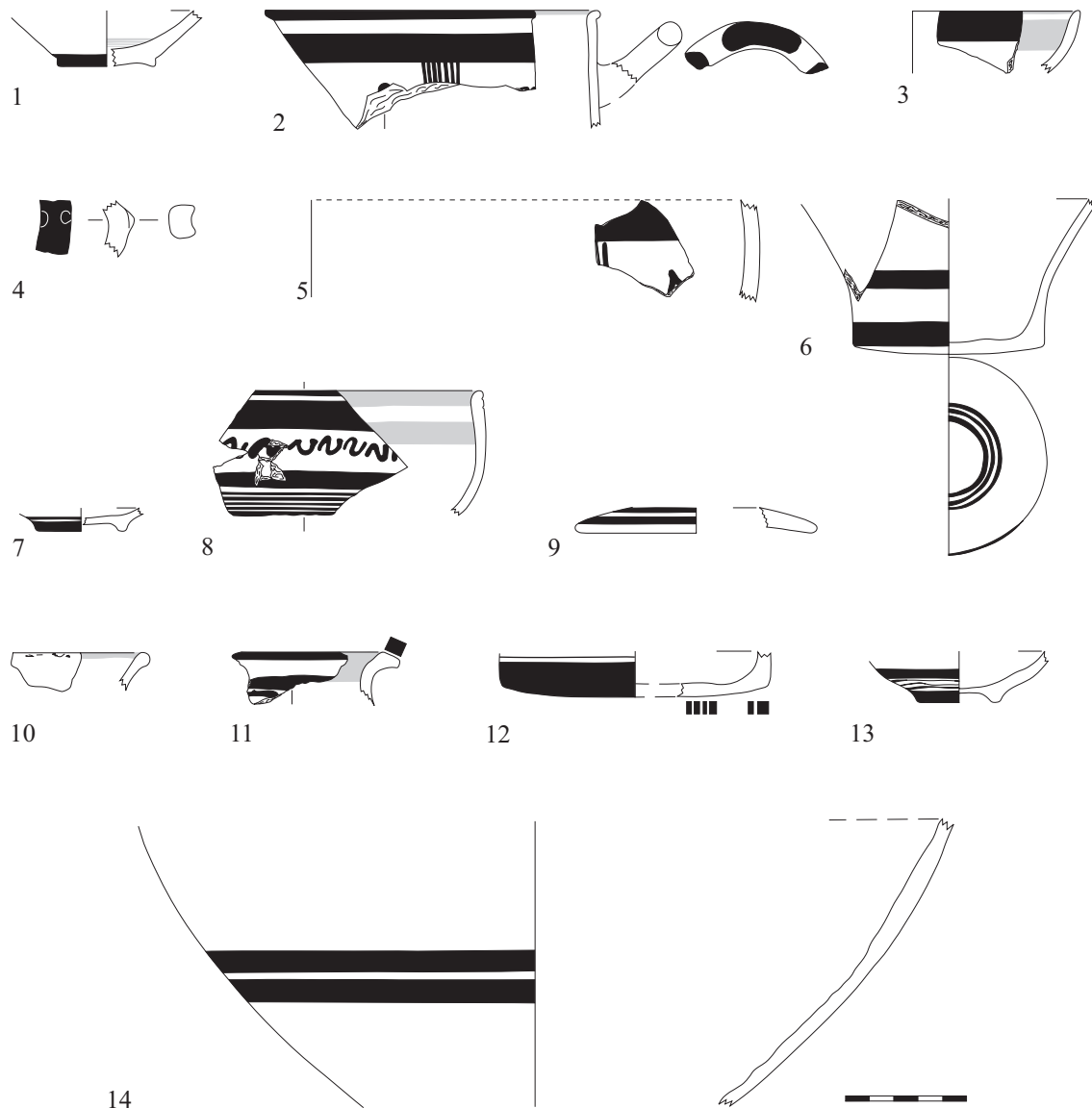


Fig. 3 LH IIIB Early-Middle: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (2–3, 9–12, 14: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 4–8, 13: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

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

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

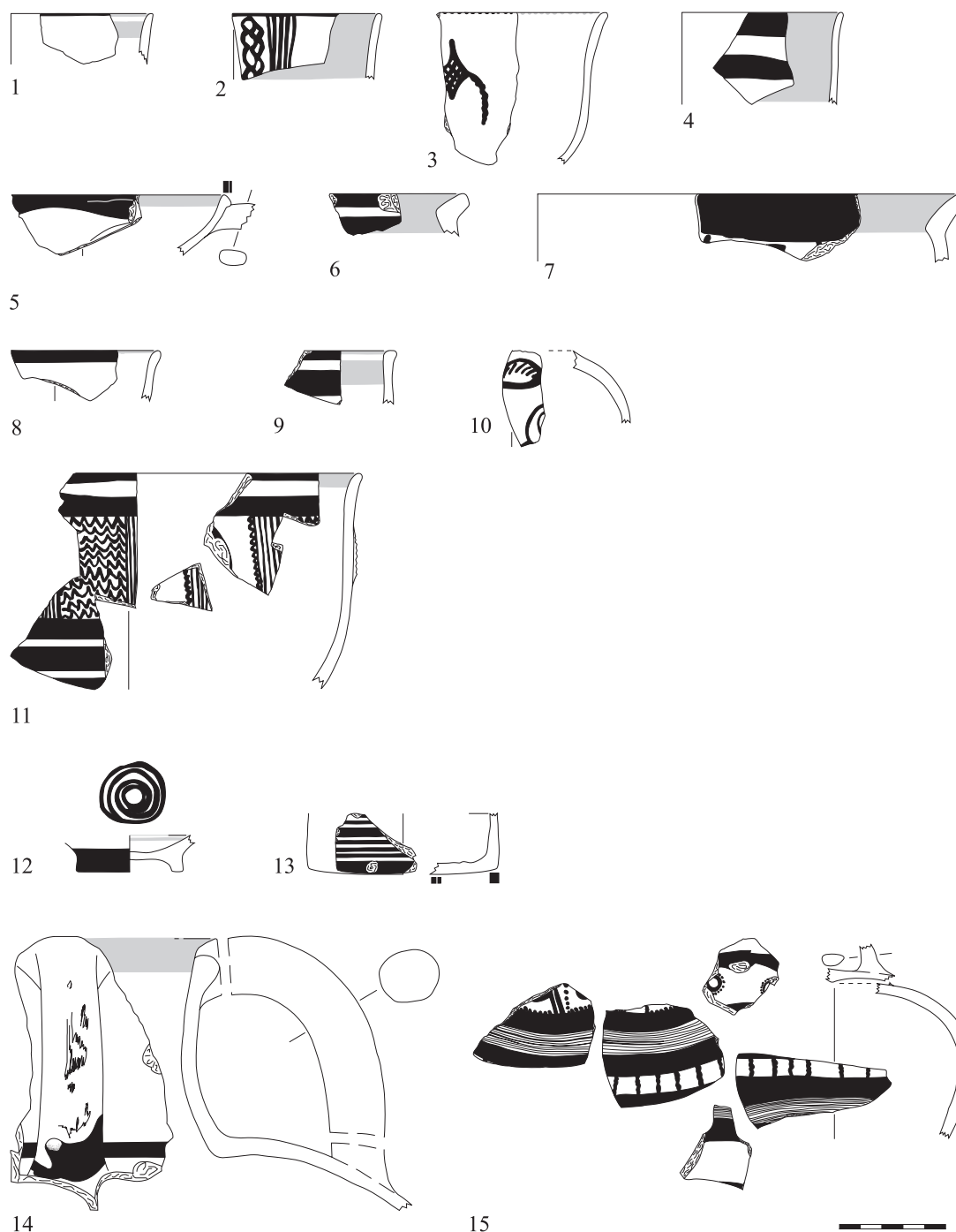


Fig. 4 LH IIIB Developed: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 4, 6, 8–9, 11–15: drawings S. Wirghová; 2–3, 5, 7, 10: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

In this phase no in situ ceramic finds were present in the western part of the excavated area. The Group A deep bowl (Fig. 4.1, 12) and Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior (Fig. 4.2) were recognized together with the rosette deep bowl³⁶ (Fig. 4.3) and the deep bowl with wavy

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

line (Fig. 4.4). Except for the latter, all these deep bowl types are characteristic shapes of Vitale's LH IIIB2 Early (or LH IIIB Developed at Tiryns).³⁷ However, the presence of the Group B deep bowl, also postulated by Salvatore Vitale for that chronological horizon, does not find support in the material studied here dating to LH IIIB Developed.³⁸ The large Group A deep bowl FS 284 or stemmed bowl FS 305 (Fig. 4.11) with stemmed bowl type of banding and with three bands on the belly (diameter 22cm) was attested for the first time in this phase.³⁹ No linear shapes were identified in this phase. This might be the result of the small size of the sherd material, which does not allow the study of whole vessels. No shallow bowls FS 296 with white painting were recognized. This is the reason why all shallow bowls with horizontal handles were assigned to the globular type FS 295B (example of FS 295B, Christian Podzuweit's Type 1⁴⁰ shown in Fig. 4.5). One rim of a ring-based krater FS 281 (Fig. 4.6) with probably monochrome interior and a stemmed bowl type of banding, the so-called ring-base krater SB, was already found in this phase. The first miniature vessels⁴¹ (Fig. 4.10) from the studied material are dated to this period. Most miniature vessels from LH IIIB Developed and Final are handmade. One almost completely preserved miniature jug was found in the area of Room 78b in Building XI. The find is not stratified,⁴² but it appears to be in a handmade tradition of the LH IIIB period (Fig. 7.10). It seems that mugs were still in use, together with a stemmed bowl (Fig. 4.9). Furthermore, in this phase we find a small open vessel (Fig. 4.8) and a krater FS 7–9 (Fig. 4.7).

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

The LH IIIB Final phase, with its developed palatial organization on the one side, and the final destruction on the other side, constitutes the next turning point of historical development. This is reflected in the ceramic material by a wide range of shapes, some of which are of a special character (chalice FS 278, Fig. 6.4 and spouted cup⁴³ FS 253, Fig. 6.6). However, not only local shapes but also foreign forms found in Building XI, Building XV and in the Passageway are of interest in this phase.⁴⁴ In addition to the area excavated by Maran, the area of the Passageway excavated by Kilian yielded supplementary information regarding the ceramic repertory of this period.

From the local shapes that were already known and attested in situ, there are Group A (Fig. 5.1–2) and Group B deep bowls⁴⁵ (Fig. 5.4), which, together with the spouted cup already mentioned, comprise a part of the inventory of Room 78c in Building XI. The Group A deep bowl with

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

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

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

⁴⁰ Podzuweit 2007, 73–74.

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

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

⁴³ The handle is placed at 90° to the spout.

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

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

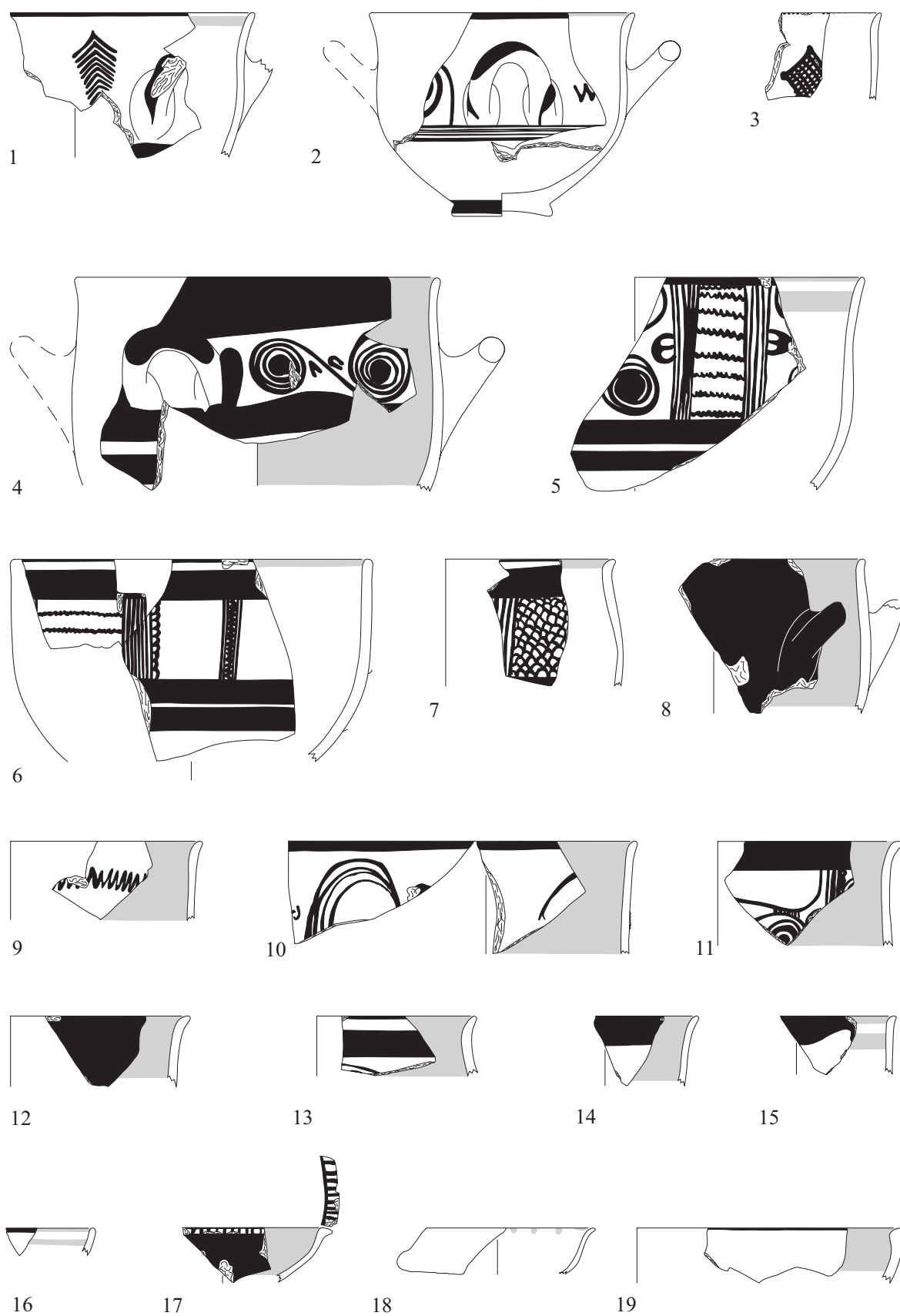


Fig. 5 LH IIIB Final: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 3–4, 8–19: drawings S. Wirghová; 2, 5, 7: drawings R. Tsembera; 6: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

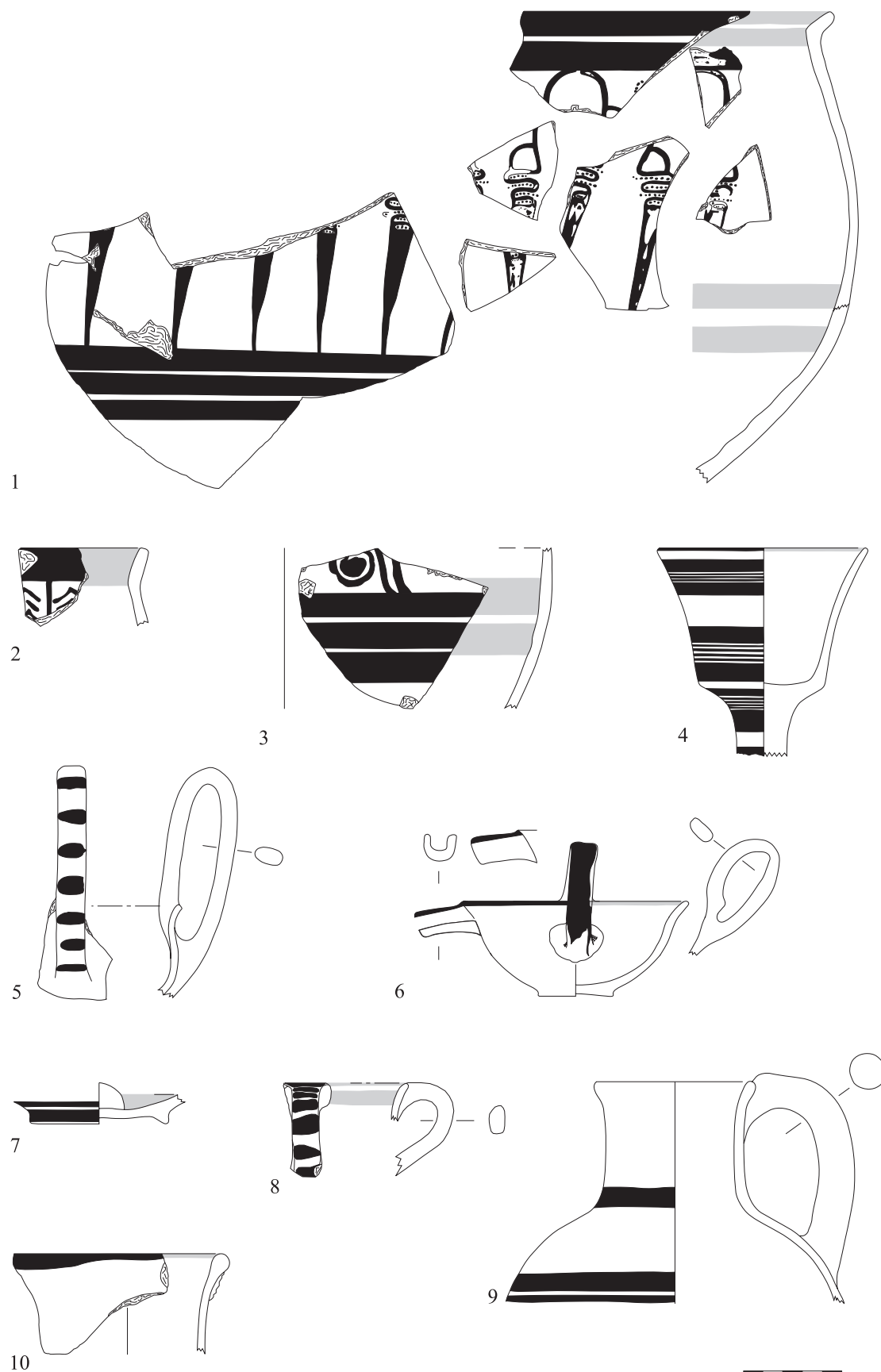


Fig. 6 LH IIIB Final: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1–3, 5–7, 10: drawings S. Wirghová; 4, 8: drawings R. Tsembera; 9: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

monochrome interior (Fig. 5.9–10) and a rosette deep bowl are earlier shapes that are still present (Fig. 5.3). The Group C deep bowl (Fig. 5.11), deep bowl SB⁴⁶ (Fig. 5.13), medium band cup FS 215 (Fig. 5.14)⁴⁷ and deep semi-globular cup FS 215⁴⁸ (linear, Figs. 5.15; 6.8) together with the already mentioned Group B deep bowl were recognized as new shapes in the ceramic repertory. According to Vitale, linear decorated shapes seem to be more typical for the LH IIIB Final phase than for LH IIIB Developed.⁴⁹ A new technological feature is a reserved circle in the center base on deep bowls with monochrome interior (Fig. 6.7). A monochrome deep bowl FS 284, described as a problematic form for this period by Stockhammer,⁵⁰ was identified as well (Fig. 5.12). One conical linear painted rim (Fig. 5.16) comes from a deep conical bowl FS 242 or a conical kylix FS 274. It remains questionable whether this is the older or the newer type, since a similar rim was also found in the LH IIIB Early–Middle. In the material from the Western Staircase, this shape is found only in Zone 1 (LH IIIC Early 1).⁵¹ Reliable examples of this form come from LH IIIC Early.⁵² The repertory of shapes further includes the shallow globular bowl (probably FS 295B, Podzuweit's Type 1, Fig. 5.17), the dipper FS 236 (Fig. 6.5), the krater FS 7–9 (Fig. 6.2) and the ring-based krater FS 281 (Fig. 6.1,⁵³ 3). A small open vessel with dotted rim was classified as a shallow cup FS 220 or dipper FS 236 (Fig. 5.18). The basin FS 294 with monochrome interior was attested as well (Fig. 5.19) and since we have no examples of this shape from previous phases in the studied material, its first appearance remains unclear. A well-preserved stemmed bowl FS 305 (Fig. 5.6) found in the Passageway attests to the continuity of this shape in this phase⁵⁴ together with two other examples, one of them monochrome (Fig. 5.7–8). Another well-preserved large Group A deep bowl found in the fill of Room 1/02 comes from this phase (Fig. 5.5). For the following LH IIIC Early phases 1 and 2, this type of deep bowl was not reliably identified in this material, which stands in contrast to the number of large Group A deep bowls in Zone 1 in the Western Staircase, where this type has its peak.⁵⁵

Regarding closed shapes, the amphora with hollowed rim⁵⁶ (Fig. 6.10) and the collar-necked jar (FS 63 and FS 64,⁵⁷ Fig. 7.2–3) were introduced in this phase. Also, amphoriskoi (Fig. 7.4) seem to appear as a new type in this phase, though this might not be the final conclusion and further research is needed. In situ finds from Room 78c are a strainer jug FS 155 with a pictorial decoration (Fig. 7.8) and an amphora/jug/hydria (Fig. 7.1). From Kilian's excavation comes a well-preserved example of a jug FS 110⁵⁸ (Fig. 6.9, area of Room 78c). A body fragment decorated with side triglyph with wavy line FM 53 and probably chevron FM 58 (Fig. 7.5) most probably

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

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

⁴⁸ Diameter 10cm.

⁴⁹ Vitale 2006, 197–199, tab. 1.

⁵⁰ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 52–53.

⁵¹ Kardamaki 2009, 257, pl. 29.619–621.

⁵² See Kardamaki 2009, 258 n. 688.

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

⁵⁴ Found in the Passageway during Kilian's excavation.

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

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

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

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

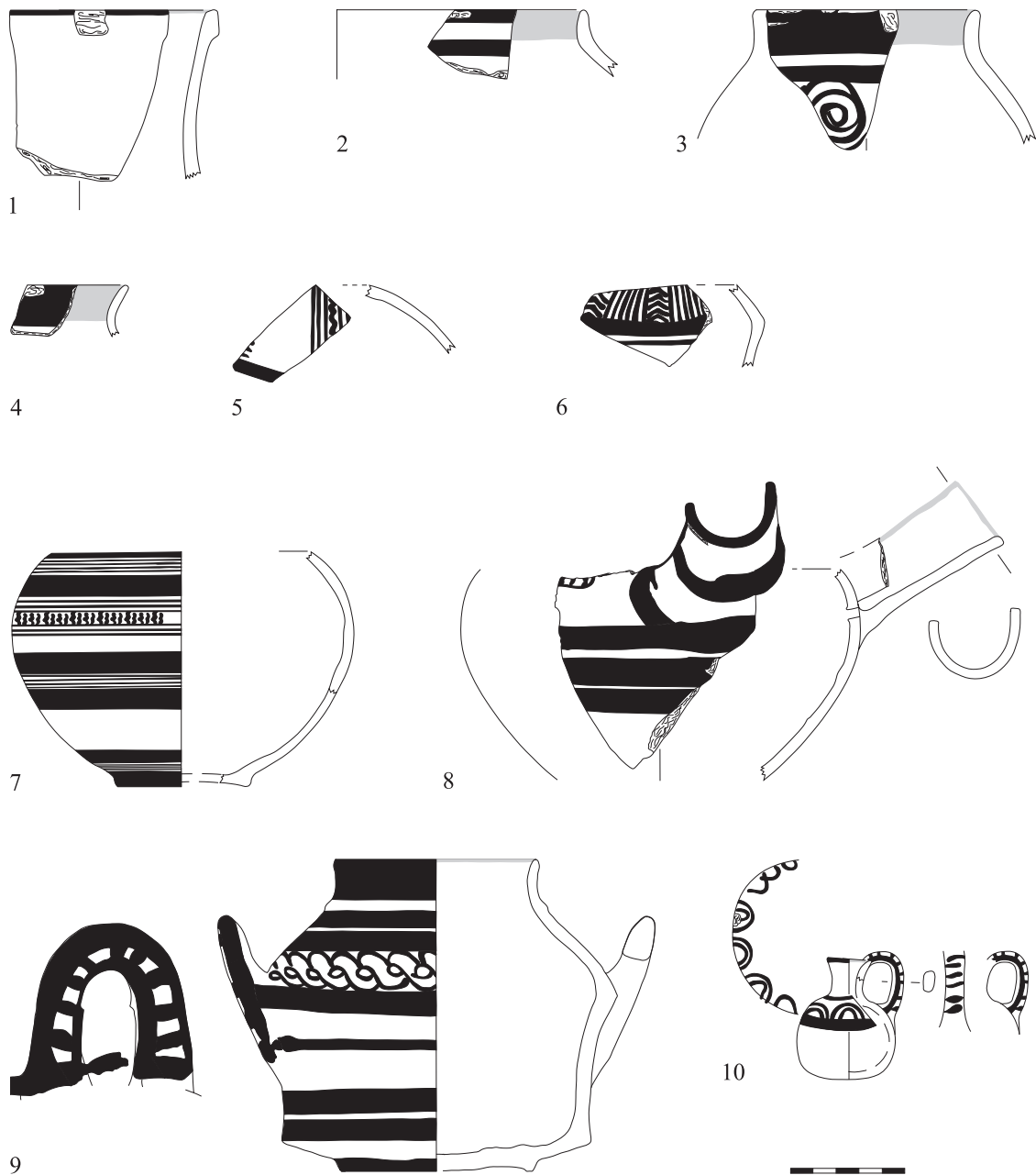


Fig. 7 LH IIIB Final: painted fine ware (10. non-stratified). Scale 1:3 (2, 4–7: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 9–10: drawings R. Tsembera; 8: drawing B. Konnemann; 3: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

comes from a narrow-necked jug FS 120.⁵⁹ A round stirrup jar comes from Room 78c (Fig. 7.7).⁶⁰ To make the picture of the ceramic repertory for this phase even more complete, a straight-sided alabastron FS 94, which originates from the destruction horizon of Room 4/01 in Building XV⁶¹ (Fig. 7.9, another example on Fig. 7.6), has to be mentioned.

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

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

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

⁶¹ Maran 2008, 58, fig. 40.

band deep bowls (FS 284).⁶² The deep semi-globular cup SB (FS 215), lip-band cup FS 215 or bowl⁶³ and carinated cup FS 240 were not attested in this phase either.

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

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

As one of the most important Mycenaean palaces, Tiryns was part of an international exchange network in the Late Bronze Age. During this period, there is evidence of ‘diplomatic embassies and royal exchanges in addition to low-level commercial activity, dispatching of troops’,⁶⁴ inter-dynastic marriages and the exchanging of ‘specialist personnel’.⁶⁵ The palaces also controlled the collection of taxes and tributes in the form of commodities.⁶⁶ Possibly luxuries and other exotic objects were also exchanged in the form of a gift.⁶⁷ Although wall brackets with their ‘origin in the Cypriot or Levantine region’⁶⁸ could be considered such an exotic object, the two wall brackets found in Room 78a of Building XI and in the LH IIIB Final destruction horizon in the Passageway⁶⁹ are of local origin⁷⁰ and thus became a local interpretation of an originally exotic object.

According to the material presented in this paper, during the Palatial period the community of Tiryns maintained a vivid international goods exchange,⁷¹ reaching from Aegina⁷² in the west to

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

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

⁶⁴ Cline 1999, 121; Cline 2003, 362–364.

⁶⁵ Sherratt – Sherratt 1991, 371.

⁶⁶ Sherratt – Sherratt 1991, 371.

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

⁶⁸ See the discussion on their origin in Maran 2004, 11–12.

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

⁷⁰ Maran 2008, 12; Rahmstorf 2008, 108, 110–111.

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

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

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

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

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

As shown in Tab. 4, according to the studied material, contacts with Aegina and Kythera were first attested in LH IIIB Early–Middle. In this phase, Aeginetan cooking pots with gold mica⁷³ and a coarse ware with a dense concentration of silver mica (muscovite) in the clay were attested. This feature is known in the pottery from the Cyclades and Kythera.⁷⁴ Based on parallels from Kythera, both micaceous wares presented here were assigned to this region. The best evidence of a Kytheran ware with applied vertical coils with notched impressions comes from LH IIIB Developed out of a fill from under Room 4/01 in Building XV (Fig. 8.1).⁷⁵ A very similar Kytheran coarse ware pithos from Kommos dated to LH IIIB was published by Jeremy Rutter.⁷⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁸ Befund-Nr. 33/01, Floor IIIA.

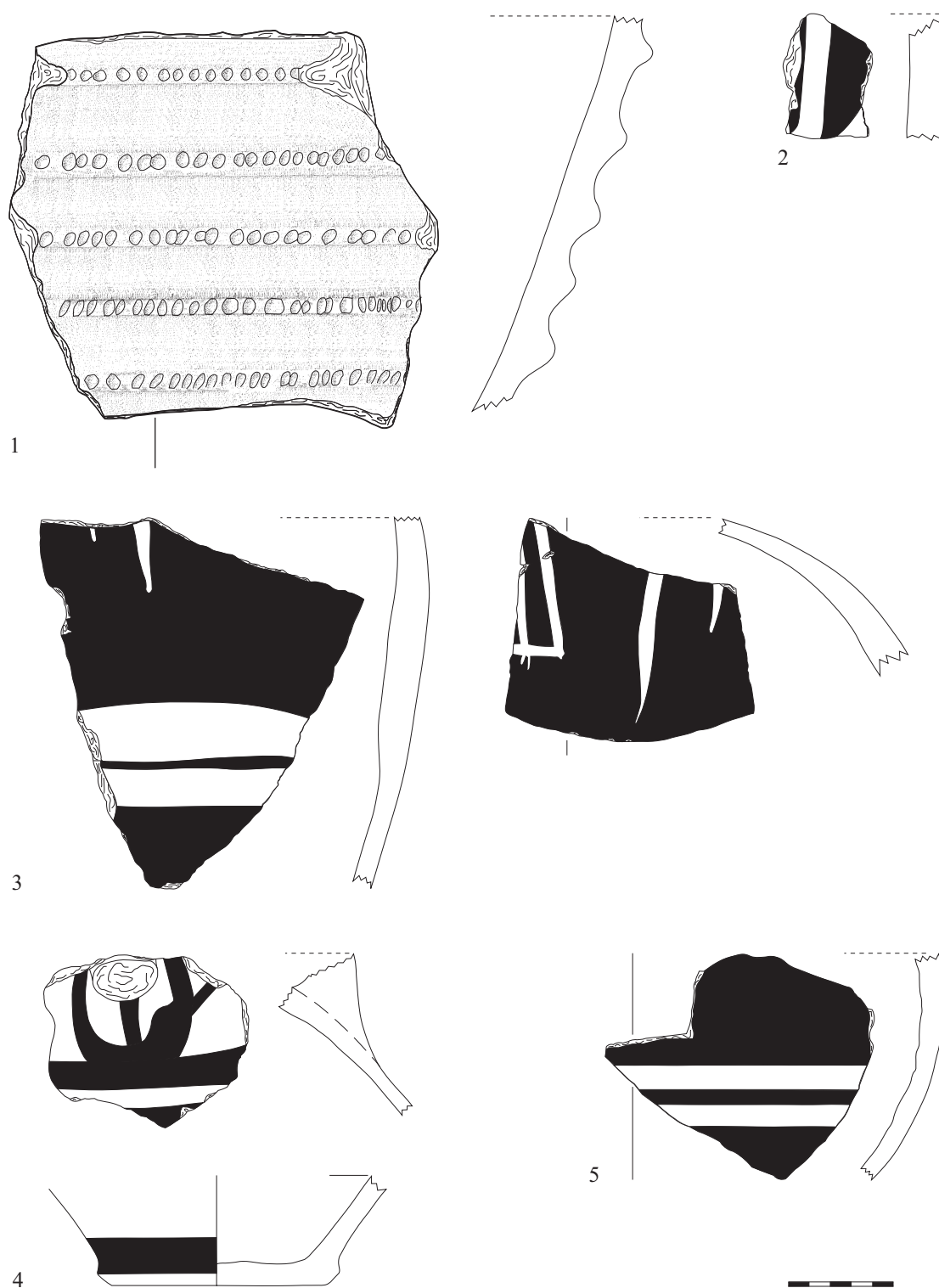


Fig. 8 1–2. Kytheran coarse ware pithoi; 3–5. Cretan-type stirrup jars. Scale 1:3
(2–4: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 5: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

⁷⁹ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 152; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 40.972.

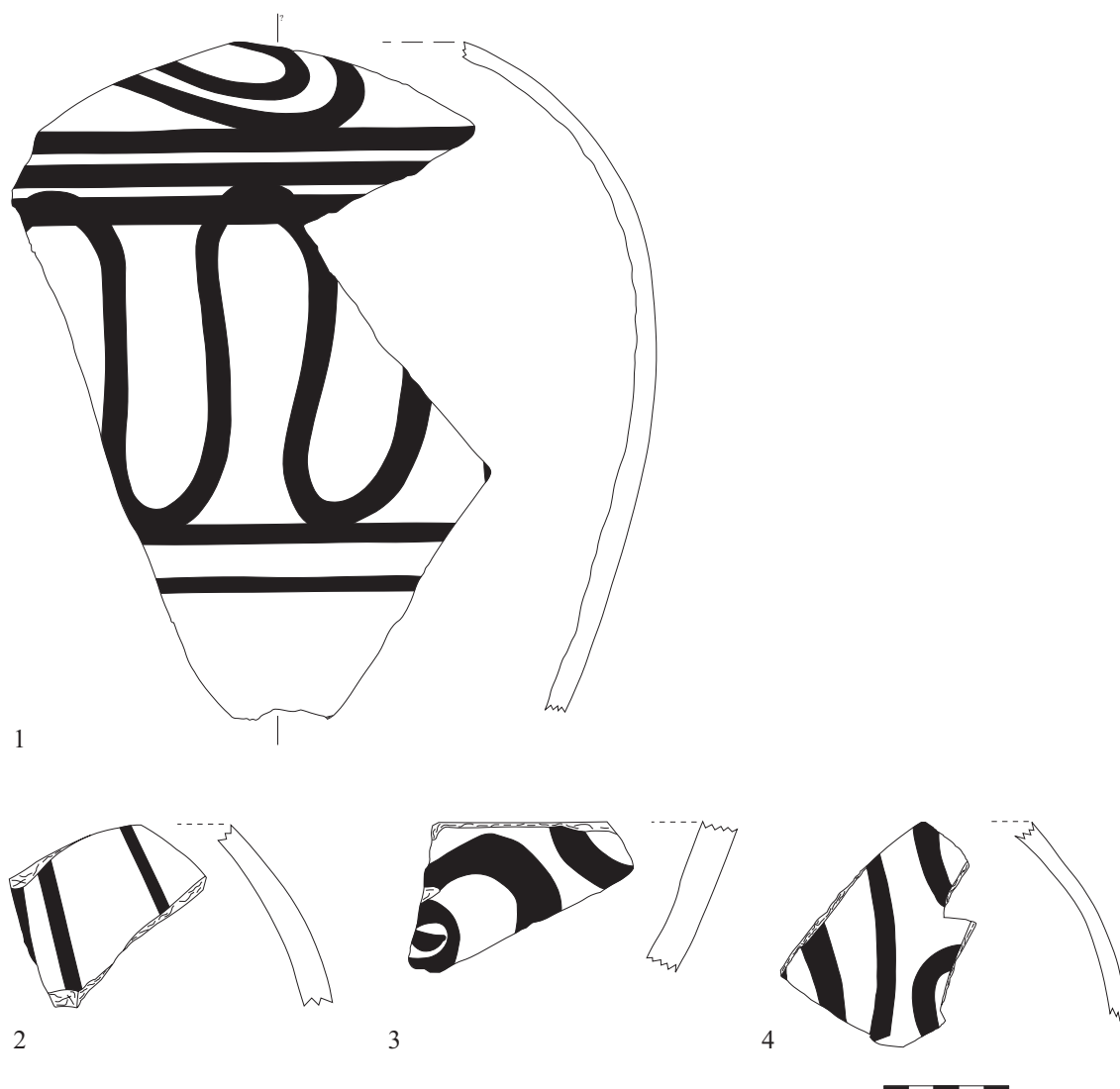


Fig. 9 Cretan-type stirrup jars. Scale 1:3 (1: drawing R. Tsembera; 2–4: drawings S. Wirghová; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

Cretan-type⁸² and/or Cretan-provenance stirrup jars were already recognized in LH IIIB Developed layers.⁸³ Two body fragments, probably of the same vessel with Linear B signs (Fig. 8.3),

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

⁸¹ Maran 2005.

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

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

were discovered in the LH IIIB Developed fill under Room 3/01 in Building XV.⁸⁴ In LH IIIB Final two types of these jars existed in parallel: the dark-on-light version⁸⁵ (Fig. 8.4) and the light-on-dark version (Fig. 8.5). One well-preserved jar with a typical octopus decoration comes from the Passageway; it was discovered during the 1982–1983 campaign (Figs. 9.1; 11.1) and dates to LH IIIB Final. These foreign vessels were also attested sporadically in the early Post-palatial period from the pit Befund-Nr. 123/02 dated to LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 9.2–3) and the pit Grube 3/03 dated to LH IIIC Early 2 (Fig. 9.4). As discussed by Maran,⁸⁶ evidence from the Northeastern and Northwestern Lower Town suggests continuity of Cretan-type stirrup jars until the end of the LH IIIC Early phase. The latest petrographic analyses of light-on-dark and dark-on-light stirrup jars from Tiryns identified two main regions of origin for these vessels: Chania and western Mesara.⁸⁷ According to the chemical and petrographic analysis, the Cretan-type stirrup jar with an unusual geometric decoration from Room 78a dated to LH IIIB Final⁸⁸ (Figs. 10.4; 11.2) turned out to be a vessel produced on the Greek mainland (Argolid).⁸⁹

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

There is rather limited evidence of Cypriote pottery in the excavations at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. According to Maran, the neck of a large jug⁹³ also dated to the final Palatial phase (Figs. 10.5; 13.2), which probably had a transport function, could be such an example.⁹⁴

Fragments from Canaanite jars were attested in the Passageway. Besides one already published base⁹⁵ and a partly preserved Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs on the handle,⁹⁶ in 2002 the rim and other body fragments with the second handle coming from the same vessel (Fig. 13.3) were discovered in the southern part of the Passageway, next to the vessels

⁸⁴ Maran 2008, 49, fig. 23.

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

⁸⁶ Maran 2005, 419–420. See also Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 216.

⁸⁷ Kardamaki et al. 2016.

⁸⁸ Maran 2008, 51–52, fig. 28.

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

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

⁹¹ Maran 2008, 56, fig. 35.

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

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

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

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

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

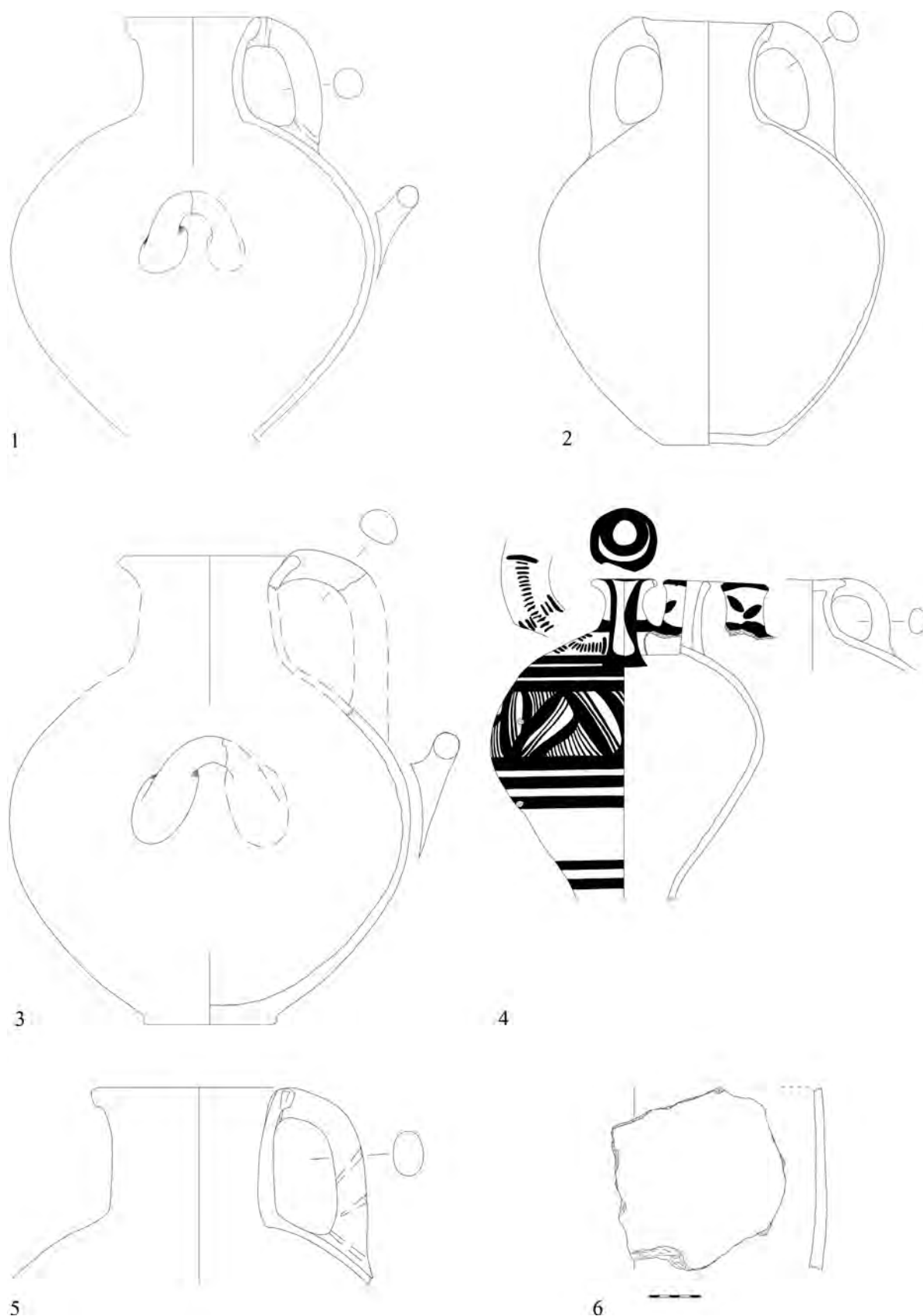


Fig. 10 1–3. Transport vessels from the Dodecanese; 4. local transport stirrup jar; 5. coarse ware jug from Cyprus; 6. Canaanite jar. Scale 1:6 (1–3: drawings B. Konnemann; 4: drawing R. Tsembera and Kilian's excavation archive; 5–6: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).



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



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



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

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

Painted Fine Ware of the Early Post-Palatial Period

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

The linear shallow angular bowl FS 295A is mentioned by Stockhammer¹⁰¹ as a new shape in the LH IIIC Early 1 phase. In Befund-Nr. 123/02 it was not possible to identify this type. The conical kylix or conical bowl (FS 274 or FS 242) with linear decoration inside and out was not identified,¹⁰² but one preserved conical rim seems to be completely monochrome (Fig. 14.1). Another conical rim comes from a possible conical bowl decorated with a triangular patch hanging from the rim (Fig. 14.2).¹⁰³ In this phase the deep semi-globular cup with dotted rim FS 215 was attested (Fig. 14.3). Furthermore, a possible linear deep bowl with a rim band inside (Fig. 14.5) and a lip band cup/bowl with a monochrome interior were identified (Fig. 14.4). The possible lip band cup/bowl might represent a new decoration type in this Post-palatial phase.¹⁰⁴ In addition, we also find here the well-known shapes: Group A (Fig. 14.6), Group A with monochrome interior (Fig. 14.7), Group B¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 14.11), rosette deep bowl (Fig. 14.8) and two types of stemmed bowl FS 305: one with bands inside and another one monochrome (Fig. 14.9–10). Kraters

⁹⁷ Maran 2008, 56, fig. 35.

⁹⁸ Davis et al. in press.

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

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

¹⁰¹ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 55.

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

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

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

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

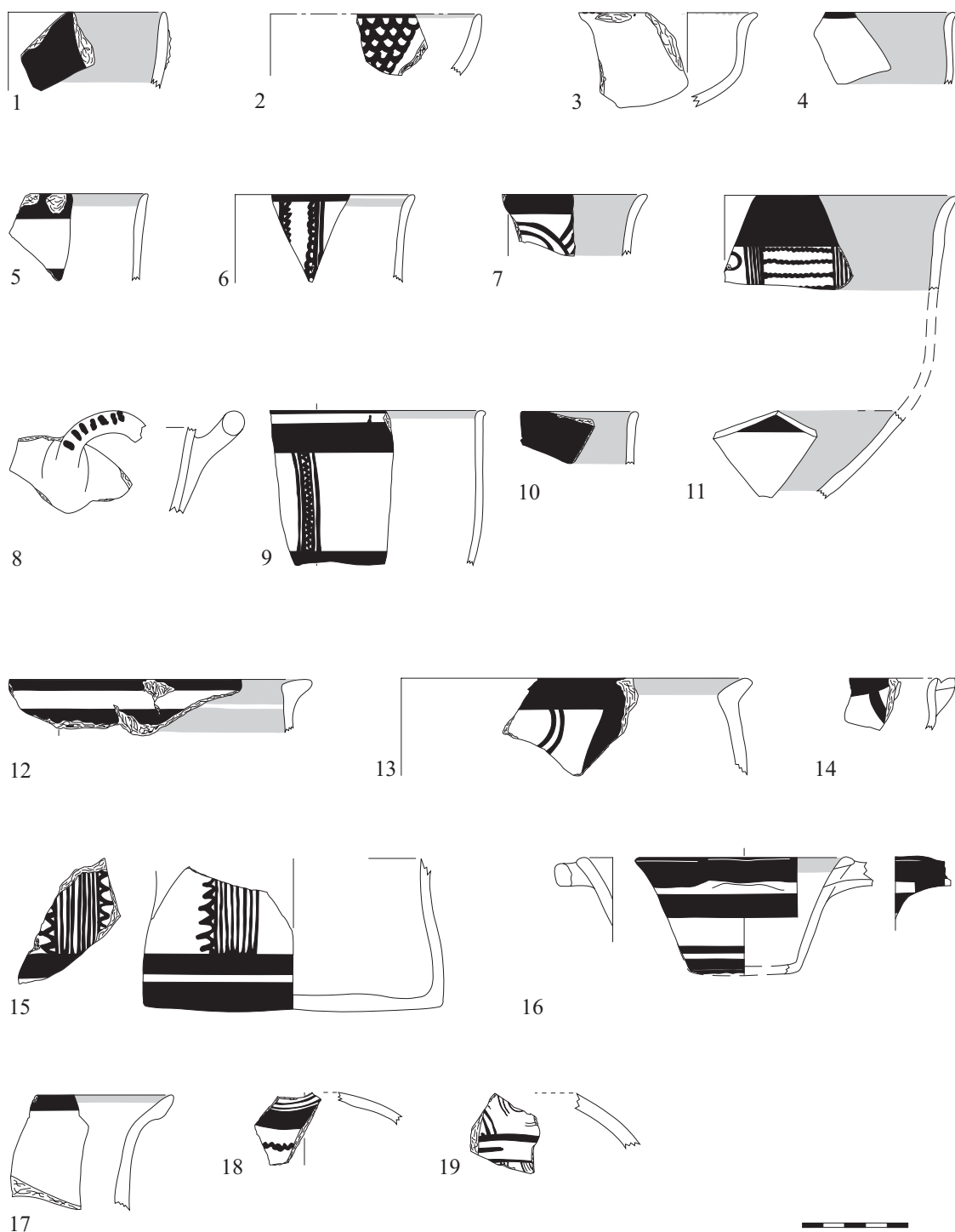


Fig. 14 LH IIIC Early 1: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 5, 12–13, 15, 17–18: drawings R. Tsembera; 2–4, 6–11, 14, 16, 19: drawings S. Wirghová; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

The amphoriskos FS 59 with a horizontal wavy line (FM 53:17, Fig. 14.18); large, closed shapes with a hollowed rim¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 14.17) and stirrup jars (Fig. 14.19) were still present in this phase.

¹⁰⁶ Closed forms without a hollowed rim are present in this phase as well.

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

The pit Grube 3/03 was smaller compared to Befund-Nr. 123/02. The number of diagnostic pieces was only approximately one third of that of the bigger pit. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify completely new shapes appearing in this phase: the carinated cup FS 240 (Fig. 15.1), the medium band deep bowl (FS 284, Fig. 15.2) and a conical kylix FS 274 with monochrome interior (Fig. 15.3). There is one linear rim, probably from a shallow angular bowl FS 295C (Fig. 15.4). According to Stockhammer, the chronological appearance of this shape is not yet clarified,¹¹⁰ but looking at the material studied here, this shape seems to begin already in a later stage of LH IIIC Early. The Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior was also recognized in this period (Fig. 15.5).¹¹¹ Group C deep bowls were not directly identified, but might have been used continuously, since rims categorized as Group C or medium band deep bowl were still attested (Fig. 15.7).¹¹² According to the results presented here, it seems that the medium band bowl is very rare and probably became more popular in the Post-palatial period. One rare example of a possible linear rosette deep bowl with a rosette placed high under the rim (Fig. 15.8) comes from this phase. Group A deep bowls (Fig. 15.12), stemmed bowls (Fig. 15.10) and a conical kylix or conical bowl (FS 274 or FS 242, Fig. 15.9) were also found in the pit, together with a kalathos (Fig. 15.17), a ring-based krater FS 281 with a pictorial decoration (Fig. 15.14–15) and a basin FS 294 with monochrome interior (Fig. 15.11). Regarding the material presented here, it seems that only LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 2 provided vessels with pictorial decoration. This would correspond to the observations from Mycenae, where this type of decoration was also attested in LH IIIC Early 2.¹¹³ It is possible that rosette deep bowls continued until the later LH IIIC Early phase (Fig. 15.13).

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

¹⁰⁷ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 137.

¹⁰⁸ Vitale 2006, 199.

¹⁰⁹ Kardamaki 2009, 227, tabs. 5–6.

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

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

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

¹¹³ French 2011, 83.

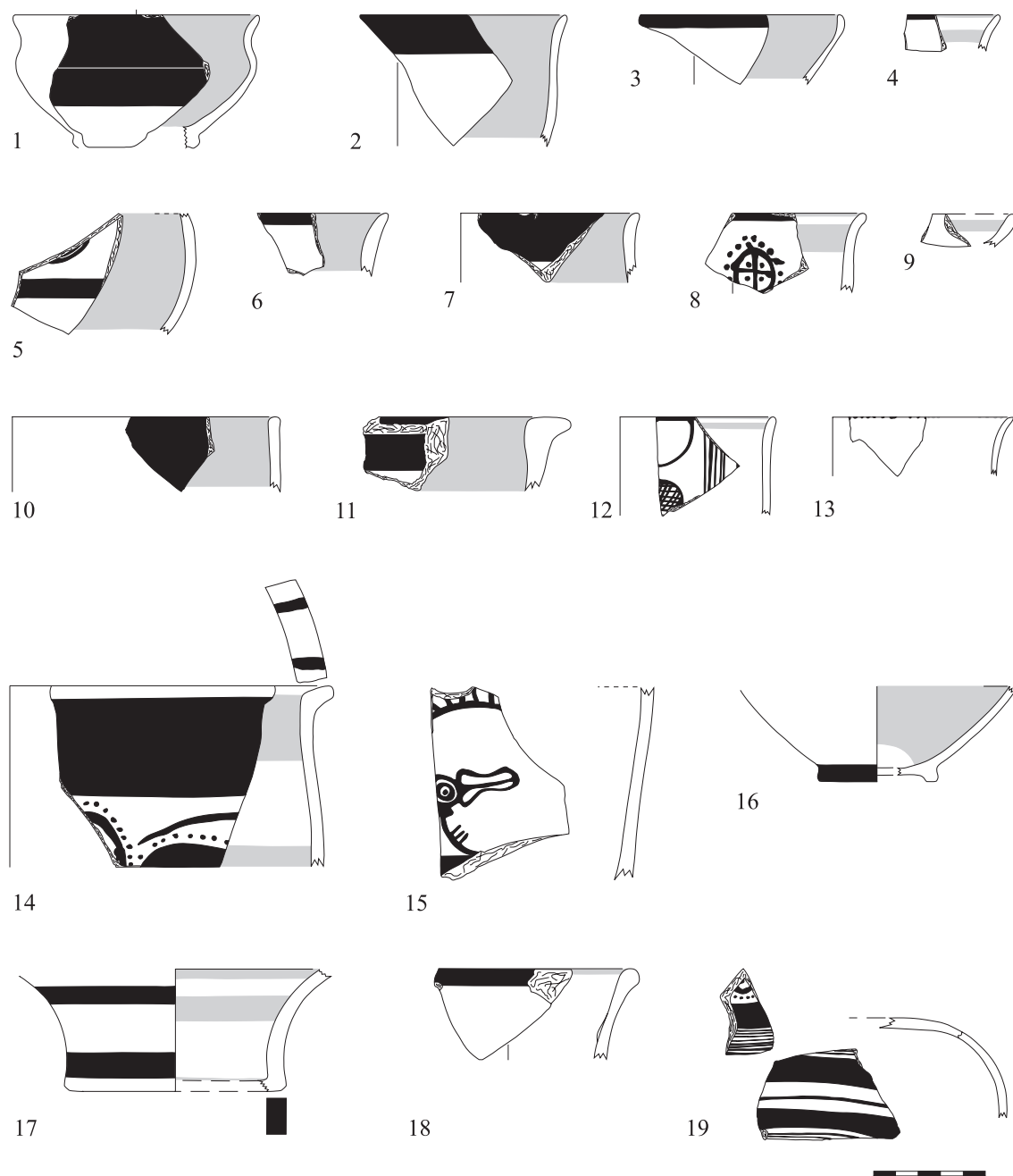


Fig. 15 LH IIIC Early 2: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1–8, 10, 13, 15–16, 18–19: drawings S. Wirghová; 9, 11–12, 14, 17: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

¹¹⁴ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 60–61.

Percentage of Deep and Stemmed Bowls

According to the available data (Tab. 5), it seems that the Group A deep bowl is the most popular type of deep bowl during LH IIIB Developed until LH IIIC Early 2 (Tab. 6). In LH IIIB Final, the Group A deep bowl is followed by the rosette and Group B deep bowls. When compared to stemmed bowls, stemmed bowls would become the second most popular type after the Group A deep bowl. It is possible that rosette deep bowls were also still more popular than Group B and Group C deep bowls in LH IIIC Early 1. The Group B deep bowl was attested in the LH IIIC Early 1 phase only once, compared to the previous phases with its possible peak in LH IIIB Final.¹¹⁵ This does not correspond to the observation of Kardamaki for the material in other areas of the Tiryns Citadel.¹¹⁶ The high percentage of linear painted deep bowls with monochrome or unpainted/linear painted interior from the Lower Citadel as presented by Podzuweit¹¹⁷ finds no comparison in the material presented here. For LH IIIB Developed and Final it was very difficult to identify this type of decoration at all. The only clearly identifiable medium band deep bowl comes from LH IIIC Early 2 (Fig. 15.2) and one rim identified as a possible linear deep bowl with rim band inside was attested in LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 14.5). The tendency towards more linear decoration in LH IIIC Early as observed by Podzuweit can also be noted in the material from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel.¹¹⁸ Although the number of sherds analyzed for LH IIIC Early 2 is very small, the tendency towards a larger number of Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior and medium band deep bowls was observed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beginning in LH IIIB Developed, the repertory of the unpainted open shapes stays relatively constant (Tab. 7). The one-handled carinated kylix FS 267 is attested already in LH IIIB Early–Middle (Fig. 16.1); it was found together with a smaller unpainted body sherd¹²⁰ of a closed shape with remains of a handle (probably hydria, Fig. 16.8) on a floor related to Wall 6/03. Another carinated kylix found in situ in the Passageway comes from LH IIIB Final (Fig. 17.1).¹²¹ In each studied phase the most popular shapes are the carinated kylix FS 267 (Figs. 16.12; 19.2) and shallow angular bowl FS 295C (Figs. 16.3, 10; 17.4; 19.3, 15). These were attested with certainty in all of the presented phases. Their popularity is illustrated in MNI statistics for LH IIIB Final, where carinated kylikes appear twice as often as the conical pendant (Tab. 8). The count of kylix stems/kylix bowls versus small open bottoms, which could represent bowls or cups, speaks for a clear preference in favor of kylikes in this final phase.¹²²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

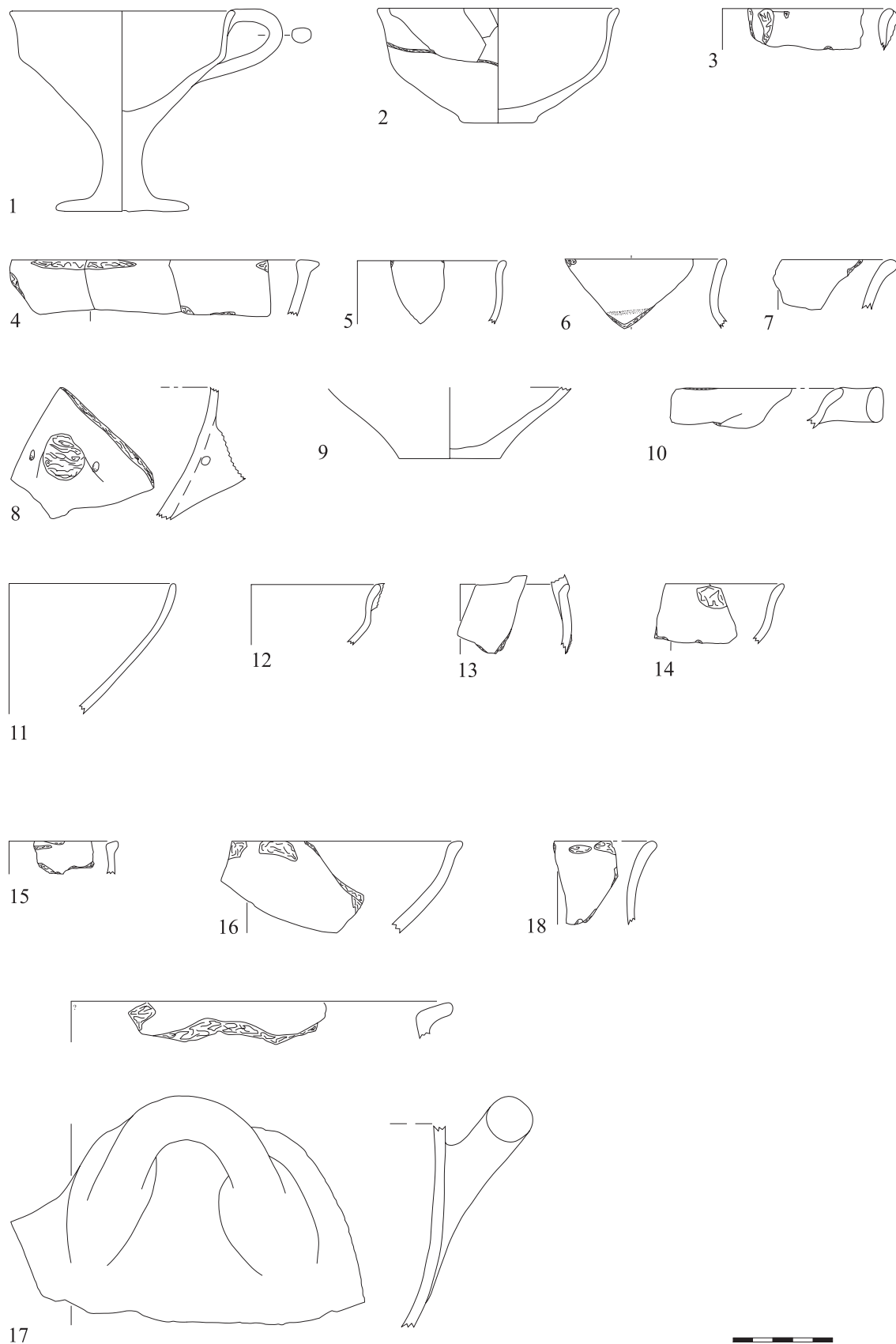


Fig. 16 Unpainted fine ware. 1–9. LH IIIB Early–Middle; 10–16, 18. LH IIIB Developed; 17. LH IIIB Developed–Final. Scale 1:3 (1–4, 6–8, 10, 13–15, 17–18: drawings S. Wirghová; 5, 9, 11–12, 16: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

they probably replaced, or existed in parallel to, the shallow cups FS 220. One almost completely preserved shallow cup dates to LH IIIB Early–Middle¹²⁴ (Fig. 16.2) and another rim (Fig. 16.14) to LH IIIB Developed. The percentage of shallow cups FS 220 is very small overall, but in the eastern part of the excavation, one complete profile of such a cup was found dated to LH IIIB Final and an additional one was found in the area of Room 78b in Kilian's excavation (Fig. 17.8). Although there is one almost completely preserved kylix FS 258 or FS 273 with high-swung strap handle (Fig. 17.3)¹²⁵ in the material of Kilian's excavation dated to LH IIIB Final from Room 78a, the overall quantity of rims assigned to FS 258 (Fig. 16.5) is very small.¹²⁶ Almost completely preserved representatives of the unpainted shallow cup FS 220 and the kylix FS 258 or FS 273 from LH IIIB Final could be a hint that these vessels remained in use to a small extent till the end of the Palatial period. One quite well-preserved fragment of a shallow cup FS 220 comes from the Northeastern Lower Town dated to Phase 1 or 2 (LH IIIC Early 1–2), which led Stockhammer to the conclusion that these cups were still produced in this Post-palatial phase.¹²⁷

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

The unpainted deep, semi-globular cup FS 215 was not identified in the phases studied here. Without a handle it is very difficult to identify and these sherds were categorized as dipper-cup or cup, shallow or deep. The dipper is represented by one rim with attached handle in LH IIIB Developed¹²⁹ (Fig. 16.13), by a well-preserved example in LH IIIB Final¹³⁰ (Fig. 17.5) and from Befund-Nr. 123/02 (Fig. 19.6). Unpainted miniature vessels seem to be present in the studied material only in the early Post-palatial period. A LH IIIC Early 1 handmade cup is shown in Fig. 19.11. From the pit Grube 3/03 we have examples of both a handmade closed shape (Fig. 19.17) and a wheelmade body fragment with attached fragmentary handle, probably of a deep bowl.¹³¹

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

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

¹²⁵ Weight: 470 grams.

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

¹²⁷ Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 155; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 43.1099.

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

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

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

¹³¹ The diameter measured on the body is 11cm.

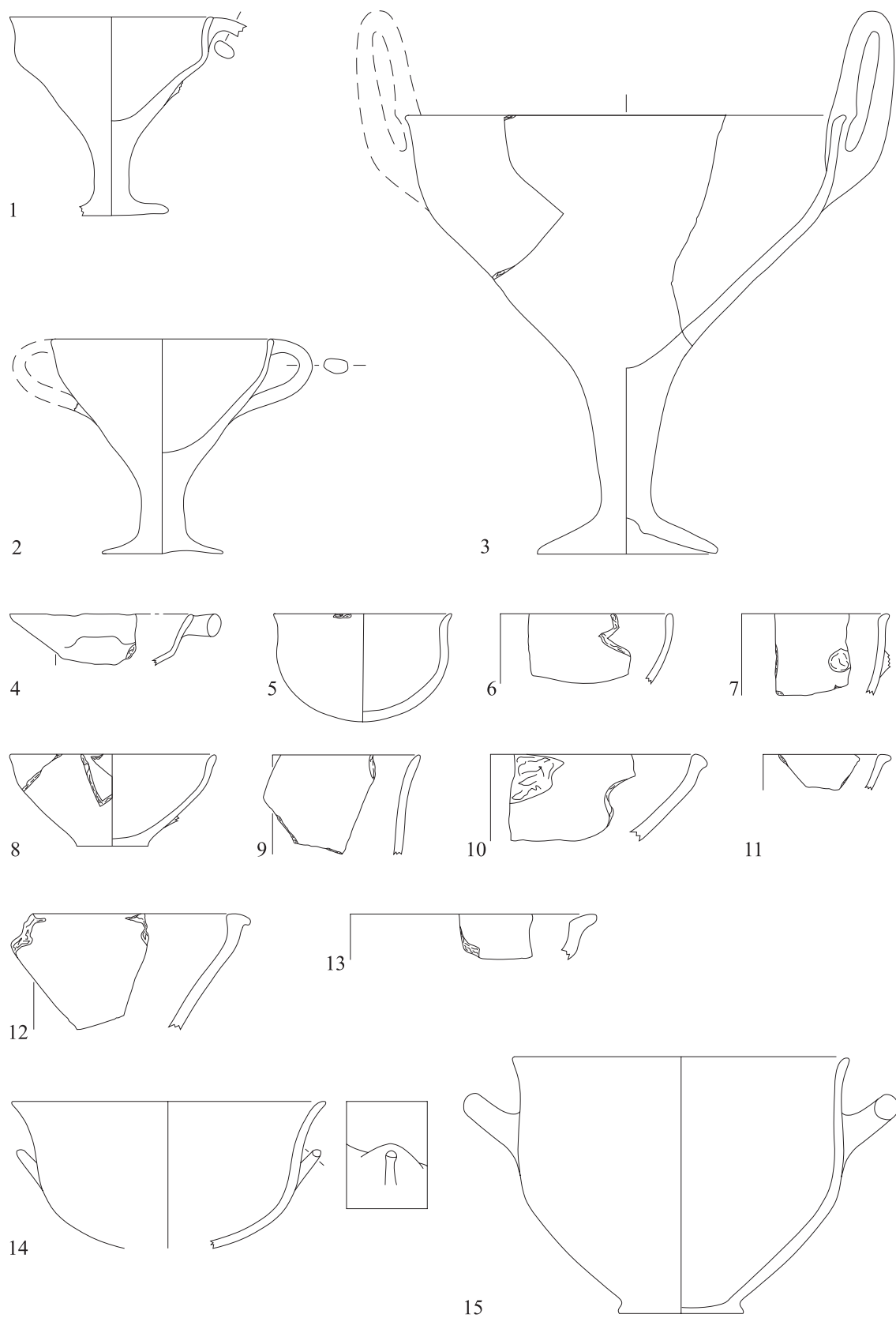


Fig. 17 LH IIIB Final: unpainted fine ware (open shapes). Scale 1:3 (1–3, 5–13: drawings S. Wirghová; 4: drawing R. Tsembera; 14–15: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

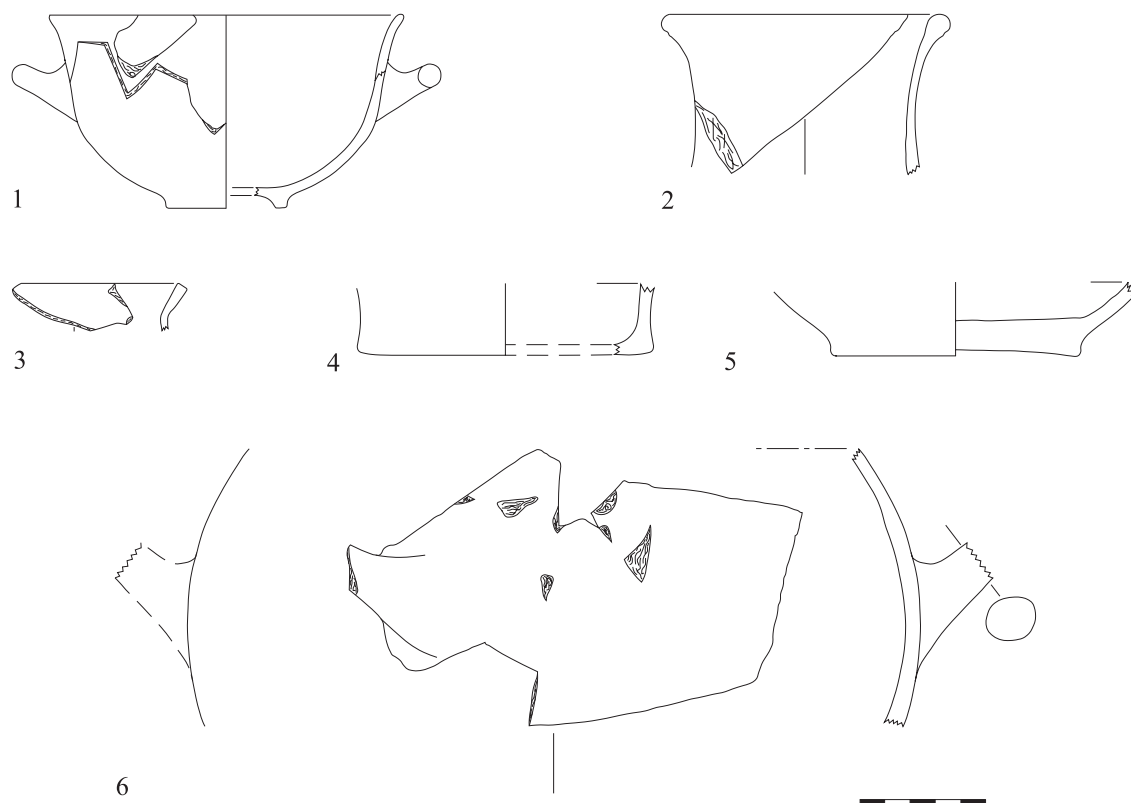


Fig. 18 LH IIIB Final: unpainted fine ware (open and closed shapes). Scale 1:3
(1, 3–6: drawings S. Wirghová; 2: drawing B. Konnemann; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

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

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

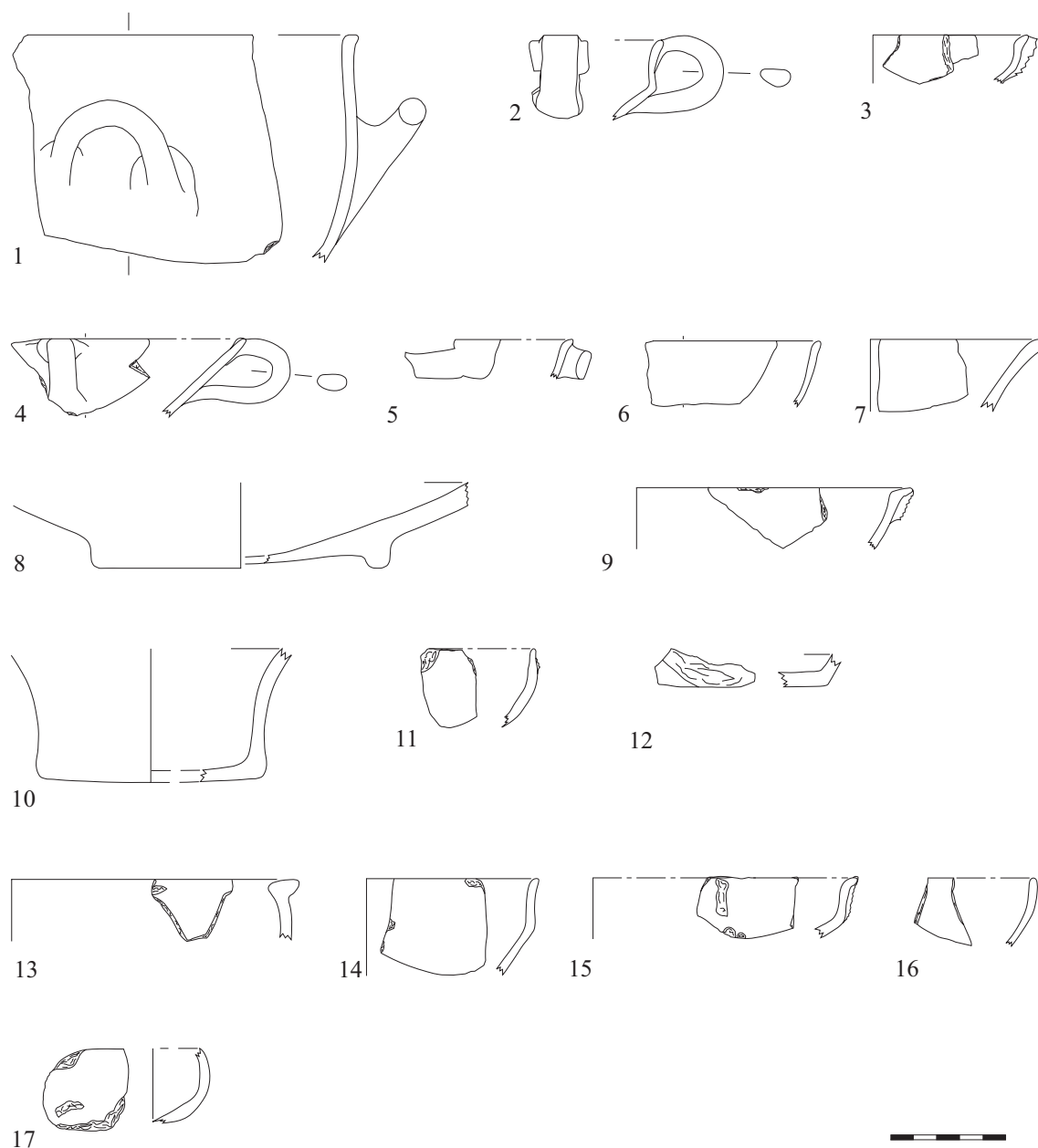


Fig. 19 Unpainted fine ware. 1–12. LH IIIC Early 1; 13–17. LH IIIC Early 2. Scale 1:3
(1–2, 4–5, 7–8, 10–17: drawings S. Wirghová; 3, 6, 9: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

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

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

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

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

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

Beginning with LH IIIB Early–Middle, there was no rim with a handle preserved, which would prove the existence of local cooking pot FS 66 with a handle from the rim (Tab. 10). A possible candidate may be a rim illustrated in Fig. 20.2 (FS 66 or FS 67). Two thin rims could come from FS 67 (cooking pots with a ‘long, thin rim and a handle from below the rim’¹³⁴, Fig. 20.3–4). In the next phase, LH IIIB Developed, it seems that shapes FS 74 (cooking pots with a ‘low and wide neck and a handle just below neck to broadest part of body’¹³⁵, Fig. 20.7) and FS 67 (Fig. 20.8) predominate.¹³⁶ Only one short, thick rim might be from a cooking pot FS 66 or a tripod FS 320 (Fig. 20.6).¹³⁷ This also seems to be the case in the LH IIIB Final phase, in which three almost completely preserved local cooking pots were found in situ in the Gateway¹³⁸ – FS 67 shown in Figs. 21.1–2; 22.1, and FS 74 in Fig. 21.3. The last example with a short neck and a handle from below the rim has an intentionally drilled hole in the bottom (Fig. 22.2) and thus could have been used as a sieve, or for libation purposes. The fragment with a handle preserved from the rim, FS 66 illustrated in Fig. 20.16, is the only one from the final Palatial layer in the area of Building XI.¹³⁹ This picture corresponds to observations made on local cooking ware from the Western Staircase. There is one fragment with handle from the rim FS 66 coming from Zone 2, but it has joins in Zone 1, thus the dating of this piece is uncertain.¹⁴⁰ One published example from LH IIIB2 comes from Mycenae.¹⁴¹ It seems that the development of this shape of local cooking ware in the Argolid is similar to its development in Attica, where in Kontopigado this shape is attested in LH IIIB2 Late.¹⁴²

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

¹³³ Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 41, Type 66.

¹³⁴ See Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 41, Type 67.

¹³⁵ Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 45, Type 74.

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁰ Information provided by Kardamaki.

¹⁴¹ French – Taylour 2007, CD-367, CD-420.

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

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

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

Tab. 10 Forms of local cooking ware and their occurrence in chronological phases

(X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ;

* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian's excavations).

Local tripod cooking pots were attested in all studied phases (Figs. 20.11, 22; 23.8, 15).¹⁴⁴ The examples found in situ from the final Palatial phase have an unusual trifoliate section (Figs. 20.22; 21.5¹⁴⁵); most of the legs found are round or oval in section. Dated to LH IIIB Final, an angular tripod cooking pot (Fig. 20.19) of local fabric was found in the material excavated in 2003. A similar tripod cooking pot (Fig. 23.14) came to light during Kilian's excavation and dates to LH IIIC Early 1 (Befund-Nr. 123/02). It may be that this is a cast up from the Palatial period.¹⁴⁶ An unusual tripod cooking pot or other closed vessel with horizontal handle dates to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 20.20).

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

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

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

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

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

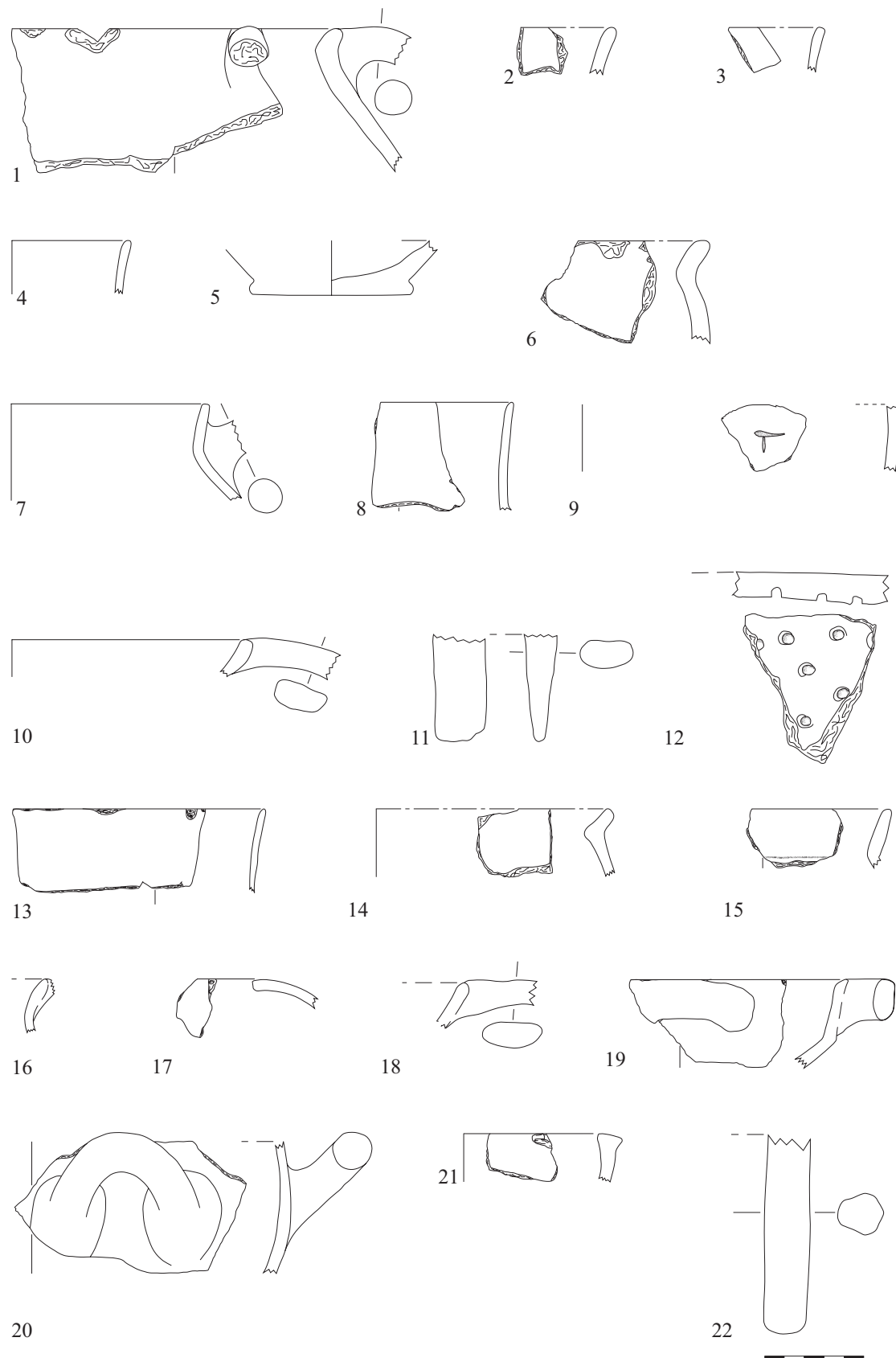


Fig. 20 1. LH IIIB Early–Middle: Aeginetan cooking ware; 2–5. LH IIIB Early–Middle: local cooking ware; 9. LH IIIB Developed: Aeginetan cooking ware; 6–8, 10–12. LH IIIB Developed: local cooking ware; 13–22. LH IIIB Final: local cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1–6, 10–21: drawings S. Wirghová; 7–9, 22: drawings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

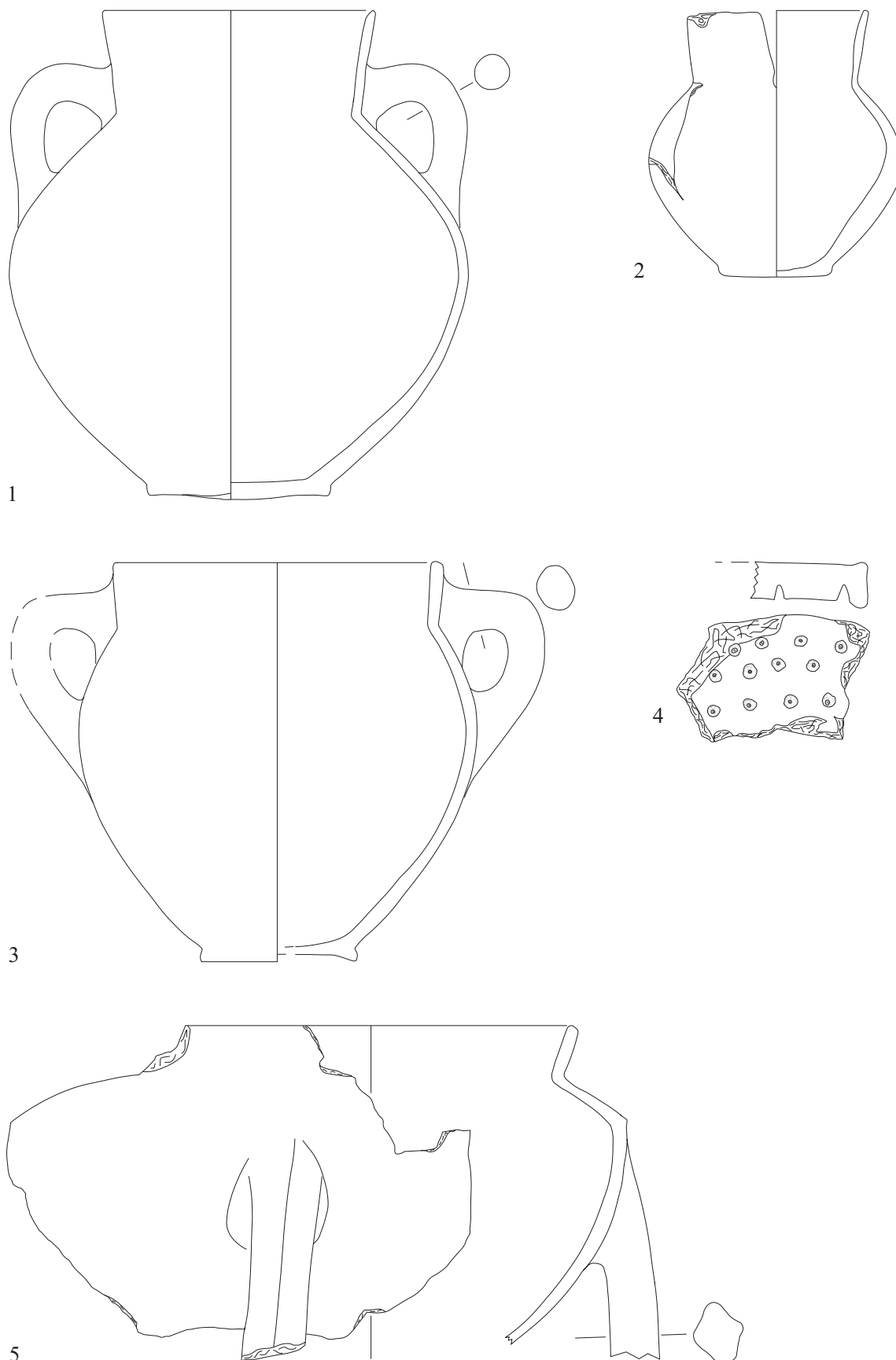


Fig. 21 LH IIIB Final: local cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 3: Kilian's excavation archive; 2, 4: drawings S. Wirghová; 5: drawing R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

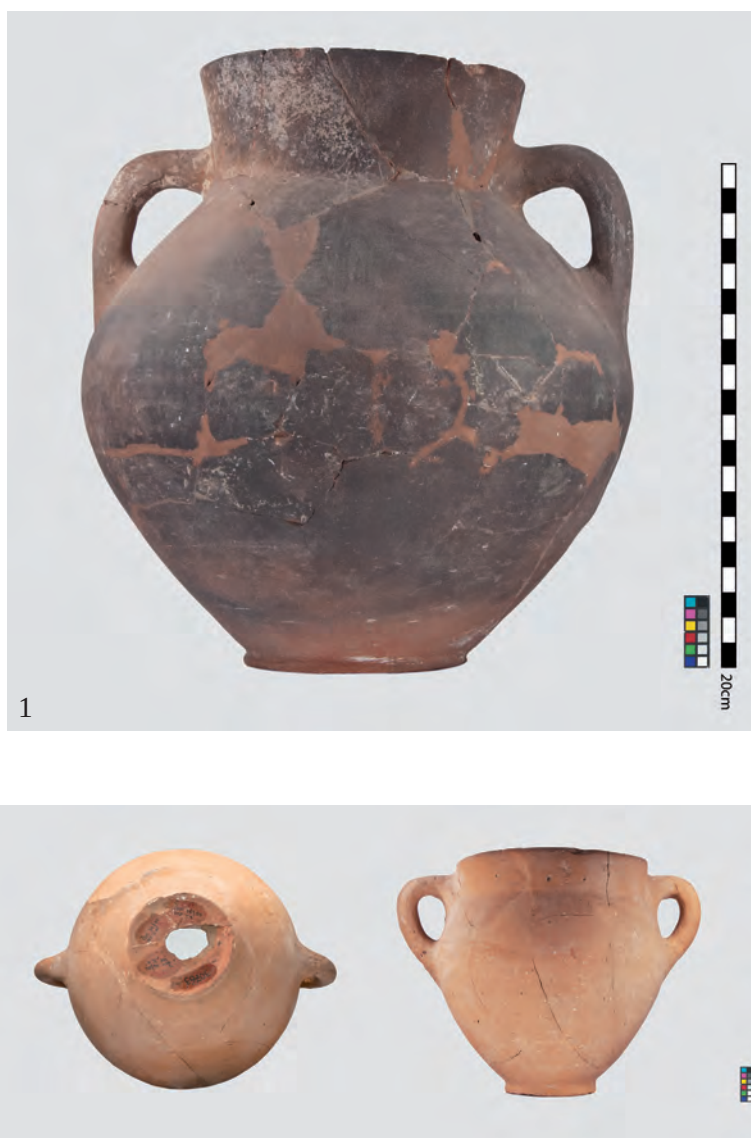


Fig. 22 1. Local cooking pot; 2. local cooking pot with an intentionally drilled hole in the bottom.
1. Scale 1:3; 2. Scale 1:6 (photos M. Kostoula).

The baking pan was recognized in LH IIIB Developed (Fig. 20.12) and Final layers (Fig. 21.4). All sherds were found secondarily burnt on the side without dimples. In my opinion, this makes them a portable fireplace, probably used in both cult and domestic activities.¹⁴⁷ The ladle or brazier FS 311 or FS 312 is attested in LH IIIB Developed, Final and in Befund-Nr.123/02 (Figs. 20.10, 18; 23.10–11); the torch, only in LH IIIB Final (Fig. 20.17) and LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 23.9). In LH IIIC Early 1, a cooking ware dipper (Fig. 23.12) was found as well. The variety of the shapes of the local cooking ware seems to be almost the same as in the previous phase (Tab. 10). The very limited amount of studied ceramic material¹⁴⁸ did not allow us to acquire a better picture of the cooking ware repertoire for the LH IIIC Early 2 phase (Fig. 23.15–16).

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

¹⁴⁸ Seven diagnostic sherds of local cooking ware, two sherds Aeginetan.

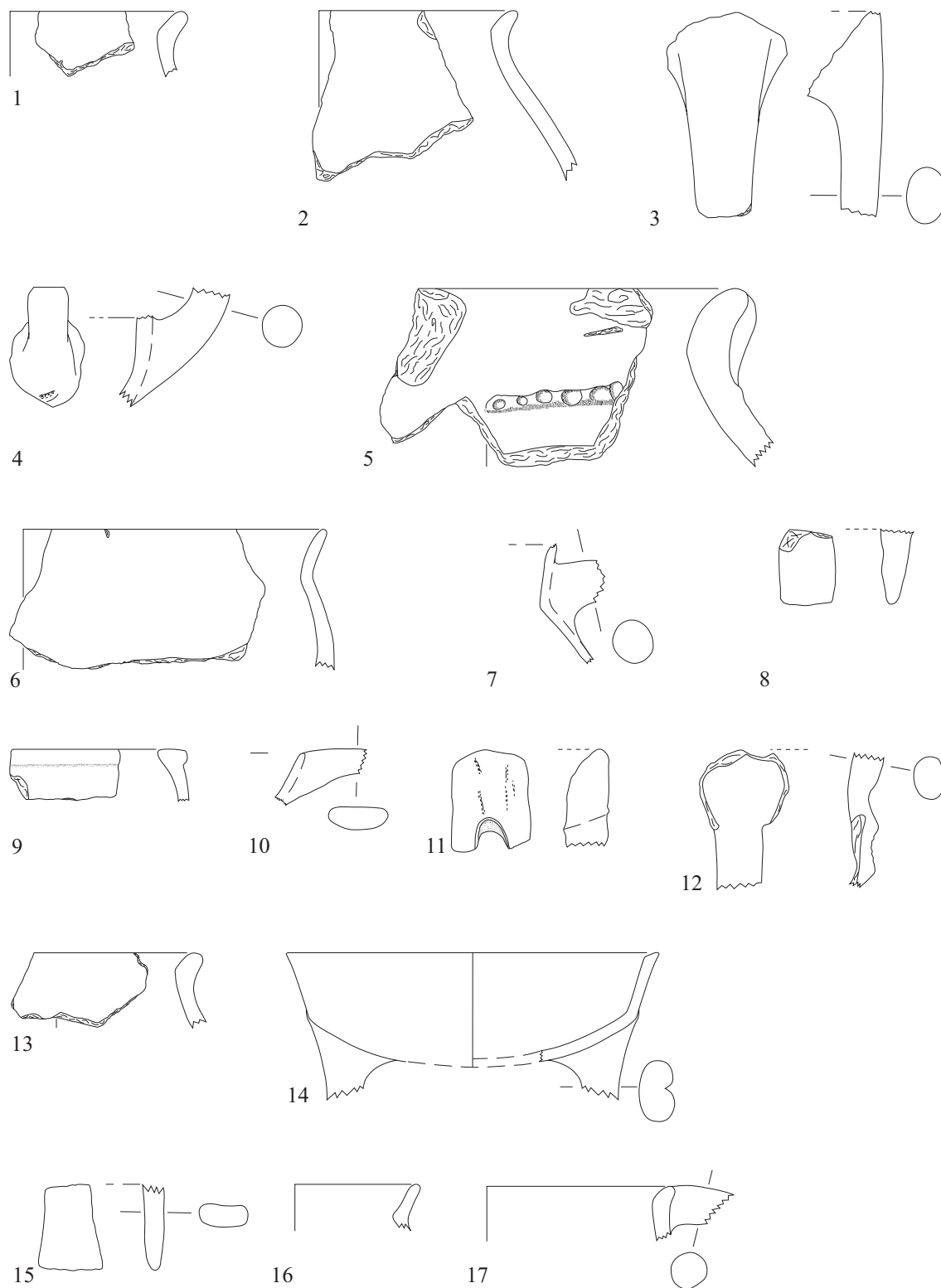


Fig. 23 1–5. LH IIIB Final: Aeginetan cooking ware; 6–12, 14. LH IIIC Early 1: local cooking ware; 13. LH IIIC Early 1: Aeginetan cooking ware; 15–16. LH IIIC Early 2: local cooking ware; 17. LH IIIC Early 2: Aeginetan cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1–2, 4–6, 8–9, 11–13, 15–17: drawings S. Wirghová; 3, 7,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

Examples of an Aeginetan cooking pot FS 66 or tripod FS 320¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 20.1; Tab. 11) were already identified in the phase LH IIIB Early–Middle. This shape was also the only one identified in all of the phases studied (Figs. 20.1, 9; 23.1–2, 13, 17). Unusual molding decoration, probably made by fingers, was observed on an Aeginetan vessel from a LH IIIB Final fill from Room 78a excavated by Kilian (Fig. 23.5). This kind of decoration is very rare, and the examples could be counted on one hand.¹⁵⁰ Legs of an Aeginetan tripod FS 320 were attested in LH IIIB Developed,¹⁵¹ Final (Fig. 23.3), and LH IIIC Early 1.¹⁵² There was no such find in the pit Grube 3/03. One body sherd yields a potter's mark, found on an Aeginetan cooking pot in the LH IIIB Developed layer (Fig. 20.9). Another example of such a sign comes from an attached handle dated to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 23.4). According to Bartłomiej Lis, Štěpán Rückl and Maria Choleva, Aeginetan cooking pots were widely distributed between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB2 and the mass exportation of Aeginetan cooking pots significantly decreased in the beginning of LH IIIC.¹⁵³ This is reflected in the material presented here as well.

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵² One leg found during the excavation by Kilian.

¹⁵³ Lis et al. 2015, 71. See also Gauß – Kiriati 2011, 248.

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

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

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

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

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