THE IONIAN ISLANDS
in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age
3000–800 BC

Christina Souyoudzoglou-Haywood

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

This book has taken a number of years to reach the stage of publication. The core of the work consists of my 1990 PhD thesis (University of Liverpool) by the same title, which aimed to examine the closest-knit group of Ionian Islands (Lefkada, Kefalonia, Ithaki, Zakynthos), firstly as a geographically 'bounded' region, and secondly as a region within the Aegean cultural area yet marking (in varying degrees of intensity in the different periods under review) the north-western boundary of its expansion. In the years which followed the completion of the thesis I carried out a more thorough study of some categories of material, particularly the Mycenaean pottery of Kefalonia and the Protogeometric pottery of Ithaki, while more and better drawings of artefacts were added to the original work. This additional material, as well as progress in archaeological research on the islands and particularly in other regions of Greece in the meantime have brought about the present, much revised work. The basic aims have remained the same, but greater emphasis is placed here on the need to make accessible, to colleagues and students, a synthesis of the large body of Bronze Age material from the islands, particularly the material which, having been excavated at an early date, was inadequately published, and also to give this material a chronological and cultural framework. It is hoped that this work will encourage the publication of the still unpublished material from old excavations, particularly the Kefalonian tombs of Mazarakata, Metaxata and Mavrata, and from more recent excavations in Ithaki and Kefalonia, so that the archaeology of the islands can reach a stage where future discoveries add to our knowledge in a meaningful way.

While preparing this study I worked in the local museums of all the islands, where the possibility of finding material, particularly the one stored in the *apothikes.* The accessibility of the catalogues varied from museum to museum and from year to year. However, I have opted to refer to the artefacts by their museum numbers, rather than their publication numbers. Cross-references to the relevant publications are made in the endnotes and Tables. In the case of uncatalogued material, or material for which inventory numbers were not available to me, I have referred to the artefacts in the text by their numbers on my Tables.

As is usually the case in works such as this, for reasons of economy, it has not been possible to present all the material in photographic form. I have had to leave out the photographs of most of the previously unpublished Protogeometric sherds, particularly from Aetos, of which drawings have been included here. It is hoped that an opportunity to publish photographs of this material will present itself in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My work in the museums of Lefkada town, Stavros, Vathy, Argostoli and Zakynthos town has been made possible through the kind permission of a number of people and institutions. I am grateful to Mr L. Kolonas (Eforia of Patras), Mrs X. Arapoghianni (Eforia of Olympia) and Mrs I. Andreou (Eforia of Ioannina) for allowing me access to the material. I am indebted to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen for granting me permission to study the finds from Dörpfeld's excavations on Lefkada, and to the British School at Athens for permission to study the material from the School's excavations on Ithaki and the sherd material in Athens. I also wish to thank Mrs P. Agalopoulou for allowing me to draw the material from her excavations at Kambi (Zakynthos). My work in the local museums was greatly assisted by the *filakes* of the museums, to whom I am very grateful. Warm thanks go to Fotini and Sotiris Kouvara, from Stavros in Ithaki, who not only facilitated my work in the Stavros Museum in every possible way, but whose genuine hospitality made my stays on the island a real pleasure.

The fact that this work has come to print is mostly due to the unfailing encouragement and support I received from my ex-supervisor and mentor Dr Chris Mee, whose guidance continued well after the completion of my thesis, and certainly beyond any obligation. Dr Ken Wardle has also been a prime mover in the publication of this book. My work owes a great deal to his unpublished PhD thesis. I am also grateful for his comments on chapter 4. A number of other scholars have contributed in a variety of ways over the years. I especially wish to thank Mr P. Kalligas, Professor G. Kavvadias, Professor A. Sordinas and Lady Waterhouse. For his skill and patience in inking my drawings, for the maps and most of the figures I am indebted to Tom O'Sullivan. To David Jennings's computer skills I owe the graphs.

I am grateful to the Institute of Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) and the Dr M. Aylwin Cotton Foundation for their generous assistance towards the preparation of the book for publication. I trust it meets with their expectations.

My family, my daughter Alexia and particularly my husband Eric have shown enormous patience and tolerance over the years. To my husband I also owe many hours of proof-reading and language corrections. Without his support the manuscript would never have reached the stage of publication.

Finally to me, and me alone, are due all the mistakes and failings of this work.

November 1997

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ABBREVIATIONS

PERIODICALS, SERIES AND BOOKS

AA	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΑ ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΕΞ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ* (*Athens Annals of Archaeology*)
Achaea	Papadopoulos: Mycenaean Achaea, vols I & II (1979)
Acta Ath.	Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institutet i Athen
AD	*ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ*
AE	*ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ*
Aghios Kosmas	Mylonas: Aghios Kosmas (1959)
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Alt-Ithaka	Dörpfeld: Alt-Ithaka (1927)
Alt-Ägina III	Walter and Felten: Alt-Ägina III (1981)
Alt-Ägina IV	Hiller: Mykenische Keramik (1975)
AM	*Mitteilungen des deutchen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung*
Am. Anth.	*American Anthropologist*
A New Museum	Benton: A New Museum in Vathy, Ithaca, unpublished paper (ca. 1970)
Ann. géol. pays hell.	*Annales Géologiques des Payes Helléniques*
Annuario	*Annuario della scuola archaeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BPI	*Bollettino di paletnologia Italiana*
BSPF	*Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CMS V (1)	Pini (ed.): Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel vol. V.1 (1975)
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
CT	Wace: Chamber tombs at Mycenae, *Archaeologia* 82 (1932)
DAG	Snodgrass: The Dark Age of Greece (1971)
Deiras	Deshayes: Argos: les fouilles de la Deiras (1966)
Delt. Sp. Et.	*ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*
Epir. Chr.	*ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ*
Epirus	Hammond: Epirus (1967)
Ergon	*ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*
Eutresis	Goldman: Eutresis (1931)
Gazetteer	Hope Simpson and Dickinson: A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization (1979)
GDA	Desborough: The Greek Dark Ages (1972)
GG	Coldstream: Geometric Greece (1977)
GGP	Coldstream: Greek Geometric Pottery (1968)
Godišnak	*Godišnak centarza Balkandoske Ispitivanja*
Hydra	*Hydra: Working Papers in Middle Bronze Age Studies*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JGS	*Journal of Glass Studies*

JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Kef. Chr.	*ΚΕΦΑΛΛΗΝΙΑΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ*
Kerameikos I	Kraiker & Kübler: Kerameikos I (1939)
Kerameikos IV	Kübler: Kerameikos IV (1943)
Ker. Chr.	*ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ*
Korakou	Blegen: Korakou (1921)
Lefkandi I,	Popham & Sackett with Themelis et al.: Lefkandi I (1980)
LMTS	Desborough: The Late Mycenaeans and their Successors (1964)
Marb. W. Pr.	*Margurger Winkelmann Programm*
Macedonia I	Hammond: History of Macedonia I (1972)
Messenia III	Blegen et al.: The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia III (1973)
MME	*McDonald & Rapp: Minnesota Messenia Expedition (1972)*
MP I	Furumark: Mycenaean Pottery I (1941)
MP II	Furumark: Mycenaean Pottery II: Chronology (1941)
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
Nichoria II	McDonald & Wilkie (eds): Excavations at Nichoria II (1992)
Nichoria III	McDonald, Coulson & Rosser (eds): Excavations at Nichoria III (1983)
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
Op. Ath.	*Opuscula Atheniensia*
PAE	*ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*
PBF	*Prähistorische Bronzefunde*
Perati I, II, III	Iakovides: Perati I, II & III (1969–70)
PGP	Desborough: Protogeometric Pottery (1952)
Präh. Zeit.	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
St. Alb.	*Studia Albanica*
Zygouries	Blegen: Zygouries (1928)
Wiener Präh. Zeit.	*Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschift*

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EN	Early Neolithic
Ionian Islands	Benton: Ionian Islands, *BSA* 32 (1931–32)
Ithaca I	Heurtley and Lorimer: Excavations in Ithaca, I, *BSA* 33 (1932–33)
Ithaca II	Heurtley: Excavations in Ithaca, II, *BSA* 35 (1934–35)
Ithaca IV	Heurtley: Ithaca, IV, *BSA* 40 (1943)
Ithaca V	Heurtley and Robertson: Excavations in Ithaca, V, *BSA* 43 (1948)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LN	Late Neolithic
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MN	Middle Neolithic
PG	Protogeometric
Polis I	Benton: Excavations in Ithaca, III: The Cave at Polis I, *BSA* 35 (1934–35)
Polis II	Benton: Excavations in Ithaca, III: The Cave at Polis II, *BSA* 39 (1938–39)
Tris Langades	Benton & Waterhouse: Excavations in Ithaca: Tris Langades. *BSA* 68 (1973)
SM	Submycenaean

PART I
INTRODUCTION

1 – THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The five southern Ionian Islands which constitute the main body of this study (Lefkada with Meganisi, Kefalonia, Ithaki and Zakynthos) form an open crescent spanning 110km off the coasts of Akarnania and Elis in a north-south direction (see MAP). The distances between the islands are small: just 10km separate the northern most point of Kefalonia (cape Vliotis or Violi) from cape Doukato in Lefkada, and the southern most point of Kefalonia (cape Mounta) is about 5km from cape Skinari on Zakynthos. A narrow channel, the 'Steno Ithakis', a mere 2.5–3.5km wide, separates the eastern coast of the Erissos peninsula from the western coast of Ithaki, and an even narrower strip of water, hardly 1km wide at its narrowest point, divides Meganisi from Lefkada. The northern Ionian Islands, Paxoi and Kerkyra, are quite distinct from this group, both in terms of distance (about 65km separate Lefkada from cape Aspro in Kerkyra) and alignment (south-east – north-west).

Communications between the islands, particularly between Kefalonia, Ithaki and Lefkada, are easy, and the crossings are short due to the many protected bays which surround the islands. Travel between the islands and the coasts of the western mainland is also easy, although the most convenient ports of entry to the mainland are different for each island, depending on their latitude. Lefkada is practically linked to northern Akarnania (see below), Vathy on Ithaki faces Astakos in Akarnania, Poros on Kefalonia and the port of Zakynthos town are closest to Killini in Achaia, while the distance between the south-eastern side of Zakynthos and Katakolon in Elis is only marginally greater. Connections between Kefalonia and Ithaki and the eastern Greek mainland are most frequently effected today through the major port of Patras, sailing through the Patraic Gulf. On the northern side of the Gulf, the bay of Aitolikon provides an accessible point of entry to the interior of Aitolia.

Geography and geology

Geographical studies of the islands go back to the mid 19th century and include the works of J. Davy[1] and D. J. Ansted.[2] J. Partsch's monographs on Kefalonia and Ithaki and Lefkada[3] written in 1889-90 remain the most thorough studies of the islands. More recently Philippson included the Ionian Islands in his general work *Die griechischen Landschaften*.[4] Geological studies have dealt unevenly with individual islands: Müller-Miny with the geomorphology of Kefalonia and Ithaki,[5] and C. Renz,[6] and, recently, J. Bornovas,[7] with the geology of Lefkada.

The islands as such were formed in the course of the Pliocene and early Pleistocene. Since the end of the Ice Age, particularly from the 9th millennium onwards, their configuration has remained essentially the same, with minor differences in the coastline created by subsidence (estimated at about 1m every 1000 years) and by the vertical movements caused by the extensive tectonic activity of the region (see below).

In terms of size, Kefalonia (760km$^{2)}$ is the largest, Zakynthos the second largest (402km^2) and Ithaki (94.4km^2) is the smallest of the group, if one counts the tiny Meganisi with Lefkada (294.5km^2). Each of the islands has its characteristic shape. Zakynthos is in the form of an irregular isosceles triangle. Kefalonia is described by Philippson as consisting of a central body to which are attached radiating 'members'. Ithaki is composed of two peninsulas joined by a narrow 'waist'. Lefkada is egg-shaped, while Meganisi is in the shape of tadpole with a lengthy tail.

The islands present quite similar landscapes, consisting of a mixture of rugged coastlines, deep bays, extensive mountain zones, and lowland and coastal plains only occasionally watered by perennial streams.

Lefkada is the most mountainous of the islands with two-thirds of its surface occupied by four massifs. Mt Elati boasts the highest peak (ca. 1182m), which is almost in the centre of the island. Gorges and valleys open up between the mountainous outcrops. On the western side of the island the mountains reach close to the coast and are the source of precipitation of rocks and other erosional material. The largest valley is that of Vassiliki in the south of the island; it starts as a narrow gorge and ends up as a wide coastal plain. The most important valley in terms of prehistoric habitation is the valley of Dimossari on the eastern side of the island, which is the result of erosion generated on the slopes of Mt Elati on one side and Mt Skaros on the other, culminating in the coastal plain of Englimenos (Nidhri). The largest alluvial plain extends to the west of the modern capital of the island. At this point the island is separated from the mainland only by a lagoon closed by an elbow-shaped land-spit which juts out from its north-eastern coast. The existence of the lagoon in prehistoric times cannot be proven, and neither can the possibility that Lefkada may have been linked with Akarnania by an isthmus. In recent times the lagoon has been very shallow[8] and is even known to have dried up during the severe drought of 1812. Whether it did exist in prehistoric times or not, the crossing from the gulf of Drepanon to the Ionian sea would have been a difficult task. Ancient authors[9] mention the difficulty of effecting the crossing and it would seem that, by the time of the Romans, in order to facilitate passage, a channel (*dioryktos*) had been dug along the coast of Akarnania, and that a pier to facilitate mooring had been constructed at the head of the gulf.

The island has no perennial rivers, only torrents which drain the surrounding hills through gorges and valleys. Prominent among these are the torrents of Aspropotamos and Mavroneri which drain the north-east of Mt Elati and

subsequently flow into the bay of Vlicho. There is only one lake on the island, the small but deep lake of Marantochori.

On Kefalonia extensive mountainous zones cover the peninsula of Erissos, the eastern coastal area south of Sami and, most importantly, the south of the central body of the island, where the imposing Mt Ainos lies in a north-west - south-east direction and has many peaks, of which the highest are Megas Soros (1625m) and Mavro Vouni (1615m). Further to the north is a less homogeneous massif with lower peaks. These ranges form a barrier between the eastern and western parts of the island. Except for the established pass, extensively used today, which skirts the northern slopes of Ainos linking Argostoli with Sami along a 32km-long road, passes and valleys cutting across the range are few and mostly impassable. The only other easy way of getting from the east to the west of the island is via the southern coastal strip, or via the Aghia Efimia valley in the north. The island has a number of large coastal plains, of which the plains of Argostoli and Sami are the largest. Quite a bit smaller is the upland plain of Valsamata in the centre of the island, while the southern extremity is dominated by the Herakleia basin.

Mountainous ranges dominate both the northern and the southern peninsula of neighbouring Ithaki. The northern range, Mt Anogi (otherwise known as Mt Neritos), is the highest (809m). Except for the *Kambos*, the small coastal plain of Vathy, the island is entirely deprived of alluvial plains or large stretches of flat arable land, reflecting Homer's words that there is 'no room for horses to run about' (*Odyssey*, Book IV, 605). But the mixed landscape of hills and valleys in the north of the island is attractive for settlement. It is scoured by several winter streams and one perennial stream which drains the surrounding hills, carrying and depositing alluvial material in the valley of Frikes.

Like the rest of the islands, Zakynthos is partitioned by a mountain range, Mt Vrachionas, which runs north-south along its interior, with the highest peak (756m) almost in the centre. To the west the landscape remains mostly mountainous, culminating in a ragged and rocky coastline. To the east the island's large *Kambos* occupies practically the whole of the area up to the hilly coastal zone. On the opposite side the *Kambos* merges with the mountain through a hilly zone, the 'Risa', which today supports the largest number of villages on the island. To the south it opens up onto the sandy bay of Laganas, which stretches along 9km from the promontory of Gerakas in the east to that of Marathia in the west. The eastern 'arm' of the island is a hilly peninsula dominated by Mt Skopos (492m).

The geology and geomorphology of the southern Ionian Islands is determined by their situation on either side of the dividing-line between two geological zones: the Ionian zone to the east, which links up with western Greece and Epirus, and the Paxos or pre-Apulian zone to the west, which links up with Apulia. The line, which runs north-south, cuts lengthwise across all the islands except Ithaki which belongs entirely to the Ionian zone. The two zones have different geological and tectonic structures.

Essentially the islands are limestone formations. At Lefkada the oldest deposits identified by Bornovas in the Ionian zone are Triassic dolomites and dolomitic gypsums, black limestones and limestones of the 'Pantokrator' series. Ammonitico Rosso from the Jurassic period was found stratified between limestone formations. Schists from this period are particularly noteworthy on the peninsulas of Vlicho and Poros, and on the island of Skorpios. Limestones with microbreccia are characteristic of the Upper Cretaceous and the Eocene on the Lefkada peninsula and east of it. In the Paxos zone the limestones include orbitolina, which are peculiar to this part of the island. Flysch (Partsch's 'Macigno') which goes back to the Upper Eocene corresponding to the flysch of western Greece, is of particular interest because of its capacity to retain water. It is limited in extent; important deposits have been found on the peninsula of Poros and north of Nidhri.

The geology of the other islands is less well studied. In Kefalonia, the Ionian zone to the east consists of old limestones of the Upper Jurassic to Upper Cretaceous periods folded towards the east. The Paxos zone to which most of the island belongs is characterized by limestones of the Upper Cretaceous period. Older dolomites and limestones of the Lower Cretaceous period are concentrated in the south-west of Erissos and the western flank of the Ainos. Flysch ('Macigno') is found to a limited extent in lowland areas, particularly the Herakleia basin (Tzanata, Asprogerakas), where it has contributed to the formation of the basin itself, and Thinea (at the Paliki isthmus). However, the most characteristic deposits of the lowlands are conglomeratic and brecciatic limestones of the Pliocene and Pleistocene; and particularly typical of Livatho and the coastal area between Lefka and Skala are sandstones intercalated with sandy marls. On Ithaki the calcareous deposits of the different periods neatly slice the island in a north-south direction. The eastern side of the island, the peninsula of Exogi and the isthmus are characterized by the oldest limestones, of the Jurassic and Lower Cretaceous periods, but most of the island is composed of limestones of Upper Cretaceous and Eocene date. In Zakynthos, the whole of the western region, including Mt Vrachionas, consists of Cretaceous limestones of the Paxos zone, while the east of the island consists of younger Tertiary deposits, mostly marls, clays and sandstones. The Vassilikos peninsula, particularly its hilly area which is dominated by Mt Skopos, presents a somewhat different geological structure. Here the Triassic gypsums, succumbing to tectonic pressures, have come to the surface and redeposited, practically creating the Skopos massif itself.

All the islands are affected by two geological phenomena of great significance. The first is due to the location of the islands in the area where the continental plates of Africa and Europe meet, as a result of which the area is among the most unstable earthquake zones of Greece. Partsch has listed the tremors which were experienced in Kefalonia from the 17th century to his own day, of which 1867 was particularly destructive. Within living memory, the earthquake of the 12th August 1953 was the most destructive.[10] The tectonic activity is not only important because of the direct repercussions that it must have had on settlement, but also for its more indirect effect on human habitation, through the changes of the landscape, and particularly the coastlines.

The second phenomenon shared by the islands is their Karstic landcape. Karstic features, (caves, chasms and sink-holes) are recent formations of the Pleistocene period, caused by the action of water on the calcareous masses. A serious disadvantage of such a landscape is that the water tends to disappear underground, and that springs may come out either in the sea or too close to the shore to be of any use to man. A number of such springs are found around the bays of Argostoli, Aghia Efimia and Sami in Kefalonia.[11] More useful springs, emerging at a distance from the shore, although today of small yield, are to be found on the north-western coast of Lefkada.[12]

Landscape, cultivation, vegetation and climate

In the lowlands the most recent, Quaternary deposits, consisting of alluvial, colluvial and river depositions, today provide most of the cultivable soil on the islands. In the Karstic regions, red, clayish earth, called *terra rossa* and consisting of erosional material which filled the sink-holes after the collapse of cave-roofs, provides rather poor soil for agriculture.

How far the landscape of today differs from that of the Bronze Age is a matter which has been debated for the whole of Greece. Bintliff, along with others, has maintained that the present landscape of Greece is determined by the 'Younger Fill', i.e. the second alluvial phase postulated by Vita-Finzi and dated by him to the late Roman and early Medieval periods,[13] since when, according to Bintliff, the landscape would not have undergone any noticeable changes brought about through erosion/deposition. However recent studies of the Greek landscape[14] have shown that the processes of erosion and alluviation display great local and temporal variability, and that they are to a large extent anthropogenic. Detailed studies of the Ionian Islands have not been undertaken, but T. Gallant, who surveyed parts of Kefalonia and Lefkada,[15] drew attention to the sheet-wash fans and hill-wash mounds, and to the number of abandoned terraces on now denuded slopes, all of which indicate an on-going cycle of erosion/deposition.

Human activity, in particular land clearance and deforestation, is now seen as the major cause of soil erosion and deposition during the Holocene. Although in Kefalonia the earlier history of human interference with the landscape is not known, the forest cover of the island has been drastically reduced since the Medieval period. Mt Ainos, once covered with a unique species of pine (*Albies Cephalonica*), today presents bare slopes, the forest being restricted to its highest peaks and southern flank. Partsch indicated various agents of destruction (the Venetians, forest fires, grazing animals) and C. J. Napier,[16] the last but one governor of Kefalonia, gave an extensive account of the destruction created by the exploitation of timber by colonists from Malta settled on the island by his predecessor. Regarding Ithaki, Partsch mentions that in the 17th century there were still so many oak trees that the main export of the island was the acorn.[17] Today the natural vegetation cover of the islands, much of which must have replaced the forests, consists of *Arbutus unedo*, *Pistacia terebinthus* and *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Quercus calliprinus*, *Philyrea media*, and *Myrtus*.

Agriculture in the Ionian Islands has followed the trends of the rest of Greece. Once self-sufficient in cereal – even Ithaki produced enough cereal in the 19th century to feed its 8,000 inhabitants – their main crops today are the olive, the vine (particularly for currants, and in Kefalonia and Zakynthos also for wine), fruit and nut trees, some pulses and fodder crops. Gardens of fruit and vegetables abound in the lowland areas.

The islands enjoy a Mediterranean climate.[18] The mean yearly temperature is 18° C. The levels of rainfall are higher than in southern or eastern Greece, and are also higher the more northerly the island. In Kefalonia the average yearly precipitation (1018mm) is below that of Kerkyra (1280mm), but two and a half times that of Athens (391mm).[19] The high levels of rainfall are also reflected in the high percentage of rainy days, which in Lefkada amounts to 26.3%. However as in the rest of Greece, precipitation in the Ionian Islands is concentrated in the winter months, and hence does not compensate for the unfavourable hydrological regime caused by the geological factors. A further characteristic of the islands' climatic conditions, and one which is greatly advantageous to navigation around the islands, is the absence of *meltemia*, the northern winds which afflict much of the Aegean in the summer months.

NOTES

[1] Davy 1842.
[2] Ansted 1865.
[3] Partsch 1889; *ibid*. 1890.
[4] Philippson 1956, 503 ff.
[5] *Ann. géol. pays hell.* 9, 1958, 73 ff.
[6] *Zeit. Deut. Geo. Ges.* 80, 1928. For other titles by the same author, see bibliography in Bornovas 1964.
[7] Bornovas 1964.
[8] Dörpfeld (*Alt-Ithaka*, 16) mentions a depth of between 0.01m and 1.50m, and measurements of between 0.20m and 0.50m are the most numerous on the map of the Geographike Hyperesia Stratou (1954).
[9] Thucydides: 3.81, 4.8; Livy: 33.17; Strabo: 10.2; Pliny: 45.
[10] Zakynthos and Kefalonia were particularly affected by the 1953 earthquake, with the loss of hundreds of lives; the entire town of Zakynthos, with the exception of two buildings, was razed to the ground.
[11] See Scagia 1978.
[12] Bornovas (1964, 119, 125) mentions the spring of Kaligouni as one of the most prolific, supplying water to the town of Lefkada.
[13] Bintliff 1977, 35 ff.; Vita-Finzi 1969.
[14] In *JFA* 17, 379 ff., the authors examine three different areas of Greece: the southern Argolid, the Argive plain and the Larissa basin.
[15] Gallant 1982.
[16] Napier 1833.
[17] Partsch 1890, 234.
[18] The climate of Kefalonia has been dealt with in a fair amount of detail by Laskaratou-Lada (1973); Bornovas (1964, 10ff.) summarized the main characteristics of the climate of Lefkada on the basis of figures obtained from the Greek Meteorological Service.
[19] The figures are from Branigan & Jarrett 1978, 336.

2 – THE IONIAN ISLANDS BEFORE THE BRONZE AGE

Human habitation on the Ionian Islands goes back beyond the Bronze Age. Evidence for Paleolithic occupation has been accumulating in recent years. It should be seen in connection with the abundant evidence for the presence of man in the Middle and Upper Paleolithic periods in western Greece, particularly Epirus[1] and the north western Peloponnese.[2] The climatic changes caused by the last glaciation and the effect that these had on the coastlines of Greece,[3] particularly at the time of the glacial maximum when the sea levels were at their lowest (approximately 100m lower than today), meant that Kerkyra, the Paxoi islands and Lefkada were joined to the mainland, while Kefalonia, Ithaki and Zakynthos formed one large island very close to the coast. The exposed land formed extensive, low-lying plains which were ideal for all-year and summer grazing.

The earliest material from the Ionian Islands is Middle Paleolithic and belongs to the Greek Levallois-Mousterian which Runnels has recently re-dated to about 50000–32000 years ago.[4] The discovery of the Paleolithic on Kerkyra is due to Professor Sordinas,[5] who identified lithic artefacts from the eroded red clays of eleven open sites on the island. Runnels has suggested that the artefacts from Kerkyra may belong to two different facies, an earlier one analogous with the 'basal' Mousterian of Asprochaliko in Epirus, and a later one characterized by smaller-scale material, which is also the most plentiful on Kerkyra, and is similar to that of the Epirote sites of Kokkinopilos and Morfi.[6]

Three sites on the Diapontia islands north-west of Kerkyra investigated by Sordinas[7] yielded tools comparable to those of Kerkyra. Sordinas also reported finding Levallois-Mousterian tools on a number of sites on Lefkada, but his findings were not properly published.[8] The most recent finds from the Ionian Islands were made on Kefalonia by Professor G. Kavvadias, who collected a large quantity of tools from two open sites, Fiskardo and Emblissi in the north-east of the peninsula of Erissos,[9] which he dated to the Middle Paleolithic and particularly to the Mousterian period. The Levallois-Mousterian attribution of this material has been accepted by Runnels.[10] Another, as yet unpublished site was found by the University of Copenhagen/Eforia of Patras survey project on the beaches of Skala in the south of the island.[11] Previous Paleolithic finds from Kefalonia were those of Ankel, who found three scatters of flint tools in the district of Koroni in 1978 and which J. Cherry also regarded as compatible with a Paleolithic date.[12]

The Upper Paleolithic is well attested on Kerkyra by Sordinas's exploration of the rock-shelter of Grava[13] which produced evidence of late Upper Paleolithic industries consisting of blades, scrapers, burins and small points on backed and retouched blades, as well as many faunal remains. The excavator suggested a 'prolonged use of the site as a living site.' Recently discussion on the Paleolithic of north-western Greece has focused not only on the seasonal occupation of Paleolithic sites, but also on their possible specialized function and on the possibility of repeated visits by hunter-gatherers rather than prolonged periods of habitation.[14]

In view of the scarcity of Mesolithic sites in Greece, Sidari, excavated by Sordinas[15] on the north western tip of Kerkyra, is of particular importance. A Mesolithic shell-midden (level D) with a C-14 (uncalibrated) date of 5820 ± 340 BC was found stratified beneath the Neolithic layers. Only a little small game was recovered, and the microlithic flint industry and large volume of *cardium edule* shells together with the coastal location of the site left no doubt in the excavator's mind as to the subsistence economy practised there. No other definite Mesolithic sites have been identified on the islands. Sordinas suggested a Mesolithic date for tools he collected from exposed sections (level B) in the south east of the peninsula of Vassilikos on Zakynthos.[16] The tools consisted of cores, pebble-choppers and flakes. The cores had primitive features, but Sordinas suggested a Mesolithic date for them as similar cores were found with flakes in level D at Sidari.

Evidence for Neolithic occupation of the islands, which had acquired their present configuration after the withdrawal of the ice sheet, is more plentiful. At Sidari,[17] Sordinas identified two EN levels (levels C: Base, C: Top) separated by a sterile level (level C: Middle). The two levels contained different types of pottery. The lowest and highest levels yielded C-14 (uncalibrated) dates of 5720 ± 120 BC and 5390 ± 180 BC respectively. The pottery of the two levels differed. Level C: Base contained badly fired pottery made of well purified ochrous brown clay with a high percentage of sand. The surface was mostly plain with limited incised decoration. The shapes consisted of spherical bowls and jars. Level C: Top contained pottery of pinkish fabric which was hard and brittle, and was decorated with finger-nail and impressed/incised decoration made with a sharp instrument. It has been related to the Impressed wares of Macedonia, Yugoslavia and Southern Italy.[18]

The cave of Evgiros (Choirospelia) is the best documented site, with the largest range of MN-LN material, consisting of pottery, stone and bone tools, clay spindle-whorls and figurines, indicating habitation it its interior. A dense concentration of sherds and flint is still being revealed in a small field right in front of the cave,[19] suggesting that the living environment extended outside the cave. At Evgiros there is a good amount of black burnished pottery which is likely to be MN or later, and is akin to the black burnished ware of the Peloponnese. Black burnished pottery has also been found in the Polis cave and at Astakos.[20] The sherds from Evgiros (some with mending holes) are from vases with

everted rims, some with perforated lugs. On the other hand the bowl fragments in black burnished ware with beaded decoration from the cave[21] point towards Macedonia, Thessaly and the LN of Servia.[22] Peloponnesian Neolithic *Urfirnis* is probably also represented in the cave by two sherds (D60/1). The presence of *Urfirnis* in Lefkada is not surprising since it is also found in the cave of Archontaria on the mainland opposite the island, and at Astakos a little further south, where Phelps believes that it may have been imported.[23] The *Urfirnis* type of decoration may have reached this area towards the end of the MN.

LN Matt-painted and especially Polychrome wares are well represented at Evgiros.[24] These wares are regarded as having an eastern ancestry[25] and have a wide distribution on the Greek mainland and the northern Peloponnese. However, western Greece seems to have had its own Polychrome style, which is represented at Evgiros,[26] Archontaria and Astakos.[27] This has no parallels in the Polychrome wares of the Peloponnese or of Thessaly, and according to Phelps[28] should have a northern (Dalmatian) connection. One bowl from Evgiros however, with red spiraliform decoration[29] on a white slip, is thought by Phelps to have certain characteristics of the southern Crusted ware technique.

Two other forms of decoration, incised (short incisions covering areas near the rim) and pellet (rows of pellets on or near the rim), are found on the coarser wares from Evgiros.[30]

The evidence for Neolithic habitation on Kefalonia is very new. Until recently the only Neolithic artefact was a 'barbed-and-tanged' arrowhead housed in a private collection on the island and presumed to have been found locally.[31] Neolithic sites have been identified on Kefalonia in the last decade. Pottery assigned to LN II was the earliest material recovered by the Greek Eforate of Paleoanthropology and Speleology in the cave of Drakaina near Poros in the early 1990s (see ch. 6.1), and a site where obsidian was identified among the finds, was located by the joint Danish/Greek survey at Skala near the Paleolithic site mentioned above.[32] Some of the surface material from Kokkolata-Kouroupata in the region of Livatho (ch. 6.1), especially some well burnished pottery, may also be LN rather than EBA. On Ithaki some Neolithic pottery has been identified among the material from the cave of Polis. As early as 1970, S. Benton had been advised that three fragments of bowls, which she had published as EBA, were in fact Neolithic.[33] Two are black burnished and the third is a coarser ware fragment with a mottled surface. All three have in-turned rims. During my study of the material from Polis in the Stavros Museum in 1987, I found more Neolithic sherds, including sherds with a black burnished surface, and a rim-sherd with a burnished, light brown surface from a bowl with an everted rim.[34]

Finally, Neolithic occupation on Zakynthos needs further confirmation. The tools found by H. Zapfe on the Kastro in 1936, which he reported as Neolithic, were reclassified as EBA by Sordinas.[35] However there is still the possibility that the red handmade pottery which Sordinas found on the south-western coast of the Laganas bay, between Aghios Sostis and the Arkadiani stream,[36] and which he compared to the LN pottery found by Benton at Astakos (Graves) in Akarnania may be of similar date.

We are still far from having a clear picture of the Neolithic period on the islands. Tentatively it may be said that farmers settled on Kerkyra earlier than on the islands further south, where habitation probably did not predate the MN and appears to be more extensive in the LN. There is no indication of uniform culture. Elements with northern connections appear in the northernmost islands while southern elements are more prominent south of Kerkyra. In terms of human settlement this may mean that groups of farmers settled the islands from different parts of the mainland ranging from Dalmatia to the Peloponnese.

NOTES

[1] Epirus in the Paleolithic is the most thoroughly studied area of Greece. E. Higgs's investigations (*PPS* 30, 1964, 199 ff.; *PPS* 32, 1966, 1 ff.; *PPS* 33, 1967, 1 ff.) followed by those of G. Bailey and his team (*PPS* 49, 1983, 15 ff.; *BSA* 79, 1984, 7 ff.; *BSA* 81, 1986, 7) have brought to light several upland and lowland sites in Epirus.

[2] The sites of Elis were identified by French teams in the 1960s (*BCH* 88, 1964, 1 ff., 616 ff.; *BCH* 91, 1967, 151 ff.; *BCH* 93, 1969, 97 ff.).

[3] Van Andel and Shackelton in *JFA* 9, 1982, 445 ff.; see also the comments by Bailey in *BSA* 87, 1992, 8.

[4] *JFA* 15, 1988, 277 ff., 282 f.

[5] *AD* 21, (1966)A, 326 ff. Preliminary reports: *Ker. Chr*. XI, 1965, 141 ff.; *Ker. Chr*. XIV, 1988, 77 ff. Longer reports with illustrations: *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 393 ff.; Sordinas 1970a.

[6] *JFA* 15, 1988, 285.

[7] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 407 f. (Diaplo); *Ker. Chr.* XIX, 1974, 88 ff.

[8] The results are only known from an article in the daily 'Kathimerini' (2 April 1967), summarized by Rontoghiannis (1982, 30 ff.). The sites where Paleolithic material was reported to have been found are: Tsoukalades, Aghios Nikitas, Asprogerakas, Kavallos, Kollyvota and Alexandros.

[9] Kavvadias 1984.

[10] *JFA* 15, 1988, 287, 279 fig. 1.

[11] *AR* 1992–93, 25.

[12] *PPS* 47, 1981, 43 f. I have no further information on this material.

[13] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 399 f.

[14] See Bailey in *BSA* 87, 1992, 22 ff.

[15] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 401 ff.

[16] *Ker. Chr.* XV, 1970, 124 ff.

[17] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969,

[18] Weinberg 1970, 586; *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 407.

[19] This was ascertained during a visit to the cave in 1985; see also *AAA* VIII(2), 1975, 221 (sherds and tools collected by Mr Andreou, Eforia of Ioannina).

[20] *BSA* 42, 1947, 156 ff.

[21] *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 86a.

[22] See *BSA* 29, 1927-28, 129; Phelps 1975, 215.

[23] Phelps 1975, 172.

[24] Matt-painted: *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 89a; Polychrome: *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 88a.

[25] Weinberg 1970, 603.
[26] *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 88b.
[27] Phelps 1975, 285.
[28] Phelps 1975, 314.
[29] *Alt-Ithaka*, pl. 88.b. The vase has been reconstructed and is exhibited in the National Museum in Athens.
[30] *Alt-Ithaka*, 330 ff., pottery with incised decoration: Bei. 83b, pottery with pellets: Bei. 85:4–6.
[31] *AD* 16, (1960)B, 43, pl. 17:2; see Cherry & Torrence in Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 27.
[32] *AR* 1992–93, 25.
[33] *A New Museum*, 3. The information was never published.
[34] The sherds are illustrated in Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1990, pl. 55a.
[35] *Wiener Präh. Zeit.* 24, 1937, 158; see Sordinas in *Ker. Chr.* XV, 1970, 128.
[36] *Ker. Chr.* XV, 1970, 127 f.

3 – HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS

Archaeologically speaking, the Ionian islands remained virtually *terra incognita* until the early decades of the 19th century when they attracted the interest of travellers and antiquarians in their quest for Greek antiquities and Homeric sites. The attention which the islands received during the rest of the century and the beginning of the present one is connected with the search for Homeric Ithaca and makes an interesting account, although too often marred by unrestrained treasure hunting, unrecorded excavations and finds spirited away.

The most famous of the early travellers was W. Gell, who, while on a diplomatic mission in the Ionian Islands between 1800 and 1803, explored Ithaki, on one occasion in the company of W. Dodwell, and published his observations in his *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca*.[1] Gell dealt with all the ruins and locations with possible Homeric connections on the island, some of which he described for the first time, including the 'Cyclopean' walls of Pelikata which he concluded were more recent than the walls of Aetos. Actual excavation at the Homeric locations was started in 1806 by W. Leake,[2] and was followed by others, including, in the early years, J. Lee,[3] Philippe de Bosset between 1810 and 1813 when the Swiss-born colonel was British Governor of Kefalonia, and by the Corsican Judge Guitera in the years 1811–14.[4]

During the same period, Colonel de Bosset carried out excavations in Kefalonia, where he 'emptied' a number of chamber tombs at Mazarakata, the first Mycenaean site to be discovered on the island (see Appendix). Some information about his excavation has survived in the accounts of visitors to the site, namely Lord Holland in 1813 and Wolters in 1894, but the excavator kept no record of his findings, which is a great loss, particularly as this was an important site for the chronology of Mycenaean pottery on the island. Part of the excavated pottery and other finds were subsequently donated by de Bosset to the Neuchâtel Museum where they are still housed; they were recently published by Brodbeck-Jucker (1986).

Among the archaeologists who explored the islands in the later 19th century the most renowned was Schliemann. His brief visit to Ithaki in 1864, the year the British ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, was followed by longer visits in 1868 and 1878, before and after his excavations at Troy and at Mycenae. Schliemann sunk trenches in what had become by then established Homeric locations (Aetos, Dexia, Pelikata, Aghios Athanassios/'School of Homer') and gave accounts of his excavations in *Ithâque, le Péloponnèse, et Troie* (1969) and in *Ilios: the City and Country of the Trojans* (1880). He failed however to uncover anything 'Homeric'. Regarding the difference of opinion that had arisen between those archaeologists who, following Gell's belief, maintained that the palace of Odysseus should be sought in the southern part of Ithaki (Aetos), and those who, like Leake, and J. Partsch in his *Kephallenia und Ithaka* (1890), favoured the north (Polis), Schliemann emphatically took the side of the former. However, after Aetos and Vathy had repeatedly yielded negative results, the search at the turn of the 19th century focused particularly on the northern peninsula. In 1896 Dörpfeld, having assisted Schliemann in Troy, visited Ithaki with the intention of undertaking excavations in the north of the island. For that purpose he enlisted the support of Schliemann whose interest had apparently been rekindled after his success at Hissarlik-Troy. But Schliemann's death that year put an end to these plans.[5]

The year 1900 marked the appearance on the scene of a new *Maecenas*, the Dutchman A. E. H. Goekoop, who, together with his wife, was to determine much of the excavation activity on the islands until the early 1930s. That year he helped Dörpfeld with his excavations and, more significantly, in 1903 and 1904 he financed an extensive campaign in the north and south of the island which was undertaken by W. Vollgraff.[6] The campaign brought to light the first Mycenaean sherds on the island, in the 'Cave of the Nymphs' in Polis, and the first EBA sherds at Pelikata. As the finds however were not what was expected of Odysseus' realm, scholars were beginning to look for Homeric Ithaca on the neighbouring islands. It is in that spirit that Dörpfeld abandoned his project on Ithaki and in 1901 started excavations on Lefkada. For the following ten years he excavated in a number of places on that island, first with Goekoop's financial help, and after 1904 with the support of German funds raised by his friend G. Conze. Dörpfeld showed great technical competence in dealing with the tremendous depth to which he had to excavate, especially in the plain of Nidhri, and his excavation of the R-Graves and *Familiengräber* S and F were carried out in exemplary manner. He presented the results of his excavations in his *Alt-Ithaka* (1927), where he also elaborated his theory about Lefkada being the Homeric Ithaca.

Kefalonia in the meantime was being investigated by P. Kavvadias, who had been director of the Greek Archaeological Service since 1885. His excavations of the cemetery of chamber tombs at Mazarakata started in 1908 and were financed by Goekoop. At about the same time Kavvadias excavated the tholos tombs at Riza and Mazarakata, and the cemetery at Kokkolata-Kangelisses, but only published brief summaries of all his excavations. As a result of these discoveries, Goekoop concluded that the Ithaca of Homer should be identified with modern day Kefalonia and, having published his theories in *Ithaque la grande* (1908), he continued to support excavations on the island.

After 1912 the Goekoop excavations in Kefalonia were carried out by N. Kyparisses who, among other sites, also

explored the acropolis of Krani and excavated the chamber tombs at Diakata.

The 1920s were marked by the involvement in the archaeology of the Ionian Islands of Sylvia Benton who, working initially for an M. Litt. thesis at Oxford, thoroughly scrutinized the islands and collected valuable information, both through daring explorations (**Pl. 23A**) and by 'sitting in the nearest *kafeneion* to ask and answer questions'. She was the first archaeologist to investigate and record the Mycenaean sites of Zakynthos, and eventually to excavate the sites of Kalogeros and Akrotiri in the 1930s. Unfortunately these excavations had still not been published at the time of the 1953 earthquake when all the finds and any records were lost.

The early 1930s also saw the peak of excavation activity in Kefalonia and Ithaki. In Kefalonia S. Marinatos, a native of the island, continued the Goekoop excavations, now financed by his widow, at Lakkithra, Metaxata, Kontogenada and Oikopeda, and promptly published the results in *AE* 1932 and 1933. On Ithaki some small-scale exploration was carried out in 1930–31 by Kyparisses, who was by then the head of the Eforate of Antiquities in Athens. However, the decade before the outbreak of the war was marked by the campaign of the British School at Athens which was financed by Lord Rennell and had the aim of finding 'evidence of the identity of Ithaca by means of excavation.'[7] The team, headed by W. A. Heurtley, included S. Benton and H. L. Lorimer. The progress of the work and the excavation results were published in the *BSA* from 1933 onwards. The excavations of 1930–35, the first on the island to be carried out systematically and with proper documentation, brought to life all we still know about the BA and EIA of the island. The most important results were obtained by Heurtley at Pelikata, and by S. Benton at Polis and Aetos. Benton continued excavations on the island in the late 1930s, at Aetos, Stavros and Tris Langades, having been joined by H. Waterhouse. The results were published in the *BSA*, those from Tris Langades as recently as 1973.

In the years following World War II most of the archaeological work on the islands was carried out by the Greek *Archaiologikai Eforiai* of Olympia, Patras and Ioannina, amongst which the islands are divided, and has mostly taken the form of rescue excavations. The violent earthquake of 1953 had serious repercussions particularly, as was mentioned above, for the antiquities of Zakynthos, but also those of Kefalonia, accounting for the loss of a large part of unpublished material from both islands. In Kefalonia, Marinatos's work was continued by P. Kalligas until 1974, but the former's latest excavated tomb at Metaxata and the tholos tomb at Mavrata remain unpublished. Kalligas however undertook the gigantic task of reorganizing the museums of Vathy and Argostoli, following the damage caused by the earthquake, and of copying the Argostoli Museum catalogue. The only publication of any prehistoric excavation carried out in the post-war period, except for short preliminary reports, is that of Kambi undertaken by P. Agalopoulou in 1971–72.[8]

In the last two decades the islands have been the scene of other small-scale surveys which have added unevenly to our knowledge. Reference to them will be made in the text. A larger-scale campaign ('The Odyssey Project'), which has included survey and excavation, has been taking place since 1984 at Aetos in Ithaki under the direction of Professor S. Symeonoglou of the University of St Louis; preliminary reports have been published in *PAE* and *Ergon*. A more recent excavation project was started in the north of the island in 1994 by Professor T. Papadopoulos (University of Ioannina) who returned to the sites excavated by the British School at Athens (Tris Langades, Aghios Athanassios/'School of Homer' and Pelikata). Neither of the two campaigns has so far brought to light any new and securely dated LBA architectural remains, and it would seem that the age-old difference of opinion about the location of the realm of Odysseus in the northern or southern part of Ithaki is destined to continue. In Kefalonia the Danish/Greek *synergasia* survey in the 1990s, mentioned in chapter 2, is still to be published, and so are the results of important recent excavation by Mr L. Kolonas of the monumental tholos tomb at Borzi near Tzanata.

NOTES

[1] Gell 1807. Dodwell also subsequently published his impressions of Lefkada and Ithaki in his more general work about Greece (Dodwell 1819, 49 ff.).
[2] Leake 1835, 31 ff.
[3] See *Archaeologia* 33, 1849, 36 ff.
[4] On Guitera's activities see Schliemann 1869, 34; *Alt-Ithaka*, 145; *Kef. Chr.* III, 1978–79, 45 ff.
[5] See Dörpfeld's account in *Alt-Ithaka*, 144 ff.
[6] *BCH* 29, 1905, 145 ff.
[7] *BSA* 40, 1943, 1.
[8] *AD* 28, (1973)A, 198 ff.

4 – Bronze Age Kerkyra (Corfu): A Summary

Kerkyra lies outside our main area of study as its Bronze Age cultures were not Aegean in character. The island is however relevant to this work for two reasons: firstly because aspects of its cultures, particularly ceramic wares and types, are also represented in the more southern Ionian Islands, and secondly because artefacts of Aegean provenance have also been found on the island. This short chapter is a resumé of what is known of the Bronze Age of the island and is intended to provide a background to some of the material to which reference is made in the following chapters.

There are four main Bronze Age sites on Kerkyra: Kefali and Afiona, both coastal sites in the north-west of the island, Ermones further south, and Sidari (Level A) on the northern coast. Professor Sordinas's surveys in the 1960s and chance discoveries have added another twelve Bronze Age sites,[1] including one on the Diapontian island of Erikoussa, off the north-west coast. Kefali was excavated by Dörpfeld in his search for Homeric sites; some rectangular stone structures came to light and Bronze Age pottery was recovered.[2] Afiona, a peninsula a short distance to the south, and the most thoroughly published excavation,[3] consists of two sites (Nisos and a site named by H. Bulle *Katzenfeld*) approximately 350m apart. No structures came to light, but there were plentiful remains of habitation including much pottery, clay spools and spindle-whorls, and implements of chipped and polished stone. The identification of a Bronze Age site at Ermones, a rocky outcrop about half a kilometre from the sea, was due to quarrying operations there in 1964 and the ensuing collection of material.[4] Among this material there were lumps of fired clay containing fibres, which suggest the existence of permanent structures, possibly huts, and a large number of bones of domesticated and wild animals. Recently a rescue excavation on the hill recovered more pottery, but unfortunately no stratigraphic evidence had been preserved.[5] The top level (Level A) at Sidari also yielded pottery and flint tools which were assigned to the Bronze Age.[6]

Sordinas classified the Bronze Age pottery of the island into three wares: Red ware, Scratched ware, and Mottled grey ware. This classification may be a little oversimplified, but appears to hold true in general lines.

The Red ware (Bulle's *rote Gebrauchsware*)[7] is the most common ware, having been found on thirteen sites. At Ermones it constituted 54% of the total pottery collected. It is a coarse handmade ware with gritty inclusions, a red or brick-buff surface which is slightly burnished, and a dark core. At the recent excavations at Ermones the shapes represented in this ware were large pithoi, smaller jars, bowls and cups. Decoration consists of plastic cordons forming waves, crescents or inverted V patterns, cordons with finger impressions, isolated pellets or blobs, and occasionally fingernail impressions. The handles are vertical (both rounded and strap handles) and horizontal. Wide horizontal lugs are common; they can be rectangular, divided, or, most frequently, semi-circular, either perforated or unperforated. Sordinas compared the material with the coarseware from the R-Graves in Lefkada and pottery from Epirus (Dodona and Kastritsa). He suggested that this pottery may have diffused in the Adriatic in the EBA and may have remained unchanged throughout the Bronze Age. From the point of view of the Ionian Islands further south, this ware is of interest because it is closely related to the coarser wares not only from Lefkada (ch. 5.2), but also from Kefalonia (ch. 6.3) and Ithaki (ch. 7.2).

The Scratched ware (Bulle's *ritzverzierte schwarze Gattung*) was well represented at Afiona (mostly at Nisos),[8] among the material from Ermones (where it constitutes 14.5% of the pottery recovered in the earlier investigations), at Kefali (where it was less plentiful), at Sidari (Level A), and at Stalakto. The clay is quite well levigated, but gritty, and the surface is grey and burnished, and sometimes covered with a black slip. The characteristic of this ware is its incised decoration made with a sharp tool before firing, and consisting of cross-hatched or parallel lines forming patterns. Less commonly patterns are formed with lines made with impressed cord. Although sometimes referred to as corded ware, the ware is not true 'corded ware'. At Afiona, the only shape which could be reconstructed was a wide shallow lipless bowl without handles, decorated with cord-impressed triangles.[9] Bulle linked this ware with the 'Sotiros ware' of Lefkada (ch. 5.2), an identification that is generally accepted, but he stressed the superior quality of the Afiona pottery. With regard to its origins, Bulle made comparisons with pottery from Molfetta in Apulia, and Sordinas also suggested associations with pottery from Sicily (Calafarina style) and Malta (Zebbug and Ggantija). However Wardle has pointed out that there are technical differences between the Afiona pottery and these wares (the Ggantija pottery was decorated after firing and paint was very often used), and instead has suggested a connection with the pottery of the Dalmatian culture of Hvar and the Lisicici culture of the interior of Yugoslavia[10] which date from the local chalcolithic (3rd millennium BC), although he admitted that the pottery from Hvar is also frequently painted. The Balkan associations are more plausible than the Italian connections which, according to Sordinas, would indicate regular contacts across the Adriatic, but it is also possible that the similarities between all these wares may be due to a common early Adriatic origin.

Mottled grey ware was only found at four sites. It was common at Ermones, both among the material from the older investigations (where it constituted 30.8% of the pottery) and among that from the recent soundings, and it was particularly

well represented at Kefali. On the other hand it was absent from Sidari and Afiona. The ware is handmade, gritty, usually grey, occasionally turning buff, slipped with a lightly polished surface giving it a soapy feel. Characteristic shapes include cups and two-handled bowls, kantharoi with carinated profiles, and closed vases with tall necks. The most common types of handles are horizontal handles often with a triangular section, highly swung vertical handles, wish bone handles,[11] knobbed handles (one such from Ermones in the British School at Athens is illustrated on **Pl. 1**), and vertical pronged handles. The last three are types which are also found in Epirus, Albania, and Macedonia. Examples of the wish bone handle have also been found on Lefkada (Evgiros, ch. 5.3) and Ithaki (Polis, Pelikata and Tris Langades, ch. 7.3). The Mottled grey pottery is usually undecorated, but some fluted sherds were found among the new material from Ermones.[12] A dipper-like cup from Ermones with a highly swung handle is the only complete shape in this ware.[13]

Sordinas has connected the Mottled grey ware to the pottery from tumuli S and F in Lefkada (ch. 5.3) and to the pottery of Minyan tradition in Akarnania and particularly Epirus (Dakaris class III) which Hammond has called K3.[14] Wardle, on the other hand, does not make a clear distinction between the finer variety of unpainted local pottery from (Greek) Epirus which would be related to the Mottled grey ware and the coarser pottery which is closer to the Red ware of Kerkyra.[15]

In the absence of stratigraphy, the relative chronology of the wares in Kerkyra can only be suggested from parallels and from the association or absence of association of these wares with one another. Any dating of this pottery however remains very crude. Sordinas made some suggestions which still seem to be valid. The earliest of the three wares is the Scratched ware which would date from the LN and early EBA. The Red ware would have developed somewhat later in the EBA but continued to be made possibly throughout the Bronze Age. Hammond has further suggested that at Afiona, the predominance of Scratched ware at Nisos and of Red ware at *Katzenfeld* indicates the chronological difference of the two wares and hence of the two parts of the site. The Mottled grey ware is MBA, but also continued to be made in the LBA, on Kerkyra as in Epirus, where the local wares have been found associated with LH IIIA2 and later pottery.[16] In Lefkada the latest date for the pottery from tumuli S and F is late MBA or possibly very early LBA (ch. 5.3). Further south, similarities exist between the Mottled Grey ware and some semi-coarse and finer 'northern' wares which are found in small quantities at Polis and Pelikata on Ithaki (ch. 7.3). However similar pottery is not represented in any pure LBA contexts in either Kefalonia, Ithaki or Zakynthos, although the wish bone handles from Tris Langades on Ithaki does suggest some survival of northern types alongside the Mycenaean pottery on the island.

At Ermones a few sherds of wheel-turned fineware were found during the recent soundings which the excavator related to the LBA wheel-turned pottery of Epirus.[17] A little Mycenaean pottery has also been found on the island. Wardle identified one fragment with an everted rim, probably from a Mycenaean goblet, among the pottery from Ermones,[18] and some more as yet unpublished Mycenaean pottery has recently been reported from the site. The presence of LH pottery at Ermones would confirm the LBA (LH III?) date of a part at least of the local ware pottery at the site.

Most sites have produced chipped stone tools, and stone shaft-hole hammer-axes have been found at Afiona-*Katzenfeld* (2),[19] and Spartilla.[20] The shaft-hole hammer-axe is commonly regarded as an implement of northern origin, although the suggestion has also been made that it arrived in Greece from Anatolia.[21] Hammond has attributed the axes from Afiona to an Epirote type (Wace and Thompson's type E).[22] The Afiona examples are definitely EBA, although how early in this period is not certain. If Hammond is right about *Katzenfeld* being a later EBA site, then the axes would also be of the same period. Shaft-hole hammer-axes have also been found at Pelikata on Ithaki and the type is therefore discussed further in chapter 7.2.

Only one bronze object, a double-axe from Ermones,[23] is of known provenance. The rest of the bronzes, consisting of a sword and two spearheads, are from the Woodhouse collection in the British Museum and their origin is given as either Kerkyra or Ithaki. The sword is now thought to come from Kefalonia (see ch. 6.4 and ch. 7.4). The double-axe is relatively small (l.: 0.127m) but belongs to the functional, as opposed to the votive variety of double-axes with an ancestry in the Aegean. It has curved edges, an oval socket and a collar around one of the sockets. The axe (Buchholz type IV) belongs to Harding's 'Hermones' variant which, along with the 'Kierion' variant, has a mainly north-west Greek and west Balkan distribution,[24] and dates from the 13th to 12th century BC.[25] Harding has suggested an Epirote centre of production of these axes. Hammond believes that the collars and curved cutting-edges indicate Hungarian influence on the Aegean prototype.[26] The Ermones tool belongs to a north-west cluster of collared axes which also includes two examples from Dodona,[27] one from Kechropoula on the Akarnanian coast opposite Lefkada,[28] and two from Charadiatika in Lefkada (ch. 5.3). Wardle[29] has distinguished between axes with collars above and below and with spreading blades (Dodona, Kilindir), and axes like the one from Ermones, with a collar only at the upper edge and slightly drooping blades, which are in the majority and include the axes from Charadiatika and Kechropoula. There is no suggestion of a chronological difference between the two types.

From the unprovenanced bronzes in the British Museum, the earliest is an EBA slotted spearhead (l.: 0.245m),[30] a similar weapon to those from Nidhri (ch. 5.2) and Vajzë. A javelin head (l.: 0.145m) with a triangular blade is a common LBA type. Finally the sword (l.: 0.37m)[31] from the same collection, which has a rounded shoulder, a tang (which is broken) and a midrib decorated with sets of three parallel lines on either side, is an atypical weapon, probably a derivative of the Aegean type A rapier; it shares features with a slightly longer type A derivative sword from Ithaki at the Musée d'Histoire at Neuchâtel (ch. 7.4).

Any conclusions that could be drawn about historical developments on the island in prehistory must remain tentative. It would seem that the Bronze Age was inaugurated with the establishment of new sites by people using Scratched ware. Hammond believes that the Red ware was introduced by people of Macedonian stock reaching the island through the region of Epirus (which would include most of present-day Albania) towards the end of the EBA and the beginning of the MBA.[32] In the course of the MBA and of the LBA the inhabitants of the island would have used both Red ware and the Mottled grey ware which developed from contacts with Epirus. Our knowledge of the Mycenaean pottery found so far on the island is too limited, but in any case it would be premature to postulate the presence of Mycenaeanized population on the island; the pottery may represent goods exchanged either with Mycenaean traders on the way to the central Mediterranean or with the Mycenaean or Mycenaenized areas of western Greece, including the Ionian Islands further south. The picture may naturally change with future publication or discoveries.

NOTES

[1] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969; *AD* 21, (1966)Chr., 328 (Spartilla); the latest site identified on the island is at Acharabe (Tribyza plot) where excavation produced Neolithic and EBA sherds, and bones mixed with fallen stones, as well as a cobbled path (*AD* 43 (1988)B1, 346, 347, fig. 6, pl. 195).

[2] Dörpfeld only published a preliminary report of the site (*AA* 1913, 108 ff.). Wardle (1972, 225 ff.) studied the material in the Kerkyra museum and illustrated some of it (1972, figs 138 and 139).

[3] *AM* 59, 1934, 147 ff., Bei. XIV–XV.

[4] *AD* 20, (1965)Chr., 379 and pls 437, 438a-d. The material was studied by Sordinas (*Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 42 ff.) and examined by Wardle (1972, 227 f.).

[5] The excavation was reported by G. Arvanitou-Metallinou in *AD* 44–46 (1989–91)A, 209 ff.

[6] *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 401, 410, 411.

[7] From Afiona, mostly from *Katzenfeld: AM* 1935, 167 ff., Abb. 5 & 6; from Ermones and other sites: *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 410 f.

[8] *AM* 59, 1934, 173 ff., Abb. 7 & 10.

[9] *AM* 59, 1934, 179 f., 174, Abb. 7, Taf. XII.

[10] Wardle 1972, 223 f.

[11] See Wardle 1972, figs 139, 141.

[12] *AD* 44–46, (1989–91)A, 216, fig. 7: k83, k88.

[13] *AD* 20, (1965)Chr., 381, pl. 437c.

[14] *Epirus*, 307 ff.

[15] *Godišnak* XV, 1977, 168 ff.: Thermon: section (c), Dodona: section (d). It would also seem that there was no clear difference between the clay colour of the finer and coarser local wares; at Thermon, for example, the smaller shapes in the finer ware had a buff or pinkish-buff fabric more often than a grey fabric like that of the Mottled grey ware of Kerkyra.

[16] See Dakaris in *PAE* 1967, 33 ff.; *Godišnak* XV, 1977, 165 ff., 176 ff.

[17] *AD* 44–46, (1989–91)A, 218.

[18] Wardle 1972, 223, fig. 140: 835.

[19] *AM* 59, 1934, 165, Abb. 4: 1 & 2.

[20] *AD* 21, (1966)Chr., 328, pl. 335b–c.

[21] Hood 1986, 33 ff., 46.

[22] *Epirus*, 317.

[23] *AD* 20, (1965)Chr., 380, pl. 438d; Wardle 1972, no. 1136: fig. 165.

[24] See Harding in *PPS* 41, 1975, 190 f., 192 f., and Harding 1984, 151 f.; see also Buchholz 1983.

[25] Branigan (1971, 21) is certainly wrong in dating the earliest of these axes to the MBA on the basis of the Ermones double-axe.

[26] *Epirus*, 335 f.

[27] *Ergon* 1959, 76, fig. 81; *Epirus*, 332 (C1), 334 (C2), fig 22.

[28] This double-axe was illustrated by Dörpfeld (*Alt-Ithaka*, pl. 79b).

[29] *Godišnak* XV, 1977, 197.

[30] Walters 1899, no. 2778; see *Epirus*, 337, fig. 23M; Avila 1983, 131: no. 840, Taf. 30. Branigan (1974) published a second slotted spearhead from 'Ithaca or Corfu' (see ch. 7, n. 76), which is probably also in the British Museum.

[31] Walters 1899, no. 2752; see *Epirus*, 325, fig. 20M.

[32] *Epirus*, 307 f., 365; *Macedonia I*, 255.

PART II
THE ISLANDS

5 – LEFKADA

1. Bronze Age Sites

A. THE SOUTH WEST

Syvros (1): The fertile plain and hilly zone behind the bay and village of Vassiliki is well watered by several low-yield springs and by lake Marantochori. The hills are rich in prehistoric flint tools.[1] Dörpfeld reported two finds from the area: a bowl from the vicinity of Vassiliki and a coarseware cup from Syvros.[2] In 1975 two prehistoric cist graves were excavated on the north-western edge of the village of Syvros (outside the property of S. Karabaiki),[3] which lies on the southern slopes of a double hill north-east of the plain of Vassiliki. The graves contained a number of burials which were very disturbed due to the action of water. The gravegoods were few: a couple of clay spools in each. Grave A also contained a simple bronze(?) earring and two tubular bronze(?) beads from a necklace. The graves were dated to the EBA.

Evgiros (Choirospelia) (2): Perched on the western flank of Vouni (h.: 490m), the hamlet of Evgiros overlooks the small triangular plain below. Beneath the village, and reached by a goat track, is the cave christened 'Choirospelia' by Dörpfeld. Its entrance, which according to Dörpfeld was blocked in antiquity by a wall, is 5m wide, and leads to a cavity 16m deep and 13m wide. Dörpfeld excavated the cave in 1905 and 1906 and, less intensively, in 1912 and 1913.[4] The most significant phase in the history of the cave was the Neolithic (see ch. 2), but Dörpfeld's excavations also produced evidence of the use of the cave in the Bronze Age, namely a little EBA glazed pottery,[5] and a fair amount of coarseware including sherds with applied or relief coils and bands.[6] The cave also yielded some LBA to Mycenaean-style pottery,[7] including two three kylix bases and a previously unpublished spout of a stirrup jar (**Pl. 1**) which I found in 1987 among material from the cave in the Lefkada Museum. Sherds from a skyphos or cup compatible with the Ithakan PG style (**Pl. 1**) were also found in the cave.

B. THE WEST

Chortata (3): The mountainous western side of the island offers little to attract human settlement. The only evidence for prehistoric activity in this region comes from Dörpfeld's investigations in 1906.[8] He mentions prehistoric sherds found by the entrance of a small gorge in the vicinity of Chortata village. These must be the sherds which Gössler described in the catalogue as 'monochrome prehistoric sherds, some with decoration executed with a thistle on the unbaked clay' (my translation). A date earlier than the Bronze Age for this pottery may be the most likely.

C. THE NORTH

Ancient Lefkas (4): Apart from an LH kylix stem which Gallant found within the walls of the classical acropolis,[9] no prehistoric finds have been reported from the site of the Greek city.

Phryni-Asvotrypa (5): The cave of Asvotrypa lies in the vicinity of the village of Phryni, situated in the hills which rise steeply above the plain north-west of Lefkada town. Coarseware and some EH and MH sherds were found in the cave in 1968.[10] At least one Matt-painted (MBA or Iron Age) sherd from Phryni is housed in the Lefkada Museum.

Choirotrypa (6): Like no. 5, this cave is also situated in the hills on the western edge of the plain. A substantial number of prehistoric coarseware sherds were collected in the cave in 1969 (including sherds with incised decoration). Fragments of flint and, apparently, of obsidian blades were also found.[11]

D. THE EAST

On the eastern side of the island, the coastal plain of Englimenos (Nidhri) and its surrounding hills were extensively investigated by Dörpfeld, who made a large number of soundings.[12] In several places prehistoric sherds and/or remains came to light at depths varying from 3m to 6m. The following sites produced the most significant evidence for Bronze Age occupation:

Vlicho (7): Dörpfeld carried out a small excavation south of the village of Vlicho (between Aghios Nikolaos and Perivoli) in 1901.[13] Prehistoric coarseware sherds were recovered and, in one of the trenches (trench E), two thin walls of irregular stones, thought to have belonged to a prehistoric house, were excavated. The pottery from this site in the Lefkada Museum includes coarseware sherds, some with lugs of the usual EB-MB type, and at least one sherd with EH-type glaze.

Amali (8): The hill of Amali (Omali) lies south of the plain of Englimenos and skirts the western coastline of the bay of Vlicho. In 1907 Dörpfeld excavated on the northern part of its eastern flank.[14] A little above the plain, under more recent structures, he uncovered walls belonging to several elliptical houses. They were associated with prehistoric pottery which included handles, lugs, bases of handmade vessels, and clay spools which were illustrated in *Alt-Ithaka*.[15] Included in this collection were two Grey Minyan sherds not illustrated by Dörpfeld.[16] One of them is a ribbed stem from a goblet

(D17a). There were also some LBA Mycenaean-style sherds decorated with bands.[17] Four are housed in the Lefkada Museum.

Koloni (9): In the years 1903–07 Dörpfeld excavated several trenches in the area of the slopes of Rachi and Koloni, two small hills on the western edge of the plain of Englimenos.[18] Prehistoric coarseware sherds were recovered from a number of trenches. In one of the trenches south-east of Koloni a prehistoric stone wall came to light, and in another a stone floor was uncovered in the prehistoric layers. Neither were illustrated, and the sherds (of which there were apparently a large number) were neither illustrated nor entered in the Gössler catalogue. Three prehistoric cist graves of possible MBA date (one containing a coarse pot) were also excavated north-west (two) and north-east (one) of the hill.[19] Photographs of the graves are kept in the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen (see below).

Aghios Sotiros (10): At the north-eastern foot of Mt Paleovoros, in a place called 'tou Sotiros' after the chapel which used to be there, Dörpfeld's excavations in 1905, 1906 and 1907 revealed the foundations of an older chapel and, under it, the remains of a Greek sanctuary.[20] In deeper layers a quantity of sherds were recovered, many with scratched decoration. Dörpfeld put forward the unlikely theory that the remains were those of an 'Archaic' cult-place, and that the ruins of an 'Archaic' wall found under Classical remains to the west of the chapel constituted the precinct wall of this sanctuary. He illustrated eight Scratched ware sherds from this site in *Alt-Ithaka*,[21] and some more were subsequently illustrated by Bulle.[22] The Lefkada Museum houses about a hundred sherds allegedly from this site, mostly with Scratched ware-type decoration. There are no diagnostic EH sherds among the rest. Sherds with EH-type glaze were found in the vicinity.[23]

Karou Cave (11): The cave is situated on the northern side of Mt Paleovoros, just below the village of Neochori and ca. 150m above the plain. Dörpfeld investigated the cave in 1905 and reported finding Greek and 'Archaic' coarse and painted pottery,[24] but he did not illustrate any of it. The material labelled Karou (D141/1) in the Lefkada Museum, which also corresponds to an entry in the Gössler catalogue, comprises, among many coarseware sherds, part of a large Matt-painted vase and several large sherds from LBA pottery of Mycenaean style decorated with bands, very similar to the sherds from Choirospelia. Minyan-looking sherds were also reported by Dörpfeld, but none were to be found in the museum. Dörpfeld also investigated another cave ('Spelia') close by. It apparently produced some prehistoric pottery but none was recorded in the Gössler catalogue or could be found in the Lefkada Museum.

Skaros (12): In 1902–03, 1908 and 1910 Dörpfeld carried out investigations and dug several trenches at the south and south-eastern foot of Mt Skaros.[25] This led to the discovery of traces of prehistoric habitation, of three prehistoric cist graves and, more importantly, to the excavation of an MBA tumulus (*Familiengrab* S).

A. Habitation: Many coarseware sherds (including large parts of single vessels) were recovered everywhere, as well as some spools, spindle-whorls and weights. The remains of a wall were brought to light on the south-eastern side of the mountain, and many sherds were found in square C/D1,[26] including the foot of a Mycenaean goblet (D121). There were also a couple of Grey Minyan sherds, one of them the ribbed stem of a Minyan goblet (D123/B),[27] as well as part of a semi-coarseware bowl with incised zig-zag decoration (D123.2)[28] and a clay spindle-whorl (D193/2).

B. Familiengrab S: The structure was excavated at the southern foot of Skaros on the bank and partly in the recent bed of the torrent Dimossari. The northern part of its round peribolos wall (d.: 12.10m) was well preserved but only short sections of the southern part had survived the action of the torrent.[29] Inside the peribolos wall there were thirteen cists, which contained a minimum of fifteen burials, and there was a child burial in a cist in one of the two cobbled 'annexes'. The gravegoods included nine MBA vases and nine objects of bronze (a dagger and several tools).

C. Cist graves IV, VI, VIII: The cist graves,[30] all containing single burials, were found at the southern foot of Skaros, east of the tumulus and not far from excavated fragments of prehistoric walls. Prehistoric sherds were found inside all of them. An MBA date for these graves is possible, but not certain.

Steno (13): On the land side of the coastal strip, known as Steno, which stretches from the hills to the entrance of the bay of Vlicho (**Pl. 49:a**), Dörpfeld's excavations between 1907 and 1913 revealed a number of significant prehistoric remains.

A. Structure P: In 1907 and 1908 Dörpfeld excavated the waterlogged remains of a prehistoric wall at a distance of 100–125m from the sea.[31] The preserved part of the wall was 40m in length and formed a wide angle roughly at its centre. Between the stones there were prehistoric coarseware sherds, but also some glazed EBA (*Urfirnis*) sherds.[32] Some blades of flint[33] were also among the associated finds. After considering various options, Dörpfeld concluded that the wall belonged to a large stately building[34] connected with the R-Graves. Recently another part of a wall (7m long and 0.80m high) was uncovered south-east of the R-Graves, but it is not clear from the report whether it may be of prehistoric date.[35]

B. The R-Graves (**Fig. 1, Pls 49:b–d**): The cemetery of EH tumuli was discovered in 1908 during the excavation of a long trench west of wall P.[36] The first structure (R1) came to light at a distance of ca. 50m from the wall. Excavations started in the summer of 1910, and were continued in 1912 and 1913.[37] Thirty-three round tumuli (R1–R33) were excavated, eight of them only partly.[38] They would originally have formed one group (Dörpfeld suggested a total of forty to fifty), but were revealed in three clusters (one of twenty-one, one of nine, and one of two). The clusters were severed from each other in the first instance by the

unexcavated Nidhri-Vlicho road, and secondly by an area of destruction caused by the torrent Charadiatika.

Sixty burials of adults and children were excavated in fifty-six graves of different types, either within (*Hauptgräber* or *Beigräber*) or outside the tumuli (*Nebengräber*). The gravegoods, most of which were found in the *Hauptgräber*, included pottery, weapons of copper or copper alloy, and jewellery of gold and silver.

C. Familiengrab F: This was excavated in 1907[39] among the olive trees in the plain of Nidhri, ca. 300m north-west of the R-graves and 250m west of the Nidhri to Vlicho road. Within the rectangular peribolos wall there were eight graves, and another two were in an 'annex' off its south-western corner.[40] Altogether there were twelve burials. Three of the graves (F2, F3, F8) had no gravegoods (F2 may have been robbed). The offerings included pottery (both coarse and fineware), jewellery, spindle-whorls, and one of the graves (F7) contained a dagger and a 'copper' spearhead. The date of the tumulus may not be earlier than late MBA, and the 'shoed spearhead' (D88/1) and the short dagger (D88/2) could even suggest a date at the very beginning of the LBA.

E. MEGANISI

Spartochori (14): South of the village of Spartochori, in the north-western part of the island, S. Benton identified a site which she described as follows: 'several fields covered with fragments of Late Bronze Age pithoi, and among them was an unmistakable kylix foot, part of a neck of a jug, krater bases etc.'[41] The site was not precisely recorded, neither was any of the pottery preserved.

Spartochori-Spelio Daimona (15): In a cave at the end of a goat track, just below the village of Spartochori, S. Benton[42] recovered Classical and Hellenistic antiquities, and some prehistoric pottery. The latter included Scratched ware sherds, like those from Sotiros, and a few LN or EBA painted sherds.

2. The Early Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

What little is known about EBA settlement comes mostly from the plain of Nidhri and its surroundings. The natural double harbour of Nidhri to the east, and the ring of mountains surrounding this region make it a very desirable area for settlement. Plenty of water from Karstic springs is also an advantage. In spite of this, the remains of settlement excavated by Dörpfeld are disappointingly few.

Sotiros may have been a small LN/EBA settlement. Its Scratched ware pottery, also found at Meganisi, links it with Kerkyra, particularly with Afiona (ch. 4). There may already have been a small settlement at Vlicho going back to the EBA, and the EH sherds found east of Koloni, and possibly the coarseware at the foot of Mt Skaros, imply EBA activity in these areas. But the only evidence of stone structures was brought to light at Steno (structure P) and on the slopes of Mt Amali. One wonders whether Dörpfeld might have missed evidence for perishable structures of wood or wattle-and-daub.

The preserved part of structure P[43] consisted in effect of a single 40m long wall forming a wide angle roughly at its middle. Above a foundation made up of two courses of round stones, the wall was constructed with large flat stones on its exterior, and an infill of pebbles and round stones. Only one or two courses of the flat stones were preserved. The thickness of the wall was 1.40m at its northern end, the only part where it was preserved. Next to the wall, and over a large area, many stones covered the ground (some presumed to have fallen from the wall) but there was no evidence of any other wall *in situ.* The EBA date of the wall is not in doubt as it was associated with glazed and coarse pottery similar to that of the R-Graves, and in its construction, too, Dörpfeld recognized a similarity with them. The facing of walls with flat stones was also characteristic of the construction of EH walls at Pelikata in Ithaki (ch. 7.2). Dörpfeld, after considering other possibilities,[44] concluded that the structure, the rest of which would have lain below the present-day water table, was the 'palace' of the 'kings' buried in the R-Grave cemetery. The identification of this wall as part of a dwelling however is not at all certain, although no other interpretation (boundary wall of the cemetery, defensive wall, wall connected with the rites performed at the cemetery) is entirely satisfactory either.

The twelve structures on the slopes of Mt Amali were only partly preserved, mostly in the form of the stone socles of curving walls.[45] Some of the buildings would have been quite sizeable, probably exceeding 10m in length. Buildings 1, 2 and 4 had a double wall on the side of the higher slope. The outer wall of building 1 was at a higher level than the inner wall, and it is likely that this and possibly the other outer walls were intended to protect the houses from the precipitations of material from higher up. Building 3, and perhaps one of the buildings from complex 4, appear to have had an apsidal narrow end, and building 8, if complete, seems to be D-shaped. No internal divisions or doorways were identified.

Very little diagnostic pottery was recovered (an EBA sherd with a vertical handle and two Grey Minyan sherds), but the site produced much EBA- and MBA-type coarseware (including pierced and unpierced horizontal lugs and sherds with finger-impressed cordons). In the Aegean, curving walls on houses appear in the Cyclades in the EC II phase (Pyrgos and Paroikia on Paros).[46] Curved walls occur on some mainland buildings, for example at Tsoungiza and Korakou in Corinthia and at Strefi in Elis, at roughly the same time.[47] EBA apsidal or D-shaped houses also appear on some mainland sites in EH II. Manika in Euboea, Tiryns in the Argolid, Koufovouno in Laconia, and Thebes in Boiotia are among the more securely dated.[48] The earlier houses at Lerna come from Lerna IV:1–3, but of greater interest for the Ionian Islands are the EBA apsidal houses of Olympia-Altis

and Olympia-New Museum. Four houses at the Altis (nos 2, 3, 5 and 6) have now been dated to the EH III period, two of them (nos 2 and 3) to its earliest phase.[49] An EH III date is also the most likely for the earliest buildings at Amali. As to their function, the mountain siting of of the structures makes it likely that they were connected with the keeping of herds.[50] Buildings with curved walls re-occur in LBA rural houses in both Kefalonia (Vounias, ch. 6.1 and 6.4) and Ithaki (Tris Langades, ch. 7.1 and 7.4).

Apart from the region of Nidhri, some traces of occupation, including the burials on the hill of Syvros, show that there was EBA habitation in the region of Vassiliki. A number of caves in all parts of the island (Evgiros, Phryni, Choirotrypa) and at Meganisi (Spelio Daimona) were also used during this period, most likely by shepherds.

B. BURIALS

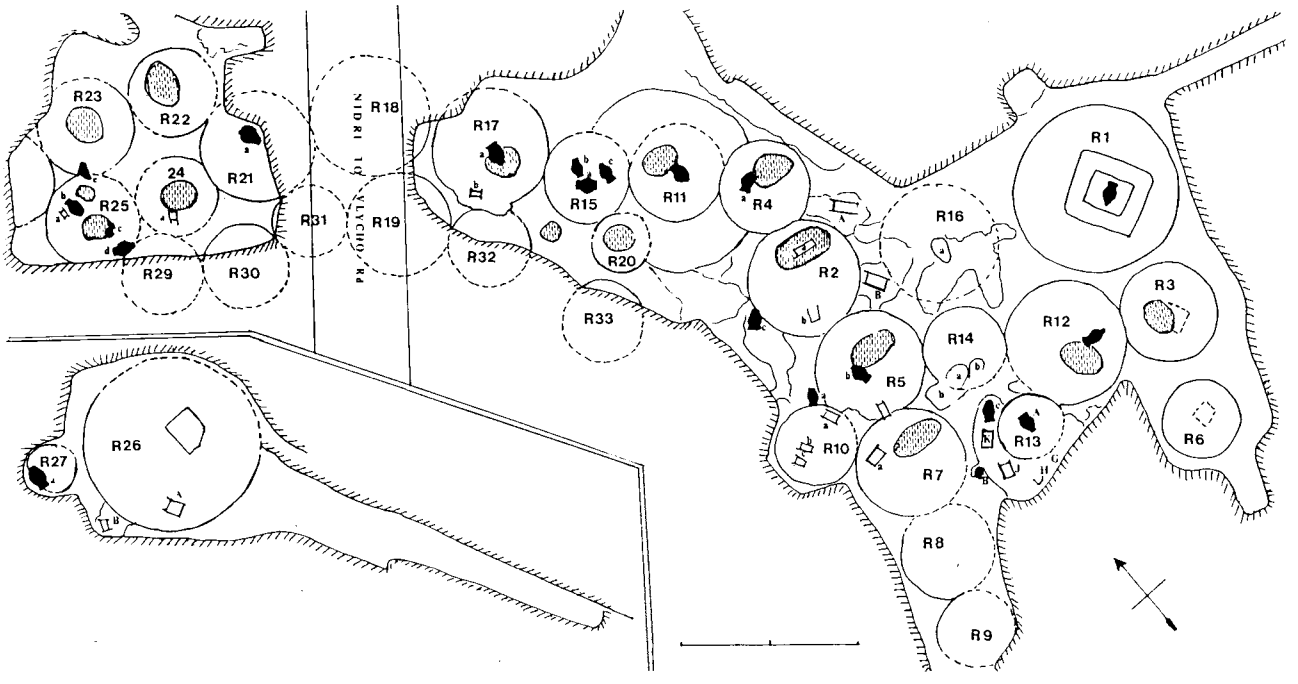
The evidence comes from two very different sites: the well-known cemetery of tumuli (R-Graves) excavated by Dörpfeld at Steno, and the two ossuaries excavated in 1975 at Syvros.

SYVROS:
Unlike the R-Grave cemetery which was situated on the edge of the fertile coastal plain of Nidhri, the cist graves at Syvros were located high up in the hills above Vassiliki. The cists were 1m apart. Grave A was a proper slab cist (1.05x0.85x0.60m) and had two covering slabs. Grave B was of similar dimensions (1.05x0.80x 0.75m), but its narrow sides were built with stones; a single slab formed the cover. Grave A contained at least five skeletons, and grave B at least six. Both had evidently been used as ossuaries, and this would also be supported by the incomplete jewellery in grave A: one earring and two beads of copper or bronze.

Typologically the cist graves of Syvros are not unlike the cist graves of the Aegean islands and of the mainland in the third millennium. In the Cyclades, the cist was the standard type of grave but was normally used for single or double burials, although multiple burials also occur.[51] On the mainland, EBA graves are few, and there is evidence of multiple burials and ossuaries in rock cavities, rock-cut graves and trench graves. However, the EH II graves of Aghios Kosmas, where multiple, including secondary burials occur in slab or stone-built cists provide good parallels for the Syvros graves.[52] Cist graves dating from the EBA have also been found sporadically elsewhere in Attica.[53] In Elis an EH II/III cist grave believed by Koumouzelis to be of Cycladic type was probably combined with a cremation burial.[54]

The use of the cist grave in the tumuli of Steno is the only common denominator between that cemetery and the Syvros graves. One of the cists in the R-Grave cemetery (R5C) had its narrow sides built with stones like grave A at Syvros. But the cists of Steno were used for single burials (two for double burials: R2B, R13C) and were clearly associated with the tumuli (see below).

STENO: R-Graves (Tabs A.1–5, **Fig. 1**)
The tumuli: Of the forty or fifty structures which Dörpfeld believed to have constituted the cemetry at Steno, he revealed thirty-three, of which twenty-five were completely excavated. Their outer perimeter was almost perfectly circular and had obviously been planned using the compass technique. The two largest, R1 and R26, had diameters of 9.30m and 9.60m respectively, and the two smallest, R27 and R13 (which Dörpfeld regarded as annexes of the larger abutting tumuli beside them) measured 2.70m and 3.50m respectively, but the diameter of the majority was between 4.50m and 6.50m.



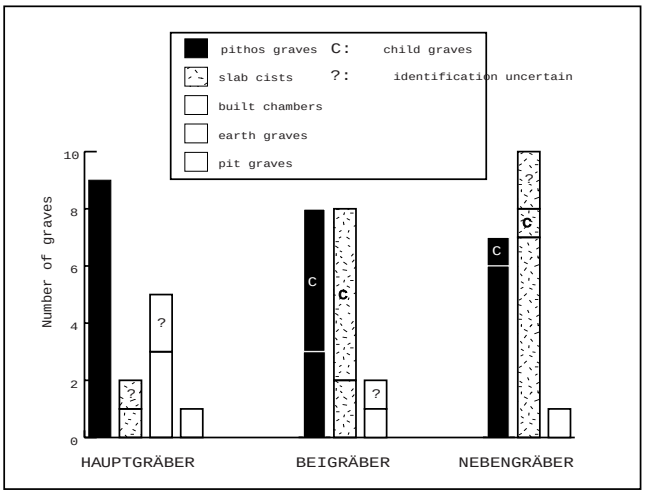
1. Plan of the cemetery of R-Graves at Steno (after Dörpfeld 1927, Taf. 13).

In their original form the tumuli had a dry masonry peribolos wall built with flat stones of the local Mt Amali/ Vlicho limestone. The only exception was R16, which showed no evidence of a peribolos wall, although it is possible that its absence may have been due to later damage to the tumulus. The walls of some of the structures (R5, R10) rested on a foundation of round stones. The flat stones were 0.02–0.08m thick and, on average, about 0.50m long, with the longest reaching 1.50m. The walls presented a sheer face and were preserved up to a maximum of six to eight courses. One of the best preserved walls (that of R12) was 0.60m high; it may not have been much higher in its original state. The cairns were made up mostly of round river pebbles, exceptionally of flat stones too (the cairn of R27 was made up exclusively of flat stones). They were constructed over a primary grave (Dörpfeld's *Hauptgrab*) and, according to Dörpfeld, were subsequently covered by a low earthern mound which would presumably have left the outer face of the peribolos wall exposed.

In most tumuli where the *Hauptgrab* could be identified with certainty, it was more or less central to the tumulus and (with the exception of R1, R16 and R26) it overlay or lay beside a patch (up to 0.25m thick) of ash, charcoal, burnt bones and artefacts which Dörpfeld believed to have been the remains of the pyre (*Brennplatz*) used for the partial cremation of the dead. Only adults, male and female, were buried in the *Hauptgräber.* Because of the bad preservation or incomplete state of the skeletons, identification of age and sex was only possible in a limited number of cases.[55] A woman between thirty and forty years old was identified in R13A, and a young female in 15b.[56] The two skeletons, a male and a female, in 26C were also identified from the bones, but only as robust adults.[57] Most of the sex attributions of the burials were made on the basis of sex-specific gravegoods. Altogether seven men and six women were identified.

All but six of the tumuli (R1, R3, R4, R6, R11, R12) contained, beside the central grave, up to three other graves with single burials within their cairns. Dörpfeld excavated nineteen of these, which he called *Beigräber*; the majority of them were children's burials – only three adults were definitely identified, as against eleven children (**Fig. 2**). In addition Dörpfeld excavated another seventeen burials in nineteen *Nebengräber,* graves outside the original perimeters of the tumuli, sometimes in a sort of pebbled extension of the cairn. In R13 the graves were placed in a semicircular extension of the cairn, of which the outer perimeter followed the contour of the original tumulus. The large majority of burials in *Nebengräber* were adults. Eleven adults and two children were definitely identified from the bones. Among the adults two 'older men' were identified in R2B, an 'old woman' in 13D, and an 'adult woman' in 13C.[58]

The graves: Five different types of graves were used (Tabs A.2–4). In order of frequency they were: pithos grave (a minimum of twenty-four), slab cist (up to nineteen), stone-lined/built cist or chambers (three, another two uncertain), earth grave (three) and pit grave (one). The well-preserved burials, although few in number, suggest that the dead would usually have been laid on their right side, legs flexed.



2. R-Graves: grave-types preferences among *Hauptgräber*, *Beigräber* and *Nebengräber*.

The burial jars of the pithos graves were laid on their sides (**Pl. 49:b**) with no particular concern about their orientation. Sometimes they were surrounded by stones, possibly as a means of securing them in position before the building of the cairn. The pithos burial of the large tumulus R1 was, exceptionally, laid in the bottom compartment of a two-storey built chamber. The jars varied in size. Some vessels containing children's burials were particularly small: 0.33m (R23E) or 0.55m (R5a) in height. But the majority were around 1m tall, and the largest (R27a) measured 1.22m. Two of the pithoi (R13A and R17a) had a spout near the base, an indication that these vessels had either been made and/or used for other purposes prior to their use as funerary containers. This does not exclude the possibility that the pithoi may also have been used in connection with some ritual at the burial site. The mouth of the pithoi was generally blocked, either with a bowl or with a slab (**Pl. 49:b**). The mouth of R15b was blocked with clay, and that of R12 with both clay and the base of a vessel.

The slab cists were made up of four slabs forming an irregular rectangle, and a fifth slab for a cover which, however, was not always present. In some cases (R2b, R2A, R2B) one of the narrow sides was also absent and, as was mentioned above, one of the sides of R5c instead of a slab, had a wall built with round stones. Normally the floor was covered with small or large stones or with pebbles, but the flat stones of the annular wall could also constitute a suitable floor (e.g. R26A, R26B, R5c).

Many of the cists, particularly those used for children, were very small; the smallest were less than 0.50m long (R10b: 0.40x0.32m, R27b: 0.27–0.34x0.28–0.31m: **Pl. 49:b**). The length of the majority of the cists for adult burials was between 0.70 and 0.95m, the largest (R2A) being 1.10m long and 0.49m wide.

The few stone-lined/built chambers or cists are not a homogeneous group. The two better preserved graves, R26c (**Pl. 49:c**) and the two-storey R1a, were associated with the largest tumuli. Although Dörpfeld was of the opinion that the upper compartment of R1 (R1a), which was found empty,

was a grave which had been robbed, it is not certain that he found human bones in it. The chamber (2.40x1.80m) was constructed above the pit containing the pithos burial (R1b). It had a floor of polygonal stones, and stone-built walls 0.90m thick. The cover was made up of slabs. As the stone walls did not reach to the height of the slabs, the excavator concluded that the roof had been supported with wooden beams, as in the shaft graves of Mycenae.

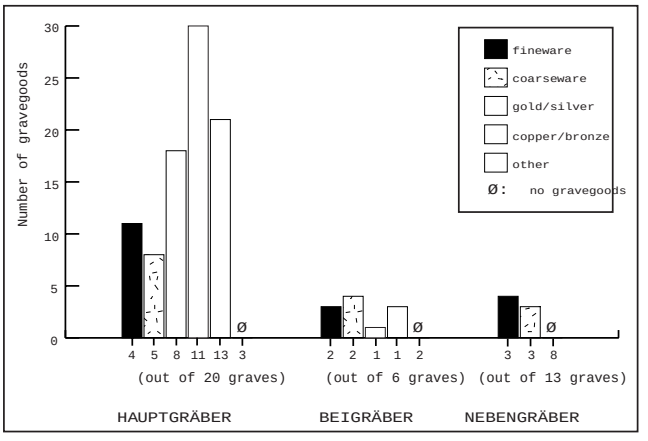
The chamber of R26c was almost square (2.10x2.00m) and was dug 0.80m into the ground. Its floor was covered with pebbles, and its sides were lined with stones. Its large covering slabs were thought by Dörpfeld to have originally been supported by wooden beams. The third grave of this type (R2a) was much smaller (1.00x0.60m) and was not dug into the ground but built with round stones on a floor of flat stones.

The only other grave dug below the surface was the *Hauptgrab* of tumulus R16 (**Pl. 49:d**), a simple, but very large round/oval pit, although only the dimensions of the slab which covered it (2.00x1.45m) were published.

The three burials which were laid directly onto the earth with a cover of stones all belonged to tumulus R14. Dörpfeld, influenced by Schliemann's suggestion about the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, thought that the charcoal under the burials represented the remains of wooden sarcophagi, but this is unlikely.

The five different types of graves outlined above are unevenly distributed among the *Hauptgräber*, *Beigräber*, and *Nebengräber* (**Fig. 2**). The stone-lined/built cist only occurs as a *Hauptgrab.* The type may be chronologically linked. The standard type of *Hauptgrab* was the pithos (nine definite and two possible graves). The slab cist, on the other hand, was used only exceptionally as a *Hauptgrab*. It occurs just once, in the smallest of the tumuli (R27) – another cist grave, R10a, was not convincing as the *Hauptgrab* of the tumulus. For both children and adults buried in *Beigräber* either pithoi or cist graves were used, almost in equal numbers, and cists were more numerous than pithoi among the adult burials in *Nebengräber*.

Burial customs: The original tumulus burial was accompanied by elaborate rituals, which preceded the erection of the actual tumulus over the grave. Dörpfeld's conviction that the bodies of the deceased were burnt until the flesh was singed off the bones has been disputed by later scholars,[59] and it is true that, although the skeletons were often disjointed and decomposed, there are no references to burnt bones in the graves. However human bones were found in the pyres,[60] and there could be no explanation for their presence there other than that the bodies laid out with the objects of personal attire and status found in the pyres were exposed for a time to the effects of the burning fire. The animal bones (predominantly pig and sheep)[61] found in the pyres and inside the graves could be evidence of one or more of the following: sacrifice, offerings or funeral meals. With the building of the cairn, the pyre was not available for later burials in and around the tumulus. Since only in R25 did Dörpfeld identify a second pyre, it is likely that no such ritual was associated with the other burials. The decomposed



3. R-Graves: distribution of gravegoods among *Hauptgräber*, *Beigräber* and *Nebengräber.*

nature of the skeletons in *Beigräber* and *Nebengräber* was most likely due to the the fact that these were secondary burials, the dead previously having been either exposed or buried in a temporary grave, as was also the case with the Syvros burials. The objective of these practices would be to provide a temporary residence for the deceased until the disintegration of the flesh is completed and burial in a permanent grave could take place. Anthropologists have regarded cremation as an alternative practice to primary burial, with the same aim of altering the corpse.[62] Hence the two rituals at the R-Graves should be regarded as related, the difference between them being the greater elaboration of 'cremation', and hence very likely the greater prestige which would have been attached to the ritual.

The gravegoods were very unevenly distributed among the graves (**Fig. 3**). The bulk of of them was shared by the deceased in *Hauptgräber*. Fifteen of these (i.e. three-quarters of the burials) were found to contain gravegoods either left behind in the pyre or deposited in the grave, or both. Pottery in particular, which bears no evidence of burning, was deposited directly in the graves. All the weapons and precious jewellery were shared between twelve *Hauptgräber*: seven male (R2, R5, R6, R7, R9, R17, R24) and five female (R1, R4, R12, R15, R26). These rich graves each contained, if female, several items of gold and silver jewellery (a string of gold beads being present in all), or if male, more than one copper/bronze weapon. This is in great contrast to other graves, which contained no luxury objects or weapons at all. The most significant difference however was between the primary graves and the *Beigräber* and *Nebengräber*. Of the three identified adult burials in *Beigräber*, two (R15c, R27a) were provided with one or two pots. Equally badly furnished, if not worse off, were the graves of the fifteen adults in *Nebengräber*, only three of which contained a pot or two. The *Beigräber* of children, like the rest of the children's graves, were normally unfurnished.[63] Quite exceptionally the grave of a fourteen-year-old youth, in the imposing and wealthy tumulus R26, was furnished with forty-eight arrowheads (obviously from a quiver), a copper chisel, a whetstone and a fineware vase.

The presence of a large proportion of children's graves

within the tumulus itself, a fact which contrasts with their rarity in the *Nebengräber*, makes it certain that this was the designated place for family burials.

Chronology: The absolute date of the R-Graves and the relative chronology of the tumuli have been the subject of long-standing debate. Dörpfeld's eagerness to find Homeric remains on the island made him assign his cemetery to the Mycenaean period, but even before the publication of *Alt-Ithaka*, Wace had dated it to the EH period.[64] Branigan's 1975 study of the metalwork and pottery led him to conclude that it dates from 'the period EH II–III with most of the gravegoods belonging in the earlier period'.[65] Hope Simpson and Dickinson were inclined to attribute it to the EH III period,[66] and Renfrew, while stressing the EH II character of the contents of the graves, suggested that the EH culture on the island continued into the beginning of the MH period.[67] Hammond placed the earliest tumuli in the EH II but maintained that the cemetery continued to be used in the MH period,[68] and the possibility of the R-Graves continuing into the MBA has also recently been suggested by Hood.[69] S. Müller, in a recent review of the tumuli, dated the cemetery between late EH II and EH III, on the basis of the latest ceramic comparanda and the pottery from the foundation level (Dörpfeld's *archäischer Boden* or *Kulturschicht*) of the tumuli.[70] She proposed a date at the end of EH II for the earliest tumuli, including R1 and R16, which contain sauceboats. Essential to her argument is the new evidence which suggests that the sauceboat had a longer duration than earlier thought on the basis of its life at Lerna, which was restricted to Lerna III (see below), and her dating of the *Kerbschnitt* and *Punktverzierung* style pottery from the foundation level of the tumuli (almost entirely, however, from around one tumulus: R17) which she dates to the EH II/III (see below). However, as practically all the metallurgical parallels are from the middle phase of the EBA, and there are just as many EH III ceramic comparanda as there are with the earlier period (see below), I would prefer to place the beginning of the cemetery somewhat earlier than the very end of EH II favoured by Müller.[71] The continuity of the cemetery into EH III, a much shorter period than EH II, is settled, and the absence of Lerna IV or Lefkandi I types from the tumuli, although they are present at Pelikata, must be due to cultural rather than chronological parameters. There are on the other hand no unchallenged MBA ceramic or metal types among the material on the basis of which to suggest a continuation of the cemetery into the MBA.

The relative date of the tumuli is even more difficult to establish. Dörpfeld believed that the large tumuli R26 and R1 on either side of the cemetery were the last to be built, but that the rest of the cemetery expanded from the north-west to the south-east. He emphasized the linear layout of the cemetery, clearly noticeable in groups R17–R4, R4–R9 and R5–R3, and the overlap of four tumuli in the centre of the cemetery, where R15 was older than R17 but younger than R11 and R20.[72] One of the latest tombs according to Dörpfeld's scheme, R1, contained one or two sauceboats, which, with today's knowledge, would imply that the cemetery as a whole falls within EH II. Different suggestions for the development of the cemetery were subsequently put forward by Hammond and Branigan. Hammond[73] suggested a sequence almost the reverse of Dörpfeld's. According to him, the large tumuli R1, R16 and R26, all of which had their principal graves dug into the ground, and two of which (R1 and R16) contained sauceboats, were the earliest, and R7, R17, R24 and R27 were the latest. Branigan's suggested sequence took into account social considerations.[74] He proposed that the three largest female tombs (R1, R11, R26) may have formed an 'alignment on which lesser graves were laid out'. The three groups thus constituted would include a chieftain's grave and a number of 'retainer' graves. Pelon also remarked on the possible development of the cemetery as a nucleus with satellites,[75] which is most obvious in groups like R21–R31, but did not comment any further. Müller agrees with Hammond's early date for R1, R16 and R26, and includes R12, R17 and R5 among her proposed late EH II tumuli, with R12 probably at the beginning of the series. Müller's proposed dates for individual tumuli do not overtly coincide with any pattern of development of the cemetery.

The possible relationship between *Hauptgräber*, *Beigräber* and *Nebengräber* is also relevant to the chronology of the cemetery as a whole. The connection between the *Beigräber* and the original tumulus burial is clear. If we accept that the children and, by extension, the few adults buried within the peribolos wall of the tumuli were buried there because of their association with the individuals buried in the *Hauptgräber,* the graves cannot be significantly later than the tumuli themselves. The case of the *Nebengräber* is different, as they could be earlier, contemporary or later than the tumuli. However, since nowhere are these graves overlaid by the peribolos wall or the cairn of a tumulus, they certainly do not belong to an earlier phase of the cemetery. In fact they were clearly inserted into the cemetery of tumuli, rather than the other way round, as Müller seems to suggest.[76] Neither is it possible to suggest that the *Nebengräber* may belong to a post-tumular phase of the cemetery. Among the rare graves of this kind to contain gravegoods, the two graves outside R2 (R2A and R2b) held part of an askos and a pyxis compatible with similar shapes in the *Hauptgräber* of R26C and R16, which are believed to be among the earliest graves of the cemetery. Moreover the clear association of some of the *Nebengräber* with neighbouring tumuli (e.g. very obvious in R13) suggests that, as with the *Beigräber*, there was a relationship between these burials and the tumuli themselves.

Parallels: The tumuli at Lefkada represent the earliest manifestation of this type of monument for burial in Greece and indeed, as far as we know, in the Balkans. Forsén has dated the tumuli of Thebes, Olympia-Altis, and possibly Lerna to the EH II, but they contained no burials of similar date, and she therefore classed them in a category of their own as 'ritual tumuli'.[77] Some remains of possible burial tumuli in central and northern Greece have been claimed in the past to be as early as Steno, but the evidence does not stand up to scrutiny.[78] Among the Greek tumuli, the closest in date to the R-Graves is a tumulus (one of possibly two

such monuments) at Olympia-New Museum which has been dated to the late EH III phase.[79] It is unfortunately not well-known due to its early discovery, but it is likely that under a central cairn it contained a pithos burial, which was partially cremated, and a central pyre. The tumuli of Messenia are generally accepted today as being MBA, with the tumulus of Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia and Peristeria-Koukirikou most likely to belong early in the period.[80] The close association of the pithos with the Messenian tumuli,[81] and the stone cairns of these tumuli have suggested connections between them and Steno from an early date;[82] but typological differences between them and the R-Graves (isolated occurrence on hilltops, lack of built peribolos wall, larger size of pithoi in a radiating arrangement, rarity of cist graves) have also been pointed out, as have features which the Steno tumuli share with the tumuli of Attica (built peribolos wall, the use of river pebbles, the combination of principal grave and secondary graves).[83] However the connection between the Messenian tumuli and the R-Graves is, in my opinion, impossible to deny in view of the other EH II–III connections between Lefkada and the coasts of the north-western Peloponnese, particularly the region of Olympia. Such evidence includes different types of ceramic wares (see below) and the early occurrence of pithos burials. The occurrence of EH II–III pithos burials in western Greece is discussed in chapter 7.2. Suffice it to say here that adult pithos burials only became established in Greece in the MBA, and it is therefore significant for the connections between Lefkada and the north-western Peloponnese that at least one such burial dating from EH II, and possibly a second one, are known at Strefi in Elis.[84] However, the only area where pithos burials were customary at such an early date was western Anatolia. The cemeteries of Troy I–II and Thermi have not been found, but a few intramural child pithos burials were excavated at both sites, and at Troy the earliest go back to Troy Ib.[85] Moreover several extramural cemeteries of the EB II Yortan-Babaköy culture in the hinterlands of Anatolia have been excavated, and the dominant custom there, for both adults and children, was the pithos grave.[86] In view of the ceramic and metallurgical links between the R-Graves and north-western Anatolia, it is possible that if the pithos burial was not a local invention, it may have derived from that region.

The stone-lined underground chambers of tumuli R1 and R26C have no contemporary parallels in Greece. Branigan has compared R26C to the inner circle of tumulus 1 at Vrana (dated to the middle MH),[87] which also has a central built grave, and both Dörpfeld and Branigan have pointed out the similarities between the built chambers of Steno and the Grave Circles at Mycenae.[88] Since, as was said above, tumuli R1 and R26 most probably date from the beginning of the Steno cemetery, several hundred years separate them from Vrana and Mycenae. Inside the Aegean the inner tumulus at Pazhok in Albania, which Hammond compared with R26C,[89] is not much closer in date. It has a central roofed burial chamber containing two burials and evidence of animal sacrifice. Built chambers in tumuli are characteristic of the Kurgans, from where Hammond derives the tumulus tradition of Lefkada, but other similarities between them and the R-Graves are disputed (see the discussion in ch. 9).

Hammond has also outlined other characteristics which are shared between the R-Graves and the southern Albanian tumuli: the use of cist graves, burials with weapons, offering of meat to the dead, and particularly the practice of cremation,[90] which is not found anywhere in the Greek tumuli: the ash and charcoal layers found under the mounds or the burials of the later tumuli[91] are in the nature of sacrificial or purification fires, and nowhere have cremation pyres been identified. There are however also important differences between the southern Albanian tumuli and the R-Graves, first in construction (the absence of built peribolos) and then in the much-quoted absence of the pithos grave from Albania. Among the closest Albanian tumuli in date Hammond quoted Vajzë (tumulus A) and Vodhinë, which he dates to the MBA on the basis of their Aegean weapons.[92] A recent work dates the central tumulus at Barç to the EBA (Maliq IIIa–b = EH II–III),[93] which makes it the closest chronologically to the Steno tumuli.

An exceptional feature at Steno is the two-storey arrangement of R1. It is reminiscent of the double-decker graves found in the Cyclades in EC I–II, in which both storeys were used for burial.[94] The top compartment of R1, however, was empty and it is more likely than not that this was not due to robbery, as Dörpfeld thought. The closest parallel to R1 is the two-storey grave (I) of the tumulus at Afidna (early MH), which also had an empty top storey.[95] The idea behind the provision in a tomb of an enclosed empty space without any visible function may be the same as that which lay behind the 'cenotaph' of Papoulia, meaningfully called 'house of the dead' by Marinatos (although this was later dissociated from the tumulus),[96] and if indeed found empty, the crescent-shaped structure Θ of the Kokkolata-Kangelisses (?) tumulus (ch. 6.3). However if the reason these structures were found empty is that only liquid offerings were probably poured into them, their purpose would not have differed much from that of similar structures which have yielded tangible proof of sacrifice, like S9 in tumulus S at Skaros and the other structures discussed below.

In conclusion the R-Graves seem to demand comparisons with features chronologically and geographically apart. However it cannot be denied that the 'phenomenon' of tumuli links the coasts of the eastern Adriatic, the Ionian Islands and the western Peloponnese from as early as the EH III period, an earlier date than that of any burial tumuli elsewhere. Moreover the R-Graves clearly display a fusion of elements relating to the tumulus traditions further north (cremation, animal offerings, weapons) with elements of Aegean and Anatolian derivation (pithos burials and numerous connections in the pottery and metalwork).

Socio-political organization: In the last decades, the analytical studies of graves have demonstrated that mortuary variability can reflect differences in society and in socio-political organization.[97] Originally based on purely arithmetical/statistical calculations, such studies have found a more balanced approach, thanks to I. Hodder, who has drawn attention to the significance and implications of symbolism

in the various aspects of the treatment of the dead.[98] Although analytical methods are not possible to apply to the small number of tumuli at Steno (twenty-four or twenty-five reasonably exposed/preserved tumuli with a total of sixty-two excavated burials), the obvious differences in the treatment of the dead have invited comment by Renfrew and a simple analysis has been attempted by Branigan.[99] Both scholars have concluded that the socio-political organization at Steno was that of the 'chiefdom' which, according to Service's evolution of socio-political systems, lies between the 'tribe' and the 'state'.[100] The most distinctive features of 'chiefdoms' are the office of chief, which is linked to specific functions and privileges, and a hierarchically organized élite. Chiefdoms have been equated in archaeology with 'ranked societies',[101] a term which has expanded to include different statuses and hierarchies within societies.

The most distinctive characteristic of the the ranked society of Steno is its warrior élite. Branigan, dealing exclusively with the *Hauptgräber*, identified the seven male graves which contained weapons (R2, R5, R7, R9, R17a, R24) as those of the aristocracy. The proportionally small number of tombs with weapons, and the fact that all but one (R7) contained more than one weapon, indicate that these may have been the exclusive preserve of a small number of individuals.[102] From among the graves with weapons, Branigan distinguished R7, R17, R24 as those of 'chieftains' since the first two, in addition to three and two weapons respectively, also contained fragments of gold hilt-sheathing (D101, D199/b), very likely from 'display weapons', which Branigan in agreement with Renfrew regarded as the emblems of power and leadership.[103] Branigan also gave the status of chieftain to a third burial (R24), the pyre which, as well as two weapons, also contained two gold ear/hair-chains, their presence suggesting the high status of the burial. The rest of the graves with weapons but no gold Branigan regarded as those of 'retainers'. Among the other tumulus burials, he distinguished five female burials (R1, R4, R12, R26, and pyre R15b which he associated with R11); they shared among them all the gold and silver jewellery. The 'rich female graves' all contained gold beads from bracelets or necklaces, and two (R4 and pyre R15b) also contained gold earrings. In addition three of the graves (R1, R4, R15b) held one or two silver bangles. Like the weapons, gold and silver jewellery was restricted to a few graves, and this would confirm their symbolic character as objects or materials of high status. Two of the female graves (R1 and R26) were also the largest in the cemetery, otherwise the size of the tumuli was not commensurate to their wealth.

Rather less convincing than Branigan's distinction between 'chieftain', 'retainer' and 'rich ladies', is his identification, among the remaining *Hauptgräber*, of the graves of two craftsmen: R23 which contained two small chisels (D194/3, D195/2) and a miniature pestle (D195/3), and R16 which contained four vases, and outside which were found a punch (D200/3) and a fish-hook. However, more information about ranking to support Branigan's conclusion that the Steno society was 'stratified on several levels'[104] can be derived from the observations made above about the differences between *Hauptgräber, Beigräber* and *Nebengräber*.

There can be little dispute that a tumulus burial would have been the most exclusive form of burial, and that those buried in either *Beigräber* or *Nebengräber* must have been of lower status/wealth. The inferior position of these burials is also emphasized by the use of the cist rather than the pithos grave, which would have meant the loss of a useful container, the lack of labour-intensive ritual at the funerals, and the small number (if at all) and poor quality of gravegoods (one to three pots). As was mentioned above, the fact that a large number of *Beigräber* contained children would indicate that the burials within the peribolos of the tumuli were those of blood relations. The inclusion of children in the tumuli suggests an inherited high status, but since the children received no gravegoods or special treatment, they may not have inherited high office at birth. Only the grave of the fourteen-year-old youth (R26A) buried with a rich lady in the largest tumulus of the cemetery contained gravegoods (a pot, a whetstone and forty-eight arrowheads, probably from a quiver full of arrows). This special treatment may have been related to the significance attached to puberty, particularly if the youth was the eldest son, for primogeniture is of special importance in 'chiefdom' societies.

Like the children, the adults buried in *Beigräber* were most likely also related by kinship ties to the dead in the *Hauptgräber*, but evidently they did not qualify for a tumulus burial, possibly for reasons of age or wealth. On the other hand the relationship of those buried rather unceremoniously in *Nebengräber* with those buried in *Hauptgräber* is less certain. The *Nebengräber* could be the graves of ordinary commoners, or belong to more complex hierarchies than our records can reveal. Moreover it is less than certain that they were chronologically close to the burials in the *Hauptgräber*. It should however be stressed that in some instances a special connection appears to have existed between the tumulus and adjacent *Nebengräber*, as is quite obvious in the case of the circular extension constructed around the perimeter of R13 in which four other burials were inserted elsewhere.

The above observations confirm that the R-Graves reflect a ranked society based on kinship ties, with a hereditary warrior élite. Since all the imported metals and finished products of copper, gold, and silver (to which could be added other imported materials and trinkets, such as obsidian, agate, bone tubes, stone pestle) were restricted to a few tombs, it seems likely that only the top echelons of the élite had access to important resources and luxuries, possibly through direct involvement in, and control of trade: such a model has been advocated in connection with élite groups.[105]

C. POTTERY

Fineware (Tab. E.1)

EH fineware sherds were found by Dörpfeld,[106] in a small quantity, at the foot of Skaros, at Sotiros, east of the hill of

Koloni, and in the Choirospelia cave at Evgiros, but most of the pottery came from the R-Graves, which also produced the only reconstructable pottery.

The fabric is soft and rather poor in quality, presumably reflecting the quality of the local clay, but it is usually well fired. The colours vary from buff and yellow to orange and grey. Most of the vases were originally coated with a glaze, although few of them preserve more than traces of it. When well preserved (e.g. on saucer D94/6 and stemmed bowl D105/2), the glaze is thicker and duller than true EH *Urfirnis.* This has led to suggestions that it may be related to other wares.[107] The colours of the glaze are black, grey, brown, red, and dark red-brown.

The following shapes are represented:

I. Bowls:
(a) A shallow handleless bowl/saucer with slightly inturned rim and a brown glaze from R1 (D94/6) is similar to bowls from Pelikata, some of which are glazed. Fragments of another such saucer were found in R25d. At Lerna saucers are represented in Lerna III, and disappear in Lerna IV. Müller, however, has suggested a comparison between D94/6 and the unglazed shallow Lefkandi I bowls.[108]

(b) A deeper bowl (D202/2: **Pl. 50:c, above**), with outturned rim and horizontal handles starting just below, has two small protuberances on its lip. A second, smaller fragmentary bowl from R10c (h.: 0.04m), with horizontal handles, was apparently similar in shape.

(c) Two stemmed bowls (D105/2: **Pl. 50:d** and D94/8) are close in shape to the 'fruitstands' or 'chalices' produced in the Aegean from EB/EM/EC I onwards, and feature prominantly in the Cyclades and in the north-eastern Aegean in EC II/EB II.[109] The splaying bases are particularly characteristic of Cycladic kernoi and stemmed bowls of clay or marble.[110] The pedestal bowls of Steno have their counterparts in the two bowls from Pelikata, although these have conical, rather than splaying bases. The larger pedestal bowl from Steno (D105/2), which is coated with a well-preserved red-brown glaze, has two crescent-shaped vertical protuberances opposite each other on its thick lip, and, as on bowl D94/8, has two round openings on its stem. Parallels for such perforated stems have been found by Müller in the north-western Balkans, but it is also likely that perforated stems were, as she suggested, a speciality of Lefkada,[111] like the protuberances on the lip of D105/2, which also occur on deep bowl D202/2. A number of pedestal fragments kept in the Lefkada Museum (D203) came from R25 (R25a and R25e), R22, R27 and elsewhere in the area of the tumuli, and were possibly from similar bowls.

(d) A small oval-shaped bowl (D201/a) from R15c, with a spout opposite a small vertical handle, and two small vertical lugs on either side was coated with a red slip or glaze. The shape recalls the spouted bowls of the Cyclades,[112] and the *Kerbschnitt* zig-zag pattern on its rim is also an EC II pattern, but the technique is more likely to have reached Lefkada through the Greek mainland (see below). A second, larger example of a spouted bowl was also found in the same grave.[113]

II. Sauceboats:
There were two sauceboats, one complete (D108/1: **Pl. 50:a.1**) and one with its spout missing (D93/5). An incomplete deep cup or bowl (D93/7: **Pl. 50:a.2**), with a small conical base (now missing), was also a sauceboat according to Dörpfeld,[114] and has been restored as such. The shape of the Steno sauceboats, characterized by a deep bowl and vertical handle, and, in the case of D108/1, a splaying spout, is akin to Lerna type III sauceboats.[115] However, both D93/5 and D108/1 from Steno have (strongly cupped) pedestal feet. This type of foot is not found at Lerna, and is generally a very unusual feature for the north-eastern Peloponnese. Sauceboats on pedestal bases are found in the Cyclades, Boiotia, Phokis and Attica,[116] but are characteristic of Ithaki (Pelikata, ch. 7.2) and Elis too,[117] where vertical handles also predominate. Koumouzelis suggested that in general the flat-based sauceboat of the Argolid may be the exception rather than the rule in Greece.

The sauceboat was exclusively an EH II shape at Lerna. However, at Eutresis it was still made in EH III,[118] and recent evidence from Tiryns has also shown that the shape, along with other features characteristic of EH II pottery, continued into the earliest phase of EH III.[119] At Strefi in Elis high bases on sauceboats and other shapes were typical of the later stages of the EH II occupation, and at Pelikata on Ithaki the sauceboats from area I are as likely to be EH II as early EH III. It is therefore quite possible that the sauceboats of Steno too are of late EH II or even early EH III date.

III. Askoi:
There were two of these: one complete example (D108/2) and the top part of another (D95/1). The first has a globular body, and both have wide mouths and grooved handles. D95/1 has more of a neck, and therefore resembles S481 from Pelikata, but, unlike that vase, the handle runs horizontally across the body.[120] Wide-mouthed askoi are confined to EH II at Lerna, though a variant, the askoid jug, survives.[121] As Müller pointed out, D108/2 is very similar to an askos found with child pithos burial 3 at Olympia-Altis which dates from EH III1.[122] A third globular-shaped vase from Steno (D105/3), with a little spout on its belly, was probably also an askos. It had been partly restored at one stage but is today in fragments and was not illustrated in *Alt-Ithaka*.

IV. Pyxides:
There were six vases of this shape, three single (D96/2, D108/3: **Pl. 50:c, below**, D194: **Pl. 50:b**), two double (D103/1: **Pl. 51:a.2**, D202/3: one half only) and one on a pedestal (D94/8 and D94/1). Their common characteristics are: a compressed globular body, absence of neck, fairly narrow mouth, and the presence of lugs on the shoulder. All the single pyxides have four vertically perforated lugs (D108/3 and D194: tubular, D96/2: horizontal) placed symmetrically around the shoulder. The double pyxides have three lugs on each half (D103/1 horizontally perforated). The fourth side is occupied by the joining section and handle. No lids were found together with these vases, although their lips are shaped to receive one. Two clay lids were found

separately. One (from R25c, d.: ca. 0.12m), with a cruciform perforation on the knob, has been published.[123] I also discovered a much smaller example of unknown origin in the store of the Lefkada Museum (D204/1, d.: 0.045m: **Pl. 1**). All the pyxides are simply coated except for D194 which bears incised decoration consisting of triangles filled with dashes.

Globular pyxides were characteristic of EM II Crete,[124] although they were not as common there as in the Cyclades. Incised or impressed decoration (*Kerbschnitt*) is common on the upper part of EC II–IIIA and EM II pyxides,[125] but the type of decoration on D194 is the local *Strichverzierung* (see below). On the mainland globular pyxides were found at Lithares in Boiotia in EH I and II, and only sporadically at other EBA sites.[126]

The stemmed pyxis (D94/8/1), of which Dörpfeld provided a drawing in *Alt-Ithaka*, survives in several fragments. It is made of fine, yellow clay and was originally coated with red glaze. It has a conical pedestal base, two small lug handles, and a rippled upper part of the body. Dörpfeld suggested a tall neck in his reconstruction, but this is rather unlikely as part of the extant neck is rounded at the top. The shape recalls the EC *kandeles*, but is closer to the pedestal pyxides, in different wares, of EM II/EC II date from Crete and the Cyclades,[127] which like this vase also have a decorated upper body, albeit usually incised. The rippled decoration on D94/8/1, an isolated case of this type of decoration at Steno, has been compared by Hammond to the rippled ware of Maliq II, but Müller prefers to relate it to the ribbed decoration on late EC III duck vases and on tankards from Lerna IV.[128] At Elis-New Museum 'ribbed ware' sherds from partially coated bowls[129] are EH III. At Lithares, however, this decoration occurs on jugs and pithoi in EH I and EH II contexts.[130]

Coarseware

A larger quantity of coarseware than was illustrated in *Alt-Ithaka* is kept in the Lefkada town museum. Dörpfeld divided the coarser pottery into two categories,[131] although the borderline between them is not always very clear.

The first category comprises the very thick coarseware (up to 0.02m). The clay is impure with many large white and dark inclusions. It is poorly fired and usually has a dark core, while the surface is commonly fired orange or brown. The surface is neither slipped nor highly burnished. To this category belong the pithoi from the R-Graves and the bowls that were used to cover their mouths.

The pithoi,[132] 1.00m and 1.22m in height (Tab. A.2), are pear-shaped with small flat bases. Most have short necks, although R1 and R13C have longer ones. Of the fifteen pithoi illustrated, three (R12, R13C, R17a) had two vertical handles below the rim, and two (R13b, R25d) had four and two horizontal handles respectively around the belly. Many have crescent-shaped relief handles or knobs for lifting, although in some cases these may be purely decorative. Two (R13a, R17a) had spigots near the base. The neck and shoulders of several of them are decorated with plastic ropes. Three of the pithoi from R13 (R13A, R13C and R13D) have similar double ropes on the neck and shoulder: they may be close in date or even have been made by the same potter, although their shapes are different. The bowls[133] were either semi-circular or shallow, with either rounded or flat bases.

Sordinas related this pottery to the Red ware from Kerkyra (ch. 4), although it seems that some of the pottery of Dörpfeld's second category, including pottery decorated in techniques grouped below under (I) and (II), would also compare with the Red ware.

The second category which Dörpfeld recovered at almost every site includes coarse to semi-coarse wares up to 0.01m thick, with fewer and smaller inclusions, and better fired than the first category. It is often burnished or, in the case of pottery of group (V), coated with a slip. The surface varies between orange, red, brown and grey, and the core is the same colour or darker. The few shapes that have been preserved are bowls, cups and jars with vertical handles or lugs. Those found in the R-Graves (R1, R5c, R12 and R13G)[134] are of definite EBA date, but other examples from the foot of Skaros, Vassiliki and Syvros[135] may be anything from LN/EBA to MBA or even LBA. Many sherds with carinated profiles (D99/3), some with traces of paint, were recovered from the area of the tumuli. Large horizontal ear-lugs, with or without perforations, were found in Nidhri (D132/a),[136] Steno (D202/3), Sotiros (unnumbered bag in Lefkada Museum), Vlicho (D176), Amali[137] and Choirospelia.[138] This type of lug, which occurs in Ithaki (ch. 7.2), Kefalonia (ch. 6.2) and at Afiona and Ermones in Kerkyra (ch. 4), seems to span the period EBA-MBA and is probably also LBA in Kerkyra. It is likely that such lugs were attached to pots of different shapes, but only a globular jar from tumulus S (D116/9) has been reconstructed.

The pottery of this category is decorated using a number of techniques, some of which are also found either on the pottery of the first category (types I, II) or on fineware (III, V). The following are techniques that were definitely employed in the EBA:

I. Plastic cords (like those decorating the coarser ware) with thumb or nail impressions, or with incisions, impressions or holes made with an implement of some sort. Sherds were found in the foundation layer (*Kulturschicht*) of the R-Graves,[139] the plain of Nidhri,[140] Amali[141] and Choirospelia.[142] This is similar to pottery from Ithaki (ch. 7) and Kerkyra (ch. 4).[143]

II. Raised bands or applied coils, curved or, more often, straight and intersecting or forming angles. It occurs on sherds from the R-Graves and from Choirospelia;[144] it is identical to the decoration on some sherds from Pelikata and Polis in Ithaki (ch. 7).

III. Incised decoration (Bulle's *Strichverzierung*), made with a sharp tool or the nail to cover part of a vessel with strokes, dashes or commas. There are examples from Steno,[145] Skaros and Sotiros,[146] and from Choirospelia.[147] Outside the island it is known from Afiona, Epirus and Macedonia.[148] In Lefkada this technique may be a survival of the incised decoration on LN pottery from Choirospelia (ch. 2), which forms framed triangles similar to those on pyxis D194. The ware is most likely also later than EBA.

IV. Dots decoration (Dörpfeld's *Punktverzierung*), made with a pointed tool, and arranged in rows or covering parts of

the vessel like (III) above. It was found on a small number of sherds in the foundation layer of the R-Graves,[149] at Choirospelia[150] and, outside the island, on sherds from the Polis cave (ch. 7). Müller pointed out that, at Lerna, Rutter attributed this ware to phase 3 of Lerna IV. At Eutresis, it was dated by Goldman to EH II.[151]

V. Kerbschnitt decoration: This punched decoration, in small triangles, is found particularly on sherds from the foundation layer of the R-Graves.[152] A few of the sherds with this decoration are fineware, but the majority are semi-coarse. Some are coated with a red slip or glaze similar to that on the fineware. The only reconstructable shape was the spouted bowl from R15C (D201/a) mentioned above. A number of the sherds have T-shaped rims and, like bowl D201/a, have a decorated upper surface of the rim. The stamped triangles are arranged in two or three rows, and a couple of sherds and the rim of spouted bowl D201/a have the triangles arranged so as to form a zig-zag in relief.[153]

The technique of *Kerbschnitt* is particularly associated with the Cyclades, where it first occurs in EC I, but is most frequent in EC II on pyxides, 'frying pans' and kernoi. It is tempting to derive this decoration directly from the Aegean, but it is also found on a number of sites on the Greek mainland and the Peloponnese, including Olympia (Altis and New Museum), where it is EH III.[154] At Lerna it first appears in Lerna IV:1, but it is EH II in Eutresis and Tiryns.[155] At Lithares, where the decoration also occurs on the upper surface of the T-shaped rims of bowls like at Steno, it is EH II with the impressed zig-zag pattern going back to the EH I.[156] Müller suggests an EH III date for this ware at Steno, which is plausible given its date at Elis.

VI. Scratched ware (Dörpfeld's *Ritzverzierung*) is not only a decorative technique but also a distinct ware, semi-coarse, grey-brown and with a gritty feel. By far the largest quantity of sherds came from Sotiros and were included by Bulle in his study of this ware from Afiona,[157] one sherd came from Skaros,[158] and three from the vicinity of Koloni.[159] In addition I found one sherd in the Lefkada Museum store together with material from R2 and R4 (D94/a), and a couple more with sherds from Choirospelia (D40). A couple of sherds with this type of decoration were also found in the Polis cave (ch. 7.2), but the ware is best known from Kerkyra, particularly from Afiona (ch. 4).[160] Although no full profiles of vases were preserved, an open handleless bowl from Sotiros was reconstructed by Bulle,[161] and other rim-sherds appear to belong to similar shapes.

The decoration, incised on the dry surface with a sharp tool, consists of sets of two or more parallel lines, straight or undulating, meeting or crossing. Often hatched triangles or other shapes are formed. On rim-sherds the lines may be carried all the way to the rim, or an incised zig-zag or straight line may form a border. The variety of patterns is not as large as that of Afiona and the execution is cruder.

The possible origins and connections of this ware, which Bulle dated to the LN-EBA, were discussed in chapter 4. It is certain that its affinities are with the north and west. There is indeed little in common between this ware and the incised EC pottery or the incised EM Fine Grey ware.

D. METALWORK

All the metal finds come from the R-Graves. Several of the metal artefacts, particularly the weapons and gold and silver jewellery, are likely to be imports, but the tools and some simple bronze objects from the tombs (D26/1, **Pl. 1**) testify to the local working of bronze.

Weapons (Tab. I.1)

Dörpfeld refers to all the weapons as being made of 'copper', although only some random tests were carried out.[162] Several of the weapons are very fragmentary or damaged by the fire of the pyres, but the bending of some of them (e.g. sword D101/e) must be due to the ritual 'killing' of the warrior's weapon.

I. Spearheads: All four examples (D102/5, D99/1 and Tab. I.1 nos 3, 4) are of the type known as slotted spearheads. This is a Cycladic spearhead *par excellence,* as at least eight of the eighteen known examples come from the Cyclades, specifically from Amorgos.[163] The type is also represented in the Ionian Islands by a spearhead from 'Corfu' in the British Museum (ch. 4) and by another example from 'Ithaca or Corfu' (see ch. 7.2). Branigan has assigned the Steno spearheads to three different types: VI, VII, and VIII. Their closest parallels are to be found in spearheads from Troy and Amorgos: the tanged spearhead from R24 in a spearhead from Troy IIg, and the tangless example from R9 in an EC II spearhead from Stavros (Amorgos).[164] Unlike other spearheads of this category, the examples from Steno have two small rivet holes(?) on either side of the slots, the practical purpose of which is difficult to explain. The other two spearheads, which are of Branigan's type VIII, have a midrib and a tang, but the existence of slots is not certain. They also have their closest parallels in spearheads from Amorgos.

II. Daggers: Two long daggers from R17a (D199/3 and D199/4) belong to Branigan's type III. They have a midrib and four rivets on the broad butt. Renfrew has divided this type into two categories: IVa with a straight butt and IVb with a rounded butt.[165] The Steno daggers belong to the first category. Daggers of this type have a wide distribution, which covers Crete, the Cyclades and the mainland. Branigan has distinguished the Minoan from the Cycladic daggers, and according to him the Steno daggers are closer to the Cycladic daggers, which have a more angular heel and are on the whole longer and sturdier weapons than their Minoan counterparts.[166] The Steno daggers may be imports from the Cyclades. Type III daggers from datable contexts in Crete and on the mainland span the EM I-MM I and the EH II-MH I periods.[167]

There are another four or five more or less complete daggers from the R-Graves. Dagger D96/1, with a midrib and no rivets, is assigned by Branigan to his type VI and paralleled with daggers from EM I–II and EM II–III contexts in Crete.[168] Dagger D99/2, with no midrib and no obvious rivets, belongs to his type IIa, which has large chronological brackets, but this particular weapon has its closest parallel in a dagger from Pyrgos (EMI–II). Dörpfeld's reconstruction of the fragments from R7 into a dagger[169] is wrong. One of the

fragments may belong to a knife, as Branigan has suggested (see below). On the other hand, an object from R7 published by Branigan as a dagger[170] seems to be part of a long sword (D101/e) from the same grave, which he must have mistaken for an independent weapon.

Of the two objects in the Lefkada Museum labelled R2 (**Pl. 1**), one (D26a/1) may be a dagger or a knife. It is triangular, has no midrib and has a broken tang without trace of a rivet hole. In shape it resembles some Italian and European daggers, but it is a very flimsy weapon.

III. Swords: Two longer weapons (D101/e: **Pl. 50:e, left,** and D193a/4: **Pl. 50:e, right**) are both fairly narrow with prominent midribs. Sandars has assigned both of them to her type A,[171] with some reservations, as their butts are not preserved. The earliest datable examples of the A sword are from an MM I–IIb context at Mallia,[172] but there are also some undated examples from Amorgos which are likely to be earlier. Renfrew regards the early examples (his type VII) as 'prototypes' of the fully developed type A sword.[173]

Tools (Tab. I.2)

On the whole very few tools were found in the R-Graves. They were all referred to as made of 'copper':

I. Knives: The three knives from Steno (D101/b and Tab. I.2 nos 1, 3) belong to different types. The knife from R2a belongs to Branigan's type VIIIa, with EH II–III parallels in Troy II and Troy II–VI.[174] A collection of 'copper' fragments from R7 (D101/a–d), which Dörpfeld reconstructed as a dagger, are no more convincingly reconstructed by Branigan as a type VIIIa knife.[175] One fragment (D101b) must be part of a knife, but the rest are most likely from different objects. The third knife (from R17a), with a straight cutting edge, looks more like a saw.

II. Chisels: A small parallel-sided chisel in two fragments (D194a/3, D195/2), with a square section, is assigned by Branigan to his type I, while another (D195/1), with convex sides and a straight butt, is attributed to his type II.[176] The latter has parallels in tools from Thermi III and V, Troy IIg and the Petralona hoard. Branigan assigns to his type IIIA a third chisel (from R26A), with concave flaring sides, which was not illustrated by Dörpfeld.

III. Axe: A small metal object (D98/2) may be a flat axe of Branigan's type II.[177]

IV. Punches: There are two examples with a square section narrowing to a sharp point at one end, and a blunt butt at the other. The type first appears in EB I and is subsequently produced throughout the Bronze Age.[178]

V. Miscellaneous: Two bent metal rods (D199/1 and D199/2) are thought by Branigan to be 'flesh-hooks',[179] and a small element with two rivet holes from R1 to be a toilet scraper of his type I.[180] A simple fish-hook was found in R16, and there is reference to a needle from the vicinity of R27.[181]

E. JEWELLERY

Most of the jewellery from the R-Graves is made of gold or silver.[182]

Gold

Except for a few solid beads, all the gold jewellery is made of sheet gold.

I. Hilt-sheathing: There are two examples of this (D101, in two pieces, and D199b/4), from tumuli R7 and R17 respectively.[183] The first is decorated with a row of *repoussé* dots on the side of the blade, and the second with two rows of impressed triangles (similar to the *Kerbschnitt* decoration on the pottery) on the opposite side. Another piece from R17, in the form of a ring decorated with a running spiral, was thought by Dörpfeld to belong to D199b/4.[184] If his reconstruction is correct, the combination of triangles and spirals on this piece would compare with the frequent combination of the two motifs on Cycladic pottery, particularly on 'frying pans'.[185] There are no contemporary parallels however in the Aegean for dagger or sword-sheathing like the above, although it has been suggested that some of the sheet-gold from Mochlos may come from such sheathing.[186] The earliest certain examples come from MM II–III Mallia.[187]

II. Beads: The 231 beads of gold from necklaces were distributed among five tumuli.[188] With the exception of thirty-four beads of solid gold from R26c, the rest are hollow. In terms of shape, a little more than half are biconical, and the rest are round. Six beads are larger and must have constituted the centre-pieces of necklaces.

III. Earrings: Dörpfeld[189] classified as an earring only one, open-ended ring with decoration of dots.[190] However, the other three crescent-shaped rings from R15b,[191] with a circular section which thickens in the centre, could also be earrings rather than hair-rings.[192]

IV. Chain: Two sets of three interlocking rings of gold wire from R24 may have been part of a necklace or a head ornament.[193] Alternatively they may have hung on the hair locks, and if so, they would be related to the simpler hair-spirals (made of silver, gold or bronze) which go back to the EBA on the mainland and the islands.[194]

Silver

In view of the advances made in the study of the provenance of silver in the Aegean,[195] it would be most interesting to have the jewellery from Steno analysed. Naturally an Aegean origin for it would not be in the least surprising.

I. Bangles: Four bangles were found in three graves (R1, R4 and R15b). Three are spiraliform. Two of these, with mushroom-shaped button terminals (D98 and D1142a),[196] belong to Branigan's type V. Bangles with button terminals are particular to the north-eastern Aegean, having been found in Troy II and IIg, Poliochni and Samos.[197] The two other bangles have no enlarged terminals. D1142b[198] is type IV, and D94/2[199] is type IVa as it is made of twisted wire.

F. MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS OF CLAY, STONE AND BONE

Artefacts of clay other than pottery include some conical and biconical spindle whorls from the R-Graves and Steno,[200] and a clay cylinder from structure P.[201] Three clay spools

from the cist graves of Syvros[202] compare with spools found at Amali,[203] *Familiengrab* F, Afiona[204] and Dodona,[205] and with spools of somewhat different shape from Pelikata (ch. 7.2).

All in all sixty-two obsidian blades were distributed among nine R-Graves and their immediate vicinity.[206] In addition some of the long obsidian blades from Choirospelia[207] may date from this period. In the R-Graves there was a small number of flint blades, three or four scrapers,[208] and forty-eight flint ovoid arrowheads, all from R26A (D178/1–28).[209] The small (cosmetics) pestle of variegated limestone from R23 (D195/3: **Pl. 1**) is only an example of a type of artefact which is very widely distributed in the Cyclades and on the mainland (e.g. Aghios Kosmas, Lerna, Zygouries, Asine, Asea, Tiryns, etc.), and is also found at Troy.[210] A smaller pestle comes from Pelikata (ch. 7.2). The pestle from R23 may be an import. The most common context of these artefacts is the second phase of the EBA, although many are later, and some even date from the MBA. Jewellery of stone from the R-Graves is limited to a single bead of agate,[211] a stone which is found again on the island in the MBA (*Familengrab* F), and in Kefalonia in the LBA.

Tumulus R4 produced fragments of one (or two) bone tubes with incised decoration of cross-hatched triangles and herringbone patterns. They belong to a well-known type of cosmetic container popular in the EBA in the Cyclades. Very similar tubes come from the Keros-Syros cemeteries on Syros and Naxos.[212] The Steno tubes are most certainly imports from this area. Some oval bone beads from R15b,[213] found together with the gold and silver jewellery, are also a shape which occurs in the Cyclades, although not exclusively there.

3. The Middle Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

The predominance of coarseware pottery makes MBA sites difficult to identify conclusively. Some MBA habitation is however quite certain on the southern foot of Mt Skaros, where Dörpfeld's excavations produced fragments of prehistoric walls, a large quantity of coarseware sherds, some coarse pots, clay spools, weights and spindle-whorls, all compatible with domestic deposits. The only diagnostic MBA material consists of one Grey Minyan sherd and, among the coarse pots, a cup with a high vertical handle (D131b/2), a shape with close parallels in cups from the cist graves at Kokkolata-Kangelisses (see below). Dörpfeld was most likely prevented from revealing more architectural remains by the considerable depth at which these were found, but the evidence as it stands is not enough to suggest the existence of a nucleated village on the lower slopes of Mt Skaros. Some of the structures on Mt Amali may have been used during this period, although here too the datable pottery is limited to a couple of Grey Minyan sherds.

B. BURIALS

SKAROS: cist graves:

It is likely that the six cist graves from the foot of Skaros (graves IV, VI, VIII) and the neighbourhood of Koloni (graves I, X, XI), in which Dörpfeld found prehistoric coarseware sherds (and, in grave X at Koloni, a coarseware bowl or cup),[214] may be of MBA date. At Skaros, one or two of these burials may have been intramural. The graves were 0.65–0.95m long and 0.40–0.60m wide, and contained single inhumations of children and adults. They were covered with one or two slabs. Dörpfeld did not illustrate any of these graves in *Alt-Ithaka,* but photographs kept in the German Institute in Athens (nos 215–16, 226–30, 248) show both slab cists and cists with stone-built walls. The size and type of construction of these graves would be compatible with the cists inside the MBA tumuli discussed below, although reservations about their date must remain.

SKAROS: Familiengrab S (Tab. B.1):

This tumulus was excavated by Dörpfeld 150–200m west of the graves and other vestiges of occupation.[215] It had a round peribolos wall 0.65–0.80m thick, and a diameter of 12.10m. The wall was neatly built of irregular stones of which two to three courses were preserved.[216]

On the north-eastern side of the peribolos wall there were two elliptical 'annexes,' which differed in construction from the main tumulus by having a stone dais. As remarked by Pelon,[217] annex D in particular, with its annular wall of flat stones, resembles the R-Graves rather than the adjoining tumulus. Annex C, which contained a child burial in a cist, was roughly at the same level as the peribolos of the main tumulus but partly covered D, which was at a lower level (ca. 1.00m below annex C and ca. 0.80m below the ring-wall). Pelon may therefore be right in suggesting that annex D pre-dates the main tumulus.[218] It could be contemporary with wall A over which the peribolos wall of the tumulus was built and through which were dug some of the graves. If annex C was connected with the tumulus, as there is every reason to believe, it performed the same function as the 'extensions' of the R-Graves.

Within the peribolos wall there were twelve graves dug to different depths with a maximum difference of 1.20m between the deepest (central grave S8, which was dug below ground level) and the shallowest (graves S3 and S6). S3 and perhaps S12 (which was largely destroyed by the torrent) were stone-built cists, the rest were all slab cists, rectangular to trapezoidal in shape. Their lengths ranged from 0.80m (S2) to 1.20m (S9), their widths from 0.40m (S6) to 0.80m (S10). Most graves were built with four slabs (0.05–0.14m thick) with the exception of S13, which had one of its long sides closed with two slabs. The floor of some graves were covered with pebbles, but more often it was left bare. All but two of the cists (S5, S6) were covered with one or more covering slabs (S4=4, S7=3, S10=2).

Nine of the cists (including the grave in the annex) contained a total of twelve burials: three double burials, the rest single. The dead were laid on their sides, knees flexed.

In addition to these burials, cists S3 and S12 had been used as ossuaries and held an undetermined number of skeletons. Another grave (S13) was also probably an ossuary and contained four skulls and other bones. Slab cist S6 was empty. The ossuaries did not contain gravegoods, but neither did another four of the graves (S5, S7, S11 and S14). The richest grave was the central one (S8), which Dörpfeld considered to be the *Hauptgrab* of the tumulus. It contained the remains of a man buried with five vases, a bronze dagger, two chisels and twenty flint arrowheads. Grave S4 was also a rich one and contained two vases, three bronze chisels, part of a bronze knife, nine flint arrowheads and two boar's tusks.

Structure S9, which was situated in the centre of the tumulus and partly overlay S8, differed from the proper graves both in construction and contents. It had no covering slab, was not closed on its southern, long side and, exceptionally, had its floor covered with a 0.20m-thick layer of charcoal under a layer of pebbles. Among the charcoal there were fragments of bones (whether animal or human is not stated) and pots, a couple of which could be reconstructed. Dörpfeld believed it to have been a *Brennplatz,* i.e. the place where the dead were burnt or 'toasted' ('Brennung oder Dörrung'), although it obviously post-dates S8. It is more likely that structure S9 served as a place of offering, and possibly sacrifice. Pelon[219] compared it to the sacrificial pit found by Sotiriades in the tumulus at Drachmani, which contained charcoal and grain. It also compares with the 'bothros' from the burial area at Pelikata I (if that was indeed a destroyed tumulus) which contained animal bones, pottery and charcoal, and probably with the 'altars' identified in other tumuli.[220]

Dörpfeld suggested that a low tumulus would have covered the whole structure on account of the high position of some of the graves in respect to the ring-wall and because of the lack of an entrance in the preserved parts of the ring-wall. Moreover he envisaged two stages in the development of the tumulus: first a lower mound covering the central grave dug below ground level, and a second stage when the tumulus was enlarged, and presumably the peribolos wall built.[221] Whether Dörpfeld's suggestion of a two-stage construction of the tumulus is correct or not, S8 was definitely the earliest grave and would therefore provide a *terminus post quem* for the whole tumulus. The five vases it contained, which include fineware kantharos D117/f, although not precisely datable, do not resist a middle-late MH date (see below). Hence the late MBA date attributed to the whole tumulus by Dickinson[222] and by Hammond[223] is much more likely than the early MBA date given to it by earlier scholars.[224] Perhaps a beginning around the middle MBA is not unlikely, noting that both in its structure (cobbled extensions or 'annexes', the 'ossuaries') and in some features of its pottery (crescent-shaped applied handles, and the two-handled bowls),[225] tumulus S does look back to the EBA.

NIDHRI: Familiengrab F (Tab. B.2):
This is a unique burial structure because of its rectangular precinct wall (9.20x4.70m) and the use of 'orthostats'. Within the wall there were eight graves, and another two were placed within a rectangular extension, or 'annex' (2.98x3.38m), off its south-western corner.[226]

The construction of the wall was identical in both the main enclosure and the extension. The 'orthostats' – flat slabs (0.09–0.13m thick, 0.50m high) placed upright – made up the outer face of the wall. The slabs were covered by flat stones (two or three layers were preserved) which were supported on the inside by a pack of stones and earth. The precinct wall had been repaired in several places, which would suggest a long period of use. Peribolos walls using 'orthostats' are not found in any other tumuli; only in the small tumulus at Kea[227] were upright stones used for the peribolos wall, but they lacked the horizontal capping stones of tumulus F. The annex (F2) post-dated the original construction, for it was built against a restored part of the latter. As in the case of the S-graves, the high position of the graves within the wall suggests that a mound had covered the graves.

Apart from F3, which was just a pile of bones laid in a pit, the rest of the graves were all slab cists, rectangular to trapezoidal in shape. Grave F7 lacked the slab on one of its short sides, and F2, F4 and F7 had no covering slabs. F4 had a floor cover of small stones. The cists were comparable in size to those of tumulus S, with the narrow sides of the largest cist, F6 (1.14x0.81m), made of stone-built walls instead of slabs. The graves contained one (F1, F3, F4, F6–F8) or two (F5, F9, F10) burials, adding up to twelve or thirteen individuals. There were no ossuaries but the pile of bones in F3 indicates a secondary burial.

Three of the graves (F2, F3, F8) had no gravegoods (F2 may have been robbed). The other graves contained pottery, some jewellery and spindle whorls, with the exception of the best endowed grave (F7), according to Dörpfeld that of a 'strong man', which was furnished with a bronze dagger and spearhead, a bead of agate and a spindle whorl(?). Although this grave is situated in the corner of the tumulus, Dörpfeld judged it to be the *Hauptgrab* of the tumulus (presumably not only because of its contents but also because of the sex of the deceased). However it was F5, a double burial, most likely of two women, which was the more central and was the most deeply dug into the ground,[228] and it could be argued that this, not F7, was the original grave around which the tumulus was built.

The amount of pottery from tumulus F was very small (ten vases), and therefore its dating is difficult. However, the kantharoi are quite close in shape to those from Kokkolata-Kangelisses (see below), suggesting a middle to late MBA date, while the 'Sesklo'-type spearhead (D88/1) and the short dagger (D88/2) have parallels in late MBA and even early LH contexts (see below). I would therefore agree with Pelon who dates tumulus F later than S,[229] rather than with Müller who places S later than F,[230] although an overlap between the tumuli is quite possible.

Connections with the R-Graves:
The MBA tumuli show both continuity with and departure from the R-Graves. The peribolos walls of S and F differed in construction from the peribolos walls of the R-Graves, and

were closer to the walls around some tumuli of MBA and LBA date outside the islands, namely at Samikon in Elis, Vrana in Attica and Grave Circle B at Mycenae.[231] However, the basic connection between all these walls, as has been suggested,[232] was in their function which, most likely, was that of defining and limiting the space within which specific burials were made.

Familiengrab S, where the *Hauptgrab* is obvious, continues the tradition of a well-endowed primary burial, secondary burials, and a burial in a cobbled extension. However there are differences between the MBA tumuli of Lefkada and the R-Graves, both in the burial practices used and the society represented.

Regarding the burial practices, firstly there is no evidence that the burials in either tumulus S or F had been exposed to the action of fire. Secondly the cist graves, although already used in the R-Graves, especially for children, and at Syvros, were universally used in S and F. Moreover the cists of tumuli S and F were on average larger and more carefully constructed than those of the R-Graves. Cist graves were uncommon in the MBA tumuli of Messenia,[233] where the pithos grave predominated, but are found at Kokkolata-Kangelisses (ch. 6.3) and were standard in the tumuli of Albania.[234] The most surprising difference between the R-Graves and the MBA tumuli of Lefkada is the complete absence from the Lefkada MH tumuli of the pithos burial, which is even more puzzling as it was the standard grave used in the tumuli of the western Peloponnese. Could this be seen as a rejection of a 'foreign' custom particularly if, as was suggested above, the pithos burials did reach this area from the Aegean?

The aspects of tumuli S and F which reflect differences in social structure from the R-Graves are the following:

(1) Both S and F were most likely conceived as the collective burial grounds of a kinship or corporate group, unlike the R-Graves which were primarily the graves of individuals.

(2) The large number of burials in F and S contrasts with the small number of burials in each of the R-tumuli. It is, however, matched by the number of burials in other MBA tumuli, for example at Samikon, Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia, Peristeria-Koukirikou, Vrana and Afidna.

(3) Though the *Hauptgräber* held the largest number of gravegoods and S8 included the warrior's gear, the grave-goods are more evenly distributed among the burials than in the R-Graves.

(4) The gravegoods are on the whole poorer than those offered to the dead of the R-Graves: there are almost no objects/jewels of precious metals.

(5) There are proportionally far fewer children's graves than in the R-Graves (two in tumulus F and one in S), a fact which could suggest that they were being buried intramurally more often than in the past.

From the above observations it may be concluded that, in comparison with the R-Graves, *Familiengraber* S and F reflect societies where the emphasis appears to be more on the social unit, whether kinship or other corporate group, rather than on the individual as in the case of the R-Graves. The high value attached to the warrior, armed with dagger and spear, persists. But the wealth of these groups was much inferior to that of the R-Grave society and, if the gravegoods are anything to go by, it was more evenly distributed.

C. POTTERY (Tab. E.2)

It is worth noting that little fineware pottery can be dated to this period, either from the tumuli or from anywhere else on the island. Moreover, most of the pottery appears to be handmade although there is certainly some which is wheel-turned (namely two-handled bowls from D117/b and D117/6b from tumulus S, and some sherds).[235] The total number of fineware vases from the tumuli amounts to three kantharoi: one (D117/f) from tumulus S and two from tumulus F (D84/1 and D87/1). The fabric is akin to Minyan ware, the colours are yellow or orange-brown, and coated with a thin slip. The inclusions are red, white and brown. Much more common in the tumuli is semi-coarse pottery fired dark brown or black, and coated with a slip or paint. This pottery resembles Sordinas's 'Mottled grey ware' from Kerkyra (Kefali, Ermones) and the related Epirote wares (ch. 4), all of which would derive from MH Grey Minyan. Many of the vases in S and F fall into this class, but coarser ware vases also occur (jar D116/9, cups), and these are closer to the EBA coarseware pottery. A wishbone handle and some perforated and unperforated horizontal lugs from Choirospelia,[236] as well as sherds from the cave with incised decoration (*Strichverzierung*, see above) may be MBA.

True Grey Minyan is entirely absent from the tumuli, and only a small number of sherds in this ware were recovered by Dörpfeld elsewhere: two stems of ringed goblets of the type characteristic of the middle Minyan phase, one each from Amali and Skaros,[237] and another two or three small sherds. This ware was probably not manufactured on the island; the few examples that we have may be from imported vases, probably from Ithaki. Matt-painted pottery is also rare: just a few fragments from the caves of Phryni and Karou. The jar from the cave of Karou (D141/1: **Pl. 1**) is decorated with parallel bands on yellow fabric. Like the Matt-painted bowl from Polis (ch. 7.2), this could be an Iron Age piece.

The shapes which occur in the different wares in S and F are the following:

I. Kantharoi: There are four examples of kantharoi with highly swung handles, three of them from *Familiengrab* F. The kantharos from S8 (D117/f: **Pl. 51:b**) is globular, while those from F are carinated. One kantharos from F is low and footless (D84/1: **Pl. 51:a.4**), the rest are tall. Of the latter, the two from F have a tallish ring-foot (D86/1, D87/1: **Pl. 51:a.3**). All the kantharoi, in particular the carinated examples from F, have parallels among the kantharoi of Kokkolata-Kangelisses (ch. 6.3). The pointed strap handle of D117/f also occurs at Kokkolata-Kangelisses, but its globular shape does not. A very similar globular kantharos is characteristic of early and middle phase 6 (= Lerna VC) at Pefkakia-Magoula.[238]

II. Bowls: There are five bowls with two vertical handles, all but one from *Familiengrab* S. They all differ in proportions and the shape of the body and handles. The bowls from tumulus S (particularly D117/6b and D188/2), with their handles starting below the rim, recall the EH III Bass-bowls from Pelikata. The proportions of the broad bowl D117b are similar to those of the 'Argive Minyan bowl,' a type represented at Pelikata (ch. 7.2). The bowl from *Familiengrab* F (D81/1), ear-handles apart, has a kantharoid body. Another kantharoid-shaped bowl (D91/1, **51:a.1**) from the same tumulus has a wide, ribbon-like basket handle rising above one side of a broad out-turned rim. The shape of this bowl is remarkably similar to two bowls with flat, broad rims and basket handles from Grave 16 of the inner tumulus of Vodhinë.[239] A similarly positioned basket handle also occurs on a Matt-painted small jar from Kokkolata-Kangelisses which has affinities with a late Minyan type (ch. 6.3).

III. Basin: A large bowl from *Familiengrab* S (D118/3) has applied crescent-shaped coils between the two handles, one of which is lug-shaped and perforated with two suspension holes.

IV. Jars: A small pithos in bright brown-orange fabric from tumulus S (D116/9) has horizontal perforated lug-handles on the belly and applied crescent-shaped coils closer to the rim. It is a better fired vessel than the pithoi from R-Grave pithos jars. Among the smaller vessels are three pear-shaped small jars (D119/2, D86/6, D87/2) and a more globular example (D117/6). All are in coarser wares, and except for D119/2 have two vertical handles. The exception, a small pear-shaped jar from S (D119/2), has pairs of suspension holes on long vertical lugs (D119/2, **Pl. 51:c**), which give the vessel a 'northern' look. A small incomplete handleless jar from S1 (D115/10) has suspension holes on its flat lip.

V. Cups: The three coarseware cups from F (D91/3, D157/2, D81/2) differ in their profiles and the position of their handles. Cups were present at Kokkolata-Kangelisses, although the commonest shape there, the cup with straight rim and a kantharoid handle, is only represented in Lefkada by a small coarseware cup from Skaros (D131/2).

The pottery from tumuli S and F shares some common features: slipped semi-coarseware is represented in both, as are wide everted rims on kantharoi (F) and bowls (S and F), and ear-shaped vertical handles starting below the rim (more common in S than in F). However there is very little overlap between S and F with regard to specific shapes: carinated kantharoi and cups are present in F but not in S, carinated two-handled bowls in S and not in F. Moreover knobs and crescent-shaped coils, a feature which looks back to the coils on the pithoi and sherd material from the R-Graves, are present on four of the vases from S, but are entirely absent on the pottery from F. Similarly, suspension holes are only present on three vases from tumulus S. The pottery from F has more affinities with the pottery at Kokkolata-Kangelisses, particularly in the kantharoid shapes and possibly the basket handles.

In view of our ignorance of the local pottery sequence, the only conclusions that can be reached are that some of the pottery from S is earlier than the pottery from F, and that some of the pottery from F appears to be later than most of the pottery from S.

D. METALWORK (Tab. I.3)

All the metalwork attributed to this period comes from *Familiengräber* F and P. Gössler refers to the artefacts as made of bronze, except for the spearhead from F7 which he says was made of copper, without however giving an explanation for this.[240]

Weapons

I. Daggers: Of the two daggers, one each from tumuli S and F, the short flat dagger from F7 (D88/2) is a known type, of Minoan origin. Dickinson relates the mainland weapons with straight heels to Branigan's 'transitional' class of Minoan daggers,[241] of which the short variety, like D88/2, is the more recent. The silver-capped rivets of the dagger from Lefkada also occur on a dagger from Eleusis, and both may be examples of silver plating, a technique proven to have been used for the manufacture of silver-capped rivets on Cretan daggers.[242]

II. Spearhead: The spearhead from this grave (D88/1) is the so-called 'Sesklo' type or 'shoed spearhead' (Avila Type 1), which was probably invented,[243] and most likely produced, in the north of Greece, as witnessed by the well-known mould from Sesklo. But there must have been a second centre of production of these spearheads in Crete where, besides examples of this type of weapon, a mould was also discovered recently.[244] On the mainland their distribution has a northern bias, although there are three from the Argolid (Shaft Grave IV, Asine and Argos)[245] and one from Aigina.[246] The rest come from north of the gulf of Corinth (Sesklo: 2, Dramesi: 1, Thebes: 1, and tumulus A at Vajzë: 2).[247] The datable examples indicate a life-span between MH I–II (Sesklo grave 56) and LH I (Mycenae, Dramesi).

III. Embossed disks: Three small round embossed disks (D117/3), each with three stitch-holes, were found close to the ears and head of the warrior buried in S8. Dörpfeld[248] supposed that they had been attached to a leather cap or helmet, but parallels are hard to find. Their interpretation by Hammond as shield-bosses[249] is equally uncertain, as the earliest examples of such bosses in the Aegean belong to the end of the BA.[250]

Tools

IV. Knives: The two examples from *Familiengrab* S (D118/1, D119/1) are single-edged knives of Aegean types. D119/1 belongs to a typically MBA variety, Sandars's class 6b,[251] which has the following characteristics: a thickened back, no distinct haft, and the rivets placed along the broadest part of the blade. A distinctive feature of these knives is a small snout-like projection on the back, near the point. This type of knife is not found after the 16th century BC. It is undoubtedly a northern Greek type: apart from this example and the one from the Polis hoard (see ch. 7.3), the

rest are distributed between Achaia, Thessaly and Epirus, with an isolated example in Crete.

V. Saw: Part of a bronze saw (D116/3), with three rivets in a triangular arrangement, belongs to a type (Catling's type B) which has its origins in the EBA.[252] Examples of MBA and LBA date are known, particularly from Crete but also from the mainland and Cyprus.

VI. Chisels: The five examples of bronze chisels from the tumuli belong to three types: (1) Branigan's type Ia (D116/11) with a square section, straight edge and a very slight flare, which is an EBA type; (2) Branigan's type III (D116/1) with an oblong section and concave sides flaring to a convex cutting edge (apart from the example from S4, Branigan[253] has discovered another two examples of this type, allegedly from Lefkada, in the Copenhagen National Museum; and (3) a type wider than the above with a lunate cutting edge (D116/2, D117/9) which resembles the wide chisel (or adze) from Oikopeda. All the types of chisels represented in tumulus S have ancestors in the EBA and continue unchanged into the LBA.

Jewellery

Metal jewellery is confined to two simple rings, one of silver (D86/4)[254] and one of bronze (D86/5),[255] both from *Famiiengrab* F. MBA parallels for these rings came from graves of Lerna V. Their position around the head of the dead convinced E. Banks that they adorned the hair or the ears of the deceased,[256] and the same could apply to the rings from Lefkada.

E. MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS OF CLAY, STONE AND HORN

A couple of broken spools, one each from tumuli S and F,[257] two spindle-whorls from F[258] and one from Skaros (D192/2: **Pl. 1**) belong to types known from the EBA. Spools like the ones from Lefkada were well represented in Lerna V[259] and are also MH in other sites.

Obsidian was altogether absent from the tumuli, and the number of flint objects was small. The twenty-nine arrowheads from S4[260] were made of local flint varying in colour from pink to brown and grey. They belong to the base-notched type, which is considered a mainland or 'northern' type.[261] It first appears in the south of Greece in the MH period (in Eutresis reportedly in EH III),[262] but the type survived into the LBA when it was also produced in metal. Geographically closest to the Lefkada finds is the arrowhead from Afiona in Kerkyra.[263]

Semi-precious stones are as rare in this period as in the preceding one: two oblong/biconical beads of agate, one each from F5 and F7,[264] are the only items of jewellery in stone. Other stone artefacts include a couple of whetstones from S4.[265]

The three pieces of boar's tusk from S4[266] were not worked. They may have been included in the grave together with the arrowheads as evidence of the hunting skills of the deceased.

4. The Late Bronze Age and the Protogeometric Periods

No LBA settlements have been identified on the island. The isolated Mycenaean sherds from Skaros and Ancient Lefkas are proof of some LBA activity there, and the structures of Mt Amali, where some Mycenaean-style sherds with bands were recovered by Dörpfeld, may have found some use during this period too. The identificaton of a Mycenaean settlement on Meganisi (Spartochori) by S. Benton remains unconfirmed since no pottery from the site was illustrated.

Most of the evidence for LBA occupation comes from two caves: Evgiros and Karou. The quantity of painted Mycenaean-type sherds from these caves is not however negligible. The fabric is a little coarser and the colours duller than true Mycenaean, but the LBA identification cannot be questioned. Moreover, the few shapes that can be inferred are compatible with Mycenaean shapes. The bulk of the material from these sites consists of sherds from large vessels such as amphorae, hydriai and jugs painted with wide horizontal bands. From Evgiros (D60–61–63) there are a couple of large flat bases (**Pl. 51:d**) which would match these shapes, and from Karou (D141/1) there are three fragments of tall necks, two of them with decoration of wavy bands (one of them illustrated on **Pl. 1**), possibly from hydriai or amphorae.

The pottery from Evgiros and Karou compares well with the large-size Mycenaean pottery from Ithaki, particularly the cave of Polis (jugs and hydriai with broad bands) and Tris Langades (necks and body-sherds from hydriai). In fact the necks with wavy bands from Karou are matched by a neck with a wavy band from a hydria from Tris Langades, house TL[267] (dated to the LH IIIA period). During my work in the Lefkada Museum, I discovered, among the material from the cave of Evgiros, a previously unrecorded spout from a fairly large stirrup jar (**Pl. 1**). Its sloping lip suggests an LH IIIA–B date. At Evgiros there are also a couple of bases of large kylikes (one shown here on **Pl. 51:d**), and a kylix stem was reported by Gallant from within the walls of Ancient Lefkas. The base illustrated by Dörpfeld[268] may be that of a stemmed bowl or krater as it is too large for a kylix base. The much-quoted foot and lower part of a 'kylix' (D121) from Skaros (**Pl. 1**)[269] has a band around the edge of the base and traces of a band on the body. Its interior is painted. It is most likely part of a goblet, FS 255 (LH IIIA1), a shape which is well represented at Tris Langades and Pelikata (ch. 7.4).

In conclusion, the few diagnostic examples of Mycenaean pottery from Lefkada suggest dates between LH IIIA and LH IIIB. Some of the vases may be imports, but it is most likely that at least the Mycenaean-type large vessels with bands were made locally.

The only LBA bronzes are two double-axes from Charadiatika (Tab. I.3 nos 13, 14)[270] which were probably found by Dörpfeld not far from the R-Graves but were not associated with them. They belong to the Epirote type with drooping blades and 'collars' around the sockets, which were discussed in chapter 4.

There is little evidence for Dark Age occupation on the

island; it is limited to three sherds from the cave of Evgiros (D60–61),[271] which belong to the same cup or kantharos. The vase has an out-turned rim, and is decorated with a zig-zag under a broad band. The paint is more lustrous than the paint on most PG material from Ithaki (which may well be due to a better burial environment), but the shape and decoration are compatible with Ithakan PG, the loose zig-zag suggesting the 'Polis I' phase of the Ithakan style (ch. 7.5). Another sherd illustrated in *Alt-Ithaka*[272] and decorated with what seem to be pendant semi-circles under a solid band, may also be PG, but it was not possible to find this sherd for inspection. Negligible though it might be, the PG pottery from Lefkada would make any future discovery of Dark Age material on the island less surprising.

NOTES

[1]This was ascertained during my stay on Lefkada in 1986.
[2]*Alt-Ithaka*, 282, Bei. 58b:3.
[3]*AAA* VIII(2), 1975, 216 ff.
[4]*Alt-Ithaka*, 169, 172, 183, 266.
[5]*Alt-Ithaka*, 336.
[6]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 84c, Bei. 85a.
[7]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 89b.
[8]*Alt-Ithaka*, 170.
[9]Gallant 1982, site Le.16.
[10]*AD* 23, (1968)B2, 258; *AAA* XIII, 1980, 74 ff.
[11]*AD* 24, (1969)B Chr., 278.
[12]*Alt-Ithaka*, Taf. 9 & 10.
[13]*Alt-Ithaka*, 157 f., 278.
[14]*Alt-Ithaka*, 175.
[15]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59a.
[16]*Alt-Ithaka*, 279.
[17]*Alt-Ithaka*, 284, one was illustrated on Bei. 59a, below left.
[18]*Alt-Ithaka*, 164, 172, 173.
[19]*Alt-Ithaka*, 164, 167, 217.
[20]*Alt-Ithaka*, 168 f., 170, 173.
[21]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 57b.
[22]*AM* 59, 1934, 185 Abb. 11; 184 Abb. 12.
[23]*Alt-Ithaka*, 283.
[24]*Alt-Ithaka*, 169, 183, 184.
[25]*Alt-Ithaka*, 160 f., 163 f., 179, 181. They are indicated in *Alt-Ithaka*, Taf. 10.
[26]*Alt-Ithaka*, 284, Taf. 10.
[27]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59b:2.
[28]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 57a:1–3.
[29]Description by Dörpfeld in *Alt-Ithaka*, 207–13, Taf. 14, Bei. 33.
[30]*Alt-Ithaka*, 214, Taf. 11.
[31]*Alt-Ithaka*, 174 f., 177 f., 199 Abb. 10, Bei. 32.
[32]*Alt-Ithaka*, 174, 283.
[33]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59c.
[34]*Alt-Ithaka*, 201.
[35]*AD* 34, (1979)B1, 269.
[36]*Alt-Ithaka*, 178 f., Taf. 12.
[37]*Alt-Ithaka*, 180 ff.
[38]Dörpfeld's description of the cemetery: *Alt-Ithaka*, 217 ff.; illustrations: *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 35–45, Taf. 13; summary in French: Pelon 1976, 88 ff.
[39]*Alt-Ithaka*, 173 f., Taf. 10: F.
[40]Description by Dörpfeld in *Alt-Ithaka*, 213 ff., Taf. 15, Bei. 34.
[41]*BSA* 32, 1931–32, 232.
[42]*BSA* 32, 1931–32, 230 ff.
[43]*Alt-Ithaka*, 198 ff.
[44]*Alt-Ithaka*, 201.
[45]*Alt-Ithaka*, 201 ff., Abb. 12, 13a, 13b.
[46]Pyrgos: *AE* 1898, 168 ff.; Paroikia: *AM* 1917, 1 ff., Abb. 6.
[47]Tsoungiza: *BCH Suppl.* 19, 1990, 335 fig. 3, 339; Korakou: *Korakou*, 75; *AA* 1972, 170; Strefi: Koumouzelis 1980, 43. At Aghios Kosmas, the curved walls on the houses of phase B (*Aghios Kosmas*, 20 ff., fig. 15) may not have been intentional.
[48]Forsén (1992, 197 ff.) has summarized the evidence for EH II – early EH III houses; see also Hood 1986, 38 ff.
[49]*Antike Welt* 21, 184 ff., Abb. 10 & 11. See Forsén 1992, 90 f., 200.
[50]Hammond (1976, 119) associates buildings with curved walls with pastoral, semi-nomadic people.
[51]Graves with multiple burials have been found in the cemeteries at Pelos, Melos and Naxos (*AE* 1925–26, 100; *BSA* 3, 1896–97, 40); see also Doumas 1977, 55 f.; Barber 1987, 80 f. The multiple graves were the most poorly constructed and furnished of the Cycladic graves.
[52]*Aghios Kosmas*, 64 ff., 117 ff.
[53]Syriopoulos 1968, 231 ff.
[54]*AD* 17, 1961–62, 124; Koumouzelis (1980, 55 ff.; *AAA* XIV, 1981, 265 ff.) believes that this grave displays a mixture of Cycladic and northern (Baden culture) elements.
[55]For the examination of bones Dörpfeld had the assistance of Dr Verde, who arrived at the scene in 1912 (*Alt-Ithaka*, 183); in 1913 Hans Virchow also dealt with bone identification (*Alt-Ithaka*, 184 f.).
[56]*Alt-Ithaka*, 233, 235.
[57]*Alt-Ithaka*, 246.
[58]*Alt-Ithaka*, 226, 234.
[59]Dickinson (1994, 221) suggested that the fire may have been part of the ritual of deposition of the offerings.
[60]*Alt-Ithaka*, 221, 225, 232, 238.
[61]*Alt-Ithaka*, 225, 227, 246, 232, 233, 237, 238, 240, 243.
[62]Hertz 1960, 29 ff., 41 ff.
[63]The only exceptions were the child in R5 buried with a coarseware cup (*Alt-Ithaka*, 228), and the child buried in R24a, in whose grave was found an obsidian blade and a skull fragment of an adult, which was probably intrusive (*Alt-Ithaka*, 241).
[64]*BSA* 22, 1921–22, 124 f.; Myres too supported an EH date for the cemetery (*Antiquaries Journal* 8, 1928, 540).
[65]*BSA* 70, 1975, 49.
[66]*Gazetteer* 1979, 184 & map 2.
[67]Renfrew 1972, 110.
[68]Hammond dated the latest burials of R7, R17, R24 and R27 to the early part of MH (*Epirus*, 311; *BSA* 69, 1974, 137 f.). He proposed an MBA date for the double vessel (D103/1) from R27a, which he compared with double vessels of different shapes in Albania and Messenia.
[69]Hood 1986, 53 f.
[70]*BCH* 113, 1991, 5 ff.
[71]*BCH* 113, 1991, 13 ff., 39.
[72]In other parts of the cemetery however the overlap was in the opposite direction, thus R24 was older than R21 (*Alt-Ithaka*, 242), and R14 older than R5 (*Alt-Ithaka*, 227).
[73]*BSA* 69, 1974, 137 f.
[74]*BSA* 70, 1975, 43 ff.
[75]Pelon 1976, 100.
[76]*BCH* 113, 1991, 30.
[77]Forsén 1992, 36 f., 92 f., 133 f., 232 f.
[78]Hammond maintained that the tumuli of Servia, Drachmani and a possible tumulus in Chaironia are earlier than MH (*Epirus*, 94, 104 ff.; *Macedonia I*, 243 ff., 260 nn. 5 & 6; *BSA* 69, 1974, 136). In reply see *JHS* 94, 1974, 229 ff. The tumulus of Drachmani cannot be dated before the MH period (Forsén 1992, 234). The make-up of the tumulus of Amfeion (Thebes) may be EH on account of the pottery in the fill (*AAA* V(1), 1972, 16 ff.), but the

grave inside postdates it. It has been given dates ranging from MBA (Symeonoglou 1985, 25) to LBA (Pelon 1976, 114).
[79]*AD* 19, (1964)B, 174 f.; Koumouzelis 1980, 139 f., 225; Forsén 1992, 233.
[80]Marinatos had initially suggested a date between EH and MH for the earliest Messenian tumuli (*PAE* 1954, 311). With respect to the early MH date of Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia and Koukirikou-Peristeria see: Dickinson 1977, 34 (early MH date for Papoulia); Marinatos 1964, 92 f. (Minyan sherds in the fill of Peristeria); *BCH* 113, 1991, 18; Forsén 1992, 233 f.
[81]Among other tumuli: Koukirikou-Peristeria (*PAE* 1964, 92 f.; *AD* 20, (1975) B1, 205), Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia (*PAE* 1954, 311 ff.; *PAE* 1955, 254 ff.), Voidokoilia (*Ergon* 1977, 128 ff.), Katarraktis (*PAE* 1952, 399).
[82]See Caskey 1965, 24; Pelon 1976, 102 ff.
[83]See most recently Müller in *BCH* 113, 1991, 25 ff.
[84]Koumouzelis 1980, 48, 51; Forsén 1992, 86.
[85]Troy: Schliemann 1880, 227, 323, 512; Blegen 1950, 37, 94 f., 130, 207 and 315; Blegen 1963, 48, 57, pl. 14. Thermi: Lamb, 1936, 11, 28.
[86]*AJA* 78, 1974, 415 ff., pls 84–85. At Karataş, a quarter of the pithoi contained multiple burials; children were included among the multiple burials, or were buried in individual smaller jars (*AJA* 78, 1974, 416 f.).
[87]*BSA* 70, 1975, 47; *PAE* 1970, 9 ff.
[88]*Alt-Ithaka*, 246; *BSA* 70, 1975, 47.
[89]*BSA* 69, 1974, 137; *ibid*. 71, 1976, 6.
[90]*BSA* 69, 1974, 136 ff.
[91]For instance at Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia (*PAE* 1955, 254 f.), Voidokoilia (*Ergon* 1977, 138), Peristeria-Koukirikou (*PAE* 1964, 93), Afidna (*AM* 21, 1896, 389 ff.), Exalophos (*AAA* I, 1968, 289 ff.; *AD* 23, 1968, 263 ff.), Drachmani-Elateia (*PAE* 1907–09, 127; *AE* 1908, 93), Orchomenos (*PAE* 1904, 35 ff.).
[92]*Epirus*, 208 ff.; *BSA* 66, 1971, 229 ff. The early date of Vajzë A is suggested by the presence of an EH 'slotted spearhead' and a MH/early LH 'shoed spearhead'. Vodhinë contained an EH II-MM II triangular dagger.
[93]See *BCH* 113, 1991, 6, n.18.
[94]Barber 1987, 80 f. In the Cyclades the lower chamber was used as an ossuary, unlike that of R1 which contained the actual burial.
[95]*AM* 21, 1896, 389 ff.
[96]*PAE* 1955, 254; see *Ergon* 1978, 46.
[97]Among the most recent: Humphreys & King 1981; Chapman, Kinnen & Randsborg 1981; O' Shea 1984.
[98]Hodder 1982a; *id*. 1982b.
[99]Renfrew 1972, 381; *BSA* 70, 1975, particularly 42 ff.
[100]Service 1962; *id*. 1975; Renfrew 1972, 364 ff.
[101]Fried 1967; for some objections to this equation see C. Renfrew in Renfrew & Shennan (eds) 1982, 1 ff.
[102]This point has also been made for EM Crete where it has been suggested (Whitelaw 1983, 336 n. 16) that weapons were restricted to the heads of families. Renfrew (1972, 394) suggested that fine weapons had already become symbols of status in the EBA.
[103]Renfrew 1972, 383; *BSA* 70, 1975, 43.
[104]*BSA* 70, 1975, 45.
[105]See Renfrew 1984, 81.
[106]The pottery was described by P. Gössler in *Alt-Ithaka*, 300 ff.
[107]Hood 1986, 53.
[108]*BCH* 113, 1991, 10.
[109]Cyclades: Zervos 1957, 90, pl. 78; Aghia Irini (Kea): *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 366: B64, fig. 4, pl. 79 (EC II). Poliochni (Lemnos): Bernabo-Brea 1964, pl. IX-XI (EBI-II). EBA stemmed bowls also occur on the mainland, e.g. at Talioti (Weisshaar 1990, 7, Taf. 5, 6, 7(14), 14(8), 24(1,2)).
[110]A comparison can be made between D105/2 and a Keros-Syros marble bowl of unknown provenance (Renfrew 1972, pl. 6:2).
[111]*BCH* 113, 11 f.: perforated stemmed bowls occur among the pottery of the Vinça-Pločnic culture (phase III) dated to the local Late Chalcolithic.
[112]Compare with marble bowl from Chalandriani (Renfrew 1972, fig. 11.1:8).
[113]*Alt-Ithaka*, 300 f.
[114]*Alt-Ithaka*, 303.
[115]*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 290 f., fig. 1.
[116]*Aghios Kosmas*, fig. 52; Müller (*BCH* 113, 8) refers to L. L. Fahy's PhD thesis on sauceboats (1962, University of Cincinnati).
[117]Koumouzelis 1980, 74, 217.
[118]*Eutresis*, 116, 123.
[119]*AA* 1981, 220 ff.; *AA* 1983, 332 ff.
[120]This feature is closer to askoi from Aghios Kosmas (*Aghios Kosmas*, fig. 56: second row).
[121]*Hesperia* 29, 1960, 290, 296.
[122]Dörpfeld 1935, 96, fig. 19; *BCH* 113, 1991, 11.
[123]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 61b:9.
[124]Xanthoulides 1924, pls I, XVIII, XXV; Soles 1992, 13, 31 ff., fig. 13, pl. 13. They were possibly all produced in the Mesara.
[125]See Xanthoulides 1924, pl. XXV:4186 (from Koumassa); Papathanassopoulos 1981, 152 pl. 74 (from Chalandriani).
[126]Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 155 (with list of other sites), pls 40–41.
[127]Betancourt 1985, fig. 25 & pl. 3: H (from Platyvola cave), Soles 1992, 13 no. G1–14, fig. 5, pl. 5 (from Gournia); Renfrew 1972, pl. 8:12 (from the Cyclades).
[128]*BCH* 113, 13. However, the tankard from Lerna (*Hesperia* 52, 1983, 331, fig. 1,3) appears to be an isolated example.
[129]Koumouzelis 1980, pl. 92.
[130]Tzavella-Evjen, 1985, 35, pls 20 o-t.
[131]*Alt-Ithaka*, 279.
[132]*Alt-Ithaka*, 306 f., Bei. 67a & b.
[133]*Alt-Ithaka*, 305 f., Bei. 67a & b.
[134]*Alt-Ithaka*, 304 f., Bei. 64:6.
[135]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 58b & c.
[136]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 58a.
[137]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59a.
[138]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 87.
[139]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 68b.
[140]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 56c.
[141]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59a.
[142]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 84c.
[143]*AM* 59, 1934, 169 Abb. 6:22–25.
[144]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 84c.
[145]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 56d & 68b.
[146]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 57a.
[147]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 83b, second row.
[148]Afiona: *AM* 59, 1934, 171, 169 Abb. 6:1–8; *Epirus* (Kastritsa): *Macedonia I*, 253 f., fig. 8b; Macedonia (Porodin): *Macedonia I*, 253. fig. 7b-d.
[149]*Alt-Ithaka*, 307, Bei. 68b.
[150]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 84a.
[151]*BCH* 113, 1991, 14.
[152]*Alt-Ithaka*, 307, Bei. 68b.
[153]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 61:11–15. The bowl could not be found for inspection.
[154]Koumouzelis 1980, 166, figs 33, 9–10.
[155]*BCH* 113, 1991, 13 and nn. 60 & 61.
[156]Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 151, pl. 73–74; *id*. 1985, 22 ff., figs 8, pl. 12.
[157]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 56b, Bei. 57b; *AM* 59, 1934, 184 Abb. 12.
[158]*AM* 59, 1934, 184 Abb. 12:13.
[159]*AM* 59, 1934, 184 Abb. 12:5, 6, 8.
[160]*AM* 59, 1934, 173 ff., 177 Abb. 10.
[161]*AM* 59, 1934, 185 Abb. 11.
[162]*Alt-Ithaka*, 291.
[163]*AJA* 71, 1967, 9 ff., pl. 7; Branigan 1974, 163, pl. 10; Avila 1983, Taf. 30–31.
[164]*BSA* 70, 1975, 37, 38.
[165]*AJA* 71, 1967, 11.
[166]Branigan 1974, 124; *BSA* 70, 1975, 39.

[167]Branigan 1974, 158; *BSA* 70, 1975, 38.
[168]*BSA* 70, 1975, 37.
[169]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 62:6.
[170]Branigan 1974, pl. 9:406.
[171]*AJA* 65, 1961, 25 ff., pl. 17:5 & 6.
[172]*BSA* 63, 1968, 204:31–32.
[173]*AJA* 71, 1967, 12.
[174]*BSA* 70, 1975, 37.
[175]Branigan 1974, pl. 14:696.
[176]Branigan 1974, 169.
[177]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 62:11; Branigan 1974, 166.
[178]Branigan 1974, 27.
[179]Branigan 1974, 173.
[180]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 62:10; Branigan 1974, 175.
[181]*Alt-Ithaka*, 294.
[182]It is today housed in the National Museum in Athens. The jewellery was transported from Lefkada to the Museum of Kerkyra on 17 November 1914, whence it was taken to Athens.
[183]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 61a:3 & 4.
[184]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 61b.3. This reconstruction was not adopted by Branigan (Branigan 1974, pl. 38:3341).
[185]Renfrew 1972, pls 4:1a & 7:1a.
[186]See Branigan 1974, 52; *BSA* 70, 1975, 38.
[187]Seager 1912, TVI: fig. 25,VI,32; TII: fig. 9,II,14; see Branigan 1974, 52 no. 3343.
[188]*Alt-Ithaka*, 287 f.
[189]*Alt-Ithaka*, 287.
[190]From R4: *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 61b:1.
[191]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 60:4.
[192]Branigan 1974, 45, 189: type I.
[193]Branigan 1974, 46.
[194]See Higgins 1961, 50, 54.
[195]*BSA* 76, 1981, 169 ff.
[196]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 60:6, Bei. 60:7.
[197]Branigan 1974, 188:2574–81B; *BSA* 70, 1975, 37, 39.
[198]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 60:8.
[199]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 60:5.
[200]*Alt-Ithaka*, 307 ff., Bei. 57b:4, Bei 61b:7 & 8.
[201]*Alt-Ithaka*, 284, Bei. 56d: right.
[202]*AAA* VIII, 1975, 218 fig. 3, 219 fig. 6A & B.
[203]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59a.
[204]*AM* 59, 1934, Abb. 4:20.
[205]*Epir. Chr*. 1935, 208 pl. 9B:2, 4, & 10.
[206]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 63c.
[207]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 81b.
[208]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 63c.
[209]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 80.
[210]See Banks 1967, 189 ff.; Caskey 1986, 18 f.
[211]*Alt-Ithaka*, 298.
[212]*AE* 1899, pl. 10:2–3; Doumas 1977, 129, pl. Li (Syros); *AD* 17 (1961–62)A, pl. 57c (Naxos).
[213]*Alt-Ithaka*, 298, Bei. 63c:5.
[214]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 58c:3.
[215]*Alt-Ithaka*, Taf. 11.
[216]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 33, Taf. 14.
[217]Pelon 1976, 104.
[218]Pelon 1976, 104 n. 1.
[219]Pelon 1976, 113 f.
[220]At Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia, a small room produced evidence of fire and traces of animal bones (*PAE* 1955, 254 f.); at Orchomenos, an area had been lined with stones and contained ashes, charcoal and animal bones (*PAE* 1905, 129 ff.).
[221]*Alt-Ithaka*, 211, Taf. 14.
[222]*Gazetteer*, 184; Dickinson 1977, 103.
[223]*BSA* 69, 1974, 140–41.
[224]Benton: *BSA* 32, 1931–32, 229 f.; Wace & Stubbings 1962, 411.
[225]Benton (*BSA* 32, 1931–32, 229 & n. 7) pointed out the similarity between the bowls from tumulus S and the Bass-bowls from Pelikata.
[226]Description by Dörpfeld in *Alt-Ithaka*, 213 ff., Taf. 15, Bei. 34.
[227]*Hesperia* 40, 1971, 378 f.
[228]See *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 34 & Taf. 14.
[229]Pelon 1976, 96.
[230]*BCH* 113, 39.
[231]Samikon: *AD* 20 (1965)A, 60 ff.; Vrana: *PAE* 1970, 9 ff.; Mycenae: Dickinson (1977, 40 ff., 51) does not believe Grave Circles A and B were tumuli, but Pelon (1976) supports this interpretation; see also Müller in *BCH* 113, 1991, 22 n. 100.
[232]*BCH* 113, 1991, 26 & n. 127; Dickinson 1977, 40.
[233]Isolated cists were however present at Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia, Karpofora and Voidokoilia (see *BCH* 113, 1991, 36), and were also common in the Argolid and in Attica (see *BCH* 113, 37).
[234]For example Vodhinë (*BSA* 66, 1971, 231 ff., fig. 2); Vajzë (*Epirus*, 230), Pazhok (*St. Alb*. 1964, 95 ff.); Piskova (*Iliria* XI.2, 1981, 243 ff.).
[235]*Alt-Ithaka*, 313. The pottery reports were compiled by Gössler (*Familiengrab* S: *Alt-Ithaka*, 311 ff.; *Familiengrab* F: *Alt-Ithaka*, 316 ff.).
[236]The handle was not illustrated by Dörpfeld; reference to it is made by Wardle in *Godišnak* XV, 170; lugs: *Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 87: 1–7.
[237]*Alt-Ithaka*, 279, Bei. 59b:1.
[238]Maran 1992, type 2CIV: Bei. 16:16, 19:3, Taf. XVI:1, 93:9.
[239]*BSA* 66, 1971, 231 ff., pl. 35:5–6. Grave 17 is earlier than Grave 16 in which an EM II–MM II dagger was found.
[240]*Alt-Ithaka*, 309 f., 314 Tab. H, 315 f. Gössler compares the spearhead from F7 with the spearhead from Sesklo (grave 56), which was analysed and found to contain 1.71% tin.
[241]*BSA* 63, 1968, 187 ff.; Dickinson 1977, 35.
[242]*Antiquity* 42, 1968, 278 ff.
[243]Dickinson 1977, 35.
[244]*AR* 1978, 74; see Kilian 1986, 286, 291 n. 83, fig. 8.
[245]Mycenae (Karo 1930–33, 105, fig. 91 & 92, pl. CII:463), Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 258 fig. 182:2) and Argos (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, T. C. 71(13), 6, 112).
[246]*AAA* XIV, 1981, fig. 6.
[247]Tsountas 1908, 146 f., 333 f., 354 f., pl. 4:10 (Sesklo); *Hesperia* Sup. 8, 1949, pl. 7:5 (Dramesi); *AD* 35, 1980 (A), 94 f., fig 4, pl. 30c (Thebes); *Epirus*, fig. 23:B & C; *Iliria* 7–8, 1977–78, pl. 7:11, 12 (Vajzë A). The examples from Vajzë and Dramesi have one rivet hole instead of the two on the Lefkada and Sesklo examples.
[248]*Alt-Ithaka*, 310.
[249]*Macedonia I*, 387 f.; *BSA* 69, 1974, 140.
[250]Snodgrass 1964, 48, 39 ff.
[251]*PPS* 21, 1957, 159 f, 183.
[252]Branigan 1974, 26; Catling 1964, 93 f.
[253]Branigan 1974, pl. 14:782 & pl. 15:781.
[254]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 73:4b.
[255]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 73:4a.
[256]Banks 1967, 12 ff., 65 ff.
[257]*Alt-Ithaka*, 313, 318, Bei. 73:12.
[258]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 73:11 & 14.
[259]Banks 1967, 561 ff.
[260]*Alt-Ithaka*, 313, Bei. 69:5, Bei. 70:6.
[261]*Phoenix* 20, 1974, 193; Hood 1986, 56 f.
[262]*Eutresis*, 208.
[263]*AM* 59, 1934, 166, Abb. 4:7.
[264]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 73:5 & 13.
[265]*Alt-Ithaka*, 311, Bei. 71:3 & 4.
[266]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 69:6 & 7.
[267]*Tris Langades*, 11, fig. 6:105.
[268]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 89b.
[269]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 59b:1.
[270]*Alt-Ithaka*, 328.
[271]Only one sherd was illustrated by Dörpfeld (*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 89b: bottom row, second from left).
[272]*Alt-Ithaka*, Bei. 89b: bottom row, first from left.

6 – KEFALONIA

1. Bronze Age sites

A. ARGOSTOLI-LIVATHO

This region is clearly defined geographically, to the north by the Ainos chain and to the south by the sea. To the east the sea and mountains converge. An important asset for the region is the deep bay of Argostoli which provides the main access to the district from the sea. The region is dominated by the large triangular plain of Argostoli and its hilly hinterland, where most of the known sites are located. The area is rich in Karstic springs.

Ancient Krani (16): The twin hills with the acropolis of the Greek *polis* of Krani (max. h.: 90m) rise above the eastern edge of the Argostoli plain. The extensive circuit walls have 'Cyclopean' looking sections which led early scholars to believe that the walls were originally pre-Greek,[1] but investigations carried out by Kyparisses,[2] Marinatos[3] and Kalligas[4] brought up no prehistoric sherds associated with the walls.

Some prehistoric remains, however, have been found on the lower of the two hills (Kastelli). Sylvia Benton,[5] re-examining the portion of the walls excavated by Kyparisses, noticed that the ashlar masonry of the 'Western Gate' rested on rubble walls containing 'Early Bronze Age and Minyan pottery'. In a dump above the wall she recognized 'Mycenaean looking sherds'. The foundations and the dump are still there, and badly corroded prehistoric sherds (including coarseware) can still be distinguished in them. At a distance of about 50m south-west of the gate, where a cult area with a peripteral building and the foundations of a small temple had been uncovered, Benton picked up a kylix stem in the wall of the first building. More recent investigations by Kalligas in the 'area of the temple' only produced flint and coarse pottery.[6]

Riza Alafonos (17): Riza is the name given to the southern slopes of Krani, north-west of the Alafona valley. Kavvadias excavated there in 1909 and reported finding a prehistoric site within the walls of the classical city.[7] He excavated a number of oval-shaped pits surrounded by stones. The tombs had been looted and no finds whatsoever were made in them, which led Marinatos to question their suggested prehistoric date.[8] Kavvadias may, however, have found some prehistoric pottery between the walls in this area, to judge from his description of the sherds as '… plain, coarse and poorly fired. The colour of the clay has different hues due to incomplete [and] uneven firing' (my translation).

Below this site Kavvadias explored a Mycenaean tholos tomb of unspecified dimensions.[9] Besides a spearhead (A606) and two fragmentary vases (a jar and a stirrup jar), the Argostoli Museum catalogue lists one silver needle, bronze fragments possibly from a knife, beads of glass and haematite and eleven buttons. An LH III date for the tomb is certain.

Diaka or Diakata (18): The hill called 'tou Diaka' lies at the eastern edge of the Alafona valley against the western flank of Mt Ainos. At the northern foot of the hill Kyparisses excavated two neighbouring chamber tombs, tomb 1 in 1912 and tomb 2 in 1914.[10]

The larger tomb (1) was almost square (5.00x4.70m). It had a chamber of the 'cave-dormitory' type (type II) with ten deep pits dug on either side of a footpath. Tomb 2 was smaller (2.65x2.10m) with an elliptical ground plan (type IA), and contained just two burial pits. The tombs were probably first violated in the Geometric period and received offerings until the Roman period.

A large number of the LBA gravegoods, including most of the pottery, was lost during the 1953 earthquake. Moreover, Kyparisses illustrated only thirty Mycenaean vases (all but one from tomb 1) out of a total of one hundred and seven listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue.

There is also some confusion about the contents of each of the tombs (see Catalogue of Late Bronze Age Pottery from Kefalonia). The greatest likelihood is that tomb 1 contained eighty-four LBA vases (A912–79), three bronze spearheads (A914, A915, A936), two from the same pit (a), three bronze dress pins (A923?, A948, A949), a bronze ring (A916) and a knife (A937). A large fibula in the shape of a multiple figure of eight (A838) was published from this tomb, although in the Argostoli Museum catalogue it is attributed to tomb 2. According to the catalogue, twenty-five biconical steatite *conuli* were found in pit (δ). The contents date tomb 1 to the LH IIIC period; two possible two-handled alabastra (A912 and A932) among the non-extant pottery listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue would suggest that the tomb was constructed at an early date in LH IIIC. But the extant vases belong to the developed LH IIIC style, including its latest stage (kraters, stemmed amphoriskos A943, and amphoriskos A967).

Twenty-one to twenty-three vases from tomb 2 can be attributed to the original BA depositions (A806–A831, A849, A852?). Only three are known: an amphoriskos (A812), which was published but is now lost, and two extant vases: a stirrup jar (A809) and a small jug (A825). The other finds included two type F swords (A837α, b), four knives and a cleaver (A839–A840). Among the jewellery there were a few amber beads (A833), only one of which was published. There were three beads of agate, one of crystal and quite a few of glass paste. A number of pieces of gold and silver

jewellery belong to the post Bronze Age depositions. The Mycenaean jewellery published by Kyparisses consisted of a necklace of ninety-four gold beads and some pieces of gold leaf.

The date of tomb 2 is conjectural. Typologically the tomb is earlier than tomb 1 (see below). The type F swords could be earlier than LH IIIC, but there are no definitely identifiable pre-LH IIIC vases among either the extant or the lost pottery listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue.

Starochorafa (19): On some low terraces a few hundred metres south of Diakata, Marinatos excavated the foundations of Mycenaean houses.[11] Most of the walls were in a poor state of preservation due to erosion and cultivation, but one building was reasonably well preserved. Marinatos was able to excavate three of its walls up to the border with a neighbouring field.

The vicinity of the settlement to the tombs of Diakata suggested to Marinatos that the houses were connected with the tombs. Both Mycenaean and handmade pottery was recovered.[12] Only one of the Mycenaean sherds had a preserved painted surface. There was a large number of kylix stems, the horizontal handles of bowls and a grooved foot from a legged pot. The coarser ware pottery was dark and poorly fired, and there were a few sherds with engraved or pellet decoration. Some sherds had mat or basketwork impressions. The absence of early pottery shapes, or pottery with diagnostic pre-LH IIIC features, suggests an LH IIIC date. The small finds included one conical steatite button, a stone plaque and a flint blade.[13] In a neighbouring field Marinatos collected an obsidian blade.

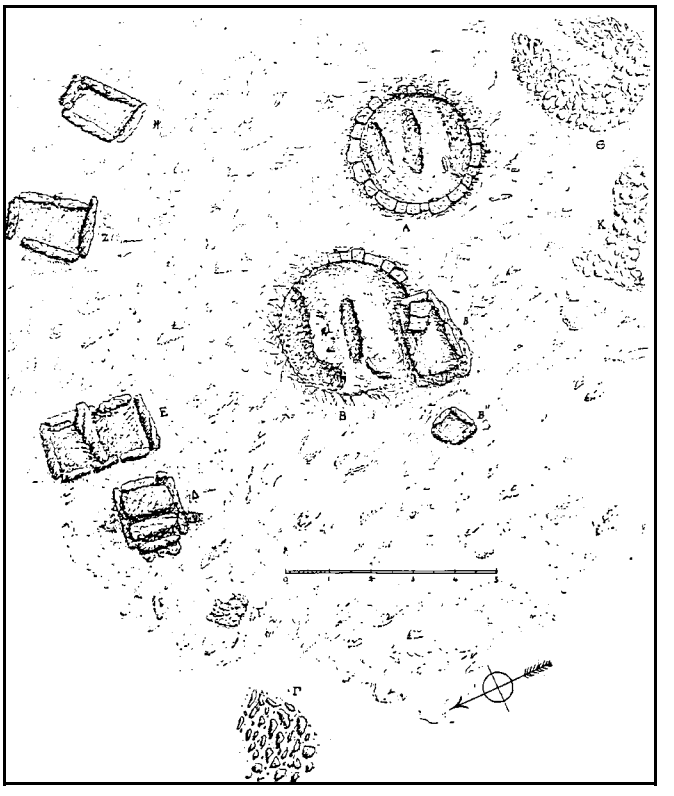
Prokopata-Gephyra (20): A chamber tomb was excavated by G. Pylarinos in 1909 between the villages of Prokopata and Razata below the main Argostoli to Sami road. The tomb was briefly described by Kyparisses.[14] It was small without burial pits in the chamber. No mention was made of skeletal remains. Three fine vases datable to the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 phases were recovered: a piriform jar (A577), a stirrup jar (A576) and a krater (A575). The small finds included a 'razor' (A940) and a simple bronze ring.

Svoronata-Aghia Pelaghia (21): On the cliffs just above the little harbour of Aghia Pelaghia near Svoronata a group of two or three chamber tombs were identified about twenty years ago by Professor Iakovides (personal communication) who also had noticed Mycenaean pottery lying on the surface. The Eforia of Patras was notified, but no excavation was carried out. The site is the only one in the vicinity of the large plain of Svoronata. The area had been investigated by Kyparisses on behalf of Goekoop at the beginning of the century. Trenches were dug across the plain down to the sea, but nothing was found.[15]

Kokkolata-Kangelisses (22): Kangelisses is a low and rocky plateau across the torrent bed from the modern village of Kokkolata. On its south-eastern side, at a flattened area bordered by overhanging rocks and the cave of Mavro Spelio, Kavvadias excavated an MBA and LBA cemetery in 1909. Three types of tombs (slab cists, tholos tombs and rock-cut pits) and some cairn-like structures were uncovered. Kavvadias published brief descriptions and some drawings of the monuments (**Fig. 4**) and the small finds,[16] but the pottery remained unpublished.

A. The cists: six slab cists were listed and illustrated by Kavvadias in *PAE* 1912 (Β′, Β″, Δ, E, Z, H). The Argostoli Museum catalogue lists pottery from only four graves (A-Δ, the letters do not correspond with the letters given to the tombs in the publication). It is most likely that in two of the graves Kavvadias found no pottery.[17] Fifty-two vases assignable to the late MH period were recovered. A bronze knife from Β′ *was the only reported metal find.*

B. The pit graves: at a distance of 4–5m north-west of the cist graves, Kavvadias excavated an unspecified number of rock-cut pit graves. They had been used for successive burials or as ossuaries. Thirty-eight vases and a number of small finds were recovered. Most of the vases were lost in the 1953 earthquake. The only published vase, a composite vessel (A309), is LH IIIB, and the mention in the Argostoli Museum catalogue of two piriform jars and four three-handled vases (alabastra?) makes it certain that the pits were used in LH IIIA2-B. Wardle suggested that the lost vase A334, described in the catalogue as wide-bellied with rock pattern decoration, may have been an alabastron of FS 84, possibly of LH IIIA1 date. The latest pottery from the pits would date from LH IIIC. The small finds (A581–82) include eleven lentoid seals, likely to be earlier than LH IIIC, and



4. Plan of the cemetery of Kokkolata-Kangelisses (Kavvadias, *PAE* 1912, 247 pl.1).

several beads, one of gold, the rest of agate, sardonyx and steatite. There were also three gold hair-spirals, a bronze knife and a needle, and several *conuli* of clay and steatite. Half of the small finds were found in one pit together with a stirrup jar.

C. The tholos tombs: the two small tholos tombs were free-standing structures built next to each other. Tholos A had a diameter of 2.70m and tholos B of 2.90–3.10m. They contained two and three burial pits respectively. Tholos A yielded thirty-four vases. A second list of twelve vases (A677–A688, now lost save perhaps for one) headed 'Tholos 1' in the Argostoli Museum catalogue may refer to additional pottery from the tomb, or list pottery from one of the other monuments. Wardle identified four of the vases in the Argostoli Museum, including two LH IIIB alabastra (A347, A348). Some more vases can be assigned to LH IIA2-B on the basis of their description in the catalogue (three-handled alabastra, piriform jars and squat jars). The tholos was used in LH IIIC, as vases listed in the catalogue include amphoriskoi and small jugs.

The small finds from tholos A (A579) include three sealstones of steatite, several round and elongated beads of glass and porcelain, beads of sardonyx, a hair-spiral of gold, and fragments of bronze knives and needles. There were also seven steatite buttons.

Tholos B yielded eighteen vases, including eight handmade, but only two of them appear to have survived: a squat jar (A596) and a three-legged jar (A600). Descriptions in the Argostoli Museum catalogue indicate that the rest of the pottery, which included piriform jars, a three-handled alabastron, another squat jar, and handmade vases, may have been exclusively LH IIIA2-B/C. The small finds (A580) were very similar to those of tholos A. There were four carved steatite sealstones, steatite and clay *conuli*, one glass bead and three elongated/biconical beads of *argyradamas*. In addition there were twenty-five relief beads of glass paste, all probably from the same necklace or diadem.

D. The cairns: a few metres south of the tholoi Kavvadias excavated three cairn-like structures made of unworked stones bound together with clay. He referred to the elliptical θ as a grave, and to κ as a possible grave, although no reference is made to either bones or gravegoods.[18] It may be possible that the twelve vases listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue under the heading 'Tholos 1' mentioned above are the finds from one of these structures. The Argostoli Museum catalogue descriptions, which include a linear three-handled alabastron and six handmade pots, among which was an alabastron or piriform jar (A687), suggest an entirely pre-LH IIIC collection.

Kokkolata-Kouroupata (23): Evidence for the existence of a site came to light about 600–700m north-west of Kangelisses (on the other side of a tributary of the main torrent) on my visit to the area in 1986. The site can be reached by following the first dirt-road to the right after the junction between the Argostoli-Travliata and the Argostoli-Peratata roads. After 1.5km the track has been extended and leads to a T-junction, the left arm of which comes to an abrupt end about 200m from the junction. On the eastern side of this short stretch, in the earthen bank (consisting of the topsoil that had been turned over) there were numerous prehistoric sherds along an 80m stretch. The evidence suggests that this was hill-wash material from a site lying on the cultivated slope above, or possibly on the fairly eroded summit of the hill. The settlement would have lacked extensive arable land in its immediate vicinity, but would have been close to a natural spring which today flows just 40m below the road by the torrent bed.

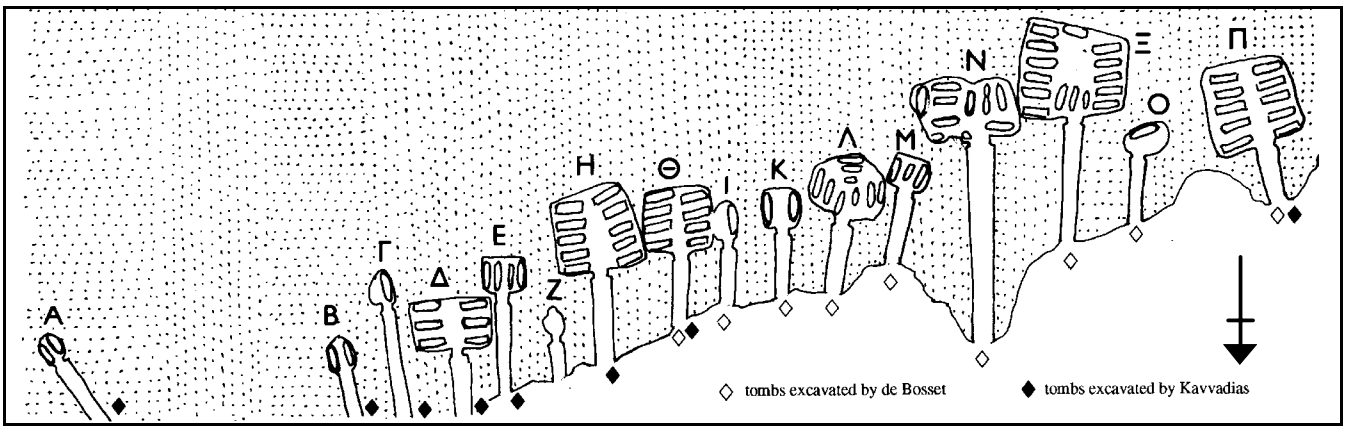
The pottery (**Pl. 55:a,b**) included coarse and semi-coarse wares, as well as 'Minyan' type wares (in a 1:5 proportion to the coarse/semi-coarse wares). There were highly burnished, handmade coarseware sherds with black inner surfaces and many inclusions. Among the semi-coarse and coarseware there were sherds with finger-smoothed or lightly burnished orange or brown surfaces, including a rim-sherd with 'cut' lip like the MH cups from Kangelisses, and two horizontal ear-lugs (red surface, black core) of EBA and MBA types known from the other Ionian Islands, Epirus and Aitoloakarnania. Minyan ware sherds included a carinated body sherd. A couple of fineware rim-sherds could be from LH shapes (goblet: red paint on both surfaces, alabastron?). The pottery indicates LN?, EBA, MBA and LBA occupation.

Kokkolata-Junction (24): This site is a low hill in the Argostoli plain. I identified it in 1986 at the junction between the Argostoli-Peratata and the Argostoli-Kokkolata roads, about 3km from Argostoli and 600m from the modern village of Kokkolata (**Pl. 52:a**). The hill is bordered on two sides by the roads but is otherwise surrounded by the plain. Pottery scatters were identified in an area 250x150m which included some of the flat land surrounding the hill. The largest concentration of sherds was at the south-western end of the hill, which is now cultivated with vegetables.

A great variety of wares were identified: EBA, MBA, LBA, PG?, Greek, Roman and Byzantine.

The prehistoric pottery (**Pls 55:c-e**) included coarse and semi-coarse sherds as well as fineware sherds. The coarser wares with unburnished or lightly burnished surfaces were similar to those from site no. 23 and included a large semi-circular lug (**Pl. 55:e**). There was also a distinctive semi-coarse ware ('orange ware') with crystalline, micaceous inclusions and a gritty feel (**Pl. 55:d**), which compares with some EBA pottery from Pelikata in Ithaki. The fineware pottery included sherds with EBA *Urfirnis* type glaze, 'Minyan' ware of very similar hues to those of the MH pottery from Kangelisses, and Matt-painted sherds (**Pl. 55:f**). A fragment of a kylix stem (**Pl. 55:g**) and part of a heavily ribbed stem (**Pl. 55:h**) were among the numerous wheel-turned fineware sherds. The flint tools included a scraper.

The largest volume of prehistoric pottery could be assigned to the MBA. Parallels with the pottery from the slab-cists at Kangelisses suggest that the two sites could have been contemporary, and their vicinity (about 1km from each other) makes it more than likely that they were connected.



5. Plan of the cemetery of Mazarakata (after Kavvadias 1909, fig. 449).

Mazarakata (25): The largest Mycenaean cemetery on the island (**Fig. 5**) lies about 0.5km west of present-day Mazarakata. It was first discovered in the early 19th century. Seventeen chamber tombs (A-P) and a tholos tomb have been uncovered.

A. The chamber tombs: the earliest known investigation of the chamber tombs was undertaken by Colonel de Bosset in 1813 and first reported by Lord Holland who visited the site at the time.[19] Forty-three vases and some small finds from these endeavours were brought to the Neuchâtel Museum in Switzerland, and have recently been published by S. Brodbeck-Jucker.[20] The next documented investigation at the site was by Kavvadias, who claimed to have discovered the cemetery in 1899.[21] He then excavated the site in 1909, with Goekoop's financial assistance, but apart from short accounts and sketches of some of the finds, the results of the excavation were not published. Neither of the two excavators have left any written information about which tombs of the cemetery each one investigated. In the Appendix, I argue that the likeliest scenario is that de Bosset excavated the western part of the cemetery i.e. tombs Θ, I, K, Λ, M, N, Ξ, O and Π, while Kavvadias excavated the eastern part, i.e. tombs A, B, Γ, Δ, E and H (probably also Z), and re-excavated tombs Θ and Π which had already been investigated by de Bosset.

The seventeenth chamber tomb came to light in 1951 west of tomb P as a result of the collapse of the road. It was excavated by Marinatos[22] and was then covered up. No plan or dimensions were published. It had a dromos longer than 1.50m, and a chamber without pits.

The tombs survive in varying degrees of preservation. Individual measurements were not published. The measurements given in Tables C.1–7, which are my own, are therefore subject to the limitations imposed by bad preservation and the erosion of the soft stone from which the tombs were carved.[23]

All the tombs were preceded by a dromos, occasionally quite long (tomb N: **Pl. 53:a**, about 10m, Ξ about 8.50m). The ground plan of the chambers was elliptical, rectangular or trapezoidal. The chambers varied in size from exceptionally small (Z = 1.60x1.35m, I = 2.00x1.40m) to very large (Ξ = 5.50x6.50m, Π = 5.00x5.50m). All but the smallest tomb (Z) had a number of burial pits dug into the chamber floor. Ten of the tombs (A, B, Γ, E, I, K, Λ, M, N and O) belong to my type IA, and four (Δ: **Pl 54:b**, H, Θ, Π) to my type II or 'cave-dormitory' type (pits arranged on either side of a footpath). Tomb Ξ is a 'hybrid', basically type II, but with three pits aligned with the dromos added in the wide footpath. Type IA tombs had between one and ten pits. Type II tombs had an even number of pits: four, six or ten.

The pottery from the tombs which Kavvadias excavated remains unpublished, but is on display in the Argostoli Museum. The pottery from the small type IA tombs (A, B, Γ, and E) dates their construction to the LH IIIB period (tomb A to LH IIIA2-B1). Of the 'cave-dormitory' type tombs, tomb Δ and tomb H each contained a single LH IIIA2-B vase in an otherwise LH IIIC repertoire. All the tombs except tombs B and E (which contained no LH IIIC vases) had been used in LH IIIC.

The dates of each of the tombs excavated by de Bosset cannot be inferred from the pottery, as its exact provenance is not known, but the pottery ranges from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIC. A collection of thirty-four vases in the Argostoli Public Library (now in the Argostoli Museum) may have come from the same tombs.

Overall the period of use of the cemetery was a long one. Its beginnings must fall within the LH IIIA2 phase and there are several vases of late LH IIIC style (including four kraters, monochrome bowl A68, and SM amphoriskos from Neuchâtel N57), which brings its use down to the mid 11th century.

A selection of small finds recovered from the tombs was illustrated by Kavvadias,[24] and those in Neuchâtel were published with the pottery.[25] The bronzes include two spearheads of 'northern' type from the de Bosset collection and a leaf-shaped one from Kavvadias's excavations, a single-edged knife, a violin bow fibula (one of an unknown number), a pin with a head in the shape of a double spiral and another one (from tomb B, pit 1) recently discovered by Kalligas in the National Museum in Athens.

One gold ornament, a belt cover(?), was illustrated by Kavvadias. The rest of the gold artefacts included fragments of gold leaf, and relief and other beads. A fragment of gold leaf and some relief beads were also found by de Bosset and published by Brodbeck-Jucker. Other items of jewellery

recovered both by de Bosset and by Kavvadias are common relief beads of glass paste, rosettes of glass paste and other glass beads.

B. The tholos tomb: a tholos tomb (d.: 3.60m) was discovered in 1881 in the vicinity of the chamber tomb cemetery. A short description was given by Papandreou.[26] The structure was still fairly well preserved in 1894 when Wolters visited it, although its roof had collapsed.[27] The tomb was finally excavated by Kavvadias in 1908.[28] No finds were reported.

Lakkithra (26): The Mycenaean cemetery lies at the southern face of the hill behind the modern village of Lakkithra. At the point where the cliffs begin their steep descent to the plain below, Marinatos excavated four chamber tombs and a number of round pits or *bothroi* in 1931 and 1932.[29]

Tombs A (**Pl. 54:c**) and B, at the western end of the site, were found unviolated but their roofs and doorways had collapsed in antiquity. They were both of the 'cave-dormitory' type (type II). Their nearly square chambers were almost identical both in size (5.00x5.00x1.80m) and in the number and arrangement of the pits (ten pits, five on each side of a footpath). The pits contained several burials in great disorder, and the same disorder was observed in the gravegoods.

Tomb A contained 148 vases. No pottery is earlier than LH IIIC. A conical kylix with swellings on the stem (A1077), an SM looking collar-necked jar (A1016) and an amphoriskos (A1094) indicate that the tomb was in use until the latest phase of Mycenaean occupation of the island.

The rest of the finds[30] included a bronze sword and spearhead from pit 6, which, according to Marinatos, may have been accompanied by a wooden shield, because of what appeared to be the remains of a wooden object at the bottom of the pit. The tomb produced five single-edged knives, a razor and fragments of pins or wire. Apart from the usual round, elongated or poppy-seed shaped beads of glass, steatite, sardonyx and crystal, and a number of conical buttons of steatite, Marinatos published three amber beads and a gold necklace composed of five spiraliform beads.

Tomb B was poorer than tomb A. It contained thirty-two vases, an ovate javelin head and three or four knives. There were also some conical and a few biconical steatite *conuli*, a small undecorated sealstone and a rectangular pendant of whitish stone. None of the vases are earlier than LH IIIC.

Tomb Γ, located between tombs B and Δ, was a small type Ia tomb (1.40x1.75m). Its roof was still intact at the time of excavation but it has since collapsed. The chamber had no pits. Human bones mixed with offerings were piled high on the floor in great disorder. The tomb yielded twenty-four vases, of which seventeen were handmade. Of the fineware vases, a three-handled alabastron (A1214) and probably a handmade pyxis (A1228) are LH IIIB, and more of the handmade pottery may also be earlier than LH IIIC. Most probably therefore the tomb was constructed in LH IIIB and continued in use in LH IIIC (deep bowl A1211, cup A1212 and dippers). The small finds amounted to just three beads.

Tomb Δ (**Pl. 54:a)**, at the eastern end of the site, was the largest tomb of the cemetery (5.40x7.00x2.00m). It was originally elliptical in shape, but was later enlarged (**Fig. 7:b**). There were eleven burial pits in the chamber and one across the short dromos. The tomb had been violated and partly looted, probably in antiquity. Even so it was very rich in contents. The vases recovered numbered 122, and included vases dating from LH IIIA2-B (stirrup jars A1352, A1346 and early squat jars) right through to late LH IIIC or SM (amphora A1266, kylikes with swellings on the stem A1332–34, stemmed deep bowl A1249). They indicate a long period of use of the tomb.

The bronze objects were few: a couple of knives and a needle. A large number of round-headed rivets and nails, fragments of sheet metal and a handle (?) possibly belonged to vessels of wood or bronze. The gold jewellery numbered some thirty different pieces, mostly elements from necklaces. There were also some pieces of decorated gold leaf. Other finds included the usual relief beads of glass, ordinary beads of glass, a variety of stone beads and an unusual pendant of sardonyx in the form of a stylized female figure.

Tomb Δ was probably the earliest to be constructed on the site, at the latest in early LH IIIB. It was subsequently enlarged and continued to be used alongside tombs A and B until the latest stage of Mycenaean settlement on the island.

Metaxata (27): Six chamber tombs were excavated at a locality known as 'ta Chalikera', approximately 0.5km south-west of the village of Metaxata. They were found in three different areas of the hill: Δ, E and Στ in the north, A in the west, and B and Γ in the south.

Marinatos excavated and published A, B and Γ in 1933.[31] In 1960 he excavated tombs Δ and E which, together with tomb Στ which was excavated by Kalligas in 1973, remain unpublished except for brief reports.[32] All the tombs except Γ had been violated in antiquity. Geometric but mostly Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found in the upper fill of the chambers, and a stone 'shrine' excavated by Marinatos about 10m to the west of tomb may have been associated with the 'hero cult' practised at the tombs.

Tombs A, Δ, E and Στ were of the 'cave-dormitory' type (type II) with rectangular chambers, whereas tombs B and Γ were of the 'tholoid' type (type IB) and had circular chambers.

Tomb A had nine pits in the burial chamber, five on one side of a footpath and four on the other. The burials had been divided unevenly among the pits. Pits 1 and 9, on either side of the door, contained a minimum of four, and five or six burials respectively, while the rest of the pits only held one or two burials each. Fifty-one vases, all LH IIIC, were distributed among the pits. Pits 1 and 9 contained the bulk of the pottery (thirteen and twenty-nine vases respectively). There were also two spearheads (A1593, A1594), one each from pits 9 and 7, and three knives. Other finds included one biconical gold bead and other beads of glass, glass paste and stone, as well as a few steatite *conuli*.

Tomb B (**Fig. 8A**) was of the tholoid type (type IB) with ten pits dug haphazardly into its chamber floor. Some bones and a skull were found on the floor but most human remains were inside the pits, as were the gravegoods. Sixty-five vases were recovered. A number of them date from LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, among which are a piriform jar (A1477) and five rounded and square-sided alabastra (A1516, A1517, A1518, A1519, A1521). There were also several LH IIIA2-early IIIC squat jars. The bronzework included a leaf-shaped violin bow fibula, a single-edged knife and a plain ring. There were five lentoid seals of steatite with animal representations, beads of glass and semi-precious stones, and some beads of amber. There were a considerable number of conical steatite *conuli* and relief beads, mostly concentrated in pit 8.

Tomb Γ, 20m east of tomb B, was very similar to it in shape and size. It contained forty-four vases dating from early to late LH IIIC (one vase only may be dated to LH IIIB), and a small number of metal artefacts: one single-edged knife, two-three bronze rings, one with oval head-stone, and fragments of at least one violin bow fibula. The only gold object was a small spiraliform bead. There were beads of glass and semi-precious stones, and a few relief-beads of glass paste, conical steatite *conuli,* and some twenty-six beads of amber.

Tomb Δ had five pits dug into its floor, four on one side of the footpath and three on the other, leaving a level space at the back. Eight of its forty-seven vases appear to have perished. There are no pre-LH IIIC shapes among them, and the presence of an SM type alabastron/bottle (A1733) as well as the mention in the catalogue of two trefoil-mouthed jugs (provided they were not Geometric) suggest that it was used until late LH IIIC.

Tomb E had a chamber with ten pits on either side of the footpath. The pottery included seventeen vases of LH IIIC date. Eight Geometric and later vases were also found in the fill and on the floor of the chamber. The tomb also contained two bronze single-edged knives, but the rest of the small finds are not known.

Tomb Στ lies between Δ and E. The chamber has eight pits, four on either side of a footpath. Its eighty vases were reported to be LH IIIC and handmade. There were also some small bronzes including knives, and some steatite *conuli* and beads.

The Metaxata cemetery as a whole was first used in LH IIIA2-B1 and its use lasted until the latest stage of the local LH IIIC.

Peratata (28): Some finds displayed in the Argostoli Museum and labelled 'Peratata Cave' must come from the small and narrow cave immediately to the south-west of the village of Peratata.

Except for flint tools, which do not include diagnostic Bronze Age types, the finds consist of coarse pottery. Some sherds have raised bands similar to pottery from Kokkolata, Ithaki and Lefkada. The largest fragment consists of the body and neck of a jar, but the most interesting is part of the body and highly swung handle from an MBA(?) kantharos in semi-coarse ware with fine incised herringbone patterns and triangles.

B. PALIKI

Quite distinct geographically, the large peninsula of Paliki presents a varied landscape with pockets of very fertile land bordered by mountains. All three burial sites were discovered accidentally, and there has been no survey of the area.

Oikopeda (29): Oikopeda is a hilly area about 1km east-north-east of the village of Kontogenada between the ridges of Kedros and Sgourou Voulgarina. In 1921, following landslides caused by heavy rainfall, Marinatos investigated some exposed antiquities in the area, among which was an LBA tomb.[33] On that occasion he collected surface finds which had been carried down the slope; they consisted of pottery and metal objects mixed with stones and human bones. Some more finds were later handed over by a farmer. Marinatos finally excavated the site in 1930 with the financial help of the Goekoop grant.[34] The excavation produced only a small number of additional finds, but the semi-circular/elliptical wall of a much destroyed structure was uncovered. The rest of the structure had been carried down the 45° slope.

The finds have been published.[35] Fourteen vases were re-assembled. They include the earliest LBA pottery from Kefalonia, datable to LH II-IIIA1 (miniature Vapheio cup A1390, goblets A1394a, A1394b and A1391, and coarseware dipper A1393). The rest of the pottery dates from LH IIIA2-IIIB. In addition to the reconstructed pottery, a large quantity of sherds was also found, including fragments of large jars.

Among the finds collected in 1921 were also seven knives, one flat axe or chisel, one parallel-sided chisel, one bronze pin, two leaf-shaped spearheads and many fragments, possibly from bronze vessels. The jewellery consisted of four gold hair-spirals, two pin-heads(?) of crystal, eleven beads of sardonyx and some relief beads of glass paste. The rest of the small finds included thirty-nine biconical clay *conuli*, fifteen conical steatite *conuli* and a flat pendant of soft stone. Among the stones of the wall were also some worked ones thought to have been grave markers.

Kontogenada (30): An LBA cemetery of four chamber tombs, and a small number of rock-cut pit graves, were located on a low hill in the Halikias valley at the southern edge of the village of Kontogenada. The site has now been destroyed by quarrying.

The three larger chamber tombs (A-Γ) were excavated and published by Marinatos,[36] They were 200m and 400m apart, and all three were of the tholoid chamber type (type IB) with chamber diameters of between 2.70–4.00m. Only the largest of the tombs (tomb A) contained burial pits and burials may also have been made in a stone sarcophagus, fragments of which were found in the fill of the chamber and in one of the pits.

The fourth and most recently discovered chamber tomb, at

Skiniotiko Vouni, was excavated by Marinatos in 1951. Only a brief note about it was published.[37] It was very small and its construction was probably not completed.

All the tombs found had been looted. Only tomb A contained some remains of pottery: several sherds, mainly from kylikes, and three incomplete vases, namely a shallow bowl (A1581), a kylix (A1582) and an amphoriskos (A1583), are proof that the tomb was in use in LH IIIC. The other finds were a blue glass bead and the catch-plate of a bronze fibula which, along with the amphoriskos, were found in a small pit of the dromos.

In the same area as the chamber tombs there were a number of rock-cut pit graves. One was excavated by Marinatos and contained 'small finds of undetermined date' [my translation]. In 1975 Hope Simpson and Dickinson noticed 'oval pits like those of Lakkithra' during quarrying operations on the site.[38] One of these pits may be the same as that seen on the site in 1986 (**Pl. 53:d**). Its shape suggests an LBA date.

Parisata (31): Two neighbouring chamber tombs were dug in the saddle north-east of the village of Parisata, south of the road from Parisata to Monopolata. Only one of the tombs (tomb A) has been excavated and was briefly described by Marinatos.[39] The existence of the other (tomb B) has not been reported in print.

Tomb A (**Pl. 53:b**) is a good example of a tholos-shaped chamber tomb (type IB) with four pits dug into its chamber floor. The tomb had been looted and the only finds recovered during the excavation were a juglet with its neck missing, a gold button or head of rivet, and fragments of one or more stone sarcophagi.

Tomb B lies 20m west of tomb A. It too has almost certainly been looted. Its entrance has been opened to reveal a roughly shaped stomion, and a large slab lying nearby is almost certainly the original door.

An LBA settlement may have existed on the hill of Aghios Georghios (h.: 150m) to the north of the tombs, where Wardle found a few sherds from Mycenaean open-shaped vases.[40]

C. KORONI

The main feature of the south-eastern part of Kefalonia is the Herakleia basin, which is bordered to the north and south by mountain ranges. The area is drained by a perennial stream fed by lake Avythos. Otherwise the district is characterized by a mixture of small plains and coastal or inland hills. Archaeologically the area is known unevenly through chance finds, survey work and two excavated tholos tombs (Mavrata and Tzanata).

Palaiokastro (Ancient Pronnoi) (32): The hill of Palaiokastro, site of the walled acropolis of the Greek city of Pronnoi, has yielded little in terms of prehistoric finds on its slopes. In 1969 Kalligas found evidence of prehistoric activity at the entrance to the little valley between Palaiokastro and the hill named Dakori, which is itself enclosed within the walls of the Greek city. Approximately 200m south-west of the square tower of 'gate A' chips of flint and handmade pottery were found.[41] More recently, T. W. Gallant found handmade (and Classical) pottery on the north-western slopes of Palaiokastro, below the citadel (326° on Aghia Irini chapel and 351° on the Tzanata church).[42]

Korneli (33): On the lower slopes of Palaiokastro, below the village of Korneli, S. Benton identified an 'ancient site', and lower down she came across 'Bronze Age pottery sticking out of the gravel' and found an 'undoubted Minyan handle'.[43]

Asprogerakas (34): Gallant located a site above the Asprogerakas basin (52° on Anninata church and 276° on Asprogerakas church),[44] excellently positioned to exploit both the basin and the fertile hills behind it. The prehistoric pottery from the site is said to have been similar to that identified on his other sites and is described as 'handmade with red, orange, buff, black-red, black-brown or black fabric'. The decoration consisted of burnishing, applied rope cordons and red and black glaze.

Humani (35): Three vases kept in the Argostoli Museum (A616a-c) are recorded in the catalogue as coming from a tomb between Asprogerakas and Anninata, a site that cannot be too distant from no. 19 above. The vases probably represent a tomb group of LH IIIB/C date.

Tzanata (36): Gallant found an assemblage of stone tools at a site (Pr. 8) said to be 14° on Tzanata church and 27° on the 'water tank', and at an altitude of 210m. The tools, consisting of pressure cores and blades, some with retouches, were tentatively dated by Gallant to the EBA.

Tzanata-Borzi (37): In 1992, Mr L. Kolonas of the Eforia in Patras excavated a tholos tomb with an adjacent built ossuary at a locality called Borzi, just outside the village of Tzanata off the road to Poros. The tholos, which was reported in the Greek and foreign press,[45] has not been published.

The tholos (d.: 6.8m) was built of local worked sandstone and *poros* stones and its wall is preserved up to a height of 3.95m. The main grave was an almost central large built cist constructed at a depth of 2.20m from the floor. Two smaller built cist graves were later constructed at a higher level. At a later stage (LH IIIC?) three oval/elliptical deep pits were dug through the floor (one was dug through one of the cists). The latest burial was a PG pithos burial of an adult buried with two SM/PG pins.

The tholos had been looted, but an area below the main grave yielded a cache of gold ornaments (beads of gold leaf with motifs which include the ivy, rosette and argonaut, a miniature double-axe, and a necklace), and sealstones of crystal and steatite. The excavator has dated the construction of the tholos to the 14th century (LH IIIA2?), but believes that it was preceded by an earlier tholos, the stones of which were reused in the construction of the second tholos. He

stresses however the provisional character of the conclusions, pending the thorough study of the pottery.

The ossuary is a rectangular structure built of irregular stones with an entrance and threshold. Its floor was laid with pebbles. The structure contained the bones of a large number of individuals, provisionally quoted as seventy-two from the skulls and skull fragments. The finds included pottery, clay figurines, sealstones, bronze tools (knife and chisels), and gold beads. The gravegoods date from the 14th and 13th centuries.

In the vicinity of the tholos Mr Kolonas has also excavated the foundations of EBA walls.

Drakaina cave (38): The cave (which is now a rock shelter) is situated on the southern side of the Vohimas gorge at an elevation of 70m. Archaeological exploration by the Eforate of Paleoanthropology and Speleology started in 1992.[46] An area of 55m^2 was excavated at a depth of 2–4m. A hearth and relics of rudimentary walls were revealed. The finds included pottery and stone tools. The periods represented were LN II, EH I-II. The cave was also used in the Late Archaic and Hellenistic periods.

Litharia (39): A small tholos (d.: 2.80m) of which just one course of stones was preserved, was identified by the Eforia of Patras at this location in 1991.[47] Coarseware and wheel-turned sherds, and a whorl were collected.

Mavrata-Chairata (40): A cave or rock cavity, at Chairata, in the region of Mavrata, was investigated by Marinatos in 1936.[48] Human bones and coarseware pottery were found, among which are four reconstructed amphorae (A1714–17). The cavity was evidently used as an ossuary. The amphorae are of LH III type.

Mavrata-Triantamodoi (41): On the southern perimeter of the plain of Mavrata, at the south-eastern edge of the village and just above the road to Katelios, a tholos tomb, known by the locals as 'ta archaia', was excavated by Marinatos in 1936 and briefly reported.[49] The monument was recorded by Pelon (**Fig. 8B**)[50] and was recently re-excavated by the Eforia of Patras (**Pl. 52:c**). There were three pits in the chamber floor containing several burials. There were also two smaller shallow depressions on either side of the door. The excavation produced seventy vases. Two stirrup jars (A573, A574) recorded in the Argostoli Museum catalogue as from 'Mavrata-Katelios 1900' were probably recovered at the site long before the excavation (in 1900?).

The pottery (with the exception of a few lost vases) is on display in the Argostoli Museum. Several vases are LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC (stirrup jar A1646 with thick-and-thin lines on the body and other jars with linear arrangements, alabastron-shaped amphoriskoi A1672, A1676, and footless amphoriskoi A1663, A1744). They indicate that the early part of LH IIIC was the period of most intensive use of the tholos. Wardle assigned the tomb exclusively to his phase (b), but there are some vases (e.g. amphora A1708) which indicate that its use may well have extended to the later part of LH IIIC.

Skala and Loutraki (42): At Loutraki, south of Skala and at a location described as 'the top of the east bank above the beach', S. Benton found a core and many chips of obsidian.[51] K. Randsborg found obsidian at a Neolithic site in the far southern beaches of Skala in 1991–92,[52] and it is therefore possible that these too are earlier than EBA. In 1960 Marinatos collected a large quantity of flint tools in the area.[53] Some of these are Bronze Age types, and pressure cores, and among them was an obsidian core.

D. SAMI

The region of Sami consists of a large triangular plain framed by the eastern flank of Mt Ainos on the south-west and by a chain of coastal ridges on the east, from Avgo (915m) in the north to Atro (888m) in the south. It is well watered by twelve springs and a stream which is fed by the upland lake of Akoli (202m). To the north, the wide bay is used today as the main port of call for ships transporting passengers and goods to the rest of the island. The site of the Classical city of Sami and its acropolis occupy the eastern side of the bay.

Koulourata-Kako Langadi (43): Kako Langadi is a ravine between two ridges of the eastern flank of Mt Ainos (at this point called Gioupari), west of the old ruined village of Kouroupata. S. Benton investigated a rather inaccessible cave here into which, according to the locals, she was hoisted down with ropes. As a result of this operation, some handmade pottery and a Minyan handle were found.[54] The pottery included sherds from bowls with everted rims, one of which is decorated with applied knobs, like sherds from Polis and Choirospelia. Another sherd is decorated with a raised band, like pottery from Pelikata and Lefkada.

In the same area, south of the new Koulourata village, at a locality called Palati (because of a ruined Franco-Venetian fort), the upper part of a Mycenaean kylix stem was found.[55] It is today in the sherd collection of the British School at Athens.

Sami-Roupaki (44): Approximately 1km south of Sami town, on the eastern side of the road and at a short distance from the junction between the Sami-Argostoli and Sami-Poros roads, is a spring called Roupaki. East of the spring Kavvadias excavated some foundations which he thought could have been prehistoric, on account of some large pithos sherds close by.[56] More recently, about 300m west of the spring, on the other side of the road, Marinatos excavated a curved wall which cut across the torrent bed and which he thought may have been a tumulus.[57]

Vounias-Aghioi Theodoroi (45): Vounias is a low spreading hill on the western side of the bay of Sami (**Pl. 52:b**) about 1km south of the village of Nea Vlachata (Karavomylos). The eastern side of the hill is a classic

example of Karstic topography, as it is riddled with caves and treacherous chasms. But its summit and in particular its southern and western slopes bear rich soil and are planted with age-old olive trees.

On the eastern flank of the hill, by the entrance to the cave called Fitidi, flint tools and some pottery came to light in 1971. The pottery, which is displayed in the Argostoli Museum, is handmade, burnished, or with impressed decoration. There is also a handle with traces of paint.

On the summit of the hill, near its southern edge, Marinatos excavated the remains of a Mycenaean house which came to light during the construction of a lime kiln.[58] The finds from the excavation appear to be lost. Marinatos dated the pottery to the LH IIIC period, but Hope Simpson and Dickinson have given it an LH III(A-B) date.[59]

Digaleto cave (46): The cave is probably to be identified with the double-entranced cave north of Aghios Nikolaos, just above Lake Avythos. Some pottery displayed in the Argostoli Museum is labelled 'Digaleto cave 1960'.

The pottery is coarse and handmade. It includes sherds from bowls with out-turned rims and a perforated horizontal ear-lug. Some sherds are decorated with raised bands and nail impressions.

2. The Early Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

EBA settlement on the island is known exclusively from surveys or chance finds which are difficult to date. If however the thirteen sites which have produced finds of likely EBA date are set against the poor evidence for Neolithic sites, the picture suggests an increased though scattered population. The EBA sites are all in the south and south-eastern part of the island. The absence of finds in the other half may be due at least partly to the lack of surveys in these areas. Caves were used, probably by shepherds, since several (Peratata, Digaleto, Drakaina, Fitidi, Kako Langadi) have yielded handmade pottery of EBA-MBA type. But EH I-II pottery is reported from the cave of Drakaina. The open-air sites are all inland, except in the case of the lithic scatters in the Skala and Mounta areas. The topography of these sites varies. Most are situated on hillsides (Palaiokastro, Asprogerakas, Korneli, Kokkolata-Kouroupata), a probable one (Krani-Western Gate) on the summit of a fairly high hill, and another (Kokkolata-Junction, **Pl. 52:a**) on a low hill. At least two of them (Asprogerakas and Kokkolata-Junction) are in an excellent position for the exploitation of good agricultural land.

Of the listed sites only the newly discovered Kokkolata-Junction may yield more information if explored further. Its location in the Argostoli plain indicates that the advantages of the district and of the bay of Argostoli had began to be recognised. The preliminary survey showed it to be a fairly large settlement that may prove to have already been a permanently occupied village in the EBA. The rest of the EBA material could simply represent the activity of a population scattered in seasonal or short-term settlements.

B. POTTERY

The EBA wares used on the island cannot yet be defined. As none of the pottery comes from excavations, its date must be decided purely on stylistic grounds by comparison with pottery from Ithaki and Lefkada.

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Little of this diagnostic EH ware has been found on the island. Gallant reported pottery with black and red glaze from Asprogerakas, and some sherds from Kokkolata-Kouroupata had traces of glaze. Fine and coarseware glazed pottery, dated to the EH II by the excavators, was also recently excavated in the cave of Drakaina near Poros.

Semi-coarse and coarse wares

The following types of handmade pottery have been recovered from surveys. The precise date of this pottery, which could be EBA or MBA, cannot be established with certainty.

I. Semi-coarse and coarse wares, finger smoothed or lightly burnished: The surface is fired red, orange or brown and the core is often less well fired. The inclusions are white (calcareous), small and large. This type of pottery was found at Kokkolata-Kouroupata and Kokkolata-Junction (**Pl. 55:a,d,e**), and is known from the caves of Fitidi, Digaleto, Peratata and Kako Langadi.[60] At least some of the pottery of this description must be EBA as it closely resembles pottery from Pelikata (ch. 7.2). The ware is related to the Red ware of Kerkyra (ch. 4). No complete pots have been found. The bases are flat and the rims out-turned. Horizontal ear-lugs, both perforated (Digaleto) and unperforated (Kokkolata-Kouroupata and Kokkolata-Junction, **Pl. 55:a**, far left, rows two and three and **Pl. 55:e**), were found together with this pottery. Lugs such as these are known from Lefkada, Ithaki and Kerkyra, both from EBA and MBA contexts.

II. Orange ware: This semi-coarse ware with a gritty feel was identified among the sherds at Kokkolata-Junction. The inclusions are non-calcareous, white and gold. The sherds, which comprise a flat base and out-turned rim, probably all belonged to the same vessel (**Pl. 55:d**).

III. Pottery with applied, raised and impressed decoration: Pottery with applied rope (slashed or with finger impressions), or finger or nail impressions, was found at Fitidi and Digaleto, pottery with applied pellets at Kako Langadi,[61] and pottery with raised bands (or applied coils), occasionally crossing each other to form patterns, was found at Peratata, Digaleto and Kako Langadi.[62] This pottery is known from Lefkada (ch. 5.2) and Ithaki (ch. 7.2) where it is of likely EBA date, though Wardle has illustrated a couple of sherds from Kangelisses[63] which are more likely to be MBA.

C. STONE TOOLS AND OBSIDIAN

Our knowledge of the chipped stone industry of the island has the disadvantage of deriving from surface collections. As

with the coarseware pottery, it is at present impossible to define specific EBA types. The unpublished tools found together with handmade pottery in the caves of Peratata and Fitidi could be EBA, but they do not include any diagnostic examples. Among the large collection of implements from the Skala-Mounta area there are long parallel-sided blades and pressure cores[64] which are typologically compatible with the EBA industry elsewhere in Greece. Moreover, as Marinatos pointed out,[65] there are similarities between the flint 'arrowheads' from Skala-Mounta and those from the R-Graves at Nidhri, which date from EH II-III. However, as is the case elsewhere in Greece,[66] it is possible that in the Ionian Islands too the chipped stone industry did not undergo noticeable changes during the BA, and we may therefore not be justified in confining these tools to the EBA.

Like the flint, most of the obsidian too (believed to be all Melian) was found in the south-eastern part of the island. At Loutraki, south of Skala, S. Benton found a core, blades and several chips.[67] Marinatos, however, only found one obsidian blade in the Skala-Mounta area. The only obsidian tool from the Argostoli-Livatho district is the blade found near the house of Starochorafa.[68] S. Benton's remark that there was an 'obsidian factory' on the beach of Loutraki[69] may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but the finds suggest that obsidian did indeed reach the island in the shape of macrocores[70] from which finished tools were produced locally. Moreover, in view of the discovery of a Neolithic site with obsidian at Skala (ch. 3), it cannot be regarded as certain that this material is all Bronze Age.

3. The Middle Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

Habitation in the MBA is known from chance finds (Korneli, Peratata) or survey (Krani, Kako Langadi, and now Kokkolata-Junction and Kokkolata-Kouroupata). Four of these sites, and the more significant, are situated in the Argostoli-Livatho district. The two newly discovered sites in the vicinity of Kokkolata, together with the evidence of the MH cemetery at Kangelisses, suggest that this area may have become the focus of settlement in this period.

B. TOMBS

The six slab-cists at Kangelisses near Kokkolata are the only MBA tombs on the island. Kavvadias's plan (**Fig. 4**) shows that two of the cists (B′ and B″) were adjacent to each other, with the other four (Δ, E, Z and H) arranged radially at a distance of approximately 7–8m north-north-east from them. The cists varied in size. B″ was exceptionally small and B′ and Z were the largest: their size, calculated from Kavvadias's drawings, would have been approximately 2.00x1.10m and 2.10x1.30m respectively.

The cists were built with large, roughly shaped stones placed horizontally. Graves B″ and H, and probably Δ, were made of four slabs, but in the rest of the cists one or both of the long sides were composed of two or three juxtaposed slabs. Grave Δ was found entirely covered by two large slabs, and some covering slabs were found on B″ and E. Kavvadias only referred to skeletal remains in passing,[71] yet four of the six cists yielded a total of fifty-two vases, which would strongly suggest several burials per tomb (whether primary or secondary, it is not possible to know). Collective burials are unusual in the MBA, though, as Dickinson has pointed out,[72] the idea of collective or family graves was not as alien to the period as it is sometimes thought, particularly in its late stages. The cist graves of Kangelisses date from the late MBA, and perhaps even from the beginning of the LH period (see below). They may coincide not only with the tumuli and Shaft Graves, but also with the earliest appearance of the tholos and the chamber tomb in the western Peloponnese.

In a recent article Kalligas suggested that the cists may have belonged to a tumulus which was not identified during excavation.[73] The radial arrangement of the cists would be suggestive of a circular monument, and he compared the horseshoe-shaped structure to the 'cenotaph' in the centre of the tumulus of Aghios Ioannis-Papoulia in Messenia (which appears however not to be contemporary with the tumulus)[74] and the horseshoe-shaped foundations near the tumuli at Vrana in Attica. The two tholos tombs at Kangelisses (tholos B overlay cist B′) would have been inserted in the tumulus, like at Voidokoilia in Messenia where the 'tomb of Thrasymedes' had been inserted in the tumulus.

It is quite acceptable to envisage the presence of a MBA tumulus on Kefalonia,[75] especially in view of the presence of MBA tumuli in Lefkada and Messenia, but the hypothesis presents some difficulties which, though not insurmountable, should be kept in mind. Firstly the tumulus of Kangelisses would be at least 17–18m in diameter if it were to include all the monuments. This is an unusually large size when compared with the MBA tumuli of Lefkada and most of the Messenian tumuli.[76] Secondly there appear to have been no remains of a stone cairn or peribolos wall, both of which are characteristic features of the tumuli of western Greece. Thirdly the horseshoe-shaped structure Θ, which Kavvadias described as a tomb, may have been contemporary with the tholoi rather than with the cists, if a list of unattributed LH pottery in the Argostoli Museum catalogue did indeed come from that structure (see above). Finally, multiple burials are generally untypical of graves under tumuli, although two cists in *Familiengrab* S had been used as ossuaries (ch. 5.3).

The vicinity of Kangelisses to the site of Kokkolata-Junction, which lies just 700m to the south, as well as some pottery types which they have in common, suggest that there is a possible connection between the cemetery and the settlement. The question deserves to be investigated further. The tombs, especially if they were part of a tumulus, and their wealth of pottery would seem to indicate that Kangelisses was the burial ground of a privileged social group.

C. POTTERY

The only complete vases came from the cist graves of Kokkolata-Kangelisses. Sixteen of the vases which survived

the 1953 earthquake were illustrated by Wardle.[77] All the surviving vases were on display in the Argostoli Museum in 1987. The rest of the sites only produced sherds.

The following wares are represented:

Minyan and Matt-painted wares

The fabric appears to be akin to the mainland fabric called by Zerner 'Dark Tempered fabric'.[78] It is fine, compact, with white calcareous inclusions. The colours represented at Kangelisses are yellow, buff, pink and orange. Yellow Minyan-type fabric is not well represented, but was present among the surface pottery at both Kokkolata-Kouroupata and Kokkolata-Junction. There is no Grey Minyan among the surviving Kangelisses vases, and neither was any identified at the neighbouring two sites.[79] Its absence from Kangelisses may be due to the late date of the material.

Seven of the surviving vases from Kangelisses were Matt-painted. Matt-painted sherds were also found at Kokkolata-Junction (**Pl. 55:f**). All the pottery from Kangelisses seems to be handmade. By contrast, a Matt-painted sherd from Kokkolata-Junction is wheel-turned. This would suggest that, though known, the potter's wheel was not generally used, even for fineware. The practice brings to mind, and may even be at the origin of, the later LH practice of producing handmade vases in the shapes that were normally wheel-turned. But it is also worth recalling that even on the mainland the potter's wheel was not as universally used as is sometimes believed.[80]

Similar shapes occur in both Minyan and Matt-painted wares. According to the catalogue, there were twenty two-handled vases from Kangelisses, of which at least seventeen were fineware kantharoi with highly swung handles. Nine are on display in the Argostoli Museum. Handles of this type also turned up at Kako Langadi and Korneli. The kantharoi from Kangelisses have close similarities with those known from *Familiengräber* S and F in Lefkada. They include kantharoi with rounded bowls (e.g. A252, A255, A276, A282, A263) and kantharoi with carinated bowls (e.g. A280, A281, A284), kantharoi with flat bases (A282, A288, A253) and kantharoi with high bases (A281). There is also a shallow two-handled bowl (A262). Other shapes include one-handled cups and a bowl (on a high base and with a loop-handle rising above one half of the rim) which resembles D91/1 from Familiengrab F.

The painted decoration on the Kangelisses vases is badly preserved. Only bands of brown paint are visible on kantharoi A291 and A288, and A284 bears a double zig-zag decoration (Buck's motif 4A) on the handle zone, and a simple zig-zag below the rim, which is reminiscent of the zig-zag on a bowl (S418) from Polis. One Matt-painted sherd from Kokkolata-Junction (**Pl. 55:f, right**) bears a circular motif which has no precise parallel but is probably related to other curvilinear motifs on Matt-painted pottery in general.

Despite the similarities between the shapes of Kangelisses and the pottery from *Familiengräber* S and F in Lefkada, there are also some significant differences. There is little Minyan pottery in Lefkada, whereas the pottery of Kefalonia is overwhelmingly of this type. Moreover, no Matt-painted pottery is present among the pottery of the Lefkada tumuli, and the potter's wheel appears to have been more commonly used there. These differences may not be chronological, but rather differences of tradition and pottery practices. Like the pottery from tumuli S and F, the pottery of Kangelisses should belong to an advanced stage of the MBA. Seeing that there is a gap between this type of pottery and LH IIIA style pottery on the island (the handmade imitation of a Vapheio cup from Kontogenada is the only possible LH II vase from the island), it is likely that, as is suggested in the case of Ithaki (ch. 7), MBA type pottery continued to be made in Kefalonia during the early phases of the LBA.

Semi-coarse and coarse wares

Among the vases there were several coarser ones from the cist graves at Kangelisses with shapes not dissimilar to the fineware vases from the graves. The surviving pottery includes a couple of kantharoi (A246, A265), a conical bowl, a couple of cups with dipper-like handles, and one-handled cups with the rim cut straight (e.g. A286) like a sherd from Kokkolata-Kouroupata (**Pl. 55:a, far left, first row**), which is almost certainly from a similar cup.

The surface of these pots is either untreated, finger-smoothed or lightly burnished. Similar fabrics and surface treatments occur among the EBA pottery from the island, and, as was seen above, on pottery from sites where it could be either EBA or MBA. As already mentioned (see above), common features include ear-lugs and surface decoration consisting of applied coils and raised bands. There are, however, no ear-lugs on any of the surviving coarseware pots from Kangelisses, which may be due to the late date of this site. On the other hand, highly swung handles are frequent on Kangelisses coarseware. There is also a fragment of the body of a large coarseware bowl or kantharos from the cave of Peratata on display in the Argostoli Museum which is particularly interesting as it bears an intricate decoration consisting of fine incised patterns (herringbone, chevrons and hatched triangles).

D. OTHER INDUSTRIES

Little evidence of other MBA industries has come to light. A single example of a bronze knife from Kangelisses, cist B′, was apparently tested and proved, not surprisingly, to be of tinned bronze.[81]

At Kangelisses, unlike at the Lefkada tumuli, there seem to have been no stone tools whatsoever, but the flint tools which were spotted at Kokkolata-Junction in 1986, among which there was a scraper, may date from this or earlier periods.

4. The Late Bronze Age

A. TOMBS

The LBA tombs of Kefalonia are chamber tombs, tholos tombs, pit graves and tumuli.

Chamber tombs (Tabs C.1–3)
Chamber tombs constitute the largest category. They are commonly found in clusters (or cemeteries) of two or more. They are dug into the soft sandstones and limestones, which are widespread on the island and could be found at a convenient and accessible distance from the settlements.

The total number of known chamber tombs on Kefalonia is thirty-five, not including the two or three unexcavated tombs at Svoronata. They are distributed in the following way amongst districts and sites:

Argostoli-Livatho (30)		*Paliki* (5)	
Mazarakata	17	Kontogenada	3
Metaxata	6	Parisata	2
Lakkithra	4		
Diakata	2		
Prokopata	1		

On Tables C.1–3 are tabulated construction details and measurements, based on published information and my own examination of the extant tombs.

1. Architectural features and character

I. Dromoi: As a rule, the tombs were preceded by a dromos. The only exception may have been the tombs of Lakkithra, which were cut into the sheer cliff, although Marinatos suggests in his drawing of Lakkithra Δ (**Fig. 7B**) that this tomb at least had a short dromos before it was enlarged. The rest of the tombs had dromoi ranging from 1.50m to 10m, but the most common length was 3–5m. The length of the dromos was, most likely, determined by the gradient of the rock; the size of the chamber appears not to have been relevant. This is very obvious at Mazarakata where some of the small tombs had extremely long dromoi (e.g. tomb Γ: chamber = 2.19m deep, dromos = ca. 7.50m long); here the possibility of intercepting an existing tomb may also have been a consideration. What could occur when this was not done may be seen in tombs Θ and I, where the chambers were carved at the same distance into the hillside, and the resulting thin wall between them collapsed, probably while the tombs were still in use. It is possible that the steps in the dromoi of Metaxata tombs A and B (two steps) and tomb Γ (three steps), and perhaps also in tomb Π at Mazarakata (two steps) were cut in order to reduce the size of the dromos.

Most dromoi were wider near the stomion than at the beginning. Exceptionally, Metaxata Στ was almost equally wide at both ends. Usually the sides of the dromoi tapered upwards, though this feature could be either extremely marked, as with the dromos of Mazarakata N (**Pl. 53:a**), or hardly noticeable at all as with Parisata A (**Pl. 53:b**) and Kontogenada Γ.

The dromoi of Kontogenada A and Γ had some unusual features. Tomb A had a channel carved along its axis, approximately in the middle and probably for draining purposes. This feature suggested to Marinatos that the dromos may not have been filled in.[82] Kontogenada Γ had a sort of antechamber before the doorway (see below). At Metaxata tomb Στ there were three cuttings in the floor of the dromos which are thought to have been used for grave markers.[83] It seems unlikely that this was their purpose, as any grave markers erected in them would be invisible if the dromos was filled in, and would not serve any purpose if it were not.

The dromoi were not commonly used for burials, pits in the dromos being a feature of only a few tombs. A pit in the dromos of Metaxata Γ was too small, and especially too shallow (l.: 1.00m, de.: 0.15m), to have been used for a burial other than a child's. At Kontogenada A the pit was apparently very narrow but 1.60m deep. It had probably been used for a child burial. It contained an amphoriskos, a bead and a fragment of a fibula. Finally, at Lakkithra Δ the long but rather shallow pit 12 (0.40m) contained an undisturbed double burial, with no offerings and covered with slabs.

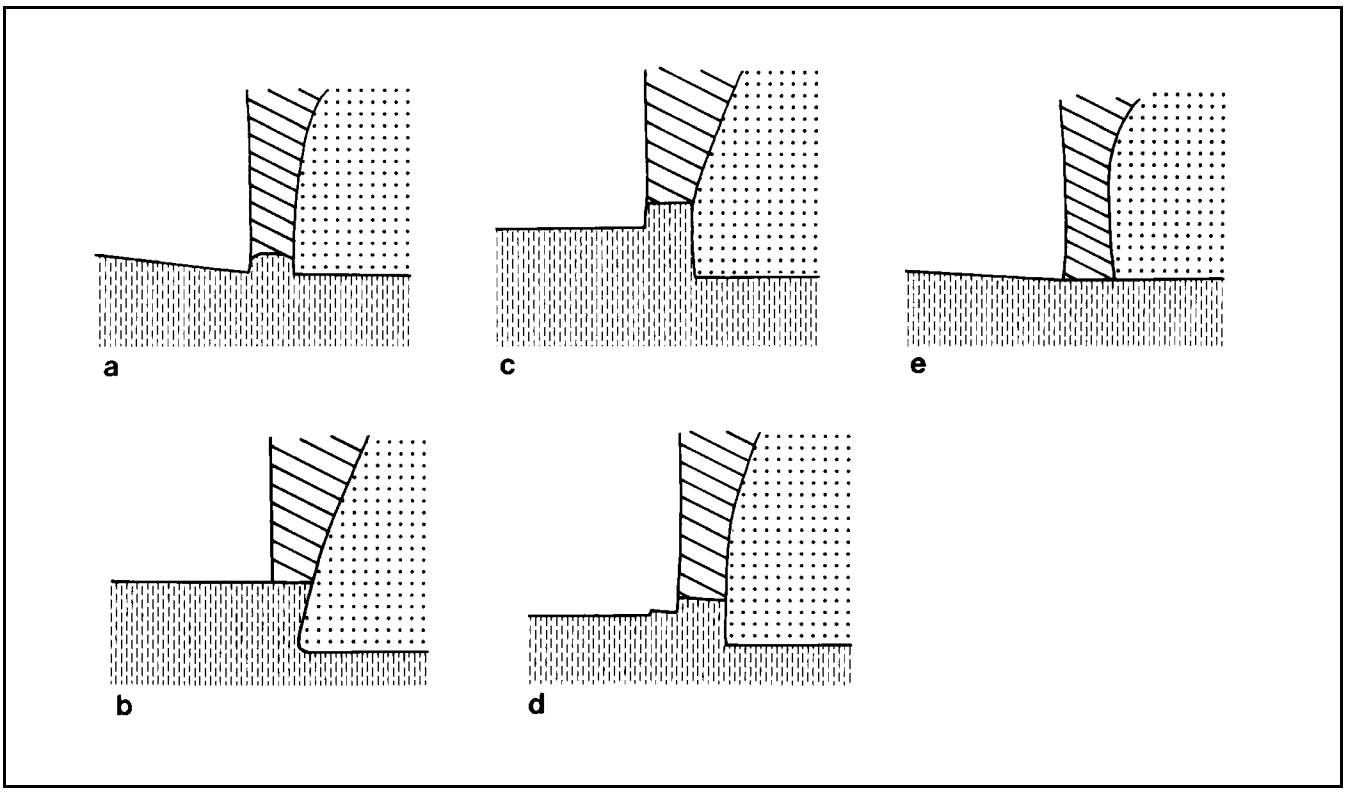
II. Doorways (stomia): All the doorways were narrower and shorter than the dromoi. They were either: (a) roughly shaped in the form of more or less rounded or irregular openings (Mazarakata B, I and O, Lakkithra Γ, Parisata A (**Pl. 53:b**) and B, Metaxata B), or more commonly (b) straight-sided, usually tapering upwards. The lintels of this type of doorway were mostly flat (Diakata 1, Kontogenada A, Metaxata Γ, Δ, E: **Pl. 53:c**, and Στ, Mazarakata Λ, K and Ξ); but rounded, triangular or sloping lintels also occur (Mazarakata A, N: **Pl. 53:a**, and Z). The first, cruder, type of doorway was often preferred for small tombs, while the second was the usual shape for the larger tombs. But the practice was not without exceptions: for example, Parisata A, an average sized tomb, had a rough doorway, while Mazarakata A, one of the smallest tombs, had a rectangular one. *Anathyrosis*, presumably intended to provide a frame for the door, was a feature of all the Kontogenada tombs, but was also present at Metaxata Γ. An extraordinary doorway was probably that of Metaxata A: it had collapsed but Marinatos believed it to have been stone-built.

Generally the doorways were about 1m high, which made it possible to enter the tomb without much effort. At Mazarakata some of the smaller tombs had lower doorways (those of E and Z were 0.60m high), and there were some exceptionally tall ones (N = 2.15m, Ξ = 1.40m).

III. Doors: Only in the case of a few tombs is there information about the way the doorway may have been sealed. In these tombs the alternatives were either a stone wall (Diakata 1 and 2) or a single slab (Mazarakata Π, Metaxata A, Parisata B?). The slab from Metaxata A, which would have blocked the built doorway, measured 1.30x0.75m and was 0.10–0.15m thick. At Mazarakata P the slab was reportedly held in position by a second slab leaning against it from the outside.

Kavvadias believed that some of the small doorways of tombs at Mazarakata which had not been disturbed were not originally blocked at all.[84] This could be taken as a confirmation that the dromos was filled with earth after each burial, as it is most unlikely that the entrance to the tomb would have been left open. Alternatively the doors could have been of some perishable material.

IV. Thresholds: Access to the chamber could be gained by way of a threshold or steps, or indeed by neither of the two,



6. Types of entrances of Kefalonian chamber tombs.

as is shown on **Fig. 6**). A simple threshold carved out of the rock (**Fig. 6a** & **c**) was present at all the Lakkithra tombs and at Metaxata Γ and Στ. Lakkithra A and B had a very low threshold (A = ca. 0.28m, B = ca. 0.22m); Metaxata A, quite exceptionally, had a stone-built one. None of the Mazarakata tombs had thresholds, and the end of the dromos, the doorway and the chamber floor were all at the same level (**Fig. 6e**). A threshold preceded by a low and narrow step (**Fig. 6d**) was present at Kontogenada B and Γ. The threshold of Kontogenada B was straight instead of following the rounded contour of the chamber. A feature common to all the tombs with a tholoid chamber (type IB, see below) was that the floor of the chamber was at a lower level than the doorway (**Fig. 6b–d**). At Parisata A the drop was 0.20m, and at Kontogenada A 0.30m; at Metaxata B and Γ the plans show a 0.40–0.50m drop. It is of interest that this feature reoccurs at the tholos tomb at Mavrata (see below). At Metaxata, tomb Στ, which was of the 'cave-dormitory' type, also had a step down to the chamber (drop = 0.25–0.30m).

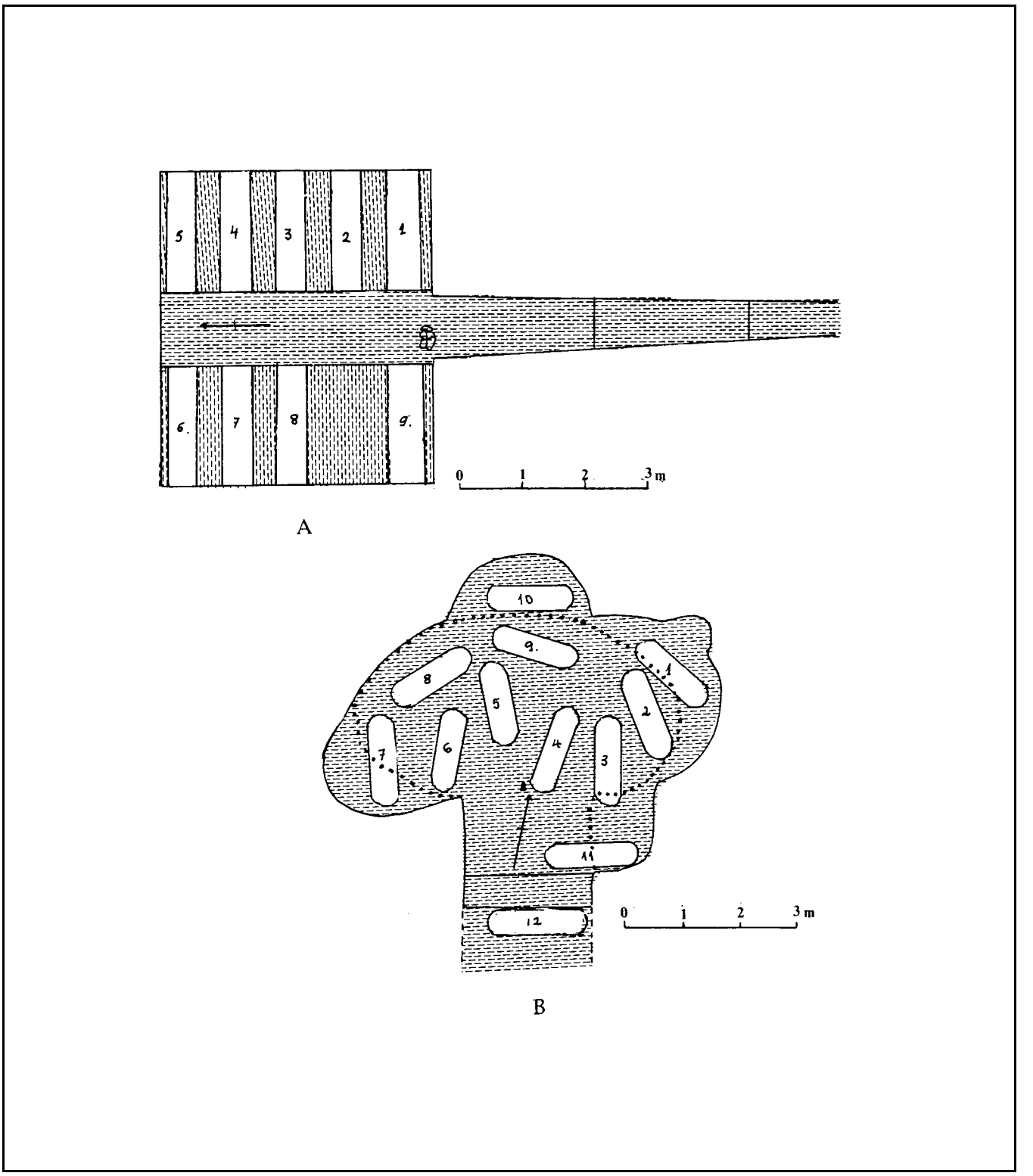
V. Chambers: The most obvious differences between chamber tombs concern the burial chambers. Three different types can be distinguished, on the basis of the shape and form of the chambers, and the arrangement of burial pits within. They have been termed types IA, IB and II.

Type IA chambers are elliptical, oval or rectangular, and contain a number of burial pits dug into the floor. The pits are arranged either along the axis of the dromos (Mazarakata A, B, Γ, I, M, E) or else haphazardly (Mazarakata O, Λ, N, Diakata 2, Lakkithra Δ). There does not appear to have been any planning of the floor space but pits seem to have been dug where room permitted.

In all, thirteen tombs with type IA chambers have been excavated, one at Lakkithra (tomb Δ: **Fig. 7B** and **Pl. 54:a**), one at Diakata (tomb 2) and the rest at Mazarakata, where ten out of the seventeen tombs were of this type (A, B, Γ, E, I, K, Λ, M, N, O). The size of the chambers range from small, with one or two pits (e.g. Diakata 2, Mazarakata A, B, Γ, O), to large, with up to eleven pits (Lakkithra Δ). The smallest tomb that could be measured was Mazarakata A (1.70x1.20m). The two largest chambers of this type (Mazarakata N = 3.30x6.50m and Lakkithra Δ = 5.40x7.00m) were, it would seem, originally smaller but were enlarged in the course of their use, either by the cutting of niches in the periphery, like at Lakkithra Δ (**Fig. 7B**), or, as most likely was the case at Mazarakata N, by excavating a whole new compartment on the side of the original chamber.

The roof of the type IA chambers are, as a rule, cave-like, and their height is not unrelated to the size of the chamber. In the small Mazarakata tombs the ceiling does not rise higher than the doorway. An adult, therefore, could not have stood upright inside these tombs, whereas in most of the larger tombs this would be possible. The ceiling of Mazarakata N was unusually high (3.50–4.00m), but the most common height was around 1.50m.

A group of small tombs, which may be regarded as a variant of type IA (Ia for convenience), had no pits, but otherwise shared similar features with that type. Two small tombs with elliptical ground plans (Mazarakata Z: 1.60x1.35m, Lakkithra Γ: 1.40x1.75m) fit into this category, and two other small and pitless tombs (Mazarakata P and Prokopata), of which the plans and precise dimensions are not known, might well have done so too. The absence of

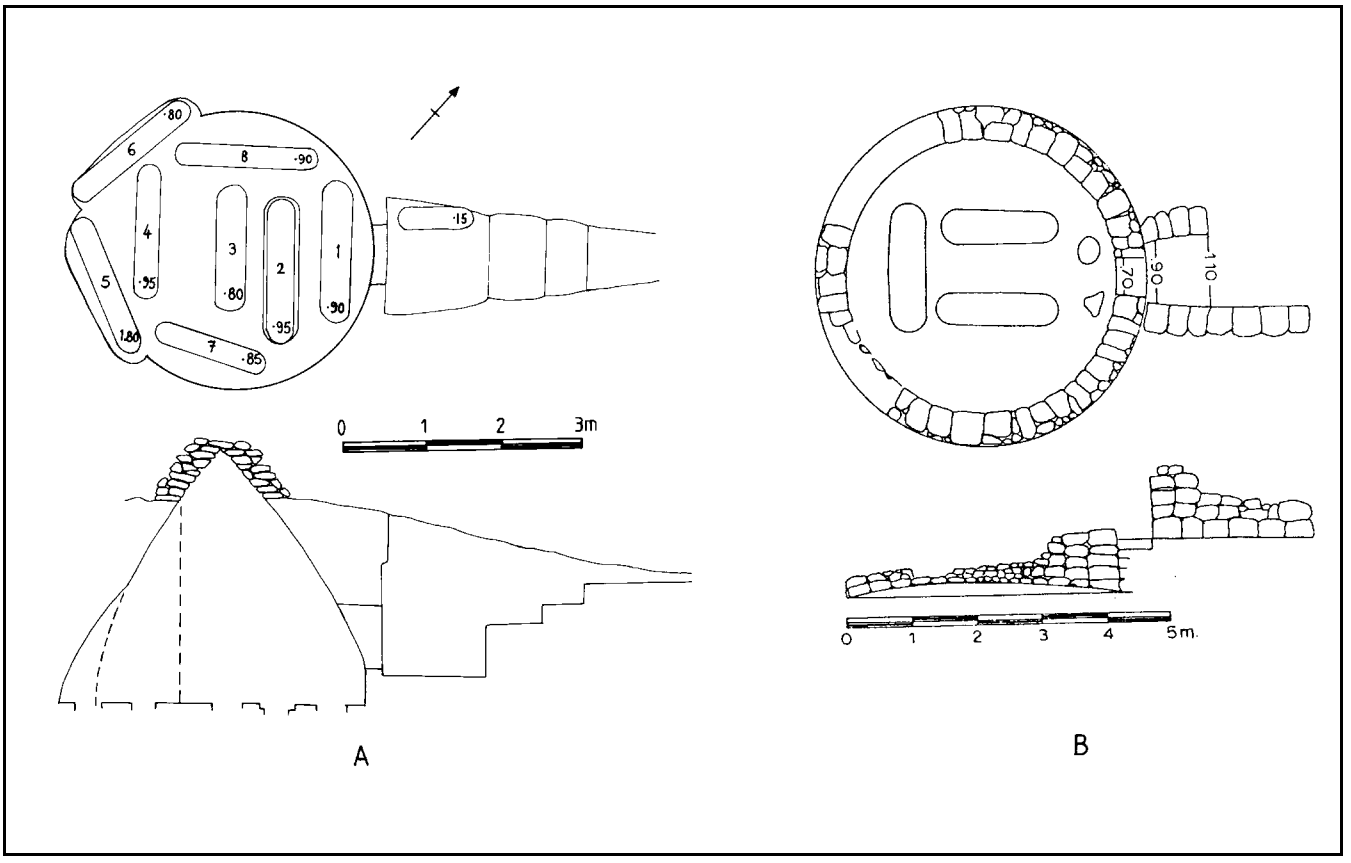


7. Plans of (A) Metaxata A (after Marinatos, *AE* 1933, 75 fig. 13) and (B) Lakkithra Δ (after Marinatos *AE* 1932, 19 fig. 22).

burial pits in these tombs could be attributed to the restricted space and height of the chambers (Mazarakata Z was ca. 0.70m high) which would have made the digging of pits difficult.

The second type, type IB, is the 'tholoid chamber'. It differs from the previous type by having a ground plan which is an almost regular circle and walls converging upwards in imitation of the corbelled vaulting of the tholos tomb. Six tombs of this type have been excavated: two at Metaxata (tombs B: **Fig. 8A**, and Γ), three at Kontogenada (tombs A, B, Γ) and one at Parisata (tomb A). It would be surprising if the unexcavated Parisata B tomb were not of the same type.

The diameters of the chambers range from 2.70m (Kontogenada Γ) to 4.00m (Kontogenada A). All the



8. (A) Plan and elevation of Metaxata B (Marinatos, *AE* 1933, 77 fig. 17), (B) Plan of tholos tomb at Mavrata-Triantamodoi (Pelon 1976, pl. CXXXIV:2).

excavated tombs were found to have an opening at the summit which at Metaxata B was 1.25m in diameter, at Kontogenada B 0.90m, while the measurement taken at Parisata A was 1.30m. Marinatos, who excavated all these tombs, believed that the roofs of the chambers were completed with stones,[85] and that the stones which were recovered in the chambers of Metaxata A and Kontogenada A, some of which were worked and wedge-shaped, had been used for this purpose. Around the opening of Kontogenada B there was a carved ledge, which Marinatos thought had been intended to hold the stones in position; a similar cutting can be observed on one side of the opening of Parisata A. A small earthen mound would then have covered the stone construction.[86] Wardle questioned Marinatos's interpretation of the construction of the roof on the grounds that no stones were found in position.[87] Marinatos may have been influenced in his judgement by his earlier excavation of tholoid chamber tombs at Volimidhia in Messenia, which he also believed to have been partly stone-built, but this interpretation too is in doubt.[88] The regular openings and carved ledges of the Kefalonian tombs do however require some explanation, which must await further discoveries.

The chambers of these tombs had very high ceilings. The tallest measured 2.80m up to the opening (Parisata A), and the lowest 2m (Kontogenada A and B). The use of a step down from the threshold to the chamber floor, which is typical of these tombs, was very likely devised to help attain the desired height.

Kontogenada B and Γ, which are the smallest tombs of this type, had no pits dug into the chamber floor, but all the other tombs did, and the pits were randomly accommodated in the available space. In the cases of Metaxata B and Γ, where there was great crowding of pits, the circular chambers had been enlarged by carving extension niches into their sides, and extra pits were accommodated in them. In two tombs (Parisata A and Kontogenada A) an area of level floor space had been left at the back of the chamber, possibly for the placing of sarcophagi, fragments of which were found in the tombs (see below).

The third type of chamber, type II, is the one commonly referred to as 'cave dormitory'. There are twelve excavated examples of this type, all in the Argostoli-Livatho district: Mazarakata (five tombs: Δ, Η, Θ, Ξ and Π: **Fig. 5**), Metaxata (four tombs: A: **Fig. 7B**, Δ, Ε, Στ), Lakkithra (two tombs: A and B) and Diakata (one tomb: A). Apart from three (Lakkithra A, B and Mazarakata Θ), which have a nearly square ground plan, the rest are rectangular, most being somewhat wider than long. Metaxata Δ was twice as wide (4.90m) as it was long (2.00m), but the difference was not so pronounced in the other tombs. The ceilings of most tombs have collapsed, but the few that are preserved are flatter than those of type IA tombs. They are, on average, also taller. Metaxata A had the tallest ceiling (2m), the rest ranging between 1.75m and 1.90m.

These tombs were never enlarged and, unlike the other types, must have been carefully measured and planned in

advance with regard to the number of pits they should contain. The pits are symmetrically organized on either side of a footpath which runs along the full depth of the chamber roughly in the middle. Five pairs of pits is the most common arrangement and this occurs in six tombs (Lakkithra A, B, Mazarakata H, Π, Metaxata E and Diakata 1). There are two tombs with four pairs of pits (Mazarakata Θ, Metaxata Στ), one with three pairs (Mazarakata Δ) and one with six pairs (Mazarakata Ξ). The latter tomb was unusual in that it also had three smaller pits cut next to each other along a wider than normal footpath. Two of the tombs at Metaxata had an uneven number of pits (Metaxata A = 9, Metaxata Δ = 5). Here the symmetrical arrangement of the pits had been maintained, but the ground opposite one of them was never dug up. A possible reason for the provision of this level space will be mentioned below.

VI. Burial pits: Burial pits dug into the chamber floor are a distinctive feature of the chamber tombs of Kefalonia. The pits were either rectangular, with rectilinear or rounded corners, or oval, i.e. with slightly curved short sides and, occasionally, slightly curved long sides too. Where there are no original drawings of ground plans, it is not possible to be certain about the shape of the pits, but from what we do have and the well preserved tombs it would appear that the elliptical or rounded chambers of types IA (e.g. Lakkithra Δ: **Pl. 54:a**, Mazarakata A, B, Γ) and IB (Parisata A, Metaxata B, Γ) tended to have slightly curvilinear pits, whereas the pits of rectangular chambers (especially those of type II tombs) were as a rule rectilinear (**Pl. 54:b,c**).

Most pits were long enough for an extended body to be buried in them. The published measurements range from 1.70m to 2.10m, with the most common being between 1.75m and 2.00m. Very exceptionally much shorter pits occur, as at Mazarakata N (where one was just 0.75m long), Mazarakata Λ (0.90m long), Mazarakata Ξ (1.20m long) and Mazarakata M (1.35m long). Type II tombs all had pits of very nearly the same length. The pits were generally narrow. The widths recorded were 0.35–0.64m.

The pits varied greatly in depth and it would appear that these variations are not unrelated to the type of chamber. To judge from the tombs for which measurements are available, the pits of tomb-types IA and IB did not exceed 1.50m in depth and were usually much shallower. Thus the pits of Lakkithra Δ, a type IA tomb, were 0.85–1.30m deep, and those of Metaxata B and Γ had a minimum depth of 0.20m and a maximum one of 1.20m, the most common being around 0.90m. We unfortunately lack measurements for the pits of the Mazarakata tombs, which are now at least partly filled in. However, Kavvadias's remark that the largest tombs of the cemetery had deeper pits than the smaller ones (all of which are type IA)[89] is a clear indication that the pits of the type II tombs in the cemetery were deeper. Moreover, where measurements are available, type II tombs elsewhere also had deeper pits on average than tombs of the other types. Leaving aside the probably unfinished pit γ of Diakata 1 (0.45m), all the pits in tombs of this type were over 1m in depth and usually considerably so. The pits of Lakkithra A and B were between 1.20m and 1.40m, those of Diakata 1 between 1.10m and 1.60m, and at Mazarakata the average depth was quoted as being 2.00m and the maximum 2.50m. About 2.00m appears also to be the average depth of the pits of the Metaxata type II tombs (A, Δ, E, Στ). The deepest recorded pit was pit 7 of Metaxata A, which measured 2.80m. The chronological implications of the depth of the pits is dealt with in the following section.

Little has been published about covering slabs, and it would seem that they were not always used, or, alternatively, they may have been discarded in the course of the use of the tombs. No covering slabs were reported from the tombs of Diakata, but Marinatos mentions that the pits of Lakkithra Δ had originally been covered with slabs, and that a ledge had been carved around the edge of the pits to secure them. However, because of later disturbance, the only slabs found *in situ* were those covering the pit in the dromos of Lakkithra Δ.[90] A ledge was also found around one of the pits of Kontogenada B and of Metaxata Γ, both of which Marinatos regarded as the original pits in these tombs.[91] Some of the stones found in Metaxata Γ may, according to Marinatos, have been covering slabs.

VII. Benches: Just one bench has been attested, in Mazarakata N. It measures 1.70m in length, and was carved out of the side wall of the chamber at a height of 1m above the level of the floor.

VIII. Sarcophagi: Two tombs, both in the Paliki peninsula, produced remains of stone sarcophagi. The dimensions of the reconstructed sarcophagus of Kontogenada A (l.: = 1.56m, w.: = 0.35m and h.: = 0.73m)[92] were just short of an average size pit. Parisata A probably contained fragments of more than one sarcophagus (one of which, apparently, with an opening on its side), but none could be reconstructed.[93]

IX. Markers: A pillar-like stone lying horizontally in the chamber of Lakkithra Γ was thought by Marinatos to have divided the chamber into two uneven parts.[94] The cuttings at the beginning of the dromos of Metaxata Στ could have been used for the wedging of grave markers, and the excavator, P. Kalligas, believes that a carved stone associated with the tomb may have been such a marker, although he does not mention where precisely it was found.[95]

2. Chronology and regionalism

Marinatos had already suggested that the 'cave dormitory' tomb was the latest type of tomb, and this can now be confirmed. With the exception of two tombs at Mazarakata, i.e. tomb H, which produced an LH IIIA2-B1 stirrup jar (A60), and tomb Δ, which produced an LH IIIA2-B squat jug (A36), all the other type II tombs produced exclusively LH IIIC pottery. In contrast to this, most of the type IA tombs and the unlooted 'tholoid' IB tombs (Mazarakata A, B, Γ, E, Lakkithra Δ, Γ and Metaxata B and Γ) contained at least some vases, and often several that are earlier than LH IIIC or LH IIIB/C. This would suggest that these types of tomb were in use before type II was introduced. On the other hand no chronological distinction can be made between types IA and IB or, as far as can be gathered, between these and the pitless type Ia; the absence of pits may have been due to the small size of the chamber and not to the earlier date of these tombs.

The size of the tombs seems to have increased in the course of time, although not uniformly everywhere. Wardle suggested that, at Mazarakata, the chronological distinction was between earlier smaller tombs and later larger ones irrespective of their ground plan. Unfortunately the provenance of the pottery is only known from seven out of the seventeen tombs of the cemetery i.e. those excavated by Kavvadias. Wardle, going by the fact that the earlier pottery found by Kavvadias at Mazarakata came from small tombs in the cemetery, suggested that the rest of the LH IIIC pottery found there (i.e. the Neuchâtel and Argostoli Library collections) would have come from the rest of the small tombs (i.e. I, K, M and O). I tend to think, however, that the pre-LH IIIC pottery in these collections most likely also came from larger type IA tombs of the cemetery (e.g. Λ and N) for the following reasons: (a) the quantity of LH IIIA2-B/C vases not attributable to specific tombs (twelve out of the thirty-four from the Library, and thirteen out of the forty-three in Neuchâtel) is too large, and (b) on other sites, roomy tombs (e.g. Metaxata B) also contained LH IIIA2-B pottery. Therefore Wardle may well be right in suggesting that the small tombs at Mazarakata were the earliest to be constructed on the site, but most likely the other, larger type IA tombs would also have been constructed before LH IIIC. Moreover it is not impossible that some of the small tombs at Mazarakata were constructed later, for instance Diakata 2, which had just two pits, but contained exclusively LH IIIC pottery (unless, of course, the two type F swords in it belonged to a pre-LH IIIC deposition without pottery).

The depths of the burial pits also increased over time. It has already been noted that the type II tombs have the deepest pits: on average their pits are deeper than those of tombs either of type IA or IB. The development from shallower to deeper pits is compatible with the consideration which must have prompted the development of the 'cave-dormitory' tomb, namely the need to increase the capacity of the tombs.

The 'cave-dormitory' type was exclusive to the Argostoli-Livatho district, where it is present in every known cemetery. Given that the only 'cave-dormitory' tombs to have yielded examples of pre-LH IIIC pottery are to be found in the cemetery at Mazarakata, it also seems likely that this type of tomb was 'invented' there sometime in early LH IIIC, to be adopted somewhat later by the other communities in the Argostoli-Livatho region. Demographic reasons (see ch. 9), combined with the later date of the type, may account for its not having been copied outside this district. The distribution of types IA and IB is different. They appear to be mutually exclusive, though not so much on a regional as on a site basis. Type IA tombs are found at Mazarakata, Lakkithra and Diakata; type IB at Metaxata, Parisata, and Kontogenada. No type IA tombs have been documented in the Paliki district. As a reason for this divergence we must assume differences in tradition between the various communities and differences of building practices amongst the builders of the tombs. Other features specific to a particular cemetery also reflect such differences. They include the use of *anathyrosis* at Kontogenada, of stepped dromoi at Metaxata, and the lack of thresholds at Mazarakata. If the builders of the tombs were skilled workmen, as has been suggested for Mycenaean Greece in general,[96] they may have been responsible for perpetuating these architectural differences. The possible existence of specialist tomb-builders would also provide the best explanation for the development of the 'cave-dormitory' tomb, a rationalised, planned and measured type of tomb, and for the large size of Kefalonian tombs. The median value of all the Kefalonian tombs that could be measured is 17.27m^2, while that of the 'cave dormitory' tombs alone is 21.15m^2. The difference between Kefalonia and Perati, where the median value was 3m^2, is striking, and even in comparison with earlier chamber tombs elsewhere on the mainland (median value = 7m^2) the Kefalonian figure is impressive.[97]

3. The origin of the chamber tomb types

The special architectural character of the Kefalonian chamber tombs raises the question of their possible connections and origin. Were the models locally invented or were they the result of outside influences? Wardle believed in a local development for all chamber tombs with pits, and he saw them as deriving from the local pit graves, and ultimately from the MH cist graves.[98] Today the picture appears somewhat more complex.

There can be no doubt that the 'cave dormitory' (type II) tomb was indeed a native Kefalonian type which developed from the rationalization of the already existing tomb types. Unlike the 'cave-dormitory' tomb, however, which is not found outside the island, types IA and IB have parallels in parts of the Peloponnese, and it would appear that their development in Kefalonia was not entirely independent of outside influences.

The use of burial pits in chamber tombs is usually regarded as a survival of an MH tradition. However, the use of several burial pits in the LH period became more characteristic of certain areas of the Peloponnese. Tombs very similar to type IA in Kefalonia, with an elliptical or rectangular chamber and several burial pits cut into the floor, were used in parts of Laconia (Epidauros-Limera, Sykea) as early as LH I-II.[99] In Achaia, burial pits already occur sporadically in chamber tombs from LH I onwards, and remain fairly frequent.[100] In LH III, the chamber tombs of Ano Sychaina (eight tombs), tomb 1 at Aigion, and the two tombs of Derveni are characterized by a large number of pits per chamber,[101] and Papadopoulos has connected them with the Kefalonian tombs.[102] At the cemetery of Ano Sychaina (east of Patras), the earliest of the tombs may go back to LH IIIA1[103] and hence be earlier than the tombs of Kefalonia, though the tombs and their contents are poorly documented. Better known are the tombs of Derveni in eastern Achaia. The largest of the two had an elliptically shaped chamber with fourteen burial pits, one of which contained five burials, providing an exceptional parallel with the LH IIIC Kefalonian practice of several burials per pit. As the earliest pottery from Derveni is LH IIIB, though, these tombs do not precede the appearance of the same type in Kefalonia. Papadopoulos thinks that they indicate Kefalonian

influence,[104] and they could even denote Kefalonian presence in Achaia.

The region of Elis, and specifically the districts of Alpheios and Kladeos, provide the most numerous parallels for the type IA tombs of Kefalonia. Some eighteen tombs occurring in clusters have so far been excavated at three sites (Olympia-New Museum, Makrysia and Trypes), each with three or more pits containing one or two burials.[105] They include tombs with pits distributed randomly on the chamber floor, and tombs with parallel pits cut along the axis of the dromos, like Mazarakata E and M. Although none of tombs have been dated to before LH IIIA2, and hence to an earlier phase than the earliest Kefalonian type IA tombs, there are altogether more tombs of this type in Elis and they have produced more LH IIIA2-B1 pottery than the type IA tombs of Kefalonia. It would seem, therefore, that the type may have appeared here at an earlier date than on the island. Less definite is the connection with Zakynthos where, at the LH IIIA2-B cemetery at Kambi, the deep pits with multiple burials may have been abortive chamber tombs, originally intended to have pits (ch. 8.3).

The 'tholoid' type IB of Kefalonia, in its version with several pits dug into its floor as at Metaxata and Parisata, is not found anywhere outside the island, and with regard to this feature the type IB tombs can claim the same parentage as type IA. But the tholos-shaped chamber has parallels outside the island. There are a small number of examples of circular tholos-shaped tombs in Laconia (LH IIIA-C)[106] and Arcadia (LH IIIC),[107] but the architectural form is earlier and better represented in Messenia, at the cemetery of Volimidia, where it had a long use (LH I-IIIB).[108] This type clearly developed here, under the influence of the built tholos tomb. The similarities in design and construction between these tombs and the tombs of Kefalonia, i.e. the circular chamber, tapering walls and the partly stone-built roof, have been pointed out by Marinatos. The Volimidia tombs also contained pits dug into the chamber floor, although not as numerous as those of Metaxata and Parisata and arranged differently. Their use, mostly as ossuaries, also differs from the custom at Kefalonia where they served for primary burials.

This brief survey of related tombs from other areas shows that the parentage of the architectural types used on Kefalonia before LH IIIC can be traced to parts of the Peloponnese, particularly Elis, Messenia and perhaps Achaia, and also Zakynthos. These are areas with which Kefalonia also had other connections in the centuries prior to or following the earliest use of the chamber tomb on the island, and it cannot be excluded that some settlers from Messenia and Elis may have been responsible for the introduction of specific architectural features to the island. The likeliest period during which outside influences were transmitted is during LH IIIA2-B1.

As for the part played by a 'native' component in the development of the chamber tomb types of Kefalonia, it is not easy to determine. The local MBA tradition of burying several dead in individual cists, as documented at Kokkolata-Kangelisses, may have facilitated the wholehearted adoption of the burial pit (in chamber tombs or on its own) and stimulated the idiosyncratic Kefalonian practice of using the pits for several burials. But, even if the Kokkolata cists were used until the mid 15th century, there would be a gap of about a century and a half before the first chamber tombs with pits appeared on the island.

4. Burial practices in the Kefalonian chamber tombs

It is clear from the evidence of the chamber tombs that, in general, the island shared with the rest of the Mycenaean world basic beliefs about death and the practices connected with the disposal of the dead.[109] But just as with the individualism in architectural design, there were also some burial practices and customs which were peculiar to the island.

As a rule, all burials in a chamber tomb were made in the chamber; only exceptionally (in three tombs, see above) was the dromos used for burials. The way of disposing of the dead in the chamber appears to have changed over time. Wardle suggested that the first dead may have been laid onto the chamber floor and that pits were dug only at a second stage.[110] But it is clear that, at Mazarakata, Kavvadias found all the gravegoods in pits, and that some small tombs only held undisturbed burials inside their pits (e.g. Mazarakata B). In the case of tombs of the tholoid type, as was pointed out above, Marinatos regarded the single pits with ledges of Metaxata Γ (pit 2) and Kontogenada A (pit 2) as the original graves of the tholos. Hence it is more likely that at least some of the pits were dug into the chamber floor of all type IA and IB tombs from the very beginning, and that burials were from the start laid out into pits. The earliest tombs did not contain an exceptionally large number of burials in the pits. At Mazarakata the relatively small number of LH IIIA2-B and LH IIIB vases in the early tombs and the relatively shallow pits indicate a correspondingly small number of interments. Information about the number of burials themselves is only given exceptionally. The small Mazarakata B tomb only contained one undisturbed burial in one of its two pits,[111] together with one of the two vases found in the tomb. It is likely that the other pit held another single burial with the other vase.

It is probably in early LH IIIC that the custom of multiple burials in a pit developed. It prompted the digging of very deep pits (deepest of all in type II tombs), which were evidently intended to receive a large number of interments. For the reconstruction of the burial practices in these tombs we must rely on the summaries given by the excavators, Kyparisses, Kavvadias and Marinatos,[112] as no detailed excavation reports were published. All three excavators have commented on the general confusion in the pits, the dismembered state of skeletons, and the difficulty, in most cases, of identifying individual burials. Some tombs, however, had one or two intact burials in the top layers of some of their pits (Mazarakata, Diakata). Kavvadias refers to an exceptional case at Mazarakata Δ, where six fairly well preserved, superimposed burials were found in one of the pits.[113] In some tombs (Mazarakata) the burials at the very bottom of the pit were also relatively intact. The burials in

the middle layers seem everywhere to have been very disturbed. In a number of tombs (Lakkithra, Metaxata) no intact burials at all were found, only a confusion of bones. A corresponding confusion was often observed in the gravegoods, and it was not unusual for sherds belonging to one vase to be found in two or more pits. From passing references and from the attribution of gravegoods to individual pits in the tombs, it appears that, normally, both gravegoods and human bones were found inside the pits. Only in connection with Metaxata B is there any reference in print to the effect that bones and gravegoods were found on the chamber floor.[114] A number of vases also came from the chamber floor of Metaxata E, according to the Argostoli Museum catalogue. Both bones and gravegoods may have been left out of the pits during activities in the tombs.

We may surmise that the sequence of interments in the tombs with pits would have been as follows: the first dead in a recently constructed tomb would have been laid at the bottom of a newly dug-up pit together with the offerings, and covered with some earth. If the pit was deep enough, as in the majority of cases, subsequent burials would have been made on top of the first and in turn covered with some earth. The dead were laid in the natural sleeping posture, supine or on their side, legs slightly bent. Earlier burials would have been disturbed only if room had to be made for the most recent one. Special care would have been taken not to disturb burials which were not completely decomposed. If this was likely to have been the case, another pit would have been used or newly dug up. An alternative to this is documented at one of the tombs at Mazarakata, where a burial with its offerings was 'sealed off' with a layer of 'lime' and a new burial laid on it.[115] When a pit was full, room for a fresh burial would have been made by removing its contents either entirely or simply from the top layers. The removed fill, consisting of bones, gravegoods and earth, would have been used to cover the new burial, or, alternatively, it would have been shovelled into a neighbouring pit. At Lakkithra fragments belonging to the same two kraters were shared between tombs A and B, suggesting that the tombs, which are 'architectural twins', were probably used indiscriminately. Occasionally, when shovelling back the fill, care seems to have been taken to arrange the different parts of the exhumed skeletons together,[116] particularly the skulls, and it is possible that this operation may have been accompanied by some ritual. In chamber tombs which had been used for a large number of burials in very deep pits, great confusion resulted from repeated burials and the shovelling of previous burials and their offerings from pit to pit. In all the type II tombs of Metaxata for example, Marinatos found the pits looking like ossuaries.[117] It is possible that some of the pits which contained no intact burials had never been used for primary burials but only for emptying the excess from other pits, although poor environmental conditions may also have contributed to the disintegration of burials. Some of the pits in a tomb may have been preferred to others for different, practical reasons: Marinatos observed that at Lakkithra A and Metaxata A the pits on either side of the entrance had received the largest number of burials, obviously because they were closest to the door. We may assume that most of the interments in the chamber tombs would have been primary burials. To what extent the tombs were also used for secondary burials brought in from outside we cannot know, but it is a possibility. Indeed, Marinatos suggested that one tomb, the pitless Lakkithra tomb Γ, may have contained exclusively secondary burials because of its small size and the badly preserved bones found in it. Secondary burials disposed in collective tombs are also attested in other types of tomb, for instance, or so it would seem, at the built ossuary of Tzanata, and perhaps the pit graves of Kokkolata.

The reasons for the use of stone sarcophagi for some of the dead at Parisata A and Kontogenada A elude us. It would be reasonable to assume that they would have been chosen as a means to differentiate prominent individuals from those buried in the pits, but we lack the evidence of either burials or gravegoods associated with the sarcophagi to back up this hypothesis. Although mostly a Cretan custom, the burial larnax was also occasionally used on the mainland.[118] The Kontogenada sarcophagus shares features, such as its square legs and 'recessed' sides, with the stone sarcophagus of Aghia Triadha and the clay larnakes of Boiotia. The similarities are most likely due to a common type of wooden chest which these containers imitate.

We know practically nothing about the burial of children and infants. The only reference in print is to that of an infant/child burial in a coarseware jar in Lakkithra A10.[119] Some small compartments in the tombs may have held the burials of children. The small depression in the dromos of Metaxata Γ (if this was indeed a burial pit) and the little niches of Mazarakata N fall into this category. The smallest of the pits of Kontogenada A may also have been used for a child. No child-specific gravegoods were found anywhere. The F figurine from Lakkithra Δ5 may, however, have accompanied a child's burial as was the custom on the mainland.

In accordance with Mycenaean tradition, the dead would have been buried in some sort of shroud. Buttons, fibulae and pins used to fasten the shrouds, and jewellery to embellish it, were all found in the Kefalonian tombs. In true Mycenaean fashion the dead were also accompanied by gravegoods, including vases, tools and weapons. There is good evidence in the Kefalonian tombs that both drink and food would have been provided. Vases for holding food (jars and amphorae) and for pouring and drinking (jugs, cups) were buried with the dead, and in some of the wealthiest tombs the whole wine drinking apparatus, comprising krater, dipper and kylix, was included. The immediate use to which it is believed such equipment would be put was noticeable at Diakata 1 (pit κ), where the top dead was found with the lip of the kylix by his mouth and a large krater beside his head.[120] The purpose of the vases most frequently buried with the dead – the little squat jars and small jugs – is unknown, but their popularity indicates that they may have served as containers for some liquid connected with the ritual at the graveside.

Seven tombs produced animal bones (**Fig. 9**), but more such bones might have been identified had the bones from the tombs been properly studied. Cattle and pig bones were the most frequent. Except in the case of the bones of birds found

LAKKITHRA A	two animal teeth bones of small animal	lower fill of chamber pit 7	*AE*	1932, 23 ''
LAKKITHRA B	mandible of goat?	pit 5		''
KONTOGENADA A	two teeth of pig mandible & horns of goat skull & bones of cattle	lower fill of chamber	*AE*	1933, 78
METAXATA A	cattle bones	lower fill of chamber	*AE*	1933, 79
METAXATA B	several bones of cattle bones of pig	lower fill of chamber	*AE*	1933, 80
METAXATA Γ	small animal in jar	pit 8	*AE*	1933, 80
DIAKATA 1	mandible of sheep bones of birds (unburned)	chamber floor	*AD*	5, 1919, 97

9. Animal remains from the Kefalonian chamber tombs.

on the top layers of the chamber of Diakata 1, for which there is no certain association with the burials, animal bones were found either in the lowest fill of the chambers, mixed with Mycenaean sherds (Metaxata A) or with human bones (Metaxata B), or inside the pits (Lakkithra A and B). They were not, therefore, later intrusions or depositions.[121]

The animal bones could be the remains of food for the dead, but most were found on the chamber floors suggesting that it is more likely that they were either the remains of sacrifices or of consumed funeral meals, or of both. In Metaxata B the bones of probably an entire ox were recovered, which strongly suggests sacrifice. Marinatos himself believed that the bones in the Kefalonian tombs represented sacrifice, and suggested that the level areas and the footpaths in the tombs may have been used for carrying out this ritual.[122]

There is mounting evidence that animal sacrifice was practised in connection with significant burials in chamber or tholos tombs elsewhere in the Mycenaean world. Sakellarakis listed eleven tombs on the mainland and three in Crete which produced evidence of sacrifice of cattle or horses,[123] and more evidence for animal sacrifice on the mainland has been published since.[124] Moreover, it is thought likely that the scene of the bull sacrifice on the back of the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus represents a ritual performed at the funeral of the persons buried in it.[125] Nearly half the finds of animal bones are made in tholos tombs, which testify to the élitist nature of the ritual. As to the possibility of the bones being the remains of funeral meals, it is clear that horses and dogs, which have also occasionally been found in tombs,[126] would not have formed part of such meals. The combination of sacrifice and funeral meal is recounted in the Homeric description of the funeral of Patroclus, where oxen, horses and his dogs were sacrificed, but only the oxen were eaten.[127] Insofar as archaeological or iconographic material is concerned, N. Marinatos has recently analysed the evidence which she believes shows that sacrifice followed by cult meals took place in funerary and other ritual contexts in Minoan Crete.[128] On the mainland, it is generally accepted that some ritual ceremony involving the consumption of meat and the drinking of wine at the graveside was performed at the Shaft Graves at Mycenae,[129] and there is also good evidence from chamber tombs in different parts of the mainland of ritual drinking taking place at the time of the sealing of the stomion, witness the smashed kylikes found outside the doors of tombs. The ritual is also attested on Kefalonia itself, at Metaxata A, in the dromos of which a broken kylix was found.

It is thus likely that both sacrifices and funeral meals accompanied some of the funerals in the chamber tombs of Kefalonia, possibly the most prestigious ones. The greater instance of animal sacrifice/funeral meals in Kefalonia, however, compared to the mainland of Greece, may not be entirely due to Mycenaean influences, but to the pre-existence of this custom in the tumulus burials of the region, albeit not in Kefalonia itself.

There are some other indications of ritual outside and inside the tombs. The 2m-deep walled 'antechamber' which preceded the door of Kontogenada Γ may have been connected with the rituals taking place at the time of the closing of the door, like the wine-drinking mentioned above. Kalligas suggested that a slab with a depression in the centre from Metaxata Στ may have been a table of offerings,[130] and a suggestively shaped natural stone from Metaxata A pit 1 could, according to Marinatos, have been regarded as an anthropomorphic idol.[131] Evidence for the use of fire in the chambers was only reported at Diakata 1 (in every pit) and Lakkithra A.[132] They were most likely purification or fumigation fires.

Tholos tombs

Six tholos tombs have been excavated on the island, four in the Argostoli-Livatho district: at Kokkolata-Kangelisses (2), Riza Alafonos (1), Mazarakata (1), and two in the district of Koroni: at Mavrata-Triantamodoi (1) and Tzanata-Borzi (1). Tholoi were built on the island from LH IIIA2-B1 (Tzanata, Kokkolata) to LH IIIB/C (Mavrata). A seventh small destroyed tholos was recently identified at Litharia near Poros.

The tholoi of Argostoli-Livatho are poorly documented and have all now disappeared. They were all of small dimensions.

The tholos tomb of Mazarakata was dug into the rock, and had a stone-lined dromos built with rectangular stones. Its entrance was about 0.80m wide and 1.50m high, and its stone lintel was 1.40x0.80x0.27m. The chamber wall was built with the same type of stones as the dromos, and was about 0.70m thick. The diameter of the chamber was recorded by Wolters as being 3.60m, but the roof had already collapsed. As no finds were recovered, the date of the tomb is uncertain.

No description was published of the tholos of Riza Alafonos,[133] but the fragments of a stirrup jar and a spearhead that were recovered from it would date it to LH IIIB or C.

More is known of the Kokkolata-Kangelisses tholoi (**Fig. 4**).[134] They were either free-standing or, if Kalligas is right, dug into a tumulus built over the late MH cist graves on the site (see above). Tholos A had a diameter of 2.70m, and tholos B 2.90–3.10m. In the case of both tholoi only the lowest course, made of shaped stones, was preserved, and there were no traces of entrances. Tholos A had two burial pits (λ and κ) dug into its floor, and tholos B had three (μ, ρ and ψ). The depths of the pits were not published, but the pits of tholos A were said to be quite deep and pit ψ very shallow. Human bones were found in the pits, and some were also found on the floor of tholos A. Unfortunately the majority of the vases from the tholoi have perished, but two extant alabastra from tholos A and the entries for the lost vases in the Argostoli Museum catalogue (see Catalogue of LBA pottery from Kefalonia) suggest that both may have been built in the LH IIIA2-B period, or LH IIIB period at the latest. Tholos A seems to have been used for a time in LH IIIC, whereas tholos B may not have received any burials after LH IIIB/C.

The tholos tomb of Mavrata is a free-standing structure (**Fig. 8B, Pl. 52:c**). The tomb had a built stomion 3m long and 0.90–1.10m wide, and no apparent dromos. The lintel of the door was preserved. The doorway was 0.70m wide. The chamber was 4m in diameter, and had been dug about 0.80m below the level of the dromos, a feature which this tholos shares with the tholoid chamber tombs. The wall of the chamber was built of flat worked stones and was preserved to a height of 1m. A large stone was thought to have been the keystone of the tholos. There were three very large and very deep (ca. 2.20m) pits dug into the chamber floor; they contained several burials each. A further two small, shallow pits were dug on either side of the doorway. The pottery suggests that the tholos was constructed in LH IIIB/C and continued to be used until the developed phase of LH IIIC, possibly less intensively.

By far the largest tholos is the recently excavated tomb at Tzanata-Borzi. It is an unexpectedly monumental construction with a diameter of 6.80m, and a door preserved to its full height of 1.90m. There was a slab-covered stomion (h.: 1.83m, w.: 0.80m) and, like at Mavrata, no evidence of a dromos contemporary with the original structure.[135] The tholos was built of irregularly cut blocks of sandstone. According to the excavator, Mr Kolonas, the present tholos was preceded by an earlier structure of *poros* stone, of which elements were reused in the walls of the present tholos. The original burial was in a large almost centrally built cist (l.: 2.15m, w.: 0.60m, d.: 1.40m), made of well shaped blocks. The grave was found empty but for a cache of gold ornaments under its floor dated to the 14th century. Two cist graves and a small egg-shaped pit were found at higher levels. Three deep pits, like those of Mavrata and the chamber tombs, had been dug at a later stage. According to the excavator they date from the reuse of the tholos in LH IIIC.[136] At a small distance from the tholos itself was a built rectangular structure of rubble masonry, with its entrance aligned with the entrance of the tholos. The structure had a built threshold and a pebbled floor. It contained the badly preserved skeletons of about seventy-two individuals.[137] From the finds in it, Mr Kolonas has suggested a date between 1400 and 1200 for its use.

The excavation of the Tzanata tholos has highlighted some questions which had arisen with the earlier excavated tholos tombs. Firstly, the possibility that the tombs may have been reused in LH IIIC after their original occupancy. This could have been the case of the tholoi at Kokkolata, particularly tholos tomb A, but it is equally likely, given the seemingly short use of the tholos in LH IIIC, that the same occupancy continued for a while into this period. At Mavrata there was no evidence of any use of the tholos before the earliest burial pits were used in LH IIIB/C.[138] Tholos tombs were therefore constructed as late as this. Secondly, the ossuary associated with the Tzanata tholos recalls the pit graves beside the tholoi at Kokkolata, which also contained sealstones, like the Tzanata ossuary. A hierarchical relationship between those initially buried in the tholoi and those buried in the 'annexes' is the most likely explanation in both instances. Thirdly, although the small number of the tholoi at Argostoli-Livatho, and their mostly isolated siting, already indicated that the tholos tomb was more prestigious than the chamber tomb, the Tzanata tholos has confirmed its élitist character on the island, at least for the period before LH IIIC. We unfortunately know nothing of the original burials either of the Livatho tholoi or, so far, of the Tzanata tholos, but the central burial chamber of the latter and the cache of gold ornaments under its floor are sufficient proof that this was the burial place of a ruler or a ruling family. The discrepancy between the size and grandeur of the Tzanata tholos and the more humble character of the smaller tholoi is significant from the point of view of social organization (see ch. 9).

As in the case of the chamber tombs, the region which had most influence on the tholos tombs of the island was the south-west of the Peloponnese, particularly Messenia. The Tzanata-Borzi tholos shares features such as size, architecture and the use of a burial chamber with Messenian tholoi of the same period.[139] On the other hand, the small tholoi of the Argostoli-Livatho district also have parallels among the tholos tombs of similar date in Kefalonia's other neighbouring regions. The small tholos tombs in Zakynthos were constructed earlier but one, the tomb of Alikanas, was still used in LH IIIB (ch. 8.3). In Aitolia, there were small tholoi of comparable size and date at Koronta and Aghios Ilias,

some of which continued to be used in LH IIIC.[140] The isolated tholos of Parga (LH IIIA2-B) was also of comparable size.[141]

Pit graves

Pit graves dating from this period are few (the exact number is not known) and they occur at sites where tombs of other types have also come to light, at Kangelisses and Kontogenada (**Pl. 53:d**). There was probably also an isolated pit grave at Humani in the district of Koroni. Regrettably all the pit graves are badly documented, and only those at Kangelisses were excavated. From the evidence at hand they appear to be a typologically diverse group. The Kangelisses pits were roughly shaped or even natural crevices in the rock, whereas the Kontogenada pit had the dimensions and shape of the pits cut inside the chamber tombs. The differences may at least partly be due to differences in date. The catalogue references to lost pottery from Kangelisses (among which there were two piriform jars and three handleless jars) and the evidence of the sealstones suggest that the first burials were made in LH IIIA2, and that the pits were still used for a time in LH IIIC alongside the adjacent tholos tombs. The pits may have contained secondary burials, as the excavator found only a few bones per burial and, moreover, mentions that the burials were mostly identified by the gravegoods.[142] The Kontogenada pits, which were empty of their contents, can only be dated to LH IIIB or C by their typological similarities to the curvilinear-sided pits of Lakkithra Δ, and by the suggested date of the adjacent chamber tombs.

As regards the reasons for choosing a pit grave rather than a chamber tomb, they could have been as varied as the graves themselves. The small size of the social unit, or its mobility, may account for some of them, for instance at Humani, where the grave contained just two vases. However, this could not have been the reason at Kangelisses where they were used for several dead. There is no evidence to suggest that they were the graves of the poor members of a community either. On the contrary, the gravegoods at Kangelisses included sealstones, gold hair-spirals, a gold bead and a bronze knife,[143] and lend support to the suggestion that there may have been a special connection between these pit graves and the adjacent tholos tombs, which could have given them a particular status.

Tumuli and cairns

The only definite tumulus[144] is the much destroyed structure excavated by Marinatos at Oikopeda in the Paliki. Its preserved part was in the form of a horseshoe-shaped wall. Marinatos presumed that it was originally a circular construction with a stone dais, 2–2.50m in diameter, the rest of which would have slid down the slope during a landslide. The wall was just one course high, but it may originally have consisted of two other courses made from the stones found immediately behind the structure. According to the excavator an earthen mound would have completed the monument.

The structure had been used for several burials, possibly, as Marinatos suggested, in superimposed layers. Some disturbed burials were found within the wall (a few were thought to be *in situ*) along with a few objects with no clear association with the burials; but most of the gravegoods were found on the lower slopes, mixed with human bones and stones. Some dressed stones found on the site, one of which was pointed in shape,[145] were thought to have been grave markers. Some other shaped stones, at least one of which was found *in situ* in the wall, would have been part of the structure. There were no surviving graves. Pithos fragments were reported by Marinatos, but no suggestion was made that they might have been graves.

The worked stones led Marinatos to believe that the monument was not sited far from a settlement, and this made him wonder whether it might have been erected over the graves of warriors next to the 'smoking ruins' of houses from which stones were used for its construction.[146] However, not all the burials in the tumulus were contemporary. The earliest pottery, i.e. the handmade goblet and Vapheio cup, as well as a handmade dipper, may go back to LH II, and other finds such as the piriform jar and the squat jars date from LH IIIA1–B. Given the history of the site, it is unlikely that all the gravegoods from the tumulus were recovered, but the gold hair-spirals and fragments of possible bronze vessels testify to it being the grave monument of people of some prosperity. Its construction may antedate the introduction of the tholos and chamber tomb, and it may be connected with the MH tumuli of Lefkada which it resembles, in spite of its diminutive size, by having a stone dais. Its date compares with the LH tumuli of Elis, particularly Samikon and Makrysia,[147] which are similarly constructed. A further connection with Samikon is the large percentage of squat jars which they both contained.

The three cairn structures at Kokkolata-Kangelisses could have been monuments related to the tumulus.[148] This is particularly likely in the case of the shoe-shaped Θ which was close in size to the Oikopeda tumulus and may have contained the twelve Mycenaean vases of the second 'tholos 1' list mentioned above (all likely to have been pre-LH IIIC). The structure would have been inserted in a pre-existing MBA tumulus (above) or, if there was no tumulus, would have been covered by its own small mound. However, there are too many uncertainties surrounding the monument for any conclusions to be reached.

B. SETTLEMENT

Kefalonia is characterized by a dearth of LH settlement sites in contrast to the proliferation of tombs. Based on the evidence of the tombs, the earliest Mycenaean habitation is to be found on the Paliki peninsula (Oikopeda) and goes back to the LH II-IIIA1, but the most significant expansion must have taken place during LH IIIA2-B, when tombs and cemeteries sprang up in all four regions of the island. The cemeteries indicate that habitation continued in all parts of the island in LH IIIC, but the analysis of the tombs, which is presented in detail in chapter 9, shows a change in the demographic pattern, with a larger population increase in

Argostoli-Livatho compared to the other regions. Habitation in Argostoli-Livatho appears to have continued uninterrupted to about 1050 BC, but seems to have declined earlier in Paliki and Koroni.

The two small excavated settlement sites, at Starochorafa near Diakata and on Vounias near Sami, do not add to our knowledge of settlement pattern or hierarchy, and only allow us a glimpse of the island's domestic architecture in the LBA.

The house excavated by Marinatos at Starochorafa was the best preserved structure among other, poorly preserved ones. It was rectangular without internal stone partitions. The walls were 0.70m thick and made up of largish stones. Three of its walls were excavated, the longest of which measured 6.80m the two shorter ones 4.20m. Despite the monumental character of this 'megaron', the finds it yielded were of ordinary domestic character. Both Mycenaean and handmade pottery were recovered,[149] although only one of the Mycenaean sherds had a preserved painted surface. There were several kylix stems, the horizontal handles of bowls and a grooved foot from a legged pot. The coarser ware pottery was dark and poorly fired, and there were a few sherds with engraved or pellet decoration. Some sherds bore the impressions of mats or basket work. The small finds included one conical steatite button, a stone plaque and a flint blade.[150] An LH IIIC date is the likeliest for this house, and Marinatos suggested that the settlement at Starochorafa was connected with the two chamber tombs at neighbouring Diakata.

The house on the hill of Vounias (**Pl. 52:b**), a probable farmhouse, lacked the regular plan of the house at Starochorafa. One of its two surviving walls, the north wall, which was preserved to a length of 10m, was not straight but halfway down its length, was set forward by about 0.75m. The second and shorter west wall (3.40m) formed a wide angle with the long wall. Different techniques had been used for the construction of the walls, from which only one course, made of stones, was preserved:

(a) dry masonry made of a single row of large stones (west wall)

(b) a thicker wall of dry masonry (south wall and cross wall)

(c) two parallel rows of stones with a gap in between, which originally had probably been filled with smaller stones or pebbles: this technique was in use on the mainland from an earlier date, and was also employed in the LH IIIA-B houses at Tris Langades on Ithaki (ch. 7.4).

Most of the pottery from the house was handmade coarse pottery, and some was decorated with applied rope and incised and grooved decoration.[151] The few Mycenaean sherds comprised a couple of kylix bases, the base and horizontal handle of a bowl and a few rim- and body-sherds with repair holes. Two clay buttons (one biconical, the other globular) were also found.[152] The finds make an LH III date for the house certain, and an LH IIIA-B date likely.

In spite of their differences, which could be due to a difference in date, the houses of Starochorafa and Vounias shared common characteristics. Although both were of large dimensions, neither had stone-built curtain walls, and partitions may have been of perishable materials, e.g. wood, which abounded on the island and was used until recently in the local vernacular architecture.[153] The superstructure of both houses would also have been of perishable materials, most likely mudbrick and wood. Moreover the finds confirmed the domestic character of both buildings, furnishing evidence of household activities such as the preparation of food (coarseware pottery, stone tools and, at Vounias, animal bones) and the making of clothes (*conuli* and spindle whorls).

C. POTTERY

The number of vases from the LBA tombs excavated prior to 1970 listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue is 1010. From the published tombs there were originally 584–85 vases (including about seventy coarse handmade vases). Of these 186 (including thirty-four coarse handmade vases) did not survive the 1953 earthquake and are only known from the illustrations in publications.[154]

Desborough was the first to review this pottery, as part of his 1964 study of the LH IIIC period.[155] His conclusions, which were based exclusively on the examination of the published pottery, were that, as a whole, it dated from the LH IIIC period. The few vases that he identified as earlier (LH IIIB), particularly among the pottery of Metaxata, he regarded as belonging to 'the end of that period when LH IIIC elements had already started to appear'.[156] These observations gave support to his theory that Kefalonia was one of the areas of Greece which received refugees after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.

Eight years later K. Wardle in his PhD thesis on *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus* dealt in some detail with the pottery from the tombs, including, for the first time, the unpublished pottery from the tombs of Mazarakata, Kokkolata, Metaxata A and E and Mavrata, and with the collections from the Argostoli Public Library and the Neuchâtel Museum.[157] The breakthrough in Wardle's study was the identification of much more pre-LH IIIC pottery from the cemeteries, particularly from Mazarakata, than it was previously thought existed. Moreover, he argued convincingly that the early vases must belong to a chronologically independent (LH IIIB) stage rather than constitute survivals into LH IIIC. The cornerstone of his argument was that some smaller tombs at Mazarakata contained pottery which was stylistically almost exclusively LH IIIB. Wardle also observed that some tombs or cemeteries contained late-looking open shapes whereas others did not, and he used this distinction to suggest a subdivision of LH IIIC into an early and a late phase. On the basis of these observations, which were supported by differences in tomb architecture, Wardle divided the LH III period into three stages. Stage (a) was LH IIIB and was characterized by the following shapes: the piriform jar, the alabastron (notably the rounded type) and the squat jar (in particular the footless variety). Stages (b) and (c) were both LH IIIC. Stage (b) was distinguished from stage (a) by the introduction of shapes typical of LH IIIC such as the

amphoriskos, the lekythos and the juglet. The squat jar, now mostly with a foot, continued into this stage. The first three shapes continued into stage (c) which was, however, distinguished from stage (b) by the presence of open shapes: the krater, the bowl and the kylix. The only shape which occurred in all three stages was the stirrup jar. Although Wardle insisted that the material from his stage (a) was LH IIIB in date, he made some allowances for 'heirlooms'.[158] Moreover he did not assign any of the vases to LH IIIA2.

More recently Brodbeck-Jucker published the material from the Neuchâtel Museum,[159] now known to have come from the tombs of Mazarakata. This is the only publication of previously unpublished pottery since Wardle's thesis. Brodbeck-Jucker assigned LH IIIB, but also LH IIIA2 dates to several of the Neuchâtel vases. This agreed with Sherratt's conclusions in her study of regional variations during LH IIIB that, whatever the actual date of the beginning of the local sequence in Kefalonia, the stylistic impetus was LH IIIA2–B1.[160]

Other recent studies which have looked selectively at the LBA pottery of Kefalonia include Mountjoy's article on LH IIIC styles, in which she drew comparisons between particular vases from the island and vases from regions outside the island.[161] Papadopoulos's study of Bronze Age Achaia pointed out similarities between the styles of Achaia and Kefalonia.[162]

The account of the development of the island's LBA pottery which follows is primarily based on the detailed study of the published collections (Oikopeda, Metaxata A, B, Γ, Lakkithra A, B, Γ, Δ, Diakata 1, 2, Kontogenada A, Mazarakata-Neuchâtel). This pottery has been listed in the Catalogue of LBA pottery from Kefalonia (henceforth Catalogue) and Tables F.1–4. Some small jugs and stirrup jars (mostly small or incomplete examples with worn decoration) which are listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue appear either not to have been illustrated in the publications or cannot be matched with illustrations due to the poor quality of the photographs. For this reason, in Tables F.1–4, references to published illustrations are only made when the extant vases correspond with certainty to an illustration. Non-extant vases illustrated in the publications are also included in the tables and, if they have been matched with catalogue entries, their Argostoli Museum number is also given. Only the Mycenaean pottery is included in the tables. In the Catalogue, on the other hand, all the LBA pottery is listed by cemetery and by tomb. The pottery from the unpublished tombs is not included in any of the lists. For the purpose of comparison, however, reference to some of the unpublished pottery is made in the text, and a summary per site is given in the Catalogue.[163]

Fineware (Tab. F.1)

The Mycenaean pottery represents about 88% of the published pottery from the tombs. The quality of potting and painting is generally not very high, although it varies. The best quality is to be found among the LH IIIA2-B1 pottery. The colours of the fabric derive from those already produced in the Minyan type ware, especially buff and yellow. Orange, which is also inherited from the MBA, is less common and so is pink. A dull grey and a grey/green fabric are present, but rare. The use of Mycenaean glaze is a new departure. It is mostly thin, rarely lustrous, and is prone to fading and chipping. Exceptionally there is some streakiness. The colours of the glaze are black, brown and red.

LH II-LH IIIA1

A limited number of shapes, all from the destroyed tumulus of Oikopeda, may be assigned to these periods:

I. Goblets: Two single-handled monochrome goblets (A1394a and A1394b), which are now lost, seem closer to FS 263 than FS 264. The examples of FS 263 mentioned by Furumark are LH II. The shape does not occur among the pottery from the chamber tombs.

II. Vapheio cup: A miniature handmade cup (A1389: **Pl. 4**) in yellow Minyan type clay shows knowledge of the Vapheio cup shape (FS 224). Only traces of paint remain, but the cup was probably originally monochrome.

III. Squat jars (FS 87): The shape goes back to LH I in most Mycenaean regions and disappears by the end of LH IIIA1. It must therefore have been introduced in Kefalonia prior to LH IIIA2. In Zakynthos the only squat jar is LH IIB (ch. 8.3, Z27: **Pl. 47**). It is likely that the squat jars from Oikopeda stand at the beginning of the Kefalonian series. Three of the five have survived, two in restored condition (A1388: **Pl. 6**, A1384). All were footless and monochrome. The two restored examples at least are somewhat squatter than most of the perked-up squat jars from the chamber tombs. An LH IIIA1 date for them would therefore be appropriate. Papadopoulos has given an LH II–IIIA1 date to two similar examples from Achaia.[164] If the shape in that region derived from Kefalonia, as Papadopoulos suggested, a date at least as early as that of the Oikopeda jars would be necessary, although, as was suggested by Brodbeck-Jucker, Papadopoulos's dates for the Achaian jars may be too high.[165]

LH IIIA2-IIIB/C

I. Squat jars: There are two variants of the earlier shape which, from the context of the vases, should be assigned to these periods. Wardle distinguished between footless squat jars, and squat jars with feet which he suggested were later, but a more valid distinction appears to be the overall shape. The first variant has a perked-up body and a distinct neck. Some jars have taller necks and/or smaller handles than the conventional shape and they may have a foot. Four jars from Metaxata B (A1504, A1505, A1506?, A1515: **Pl. 56:a, left**) and three from Lakkithra Δ (A1303 and A1306: **Pl. 6**, A1307) fall in this category. In addition the shape is represented at Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N81 and N82) and among the unpublished vases of Mazarakata B2 (A14)[166] and D5 (A36). A14 was associated with a three-handled rounded alabastron in a single burial, hence its LH IIIA2-B date is certain. All the squat jars are monochrome, except for A1504 which has sets of chevrons (FM 58.34) on the shoulder and a

linear body. The same pattern occurs on a rounded alabastron from the same tomb (A1519) and on another two vases (rounded alabastron A1280 and piriform jar N46) datable to LH IIIB and LH IIIA2 respectively. An LH IIIA2–B date for this vase is therefore quite certain.

The second variant shows a development towards a more globular, often narrower shape with a less distinct and often shorter neck. There are examples with foot (N83, N84, A1309: **Pl. 6**, A1513: **Pl. 56:a, right**) and without (A1301 and A1465: **Pl. 6**, A1510: **Pl. 56:b**), and with narrow or wide neck (A1304, **Pls 6** and **56:e** and A1112: **Pl. 6**). The footless shape with narrow neck, at least, must have developed by LH IIIB as three such (unpublished) vases (A51, A54, A46) came from Mazarakata E, which otherwise contained mostly LH IIIB and LH IIIB/C pottery.[167] But the shape continued to be made in the early part of LH IIIC. Outside Kefalonia, Agalopoulou suggested an LH IIIA2 date for a globular squat jar from Trypes (Elis),[168] but it is probably more likely to belong to the following period, if the connections of this region with Kefalonia are anything to go by.

II. Small handleless jars: The only examples of FS 77–78 are two unpublished monochrome jars, one from the Kokkolata pits (A301)[169] and one from the Library (A377), both with flat bases. The shape, which first appears in LH IIA, is most common in LH IIIA1.[170] It is not common after this period, although it is more frequent than Furumark thought[171] and continued into the next phase in a number of areas. In Achaia handleless jars were popular, especially in monochrome.[172] Papadopoulos dated all the Achaian monochrome jars to LH IIIA1, but some other examples were assigned to LH IIIA2, and one or two linear examples to LH IIIC. In Elis (Aspra Spitia) a monochrome vase could be LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2, but one with a stippled body cannot be earlier than LH IIIA2.[173] The two FS 78 handleless jars from Kambi in Zakynthos date from LH IIIA2. It is most likely that the Kefalonian handleless jars are also LH IIIA2, or perhaps even LH IIIB, although the adoption of the shape is most likely to have happened earlier.

III. Piriform jars: Of a total of eleven LH IIIA2-B piriform jars from the tombs as a whole, seven have been published.[174] They have a median height of 0.113m. The two largest examples of FS 45, from Prokopata (A577) and Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N46), are datable to LH IIIA2. Both have thick-and-thin lines on the body and a shoulder decoration of the wavy line (FM 53), and chevrons (FM 58) or foliate band (FM 64) respectively. A third, smaller piriform jar from Metaxata B2 (A1477: **Pl. 4**) with carefully drawn scale-pattern (FS 70.2) is also LH IIIA2. The rest of the small piriform jars are either FS 45 or FS 48. The handle-zones are decorated with diaper net (FM 57.2) or with the V-pattern (FM 59). The piriform jar from Oikopeda (now broken and very worn) may have been monochrome. There are also a couple of monochrome three-handled jars among the unpublished material from Mazarakata.[175]

IV. Rounded alabastra (FS 85): Originally there were sixteen three-handled rounded alabastra, of which six have been published.[176] The majority are globular in shape, just a couple are baggy (A1517 and A1519: **Pl. 2**). Three of the six published alabastra, i.e. half, are monochrome, proportionately the same as the monochrome alabastra from the tombs as a whole (8:16). Papadopoulos dates his three monochrome examples from Achaia to between LH IIIA2a and LH IIIB2.[177] The two monochrome alabastra from Kambi are LH IIIA2-B (ch. 8, Z22a and Z40: **Pl**. **48**). A1517 from Metaxata is very similar to the two Kambi alabastra. I have therefore also given A1517 and A1516 an LH IIIA2–B date. The third example, from Lakkithra Γ (A1214: **Pls 2** and **56:d**), should also be of similar date, or perhaps somewhat later because of the near absence of a neck.

The decorated alabastra all have a linear lower body. A1516 from Metaxata is a good example of the type with diaper net (FM 57.2) on the shoulder and thick-and-thin lines on the body. A similar alabastron to this comes from Mazarakata A2,[178] and there was also another example from Kokkolata tholos A which has perished. A larger alabastron with this decoration, from Zakynthos (Z22: **Pl. 48**), dates from LH IIIA2–B1, which should be the date of the Kefalonia alabastra too. The net is a common motif on alabastra, with a frequent occurrence on vases from Achaia and Elis.[179] Alabastron A1519 from Metaxata B2 has foliate band/chevrons (FM 58) on the shoulder and is very similar in size, shape and decoration to Z36 (**Pl**. **47**) from Kambi, which has been dated to LH IIIA2. The Metaxata alabastron may be somewhat later on account of its thick bands on the body. The wavy line (FM 53) is the handle-zone motif of alabastron N60 from Neuchâtel, and an unpublished alabastron from Mazarakata (A59) has a shoulder decoration of the angular multiple stem pattern.[180] The rock pattern (FM 32) featured, most likely, on an alabastron from Kokkolata (A334) which has disappeared. The museum catalogue mentions that it had a 'large belly'. Wardle suggested that it may have been an alabastron of FS 84 and hence possibly of LH IIIA1 date. At Kambi on Zakynthos an alabastron of this shape (Z41) with similar decoration was found isolated among an otherwise LH IIIA2-B repertoire. The Kokkolata alabastron may of course have been of the latter date, as the rock pattern is common on rounded LH IIIA2–B alabastra and is well represented in neighbouring Achaia, Elis and Zakynthos.

The two-handled rounded alabastron is a type introduced at the end of LH IIIB1.[181] Two-handled alabastron A1280 (**Pl. 2**) from Lakkithra Δ, with chevrons on the shoulder (not unlike A1519) and evenly spaced bands on the body, should therefore be late LH IIIB or transitional LH IIIB/C.

V. Straight-sided alabastra: The shape with three handles (FS 94) was not very common. There are just five examples, of which three are published. One of the two alabastra from Metaxata B is monochrome (A1521). There is also an unpublished monochrome example from Mazarakata (A19).[182] One of the two vases with patterned decoration on the handle-zone (N61) is a good example of the common LH IIIA2–B1 type with diaper net (FM 57.2). The type was popular in Achaia, Elis and Messenia.[183] The other alabastron, A1250 (**Pl. 2**) from Metaxata B4, is close in shape and handle-zone decoration (zig zag: FM 61) to Z23 from Kambi (**Pl**. **47**), dated to LH IIIB.

VI. Stirrup jars: Seven of the twelve stirrup jars assignable to this phase have been published.[184] All of these except one (N63), which is squat, belong to the globular type FS 171, but one is slightly baggy (N65) and another (A1346: **Pls 15** and **57:f**) is a more pronounced baggy/biconical. The latter is close in shape to of Z32 from Kambi. Five stirrup jars (eight including the unpublished examples) have flowers (FM 18) on the shoulder. Of these, four (N65, N65b, A576: **Pl. 15**, A1352) are good examples of the LH IIIA2 phase. The flowers are carefully painted, and the thick-and-thin lines on the body carefully spaced. All have monochrome handles with reserved triangles at the top. Only one of these stirrup jars (A576) has a body-zone, a simple zig-zag (FM 61.2). Three (N65, N65b and A1352: **Pl. 15**) have shiny glaze paint. The black paint on A576 is more matt in appearance, but is unusually well preserved. A globular stirrup jar from Metaxata B (A1491: **Pl. 15**), with regular thick-and-thin lines on the body and chevrons and foliate band on the shoulder, is LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC. Its handles and disk have lost most of their glaze, which could be indicative of its date.

The squat stirrup jar (FS 178) from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N63) is the only example of this shape from the tombs except for the unpublished A56 from Mazarakata E4.[185] Brodbeck-Jucker has dated N63, with a foliate band (FM 64) or circles (FM 41) on the shoulder, to LH IIIB.

VII. Jug/lekythos: A miniature jug (FS 149) from Mazarakata (N85), with foliate band (FM 64) on the shoulder and thick-and-thin bands on the body, has been dated by Brodbeck-Jucker to LH IIIA2.[186] A lekythos from the same collection (N75) has LH IIIB features, and Brodbeck-Jucker has dated it to LH IIIB/C,[187] encouraged by the fact that at Perati the lekythos begins in this period. This vase should be placed at the beginning of the Kefalonian series of lekythoi.

VIII. Composite vessels: The composite vessel first appears in LH IIIA2, but it becomes more common in the following phase.[188] Five published vases from the tombs are made up of piriform jars (FS 324). Furumark had already assigned the triple vessel from Kokkolata pit graves illustrated by Kavvadias (A309) to LH IIIB.[189] The jars are FS 45 and bear decoration consisting of two zones of N-motifs (FM 60). They have knobs instead of handles. The other four composite vessels are twin vases. The miniature A1317 (**Pls 5** and **56:c**) from Lakkithra Δ, of which one jar only is preserved, has a similar decoration to the Kokkolata vessel (V- or N-pattern). The vessel from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N50) and A1528 from Metaxata B (**Pl. 5**) are alike insofar as the position of the central handles is concerned, but the shapes of the jars differ, though both are FS 48. In addition A1528 has two horizontal handles on each jar, and a shoulder decoration consisting of the diaper net (FM 57.2), while the double vase from Mazarakata, like A309, has knobs instead of handles on each of the vases, and its shoulder is decorated with the scale pattern (FM 70). Brodbeck-Jucker has dated N50 to LH IIIB. The jars are very similar in shape to the miniature A1316 (**Pl. 5**) from Lakkithra Δ which is monochrome, but the handle linking the two elements (only one is preserved) starts from the rim, like N51 which is LH IIIC. An LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC date is therefore more likely for A1316.

IX. Cups: A monochrome semi-globular cup from Oikopeda (A1390), probably FS 214, is unfortunately lost. However, among the unpublished pottery from Mazarakata on display in the Argostoli Museum there are three cups which have shapes reminiscent of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB types. The monochrome conical cup from the Library collection (A381)[190] resembles FS 230–32, except for its flat base.[191] A clumsily executed monochrome mug from Mazarakata E4 (A48)[192] is FS 225–26. The shape was most common in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, but at Perati, where it is also found in monochrome, it continues until early LH IIIC.[193] A semi-globular spouted cup (A57)[194] from the same tomb as the mug recalls FS 249. It has a linear body and a foliate band (FM 64) on the handle-zone; the pattern occurs on LH IIIB spouted cups from Aigina.[195]

X. Stemmed bowl: An uncatalogued fragment of a bowl marked Metaxata B9,[196] with a multiple stem decoration on the outside and a solid painted interior, was discovered by Wardle in the Argostoli Museum store. An LH IIIA2 date is likely for this piece.

XI. Krater: A fine piriform krater (FS 8) from Prokopata (A575) is the only example of this shape predating the LH IIIC period. The shape and decoration, consisting of a running spiral (right to left) with angle fillings, places it in the LH IIIA2 period.

LH IIIC

Approximately 89.5% of all the published LH vases (90% of the total) are stylistically LH IIIC. The number of shapes increases in this period from thirteen in LH IIIA2-IIIB/C to twenty-five. From the tombs examined here there is a large proportion, i.e. about 23%, of open shapes (cups, kylikes, bowls, kraters and dippers).

I. Piriform jars: The small piriform jar has gone out in LH IIIC elsewhere, but there are seven examples from Kefalonia (including two unpublished vases from Mazarakata) which are assignable to this phase. Of the published vases three are three-handled with heights ranging from 0.115m (A1277: **Pl. 4**) to 0.153m (N47). There is also an unpublished vase from Mazarakata Γ (A15). They are all canonical FS 48 except for N47, which Brodbeck-Jucker assigned to FS 47,[197] the so-called 'Levanto-Mycenaean' type which has a narrow kylix-like stem. Three of the three-handled jars have shoulder motifs that do not occur before LH IIIC: A1277 and N47 the elaborate zig-zag (FM 61.17–19) or arcs (FM 44.10), and A15 multiple triangles (FM 61A.1).[198] They all have linear bodies. The context of A15 in Mazarakata Γ suggests a date no later than early LH IIIC for that jar. Early LH IIIC is also the most likely date for N47, for which Brodbeck-Jucker has found parallels in Achaia and Olympia.[199] In Achaia the two piriform jars (PM323 and PM191) are dated LH IIIA2b and LH IIIB1, but the motif on the Neuchâtel jar dates this example to LH IIIC.

A small (h.: 0.95m), two-handled, linear piriform jar from Lakkithra Δ (A1275: **Pl. 4**) has a counterpart in a monochrome example from Mazarakata (A55)[200] which,

judging from the rest of the pottery in tomb E, should not be later than early LH IIIC. A small monochrome handleless example from Lakkithra Δ relates to this group.

Thus it is most likely that the small piriform jar did not survive the earliest stage of LH IIIC, which is the case elsewhere too. The large piriform jar is still found in LH IIIC Middle in well-dated contexts.[201]

A jar (h.: 0.20m) with three vertical handles from Diakata 1b (A885) is more akin in shape and decoration to the amphoriskoi with vertical handles, rather than to conventional piriform jars. It is ovoid with a splaying neck and sloping shoulders, and has a linear body and spirals (FM 46/47) on the handle-zone. The large piriform jar shape is, however, represented by two larger globular three-handled jars with taller necks and linear decoration which are still awaiting publication (A65: Mazarakata H7, A1707: Mavrata).[202]

II. Rounded alabastra: As is generally the case elsewhere, in Kefalonia too the three-handled type seems to have gone out by this phase, but there are five (eight if unpublished vases are included) two-handled rounded alabastra which ought to be LH IIIC. Of the published vases three are monochrome. They are not all identical in shape. A1523 and N45 are both globular and have a clearly marked neck and well-shaped sloping lips (FS 85), but the handles of the first are more vertical than those of the second. A1579 is similar but has a spreading lip. Parallels for this shape are not rare. Papadopoulos dated a large example from Achaia (PM 264) to LH IIICe, which may well also be the date of the Kefalonian examples. The baggy A1574 (FS 86), which has unfortunately perished, had a monochrome lower body and a zig-zag on the shoulder. Its decoration suggests a later date.

Among the unpublished vases there are rounded alabastra which have acquired features of the amphoriskos, i.e. a sloping shoulder (the monochrome A8 from Mazarakata)[203] or the patterns on a reserved belly-zone rather than the shoulder (A1676 and A1672 from Mavrata).[204] They testify to the development of the amphoriskos from the alabastron, and to an overlap between the two shapes.

III. Straight-sided alabastra: The two-handled variant of the straight-sided alabastron (FS 96–98) which first appears in LH IIIB–C, outlived the rounded alabastron and is still found in LH IIIC Middle in well-dated contexts.[205] In Kefalonia the shape is represented by five LH IIIC vases, all from tombs with early LH IIIC vases. Three have been published (A1279, A1281, A1575). Two of these (A1281, A1575) are squat with flat shoulders. A1279 is taller and, like A1575, has a tall neck with flaring lip. The squat alabastra have a linear lower body, but only A1281 has distinguishable shoulder decoration (semi-circles). All three are flat based, but ill fit FS 98 by being wider than tall.[206]

There are three complete examples of legged alabastra from Kefalonia, two of which are published (N52, N53). They have linear lower bodies and lozenges: FM 73y and a zig-zag: FM 61.13 on the shoulder.[207] The type (FS 99) first occurs in LH IIIC Early,[208] but there are more LH IIIC Middle examples of the shape. In Kefalonia (Oikopeda), Ithaki and Zakynthos, several legs which are thought to have belonged to shapes including alabastra have been found in contexts which are or could be earlier than LH IIIC. Outside the island the shape has a wide distribution and is found in Attica, the Argolid, Rhodes and Achaia.[209] The Kefalonian examples appear to be closer in shape to the Achaian ones, as they have spreading rather than collar necks, and a slightly concave and tapering body rather than a straight-sided one.

A third alabastron shape, which is peculiar to the island (although vases of this shape do not constitute a homogeneous group) has a narrow bottle-shaped neck and straight-sided body. One example (A1023: **Pl. 2**) is miniature, has a flat base and two handles rising vertically from its shoulder. Another small alabastron (A1318: **Pl. 2**) is three-legged and handleless and has white painted bands on a red glaze. A1530 from Metaxata B9 is the most puzzling of all the vases. It is tall and has a high base, flat shoulder and vertically positioned handles. Wardle thought that the vase may be Hellenistic. Indeed it is heavier than the usual LBA vases. But apart from its tall base, this vase shares characteristics with the other bottle-shaped alabastra: in its tall proportions it compares with the unpublished A1773 from Metaxata Δ,[210] in the position of the handles with the same vase and A1023, and in the white overpaint (though not the row of rosettes, FM 17?) with A1318. I would therefore tend to regard it, with some reservations, as belonging with the LBA material from the tomb.

The connections of the bottle-shaped alabastron, most obvious in the case of the taller vases, is with the Cypriot PWh painted bottle.[211] The shape also occurs in Crete[212] and in Athens, in late SM tombs.[213] But the bottle with a high base is, as far as I know, only paralleled in Cyprus.[214] Demetriou, who examined the connection of the Cypriot bottle with its Aegean variants,[215] concluded that the shape became current in Cyprus in the 12th century and that Crete and Attica borrowed it in the second quarter of the 11th century. The Kefalonian bottles would therefore be among the latest depositions in the tombs.

IV. Amphoriskoi: The amphoriskos is the third most common LH IIIC shape. Thirty-seven of the total of seventy-two amphoriskoi from the tombs have been published. They make up 7.7% of the published LH IIIC vases.[216] Their median height is 0.936m. Broadly speaking most vases are FS 59, although the shape takes many forms. The indications are that the shape developed during the early LH IIIC. This is suggested by the decline of the piriform jar and the alabastron early in LH IIIC, as was mentioned above.[217] However, few of the Kefalonian amphoriskoi have the characteristics typical of the early amphoriskos elsewhere.[218] Among them are N54 and N56 from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel, which Brodbeck-Jucker has assigned to early LH IIIC, and A1525 from Metaxata B1. All three have a broad perked-up body, ring bases and a flaring neck. They are painted black with a reserved handle-zone decoration consisting of spirals (N54, A1525) and hatched triangles between spirals (N54). These patterns show already the fully developed Kefalonian style of decoration.

In general it appears that the development of the amphoriskos was generated by internal stimuli, hence the

presence of 'hybrid' examples, i.e. alabastron-looking amphoriskoi with broad bodies and footless bases (A1270, A1274: **Pl. 3**, A1469), the persistence of the footless amphoriskos (A1092 and A1468: **Pl. 3**, A812, A886), and the occurrence of amphoriskoi with three vertical handles (A976, A1021: **Pl. 3**, A1022).[219] Although the 'hybrid' amphoriskoi may well be confined to the early part of LH IIIC, it does not appear to be the case with the footless or three vertical-handled examples.

The vertical-handled amphoriskoi originally numbered fourteen, i.e. one fifth of the total number of amphoriskoi from the tombs. Outside the island amphoriskoi with either two or three vertical handles (FS 62) occur sporadically, but only in the Dodecanese is the shape at all frequent.[220]

Handles and bases apart, the Kefalonian amphoriskoi are difficult to classify. They can be broadly described as having a body which is globular/baggy globular, either slim (N58, N55, A957, A1022, A1092, A1089, A1144, A1272: **Pl. 3**, A1467, A1468, A1469) or wide (A1090 and A1142: **Pl. 3,** A812, A976, A1093, A1091, A1522, A1573, A1583), and a more or less tall neck. A few amphoriskoi with a broader globular or baggy/biconical body have a wide neck (A1142), or even a wide neckless mouth (A1143: **Pl. 3**, A943, A1021). Generally, however, there is much variation in the width and height of the neck and the shape of the body. High conical feet occur on some amphoriskoi, but are not common (A1022, A1094, A1272). A1094 with a wavy line between a monochrome tall neck and lower body suggests a very late LH IIIC/SM date.[221] This would agree with the date suggested by a small amphoriskos on tall foot with zig-zags in a reserved handle-zone from Mazarakata Δ5.[222] On the other hand the three-handled A1022 with multiple triangles is not necessarily very late.

There are a couple of amphoriskoi of unusual shapes. One is a three-legged biconical vase (A1278) which is the counterpart of the legged straight-sided alabastron and shares exactly the same type of zig-zag motif (FM 61.13) as N53 from Neuchâtel. The other is a broad-mouthed amphoriskos from Diakata (A943), now unfortunately lost, which has a pedestal base and recalls the footed early PG bowls from Ithaki (ch. 7.5).

Nearly a quarter of the amphoriskoi are monochrome and one is plain (A1467). The decorative system of the rest consists of either a banded or a monochrome lower body and a decorated handle-zone, sometimes framed like a metope (e.g. A976, N56, N58bis, A1089). The latter characteristic gives these vases a rather late appearance. The patterns, in order of frequency, are the hatched triangle (FM 61A.6), always combined with a solid painted body, the isolated or stemmed spiral (FM 52, FM 51), the diaper net (FM 57.2), the cross-hatched lozenge (FM 73y), the elaborate zig-zag (FM 61.13/17-l8), the isolated semi-circle (FM 43), the multiple triangle (FM 61A.l) and the simple zig-zag (FM 61.2) in double row. The hooked multiple stem (FM 19), the foliate band (FM 64), the chevrons (FM 58) and the wavy line (FM 53) occur once. Several amphoriskoi display a frontal motif flanked on either side by another, e.g. A976 (lozenge between ovals), N59 (lozenge with curled ends), A1668 (lozenge between stemmed spirals), A1705 (vertical panel of diaper net between curved lines), and N55 and N56 (hatched triangles between spirals).

In the range of shapes and decoration the Kefalonian amphoriskoi have similarities with the amphoriskoi of Achaia. Biconical examples with broad necks and amphoriskoi with tall narrow necks are also found there, and there are similarities between the decorative systems and patterns (zig-zag, semi-circles) employed in the two regions.[223] There are, however, no amphoriskoi with vertical handles or footless amphoriskoi in Achaia.

V. Amphorae/Jars: There are seven large jars, five of which have been published. They have a median height of 0.26m. Three of them (A1008, Al009, A1476) are globular and have low and wide splaying necks. They do not match any of Furumark's shapes. On the other hand, belly-handled amphorae A1265 and A1266 (**Pls 9** and **60:e**), along with two unpublished jars, one from Mavrata (A1708) and the other from Metaxata E (A1834),[224] compare with FS 58. The Kefalonian shape is ovoid or globular and has a tall and narrow neck and a horizontal rim. All the examples have two out-turned horizontal handles on the belly, and A1266 also has two upright horizontal handles on the shoulder. A1265 and A1266 have a ring base like the other three jars, but A1708 is footless, and A1834 has a torus base.

Jars of this shape with two or four handles are most common in western Greece: Messenia, Elis and particularly Achaia,[225] where many are also of large dimensions. Two-thirds of the Achaian jars (i.e. thirty-four) have a second set of handles on the shoulder like A1266 from Lakkithra Δ. A1265 and A1708 most resemble the Achaian jars in terms of shape and handle position. Papadopoulos regards A1265 as an Achaian import into the island.[226] The Achaian connections of the Kefalonian jars also include the presence of a pair of 'warts' on the shoulder of A1834, which is a peculiarity of the Achaian amphorae.[227]

All the Kefalonian jars, except A1476 which is monochrome, had a decorated handle-zone. One (A1009) has a linear body, the rest a monochrome one. The motifs, the zig-zag (FM 61.2) on A1266 and A1008, and the wavy line (FM 53) on A1009 suggest a late date,[228] and so does the shape, particularly of the ovoid jars, which is close to that of SM and PG amphorae.[229] Papadopoulos has dated the Achaian jars to the LH IIIC1b-SM phase.[230] The same date is appropriate for the jars from Kefalonia.

VI. Collar-necked jars: The shape which first appears in LH IIIB2[231] is represented by just two examples, one (A1264) large (FS 63), the other (A1016: **Pl. 3**) small (FS 64). Both jars are late, especially A1016 with a wavy line in a narrow reserved band between the handles, a typical LH IIIC Late (Granary style) and SM system of decoration.

VII. Squat jars: Three-quarters of all the squat jars (twenty-eight vases) from the tombs which are examined here must be assigned to the LH IIIC phase because of their shape and their context in the tombs. They are all monochrome. They differ from the true shape (FS 87) by being either globular (e.g. A1304: **Pl. 56:e**, A1309, A1105 and A1112: **Pl. 6**, A1561) or, more rarely, baggy (A1308 and A1580: **Pl. 7**,

A1117, A1509), having handles that are considerably shorter and rounder and a base which is either raised, high, or high and conical. The shape is often 'contaminated' by that of the small jug. The earliest in the series should be the squat jars with raised bases which resemble those of LH IIIA2–B squat jars (e.g. A1301, A1465, compare with LH IIIA2–B jars A1306, A1303). But most of the other LH IIIC squat jars must belong to the early part of LH IIIC. This is suggested by the proportion of squat jars to small jugs in the tombs. In the tombs which have other pottery earlier than LH IIIC, the proportion of squat jars to small jugs is 1:1 (Metaxata B) or 1:3 (Metaxata Γ). In the tombs which did not contain pre-LH IIIC pottery the proportion ranges from 0:9 (Diakata 1) to 1:7 (Lakkithra B). However some of the squat jars which are given this name because of the position of their handle but are otherwise identical in shape with small jugs (A1308, A1580, A1117, A1294, A1509, A1569), could have been produced, perhaps accidentally, at any time.

VIII. Small jugs: There are 119 jugs from the published tombs, adding up to approximately one quarter of all the LH IIIC vases.[232] Their median height is 0.077m. The shape presents great variety. The body can be ovoid/globular (e.g. A1116, A1300, A1150, A1151 and A1446: **Pl. 7**) or baggy/biconical (A1108 and A1104: **Pl. 7**, A1145: **Pl. 56:f**). The most common type has no distinct neck and either has a narrower (e.g. A1108, A1148, A1151, A1282, A1558) or a wider (e.g. A1095, A1145, A1150, A1284, A1297, A1446) mouth with flaring lip. The globular jugs with narrower mouths are closer to the original FS 115. A small number of jugs are close to FS 111 (A1300, N79). The widening of the mouth is a Kefalonian idiosyncrasy and may have developed under the influence of the squat jar. The globular jugs either have a ring foot or a taller conical base, exceptionally they are footless (e.g. A1150).

Less frequent is a more perked-up globular shape with a distinct neck (e.g. A1116: **Pl. 7**, A1141, A1285, A1503, A1563). A1116 has a slightly raised base and a sloping lip and may be among the earliest in the series. There are also several biconical or narrower baggy/biconical jugs with taller or better defined or constricted necks (e.g. A1291: **Pl. 7**, A1460: **Pl. 7**, A1104, A1116, A1287, A1292, A1562, N77, N78). They do not correspond to any of Furumark's shapes. A number of them also have a conical foot and an everted or offset rim (see A1291, A1460). These jugs most resemble the PG small jugs from Ithaki and are probably late in the series.

The large majority of the small jugs is monochrome. Three examples bear linear decoration (A1295, A1300, A1503) and two have a linear body and a patterned shoulder: chevrons and triglyph (A944) and the wavy line (A1560).

Wardle assigned the Kefalonian jugs entirely to the LH IIIC period (his phases b and c). But the small globular jug is a shape with an early ancestry on the mainland (LH II) and is known in monochrome from LH IIIA2. Monochrome small jugs dated LH IIIA2-B are known from Zakynthos (Z25 from Katastari, ch. 8.3). In Achaia small jugs are most frequent in LH IIIA2 and become less common in the later phases.[233] Like the Kefalonian jugs, most Achaian examples are monochrome and some are footless.

It is possible that the earliest jugs were made in Kefalonia in LH IIIB, especially some of those found in tombs (Mazarakata A, E) with predominantly LH IIIA2-B pottery, but these are not published. In any case we may be certain that the shape was produced from the earliest LH IIIC and overlapped for a time with the squat jar, which it superseded.

IX. Narrow-necked jugs/lekythoi (FS 122–23): There are eleven published vases, i.e. 2.3% of the LH IIIC pottery.[234] The shape was not as popular in Kefalonia as it was, for example, at Perati (4.9% of the vases).[235] Since there are very few vases under 0.10m (FS 122) from Kefalonia, it is probable that here the small jug fulfilled the function in the tomb of the small narrow-necked jug elsewhere.

Of the published vases just two are small FS 122 lekythoi (A1018: **Pl. 8**, A1433). All but one of the rest are 0.10–0.175m tall and fall within the dimensions of FS 123. One jug (A1006: **Pls 9** and **60:f**) is much larger than the rest, and indeed is larger than the LH IIIC shape in general. The original neck and most of the handle are missing. The shape has been reconstructed with a round mouth and a handle starting below the rim. The body of this jar is globular/biconical and given its size too, the shape is closer to the earlier lekythos shape (FS 120) or, alternatively, to the shape of the jug with cut-away neck FS 136. But the decorative scheme of this vase – black body with a combination of semi-circles – is LH IIIC.

The rest of the jugs are globular or ovoid. One perked-up jug with a conical lower body (N76) is footless, but all the rest have a ring base. The necks are narrow (e.g. 1019: **Pl. 8**) or somewhat wider (A1018 and A1478: **Pls 8** and **60:c,d**, N75, N76).[236] The handles are either arched or sloping and start from below the rim. A1269 has a cut-away neck. Although this is one of the largest of the jugs (0.15m), cut-away necks are unusual for vases as small as this.

Two jugs are monochrome (A1017, A1269) and two are linear (N76 and A1552?). The rest are linear with a decorated handle-zone.[237] Isolated spirals (FM 52) occur three times (two of which are A1018 and A1019) and are the most frequent pattern on lekythoi from the island in general.[238] Lozenges (FM 73y) and triangles (FM 61A) are also well represented among the lekythoi from the unpublished tombs.[239] The diaper net (FM 57.2) occurs on a lekythos from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N75), and the same motif decorates a vase from Mavrata (A1685).[240] The ovoid A1139 (**Pl. 8**) has a shoulder decoration of fringed semi-circles (FM 43p).

The lekythoi are difficult to date. The small lekythos appears in phase I at Perati.[241] Brodbeck-Jucker has given an LH IIIB/C date to N75 on account of its conical lower body and sloping handle,[242] and this would be the earliest occurrence of the shape on the island. At Mavrata there were seven lekythoi which, because the majority of the vases in the tomb are early LH IIIC, could warrant this date. Among our vases, A1478 from Metaxata B, which has a shape comparable to N75 and quirks on the handle-zone (FM 48), is most likely early LH IIIC if not LH IIIB/C. A1006, because of its size, shape and decoration, is probably not very late in the period either. Not all the lekythoi are early. Wardle assigned

the shape to both his phases b and c. In fact A1139, with its ovoid body, is closer in shape to the series of PG lekythoi from Kerameikos,[243] but the semi-circles on its shoulder are still in the Mycenaean style: they are not open like those on the small lekythos (S275) from Polis in Ithaki which seems to be truly transitional between Mycenaean and PG.

X. Jugs: There are five large jugs, all but one from Lakkithra. Their median height is 0.226m. They are globular or ovoid and, apart from bands (painted or reserved), they bear no decoration. Two (A1432: **Pl. 8**, A1007) have a cut-away neck (FS 136) which recalls the jugs from Polis (ch. 7.4). Furumark's latest example of this shape is LH IIIC1e,[244] but since the Kefalonian jugs come from type II tombs (Metaxata A and Lakkithra A) they cannot be very early in the period. The other two large jugs (A1267 and A1268) are of the low-beaked type which, according to Furumark, is only a Rhodo-Mycenaean shape in LH IIICl (FS 148).[245] Generally the shape of these jugs in Kefalonia appears rather anachronistic.

A jug from Lakkithra B (A1138, now unfortunately lost) had a trefoil (or pinched?) mouth and a (restored?) strap handle rising above the rim. The shape resembles FS 137–38, which first appears in LH IIIC Middle.[246] However, the ovoid body and the proportions of the Kefalonian example recall PG and even Geometric oinochoe,[247] and hence the jug may have belonged with the IA pottery from the tomb.

XI. Stirrup jars: Stirrup jars are the second most common LH IIIC shape; there are 110 published LH IIIC stirrup jars representing 23% of the vases of this date.[248] Four are miniature examples (0.06–0.07m) and one (A1339) is a large domestic size (0.37m) jar. Of the rest, four or five are fairly large (0.13–0.17m), but the great majority have heights between 0.08 and 0.12m. The most common shape is globular and akin to FS 176. This is Furumark's 'eastern type' and occurs in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades. It is, however, also the most frequent type in Achaia.[249] Characteristics of this shape are its greater height than diameter and its short neck (on average about a quarter to a half of its height). The mainland type FS 175 (Furumark's 'western type'), which is perked-up globular, is not common in Kefalonia. A1044 (**Pl. 14**) is a good example of this shape, but some other vases may have been accidentally produced (A1538: **Pl. 18**, for example, has a much shorter neck than is usual for the shape). A larger number of vases are depressed globular close to FS 174, an early type which Furumark confines to LH III(B-)C1e and Mountjoy assigns to LH IIIC Early.[250] This chronological distinction, however, does not seem to apply in Kefalonia, as these stirrup jars share similar decoration and motifs with the other types. It is generally true that the Kefalonian potting standards did not require the potters to conform with precision to certain shapes, hence the difficulty of assigning some vases to specific Furumark shapes.

One stirrup jar from Lakkithra Δ (A1350, **Pl. 61:f**) is squat (akin to FS 80–81) and footless, and there is another more canonical, unpublished example of the squat type from Mazarakata Γ (A18).[251] Both vases must be early LH IIIC, which is a late date for this shape. A1350 is footless, has a linear body, and, on the shoulder, carelessly drawn LH IIIB-C motifs (foliate band, cross-hatched triangle and multiple stem). There is just one example (A1040: **Pl.18**) of the conical FS 182. The shoulder is decorated with multiple triangles (FM 61A.l) and the body is largely monochrome, both features indicating a LH IIIC date. The shape does not normally occur after LH IIIB, but curiously there are no earlier examples from the Kefalonian tombs. A couple of stirrup jars (A1340: **Pl. 18**, N67)[252] have a narrow globular or biconical body and a tall neck reminiscent of FS 177, but their decoration is not that of the SM shape. They may have been accidentally produced.

The stirrup jar is the most richly decorated shape (**Pls 15–19, 57–61**); there are few monochrome or linear vases, mostly small and miniature examples. The majority have a decorated handle-zone and a lower body which is either linear or monochrome. The most common linear arrangement consists of a number of bands under the shoulder and a more or less broad band around the foot. Three bands under the shoulder is the most common arrangement, but occasionally there are more bands under the shoulder (e.g. A1051: **Pls 17** and **59:c,d**) or, exceptionally, above the base (A1350). A few vases (A1037: **Pl. 16**, A958, A1442, A1539, A1542) have evenly spaced bands down most of their body, a feature which is much more characteristic of the Achaian than of the Kefalonian style. A1471 and A1044 have thick-and-thin bands on the body, while the banding on A1052 (**Pl. 57:g**) is reminiscent of this system.[253] These stirrup jars are among the earliest in the series. Thirteen jars have decorated body-zones, mostly zig-zags or foliate bands, but an example from Lakkithra (A1347), like an unpublished one from Mavrata (A1347), has lozenges, and another from the same tomb (A1660) has the diaper net.[254] Body-zone decoration does not appear to have been common on stirrup jars of the developed Kefalonian style.

The most frequent patterns on the handle-zone (see Tabs F.2–4) are the isolated semi-circle (FM 43), the hatched triangle (FM 61A.6) and the cross-hatched triangle (FM 61A.4/5). A little less common is the spiral, either isolated (FM 52), stemmed (FM 51) or double (FM 47), and the cross-hatched lozenge (FM 73). Other less common motifs are the rosette (FM 17), the multiple stem (FM 19), the sea anemone (FM 27), the bivalve shell (FM 25), the circles (FM 41) and the chevrons (FM 58). The elaborate triangle (FM 71) and the antithetic spiral (FM 50) are rare. Two of the vases with such patterns (A1045, A1044) Desborough regarded as the only manifestations of the Close style among the Kefalonian pottery,[255] but A1045 is a likely import from Achaia and the decoration on A1044 is suggestive of early LH IIIC.

On the vases of the developed Kefalonian style a single motif on the handle-zone may repeat itself around the shoulder or, alternatively, two or more motifs may be used on the same vase. Triangles, semi-circles, isolated spirals and lozenges are the most common motifs, occurring in combination with one another or with other less common motifs. On some vases all the motifs on the handle-zone are different (e.g. A1048 and A1051),[256] on others, one motif is used on either side of the spout and another on the larger

panel on the opposite side (e.g. A1439: **Pl. 17**, A1440: **Pl. 16**). A particularly frequent association of motifs is the hatched triangle with isolated or stemmed spirals. Three vases (A942, A1050: **Pl. 60:a,b**, N67) out of the eleven with these motifs have a hatched triangle with stemmed spirals on either side as a frontal design on the larger shoulder panel (A1050 from Lakkithra has exactly the same shoulder decoration as N67 from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel, with hatched triangles filling the smaller panels). Frontal designs (double-spiral, lozenge, sea anemone) are a characteristic of the developed Kefalonian style (see below) and also occur on stirrup jars A1044, A1434 (**Pls 14** and **58:e,f**), A1480 (**Pl. 18**), A1488 (**Pls 17** and **58:a,b**), and A1341.

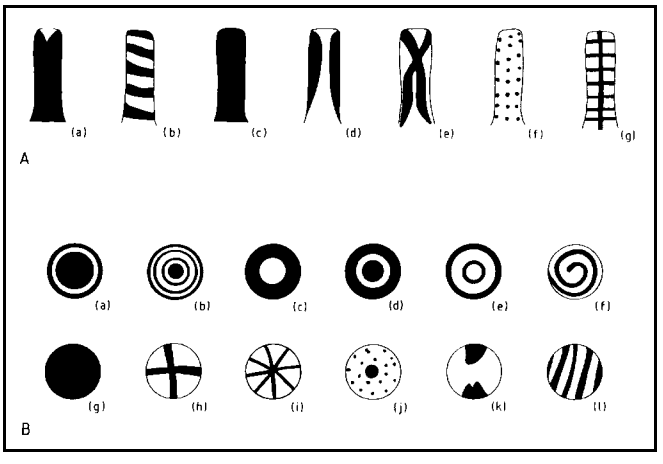
Subsidiary decoration, i.e. decoration on handles and false spouts, is shown on **Figure 10**. Type (a) handles with reserved triangles do not occur on any post-LH IIIB stirrup jars, and (d) only occurs on A1480, which is most likely early LH IIIC. By far the most common LH IIIC handles are either barred (b) or entirely painted (c). The other patterns are exceptional. Of the false spout patterns, (a) and (d) are pre-LH IIIC. The rest all occur on LH IIIC stirrup jars, but the most usual types are the solid painted (g), which is the most common, the solid painted with reserved circle in the middle (c), and the types with spiral (f) or concentric circles (e) which often cannot be distinguished from one another because of poor preservation.

The disk of the false spouts of stirrup jars are normally flat, but there are examples with a slightly coned or domed disk (A1034, A1339, A1436, A1480, A1481, A1541), and one disk (A1044) is pointed.

Of the stirrup jars examined here none has an air-hole.

XII. Dippers: The local precursors of this shape can be found in the handmade dipper-type cups from the Kokkolata cists[257] and the Oikopeda tumulus. Of the nineteen fineware examples from Kefalonia, most of them from the tombs of Lakkithra, eighteen have been published. The shape was also frequently handmade (see below).

The earliest fineware dipper from the islands comes from Tris Langades on Ithaki (house TL: LH IIIA-B, ch. 7.4). It has an elongated handle, an everted rim and a rounded upper half, but its lower half is not preserved. The Kefalonian dippers represent the LH IIIC development of the shape. They have a handle with a pear-shaped profile and a deep bowl with a straight or slightly concave upper part and a flaring rim. The large majority have a conical lower body with a pointed base (e.g. A1082: **Pl. 5**, A1319, A1321, N70, N71), a characteristic confined to the dippers of the island and a handmade dipper from Polis (ch. 7.4). There are however some examples from the tombs with a more rounded bowl (e.g. A1324?). One dipper (A1322: **Pl. 5**) has a rounded bowl and an embryonic base positioned off-centre.[258] The Kefalonian dippers are invariably unpainted.



10. Patterns on (A) handles and (B) false spouts of stirrup jars from Kefalonia.

Wardle suggested that the practice of placing dippers in the graves may be connected with the placing of kraters in the graves,[259] and indeed the largest number of dippers have been found in the tombs with the largest number of kraters (Lakkithra A and Δ). But some tombs with dippers have yielded no kraters (Lakkithra Γ, Metaxata B, Mavrata and Kokkolata tholos A), and some with kraters have yielded no dippers (Metaxata A, Mazarakata H and Θ).

Brodbeck-Jucker has pointed out that the association of dippers with late kraters at Lakkithra dates these dippers to LH IIIC.[260] Moreover, no dippers have been found in tombs which contain pottery earlier than LH IIIC. There is no proof that the dippers with more rounded bowls or those with dimples or tiny bases are earlier in the series, although this may be so, given that they have more in common with LH IIIA2-B dippers elsewhere.[261] The pear-shaped profile of the handles of the Kefalonian dippers, however, is unlike the elongated one of the LH IIIA2-B dippers.

XIII. Cups: Three cups (A1013, A1212, A1310) may be classed as semi-globular (FS 215–16). A1013 and A1212 have a conical lower body. A1310 has a low carination. All have eroded surfaces, particularly A1013, which appears to have been monochrome. A1310 is linear and A1212 bears an incomplete decoration of chevrons (FM 58.33) or foliate band (FM 64). The shape is LH IIIC Early and Middle, and normally bears very simple decoration.

Twelve cups are known, of which nine have been published. One of these (A1313: **Pl. 4**) is a small semi-globular cup with linear decoration. The shape (FS 249) is rare after LH IIIB,[262] suggesting an early LH IIIC date for this cup. The rest are conical cups of FS 252. Their median height is 0.73m. One (A1576: **Pl. 5**) has a flat base which is unusual for the shape, but the cup is generally of rather clumsy craftsmanship. The rest have a low carination and a flaring lipless rim. Their handle starts from below the rim, except for two small cups (A1470: **Pl. 4**, N72) which have handles from the rim. Apart from these two, which are monochrome,[263] and A1576, which is linear, the rest are decorated with either isolated spirals (N72, A1011: **Pl. 4**) or running spirals (A1010 and A1470: **Pl. 4**). A1010 has spirals linked by double tangents like the conical cup from Polis (S236), which may be of Kefalonian manufacture (ch. 7.4).

The conical cup was a Kefalonian speciality and is not found in the neighbouring areas. The shape however is also known from the Dodecanese, Rhodes, Kos and Naxos.[264] The cups from the Dodecanese are mostly monochrome or linear, but there is at least one example with semi-circles.

Their LH IIIC date is not in doubt, but they have not been dated more precisely. Neither, unfortunately, can the Kefalonian cups be dated, although their presence in type II tombs and absence from Metaxata B, which shows continuity from LH IIIB to developed LH IIIC, is an indication that their earliest production may belong to the mature LH IIIC period.

XIV. Kylikes: There are forty-three published LH IIIC kylikes out of a total of fifty-eight.[265] They represent about 9% of the published LH IIIC vases as a whole.[266] A large number of them have perished. The published examples include a single monochrome, one-handled angular kylix (FS 267) from Metaxata Γ (A1555), now lost. This is a type rare elsewhere after LH IIIB and is probably LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC here. The rest of the kylikes are conical FS 174–75 (e.g. A1329: **Pl. 10**). They have two small, oval-shaped handles (exceptionally A974 from Diakata had three handles) and a small, usually splaying but sometimes conical base, which is concave or cupped. The height, with but a few exceptions, ranges from 0.12m to 0.20m. There are also two unusually large kylikes (A1428 and A1429) both from Metaxata A2, which are 0.24m and 0.25m high respectively. The proportions between depth of the bowl and height of the stem vary. Most are close to Furumark's shallow examples which have a stem approximately half the total height, but some (Tab. F.1 no. 167, A1428, A1429) are deeper (comparable to Furumark's deep FS 274, with a stem which is two-fifths of the total height), and a small number (e.g. Al067, A1335, A1137) are shallower with stems that are taller than half their size. This is unusual outside the island except probably on Ithaki (see ch. 7.4). With the exception of a few (N49, A1045, Al582, A1554) which have a somewhat rounder bowl, the majority have the conical lipless bowl which is typical of FS 274 and 275 kylikes.

The distinction between FS 274 (LH IIIB-C1e) and FS 275 (LH IIIC1l) is, according to Furumark,[267] one of size and usually proportions, the first shape being larger and more often deeper or with a straighter upper part. As so many of the Kefalonian kylikes have not survived, it is not always possible to distinguish whether they belong to one or the other shape. Some appear to have features from both FS 274 and 275, although most are definitely FS 275.

Most kylikes have a solid painted stem and lower part of the bowl, and a wide reserved handle-zone (e.g. A1329, and A1333: **Pls 10** and **62:a, right**). According to Furumark this was a system of decoration of the LH IIIC11 kylikes, but the Lefkandi excavations have yielded kylikes of this type in phase lb, dated to LH IIIC Early.[268] We cannot therefore be absolutely sure that all the kylikes of this type in Kefalonia are late. In Lefkandi phase 2 (LH IIIC Middle)[269] the painted parts of the kylikes become more linear. This characteristic can be found on a few of the Kefalonian kylikes (A1072, A1078, A1079, A1332, A1431). Perhaps it should also be considered here as a sign of a late date, particularly as some early PG kylikes from Ithaki have linear lower bowls (e.g. S217: **Pl. 28**, and S216: **Pl**. **27**). The swollen stems, a late characteristic of FS 275, also appear at Lefkandi phase 2. However they are not present in Kefalonia, where, instead, the latest in the series are kylikes with one or two bulges or swellings on the stem (A1333 and A1334: **Pls 10** and **62**, A1077, A1332). Their stems compare with those on S224 and S222 from Polis (ch. 7.5), but the later kylikes have narrower, deeper bowls which are closer in shape to the PG ribbed kylikes from the cave. It is therefore likely that the Kefalonian kylikes with swellings are earlier. Stems with similar swellings are present among DA I material at Nichoria.[270]

The conical kylix with reserved handle-zone is very widespread. In the neighbourhood of Kefalonia it is present in Achaia and Ithaki. All six Achaian conical kylikes come from Teichos Dymaion,[271] and some have outlined handles like several kylikes from Kefalonia, and Ithakan examples. Papadopoulos has suggested that the kylikes from Teichos Dymaion may be Kefalonian imports.[272]

Four kylikes have patterned decoration on the handle-zone (A1428: **Pl. 9**, A1078, A1079, A1429). Three are decorated with cross-hatched triangles (FM 6lA.4/5) arranged in different ways: upright or pendant (A1428, A1078), or on their sides in a chain (A1079). The largest of the decorated kylikes (A1428) also bears panelled decoration consisting of triangles, zig-zags and semi-circles, and triglyphs reminiscent of the Close style. It is likely to be late LH IIIC, although its size and shape would suggest an earlier date. The fourth decorated kylix (A1429) had isolated spirals on the handle-zone, which are visible on the publication, but the kylix itself has not survived. Outside the island, decorated conical kylikes are known from Messenia, Crete, the Cyclades, Thessaly and the Argolid,[273] where they are LH IIIC Middle and Late. They are late in Crete and Thessaly, and it is likely that all the decorated kylikes from Kefalonia are also late, and that they are the harbingers of the PG decorated kylikes of Ithaki which make use of some of the same motifs, particularly the hatched triangle.

A few of the conical kylikes are entirely unpainted. Wardle mentions seven unpainted kylikes from Kefalonia,[274] but the poor quality of the illustrations in the publications as well as the fact that many of the pieces themselves are lost makes it difficult to be certain.

XV. Deep bowls: The true deep bowl (FS 284–86) with a semi-globular body, horizontal handles and a ring or conical base (FS 286) is relatively rare in Kefalonia. Ten bowls may be assigned to this shape, five of which have been published. Their heights range from 0.08m to 0.162m. A1259 from Lakkithra Δ is a monochrome Granary style bowl on a tall base. The vase is lost. There are two other extant but unpublished Granary style bowls in the Argostoli Museum, both from Mazarakata H (A68 and A77).[275] A68 in particular, with a tall conical base, is most like the Lakkithra bowl. There is a good parallel for the Granary style bowls of Kefalonia in a bowl from Polis (M 20). Of the three other published examples two have spirals (isolated: A1257,[276] and stemmed: A1258: **Pl. 12**), and another bowl, now lost (A2111), had a zig-zag (FM 61). A1258 has a linear lower body, the other two have a monochrome one. The published bowls all have tall bases and A1258 has a short stem.[277] The common characteristic of all these bowls is their conical

lower body. It suggests a late LH IIIC/SM date. Coulson has compared the Kefalonian bowls with DA I bowls from Messenia.[278] Their shape also suggests their ancestral relationship to the PG skyphoi of Ithaki.

There was another two-handled bowl from Lakkithra A (A1014?), which has perished. It was linear with a wavy line below the handle-zone. It had a high base, but appears to be much wider than FS 284–86. From its context the bowl must be LH IIIC, and its features suggest a late date.

A larger deep bowl (A1253: **Pl. 14**) is bell-shaped and has a conical foot. The shape recalls some of the early PG skyphoi from Polis. Its decoration, linear with running spirals on the handle-zone, is common on kraters and krateriskoi.

XVI. Stemmed bowls/kraters: The LH IIIC stemmed bowl (FS 304–06) does not exceed 0.l8m in height according to Furumark. However the Kefalonian variants of the shape have a median height of 0.183m, and four vases are real kraters (h.: 0.22m–0.26m). The rest of the eleven vases of this shape are under 0.20m, which may reflect the potters' difficulty in propping a heavy vase on a stem (note the tilted A1248, **Pl. 20**). All the stemmed bowls and kraters come from Lakkithra A and Δ, except one from Diakata 1. They have either a straight or slightly concave upper part of the body and a sharply conical lower part (A990, A991, A988: **Pl. 63:a**, A1247, A1249: **Pls 11** and **62:b**), or are semi-globular with a rounder lower body (A992, A1242, A1248). The bases are splaying and usually somewhat conical. The stemmed krater A1242 from Lakkithra has a ridge on the stem. Mountjoy has compared it with a krater from Delphi.[279] All the stemmed bowls/kraters have horizontal handles except one (A991), which has vertical handles. The system of decoration is the same as that of the kraters and krateriskoi on ring/conical feet, which are examined below.

One of the stemmed bowls (A1249) which, exceptionally, is monochrome, is narrower than most and has a low carination. The shape is akin to the PG skyphoi from Ithaki. The fabric too is closer to the Ithakan PG fabric. I would therefore regard this vase as early PG.

XVII. Kraters and krateriskoi: There were thirty-five of these from the published tombs, which amounts to 7.3% of the LH IIIC vases. The semi-globular ring-based krater (FS 282), which is generally the most common Mycenaean type, is represented here only by four examples (A947, A986, A987, A1251) ranging in height from 0.205m to 0.26m.

The large majority of kraters and krateriskoi belong to a type particular to Kefalonia, which is distinguished by its kantharoid shape, i.e. a conical lower body and a conical splaying base. The largest LH IIIC kraters are two vases from Lakkithra Δ (Al238: 0.32m and A1239: 0.30m), but the same type occurs with vases as small as 0.135–0.l45m in height (A1426: **Pl**. **12**, A933, A1136). The median height of this shape is 0.2lm.

A characteristic feature of this shape is the narrow 'waist' between the conical base and the body. The base can be so tall as to be a false stem (A1250, A1254). The lower part of the body is more or less sharply conical. The upper part is straight, flaring slightly towards the rim (A1426) or, more commonly, inclines inwards and has a sharply offset lip (e.g. A1240: **Pl. 13**, A1262). Kantharoid kraters and krateriskoi have both horizontal and vertical handles from the rim. One-third (eleven) have a spout (FS 298).

The shape was probably a local development, possibly from the earlier piriform krater (FS 7–8), though there is only one actual vase of this shape from the island (A575 Prokopata). There are no kraters to bridge the chronological and stylistic gap between this vase and the variations of the LH IIIC kantharoid kraters and krateriskoi. Outside the island, the Kefalonian shapes compare with kraters from Messenia in LH IIIC and DA I,[280] and they are the immediate stylistic predecessors of the Ithakan PG kantharoi and skyphoi. A spouted krater from Teichos Dymaion is regarded by Papadopoulos as a Kefalonian import.[281] The Kefalonian shape also has similarities with LH IIIC and SM bowls and kraters, which also often have vertical handles and spouts.[282] All these connections are very late and support Wardle's assigning all the kraters to his late LH IIIC phase (stage c). Wardle also assigned the few semi-globular kraters to the same phase. There may however be a subtle chronological difference between the two types, which is also suggested by the decoration; on the semi-globular type, the spirals and spiral combinations characteristic, as will be said below, of the kantharoid kraters are absent, and on the other hand, there is no instance of Close style inspired decoration on the kantharoid kraters, like that on the semi-globular A947. An unparalleled example of a spouted krater with vertical handles on three joined legs (**Pl. 63:d**) must also be late.

Bowls, stemmed bowls, kraters and krateriskoi constitute a high proportion (i.e. about 18%) of the published LH IIIC pottery. The shapes share similar decoration. There are very few monochrome vases: three monochrome kraters (A987, A999, A1251) and the three monochrome bowls discussed above. One krater (A1004) is linear. The rest have either a linear or a monochrome lower body, and a pattern-decorated handle-zone. The favourite motif is the spiral (running: FM 46, e.g. A1240, isolated: FM 52, e.g. A1426, and stemmed: FM 51, e.g. A1258), which is to be found on 54% of the vases on its own or, less frequently, in combination with lozenges (FM 73), triangles (FM 61A) or, in one instance (A1242), a kind of disintegrated tricurved arch (FM 62). The zig-zag (FM 61), semi-circles (FM 43), and triangles and lozenges (combined with other motifs or on their own) are less frequent. Seven of the kraters (A103, A947, A972, A986, A989, A1136, Al238) have panelled decoration (FM 75) consisting of vertical and horizontal zig-zags and wavy lines (triglyphs), semi-circles, cross-hatched lozenges and triangles, and the double-axe. Desborough pointed out the possible influence of the Argive Close style on A947 from Diakata.[283] The constituent motifs are also present on other Kefalonian kraters and, in similar combinations, elsewhere, e.g. Crete.[284]

XVIII. Shallow bowls: There were two monochrome shallow bowls (FS 295–96). A1213 is lost, while a large part of A1581 from Kontogenada is restored. On a regional basis the shape is better represented locally by two linear bowls from Polis (ch. 7.4).

XIX. Tripod bowl: A small cylindrical bowl (A1527) on

three legs with an internal partition is a shape not included in Furumark, and I do not know of any Mycenaean parallels for it elsewhere.

XX. Composite vessels: The six LH IIIC composite vessels form a rather diverse group. All but one (A1314), which is triple, are composed of two vases. Only one of the vases of A1316 (**Pl. 5**) and A1529 are preserved. The common characteristic of all of the composite vessels is that their individual vases are handleless. The only handle is the common central one which, with the exception of two miniature vases (A1316, N51) where it goes from rim to rim, rises from the joint between the vases (A1314, A1315 and A1024: **Pl. 5**, A1529) like on the earlier composite vessels.

A1024 is made up of two square-sided alabastra of FS 96 (FS 330). The shape is known by three examples (double and triple) in Achaia.[285] Furumark assigns this shape to LH IIIC1e,[286] but Papadopoulos attributes one of his vases (PM 704) to LH IIIB. The decoration of A1024 (triangles: FM 61A.1 and chevrons: FM 58) confirms an LH IIIC date for the Kefalonian piece. All the other composite vessels of this phase are monochrome. A1314 consists of three globular jars. Their shape is closer to that of the juglet or the late squat jar than to the handleless jar. A1529 is similar. The two elements of A1315 are narrower globular jars or amphoriskoi. Very similar to this vase, apart from its flatter base, is a composite vessel from the sanctuary of Phylakopi.[287] The components of N51 are footless jars. Brodbeck-Jucker could find no parallel for this vase, but the tall rim to rim handle is present on composite vessels from Achaia.[288] The handle of the miniature A1316 from Lakkithra was probably similar. The piriform jars of which this vessel is composed are very close to those of N50, which is LH IIIB; but its conical foot, along with the position of the handle suggest an LH IIIC date.

XXI. Ring vases (FS 196): Generally this shape is confined to the LH IIIC period and is present in small numbers across the Mycenaean world. Iakovides, Papadopoulos and Brodbeck-Jucker have recently summarized the evidence from other sites.[289] Of the two published examples from Kefalonia, one comes from Metaxata and the other from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel.[290] They are quite different in proportions. N74 has a lower and broader body on three feet, while A1444 (**Pl. 2**) is higher and proportionately smaller in diameter. However, they both have basket handles starting from the base of the spout and ending at the other side of the central hole. Both handles are barred. N74 has a monochrome lower body and A1444 has a close linear body with decorated bands (zig-zag and circles). The upper surface of the ring of both vases is decorated (zig-zag: N47, lozenges: N73). The only other published ring vase on three feet is one from Achaia[291] which both Brodbeck-Jucker and Papadopoulos compare with the vase from Kefalonia.

XXII. Askoi (FS 194–95): Altogether there were six askoi, including two coarse handmade vessels. A handmade fineware askos from Diakata (A963) has a baggy body and a horizontal handle between its broad neckless mouth and its 'tail'. Close to it in shape is an unpublished monochrome askos from the Library collection (A378) which has a more distinct neck and a narrower mouth with a flaring lip.[292] A small cylindrical askos from Lakkithra B, which has perished, had three legs and, more so than the other two, recalls animal-shaped askoi such as the duck askoi, originally a Cypriot shape, but also popular in Achaia. The lentoid askos from Metaxata A (A1445) is the only vase of this shape with painted decoration. It is similar in proportions and patterns (linear with cross-hatched lozenges: FM 73y) to the ring vase (A1444) from the same tomb. They were probably products of the same workshop.

The askos is a form which goes back to LH II.[293] But all the published examples from Kefalonia are LH IIIC, as they derive from tombs which contained no earlier pottery.

Summary and discussion

At Oikopeda no pottery of MH style was found with the few early Mycenaean vases (early squat jars, goblets and Vapheio cup). If we are right in suggesting continuity of the MH pottery tradition in the area until LH II, it is likely that the vases from Oikopeda are not earlier than LH IIIA1. The alabastron with the rock pattern from the Kokkolata pits (A334), if indeed it was LH IIIA1, would be the only vase of this phase with patterned decoration to have come from Kefalonia.

The LH IIIA2 pottery from the tombs is more plentiful than previously thought. Eleven vases are stylistically assignable to this phase: four piriform jars (N46, A16, A577, A1477), three stirrup jars (N65, N65b, A1352), a spouted jug (N85), a krater (A575), and the fragment of a bowl from Metaxata B (Catalogue no. 584). Some of the perked-up squat jars, and the small handleless jars may also belong to this phase. In Livatho the LH IIIA2 phase is represented at Mazarakata, Prokopata, Metaxata B and less definitely at Lakkithra Δ. Vases that cannot be dated more accurately than LH IIIA2-B occur in the same tombs and at Oikopeda. Even if the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B vases are counted together, however, they are proportionately very few: among the published vases there are about forty, i.e. about 8% of the total. A number of the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B vases, although not all, display high manufacturing and artistic standards, compatible with good mainland Mycenaean. For this reason some (A16, A577, A575, A576, A1352) have been regarded as imports,[294] although Brodbeck-Jucker has questioned the foreign provenance of one of the finest examples, the stirrup jar with flowers on the shoulder (A1352), which she regards as very similar in quality and design to N65. Moreover the supposition that a large proportion of the LH IIIA2 vases were imports, and therefore likely to have been heirlooms, cannot be entertained any longer. The excavation of the tholos tomb at Tzanata, although robbed of its pottery, has proven a significant Mycenaean presence in the 14th century, albeit in a different part of the island.

The LH IIIB-LH IIIB/C vases are even less numerous, amounting to twenty-two, not including any unpublished vases. With the exception of stirrup jar Al491, which may be an imported piece, there are no fine examples, and the standard of potting is not high. The glaze paint is dull and thin, and the shapes are less accurate.

Despite the small number of vases, there are indications that, as in other parts of the Mycenaean world,[295] a local pottery style developed in Kefalonia too during LH IIIB. The idiosyncrasies of the Kefalonian LH IIIB pottery include the survival of the squat jar, a liking for legged vases and a preference for monochrome decoration, which may perhaps have passed from the squat jar to other shapes (small globular jars, mug, piriform jar). The tendency to produce a footless variant of shapes which normally have a foot seems to have started during this period too (e.g. the unpublished spouted cup from Mazarakata: A57). The habit may also have had its origins in the footless squat jar. The shapes of the stirrup jars probably also began to deviate from the standard mainland types in the course of this phase (e.g. the tall and globular A1471). On the other hand the system of decoration and the motifs on the LH IIIA2-B/C pottery is much the same as standard Mycenaean. Vases have a linear body, often with thick-and-thin bands, and a decorated shoulder zone. The motifs are the flower, the diaper net, the angular multiple stem, the multiple stem-and-tongue, parallel chevrons, and the quirk.

The connections of this pottery are with the neighbouring areas: it shares shapes and decorative patterns with the pottery of Zakynthos, in particular that of the cemetery of Kambi: alabastra with diaper net, rock pattern and chevrons, stirrup jars with flowers and monochrome handleless jars. The squat stirrup jar (FS 179) was popular at Kambi, and so were baggy shapes like A1346. With Achaia too Kefalonia shares common shapes, such as the small handleless jar and the squat jar, shapes which usually (in Achaia) or exclusively (in Kefalonia) occur in monochrome. The small handleless jar is earlier and better represented in Achaia, while the squat jar is much more conspicuous in Kefalonia. Evidently some cross-fertilisation between the two regions took place in this period. Elis may have contributed to making the monochrome squat jar a favourite Kefalonian shape, as it already appears in the tumulus of Samikon in MH III/LH I.[296] It has been suggested that when monochrome squat jars appear again in LH IIIA2 in the Alpheios/Kladeos district, they may be exports from Kefalonia.[297] The small handleless jars and the straight-sided and rounded alabastra from the tombs of that region also have similarities with those of Kefalonia. The possible connections with Ithaki are not very obvious in the pottery of this period, possibly because that island has only produced pottery from settlements. However, some motifs on the pottery at Tris Langades (diaper net, multiple stem, foliate band, wavy line and zig-zag – see ch. 7.4) also occur on the pottery of Kefalonia, and there was a tendency on Ithaki too to paint the interiors of open shapes in monochrome paint.

Since so much of the pottery is LH IIIC it would be of great value if we could subdivide this period into ceramic phases, as Wardle attempted to do. But his suggested criterion for a distinction between an earlier and a later LH IIIC phase, i.e. whether or not open shapes (kraters, bowls and kylikes) are included in the tombs, is not a safe one. The inclusion of open shapes in graves is a custom which predates LH IIIC at Oikopeda (goblets) and Prokopata (krater). Moreover, the decorative system and patterns on the kraters and bowls are those of the typical Kefalonian style and they occur, and are even sometimes duplicated, on other shapes (stirrup jars, amphoriskoi and lekythoi). Vases with this type of decoration, and vases which are late LH IIIC, come from tombs with few or no open shapes (Mavrata, Metaxata B). Hence it is more likely that Wardle's phase (c) overlaps by and large with his phase (b).

Neither can the tripartite division of LH IIIC (**Fig**. **20**), which is generally accepted today for the central regions,[298] be applied across the board to the pottery of Kefalonia, since there are few stylistic connections between the LH IIIC pottery from the island and the pottery of the regions which have given rise to these subdivisions. Among the detectable affinities with LH IIIC Early are the adoption of the conical kylix (FS 174) with reserved handle-zone, and the sparser system of decoration. The innovations of LH IIIC Middle can only be seen in some elaborate stirrup jars and a krater (A947), which possibly reveal some knowledge of the Close style, and in the couple of vases with reserved bases. Features of LH IIIC Late are more common. They include biconical-conical shapes, conical bases, monochrome lower halves of vases and the wavy lines in reserved zones. What seems more appropriate for the Kefalonian pottery as a whole is its division into a short early phase (early LH IIIC) and a longer late phase (developed LH IIIC), the latter consisting of the mature local LH IIIC style. This division would compare with the two-phase division of Furumark's 1941 classification. References to the pottery from Achaia, where Papadopoulos has used this classification, can be helpful for dating individual vases. However, as Mountjoy has pointed out,[299] Furumark's classification of the LH IIIC period is in need of thorough revision, and this must be taken into account.

The character of the Kefalonian early LH IIIC is suggested by some of the pottery from tombs containing both developed LH IIIC and pre-LH IIIC pottery, such as Metaxata B, Lakkithra Γ and the unpublished Mazarakata A, Γ and E, and by some of the pottery from Metaxata Γ and particularly Mavrata. The following should be early LH IIIC: the piriform jars with two handles, and also some with three handles and LH IIIC patterns on the handle-zone (e.g. A1277), the two-handled rounded and straight-sided alabastra, the globular squat jars, particularly those on high foot, and some juglets with flat base (e.g. A1291). Early LH IIIC stirrup jars are difficult to distinguish, but I would regard as early those stirrup jars with flat, or flat and concave bases and/or a body decorated in a linear fashion reminiscent of the thick-and-thin band system (A1052, A1350, A1471). A characteristic of early stirrup jars is also a shoulder with decoration which is less dense (e.g. A1, A1052, A1347, A1480, A1487, A1490) than that of the developed Kefalonian style, and which is often coupled with decorated body-zones below it, usually one (e.g. A1, A1347, A1480), exceptionally two (A1490). Early amphoriskoi are also difficult to discern, but those with flat, concave bases (A1092, A1468) would be the earliest. The squat jar continues to a limited degree, but apart from the position

of the handle, it has mostly acquired the shape of the small jug. On the whole, the volume of material which may be assigned to an early LH IIIC phase is small, but it is slightly larger than that of the pre-LH IIIC vases.

The developed LH IIIC phase is the best represented. This phase would no longer include alabastra or piriform jars, and only the most distorted of squat jars would still have been produced. All the other shapes continue and are supplemented by the small lekythos, the jugs and amphorae, the conical spouted cup, the deep bowl, the stemmed bowl, the kylix, the krater, the dipper, the collar-necked jar and the askos. The characteristic Kefalonian LH IIIC style, which developed during the early phase, crystallized in this period. Its special features can be seen both in the shapes and in the decoration.

(a) Shape: There is an increased lack of precision and standardization of the shapes, which may be attributed to poor potting standards. Nonetheless there are common traits which give the style its identity:

(i). A preference for globular and globular/biconical forms, as opposed to perked-up forms, in the closed shapes (stirrup jars, jugs, amphoriskoi, lekythoi). The largest diameter of the vases is commonly at, or below the middle of the body.

(ii). A tendency towards a kantharoid shape, especially for kraters, bowls and amphoriskoi.

(iii). A tendency towards wide mouths on some closed shapes, particularly amphoriskoi and small jugs.

(iv). A liking for stemmed open shapes (bowls, kraters) or spouted ones (bowls, kraters, cups).

(v). A tendency to produce footless variants of shapes (amphoriskoi, small jugs) which normally have a foot.

(vi). A persistence of outdated shapes (squat jar), or features (cut-away neck on jugs).

(vii). A frequent use of legs (mostly three) on a variety of shapes: amphoriskos (A1278), askos (A1140), spouted krater (A1263), bottle-shaped alabastron (A1318) and cylindrical bowl (A1527).

(viii). A pronounced tendency towards high and conical bases, particularly on small jugs and squat jars, stirrup jars, amphoriskoi and kantharoid kraters.

(b) Decoration: Monochrome paint applied to the whole body of the vase is common, amounting to 36% of the published vases. However 79% of these are small jugs, the rest are amphoriskoi, amphorae, large jugs, deep and shallow bowls, kraters and multiple vessels.

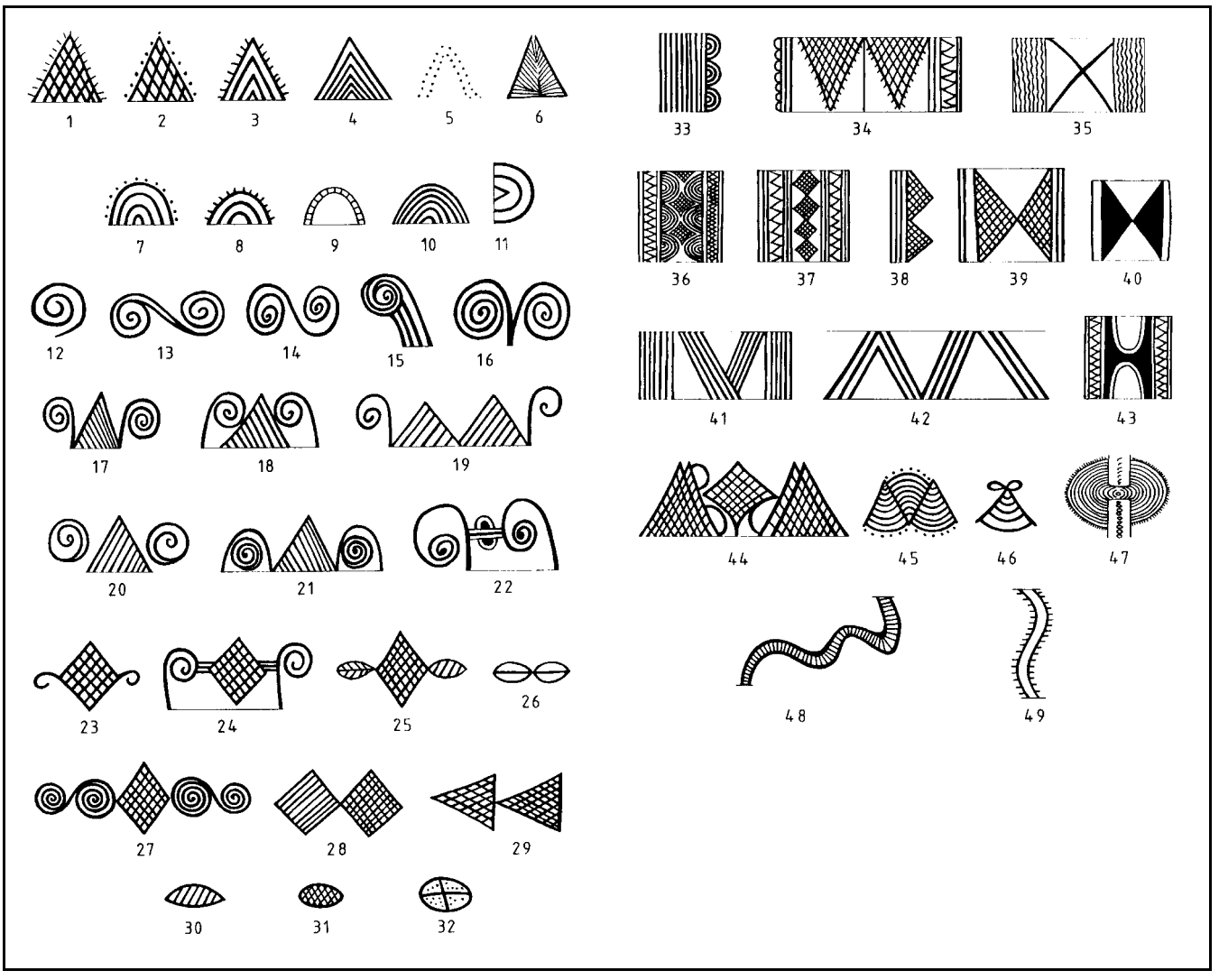
The majority of the vases have simple decoration on the lower body and a patterned shoulder or handle-zone. A higher proportion of vases have a monochrome lower body than is usual in most other regions. It is particularly common on amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, cups and bowls/kraters, but rare on lekythoi. A monochrome lower body is not necessarily an indication of a late LH IIIC date, though it may have become more frequent in the latter part of the period.[300]

Non-figurative patterns are the rule. The range of LH IIIC motifs and combinations are illustrated on **Figure 11**. The frequency and distribution of motifs per shape are shown on Table F.2. The most common motifs are spirals (isolated, stemmed, running, double) and triangles (hatched, cross-hatched, multiple), which occur on seventy-one and fifty-eight vases respectively, and isolated semi-circles and lozenges (hatched, cross-hatched), which occur on thirty and twenty-five or -six vases respectively. Triangles and semi-circles are occasionally fringed (eight or nine examples), and lozenges can have curled ends. Frequent motifs are also the zig-zag (simple or elaborate = twenty-eight) and the wavy line (eleven). Less common are the bivalve shell, the chevrons, the diaper net, the rosette, the leaf (the name I have given to an oval rosette), the sea anemone, the elaborate triangle, the streamer and the antithetic spiral. Panelled decoration is not uncommon on kraters and stemmed bowls (eight examples). The only other shape with panelled decoration is a kylix (A1428).

The motifs are usually arranged so as to form a continuous decorative frieze. However, on a number of vases, among which are the stirrup jars mentioned above, some amphoriskoi and kraters/bowls, the combination of patterns forms a frontal motif. Most commonly this consists of a triangle or lozenge flanked by spirals (A1050), more rarely by leaves (A1341). Exceptionally a lozenge is flanked by triangles (A1434). A single double spiral is also used as a frontal motif (stirrup jars A1488 and A21, amphoriskos A1021).[301]

The LH IIIC pottery of Kefalonia is stylistically homogeneous, and there are no obvious regional variations.[302] Although the style is unique to the island, connections with the LH IIIC pottery of the neighbouring areas are strong. On Ithaki the conical kylikes, especially those with outlined handles, the monochrome deep bowls, the stemmed bowl (S228), the dippers and the spouted cup (S236), a likely import from Kefalonia, reveal close connections between the two islands, particularly in the late stages of LH IIIC (ch. 7.4).

Several common features link the Achaian and Kefalonian LH IIIC styles: the numerous monochrome vases[303] and vases with monochrome lower part, the legged vases, and the preference shown for certain motifs, particularly the cross-hatched triangle (the hatched triangle is rare in Achaia), the isolated semi-circle, the fringed motifs, the zig-zag and the wavy line. Moreover, some types (the legged alabastra, the legged ring vases, the two- and, even more so, the four-handled amphorae, some amphoriskoi and monochrome small jugs) are common to both regions. But there are not many definite imported Achaian vases. Papadopoulos regards A1045 (with a shoulder decoration of fringed composite triangles), A958 (with fringed multiple triangles and evenly spaced bands) and A1339 (with fringed semi-circles) as Achaian imports.[304] He also includes among the imports a few more stirrup jars (A1037, A1539, A1542), which have evenly spaced bands, although there is nothing really un-Kefalonian about them. On the other hand he does not mention A1442 with cross-hatched triangles on the shoulder and evenly spaced bands on the body. The fabric of this vase is of a different and superior quality to that of the bulk of Kefalonian pottery. I would regard the latter vase, as well as A1045, A1339 and probably A958 (the vase has perished) as imported pieces, but would have reservations



11. Representative patterns on LH IIIC vases from Kefalonia.

about the rest. Fringed motifs and evenly spaced bands are more common on the Kefalonian pottery than Papadopoulos was in a position to ascertain from the publications. Papadopoulos also regarded amphora A1265 as an Achaian export. It is noteworthy that three of the possible Achaian pieces (A1265, A958, A1339) are large vessels and may have been imported into Kefalonia for their contents. In the opposite direction, he identified a number of vases among the Achaian material which he believes to be imports from Kefalonia. They include two spouted kraters (A/A802, A/A542), the fragment of a stemmed krater,[305] six conical kylikes (PM790, PM791, PM881, PM902, PM903, PM928),[306] three stirrup jars decorated with spirals (PM112, PM222, PM223),[307] and an amphoriskos with hatched triangles in a reserved handle-zone (PM539).[308] Of the stirrup jars, PM223[309] is the likeliest exported piece, since spirals and lozenges are a characteristic Kefalonian combination. Most of the connections with the island are concentrated in south-western Achaia. At Teichos Dymaion, apart from the conical kylikes and a spouted krater, there are bowls with vertical handles and stemmed bowls[310] which recall Kefalonian shapes. Papadopoulos gives precedence to Achaia for the common features in the pottery styles of the two areas, because of the greater antiquity of Mycenaean pottery in that district. However, this cannot apply to features which belong exclusively to the mature LH IIIC period, which are probably the result of reciprocal influences.

The connections with the LH IIIC pottery of Elis are evident in the large two- and four-handled amphorae which persist through to SM[311] in the shape of some FS 176 stirrup jars, and in some of the tall straight-sided alabastra with two handles[312] which are similar in shape to the three-legged examples from Kefalonia. The two regions also share similarities regarding the choice of patterns (spiral, semi-circle, multiple triangle, lozenge and zig-zag). A similar range of connections exists with Messenia, although the LH IIIC material from this region is scarce. The connections are evident in the belly-handled amphorae, pattern-decorated kylikes, and similarities in the shape and decoration of some open vases.[313] Moreover Elis, Messenia, Kefalonia and Ithaki share the late survival of the kylix, which continues to be produced right through to the PG period.

The above ceramic connections associate Kefalonia to a western Greek LH IIIC ceramic *koine*, which will develop

further during the PG period (see ch. 7.5). The more distant pottery parallels are of a more sporadic and eclectic nature. Mountjoy[314] has found parallels in Delphi for the ridged stem of krater A1242 and the diaper net below the lip of krater A988, both from Lakkithra. Sherratt has highlighted the resemblances between the LH IIIC pottery from the island and the pottery of eastern Crete: the kantharoid shape of bowls and kraters, and the conical kylikes (with swollen or ribbed stems and/or decorated bowls).[315] There are also similarities between the Cretan Open style and Kefalonian pottery in the form of common patterns (zig-zag, running and isolated spiral, concentric semi-circles and hatched lozenges) and some more unusual ones, such as the double-axe and the leaf.[316] The conical spouted cups (FS 252) link Kefalonia with the Dodecanese, and so does the shape of the stirrup jars with sloping shoulders (FS 176), although this appears to be more widespread than Furumark once thought. Brodbeck-Jucker has pointed out that the hatched triangle is also a motif which occurs in the Dodecanese and that, specifically on a vase from Kos, it occurs in combination with stemmed spirals as was common in Kefalonia.[317] Further afield, Cyprus provided the ultimate models for the bottle-shaped alabastra. The shape may naturally have reached Kefalonia via Attica, but it is only in Cyprus that the tall footed example A1530 has parallels, if indeed it is Mycenaean. The white overpaint on some vases may also ultimately have derived from Cyprus, although this now appears to be less unusual on LH IIIC pottery than before. The reserved foot of amphoriskos N58, which Brodbeck-Jucker regards as an import, and of small jug A44, is not a Kefalonian characteristic; the feature occurs in a number of areas, including Attica and the Argolid.

The connections between the pottery of Kefalonia and the Mycenaean pottery in the central Mediterranean are at present not clear. Few stylistic parallels are unchallenged. Taylour had mentioned the isolated spiral motif, the running spiral with double tangent, a krater sherd and a conical kylix from Scoglio del Tonno as possible connections.[318] More recently L. Vagnetti[319] referred to similarities between the pottery of Porto Perone and Satyrion, and Kefalonian pottery. E. Fischer's detailed comparative study of Apulian and western Greek Mycenaean pointed out several features and motifs shared with Kefalonian pottery, both among the pre-LH IIIC and the LH IIIC pottery from Apulia,[320] but there are few specific parallels. Fischer's parallels would be more convincing as influences of the Kefalonian pottery style on the locally produced Mycenaean, but she believes that the pottery is mostly compatible with imports (to the tune of ca. 80%), although, in contrast to her opinion, archaeometric analyses on the pottery from two sites (Termitito and Broglio di Trebisacce) has shown the majority of the pottery there to have been locally made.[321] Vagnetti has herself recently accepted that the pottery connections between Italy and the Ionian Islands are not conclusive.[322] The one definite Kefalonian import in Italy is still the stirrup jar in the Louvre (Inv. no. 1083, from Italy, allegedly Campania) highlighted by Taylour.[323] Its shoulder is decorated in the characteristic Kefalonian style, i.e. a frontal motif consisting of a hatched triangle flanked by two stemmed spirals (in the same manner as A1050).

Handmade coarseware

The Kefalonian cemeteries yielded a large number of unlevigated handmade pottery, which usually has a finger-smoothed, unburnished or slightly burnished surface. The published tombs produced between sixty-seven and seventy pots, i.e. 11.5% of the total pottery.[324] This is unusual in Mycenaean burial contexts. Higher still was the percentage of handmade pottery in the few excavated settlements; Marinatos mentions that at Vounias-Aghioi Theodoroi the handmade sherds outnumbered the wheel-turned ones.[325]

A little less than half of the handmade vessels from the tombs imitated or were inspired by Mycenaean shapes. The earliest vase of Mycenaean derivation is the Vapheio cup (A1390) from Oikopeda which is made in fineware. Other pre-LH IIIC vases, in coarser wares, include a handleless goblet from Oikopeda (A1391), some squat jars from Oikopeda and Kokkolata, and an unpublished three-handled alabastron from the Library (A527).[326] An unpublished stirrup jar from Mazarakata Γ (A17) may also be earlier than LH IIIC.[327] There are two composite vessels imitating Mycenaean, datable to LH IIIC, from Metaxata Γ, one (A1578) composed of three jars. Wardle counted twelve handmade dippers from the tombs as a whole, and there are thirty-nine small jugs which may or may not strictly speaking imitate the Mycenaean shape (e.g. A1353: **Pl. 19**). The side-spouted cups (e.g. A1231, A1474) were also probably derived from Mycenaean shapes, less certainly so the spouted jugs/sauceboats (A1231, A1473). A Mycenaean influence is also likely for the legged askoid vase A963, but not for the little 'hedgehog' askos (A1531).[328] A kantharoid two-handled bowl (A1131)[329] is reminiscent of the MH shape, but it also resembles the krateriskoi with vertical handles and even the PG kantharoi of Ithaki.

A large number of cups, bowls, jugs and jars bear no close resemblance to Mycenaean shapes and belong to a local tradition. They are often decorated with crescent-shaped coils (A1224, A1222) and/or nail impressions (A1224: **Pl. 19**), knobs (A1220 and A1225: **Pl. 19**), less often with perforated lugs (A1358). These decorative techniques go back to the EBA in the region (Lefkada and Ithaki: see chapters 4, 5.2 and 7.2). A large tray with a hole in its base from Metaxata A2 (A1427)[330] has concave sides and a slashed cordon decoration along the rim. The shape remains unparalleled, but the cordon decoration goes back to the EBA.

A series of large and medium-sized two-handled necked jars (max. h.: 0.40m), one each from Metaxata A, Lakkithra A and Mazarakata H, and four examples from the cave of Mavrata-Chairata (**Pl. 62:c**),[331] belong to a group of jars with common features. Fragments were also found in the house at Vounias-Aghioi Theodoroi. The jars have a globular or ovoid body, short wide necks and two sloping neck-to-shoulder handles. They are decorated with rows of nail or finger impressions at the base of the neck and exceptionally (A1716 from Mavrata) around the rim too. The body is either plain or

is decorated with vertical ribs or 'corrugations'. Some large sherds with similar decoration from Tris Langades probably come from jars like these. There is a very similar large jar (S489) and parts of others from the cave of Polis (ch. 7.4), the former with its body covered with clay pellets like the 'pellet ware' sherds from Starochorafa. The type of vessel and its decoration are also characteristic of Epirus in LH III (see ch. 7.4), and a similar date is suggested by the context of these vessels in Kefalonia. The shape may have replaced the jars with semi-circular horizontal lugs of earlier periods. Other coarseware from the settlements, however, with decoration of applied coils, knobs or cordons, is indistinguishable from earlier domestic pottery.

A different category of coarse handmade pottery consists of five small cylindrical pyxides and one rectangular legged vessel.[332] All have incised, or incised and punctured decoration. The cylindrical pyxides range in height from 0.45m (A1536: **Pl. 19**) to 0.65m (A1228). An unprovenanced round lid of larger size, from Peratata, with similarly incised decoration is housed in the Argostoli Museum.[333] The pyxides recall the earlier Cycladic pyxides, but Brodbeck-Jucker also found some LBA parallels.[334] A1228 bears a decoration of cross-hatched panels framing an incised whorl shell (FM 23), a motif which occurs in LH IIIB–C1e. Curiously this motif is not found on the Mycenaean pottery from Kefalonia, though it occurs at Tris Langades (ch. 7.4). It is noteworthy that all the pyxides came from tombs which also produced pottery earlier than LH IIIC, and therefore the production of these vases could precede this period and could have been limited in time. Brodbeck-Jucker links the decoration of these pyxides to the Adriatic ware of the south-western Peloponnese.[335] Like the Kefalonian pyxides (not however A1535–36), some of the Adriatic ware displays an attempt at composition, and local ancestry for this may be provided by the coarseware kantharos fragment of probable MBA date from the cave of Peratata in the Argostoli Museum (see above).

Summary and discussion

The LH IIIC handmade pottery of the island belongs to different classes, which are linked by the technique of their manufacture. Some of the pottery shows connections with the western Peloponnese (the cylindrical pyxides), or with Epirus and Ithaki (the necked jars and the few sherds of 'pellet ware'). The majority of the handmade pottery either continues simple traditional shapes of bowls, cups and jugs or imitates fineware Mycenaean. The practice of producing fineware shapes in handmade coarser fabric goes back to the late MH at Kokkolata, as does the general custom of including coarseware in the tombs. Therefore, the LBA handmade pottery, which mostly comes from the same tombs (Lakkithra Γ is an exception) and sometimes from the same burials as Mycenaean pottery, would suggest a predominantly native population, not, as Desborough believed, a native element in the population, alongside the Mycenaean settlers.

It is commonly thought that handmade pottery was made at the family hearth, mostly perhaps, though not exclusively, by women,[336] but it could also have been made at the workshop by children or trainee potters. Sandars has suggested that when handmade pottery appears on mainland Greece in LH IIIC, it may be the result of the internal breakdown of the Mycenaean centres and the ensuing deterioration of the workshops.[337] In Kefalonia, it is possible that the pottery workshops of the island did not develop high enough standards of production or output, even before LH IIIC, in order to stop home-made production entirely (in fact, given the dearth of Mycenaean pottery from the settlement sites, one wonders how much was produced for domestic use). We must also consider the possibility that some forms of domestic containers were used for the storage, cooking and consumption of local varieties of food, which may be another reason why they were retained. Matthäus suggested that, when found in graves, handmade pottery probably denotes socio-economic differences within the community.[338] Since, as was mentioned above, most Kefalonian tombs yielded both handmade and fineware pottery, Matthäus's suggestion has implications about the type of social units using the tombs (see ch. 9), and it is true that the wealthiest of the tombs, Lakkithra Δ, contained a much smaller than average proportion of handmade pottery (five vases i.e. 4% of the total number of vases), and that the small Lakkithra Γ only contained handmade pottery.

The connections between the Kefalonian handmade pottery and that of the rest of Greece is not clear. In recent studies, the suggested outside origins or influences for this pottery vary from region to region and in accordance to the type of pottery. In Crete the 'impasto' type of pottery has been connected with southern Italy.[339] In Attica and in the Peloponnese, the Handmade Burnished Ware has been linked with Romanian wares, material from Troy VIIb,[340] and with the pottery of western Greece (Epirus, Aitoloakarnania and Kefalonia).[341] The people responsible for the introduction of this pottery would have been mercenaries, shepherds from the mountains or, according to Kilian, seasonal workers (*Gastarbeiter*). The difficulties about the possible contribution of the Kefalonian handmade tradition to the handmade pottery of the mainland are the unburnished character of the local pottery and the absence, on the mainland, of any of the characteristic Kefalonian types.

D. CLAY FIGURINE

The only clay figurine, from Lakkithra Δ (ca. 0.10m high),[342] now lost, was type F and had applied eyes and breasts. Its painted decoration appears to have been entirely eroded.

Both Furumark[343] and French[344] agree that type F is essentially LH IIIA2, but survived into the next period. The Lakkithra figurine came from the bottom of pit 5 of tomb Δ, which is in the centre of the tomb and hence is one of the original pits of the subsequently enlarged tomb. It is therefore very likely that the figurine belonged with the earliest burials in the tomb which, according to the pottery, would date from LH IIIA2–B.[345] The unpublished figurines from the Tzanata ossuary would be of similar date.

E. METALWORK

The amount of metalwork from the Kefalonian tombs as a whole is comparable to that from LH IIIC cemeteries with similar amounts of pottery. At Perati, for instance, there were 125 objects of bronze,[346] as against 1127 vases; by comparison in Kefalonia there were ninety metal artefacts (not counting forty bronze rivets) and 1056 vases (including the unpublished vases). But the number of larger bronzes was higher in Kefalonia than at Perati: the latter site only produced three weapons, whereas sixteen were recovered in the Kefalonian tombs. Perati was, however, somewhat richer in gold: thirty-seven tombs produced 187 gold pieces,[347] as opposed to 146 gold items from Kefalonia (not including some fragments of sheet gold, however, or any unpublished pieces). Both Perati and Kefalonia were much wealthier in gold than Ialyssos, where very little was present.[348] It should also be taken into account that, given the frequent reopening of the Kefalonian tombs (and the later depositions in the tombs), proportionately more gold and other metal objects are likely to have been removed from them than from the tombs at other sites.

Weapons (Tab. J.1)

I. Swords: There were three long swords from the tombs. The two originally intact weapons from Diakata 2 (A837a: **Pl. 20** and A837b) belong to Sandars's type F.[349] They have square shoulders, flanged hilts and handguard, and both had the T-shaped pommel characteristic of this type. They had four rivets in a row along the hilt, the last one in the pommel (pommel and one rivet now missing from A837a). The sword with broken pommel from Lakkithra A (A1167: **Pl. 20**) has also been attributed by Catling (with reservations) to type F.[350] It had sloping shoulders, now chipped away, and no flanges on the preserved part of the hilt. There are two rivets, and two more were placed on either side of the handguard. Their position is at variance with the Diakata swords, as is the presence of a slight midrib at the top part of the blade, which is absent from the Diakata swords.

Catling divided the type F swords into three categories on the basis of their length and the proportions (length/width) of the blade. The Diakata weapons are under 0.50m in length and have narrow blades. They are therefore to be assigned to type Fii, a weapon which Catling believes to have developed in response to the introduction into Greece of the Type II sword from Europe.[351] The majority of Fii swords do not come from the old heartland of the Mycenaean world but from its periphery. At the last count,[352] ten out of a total of eighteen came from north-western Greece (Epirus, Aitoloakarnania and Kefalonia). Their concentration in this area and their common features have prompted Wardle to suggest that they were produced in north-western Greece.[353] A close parallel to the Diakata swords (particularly A837b) is to be found, on account of size, position of rivets and tapering of the hilt, in the sword from the hoard of Surbo (Apulia), which is regarded as a Greek import into Italy.[354] S. Benton also pointed out that the swords of Diakata are the closest known parallels to the sword of Pelynt (Cornwall),[355] which may or may not be authentic,[356] although its connection with the western Greek examples should be a strong point in favour of its authenticity.

The type F sword had a long life span. Sandars traced its development back to the 13th century in Minoan Crete. The distribution of this sword, which was the most popular type in the Mycenaean world, spans a large geographical area, from the Dodecanese to Epirus. Its use lasted until the 11th century, as shown by the SM context of a sword from Elis.[357] The success of the weapon stemmed from the fact that it was 'strong, dependable … easy to handle and difficult to break'.[358] An LH IIIC date is the most likely for the swords from Diakata 2, though the architectural type of this tomb is earlier and thus leaves open the possibility that the swords may have belonged to the earliest deposition, possibly unaccompanied by pottery. The Lakkithra sword is most certainly LH IIIC.

A fourth sword, the 'Woodhouse' sword (Sandars's type G) in the British Museum, may also have originated in Kefalonia, if Kalligas is right (see ch. 7.4). It is interesting to note that, unlike the spearheads discussed below, all the swords from the island are Aegean weapons, and surprisingly no Type II swords have turned up in Kefalonia.

II. Spearheads: The number of spearheads known to have come from the LH tombs is thirteen. Of these only six (A606, A915, A916, A1168 and A1592: **Pl. 21**, N97) are fully known, either from the extant objects or from published illustrations. The rest are either incomplete or poorly published, and/or lost.

All but two (A606, A1168) of the spearheads whose shape is known belong to the category commonly known as 'northern'. The northern origin of these weapons was first proposed by Child,[359] and subsequently accepted by Sandars, Desborough, Snodgrass, Catling and Hammond.[360] Northern type spearheads have a wide distribution in the Aegean and the Levant in the late 13th and 12th centuries and, apart from their unslit sockets and their thin and broad blades, which are their main un-Aegean features, they are a very diverse group. Snodgrass proposed their division into three classes (A, B and C), Catling into two ('Mouliana' and 'Kephallenia') and Harding distinguished four different categories. Recently Avila's general work on the Greek spearheads has confirmed the typological diversity of the 'northern' spearheads of Greece as a whole, and has highlighted the variety of areas where connections for the different weapons could be found (northern Greece, Italy, northern and southern Balkans).[361] Harding[362] reiterated this and noted the concentration of foreign prototypes or spearheads of foreign craftsmanship in the northern regions of Greece. Wardle was the first to suggest the possibility of an independent north-western Greek metal production.[363] In connection to the spearheads in particular, Avila distinguished an 'Albano-Epirote' group of spearheads, and isolated those features most commonly found among them. They are: flame-shaped blade, unslit socket, faceted socket, deep socket hole, high position of rivet holes and hammered metal.[364]

Two spearheads from Metaxata A (A1593, A1592) were connected by Avila to the 'Albano-Epirote' group, primarily

on account of their concave or flame-shaped blades. Of the two, A1593 (details of which are not known because the weapon is lost) was classified with the 'Albano-Epirote' group. The second spearhead (A1592) Avila set apart, because, although it also displays characteristics of the group, it has its point on one side of the blade and a curving triangular midrib, features which are unique among the spearheads from Greece. The suggested connections for this weapon are with the north of the Balkan peninsula.[365] Avila did not include N97 in his study, but the weapon was published by Brodbeck-Jucker,[366] who attributes this weapon too to Avila's north-western Greek group. The narrow and concave-sided blade and the cast socket of this weapon are comparable with A1592, but the socket is much shorter. On the other hand, the shape of its blade, its rounded hilt and short socket are features very similar to those of another group of Avila's northern spearheads, which comprises a weapon from Langada (Kos) and one from the hoard of Kieri (Thessaly).[367] The position of the rivet holes immediately under the wings of the blade on N97 is compatible both with this group and with the Albano-Epirote one. The second, fragmentary spearhead from Neuchâtel (Tab. J.1 no. 11) also had a short socket and high rivet holes.[368]

The rest of the 'northern' spearheads all have a more or less leaf-shaped blade. One of the Diakata spearheads (A915), which Avila classified together with an unprovenanced weapon in the Lamia museum,[369] has a short socket, highly positioned rivet holes and two parallel engraved lines which follow the contour of the blade. On account of this last feature and of an unusual slant at the base of the wings, Avila associates this weapon with spearheads from Italy, the northern Balkans and south-central Europe. Harding, independently, regards it as an import and suggests parallels for it at Vajzë in Albania and the Danube-Sava province.[370]

The second extant spearhead from Diakata (A916)[371] has a long socket, whose section changes from round to oval closer to the blade. It is made of hammered metal, a common feature of weapons from the Adriatic and south-western Balkan regions at the end of the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age.

A spearhead from Mazarakata (Tab. J.1 no. 12), which is only known from a sketch (**Pl. 21**), was not included in Avila's study. It had an ovate pointed blade and a round socket, which was broken. The shape of the blade resembles less the spearheads from north-western Greece than those of Avila's type VII, in particular weapons from Achaia, although these are on the whole longer. But its rivets are located high on its socket, a common feature on the Epirote and other types of northern spearheads.

The two spearheads with slit sockets are Aegean in character, although they do not belong to the common types. The spearhead from Riza (A606) has a broken socket, and the slit is not preserved. It has a narrow blade, low, flat midrib and a very shallow socket hole. Avila assigned it to his type IX, which includes a spearhead from Delphi and one from Athens.[372] The spearhead from Lakkithra A (A1168), which had been bent (or 'killed') but has been drawn 'unrolled' (**Pl. 21**), shares with the spearhead of Riza the long and narrow shape of the blade and the low midrib.

A small leaf-shaped javelin head from Lakkithra B (A1174), with a flat blade and a short socket, would seem to belong to that same category of small weapons distributed widely over an area which includes Ithaki, north-western Greece[373] and the south-western Balkans.[374]

Only the spearheads from Oikopeda (Tab. J.1 nos 17–18), which are too fragmentary for any comment, can be said with any amount of certainty to be earlier than LH IIIC. The weapon from Riza should be LH III on account of the stirrup jar from the same tomb, but it cannot be dated more accurately, and neither do its parallels come from datable contexts. The weapons from Mazarakata may be LH IIIB or LH IIIC. A mature LH IIIC date is the likeliest for the rest of the weapons since they all came from type II tombs.

Tools and objects of personal use (Tab. J.2)

I. Knives (**Pls 22** and **63:c**): The largest category of bronze artefacts from the tombs are knives. Wardle listed thirty-seven from LBA contexts in Kefalonia, of which twenty-nine have been illustrated in publications.[375] There is also a mention of a fragmentary knife from Kokkolata tholos A, which was not illustrated by Kavvadias.[376] The unpublished knives are: three from Mavrata, of which two are lost, two from Metaxata E, and one without provenance. A second unprovenanced knife is illustrated here (Tab. J.2 no. 32: **Pl. 63:d.2**). Of the published knives three from Diakata and one from Lakkithra (A1170) appear to be lost.

The knives are all under 0.20m long. Only one, from Oikopeda, may be double-edged, the rest are single-edged. With the exception of one (A1175: **Pl. 22**), none of the knives are flanged, a type which developed in the Aegean in the MBA.[377] Some are closer than others to Sandars's type 1a.[378] They have long blades, a more or less straight back and cutting edge, and a row of two or three rivets on the handle. Even these knives, though, tend to have a wider haft and a more triangular blade than the usual type 1a. In that, they resemble Sandars's type 6a, of which there are examples from Achaia and Crete.[379]

The majority of the Kefalonian knives are unconventionally shaped. Features shared by most include a wide handle, a triangular blade and a straight or slightly arched back. The convex back of a blade could indicate a late date, although this feature occurs on some earlier knives too.[380] The cutting edge of the Kefalonian knives is mostly straight, occasionally slightly concave.[381] But there is only one knife with both an arched back and a concave cutting edge, the unpublished A1851 from Metaxata E.[382] A single rivet is positioned at the end of the short hilt. This knife resembles the sickle-shaped knives found on several mainland sites in the late Mycenaean period,[383] which may have had a more specialized use than the ordinary knives.

One of the knives from Diakata (Tab. J.2 no. 1, **Pl. 63:d.1**) has incised lines along the back of the blade.[384] Harding compared it to a knife from Dodona with the same sort of incisions.[385] The latter may, however, be MBA as it has a

'snout'. There is only one knife of Sandars's type 1b with a flanged hilt, from Lakkithra B8 (A1175).[386] The type developed from the unflanged knife in the early LBA, but both kinds continued to be made without major changes throughout the LBA.

The majority of Kefalonian knives must be LH IIIC. However the knives from Oikopeda must be earlier than LH IIIC, and the knives from Mazarakata, Kokkolata and Metaxata B could be LH IIIA2-B or LH IIIC.

II. 'Razors': The objects that fall into this category vary in shape and size, and probably did not all have the same function.

(a) Leaf-shaped: There is one such blade, 0.75m long, from Prokopata (A578, **Pls 21** and **63:b**). It has a short square tang. There are three rivets in a triangular arrangement, one on the tang, the others on the butt.

Blades with similar features were rejected at an early date as daggers, and have since been cautiously accepted by many archaeologists as razors.[387] They have been discussed by Sandars,[388] Catling[389] and Papadopoulos.[390] All the blades of this category share the same tongue- or leaf-shaped blades but otherwise present a number of differences. Some are tangless, some have short tangs like the blade from Prokopata, and many have a tang and a constriction below the rivets. The last type may not have developed before LH IIIA, but the other two first appear in the Shaft Graves. None of the types seem to have survived the LH IIIA period either on the mainland or in Crete.[391] The Prokopata razor is dated by the pottery of the tomb to the LH IIIA2-B period and is therefore likely to be one of the latest examples of the type. A larger example from Zakynthos is earlier (ch. 8.3).

(b) One-edged 'razors' or 'cleavers' (**Pl. 22**): Two objects with curved blades and a single cutting edge belong to a class of tools which is widely distributed in LH III.[392] They have been generally accepted as possible razors, although the wide examples (over 0.45m according to Iakovides)[393] are more likely to have served as cleavers. Indeed a separate function for the two types is suggested by the fact that, although it was previously thought that the one-edged 'razor' succeeded the leaf-shaped type, the two types have now been proved to occur together.[394] This makes a separate function for each all the more certain.

Sandars has distinguished two types:[395] (a) which is a broad instrument usually with a straight back, straight base and a thin cutting edge, and (b) which is slender and more curved, and may have a straight haft and a deeply concave back or, alternatively, a convex-concave curvature. Of the two 'razors' from Kefalonia, the blade from Diakata 2 (Tab. J.2 no. 33, l.: 0.185m)[396] is broader than the average type (b) razor but has the curvature characteristic of the type. Catling has noted the association of 'razors' with weapons in the tombs of Zapher Papoura, but also their absence in other warrior tombs in Crete.[397] At Diakata, tomb 2 produced the two type F swords, but they were not necessarily associated with the razor.

The second 'razor' (A6l5) is an unprovenanced object in the Argostoli Museum (**Pl. 22**). Its features are compatible with type (a) razors. It has a straight back with incised lines along it. The cutting edge is badly damaged, but it seems to be widening from the haft. There is one preserved rivet.

(c) Italian razor: A small bronze object (l.: 0.10m) from Lakkithra A (Tab. J.2 no. 38) has been identified by Matthäus as a Protovillanovan razor.[398] It has a rectangular flat double-edged blade and a small narrow rivetless tang. Similar razors, with or without rivets on their tangs, are known from central and southern Italy and from Sicily.[399] One of these razors from Grotta di Polla (Campania),[400] which, unlike that from Lakkithra, has a midrib, was found together with LH IIIC pottery, thus confirming that the use of the type in Italy was contemporary with its presence in Kefalonia.

III. Chisels (**Pl. 21**): Two bronze chisels were recovered from the tumulus of Oikopeda. The first (A1402) is wide and has a lunate cutting edge and concave sides. It may be compared with a similar chisel/axe from *Familiengrab* S in Lefkada (D116/2) and a narrower example from the hoard of Polis. The second chisel (A1403) is a narrow, parallel-sided bar chisel with a straight cutting edge. It is a type which goes back to the EBA. A similar bar chisel (D116/11) was found in an MBA context in *Familiengrab* S in Lefkada (ch. 5.3).

IV. Tweezers: No tweezers from the tombs have been published, but the tholos of Mavrata produced up to four pairs, two of which have been drawn by Wardle (A1718 is also displayed in the Argostoli Museum).[401] They are representative of the two common LBA types. A1718 has a simple U-shaped open spring and arms widening towards the end. A1740 has a pinched spring. Their context dates them to the LH IIIC period, most likely to its earlier phase. Tweezers go back to the beginning of metallurgy, the shape remaining more or less unchanged.[402]

V. Needles: One needle from Mazarakata (l.: 0.12m) was published by Kavvadias[403] and a second came from tholos A at Kokkolata. Needles (of copper or bronze) are not common artefacts in tombs, but some examples are known from Dendra, Mycenae and Thebes. Several more have been found in settlements on the mainland, in Crete and the Dodecanese.[404]

Jewellery and objects of attire (Tab. J.3)

I. Fibulae: Bronze fibulae were found in all the cemeteries of Livatho, except Kokkolata and Lakkithra, and at Kontogenada A at Paliki. The total number may have been in excess of nine or ten, but just three complete ones have been published, and of the rest only fragments have been preserved. The types represented are:

(a) Violin bow fibula: the type (also known as 'Peschiera type') is the earliest one found in Greece. In its different variants[405] it has a wide distribution on the mainland, Crete and Cyprus.[406] The two complete examples from Kefalonia (**Pl. 21**) which have been published, from Mazarakata (Tab. J.3 no. 2) and Metaxata B (A1600), both belong to Blinkenberg type 1.7 (Sapouna-Sakellarakis type 1e)[407] and have a flat, undecorated leaf-shaped bow. There are also two unpublished fibulae from Mavrata: one leaf-shaped, the other

with two buttons on the two extremities of the arch (Blinkenberg type 1.5, Sapouna-Sakellarakis type 1c).[408]

The violin bow fibula with a simple leaf-shaped bow is thought to have developed from the simple bow type, but there is no clear chronological difference between the two types. The leaf-shaped fibula is the most common type in Greece in LH IIIC; there are three times as many of these fibulae as of the type with the simple bow. The exact provenance of the Mazarakata fibula is not known, but the fibula from Metaxata B comes from pit 2, which also produced piriform jar A1477, dated LH IIIA2, rounded alabastron A15l9, dated LH IIIB, and two small jugs (one handmade). These associations have been pointed out in the past in support of the appearance of the fibula in Greece generally in LH IIIB.[409] Although the Kefalonian practice of multiple burials in each pit somewhat weakens the strength of the argument, the evidence from Zakynthos too (ch. 8.3) suggests that the fibula appeared in this region before LH IIIC.

The fibula with buttons on the bow is a rarer type in Greece. Blinkenberg lists just five from the mainland (one with a decorated bow: Blinkenberg type 1.6),[410] and there is one from Kos and two from Crete.[411] A recent find from Tiryns comes from an LH IIIB2 context, like violin bow fibulae with a simple bow from the same site.[412] The fibula from Mavrata dates from LH IIIC. The type is more common in Italy. In the north, fibulae with buttons first appear in the 'Peschiera horizon' and continue in the early Protovillanovan phase (12th century), and several examples are known from the south of the Italian peninsula from hoards and sites which have yielded Mycenaean pottery (Torre Castellucia, Scoglio del Tonno, Porto Perone).[413]

It is generally accepted today that the fibula was introduced into the Aegean from Europe, and it has been suggested that the spring and violin bow types may have developed in the Alpine foothills.[414] The number of violin bow fibulae from Kefalonia supports Desborough's suggestion that it may have been introduced into Greece from Italy.[415]

(b) Fibula with multiple figure-of-eight bow: Diakata 1 (A838) produced a large fibula with a bow (l.: 0.13m) composed of a round-sectioned wire twisted to form six figures of eight.[416] This is a rare type in Greece; its only true parallel is a much smaller example from the Diktean cave.[417] Mrs Sakellariou has associated the latter with a fibula from Delos and another, with looser loops, from Crete (Tsoutsoures), both of which are younger than the Diakata fibula.[418] Outside Greece the closest parallels are to be found in central and northern Italy (Sundwall's type IIIb) and in central Europe (Čaka type),[419] where it first appears in the early Urnfield period and continues until the younger Urnfields. Four examples are known from Italy (the southernmost from the Marches, inland from Ancona) and nineteen from central Europe. Several have a spiral disk plate. Unfortunately the catch plate of the Diakata fibula is missing. However, there can be no doubt about its foreign inspiration or even its foreign provenance. It may well have found its way to Kefalonia through Italy.

No arched fibulae have been reported from any of the tombs, but Wardle discovered two unprovenanced examples in the Argostoli Museum (A1188, A1189).[420] The absence of arched fibulae from the chamber tombs is curious given that the type first appeared in Greece in mid LH IIIC[421] and had replaced the violin bow fibula by the early PG.

II. Pins: There are seven bronze/copper pins from the LBA tombs. All but two are short pins,[422] the type of dress or hair accessory used since the EBA in the Aegean.

(a) Flattened top pin: A short pin (l.: 0.055m), apparently from Mazarakata B1, was recently discovered by Kalligas in the National Museum in Athens (Tab. J.3 no. 11). The upper part of the shank is flattened and decorated with an incised herringbone pattern. Its head resembles the 'spatulate' type of long pin from Deiras for which a Near Eastern origin is likely.[423] The date of the Deiras pin is LH IIIC-SM, but an earlier date should be assigned to the Mazarakata pin since it was found in the same tomb as a rounded alabastron (A13) and a squat jar (A14), both dated LH IIIA2-B.

(b) Short pin with modelled top (Tab. J.3 no. 8): A short bronze/copper pin from the pit graves of Kokkolata derives from models in bone which go back at least to the MBA, and occur sporadically in bone or bronze in the LBA.[424] The only bone pins from Kefalonia are two from Metaxata Γ which were headless.[425] The date of the Kokkolata pin may be LH IIIA2-IIIB or LH IIIC, the earlier date being the most likely.

(c) Double spiral-headed pin (Tab. J.3 no. 10): A longer pin (l.: 0.156m) with a head consisting of two antithetic spirals (one missing) came from an unknown context at Mazarakata (**Pl. 21**). The upper part of the shank was square or rhomboid in section, and was decorated with rows of incised chevrons. This pin has very similar but very remote antecedents in the Cycladic spiral-headed pins of the EBA,[426] but there are no later examples from Greece to suggest that the type survived into the LBA. On the other hand, in Italy, the spiral-headed pin has a later history. Simple undecorated pins with heads made up of antithetic spirals were particularly common in Peschiera.[427] Moreover, a rectangular or rhomboid upper part of the shank with incised decoration, as on the pin from Mazarakata, occurs on some larger pins with antithetic spirals from Grotta dell' Orso in Tuscany[428] and on other spiral-headed pins from Torre Castellucia in Apulia.[429] These last examples date from the local Final Bronze Age, which spans the LH IIIC period. The pin from Mazarakata too may well be LH IIIC (although an LH IIIA2-B date cannot be ruled out), and its similarities with the Italian pins suggest that it may be an Italian import, as Harding also tends to think.[430]

(d) Rolled-head pin: Two pins with their top hammered flat and rolled up, one from the Kokkolata pits (Tab. J.3 no. 9) and the other from Diakata 1 (A923), have been published. The type (Deshayes type 5) is known from other examples on mainland Greece and in Cyprus, from late Mycenaean or SM contexts,[431] but it also occurs earlier (LH IIA-IIIB).[432] Catling, Snodgrass and Desborough agree on the eastern origin of this type in Greece,[433] as it is known from a number of Near Eastern sites. It has also been found in undated deposits at Troy and Thermi.[434] Desborough was of the

opinion that the Kefalonian rolled-head pin from Diakata suggested contacts with the east,[435] but it is most likely that the immediate connections of the Kefalonian pins were with the Mycenaean world. However it is worth noting that rolled-head pins were also an Italian type going back to the local EBA in the north of Italy.[436]

(e) Long pins: The two pins from Diakata 1 (A948 and A949: **Pl. 20**) are of the type which appeared in Greece in LH IIIC and continued to be used until the PG period, often made of iron. Pairs were common (Deiras, Kerameikos). The Diakata pins were found in the same pit and more than likely accompanied the same burial,[437] although they belong to different types. Their likeliest date is the late 12th or early 11th century.[438]

Pin A949 (l.: 0.428m) has a flat head and horizontal mouldings on the top part of the shank. It has no close parallels among the long pins found elsewhere but its moulded shank compares with a pin from Deiras (Deshayes type 2), although this has a swelling on the shank. Pins of this type date from the LH IIIC (Deiras) or the SM (Gypsades) periods.[439] The other pin, A948 (l.: 0.364m), belongs to a category (Deshayes type 4) which, with some variations, occurs in Athens, Lefkandi, Crete (Karfi), Mycenae, Thessaly (Fiki) and Vergina.[440] The type has a flat or nail-like head and incised decoration above, below or on the elongated swelling. The Diakata pin, though, is plain. Andronikos has commented on the close similarity of the pins from Vergina with the Diakata pin,[441]and the pins of Fiki are also similar. The Vergina pins date from the 10th century, and there are other equally late examples from the northern Peloponnese too.[442] The Diakata pin, however, dates from the 11th century at the latest, and this date is compatible with the SM contexts of these pins elsewhere.

The origin of the long pin in Greece has been debated for many years. Suggestions of a European, an eastern and a local origin have been put forward.[443] The evidence, however, is far from conclusive mainly because many elements of the long dress pins, such as the swellings and mouldings, are found in different areas, including the Aegean, Europe and the Near East, at a date earlier than or contemporary with their appearance in LH IIIC in Greece.[444] Nevertheless the type and its use in pairs do seem to indicate a new fashion in Greece for which, as Desborough pointed out,[445] there was a clearer ancestry in central Europe than in either Greece itself or in the east. The Diakata examples are more likely to have their immediate origin or models on the Greek mainland.

III. Rings: The finger rings from the tombs are of bronze, gold and silver. Simple bands of bronze came from Metaxata and probably Diakata 2,[446] and there was a gold ring from Lakkithra A (A1183: **Pl. 63:e, right**, d.: 0.016m).[447] There were several rings from the tholos at Mavrata, but they have not been published. On the whole, though, fewer rings were recovered from the Kefalonian tombs than from the tombs of Perati or Ialyssos.[448]

There are three rings with oval bezels. Metaxata Γ2 produced a bronze one,[449] which may be ring A1631 (**Pl. 21**) in the Argostoli Museum wrongly numbered. Another ring with oval bezel (A783, from Mavrata?) in the Argostoli Museum has a setting for a stone or glass. The Argostoli Museum also houses a similar unpublished ring from Diakata (A843, length of bezel: 0.03m) which has been catalogued as made of iron, though in fact, it consists of very corroded silver and may well belong with the LH IIIC gravegoods rather than the later offerings, as was presumably thought by the excavator. If this is so, it would constitute the only object of silver known from the Kefalonian tombs. Oval bezel rings go back to the Shaft Graves on mainland Greece and are even older in Crete.[450] They occur sporadically throughout the LBA.[451] Rings with oval bezels inlaid with stones or glass are not very common, but three, of LH IIIC date, were found in Ialyssos T6l .[452] This is also the likeliest date for the ring from Metaxata.

IV. Hair spirals: Four hair spirals of gold were recovered at Oikopeda, three came from the Kokkolata pits, and one from tholos B at the same site.[453] Hair rings of copper, gold or silver go back to the EBA in the Aegean, and are sporadically found in Mycenaean tombs from the time of the Shaft Graves onwards. The use of hair spirals survived into the Dark Age, but the examples from Kefalonia are earlier: the rings from Oikopeda should be LH II or LH IIIA-B, and those from Kokkolata may be LH IIIA2 or later.

V. Beads: The only metal beads are made of gold. They include elements from necklaces, chains or bracelets. They are very varied, and fall into the following categories:

(a) Spherical bead with granulation (**Pl. 63:e, centre**): The most elaborate bead is a small spherical bead from Lakkithra Δ (d.: ca. 0.07m).[454] Made of two hollow half spheres of gold, it has been decorated using the granulation technique. There are two rows of granulation around the centre, and each half sphere is decorated with three circlets of granules. Around the two string holes there are single rows of granules. This bead belongs to the group of beads discussed by Higgins and Popham.[455] Twelve other beads of this kind are known, all larger than the Lakkithra bead: eight from the Argolid (including the latest finds from Aidonia), one from Laconia, two from Messenia and one from Crete.[456] The beads present variations in the number of rows of granulation and/or number of circlets which would often have been used as settings for an inlay. The circlets of four of these beads (one from Vapheio,[457] one from Mycenae T 515,[458] and two from the Aidonia treasure[459]) have preserved their inlay of blue paste, and those from a bead from Sellopoulo T were covered with gold caps. A less elaborate type with individual granules instead of circlets was more common. Most of these beads come from LH II-LH IIIA1 contexts. Despite the fact that the numbers alone would seem to point to the Argolid as their place of manufacture, Popham was of the opinion that they were of Minoan craftsmanship and possibly the work of the same goldsmith.[460] The surprising aspect of the Lakkithra bead is that it comes from a predominantly LH IIIC context. If it belonged with the earliest (LH IIIA2-B) pottery from the tomb, it would still be about two generations later than the other beads. We must therefore be dealing with an heirloom, the long use of which was obvious in the wear of the piece noted by the excavator.[461]

(b) Tubular 'spectacle-spiral' beads (A1187: **Pl. 63:e, below left**): there are four complete beads and a partly preserved one from the same necklace from Lakkithra Δ. The necklace was composed of a gold tube, on either side of which were soldered double spirals of gold wire resembling a pince-nez.[462]

The ultimate origin of this type of bead can be traced back to third millennium Anatolia.[463] In these early beads, the gold wire which makes up the spirals is drawn from inside the tube. In the second millennium version of the type the spirals are joined at either end of the tubes. Beads of this kind have been found at Mari, Shaft Grave III and O at Mycenae, and tholos IV at Englianos.[464] At Mycenae and Pylos other variations also occur, i.e. the type with a triple running spiral on either side of the tube and the type with two isolated spirals on each side.[465] The beads from Lakkithra do not resemble any of the other beads in the way the spirals are arranged, but technically they are more akin to the beads of Mycenae and Pylos, which also had the spirals soldered onto the tubes. However, the beads from Lakkithra must be a minimum of two centuries and possibly as many as four centuries younger than the beads from the mainland. This chronological gap cannot at present be filled by other examples, and the question of whether we are dealing with tradition or with heirlooms cannot be answered conclusively, all the more so as the type, with the addition of pendant pomegranates, reappears in the Geometric period.

(c) Relief beads: There were very few gold relief beads in comparison to the large quantity of glass paste beads. A large bead from Lakkithra Δ6 (A1363) is in the shape of a degenerate papyrus flower (Higgins type 19),[466] a shape which most likely derives from the papyrus motif on the LM II Palace style pottery. It has a string-hole and was probably the central element of a necklace or diadem consisting of the glass paste beads (and possibly other beads too) which were found in the same pit. It is decorated with rows of repoussé dots imitating the decoration in true granulation which occurs on similar beads elsewhere.

Five palm-shaped gold relief beads from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (0.0315m–0.053m long) were published by Brodbeck-Jucker,[467] who could find no parallel for the exact type. The centre of the stem of the smaller beads is in the shape of a drop, which Brodbeck-Jucker compared with the same feature on two beads from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae.[468] In technical terms (thickness of metal, bent-over edges) the pieces share similarities with the bead from Lakkithra, which should date from LH IIIB or IIIC.

The above beads were made in moulds. Possibly handmade was a bead of sheet gold from Lakkithra Δ (A1365), in the shape of a lily, backed by a flat sheet of gold and provided with suspension hole.[469]

(d) Cylindrical bead with granulation: A small bead with three rows of granulation from Lakkithra Δ[470] belongs to a type which occurs in the Argolid (Mycenae, Dendra, Prosymna) in LH IIIA-B, and at Perati in LH IIIC Early or Middle.[471]

(e) Miscellaneous gold beads (**Pl. 63:e, centre and above left**): Some 124 gold beads of various shapes have been published, mostly from Diakata 2, Lakkithra A and Δ, and one from the pit graves of Kokkolata. Of these, ninety-four round beads (ninety-three according to the Argostoli Museum catalogue) from Diakata 2 (A836)[472] belonged to a single necklace. A few of them are larger and better shaped, and probably came from the centre of the necklace.

There are four long spiraliform beads from Lakkithra[473] which were probably spacer beads for the necklace of 'spectacle-spiral' beads. A small spiraliform bead was also found in Metaxata Γ2,[474] and another came from the tholos of Mavrata.[475] Lakkithra produced several oblong beads. From Lakkithra there were also narrow ring-like beads, and one each of the depressed globular 'kernel-shaped' type with radial ribbing, and the long 'wheat-grain' type with longitudinal ribbing.[476] The small bead from Kokkolata is of narrow biconical shape,[477] and one from Mavrata[478] is cylindrical-biconical. The shapes of these beads are well known from elsewhere, and the same types were also found in glass or stone in Kefalonia itself.

VI. Ornaments of sheet gold: It would seem that Kavvadias may have recovered a number of ornaments of sheet gold at Mazarakata, but he only published one, perhaps the most significant.[479] The rectangular gold strip, which tapers by 1cm at one end, measures 0.12x0.04m. However both its ends are broken. A row of small holes the length of its long side indicates that the ornament was mounted on textile or leather. Its embossed and incised decoration is of repeated vertical lines of dashes and circles with central depression. Kavvadias thought the strip may have been a belt cover, but the known belt ornaments of this period, if that is what they are, are quite different.[480] To interpret it as a headband or diadem is also problematic. Headbands made of single sheets of gold are not found on the mainland after LH II. The LH III diadems are believed to have been made of relief beads (see below) riveted or sewn onto some perishable material. Only in Cyprus were diadems of a single piece of sheet gold found, and they are thought to reflect Eastern influences.[481]

A circular ornament of fine sheet gold from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel[482] is decorated with a band of circles between bands of fine dots around the edge, and of concentric arches belonging to circles of spirals in the centre. Brodbeck-Jucker could find no Mycenaean parallels, either for the technique or the decoration. Instead she has stressed the similarities between this piece and the fragments of sheet gold found under the Artemision of Delos.[483] H. Matthäus has recently connected these pieces to two gold disks from the Protovillanovan hoard of Gualdo Tadino[484] in Umbria, to which Brodbeck-Jucker also compares the fragment from Mazarakata. Matthäus regards the Gualdo Tadino and the Delos examples as Italian work, but the Gualdo Tadino pieces have also been linked with the Urnfields further north.[485]

Another ornament of sheet gold, from Lakkithra Δ (A1179: **Pl. 21**, l.: 0.097m),[486] may be a cover, possibly of a mirror handle. It bears a coarse incised decoration; one end has a wheel motif divided into four by a hatched band, from which there emerge two hatched bands which culminate in two antithetic volutes or spirals. This piece has also been connected by Matthäus with the Gualdo Tadino gold

ornaments.[487] There are, however, elements on it which could be indigenous. The antithetic volutes are not unlike those of the waz-lily, and this motif is found on glass relief beads from the island (see below) and ornaments of other materials on the mainland.[488] Neither is the dot-and-circle, which is present as a filling motif, unknown in Greece in the Mycenaean period. It is found on gold buttons from the Shaft Graves, but in later phases it mostly occurs on objects of bone or ivory.[489] However, it does appear to be more common on metal artefacts in Europe and Italy. It occurs, notably, on a bronze knife in the British Museum, which is said to have come from Kerkyra and is one of the certain LBA imports into Greece from the Urnfield world.[490] Brodbeck-Jucker has suggested the possibility that the wheel motif, which also appears on the piece from Gualdo Tadino, may derive from the Egyptian sun motif![491] In shape and decoration, the ornament from Lakkithra has no parallel in the Mycenaean world, but it also differs from the 'foreign' sheet-gold pieces from Mazarakata and Delos. It is made of thicker sheet gold, its edges are folded back like the other gold ornament from Kefalonia, and the execution of the motifs is coarser. In conclusion, this piece owes just as much to foreign as to native inspiration, but may well have been locally made, as Matthäus suggested.

VII. Chain (**Pl. 63:e, right**): A gold chain from Lakkithra Δ (A1362, l.: 0.172m) is of extremely fine craftsmanship.[492] It is made of small folded loops creating the appearance of a four-ply cord. A similar chain from Mycenae dates from the 15th–14th centuries.[493]

F. JEWELLERY AND PERSONAL EFFECTS OF GLASS, STONE, CLAY AND AMBER

Relief beads

A minimum of 160 relief beads of glass paste were recovered from the tombs. On most of them only traces of the original blue colour are preserved. At least eight different chains can be reconstructed from the published examples. The cut-out shapes are limited. Most beads are in the form of plaques with rolled bars bearing the suspension holes, either at one or at both narrow ends. Beads with suspension holes at both ends either constituted chains (necklaces, diadems) of more than one row[494] or could have been strung up together with other types of beads on either side.[495] The shapes and motifs on the beads are those known from other parts of the Mycenaean world:

(a) Spirals (pendant or not): At least seventeen beads with two or three spirals separated by rolled bars were found at Metaxata A1 (one), Metaxata B3 (one), B4 (two), B5 (two), B8 (one)[496] and at Mazarakata, in both Kavvadias's (seven) and de Bosset's (four) excavations.[497] They have rolled bars bearing the string-hole at one end and a rounded edge at the other. Beads of this type have been discussed extensively by Yalouris and Brodbeck-Jucker.[498] Among the beads with spirals, those with spirals hanging from above (pendant or pot-hook spirals) are the most numerous. According to Yalouris they represent locks of hair, a proof that relief beads were used on diadems as well as necklaces.

At Oikopeda relief beads (seven)[499] with similar spirals differ from the above by having rolled bars at both ends. The broken beads from Lakkithra Δ (2)[500] may have been similar.

Relief beads with pendant spirals were common in western Greece, in Achaia (Aigion, Patras and Katarraktis-Bouga)[501] and Elis (Kladeos, Olympia).[502] They also occur at Argos (Deiras), Delphi, Olympia, Thessaly, Crete and Rhodes.[503] There is a variant of the above type in the form of spirals with ribbed coils. The seven published beads from Mazarakata have three spirals each and a rolled bar at one end only.[504] They may have belonged to the same necklace as the other spiral beads found by Kavvadias.

(b) Volute: One oval-shaped bead with a pendant volute (hair-lock?) between two short rolled bars belongs to the de Bosset collection. It has been published by Brodbeck-Jucker, who has found isolated parallels for it in Delphi, the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum.[505]

(c) Volute with bar (Higgins type 3): One example of a type which is as well known in gold[506] as in glass came from Metaxata B4.[507] Other glass examples are known from Crete and Achaia.[508]

(d) Single rosettes (Higgins type 1): This is perhaps the most common relief bead of the Mycenaean world in general. Eleven examples of different sizes have been published from Kefalonia: from Mazarakata (Kavvadias and Neuchâtel), Kokkolata (tholos B) and Lakkithra Δ.[509] They all consist of eight-petal flowers, and in the middle there is either a depression with a small central boss (Mazarakata, Kokkolata) or only a depression (Lakkithra).

(e) Double and triple rosettes: These are the most common beads from Kefalonia. Altogether sixty came from Lakkithra Δ, Mazarakata and Metaxata B.[510] A type peculiar to Kefalonia is the bead with three flowers, each with six petals and without any rolled bars. The double rosette type, which has rolled bars at its ends or between the flowers, is similar to beads from Achaia, Olympia and the Boston Museum.[511]

(f) Waz-lily (Higgins type 16): There are eleven or twelve published beads with this motif. They are either in the form of cut-out shapes (Metaxata B8),[512] or in plaque form (Oikopeda).[513] The volutes of the lily are commonly decorated in mock granulation. The type is one of the most common in the Mycenaean world.[514]

(g) Ivy (Higgins type 22): A minimum of twenty-four plaques with one, two or four ivy leaves between rolled bars were found in Lakkithra Δ, Metaxata B8 and Oikopeda.[515] The type was common elsewhere too. Examples from Mycenae, Volos and Gournes are mentioned by Higgins,[516] but no such beads have turned up in Achaia.

(h) Beaded circles: This type does not appear in Higgins, and there seem to be no close parallels from elsewhere. Only tholos B at Kokkolata produced beads of this kind.[517] Most of the twenty-four beads were incomplete. In the centre was a boss surrounded by a circle of 'granulation'. There were short rolled bars at either end, but some beads had broader rolled bars at one end. The beads probably formed a necklace of more than one row.

(i) Brackets or curled leaves (Higgins type 2): Two beads of this type come from Mazarakata, one each from

Kavvadias's and de Bosset's excavations,[518] and one from the pits of Kokkolata.[519] Some fragments from Metaxata B must also belong to this type.[520] The type has been discussed by Brodbeck-Jucker.[521] All the beads from Kefalonia, which should be LH IIIB-C, seem to be simplified versions of earlier models, examples of which are known from Mycenae, Argos and Ialyssos.[522] These beads are larger than the normal relief beads and would have been centrepieces of necklaces or diadems.

(j) Double figure-of-eight shields (Higgins type 28): Only one bead, from Metaxata B8,[523] has been published. Beads with the same motif are known from a number of areas, where they have been found as isolated examples. It seems that only in Achaia has a whole necklace been found.[524]

(k) Double *tritonium nodiferum* shell: There is a broad plaque with two shells from Lakkithra Δ. The closest relative of this motif would be the argonaut (Higgins type 9), which was popular on relief beads.[525]

The date of the relief beads is difficult to establish independently. Most types lasted for a long time, virtually unchanged. Parallels for the Kefalonian beads span the periods LH IIIA to LH IIIC. The beads from Kladeos (Elis), which are the closest parallels for the beads with pendant spirals from Kefalonia, are datable to LH IIIA2-B by the pottery in the tomb. Their occurrence at Oikopeda and Metaxata B could suggest an equally early date for their appearance on the island too. In general the relief beads in the Kefalonian tombs may be LH IIIA2-B or LH IIIC, but apart from a couple of small examples from Metaxata A, no relief beads are known to have been found in any tombs of type II. On the other hand all the tombs which contained LH IIIA2-B/C pottery produced at least some relief beads. Thus there are some indications that relief beads may have gone out of fashion in Kefalonia in the developed phase of LH IIIC.

Various beads and pendants

A large number of miscellaneous beads were recovered from the tombs. They are made of glass, carnelian (mostly red), agate, rock crystal, steatite, sardonyx, amethyst, frit, faience(?) and clay. Most of the shapes are the usual Mycenaean shapes. It goes beyond the scope of this study to give more than a summary account of the types and shapes represented. The following are the most common shapes:

(a) globular/spherical of different sizes, which are present in nearly every tomb which has produced beads,

(b) oblong or olive-shaped, which is nearly as common as the above,[526]

(c) elongated biconical,[527]

(d) long tubular,[528]

(e) oblong 'kernel-shaped' with longitudinal ribbing,[529]

(f) depressed spherical 'kernel-shaped' with radial ribbing,[530]

(g) spherical, ribbed, 'poppy-seed shaped',[531]

(h) short, cylindrical with hatched or cross-hatched incisions. Such beads have only been found at Kokkolata.[532] They can be compared with the beads from the Tiryns treasure,[533]

(i) long spiraliform spacers.[534] These beads of glass or frit are of the same type as the spiraliform beads of gold (see above),

(j) flat, disk-shaped, with one or two perforations.[535]

In addition to the above, there are some unusually shaped beads which may have been pendants or centrepieces of necklaces. The most exceptional are a diamond-shaped stone bead from Oikopeda,[536] a bead of sardonyx carved in the shape of a stylized female figure (probably an amulet) from Lakkithra Δ,[537] a drop-shaped bead from Lakkithra Γ,[538] and two steatite elements, one crescent-shaped and the other fish-shaped, from the Kokkolata pits.[539] An apparently unpublished star-shaped bead from Lakkithra is unusual. It is made of translucent glass with a green hue. Marinatos has commented on other beads from Lakkithra which are also made of almost clear glass.[540] There are also two fairly large rectangular pendants of soft white stone with a single perforation at one end, one from Oikopeda and one from Lakkithra B.[541] Most likely they were worn around the neck, although their significance may have been other than purely cosmetic.

Amber beads

Finds of amber were made in four out of the eight cemeteries of Kefalonia. Six tombs in all yielded amber. The total number of beads recovered is a minimum of sixty-five, including beads from Metaxata B (six beads; B2: two, B3: four), Metaxata Γ (twenty-six beads; Γ2: eighteen, Γ4: one, Γ8: three, Γ5: four),[542] Lakkithra A (three beads – one each from Lakkithra A3, A5 and Al0) and Lakkithra Δ (a small number from Δ4, one from Δ11),[543] Mavrata (at least twenty which are listed in the Argostoli Museum catalogue and possibly more)[544] and Diakata (seven or more).[545]

In a number of tombs which contained very little or no LH IIIC pottery, such as Oikopeda and Kokkolata tholoi and pits, no finds were made, and none have been reported from Mazarakata. The natural conclusion to draw is that the amber of Kefalonia may date almost exclusively from the LH IIIC period, which is in agreement with the type of beads represented.

There is no doubt that the amber which reached Kefalonia was 'Baltic' as, it would seem, was most Greek amber.[546] Amber was regarded as a luxury from the time of the Shaft Graves, when it made its first appearance in Greece. The largest quantities are to be found in LH I and LH II (2300 pieces), with the greatest concentration at Mycenae, Pylos and elsewhere in the Peloponnese. According to A. F. Harding's calculations, the frequency per find in the early Mycenaean period is seventy, but this figure drops to 8.33 in LH IIIA and to just 2.91 in LH IIIB-C.[547] The finds from Akrotiri in Zakynthos (ch. 8.3) also probably fall in the period of reduced availability, but the concentration of amber in Kefalonia in LH IIIC is quite exceptional. Comparing the quantity of Kefalonian amber with the amber from LH IIIC contexts elsewhere listed by Harding,[548] there appear to be a larger number of pieces from the island than there are from the Aegean as a whole. The frequency per find in Kefalonia could also be above that of the rest of the Aegean, but

calculations are impossible because of the difficulty of isolating individual assemblages in the tombs.

Most beads from Kefalonia are either cylindrical or biconical. There are only a few unusually shaped pieces: a couple of seemingly unperforated disk-shaped ones from Mavrata on display in the Argostoli Museum, a plano-convex bead from Metaxata Γ2, and a segmented bead from the same tomb. The most frequent single type is the 'Tiryns shaped bead', which has a swelling in the middle and sometimes a 'collar' at both ends. It is the most common type in the LH IIIC and SM phases in Greece. The type also occurs during this period in Italy (in Apulia, but also as far north as the Po valley), Dalmatia and Albania.[549] Finds of 'Tiryns type' beads in Torre Castellucia (Apulia),[550] together with LH IIIC and SM type pottery, and at Barç (Mati valley),[551] with very late Mycenaean pottery, are particularly relevant to finds in Kefalonia, as are some late finds of amber in Epirus (LH IIIB-C),[552] Achaia (including one at Teichos-Dymaion)[553] and Elis (SM).[554] There is little doubt that, as Harding and Hughes Brock have maintained,[555] activity in the Adriatic was responsible for the importation of amber into Greece in the LH IIIC period. Kefalonia appropriated the lion's share during these exchanges and may even have played an active part in its distribution on the mainland.

Conuli

In excess of 200 *conuli* were recovered from the tombs, and a couple at the house on the Vounias hill. They were found in all the published tombs[556] with the exception of the robbed tombs of Kontogenada and Parisata. There are no published *conuli* from Mazarakata, but it is unlikely that none were found.

The *conuli* from Kefalonia are of both steatite and clay. In size they range from beads to whorls. The majority are conical and are made of steatite. Some biconical steatite *conuli* occur but they are rare.[557] The clay *conuli* are mostly biconical, but there are also a few round and conical ones. There are at least three 'shanked' *conuli* of steatite.[558]

There is a rough typological development of the *conulus* in Kefalonia. The trend is a change from clay to steatite, which may have started in LH IIIA but was completed (or almost so: some clay buttons still occur) only in the developed LH IIIC. There are some rough statistics in support of this sequence: at Oikopeda (dated LH II-LH IIIB by the pottery) thirty-nine of the fifty-four *conuli* (72.2 %) were clay biconical ones, the rest were conical steatite; the pits and tholos B at Kokkolata and Metaxata B and Γ, all tombs whose use preceded the LH IIIC period, also produced a number of clay *conuli*. The tombs of Diakata (which contained exclusively pottery of the developed LH IIIC style) produced only three *conuli* of clay out of a total of thirty-one (i.e. 0.6%). At Lakkithra A and B too there were just one or two clay *conuli* amongst the twenty-three which were published.[559]

On mainland Greece the conical steatite *conulus* was introduced by LH IIIA1,[560] and by LH IIIB it had by and large replaced the clay item. However, the occasional clay example is still found in later sites. At Perati there were six clay *conuli*.[561] Kefalonia therefore may not have been so anachronistic with respect to the mainland. The shanked variety of *conulus* is generally thought to be a development of the conical shape, a process which was complete by LH IIIB.[562] There need not have been any delay in the introduction of this shape to Kefalonia since it already occurs at Tris Langades before LH IIIC. However it did not become popular in Kefalonia.

The theories about the use of *conuli* (beads, whorls, hem weights etc.) were summarized recently by Carrington Smith[563] who concluded that they were dress accessories with various uses. I suspect that survival of early types, especially clay ones in LH IIIC contexts, may have been due to the reuse of these accessories for new garments, rather than to continued manufacturing of earlier types.

Sealstones

The published lentoid sealstones from Kefalonia number twenty-six. Twelve came from the pits of Kokkolata-Kangelisses, four from tholos B, three from tholos A,[564] five from Metaxata B,[565] one from Lakkithra,[566] and one was a chance find from Pronnoi.[567]

These sealstones are included in CMS V (1) and have also recently been studied by Younger.[568] They are mostly in the style of the late lapidary work of the mainland. Nearly all are made of steatite, the material most commonly used for seals in the late period. The exceptions are one sealstone from Kokkolata, which is made of rock crystal, and another from the same pit grave, which is the largest and finest example of all and is made of agate.[569] This seal, which represents a bull or calf standing or walking with its head down and two antithetic palm trees in the centre (Younger's type PT 1B), has parallels in Crete (Phaistos, Aghia Triadha, Mavrospelio). Its context agrees with its style, which suggests an LH IIIA2-B date.[570]

Another ten seals made of steatite bear representations of animals. They all belong to the late style in sealstone carving, which represents animals and vegetation (as fillers) schematically executed. The Kefalonian seals represent agrimi goats or bulls, standing or walking looking down (Younger's type PT IB),[571] running (type PT 5A),[572] standing or walking towards the right (type PT 1A),[573] which is the most common, running regardant (type PT 6)[574] or looking back.[575]

All the above seals came from tombs which contained LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB and LH IIIC pottery, but their precise context is not known. Seals of this style on the mainland date from LH IIIA2 or later. Younger found only nine sealstones of mainland provenance and three from the islands which date from LH IIIC contexts. He concluded that it is likely that no seals were cut during this period. It is, therefore, unlikely that the sealstones from Kefalonia were buried in the tombs after the early part of LH IIIC. The built ossuary excavated beside the tholos tomb of Tzanata-Borzi also yielded sealstones. They have not been published, but Mr Kolonas attributes them to the 14th century.

The rest of the lentoid sealstones are decorated with geometrical designs. Two, and probably also a third one,

from Kokkolata, bear a four-leafed clover,[576] a motif which is found on a seal from Kambi on Zakynthos in an LH IIIA2-B context (ch. 8.3).

A small number of seals of other types from Kefalonia have also been published. Brodbeck-Jucker has published a diskoid seal of glass with geometric patterns, and a prismatic seal of serpentine from Mazarakata.[577] More interesting is an amygdaloid seal of sardonyx, which is a chance find from Krani and is today housed in the National Museum in Athens.[578] It bears the schematic representation of a bird. The group of seals to which it belongs is generally accepted as being of late date, but there is disagreement about whether these seals were the work of an island or a mainland workshop.

NOTES

[1] Partsch 1890, 80; Kavvadias 1914, 372; *AD* 5, 1919, 22.
[2] *AD* 5, 1919, 85 ff.
[3] *AE* 1932, 2.
[4] *AD* 24, (1969)B2, 270 ff.
[5] *Ionian Islands*, 223 ff.
[6] *AD* 24, (1969)B2, 271.
[7] Kavvadias 1914, 372 ff.
[8] *AE* 1932, 3.
[9] Kavvadias 1914, 373.
[10] *AD* 5, 1919, 92 ff.
[11] *AE* 1932, 14 ff.
[12] *AE* 1932, 15 f., 16 fig. 18; none could be found in the Argostoli Museum.
[13] *AE* 1932, 16 f., pl. 14: bottom right.
[14] *AD* 5, 1919, 115.
[15] *PAE* 1912, 105.
[16] *PAE* 1912, 247 ff.; see also Kavvadias 1914, 371 ff.
[17] This is certainly the case with grave B′ where Kavvadias explicitly mentions finding just a bronze knife and a few bones in the unviolated grave (*PAE* 1912, 261).
[18] *PAE* 1912, 253.
[19] See D. Knoepfler, *Mus. Helv. 2*7, 1970, 109, n. 12.
[20] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986.
[21] Kavvadias 1914, *id*. 1914, 355 ff.
[22] *PAE* 1951, 184 ff.
[23] The only dimensions of the tombs closer to the time of their excavation are those given by Wolters (*AM* 9, 1984, 489 f.) for tombs Λ, M and N, which are approximately the same as mine.
[24] Kavvadias 1914, figs 454–64.
[25] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 133 ff., Abb. 16.
[26] *AM* 2, 1886, 456.
[27] *AM 9*, 1894, 486.
[28] By then the tomb had been demolished by the landowner and only part of the wall remained (Kavvadias 1914, 3).
[29] *AE* 1932, 1 ff.
[30] Miscellaneous finds from all tombs: *AE* 1932, 38 ff., pls 15–18.
[31] *AE* 1933, 13 ff.
[32] *AA* 1962, 289; *AAA* VIII, 1974, 187 ff.
[33] *AD* 6, (1920–21)Par., 175.
[34] *AE* 1932, 10 ff.
[35] *AE* 1932, 12 figs 13, 14 & 15, pl. 14.
[36] *AE* 1933, 70 ff.
[37] *PAE* 1951, 186.
[38] *Gazetteer,* 191.
[39] *PAE* 1951, 184 ff.
[40] Wardle 1972, 110.
[41] *AD* 24, (1969) Chr., 271.
[42] Gallant 1982, site Pr. 14.
[43] *Ionian Islands*, 220.
[44] Gallant 1982, site Pr. 12.
[45] References to the tholos can be found in: *Το Παρόν* 21. 2. 93; *Το Εργον* 10. 6.93; *Η Απογευματινή* 1.7. 93; *The Times* Nov. 6, 1992, 34. A more lengthy report appeared in *Η Καθημερινή-Επτά Ημέρες* (Ανασκαφές στα Επτάνησα), 26.1.97, 27 ff. A preliminary report of the first excavation season will appear in *AD* (1992, forthcoming). I thank Mr Kolonas for giving me the permission to mention particulars about the tholos.
[46] *AAA* XXII 1989 (1994), 31 ff., particularly 51–60; information on Web site: http//www.culture.gr/2/21/214/21403e/e21403e6.html.
[47] *AD* 426, (1991)B′1, 168.
[48] *BCH* 60, 1936, 472, fig.15.
[49] *BCH* 60, 1936, 472, fig.14.
[50] Pelon 1976, 257 f., pl. CXXXIV:2.
[51] *Ionian Islands*, 221.
[52] *AR* 1992–93, 25.
[53] *AD* 16, (1960)Chr., 41 ff.
[54] *Ionian Islands*, 225, fig. 13 & pl. 41:10–18.
[55] *Ionian Islands*, 225.
[56] *PAE* 1912, 247; *Ionian Islands*, 225.
[57] *AE* 1964, 26 f., fig. 4, pl. 5:3 & 5.
[58] *AE* 1964, 24 f., fig. 2, pl. 4:1–2.
[59] *Gazetteer,* 190.
[60] Only pottery from Kako Langadi has been published (*Ionian Islands*, fig. 13, pl. 41:11–18). Some pottery from the other sites is exhibited in the Argostoli Museum (1994).
[61] *Ionian Islands*, pl. 41:11.
[62] *Ionian Islands*, pl. 41:14.
[63] Wardle 1972, fig. 36:40–41.
[64] *AD* 16 (1960), 42, pls 16–18.
[65] *AD* 16 (1960), 43, pls 16–17.
[66] Cherry and Torrence (1984, 12 ff.) have observed that this is most likely the case in the Cyclades.
[67] *Ionian Islands*, 220 ff., pl. 40b:1–6.
[68] *AE* 1932, 15.
[69] *Ionian Islands*, 222.
[70] See R. Torrence in Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 207 f.
[71] He reports to have found just a few bones in the undisturbed B′ (*PAE* 1912, 261).
[72] Dickinson 1977, 59; *BSA* 78, 1983, 55 ff.; see also Mee and Cavanagh in *OJA* 3(3), 1984, 48.
[73] *AAA* X, 1978, 116 ff.
[74] See Korres in *PAE* 1978, 331.
[75] J. Rutter (*AJA* 97, 1993, 783 f.) appears to have accepted the tumulus interpretation.
[76] The tumuli at Koukirikou-Peristeria and Kaminia, however, were of comparable size (see *BCH* 113, 1991, 36.).
[77] Wardle 1972, figs 36–39.
[78] *Hydra* 2, 1987, 58 ff.
[79] Wardle (1972, 42), however, does mention that some Grey Minyan has been found on the island.
[80] See Nordquist 1987, 48.
[81] Kavvadias 1914, 261.
[82] *AE* 1933, 96
[83] *AAA* VII(2), 1974, 189, fig. 1.
[84] *PAE* 1912, 361.
[85] *AE* 1933, 72, 76.
[86] *AE* 1933, 96.
[87] Wardle 1972, 114.
[88] See Marinatos in *PAE* 1952, 494; see also L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou (Laffineur (ed.) 1987, 147) who accepts this

interpretation. C. Mee, on the other hand, does not believe that Volimidhia had stone-built roofs (personal communication).
[89] Kavvadias 1914, 361.
[90] *AE* 1932, 23, fig. 28.
[91] *AE* 1933, 71, 77.
[92] *AE* 1933, 94 f., 79 fig. 22.
[93] *PAE* 1951, 186.
[94] *AE* 1932, 20.
[95] *AAA* VII(2), 1974, 186 ff.
[96] *BSA* 78, 1983, 62.
[97] The measurements of tombs outside Kefalonia are those of Mee & Cavanagh in *OJA* 3(3), 1984, 60.
[98] Wardle 1972, 117.
[99] Epidauros-Limera (*PAE* 1956, 207 ff.; *AD* 23, (1968)A, 145 ff.), Sykea (*AD* 29, (1973–74)B, 194 ff.).
[100] *Achaea*, 56.
[101] Ano Sychaina (*BCH* 47, 1923, 512; *ibid.* 48, 1924, 471; *ibid.* 58, 1934, 249; *AD* 16, (1960)B, 137 ff.; *AR* 1961/62, 12), Aigion (Papadopoulos 1976, 2 ff., pls 7–10; Derveni: *AE* 1956, 11 f.; *Achaea*, 54.
[102] *Achaea*, 60, 55, 176 n. 23, 179.
[103] *Achaea*, 26 f. & pottery catalogue.
[104] *Achaea*, 55 n. 91.
[105] Olympia-New Museum (*AD* 17, (1961–62)B, 106; *AD* 20, (1965)B, 209; *AD* 29, (1974)A, 25 ff., pls 25–27; *BCH* 84, 1960, 720 ff.; 92, 1966, 824 ff.) Makrysia (*PAE* 1954, 298 ff; *BCH* 78, 1954, 128 ff.; *JGS* 10, 1968, 9 ff.) and Trypes (*AD* 19, (1964) Chr., 177, pl. 188).
[106] Pellanes (*AD* 10, (1926)Par., 41).
[107] Palaiokastro (*BCH* 80, 1956, 537; *ibid.* 82, 1958, 717; *AAA* II(2), 1969, 226 ff.).
[108] *PAE* 1952, 473 ff.; *ibid.* 1954, 299 ff.; *ibid.* 1960, 198 ff.; *ibid.* 1964, 78 ff.; *AD* 27, (1972)B, 256. Volimidhia, Angelopoulou T.5, had its stomion blocked by a slab (*PAE* 1953, 241, fig. 2) like a number of the Kefalonian tombs. See also L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou (in Laffineur (ed.) 1987, 145 f., nn. 6–8) for other examples of tholoid chamber tombs in the SW Peloponnese.
[109] The usual Mycenaean practices have been described by Wace (1949, 14 ff.) and Mylonas (1966, 132 ff.).
[110] Wardle 1972, 112.
[111] Kavvadias 1914, 364, fig. 451.
[112] Kavvadias 1914, 361 ff.; *AD* 5, 1919, 99 ff.; *AE* 1932, 22 ff.; *ibid.* 1933, 79 ff.
[113] Kavvadias 1914, 365, fig. 452–53.
[114] *AE* 1933, 80.
[115] Kavvadias 1914, 365.
[116] Kavvadias 1914, 361, 365.
[117] *AE* 1932, 24; *ibid.* 1933, 79.
[118] See Mylonas 1966, 175 f.; on the Boiotian custom see *AJA* 70, 1966, 43 ff.
[119] *AE* 1932, 23.
[120] *AD* 5, 1919, 99 f.
[121] *AD* 5, 1919, 97, 99 fig. 15.
[122] *AE* 1933, 97.
[123] *Präh. Zeit.* 45, 1970, 215 ff.
[124] Among the most recently reported are animal bones from many tombs at Perati: sheep/goat, cow and pig (*Perati I*), a number of chamber tombs at Mycenae: sheep/goat, cow and pig (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985), chamber tomb 2 at Apatheia near Troizen: sheep/goat, dog, birds and game (*BSA* 91, 1996, 156 ff.), the tholos tomb at Kokla: sheep/goat (K. Demakopoulou in Hägg & Nordquist (eds) 1990, 121), tumulus B at Dendra: horses (E. Protonotariou-Deilaki in Hägg & Nordquist (eds) 1990, 94, 101), and pit grave and chamber tomb 14 at Aidonia: horses (Demakopoulou (ed.), 1996, 24 f.).
[125] Long 1974.
[126] Mylonas 1966, 116 f.; Hamilakis (*BSA* 91, 1996, 162) gives an up to date list of dog bones from tombs and suggests that their presence may be due to the idealized role of hunting in Mycenaean society.
[127] *Iliad* XXIII, 190–209.
[128] Marinatos 1986.
[129] See Vermeule 1964, 87.
[130] *AE* 1933, 78.
[131] *AE* 1933, 79 f.
[132] *AE* 1932, 23; *AD* 19, 1915, 97 f. For Mazarakata, Kavvadias (1914, 365) makes the point that no evidence of fire were found in any of the tombs.
[133] Kavvadias (1914, 373) just reported its existence, below the oval-shaped tombs on the slopes.
[134] *PAE* 1912, 255 ff., 248 figs 1–3, 249 fig. 4–5.
[135] The dromos which precedes the stomion is believed by the excavator to have been added at a later date.
[136] Mr Kolonas has stressed the provisional nature of the conclusions as the pottery recovered from the tomb is still being studied.
[137] The bones are being studied by anthropologist A. Spiliotis.
[138] The tholos was recently re-excavated by the Eforia in Patras and it is certain that there is no deeper lying grave that predated the pits.
[139] For example the recently published MME tholos at Nichoria which was similar in size, was built of irregularly shaped stones and had two burial chambers in its centre (*Nichoria II*, 231 ff. and pls 2.1–5.32); The tholoi of Routsi (*PAE* 1956, 202 ff.) and of Vapheio (*AE* 1932, 136 ff.) also had burial chambers.
[140] *PAE* 1963, 203 ff.; *Ergon* 1963, 127 ff.; *AD* 19, (1964)B, 295 (Aghios Ilias); *PAE* 1908, 100; *Ionian Islands*, 240 (Koronta).
[141] *PAE* 1960, 123.
[142] *PAE* 1912, 268.
[143] Similar observations to these have been made about the pit graves on the mainland: *BSA* 78, 1983, 62; *OJA* 3(3), 1984, 49.
[144] Marinatos himself discarded the possibility that it may have been a tholos tomb as the wall would have been too flimsy. The structure was accepted as a tumulus by Hammond (*Epirus BSA* 62, 1967) and by Pelon (1976).
[145] *AE* 1932, 11 fig. 11, 14 fig. 16.
[146] *AE* 1932, 14.
[147] The tumulus of Samikon (*AD* 20, (1965)A, 6 ff.) continued in use into the LH III period; the Makrysia tumulus dates from MH/LH I–LH IIA (*AAA* I, 1968, 126 ff.).
[148] Kalligas (*AAA* X(1), 1978, 118 f.) too compared it to the Oikopeda tumulus though he suggests that it was elliptical, not originally circular which is what Marinatos believed it to have been (*AE* 1932, 11).
[149] *AE* 1932, 16 fig. 18; none could be found in the Argostoli Museum.
[150] *AE* 1932, pl. 14: bottom right.
[151] *AE* 1964, pl. 3:6.
[152] *AE* 1964, pl. 3:4.
[153] *Meditérranée* 4, 1985, 47 ff.
[154] A small number of these may be extant, but cannot be identified.
[155] *LMTS*, 103 ff.; this was followed by a summary in *GDA*, 88 ff.
[156] *LMTS*, 107.
[157] Wardle 1972, 120 ff.
[158] Wardle 1972, 121.
[159] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986.
[160] Sherratt 1981, 438 ff.
[161] *BSA* 85, 1990, 245 ff.
[162] Summarized in *Achaea*, 130 f., 178 f.
[163] The two collections of vases which are entirely unknown and are not in any way taken into account in this work are the 80 vases from Metaxata Στ, excavated by P. Kalligas, and the 16 vases from Mazarakata P, excavated by Marinatos, which appear to be lost.
[164] *Achaea*, 94, figs l55b-c, 247b (PM343: LH IIIA1, PM354b: LH II–IIIAl, PM429b: LH IIIA2).
[165] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 45.

[166] Wardle 1972, figs 87 & 99.
[167] Wardle 1972, 410 ff.
[168] *AD* 19, (1964)B, pl. 186c; see *AD* 29, (1974)A, 42.
[169] Wardle 1972, fig. 97.
[170] Mountjoy 1986, 56.
[171] Furumark (*MP I*, 597) only lists a couple of later examples of FS 78–79.
[172] *Achaea*, 84 f., pls. 124–26.
[173] *AD* 29, (1974)A, 40 no. 14: pl. 31στ, 36 f. no. 4: pl. 29ε (stippled).
[174] Two of the unpublished piriform jars from Mazarakata (A16 and A60) have been illustrated by Wardle (1972, figs 88, 101).
[175] A49, A58: see Wardle 1972, fig. 102.
[176] Three unpublished three-handled rounded alabastra from Mazarakata have been illustrated by Wardle (1972, figs 87, 91).
[177] *Achaea*, PM160: LH IIIB1, PM710: LH IIIA2a, PM253: LH IIIB:2.
[178] Wardle 1972, figs 87 & 91.
[179] The diaper net was the second most frequent motif on both rounded and straight-sided alabastra in Achaia: *Achaea*, 87, 232, see examples on figs 131, 134, 139, 140–43; Elis: *AD* 19, (1964)B, pl. 186a; *ibid.* 29, (1974)A, pl. 30c.
[180] Wardle 1972, fig. 91. This is not a common motif on alabastra in general, but it occurs frequently on LH IIIA2 stirrup jars, including A56 (Wardle 1972, fig. 103) from the same grave as the alabastron.
[181] Mountjoy 1986, 99.
[182] Wardle 1972, figs 87, 92. The other unpublished alabastron, from Humani (A616c) is linear (Wardle 1972, fig. 92).
[183] *Achaea*, 89, fig. 240:1; *AD* 29, (1974)A, pls 31c & 29a.
[184] Only one unpublished stirrup jar of this date was illustrated by Wardle: A56 from Mazarakata E4 (1972, fig. 103).
[185] This is linear with chevrons (FM 19) on the shoulder (Wardle 1972, fig. 103).
[186] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 49 ff.
[187] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 47 ff.
[188] Furumark (*MP I*, 641 f.) only mentions one early (LH IIIA2l–LH IIIB) example but there are more vases dated LH IIIA2 from Deiras and Aigina (see Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 64 n. 325).
[189] *MP I*, 641.
[190] Wardle 1972, fig. 89.
[191] The canonical shape is LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB. Examples from Elis are dated LH IIIA2 (*AD* 19, (1964)B, pl. 187a; *ibid* 29, (1974)A, 194, pl. 29b).
[192] Wardle 1972, fig. 117.
[193] *Perati II*, 226 f., monochrome examples: pl. 62:737. Early LH IIIC examples have also been found at Lefkandi and Phylakopi (see Mountjoy 1986, 147, fig. 184).
[194] Wardle 1972, fig. 117.
[195] *Alt-Ägina IV*, pl. 32:302–03.
[196] Wardle 1972, fig. 111.
[197] Brodbeck-Jucker, 1986, 29 ff.
[198] Wardle 1972, fig. 102.
[199] Brodbeck-Jucker, 1986, 29 n. 83.
[200] Wardle 1972, fig. 102
[201] See Mountjoy 1986, 160.
[202] Wardle 1972, fig. 98.
[203] See Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1990, Pl. 30a.
[204] Both vases are in the Argostoli Museum, but only A1676 has been illustrated (Wardle 1972, fig. 92). Both have a black ground and handle-zones with alternating triangles and spirals (A1676) or lozenges (A1672).
[205] *MP I,* 600; Mountjoy 1986, 163 ff.
[206] Two taller, monochrome alabastra from Mavrata (A1701, A1702) are better representatives of the shape (see Wardle 1972, fig. 93).
[207] The third (unpublished) legged alabastron from Mavrata (A1703) is also linear with net pattern (FM 57.2) on the shoulder (Wardle 1972, fig. 93).
[208] At Perati (see Mountjoy 1986, 141).
[209] *MP I*, 600; Mountjoy 1986, 164, fig. 208; *BSA* 42, 1947, pl. 11:12; *Perati II*, 209 ff., fig. 81; *Perati III*, pls 100, 115, 118, 138, 961; *Annuario* VI–VIII, 1923–24, 180, fig. 105; *ibid.* XLIII–XLlV, 1965–66, fig. 310; Mee 1982, 40, pl. 35:6; *Achaea*, 90, figs 156a-d, 205c.
[210] Wardle 1972, fig. 193.
[211] See Karageorghis 1978, 51 f., particularly the type with horizontal handles, pls X:9, LXIV:E2, LXXII:D6, D7.
[212] For example at Karfi, *BSA* 55, 1960, pl. 11b.
[213] *Kerameikos I*, pls 27:507, 37: bottom right; *LMTS*, 27; *GDA*, 54; *DAG*, 37, fig. 8.
[214] See *CVA Cyprus I*, pl. 36:9.
[215] Demetriou 1989, 32 f.
[216] This figure is close to Wardle's figure (1972, 145) of 7.2%, which is the proportion of amphoriskoi to the total number of pots.
[217] A further indication is the occurrence of an (unfortunately lost) amphoriskos (A53) among the unpublished pottery from Mazarakata E, which contained exclusively LH IIIB and early LH IIIC vases.
[218] See for example the early amphoriskoi from Lefkandi (*BSA* 66, 1971, figs 1:6, 3:1) and Perati (*Perati III*, pl. 46:3).
[219] There are also other examples from Mazarakata A (A6), Metaxata Δ and E (A1794, A1821) and Mavrata (A1704, A1666, with two verical handles); see Wardle 1972, figs 95 & 96.
[220] *MP I*, 594; Mee 1982, 38. Brodbeck-Jucker prefers to dissociate the Kefalonian shape from FS 62, but some vases from Kefalonia are fairly close to FS 62 vases elsewhere: compare A1821 with e.g. a vase from Attica (*BSA* 42, 1947, pl. 13:9).
[221] Compare it for example with a DA I amphoriskos from Messenia (see *Nichoria III*, fig. 3–14: P1598). The decoration also compares with the SM amphoriskoi from Kerameikos and Salamis (*Op. Ath*. 4, 1962, pls I:3624, V:3629, VI:3630).
[222] This vase, which is displayed in the Argostoli Museum, is not illustrated anywhere; see Wardle's catalogue (1972, 410 ff.). Another monochrome three-handled vase from Mazarakata A (A6: see Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1990, pl. 30a) could be later, as the tomb contained a mixture of early and late pottery.
[223] *Achaea*, figs 248–50, 252:1, 6, 13–14, 253:31; note, for example, the close parallel in shape and motif between the necked amphoriskos A1090 and PM645 (*Achaea,* fig. 157d).
[224] Wardle did not illustrate either of these. For an illustration of A1834 see Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1990, pl. 34b.
[225] Achaia: *Achaea*, two-handled: 70 f. & n. 58, figs 63–65, 198–200; four-handled: 68 ff. & n. 41, figs 52–62, 191–97; Elis: *Ergon* 1961, fig. 191; *AE* 1971, 56, pl. LB; *AD* 29, (1974)A, 46, 48, pls 35 & 36a, 37e; Messenia: *Messenia III,* 237, fig. 292:15.
[226] *Achaea,* 179.
[227] *Achaea*, 70, figs 63–65, 198–200.
[228] The unpublished jars have chevrons (FM 58: A1834) and triangles (FM 61A: A1708).
[229] Compare the Kefalonian amphorae with *Kerameikos I*, pl. 54; *BSA* 63, 1968, pl. 53a; *Messenia III*, fig. 298:14; Coulson 1986, pl. 12:304, fig. 16:304; *AD* 24, (1969)Mel., pl. 51.
[230] *Achaea,* 179.
[231] According to Furumark the shape first appears in LH IIIC, but Mountjoy has pointed to LH IIIB collar-necked jars from the Argolid (Mountjoy 1986, 125, fig. 151).
[232] This corresponds with Wardle's figure (Wardle 1972, 141, 150, 455, 458). He calculated that juglets contituted one quarter of the total pottery, and that 7% of them were squat jars.
[233] Only six out of the thirty-nine examples from Achaia are dated to the LH IIIC phase (*Achaea*, 93, PM177, PM387, PM387a, PM387c, PM535, PM725: figs 152, 154, 245–46).
[234] However the number of lekythoi, including the unpublished vases, was twenty-eight to thirty, about 3.7% of the total pottery.
[235] *Perati II,* 84.
[236] Some of the unpublished lekythoi also have wider necks e.g. A1683 and A1685 from Mavrata (Wardle 1972, fig. 100).

[237] There are however examples with solid painted lower bodies from Metaxata Δ (A1759, A1778) and Metaxata E (A1817).
[238] Another five unpublished lekythoi, from Mazarakata (A26), Metaxata E and Δ (A1819, A1760, A1777) and Mavrata (A1678) have spirals on the handle-zone.
[239] FM 73y: A1680, A1683, A1684 (Wardle 1972, fig. 100) from Mavrata; FM 61A.6: A69 (Wardle 1972, fig. 100) from Mazarakata, A1761 and A1762 from Metaxata Δ.
[240] Wardle 1972, fig 100.
[241] *Perati II,* 247, 401.
[242] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 48.
[243] *Kerameikos I,* pl. 62:542; *Kerameikos IV,* pls 17–19.
[244] *MP I*, 606.
[245] *MP I,* 607.
[246] Mountjoy 1986, 167.
[247] Compare with oinochoai from Kerameikos: *Kerameikos I*: pl. 67:755, 68:545; *Kerameikos IV*: pls 13–16.
[248] Wardle (1972, 254, 462) calculated that stirrup jars amount to 18% of the pottery.
[249] *Achaea*, 71.
[250] *MP I*, 612; Mountjoy 1986, 145.
[251] Wardle 1972, fig. 87 (L/FM 25).
[252] There is a third such stirrup jar from Mazarakata (A22) which is not published.
[253] A third vase with the same arrangement is an unpublished stirrup jar from Mavrata (A1646) on dispaly in the Argostoli Museum.
[254] Wardle 1972, figs 105 (A1649) & 108 (A1660).
[255] *LMTS*, 106.
[256] The shoulder decoration of A1051 from Lakkithra A (stemmed spiral, semi-circle and bivalve shell) is almost duplicated on A1652 from Mavrata.
[257] Wardle 1972, fig. 39 (A63).
[258] There is also an unpublished dipper (A1809) from Metaxata E with a tiny base (Wardle 1972, figs 89, 115).
[259] Wardle 1972, 159.
[260] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 60 f.
[261] See the examples in Mountjoy 1986, 112, fig. 138.
[262] Furumark mentions only one LH IIIC1 example, from Ialyssos (*MP I*, 627).
[263] There is another small monochrome conical cup (A1772) from Metaxata E (Wardle 1972, fig. 117).
[264] Rhodes (Ialyssos): *MP 1,* 627; *Annuario* VI–VII, 1923–24, fig. 43:2730; Mee 1982, 444 & 128; Kos: *Annuario* XLIII–XLIV, 1965–66, 117, fig. 98.
[265] Wardle 1972, 371, 469 f. The unpublished kylikes include at least four from Mazarakata H and Θ (A75, A76, A82, A95) and three examples from Lakkithra A which were not illustrated in the publication.
[266] Since the majority of of the kylikes came from published tombs, the overall proportion is lower (about 6%).
[267] *MP I*, 632.
[268] *BSA* 66, 1971, 336, fig. 1:2, pl. 51:5.
[269] *BSA* 66, 1971, 342, fig. 5:3, pl. 55:3.
[270] *Nichoria III*, 68, figs. 3–4 & 3–5; Coulson 1986, 14.
[271] *Achaea*, 118, fig. 269d; *PAE* 1963, pl. 72; *PAE* 1965, pls 174–75.
[272] *Achaea*, 119.
[273] Messenia: *Messenia III*, fig. 290:1a-b. Crete: Hall 1914, 92, fig. 49:1, 89: A,C; *BSA* 64, 1969, 304; *BSA* 55, 1960, 26, figs 22c-e, 32; *Hesperia* 55 (4), 1986, figs 7:11 & 13:36.; Cyclades: Mountjoy 1984, 230, fig. 5:1896–99.; Thessaly: Feuer 1983, 130 fig. 60;. *AAA* XVll(1–2), 1984, 2–4.; Argolid: Mountjoy 1986, 172, fig. 222:3–5, 191 fig. 252:2.
[274] Wardle 1972, 443.
[275] Wardle 1972, figs 88, 107.
[276] Another bowl (A78 from Mazarakata) also has isolated spirals and a monochrome lower body.
[277] There are two bowls (A67 and A77) from Mazarakata (Wardle 1972, fig. 107) which have ring bases.
[278] *Nichoria III*, 66 ff.; Coulson 1986, 13.
[279] *BSA* 85, 1990, 262, fig. 18.
[280] A monochrome krateriskos from Englianos (*Messenia III*, fig. 155:7); Coulson 1986, 13.
[281] *Achaea,* 109.
[282] Kraters from Palaiokastro, Vrokastro and Karfi (*BSA* 55, 1960, fig. 16, pl. 9; Sherratt 1981, 444 f.).
[283] Desborough 1964, 106.
[284] *BSA* 55, 1960, pl. 4(a).
[285] *Achaea*, 106, figs 262b, 263d.
[286] *MP I*, 642. The examples quoted are mostly from the Dodecanese.
[287] See Mountjoy in Renfrew 1985, 173, fig. 5.10.
[288] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 66; See *Achaea*, particularly figs 262(b): PM40 and 263(d): PM1051.
[289] *Perati II*, 250; *Achaea*, 104 f. & notes; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 57 ff.
[290] There was apparently a third vase, from Mazarakata (Wardle 1972, 147, 452), but its whereabouts are not known.
[291] *Achaea*, 104, fig. 259b.
[292] Wardle 1972, fig. 97.
[293] *MP I*, 617.
[294] *BSA* 75, 1980, 194 & n. 71; *LMTS*, 105 & n. 2.
[295] *BSA* 75, 1980, 175 ff.; Sherratt 1982.
[296] *AD* 20, (1965)Mel., pls. 9, 10, 11; also Koumouzelis 1980, see ch. 8 n. 43.
[297] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 99 f.
[298] Mountjoy 1986, 133 tab. II, 134.
[299] Mountjoy 1986, 134.
[300] The tholos tomb at Mavrata, which has several vases assignable to the local early LH IIIC, has far fewer vases with monochrome lower part than e.g. Lakkithra A or B.
[301] A21 is an unpublished vase from Mazarakata Δ on display in the Argostoli Museum (1994).
[302] That the homogeneity of the Kefalonian pottery should not be regarded as inevitable is illustrated by the regionalism observed in the pottery styles of other islands namely Rhodes (Mee 1982, 90) and Cyprus (Åström 1972).
[303] In Achaia the overall proportion of monochrome pottery is 13.4% (*Achaea*, 128).
[304] *Achaea*, 179 & n. 5I.
[305] *Achaea*, 109, 179; *PAE* 1964, pl. 64a.
[306] *Achaea*, 119, 179.
[307] *Achaea*, 179.
[308] *Achaea*, 96, 179.
[309] *AJA* 64, 1960, 10, pl. 4, fig. 25.
[310] *Achaea*, figs 178c, d, e, f.
[311] *AD* 29, (1974)A, 38, 48, 49 f., fig. 5, pl. 30e, pl. 38b; *AD* 17, (1961/62)B, pl. 118b; *AE* 1971, pls LA-LB; *AD* 19, (1964)B, pl. 202b; Styrenius 1967, fig. 59.
[312] *AD* 19, (1964)B, pl. 185e; *AD* 29, (1974)A, 41 fig. 5, pl. 32d-e, 43, pl. 33a-b.
[313] See for example a monochrome krateriskos from Englianos: *Messenia III*, fig. 155:7, and krater sherds decorated with spirals from Mila: *AD* 27, (1927)B, 261–62, pl. 196d.
[314] *BSA* 85, 1990, 262, 264, figs 18 & 21.
[315] Sherratt 1981, 444 f.
[316] *BSA* 60, 1965, 287 fig. 8, 288 fig. 9, 325 ff., figs 3–8; *BSA* 65, 1970, 197 ff., figs 2–3; *BSA* 55, 1960, 30 f., fig. 21.
[317] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 55 n. 265, 102.
[318] Taylour 1958, 130, 132, 164 f., 184.
[319] Vagnetti 1980, 161.
[320] Fischer 1988, 125 ff., 172 ff.
[321] See Vagnetti and Jones in French & Wardle (eds) 1988, 335 ff.
[322] Vagnetti in Zerner et al. (eds), 1993, 152.
[323] Taylour 1958, 174 & n. 7.
[324] Wardle listed a total of 117 pots from the tombs, about 11% of the total pottery.
[325] *AE* 1964, 25.

[326] Wardle 1972, fig. 118.
[327] Wardle 1972, fig. 118; the pottery of the tomb is LH IIIB–C1e.
[328] *AE* 1933, 87, fig. 34:12.
[329] *AE* 1932, pl. 8:99.
[330] *AE* 1933, 88 fig. 35.
[331] Metaxata A: A1424 (*AE* 1933, 88 fig. 36); Lakkithra A (*AE* 1932, pl. 8:97, seemingly not catalogued); Mazarakata: A93 (unpublished, Wardle 1972, fig. 119); Mavrata-Chairata: A1714–17 (unpublished, A1717: Wardle 1972, fig. 119).
[332] Mazarakata-Neuchâtel: N 90 & N 91 (Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 66 ff., 132 f., Abb. 15, Taf. XlV:44–45), Lakkithra Γ: A1228 (*AE* 1932, 33 fig. 34, pl. 13:262); Library: A533 (unpublished, Wardle 1972, fig. 90); Metaxata B: A1535–36 (*AE* 1933, 88 fig. 37).
[333] Wardle 1972, fig. 90.
[334] From Prosymna and Stavromenos (Crete): see Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 68 & nn. 352–53.
[335] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 68.
[336] *DAG*, 94; Wardle 1972; Sherratt 1981, 450.
[337] *OJA* 2(1), 1983, 43 ff.
[338] *JdI* 95, 1980, 112.
[339] *AJA* 89, 293 ff.; Hallager 1983, 111 ff.
[340] *AJA* 79, 1975, 17 ff.; *AJA* 81, 1977, 111 f.; *BSA* 76, 1981, 71 ff.
[341] *AA* 1979, 404; Kilian 1985, 88 ff.; summary in Kilian 1988, 127 f., fig. 5.
[342] *AE* 1932, 38, fig. 36.
[343] *MP II*, 88.
[344] *BSA* 66, 1971, 117.
[345] The pre-LH IIIC context of this figurine was also noted by Furumark (*MP II*, 89 n. 3).
[346] *Perati II*, 370 ff.
[347] *Perati II*, 373 ff.
[348] *Annuario* VI–VII, 1924, 247.
[349] *AJA* 67, 1963, 133 ff.
[350] *BSA* 63, 1968, 11.
[351] *BSA* 63, 1968, 11.
[352] *PPS* 36, 1970, 244; Wardle 1972, 525 ff.
[353] *Godišnak* XV, 191 f.
[354] *PPS* 36, 1970, 242 fig. 1:1, 245 (compared by Macnamara with the sword from Diakata).
[355] *PPS* 18, 1952, 237 f.
[356] See arguments in *PPS* 36, 1970, and in Harding 1984, 162.
[357] *Ergon* 1963, 119, fig. 124.
[358] Iakovides 1982, 222.
[359] *PPS* 14, 1948, 185 & n. 4.
[360] Sandars: *AJA* 67, 1963, 142; *Antiquity* 37, 1964, 258–62; Desborough: *LMTS*, 66 f.; Snodgrass 1964, 119; Catling 1964, 121 f.; Hammond: *Epirus*, 337 ff., 354 f.
[361] Avila 1983, particularly 59 ff.
[362] Harding 1984, 165 ff.
[363] Wardle 1972, 197 f.
[364] Avila 1983, 67.
[365] Avila 1983, 59 & n. 12.
[366] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 89 ff., 140, Taf. XV:65.
[367] Avila 1983, 54, Taf. 18:129–30.
[368] This spearhead is only known by Wardle's (1972) description and photograph. It seems to have gone missing since he saw it (Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 89).
[369] Avila 1983, 63.
[370] Harding 1984, 107.
[371] According to the publication (*AD* 5, 1919, 119) all three spearheads were found in tomb 1 pit κ. However the catalogue lists A936 with the objects found in pit δ.
[372] Avila 1983, 53 ff.
[373] *Godišnak* XV, 1977, 194.
[374] *Iliria* IV(1), 1976, 161.
[375] See Wardle 1972, 547 ff., figs 154 & 155.
[376] *PAE* 1912, 264.
[377] *PPS* 21, 1955, 174 ff.
[378] From Mazarakata (Kavvadias 1914, fig. 460), Metaxata A9 (*AE* 1933, fig. 42: centre), Lakkithra B8 (*AE* 1932, pl. 16: right), Diakata (*AD* 5, 1919, fig. 35:1) and Oikopeda (*AE* 1932, pl. 14: bottom left).
[379] *PPS* 21, 1955, 195.
[380] *PPS* 41, 1975, 86.
[381] *AD* 5, 1919, fig. 35:5.
[382] Wardle 1972, fig. 155.
[383] For example in Athens (Spyropoulos 1972, 100), Achaia (*Achaea*, 157 f.; *PAE* 1965, pl. 410). On this type of knives in general see Iakovides 1982, 222 f.
[384] *AD* 5, 1919, 35:1.
[385] *PPS* 21, 1955, fig. 4:4; see Harding in *PPS* 41, 1975, 196.
[386] *AE* 1932, pl. 16 (Lakkithra B8).
[387] See *BSA* 73, 1978, 176 n. 18.
[388] *BSA* 53–54, 1958–59, 234 f.
[389] *BSA* 63, 1968, 107 f.
[390] *Achaea,* 147 f.
[391] *BSA* 53–54, 1958–59, 235; *LMTS,* 59.
[392] On the mainland, in the Dodecanese and Crete (see *Perati II*, 341).
[393] *Perati II*, 281.
[394] See *Nichoria II*, 260.
[395] *BSA* 53–54, 1958–59, 234 f.
[396] *AD* 5, 1919, 119 fig. 35:2.
[397] *BSA* 69, 1974, 245.
[398] *JdI* 95, 1980, 113 f., Abb. 1–2.
[399] See Peroni 1976 ('tipo Pertosa'), 12 f., Taf. 5:57–65A; *JdI* 95, 1980, 114 Abb. 2:1.
[400] Peroni 1976, 13, tav. 5:60.
[401] See Wardle 1972, fig. 170:1182–83; the Mavrata tweezers are recorded in the Argostoli Museum catalogue.
[402] For discussion and other examples of Bronze Age tweezers see *CT*, 191, pl. VII; Catling 1964, 68, 227 ff.; *Perati II*, 284 f.; *Achaea*, 148 f. & n. 76, figs 297, 330c-d.
[403] Kavvadias 1914, 388 fig. 464.
[404] Iakovides 1982, 224; *Perati II*, 253. See *Nichoria II* (622 f.) where twenty-three needles were found at the LH settlement.
[405] See Blinkenberg 1926, 41 ff. ('types Mycéniens'); *MP II*, 91 & fig. 3.
[406] Blinkenberg (1926, n. 251) and Desborough (*LMTS*, 55 f.) list the early discoveries. The more recently published finds include three from Achaia, of which one comes from Teichos Dymaion (*Achaea*, 138 f., figs 279a, 323a, b), three or four from Thessaly: Kieri and Iolkos (Kilian 1985, 18 ff., Taf. 1:1–5), a few from the Aegean islands (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 34 ff., Taf. 1–2) and five (including those already listed in Blinkenberg) from Mycenae (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 58 (no. 2389), 66 (no. 2388), 105 (no. 2456), 187 (nos 2808–09, pls 3, 7, 27, 80V)).
[407] Blinkenberg 1926, 50 f.; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 37 ff.
[408] Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 36.
[409] *LMTS*, 56; Snodgrass 1971, 309; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 39.
[410] Blinkenberg 1926, 49 f.
[411] Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 36, Taf. 1: 6–8.
[412] Kilian 1985, 84 ff., fig. 12:11.
[413] *PPS* 39, 1973, 402; see list in *Iliria* IV(1), 1976, 166 n. 21.
[414] *PPS* 48, 1982, 401 ff.
[415] *LMTS*, 57; *PPS* 31, 1965, 225.
[416] *AD* 5, 1919, 117, fig 33. The fibula was published as from tomb 1, pit ζ, but it is catalogued in the Argostoli Museum in the list entitled 'Historic tombs', which is likely to comprise the finds of Diakata 2.
[417] Boardman 1961, 37, fig. 16A; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, Taf. 1:10.
[418] Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 36 f.
[419] Sundwall 1943; Betzler 1974, 23 ff.; see also *PPS* 48, 1982, 406.
[420] Wardle 1972, 591, figs 171–72.
[421] *LMTS*, 55; Perati (*Perati II*, 276) produced two violin bow and five arched fibulae.

[422] See Dickinson 1977, 73 about the use of short pins to adorn the hair or fasten shawls/cloaks.
[423] *Deiras*, pl. XXIV:5, pl. C:1; Eastern origin: *Deiras*, 207; *DAG*, 226 (type 3); *GDA*, 297.
[424] MBA examples come from Gonia, Eutresis, Lerna and Asine (see Nordquist 1987, 39 & fig. 19); LBA: Shaft Graves (Karo 1930–33, pl. LXXl: 891), Prosymna (*Prosymna*, 285), Argos (*Deiras*, 204 ff.), Asine (Frödin & Persson 1938, fig. 252); see Harding 1984, 147 n. 54.
[425] *AE* 1933, 92 fig. 40:G4.
[426] See Branigan 1974, pl. 19:2064–70; *Zygouries*, pl. XX:9.
[427] Carancini 1975, 130 ff. ('spilloni a doppia spirale tipo Peschiera').
[428] Carancini 1975, figs 634 & 635.
[429] Carancini 1975, figs 574 & 575 ('spilloni a doppia spirale tipo Garda'). The pins from Torre Castellucia and Grotta dell' Orso have apparently good central European parallels (*PPS* 39, 1973, 386 n. 33).
[430] Harding 1984, 137.
[431] See *DAG*, 227, 288 n. 19; Harding 1984, 136, 147 n. 58.
[432] See *Nichoria II*, 621, 638: no. 1715, fig. 10–3, pl. 10–4; From Mycenae: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 132 no. 2483, pl. 356.
[433] Catling 1964, 238; *DAG*, 227; *GDA*, 297.
[434] Catling 1964, 238.
[435] *GDA,* 298.
[436] Carancini 1975, 99 ff. ('spilloni a rotolo con cambo a sezione circolare').
[437] The pins were published as from Diakata 1 pit ζ (*AD* 5, 1919, 117) but in the Argostoli Museum catalogue they appear under tomb F(κ).
[438] Desborough (*GDA*, 91) suggested an earlier date for the pins on account of the 'Close style' type krater (A947), which he believed came from pit κ where the pins were also found. However, not only is the krater now redated to the late LH IIIC, but according to the Argostoli Museum catalogue it also came from a different pit (δ) than the pins.
[439] *Deiras,* pl. XXIV: 3; *DAG*, 226, fig. 81; *GDA*, 297 fig. 33D; *BSA* 63, 1968, 212, fig. 4; *BSA* 53–54, 1958–59, 235 ff., fig. 34; Harding 1984, 135 fig. 36:7–8.
[440] *LMTS*, 53 f.; *JdI* 77, 83 fig. 1:8; *GDA*, 297; *DAG*, 226; *PPS* 31, 1965, 226, pl. XXXIIIe; *AAA* XVIII(1–2), 1984, fig. 6, pl. 6; Andronikos 1969, 234 ff., fig. 74, pls 90–91, 109, 111, 121.
[441] Andronikos 1969, 235.
[442] Pins of this type were found in association with pottery of mid-10th century date (see *PPS* 31, 1965, 226).
[443] Snodgrass (*DAG*, 227) and Sandars (*BSA* 53–54, 1958–59, 235 ff.) favoured an eastern ancestry, Andronikos (1969, 235) and Desborough (*GDA*, 297 ff.) a northern one. Harding (1984, 136 f.) does not exclude a northern origin, but doubts that any conclusions could be drawn from it.
[444] See Hood in *BSA* 63, 1968, 214 ff.
[445] *GDA*, 297 ff.
[446] It is not certain how many of the bronze rings from Metaxata B or Γ (*AE* 1933, 93 fig. 42) could be finger rings and how many are spirals from fibulae. The catalogue mentions a bronze ring (A916) from Diakata 2, but this was not included in the publication, and I did not come across it in the Argostoli Museum.
[447] *AE* 1932, pl. 18: below.
[448] *Perati II*, 291 n. 4. Perati yielded twelve simple bands, two rings made of twisted wire and three with bezel.
[449] *AE* 1933, 93 fig. 42.
[450] See Higgins 1961, 84.
[451] See *Perati II*, 292.
[452] *Annuario* XIII–IV, 1930–31, 259, figs 4, 7 & 8.
[453] *AE* 1932, pl. 14: top right; *PAE* 1912, 257 figs 28–31.
[454] *AE* 1932, 42, fig. 37, pl. 1.
[455] Higgins 1961, 73 f.; *BSA* 69, 1974, 215 f.
[456] *BSA* 69, 1974, 222 (list and references); beads from Nichoria: *Nichoria II*, 270, 304:1035–36, fig. 5–30; beads from the repatriated Aidonia treasure: Demakopoulou (ed.) 1996, 78: pls 13–14.
[457] *AE* 1889, 151, pl. VII:7.
[458] *CT,* 58, pl. XXIX, 24.
[459] Aidonia: Demakopoulou (ed.) 1996, 78: pls 13–14.
[460] *BSA* 69, 1974, 216.
[461] *AE* 1932, 42.
[462] *AE* 1932, 24 fig. 30, pls 15c, 18: below.
[463] See Higgins 1961, 62; *Messenia III*, 115.
[464] *Syria* 18, 1937, 82 pl. 15:2; Karo 1930–33, pl. XXI: 56–57; *Messenia III*, 115, figs 190:12, 191:5. The type appears to have been reintroduced from the east in the Protogeometric (Lefkandi).
[465] *Messenia III,* 115, fig. 190:10, fig. 191:4; Karo 1930–33, pl. XXI: 58–59.
[466] Higgins 1961, 80, pl. 10F.
[467] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 71 ff., 133 ff., Taf. XV: 46–50.
[468] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 71 & n. 366.
[469] *AE* 1932, 41, pl. 18: top left.
[470] *AE* 1932, 40 fig. 37.
[471] Higgins 1961, 74, pl. 10E; Perati (seven beads): *Perati I*, 166; *Perati II*, 307 f., fig. 123; *Perati III*, pl. 51:M5.
[472] *AD* 5, 1919, 116, fig. 30:11.
[473] *AE* l932, 24 fig. 30, pl. 15: left.
[474] *AE* 1933, pl. 3: top.
[475] The bead has not been published, but is on display in the Argostoli Museum (1994).
[476] *AE* 1932, 41, fig. 37, pls 17 & 18.
[477] *PAE* 1912, 248, 266 fig. 47a.
[478] On exhibition in the Argostoli Museum (1994).
[479] Kavvadias 1914, 369, 366 fig. 454; see *AAA* VII(2), 1974, 186.
[480] Higgins 1961, 83.
[481] Higgins 1961, 87.
[482] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 73 ff., 135, Taf. XV: 51.
[483] *BCH* 71/72, 1947/48, 208 ff., no. 48, tab. 37:8.18.
[484] *Marb. W. Pr.* 1979, 3 ff.; *PPS* 39, 1973, 389, fig. 2.
[485] See Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 76; *JdI* 95, 1980, 117.
[486] *AE* 1932, 41, pl. 18: bottom left.
[487] *Jd1* 95, l980, 117.
[488] For example the ivory mounts from the Kadmeia (Symeonoglou 1973, 59 ff., pl. 84) dated LH IIIA2.
[489] For example Mycenae (Schliemann 1878, 145 fig. 127) and Thebes: Kolonaki tomb 25 (*AD* 3, 1917, figs 134:4, 5b).
[490] Harding 1984, 132, fig. 35:2.
[491] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 76.
[492] *AE* 1932, 40 f., fig. 37, pl. 18.
[493] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 172, pl. 70.
[494] See the necklace reconstructed in Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, 389 fig. 1310.
[495] See illustration in *Archaeology* 16, 1963, 190.
[496] *AE* 1933, 92 fig. 40 (A1, B5), pl. 3: top.
[497] Kavvadias 1914, 366 fig. 455; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 136 f., Taf. XV: 52–54.
[498] *JGS* 10, 1968, 9 ff.; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 78 ff.
[499] *AE* 1932, pl. 14: top right.
[500] *AE* 1932, pl. 17: top.
[501] *Achaea*, 143; see also *BSA* 74, 1979, 158 fig. 3.
[502] *AD* 18, (1963)B, 103, pl. 138e-s; see *JGS* 10, 1968, pl. 138e.
[503] For bibliography see *Achaea*, 143 nn. 86–91; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 80 nn. 411–13.
[504] Kavvadias 1914, 366 fig. 455.
[505] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 81 f., 137, Taf. XV: 56.
[506] Higgins 1961, 77.
[507] *AE* 1933, pl. 3: top.
[508] *Achaea*, 143 & n. 72.
[509] Kavvadias 1914, fig. 457; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 841, 138, Taf. XV:59; *PAE* 1912, 262 fig. 39; *AE* 1932, pl. 17.
[510] *AE* 1932, pl. 17: top; Kavvadias 1914, 366 fig. 456; *AE* 1933, 91 pl. 3.

[511] *PAE* 1932, 59 fig. 4; *ibid*. 1954, 295 fig. 8; Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, nos 1341 & 1344, fig. 36.
[512] *AE* 1933, 91 pl. 3; the beads from Mavrata are on display in the Argostoli Museum.
[513] *AE* 1932, pl. 14: top right.
[514] See Higgins 1961, 80, pls 9–10H; *Achaea*, 143.
[515] *AE* 1932, pl. 17: top, pl. 14: top right; *AE* 1933, pl. 3: bottom.
[516] Higgins 1961, 80.
[517] *PAE* 1912, 264, 262 fig. 39.
[518] Kavvadias 1914, fig. 458; Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 81, 137, Taf. XV:57.
[519] *PAE* 1912, 266 fig. 47.
[520] *AE* 1933, fig. 40.
[521] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 82 ff.
[522] Higgins 1961, 77; *Annuario* VI–VII, 1924, 100 figs 18 & 19.
[523] *AE* 1933, 43, pl. 17.
[524] See *Achaea*, 143 f. & n. 97.
[525] Higgins 1961, 79 (Argolid, Thessaly, Crete, Attica); *Achaea*, 143 & n. 76 (Aigion, Perati, Sellopoulo).
[526] *AE* 1933, pl. 3 (Metaxata); *AE* 1932, pl. 15 (Lakkithra); *PAE* 1912, 263 figs 40–42 (Kokkolata); *AE* 1932, pl. 14 (Oikopeda).
[527] *PAE* 1912, 259 figs 34–35, 260 fig. 37, 265 figs 45 & 47 (Kokkolata).
[528] *PAE* 1912, 259 fig. 35, 260 fig. 37 (Kokkolata); *AE* 1932, pl. 15:A5 (Lakkithra).
[529] *AE* 1932, pl. 17: bottom (Lakkithra); *ibid*., pl. 14: top left (Oikopeda); *PAE* 1912, 259 fig. 34, 265 fig. 44, 263 fig. 41 (Kokkolata); Kavvadias 1914, 367 fig. 459 (Mazarakata); Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 86, 138 f., Taf. XV:60–62 (Mazarakata-Neuchâtel); *AE* 1933, pl. 3: top (Metaxata).
[530] *AE* 1932, pl. 17: bottom (Lakkithra); Kavvadias 1914, 367 fig. 459 (Mazarakata); *AE* 1933, 92 fig. 40, pl. 3: top (Metaxata); *PAE* 1912, 263 fig. 41, 265 fig. 44 (Kokkolata).
[531] *AE* 1932, pl. 15, top left, pl. 17: bottom (Lakkithra); *AE* 1933, pl. 3: top (Metaxata).
[532] *PAE* 1912, 263 figs 40, 41 & 44a.
[533] Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, fig. 1307.
[534] Lakkithra: *AE* 1932, pl. 17: bottom.
[535] *AE* 1933, pl. 3: top (Metaxata).
[536] *AE* 1932, pl. 14: top left.
[537] *AE* 1932, 42 f., pl. 17: bottom right.
[538] *AE* 1932, 42 f., pl. 17: bottom left.
[539] *PAE* 1912, 266 fig. 47, 268.
[540] *AE* 1932, 42.
[541] *AE* 1932, pl. 15: bottom right, pl. 14: bottom right.
[542] *AE* 1933, 92 f., pl. 2, fig. 43.
[543] *AE* 1932, 26 f., 42, pl. 15.
[544] Twenty-seven beads labelled 'Mavrata' are displayed in the Argostoli Museum, but they may have been mixed with beads from other sites.
[545] The number of amber beads found in Diakata 2 is not certain. Kyparisses only published one bead (*AD* 5, 1919, 116 fig. 30:3). Marinatos, referring to the Argostoli Museum entries of amber finds (A833–35) mentions that 'one or two beads' of the 'Tiryns' type were found (*AE* 1932, 42 & n. 2). The Argostoli Museum catalogue, however, lists more amber beads under these numbers. It describes a box containing seven beads (A833) clearly indicated as of amber, and two more beads (A834) and part of a necklace (A835) which may or may not be made of amber.
[546] *Archaeology* 23, 1970, 10; *BSA* 69, 1974, 170 ff.; Harding 1984, 70 ff.
[547] For all statistics see Harding 1984, 70.
[548] *BSA* 69, 1974, 149 tab. 1, 151 tab. 2.
[549] Harding 1984, 82 ff., fig. 23.
[550] Taylour 1958, 165 f.; *PPS* 39, 1973, 410; *BSA* 69, 1974, 168, fig. 6:26–30.
[551] *Epirus*, 331; *BSA* 69, 1974, 167.
[552] Kalbaki and Mazaraki (*BSA* 69, 1974, 162).
[553] In Achaia amber occurs for the first time in LH IIIC at Teichos Dymaion, Chalandritsa and Gouizoumisa (*BSA* 69, 1974, 160, 166; *Achaea,* 144).
[554] Ancient Elis (*BSA* 69, 1974, 160).
[555] *BSA* 69, 1974, 153, 159; Harding 1984, 86 f.
[556] Diakata: *AD* 5, 1919, 116 f., 117 fig. 31; Kokkolata: *PAE* 1912, 264, 268, 265 fig. 45, 260 fig. 38b; Lakkithra: *AE* 1932, pls 15 & 17: bottom; Metaxata: *AE* 1933, 92 fig. 40; Oikopeda: *AD* 6, (1920–21) Par., figs 2–3; *AE* 1932, 12, 14 fig. 15, pl. 14d. The Argostoli Museum catalogue also mentions eleven *conuli* from the tholos of Riza (Krani).
[557] For example Lakkithra B (*AE* 1932, pl. 15: bottom right).
[558] *PAE* 1912, 259 fig. 33 (Kokkolata, tholos A); *AE* 1932, pl. 17 (Lakkithra A), and Argostoli Museum display (labelled 'Mavrata').
[559] Only steatite buttons were published from Lakkithra Δ (*AE* 1932, pl. 17: bottom), which was first used in LH IIIA2–B, but the sample of five buttons is too small for any conclusion to be drawn.
[560] *CT*, 218–19; *Perati II*, 280 f.; *MP II*, 89; *BSA* 72, 1977, 113.
[561] *Perati II*, 388.
[562] See *Achaea*, 146.
[563] *Nichoria II*, 685 f.
[564] *PAE* 1912, 264 ff., figs 10–27 & 45; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 150–68.
[565] *AE* 1933, 90, fig. 39, pl. 3: top; two of these are included in *CMS V(1)*: Kat. Nr. 169–70.
[566] *AE* 1932, 38, pl. 17: bottom; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 171.
[567] *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 172.
[568] Younger 1973, 438, 439 ff.; Younger 1988.
[569] *PAE* 1912, 264 ff., 256 fig. 17, 267 fig. 50; Younger 1988, 16: V157; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 157.
[570] See Younger 1973, 437 ff.
[571] *PAE* 1912, fig. 27; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 160; Younger 1988, 17.
[572] *PAE* 1912, fig. 11; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 150; Younger 1988, 35 (Kokkolata).
[573] *PAE* 1912, figs 19, 25; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 158–59; Younger 1988, 14 (Kokkolata); *AE* 1933, 90 fig. 39; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 169–70; Younger 1988, 13, 14 (Metaxata B).
[574] *PAE* 1912, figs 20 & 22; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 161–62; Younger 1988, 41 (Kokkolata).
[575] The seal from Pronnoi is not included in Younger's study, but should belong to his type PT 2.
[576] *PAE* 1912, 264 ff., figs 14, 21 & 23; *CMS V(1)*, Kat. Nr. 155, 165–66.
[577] Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, 87, 139, Taf. XV:63.
[578] *AAA* X(1), 1978, 123 f.

7 – ITHAKI

1. Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Sites

A. NORTHERN PENINSULA

Pelikata (47): The hill of Pelikata (148m above sea level) (**Pl. 64:b**) lies approximately in the centre of the northern peninsula, strategically situated at the meeting point of the roads coming from the bays of Afales, Frikes and Polis of which it commands clear views. The hill measures about 300x150m, and its level top is attractive for habitation, for which it is still used today.

Ancient occupation on the hill has been known since the 19th century. In 1905 Vollgraff picked up Mycenaean sherds on the hill, but it was not until 1930–31 that the site was excavated by W. Heurtley on behalf of the British School at Athens.[1] The team sunk a large number of trial pits into the hill and its immediate surroundings, and thoroughly excavated six areas (I-VI) on the hill itself.

The excavations revealed that the hill was occupied from the EBA right through to the LBA, although continuity of occupation was not ascertained anywhere. The most substantial evidence for habitation dates from the EBA (EH II-III), but no structures were found in situ. Only a few blocks from the 'Cyclopean' wall (**Pl. 64:c**) may be in their original place, and in area IV a possibly undisturbed EH deposit, the 'clay layer', was revealed on stereo. The lack of properly stratified deposits was attributed by the excavator to the 'denudation, levelling and terracing' caused by later habitation and cultivation on the hill. A number of disturbed pithos burials were excavated in area I (**Fig. 12**), and a single child burial in area IV.

Only two areas (IV and VI) produced MH pottery, and just one (area VI) Mycenaean pottery. Compared to the hundreds of sherds and the several complete pots and other artefacts of EH date, the quantity of MH material (ninety sherds of Grey Minyan and related wares) and of LH material (sixty sherds, mostly kylix stems and bases) is small. There was no diagnostic LH IIIC pottery, although some lower parts of bowls are suggestive of conical kylikes.

In 1994 and 1995 T. Papadopoulos renewed excavations on the site uncovering more of the 'Cyclopean' wall.

Stavros (48): The modern village lies on a ridge at the natural junction between the road coming from the southern part of the island and those leading to the interior of the northern peninsula. In the Greek and Roman periods the ridge was the most densely settled area in the north; habitation stretched from the slopes above the bay of Polis to the foot of the Pelikata hill.

In 1930 the British School team cleared a rectangular building on the northern side of Stavros, which was 'perhaps Mycenaean, to judge from a few LM III sherds'.[2] In 1936, S. Benton undertook some trial excavations in the garden of the Stavros hotel at the south-western edge of the village overlooking the bay of Polis. She revealed Bronze Age deposits, including a 'pure Mycenaean deposit'.[3] The main excavation took place in 1937.[4] Eighteen trenches were excavated, and investigations were extended below the village, on either side of the road to Polis. Later activity, including fifteen burials of 'Classical' date, had greatly disturbed the earlier levels and no Bronze Age structures came to light. Only at the lowest level of one trench (n. 14) was an 'unmixed' Bronze Age deposit (Early, Middle and Late) identified.

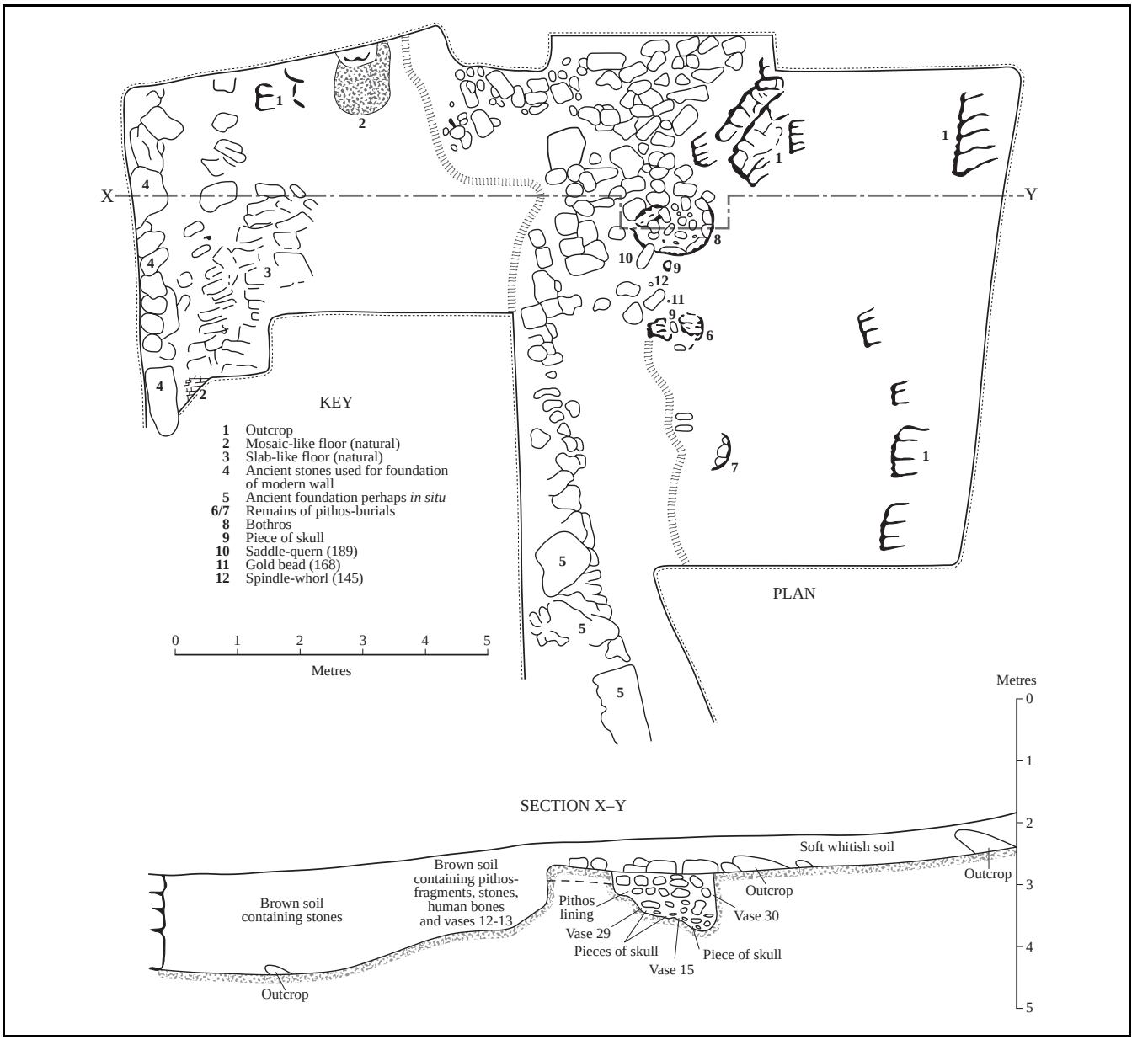
Among the coarseware, which formed the bulk of the material, there was some diagnostic EH pottery (fragments of a glazed bowl with handles, some handles and lugs), but not enough to suggest EBA habitation on the spot. The MH sherds were a little more numerous. There was just one Grey Minyan sherd but several Yellow Minyan-type sherds, some with a thin whitish slip and Matt-painted decoration. The only metal find was a fragment of an MBA-type knife. The Mycenaean pottery was badly preserved. The shapes included alabastra/piriform jars, kylikes with stems painted with wide bands, and Zygouries-type kylikes (LH IIIA2–B). There was no diagnostic LH IIIC pottery.

Asprosykia (49): Exploration by the British School team at the spring of Asprosykia, 450m west of Stavros, brought to light a couple of sherds from kylikes and krateriskoi.[5] It is therefore likely that the spring dates back to the Bronze Age and served the inhabitants of Stavros and Tris Langades.

Tris Langades (50): Tris Langades is a rather level area on the south-facing slopes above the bay of Polis (**Pl. 64:a**). The British School carried out excavations there in 1937 and 1938 under the direction of S. Benton. The results were published in 1973.[6] Three sectors, over a total area of about 30x40m, were excavated and revealed the remains of walls which, according to the excavators, belonged to the same complex.

Area TL was the site of the main building and produced most of the LH pottery (LH IIIA1–LH IIIB) but no structures in situ.

In area L, excavation revealed the walls of three successive buildings dating from LH III. The walls uncovered in area T did not form a clear plan, but the main one was dated to the LH III period (LH IIIA and LH IIIB1). The excavation also produced some small bronzes (a fish-hook, a pair of tweezers, and a knife).



12. Plan and section of Pelikata area I (based on Heurtley, Ithaca II, Fig. 5).

In 1994–95 T. Papadopoulos renewed excavations at the site, bringing to light parts of other Bronze Age walls.[7]

Polis (Cave of the Nymphs) (51): The bay of Polis (**Pl. 64:a**) is the natural access by sea from the west to the northern part of the island. In recent times, and until it was reclaimed in the first half of this century, the coastal plain around it was marshy land; however the plain may have been drier in the last three millennia BC, as the sea level was lower. Vollgraff investigated the marshy ground in 1904 and found Hellenistic and Roman coins at a depth of 4m,[8] but reported no earlier finds.

The cave, known as 'Loisos's Cave', 'Cave of the Nymphs' or 'Cave of the Tripods', was a Karstic formation situated by the edge of the sea on the western side of the bay. Its original dimensions are not known, as its roof collapsed sometime after the 1st century AD, the date of the last offerings made there. The earliest known 'excavation' in the cave was undertaken in 1864 by Demetrios Loisos, the owner of the land. The finds have only survived in the legendary descriptions of the local inhabitants.[9] Vollgraff's investigations in 1905 produced some LH sherds,[10] which at the time were the first evidence of Mycenaean presence on the island. Among these early finds may have been a 'hoard' of fifteen bronze objects reputed to have come from Polis;[11] its definite origin remains uncertain.

The cave was thoroughly excavated by S. Benton between 1930 and 1932.[12] The most important period in its history was from the Late Geometric to the Roman period. Inscriptions recovered in the cave connect it with the cults of the Nymphs and of Odysseus. Among the offerings were pottery, bronze weapons and a series of bronze tripods.

All the prehistoric material was found within a curved wall, dating from the 3rd century BC, which closed the entrance to

the cave. Some rudimentary stratigraphy was revealed in a restricted area within the wall. The following strata contained artefacts:

st. 1: EBA and coarseware,
st. 2: LBA, PG and coarseware pottery and a 'pavement' of irregular undressed stones,
st. 3: Geometric to 4th century BC pottery and bronze tripods.

What little MBA pottery was found was not stratified, but a number of sherds came from pit P near the northern corner of the cave.

Only one sherd was originally identified as Neolithic, but a few more which are stored in the Stavros Museum with material from the cave are definitely assignable to this period. Excluding the heavy coarseware, there were about twenty EH sherds, mostly levigated and unlevigated glazed wares, and a handful of sherds with painted decoration in Dark-on-Light and Light-on-Dark. The MH pottery consisted of three Grey Minyan sherds and a few Matt-painted sherds, including part of a pithos and a fragmentary large bowl. There was little early Mycenaean pottery, just three or four sherds from LH I-II cups, and some more LH IIIB and particularly LH IIIC vases, but the largest volume of pre-Geometric material was PG.

The function of the cave in prehistory is not certain. An early suggestion that it served as a place of burial, on account of some (undated) bones found in it, was soon dismissed.[13] Desborough thought it likely that the cave was used as a cult place,[14] like in the historic period, a suggestion first put forward by S. Benton.

Aghios Athanassios (52): The site is situated in a clearing on the slopes of an eastern outcrop of Mt Exogi, 1km north-west of Pelikata. The foundations of a Greek tower of ashlar masonry, known as the 'School of Homer', were investigated by Schliemann, Vollgraff and Kyparisses. In 1930. C. R. Watson and later S. Benton carried out excavations at the site on behalf of the British School at Athens. In a spring chamber (originally mistaken for a tholos tomb), about 200m down the slope, some Mycenaean pottery was recovered (the stems of two kylikes and of one stemmed bowl).[15] A few more LH sherds were purportedly found in 1963 at a spot below the spring chamber.[16]

B. SOUTHERN PENINSULA

Aetos (53): The saddle on the south-eastern foot of Mt Aetos (**Pl. 64:d**), the site of the Greek polis of Alalkomenai mentioned by Strabo (10.2.16), is the only area in the south of the island to have produced some evidence of prehistoric activity.[17] The ruins of the walls of the city's acropolis, on the summit of Mt Aetos (max. h.: ca. 387m), were visited by many 19th-century travellers and early archaeologists, including Gell, Dodwell, Leake, Vollgraff, de Bosset and Schliemann, in their search for Homeric remains. Their explorations, which included some excavation, produced no prehistoric finds. More recently, S. Symeonoglou renewed investigations on Mt Aetos as part of his general study of the area, the 'Odyssey Project', and in 1985 cleared a 'Cyclopean'-type wall, 13m long and 2m high with a 1.20m high 'sally port' leading to a passage which he compared with those of Tiryns and Mycenae.[18] The soundings produced no prehistoric finds.

The early explorers also excavated on the saddle below Mt Aetos and in its surroundings, and uncovered a number of 'Classical' houses and graves. Some of the graves were allegedly very rich, but nothing was recorded and the finds were spirited away. The first professionally run excavation campaign on the saddle was carried out by the British School at Athens under the direction of W. A. Heurtley between 1931 and 1934.[19] Further excavations were undertaken by S. Benton in 1936 and in 1937 following some illicit digging at the site.[20] The excavations were concentrated on the highest point of the saddle and around the chapel of Aghios Georghios. They conclusively proved the siting of the Greek city and the existence of an open-air sanctuary dating back to the Geometric and Archaic periods. Symeonoglou's recent investigations revealed more of the city, including houses dating from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods. The earliest prehistoric finds from the saddle so far are a few LBA artefacts, found mixed with PG or later material. The excavations of the British School brought to light some poorly preserved pottery,[21] consisting of a couple of stems and rim-sherds from kylikes (LH IIIB or LH IIIC), part of a rounded alabastron (LH IIIB?), a monochrome deep bowl (late LH IIIC), three sherds from stirrup jars – two fragments of disks, and a spout and body-sherd decorated with evenly spaced bands (LH IIIC?) – and a naturalistic figurine. Symeonoglou reported finding early LH IIIC sherds and one LH IIIB1 sherd in his 1986 campaign.[22] In 1992 he uncovered what he believes to be a Mycenaean building inside the later open-air sanctuary, but no LH pottery was associated with it,[23] and in 1995 the wall of another building in which were found fragments from a Mycenaean krater.[24]

Much more significant to date is the PG evidence from the saddle. Lorimer uncovered five cairn-like structures between the presumed temenos wall and the later sanctuary at a depth of 0.80m and under a layer containing modern, Byzantine and Geometric material. A large quantity of PG pottery, mostly pouring and drinking vessels, the bones (some burnt) of animals and birds, fragments of tiles and a couple of bronze objects (a pin and a fibula) were recovered from among the stones. S. Benton's excavations produced PG pottery from outside the immediate area of the 'cairns', and Symeonoglou has found PG pottery in the lowest level of a trench on the opposite (eastern) side of the saddle.[25]

2. The Early Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

Early Bronze Age habitation may have been restricted to the northern peninsula to judge from the total absence of evidence from the southern part of the island. Pelikata is

the only sizeable site, a hill-top village which would have dominated the landscape for a number of centuries. The two other sites which produced a little EH material are Stavros and the cave of Polis. They are both within 2km from Pelikata and should be seen in relation to that settlement: the bay of Polis would have served as the main harbour; Stavros lies on the ridge above the harbour at a look-out point half way to Pelikata.

Pelikata:

The British School's excavations at the site found no undisturbed habitation layer except for a clay-filled depression on stereo, the 'clay layer', in area VI. However, the volume and variety of the material dating from the EBA indicate that this was the most significant period of Bronze Age habitation at the site. The beginnings of the settlement are to be placed within the EH II period given the predominance of EH glazed ware (Urfirnis), some of good quality, and the presence of sauceboats. Much of the rest of the diagnostic pottery (Fine Grey Burnished ware, Dark Burnished ware) and shapes (Bass-bowls, tankards, depas-type cup) are EH III, which suggests that the most intensive period of occupation belongs to this phase. Heurtley remarked that since there is no evidence of thinning of the glaze paint on the pottery, particularly from area VI, where it was well preserved, the settlement did not last to the late EH III phase. This would also be suggested by the small amount of Dark-on-Light ware from the site.

(a) The fortification walls: The 'Cyclopean' walls were poorly preserved at the time of excavation. W. Gell and E. Dodwell probably saw them in a better state when they visited the site in the early 19th century. Gell wrote that the walls 'consist of large stones, and the curtain is strengthened by towers' and that 'the courses are horizontal and the stones are generally, if not always, regularly shaped'.[26] But it would appear that even then it was impossible to trace the complete circuit. Heurtley, who subsequently attempted the task, located large roughly worked blocks either lying on the ground or incorporated in modern buildings. He revealed more substantial remains in five different areas on the eastern, northern and western sides of the hill, not far from its summit.[27] In areas I and V the blocks rested on bedrock, and Heurtley thought that they were probably in situ. In area V the blocks, on which a modern terrace wall was built (**Pl. 64:c**), were thought by him to have belonged to a possible bastion. Other blocks which were incorporated in a terrace wall higher up the hill he suggested were probably from the circuit of the walls itself.[28] A paved area (5x20m) excavated immediately east of the lower wall would have been a road leading to the top of the summit. The pottery associated with the blocks and recovered from the nearby soundings, apart from modern, was invariably EH Urfirnis and coarseware. However T. Papadopoulos, who recently uncovered sections of the precinct to the west, including a rather monumental gateway, found both prehistoric and later sherds in the immediate vicinity. Hence the possibility always exists that the walls may be an anachronistic structure of archaic or later date.

If the walls were to be confirmed as prehistoric, Pelikata would be on a par with other EBA fortified settlements in the Aegean region, in the Troad (Troy, Poliochni), on the Greek mainland (Lerna, Manika, Rafina, Askitario, Thebes), on Aigina, and in the Cyclades (Kastri, Panormos, Mt Kynthos).[29] Walls with towers have been identified at Lerna, Manika, Aigina and Kastri. The large size blocks used at Pelikata are reminiscent of the walls of Panormos in Naxos. These walls were also provided with tower-like structures.

(b) The habitation: The area within the presumed perimeter of the wall at Pelikata is about 200–250x100m. Evidence of EBA occupation was revealed within this area, but traces of EBA activity also came from the several soundings outside it. The material consisted of numerous sherds and of objects of domestic use: spindle-whorls, flint and obsidian tools, grinders and querns, and of a number of 'cruched' stones presumed to have belonged to buildings. In addition some poorly preserved remains of houses, but no proper structures, came to light in two excavated sectors of the site. In area VI, what appears to have been the only undisturbed EH layer on the site included a 0.50m thick deposit of clay on small stones (VIa or 'clay layer'), which the excavator believed to have been the remains of the mudbrick wall of a house. Apart from a large number of the best preserved Urfirnis sherds from the site, the layer contained sauceboats, two EM II imported sherds, and early EH III types, including sherds from tankards, and nearly all the Bass-bowls. There was also a bone tool, a bone needle and a spindle-whorl.[30] The stony layer above (VIb) also contained exclusively EH pottery, including a sherd of Fine Grey Burnished ware of early EH III date (see below). The top layer (VIc) was mixed EH, MH and LH.

In area IV, a layer of small stones 'giving the appearance of paving' underlay domestic objects (several spindle-whorls, a quern and stone tools) and fragments of clay with reed impressions, possibly the remains of walls.[31]

(c) The economy: The finds of farmers' tools (celts, axes and hammers) confirm the agricultural character of the settlement, which was in an advantageous position to exploit most of the cultivable land on the northern part of the island. The hilly nature of the landscape would also have encouraged the practice of animal farming. The excavation revealed bones of pigs and clay models of bulls and sheep which suggest that animal husbandry was an important part of the subsistence economy.

B. BURIALS

Pelikata is the only site which has yielded evidence of burials. They were found in two areas of Heurtley's excavation: area VI and area I.

In area VI, an intramural pithos burial lay in a depression on virgin soil, beside but at a higher level than the undisturbed 'clay layer'. The pithos was half preserved. On it were fragments of a skull and teeth. The age of the individual was not determined, but the size of the pithos (ca. 0.60m) would suggest a child burial. Associated with it

were two vases, i.e. a jug (S485) and a bowl (Tab. G.1 no. 6), and the clay figurine of a bull. A pig bone was also found with the burial. The gravegoods date the burial to EH, and the jug could be EH III. Heurtley maintained that the burial and the 'clay layer' belonged to the same horizon.[32] As the 'clay layer' was mixed EH II and early EH III, these dates would also be the chronological brackets for the pithos burial. The burial was not associated with the Fine Grey Burnished ware sherds with incised spirals which came from the levels above (VIb and VIc), but its proximity to this type of pottery inevitably recalls the association between vases of this ware and the EH III intramural pithos burials found near the apsidal houses in the Altis in Olympia.[33] An early EH III date for the pithos burial is therefore likely.

The second area, area I (**Fig. 12**), was very disturbed. The remains of burials, namely the fragments of bones, pieces of skull, and teeth found under or near large sherds of pithoi, were scattered over an area of about 60m^2 which was divided into two parts by a drop of about 1–1.50m. The excavator thought that at least three burials were present, and the fragmentary nature of the remains suggested to him that 'only bones and not the complete skeleton were placed in the pithoi'.[34] No reference to the likely age of the individuals was included in the publication. The fragments of bones, skulls and teeth marked area I in the Stavros Museum are mostly those of children. They include part of a jaw, from a seven- to nine(?)-year-old, with permanent front teeth, but milk teeth still in the back. However there are also some loose molars, which are most certainly not those of young children and could be those of young adults.

Heurtley believed that the burials would originally have been located in the eastern part of the site, at a higher level, and that they subsequently slid down to the western half. Scattered around the area were animal bones and some possible gravegoods: fineware vases, two gold ornaments (a fragment from a diadem and a bead), a copper or bronze hair-pin, a clay seal(?), fragments of clay model bulls, one bone and two clay spindle-whorls, two obsidian blades and one obsidian arrowhead, one serrated flint blade, a copper or bronze blade with rivet hole, a stone cosmetic's pestle grinder, and a small stone celt.

In the eastern part of area I, an unusual bothros was also excavated. The pit was about 1m deep and had been divided into two storeys by a layer of stones forming a kind of floor. The bottom part contained fragments of a pithos, two nearly complete fineware vases (S482 and S461), animal bones and two bits of skull. The upper part which was lined with pithos fragments, contained sherds, a nearly complete pyxis (S463), a boar's tusk, a flint blade and charcoal. The top of the pit was filled with stones similar to those lying in the surrounding area.

The presence of one (S487) and possibly two sauceboats would date the beginnings of activity in this area to the EH II, but the tankard (S488) and the clay 'anchor' point to an EH III date.

According to Heurtley, area I was a very disturbed area of habitation, possibly just outside the walls. The pit was probably a domestic bothros turned into a hearth.[35] The rubble which covered the whole area and a couple of 'pivot-stones' would have come from the walls of houses, while the animal bones, a saddle quern and some grinding stones revealed domestic activities. The burials would be intramural burials.[36] Although no interpretation of this extremely disturbed area can ever be conclusive, it is probably justifiable to wonder whether the concentration of stones, burials and gravegoods in such a restricted area (especially if adult burials were among them) were not the remains of a destroyed tumulus with stone cairn like the R-Graves on Lefkada. Features in common would be the pithos burials, the incomplete skeletons, the animal bones and the type of gravegoods (although children's burials in the R-Graves were as a rule unfurnished). There is, however, a difference between Lefkada and Ithaki in the siting of the graves. Even if building P at Steno were a house, the R-Graves would not have been as obviously close to the settlement as the pithos burials at Pelikata. In general, however, as Müller has recently pointed out,[37] the EBA tumuli of Greece were often sited within the settlements, so this would not be an objection to the tumulus hypothesis. The bothros could also be explained as a sacrificial pit like those discussed in the section on Lefkada.

With regard to the pithos burials, the recent underwater excavations at Platygiali, 35km from Astakos on the Akarnanian coast, are of interest. The excavators brought to light three EH II(?) intramural infant pithos burials.[38] These new finds would lend support to the existing evidence from Ithaki, Lefkada and Olympia which suggests that the western and north-western coast of Greece, whether in association with tumuli or not, made greater use of the pithos as a burial container at an earlier stage than the south of mainland Greece.

C. POTTERY

The bulk of EBA pottery comes from Pelikata, less from Polis and a few fragments only from Stavros.[39] It all appears to be handmade. The following wares are represented:

(a) Glazed (Urfirnis) ware (Blegen's class II),
(b) Uncoated (Blegen's class D),
(c) Painted ware: Dark-on-Light (Blegen's class C1, Heurtley's Patterned ware),
(d) Painted ware: Light-on-Dark,
(e) Dark Burnished ware (Heurtley's Grey ware),
(f) Fine Grey Burnished ware, finely incised or impressed (Rutter 1982),
(g) 'Northern' wares,
(h) Coarseware.

Glazed and uncoated wares (Tab. G.1.I)

These wares are essentially the same fineware fabric except for the presence or absence of a glaze. Glazed ware was the dominant ware at Pelikata. There was a reference by Heurtley to partly coated pottery in the 'clay layer' of area IV,[40] but none was encountered among the extant pottery in

the Stavros Museum. The shades of the fabric are buff, buff-yellow and deep reddish pink. The glaze itself is on the whole extremely badly preserved; often only specks of it are left adhering to the surface. Only the sherds from the 'clay layer' are exceptionally well preserved, and have also preserved the sheen of the glaze. The colours of the glaze range from red to brown and from grey to black. Open shapes are usually coated inside and out, exceptionally just on the outside (S458). On some of the pottery the colour of the glaze applied on the outside differs from that on the inside. The glaze is usually even; only a few sherds have a streaky or mottled appearance. Heurtley remarked that there was no evidence of thinning of the glaze.

The following are the representative shapes:

I. Bowls: They are the most common shape at Pelikata, but there is great variety in size (h.: 0.03–0.28m, d.: 0.05–0.40m), profile, and the shape of handles and bases.

There are several handleless shallow bowls, dishes or saucers.[41] Those with full profiles usually have no distinct bases and have almost straight or in-curving profiles and in-turned rims. Some (Tab. G.1 nos 8, 9) have high bases like examples at Eutresis.[42] Thickened rims with an outer ledge occur on some bowls.[43] All of these bowls appear to be handleless. Exceptionally, a large example (Tab. G.1 no. 13) has horizontal handles starting from just below the rim, like a bowl from Steno (D202/2).

The deeper bowls are either open (S457, S486: **Pl. 65:e**, and Tab. G.1 nos 3, 16) or closed (S482).[44] Most have similar rims to the shallow bowls, but there are also some examples with out-turned rims (Tab. G.1 no. 16 and sherds from the 'clay layer').[45] Bases are rarely preserved; S482 has a flat base, and another bowl and S458 have a ring base. Two bowls, one large (S457) and one small (S486 **Pl. 65:e**), have tall pedestal bases like the two bowls from Steno, although their shape is more conical. Most deep bowls appear to have been handleless, but a couple (Tab. G.1 no. 16) have vertical strap handles. The pedestal bowls S457 and S489 each have two pairs of knobs on the shoulder.

II. Pyxides: The only complete example of a pyxis-shaped bowl (S463) is similar to, but larger than D108/3 from Steno. Another two fragments from Pelikata[46] are also similar to forms known from the R-Graves. All three examples have perforated lug handles. S463 has two vertical lugs with horizontal perforations on one side only, the other bowls just one preserved horizontal lug, each with one or two vertical perforations.

III. Sauceboats: None of the sauceboats has a full profile. The most complete example comes from Pelikata (S487: **Pl. 65:b**) and consists of the upper part of the vessel with its vertical handle. A tall base (S459) probably belongs to it. The shape is similar to that of the sauceboats from Steno. Another six sherds from Pelikata, some of them with horizontal handles, belong to sauceboats.[47] There were also two or three sherds from Polis possibly from sauceboat spouts.[48]

Three sauceboat sherds came from the 'clay layer' in area VI. Given that the same layer produced much diagnostic early EH III pottery, the same date could apply to the sauceboats, except for the fact that, as was mentioned above, the deposit also contained two EM II sherds. Area I, which produced both EH II and diagnostic EH III types, also produced sauceboats. It is possible that the sauceboat shape survived on the island into early EH III, but further stratigraphical proof of this would be needed.

IV. Jugs and askoi: There were two broad-mouthed jugs with vertical strap handles from Pelikata, of which S481 (**Pl. 65:a**) is askoid in shape and resembles D95/1 from Steno; but it is closer in shape to the askoi from Aghios Kosmas and the askoi which were popular in the Cyclades, particularly among the Amorgos group.

The large pitcher S456 with a short off-centred neck and a horizontal ledge-handle has no close parallels elsewhere.

V. Tankards: Of the two restored tankards, S424 (**Pl. 65:c**) has a vertical handle which starts just above the base and originally must have ended up below the rim. The closest known shape to this vase (although normally two-handled) is the depas amphikypellon, characteristic of Troy I–IV. Examples of this shape are also known from the Cyclades in EC IIIA.[49] Tankard S488 (**Pl. 65:d**) has two strap handles starting from the rim and is akin to EH III tankards from Olympia and Lerna.[50] There are other body-sherds from tankards among the material from Pelikata and some may be from more conventional EH III tankards.[51] Several vertical strap handles, some with slightly concave outer sides, may be either from tankards or from jugs.

Dark-on-Light ware

There are seven small sherds from Pelikata[52] and two from Polis (one of them in coarser ware).[53] Among them are a couple of rim- or handle-sherds including a 'butterfly' lug from Pelikata. The decoration consists mostly of painted stripes, but very small fragments from Pelikata stand out for their exceptional patterns and quality: (a) a body sherd with two incomplete hatched motifs, and (b) a rim-sherd with a butterfly motif and bars.[54] Branigan identified both fragments as Minoan, the latter being a particularly convincing example of a Minoan EM II platter.[55] The local sherds with painted patterns are most likely to be EH III in date since, at Lerna, painted pottery does not make a serious appearance before phase IV, and it is unlikely to be earlier in Ithaki.

Light-on-Dark ware

A simple sherd from a beaked jug with three white lines on black glaze was among the material from the Polis cave.[56]

Dark Burnished ware (Tab. G.1.II)

This is a semi-coarse, handmade, rather gritty ware which is fired grey, greyish brown or, in one or two cases, red, and has a well burnished surface. It occurs in a limited number of shapes, of which the most distinctive is the two-handled bowl. Three of the restored examples (S477–S479: **Pl. 65:g**) and a few sherds are shoulder-handled bowls (or Bass-bowls), the likely precursor of the MBA two-handled bowl. A fourth restored bowl (S480) has horizontal perforated lugs instead of the usual vertical handles. Bass-bowls are common on the mainland. At Lerna they occur in a variety

of wares from phase IV:A onwards, and at Lefkandi in phase 2.[57] At Pelikata most of the Dark Burnished ware was found in the 'clay layer' of area VI.

Other shapes in the same ware include a cup on a pedestal base (S473), part of the base from another pedestal vessel, and a curious boat-shaped vase open at one end.[58]

Fine Grey Burnished ware, finely incised

There are six sherds from kantharoi from Pelikata (areas IV and VI), five of which bear incised spirals under the handles.[59] This pottery, which was formerly thought to be a variety of MH Minyan, was recently studied by J. Rutter who identified it as a distinct ware characterized by its fine incised or impressed decoration. It occurs in Lerna IV (particularly phases A and B) and is therefore early EH III, and on other sites of the Argolid (Korakou, Zygouries, Mycenae, Prosymna, Tiryns and Asea). Rutter also identified this ware in early EH III Olympia (New Museum and Altis), where it appears to have preceded the introduction of pattern-painted pottery.[60] He suggested that it originated in Boiotia and found its way to Olympia with immigrants from central Greece. He included the sherds from Pelikata in his analysis.[61] It would indeed be difficult to dissociate the Olympia pottery from that of Pelikata; there are close similarities between the kantharos shapes and the spirals on the pottery of the two sites. Moreover this pottery was found in the proximity of pithos burials at both sites. However, as regards the origins of the Pelikata pottery (and most likely of the Olympia pottery too), an alternative hypothesis to Rutter's, namely that the ware originated in the 'Cetina culture' of the north-western Balkans, is more convincing. Maran, who put forward this hypothesis,[62] found parallels for the technique, patterns and shapes of the finely incised or impressed ware of the Greek mainland in pottery from the Dalmatian coast and the hinterlands of the former Yugoslavia. Forsén,[63] too, favours this origin for the pottery from the Peloponnese. As suggested by Forsén, the influences could have travelled by sea, which would explain the complete absence of this ware in Albania and north-western Greece. Pelikata would fit well as an intermediate station on the south-bound route.

'Northern' wares

To this general category are assigned fine and semi-coarse wares with a smooth surface of buff, pink or grey hue, and often with a darker core. Most sherds are unpublished and there are no complete pots. Characteristic of this ware at Pelikata are horizontal lugs with perforations and several body-sherds with applied or raised bands (**Pl. 65:f**) of the type also found in coarser ware in Lefkada. Some of the finer pottery, which includes a wishbone handle, may be MBA (see below), and could be related to the local wares of Epirus (Dakaris II) and Kerkyra (Mottled grey ware, see ch. 4).

Coarseware

A high percentage of the pottery from Polis and Pelikata consisted of handmade coarseware. With the exception of the pottery from dated contexts, a distinction between this type of pottery dating from the EBA, MBA or indeed LBA is often not possible to make, especially as most of the material is in sherds.

Some bowls and cups from EBA contexts at Pelikata are fairly complete.[64] One bowl has a pair of knobs on the shoulder, like some of the fineware vases. Of interest is a bowl with a single handle rising above one half of the rim (S471).[65] As it comes from area I, it should be EBA. It is a likely precursor of this type of handle on MBA fineware vases on Ithaki, but also Lefkada and Kefalonia. A further connection with Lefkada is the pithos from the burial of area VI at Pelikata, which has a plastic rope at the base of the neck similar to pithoi from the R-Graves.[66]

The handles are the most durable part of badly fired vessels. The handles represented here are those known from Kerkyra, Lefkada and Kefalonia. Apart from ordinary vertical handles, there are semi-circular or squared horizontal lugs, unperforated as at Stavros[67] and Polis (unpublished), or perforated as at Pelikata. These have parallels on Kefalonia (Kokkolata-Junction and Kokkolata-Kouroupata), Lefkada (Choirospelia, Steno, Nidhri, Amali) and Kerkyra. There are also horned lugs from Polis[68] and Pelikata (unpublished), which have counterparts on Lefkada (Nidhri, Choirospelia). From Polis, there are horsehoe-shaped applied handles,[69] like those from the pithoi of the R-Graves and other sherds from Choirospelia. In addition there are two coarseware wishbone handles from Polis[70] and a ring-ended handle from Stavros[71] which has parallels in Macedonia.

The decoration on the coarseware is similar to that on the coarseware from Lefkada, except for the absence on Ithaki of the impressed Kerbschnitt-type technique. Applied decorated ropes occur at Pelikata, Polis and Tris Langades. Decoration of applied knobs and punctured decoration occur at Polis.[72] A few sherds from Pelikata have incised or scratched decoration, but any connection with the Scratched ware of Lefkada and Kerkyra is unlikely. At Pelikata there were also some sherds with graffiti and doodles.[73] The most interesting ones, both from area I, which would suggest an EH II-III date, apart from the incised picture of a boat, also bear signs which Faure has interpreted as inscriptions in Linear A.[74] The consequences for the chronology of the script are unthinkable as the earliest evidence for it in Crete does not go back further than MM II.[75] However, since area I was so disturbed the sherds may be intrusive.

D. METALWORK

Weapons

I. Spearhead: Branigan published a slotted spearhead (l.: 0.245m) which he recorded as coming from 'Ithaca or Corfu' (Tab. J.1 no. 23).[76] This weapon differs from the slotted spearheads from the R-Graves by having a midrib and a long rat-tail tang. It belongs to Renfrew's type Ib,[77] and Branigan has assigned it to his type IX, which is very similar to his type VIII. Spearheads from Amorgos provide the best parallels for this weapon.[78]

II. Daggers/knives: The fragment of a blade of bronze or copper with a pointed end and a rivet hole from area I at Pelikata may be from a dagger, and there were another three fragments, two with rivet holes, from possible knife blades.[79] Their EBA date is not certain as they came from level VIc along with mixed EH, MH and LH material.

Jewellery

A bronze or copper penannular ring with a circular section from area I at Pelikata[80] may either be a hair ring or a finger ring.

Scraps of gold were recovered from different trenches at Pelikata, but the only recognizable items of jewellery came from the area of the pithos burials (area I). They are:

(a) The rounded terminal of a diadem of gold leaf (l.: 0.036m – broken at one end, w.: 0.03m).[81] It may originally have been Branigan's type I, which is parallel-sided with both ends rounded. Four stitch-holes for sewing it onto a stronger backing are preserved, as well as a repoussé decoration consisting of a row of dots along the bottom and a double row at right angles with it, on either side of which there are crossing diagonals of similar dots.

Diadems of similar type and decorated in the same technique are known from Troy IIg and from Crete, the largest collection coming from the tombs of Mochlos.[82]

A single disk-shaped gold bead (d.: 0.07m) with central hole, from area I at Pelikata,[83] is similar to beads from Steno (Branigan's type IV). It compares with other beads from the Aegean region, mostly from EH II contexts.[84]

E. TOOLS, IMPLEMENTS AND OBJECTS OF PERSONAL USE IN STONE, OBSIDIAN, CLAY, BONE AND IVORY

Stone and obsidian

Most of the small stone tools are blades of flint and obsidian. Heurtley published two obsidian blades and an arrowhead from Pelikata,[85] but the Stavros Museum houses a further nine unpublished obsidian blades. Similarly, there are only three published blades of flint with serrated edges from Pelikata, but another five (S362–S366) are kept in the museum along with other parallel-sided blades. A small cosmetic grinder (S355)[86] from area I is, in shape and size, not unlike the grinder from R23 at Steno (D 195/3), although it is made of a different stone.

Among the equipment connected with food production recovered at Pelikata there were two quern stones and four spherical or semi-spherical pounders of local limestone, and there are also fragments of axes and celts (S258–S266).[87] Pounders like those from Pelikata, from EH II and III contexts, are known from Asea and Malthi and from Lerna, where they seem to be exclusively EH II.[88]

There were two or three partly preserved perforated shaft-hole hammer-axes from Pelikata[89] of the type which is usually regarded as the product of northern influence.[90] At Lerna they first appear in mid EH III (Lerna IV:C) and still occur in the MH phase (Lerna V). They do not seem to be earlier elsewhere in southern Greece, but in Thessaly, Macedonia and the north-eastern Aegean they are EH II, and perhaps even earlier.[91] Two of the axes from Pelikata come from area IV, which produced EH III and some MH pottery.

A couple of small, round, perforated beads of stone from area I at Pelikata, one of steatite, the other of a whitish stone,[92] may have been buttons.

Clay

The animal models from Pelikata, namely three complete examples of bulls, one of a sheep, and a number of fragments from unidentified animals,[93] are objects known from mainland sites. At Pelikata one was associated with the child burial in area VI, and the fragments from area I may also represent grave offerings.

A minimum of seven spindle-whorls were recovered at Pelikata.[94] They belong to different types (conical, convex-conical, biconical, cylindrical), some of which are also represented on Lefkada. All the types are known from mainland sites, including Lerna where biconical whorls were particularly numerous in EH III.[95] The pair from Pelikata is less deeply concave than examples of the type from Lefkada and Kerkyra.

A single circular seal from Pelikata[96] bears an incised five-petalled flower with a circle in the middle. Seals of this type, or the impressions of them, are not uncommon on EH sites in the Argolid.[97]

There was one incomplete 'anchor' from area I at Pelikata, hence of late EH II or EH III date. The shaft has a rounded end, is grooved on either side and is perforated from the sides near the top. Its arms are broken. Weisshaar assigned it to his 'Typ Kirrha'; examples of this type come from the Argolid, Phokis, Thessaly and Malta.[98] The majority of the Greek 'anchors' are EH III. Forsén reviewed their distribution in the Peloponnese and in eastern central Greece where, apart from the single EH I example from Eutresis, there are twice as many examples from EH III (17) as from EH II contexts (8–9).[99]

The ultimate origin of the 'anchor' is disputed. Central Europe, the Peloponnese and Anatolia have all been advocated.[100] The scattered distribution of these objects throughout Greece (except for the islands of the Aegean and Crete, where none has been found) does not help to establish its origins in one area. However, since most of the pre-EH III 'anchors' come from Boiotian sites, Forsén[101] has tentatively suggested that this type of object may have originated there and then spread in different directions.

The function of the 'anchors' is also uncertain. A popular opinion about northern and Anatolian 'anchors' is that they were horn-symbols probably kept or worn as amulets.[102] But in Greece, where they usually occur in domestic contexts, the most accepted hypotheses are that they were either used in weaving, for instance to make four-ply cords,[103] or that they served as simple hooks for hanging objects.[104]

Bone and ivory

Three small artefacts of bone were found at Pelikata: the point of an awl, a fragment from another tool, and a so-called

'spindle-whorl' made from the end of a femur, probably of cattle. The real function of the last object, and other similar ones from EH and MH contexts on the mainland, is not known, but they are too light to have served as spindle-whorls.

Part of a boar's tusk from area I at Pelikata is definitely of EH date. The date of an ivory mount for a knife handle, on the other hand, is uncertain as it was a stray find.[105]

3. The Middle Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

All the four main sites in the northern part of the island (Pelikata, Stavros, Polis and Tris Langades) have yielded MBA pottery, but none of them produced architectural remains. Most of the fineware pottery comes from Pelikata, but even allowing for more coarseware in this period than in the preceding one, the modest quantity of pottery (ca. eighty fineware sherds) suggests that the site was much more sparsely occupied during the MBA than in the EBA. The presence of Decorated Minyan sherds and goblets with ringed stems indicates that the occupation included the mature phases of the MH period. The activity at Stavros and Tris Langades, where Matt-painted pottery was also present, may be later still and, at least at Tris Langades, could be contemporary with the earliest LBA habitation of the site (see below). The MBA pottery from the cave of Polis is proof of the continuing use of the harbour facilities of the bay.

Generally there is no evidence for nucleated settlement on the island during this period; on the contrary, the material from Pelikata suggested that habitation levels declined after EH, but may have increased again in the later part of the MBA.

B. POTTERY

Compared to the other Ionian Islands, a larger range of MBA wares are represented in Ithaki, but very few shapes can be reconstructed and virtually nothing can be said about the local pottery sequence. Grey Minyan, Yellow Minyan and Matt-painted pottery are all present. At Tris Langades all these wares occur with Mycenaean pottery, with which they may be contemporary (see below).

Grey Minyan

All the pottery from Pelikata which was identified as MBA is akin to Grey Minyan ware. In addition there were four or five fragments of this ware from Polis, and four rim-sherds from Tris Langades. Not all this pottery is true Grey Minyan. The fabric is often coarser and uneven in colour; some sherds from Tris Langades have a pink core, and a few sherds from Pelikata are grey on one side and buff on the other. The following shapes are represented:

I. Kantharos: There is at least one carinated kantharos from Polis with a short, wide handle (S407),[106] a profile and handle similar to D117b from Familiengrab S. Parts of kantharoi with highly swung handles were among the sherds from Pelikata. From Polis there were sherds with sharply everted rims,[107] similar to the rims of MBA pottery from Lefkada. The sherds from Tris Langades[108] have rounder profiles which are closer to early Mycenaean goblets than to the MBA kantharos.

II. 'Argive Minyan' bowl: A single sherd from the body of a bowl in this style from Pelikata is decorated with an incised triple festoon.[109] The ware is not true Grey Minyan. The fabric is coarser with a grey-pink core, and the grey surface is slipped and burnished. It may not be an import but a local imitation of a type which has a wide distribution in the Peloponnese, and was often produced in wares other than Grey Minyan.[110] The type belongs to the middle phase (Dickinson's 'Decorated Minyan') of the period.

III. Stemmed bowls: Sixteen poorly preserved sherds from stemmed goblets, characteristic of the middle phase of the period (Dickinson's 'Mature Minyan'), came from Pelikata. Among them are part of the ribbed pedestal of a bowl and the carinated and moulded neck of another.[111]

Yellow and Red Minyan

Some Yellow Minyan rim-sherds from bowls were identified at Tris Langades.[112] Among them, one has the spring of a highly swung handle, and another the spring of a horizontal one. Yellow Minyan sherds from other sites may have gone undetected or been confused with Mycenaean ware. Part of a carinated kantharos (S401) from Polis[113] has a red/orange fabric compatible with Minyan ware ('Red Minyan'?).

Matt-painted

A small quantity of Matt-painted pottery came from the sites of Polis (one vase and a few sherds),[114] Stavros (five sherds)[115] and Tris Langades (one vase and two sherds).[116] The fabric is nearly always pale yellow or buff, exceptionally greenish (S418). The paint is matt black, purplish or brownish black. It is either applied directly on the fabric or on top of a slip. An almost complete bowl from Tris Langades is deep and has a (broken) handle from the rim.[117] The shape has been compared by Waterhouse to an 'Adriatic ware' jar from Malthi, while the pattern (vertical cross-hatched bands) occurs on MH pottery from the Argolid.[118] A reconstructed bowl from Polis (S418, d.: 0.204m),[119] with a nearly complete profile, has a sharply everted rim and two horizontal handles. The decoration consists of a zig-zag around the neck, hatched lines between the handles, and thick vertical lines under the handles. A similar pattern of hatched lines occurs on Matt-painted sherds from Krisa (Phokis),[120] and both hatched lines and zig-zag in a similar arrangement are to be found on a fragmentary little sauceboat from Aetos of completely different ware (see below). Wardle suggested that the Polis bowl may be later, like the Aetos one, as its decoration resembles the 'Thermon Geometric' style.[121] This is a

possibility, although the fabric and paint are those of the MH Matt-painted ware and the sharply offset rim is characteristic of a lot of the MBA pottery from the island and from Lefkada. Moreover, the decoration under the handles (vertical stripes) is similar to that on the jar fragment (D141/1) from the Karou cave in Lefkada, although, as was suggested above (ch. 5.3), this too may be Dark Age.

Among the sherd material from Stavros and from Polis there are handles painted with vertical lines (one from a carinated bowl), horizontal lines, or a cross-hatched panel,[122] and coarser sherds (from a pithos?) with bands and diagonal sets of parallel lines.[123] A couple of sherds are from jugs. One of these, from Tris Langades,[124] has a channelled neck like the Mycenaean hydriai from the site, but its decoration is similar to the bowl from the same site discussed above.

'Northern' wares

S. Benton found sherds, which she described as having a 'soft, reddish slightly polished, whitish surface' in the Polis cave (pit P) together with Matt-painted pottery. Among them was a wishbone handle and fragments of second one.[125] A fragment of another such handle in a similar ware was found at Pelikata in the mixed EH, MH and LH III layer (c) of area VI,[126] and yet another 'horned' example came from Mycenaean house TL at Tris Langades (see below),[127] and should be at least as late as the handles from Polis, or even be LBA. The wishbone handle is a well known northern type of handle with a distribution in Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus,[128] Kerkyra (see ch. 4) and Lefkada (see ch. 5). It makes its earliest appearance in the EBA in Albania and Macedonia (Maliq, Vardaroftsa, Aghios Mamas, Molyvopyrgo), but in Epirus it is not found before the MBA (Dodona, Thermon), and does not occur at all south of the Gulf of Corinth. None of the handles was found attached to the body of a pot, but on the basis of parallels this would normally be a kantharos-type bowl.

C. METALWORK

A token number of metal objects can be assigned to this period.

I. Knives: A fragmentary knife from the 'Polis hoard' (Tab. J.2 no. 35) has a thickened back and possibly the 'snout' characteristic of Sandars's class 6b, to which the knives from Familiengrab S.10 also belong (ch. 5.3). The fragment of the haft of another knife from Stavros (Tab. J.2 no. 36) has the triangular rivet arrangement common on MH knives (Branigan's type V, which includes knives of Sandars's class 6b).

II. Chisel: A broken chisel from the 'Polis hoard'[129] has the concave sides and broad, slightly lunate cutting-edge of Branigan's type III, of which there are examples from Lefkada (ch. 5.3). A later date for this object is also possible.

4. The Late Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

Very little pottery from the island – a handful of sherds from Polis and Tris Langades – dates from before LH III. The pottery associations at Tris Langades suggest that this paucity of material may be due to a delay in the introduction of Mycenaean-style pottery, rather than to the absence of habitation on the island during this period.

Mycenaean settlement in LH IIIA and LH IIIB, on the other hand, is well attested. All five sites in the northern peninsula have yielded evidence of occupation. However, even the three main settlement sites (Tris Langades, Pelikata and Stavros) are small, suggesting hamlets rather than villages. Tris Langades yielded the earliest pottery (LH IIIA1 in area TL). The site may have ceased to be occupied before the end of LH IIIB. Its occupation, however, would have overlapped at least for a time with that of Pelikata and Stavros, neither of which can be dated to before LH IIIA2–B on the evidence of the pottery.

At Tris Langades, the only site with remains of structures, the campaign of the British School uncovered what the excavators suggested could have been a house (area TL) and its outbuildings (areas L and T). Papadopoulos's recent investigations revealed the walls of other possible buildings, which may suggest the existence of a hamlet rather than just a single farmhouse at the site.

No architectural remains were preserved in area TL, just a confusion of roughly shaped stones and traces of mudbrick, which may have been the result of an earthquake. The bulk of the pottery was LH IIIA (including diagnostic LH IIIA1), with much less LH IIIB. Some MH pottery was also recovered from this area (one Grey Minyan sherd, and a few Yellow Minyan and Matt-painted sherds) which the excavators regarded as contemporary with the earliest Mycenaean material (see below). The only walls in situ were in areas L and T. In area L three overlapping curved walls of dry masonry, belonging to successive buildings, were excavated.[130] The plans suggested buildings with straight sides and a rounded end. The walls were differently constructed and varied in thickness. Wall 1 (w.: 0.35m) was built of flat rough stones laid in a double row. Walls 2 and 3, which were dated to the LH III period by the associated pottery, were slightly wider than wall 1. They were made of two rows of large, rough stones packed with smaller stones in between. Some traces of pebble paving, probably belonging to floors, came to light in association with walls 2 and 3. In area T the pattern of walls was not clear, but the main wall (median w.: 0.60m) was straight, with a short spur-wall at right angles roughly in the middle.[131] The associated pottery dates the main wall to LH III (LH IIIA and LH IIIB1). Pieces of burnt brick recovered in areas T and TL indicate that the buildings had mudbrick superstructures.

According to the excavators, the destroyed building in area TL was the main house and the structures in T and L may have been its outhouses. After TL was destroyed

(sometime in early LH IIIB), T and the later structure L probably continued in use longer into LH IIIB.

In the south of the island the evidence of Mycenaean settlement is limited and later in date. The British School excavations in the area of the 'cairns' at Aetos yielded a small number of LH IIIB and LH IIIC sherds, and Symeonoglou's investigations have added a few more of similar date. But neither a possible Mycenaean house that he excavated on the saddle nor the intriguing fragment of 'Cyclopean' wall at Mt Aetos were associated with Mycenaean pottery.

There is so far nothing on the island to intimate the existence of a large centre, either north or south of the isthmus, or to suggest the presence of a palatial site. The curved walls of the houses at Tris Langades, like the house at Vounias on Kefalonia, show the use of construction techniques and plans long superseded in the central areas of the Mycenaean world. However, the pottery from Tris Langades is of good quality, suggesting more extensive occupation and more sophisticated patronage than the archaeological discoveries to date would lead us to believe.

None of the settlements in the north of the island appear to have survived into LH IIIC, but the Polis cave produced LH IIIB, LH IIIC and PG-style pottery, and at the Aetos saddle some LH III occupation, including LH IIIC, preceded the PG site.

B. POTTERY

Fineware (Tab. G.2)

All the sites yielded some Mycenaean pottery, but only a relatively small proportion of vases were complete, or capable of being reconstructed. Tris Langades produced most of the pre-LH IIIC pottery, and the cave of Polis most of the LH IIIC pottery. As a whole the material spans all the major LH phases.

LH I-II

The few early Mycenaean-style sherds are mostly from cups. At Tris Langades (house TL) there is one sherd from a cup with the tips of two double-axes (FM 35) separated by four vertical lines.[132] A small sherd with pale slip, spirals and added white paint from Polis is also very likely to be from a cup,[133] and two sherds with foliate bands (FM 64) and horizontal bands between them, also from the cave, must come from Vapheio cups, the motif suggesting an LH IIB date.[134] A small sherd from Tris Langades,[135] most likely from a squat jar, bears the hatched loop motif (FM 63) and is also likely to be LH IIB. A couple of sherds of Minyan-type fabric with spirals from Polis, and a sherd with a tight spiral from Tris Langades have also been accepted as early by Dickinson, as has a larger sherd from a hydria with decoration reminiscent of MH Matt-painted wares (fringed band around the neck and spirals or arches on the shoulder).[136] The latter vessel would have parallels in some early Mycenaean domestic vessels which perpetuate MH shapes and decoration on a number of mainland sites.[137] Moreover, some of the true Matt-painted pottery from Ithaki may also be early Mycenaean in date. At Tris Langades, Matt-painted pottery and Minyan pottery were found in house TL, which produced mostly LH IIIA1 pottery and the few early Mycenaean sherds already mentioned. As the excavations suggested, it would be best to regard the MBA and Mycenaean wares as contemporary rather than consecutive.[138]

LH IIIA-IIIB/C

I. Piriform jars or rounded alabastra: The only piece which can be identified as belonging to one or the other shape is an incomplete example of a very worn and rather irregular squat rounded alabastron (FS 84?) from Aetos (Tab. G.2 no. 1) with only specks of its glaze paint preserved. Stavros produced rims which could belong to either shape. An example of very good quality, with crackly black glaze, may be an import.[139] At Tris Langades a fragment with a diaper net pattern (FM 57) may belong to either of these shapes.[140] The same decoration occurs on vases of both shapes from Mazarakata (A7, A2, A60) and Metaxata (A1518) in Kefalonia, and on a large alabastron from Kambi in Zakynthos (Z22: **Pl. 48**).

II. Stirrup jars: There are fragments of two large domestic stirrup jars (disks with central hole and parts of handles only) and of two smaller vases from Tris Langades.[141] One of the latter (S597: **Pl. 25**) has a foliate band (FM 64) on the shoulder and the beginning of thick-and-thin lines on the body. A similar shoulder decoration occurs on a squat stirrup jar from Mazarakata-Neuchâtel (N63) which has been dated to LH IIIB, and on a slightly later globular stirrup jar from Metaxata which also has thick-and-thin lines on the body (A1491). This combination occurs on LH IIIA2–B stirrup jars of different shapes from Achaia,[142] where the foliate band also often occurs in a double row.

A stirrup jar disk with concentric circles from Aetos[143] may date from this period. The pattern is not common on later stirrup jar disks from Kefalonia, but concentric circles decorate the disk of LH IIIC stirrup jar S225 (**Pls 25** and **66a:1**) from Polis, which is very likely an Achaian import.

III. Flask: A vase from Tris Langades (S615, foot missing: **Pl. 24**) with a zig-zag (FM 61.2) on the shoulder and thick-and-thin lines on the belly is a good example of the horizontal flask (FS 190–92) of LH IIIA2–B1. It is not as pronouncedly biconical as the smaller flask from Kambi in Zakynthos (Z32: **Pl. 47**), and has a spreading rather than a sloping lip. There is also a fragment with concentric circles (FS 189) from Tris Langades, possibly from the body of a vertical flask (S556), which should date from the same period.[144] A fragment in pinkish fabric with broad concentric bands from Aetos (Tab. G.2 no. 20: **Pl. 23:b**) is also most likely from a vertical flask.

IV. Large jugs, jars or hydriai: These shapes are represented by large sherds painted with bands. At Tris Langades the most distinctive belong to round-mouthed necks with everted rims and grooves at their base, and to large bases.[145] A deviation from the usual straight band decoration is a wavy band on one of the necks (Tab. G.2 no. 22: **Pl. 23:a**).[146]

The neck has close parallels in two similar neck fragments from Evgiros in Lefkada (D141/1: **Pl. 1**). At Stavros there were handles, bases and necks of similar shapes to those of Tris Langades.[147]

V. Small jugs: There are a few fragments of small jugs from Tris Langades. One, without base or handle (Tab. G.2 no. 40), is a monochrome, globular juglet (FS 67?), predecessor of the Kefalonian small jugs. The top part of another jug (S574), with the base of a narrow neck,[148] has a shoulder with vertical wavy lines and the beginning of a linear body.

VI. Cups and mugs: Tris Langades produced two or three fragments of cups including a plain example of a straight-sided cup of FS 230 (S611: **Pl. 24**), and a possible monochrome mug.[149] An incomplete small cup of uncertain shape from Polis (S346a: **Pl. 29**) is decorated with semi-circles in lustrous red paint and has an unpainted interior. It may therefore be earlier than its monochrome lower body would suggest.

VII. Goblets: Some of the low stems from Stavros may have belonged to goblets, but better examples of FS 255 come from Tris Langades. Among them are ring and solid painted stems,[150] and part of the bowl of a large goblet (S616, foot missing: **Pl. 27**) with a running spiral on the handle-zone.

VIII. Kylikes: This is the most common shape, represented mostly by bases, stems and rim-fragments. There are over seventy examples from Tris Langades, about thirty-five from Pelikata, five or six large fragments and several smaller sherds from Stavros, and a couple of stems from Asprosykia and Aghios Athanassios. The stems are either monochrome or plain, and there are also bases with painted rings.[151] Plain stems like those from Stavros, Pelikata and Polis are usually regarded as belonging to Zygouries-type kylikes (FS 258A) or to plain LH IIIA2–B kylikes, but it should be borne in mind that some of the stems of LH IIIC kylikes from Kefalonia are also unpainted. A plain shallow bowl (S572: **Pl. 23**) from Tris Langades is, however, definitely from an earlier kylix, and so is the deep conical bowl from a plain kylix from Polis (S270: **Pl. 67:b**), which is most likely LH IIIB. From Tris Langades there is also part of the bowl of a Zygouries-type kylix with volute flower motif (FM 18A),[152] and another from an angular kylix (FS 258) with a hybrid flower (FM 18) and a band around the rim.[153] Other kylikes with patterned decoration on the handle-zone come from Polis and Tris Langades. At Tris Langades the motifs include the interlocking quirk (Tab. G.2 no. 9: **Pl. 24:a**) and the running spiral (from left to right).[154] A fragment of a kylix from Polis, with a foliate band on the handle-zone and an unpainted interior may be LH IIIB or LH IIIC.[155] The upper part of a kylix with a deep rounded bowl from Polis (S234: **Pl. 24**) is decorated with a pattern which seems a cross between the concentric arcs (FM 44) and the multiple zig-zag (FM 61.17–18). It may be late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC.

Among the material from Polis there is an unpublished and uncatalogued highly swung handle from a kylix of FS 273 (LH IIIA2–B) or of FS 277 (LH IIIC1e). This is the only occurrence of the shape in the Ionian Islands.

IX. Bowls and kraters: There are sherds (bases, handles and rim-sherds) from these shapes from Pelikata and Stavros, but the largest collection comes from Tris Langades. The precise shape of the majority of these vases cannot be determined by the sherds. At Tris Langades most rims are thick and everted and the walls are rounded. There are however some examples with straighter sides,[156] and some with a drooping rim which is normally characteristic of conical bowls (FS 290 and FS 300). There is just one (S569) partly preserved deep bowl (FS 284). It is plain with an unusual decoration: a vertical zig-zag on one side of the exterior and a monochrome interior.

Most bowls from Tris Langades have a painted band on the rim. The most common motifs are the wavy line (FM 53), the running spiral (FM 46), the interlocking quirk (FM 48), the zig-zag (FM 61) and the multiple stem-and-tongue pattern (FM 19). There is also a sherd (Tab. G.2 no. 8: **Pl. 24:b**) with concentric arcs (FM 44), and a couple with whorl shells (FM 23).[157] Given that the wavy line and the zig-zag were popular at Tris Langades in this period, it is possible that some bowls with very similar decoration from Polis[158] may also be earlier than LH IIIC.

Four fragments of a large krater (FS 7–8?) from Tris Langades (S576) bear an elaborate decoration consisting of a tricurved arch net (FM 62.12–13) with a sea anemone (FM 27.11) fill. The krater has been compared by the excavators to a krater from Mycenae dating from LH IIIA1.[159]

The stemmed bowl (FS 304–05), recognizable by its thick low stem, is present at Pelikata, Stavros, Polis and Tris Langades. It would seem that it was already a popular shape in the Ionian Islands before LH IIIC. However, the only fairly complete, though footless, example is a bowl from Polis (S227: **Pls 24** and **66:a.4**), which has a linear lower part and a handle-zone decorated with the quirk (FM 48). Wardle could not decide between an LH IIIB or LH IIIC date for it, but the vase has early features and this particular version of the quirk is very similar to that on a couple of sherds from Tris Langades.[160] An LH IIIB date for it is therefore the most likely.

X. Dish or tray: Some sherds from a vessel of FS 323 were identified at Tris Langades.[161] The only example of this shape mentioned by Furumark is from Zygouries and dates from LH IIIB.

XI. Legged vessels: There were several grooved or divided feet at Tris Langades (S554a,b,c, S596), and two at Stavros.[162] They are either plain or painted with bands. The shapes from which derive the levigated pre-LH IIIC split feet is a bit of a mystery here, as it is in Zakynthos and Kefalonia, since they have always been found detached. The pyxis is a likely shape (particularly for S596),[163] but other shapes would have included the strainer mentioned below.

XII. Strainers: Part of a strainer from Tris Langades (S555)[164] with the stump from a split foot, and an unpublished sherd (S553), possibly from another strainer, are made of levigated clay.[165]

XIII. Dipper: A highly swung dipper handle from Tris

Langades (S551: **Pl. 23**) is an early example of the shape (FS 236) which is better represented in the region in LH IIIC. The shape first appears in LH IIB, but only becomes common in LH IIIA2,[166] the likely date of the Tris Langades dipper handle.

XIV. Basins/Lekanai: Three badly preserved sherds from Tris Langades belong to early examples of lekanai (FS 295?).[167] Two complete LH IIIC examples of lekanai came from Polis (see below). The shape first appears in LH IIIB2, and becomes more popular in LH IIIC.

LH IIIC

The cave of Polis is the only site where LH IIIC pottery was found in any quantity at all. About twenty vases from the cave are either nearly complete or can be reconstructed.

I. Stirrup jars: There are two nearly complete examples from Polis, both globular-biconical (FS 175). The larger jar (S225: **Pls 25** and **66:a.1**) has barred bow-shaped handles and a stirrup disk decorated with concentric bands. The belly has close bands, and the shoulder a decoration of fringed multiple semi-circles (FM 43) or triangles (FM 61A.1). The decoration is similar to that on the two large stirrup jars from Kefalonia: A958 from Diakata and A1339 from Lakkithra Δ (**Pl. 13**), the latter with a monochrome body. Like A958, the Polis stirrup jar is most certainly an imported Achaian piece. The smaller stirrup jar S226 (**Pls 25** and **66:a.3**), which is very worn, was monochrome and has one preserved elaborate triangle on the shoulder. Although not unknown on Kefalonian pottery (A1054), the elaborate triangle was not a common motif of the LH IIIC style of the island. The triangle of the Ithakan jar has a dotted border which is unusual in western Greece. From Aetos there is a spout of a stirrup jar, part of the body of another with evenly spaced bands, and a coned stirrup disk.[168]

II. Large jugs/hydriai: Parts of at least thirty different large jugs came from Polis (S278–S2781, S490, S517, S519, S521),[169] of which one (S517), piriform in shape and two-handled, has been reconstructed. Most had three handles and a cut-away neck. The shoulder is commonly reserved and the body is decorated with wide bands. Two fragments have spirals or a loop on the shoulder.[170] In size and decoration, the jars recall the earlier round-mouthed hydriai from Tris Langades, from which they probably descend. However the combination of cut-away neck and three handles is a distinctive feature of the Polis jugs. The jugs from Kefalonia (particularly the ones more piriform in shape like A1007) are also related to the Polis jugs, although none of the former have three handles.

III. Lekythos: A small vase from Polis (S275: **Pl. 25**), its lower body and foot missing, has a monochrome body and semi-circles (FM 43h) on the shoulder. It differs from the lekythoi of Kefalonia, which are more ovoid and in most cases have a linear body, although a monochrome body also occurs (e.g. A1006, A1761). The semi-circles recall those of some late amphoriskoi from Kefalonia (e.g. A1090 from Lakkithra: **Pl. 3**). The Polis lekythos is undoubtedly very late LH IIIC/SM.

IV. Small jugs: Two necks from Polis (S273: **Pl. 67:d, right**, S274: **Pl. 67:d, left**) bear the faint remains of bands. S273 has a trefoil mouth and could be FS 137.

V. Dippers: The handle of a dipper from Polis (Tab. G.2 no. 17) most likely belongs with the LH IIIC material, and there is a complete handmade dipper (S323), also from the cave (see below). The characteristic of the handle is that its profile is pear-shaped like those of the LH IIIC dippers from Kefalonia (ch. 6), rather than elongated like the handle of the earlier dipper from Tris Langades (see above).

VI. Spouted cup: A cup from Polis (S236, spout missing: **Pls 26** and **68:d**) is FS 252, a shape popular in Kefalonia. The Polis cup, with five running spirals (FM 46), has close parallels in two cups with spirals from Kefalonia, one from Metaxata A (A1470) and particularly one from Lakkithra A (A1010), which has its spirals joined with double tangents like the cup from Polis, though its handle is barred, unlike those of the Kefalonian cups. As Benton first suggested,[171] this is very likely an import from Kefalonia.

VII. Kylikes: Three complete kylikes from Polis (S215: **Pl. 67:c**, S224: **Pls 26** and **66:b.1**, S222: **Pls 28** and **66:b.4**) are conical FS 274–75. Kylix S215 has a wide mouth, a monochrome straight stem, and a flat base; in shape and proportions it compares closely with the Kefalonian kylikes. From Polis there is also a small number of monochrome stems and parts of conical bowls, e.g. S220 (**Pls 26** and **67:a, right**), and S219 (**Pl. 67:a, left**) which has outlined handles and a linear bowl, both features of some Kefalonian kylikes. A couple of fragments of straight stems from Aetos[172] could also come from conical kylikes.

The other two kylikes from Polis differ from S215 by having narrower conical bowls and a shorter stem with more or less pronounced swellings (S222 and S224 respectively). They are related to the kylikes from Kefalonia with swollen stems (A1333, A1334), but the narrow funnel-shaped bowls and in-turned lips are not represented in Kefalonia. The system of decoration on the kylikes from Ithaki is also different. Kylix S224 has a reserved handle-zone (with a single foliate band) and three reserved rings on the stem. S222 has a wide reserved band near the base of the bowl. In shape, but not in decoration, the Ithaki kylikes resemble kylikes from Thessaly (Hexalophos) and from Crete (Karfi, Vrokastro).[173]

The two kylikes from Polis are most certainly very late in the local series and represent a stage right before the development of the heavily ribbed PG kylix. Kylix S220 is also late as its fabric, like that of S222, is closer to PG.

VIII. Bowls: There are two restored examples of FS 285 from Polis. The larger, S237 (**Pl. 68:a**), has a sharply offset rim and is monochrome but for a reserved area on the belly which bears a sea anemone or flower. The smaller bowl (S248: **Pls 26** and **68:b**) is a monochrome Granary style bowl, a type which is also represented in Kefalonia (A77, A65). A larger stemmed bowl (S228: **Pls 26** and **66:a.2**), foot and handles missing, is a development of the Kefalonian conical stemmed bowls. The profile is more angular and generally closer to the early PG deep bowls from the island, but the semi-circles, although floating in the reserved handle-zone, are still in the Mycenaean style. Another bowl in two fragments (S347a,c: **Pls 29** and **68:c**),

which was most certainly stemmed, also retains sufficient Mycenaean features to be included with the latest LH rather than with the PG material. Its reserved handle-zone is decorated with a central hatched triglyph, on either side of which are debased spirals flanked by semi-circles (only one side is preserved). The spirit of this decoration is Mycenaean, but the fabric is that of the local PG and so is the reserved band inside the rim.

IX. Krater: A monochrome krater from Polis (Tab. G.2 no. 27) is akin to FS 282. Its shape is somewhat wider than that of the monochrome kraters from Lakkithra (A987 and A1251). There are also sherds from another two kraters from Polis.[174]

X. Basins/Lekanai: Two complete basins from Polis, one large (S230: **Pl. 66:c, left**) and one small (S229: **Pls 25** and **66:c, right**), and a sherd from a third (S231) were accidentally omitted from the original publication of the material from Polis.[175] All three are banded. The shape is represented in an earlier context at Tris Langades (see above), and there are two smaller shallow bowls of comparable shapes from Kefalonia (A1581, A1213). Basins are more common on settlement sites, and examples with bands are known from a number of such sites, including the Menelaion, Korakou, Asine and Assiros.[176]

Summary and discussion

The few early Mycenaean sherds are from types (Vapheio cup with foliate bands, cup with spirals, squat jar with hatched loop) which occur in regions of western Greece with which the Ionian Islands developed close contacts in the later LH periods, i.e. in Elis (Vapheio cups and squat jars from Samikon), Messenia (Vapheio cups, shallow cups), Zakynthos (Vapheio cups, squat jar) and Phokis (Vapheio cups from Kirrha). It is not clear however whether or not the vases would have been imports into Ithaki. In any case, the scarcity of early Mycenaean pottery on the island supports the suggestion also made about Kefalonia that the potters of this island continued to manufacture MBA-type wares in LH I and even into LH II, particularly pottery of the Matt-painted style. In western Greece a similar delay in the adoption of Mycenaean pottery is better documented: at Aitolian Thermon, Matt-painted pottery was still present in some quantity in the LH IIA destruction layer.[177]

On the whole the LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery of the island draws on the repertory of common Mycenaean shapes and motifs, although these are sometimes carelessly executed. Non-figurative motifs – the running spiral, the zig-zag, the wavy line and the multiple stem-and-tongue pattern – are the most common. Floral and animal motifs are rare (the flower, the whorl shell and the sea anemone are however represented). Both the thick-and-thin line scheme and, more commonly in LH IIIB, groups of bands are used on the body of vases.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery and the dearth of settlement sites from neighbouring regions, comparative material for the Ithakan pottery is not easy to find. In the choice of motifs, the pottery from Tris Langades and the little there is from Polis display similarities with pottery from sites along both sides of the Gulf of Corinth: Teichos Dymaion (zig-zag and interlocking quirk),[178] Aigion and other Achaian sites (interlocking quirk, stirrup jars with foliate band),[179] and in Krisa (spiral, zig-zag, stems)[180] and Delphi (spiral, interlocking quirk, stems)[181] in Phokis. Legged vases were popular in Zakynthos and Kefalonia. Some motifs on the Ithakan pottery, e.g. the diaper net, the zig-zag, the wavy line, the foliate band and the stem-and-tongue pattern, also occur on the LH IIIA2–B pottery of Kefalonia and are later incorporated into the LH IIIC repertory. However the pattern-decorated kylix, the stemmed bowl and the dipper occur in Ithaki before they appear in Kefalonia in LH IIIC. Ithaki and Lefkada have in common large jugs decorated with bands, including examples of necks with wavy bands.

The LH IIIC pottery of Ithaki is closely related to the pottery of Kefalonia. With the notable exception of the hydria with cut-away neck, which is not represented on Kefalonia, most of the pottery can be compared with Kefalonian types. The closest parallels can be found for the deep bowls, the monochrome krater, the dippers, the spouted cup and the conical kylikes (FS 275–76). The spouted cup S236, kylix S215 and deep bowl S248 are so similar to Kefalonian vases that they could have been manufactured in Kefalonia.

Some of the Ithakan pottery represents a further stage of development from the LH IIIC of Kefalonia. This is particularly true of lekythos S275 and a number of the bowls and kylikes. Bowls S228 and S347a have profiles with sharper carinations than those of the Kefalonian bowls, and the patterns on the handle-zones show a degeneration of the LH IIIC patterns. The conical kylikes with bulges (S224 and S222) have developed a funnel-shaped bowl which is not present in the kylikes of Kefalonia. Although this shape may have been an Ithakan variant, the decoration too (the linear stem of S224 and the reserved lower bowl of S222), which has broken away from the conventions of the Kefalonian conical kylikes with their reserved handle-zone and monochrome lower body and stem, suggests a later development, and so does the PG-type fabric of S222.

Connections between the Ithakan LH IIIC pottery and other areas are not very obvious, but this may be due to the small quantity of the pottery. Stirrup jar S225 from Polis is definitely an Achaian import, but could have reached the island via Kefalonia, while the conical kylikes compare with similarly shaped kylikes in areas quite a distance apart (Crete and Thessaly).

Coarse and domestic wares

Both Polis and Tris Langades produced a large volume of semi-coarse ware and coarseware pottery. Although only a small proportion of the unlevigated pottery from Tris Langades was illustrated in the publication,[182] it constituted a large proportion of the total ceramic material; in area T it amounted to 50%.

Most of the heavy coarseware from Tris Langades is gritty, crumbly and has large white inclusions and a mostly untreated surface. Everted rims and flat or slightly raised

bases predominate. The few pointed bases (**Pl. 68:e.2–3**) may be an MH survival, and there is a large number of feet (**68:e.1**) probably from tripod cooking pots. The handles are vertical or horizontal and some are grooved. There are also some horizontal lug handles.

The most common decoration on the unlevigated pottery consists of applied clay bands which are straight, wavy or crescent-shaped, and occasionally bear finger impressions. Similar decorative bands occur on the pottery from Polis. From the cave there are also a few sherds with decoration of applied pellets (of the same type as those from Kefalonia, ch. 6) and a complete tall necked jar (S489, **Pl. 68:g**)[183] with densely applied pellets on the whole body. Tris Langades has also produced a sherd with pellets.[184] Wardle[185] has drawn attention to the likely connection between the pottery from the Ionian Islands and the more plentiful 'pellet ware' of Epirus. In Epirus this ware dates from LH IIIA2 onwards by the associated imports.[186] At Dodona the shapes represented are a kantharos, and a jar of squatter shape than S489,[187] closer to the ribbed amphorae from Mavrata-Chairata. The same shape is represented by large fragments of jars from Polis (S415: **Pl. 68:f**, S413 and S414).[188] The main features of this typical Epirote, Kefalonian and Ithakan shape are a deep, ovoid or globular body, two vertical handles starting from the rim, or just below it, and a similar system of decoration: usually a plain neck and a decorated body, the two being separated by a row of finger or nail impressions. The decoration on the body varies. In Ithaki, apart from the pellets on S489, some unpublished sherds from Tris Langades, most likely from pots of this shape, have vertical grooving similar to that on the body of two jars from Mavrata-Chairata.

A handmade two-handled kantharos from Polis (S402, h.: 0.20m), with a burnished surface and diagonal fluting between the handles, was thought by Benton to be a foreign pot dating from the 'earlier or the later Danubian invasion'.[189] The type has indeed a northern distribution, and a long life. The highest concentration occurs in Albania where it first appears in the 13th-12th centuries BC. Fluted kantharoi were quite common in the tumuli of Gërmenj and Pazhok,[190] but also occur in the district of Kukës and Korça. Fluted pottery was widespread in Macedonia, where it also appears to have had a long life-span. Heurtley dated the fluted pottery from Vardaroftsa and Vardino to the 12th century,[191] but the fluted kantharoi of Vergina[192] cannot be earlier than the 10th century. The kantharos from Polis could belong either with the LH IIIC or, possibly, with the PG material from the cave.

C. CLAY FIGURINE

A female figurine from Aetos (V116, h: 0.093m, preserved from the waist up)[193] must be of LBA date in spite of its puzzling PG context in 'cairn' 3c. Its fabric and the glaze paint, which is bright red and lustrous (although little of it remains), are good quality Mycenaean, suggesting an imported piece. It belongs to the naturalistic type of Mycenaean figurines, which are more elaborate than the common 'bird-faced' types such as the figurine from tomb Δ at Lakkithra, and have realistically rendered arms and features.

The top of the head of the Aetos figurine is flat, and she may in fact be wearing a polos, as her hair is only painted on the sides. The festoon-like curls on her forehead are a common feature on naturalistic figurines and on painted female representations. On the back, her spaced-out hair locks recall the fringe of the well-known plaster head from Mycenae. She is wearing a necklace, probably hanging from a ribbon which is fringed on the back. Her features are very worn, but the shape of the head and droopy eyes, the triangular nose and small mouth recall the two statuettes of goddesses/priestesses from the 'Room of the Idols' at Mycenae.[194] Her arms are broken, but according to E. French, who has compared the Aetos figurine with a naturalistic figurine from Laconia,[195] they may have curved back on the body like the arms of the Laconian figurine.

Naturalistic figurines were not made after early LH IIIB. Such an early date for the Aetos figurine makes its presence in a possible ritual context of PG date even more perplexing.

D. METALWORK

Tris Langades and Polis produced some small bronzes, but the larger tools and the weapons have no definite provenance or context.

Weapons (Tab. J.1)

I. Swords:

(a) The Neuchâtel Museum sword (Tab. J.1 no. 4): The sword, published by S. Benton,[196] was found, according to the museum's catalogue, in one of the slab-covered rock-cut tombs excavated by de Bosset at the foot of Mt Aetos. Its length (0.45m) makes it a 'short sword' according to Catling's definition.[197] It has a wide guard broken at the edges (rivet on one side preserved) and a hilt with a short, probably broken tang. The blade tapers sharply towards the point. There is a flat midrib with three sets of parallel lines on it. N. Sandars has classified this weapon with her 'doubtful or derivative' type A swords.[198] The Neuchâtel weapon does indeed differ from type A swords, as it also does from its Nidhri precursors, notably by the absence of a pronounced midrib. Branigan has included it with his 'type II' long swords, which are mostly MBA,[199] but its decorated blade remains unique. Nonetheless this sword may be earlier than LBA, although type A swords did not go out of use before the 14th century.

(b) The British Museum 'Woodhouse sword' (Tab. J.1 no. 5): The sword, which was published by S. Benton, is reputed to have come from Ithaki, although P. Kalligas has recently suggested that it may have come from Kefalonia.[200] It is a short sword (0.43m) assigned by Sandars to her class G[201] (Furumark's Type C2), although it has an unusual hilt which has two constrictions on the flanged tang, one immediately below the pommel and one above the shoulder, and a broader middle section. The sword has down-curving

quillions and four fine parallel-sided ribs along the blade. It has a deep groove on the outside edge of the flange, a feature which links it with a type F dirk from Dodona.

Class G swords become common in the Aegean from LH IIIA1 onwards. The latest examples mentioned by Sandars are from Perati and Delphi, and are both LH IIIC, but the closest parallel for the British Museum sword is a more recently discovered weapon from an SM tomb in Ancient Elis,[202] which also has a hilt with two constrictions.

(c) The Polis sword (Tab. J.1 no. 6): The incomplete blade of a sword from the 'Polis hoard', preserved in two fragments, is believed by Catling to belong to a Naue II type (Type II) sword.[203] This would be the only Type II sword from the Ionian Islands. Four such swords were found in Achaia.[204] The presence of a Type II sword in Ithaki would lend support to the theory of an Adriatic route of introduction of these swords into mainland Greece. Both the routes first proposed by Gowen,[205] i.e. along the eastern Adriatic or via Italy, could have led past the Ionian Islands. A considerable number of Type II swords (130) have now been found in Yugoslavia, and a few (6–7) are known from Albania. Most of these swords have been classified by Catling as 'uncanonical', but there are similarities between some of them and the Greek Type II swords.[206] However it would seem that even greater affinities exist between the Greek swords and the Italian series of European swords,[207] which makes the western Adriatic an even likelier alternative route for the transmission of the sword to Greece. It is of interest though that, unlike the 'northern' spearheads (see below and ch. 6.4), the European sword does not appear to have become popular in the Ionian Islands.

II. Spearheads: There were eleven spearheads/javelin heads among the weapons from the 'Polis hoard' but most were badly damaged. One of the best preserved is a flame-shaped weapon (0.187m) with a prominent midrib and a closed socket (Tab. J.1 no. 20). It belongs the 'northern' group of spearheads discussed in chapter 6. Its type, Catling's broad-bladed 'Kephallenia class'[208] and Snodgrass's Type B, does not occur before the 13th century and has a northern and western distribution. However, Avila has classed the Ithaki spearhead with examples from find-places as diverse as Ialyssos, Tanagra and Corinth.[209] There are smaller spearheads from the hoard, two of which are definitely leaf-shaped javelin heads (Tab. J.1 nos 21–22), a type which has a very wide distribution in Greece, the Adriatic and the Balkans.

Tools (Tabs J.2–3)

The few tools come from Tris Langades and Polis.

I. Knives: A knife with two rivets from Tris Langades (Tab. J.2 no. 32) was unflanged (Sandars's type Ia)[210] like all the Kefalonian knives except one. Two knives from the 'Polis hoard' (Tab. J.2 nos 33, 34) however had a flanged haft (Sandars 1955, type Ib).[211]

II. Chisel: A broken flat chisel from the 'Mycenaean deposit' (Tab. J.3 no. 7) of the Polis cave is the only bronze artefact from the cave. It belongs to the type which has a wide, lunate cutting-edge which tapers towards the butt. The type (Branigan's type III) was made since the EBA. MBA chisels of this shape from Lefkada and Kefalonia have been discussed in the relevant chapters.

III. Tweezers: The only pair of tweezers from Tris Langades (Tab. J.3 no. 10) was of the 'open-spring' type, like the tweezers from Kefalonia.

IV. Fish-hook: A small barbless hook (Branigan type I) was recovered at Tris Langades.[212]

E. MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS OF CLAY AND STONE

Conuli

It would seem that, in common with other excavations, most of the conuli from the excavations in Ithaki have been left out of the publications. Only three are mentioned en passant in the publication of Tris Langades and none in that of Polis, whereas the Stavros Museum storeroom houses eighteen, purportedly from the two sites. Of these, twelve kept with Tris Langades material are made of clay, two are conical, one is convex conical and the rest are biconical. Among this material there are also two conical steatite conuli and one which is shanked (S556, S569). There are also three conical conuli from Polis (S250–52).

Some of the larger conuli from Tris Langades would most certainly have served as spindle-whorls, a use which fits in well with their domestic context. At Tris Langades, for which there is a terminus ante quem in LH IIIB, clay conuli predominate, but only steatite conical ones came from Polis, where their date is more likely to be LH IIIC.

Other objects

Among the finds from Polis there was a clay loom weight (S238). Part of a small axe with a perforation from Tris Langades[213] is the only stone tool of certain LBA date.

5. The Protogeometric Period

A. SETTLEMENT

In the absence of settlement sites, the stylistic continuity between the LH IIIC and PG pottery, particularly in the cave of Polis, is the only indication we have that there could have been no significant hiatus in the occupation of the northern part of the island between the two periods. Benton suggested a break of occupation at Polis after the LBA, but given the poor stratigraphy there and Benton's difficulty in distinguishing the LH IIIC from the PG pottery, this cannot be substantiated. There is no PG material from Pelikata, Tris Langades or Stavros, but as none of these settlements survive into the LH IIIC, this constitutes no evidence of disruption of habitation. It is, however, impossible to envisage that the island was not affected by the abandonment of the Kefalonian cemeteries of Livatho. In fact it is more than likely that the great boost in the pottery production of Ithaki

and the considerable influence of the Kefalonian LH IIIC style on the formation of the Ithakan PG, as will be seen below, was due to some emigration from Kefalonia to Ithaki towards the end of LH IIIC.

The material from the Polis cave suggests that the northern peninsula continued to sustain most of the settlement until about the mid 10th century. However, after this date the saddle at the foot of Mt Aetos gained in importance, though the function of the five stone structures known as 'cairns' uncovered at the site is not generally agreed upon. They consisted of agglomerations of unworked stones mixed with sticky earth and were greatly disturbed by later activity. Lorimer originally believed them to be funerary monuments,[214] on account of the bones found in them, but these proved to be animal bones. Benton initially regarded them as the remains of dwellings,[215] but later changed her mind in favour of a sanctuary, a predecessor of the Geometric sanctuary at the site. Subsequently she maintained the existence of two successive PG temples at the site of the later temple dumps.[216] Snodgrass and Coldstream also thought it likely that the 'cairns' represented votive PG deposits.[217] On the other hand Desborough firmly believed that they were habitation remains.[218] The presence of fragments of tiles in the 'pure' PG levels would lend support to this hypothesis. But if the tiles were indeed roof tiles, they would be unique for the period.[219] A more recent suggestion that the 'cairns' might have been an industrial installation[220] poses, I think, more questions than it answers.

In the face of what appears to be an impasse, the fact remains that even if the 'cairns' were ritual deposits, the quantity and long time-span of the pottery, and the fact that some PG pottery has turned up on the other side of the road at S. Symeonoglou's excavations, presuppose that, in the vicinity of the site and in the surrounding countryside, there would indeed have been a certain amount of habitation throughout the PG. It is also possible to see the 'cairns' both as domestic and as votive assemblages, i.e. as ritual deposits within houses, possibly like the PG platforms studied by R. Hägg, which he associated with ritual eating and drinking linked with the cult of the ancestors.[221]

B. POTTERY

Fineware (Tab. G.3)

The only previous study of the Ithakan PG was undertaken by Desborough.[222] His analysis was mostly based on the pottery from Aetos published by Heurtley,[223] as the pottery from Polis had not been thoroughly published by Benton.[224] More recently Coulson published a number of previously unpublished PG vases from Polis, comparing them with the Messenian sequence.[225] The analysis presented here is based on the published material and on all other pottery from Polis and Aetos which was available to me for study in the museums of Stavros and Vathy. I have retained the traditional term of PG (Protogeometric) for the Ithakan pottery, rather than DA (Dark Age) used by Coulson for the Messenian and Laconian pottery, since my subdivisions do not exactly correspond with his.

In the absence of stratigraphy, my classification of the material is based on the only criteria available, i.e. the continuity between the pottery from Polis and Aetos and its stylistic development. The three phases (**Fig. 21**) into which the material has been subdivided are: Polis I, Polis II/Aetos I and Aetos II, the names corresponding to the site which produced most of the material assignable to each phase.

I have tried to avoid the subdivision of the pottery into a large number of types and for that reason I have taken into account the shape as a whole, rather than classify the material according to the shape of rims, feet etc. S. Benton had used the height of the feet of vases as a criterion (e.g. 'kantharoi on high feet' and 'kantharoi on low feet'), along with the shape and position of the handles, but these are not valid criteria for the classification of the pottery as a whole. Heurtley, for his part, assigned the Aetos material to twelve classes (A-L), which included the Mycenaean pottery. Desborough followed the same classification, but separated the following shapes as PG shapes: the deep bowl or skyphos, the kantharos, the deep one-handled cup, the shallow cup, the krater, the small one-handled jug, the lekythos and the jug or oinochoe. With the addition of the kylix, the tripod cauldron and the pilgrim flask, the list of basic shapes remains the same.

Generally the Ithakan PG fabric consists of well levigated clay which is pale yellow to pinkish buff, occasionally with a greenish tone. The glaze is dull and, in its present state, is usually streaky and worn. The colours of the glaze on the pottery from Polis, particularly that assignable to the Polis I phase, is just as often orange/red and brown as black. Several vases have a blotchy surface or visible brush strokes.

Polis I Phase

Practically all the material assignable to this phase comes from Polis, apart from a few sherds from kantharoi, skyphoi, and a few shoulder-fragments from closed shapes which come from Aetos. There are no closed shapes from this phase from Polis. The only shapes which are either complete or can be reconstructed are open shapes. Even among these, the flat rimmed deep bowl (type B) and the krater are only represented by single sherds from Aetos, and their reconstruction is conjectural.

Open shapes:

I. Kylix: The PG ribbed kylix is a direct development of the late LH IIIC conical kylix with swellings from Polis (particularly S222 and S224) which was discussed above. The stems of kylikes S217, S218, S223 (**Pl. 28**) and S216 (**Pl. 27**) have sharper ribs, combined with a PG-type fabric. They are therefore classed as PG, although it is quite clear that the development of this shape between LH IIIC and PG was so smooth that the allocation of individual vases to one or the other phase seems inappropriate. There are another fifteen uncatalogued stems of ribbed kylikes from Polis in the Stavros Museum, and one in the sherd collection of the British School at Athens (**Pl. 34:e**), including a stray find allegedly from the cave.[226] There are also five rather worn fragments of stems from Aetos,[227] four of which are

illustrated here (**Pl. 34:a-d**). All the complete stems from PG kylikes have three ribs, the top one at the base of the bowl. Although there are differences between the spacing and shape of the ribs, it does not seem particularly useful to divide them into types. Coulson has divided the Nichoria stems into five types (A-F),[228] of which the first three, with gentle swellings, are closer to the LH IIIC kylix stems from Kefalonia and Ithaki. The large S216 is the only kylix from Ithaki with a squat stem, i.e. less than one third its height. The rest of the kylikes, like their LH IIIC predecessors, have stems which are half their size or just under. The ribs must originally have developed as a response to the way the kylix was gripped by the fingers (when not held by the handles), but the sharp ribbed kylix is no longer useful for that purpose.

The kylikes are decorated simply but not uniformly. One or two are monochrome (S218, and S223 which is now plain, but may originally have been monochrome). Kylix S216 has a linear lower bowl and its handles are outlined[229] in the fashion of the earlier LH IIIC kylikes. Kylix S217 is the only one with a patterned handle-zone (multiple zig-zag).

Ribbed kylikes are known from as far apart as Thessaly, Crete and Cyprus, but apart from the kylikes from Nichoria already mentioned, more relevant for Ithaki in this phase are the kylikes from Akarnania (Astakos), Elis (Olympia)[230] and Laconia (Amyclai).[231]

II. Kantharos (small): There are four restored examples from Polis (S339, S344, S345, S348: **Pls 30** and **69:a,c**) and a rim-sherd with handle from Aetos (**Pl. 30:a**). Two have tall raised bases (S339, S345). Three (S339, S345, S344) have S-shaped profiles with a conical lower body and flaring (S339, S344) or everted (S345) rims. S348 is a wider shape with a straighter upper part similar to that of some of the cups from the same phase. All the vases originally had two vertical straps or round handles. The more angular handles of the Aetos fragment may indicate a somewhat later date than the other kantharoi. Except for S345 which has a reserved belly-zone, the other vases are entirely monochrome.

The kantharos is a new shape which was probably inspired by the LH IIIC open shapes with vertical handles (bowls and amphoriskoi) of Kefalonia. From the small number of examples assignable to this phase, it is clear that this Ithakan PG shape par excellence had not become very popular yet. At Polis it is certainly largely outnumbered by the deep cup.

III. Deep cup: There are nine or ten deep cups from Polis with complete or nearly complete profiles.

The shape is either narrow (S328: **Pls 30** and **69:b**-wrongly restored with base and no handle, S329, S335: **Pl. 30**; S232?) or, most often, broader (S331, S334, S336, S330, S333, S342: **Pls 31** and **69:d**). It is characterized by a continuous profile with a more or less conical lower body. The rims are flaring, exceptionally everted (S334). The feet, where preserved (S329, S333, S342), are low conical.

Half the deep cups are monochrome. The rest are monochrome but for reserved or decorated lip- or belly-zones. There are belly-zones on four cups, one plain (S334), the rest with wavy lines. One of the cups with wavy line belly-zones (S330) also has a similar band on the lip. Another cup (S336) only has a wavy line band on the lip. Two sherds with wavy lines from Aetos (**Pl. 31:a,c**) may be from similar cups.

To a large extent the ancestry of the shape is local Mycenaean (the semi-globular cup and the spouted cup provide the profiles). A transitional cup is probably represented by S347b from Polis (**Pl. 29**) which has a profile similar to both the Mycenaean and the PG cups. Its fabric is PG, but its decoration is derivative of Mycenaean (a running 'spoked wheel' instead of the Mycenaean spiral). However the shape of the PG deep cup also has similarities with the SM cup (FS 217),[232] though the feet of the Ithakan cups are not tall. The decoration too has its origins in the LH IIIC of Kefalonia, but deviates from it. The wavy line in a reserved band appears sporadically in the latest pottery of Kefalonia, but only on the handle-zone. The stimulus for the Ithakan lip-band therefore probably came from outside the Ionian Islands, although it is not possible to tell from where. Its direct origin from Attic pottery, where it first appears on the zig-zag cups at the transition between SM and PG,[233] is unlikely. The cup was not a common shape in DA I Messenia.[234]

IV. Shallow cup: There is only one small cup with a flat base from Polis (S233: **Pl. 31** and **69:e, right**). In contrast with the S-shaped profile of the shallow cups in the following phase, it has a straight profile which makes it look more like a truncated deep cup. Its handle, too, is too heavy for its size. The occurrence of the shape in this phase is exceptional. The shallow cup is not a common early PG shape in other areas either. This is just as true for the eastern mainland as for Messenia where the shallow cup (Coulson's 'deep cup') is not well represented until Coulson's DA II.

V. Deep bowl: This is a broad shape (width of bowl greater than height), the direct descendant of the Mycenaean deep bowl and the stemmed bowl of Kefalonia (e.g. A1258, A1249, A1250), and the Granary style bowl of Kefalonia and Ithaki (S248).

There are four fairly complete vases and a few sherds from Polis. The profiles of two of them (S349: **Pls 32**, S350: **Pl. 32** and **72:a**) have a more or less straight upper part, a carination under the handles and a conical lower bowl. The third (S351: **Pl. 32**) has a rounder bowl. The feet of these vases are either low (S351), conical (S349?), or stemmed (S350). The lips of A350 and A351 are offset. All these bowls are monochrome, one (S349) with a reserved handle-zone. Their glaze is mostly orange-brown and streaky. Another bowl from Polis (S235: **Pls 29** and **72:b**) has a Mycenaean-type decoration (bands on the lower body, wavy band on the handle-zone, and bands framing the handles), but its everted lip and fabric are PG. There are also some fragments from Aetos with PG-type wavy lines which probably belong to bowls from the Polis I phase; two are from the walls of vases (**Pl. 31:b,d**), and a third (**Pl. 33:a**) is a rim-sherd with a thickened flat lip. A rim-sherd from a monochrome, very thin-walled bowl with a reserved band on the handle-zone (**Pl. 33:c**), which also has a flat lip, has a rounder profile and may belong to the following phase.

Monochrome deep bowls or deep bowls with reserved bands were common in Messenia in DA I. Of the different shapes into which Coulson has subdivided them, the bowls of his shape 7, with a conical body, are closer in profile to the conical Ithakan bowls, while the rounder S351 resembles more his shape 1.[235] There is less evidence from Ithaki than from Messenia of bowls with handle-zones decorated with wavy lines.

Preference for an orange-brown coloured glaze is characteristic of the Ithakan PG bowls of this phase.

VI. Skyphos: The shape differs from the deep bowl by being narrower (height greater than diameter). There is only one restored example assignable to the Polis I phase, the large S353 (**Pl. 32** and **71:b**). It has a continuous profile and a tall upper part with the horizontal handles ending well short of the rim. It is monochrome but for a reserved handle-zone. The fragments with wavy bands from Aetos (**Pl. 31:b–d**) mentioned above could be from vases of this shape rather than from deep bowls. A fragment with semi-circles from Polis may also come from a small example from this phase (**Pl. 29:a**). The shape is better represented in the following phase.

VII. Krater: The rim-sherd of a krater from Aetos (V718: **Pl. 33**) bears the undulating wavy line characteristic of the early Ithakan PG. The preserved upper part of the wall is straight, with a raised band below a wide sloping rim which is barred. The complete shape would have been wide and conical. There are similarities in profile with the LH IIIC conical bowls and kraters of Kefalonia which had either horizontal or vertical handles (e.g. A1252 and A1245 from Lakkithra). The reconstructed horizontal handles of V718 are hypothetical. This is the earliest of the kraters from Aetos, none of which has a completely preserved profile.

Messenia is the only region of western Greece which has yielded early PG (DA I) kraters, and they are mostly known from fragments. Their shape has been compared by Coulson to the LH IIIC kraters of Kefalonia.[236]

Closed shapes:

Only four fragments of the shoulder or belly of closed-shaped vases assignable to this phase were identified. They all come from Aetos. Three sherds are from large vessels (**Pl. 33:d,e,f**), the fourth from a much smaller vase (**Pl. 33:b**). An early PG date for these sherds is suggested by their red or reddish-brown glaze and the loose wavy lines. The small sherd probably comes from an amphoriskos or a small jug, while one of the larger ones (**Pl. 33:e**), which also has a belly-zone and the spring of a horizontal handle, may be from an amphora or hydria. The shoulder-fragments (**Pl. 4:d,f**) could come from either shape or from oinochoai.

Lakkithra Δ provides an ancestor for the amphora with wavy line band on the handle-zone (A1266: **Pl. 9**). From DA I and DA II Messenia there are amphoriskoi, amphorae and oinochoai with wavy lines on reserved belly- and shoulder-zones.[237]

Polis II/Aetos I Phase

The material assignable to this phase is much more fragmentary and the complete profiles are fewer than the pottery of the Polis I phase. But its volume is larger in terms of the number of vases represented; eighty-four vases and fragments assigned to it have been listed in Tab. G.3, as opposed to thirty-four vases from the Polis I phase. The pottery of this phase comes from both Polis and Aetos. Stylistically it shows an internal development which is absent from the material of Polis I, and suggests that it was a much longer phase than the latter.

Open shapes:

I. Kylix: The only complete kylix (S283: **Pl. 34**) is large and has a very deep conical bowl. Its decoration combines patterns from the previous phase (the loose wavy lines), with the newly popular triangles (cross-hatched and solid painted) placed in rows.[238] Compared to the kylikes of the preceding phase, it is closer in shape to S216, but the ribs of its stem are round and hence more 'primitive' than the pointed ribs of S216. It must therefore belong to the earliest part of this phase. Apart from this kylix, there are only the fragments of stems from Aetos mentioned above (**Pl. 34:a,d**),which could belong to kylikes from this rather than the preceding phase, as well as a conical base of a large kylix from Polis (**Pl. 34:f**), which, though taller, has similar mouldings to S283.

The popularity of the kylix in Ithaki obviously declined during the early part of this phase. In Messenia, ribbed stems occur until DA III. Coulson suggested that from Messenia the ribbed kylix was transmitted to Laconia[239] where it also survived late.

II. Kantharos: The kantharos is the best represented shape of this phase. It can be subdivided into three main types:

Type A has the same profile as the kantharos of phase A, but now also occurs in a larger size (rim d.: 0.13–0.17m) as well as the small size (rim d.: 0.13m). The most complete small kantharoi come from Polis (S337, S338, S347: **Pls 35** and **70:b,c**) and differ from the earliest ones mainly in the decoration of the handle-zones, which consists of pairs of cross-hatched triangles and diamonds. The walls are also slightly thinner and the bases are now generally conical. These kantharoi cannot be much later than the kantharoi of Polis I. The only fairly complete small kantharos from Aetos (V420: **Pls 35** and **70:d**), with three cross-hatched diamonds on the handle-zone, is larger (rim d.: 0.124m) than all the Polis kantharoi. However there is a fragmentary example from Polis (**Pl. 70:a, second row**) of similar dimensions which also has three cross-hatched diamonds on its handle-zone, and fragments of others (**Pls 35:d** and **70:a**). An early feature of V420, and the only instance of its occurrence at Aetos, is the reserved band inside the lip, a frequent feature of cups and kantharoi of this phase at Polis. It is not certain that the small kantharos would have continued into the later part of this phase. There are some sherds from Aetos (**Pl. 35:a–c,e**) with bulbous rims and later patterns ('blobs' and combinations of motifs, including triangles) which are probably from kantharoi of the small size, but there are no complete examples.

The large kantharos is as well represented at Polis as at

Aetos (**Pl. 36**). There is no complete profile; the most complete ones come from Aetos. Judging from the preserved bases from both Polis and Aetos (**Pl. 34**), they, like the small kantharoi, would also have had a conical lower part and high feet, as reconstructed by Heurtley.[240] Two of the kantharoi from Polis (S282d and S282a,c: **Pl. 72:c.1,2**), which have been partly reconstructed here (**Pl. 36**), have diagonal hatched bands on the handle-zone which could be either from concentric loops (S282d) or from hatched triangles (S282a,c), and there are at least two other fragmentary pieces from Polis with similar decoration.[241] Coulson has interpreted the fragments from Polis as cups,[242] but the shapes are too wide to be one-handled, and the profiles are clearly identical to those of the kantharoi from Aetos. One fragment from Aetos (**Pl. 36:a**) has hatched lines on the handle-zone, albeit much coarser than those on the Polis vases. Moreover its profile differs from the rest of the kantharoi by having a straight lip which joins up with the wall by a carination. A similar profile occurs on some of the Aetos skyphoi (see below). A sherd with panelled decoration from Polis (**Pl. 35**) in the British School at Athens is most likely from a kantharos. At Aetos, the best preserved kantharoi (V24, V618: **Pl. 36**) have handle-zones with multiple loops in two tiers. Loops on single and double tiers also occur on smaller kantharos fragments from Polis: S282m (**Pls 36** and **72:c.6**), a handle-sherd illustrated on **Pl. 36:b**, and on the unpublished S282d. Other patterns from Aetos include antithetic cross-hatched triangles (Tab. G.3 no. 97: **Pls 36:c** and **72:d.1**).

The kantharoi of type A compare with the broad kantharoi from Achaia and Aitolia,[243] though the concave upper part typical of Ithaki is not common on the kantharoi of these regions. Some of the motifs (particularly the triangles) also occur on the kantharoi from these regions, but the multiple loop so typical of the PG of Ithaki does not.

Type B kantharoi have an exaggerated S-shaped profile with a flaring or everted lip. The earliest in the series are definitely two large, previously unpublished fragments from Polis with zig-zag bands on the belly (S200a: **Pls 37 and Pl. 71:a, left** and S200b: **Pl. 71:a, right**). The shape appears to have developed further in the later part of the phase. The fragments from Aetos have zig-zag bands on the lip (V616, V695: **Pl. 37**), or compass-drawn semi-circles (V614: **Pl. 37**). A reserved band on the lower body is a feature of most of the Aetos pieces.

The profiles of type B kantharoi are closer than those of type A kantharoi to the profiles of the Aitolian and Achaian kantharoi, which also bulge out below the lip. Several of the kantharoi from Aitolia and Achaia have zig-zag belly-zones[244] like S200a and S200b. Some of the Ithakan sherds could have been from one-handled vases like the cups with similar profiles from Aitolia.[245] This was most certainly not the case however with kantharos V695; its exaggerated handle would have made it quite an unbalanced cup.

Type C kantharos is the shape known as tall kantharos or amphoriskos. There is one example from Polis (S352: **Pls 35** and **70:e**) with cross-hatched triangles, and possibly a fragment from a second monochrome vase.[246] S352 differs from type A kantharoi mainly in its upper part, which is taller and narrower. The shape does not occur at Aetos. Outside Ithaki, the tall kantharos was very common in Achaia and Aitolia, where it survived until quite late.[247] The profiles here differ from the Polis examples and the shape shows a definite development, but the typical handle-zone decoration, i.e. two cross-hatched triangles, is that of the Polis amphoriskos.

III. Deep cup: There is only one example from Polis (S284: **Pl. 38**). The shape is essentially the same as that of the narrowest cups of the previous phase, except for its steeper lower body and tall conical foot. Its panelled decoration is similar to that on a skyphos or kantharos fragment from Aetos (**Pl. 40:b**). There are also three fragments from smaller, more bell-shaped cups from Aetos which are monochrome (Tab. G.3 nos 18–20: **Pl. 38:a,b,c**). Heurtley's reconstruction of Tab. G.3 no. 18 with a tall conical foot is probably correct, but one of the other previously unpublished fragments (**Pl. 38:c**) has a flat base.

IV. Shallow cup: The shape has the exaggerated S-profile of the type B kantharos. It is not represented at Polis. There are four more or less incomplete examples from Aetos, two of which were published by Heurtley (V21 and V700: **Pl. 38**). The earliest is probably the previously unpublished fragment of a small cup with a zig-zag belly-zone (**Pl. 38:d**). V700 is narrower than Heurtley's reconstruction, and has a reserved band on the lower body and a small zig-zag inside the lip, as well as a larger one on the outside. Another unpublished piece (**Pl. 38:e**) is monochrome but for a reserved belly-zone in the lower body. The concentric circles on V21 recall those of V614, and point to connections between this shape and the type B kantharos.

V. Skyphos: There are large and small skyphoi. The two most complete small skyphoi (**Pls 39** and **71:c**), one from Polis (S285) and one from Aetos (V27), the latter with the only fully preserved profile, are similar in size, proportions (height greater than width), and in their decoration of pendant multiple loops. Their profile, however, is different. While S285 (type A) has a sinuous profile, a development from the Polis I phase, V27 (type B) has a straight lip and a double carination, the type of profile already encountered on a kantharos from Aetos (**Pl. 36:a**). Some rim-fragments from Aetos (**Pl. 39:a,b,c,d**, and probably **e** and **f**), must also be from vases with similar profiles. On the other hand, **Pl. 39:g,h** which may equally have been kantharoi (i.e. with vertical handles), have a more upright lip and their body may have been more rounded, but no complete profile has survived. A small kantharos or cup from Aetos (**Pl. 37:b**) has a similar profile. The most common pattern on all these shapes is the multiple loop, but there are also isolated cases of multiple or cross-hatched triangles and of the zig-zag.

There are two types of large skyphoi (d.: over 0.13m), neither of which is known from a full profile. Type A is a broad shape, a descendant of the deep bowl of the Polis I phase. In its earlier form, it is represented at Polis by two large fragments (S340, S346e: **Pls 39** and **71:d**). The two vases are similar in profile. Both have a low carination, a straight but tapering upper body, a flaring lip, and a decoration consisting of elongated cross-hatched diamonds

down to the carination. The shape shows a further development on most of the sherds from Aetos (**Pl. 40**). V704 (**Pl. 40**), with the same decoration of cross-hatched diamonds as the Polis skyphoi and differs from them by having a longer and straighter upper body and a lower carination. The walls are very thin. Most of the examples illustrated here (V641 and V704: **Pl. 40** and Tab. G.3 nos 153, 155, 157–160, 162: **Pl. 40:c–k**) are also very thin-walled, and from their decoration too they should probably be assigned to the Aetos II phase. On the other hand, a large rim-sherd from Aetos (**Pl. 40:b**), which may well come from a skyphos or kantharos of this shape, has the type of panelled decoration, i.e. double-axes, cross-hatched triangles and chequers, characteristic of this phase.

Although this shape would probably mostly have occurred with horizontal handles (**Pl. 40:i**), there also existed a kantharos with a similar profile, as shown by a monochrome fragment from Aetos (Tab. G.3 no. 98), which is reconstructed on **Pl. 40:a**. It is not therefore absolutely sure that sherds such as V705 and even S346e were strictly speaking skyphoi.

Type B does not occur at Polis, and is most likely a late shape. No complete profile exists and the most complete example (V621: **Pl. 41**) has the panelled decoration with double-axes characteristic of this phase.

Both small and large skyphoi are direct developments of the Polis I deep bowls and skyphoi. The Ithakan shapes, but not their decoration, have similarities with the shapes of the Messenian skyphoi, particularly of the DA II phase.[248]

VI. Krater: The shape is not present at Polis. It is represented at Aetos by the rim- or body-sherds of about twenty different vases. There are no complete profiles. Two shapes (types A and B) can be identified with a fair amount of certainty, although other shapes may also be present among the sherds. At Aetos there are also large bases and handles from large open shapes. The bases are low conical, and the few surviving handles are horizontal rope handles, a double-loop handle, a vertical grooved handle, and there is also a bridge handle.[249]

Type A kraters (**Pl. 42**), with a concave upper body, would have had a shape similar to that of the kantharoi. The rims are mostly flattened and occasionally squared, they are barred or monochrome, and one has concentric loops on it.[250] One fragment (V711) has a flared lip. Plain or slashed moulded rings below the rim are common. The reconstructed V713, which is rather small (estimated h.: 0.21m), bears elongated diamonds similar to those on some of the large skyphoi discussed above. The larger kraters have panelled decoration which includes compass-drawn circles (V709). Compass-drawn circles/semi-circles also occur on their own, in one case (V711) antithetically positioned in two tiers in the same spirit as the multiple loop arrangement on kantharoi. One krater is monochrome.[251] The handles of these vases would probably have been vertical. The shape most likely derived from the kantharoid kraters and krateriskoi of Kefalonia, a number of which had vertical handles (e.g. A994 from Lakkithra A, A1425 from Metaxata A).

Type B kraters (Tab. G.3 nos 117, 118, 125: **Pls 43:a**,**b-h**) have a straighter upper body than type A kraters, and hence would have had a rounder lower body. Only single fragments are preserved from all but one (**Pl. 43:a**). The handle-socket on another (**Pl. 43:f**) suggests a horizontal handle, probably the most common handle on kraters of this shape. Two have a flattened rim like the kraters of type A, but a smaller very thin-walled vase (**Pl. 43:b**) has an everted rim. Moulded rings around the rim are present on some of the fragments. The painted decoration presents the same variety as that on type A kraters; the patterns include triangles, double-axes and compass-drawn semi-circles, mostly in panels. This shape of krater derived from the standard Mycenaean krater (FS 282), examples of which are also present in Kefalonia (e.g. A986 from Lakkithra A).

VII. Tripod cauldron: There is one fragment of this shape from Aetos (V715: **Pl. 43**). It is monochrome with a rounded bowl and a thickened rim. Only the top part of one of the legs, with ancient mending holes, is preserved. From the same site there is also part of a leg[252] probably belonging to a similar shape. The closest ceramic tripod cauldron, geographically and chronologically, to the Aetos tripod cauldron is a complete vessel, also monochrome, from the region of Agrinion.[253] The shape is modelled on metal prototypes of tripod cauldrons, but when it occurs in western Greece in the 10th century it emulates an established ceramic form. Examples of ceramic tripods already occur in the second half of the 11th century at Kerameikos.[254]

Closed shapes:

I. Lekythos: Part of the shoulder of an imported (Attic?) lekythos from Aetos (Tab. G.3 no. 128), with an hourglass motif, has been dated to 925 BC. The upper part of another lekythos (V619: **Pl. 46**) was also thought by Desborough to belong to an imported vase.[255] There is however little in its fabric, profile or decoration which is not compatible with Ithakan PG. The neck and lip profile can be compared with fragments of small monochrome round-mouthed jugs (**Pl. 46:a,d**), and the decoration of triangles, dog's tooth, zig-zag and dots are all found on late Ithakan PG. I would therefore tend to think of it as a local piece. A third lekythos (V28: **Pl. 46**) is definitely local. It has a trumpet-shaped lip, biconical body with sloping shoulders and a spreading foot. A reserved panel on its shoulder bears rows of roughly drawn zig-zags, and there are two reserved bands on its lower body. The shape, apart from its round mouth, is very close to some late PG small jugs from the area of Agrinion.[256]

II. Small jug: A complete monochrome juglet from Aetos (V23) on a high conical foot is an isolated example of a direct descendant of the LH IIIC small jug from Kefalonia.

III. Jug/oinochoe: There are several fragments from the shoulders of small to medium size jugs/oinochoai (h.: up to about 0.25m) (**Pl. 44**) from Aetos, but no complete profiles. Among the most complete jugs is V698 (**Pl. 44**), with a short narrow neck, a wide handle, and decoration of cross-

hatchings on the neck and cross-hatched triangles on the shoulder. A fragment (Tab. G.3 no. 47: **Pl. 44:b**) with a monochrome neck and traces of cross-hatchings on the shoulder would have had a similar shape. The shoulder of another jug (Tab. G.3 no. 46: **Pl. 44:a**) is more sloping, and the neck would have been less distinct. The zig-zag occurs on other jug shoulder-fragments from Aetos (Tab. G.3 nos 49, 50: **Pl. 44:d,e**) as well as in reserved bands on fragments of necks (Tab. G.3 nos 48, 51: **Pl. 44:c,f**). Parallels of jugs with sloping shoulders and with zig-zags on the neck or shoulder come from Aitolia.[257]

Another shape of jug is represented by the fragment of a broad-shouldered jug with the base of an extremely narrow neck (V617: **Pl. 44**). The complete shape would have been quite rounded. Its decoration of compass-drawn circles also occurs on a shoulder-fragment from another globular jug (Tab. G.3 no. 45: **Pl. 44:m**). Fragments of narrow necks are present among the sherd material from Aetos (**Pl. 46:a,b**). Parallels for the rounded jug can be found among the Messenian DA II jugs,[258] but such narrow necks are not represented there.

There are about fifteen fragments of necks or shoulders of larger jugs/oinochoai from Aetos (**Pl. 45**)[259] belonging to this and the following phase. Only one profile could be reconstructed by the excavators (Tab. G.3 no. 64: **Pl. 45:j**) and even this no longer exists. Along with another fairly complete example (Tab. G.3 no. 63: **Pl. 45:i**) they are probably representative of the two main shapes. The biconical jug (Tab. G.3 no. 63) may be the earlier shape, but both should be assigned to the next phase on the basis of their decoration (see below).

Among the earlier fragments of large jugs are three fragments of the neck of one jug from Polis (**Pl. 45:g**), the only closed shape from the cave. The panelled decoration on it is similar to that on cup S284. A number of jugs have compass-drawn circles on reserved shoulder-zones (V708: **Pl. 45** and **Pl. 45:e**), and there are also multiple loops (**Pl. 45:a,b**) and chains of diamonds and triangles (V620: **Pl. 45** and **Pl. 45:c**).

IV. Pilgrim flask: Desborough was reluctant to include the single complete and published example of a lentoid flask (Tab. G.3 no. 168: **Pl. 44:n**) among the PG shapes,[260] although among the sherds from Aetos there are a couple of other previously unpublished fragments from this shape. The shape is therefore quite clearly a PG one, like elsewhere in western Greece (Messenia, Aitolia)[261] and in the eastern mainland.[262] The complete flask bears a decoration of a spoked wheel. A previously unpublished fragment from the central belly of another (Tab. G.3 no. 169: **Pl. 44:k**) has a four-spoked wheel in the centre with cross-hatched triangles between the spokes, a pattern very similar to that on a flask from Nichoria.[263]

Aetos II Phase

The pottery which has been assigned to this phase displays characteristics which are not in any way represented among the pottery from Polis. It must therefore belong to a later stage than the pottery classified as Polis II/Aetos I. However, the shapes are particularly difficult to define because of the fragmentary state of most of the material. Those motifs which become more intricate are most helpful for the attribution of material, though it is admittedly often difficult to decide whether particular fragments belong to this or the preceding phase. Any future stratigraphical evidence will be particularly important for the better understanding of this phase.

Open shapes:

The open shapes which can be identified among this material are the kantharos of type A (Tab. G.3 nos 99–103: **Pl. 35:a-c,e-f**), the skyphos of both type A (Tab. G.3 nos 142, 152: **Pl. 40:c-k** and V641 **Pl. 40**) and B (Tab. G.3 nos 144, 146, 163–67: **Pl. 41:a-f** and V712 **Pl. 41**), a small cup or bowl of non-descript shape (Tab. G.3 no. 7: **Pl. 40:d**), and the krater of type B (V793: **Pl. 43** and probably Tab. G.3 no. 119: **Pl. 43:c**), and, with less certainty of type A (**Pl. 42:c**). The kantharos of type B may be represented by two fragments from the 'cairns' (Tab. G.3 nos 94, 5: **Pl. 37:c,d**). One (**Pl. 37:d**) has a flat barred rim, and both have 'blobs' as decoration. Their affinities, however, are more with some MG/LG I kantharoi from the Lower Deposit. On the whole the tendency regarding open shapes is for less kantharoid or carinated profiles. Straight upper parts however remain the characteristic of skyphoi. The walls are mostly very thin and the rims are often rounded. Sharply everted lips are characteristic of the type A skyphoi (**Pl. 40:c,f,g,h**).

The most significant development of this phase appears to be in the decoration. Some monochrome vases do occur, e.g. a likely skyphos (**Pl. 38:g**) and a kantharos (**Pl. 40:a**), but patterned decoration is the most common. The patterns are more rectilinear and more intricate than in the earlier phase, often consisting of combinations of vertical motifs (zig-zags, ladders, bars and triangles/diamonds) in panels (e.g. **Pls 41:a–f** and V712, **72:d**), which can be fringed. Panelled motifs are sometimes combined with horizontal zig-zags (**Pl. 40:e**, **Pl. 41:a**). The glazed areas above and below the decorated panels or zones are now more linear. The whole effect is one of much lighter coloured vases than hitherto. Compass-drawn circles, semi-circles etc. do not often appear among the motifs, and it would seem that they probably went out of fashion in this phase. Outside the island, the spirit and patterns of the Aetos II decorative scheme resemble the DA pottery from Laconia (Sparta and Amyclai),[264] much of which has been dated to the 9th century, and some of the later DA II material from Messenia.[265] A more linear lower body, the combination of zig-zags and triangles, and the intricate, fringed, panelled motifs are also found on the late PG pottery from Pleuron in Aitolia.[266] The baggier, less angular profiles of the pottery from that site are typologically later than, for example, the pottery from the region of Agrinion.

A late Polis II/Aetos I motif on skyphoi and kantharoi, the large dotted 'blob', occurs again, without dotted border, on the two fragments of kantharoi mentioned above (**Pl. 37:c,d**). They bring us to the threshold of the Geometric. The motif, which is called 'sausage' by Benton and Coldstream, is an

uncommon motif of the local LG style.[267] Outside the island it occurs on a Geometric kantharos from Palaiomanina in Aitolia.[268] The origins of the motif evidently lie in the Ithakan PG.

Closed shapes:

The two reconstructed large jugs/oinochoai from Aetos (Tab. G.3 nos 63 and 64: **Pl. 45:i,j**) most likely belong to this phase, as was mentioned above. They belong to two shapes: one with a wide base and a rather cylindrical lower body, and a narrower shape with a more biconical body. There are both wider and narrower bases from closed shapes among the material from Aetos (**Pl. 46:e-g**). Both shapes also occur in Aitolia.[269] Most of the Aitolian jugs have trefoil-shaped mouths. The trefoil-mouthed oinochoe does occur at Aetos too (V620: **Pl. 45**), but a round mouth, which very likely had its origin in the LH IIIC round-mouthed jugs of Kefalonia (A1478, A1006), appears to have been more common. There are fragments of necks and shoulders of other large jugs (V620 and V642: **Pl. 45**, V615: **Pl. 46**, Tab. G.3 no. 52: **Pl. 46:h**) of unknown shape. The extant handles are rope-shaped and round. Several fragments of small closed shapes, possibly jugs, should be assigned to this phase on the grounds of their decoration and their thin walls (**Pl. 44:g–j**), but there is not a single complete profile.

The decoration of the closed shapes, like that of the open shapes of this phase, is much more linear. Panelled motifs occur on necks as well as on shoulders. The motifs include vertical bars, vertical zig-zags, and hatched or cross-hatched areas or triangles, sometimes fringed. The close similarity in the shoulder decoration between the jug on **Pl. 45:i** from Aetos and a jug with a trefoil mouth from Derveni has been pointed out by Coldstream, Desborough and Snodgrass, and Snodgrass also added a similarly decorated round-mouthed jug from Medeon in Phokis.[270]

Summary and discussion

As has been stressed in the past, the Ithakan PG pottery from Polis and Aetos displays a stylistic continuity. This study has attempted to clarify both the stylistic overlap between the pottery of the two sites, and by assigning the material to distinct phases, to give a chronological framework to its stylistic development.

The Polis I phase: This phase followed directly upon the LH IIIC of Kefalonia and its further, short development on Ithaki. The local Mycenaean ancestry of the ribbed kylix, the deep bowl, the skyphos and the krater is indisputable. The deep cup and kantharos, on the other hand, are new forms, but could have developed from local shapes. High feet, which had made a rather precocious appearance at Kefalonia, are now taller on small kantharoi, but are not used to the exclusion of lower feet. A Mycenaean contribution to the decoration of the pottery of this phase is also certain, but the overwhelming preference shown for monochrome vases and for lip- and belly-bands with wavy lines shows the influence of the trends of the PG period in general. In contrast to this, some vases (e.g. skyphoi S235 and **Pl. 29:a** and cup? S347b) which belong to the Polis I phase are uninfluenced by outside stimuli and show Kefalonian LH IIIC derivative motifs and forms.

The closest connections for the pottery of this phase are with Messenian DA I pottery, as Coulson has pointed out.[271] This is particularly true for what would be the latter part of Coulson's DA I period. The earlier DA I pottery from Messenia, for example the pottery from Ramovouni-Dorion and Koukounara (krater, deep bowls, kylix with swollen stem etc.),[272] has connections with what is in our region the latest LH IIIC phase, in Kefalonia and Ithaki (see above and ch. 6). At DA I Nichoria, and elsewhere in Messenia, the connections with the Polis I phase are in the bowls, skyphoi, oinochoai and amphorae, which are either monochrome or have reserved or wavy line belly-bands, and in the ribbed stems of kylikes.[273] Other common characteristics between the pottery of the two areas in this period are the inner reserved bands on open shapes and the frequent use of reddish brown paint.

The reasons for the discrepancy between the beginning of Coulson's DA I and the proposed beginning of the Polis I phase are cultural and typological. In Messenia Coulson has found evidence for pottery and (at Nichoria) settlement continuity starting in the late LH IIIC phase and providing him with a convenient point for the beginning of his DA sequence. In the Ionian Islands, on the other hand, there is no break until the abandonment of the Kefalonian cemeteries. Moreover the pottery of the Polis I phase, in spite of its local ancestry, marks a change of direction which is at least partly due to stimuli from outside the island.

Coulson suggested that there may have been an influx of people from the islands to Messenia in DA I.[274] The somewhat later connections (Polis I phase) between Ithaki and Messenia would be due to continuing contacts between the regions. The ribbed stems from Olympia show that Elis too may have participated in the contacts between the western Peloponnese and the islands, as it had already done in LH IIIC. These maritime contacts were responsible for the establishment and consolidation of the PG ceramic koine between the regions of western Greece.

Polis II/Aetos I phase: This phase is marked by a number of new developments both in the shapes and the decoration of the pottery. The broad kantharos establishes itself as the most popular shape, and is now made in at least three different types (A-C). The deep bowl and skyphos retain their Mycenaean-looking forms, but become more angular and are also made in different forms and sizes. The small lekythos is a new shape. The oinochoai and jugs are very fragmentary, but both a wide-shouldered globular shape and a slimmer one are represented. The repertory of patterns shows greater variety than in the preceding phase, and includes both curvilinear (multiple loops, circles, 'blobs') and rectilinear motifs (triangles, diamonds, zig-zags). Chequers occur with other motifs in panels. The ground remains mostly black with one or two reserved lines below the friezes.

This phase was long, as is evident from the internal development of the pottery, particularly the shapes. Most of the pottery from Polis belongs to the beginning of the phase, as its relationship with the Polis I style is strong, while much of the material from Aetos is more developed than that of Polis. Some shapes which are present at Polis appear to have become almost redundant at Aetos (the kylix, the small kantharos), and a couple of new shapes make their first appearance (the shallow cup, the pilgrim flask). Other shapes show some evolution (skyphos and kantharos B). The choice of motifs remains the same, except for the introduction, at Aetos, of the dotted 'blob' or 'sausage' and, more significantly, of the compass-drawn circle and its variants. Thus a case could be made for an earlier (Polis II) and a later (Aetos I) stage of the phase, with a significant area of overlap between the two.

This is the phase of greatest originality of the Ithakan PG; patterns such as the pendant loops and the cross-hatched diamonds with vertical bars are not found outside the island. On the whole the development was mostly internal. Influences from the outside may be seen in the introduction of some shapes (the small lekythos, the pilgrim flask and the tripod cauldron), and in the adoption at Aetos of compass-drawn patterns: semi-circles, three-quarter circles and full circles with or without central dots. The introduction of the compass may not have taken place before the middle of the 10th century BC. The imported lekythos (Tab. G.3 no. 128) shows acquaintance with the technique by 925 BC.

The affinities of the Ithakan material of this phase are mostly with the pottery of Aitolia and DA II Messenia. The connections corroborate Coulson's suggestion that the western Greek ceramic koine, which developed in the preceding phase, was consolidated during his DA II period.[275]

The Aetos II phase: The style developed uninterruptedly from that of the earlier phase. Insofar as we can tell from the very fragmentary nature of the material, the shapes perpetuate those of the Polis II/Aetos I phase. However, some of the pottery has thinner walls and the decoration is more fussy. A combination of different motifs, often in panels, is now used to decorate the handle-zone, neck or shoulder of the same vase. Parallels for this pottery are mostly to be found in Aitolia and Achaia. There are also similarities with late DA II material from Messenia and, in the spirit of the decoration, with material from Laconia.

The continuity between the PG of Aetos and the pottery of the Lower Deposit of the Geometric sanctuary is generally accepted,[276] on the grounds of the obvious influence of the PG pottery on many of the local Geometric shapes from that deposit. The shapes which are regarded by Robertson as having a PG ancestry are the cups, mugs, kantharoi and kraters, the round-mouthed oinochoai (V427: **Pl. 46**) and the globular oinochoai with trefoil mouth.[277] Some of the patterns, particularly the triangles, zig-zags and semi-circles, also look back to the PG pottery, as does the 'blob'. Although these connections constitute indisputable evidence of pottery continuity, the question remains as to whether the PG pottery provides evidence for continuity of occupation at Aetos between the two periods, in other words, whether the material of the Aetos II phase can be stretched to fill the gap between the 'cairns' and the earliest material from the Geometric sanctuary, known as the Lower Deposit. I believe that we cannot yet answer this question.

Absolute chronology

The absolute chronology of the western Greek PG remains hypothetical. The suggestions made here are based on the following considerations: the amount of material from each phase, the degree to which the shapes and decoration developed in the course of and between each phase, and the proposed chronologies for other western regions, particularly Messenia.

The date of 1050 BC for the beginning of the Polis I phase is relatively easy to establish from the likely date of the end of the Kefalonian cemeteries (see ch. 6.4) and the observed continuity between the LH IIIC and PG styles. The date also corroborates Coulson's date of 1075 BC for the beginning of the DA I phase in Messenia since, as was mentioned above, this phase includes parallels with the material from the islands which have here been assigned to the local late LH IIIC.

The Polis I phase at Polis cannot have been a long one, firstly because there is very little, if any, development in the shapes or the decoration of the pottery, and secondly because some of the shapes, namely the kantharos and kylix, survive nearly unchanged into the early part of the following Polis II/Aetos I phase. It probably did not last long into the 10th century. The first decade of the century (995/90 BC) for the end of the phase should be approximately right. It is earlier than Coulson's date for the beginning of DA II in Messenia (975 BC) as account is taken of the fact that, ribbed kylikes

apart, the connections of the DA II material are mostly with the developed Polis II/Aetos I phase. This phase was a long one, and as was suggested above, has an earlier and a later stage, with a landmark possibly around 950 BC, when the compass-drawn circles were probably introduced.

The date of the beginning of the next phase is the most difficult to decide as it is not marked by clear stylistic changes, and there is no consensus about the proposed dates for the comparative material from outside the island. The vases from Derveni have been dated to the early 9th century by Coldstream.[278] On the basis of this date the material from Aitolia (Agrinion, Pleuron, Stamna) has also been placed in the early 9th century,[279] although the more developed pottery (a development in shape is particularly noticeable in the case of the Aitolian amphoriskoi) would fall somewhat later. On the other hand, Snodgrass suggested a date in the later 9th century for the Derveni, Phokis and Aetos jugs, a date which would be better suited to my proposed classification. In Messenia, the material from Kafirio which provides some parallels for the Aetos II material has been dated by Coulson to the latest DA II, i.e. to the 9th and very beginning of the 8th century.[280] I therefore suggest that the beginning of the Aetos II phase should fall sometime between 885 BC and 875 BC at the latest, while the phase itself could be considered to run in parallel with the late DA II and the DA II/III phases until the earliest date for the Lower Deposit, which Coldstream places at about 760 BC.[281]

Handmade and domestic wares

Much coarseware was reported to have been found at Aetos, but little of it was published,[282] namely a few fragments from storage jars, some with applied coils or impressed circles or zig-zags. The decorative techniques are those used in the region since the EBA. A horseshoe-shaped lug from the 'cairns' suggests that this form, which was also present in the Polis cave, may have lasted as late as the PG on the island. A large sherd from a pithos[283] bears Matt-painted panelled patterns identical with those on a jug (Tab. G.3 no. 63).

Three levigated handmade vases from Aetos belong to a class of Matt-painted pottery which, in spite of the technique of its manufacture, belongs to the Iron Age. Wardle had already suggested this date for the Ithakan vases,[284] on the basis of the similarities of patterns with pottery from Macedonia (triangles) and Thermon in Aitolia (fringed lines). The distribution of this type of pottery stretches from Aitoloakarnania,[285] Ithaki and very likely Lefkada (see ch. 5.3), to Epirus, Macedonia and Albania.[286]

Two of the vases, one with pendant triangular stripes, have two vertical handles and resemble MH shapes.[287] The other is in the shape of a small sauceboat with a decoration of short vertical lines crossed by a horizontal one and a zig-zag, a combination of patterns nearly identical to that on the Matt-painted deep bowl from Polis (S412), although the fabric of the two vases is different. The bowl from Polis may itself be Iron Age rather than MBA.

C. METALWORK

The only metal artefact of likely PG date is the fragment of a bronze pin from Aetos.[288] It has a dome-shaped head with a globe on the shaft, and belongs to a type of long pin which first appears in LH IIIC (Deiras) and is still common, made of iron, in the SM and PG graves of Athens.[289] There were as many as four violin-bow fibulae from the 'cairns',[290] but they were of a late type and probably of Geometric date.

NOTES

[1] Ithaca IV, 2 f. The results were published in BSA 35, 1934–35 (Ithaca II).
[2] Ithaca IV, 3.
[3] Details of this excavation were not published. Reference to it is made in S. Benton's unpublished notes: Stavros 1935 and 1936.
[4] The results were published by H. Waterhouse in BSA 47, 1952, 227 ff.
[5] Ithaca II, 2, 15, 33 (119c), 34 (126a).
[6] By S. Benton and H. Waterhouse: Tris Langades.
[7] The results of his excavations were announced by Professor T. Papadopoulos at a public lecture in Ithaki in August 1995.
[8] BCH 29, 1905, 151.
[9] Among Benton's unpublished papers there is an undated newspaper cutting of a note written by Lord Rennell of Rodd, which mentions that Loisos had excavated in the cave sixty years previously and had found treasures and probably 'the rest of the Mycenaean gold necklace of which two beads only have come to light'. Moreover, Schliemann had already bought a number of objects from Loizos, allegedly found in the cave (Traill 1995, 44).
[10] BCH 29, 1905, 151, fig. 14.
[11] Polis I, 71 ff., fig. 20.
[12] The results of the excavations were published by Benton: Polis I and Polis II.
[13] LMTS, 108: 'It was in any case not a place of burial.'
[14] LMTS, 108; GDA, 88.
[15] Ithaca IV, 2; Ithaca II, 33 (119d), 34 (128, 129, fig. 28). However, in her unpublished paper (A Guide Book to Ithaka, 1963), Benton mentions that just one kylix stem was recovered in the vicinity of the spring chamber.
[16] Gazetteer, 186.
[17] The area of Vathy has not yielded evidence of any prehistoric occupation, although F. Oikonomou claimed to have discovered pre-Mycenaean burials in the area during excavations in 1929 (see Ker. Chr. 1, 1976, 101).
[18] Ergon 1985, 44, figs 56–57; ibid. 1986, 42.
[19] They were published by Heurtley and others: Ithaca I and Ithaca V.
[20] The excavations were published by Benton: BSA 48, 1953, 255 ff.
[21] BSA 48, 1953, fig. 3; Ithaca I, figs 8, 9, 10.
[22] Ergon 1987, 79.
[23] Ergon 1992, 91 ff.
[24] Ergon 1995, 63 f.
[25] Ergon 1988, 140.

[26] Gell 1807, 108; Dodwell (1819, 62) gives even less information, on the grounds that Gell's 'full and clear' account makes detailed description of the island's antiquities unnecessary!
[27] Ithaca II, 3, 8, 12, figs 4a-c & 9, pl. 3b.
[28] Ithaca II, 3 n. 4.
[29] Lerna (Argolid): Hesperia 22, 1958, 132–36, pl.33a & b; pl. 34a, b, c, d; Rafina and Askitario (Attica): PAE 1954, 106; 1955, 113, fig. 1; Ergon 1954, 13; ibid. 1955, 30–31; Thebes (Boiotia): Hägg & Konsola (eds) 1986, 57 ff.; Aigina: Welter 1938, 8–9; Alt-Ägina III, 29, figs 21–22; Manika: Archaiologia 6, 1983, 69 ff.; Kastri (Syros): AE 1899, 115–16; AD 22, (1967)Mel., 53 ff.; Panormos (Naxos): ibid. 19, (1964)B, 409 ff.; Mt Kynthos (Delos): BCH 104, 1980, 3 ff.; Troy I & II: Blegen et al. 1950; Poliochni (Lemnos): AA 1936, 154 f., figs 14, 15; ibid. 1937, 167 ff., fig. 18; BCH 58, 1934, 263; ibid. 59, 1935, 295 ff., figs 48 & 49.
[30] Ithaca II, 14 & n. 1.
[31] Ithaca II, 8.
[32] Ithaca II, 39 f.
[33] Dörpfeld 1935, 94 ff.; see Forsén 1992, 89 ff.
[34] Ithaca II, 6.
[35] On EBA bothroi and their use see JHS 55, 1935, 1–19; also Lamb 1936, 61–64; Aghios Kosmas, 19–20; BCH 70, 1946, 337.
[36] Forsén (1992, 237 f., fig. 17) has shown that intramural burials of adults were not as infrequent in the EBA as previously thought and could number as many as 37. There are five securely dated ones: Thebes-Kadmeia: 1=EH II–III (Konsola 1981, 110; AD 19, (1964)B, 192, Pl. 121a); Aghios Stephanos: 2=EH II (BSA 47, 1972, 205) and Berbati: 1=EH II (Säflund 1965, 110–11). Forsén has added an EH II burial from Koufovouno in Laconia, and there could be a second one at that site (Forsén 1992, 105).
[37] BCH 113, 1991, 33.
[38] Preliminary reports in Ανθρωπωλωγικα Ξναλεκτα 49 (1988), 7–19; Enalia Annual 1, 1989 (1990), 44–46. The three pithoi were found in two separate rooms of complex KS.1. They were 40–60cm in height and contained primary burials, heads towards the rims. Two were closed with large sherds and one with a quern stone. They were no gravegoods.
[39] Pottery inventories from the three sites have been published in: Ithaca II, 15 ff. (Pelikata); BSA 47, 1952, 236 ff. (Stavros); Polis II, 1 ff. (Polis).
[40] Ithaca II, 40 f.
[41] See also Ithaca II, 17 f. nos 1–17, fig. 13.
[42] See Eutresis: bowls nos 125, 126, 128.
[43] Ithaca II, 18 nos 10 & 17, fig. 13.
[44] Also Ithaca II, 18 nos 20–21, fig. 13.
[45] Ithaca II, 18 nos 20–22. At Lerna bowls with inverted rims were characteristic of Lerna III, and everted rims more common in Lerna IV, but it is not certain that the same chronological distinction would apply here.
[46] Ithaca II, 18 nos 23–24, fig. 13.
[47] Ithaca II, 18 f. nos 32–36, fig. 14.
[48] Polis II, 6 nos 11–13, fig. 4.
[49] Kea and Syros (Podzuweit 1979, 151 ff.).
[50] Dörpfeld 1935, Bei. 22; Hesperia 51, 1982, pl. 98:1.
[51] For example. Ithaca II, 21 nos 44–45, fig. 15.
[52] Ithaca II, 22 ff., fig. 18.
[53] Polis II, 6 nos 16–17, pl. 2.
[54] Ithaca II, nos 65 & 68, fig. 18.
[55] BSA 70, 1975, 40; Benton (BSA 44, 1949, 307) had suggested a Geometric date for the sherd with the butterfly motif.
[56] Polis II, 6 no. 15, fig. 4.
[57] Hesperia 52, 1983, 332; AR 1968, 8 f.
[58] Ithaca II, 26, fig. 21, 88–89.
[59] Ithaca II, 31 nos 106–9, figs 24 & 26.
[60] At Pelikata a possible early EH III date cannot be confirmed as the sherds came from the layer above the pure EH 'clay layer'.
[61] Hesperia 51, 1982, 472.
[62] Maran 1986, 1 ff.; 1987, 81 ff.
[63] Forsén 1992, 217 ff.
[64] Ithaca II, fig. 23:92–99.
[65] Ithaca II, fig. 23:99.
[66] Ithaca II, fig. 23:100; compare with Alt-Ithaka, Bei. 67:R13C, R13D, R27a.
[67] BSA 47, 1952, 237, fig. 7:8.
[68] Polis II, 3 no. 14, 4 no. 28, pl. 1.
[69] Polis II, 2 no. 5, 3 no. 15, pl. 1.
[70] Polis II, 8 no. P.7, pl. 3.
[71] BSA 47, 1952, 237, fig. 8:5.
[72] Polis II, 3 no. 16, 4 nos 20–21, pl. 1.
[73] Ithaca II, 24 nos 80–81, pl. 7.
[74] Nestor 16:6, Sept. 1989, 2288. The graffiti would list offerings to goddess Rhea by one Aredatis.
[75] See BCH 109, 1985, 9 ff.; Olivier in Every, Hughes-Brock & Momigliano (eds) 1994, 165.
[76] Branigan 1974, pl. 10:452; Avila 1983, 131: no. 838, Taf. 30. The weapon is probably in the British Museum; see also ch. 4 n. 30.
[77] AJA 71, 1967, 10, pl. 7.
[78] See Branigan 1974, pl. 27:448 (from Dokathismata) and pl. 27:453 ('from Amorgos').
[79] Ithaca II, 36 f. nos 162–64, pl. 9.
[80] Ithaca II, 37 no. 166, pl. 9.
[81] Ithaca II, 27 no. 167, pl. 9. The decoration is more visible on Branigan's drawing of the piece (Branigan 1974, pl. 20:2155).
[82] Branigan 1974, 183, pls 20 & 40; Seager 1912, figs 8 & 11.
[83] Ithaca II, 37 no. 168, pl. 9.
[84] Branigan 1974, 193, pl. 24.
[85] Ithaca II, 37 nos 169–71, pl. 9.
[86] Ithaca II, 37 no. 178, pl. 9.
[87] Ithaca II, 39 nos 188–89, fig. 33 (querns), nos 186–87, fig. 33, and no. 185, fig. 34 (pounders); 37 f. nos 177, 179–82, figs 32 & 33, pl. 9 (axes and celts).
[88] Banks 1967, 113 ff.
[89] Ithaca II, 37 nos 181–82, 38 no. 183, figs 32 & 34.
[90] However see Hood (1986, 46) on a possible Anatolian origin of the type.
[91] See Forsén 1992, 227 ff., 232 n. 28, fig. 15.
[92] Ithaca II, 37 nos 175–76, pl. 9.
[93] Ithaca II, 35, nos 149, 151, 153, pl. 9, fig. 31.
[94] Ithaca II, 35, nos 138–46, fig. 30.
[95] Banks 1967, 535 ff.
[96] Ithaca II, 36 no. 155, pl. 9, fig. 31.
[97] For example Lerna (Hesperia 27, 1958, 81 ff.), Tiryns (AA 1982(3), Abb. 47), Asine (Frödin & Persson 1938, fig. 172:2, 3, 4 & 9). A seal from Lerna has a similar pattern to the one from Pelikata (Hesperia 27, 1958, 82).
[98] AM 95, 1980, 33 ff.
[99] See Forsén 1992, 221 ff.; at Lerna anchors belonged almost exclusively to Lerna IV, although some examples were probably later (Banks 1967, 628).
[100] For a Peloponnesian origin see Caskey in Cadogan (ed.) 1986, 33; for an Anatolian origin see Hood in Cadogan (ed.) 1986, 33.
[101] Forsén 1992, 221 ff., 254, fig. 14.
[102] Goldman (Eutresis, 196) also voiced this opinion about the Greek anchors.
[103] Renfrew 1972, 353; Frödin & Persson 1938, 250; Antiquity 34, 1960, 295. However Carrington Smith (1975, 240 ff.), who ran experiments on the possible use of 'anchors' for this purpose, found them impractical.
[104] This idea was first put forward by Kurt Müller, Tiryns IV, 1938, 64. More recently, Buchholz and Wagner suggested that they served for hanging objects near the hearth (see Forsén 1992, 221 n. 18).
[105] Ithaca II, 36 no. 157 (tusk); 36 no. 160, fig. 31 (handle).
[106] Polis II, 6 no. 1, fig. 5.
[107] Polis II, 6 f. nos 2–3, fig. 5.
[108] Tris Langades, 15 nos 167–70, fig. 8.

[109] Ithaca II, 31 no. 112, fig. 25.
[110] Dickinson 1977, 20 f. & n. I(I).16.
[111] Ithaca II, 31 nos 101–2, figs 24 & 26.
[112] Tris Langades, 15 nos 171–75, fig. 8.
[113] Polis II, 7 no. 5, pl. 2.
[114] Polis II, 7 nos 7 & 9, pl. 3.
[115] BSA 47, 1952, 238 nos 15–20, fig. 9.
[116] Tris Langades, 14 nos 164–66, fig. 8, pl. 4c.
[117] Tris Langades, 14 no. 164, fig. 5, pl. 4c.
[118] Tris Langades, 14.
[119] Polis II, 7 no. 9, pl. 3.
[120] BCH 62, 1938, 120, fig. 12:2.
[121] Wardle 1972, 80 ff.
[122] BSA 47, 1952, 238 nos 15–16, fig. 9; Polis II, 8 no. P8, pl. 3.
[123] Polis II, 7 no. 7, pl. 3.
[124] Tris Langades, 14 no. 165, fig. 8.
[125] Polis II, 8 no. P7, pl. 3.
[126] Ithaca II, 14, fig. 16:52.
[127] Tris Langades, 12 no. 136, fig. 6.
[128] Molyvopyrgo (BSA 29, 1927–28, 162, fig. 38:10–11; Macedonia I, fig. 8:k-l), Aghios Mamas (BSA 29, 1927–28, 131, 138, fig. 20), Vardaroftsa (BSA 27, 1925–26, 15, pl. III; Macedonia I, fig. 8:i-j), Lianokladhi (Wace & Thompson 1912, fig. 134), Dodona (PAE 1930, 68), Thermon (Wardle 1972, figs 67, 68, 72), Assiros (BSA 75, 1980, 244), Maliq IIIb & IIIc (Macedonia I, fig. 9:y, dd, ee). For discussion and other examples see Wardle 1972, 79; Godišnak XV, 1977, 169, 176.
[129] Polis I, 73 no. 12, fig. 20.
[130] Tris Langades, 15 ff., fig. 9.
[131] Tris Langades, 20 f., fig. 12.
[132] Tris Langades, 6 no. 44, fig. 4; compare with motifs on cups (FS 211) in Mountjoy 1986, fig. 31.
[133] Polis II, 12 no. 42, pl. 7.
[134] Polis II, 12 no. 40, pl. 7; compare with Vapheio cups (FS 224) in Mountjoy 1986, fig. 50.
[135] Tris Langades, 12 no. 131, fig. 6.
[136] Polis II, 12 nos 43 & 43a, pl. 7; Tris Langades, 10 nos 116 & 117, fig. 6, pl. 4; Dickinson 1977, 95, n. 7.
[137] Dickinson 1977, 94 f.
[138] Tris Langades, 14. Mountjoy also emphasises (BSA 85, 1990, 848, n. 16) that in LH I contexts the bulk of the pottery usually consists of MH type wares.
[139] BSA 47, 1952, 239.
[140] Tris Langades, 12, no. 130, fig. 6.
[141] Tris Langades, 19 no. L16, fig. 11; 22 no. T13 (large); 10 nos 121–22, fig. 6 (small).
[142] Single row of dashes: Achaea, figs. 66, 101–03, 105, 108, 112, 113; Papadopoulos 1976, pls 26, 34b, 51a, 59b.
[143] Ithaca I, 39 no. 8, fig. 9.
[144] The sherd was published by Benton & Waterhouse (Tris Langades, 12, no. 137, fig. 6, pl. 3) who expressed doubt about its shape.
[145] Tris Langades, 10 nos 105–14, 12 nos 127–29, fig. 6.
[146] Tris Langades, 10 no. 137, fig 6.
[147] BSA 47, 1952, 239.
[148] Tris Langades, 10, fig. 6.
[149] Tris Langades, 22 no. T7, fig. 13.
[150] Tris Langades, 10 nos 4–6, fig. 3, pl. 4.
[151] From Tris Langades: Tris Langades, 3 f. nos 7–10, fig. 3; 21 nos T2 and T3, fig. 13; from Stavros: BSA 47, 1952, 239 nos 21–23.
[152] Tris Langades, 22 no. T.6, fig. 13.
[153] Tris Langades, 22 no. T5.
[154] Tris Langades, 5 no. 13, fig. 3; 19 no. L15, fig. 11.
[155] Polis II, 14 no. 57, pl. 7.
[156] Tris Langades, 6 nos 36 & 38, fig. 3.
[157] Tris Langades, 5 f. nos 14, 48, 49: figs 3–4, pl. 2.
[158] Polis II, pl. 5:39a (zig-zag, unpainted interior); S235 (unpublished) and sherds (wavy line).
[159] Tris Langades, 5 n. 9 for comparison with Mycenae krater (BSA 59, 1964, pl. 70d).
[160] Tris Langades, 12 no. 135, fig. 6.
[161] Tris Langades, 8 no. 83, fig. 83.
[162] Tris Langades: Tris Langades, 8, 22, figs 5 & 13; Stavros: BSA 47, 1952, 239 nos 24 & 25, fig. 10.
[163] Tris Langades, 22 no. T11, fig. 13.
[164] Tris Langades, 12 no. 138.
[165] For earlier strainers with feet from Malthi, see Valmin 1938, 333.
[166] MP II, 624; Mountjoy 1986, 87 f., 112 f.
[167] Tris Langades, 8 nos 81 & 82, fig. 4.
[168] Ithaca I, fig. 9–11.
[169] Polis II, 9 f. nos 1–8, pls 4–5.
[170] Polis II, 10 nos 6 & 7, pl. 5.
[171] Polis II, 13.
[172] Ithaca I, 38 nos 2, 5, fig. 8.
[173] Thessaly: Feuer 1983, 129, fig. 66 (grave A), 129 f., fig. 68 (grave B: these goblets are handmade and one-handled); Crete: Hall 1914, 150, fig. 89a & c (Vrokastro); BSA 55, 1960, 25 fig. 18, pl. 10 (Karfi).
[174] Polis II, 10, fig. 6, pl. 5.
[175] The basins were subsequently described by S. Benton in the unpublished paper A New Museum, 5 ff.
[176] Mountjoy 1986, figs 165.1 & 177.1 (Menelaion and Korakou); Frödin & Persson 1938, fig. 207.4 (Asine); BSA 75, 1980, fig. 14.31 (Assiros).
[177] Dickinson 1977, 29, n. 19.
[178] PAE 1965, 129 ff., pls 163a-b & 167a.
[179] Quirks: Aigion: Papadopoulos 1976, pl. 51b, 59a; Achaea, fig. 101b, c. Foliate band in single and double rows was a very popular shoulder motif on Achaian stirrup jars: Achaea, figs. 66, 101–03, 105, 108, 112–13.
[180] BCH 62, 1938, 129.
[181] BCH 59, 1935, 360 ff., fig. 20:15–17; Fouilles de Delphes V.1, fig. 43.
[182] Tris Langades, 12, fig. 7; 19, fig. 18; 22–23, fig. 13.
[183] Polis II, 3 no. 18, pl. 1.
[184] Tris Langades, 23 no. T14, fig. 13.
[185] See Wardle 1972, 173, and Wardle in Godišnak XV, 1977, 187.
[186] Wardle 1993, 124.
[187] PAE 1967, 39, pl. 33b (kantharos), 33c (amphora).
[188] See Polis II, pl. 2:6; the rest of the sherds belonging to such jars were not published and more are kept in the store of the Stavros Museum.
[189] Polis II, 8 no. 13, pl. 2.
[190] From Gërnenj: Iliria XI, 1981 vol. 1, 226, pl. II:9 & 10; from Pazhok: Iliria XII, 1982, vol. 1, pl. III:1–3, pl. IV:2, 34, pl. IX:V43, V50, pl. X:V6, V17, V25, pl. XI:7. For a description of the shape, see Iliria III, 1975, 409.
[191] Heurtley 1939, 98 f., 408 ff, 414 f., fig. 8.
[192] Andronikos 1969, 185 ff., figs 35–37, pls 35:25 & 32:4.
[193] Ithaca I, 61 no. 116, fig. 63.
[194] Mylonas 1983, figs 111–12.
[195] BSA 66, 1971, 110 f.
[196] BSA 29, 1927–28, 113 ff., fig. 1:1.
[197] BSA 63, 19, 95. Catling's 'short swords' have a blade under 0.50m.
[198] AJA 65, 1961, 26.
[199] Branigan 1974, 164, pl. 11:488.
[200] BSA 29, 1927–28, 113 ff., fig. 1:2; see Kalligas in Ker. Chr. 3, 1978–79, 50; id. Archaiologia 1, 1981, 82.
[201] AJA 67, 1963, 140.
[202] Ergon 1963, figs 124, 127; GDA, 74, pl. 13A, 88.
[203] PPS 22, 1956, 118. No further classification was possible in the absence of the hilt.
[204] Three swords (two from Kallithea and one from Anthea) have been discussed by Catling (PPS 22, 1956, 106, 111 f. nos 6–8,

group I), and another from Hangadhi has been added by Papadopoulos (Achaea, 166, figs 320c-d, 356c-d, group I or III).
[205] Antiquity 35, 1961, 121.
[206] Harding 1984, 164.
[207] Harding 1984, 164.
[208] BSA 63, 1968, 106 f. In the Polis hoard the spearhead is associated with the Type II sword. N. Sandars (AJA 67, 1963, 142) has drawn attention to the frequent association between the two types of weapons.
[209] Avila 1983, 79.
[210] PPS 21, 1955, 174 ff.
[211] Polis I, 721, fig. 20:10–11, 14.
[212] Tris Langades, fig. 13:T22.
[213] Tris Langades, 20, fig. 11:L:29.
[214] Ithaca I, 35.
[215] BSA 48, 1953, 256.
[216] A New Museum, 10.
[217] DAG, 175, 177 ff.; GG, 182 ff.
[218] LMTS, 109; PGP, 272; GDA, 243 ff.
[219] The only evidence of Mycenaean tiles comes from Gla (Iakovides 1983, 104), and there is otherwise no evidence in Greece for their use before 700 B.C. (Coulton 1977, 35).
[220] Gazetteer, 187.
[221] Hägg 1983.
[222] PGP, 271 ff. The pottery was also summarized by Coldstream in GGP, 220 ff.
[223] Ithaca I, 37 ff.
[224] Polis II, 9 ff.; in A New Museum, 9, Benton recognized the shortcomings of the publication: 'By modern standards I was too economical in my illustration of these shapes.'
[225] BSA 86, 1991, 43 ff. Unfortunately several of Coulson's drawings are erroneous. I also disagree with some of his classifications of individual vases.
[226] BSA 44, 1949, fig. 1:5.
[227] Ithaca I, 38–39 nos 4, 5, 6, 7, fig. 8.
[228] Nichoria III, 69 f., figs 3–4 & 3–5.
[229] Coulson (BSA 86, 1991, 48 fig. 2) erroneously shows it as monochrome.
[230] Astakos: BSA 39, 1938–39, 13 no. 6, right; Olympia: BSA 44, 1940, 311, fig. 1:2; Antike Welt 21, 1990, 187, Abb. 15.
[231] BSA 80, 1985, 58 nos 355–57, fig.11, pl. 8d-e.
[232] See, for example, the shapes of the cups from Lefkandi, Skoubris cemetery: Lefkandi I, pls 93, 95, 99, 106 with reserved belly-zones, pl. 104:40.3 with wavy band.
[233] See BSA 75, 1980, pl. 3g; Lefkandi II, pt. 1, 17 & n. 22.
[234] Messenia III, 68.
[235] Messenia III, 65 f., figs 3–6, 3–10, pls 3–6, 3–7, 3–10, 3–11.
[236] Messenia III, 68. The only complete krater from Messenia, from Ramovouni-Dorion, must be earlier than the V 718, but its profile is closer to V 56 from Aetos, which is assigned to Polis I/Aetos II phase.
[237] Hydria from Ramovouni-Dorion (Coulson 1986, fig. 3:5); amphorae from Kokevi (Coulson 1986, fig. 16:304, pl. 12) and Nichoria (P1581: Messenia III, 71, fig. 3–15); amphoriskos from Nichoria (P1598: Messenia III, 71, fig. 3–14:); jug from Nichoria (P817: Messenia III, 85, fig. 3–37).
[238] Note that Coulson's drawing of the kylix (BSA 89, 1991, 45, fig. 5:31) has errors, particularly in the shape of the rim and in the decoration.
[239] Nichoria III, 82 f., 94; BSA 80, 1985, 58 f.
[240] My reconstructions do not differ much from Heurtley's (Ithaca I, 42, figs 13–14; the base on 13 does not belong there).
[241] Polis II, 12:M 37, pl. 7 (drawn by Coulson as a cup: BSA 86, 1991, 57 fig. 7:42); ibid., 17:Transitional 6, pl. 9d (S282 e, k).
[242] BSA 86, 1991, 56 f., 57 fig. 7:42 & 43.
[243] In Aitolia compare e.g. with the broad, but more angular profile from Gavalous (AD 35, (1980)Mel., 119 f., fig. 11, pl. 38f). See also the kantharoi from Derveni (AJA 64, 1960, no. 52: pl. 5, fig. 38).
[244] Aitolia: Gavalous (AD 35, (1980)Mel., 115, fig. 8, pl. 38c; 120, fig. 11, also the kantharos mentioned in n. 26) and Agrinion (AD 24, (1969)Mel., 75 f., pl. 46a and b); Achaia: Derveni (GDA, 249 pl. 58).
[245] See for example a cup of this shape from Gavalous (AD 35, (1980)Mel., 116, fig. 9, pl. 38d).
[246] Coulson identified Polis II, 11 no. 31 with the fragment of a kantharos which he reconstructed as a tall kantharos of very similar profile to S352 (BSA 86, 1991, 55, 38). I could not find this piece in the Stavros Museum.
[247] See for example the tall kantharoi from Derveni (AJA 64, 1960, pl. 5) and Agrinion (AD 35, (1980)Mel., 120 ff., figs 12, 13, pl. 39b,c), and from Pleuron (Annuario LX, NS, XLIV, 1982, 219 ff., figs 1–4, 6, 8, 11–13) which are even more developed.
[248] Nichoria III, figs 3–22 - 3–31.
[249] Ithaca I, 46 nos 68, 69, 70, pl. 6; 52 no. 92, pl. 6.
[250] Ithaca I, 46 no. 59, fig. 20, pl. 5.
[251] The same fragment which has concentric loops on the rim (n. 34).
[252] Ithaca I, 51 no. 88, fig. 30, pl. 6.
[253] AD 24, (1969)Mel., 85 f., pl. 50a & b.
[254] See DAG, 283, fig. 100.
[255] PGP, 277.
[256] AD 24, (1969)Mel., pl. 48c, particularly c.b, and pl. 49a.a-b.
[257] AD 24, (1969)Mel., 83, pl. 49a.c; AD 35, (1980)Mel., 125 f., fig. 15, pl. 39a.
[258] Nichoria III, 85 shape 1, figs 3–35, 3–36.
[259] Except for the fragments presented here, see also Ithaca I, 50 ff., pl.6, and BSA 48, 1953, 270, fig. 6:P139–40.
[260] PGP, 278.
[261] Messenia: Nichoria III, fig. 3–40, pl. 3–100. Aitolia: AD 24, (1969)Mel., 86, fig. 1, pl. 50c-d.
[262] For example, at Lefkandi: Lefkandi I, pl. 126:8–9, pl. 145:31.6. The shape dropped out of the Mycenaean repertory and was re-introduced in the Protogeometric, most likely from Cyprus.
[263] Nichoria III, 86: P408, Fig. 3–21, pl. 3.101.
[264] BSA 80, 1985, 29 ff.
[265] For example some of the DA II material particularly from Kafirio, Osmanaga and Nichoria (Coulson 1986, 38 ff., figs and pls).
[266] Annuario LX, NS, XLIV, 1982, 219 ff.
[267] Ithaca V, 63 no. 320, pl. 19; BSA 48, 1953, 287 nos 708–09, 290 nos 728–29, fig. 9, pl. 47; see GGP, 227.
[268] AD 17, (1961–62)B, pl. 212.9.
[269] AD 24, (1969)Mel., pl. 48a-b.
[270] GGP, 222; GDA, 248, pl. 57; DAG, 85, fig. 42.4.
[271] Nichoria III; BSA 86, 1991, 43 ff.
[272] Coulson 1986, 12 f., figs 2–3.
[273] Nichoria III, 61 ff., figs 3–7 - 3–17.
[274] Coulson 1986, 73.
[275] Coulson 1986, 55.
[276] GG, 183; DAG, 86.
[277] Ithaca V, f.
[278] GGP, 249 f.
[279] Annuario LX, NS, XLIV, 1982, 224.
[280] Coulson 1986, 55.
[281] GG, 183.
[282] Ithaca I, 52 nos 96–100, fig. 31.
[283] Ithaca I, 52 no. 96, fig. 31.
[284] Wardle 1972, 174.
[285] Wardle 1972, 63; AD 24 (1969), 88 no. 1, fig. 2, pl. 52a, 89 no. 2, fig.3, pl. 52b.
[286] Wardle 1972, 80 ff.; Godišnak XV, 1977, 180 f.; see Andrea (1982, 78 f.) for a possible Albanian origin of this ware as early as the 13th century BC.
[287] Ithaca I, fig. 34: 104, fig. 34:105.
[288] Ithaca I, 61 no. 117, fig. 44.
[289] On Iron Age pins see GDA, 294 ff.; DAG, 226 ff.
[290] Ithaca V, pl. 50:20.

8 – ZAKYNTHOS

1. Bronze Age Sites

Kastro (54): The imposing hill of Kastro or Castello (maximum h.: 110m), north of the modern town of Zakynthos, has yielded limited evidence for Bronze Age occupation. S. Benton found only later material there.[1] In 1953 Zapfe collected flint tools and coarse pottery at a site about 50m above sea level. About 250 flint tools were taken to Vienna but some of the sherds are today in the British School at Athens. They have been attributed to the Bronze Age, and one to the LBA.[2] P. Kalligas reported finding EBA sherds on the hill in 1972.[3]

Kalogeros (55): On the headland of Kalogeros (or Kalogera), on the eastern side of the bay of Porto Roma, S. Benton and H. Lorimer excavated parts of two LH houses in 1933. The excavation, which was only briefly reported at the time, remained unpublished and the finds were lost in the aftermath of the 1953 earthquake.[4]

The pottery dated from LH I to LH III(A-B). Lord William Taylour identified parts of Vapheio cups and sherds with possible argonaut motifs (FM 22).[5] There is also mention of an early Mycenaean jug imported from the Argolid.[6] But most of the pottery was LH III, and there was apparently a large quantity of it.

The only extant pottery, today in the British School at Athens, comes from S. Benton's preliminary survey. It consist of the upper part of a large stirrup jar (**Pl. 13**) and two monochrome sherds from a kylix (stem and lower part of the bowl, the latter now missing).[7]

Vassilikos (56): In stratum A of an exposed section at Vassilikos, Sordinas found 'serrated blades', which he related to those from Pelikata (Ithaki), as well as fine handmade pottery comparable to the EH pottery from the same site.[8] But no pottery was reported as having Urfirnis glaze.

Gerakas (57): Sordinas collected pottery, obsidian chips and flint arrowheads on this promontory and compared the latter to tools found by Dörpfeld in Choirospelia (Lefkada) and by Valmin at Malthi.[9] A couple of obsidian blades had previously been collected by S. Benton on the nearby promontory of Vassilikos.[10] The pottery from Gerakas included both fine handmade pottery similar to that from Vassilikos (stratum A) and coarse handmade pottery, some with plastic rope decoration. Activity on the promontory may be connected with the use of the large and fairly sheltered bay of Gerakas.

Kalamaki (58): On the eastern side of the large bay of Laganas a coastal area yielded coarse handmade pottery (thirty sherds) and fineware similar to that of Gerakas and Vassilikos (fifteen sherds), as well as fifteen 'serrated blades'.[11] The accessibility of the bay and of the fertile arable land of the Kambos would have been the attractions for human habitation in the area.

Arkadiani (59): The western end of the sandy part of Laganas bay also yielded evidence of Bronze Age activity. In exposed sections along 2km of the modern coastline between the little promontory of Aghios Sostis and Arkadiani (stratum D), stratified above Triassic marls, Sordinas found some flint and pottery similar to that from Kalamaki, Vassilikos and Gerakas, as well as a small amount of orange ware pottery of possible Neolithic date.[12]

Keri (60): A small tholos tomb (0.80–0.90x1.50m) (**Pl. 73:c**), revealed during road building activities, was excavated by M. Avouris in 1965 on the southern slope of the hill of Klapsias (**Pl. 73:a**), about 1.5km east of the village of Keri. Short reports of the tomb and the two complete vases in it (alabastron Z13 and squat jar Z26), dating from LH IIB–IIIA1, have been published.[13] The human remains and some sherds recovered from the tomb were reported lost.[14] According to an eyewitness to the excavation the entangled bones and the skulls of two individuals were found together with the gravegoods in the centre of the tomb on a koniama floor.

Alikanas-Akrotiri (61): The hill of Akrotiri, today terraced and cultivated with olive trees up to its summit (95m), occupies the eastern side of the bay of Alikais and, on its west and south, borders with the great plain. The hill was explored by Benton and Lorimer in the late 1920s[15] and in 1933 they excavated a tholos tomb and a house on the south-eastern side of the hill.[16] The excavation was not published and the site has been destroyed.

The tholos, which had been partly robbed, had a diameter of 5–6m. There were three pits dug into the chamber floor containing at least five burials. Human bones were also found on the chamber floor.[17] The few finds made during the excavation were lost in 1953 and what little is known about them comes from the very brief preliminary reports. The pottery was both Mycenaean, dating from LH IIIA-B, and handmade.[18] None of it was described or illustrated. Other finds were beads of (?)faience and amber, a couple of steatite buttons, a violin-bow fibula with a plain bow, and a bronze ring.

The house, which lay 200m west of the tholos, produced abundant LH III and 'local' pottery. Higher up the slopes Benton picked up the grooved clay foot of a legged vase.[19] A couple of obsidian blades were also recovered from an unspecified location.[20]

Katastari (Eleos property) (62): About 2km west of Alikanas, just off the road joining the village of Katastari to the sea, S. Benton explored an ancient well partly incorporated into a modern one.[21] The well was 'full of pottery about four spans down', but only one pot, a nearly complete juglet (Z25), is reported to have come from inside the well itself. The rest of the published Mycenaean pottery sherds, nearly all of which are today in the British School at Athens, were found either around the mouth of the well or at a depth of 1m below the surface south-west of the modern house in the vicinity of the well. The British School at Athens also houses some unpublished sherds, including some kylix stems and a pictorial bowl, which are marked 'well'. The datable pottery can be assigned to LH IIIA and LH IIIB, and most may not be earlier than LH IIIA2.

Planos (63): A tholos tomb was excavated by A. Liagouras close to the village of Planos, on the eastern side of the island, in 1974. A brief note appeared in the daily 'Ta Nea' (1.6.74, p. 7), but the tomb was never published. The finds, consisting of two vases of LH IIB date, a single-handled hemispherical bronze phiale found together with a bronze razor, and some beads of sardonyx, are housed in the Zakynthos Museum.[22]

Kambi-Vigla (64): In a remote location between Mt Vrachionas and the western coast of the island, on the rocky southern side of the hill of Vigla (**Pl. 73:b**) and about 1.5km west of the small village of Kambi, P. Agalopoulou excavated a Mycenaean cemetery in 1971 and 1972. It remains the only site on the island to have been properly published.[23]

The fourteen pit graves, some preceded by a shaft, occupied an area approximately 30x20m on the limestone hill. All but two of the graves had been either partially or completely robbed. Construction details and the contents of each tomb have been summarized in Tables D.1–2. Each of the graves was used for several burials, none of which was found intact.

Seventeen complete closed-shaped vases (Z1–Z10, Z16–Z23, Z29–Z30) were recovered from the graves during the excavation. In addition two stirrup jars (Z31–Z32), said to come from Kambi, were handed over to the Laographike Etaireia. The pottery dates from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIB. The small finds include a bronze knife.

2. The Early and Middle Bronze Ages

Some evidence of EBA occupation on the island has been brought to light through the surveys carried out by Zapfe and Sordinas. Zapfe may have identified an EBA site on the Kastro, given the flints and coarseware pottery that he collected there. Sordinas's material came from surface collections (Gerakas, Kalamaki, Kastro) as well as from exposed sections (Vassilikos, Arkadiani); it most likely reflects areas of EBA activity rather than settlements. The pottery, which he dated to the EBA (EH II), included coarseware and fineware sherds,[24] though none of the illustrated material is sufficiently diagnostic. Among the lithic material there were parallel-sided and 'serrated blades'.

The distribution of EBA sites in the south-east of the island and near the coast, except Kastro, is most likely due to the bias of the surveys. But the presence of EBA sites in this part of Zakynthos is hardly surprising given that it faces the region of Elis around Olympia where, as Koumouzelis has shown, habitation in EH II and III was well established.[25] Moreover the sea routes which made possible the long-distance connections between Ithaki and Lefkada and the Aegean (see ch. 9), must have passed through the straights between Elis and Zakynthos, as suggested by the Keros-Syros figurines of Pheia in Elis, the obsidian of Vassilikos and Gerakas on Zakynthos and that of south-eastern Kefalonia (ch. 6).

The absence of any definite MBA material from the island (some of the coarseware pottery from the surveys could, of course, be MBA rather than EBA) is likely to be due to inadequate fieldwork; the substantial MBA cultures of Kefalonia and Lefkada and their connections with the south-western Peloponnese serve to reinforce this impression.

3. The Late Bronze Age

A. SETTLEMENT

Of the six LH sites just two, Kalogeros and Alikanas-Akrotiri, have yielded habitation remains. The well at Katastari suggests the existence of an LH settlement nearby, as do the three burial sites (Keri, Planos and Kambi). The surveys on the hill of Kastro produced only one definite LBA sherd, which is insufficient proof for the existence of a Mycenaean settlement at the site of the later Greek city.[26]

The house of Alikanas-Akrotiri (LH III) and the two houses at Kalogeros (LHI–IIIB), both sites excavated by Benton and Lorimer, were never published. Nothing is known of either the plan or the dimensions of the houses. At Akrotiri the excavators identified two phases of construction. The vicinity of this house to the tholos tomb (which had been used repeatedly during LH IIIA–B) suggests that the two were connected.

Given the loss of unpublished material, only limited comments can be made on the development of settlement on the island. The mention of possible LH I pottery from Kalogeros suggests that the south-east of the island received the earliest Mycenaean settlement. By the LH IIB phase, there is Mycenaean presence in the north-east (Planos) and the south-west (Keri), where isolated tombs have been excavated. More extensive and long-lasting Mycenaean settlement appears to have started in LH IIIA1 or early LH IIIA2 when Akrotiri and the remote site of Kambi were settled. Four sites have yielded evidence of LH IIIA2–B occupation. With the possible exception of Katastari, none

were newly occupied in LH IIIB but continued from LH IIIA (Kambi, Alikanas) or earlier (Kalogeros). There is no evidence of LH IIIC occupation at any of the sites.[27]

The locations of the sites vary. Kalogeros was a truly coastal site close to the good harbouring and mooring facilities of Porto Roma, but Alikanas and Katastari too, though not coastal, have easy access to the sea. The latter two sites, situated at the edge of the Kambos, were also in a position to exploit the good agricultural land at the edges of the plain. But it is rather surprising that the LH sites of Zakynthos are situated on the periphery rather than in the immediate vicinity of the Kambos,[28] in striking contrast with Kefalonia where most of the sites are located in the region of maximum agricultural potential. This discrepancy must be due at least partly to the vicissitudes of archaeological survival and the lack of survey, particularly in the interior of the island; for LH IIIA-B at least, a denser settlement than appears on record is suggested by the presence of Mycenaean occupation at Kambi, sited on marginal land in an isolated and remote location.

B. TOMBS

Four tholos tombs have been excavated, but none was properly published. The two earliest tombs, which are also the earliest in the Ionian Islands as a whole, the tholoi of Keri (LH IIB/early LH IIIA1) and Planos (LH IIB), suggest that the tholos tomb was adopted on the island at the same time, or not long after the appearance of Mycenaean-style pottery. The impetus and models for the tombs were provided by the western Peloponnese, particularly Messenia and Triphylia where most of the tholos tombs, including small size tombs like those of Zakynthos, are concentrated during these phases.[29]

The tholos of Keri (**Pl. 73:a**) is by no means a monumental construction, but it shows good understanding of the principles and techniques of tholos building. It is cut entirely into the almost vertical face of the rock and has no dromos. The doorway occupies nearly the whole side of the chamber and measures 0.88m in width and 0.72m in height up to the lintel. The single lintel ('monolithon hyperthyron'), 0.57m long by 0.20m thick, was found in its original position.[30] The doorway was provided with a roughly-shaped relieving triangle. The façade around the doorway was covered with a mixture of pebbles and mortar which was probably intended to seal and waterproof the crumbling face of the rock. There is no information about how the doorway may have been blocked. The sub-rectangular chamber measures 0.80–0.90x1.50m. The walls are built with flat and rectangular stones. The first course is made up of stones laid upright, and the subsequent courses of flat stones laid flat. The roof is irregularly constructed, but follows the technique of corbelled roofs. Its maximum height (approximately in the middle) is 1.60m.

The two burials in it were most likely secondary burials. The two vases (Z6 and Z7) were hardly generous offerings, but the tomb, in its isolated setting, probably had greater local significance than would at first appear.

The tholos at Akrotiri was larger (d.:5–6m). It was partly dug into the rock and was built of roughly shaped stones, but nothing else is known of its construction. Three burial pits containing at least five dead in total were dug into the floor of the chamber. The use of the tomb over the period LH IIIA-B suggests that more than one generation was buried in it, probably from among the inhabitants of the nearby house.

The burial pits are reminiscent of the pits in the tholos tombs of Kokkolata-Kangelisses in Kefalonia (ch. 6.4), with which the use of the tholos of Akrotiri must have overlapped. The practice has parallels in Messenia, where pits in tholoi were often used for primary burial as well as for the disposal of earlier interments.

The cemetery of Kambi (Tabs D.1–2) with its fourteen pit and shaft-and-pit graves was clearly the cemetery of a small community. A minimum of twenty-eight people, and more likely twice as many, had been buried in it. The first burials were probably made in late LH IIIA1, as indicated by a couple of vases of this date, but its most intensive use was during LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB. The average length of the pits (1.64–1.84m) allowed for the extended burial of an adult. Two pits were shorter (I and IV = a little over 1m) and one was particularly long (XIV = 1.93m). The graves were quite narrow (0.33–0.57m), except V which was 0.80m wide. Most had depths ranging from 1m to 1.65m, only two (I and X) were under 1m deep. Only the two unlooted graves (IX: **Pl. 73:d** and XIV) were found completely covered with slabs. Three of the graves (II, IX and XIV) had been dug at the bottom of larger pits or shafts 0.40–1.20m deep. At the bottom of the shafts a border was carved out around the pits which was wide enough to contain the slabs covering the pits. The remaining eleven graves had no shaft, only a ledge (0.08–0.60m wide) which was normally sunk a few centimetres below the level of the rock and was probably intended to prevent the dislodgement of the slabs. But in a couple of tombs (VIII and XI) greater depth had to be reached on the steeper side of the slope in order to dig a horizontal burial pit, and these graves look on one side like graves with proper shafts.

The grave types at Kambi are unusual for a Mycenaean cemetery of this period. Whole cemeteries of pits or slab/built cists, which are a closely related type, are virtually unknown in Mycenaean Greece between LH II and LH IIIB, the only instances being on its fringes, particularly in Thessaly (Nea Ionia, Dimini, Argilla, etc.)[31] and probably Phokis.[32] Elsewhere in Greece, except for a small number which is found in cemeteries of chamber or tholos tombs like in Kefalonia (ch. 6.4), pit or cist graves only occur intramurally in exceptional circumstances.[33]

To which tradition then does the Kambi cemetery belong? Dickinson is inclined to think of the pit graves of Kambi as an expression of provincialism,[34] equivalent to that of Thessaly. The cist graves of that region, normally containing single burials, are also regarded by B. Feuer as the result of conservatism in burial customs, i.e. as a survival of MBA customs.[35] On the other hand, Dickinson relates the shaft-and-pit graves of Kambi to the true shaft graves in general and to the few known examples with stone-built roofs in

particular.[36] This interpretation, which invokes models from distant regions, is however less convincing than the one suggested by the excavator herself, i.e. that the rock in which the tombs were carved proved too hard for the digging of chamber tombs.[37] The ancient tool-marks, still clearly visible on the walls of the tombs (**Pl. 73:d**), lend support to the suggestion that the shape of the graves was dictated by the hardness of the rock. It is likely that the intended chamber tombs would in any case have had burial pits dug into the chamber floor, like the chamber tomb variant which occurs in Elis from the end of LH IIIA1 and in Kefalonia from LH IIIA2 (ch. 6.4). The 'shafts' were probably an attempt to provide a substitute for the chamber within which to place the burial pit. We may even have evidence of the ritual toasting before the filling of the shaft, commonly associated with chamber tombs, in the fragments of kylikes found in the fill of the graves.

Another characteristic which distinguishes the Kambi graves from the pit graves and cist graves in other regions of Greece is that, in contrast with the latter which normally contained single or double burials, the pits at Kambi were used for several burials each. The two unlooted graves IX and XIV at Kambi contained six and eight skulls respectively. The latter grave may have been used for even more burials, the earlier ones having been emptied, according to the excavator,[38] into a nearby crevice where human bones were found. Thus the Kambi cemetery would conform with the Mycenaean practice of multiple burials. The use of the pits for successive burials recalls most closely the custom of multiple burials in the pits of the chamber tombs of Kefalonia.

To conclude, it appears that the stimuli affecting Mycenaean tomb architecture and burial customs arrived in Zakynthos from the neighbouring regions of the western Peloponnese, particularly Messenia and Elis, during LH IIB and LH IIIA1, and that some practices may also have developed in common with Kefalonia in LH IIIA2–B.

C. POTTERY

Fineware (Tab. H)

LH II-IIIA1

The pottery dating from these phases would have been more abundant but for the loss of most finds from the excavations of Akrotiri and Kalogeros. Among the material from the latter site, W. Taylour had identified sherds from the bases of four or five Vapheio cups and sherds with spirals, possibly from argonaut motifs (FM 22). The Vapheio cups, which had a bevelling of the angle made by the base and side of the vase, were compared by Taylour to cups from Messenia,[39] although this feature is not unique to that region.[40] These cups could have been as early as LH I-IIA.

Two unpublished vases from Planos are said to be LH IIB, but have not been illustrated.[41] The other extant vases come from Keri and Kambi and were published by P. Agalopoulou.[42]

I. Squat jar: There is one example from Keri (Z7: **Pl. 47**) with running spirals (FM 46). The origins of this shape (FS 87) on Zakynthos may be connected with the series of early squat jars from Samikon and Makrysia which go back to the MH III-LH I phase and include examples with spirals.[43] But the jar from Keri has its closest parallel in a vase from T E-8 at Englianos.[44]

II. Alabastra: Both complete examples are FS 84. Alabastron Z41 from Kambi, with a decoration consisting of the ogival canopy motif (FM 13.6–7), has been assigned to LH IIIA1; Z6 from Keri (**Pl. 47**) is decorated with isolated spirals (FM 52.1), an unusual motif for this shape, against a stone pattern background (FM 76) which was most common in LH IIA. But the vase is most likely LH IIB, at the very latest LH IIIA1, which is the date assigned to it by Agalopoulou.

III. Piriform jar(?): Among the unmarked sherds from the fill of tomb IX at Kambi was a fragment (Tab. H no. 22: **Pl. 48**) decorated with curved stripes (FM 67) which most likely came from a sizeable piriform jar.

LH IIIA2–IIIB

Twenty-one vases and a number of sherds from Kambi, as well as some extant sherds from Kalogeros in the British School at Athens collection are datable to these phases. Of the Kambi vases, five are stylistically LH IIIA2, four are LH IIIB, and the rest are LH IIIA2–B.

I. Piriform jar: A large incomplete three-handled jar (Z33) from Kambi is probably FS 40. It has the torus base disk typical of the shape and is monochrome.

II. Large jar/jug: A sherd from the fill of the Kambi tombs (Tab. H no. 16: **Pl. 48**) comes from the shoulder of a large vessel of uncertain shape. It is decorated with a running spiral (FM 46).

III. Amphora: Part of an amphora neck from the well of Katastari (Tab. H no. 14), with a broad band at its base, could belong to a vase of FS 69.

IV. Rounded alabastra: There are five complete alabastra from Kambi and fragments from two other vases. Z22 (**Pl. 48**) is a good example of the type with diaper net (FM 57.2) on the shoulder and thick-and-thin bands on the body, and is similar to, although larger than A7 and A1518 (**Pl. 2**) from Kefalonia. Another tall example (Z34) is coarsely decorated with a pattern that P. Mountjoy has identified as a rough version of the rock pattern (FM 32).[45] The same motif appears on a fragmentary alabastron from Kambi (Z45: **Pl. 47**). The remaining three complete vases have baggy shapes. One of them (Z36: **Pl. 47**), with chevrons (FM 58) on the shoulder, compares with A1519 from Metaxata B. The two monochrome examples and part of a third (Z22a and Z40: **Pl. 48**, Z90) recall the monochrome alabastra from Kefalonia where this type of finish was also frequent. A fragment of an FS 84 alabastron (Z46: **Pl. 47**) from Kambi is decorated with what was most likely a sacral ivy (FM 12), a frequent motif on LH IIIA1 alabastra. It may therefore be early LH IIIA2.

V. Straight-sided alabastra: One of the three vases from Kambi (Z27) is an unusually tall alabastron; its decoration (foliate band, FM 64.21) has parallels among vases from

Messenia.[46] Z23 (**Pl. 47**) with a zig-zag on the shoulder may be compared with A1520 from Metaxata B, although that vase, unlike Z23, lacks the foliate band below the zig-zag and the concentric bands under the base.

VI. Stirrup jars: There is one vase from Kambi (Z44) in fragments (belonging to its base and shoulder) which bears the common LH IIIA2 combination of thick-and-thin lines on the body and a flower (FM 18) on the shoulder. The flower is unlike the mainland types and has been compared by Agalopoulou to Furumark's papyrus type of flower (FM 18.101) which is a Minoan version of the motif. The quality of the fabric and paint of this piece is very high. The other three stirrup jars from Kambi (Z53: **Pl. 48**, Z97, Z52) belong to squat, biconical types (FS 178–79) and have very worn surfaces. The upper part of a large stirrup jar from Kalogeros in the British School at Athens (Tab. H no. 27: **Pl. 13**) should date from LH IIIB.

VII. Small handleless jars: The two examples (Z39: **Pl. 48** and Z42) are FS 78 rather than FS 77 which was more popular in Achaia, Elis and Kefalonia, but they are comparable to jars from these regions with respect to their flat bases and their monochrome decoration.

VIII. Globular flask: Z32 (**Pl. 47**) is a fine example of the biconical flask FS 191. It differs from the Tris Langades flask (ch. 7.4) in the shape of its lip (which is sloping) and in its shoulder decoration (multiple stem-and-tongue, FM 19). The multiple stem is a common motif on the shoulder of flasks in LH IIIA2, and it occurs on some examples from Achaia.[47]

IX. Feeding bottle: The monochrome feeding bottle (Z31 - FS 161) is unique in the Ionian Islands. The shape occurs sporadically almost everywhere in LH III.

X. Small jugs: Two monochrome juglets (FS 112–14), one from the well of Katastari (Tab. H no. 27) and the other from Kambi (Z25), are early types of the shape which became so popular in Kefalonia in LH IIIC, but both vases are unlike the Kefalonian shapes.

XI. Kylikes: Stems, rim-sherds and bases of kylikes (Tab. H nos 19–21) were recovered at Katastari, Kalogeros and Kambi (mostly in the fill of the graves).[48] A number of uncatalogued sherds with everted rims from Kambi are monochrome and could be from the monochrome type FS 264, but could also come from monochrome stemmed bowls. Both types were popular in LH IIIA2.[49] The monochrome foot of a stemmed bowl from Kambi has been published.[50]

XII. Bowls and kraters: Body sherds from deep bowls and kraters as well as bases from these shapes were found at Katastari. The most interesting sherd is a rim-sherd from a bowl or small krater (Tab. H no. 15: **Pl. 48**), today in the British School at Athens, with a solid painted interior and a pictorial representation consisting of the fading head of a horse under a thick arched line filled with a foliate band. The drawing is not of high artistic quality. The sherd was illustrated by S. Benton in her M.Litt. thesis, but it was never published. The rest of the pottery from the Katastari well points to an LH IIIB date for the bowl. Pictorial vases with animal representations are not common in the neighbouring areas of the Peloponnese, but isolated examples are known from Messenia (LH IIIC)[51] and Achaia (LH IIIB).[52]

The horse was probably part of a chariot scene. The arched band may have been a filler motif. Rows of quirks, chevrons or circles, but frequently also a foliate band (without bordering lines like those of the Zakynthos sherd) are drawn over the backs of horses in chariot scenes on vases from the mainland, Cyprus and Rhodes, but unlike the Katastari example they do not normally appear over the head of the horse.[53]

XIII. Legged vase: A small split leg collected by S. Benton at Akrotiri compares with similar legs from Oikopeda in Kefalonia and from Tris Langades in Ithaki.

The style and its connections

Because of the small quantity of extant or published material, we only have a limited knowledge of the development of the LBA pottery on the island. The surviving pottery dating from before LH IIIA2, and the references to lost unpublished material show that the island was in touch with the earliest developments of Mycenaean pottery styles. The squat jars and Vapheio cups in particular suggest that the initial impetus came from the south-western Peloponnese, from Elis and Messenia.

For the periods LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, what we mostly have to go by is the pottery from Kambi. Particularly high artistic standards are noticeable on some of the LH IIIA2–B1 pottery, especially in the shape and decoration of flask Z32, the fine drawing on stirrup jar Z44, and the skillfully potted and painted alabastron Z22. However many of the other vases are clumsily executed. Broad biconical forms predominate (stirrup jars, flask, small jug) and there is a tendency towards baggy shapes (alabastra, stirrup jars). The shoulder decoration consists mostly of simple linear motifs (zig-zag, foliate band, chevrons), and monochrome paint is frequently used. With no parallels from elsewhere on the island, it is not possible to know whether these forms and decoration were typical of the pottery styles of the whole island in LH IIIA2–B or only of the workshops of Kambi. We must also bear in mind that the best pottery may have been removed by the tomb-robbers. Even so, stirrup jar Z45 and globular flask Z32 stand out as very likely imports, if not into Zakynthos, certainly into Kambi.

The most obvious connections of the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB pottery are with the pottery from the other Ionian Islands: Kefalonia with which the Zakynthos pottery shares favourite shapes (alabastra, handleless jars, small jugs, legged vase) and decoration (the frequent use of monochrome paint and motifs such as chevrons and zig-zags), Ithaki which has some shapes (flask, legged vase) and motifs (zig-zags, stem-and-tongue pattern) in common. Elis (Olympia) and Messenia provide parallels particularly for the alabastra and there are also common features now with Achaia, both in the choice of shapes (alabastra, flask, handleless jars, small jugs, legged vase) and the frequent use of monochrome paint.

Coarseware

Handmade coarseware pottery was reported from all the

settlement sites and from the Akrotiri tholos, but very little has survived. S. Benton referred to the presence of one 'pellet ware' sherd at Akrotiri, a ware better known from Ithaki, Kefalonia and Epirus. Surprisingly only a few small plain handmade sherds were recovered at Kambi.[54]

D. METALWORK

A single-edged knife (Sandars's type Ia) from Kambi (Z35, Tab. J.2: **Pl. 22**), which from the associated pottery can be dated to LH IIIA2–B, is the only published metal artefact.[55] The tholos of Akrotiri produced a violin bow fibula, which was apparently of the simplest type (Blinkenberg's type I.1) with a plain straight bow.[56] From its reported context it would have had a terminus ante quem in LH IIIB.

Kalligas reported a bronze one-handled hemispherical phiale and a bronze leaf-shaped razor (l.: 0.206) with three rivets from the unpublished Planos tholos tomb. The razor (or dagger) is earlier and larger than the razor from Prokopata in Kefalonia (ch. 6.4), but must belong to the same broad category of objects which spans the periods LH I–LH IIIA2.

E. MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS OF STONE, CLAY, AMBER AND FAIENCE

The tholos of Akrotiri produced a pair of conical steatite conuli,[57] and another two of the same type, allegedly from Kambi, were handed over to the Laographike Etaireia of Zakynthos. One biconical clay conulus was recovered during the excavations at Kambi.[58] A lentoid sealstone of steatite, presumed to be from Kambi,[59] bears a representation in the shape of a four-leafed clover similar to that on two of the sealstones from Kokkolata (ch. 6.4) .

Beads of amber (eleven are mentioned in one report) and 'faience' were recovered from the tholos of Akrotiri.[60] The amber would be earlier than any of the Kefalonian finds and is probably connected with the finds of amber in Messenia in LH IIIA-B. If the 'faience' from Akrotiri was true faience, it too would have been imported from the mainland, as was suggested for the 'faience' from Lakkithra Δ in Kefalonia (ch. 6.4).

NOTES

[1] Ionian Islands, 217 f.
[2] Gazetteer, 192.
[3] AD 27, (1972)B2, 494.
[4] Reports appeared in AA 49, 1934, 161 f.; JHS 54, 1934, 192; Aι ωυσαι, no 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 5 f. The finds had been stored in a chapel which was destroyed (burnt?) as a result of the earthquake: see Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 123; AD 28, (1973)A, 212 n. 12.
[5] Taylour 1958, 21, 187.
[6] AA 49, 1934, 161.
[7] Ionian Islands, pl. 39:9 & 10.
[8] Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 126.
[9] Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 126 f.
[10] Ionian Islands, 213, 215–16, pl. 40.
[11] Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 127.
[12] Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 127 f.
[13] AD 21, (1966)B, 325, pl. 334; AAA 2, 1972, 65; AD 28, (1973)A, 212, 113–114a; see also Pelon 1976, 260.
[14] Ker. Chr. XV, 1970, 123.
[15] Ionian Islands, 213 ff.
[16] JHS 54, 1934, 192; AA 49, 1934, 161–62; Aι ωυσαι, no. 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 5 f.
[17] References to the burials are made in AA 49, 1934, 161–62 and Aι ωυσαι, no. 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 5 f.
[18] BSA Annual Report, 1933–34, 5, refers to LH II-III pottery, but in subsequent publications (JHS 54, 1934, 192; Aι ωυσαι, no. 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 6) only LH III pottery spanning the period 1400–1200 BC is mentioned.
[19] Ionian Islands, pl. 39: 6.
[20] Aι ωυσαι, no. 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 5.
[21] Ionian Islands, 218.
[22] Kalligas 1993, 51 f.
[23] AD 28, (1973)A, 198 ff.
[24] Sordinas dated the fineware pottery to EH II by comparing it with the pottery from Pelikata, which however is EH II and EH III!
[25] Koumouzelis 1980.
[26] Agalopoulou (AD 28, (1973)A, 212) and Kalligas (1993, 52) however believe that there was a Mycenaean settlement there.
[27] Taylour 1958, 21, mentions that 'all periods of the Mycenaean civilization are represented on Zakynthos', but there is no mention of LH IIIC-style pottery from the island either in his work or elsewhere.
[28] In modern times the hilly zone above the Kambos along the eastern flank of Mt Vrachionas was the most densely occupied area.
[29] The earliest Messenian tholoi date to the transition between MH and LH I (T.T. IV: Messenia III, 107; Koryphassion: Hesperia XXIII, 1954, 158 ff.; Nichoria, MME tholos: Nichoria II, 231 ff.), but many more were built in LH II, when there are also more examples further north, in Triphylia (see Mee & Cavanagh in OJA 3 (3), 1984, 50, fig. 2).
[30] AD 21, (1966)B, 325. Hope Simpson and Dickinson (Gazetteer, 193) are mistaken in postulating a double lintel. A second (shorter) stone slab, which was probably the one mistaken for a second lintel, could have been either a threshold or a marker for the entrance to the tomb.
[31] Feuer 1983, 77.
[32] Gazetteer, G 48 & G 52.
[33] Berbati: AA 1938, 554 ff.; Korakou: Korakou, 102 f. (3 children); Asine: Frödin & Persson 1938, 128 ff. (10 children); Tiryns: AA 1979, 386 f. (42 slaves?); Lefkandi: Popham and Sackett 1968, 14.
[34] BSA 79, 1984, 62.
[35] Feuer 1983, 79.
[36] BSA 79, 1984, 56.
[37] AD 28, (1973)A, 199.
[38] AD 28, (1973)A, 203.
[39] Taylour 1958, 21.
[40] See e.g. a cup from Korakou: Mountjoy 1986, 45, fig. 50:3.
[41] Kalligas 1993, 52.
[42] AD 28, (1973)A.
[43] AD 20, (1965)A, 13, pls 9–11. Koumouzelis (1980, figs 49.4 & 50.1) has illustrated Matt-painted examples assigned to MH III-LH I.
[44] Messenia III, fig. 250:1.
[45] BSA, 85, 1990, 246, fig. 1. Mountjoy regards it as a copy of a

more skilfully executed alabastron from Zouni in Elis (Olympia), and there are other alabastra with the same motif from Elis (AD 29, (1974)A, 40, pl. 31d; AD 20, (1965)B, pl. 186b), both with looser arches.

[46] Messenia III, figs 292:8 & 273:6

[47] Papadopoulos 1976, pls 29 & 36.

[48] Apart from those included in the catalogue see also AD 28, (1973)A, pl. 116b: top row.

[49] Mountjoy 1986, 90, 92 figs 108 & 112.

[50] AD 28, (1973)A, 207, pl. 110a: left.

[51] Messenia III, tomb K-2, fig. 289:a-e.

[52] From Teichos Dymaion, see Karageorghis & Vermeule 1982, pl. IX:112.

[53] Karageorghis & Vermeule 1982, pls IV:12–13, 15–16, 21 & 49, IX:1 etc. See however a zig-zag within border lines over the head of a goat on a sherd from Athens (id.: X:55).

[54] AD 28, (1973)A, pl. 116b: below.

[55] AD 28, (1973)A, 209, pl. 111b.

[56] AA 49, 1934, 162.

[57] AA 49, 1934, 162.

[58] AD 28, (1973)A, 209, 211, pl. 111a.

[59] AD 28, (1973)A, 211 fig. 3, pl. 112a.

[60] AA 49, 1934, 162; JHS 54, 1934, 192; BSA 69, 1974, 167; Aι ωυσαι, no. 973, Jan.-Mar. 1939, 5 f.

PART III
CONCLUSIONS

9 – THE ISLANDS THROUGH TIME

In the previous chapters the archaeological evidence from each of the islands was examined in great detail. This chapter reviews the islands as a group in each of the periods under consideration and aims to give a historical perspective to the region as a whole. Since the record is uneven, being as it is at the mercy of both the chance of discovery or survival and of differences in archaeological exploration and publication, it hardly needs to be stressed that the conclusions which have been reached here should be regarded as part of an ongoing process of understanding the islands in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

In general, two factors clearly stand out as having contributed most to the cultural and historical development of the Ionian Islands. Firstly, their island environment which, as has also been suggested by general studies of islands,[1] appears to have had a conflicting effect on them, on the one hand encouraging participation in a wider cultural network, and on the other hand generating a tendency towards isolation and the rejection of outside elements, or when these are adopted, towards their adaptation and elaboration. The second contributing factor is related to the geographical position of these islands at the periphery of the 'core' regions of Aegean culture, and indeed in the western frontier-zone of the Aegean cultural area. The special conditions of frontier-zones have been highlighted in a number of recent archaeological studies,[2] and it is quite clear that the Ionian Islands too, individually and as a group, were affected by their situation, in terms of historical development, cultural make-up and affiliations, and responses to cultural and other stimuli.

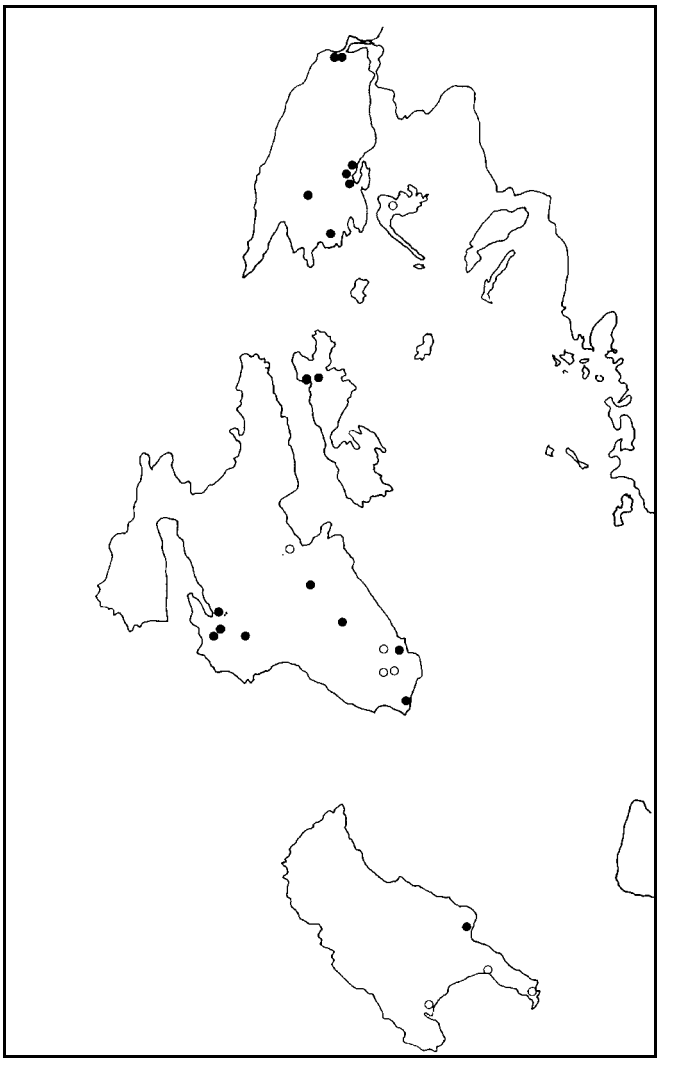
1. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000–2100 BC)

Settlement

Man first settled in the region in the Paleolithic. Mesolithic settlement is not documented on the islands south of Kerkyra, but Neolithic occupation has now been attested on all of them. However, the only sites where this was followed by Bronze Age activity are caves (Evgiros on Lefkada, Polis on Ithaki, and Drakaina on Kefalonia).

Overall settlement appears to have increased significantly in the EBA: twenty-six sites (including the two burial sites of Syvros and Steno), distributed among all the islands, have been mapped out: (**Fig. 13**). Only four (Pelikata, Evgiros, Polis and Drakaina) are excavated sites. Ten sites, a rather large proportion, are caves, but most of them are small and have only yielded a few finds. Only the largest caves (Evgiros, and seemingly. Drakaina) were probably lived in, at least periodically, during the EBA. The majority of open-air EBA sites are also small; whether they were permanent or temporary settlements, it would only be possible to establish through excavation. Among these are sites (for example Skala and Loutraki on Kefalonia, and Gerakas on Zakynthos) where the scattered finds do not permit the precise identification of a settlement site and are better described as 'areas of activity'.

The earliest EBA phase was identified in the cave of Drakaina, which produced EH I as well as EH II material. However some of the coarser pottery from other sites, particularly on Lefkada, Ithaki and Kefalonia, could be just as early. This is definitely the case of the Scratched ware from Lefkada. EH II is the date which has most often been



13. Distribution of Early Bronze Age sites.

attributed to sites from surface finds. However glazed Urfirnis pottery has only been found in small quantities, most of the material consisting of handmade coarseware and semi-coarseware pottery, often with horizontal lugs and applied coils, which are common features on EBA and MBA pottery.

Pelikata is the only nucleated EBA settlement site in the island group. The hill-top village, which potentially could have occupied an area as large as 20,000m^2, appears to have had a considerable impact on the northern peninsula of Ithaki. Pottery from the site stylistically assignable to EH III, particularly to its early phases, is at least as plentiful as that assignable to EH II, but we are hampered by the lack of stratigraphy for a good understanding of the local ceramic sequence.

As practically no structures were preserved at this site, it is not possible to assess the architectural character of the settlement. Moreover, doubts still remain as to whether the 'Cyclopean' wall was constructed at the time of the EBA settlement. If, as a result of the ongoing investigations at the site, it is indeed confirmed that the walls belong to the EBA settlement, Pelikata should probably be classed as a high-status settlement on a par with the 'proto-urban' settlements of the mainland and the Cyclades (EH II/EC II).[3] As it is, the site, despite its ruinous state, does reflect the trend towards larger settlements which is found in the Aegean in the later EBA.

On Lefkada, no settlement which could be connected with the R-Graves and the puzzling structure P in its vicinity has been found, and the traces of habitation on the foot of Mt Skaros together with the apsidal structures on the slopes of Mt Amali have yielded little information, except to suggest that animal herding may have played an important part in the subsistence economy.

The EBA on Kefalonia has only recently been identified, and most sites are known from surface finds. It is noteworthy, however, that the districts of Poros and the Herakleia basin, as well as the Argostoli plain, supported some scattered settlement already. Zakynthos is the least well known in this period and is in urgent need of renewed survey work which would redress the balance between this island and the rest of the Ionian Islands.

Graves and burial customs

Different grave-types and burial practices appear to have co-existed on the two islands (Lefkada and Ithaki) which have produced evidence of EBA burials. The long duration suggested for the tumulus cemetery at Steno (EH II to late EH III) means that its use would have overlapped with the burials in the ossuaries of Syvros, and most certainly with the burials at Pelikata, namely the intramural burial of a young child or infant in a jar (area VI: early EH III), and the disturbed pithos burials in a small burial area (area I: EH II-III) which may have been at close proximity to the settlement if not actually intramural. The type of burials, the practice of exposure before burial, and the possibility that the graves of area I were covered with a stone cairn are features which Pelikata shares with the R-Graves.

The pithos burial now appears to have enjoyed an early popularity on the coastal areas of western Greece. There is a cluster of late EH II–early EH III intramural infant and child burials linking Lefkada and Ithaki with Akarnania (Platygiali) and Phokis (Kirrha), and with Elis further to the south (Olympia-Altis). Adult pithos burials however are still limited to the R-Graves, but for one intramural pithos grave at Strefi in Elis (EH II) which, like the pithos graves in Beigräber and Nebengräber, may have contained a burial after exposure. The possible origin of the custom of pithos burial in western Greece at this early date is perplexing since neither on the mainland nor in Crete or the Cyclades were pithoi used as burial containers as early as this. However, since a number of artefacts, particularly from the R-Graves, have their provenance in the eastern Aegean and Anatolia, and since the instances of pithos burials occur along the sea-routes, it has been suggested here (ch. 5.2) that an Anatolian origin for the custom is not unlikely, as pithos graves were in common use there at least as early as the earliest manifestation of the practice in western Greece.

The R-Graves remain the earliest burial tumuli in Greece. Chronologically closest to them, though none are earlier than EH III, are isolated tumuli situated on the coastal regions to the south and to the north of Lefkada (Elis: Olympia-New Museum and Albania: Barç and Pazhok, respectively).

Apart from their chronological precedence, the R-Graves display certain features which set them apart from the tumuli both north or south:

(1) The cemetery is located on a coastal plain.

(2) It consisted of 40–50 tumuli.

(3) Each tumulus was the grave of a single individual, male or female, buried in a principal grave (Hauptgrab), usually a pithos or a built chamber (exceptionally a pit or a cist), with family members, predominantly children, buried within the precinct of the tumulus (Beigräber), in pithoi or slab cists, and other individuals buried outside the peribolos (Nebengräber), in cist graves or pithos graves.

(4) There are strong indications that the cemetery was that of a ranked hereditary élite group, headed by chieftains and their partners whose graves were furnished with symbols of authority and wealth (bronze weapons, gold jewellery), with lesser members buried with less wealth, ceremony and no symbols.

(5) An elaborate burial ritual involving the partial cremation of the dead at a pyre on the site of the burial was practised almost exclusively in connection with the principal burial, while most dead in Beigräber and Nebengräber were probably buried after being exposed for a period of time.

(6) The material culture has a local north-western Greek component in the pottery: coarseware with semi-circular horizontal lugs; coarseware with Punktverzierung and Strichverzierung decoration, knobs and protuberances on rims; and some vase forms.

(7) Much of the fineware pottery points to influences from the Cyclades (pedestal bowls, pyxides, spouted bowl), the Troad (pedestal bowls), Crete (pyxides, stemmed pyxis), and to a lesser degree the central and southern mainland (sauceboats, pyxides, Urfirnis-type glaze).

(8) The metalwork has parallels, and possibly its origins in the Cycladic Keros-Syros metal production, particularly that of Amorgos (daggers, slotted spearhead, and probably the swords), in the Troad, particularly Troy IIg, and Thermi (silver bangles, gold earrings and beads, possibly slotted spearheads), and probably also in Crete (daggers, swords?, gold hilt-sheathing).

Beside the unique characteristics of the R-Graves, it has been pointed out that the tumuli share features with the EH-MH tumuli of western Greece, as well as those of the western Balkans and Attica. Of greatest significance are common features between the R-Graves and the EH III tumulus at Olympia-New Museum (stone cairn, and a possible central cremation in a pithos), which is chronologically the closest of all the tumuli to the R-Graves, as well as characteristics shared with the MH tumuli of Messenia (stone cairns, central burials, pithos burials, 'cenotaphs' or sacrificial rooms) and characteristics that, just as significantly, are shared with the Albanian tumuli (animal offerings, burial chambers, cist graves, cremation, weapons). The presence on Ithaki (although not in the R-Graves) and in Elis of Finely Incised or Impressed pottery linked by Maran to that of Dalmatia, adds an important northern dimension to the connection of the Ionian Islands, although it still remains to be established how early and how typologically similar the Dalmatian tumuli are to the tumuli of Lefkada.[4]

Clearly behind the appearance of the tumulus in western Greece there is some interaction along the eastern Adriatic, and I would tend to agree with the conclusions reached by Müller[5] and Forsén[6] (and earlier by Hammond) that, when all is taken into account, the tumulus is most likely to have been introduced into Greece, particularly western Greece, from this area. However, what needs to be stressed again is that the R-Graves, in their many aspects, remain a phenomenon which is unrivalled in its own time either north or south, and that it is therefore difficult to argue against the conclusion, which is also supported by the typological comparisons, that it is they above all which had the most significant and long-lasting influence on the burial customs of the western Peloponnese at least. The question has historical dimensions which are tackled below.

Historical perspectives

It is not surprising that most historical reconstructions concerning the Ionian Islands in this period have focused on the R-Graves, and have aimed at explaining the precocious appearance of the tumulus in the region and at finding a model for interpreting the many inter-regional connections manifested in the R-Graves. Most commonly these historical reconstructions have resorted for an explanation to the theories of migration of people either from the north or from the south-east. Hammond[7] and Gimbutas[8] are the main exponents of the theory of northern immigration into Lefkada, deriving the R-Grave people from the Kurgans, the pastoral tribes of the Eurasiatic steppes who buried their chieftains under large barrows, the 'kurgans', and used 'corded ware'. Although this theory appears to be backed by what was said about the eastern Adriatic origins of the tumulus, which could mean the infiltration of some groups of people into Lefkada from further north, bringing groups of immigrants from further afield presents problems of geography, chronology and typology. Above all, although Hammond regards the Albanian tumuli and the R-Graves as 'kurgans', the similarities between these monuments and true 'kurgans' are said by others to be remote.[9] Moreover there is no evidence of 'corded ware' from Lefkada or anywhere else on the Ionian Islands.[10]

Migration from the east has been suggested, from either the Cyclades or from Anatolia. Branigan[11] suggested that there may have been a Cycladic 'colony' at Steno in EH II, while Hood proposed a movement of people from Anatolia to Lefkada, although he places it at the beginning of EH III.[12] Evidence of a possible Cycladic provenance of the R-Grave people, other than that of the artefacts, is not obvious (the suggestion that R1 is a double-decker grave like the Cycladic ones is questionable), while the proposed origin of the pithos would lend some support to the theory of Anatolian migration into the area, but this would then have to involve Ithaki too, as well as Elis and the coasts of Akarnania. However, working against both theories are the suggested origins of the tumulus, the strong local flavour of the pottery, and most importantly the fact that the Aegean elements in the R-Grave culture have connections with a number of different areas ranging from Crete to north-western Anatolia. Moreover the type of social structure which has been inferred for Lefkada (ch. 5.2) is not characteristic of the Aegean or Anatolia in the EBA. Insofar as the Aegean cultural area is concerned, Renfrew has indeed shown that differences of wealth are represented in the Cycladic graves,[13] and the large buildings such as the Lerna 'House of Tiles' and the Tiryns 'Rundbau' are generally accepted as showing a development in social organization. In Crete, Soles, in his study of the tombs,[14] has proven that a ranked society already existed in the EM period. However, although there are also indications that weapons, particularly weapons of precious metal, had already become symbols of power in the Aegean as a whole, the type of warrior chiefdom that emerges from the study of the R-Graves is not a phenomenon of any of the contemporary Aegean societies. Instead it would appear to be more typical of the western Balkan societies[15] where the demand for Aegean weapons, many of which were buried in the tumuli of the Albanian élite, begins in the EBA (slotted spearhead of Vajzë) and continues throughout the Bronze Age with the increased importation and local manufacture of Aegean-type weapons.

The variety of foreign elements in the culture of the R-Graves can only find an explanation within the theory of migration if they are seen as reflecting a mixed population, as envisaged by Hood.[16] If this were the case, the main element in the Steno community would have been of local or possibly Epirote stock, perhaps originally pastoralists as Hammond proposed,[17] with some Aegean or Anatolian elements. Although a mixed population is a possibility, it is probably unnecessary to call upon the movement of people from the east, particularly in EH II/EM II/EC II, which was a period

of intensive maritime contacts, giving rise to Renfrew's 'international spirit'.

That sea-routes linking the north-west of Greece to the Aegean were well established in this period was already suggested by Branigan and is confirmed by more recent evidence. The maritime continuum linking the western shores of the western Peloponnese with the Ionian Islands are clearly attested in the EH II-III periods by the pithos burials, tumuli, sauceboats with pedestal feet, askoi, fine Grey Burnished ware, finely incised or impressed and pottery with kerbschnitt-type decoration, while the extension of the continuum north of the Ionian Islands, which would have been facilitated by the favourable north-south currents along the western Greek coastline, is suggested by the tumuli and the Finely incised or impressed pottery. The links between Elis, particularly the area around Olympia, and the Aegean in EH II, in which an important role would have been played by the natural harbour of Katakolon, is attested by the EC II folded-arm figurine from Pheia and the Cycladic-type grave of Elis. Further south navigation towards the Aegean would have been made easier in EH II by the existence of coastal sites in southern Messenia (Voidokoilia, Phinikous and the newly discovered coastal site on the island of Schiza, off the southern point of Messenia).[18] For the connections with Crete, the foundation of Kastri on Kythera in EM II would have greatly helped the transmission of the Minoan influences observed on the pottery from the R-Graves, and the arrival of imports into the area, such as the EM II pottery and the gold diadem from Pelikata (more problematic are the Linear A inscribed sherds from an EH III context at Pelikata). The affinities with Cycladic pottery identified on the pottery from the submerged site of Pavloverti, off the Malea peninsula in Laconia,[19] brings the Cycladic influences further west. In the Aegean sea navigation would have linked up with the network of established sea routes. In view of its metallurgical connections of the R-Graves with the Troad and Amorgos, it is significant that the latter has been highlighted recently in connection with the crossing from the Cyclades to the coasts of Anatolia.[20]

As for the motives for extending the routes to include the eastern Adriatic, whether they involved the movement of people or not, there is no good reason to challenge the hypothesis (but neither is there any tangible proof) that they were connected with the search for metals, whether in the Balkans as Hammond suggested[21] or perhaps less likely, in the Italian peninsula/Sardinia as preferred by Branigan.[22] If the Finely incised or impressed ware of Pelikata indicates, as Maran proposes,[23] the infiltration of some people into the area from Dalmatia, their movement may also have been connected with the network of metal exchange. The mechanics of EBA trade are largely hypothetical,[24] but the fact that Lefkada was at the northernmost point of the frontier-zone within which lay the Aegean sphere of influence, and at a geographically pivotal position for journeys overseas, would perhaps be enough to explain the prominence acquired by the Steno élite.

In the EH III period, although there is still evidence for connections along the Adriatic and with Elis, none of the evidence from the islands necessitates long-distance connections with the Aegean. This is true of both metal objects and pottery; the tankard and depas cup of Pelikata are the only shapes of Anatolian derivation, but both are diagnostic Cycladic IIIA and mainland (Lefkandi I) types, and the rest of the EH III pottery from Pelikata displays mostly mainland features. Moreover Rutter suggested a mainland route for the arrival of the Fine Grey Burnished ware to Elis,[25] from where it and the Bass-bowl shape are most likely to have reached Pelikata.

We may attribute the slackening of maritime communications with the Aegean to the upheaval which characterized the latest phase there of the EBA. Communications may also have been made more difficult by the complete absence of EH III sites in Messenia, in contrast to the preceding period.[26] Whether the north-western Peloponnese and western Greece experienced disturbances at this time of the Aegean turmoil is not clear. There is evidence of some disruption in Elis in late EH II (Strefi)[27] and of possible periods of abandonment in EH III (Olympia-New Museum),[28] but in the Ionian Islands there are no indications to that effect. The possibility could however be entertained that the Pelikata walls may have been constructed during this phase in response to some threat as, it would seem, were the walls of a number of Cycladic sites,[29] and that the decline of the R-Grave society was due to the troubles of the time.

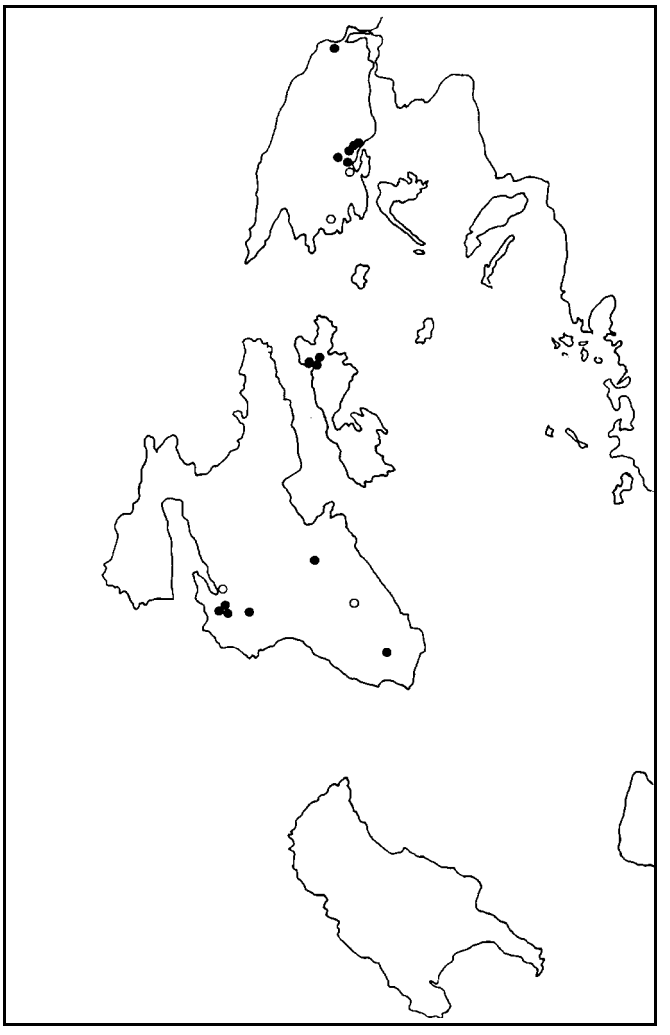
2. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2100–1550 BC)

Settlement and local pottery sequence

The number of sites which have yielded MBA material is fifteeen (including four burial sites), and four uncertain ones, and they are distributed between Kefalonia, Ithaki and Lefkada (**Fig. 14**). Ten of these sites had also been occupied in the EBA, the most important of which is Pelikata. However there was no stratigraphic evidence to suggest continuity of settlement between EH III and MH at the site and the earliest diagnostic pottery belongs to the middle MH phase.

There is no evidence of any increase in the size of settlements in this period. On the contrary, Pelikata seems to have been a lesser settlement than its predecessor to judge from the smaller quantity of MBA compared to EBA material from the site. In Lefkada the traces of settlement at Skaros and the small-sized burial sites suggest a scattered population. In Kefalonia there is some indication that settlement may have increased around the Argostoli plain where there had been only traces of habitation before. The evidence of actual settlement comes exclusively from surface finds, but the site of Kokkolata-Junction appears to have been a sizeable MBA settlement which could be connected with the cemetery of Kokkolata-Kangelisses.

To what extent MBA settlement on the different islands overlapped is difficult to assess as the local ceramic sequences are practically unknown and differences that



14. Distribution of Middle Bronze Age sites.

appear to be chronologically linked could be due to cultural differences. Any suggested relative chronology has been based exclusively on outside parallels. So far Ithaki has yielded the widest range of ceramic styles (Grey Minyan, 'Argive Minyan', Yellow Minyan, Matt-painted), and the association of MH and LH wares at Tris Langades suggests some continuity of the Matt-painted technique into the LBA. The small quantity of true Grey Minyan from the islands and its absence from Kefalonia could mean that the ware was not made locally. The middle phase of MH is represented in Ithaki ('Argive Minyan' bowl, ribbed stemmed goblet) and Lefkada (ribbed stemmed goblet). In Lefkada the phase is probably also represented in the local sequence by some of the pottery from tumulus S. The late phase of MH (including a possible overlap with LH I) is well represented in Kefalonia and Ithaki by Matt-painted wares, and in Familiengräber S and F in Lefkada by late shapes of kantharoi and bowls, a date which in the case of Familiengrab F is supported by the 'shoed spearhead' and the dagger with silver-capped rivets, though the pottery from Lefkada, dominated by slipped semi-coarse/coarseware, has a distinctive local character with Epirote connections. True Minyan fabric with Matt-painted decoration is absent from Familiengräber S and F, and we must reserve judgement on whether the potters of Lefkada were acquainted at all with the Matt-painted techniques as the few fragments from Phryni and Karou may be Iron Age.

Graves and burial customs

The MBA tumuli of Lefkada are descendants of the R-Graves, but the indications are that there was a chronological gap between them (possibly from late EH III to middle MH). To this may possibly be ascribed the differences in structure (the square precinct of Familiengrab F and the use of 'orthostats' remains exceptional, but both S and F lack stone cairns), and in burial customs (no pyres, no pithos burials). Continuity may be seen in the use of annexes (annex D of tumulus S with a stone cairn may have preceded the tumulus), the presence of a Hauptgrab (S8 and F7 or F5) with the remains of the individual for whom the tumulus was first constructed, the use of cist graves, although now for practically all burials, and the possible practice of ritual offerings/sacrifices (tumulus S).

Some difficulties about unreservedly accepting the cemetery of cist graves at Kangelisses in Kefalonia as part of a tumulus were discussed in ch. 6.3. However, if the cemetery was indeed a tumulus from which all traces of peribolos wall, cairn, or mound had disappeared by the time it was excavated, it would share some features with the Lefkada tumuli: with both S and F the use of slab cists, with Familiengrab S the multiple burials/ossuaries in cists (although compared to the couple of ossuaries of Familiengrab S, at Kangelisses most cists would have been used for several burials, and unlike them they also contained generous offerings of pottery), and the possibility that the horseshoe-shaped structure Θ had a similar function to the central structure (S9) of Familiengrab S. Unlike the tumuli of Lefkada, however, there was no evidence of a principal grave at Kangelisses.

Whether in tumuli or just in cist graves, collective burials predominated on the islands in this period, a phenomenon which may be related either to local tradition or to their late date. However the prehistoric cist graves with single burials excavated by Dörpfeld at the foot of Skaros and at Koloni in Lefkada, which are most likely MBA, suggest that single burials in Lefkada, possibly intramurally and of ordinary individuals, may not have been entirely unknown.

Society, inter-regional connections and historical perspectives

In Lefkada Familiengräber F and S with their single 'chieftain's' graves furnished with weapons suggest that a similar socio-political organization continued to be characteristic of élite groups on the island after the EBA, and that weapons were regarded as symbols of power and authority. But the small quantity of metalwork and near absence of precious metalwork among the gravegoods betray less prosperous communities than those of the R-Graves with restricted long-distance inter-regional relations. Moreover if the use of S and F overlapped, as is thought likely, they may reflect the territorial fragmentation of the Nidhri plain which previously had most likely been controlled exclusively by the chieftains of the R-Graves.

The limited prosperity in the tumuli seems to reflect the situation of the region as a whole. The connections between the islands and other regions mostly date from the Middle and Late phases of the MBA. In the case of Lefkada they are mostly with the northern regions of Greece: the shoed spearhead (D88/2) from F and the snouted knife (D119/1) from S are types which reflect metallurgical contacts north of the Gulf of Corinth, whether in the form of travelling smiths or of imported objects. These contacts may be related to the tapping of the metal deposits from northern Greece (Epirus or Thessaly), perhaps for the first time.[30] As has already been mentioned, most of the pottery connections of the Lefkada tumuli are northern too, and the wishbone handles from both Lefkada and Ithaki. Only the Minoan-type dagger from Familengrab F (D88/2), which is most likely an imported piece, and the two Grey Minyan ribbed chalices from the island, also probably imported, reveal southern contacts. A division of affinities between the islands of the group may be reflected in the fact that, in contrast to Lefkada, the pottery from Ithaki and Kefalonia does show influences from the regions south of the Gulf of Corinth.

On the whole it may be said that the Ionian Islands did not benefit to any noticeable extent from the increasing contacts between the mainland, Crete and the Cyclades which developed in the MM IB period after a phase of relative isolation.[31] In the early stages this is not surprising as the western coast of the Peloponnese (Messenia, Elis or Achaia) was not then involved in these exchanges. However, even after the south-western Peloponnese had joined in the vibrant inter-regional trade and began to witness increased wealth and an artistic revival, the Ionian Islands, except for Zakynthos which may already have witnessed some LH I occupation, remained to a large degree culturally isolated from the developments further south.

Finally, although as was said above, it is the R-Graves which appear to have had the greatest impact on the western Peloponnese, some typological connections do exist between Familengräber S and F and a number of tumuli in that area, notably those of Makrysia and Samikon in Elis (cist graves, built peribolos walls). We may at this stage ask ourselves whether the evidence from the Ionian Islands gives us any clues as to the reasons behind the adoption and perpetuation of the tumulus burial alongside other types of burials in southern Greece; ethnic/tribal identity (and hence the infiltration of people from the north), common religion, language are among the questions that have been raised in connection with this. With reference to the Lefkada tumuli, the most telling characteristic would be the socio-political organization which the tumuli reflect: a ranked society, and particularly evident in the case of the R-Graves, a differentiated and hereditary warrior élite. In this respect the Lefkada societies could be seen as precursors of the Mycenaean ones, and indeed both Branigan and Hammond used this argument to suggest direct links between the Lefkada tumuli and the Grave Circles at Mycenae.[32] Moreover, recently, and certainly no less arguably, the possible connection between the tumulus burying élite structure and the Mycenaean élite structure has been given further support by the mounting evidence that the tholos tomb most likely developed from the MBA tumulus in the south-western Peloponnese.[33]

3. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1050/40 BC)

Mycenaean expansion settlement and demography

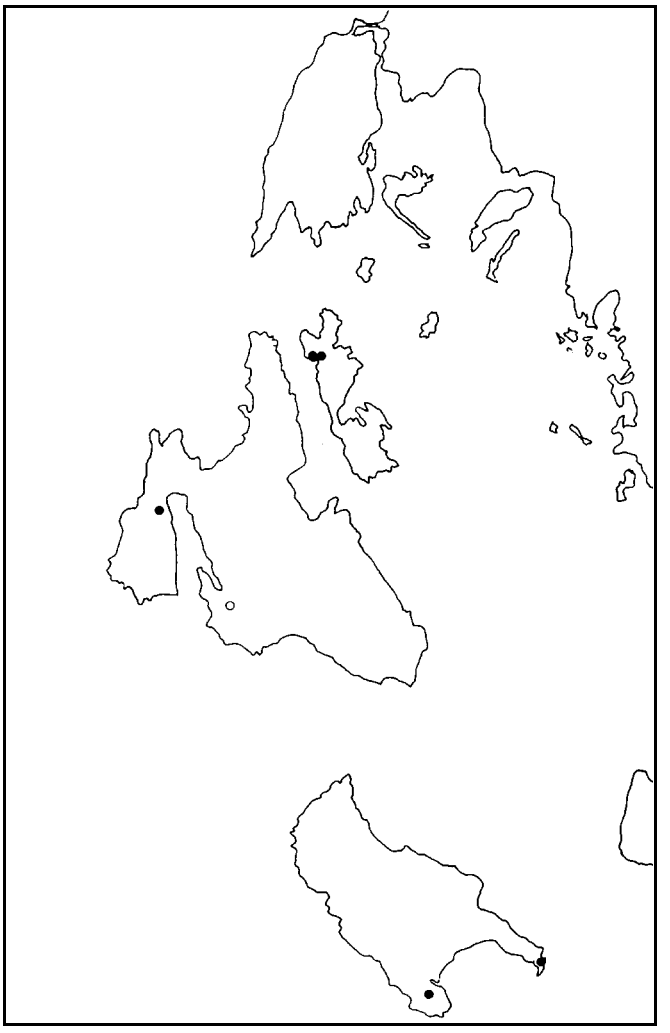
LH I-IIIB/C

Of the twenty-seven sites dating from these phases, just nine are settlement sites; the rest are cemeteries, caves or isolated finds.

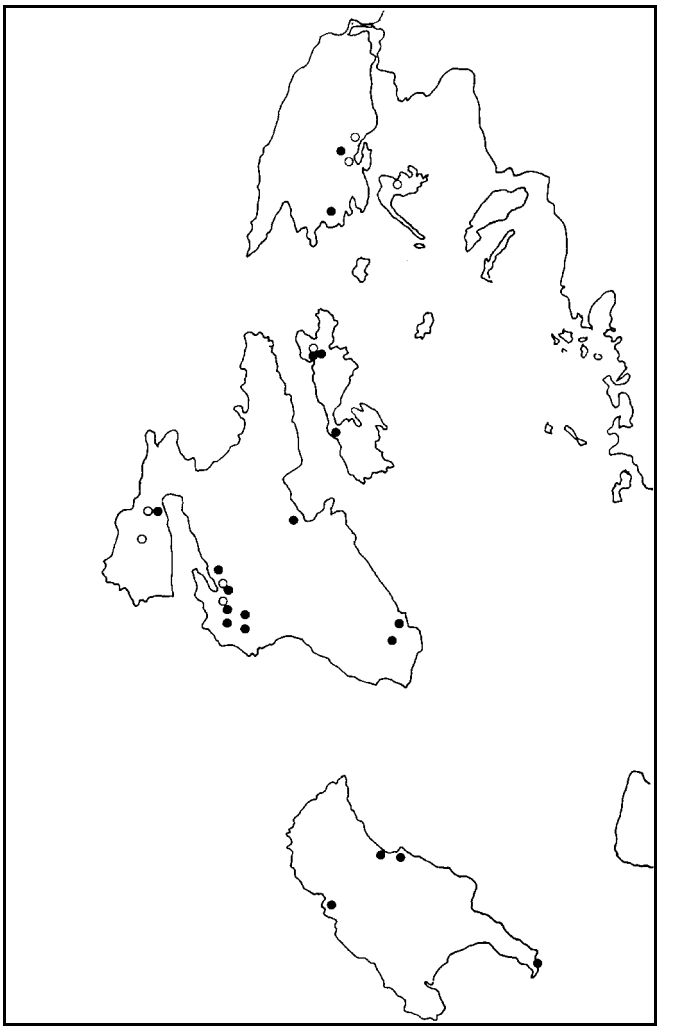
No LBA town or village has come to light and the architectural remains, such as they are, are limited to just one or two isolated structures at Kalogeros on Zakynthos, Vounias on Kefalonia, and a slightly larger complex at Tris Langades on Ithaki. None of the settlements or the cemeteries have produced evidence of continuity of occupation between MBA and LBA although, if MH-type wares continued to be made until LH II – at least on Kefalonia and Ithaki, as is thought likely – the gaps in the few sites where LBA occupation was preceded by MBA occupation may not be as long as they appear. This could be the case of Pelikata on Ithaki, where the earliest pottery after the MBA occupation is LH III, and at Kokkolata-Kangelisses where the late MH cist grave/tumulus cemetery was reused in LH IIIA2 for the tholos tomb and pit grave cemetery.

On the basis of our knowledge, Mycenaean expansion on the islands proceeded gradually and unevenly (**Figs 15–16**). Zakynthos witnessed the earliest Mycenaean settlement, at Kalogeros (LH II, or even LH I), and the earliest tombs, the tholos tombs at Planos and Keri (LH IIB-IIIA1). In LH IIIA1, Mycenaean settlement is well documented on Ithaki at Tris Langades, and settlement was already present at this time in the Paliki and probably Poros (Tzanata) in Kefalonia, (Oikopeda tumulus). There are strong indications that the 14th century, when tholos tombs and chamber tombs make their earliest appearance, was the time of major expansion into Kefalonia, and that LH IIIA2–B/C was the period of major consolidation, particularly in the regions of Argostoli-Livatho (Prokopata, Mazarakata, Metaxata, Lakkithra), Paliki (Kontogenada, Parisata) and Poros (Tzanata). Thus the Ionian Islands are in line with the rest of the Aegean region and with the west of Greece in particular, where there was a manifold increase of sites in LH IIIA2–B1 in Messenia, expansion of settlement in Elis, particularly along the Alpheios and Kladeos rivers, and in Achaia. Lefkada and Kerkyra remained outside the Mycenaean orbit. On Lefkada, the Mycenaean sherds from Skaros, Karou, Lefkas acropolis and Evgiros are too few to suggest Mycenaean settlement on the island.

There is strong evidence to suggest that the areas from where Mycenaean culture spread into the islands, probably in different waves, was the south-western Peloponnese, Messenia, Triphylia and southern Elis, which provided prototypes



15. Distribution of LH I-LH IIIA1 sites.



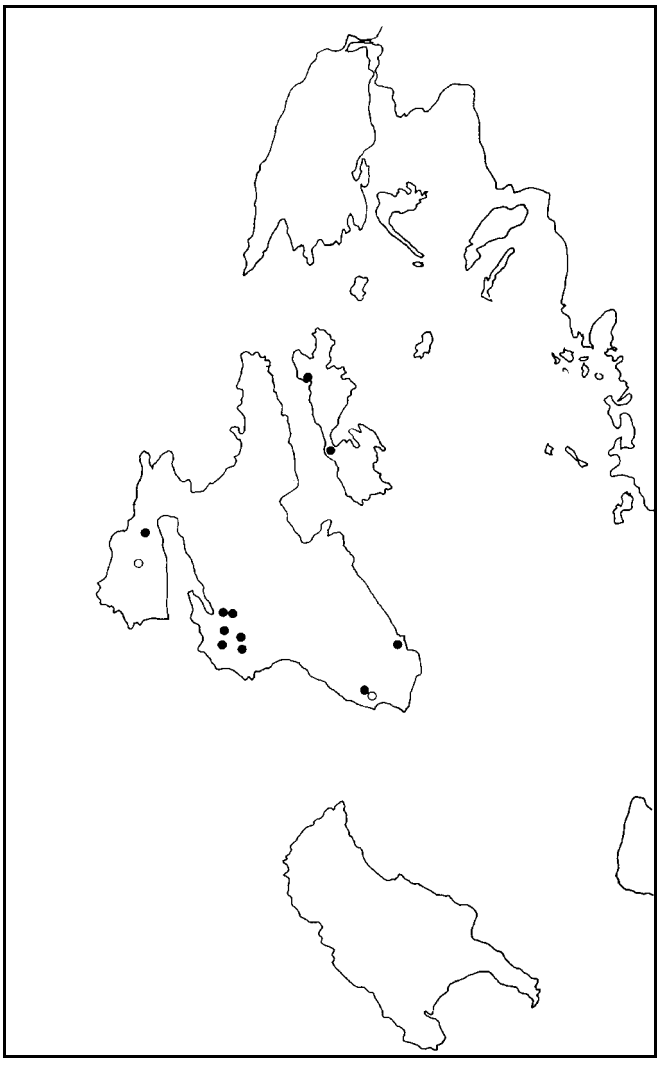
16. Distribution of LH IIIA2-B/C sites.

for the tholos tombs of Zakynthos and Kefalonia, and the tholos-shaped chamber tombs and chamber tombs with pits of Kefalonia. The processes by way of which the Mycenaean culture may have been adopted by the islanders are entirely hypothetical, but the fact that the tholos tombs of Zakynthos and Kefalonia are among the earliest evidence of Mycenaean presence suggests that it may have been introduced by the élite class, whether native or immigrant. At Kokkolata-Kangelisses the insertion of the tholos tombs in the MBA cemetery/tumulus could have been a way for the new élite to legitimize its claim to the land. But there is no doubt as to the indigenous character of the settlement sites with houses built with curved walls (Vounias, Tris Langades), where a large quantity of handmade pottery in the local tradition was used along with Mycenaean ware. That the handmade pottery represented a non-Mycenaeanized element in the population, as Desborough believed, is clearly not the case because of the association of that pottery with Mycenaean pottery. On the other hand the 'burial' in the crevice of Mavrata-Chairata on Kefalonia, which was accompanied by native handmade LH III-type jars, cannot be regarded as a Mycenaean burial.

The character of settlement on the islands was agrarian. Mixed farming was most likely the main occupation at most sites. This is suggested by all the buildings so far excavated, by the absence of towns, and the distribution of sites, which are concentrated in the area of maximum agricultural potential, the settlements themselves mostly being situated on knolls and low-lying slopes. Animal herding may have been more important in hilly zones such as in northern Ithaki and Keri on Zakynthos and Tzanata on Kefalonia. Easy access to bays with safe anchorage does appear an important consideration, but only a couple of sites (Kalogeros on Zakynthos and Tris Langades on Ithaki) are truly coastal.

LH IIIC

In this period the most important question to ask is whether the settlement pattern (**Fig. 17**) and demography of the islands changed, and whether these changes can be linked with the collapse of the Mycenaean centres on the mainland. The answers to this question are complex. The change which should with most certainty be linked with the events on the mainland and particularly with the general disruption of settlement and depopulation in Messenia and Triphylia, is the apparent discontinuity of settlement on Zakynthos, the island which, because of its geographical position, was the most vulnerable. On Ithaki, occupation came to an end at



17. Distribution of LH IIIC sites.

Tris Langades probably before the end of LH IIIB, and there is no LH IIIC material from Pelikata or Stavros. But the cave of Polis was used in LH IIIC, in part probably by people from Kefalonia (some of the vases, particularly kylix S215 and spouted cup S236 may be imports from Kefalonia). On Lefkada there are no LH IIIC features on the Mycenaean-type pottery to show that contacts may have continued into LH IIIC. Though meagre, this evidence suggests that the majority of the Ionian Islands did not escape without some disruption in their settlement.

On Kefalonia, on the other hand, the changes are not immediately apparent. It is likely that the effects on the settlement of the island cannot be fully appreciated because of the scarcity of settlement sites. However, the cemeteries suggest continuity of habitation in all the districts. At Argostoli-Livatho none of the cemeteries established in LH IIIA2–B were abandoned and there are new tombs added to the cemeteries of Mazarakata, Metaxata and Lakkithra in LH III B/C and in LH IIIC. Diakata, with its adjacent habitation site of Starochorafa, is a newly-founded LH IIIC site. In the other districts too the earlier cemeteries continued to be used: Parisata and Kontogenada in Paliki (at least we suppose so since most of the tombs were entirely looted), and Tzanata in the region of Koroni where a new tholos tomb was also constructed at Mavrata.

We now need to ask whether Desborough's suggestion that Kefalonia was one of the regions which received refugees from the afflicted mainland regions still finds some support, despite the fact that, contrary to what he believed, Mycenaean occupation on the island was not new in LH IIIC (or even in late LH IIIB). In order to answer this question two further questions need to be addressed. Firstly whether the pre-LH IIIC tombs and cemeteries continued to be used in LH IIIC by the same people as before, or alternatively whether there is evidence of reuse of the tombs which may suggest a change of occupancy and the possible arrival of new people. We can be quite sure that the chamber tomb cemeteries of Argostoli-Livatho do not show any evidence of reuse. At Mazarakata, only the small tomb A which contained LH IIIA2–B1 along with developed LH IIIC pottery seems to have been reused after a period of time, but there is no such break in the pottery of the cemetery or indeed of other tombs in use since LH IIIA2–B (above all Metaxata B and Lakkithra Δ). The evidence overall suggests continuity. The one tomb which was reused, according to its excavator, was the tholos tomb at Tzanata, where deep dormitory-type pits used for multiple burials were dug on top of the original burials. However, the reuse of this aristocratic tomb is more significant as an indication of the social changes which took place in LH IIIC, and which will be discussed below, than of any settlement changes or the arrival of new people.

The second question which needs to be addressed is whether it might be possible to detect an increase in the population of Kefalonia between LH IIIB and LH IIIC. On the evidence of the pottery from the tombs the answer is categorically no, as the quantity of pottery from the tombs of Argostoli-Livatho that may be assigned to LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC is not significantly larger than the pottery of LH IIIA2–B date and therefore does not indicate a much more intensive use of the tombs than before, and hence an increase in the population of the island.

Important demographic changes, on the other hand, appear to have taken place in Kefalonia with the onset of the developed LH IIIC phase, which is characterized by the developed Kefalonian style of pottery and the introduction of the 'cave-dormitory' or type II tomb. The evidence, based on the analysis of the tombs in chapter 6.4, has been summarized in **Figure 18** in which the number of tombs used in each of the two broad periods (LH IIIA2–early LH IIIC and developed LH IIIC) has been compiled. To the earlier period have been assigned all the tombs of types IA and IB (except Diakata 2), to the later one all the type II tombs and the tombs which continued in use from the preceding period. The total number of available burial pits, taking into account those dug in extensions, has been added as an indication of the capacity of the tombs, although in all cases the figure shows the number of pits potentially, rather than actually used. The table shows clearly the demographic changes which took place between the two periods. Generally there is a substantial increase in the number of

	LH IIIA2–early LH IIIC		LH IIIC		LH IIIA2–C
SITE	TOMBS	PITS	TOMBS	PITS	VASES
Mazarakata	10	30–34	8–9	58–65	149 [+34?]
	2	0	2?	0	
Metaxata	2	14–19	6	50	302
Lakkithra	1	7–12	3	31	302
	1	0	1	0	24
Diakata	—	—	2	12	107
Kokkolata					
(tholoi)	2	5	2	5	52
(pit graves)		several		several	38
Parisata	(1)	(4)	(1)	(4?)	—
Kontogenada	(1)	(3)	1	3	3
	(2)	0	(2)	(0)	—
Mavrata	—	—	1	3	72
TOTAL	22	63–77 + pit gr.	22–30	166–73 +pit gr.	1047 (–81)

( ) indicate tombs not dated by pottery.

18 Suggested number of tombs in use and their capacity in the different periods.

tombs and their capacity in the later period. However, there are differences between the various regions of the island. In the Paliki, the tombs did not increase in number, and neither was their capacity increased by the addition of extensions. Unfortunately we cannot know how late these tombs were in use as we lack the evidence of the pottery. However, it seems certain that population levels did not rise in this region. In the district of Koroni, the tholos tomb at Mavrata and the reused tholos of Tzanata show that communities continued to live there, but without any signs of demographic increase either (Mavrata at least was used less intensively in the later part of LH IIIC). The district of Argostoli-Livatho is in stark contrast to the other ones. The number of burials appears to have risen sharply during the developed LH IIIC phase. The increase is not so marked in the number of tombs in use (from twenty-two in LH IIIA2–early LH IIIC to a maximum of thirty in LH IIIC), as it is in the increased capacity of the tombs calculated from the number of pits available for burial (from under eighty to a minimum of 166). If the depth of the pits were also to be taken into account, the increased capacity of the tombs would be even more striking. If we assume that the 1.80–2.50m deep pits would have had the potential to accommodate an average of five or six dead (the quantity of pottery suggests that some of the tombs might well have received even more burials), the large eight-pit or ten-pit type II tombs would have been designed to receive forty to fifty dead.[34] These figures leave no doubt that the region of Argostoli-Livatho now became by far the greater focus of habitation, not only of the island but most likely of the island group as a whole. Naturally the sharp increase in burial during the period of the developed LH IIIC style may not correspond to a commensurate increase in the living population. It is in fact likely that the social changes which took place in LH IIIC meant that a larger part of the community than before may have availed of burial in the tombs during this period. However, this does not alter the conclusion reached above that the Argostoli-Livatho district witnessed the sharpest growth in the island. This was probably a sort of synoikismos. There is no clear indication, either from the cemeteries or from the cultural development in the mature LH IIIC phase, to suggest the arrival of people from outside the island group. Any such population influx is likely to have been gradual and compatible with the regional process of synoikismos.

The abandonment of the Kefalonian cemeteries, particularly those of Argostoli-Livatho, took place sometime between 1075 and 1050/40 BC. The reasons for the apparent discontinuity of occupation are unknown. As suggested by Mee and Cavanagh, tombs of large dimensions are an indication of the security and high expectations of a community.[35] The large capacity tombs of Kefalonia should be a clear reflection of this. However, the synoikismos of the Argostoli-Livatho district suggests that the islanders may have felt in danger of some outside threat during the last century of the use of the cemeteries. Whether this or some other threat brought about their demise will remain entirely speculative until such time as contemporary settlements are excavated.

Socio-political organization

Mycenaean-style socio-political organization was most likely introduced on the islands from the beginning along with Mycenaean culture, especially if this culture, as was suggested above, was introduced to the islands by the élite. We can envisage that in the pre-LH IIIC period the islands were probably administered by warlords of varying power and influence. On Zakynthos the absence of a higher level centre and the dispersed tholos tombs suggest that the island

was probably divided up into small territorial units. It was possible until recently to envisage the same organization for Kefalonia in LH IIIA2–B. The district of Argostoli-Livatho in particular, with its tholos tombs of similar size fairly close to one another, suggested that petty aristocrats may have ruled the district (as a 'council'?). However the Tzanata tholos has changed the picture, adding to it the existence of what must have been a more influential authority in the south-east of the island which would have wielded considerably more power over the land. The ossuary with its seventy-odd burials, which were clearly connected with the tholos tomb, highlights the hierarchical character of the society. The combination of tholos tomb and ossuary at Tzanata suggests the possibility that the same relationship may have existed in the pre-LH IIIC period between the tholos tombs and the adjacent pit graves at Kangelisses, although the scale here is much smaller than that at Tzanata.

The question is whether the rulers of Tzanata could have had control over the whole island or only one area of Kefalonia. Kalligas[36] has in the past suggested that the island may have been divided into four 'kingdoms' corresponding to the four Greek poleis, and this suggestion finds some support in the distribution of the Mycenaean sites. But the superior status of the Tzanata tholos has raised some rightful doubts, the most controversial among them, because of its 'Homeric' implications, being whether the rulers of Tzanata could have exercised sovereignty over Ithaki. I believe that it is too early to attempt to answer this question.

Turning to the LH IIIC period in Kefalonia, it is particularly interesting that the changes in socio-political organization can be studied on communities which pre-existed the LH IIIC period and continued to flourish during it. A change which mirrors the developments on the mainland is the disappearance of a higher authority, reflected in the demise of the tholos tomb as an aristocratic tomb. The tholos of Mavrata is the only such tomb which was constructed in LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC, but it seems to have been planned from the beginning with pits of large capacity, and its subsequent use was indistinguishable, in terms of either burial customs or type of gravegoods, from that of any LH IIIC chamber tomb of the Argostoli-Livatho. The tholos at Tzanata was reoccupied and used for multiple burials in exactly the same way as the chamber tombs, while tholos B at Kangelisses, whether reused or not, had a limited occupancy after LH IIIB.

These developments undoubtedly suggest a change in the social order which, judging from the continuity of the cemeteries alone, and even though these probably present too simple a picture, may have taken place without major disruption in the life of the ordinary communities.

Could anything be said about the organization of society in LH IIIC? The large size and capacity of the tombs, particularly in the developed LH IIIC phase, suggests that they were intended for a large number of individuals of the present as well as future generations. Moreover, the fact that during this period the tombs of most cemeteries were constructed and used concurrently and not successively precludes the possibility that they were 'communal tombs' used indiscriminately by the members and families of particular communities. We must therefore postulate that large vertical divisions, possibly in the form of clans, existed in Kefalonia during LH IIIC. These clans were sometimes large enough to require 'twin tombs' such as Lakkithra A and B, if we are right in suggesting that they were constructed to be used by the same group (ch. 6.4). In most tombs some individuals were buried with items showing wealth and prestige (weapons, gold ornaments, amber or sacrificial animals), while the majority of the dead were buried with some pottery, the odd knife, or probably just handmade pottery. We may therefore suggest that the heads of clans and other prominent individuals shared the same tombs as the common members. Moreover, because of the large size of most tombs, it is unlikely that their users were simply related by family ties, and we may therefore suggest that other relationships, such as that of patron and client, landowner and labourer, could have formed the basis of the clan structure.

Generally what these observations would suggest is that this period was characterized by a social organization which was less hierarchical in structure than that of the pre-LH IIIC period, and where horizontal divisions were most likely replaced by a larger number of vertical divisions of approximately equal status.

The local culture and its inter-regional and foreign connections

From its earliest adoption on the Ionian Islands the Mycenaean culture developed the characteristics of a peripheral culture for which, as was mentioned above, the geographical position of the region and its island make-up would be mainly responsible. Initial features of the islands' culture are the retention of pre-Mycenaean characteristics (handmade pottery, curvilinear walls of buildings), as well as elements which show a 'cultural drift' whereby Mycenaean characteristics are adapted, changed or simply not taken up (chamber tombs with several burial pits, handmade Mycenaean pottery, continuity of the squat jar after its disappearance on the Peloponnese, popularity of monochrome vases, inclusion of open shapes in tombs). The period of the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2–B1 koinai are the periods of least 'cultural drift', when Mycenaean pottery is made to a good standard and the tholos and chamber tombs emulate models of tombs on the Peloponnese. The LH IIIC period is that of the greatest cultural independence, particularly on Kefalonia with the development of its own tomb architecture, burial practices and pottery style. The emergence of a strong pottery identity on the island in this period is in tune with the rest of the Mycenaean regions after the collapse of the palaces, but the whole process of 'cultural drift' has perhaps been exacerbated in the case of Kefalonia by its insularity and marginal geographical position.

As the character of the settlements on the islands was basically agrarian, it is not surprising that the closest connections of Kefalonia and Ithaki in this period were short distance, with the coastal regions of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese which run alongside the islands from north to south: Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Phokis, Akarnania

and Epirus (including Kerkyra). The natural harbours there – Katakolon/Ancient Pheia (Elis), Pylos (Messenia), Killini and Patras (western Achaia), Astakos (Akarnania) and Parga (Epirus) – were well established since the earlier periods. Evidence of contact in the vicinity of these harbours in the LH IIIC period has come from Astakos (kylix with swellings), and Teichos Dymaion (conical kylikes, possibly imported from Kefalonia, and spouted krater).

Not all contacts were equally intensive with all regions or in every period. During the LH II-IIIB phases the strongest contacts were initially with Messenia and Elis whence, as was suggested above, came the impetus for the adoption of the Mycenaean culture, and then with Achaia. The connections with Messenia are evidenced in the tholos tombs of both Zakynthos and Kefalonia by the small size of most tombs (Keri, Planos, Kangelisses, Mazarakata, Riza), the use of tholos tombs by successive generations (Akrotiri, Kangelisses), burial pits in the tombs (Akrotiri, Kangelisses) and the monumental tholos tomb with burial chamber at Tzanata in Kefalonia. The shape of tholoid chamber or type IB tombs in Kefalonia (Metaxata, Parisata, Kontogenada) also has strong connections with Messenia (Voidokoilia). Probably because of the small quantity or the fragmentary nature of the pottery, parallels with this region are of a generic nature (except for squat jar Z7 which has a good parallel at Englianos): among the material from cemeteries, the common use of diaper net on the shoulders of alabastra and piriform jars (Zakynthos and Kefalonia), the straight-sided alabastron with foliate band (Zakynthos), flowers on stirrup jars (Kefalonia); among the settlement material from Tris Langades, the neck-fragment of a jar with wavy band, tripod pots, open shapes with wavy lines and spirals. Connections with Elis are evident both in tomb architecture (particularly the type IA chamber tombs of Kefalonia for which the district of Alpheios-Kladeos provides the best models, and the rock-cut pits, or 'aborted' chamber tombs of Kambi in Zakynthos) and in pottery parallels: the handleless jars and monochrome squat jars (the earliest ones from the tumulus of Oikopeda which compare with those of the tumulus at Samikon), rounded and straight-sided alabastra with diaper net (Zakynthos, Kefalonia), and alabastron with rock pattern (Zakynthos). The connections with Achaia mostly concern Kefalonia and are better attested from LH IIIA2 onwards. They include monochrome handleless jars, squat jars, alabastra, composite vessels, and stirrup jar shapes and their decoration. Moreover in Achaia, the chamber tombs of Ano Sychaina, Aigion (tomb 1) and Derveni have several burial pits like those of type IA in Kefalonia. At Derveni the pits were used for multiple burials and could represent an immigrant community of Kefalonians in LH IIIB Achaia. In any event they suggest that communications were established with the southern coast of the Gulf of Corinth. It is therefore surprising that there is no clear evidence for connections with the Argolid in this period: a couple of imported stirrup jars (A576, A1352) and a piriform jar (A1477) from Kefalonia could have originated in any central region. Spouted cups with foliate band like the cup from Mazarakata (A57) were common in Attica, but other connections with that region are missing.

The early LH IIIC phase was the period of greatest isolation for the Ionian Islands. Contacts with afflicted Messenia were re-established towards the end of the LH IIIC phase, as is shown by the kylikes with swollen stems and the bowls and kraters of DA I date from Nichoria, Ramovouni-Dorion and other sites. Contacts may have continued uninterruptedly with Elis and Achaia, regions which were not depopulated as a result of the troubles, but the greatest period of interaction with these areas appears to have been at the time of the developed LH IIIC style of Kefalonia, which was the period of the western Greek ceramic koine. The specific connections between the pottery style of Kefalonia and those of the western Peloponnese have been dealt with in detail in ch. 6.4. Suffice it to say here that they consist of vase shapes, specific patterns and the spirit of decoration. The strongest connections seem to have developed with Achaia, and these are also marked by some Achaian imports into Kefalonia (amphora A1265 and stirrup jars A958, A1339 and A442) and Ithaki (stirrup jar S225), and a few exports of Kefalonian pottery into Achaia (the already mentioned kylikes and spouted krater from Teichos Dymaion, as well as some stirrup jars and an amphoriskos).

Beyond the koine, connections have now been shown to exist between the pottery of Kefalonia and Phokis (Delphi), thanks to Mountjoy's comparative work on the pottery; even if they are not a proof of direct relations, they should indicate that in LH IIIC the sea routes from Kefalonia also extended along the northern shores of the Gulf of Corinth. Of a less direct nature are possible connections with Crete, the Dodecanese and Cyprus. The features which recall characteristics of the pottery of these areas are difficult to explain without reference to the connections between the Mycenaean regions and the central Mediterranean which will be discussed below.

The connections with Epirus, a region where Mycenaean culture did not penetrate deeper than the coastal area, consist of the characteristic coarseware vessels with pellets ('pellet ware') of both Kefalonia and Ithaki, and more importantly of metallurgical links: the 'northern' spearheads from Kefalonia and Ithaki, particularly those belonging to the 'Albano-Epirote' group, the F swords from both islands, and the type II sword from Ithaki. From the same direction came the imported fluted kantharos (S402) found in the Polis cave, which is a northern Greek and Albanian type. There is, I believe, little doubt that the impetus for the connections with these areas was the development there of centres of metal production and of weapons manufacture as suggested by Wardle.[37]

Finally, I think that we have to exercise caution with regard to the possible relationship between the handmade unburnished coarseware pottery of the islands and any of the 'Barbarian ware' pottery of other regions of Greece. Until such time as types of handmade pottery characteristic of the Ionian Islands are identified, any suggestions about immigrant workers, economic refugees, etc. from the islands are premature.

It remains to be examined if and in what way the Ionian Islands may have been affected by the Aegean connections

with the central Mediterranean. The earliest Aegean relations with Italy date to LH I-II, while their peak was in LH IIIA-IIIB.[38] This is the pattern of expansion into the Ionian Islands too, but since it is also the pattern of Mycenaean expansion into the provinces in general, no significance can be attached to it. It is of course tempting to see the few early Mycenaean sherds from Polis as evidence of the use of the bay by the early Mycenaean traders heading west. In LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB all the islands south of Lefkada could have provided safe anchorage and the possibility of obtaining supplies and services from Mycenaean communities. But the ceramic connections between the pottery of the Ionian Islands and that of Italy in this period are not clear. Scientific analysis by the Fitch laboratory has so far identified the Peloponnese and particularly the Argolid as the main sources of exports to Apulia and Sardinia,[39] while from LH IIIB onwards both stylistic comparisons and archaeometric analyses have identified pottery from Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus.[40] It is probably not surprising that the agrarian communities of the islands do not appear to have been active participants in these trade ventures, or that their pottery was not in demand. However, the organization of the western trade must also have differed from that of the eastern trade as there is no evidence that there existed emporia or resident foreign trading communities on the islands like those which have been suggested for Anatolia and the Dodecanese in relation with the eastern Mediterranean trade.[41]

Intriguing for the Ionian Islands is the possibility of a connection between the tholos-shaped rock-cut tombs of 'Aegeanizing' character in southern and south-eastern Sicily and the tholoid chambers of the south-western Peloponnese, although so far there is little backing from Mycenaean pottery.[42] The tombs have also been compared with the tholoid chamber tombs (type IB) of Kefalonia, but they lack the characteristic pits. The question which may be asked tentatively in connection with Kefalonia is the following: if the Sicilian tombs do in fact reflect some settlement in these areas by Mycenaeans from Messenia in LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB, could the same be suggested for the appearance of the type in Kefalonia and could the two have been part of the same movement of people to the west? This might explain the occurrence of these tombs only in some of the cemeteries of Kefalonia and not in others.

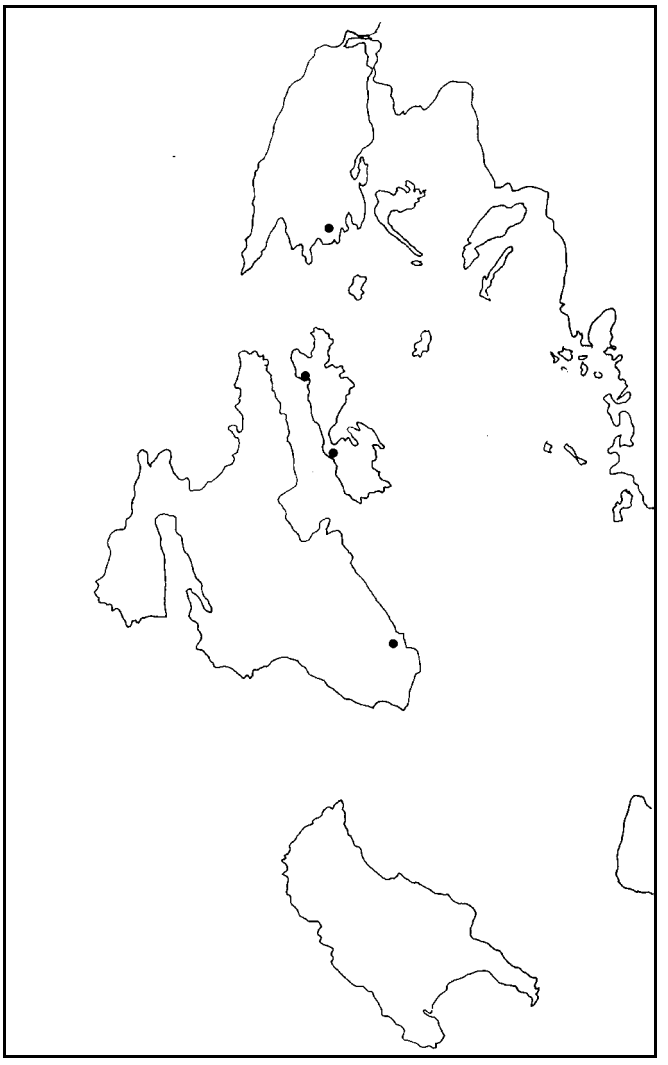
The LH IIIC period saw a sharp reduction of westwards trade activities, but the influence of the style on the locally made Mycenaean pottery suggests that contacts continued. Moreover, the imports show the continuing participation of Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus, regions which would have profited from the free enterprise which probably replaced the more centrally organized trade of the palatial period.[43] The connections, particularly with Cyprus, involved the metal trade, and with Crete the possibility, based on the evidence of the so called 'Italian pottery',[44] of resident Italian communities in Crete. This is not the place to review the many questions and problems which are raised with regard to these connections. The one question which concerns us here is whether the Ionian Islands participated in any way in these interactions during the period of their peak. Stylistic connections with the pottery from the central Mediterranean should be easier to establish in this than in the earlier periods because of the idiosyncratic nature of the Kefalonian style, but apart from the stirrup jar in the Louvre, no other imports have been identified, while the influence on the locally made pottery is not clear. However there are other indications of some Kefalonian participation, first of all the already mentioned features on the Kefalonian pottery which show precise knowledge of the pottery of regions which were involved in the interactions with Italy. Among these are the kylix stems with swellings (Cyprus and Crete), the spouted conical cups (Rhodes), the conical kraters (Crete), the bottle-shaped alabastra (Cyprus), as well as certain patterns (Rhodes and Crete). Secondly, there is a 'maritime' Aegean distribution of certain 'western' metal artefacts which also occur on the Ionian Islands: violin bow fibulae (Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus), figure-of-eight fibulae (Crete, Rhodes), goldwork of Gualdo Tadino type (Delos), and also a 'maritime' distribution of amber beads (Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus). In Kefalonia the amber as well as the Italian-made artefacts (the Protovillanovan razor, the figure-of-eight fibula, the Gualdo Tadino ornament) are likely to be direct imports. They may have been bought 'off-the-boat' or may suggest, along with the long-distance pottery connections, some participation of the islanders in the exchanges, possibly as simple oarsmen or occasional tradesmen on foreign boats. Furthermore, given the relatively large number of amber beads from Kefalonia, we may tentatively suggest that Kefalonian tradesmen may have acted as distributors of the material, for example in the neighbouring regions of Achaia, Elis and Epirus where small quantities of LH IIIC amber have been found.

To sum up, it seems likely that in the LH IIIC period the Ionian Islands took some advantage of the free enterprise trade though they did not take a leading part in it.

4. The Protogeometric Period (ca. 1050/40–760 BC)

According to the conventional chronology, the Protogeometric period would have lasted almost three centuries. Its onset is marked by the beginning of the PG ceramic sequence at Polis, perhaps a little later than the abandonment of the Kefalonian cemeteries, to allow for the slightly more advanced LH IIIC style pottery from Ithaki. Its end is about 760 BC, the date of the earliest layer of the Geometric sanctuary dump known as the Lower Deposit.

The study of the PG pottery from Polis and Aetos has made it possible to divide it into three phases based on (a) the stylistic continuity between the pottery of the two sites, (b) the stylistic overlap between the pottery of the two sites, and (c) stylistic parallels with the pottery from the regions of western Greece. Since these divisions are not confirmed by stratigraphy, they should be regarded as liable to future modification and refinement. However they allow us to give this period some historical detail.



19. Distribution of Protogeometric sites.

Ithaki is the only island which has yielded more than just traces of PG occupation (**Fig. 19**). The Polis cave was probably already a sanctuary before the Iron Age, but received its largest amount of pottery depositions at the time of the Polis I style (ca. 1050–995/90 BC). This style developed from the LH IIIC of Kefalonia, with only some generic influences from the outside; an influx of settlers from Kefalonia at the time of the abandonment of the cemeteries is quite likely. There are close connections between the Polis I and the DA I pottery in Messenia, a region which according to Coulson may also have received settlers from the west, including Kefalonia and Ithaki.[45] These along with the pottery connections with Elis (ribbed kylikes from Olympia) suggest the continuation of a ceramic koine despite the decline of Kefalonia.

The Polis II/Aetos I phase (ca. 995/90–875 BC) is the phase of stylistic overlap between material from the cave of Polis and that of Aetos, the two sites representing the earlier and later development of the style respectively. It is the longest phase, with pottery displaying a greater variety in shapes and patterns than before, as well as greater originality. The importance of the Mycenaean contribution in the PG ceramic production of Ithaki is attested by the fact that the style of this period still shows the influence of Mycenaean pottery. The distribution of the material between the two sites suggests that the Aetos saddle acquired increasing importance during this phase, and by about its middle (mid 10th century) offerings at the Polis cave begin to peter out. This is the phase of the developed Early Iron Age ceramic koine between the regions of western Greece. The ceramic connections link Ithaki with DA II Messenia and Laconia, as well as with Aitolia and Achaia.

The Aetos II phase (ca. 875–760 BC) is only represented at Aetos. It is the least well defined, mainly due to the fact that there is a very obvious stylistic continuity from the preceding phase. However the style shows a decline in simplicity and a greater detachment from Mycenaean forms. Moreover, the material assignable to this phase is less in quantity and more fragmentary than the material assignable to the preceding phase, which would suggest that the use of the 'cairns' may have declined. The connections of the pottery are with the advanced DA II and DA II/III phases in Messenia and Laconia, and the later pottery from the tombs of Aitolia (Agrinion, Pleuron, Stamna) and Achaia (Derveni). The strong connections between the Ithakan style and the very closely related style of the regions on either side of the gulfs of Patras and Corinth in the later phases of the PG is significant, as it implies intensive use of the same sea-routes which would shortly be used for the Corinthian imported pottery, the earliest of which at Aetos dates from about 780 BC. Connections with Aitolia would have been effected through the bay of Aitolikon, to which all the Aitolian PG sites have access. From there routes lead further inland to the interior of Aitoloakarnania, to Epirus and Macedonia. These regions all share the use of handmade pottery of Matt-painted tradition which is also represented on Ithaki and probably on Lefkada (vessel D141/1 and sherds).

Evidence of PG pottery on Lefkada is limited to the fragments of one vase from Evgiros (D60–61), while on Kefalonia there is only the ribbed stem from Kokkolata-Junction. However the unpublished pithos burial in the Tzanata tholos, although apparently without offerings of pottery (only a pair of long pins have been reported as gravegoods), is of interest because pithos burials are well represented in the regions of the Early Iron Age koine.[46]

Finally, it is of interest that, although the periods LH IIIC and PG are regarded as the Dark Age of Greece, the Ionian Islands, rather paradoxically, appear to have thrived during them. Their isolation was mostly from the eastern mainland while, as has been made clear here, connections with all the western regions of Greece were lively and enduring.

NOTES

[1] On islands in general see Evans 1973, 520; Bayliss-Smith 1977, 12; Black 1978. On the Aegean islands in early prehistory see Cherry 1985.
[2] See Hodder (ed.) 1978; Feuer 1983; De Atley & Findlow (eds) 1984; Green & Peltman 1985.
[3] On the 'proto-urban' settlements see Konsola 1984; Hägg and Konsola 1986.
[4] Maran (Hydra 2, 1986, 6 n. 49; 1987, 81 n. 37, 82) describes them as similar in construction to the R-Graves and containing cist graves.
[5] Müller, 1991, 35.
[6] Forsén 1992, 237, 256.
[7] Hammond (1972, 248, 252, 256 ff.) derived the R-Graves directly from the Kurgans who, according to his theory, advanced into mainland Greece in expansionistic waves revealed by tumuli.
[8] Gimbutas (1973, 129 ff., fig. 12.1) maintains that the Kurgans expanded by sea in the third millennium BC from the shores of the Black Sea to the Aegean, the eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic.
[9] Ecsedy (1979, 57, n. 342) mentions that the R-Graves have no common features with the pit-grave 'kurgans', apart from the minor barrow built above them.
[10] Hammond (1974, 138) refers to 'corded ware' from Lefkada. But the relevant sherds from Choirospelia (Alt-Ithaka, Bei. 86a), like sherds from Afiona (AM 59, 1934, 174 Abb. 7), are not true 'corded ware' (see Hood 1986, 55; Müller 1991, 14 f.). The only dated 'corded ware' from Greece comes from Eutresis (EH III) (Eutresis, 123, fig. 169); for other possible examples and discussion see Hood 1986, 55 ff.
[11] BSA 70, 1975, 41.
[12] Hood (1986, 53 f.) places the immigration into Lefkada in EH III, to coincide with the period of disturbances and movements of people into the Aegean.
[13] Renfrew 1972, 371 ff.
[14] Soles 1988; id. 1992, particularly 255 ff.
[15] Shennan (Antiquity 49, 1975, 279 ff.), in her study of the EBA social organization at Brant in north-western Slovakia, has shown however that not all societies in central Europe were of the 'warrior aristocracy' type.
[16] See n. 10.
[17] Hammond (BSA 69, 1974, 129) includes Lefkada within a wider area in which transhumance of sheep would have been practised; this would extend to Epirus, Albania and western Macedonia.
[18] The EBA sea-routes were discussed recently by C. Agourides (OJA 16(1), 1977, 1 ff., particularly 13 f.).
[19] BSA 64, 1969, 113 ff. Cycladic influences have been claimed by the excavators for the pottery and possibly the graves.
[20] OJA 16(1), 1997, 13 f.
[21] BSA 69, 1974, 141.
[22] BSA 70, 1975, 42. A couple of embossed bone plaques of Aegean provenance from Italy and the Li Muri cemetery in Sardinia have been regarded by Branigan as evidence for maritime contacts between the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean (BPI 1966, 97 ff., Le Origini 1971, 47 ff., BSA 70, 1975, 41 ff.); see also Holloway (1981, 16 ff.).
[23] ArchKorrB 1987, 81 f.; see also Hydra 2, 1986, 3 ff.
[24] See Renfrew 1972, 440 ff., Earl and Ericson 1977.
[25] Hesperia 1983, 248 ff.
[26] On the debate as to whether the absence of EH III sites in Messenia represents a 'real' situation or suggests the continuity of EH II pottery styles, see Forsén 1992, 101.
[27] Forsén 1992, 85 f., 250.
[28] Forsén 1992, 86 ff., 252.
[29] MacGillivray & Barber (eds) 1984, 74 f., 88; Barber 1987, 54, 56, 66 f., 70; Doumas in French & Wardle 1988, 21 ff.
[30] Epirus: see Epirus, 19, 266. Local copper deposits are also believed to have been exploited in Thessaly during this period: JHS 49, 1929, 85 ff.; Gazetteer, 275.
[31] See Rutter & Zerner 1984; Nordquist 1987, 62 ff.
[32] BSA 70, 1975; BSA 69, 1974.
[33] See Rutter in AJA 1993, 783 f.; Dickinson 1994, 227.
[34] These figures are particularly impressive when compared with the average six to eight burials per tomb characteristic of the mainland of Greece (see BSA 78, 1983, 650).
[35] OJA 3(3), 1984, 591.
[36] AAA X(1), 1977, 122 f.; Archaiologia 1, 1981, 79 f.
[37] Godišnak XV, 1977, 191 f., 198 f.
[38] See summary in Smith 1987; Vagnetti 1993.
[39] For the scientific analysis: Jones 1986(a), 513 ff.; Jones 1986(b), 205 ff.; summary in Smith 1987, 13 ff., Vagnetti and Jones 1988.
[40] Ceramic connections with these regions were first suggested by Taylour (1958). For the recent assessment and the results of scientific analyses see Vagnetti 1982, 27; id. (ed.) 1982, 19, 171; id. 1986, 61 ff.; id. 1993; Vagnetti and Jones 1988, 343 ff.
[41] Mee 1982, 81 ff.
[42] In support of the connection, see Tomasello 1986, 93 ff. For the Aegean artefacts at Milena, see Rosa in Vagnetti (ed.) 1982, 127 ff.
[43] See French 1986, 281.
[44] Hallager 1983; AJA 89, 1985, 293 ff.; Vagnetti 1993, 151 f.
[45] Coulson 1986, 29, 73.
[46] See LMTS, 272 f., 375 ff.; among the more recent finds are pithos burials from Gavalous in Aitolia (AD 35, (1980)Mel., 104 ff).

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Dates BC</th><th rowspan="2">Ionian Islands</th><th colspan="2">Mainland</th></tr>
<tr><th>Furumark (1941)</th><th>post-Furumark</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="11">1500
1400
1300
1200/90
1100
1050/40</td><td>LH I</td><td>LH IA</td><td>LH I</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">LH II</td><td>LH IB</td><td rowspan="2">LH IIA</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIA</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIB</td><td>LH IIB</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIA1</td><td>LH IIIA1</td><td>LH IIIA1</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIA2</td><td>LH IIIA2</td><td>LH IIIA2</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">LH IIIB</td><td rowspan="2">LH IIIB</td><td>LH IIIB1</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIB2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Early LH IIIC</td><td rowspan="2">LH IIIC1e</td><td>LH IIIC Early</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Developed LH IIIC
Kefalonia
Ithaki</td><td rowspan="2">LH IIIC1e</td><td>LH IIIC Middle</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Late</td></tr>
<tr><td>PG</td><td>LH IIIC2</td><td>Submycenaean</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>PG</td><td>PG</td></tr>
</table>

20. Chronological chart of the Mycenaean phases.

Dates BC	Ionian Islands (Ithaki)	Messenia (W. Coulson)	Attica (V. Desborough/ N. Coldstream)
	LH IIIC	LH IIIC	LH IIIC
1050/40		DA I	Submycenaean
	POLIS I		EPG
1000			MPG
			LPG
950	POLIS II/ AETOS I	DA II	
900			EG I
			EG II
850	AETOS II	DA II/III	MG
800	MG?	DA III	
750	LG	LG	LG

21. Chronological chart of the Protogeometric phases.

CATALOGUE OF LATE BRONZE AGE POTTERY FROM KEFALONIA

This Catalogue lists the vases according to sites and tombs. All the vases, whether extant or not, are listed according to their numbers in the Argostoli Museum catalogue (henceforth AMC). Pottery from the following tombs is listed: Diakata 1 and 2, Lakkithra A, B, Γ and Δ, Metaxata A, B and Γ, Oikopeda and Kontogenada A. Brief summaries on the pottery from unpublished tombs are also included.

Abbreviations

FM = Furumark Motif	FS = Furumark Shape
L = Linear	M = Monochrome
r.b. = reserved band	U = Unpainted
w.p. = white paint	? = information not available

Vases that have perished are placed between [ ]. Vases not illustrated in publication are marked with an *. Lost and unpublished vases are placed between [ ] and marked with an *. Only references to illustrations of handmade pottery are listed in this Catalogue (reference to illustrations of the Mycenaean pottery in this and other works can be found in Table F.1).

DIAKATA

Much of the pottery from the two chamber tombs has been lost, and Kyparisses illustrated only thirty LBA vases in his publication (AD 5, 1919, figs 17–28), but on the basis of the descriptions in the AMC, there are likely to have been 107 Mycenaean and LBA handmade vases (A806–A820, A825–A829, A831, A849–A853, A885–A980). However, the entries in the AMC, are listed under the headings 'Historic tombs' (A806–A884) and Diakata 'grave α' to 'grave ι' (A885-A981) without distinction between tombs. It is a fair assumption that the headings 'grave α' to 'grave ι' refer to the individual pits of tomb 1, and therefore that the vases listed under 'Historic tombs' are those from tomb 2 (from which Kavvadias illustrated practically no pottery in his publication). This attribution is supported by the fact that the small finds from tomb 2 in the publication match those in the AMC.

Tomb 1:

Eighty-four vases listed in the AMC under the headings 'grave α' to 'grave ι' (A885–A980) can be assigned to the original BA depositions in the tomb. Twenty-three of these are extant, four of which are preserved in one fragment or more. Only five or six fineware vases and seven coarseware vases can be matched with published illustrations. In addition, seventeen illustrations match descriptions in the catalogue. This leaves forty-two or -three vases which are completely unknown; these have been listed below on the basis of their AMC descriptions. Some shape attributions are uncertain.

alabastra (2)

[A912]*	two-handled	M
[A932]*	two-handled	M

amphoriskoi (5)

[A886]	FS59	M/FM61A.6
[A976]	FS62	L/FM73y, leaf
[A967]	FS59/60	M/L
A977*	FS59	L/FM61.17+64
A943	FS?	L/43h/n

Only the stem and lower part of the body of A943 is preserved.

jar, three-handled (1)

A885	FS?	L/46/47FM

miscellaneous small jars (2)

[A934]	FS?	L
[A966]	with basket handle	M

small jugs/jars (39–44)

A951*	FS115	M
[A897]	FS115	M
[A944]	FS115	L/FM58.29+FM75.15
A889*, A898*, A900*		M
A930*, A 910*, A956*		M
[A887]*, [A888]*, [A890]*,		M
[A891]*, [A892]*, [A893]*,		M
[A894]*, [A899]*, [A901]*,		M
[A904]*, [A905]*, [A906]*,		M
[A907]*, [A908]*, [A909]*,		M
[A911]*, [A929]*, [A931]*,		M
[A933]*, [A945]*, [A946]*,		M
[A950]*, [A953]*, [A954]*,		M
[A955]*, [A957]*, [A968]*,		M
[A969]*, [A978]*, [A979]*,		M
[A980]*		M
[A919]*	ident. uncertain	
[A920]*	ident. uncertain	
[A921]*	ident. uncertain	
[A927]*	ident. uncertain	

Of A900 and A910 only fragments remain.

jug (1)

[A928]*	—	M

stirrup jars (9)

A926	FS174	L/FM52.5
[A942]	FS176	M/FM61A.6+FM51
[A958]	FS176	L/FM61A.4/5

[A975]	FS174	L/FM61A.4/5+FM52
A941*	FS176	L/FM61A.4/5
[A902]*	FS175	M/FM61A.4/5
[A922]*	FS?	M
[A959]*	FS?	worn
[A960]*	FS?	decorated

kylikes (7)

A965	FS275	M/U
[A970]*	FS274–5	M/L
A974	FS275	U?
A940	FS274–5	M/L
A971*	FS274–5	M/L
[A939]*	FS?	decorated
[A964]*	FS?	traces of paint

Only part of A971 is preserved.

deep bowl (1)

[A896]	FS285–6	L/FM58

kraters (2)

A947	FS282	M+r.b./FM75.18+33
[A972]	FS298	M/FM75.27,22 etc.

stemmed bowl (1)

[A973]	FS305	L/FM52

handmade (9)

A963	askos	AD 5, 1919, 28.3
[A895]	small jug	AD 5, 1919, 28.1
[A903]	small jug	AD 5, 1919, 28.5
A913*	small handleless jar	—
[A918]	small jug	AD 5, 1919, 28.8
[A935]	bowl	AD 5, 1919, 28.7
A952	small jug	AD 5, 1919, fig 28.4?
A961	spouted cup	AD 5, 1919, 28.6?
A962*	cup?	—

All the extant or illustrated Mycenaean vases are LH IIIC and all belong to the developed LH IIIC style. The two two-handled alabastra which have been lost (A912 and A932) were most likely straight-sided; they would have been among the earliest vases from the tomb. Five vases combine typical LH IIIC shoulder decoration with black ground. Two vases which have perished look particularly late: they are amphoriskos A967 with an SM shape, and the stemmed bowl/amphoriskos A943 which resembles a PG stemmed bowl from Ithaki (S350). A large stirrup jar with fringed multiple triangles on the shoulder and close parallel bands on the body (A958) may well be an Achaian import, but it appears to be lost.

Tomb 2:

All the LBA pottery from this tomb has seemingly perished, with the exception of one stirrup jar with a worn surface (A809) and a small jug (A825). None of the vases were published except for amphoriskos A812.[1] Of all the LBA and later vases listed in the AMC the following twenty-two or twenty-three seem to constitute the original Bronze Age offerings. Their classification according to shape is conjectural; it is entirely based on their description in the AMC.

amphoriskoi (2)

[A811]*	three-handled	decorated
[A812]	FS59	M/FM6A.6

small jugs/jars (9)

A825*	FS115	M
[A813]*, [A814]*, [A815]*,		M
[A816]*, [A819]*, [A826}*,		M
[A827]*	FS?	M
[A820]*	FS?	decorated

handleless jar (1)

[A828]*	FS?	M

stirrup jars (5)

A809*	FS174–5	L/worn
[A806]*	FS?	decorated
[A807]*	FS?	decorated
[A808]*	FS?	decorated
[A810]*	FS?	decorated

kylix? (1)

[A851]*	FS?	M?

handmade (2–3)

[A829]*	bowl or cup
[A852]*	pyxis? with incised lines
[A831]*	base with incised lines

uncertain shape (2)

[A849]*, [A820]*

The few extant vases and the descriptions in the catalogue would date this group entirely to the LH IIIC period, but the loss of so much of the pottery makes any definite conclusion impossible.

PROKOPATA

The three LH IIIA2–B1 vases from the chamber tomb were illustrated by Kavvadias in AD 5, 1919, fig 29.

piriform jar

A577	FS45	L/FM70.2

stirrup jar

A576	FS171	L/FM18

krater

A575	FS8	L/FM46.44

The krater is at present in fragments.

KOKKOLATA-KANGELISSES

The pottery from the pits and tholos tombs was not published. A large number of vases perished in 1953. Few could be identified by Wardle (1972) in the Argostoli Museum. In addition there are confusing headings in the AMC lists of pottery from this site.

The pit graves:

Thirty-eight vases are listed in the AMC (A298-A335). Kavvadias only illustrated one of the vases, a composite vessel (A309). Wardle identified another five: four squat jars (A298, A307, A314, A322), and a handleless jar (A301), which he illustrated (Wardle 1972, fig. 97). The rest appear to have been lost. The entries in the AMC are not very informative, but it seems likely that among the pottery there were two piriform jars (A304, A308) and four three-handled alabastra (A299, A318, A330, A334). One of these (A334), which is described in the catalogue as having a broad belly, bands around the neck and a wavy pattern above the belly, was thought by Wardle to be an alabastron of FS84 with a rock pattern decoration, thus dating from LH IIIA1. The rest of the alabastra and the piriform jars would be LH IIIA2–B. There are far fewer likely LH IIIC vases: a possible amphoriskos (A306), a stirrup jar (A305, described in the AMC as having rectilinear shoulder decoration and a monochrome body), and a number of possible small jugs.

Tholos tomb A:

Tholos A contained thirty-four vases, which were not published and of which Wardle could only identify four in the Argostoli Museum: two three-handled monochrome alabastra (A347, A348), a spouted jug (A367, Wardle 1992, fig. 97) and a handmade dipper (A365, Wardle 1992, fig. 119). From the AMC descriptions it seems that there were another three three-handled alabastra (A349, A356, A358). A349 is described as having a net pattern on the shoulder and lines below. There were also three three-handled piriform jars – a larger one with diaper net decoration between the handles (A336), and two monochrome smaller jars (A350, A351) – and nine squat jars. On the basis of the entries in the AMC, the LH IIIC shapes would have included three or four possible amphoriskoi and up to seven small jugs. But at least half of the vases in this collection would have been LH IIIA2–B/C.

A second list of twelve vases in the AMC (A677–A688) is also labelled 'Tholos 1'. Wardle suggested that this pottery may have come from one of the cairn structures on the site. An alternative explanation could be that the pottery from each of the two pits was listed separately, and that both lists refer to vases from Tholos A. The only vase from this list identified by Wardle in the Museum was a squat jar labelled A677 (in the AMC this number is given to a two-handled alabastron). On the basis of the AMC descriptions, the rest of the vases included a linear three-handled alabastron and six handmade vases, among which was an alabastron or piriform jar (A685). This group of vases could have been entirely pre-LH IIIC.

Tholos B:

The AMC lists eighteen vases from tholos B ('Tholos II'). Wardle was able to identify two handmade vases, a squat jar (A596) and a three-legged jar (A600, Wardle 1992, fig. 90). On the basis of the AMC entries, the collection would also have included two piriform jars (A583–A584), a three-handled alabastron (A593) and another six handmade vases (A589, A590–A592, A595, A597). A large two-handled jar (A599, h. in AMC: 0.405m) which is described as linear with painted decoration, has also perished. This group of vases could have been exclusively LH IIIA2–B/C, although the loss of pottery makes any definite conclusion impossible.

MAZARAKATA

Chamber tombs A-*Π*

The groups of pottery which came, or are believed to have come from the various investigations at the site, are listed separately. For a discussion on the origin of the pottery see the Appendix.

1. The Argostoli Museum collection of vases (A1-A104):

The vases came from Kavvadias's 1909 excavation and originated from tombs A, B, Γ, Δ, E, H, Θ and Π. All but six of the 104 vases miraculously survived the 1953 earthquake. Five of the twelve vases from tomb A were illustrated by Kavvadias (1914, figs 465–69): a stirrup jar (A1), a piriform jar with net pattern on the shoulder (A2), and three handmade vases (two small jugs and a spouted bowl). The rest of the vases remain unpublished, but were studied by Wardle in his thesis, where thirty-two of them have also been illustrated (Wardle 1972, 121 ff., figs 87, 88, 91, 92, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 114, 115, 117, 118). Seventeen vases from this collection – mainly alabastra, piriform jars, footless squat jars, but also a stirrup jar (A56), a mug (A48) and a spouted cup (A57) – may be assigned dates between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB/C. The rest of the pottery, which includes kylikes, kraters, bowls, stirrup jars, small jugs, squat jars and amphoriskoi, is LH IIIC. Among the latest pottery may be an SM/PG monochrome bowl (A68) and an SM-looking stirrup jar (A22).

2. The Neuchâtel collection:

This collection of forty-three fineware and two handmade vases, which was published by Brodbeck-Jucker (1986), is now known to have come from de Bosset's excavations at the site and most likely from tombs Θ, I, K, Λ, M, N, Ξ, O and Π (see Appendix). The pottery consists of three piriform jars (N46–N48), five alabastra (N45, N52–N53, N60–N61), six amphoriskoi (N54–N59), four squat jars (N81–N84), four small jugs (N77-N80), two narrow-necked jugs (N75-N76), one jug (N85), nine stirrup jars (N62-N69), two dippers (N70–N71), two cups (N72–N73), a kylix (N49), two composite vessels (N50–N51) and a ring vase (N74). Fourteen of these vases have been assigned by the author to the periods LH IIIA2–B/C and twenty-nine to LH IIIC.

3. The Argostoli Library collection:
The thirty-four vases in this collection were originally housed in the Public Library of Argostoli, but have now been transferred and are on display in the Argostoli Museum (A370–A393, A524, A527–A536). They have not been published. It is quite likely that these vases originated in the tombs of Mazarakata, although this cannot at present be proven (see Appendix). Some twelve vases in the collection are assignable to LH IIIA2–B/C; they consist of a small handleless jar (A377), two alabastra (A379, A530), some squat jars, a conical cup (A381), and at least three of the stirrup jars which have flowers on the shoulder (A370, A371, A524). The rest of the fineware pottery is LH IIIC and includes five amphoriskoi (A375, A376, A380, A534, A535). There are also six handmade vases.

LAKKITHRA

The pottery from the four chamber tombs of Lakkithra was published by Marinatos (AE 1932, 31 ff., pls 4–23). It was published as being from separate tombs, but not from separate pits. The reason Marinatos gave for this (AE 1932, 24) was that the pottery was found in great disorder, and sherds belonging to one vase were often found in two or more pits. However, the pit numbers were marked on the back of the vases or of individual sherds. Where still legible, I have included them in Table F.1.

Chamber tomb A:

Tomb A contained 148 vases (A986–A1133), of which Marinataos illustrated 105 (AE 1932, pls 4–8a), leaving out forty-three vases, mostly monochrome small jugs, but also some stirrup jars (with worn decoration) and a few other shapes. Thirty-eight of the total number of vases have perished and it seems that among them there were also several which had not been published. In some cases identification with the illustrations in AE 1932, especially of stirrup jars and kylikes, proved difficult to make.

alabastron/bottle (1)

A1023	FS?	U?

amphoriskoi (8)

A1021	FS62	M/FM47
A1022	FS62	L/FM61A.1
A1089	FS60	M/FM43h/n
A1090	FS59/60	L/FM43h/n
[A1091]	FS59	M/FM52
A1092	FS59	M/FM61A.6
[A1093]	FS59	M
A1094	FS59	M/FM53

Only fragments of A1089 and A1094 have survived.

amphorae (2)

[A1008]	FS?	L/FM53
[A1009]	FS?	M/FM61.2

collar-necked jar (1)

A1016	FS64	M/53

squat jars (3)

A1105	FS87?	M
A1112	FS87?	M
A1117*	FS87?	M

small jugs (30)

A1095	FS?	M
A1096*	FS115	M
A 1097*	FS115	M
A1098*	FS115	M
A1099*	FS115	M
[A1100]	FS?	M
A1101*	FS115	M
A1102*	FS115	M
A1103*	FS115	M
A1104	FS115	M
A1106*	FS115	M
A1107*	FS115	M
A1108	FS115	M
A1109*	FS115	M
[A1110]	FS?	M
A1111*	FS115	M
A1113*	FS115	M
A1114*	FS115	M
A1115*	FS115	M
A1116	FS?	M
A1118*	FS115	M
A1119	FS?	M
A1120*	FS115	M
A1121*	FS115	M
A1122*	FS115	M
A1123*	FS115	M
A1124*	FS115	M
A1126*	FS115	M
A1127*	FS115	M
A1128	FS?	M

narrow-necked jugs/lekythoi (4)

A1006	FS123	M/FM43–44
A1017	FS122–3	M
A1018	FS122	L/FM52
A1019	FS122–3	L/FM52

jugs (2)

A1007	FS136	M
[A1020]*	FS?	M

stirrup jars (36)

A1025	FS174	L/FM43h/n
A1026	FS174	L/FM43h/n+FM61.2
A1027	FS?	L/FM43h/n
[A1028]	FS176	L/FM43h/n
A1029	FS176	L/FM43h/n
A1030	FS176	M/FM43h/n
[A1031]*	FS?	M/FM43

A1032	FS176	M/FM61A.6
A1033	FS176	M/FM61A.6
A1034	FS176	M/FM61A.6+FM73+ hat.lozen.
A1035	FS?	M/FM61A.6
A1036	FS176	M/FM61A.4/5
A1037	FS174	M/FM61A.6+FM61.5
A1038	FS175–6	M/FM61A.4/5
A1039	FS?	M/FM61?
A1040	FS82	L/FM61.2+FM61A.1
A1041*	FS176	L/FM61A.4/5
A1042	FS?	L/FM61A.4/5
A1043	FS176–7	L/FM61A.6
A1044	FS175	L+FM61.2/FM50+ FM73y
A1045	FS175	M/FM71
A1046	FS176	M/FM52
A1047*	FS?	worn
A1048	FS174	L/FM51+FM52+FM19
[A1049]*	FS176	L/FM52+FM61A.6
A1050	FS174	L/FM61A.6+FM51
A1051	FS174	L/FM25+FM51+FM43p
A1052	FS175	L/FM17
A1053	FS176	worn
A1054	FS176	M?/worn
[A1055]*	FS?	worn
[A1056]	FS?	L/?
A1057*	FS?	L
[A1058]*	FS?	L/?
A1059*	FS?	M
A1060*	FS?	L/worn

Only fragments remain of the following stirrup jars: A1032, A1042, A1047.

dippers (9)

A1080	FS236	U
[A1081]	FS236	U
A1082	FS236	U
A1083	FS236	U
A1084	FS236	U
A1085	FS236	U
[A1086]	FS236	U
[A1087]*	FS?	?
[A1088]*	FS?	?

cups (4)

A1010	FS252	M/FM46
A1011	FS252	M/FM52.5
A1012	FS252	M
A1013	FS215–6	M

kylikes (19)

[A1061]*	FS?	M/?
[A1062]*	FS?	
[A1063]	FS275	M/U
A1064	FS275	M/U
A1065	FS274–5	M/U
A1066	FS275	M
A1067	FS275	M/U
[A1068]	FS275	M/U
[A1069]	FS275	M/U
A1070	FS275	L+M/U
A1071	FS274–5	M/U
A1072	FS274–5	M/FM53
[A1073]*	FS?	?
[A1074]*	FS?	?
[A1075]	FS?	?
A1076	FS274–5	M/U
A1077	FS275–6	U
A1078	FS274–5	L/FM61A.5
[A1079]	FS275	L/FM61A.5

Of the kylikes marked as lost and unpublished, one must be among those illustrated by Marinatos in AE 1932, pl. 6, but it is unclear which one. Of the following only fragments remain: A1066, A1072, A1077, A1078.

bowls/kraters/stemmed bowls (21)

A986	FS282	M/FM73y+FM61A.6+ FM62+FM75.32–33 +hat.lozen.
A987	FS282	M
A988	FS305	L/FM52+FM73+ FM61.2
A989	?	L/FM75.33?
A990	FS305	M/FM52
A991	FS305	L/FM52
A992	FS305	M/75.18 (+FM35?)
A993	FS7–10?	L/FM61A.1
A994	FS7–10?	FM52+FM46+FM73y
A995	FS7–10?	FM52
A996	FS7–10?	FM52
A997	FS7–10?	FM51
A998	FS7–10?	FM52+FM61a.1
A999	FS7–10?	M
A1000	FS298	L/FM52
A1001	FS298	M/FM52
A1002	FS298	L/FM46
A1003	FS298	L/FM52
A1004	FS298	L/U
A1005	FS298	L/FM61A.1
A1014	?	L+wavy line/?

Only fragments of the following kraters remain: A989, A992, A1002 and A1014. In tomb A (pits 9 and 7) sherds were also found from two further kraters (A1135, A1136) listed under tomb B.

composite vessel (1)

A1024	FS330	FM58/FM61A.1

handmade (6)

A1129	cup	AE 1932, pl. 8:96
A1130	cup	AE 1932, pl. 8:94
A1131	bowl	AE 1932, pl. 8:99
A1132	small jug	AE 1932, pl. 8:98

A1133	small jug	AE 1932, pl. 8:94
[A?(uncat?)]	amphora	AE 1932, pl. 8:97

The three squat jars are late examples, with ring bases. The rest of the collection is LH IIIC. Several vases can be assigned to the developed LH IIIC style. Two stirrup jars (A1044 and A1045) have Close style type decoration on the shoulder. A conical kylix (A1077) with swellings on the stem, a necked jar (A1016) and an amphoriskos (A1094) with a wavy line in a reserved band between the handles are very late LH IIIC/SM.

Chamber tomb B:
The vases from this tomb numbered thirty-two (A1135–A1166), and all were illustrated in AE 1932, pl. 8b. Eight of them have perished. Some small jugs could not be matched with illustrations.

amphoriskoi (3)

A1142	FS59	L/FM61.2
A1143	FS59	L/FM19
[A1144]	FS59	L/FM61A?

squat jars (2)

A1157	FS87	M
A1158	FS87	M

small jugs (14)

A1141	FS114–5	M
A1145	FS115	L/FM57.2+FM73y?
[A1146]*	FS?	M
[A1147]*	FS?	M
A1148	FS115	M
A1149	FS?	M
A1150	FS115	M
A1151	FS115	M
A1152	FS115	M
A1153	FS115	M
A1154	FS115	M
A1155	FS115	M
A1156	FS115	M
A1159*	FS?	M

Only a fragment of A1149 is preserved.

jugs/lekythoi (2)

[A1138]	FS137–8	L
A1139	FS?124	L/FM43

stirrup jars (7)

[A1160]	FS174	worn
[A1161]	FS175	M?/worn
[A1162]	FS176	U or worn
A1163	FS174	?
A1164	FS174	L
A1165	FS174	worn
A1166	FS176	L/worn

kylix (1)

A1137	FS275	M/U

Only a fragment of this kylix is preserved.

kraters (2)

A1135	FS298	L/FM52
A1136	FS298	L/FM75(FM61A.4/5 or FM35)

askos (1)

[A1140]	FS?	U?

Tomb B, like tomb A, contained no early shapes. The two squat jars are of the LH IIIC type. A late vase, a jug with a trefoil or pinched mouth (A1138), has unfortunately not survived. Both spouted kraters were 'shared' between this tomb and tomb A.

Chamber tomb Γ:
Seventeen of the twenty-four vases from this tomb (A1211-A1234) were handmade. They were all illustrated in AE 1932, pl.13b, fig. 34. Eleven of them have perished.

alabastron (1)

A1214	FS85	M

small jar (1)

A1215	FS?	M?(worn)

dippers (2)

A1216	FS236	U
A1217	FS236	U

cup (1)

A1212	FS215–16	M/FM58

deep bowl (1)

[A1211]	FS285?	M/FM61.2

shallow bowl (1)

[A1213]	FS295–6	M

handmade (17)

A1218	dipper	AE 1932:283
A1219	dipper	AE 1932:284
A1220	cup	AE 1932:274, **Pl.19**
[A1221]	cup/jug	AE 1932, pl.13:273
A1222	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:264, **Pl.19**
[A1223]	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:261
A1224	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:265, **Pl.19**
A1225	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:266, **Pl.19**
[A1226]	handleless cup	AE 1932, pl.13:263
[A1227]	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:267
[A1228]	pyxis	AE 1932, pl.13:262
A1229	handleless cup	AE 1932, pl.13:268

[A1230]	spouted cup	AE 1932, pl.13:271
[A1231]	spouted cup	AE 1932, pl.13:270
[A1232]	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:269?
[A1233]	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:276?
A1234	cup	AE 1932, pl.13:275

The three-handled alabastron (A1214) is LH IIIB or LH IIIB/C. The rest of the fineware would be LH IIIC. Handmade pyxis A1222, which has parallels in similar pyxides from Mazarakata (N90) and Metaxata B (A1535–A1536), has an incised whorl-shell motif and should be pre-LH IIIC. Some more of the handmade pottery may also be earlier than LH IIIC.

Chamber tomb Δ:

The number of vases from this tomb listed in the AMC (A1239–A1359) is 122. This corresponds to the number of vases illustrated by Marinatos in AE 1932, pls 9–13a, although a few of the extant vases attributed to this tomb cannot be matched with illustrations in the publication. Twenty-three vases were destroyed in 1953, among which there were several kraters and kylikes. As a result of this, there are some problems in identifying lost vases of these shapes with descriptions in the AMC.

alabastra (3)

A1279	FS96/98	worn (M?)
A1280	FS85	L/FM58.23
A1281	FS96/98	L/43h/n

amphorai (2)

A1265	FS58?	M/?
A1266	FS58?	M/FM53

amphoriskoi (6)

[A1270]	FS59	M?
[A1271]	FS59	M?
A1272	FS59	M
[A1273]	FS59	M/FM57?
A1274	FS59	M
A1278	FS?	L/FM61A.1

bottle/alabastron (1)

A1318	FS?	M+w.p.

collar-necked jar (1)

A1264	FS63	M/FM61A.1

piriform jars (4)

A1275	FS49	L
A1276	FS45	L/?
A1277	FS45/48	L/FM61.18
A1357	FS?	M

jugs/lekythoi (3)

A1267	FS148	M/r.b.
A1268	FS148	L/worn
A1269	FS?	M

squat jars (10)

A1301	FS87	M
A1302	FS87?	M
A1303	FS87	M
A1304	FS87?	M
A1305	FS87?	M
A1306	FS87	M
A1307	FS87	M
A1308	FS87	M
A1309	FS87	M
A1354	FS87	M

small jugs (19)

A1282	FS115	M
A1283	FS115	L/FM61.2
A1284	FS115	M
A1285	FS115	M
[A1286]	FS115	M
A1287	FS115	M
[A1288]	FS115	M
A1289*	FS115	M
A1290	FS115	M
A1291	FS115	M
A1292	FS115	M
A1293	FS115	M
A1294	FS115	M
A1295	FS115	M
A1296	FS115	M
A1297	FS115	M
A1298	FS115	M
A1299	FS115	M
A1300	FS114	L

stirrup jars (14)

A1339	FS176	M/FM43i
A1340	FS176	L+FM53/worn
A1341	FS175–6	L/FM73y+leaf
A1342	FS176	M/FM43h/n
A1343	FS176	M/FM41
A1344	FS175	worn
[A1345]	FS176	worn
A1346	FS171	L/FM18
A1347	FS174	L+FM61.2/FM73y
A1348	FS174	worn
A1349	FS174	L/FM61A.6
A1350	FS180?	L/FM64+FM19+FM61 A.4/5
A1351	FS174	M/FM61A.6
A1352	FS171	L/FM18c.90

dippers (6)

A1319	FS236	U
[A1320]	FS236	U
A1321	FS236	U
A1322	FS236	U
A1323	FS236	U
[A1324]	FS236	U

cups (3)

A1310	FS215–6?	L
A1312	FS252	L
A1313	FS249	L

mug (1)

A1311	FS?	M

kylikes (14)

[A1325]	FS274–5	?
A1326	FS275	M+L/U
[A1327]	FS275	U?
[A1328]	FS274–5	?
A1329	FS275	L/U
A1330	FS275	M+L/U
[A1331]	FS274–5	U
A1332	FS275–6	L/U
A1333	FS275–6	M/U
A1334	FS275–6	U?
A1335	FS275	M/U
A1336	FS275	M+L/U
[A1337]	FS275	M/U
A1338	FS275	?

Among the extant kylikes only fragments remain of A1338, A1336, A1332 and A1329. Many of the kylikes are not easy to match with their published illustrations in AE 1932, **Pl. 12 right**, the only guideline being their relative height.

bowls/kraters/stemmed bowls (26)

A1238	FS?	L/FM75(FM35)
[A1239]	FS?	L/FM51(AMC says L/U)
[A1240]	FS?	L/FM46
A1241	FS?	L/FM52+FM73y
A1242	FS305?	M/FM52+FM62
A1243	FS?	L/FM52
A1244	FS?	M/LM52
A1245	FS?	L/FM73y+FM46
A1246	FS?	L/(AMC says spirals)
A1247	FS305	M/FM46
A1248	FS305	M/FM61.2
A1249	FS305–6	M+w.p.
[A1250]	FS305–6	worn
[A1251]	FS282	M
[A1252]	FS?	L/FM52+FM73y
A1253	FS285	L/FM46
A1254	FS305?	M/FM52+FM75
[A1255]	FS305	L/?
[A1256]	FS?	M
A1257	FS285–6	M/FM52.2
A1258	FS305	L/FM51
[A1259]	FS285	M
A1260	FS?	L/FM46
A1261	FS298–9	L/FM46
[A1262]	FS298–9	L/FM61A.6
A1263	FS?	L/FM52+leaf

composite vessels (4)

A1314	FM326?	M
A1315	FM324	M
A1316	FM324?	M
A1317	FM324	L/FM59/60

handmade (5)

A1353	mug	**Pl.19**
A1355	small jug	AE 1932, pl. 13.250
A1356	small jug	AE 1932, pl. 13.252
A1358*	bowl	AE 1932, pl. 13.251
A1359	2-handled bowl	AE 1932, pl. 13.249

The earliest pottery consists of two stirrup jars (A1352 and A1346), a rounded alabstron (A1280) and a couple of squat jars which are LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB, and four piriform jars (A1275–A1277, A1357), a composite vase (A1317) and two or three squat jars which are dated LH IIIB or early LH IIIC. The rest of the pottery is LH IIIC. It also includes some late LH IIIC/SM vases such as amphorae A1265 and A1266, alabastron/bottle A1318 (if Mycenaean), stirrup jar A1342, deep bowl A1249, and three kylikes with swellings on the stem (A1332, A1333, A1334).

METAXATA

Chamber tomb A:

The total number of vases listed in the AMC (A1424–A1474) is fifty-one, all of which were illustrated by Marinatos in AE 1933, figs 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 34–6 and pl. Ab. Five or six vases have been destroyed and of two others only fragments survive. The only problem of identification arose with the small jugs which could not all be matched with the illustrations.

amphoriskoi (3)

A1467	FS59/60	M/FM61A.6
A1468	FS59	M/FM46
A1469	FS59	U

askos (1)

A1445	FS195	L/FM73ae/5+FM41

ring vase (1)

A1444	FS	L+FM53+FM64/FM73

squat jars (2)

A1465	FS87	M
A1466	FS87?	M

small jugs (19)

A1446	FS115	M
A1447	FS115	M
A1448	FS115	M
A1449	FS115	M
A1450	FS115	M
A1451	FS115	M
[A1452]	FS115	M

A1453	FS115	M
A1454	FS115	M
A1455	FS115	M
A1456	FS115	M
A1457	FS115	M
A1458	FS115	M
A1459	FS115	?
A1460	FS115	M
A1461	FS115	?
A1462	FS115	?
A1463	FS112–3	M
A1464	FS115	M

Although all the small jugs were published in AE 1933 and all but one are extant, the following have not been possible to match with the illustrations in the publication: A1451, A1453, A1455, A1457, A1459, A1461.

narrow-necked jug/lekythos (1)

A1433	FS122–3	L/FM52

jug (1)

A1432	FS136	M/r.b.

stirrup jars (10)

A1434	FS175	L/FM61A.4/5+FM73y+ FM43
A1435	FS176	L/FM73y
A1436	FS176	L/FM61A.1
A1437	FS176	FM43h/n
A1438	FS175	L/FM61A.4/5
A1439	FS174	L+FM64/FM61A.4/5+ FM43
A1440	FS174	M/FM52+FM43h/n
A1441	FS174	L/FM61A.4/5
A1442	FS175	L/FM61A.5
A1443	FM174	M/FM61A.4/5

cup (1)

A1470	FS252	M/FM46

kylikes (4)

A1428	FS275	L/FM61A.4/5+ FM75.16,29–30
A1429	FS275	M/FM52
A1430	FS275	M?
A1431	FS275	L?/U

Only a fragment of A1429 is preserved.

kraters (2)

A1425	FS?	L/FM46
A1426	FS?	L/FM52

handmade (6)

A1424	amphora	AE 1933, fig.36
[A1471]	small jug	AE 1933, fig.34.2
[A1472]	small jug	AE 1933, fig.34.6
[A1473]	spouted bowl	AE 1933, fig.34.4
A1474	spouted bowl	AE 1933, fig.34.3
A1427	bowl	AE 1933, fig.35

All the vases from this tomb are LH IIIC. There are no early shapes. The two squat jars are late, rather distorted examples.

Chamber tomb B:

Sixty-five vases (and parts of vases) were recovered from the tomb (A1476-A1537, A1552), of which fifty-eight were illustrated in AE 1932, figs 28, 29a, 30, 33, 34. 37 and pl. 1a. Twenty-five are now missing. Of another four only fragments survive. There are some problems in matching illustrations with extant squat jars, small jugs and stirrup jars.

alabastra (7)

[A1516]	FS85	M
A1517	FS85	M
A1518	FS85	L/FM57.2
A1519	FS85	L/FM58.16/17
A1520	FS94	L/FM61.2
A1521	FS94	M
A1523	FS85	M

amphora (1)

[A1476]	—	M

amphoriskoi (3)

A1522	FS59/60	L/FM73y
A1524	FS59	M?/FM52+FM61A?
[A1525]	FS59	M/FM46

bottle (1)

A1530	FS?	L/FM17,w.p.

composite vessel (1)

[A1529]	FS?	M

narrow-necked jugs/lekythoi (2)

A1478	FS121	L/FM48
[A1552]	FS123	L

piriform jar (1)

A1477	FS45	L/FM70.2

squat jars (10)

A1504	FS87	M/FM58.34
A1505	FS87	M
A1506	FS87	M
[A1507]	FS87	M
[A1508]	FS87	M
A1510	FS87	M
A1512	FS87	M
A1513	FS87	M
A1514	FS87	M
A1515	FS87	M

Only a fragment of A1512 is preserved.

small jugs (8)

A1495	FS115	M
A1496	FS115?	M
[A1498]	FS?	M
A1499	FS115	M (AMC says L)
A1500	FS115?	M
A1503	FS114	L
[A1511]	FS?	M
A1509	FS?	M

Two more small jugs are attributed to this tomb in AE 1933 than are listed in the AMC. This causes some problems in matching a few of the jugs with published illustrations.

stirrup jars (18)

A1479	FS175	L+FM61.2/FM61A.5+ FM52
A1480	FS175	L+FM61.2/FM17 or FM41
A1481	FS176	L/FM73y
A1482	FS174	L/FM52+FM73
A1483	FS176	L/FM43
[A1484]	FS175	L/FM73y
A1485	FS176	M/FM43n
A1486	FS176	L/FM61A.4/5
A1487	FS174	L+FM64/FM43h,i
A1488	FS174	L/FM47
A1489	FS176	worn
A1490	FS175	L/FM43
A1491	FS176	L/FM48.4+FM64
A1492	FS179?	L/worn (published as from tomb G)
A1493	FS176	L?/FM43
[A1494]	FS176	M/?
M-B4	FS?	L/FM 1952
M-B9	FS?	L+FM61.2/FM73ae, FM27

Only fragments of the following survive: A1479, A1482, A1483, M-B4, M-B9. The last two, as well as the poorly preserved stirrup jar illustrated in AE 1933, fig. 28.4, seem to have been left out of the AMC.

dipper (1)

[A1532]	FS236	U

bowl (1)

M-B9	FS?	L?/FM19.32

This is an uncatalogued fragment.

tripod bowl (1)

A1527	FS?	M+w.p.

handmade (8 or 9)

[A1497]	small jug	AE 1933, fig.34.8
[A1501]	cup	AE 1933, fig.34.11
[A1502]*	small jug	—
A1531	askos	AE 1933, fig.34.12
[A1533]	dipper	AE 1933, fig. 34.7
[A1535]	small bowl	AE 1933, fig. 37 left
A1536	small bowl	AE 1933, fig.37 right, **Pl.19**
[A1537]	2-handled bowl	AE 1933, fig. 34.5

One of the following unidentified vases may also be handmade:

unidentified vases (3)

[A1534]*, [A1526]*, [A1528]*

The uncatalogued rim-sherd (M–B4) from a stemmed bowl, which was first reported by Wardle, is LH IIIA2 late. Among the complete vases, the earliest are two fine examples: piriform jar A1477, which is LH IIIA2, and alabastron A1518, which is LH IIIA2–B1. A number of other vases are stylistically LH IIIA2–B or LH IIIB: three three-handled rounded alabastra (A1516, A1517, A1519), two straight-sided three-handled alabastra (A1520, A1521) and three or four early squat jars. A two-handled rounded alabastron (A1523), two stirrup jars (A1491 and M–B4) and some of the less conventional squat jars are likely to be LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC. The majority of the pottery belongs to the developed LH IIIC style.

It is of interest that all the early vases came from four pits of the chamber (B2, B4, B8 or B9), whereas only LH IIIC vases came from pits B5 and B6, which were dug in the 'extensions' of the tomb.

Chamber tomb Γ:

The forty-four vases from the tomb (A1528, A1538–A1580) were illustrated in AE 1933, figs 31, 32, 34 and pl. 2a. Nineteen have not survived. Identifications of some of the small jugs with published illustrations were not possible.

alabastra (3)

[A1574]	FS85–86	M?/FM61(or FM57.2)
[A1575]	FS96–98	L
[A1579]	FS85–86	M

amphoriskos (1)

[A1573]	FS59	M/FM57.2

composite vessel (1)

A1528	FS324	L/FM57.2

squat jars (4)

A1569	FS87?	M
[A1570]	FS87	M
A1571	FS87?	M
A1580	FS?	M

small jugs (13)

A1556	FS115	M
A1557	FS115	M
A1558	FS115	M
A1559	FS115	M
A1560	FS115	L/FM53

[A1561]	FS?	M
A1562	FS115	M
A1563	FS115	M
A1564	FS115	M
[A1565]	FS?	M
A1566	FS115	M
A1567	FS115	M
[A1568]	FS?	M

Though A1557 and A1566 are extant, it has not been possible to match them with illustrations in AE 1933.

stirrup jars (14)

[A1538]	FS176	L/FM61A.5
[A1539]	FS176	L/FM61A.4/5
A1540	FS176	L/?
A1541	FS174	L/FM73y+oval
A1542	FS176	L/FM43h/n
A1543	FS175	L/?
A1544	FS174	worn
A1545	FS176	L/FM52
[A1546]	FS176	L/FM43h/n
A1547	FS174	M/FM43h/n
A1548	FS176	M/FM51
[A1549]	FS174	L/FM61A.6
[A1550]	FS174	L/? (AMC says M)
A1551	FS174	L/FM43h/n

spouted cup (1)

A1576	FS252?	L

handleless cup (1)

A1577	FS?	M/L

kylikes (3)

[A1553]	FS274–5	U?
A1554	FS?	U?
[A1555]	FS267	M

Only a fragment of A1554 survives.

handmade (2 or 3)

[A1572]	cup	AE 1933, fig.24.10
A1578	triple vase	AE 1933, fig.24.11
[A1572]	small jug	AE 1933, fig.24.9

The composite vessel A1528 is LH IIIB, and the two-handled rounded alabastra (A1574, A1579) as well as a couple of squat jars (A1770, A1571) are transitional or early LH IIIC. The rest of the pottery is LH IIIC and includes vases of the developed LH IIIC style.

Chamber tomb Δ:
This tomb produced forty-seven vases (A1759–A1795, A1833) which remain unpublished. All but eight are exhibited in the Argostoli Museum. The vases were examined by Wardle and seven are illustrated in his thesis (Wardle 1972, figs 90, 93, 100, 104, 194, 117). The collection is composed exclusively of LH IIIC vases and includes amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, small jugs, narrow-necked jugs, a spouted cup, a kylix, a krater and a bottle-shaped alabastron. There were also four handmade vases.

Chamber tomb E:
This tomb contained seventeen LBA vases (A1809–A1824, A1834) and eight Geometric and later vases. They have not been published. All but one of the LBA vases are exhibited in the Argostoli Museum. Four vases were illustrated by Wardle (1992, figs 87, 89, 90, 96, 115). All the vases are LH IIIC and include an amphoriskos, a spouted cup, a dipper, small jugs and stirrup jars. There is also a large amphora (A1834) of late LH IIIC type.

OIKOPEDA

Fourteen vases were recovered from the site and were all illustrated in AE 1932, figs 13 and 14.

piriform jar (1)

A1394	FS48	M?

squat jars (5)

A1384	FS87	M
[A1385]	FS87	M
A1386	FS87	M
[A1387]	FS87	M
A1388	FS87	M

cups (2)

[A1394(c)]	FS214?	M
A1390	FS224	M?

kylikes (2)

[A1394(a)]	FS263–4	M
[A1394(b)]	FS263–4	M

handmade (4)

[A1389]	small jug	AE 1932, fig.14.2
[A1391]	handleless goblet	AE 1932, fig.14.3
[A1392]	double vessel	AE 1932, fig.14.5
[A1393]	dipper	AE 1932, fig.14.4

Of the four surviving vases, three are now in fragments (A1394, A1384, A1386). The earliest of the fineware vases may be the small handmade Vapheio cup (A1390) which could be as early as LH II. None of the other vases however could be as early as this. The two fineware goblets and the handmade handleless goblet should be LH IIIA, most likely LH IIIA1. The short-handled coarseware dipper looks more like the MH examples from Kokkolata than the LH dippers. The squat jars are of the early type and may be the earliest from Kefalonia. No vase is later than LH IIIB.

KONTOGENADA

Chamber tomb A:
This was the only tomb at Kontogenada which was not entirely looted. It yielded three vases published in AE 1933, 77, fig. 21.

amphoriskos (1)

A1583	FS59	M

kylix (1)

A1582	FS274?	U

shallow bowl (1)

A1581	FS295	M?

The vases are in great part restored. All three are LH IIIC.

HUMANI

Three vases kept in the Argostoli Museum (A616a-c) were examined by Wardle. They were a handmade dipper, a handmade handleless jar, and a straight-sided three-handled linear alabastron which has been illustrated by Wardle (Wardle 1972, fig. 92). They are datable to LH IIIB or LH IIIB/C.

MAVRATA-CHAIRATA

Four handmade amphorae (A1714–A1717) are displayed in the Argostoli Museum. One was illustrated by Wardle (1972, fig. 119).

MAVRATA-TRIANTAMODOI

Marinatos's excavation in 1936 produced seventy vases (A1645–A1713, A1744). Two stirrup jars (A573, A574) had been recovered prior to the excavation (in 1900?). All the vases remain unpublished. Seven of them appear to be missing. Nineteen were illustrated by Wardle (1972, figs 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 105). The collection was entirely LH IIIC, but a few vases would be LH IIIB/C and several could be assigned to the early LH IIIC. Among the earliest would be two two-handled alabastra (A1701 and A1702), stirrup jar A1646 with thick-and-thin lines on the body, a body-zone (FS61.2) and the rosette (FM17) or sea anemone (FM27) on the shoulder, and a couple of lekythoi (A1683 and A1685). Lekythos A1683 has a lower body reminiscent of the thick-and-thin linear pattern as well as small cross-hatched diamonds (FM73) on the shoulder. The amphoriskoi, of which there were nineteen, and the stirrup jars bore a great variety of motifs including the rosette, bivalve shell, foliate band and multiple stem. A late amphora (A1708) and a legged bottle-shaped alabastron (A1703) belong to the developed LH IIIC period.

NOTE

[1] AD 5, 1919, 111 fig. 27:4. However the catalogue describes it as three- and not two-handled like the vase illustrated in the publication.

TABLES

TABLES A.1–B.2 TOMBS: LEFKADA

H = Hauptgrab B = Beigrab N = Nebengrab
A = adult M = male F = female Y = youth C = child I = infant
enl = enlarged

Table A.1 R-Graves: tumuli

Tum. no	D (metres)	Pithos	Cist	Chamber	Other	Pyre
R1	9.20	R1b		R1a		none
R2	6.20	R2C	R2b, R2A, R2B	R2a		R2a
R3	5.20			?		R3
R4	4.90	R4a				R4a
R5	6.05	R5a, R5b	R5c			R5b
R6	4.25			?		R6
R7	6.00		R7a			R7
R8	ca.5.00					
R9	ca.4.15					
R10	4.50		R10a,R10b, R10c			none
R11	5.20 (enl. 10)	R11				R11
R12	6.75m	R12				R12
R13	ca. 3.50	R13A,B,C, R13D,E	R13F,G,H,J, R13K			R13
R14	4.60		R14a,b,c			?
R15	4.85	R15a,b,c				R15a, R15B
R16	?	2?			R16a	?
R17	6.30	R17a	R17b			R17a
R18	6.50?					
R19	5.50					
R20	ca.3.30					R20
R21	ca.6.00	R21a				?
R22	4.80	?				R22
R23	5.30	?				R23
R24	4.40		R24a			R24
R25	5.10	R25b,c,d,e	R25a			R25c, R25e
R26	9.60		R26A	R26C		?
R27	ca.2.70	R27a	R27b			?
R28	?					
R29	4.40?					
R30	4.80?					
R31	4.00?					
R32	4.50?					
R33	4.50?					

Table A.2 R-Graves: pithos graves

No	Tum. no	Class	Size (metres)	Cover	Burial	Gravegoods
1.	R1	H	1.08	vessel	1F	59 gold beads, silver bangle, flint, obsidian tools, copper band, spindle whorl, vases: D94/8, D93/5, D93/7, D94/6
2.	R2C	N	1.00	vessel	1A?	—
3.	R4a	H	0.86	slab	1F	silver bangle, axe, obsidian blade, flint blade; pyre: silver armband, 18 gold beads, gold earring, spindle whorl, bone tubes
4.	R5a	B	0.55	slab	1C	—
5.	R5b	H	1.00	slab	1?	sherds, flint; pyre: dagger, spearhead
6.	R10d	N	—	slab	?	—
7.	R11	H	—	—	1?	—
8.	R12	H	1.08	vessel	1F	41 gold beads, vase D105/2, D105/3, 2 two more vases
9.	R13A	H	1.00	—	1F	flint, obsidian knife
10.	R13B	N	0.63	slab	1C	—
11.	R13C	N	1.11	vessel	1F	—
12.	R13D	N	0.93	slab	1F	—
13.	R13E	B	0.30	—	1I?	—
14.	R15a	B	1.03	vessel	1M?	1 vessel
15.	R15b	H	1.20	clay	1F	79 gold beads, 3 gold earrings, 2 silver armbands, 2 obsidian blades, 1 vase, 4 bone beads
16.	R15c	B	1.08	slab	1F?	vase D201/a, 2 more vessels
17.	R17a	H	1.08	slab	1M	2 daggers, 2 knives, 1 gold hilt-cover, 1 flint blade, 2 flesh-hooks
18.	R21a	B?	—	vessel	1C	—
19.	R25b	B	—	slab	1C	—
20.	R25c	H	—	—	—	—
21.	R25d	B	1.11	vessel	—	—
22.	R25e	N	—	—	1A	fragments of 2–3 vessels
23.	R27a	B	1.22	slab	1A	vases D202/3, D202/2

Table A.3 R-Graves: built cists/chambers

No	Tum. no	Class	Size (metres)	Floor	Cover	Burial	Gravegoods
1.	R1a	H?	2.40x1,80	polygonal stones	slabs	1M?	robbed?
2.	R2a	H	?1.00x0.60	flat stones	slabs	1M	2 daggers, knife; pyre: dagger, spearhead, flint, boar's tooth
3.	R3?	?	—	—	—		pyre: flint tools
4.	R6?	?	—	—	—	1M	pyre: dagger fragments, obsidian blade, sherds
5.	R26c	H	2.00x2.10	pebbles	slabs	1F,1M	34 gold beads

Table A.4 R-Graves: slab cists

No	Tum. no	Class	Size (metres)	Floor	Cover	Burial	Gravegoods
1	R2b	B	0.73x0.41–0.50	stones	none	—	—
2.	R2A	N	1.10x0.49	stones	slab	1A?	vase D95/1
3.	R2B	N	0.85x0.60	pebbles	none	2M	vase D96/2
4.	R5c	B	0.68–0.72x 0.36–0.39	annular wall	none —	1C —	coarse vessel, flint —
5.	R7a	B	0.95x0.50	stones	none	1C	—
6.	R10a	H	0.83-0.93x 0.43-0.48	stones —	none —	1A —	— —
7.	R10b	B	0.40x0.32	—	none	1C	—
8.	R10c	B	0.60x0.36-0.42	pebbles —	slab —	1A? —	vessel D103/1, 1 more vessel
9.	R13G	N	—	—	none	2A	—
10.	R13F	N	—	—	none	1A	—
11.	R13H	N	—	pebbles	none	—	—
12.	R13J	N	0.80–0.85x 0.53–0.58	—	slab	1A	—
13.	R13K	N	0.85x0.50	—	none	1M	sherds from vessel
14.	R16	?	—	—	—	—	—
15.	R16	?	—	—	—	—	—
16.	R17b	B	0.57x0.27	pebbles	none	1C	—
17.	R24a	B	0.50x0.35	—	slab	1C	obsidian blade
18.	R25	B	—	—	—	—	—
19.	R26A	B	0.72x0.63	flat stones, pebbles	slab	1Y	copper chisel, whetstone, 48 arrowheads, vase D194
20.	R26B	N	0.55x0.37	flat stones	none	1C	—
21.	R27b	H or B	0.27–0.34x 0.28–0.31	—	none	1A	—

Table A.5 R-Graves: miscellaneous types

No	Tum. no	Class	Size	Floor	Cover	Burial	Gravegoods
a. pit graves							
1.	R16	H	—	pebbles	slab	1A	vases D108/1, D105/2, D108/2, D108/3
b. earth graves							
1.	R14a	B	—	—	slabs	1A	—
2.	R14b	N	—	—	slabs	1A	—
3.	R14c	B	—	—	slabs	—	—
c. undetermined							
1.	R7	H	—	—	—	—	sword, 1–2 daggers, gold hilt-cover, knife
2.	R23	H	—	—	—	1M?	pyre: 2 chisels, stone pestle
3.	R22	H	—	—	—	1F?	pyre: 30 obsidian blades, bronze scraper, pin, agate bead
4.	R9	—	—	—	—	1M	S. of tumulus: spearhead, dagger
5.	R24	H	—	—	—	1M	pyre: spearhead, sword, 2 gold chains, obsidian blades

Table B.1 Familiengrab S

Gr. No	Type	Size (metres)	Burials	Gravegoods
S1.	slab cist	1.10x0.75	2	vessel (D115/10), spindle whorl?, bronze fragments
S2.	slab cist	0.80x0.66	1C	sherds from small vessel
S3.	stone-built cist	?	?	none
S4.	slab cist	1.04–1.14x 0.67–0.70	1M	2 vessels (D118/3, one more); bronze: 3 chisels, saw; 9 flint arrowheads; 3 boar's tusks; 2 whetstones
S5.	slab cist	?	1	sherds, flint chips
S6.	slab cist	0.85x0.40	?	none
S7.	slab cist	0.80x0.50	1	none
S8.	slab cist	0.95–1.15x 0,60-0,68	1M	5 vessels (D117/f, D117/6a, D117/6b, D117b, D188); bronze:dagger, 2 chisels,3 discs; 20 flint arrowheads
S9.	slab cist	1.60m x?	—	—
S10.	slab cist	0.80x0.21	2	1 vessel, bronze knife
S11.	slab cist	0.90–1.00x 0.55–0.60	2	sherds
S12.	?stone-built cist	?	?	none
S13.	slab cist	1.17x0.52	4A	sherds
S14.	slab cist	0.70–0.76x 0.38	1C	none

Table B.2 Familiengrab F

Gr. No	Type	Size (metres)	Burials	Gravegoods
F1.	slab cist	0.65–0.75x 0.50	1	3 vessels (D81/1, D81/2, D157/2)
F2.	slab cist	0.82x0.70	?	robbed?
F3.	earth grave		1A	none
F4.	slab cist	1.10x0.74	1	2 vessels (D84/1, one more)
F5.	slab cist	1.11x0.68	2F	1 silver & 1 bronze ring, agate bead, 2 vessels (D86/6, D86/1)
F6.	slab & stone-built cist	1.14x0.81	1C	vase D87/1, one more vessel
F7.	slab cist	1.00x0.52	1M	bronze dagger, spearhead, bead of agate, ?spindle whorl
F8.	slab cist	1.00x0.64	1	none
F9.	slab cist	0.98x0.56	2A	spindle whorl
F10.	slab cist	1.06x0.62	2A	2 vessels (91/3, 91/1)

TABLES C.1–C7 TOMBS: KEFALONIA

Table C.1 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion				Chamber				Pits	
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L	W	H	No	L	W
Mazarakata	A	6.00+	0.95–1.18	0		1.00	0.45–0.52		1.70	1.20	1.10	2	—	—
Mazarakata	B	n/a	—	0		—	—		n/a	—	—	2	—	—
Mazarakata	Γ	7.50	0.85–1.05	0	d.	0.84	0.77–0.84		2.19	1.30–1.75	1.13	1	—	—
Mazarakata	Δ	d.	d.	0	d.	—	—		n/a	—	d.	6	—	—
Mazarakata	E	n/a	ca. 0.80	0		0.60	0.70		2.00	3.00	1.55	4	—	—
Mazarakata	H	ca. 5.50	—	0	d.	d.	d.		5.00	5.00	d.	10	—	—
Mazarakata	Θ	ca. 5.00	d.	0	d.	d.	d.		4.00	4.00	d.	8	—	—

measurements in metres d = destroyed n/a = no access

Table C.2 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion				Chamber				Pits	
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L	W	H	No	L	W
Mazarakata	I	ca. 4.00	—	0		1.05	0.60		2.00	1.40	1.05	1	—	—
Mazarakata	K	ca. 4.00	0.82	0		1.15	0.45–0.65		2.65	2.30	1.10	2	1.92	0.41–0.56
Mazarakata	Λ	4.60	0.80	0		1.10	0.45–0.67		3.60	5.10	1.40	10	0.9–2.10	—
Mazarakata	M	ca. 4.80	0.85–1.10	0	d.	1.20	0.75		1.95	2.15	1.50	3	1.34–1.98	0.45–0.54
Mazarakata	N	ca. 10.00	1.82–1.30	0		2.15	0.80–0.90		3.30	6.50	3.50–4.00	8 (+2 niche)	0.75–2.10	0.35–0.75
Mazarakata	Ξ	8.50	0.70–1.15	0		1.40	1.60–1.90		5.00	6.50	d.	15	1.20–2.00	—
Mazarakata	O	ca. 4.00	—	0		0.95	—		2.00	2.20	1.00	1	1.70	—
Mazarakata	Π	ca. 4.00	—	0	d.	d.	—		5.00	5.50	d.	10	1.80–2.00	0.45–0.75

Table C.3 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion			Chamber				Ppits		
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L or Dia	W	H	No	L	Depth
Mazarakata	P	1.50+	—	0	n/a	—	—	n/a	n/a	—	—	0		
Mazarakata	Z	3.50	0.64	0		0.60–80	—		1.60	1.35	0.70	0		
Metaxata	A	6.50	—	0	d.	d.	d.		4.50	4.70	2.00	9		
												(1)	ca. 2.00	2.00
												(2)	ca. 2.00	0.70
												(3)	ca. 2.00	1.90
												(4)	ca. 2.00	1.90
												(5)	ca. 2.00	2.50
												(6)	ca. 2.00	1.40
												(7)	ca. 2.00	2.80
												(8)	ca. 2.00	1.60
												(9)	ca. 2.00	2.50

Table C.4 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion			Chamber				Pits		
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L or Dia	W	H	No	L	Depth
Metaxata	B	3.00+	d.	0		d.	d.		3.60	—	2.60	10		
												(1)	—	1.20
												(2)	—	1.00
												(3)	—	0.90
												(4)	—	0.90
												(5)	—	1.00
												(6)	—	0.70
												(7)	—	0.50
												(8)	—	0.80
												(9)	—	0.70
												(10)	—	0.90
Metaxata	Γ	3.50	d.	1(1 × 0.15)		d.	d.		3.50	—	2.50	8		
												(1)	—	0.90
												(2)	—	0.95

Table C.5 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion			Chamber				Pits		
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L	W	H	No.	L	Depth
Metaxata	Γ (con)											(3)	—	0.80
												(4)	—	0.95
												(5)	—	1.00
												(6)	—	0.70
												(7)	—	0.50
												(8)	—	0.80
Metaxata	Δ	6.00	0.66–1.45	0		1.00	0.57–0.77		2.00	4.90	1.75	5	1.70–1.95 W:0.50	2.00–2.30
Metaxata	E	3.40	d.	0		d.	d.		n/a	—	—	10	1.60–2.00	—
Metaxata	Στ	9.70	1.80	0		0.92	0.56–0.75		3.90	4.75–4.95	1.85	8	1.80–1.90	1.74–2.45
Diakata	1	d.	—	0		d.	—		5.00	4.70	1.85–90	10		

Table C.6 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion			Chamber				Pits		
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L or Dia	W	H	No.	L	Depth
												(1)	—	1.40
												(2)	—	1.30
												(3)	—	0.45
												(4)	—	1.60
												(5)	—	1.15
												(6)	—	1.10
												(7)	—	1.20
												(8)	—	1.45
												(9)	—	1.60
												(10)	—	1.50
Diakata	2	2.85	0.53–0.75	0		1.05	0.50–0.75		2.65	2.10	1.25	2	—	—
Kontogenada	A	5.00	—	1(de:1.60)		d.	d.		4.00	—	2.00	3	—	—
												(1)	—	0.80
												(2)	—	0.70
												(3)	—	0.30

Table C.7 Chamber tombs

Site	Tomb	Dromos			Stomion			Chamber					Pits		
		L	W	Pits	Shape	H	W	Shape	L or Dia	W	H	No	L	W	Depth
Kontogenada	B	3.00	—	0		1.00	0.50–0.60		2.90	—	2.00	0		—	—
Kontogenada	Γ	4.80	—	0		d.	—		2.70	—	d.	0		—	—
Lakkithra	A	0	—	0	d.	d.	d.		5.00	5.00	1.80–1.90	10	ca. 1.75	0.50–0.55	1.20–1.40
Lakkithra	B	ca. 1.00	—	0	d.	d.	d.		5.00	5.00	1.80	10	ca. 1.75	0.50–0.55	1.20–1.40
Lakkithra	Γ	ca. 0.75	—	—		d.	d.		1.40	1.75	d.	0	0	—	—
Lakkithra	Δ	d.	d.	1(de:0.40)	d.	d.	d.		5.40	7.00	2.00	11	1.70–2.00	0.40	0.85–1.30
Parisata	A	6.00	0.70–1.30	0		1.30	1.00–1.20		3.80	—	2.80	4	1.85–2.00	0.40–0.65	1.00+

TABLES D.1-D.2 TOMBS: ZAKYNTHOS

Table D.1 Kambi

No	Description	Size (metres)	Burials	Contents	Date	Illustration
I	pit grave with ledge, plundered	pit: l=1.07 w=0.33 de=0.33 ledge de= 0.07–0.25	?	robbed	—	AAA V,1972(1), 63 fig. 1. AD 28, (1973)A, pl.103:c
II	pit grave at the bottom of shaft half covered with slabs	pit: l=1.75 w=0.41 de=1.20 shaft: l=2.15 w=1.30 de=0.40–0.55	?	partly robbed vases Z11, Z19, 3 sherds, piece of bronze	LH IIIA2 (-B)	—
III	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.70 w=0.45 de=1.32 ledge w= 0.15–0.32	?	robbed	—	AD 28, (1973)A pl.104:b
IV	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.08 w=0.44 de=1.02 ledge w= 0.08–0.15	?	robbed some sherds	—	AD 28, (1973)A, pl.104:b
V	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.84 w=0.80 de=0.80 ledge w= 0.30–0.35	?	robbed	—	AD 28, (1973)A, pl.104:c
VI	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.70 w=0.57 de=1.65 ledge w= 0.20–0.35	3+	robbed down to 1.40m vases Z1, Z12, Z24, Z29	LH IIIA2–B	—
VII	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.82 w=0.47 de=1-1.20 ledge w= 0.20–0.35	?	robbed vase Z9 outside; sherds	—	—
VIII	pit grave with ledge partly covered & plundered	pit: l=1.75 w=0.46 de=1.05 ledge w= ca. 0.25	2+	partly robbed vases Z3, Z16, Z17, Z27, Z30	LH IIIA2–B	AD 28, (1973)A, pl.104:d.
IX	pit grave at the bottom of shaft pit covered with five slabs	pit: l=1.65 w=0.42 de=1.05 shaft: l=2	8+	shaft: sherds of large vases; pit: vase Z6, 2 sherds	LH IIIA2–B	AD 28, (1973)A, pl.105:a
X	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.64 w=0.35 de=0.85m ledge w= 0.20–0.45	?	partly robbed vases Z4, Z13 Z20, Z22 1 button 1 bronze knife	LH IIIA2–B	AD 28,(1973)A, pl.105:c

de = depth l = length w = width

Table D.1 Kambi (continued)

No	Description	Size (metres)	Burials	Contents	Date	Illustration
XI	pit grave with ledge plundered	pit: l=1.82 w=0.38 ledge w= 0.15–0.40		robbed	—	—
XII	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.70 w=0.54 de=1.07 max. ledge w=0.60	?	robbed vase Z5; small base of vase	LH IIIA	AD 28, (1973)A, pl. 105:d
XIII	pit grave with ledge uncovered & plundered	pit: l=1.84 w=0.44 de=1.25 ledge w= 0.27–0.35	?	robbed vase Z23; sherds from 3 alabastra; sherd from kylix	LH IIIA2	—
XIV	pit grave at the bottom of shaft pit covered with six slabs	pit: l=1.93 w=0.40 de=1.05 shaft: l=2.50 w=1-1.20 de= 0.50–1.20	6	shaft: kylix fragments, 5 sherds from handmade vessels; pit: vases Z7, Z8	LH IIIA1–B1	—

de = depth l = length w = width

TABLES E.1–E.2 POTTERY: LEFKADA

Table E.1 Early Bronze Age fineware: R-Graves (complete and restored vases)

No	Gössler No	Shape	Glaze	H (or d) cms	Tumulus	Illustration
1.	D94/6	shallow bowl	brown	2.7 d:16	R1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:2
2.	D202/2	bowl	red	8 d:16	R27a	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.66c:2, **Pl.50:c, above**
3.	D201/a^	bowl(spouted)	red	ca.9	R15c	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.66a:1
4.	D93/5*	sauceboat	grey-black	14+	R1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:1
5.	D93/7	sauceboat(?)	grey-black	8+	R1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:3 **Pl.50:a.2**
6.	D108/1	sauceboat	grey-black	22	R16	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.65:1, **Pl.50:a.1**
7.	D105/2	stemmed bowl	red-brown	20.5	R16	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.65:4, **Pl.50:d**
8.	D94/8?*	stemmed bowl	none	13.5	R12	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:8
9.	D95/1^	askos	red-brown	—	R2A	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:5
10.	D105/3*	askos	?	—	R12	
11.	D108/2^	askos	brown	11	R16	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.65:3
12.	D96/2	pyxis	red-orange	5	R2b	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:4
13.	D108/3	pyxis	grey-white	8	R16	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.65:2, **Pl.50:c, below**
14.	D194	pyxis	red	9	R26A	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.66c:1, **Pl.50:b**
15.	D103/1	double pyxis	red-brown	4.6	R10c	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.64:7, **Pl.51:a.2**
16.	D202/3	double pyxis	red-brown	ca.5	R27a	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.66c:3
17.	D94/8/1*	stemmed pyxis	red?	ca.15	R1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.66a:2

* vases today in fragments
^ vases not found in the Lefkada Museum

Table E.2 Middle Bronze Age pottery: Familiengräber S and F (complete and restored vases)

No	Gössler No	Shape	Fabric/surface	H (cm)	Grave	Illustration
Fineware						
1.	D117/f	kantharos	orange, paler slip	8.5	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:6, **Pl.51:b**
2.	D87/1	kantharos	orange-brown, same slip	10	F6	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:9
3.	D84/1	kantharos	yellow	5	F4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:3, **Pl.51:a.4**
Semi-coarse ware and coarseware						
4.	D86/1	kantharos	brown-grey, same slip	9	F5	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:7, **Pl.51:a.3**
5.	D81/1*	2-handl. bowl	grey-black, polished	14	F1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:1
6.	D117/b	2-handl. bowl	wheel-turned, grey-black, black slip	11.5	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:3
7.	D117/6b	2-handl. bowl	wheel-turned, grey-brown	10	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:4
8.	D118/2*	2-handl. bowl	yellow-red	10	S9	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:10
9.	D118	2-handl. bowl	wheel-turned, grey, whitish slip	8.7	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:5
10.	D116/9	jar	orange-brown	40	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72a,b
11.	D117/6a	2-handl. jar	grey-black	9.8	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:7
12.	D86/6	2-handl. jar	brown-grey	10	F5	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:6
13.	D87/2	2-handl. jar	brown-grey	20	F6	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:8
14.	D119/2	jar	grey-brown	11	S10	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:1, **Pl.51:c**
15.	D115/10	small jar	brown-black	6	S1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:9
16.	D118/3	2-handl. basin	grey-brown	8 d: 13	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.72:8
17.	D91/3	cup	red-brown	10	F10	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.74b:1
18.	D157/2	cup	grey	6	F1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.74b:3
19.	D91/1	bowl with basket handle	grey-black, same slip	6.6	F10	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:10, **Pl.51:a.1**
20.	D81/2*	cup	?	7	F1	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:2
21.	D?	bowl	grey-red polished	12	F	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.71b
22.	D131/2	cup	grey-red	2.8	Skaros	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.58b:4

* vases lost or only few remaining fragments

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (Key on p. 184)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
1	A1280	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/FM58.23	7.5	LH IIIB–B/C	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl. 11.158, **Pl.2**
2	A1214	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	7	LH IIIB/C	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl. 13.277, **Pls 2 & 56:d**
3	N60	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/FM53.17	9.4	LH IIIB	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986 , Abb.4.1, Taf. IV
4	N45	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	15.2	LH IIICe	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.5.12, Taf. IV
5	A1516	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	(9.5)	LH IIIA2–B	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.9
6	A1517	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	8.1	LH IIIA2–B	Metaxata	B8/9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.8, **Pl.2**
7	A1518	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/FM57.2	ca. 8.7	LH IIIA2–B1	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.11, **Pl.2**
8	A1519	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/FM58.16/17	7	LH IIIA2–B	Metaxata	B2	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.12, **Pl.2**
9	A1523	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	7.5	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.15
10	A1574	alabastron (rounded)	85–86	M/FM61.2(or FM57.2)	(7)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C3	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.5
11	A1579?	alabastron (rounded)	85-86	M	(7)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.19
12	A1281	alabastron (st sided)	96–98	L/FM43h/n	5.5	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.160
13	A1279	alabastron (st sided)	96–98	M?	6.5	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.190, **Pl.2**
14	N61	alabastron (st sided)	94	L/FM57.2	8	LH IIIA2–B1	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb. 6.13, Taf. V
15	A1520	alabastron (st sided)	94	L/FM61.2	6.1	LH IIIB	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.14, **Pl.2**
16	A1521	alabastron (st sided)	94	M	8.5	LH IIIB	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.10
17	A1575	alabastron (st sided)	96–98	L	(5.5)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.3
18	A1265	amphora	?58	M/?	27	LH IIICl/SM	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.144
19	A1266	amphora	?58	M/FM53	25	LH IIICl/SM	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.150, **Pls 9 & 60:e**
20	A1008	amphora	—	L/FM53	(21.5)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.5.24
21	A1009	amphora	?58	M/FM61.2	(22.7)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.5.21
22	A1476	amphora	?58	M	(33.5)	LH IIICl	Metaxata	B	AE 1933, 83 fig.29.1
23	A812	amphoriskos	59	M/FM61A.6	13	LH IIICl	Diakata	2	AD 5 1919, 111 fig.27.4
24	A886?	amphoriskos	59	M/FM61A.6	7	LH IIICl	Diakata	1b	AD 5 1919, 108 fig.25.2
25	A977	amphoriskos	59	L/FM61.17,FM 64	11	LH IIIC	Diakata	li	—
26	A967	amphoriskos	59/60	M/L	8	LH IIICl	Diakata	lo	AD 5 1919, 111 fig.27.5
27	A976	amphoriskos	62	L/FM73y, leaf	8	LH IIIC	Diakata	li	AD 5 1919, 109 fig.26.2
28	A943	amphoriskos	?	M?/43h/n	10	LH IIICl	Diakata	1z	AD 5 1919, 111 fig.27.1
29	A1583	amphoriskos	59	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Kontogenada	?	AE 1933, 79 fig 21.3
30	A1273	amphoriskos	59	M/FM57?	(9.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.186
31	A1274	amphoriskos	59	M	9.1	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.188, **Pl.3**
32	A1090	amphoriskos	59/60	L/FM43h/n	8.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A6	AE 1932, pl.6.36, **Pl.3**
33	A1021	amphoriskos	62	M/FM47	8.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.66, **Pl.3**
34	A1022	amphoriskos	62	L/FM61A.1	9.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.65
35	A1091	amphoriskos	59	M/FM52	(8)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.87
36	A1092	amphoriskos	59	M/FM61A.6	8.4	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.7.86, **Pl.3**
37	A1093	amphoriskos	59	M	8	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.84
38	A1094	amphoriskos	59	M/FM53	(11)	LH IIICl/SM	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.85
39	A1142	amphoriskos	59	L/FM61.2	11.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.114, **Pl.3**
40	A1143	amphoriskos	59	L/FM19	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.6.26, **Pl.3**
41	A1144	amphoriskos	59	L/FM61A?	(7)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.121
42	A1270	amphoriskos	59	M?	(10.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.184

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
43	A1271	amphoriskos	59	M?	(9.5)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.189
44	A1272	amphoriskos	59	M	9.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.187, **Pl.3**
45	A1089	amphoriskos	?60	M/FM43h/n	(8)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.5.33
46	N54	amphoriskos	59	M/FM46.54	9.9	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.3.4, Taf. III
47	N56	amphoriskos	59	M/FM61A.6,FM51	6.6	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.3.5, Taf. III
48	N58b	amphoriskos	59	M/FM43h/n	11	LH IIICl	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.3.6, Taf. III
49	N55	amphoriskos	59	L/FM61A.6,FM51	10	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.3.7, Taf. III
50	N58	amphoriskos	59	M	6.5	LH IIICl	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.4.9, Taf. IV
51	N57	amphoriskos	59	M/?	9.1	SM	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.4.8, Taf. IV
52	N59	amphoriskos	62	L/FM73y,leaf	9.9	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.5.10, Taf. IV
53	A1469	amphoriskos	59	U	6	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.13
54	A1468	amphoriskos	59	M/FM46	7	LH IIICe	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.6, **Pl.3**
55	A1524	amphoriskos	59	M?/FM52,FM61A?	8.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.14
56	A1525	amphoriskos	59	M/FM46	(7.5)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B1	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.15, **Pl.3**
57	A1573	amphoriskos	59	M/FM 57.2	(9.7)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 89 pl.2a.14
58	A1467	amphoriskos	59/60	M/FM61A.6	8	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A5/9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.1
59	A1522	amphoriskos	59/60	L/FM73y	10	LH IIICl	Metaxata	B1	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.8
60	A1140	askos	—	U?	(10.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.120
61	A1445	askos	195	L/FM73ae/5,FM41	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A4	AE 1933, fig.27.2
62	A963	askos	—	U	16	LH IIIC	Diakata	1	AD 5, 1919, fig.28.3
63	A1318	alabaston/bottle	—	M,w.p.	10	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.172, **Pl.2**
64	A1023	alabaston/bottle	—	U?	ca. 6.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.7.59, **Pl.2**
65	A1530	alabaston/bottle	—	L/FM17,w.p.	11	SM	Metaxata	B9	AD 1933, 87 fig.33.2
66	A1016	collar-necked jar	64	M/FM53	12.3	LH IIICl/SM	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.80, **Pl.3**
67	A1264	collar-necked jar	63	M/FM61A.1	25.5	LH IIICl–SM	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.142
68	A309	composite vessel	324	L/FM60	(8)	LH IIIB	Kokkolata	pits	Kavvadias 1914, 371 fig.471
69	A1315	composite vessel	324	M	(6.8)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12. 210–11, **Pl.5**
70	A1317	composite vessel	324	L/FM59 or 60	7.3	LH IIIB	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.208, **Pls 5 & 56:c**
71	A1024	composite vessel	330	FM58/FM61A.1	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.58, **Pl.5**
72	A1314	composite vessel	?26?	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.212
73	A1316	composite vessel	324?	M	7	LH IIIB/C–Ce	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.209, **Pl.5**
74	N50	composite vessel	324	L/FM70.1	11.8	LH IIIB	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.14.42, Taf.XIV
75	N51	composite vessel	325?	M	9.2	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.14.43, Taf.XIV
76	A1528	composite vessel	324	L/FM57.2	7.3	LH IIIB	Metaxata	C4	AE 1933, 89 pl.2a.13, **Pl.5**
77	A1529	composite vessel	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B5	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.17
78	A1013	cup	215–6	M	7	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.93, **Pl.57:a**
79	A1212	cup	215–6	M/FM58	6.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.272, **Pl.57:b**
80	A1310	cup	215–6	L	5.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.206
81	A1394(c)	cup	214?	M	—	LH IIIA2–B	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, pl.12 fig.13.3
82	A1577	cup (handleless)	205–6	M/L	4.6	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.11
83	A1313	spouted cup	249	L	5.4	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.207, **Pl.4**
84	A1010	spouted cup	252	M/FM46	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.6.32, **Pl.4**
85	A1011	spouted cup	252	M/FM52.5	8.1	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.6.31, **Pl.4**
86	A1012	spouted cup	252	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	AE 1932, pl.7.91
87	A1312	spouted cup	252	L	7.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.105
88	N72	spouted cup	252	M/FM52.1	6.7	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.14.40, Taf.XII

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
89	N73	spouted cup	252	M	6	LH IIIC	Mazarakata		B. Jucker 1986, Abb.13.39, Taf.XII
90	A1470	spouted cup	252	M/FM46	6.9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, pl.1b.5, **Pls 4 & 57:c,d**
91	A1576	spouted cup	252?	L	7.3	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, pl.2.11, **Pl.4**
92	A896	deep bowl	285–6	L/FM58	15	LH IIIC	Diakata	1ø	AD 5, 1919, 106 fig 21
93	A1211	deep bowl	285?	M/FM61.2	8	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.279
94	A1257	deep bowl	285–6	M/FM52.2	11	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.164
95	A1259	deep bowl	285	M	(10)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.185
96	A1253	deep bowl	285	L/FM46	16.2	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D1	AE 1932, pl.11.159, **Pl.14**
97	A1080	dipper	236	U	8.00	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, Pl 8.103
98	A1081	dipper	236	U	(7.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.8.104
99	A1082	dipper	236	U	6.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.8.105, **Pl.5**
100	A1083	dipper	236	U	6.0	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	AE 1932, pl.8.106
101	A1084	dipper	236	U	5.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A6	AE 1932, pl.8.107
102	A1085	dipper	236	U	5.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.8.102
103	A1086	dipper	236	U	(7.2)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1/9	AE 1932, pl.8.100
104	A1216	dipper	236	U	9.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.281
105	A1217	dipper	236	U	9.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.282
106	A1319	dipper	236	U	9.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.254
107	A1320	dipper	236	U	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.258?
108	A1321	dipper	236	U	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.257
109	A1322	dipper	236	U	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.255, **Pl.5**
110	A1323	dipper	236	U	8.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.259
111	A1324	dipper	236	U	(9)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.260?
112	N70	dipper	236	U	6.8	LH IIIC	Mazarakata		B. Jucker 1986, Abb.13.37, Taf.XII
113	N71	dipper	236	U	7.4	LH IIIC	Mazarakata		B. Jucker 1986, Abb.13.38, Taf.XII
114	A1532	dipper	236	U	(10.5)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B5	AE 1933, 83 fig. 28.16
115	N85	jug	149	L/FM64.19	7.2	LH IIIA2	Mazarakata		B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.26, Taf.VII
116	A1007	jug	136	M	26.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.5.22
117	A1138	jug	137–8	L	(25)	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.110
118	A1267	jug	148	M/r.b.	22.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.227
119	A1268	jug	148	L/?	22	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.229
120	A1432	jug	136	M/r.b.	17	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 82 fig. 26.3, **Pl.8**
121	A1001	krateriskos	298–9	M/FM52	18.2	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.4.10
122	A1003	krateriskos	298–9	L/FM52	18.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.4.7
123	A1005	krateriskos	298–9	L/FM61A.1	17	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.4.4
124	A1136	krateriskos	298–9	L/FM75(FM61A.4/5 or FM35)	pres.13.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A7,B2,6	AE 1932, pl.8.10
125	A1261	krateriskos	298–9	L/FM46	19.8	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.152
126	A1262	krateriskos	298–9	L/FM61A.6	(18.5)	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.145, **Pl.11**
127	A993	krateriskos	—	L/FM61A.1	14.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.4.1
128	A996	krateriskos	—	M/FM52	17.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.4.6
129	A997	krateriskos	—	M/FM51	15.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	A1,3	AE 1932, pl.4.3
130	A1243	krateriskos	—	L/FM52	18	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D11	AE 1932, pl.11.165
131	A1244	krateriskos	—	M/FM52	17	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.157
132	A1252	krateriskos	—	L/FM52,FM73y	(16)	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.147
133	A1426	krateriskos	—	L/FM52	14.2	LH IIIC1	Metaxata	A3	AE 1933, 82 fig. 26.2, **Pl.12**

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
134	A947	krater	282	M,r.b./FM75.18,33	26	LH IIICl	Diakata	1d?	AD 5, 1919, 102 fig.17, 103 fig.18
135	A972	krater	298	M/FM75.27,22 etc	(20)	LH IIICl	Diakata	1d	AD 5, 1919, 104 fig.19, 105 fig.19 & 20
136	A986	krater	282	M/FM73y,FM61A.6,FM62 FM75.32–33, hat.lozenge	20.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7,8	AE 1932, pl.4.5
137	A987	krater	282	M	25.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7,8	AE 1932, pl.5.19
138	A1251	krater	282	M	(21.5)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.143
139	A1000	krater	298	L/FM52	26	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7,8	AE 1932, pl.4.2
140	A1002	krater	298	L/FM46	(23)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.5.20
141	A1004	krater	298	L/U	20.8	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A1	AE 1932, pl.4.11
142	A1135	krater	298	L/FM52	23	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A9,B2	AE 1932, pl.8.109
143	A994	krater	—	L/FM52,FM46,FM73y	22.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.4.8
144	A995	krater	—	L/FM52	20	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.4.9
145	A1238	krater	—	L/FM75(FM35)	32	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.149
146	A1239	krater	—	L/FM51	(30)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.153
147	A1240	krater	—	L/FM46	(26)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D5	AE 1932, pl.10.151, **Pl.13**
148	A1241	krater	—	L/FM52,FM73y	23.3	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.141
149	A1245	krater	—	L/FM73y,FM46	26	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.139
150	A989	krater	—	L/FM75.33?	(25.5)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.5.13
151	A1246	krater	—	L?	25	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.167
152	A1263	krater	—	L/FM52,leaf	25.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.146, **Pl.63:d**
153	A1260	krater	—	L/FM46	27	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.140
154	A999	krater	—	M	24	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.5.18
155	A1425	krater	—	L/FM46	23.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A8,9	AE 1933, 83 fig.29.2
156	A575	krater	8	L/FM46.44	31.3	LH IIIA2	Prokopata	?	AD 5, 1919, 114 fig.29.2
157	A964	kylix	?	?	(17.5)	LH IIIC	Diakata	1¢	—
158	A940	kylix	274–5	M/L	(15)	LH IIIC	Diakata	1¢	AD 5, 1919, 111 fig.27.6
159	A965	kylix	275	M/U	15.5	LH IIIC	Diakata	1¢	AD 5, 1919, 111 fig.27.8
160	A974	kylix	275	U?	15	LH IIIC	Diakata	1i	AD 5, 1919, 111 fig.27.7
161	A1582	kylix	274?	U	15.2	LH IIIC	Kontogenada	A	AE 1933, 79 fig.21.1
162	A1045	kylix	274–5	U?	11	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.49
163	A1071	kylix	274–5	M/U	16	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.52
164	A1072	kylix	274–5	L/FM53	14.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.6.29
165	A1076	kylix	274–5	M/U	16	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.45?
166	A1078	kylix	274–5	L/FM61A.5	(16.3)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.6.25
167	A?	kylix	274–5	U?	—	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.216
168	A1063	kylix	275	M/U	(18)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.50
169	A1064	kylix	275	M/U	15.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.6.47
170	A1066	kylix	275	M	16	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6?
171	A1067	kylix	275	M/U	17.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.51
172	A1068	kylix	275	M/U	(17.4)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.53
173	A1069	kylix	275	M/U	(15)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.48
174	A1070	kylix	275	L,M/U	17	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.54
175	A1079	kylix	275	L/FM61A.5	16.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.27
176	A?	kylix	275	M/U	?	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.55
177	A1137	kylix	275	M/U	15	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B6	AE 1932, pl.8.113
178	A1326	kylix	275	M+L/U	18.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.214

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
179	A1327	kylix	275	U?	(18.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.218?
180	A1329	kylix	275	L/U	(15)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.223, **Pl.10**
181	A1330	kylix	275	M,L/U	15	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.224
182	A1335	kylix	275	M/U	16	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.221
183	A1336	kylix	275	M,L/U	15.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.226
184	A1337	kylix	275	M/U	(14)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.215?
185	A1338	kylix	275	?	(12)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.217
186	A13...	kylix	275	M/U	15.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.220
187	A?	kylix	275	U?	?	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.228
188	A1077	kylix	275–6	U	(15)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.44
189	A1332	kylix	275–6	L/U	(16.5)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.219
190	A1333	kylix	275–6	M/U	16.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.222, **Pls 10 & 62:a, right**
191	A1334	kylix	275–6	U?	15.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.225, **Pls 10 & 62:a, left**
192	A1065	kylix	274–5	M/U	15	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.46
193	N49	kylix	274–6	U	14.6	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.14.41, Taf.XIII
194	A1555	kylix	267	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.2
195	A1553	kylix	274–5	U?	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.1
196	A1428	kylix	275	L/FM61A.4/5,FM75.16,29–30	25	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A	AE 1933, 80 fig.23.1, **Pl.9**
197	A1429	kylix	275	M/FM52	(24)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A	AE 1933, 80 fig.23.2
198	A1430	kylix	275	M?	15	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A2	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.1
199	A1431	kylix	275	L?/U	15.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A6	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.4
200	A1554	kylix	274	U?	(14)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C3	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.4
201	A1394 (b)	kylix	263–4	M	—	LH IIIA	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.1
202	A1394 (a)	kylix	263–4	M	—	LH IIIA	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.2
203	N52	legged alabastron	99?	L/FM73y	14.9	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.6.14, Taf.V
204	N53	legged alabastron	99?	L/FM61.13	10.2	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.7.15ab, Taf.V
205	A1278	legged amphoriskos	—	L/FM61A.1	ca.10	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.171, **Pl.2**
206	A1311	mug	—	M	7.1	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.240
207	A1018	lekythos	122	L/FM52	8.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.30, **Pl.8**
208	A1017	lekythos	122–3	M	9.7	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.7.68
209	A1019	lekythos	122–3	L/FM52	10.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.67, **Pl.8**
210	A1006	lekythos	123	M/FM43–44	ca. 25	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.5.23, **Pls 9 & 60:f**
211	A1139	lekythos	?124	L/FM43	ca. 16	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.112, **Pl.8**
212	A1269	lekythos	—	M	15	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.162
213	N76	lekythos	122–3	L	10.1	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.25, Taf.VII
214	N75	lekythos	123	L/FM57.2	11.6	LH IIIB/C	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.24, Taf.VII
215	A1433	lekythos	122–3	L/FM52	9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.3
216	A1552	lekythos	123	L	(14)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.4
217	A1478	narrow-necked jug	123	L/FM48	17.5	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B6	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.3, **Pl.60:c,d**
218	A1276	piriform jar	45	L/?	13.5	LH IIIB	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.182
219	A1277	piriform jar	45/48	L/FM61.18	11.5	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.183, **Pl.4**
220	A1275	piriform jar	49	L	9.4	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.245, **Pl.4**
221	A1357	piriform jar	—	M	9.5	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.194
222	A2	piriform jar	45	L/FM57.2	(11.4)	LH IIIA2–B1	Mazarakata	A1	Kavvadias 1914 fig.465, Wardle 1972 fig.10

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
223	N46	piriform jar	45	L/FM64.27	17.7	LH IIIA2	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.2.1, Taf.II
224	N47	piriform jar	47?	L/FM44.10/FM61.17	15.3	LH IIICe	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.2.2, Taf.II
225	N48	piriform jar	48	L/FM59	12.8	LH IIIB	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.3.3, Taf.III
226	A1477	piriform jar	45	L/FM70.2	ca. 14.5	LH IIIA2	Metaxata	B2	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.3, **Pl. 4**
227	A1394	piriform jar	48	M?	(9)	LH IIIA2–B	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.6
228	A577	piriform jar	45	L/FM53	20.5	LH IIIA2	Prokopata	?	AD 5 1919, 114 fig.29.3
229	A885	piriform jar	?38	L/FM46/47	20	LH IIIC	Diakata	1b	AD 5 1919, 107 fig.23
230	N74	ring-vase	196	L/FM61.17	8.3	LH IIIC1	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.12.36, Taf.XI
231	A1444	ring-vase	196	L/FM 53,FM64/FM73	9.6	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, fig. 27.1, **Pl.2**
232	A1581	shallow bowl	295	M?	11	LH IIIC	Kontogenada	A	AE 1933, 79 fig.21.2
233	A1213	shallow bowl	295–6	M	d:14	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.280
234	A966	small jar	—	M	9	LH IIIC	Diakata	1ø	AD 5, 1919, 111 fig.27.3
235	A934	small jar	—	L	(6)	LH IIIC	Diakata	1d	AD 5, 1919, 108 fig.25.3
236	A1215	small jar	—	M?	6.8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	C	AE 1932, pl.13.278
237	A1534	small jar	—	M	8.5	LH IIIC1	Metaxata	B1/4	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.7
238	A911	small jug	114–5	M	6.5	LH IIIC	Diakata	1a	—
239	A951	small jug	114–5	M	9	LH IIIC	Diakata	1z	—
240	A898	small jug	114–5	M	9	LH IIIC	Diakata	1e	—
241	A944	small jug	115	L/FM58.29,FM75.15	(9)	LH IIIC1	Diakata	1c	AD 5, 1919, 108 fig. 24.2
242	A897	small jug	115?	M	(7.5)	LH IIIC1	Diakata	1ø	AD 5, 1919, 111 fig.27.2
243	A889	small jug	114–5	M	6.5	LH IIIC1	Diakata	1b	—
244	A900	small jug	114–5	M	9	LH IIIC	Diakata	1e	—
245	A910	small jug	114–5	M	8	LH IIIC	Diakata	1a	—
246	A930	small jug	114–5	M	8	LH IIIC	Diakata	1d	—
247	A825	small jug	114–5	M	8	LH IIIC	Diakata	2?	—
248	A1294	small jug	114–5	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.231
249	A1291	small jug	113–4	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.202, **Pl.7**
250	A1300	small jug	114	L	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.191, pl.11.169, **Pl.7**
251	A1147	small jug	114–5	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.125?
252	A1151	small jug	114–5	M	6.8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B8	AE 1932, pl.8.131, **Pl.7**
253	A1153	small jug	114–5	M	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B6	AE 1932, pl.8.24
254	A1154	small jug	114–5	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B8	AE 1932, pl.8.115
255	A?	small jug	114–5	M	?	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.127?
256	A1285	small jug	114–5	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.233?
257	A1284	small jug	114–5	M	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.200, **Pl.7**
258	A1116	small jug	115	M	9.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.64, **Pl.7**
259	A1096	small jug	115	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.7.56
260	A1121	small jug	115	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	AE 1932, pl.7.61?
261	A1122	small jug	115	M	6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	—
262	A1145	small jug	115	L/FM57.2,FM73y?	8	LH IIICe?	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.6.28, **Pl.56:f**
263	A?	small jug	115	M	?	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.111
264	A1148	small jug	115	M	7.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B?	AE 1932, pl.8.116
265	A1150	small jug	115	M	8.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B?	AE 1932, pl.8.129, **Pl.7**
266	A1284	small jug	115	M	8.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.234
267	A1292	small jug	115	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.244
268	A1156	small jug	111?	M	8.5	LH IIIC1	Lakkithra	B?	AE 1932, pl.8.126

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
269	A1152	small jug	115?	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B7	AE 1932, pl.8.122
270	A1295	small jug	115?	L	7.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.243
271	A1296	small jug	115?	M	7.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.237
272	A1297	small jug	115?	M	7.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.248
273	A1290	small jug	115?	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.241
274	A1095	small jug	—	M	10.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.7.63
275	A1097	small jug	—	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	Wardle 1972, fig.87
276	A1098	small jug	—	M	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	—
277	A1099	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	Wardle 1972, fig.87
278	A1101	small jug	—	M	6.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A?	—
279	A1102	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	—
280	A1103	small jug	—	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A6	—
281	A1104	small jug	115	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	**Pl.7**
282	A1106	small jug	—	M	6.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	—
283	A1107	small jug	—	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A6	—
284	A1108	small jug	115	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	**Pl.7**
285	A1109	small jug	—	M	6.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A2	—
286	A1110	small jug	—	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	—
287	A1113	small jug	—	M	4.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	—
288	A1114	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	—
289	A1115	small jug	—	M	8.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	—
290	A1118	small jug	—	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	—
291	A1119	small jug	—	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A2	—
292	A1098	small jug	115	M	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	1932, pl.7.62
293	A1123	small jug	—	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	—
294	A1124	small jug	114–5	M	7.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A2	—
295	A1126	small jug	115	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	—
296	A1141	small jug	114–5	M	11	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B6	AE 1932, pl.8.119
297	A1128	small jug	—	M	10	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.7.60
298	A1149	small jug	—	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B6	—
299	A1156	small jug	114–5	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.126
300	A1155	small jug	—	M	7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B8	—
301	A1159	small jug	—	M	6.8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B2	—
302	A1282	small jug	—	M	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.198
303	A1283	small jug	—	L/FM61.2	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.170
304	A1287	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.238
305	A1293	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.201
306	A1298	small jug	—	M	6.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.242
307	A1294	squat jar	—	M	8.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.247
308	A1299	small jug	—	M	6.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.230
309	A?	small jug	114–5	M	—	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.199
310	N79	small jug	111	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.20, Taf.VI
311	N80	small jug	115	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.21, Taf.VI
312	N77	small jug	114–5	M	7.2	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.23, Taf.VI
313	N78	small jug	114–5	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.8.22, Taf.VI
314	A1463	small jug	112–3	M	6.3	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.25.12

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
315	A1556?	small jug	112–3	M	10	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C4	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.6
316	A?	small jug	112–3	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.9
317	A1563	small jug	112–3	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.3
318	A1449	small jug	115	M	9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.9
319	A1454	small jug	115	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.5
320	A?	small jug	115	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.5
321	A?	small jug	115	M	8.2	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.13
322	A1462	small jug	115	M	6	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.11
323	A1458?	small jug	115	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.10
324	A1460	small jug	115?	M	7.2	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.12, **Pl.7**
325	A1464	small jug	115	M	6	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.14?
326	A?	small jug	115	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.13
327	A?	small jug	115	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C4	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.17
328	A1558	small jug	115	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.2
329	A1562	small jug	115	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.15
330	A1564	small jug	115	M	7.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.3
331	A1567	small jug	115	M	6.7	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.7
332	A?	small jug	114?	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.11
333	A1446	small jug	115?	M	8.8	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.1, **Pl.7**
334	A1447	small jug	115?	M	9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.7
335	A1450	small jug	115?	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.10
336	A?	small jug	115?	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.2
337	A?	small jug	115?	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.16
338	A1566	small jug	115?	M	6.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.4
339	A?	small jug	—	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.6
340	A?	small jug	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.8
341	A?	small jug	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.11
342	A1116	small jug	116	M	9.3	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.64
343	A1448	small jug	—	M	7.8	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.15
344	A?	small jug	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.9
345	A?	small jug	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.1
346	A?	small jug	—	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.8
347	A1560	small jug	—	L/FM53	8.2	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 89 pl.2a.12
348	A1511	small jug	—	M	(8)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.9
349	A1503	small jug	114	L	8.5	LH IIIB–Cl	Metaxata	B5	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.12
350	A1495	small jug	115	M	9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.10
351	A1499	small jug	115	M?	6.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.15?
352	A?	small jug	115	M	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.17
353	A1496	small jug	115?	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B2/8	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.11?
354	A1500	small jug	115?	M	7	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.13
355	A1509	small jug	—	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.16
356	A1105	squat jar	87?	M	8.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	**Pl.6**
357	A1112	squat jar	87?	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	AE 1932, pl.7.57, **Pl.6**
358	A1125	squat jar	87	M	7.1	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.7.83
359	A1157	squat jar	87	M	7	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.130
360	A1158	squat jar	87	M	7	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.136

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
361	A?	squat jar	87	M	ca 8	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.236
362	A1309	squat jar	87	M	7.7	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.213, **Pl.6**
363	A1304	squat jar	87?	M	7.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.2.203, **Pls 6 & 56:e**
364	A1306	squat jar	87	M	8.4	LH IIIA2–B	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.204, **Pl.6**
365	A1307	squat jar	87	M	8	LH IIIA2–B	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.235
366	A1308	squat jar/small jug	—	M	7.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.246, **Pl.7**
367	A1354	squat jar	87	M	7.5	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.253
368	A1117	squat jar	87	M	7.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A1	Wardle 1972, fig.99
369	A1302	squat jar	87?	M	9.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.197
370	A1303	squat jar	87	M	8.7	LH IIIA2–B	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.232, **Pl.6**
371	A?	squat jar	87	M	7.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.239
372	A1301	squat jar	87	M	8	LH IIIB–Ce	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.13.256
373	A1305	squat jar	87	M	7.5	LH IIIB–Ce	Lakkithra	D	?
374	N81	squat jar	87	M	8.3	LH IIIA2–B	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.7.16, Taf.V
375	N82	squat jar	87	M	8.5	LH IIIA2–B	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.7.17, Taf.V
376	N83	squat jar	87	M	7.7	LH IIIA2–B	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.7.18, Taf.VI
377	N84	squat jar	87	M	7.3	LH IIIB–Ce	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.7.19, Taf.VI
378	A1504	squat jar	87	L/FM58.34	10	LH IIIB/C	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.2, **Pl.8**
379	A1505	squat jar	87	M	9	LH IIIA2–B	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.5
380	A1508	squat jar	87	M	(9)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 83 fig.28
381	A1512	squat jar	87	M	(8)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.8?
382	A1513	squat jar	87	M	7	LH IIIB–Ce	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.18, **Pl.56:a, right**
383	A1515	squat jar	87	M	6	LH IIIA2	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.12, **Pl.56:a, left**
384	A1465	squat jar	87	M	9	LH IIICe	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig. 25.4, **Pl.6**
385	A1570	squat jar	87	M	(8)	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.6
386	A1571	squat jar	87?	M	8	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C4	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.14
387	A1506	squat jar	87	M	9	LH IIIA2–B	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.1
388	A1507	squat jar	87	M	9	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.14?
389	A1510	squat jar	87	M	8	LH IIIB–Ce	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.6, **Pl.56:b**
390	A1514	squat jar	87	M	8	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 84 fig.30.15
391	A1466	squat jar	87?	M	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.8
392	A1569	squat jar	87?	M	8	LH IIICe	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.18
393	A1580	squat jar/small jug	—	M	7.7	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C	AE 1933, 85 fig.32.8, **Pl.7**
394	A1384	squat jar	87	M	(8)	LH IIIA1	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.8
395	A1385	squat jar	87	M	(7.5)	LH IIIA1	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.9?
396	A1386	squat jar	87	M	(7.2)	LH IIIA1	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.4
397	A1387	squat jar	87	M	7.5	LH IIIA1	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.5?
398	A1388	squat jar	87	M	ca 7.5	LH IIIA1	Oikopeda	?	AE 1932, 12 fig.13.7, **Pl.6**
399	A998	stemmed bowl	305	L/FM52,FM61A.1	18	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.5.17
400	A973	stemmed bowl	305	L/FM52	(16.5)	LHIIIC1	Diakata	1i	AD 5, 1919, 107 fig.22
401	A988	stemmed bowl	305	L/FM52, FM73,FM61.2	26	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.5.16, **Pl.63:a**
402	A990	stemmed bowl	305	M/FM52	19.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.5.14
403	A991	stemmed bowl	305	L/FM52	19	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.5.15
404	A992	stemmed bowl	305	M/FM75.18 (+FM 35)	(22)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A9	AE 1932, pl.5.12
405	A1247	stemmed bowl	305	M/FM46	22	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.156
406	A1248	stemmed bowl	305	M/FM61.2	19	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.154, **Pl.20**

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
407	A1255	stemmed bowl	305	L/?	(16)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.168
408	A1258	stemmed bowl	305	L/FM51	10	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.155, **Pl.12**
409	A1250	stemmed bowl	305–6	?	(16.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.166
410	A1242	stemmed bowl	305?	M/FM52,FM62	26	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.9.138
411	A1254	stemmed bowl	305?	M/FM52,FM75	15	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.163
412	A1014	stemmed bowl	305?	L/FM53	(8)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.92
413	A1249	stemmed bowl	305–6	M,w.p.	16.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.161, **Pls 11 & 62:b**
414	A?	stemmed bowl	?	L/FM19	—	LH IIIA2	Metaxata	B9	Wardle 1972, fig.111
415	A1039	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.6	11	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.81
416	A1041	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	7.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	—
417	A926	stirrup jar	174	L/FM52.5	9	LH IIIC	Diakata	1d	AD 5, 1919, 109 fig.26.3
418	A975	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.4/5,FM52	(9)	LH IIIC	Diakata	1i	AD 5, 1919, 109 fig.25.1
419	A809	stirrup jar	174–5	L/?	9	Lh IIICl	Diakata	2	—
420	A902?	stirrup jar	175	M/FM61A.4/5	11	LH IIICl	Diakata	1e?	AD 5, 1919, 109 fig.26.1
421	A942	stirrup jar	176	M/FM61A.6,FM51	(9)	LH IIICl	Diakata	1c	AD 5, 1919, 108 fig.24.1
422	A958	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	(10)	LH IIICl	Diakata	1z	AD 5, 1919, 108 fig.24.3
423	A941	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	15	LH IIIC	Diakata	1c	—
424	A1352	stirrup jar	171	L/FM18c.90	—	LH IIIA2	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.180, **Pl.15**
425	A1025	stirrup jar	174	L/FM43h/n	8.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	AE 1932, pl.7.71
426	A1026	stirrup jar	174	L/FM43h/n,FM61	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.7.72, **Pl.16**
427	A1045	stirrup jar	175	M/FM71	11	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.41, **Pl.18**
428	A1050	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.6,FM51	mini	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.37, **Pls 19 & 60:a,b**
429	A1164	stirrup jar	174	L/?	ca. 9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B2	AE 1932, pl.8.132
430	A1165	stirrup jar	174	?	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.128
431	A1347	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61.2/FM73y	9	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.178, **Pl.16**
432	A1349	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.6	7.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.173, **Pl.16**
433	A1351	stirrup jar	min	M/FM61A.6	6.8	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.192, **Pl.16**
434	A1044	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61.2/FM50,FM73y	12.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.39, **Pl.14**
435	A1350	stirrup jar	180?	L/FM64,FM19,FM57.2, FM61A.4/5	ca. 7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.177, **Pls 15 & 61:f**
436	A1038	stirrup jar	175–6	L/FM61A.4/5	11.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	—
437	A?	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.75
438	A1056	stirrup jar	175–6	L/FM?	(9.6)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.6.42?
439	A1341	stirrup jar	175–6	L/FM73y,leaf	12.1	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.176, **Pl.16**
440	A1028	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43h/n	(12.2)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.82
441	A1029	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43h/n	9.3	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.6.38
442	A1032	stirrup jar	176	M/FM61A.6	(14.2)	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.6.30
443	A1342	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43h/n	10	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.179
444	A1033	stirrup jar	176	M/FM61A.6	9.5	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.7.69, **Pl.59:e,f**
445	A1034	stirrup jar	176	M/FM 61A.6,FM 73,hat.lozenge	12	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A8	AE 1932, pl.6.35
446	A1042	stirrup jar	mini	L/FM61A.4/5	(6.2)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.77?
447	A1036	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	10	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.74
448	A1348	stirrup jar	174	?	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.193
449	A1049	stirrup jar	175–6	L/FM52, FM61A.6	(10)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	—
450	A1046	stirrup jar	176	M/FM52	9.7	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	A3	AE 1932, pl.7.73
451	A1051	stirrup jar	174	L/FM25,FM51,FM43p	10.2	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A3	AE 1932, pl.7.89, **Pls 17 & 59:c,d**

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
452	A1053	stirrup jar	176	?	16.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.79
453	A1160	stirrup jar	174	?	14	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.118
454	A1161	stirrup jar	175	M/?	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.117
455	A1162?	stirrup jar	176	U?	11	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.125
456	A1166	stirrup jar	176	L/?	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B	AE 1932, pl.8.134
457	A1339	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43i	37	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.10.148, **Pl.13**
458	A1340	stirrup jar	176–77	L/FM53/?	12.6	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	**Pl.18**
459	A1491	stirrup jar	176	L/FM48	9.6	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.5
460	A1343	stirrup jar	176	M/FM41	10	LH IIICl	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.175, **Pl.18**
461	A1344	stirrup jar	175	?	10.5	LH IIIB–C1	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.196
462	A1345	stirrup jar	176	?	(9.5)	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.12.195
463	A1043	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.6	8.8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	AE 1932, pl.7.76
464	A1346	stirrup jar	171	L/FM18	9.1	LH IIIA2–B	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932, pl.11.174, **Pls 15 & 57:f**
465	A1040	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61.2/FM61A.1	ca 10	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	AE 1932, pl.7.70, **Pl.18**
466	A1163	stirrup jar	174	?	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	B8	AE 1932, pl.8.133
467	A1054	stirrup jar	176	M/?	12.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A1	AE 1932, pl.7.78
468	A1037	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.6	9.4	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	AE 1932, pl.7.88, **Pl.16**
469	A1027	stirrup jar	?	L/FM43h/n	8.8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A10	—
470	A1030	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43h/n	9.7	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A	**Pls 17 & 61:e**
471	A1035	stirrup jar	?	L/FM61A.6	12	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A6	—
472	A1048	stirrup jar	174	L/FM52,FM51,FM19	9	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	**Pl.17**
473	A1052	stirrup jar	175	L/FM27.27/30	10	LH IIICe	Lakkithra	A10	**Pls 15 & 57:g**
474	A1060	stirrup jar	?	L?	7.5	LHIIIC1	Lakkithra	A10	—
475	A1059	stirrup jar	?	M	8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A2	—
476	A1057	stirrup jar	174	L	6.5	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	A7	—
477	N65	stirrup jar	171	L/FM18c	9.5	LH IIIA2	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.9.27, Taf.VIII
478	A65b	stirrup jar	171	L/FM18	5.4	LH IIIA2	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.9.28, Taf.VIII
479	N68	stirrup jar	174	L/FM52.5/8	8.4	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.9.29, Taf.VIII
480	N69	stirrup jar	174	L/FM43h/n	9	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb. 10.30, Taf. VIII
481	N62	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.6,FM51	15.4	LH IIICl	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.10.31,Taf.IX
482	N64	stirrup jar	176	L/FM73	12.5	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.11.32,Taf.IX
483	N66	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/4FM43h/n	10.3	LH IIICl	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.11.34, Taf.X
484	N67	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.6,FM51	11	LH IIIC	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.11.33, Taf.X
485	N63	stirrup jar	178	L/FM64?	9.2	LH IIIB	Mazarakata	?	B. Jucker 1986, Abb.12.35, Taf.X
486	A1439	stirrup jar	174	L/FM64/FM61A.4/5,FM43	8.8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.9, **Pls 17 & 61:a,b**
487	A1440	stirrup jar	174	M/FM52,FM43h/n	8.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.11, **Pl.16**
488	A1441	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.4/5	7.7	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.8
489	A1442	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61A.5	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.7, **Pl.59:a,b**
490	A1443	stirrup jar	174	M/FM61A.4/5	7.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 81 fig.25.14
491	A1482	stirrup jar	174	L/FM52,FM73	10.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.7
492	A1487	stirrup jar	174	L/FM64/FM43h/i	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B5	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.6, **Pl.16**
493	A1488	stirrup jar	174	L/FM47	8.9	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B4	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.10, **Pls 17 & 58:a,b**
494	A1540	stirrup jar	176	L/?	9.2	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.8
495	A1541	stirrup jar	174	L/FM73y,leaf	10.1	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.4, **Pls 17 & 61:c,d**
496	A1544	stirrup jar	174	?	10.2	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C4	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.12
497	A1547	stirrup jar	174	M/FM43h/n	9.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.1

Table F.1 Mycenaean vases from the tombs (continued)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Deco	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration (or reference)
498	A1549	stirrup jar	174	L/FM61A.6	(9)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C3	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.9
499	A1550	stirrup jar	174	L/?	(9.2)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.9
500	A1551	stirrup jar	174	L/FM43h/n	7.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C3	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.10
501	A1484	stirrup jar	175	L/FM73y	(10)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.3
502	A1543	stirrup jar	175	L/?	11	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.2
503	A1438	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61A.4/5	9.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.10
504	A1479	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61.2/FM61A.5,FM52	12.7	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.5
505	A1485	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43/n	7	LH IIICl	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.9
506	A1434	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61A.4/5,FM73y,FM43	13.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A1	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.3, **Pls 14 & 58:e,f**
507	A1435	stirrup jar	176	L/FM73y	11.4	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A4	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.2
508	A1436	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.1	11.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	A8	AE 1933, 86 pl.1b.4
509	A1437	stirrup jar	176	M/FM43h/n	10.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	A7	AE 1933, 82 fig.26.7
510	A1480	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61.2/FM17 or FM41	11.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.2, **Pl.18**
511	A1481	stirrup jar	176	L/FM73y	10.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.4
512	A1483	stirrup jar	176	L/FM43	10.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.1
513	A1486	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	9.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 83 fig..28.1
514	A1489	stirrup jar	176	?	10	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B10	AE 1933, 83 fig.28.6
515	M-B-9	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61.2/FM73ae,f,FM27	—	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 83 fig. 28.4, **Pl.19**
516	A1491	stirrup jar	173	L/FM48.5, FM64	9.5	LH IIIB–Ce	Metaxata	B8	AE 1933, 83 fig. 28.5, **Pl.15**
517	A1493	stirrup jar	176	L?/FM43	8	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B9	AE 1933, 86 pl.1a.13
518	A1494	stirrup jar	176	M/?	(9.5)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B3	AE 1933, 83 fig. 28.2
519	A1538	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.5	(11)	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.3, **Pl.18**
520	A1539	stirrup jar	176	L/FM61A.4/5	10.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C5	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.6
521	A1542	stirrup jar	176	L/FM43h/n	11	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.7
522	A1545	stirrup jar	176	L/FM52	10.3	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C8	AE 1933, 85 fig.31.10
523	A1546	stirrup jar	176	L/FM43h/n	10	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C2	AE 1933, 83 fig.31.13
524	A1548	stirrup jar	176	M/FM51	9.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	C3	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.5, **Pl.58:c,d**
525	A1492	stirrup jar	?179	L/?	9.5	LH IIIC	Metaxata	B8/C3	AE 1933, 89 pl.2.15
526	M–B4	stirrup jar	?	L/FM19.52	—	LH IIICe	Metaxata	B4	**Pl.19**
527	M–B	stirrup jar	175	L/ FM43i, FM19	ca.9.3	LH IIIC	Metaxata	?	**Pl.18**
528	A1490	stirrup jar	175	L/FM43	9.5	LH IIICe?	Metaxata	B9	**Pl.57:e**
529	A576	stirrup jar	171	L/FM18	10.7	LH IIIA2–B	Prokopata		AD 5, 1919, 114 fig.29.1. **Pl.15**
530	A1348	stirrup jar	174		8	LH IIIC	Lakkithra	D	AE 1932 , pl.12.193
531	A1527	tripod bowl	—	M,w.p.	9.5	LH IIICl	Metaxata	B/B2	AE 1933, 87 fig.33.1
532	A1390	Vapheio cup	224?	M	4.2	LH II?	Oiukopeda		AE 1932, 13 fig. 14

Only extant and/or published vases are listed
MN = museum inventory number
H(eight) in ( ) = figure obtained from the Argostoli Museum Catalogue
L = linear M = monochrome U = unpainted r.b. = reserved band w.p. = white paint
C = Γ D = Δ c = γ d = δ e = ϵ ø = θ i = ι
LH IIICe = early LH IIIC
LH IIICl = developed LH IIIC

Table F.2 Mycenaean motifs (Kefalonia) (includes body-zones)

	piriform jar	amphora	collar-necked jar	amphoriskos	rounded alabastron	straight-sided alabastron	legged alabastron	jug	lekythos/narrow-necked jug	small jug/squat jar	stirrup jar	spouted cup	cup	kylix	krater/spouted krater	deep bowl/krateriskos	stemmed bowl	ring vase/askos	bottle	composite vessel	TOTAL
rosette (FM17)											1								1		2
flower (FM18)											5										5
multiple stem (FM19)				1							4						1				6
bivalve shell (FM25)											1										1
sea anemone (FM27)											2										2
double-axe (?FM35)															1–2		1				2–3
circles (FM41)											1							1			2
isolated semi-circles (FM43 e/i/n/h/l/p)				4					1		25										30
concentric arcs (FM44)	1								1												2
running spiral (FM46.44/54/59)	1			3								2			7	2	1				16
double spiral (FM47)				1							1										2
quirk (FM48)									1		1										2
antithetic spiral (FM50)											1										1
stemmed spiral (FM51)				2							7				1	1	1				12
isolated spiral (FM52)				2					3		11	1		1	6	8	7				39
wavy line (FM53)	1	2	1	1	1					1	1			1			1	1			11
diaper net (FM57.2)	1			2	1–2	1	1		1	1	1									1	10–11
parallel chevrons (FM58)					2					2			1			1				1	7
V-pattern (FM59)	1																			1?	1–2
N-pattern (FM60)																				1–2	1–2
zig-zag: simple (FM61.2)		1		1	1?	1				1	7					1	2	1			15–16
zig-zag: elaborate (FM61.13/17–19)	2			1			1				1							1			6
multiple triangle (FM61A.1)			1	2				1			2					2				1	9
triangle: hatched (FM61A.6)		1		5–6							16				1	1					24–25
triangle: cross-hatched (FM61A.4/5)											20			3	1						24
foliate band (FM64)	1			5			1											1			8
scale pattern (FM70)	1																			1	2
elaborate triangle (FM71)											1										1
lozenge: cross-hatched (FM73y/ae)				3			1			1?	11				4	1	1?	1			21–23
lozenge: hatched ?											1				1						2
streamer ?															1		1				2
leaf ?				2							2				1						5
panelled motifs (FM75)														1	6		1				8

TABLES G.1–G.3 POTTERY: ITHAKI

Table G.1 Early Bronze Age pottery (complete and restored)

No	MN	Shape	Surface	H (or d.) cm	Site (area)	Illustration
I. Fineware						
1.	S458	bowl	red glaze	18 d :32	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:26
2.	S?	bowl	red-brown glaze	—	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:27
3.	S?	bowl	brown glaze	—	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:28
4.	S482	bowl	?	ca.16.5	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:29
5.	S461	saucer	?	2	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.4.1s
6.	S?	bowl	red glaze	4.5	Pelikata (VIIa)	Ithaca II, fig.13:17
7.	S?	bowl	U?	5	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, fig.13:11a
8.	S?	bowl	red glaze	5	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.4:13
9.	S?	bowl	red glaze	6	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.4:14
10.	S?	saucer	dark red glaze	d:11	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.4:12
11.	S486	pedes. bowl	dark red glaze	11	Pelikata (l)	Ithaca II, pl.4:18, **Pl.65:e**
12.	S457	pedes. bowl	red-brown glaze	28	Pelikata (III)	Ithaca II, pl.4:19
13.	S?	bowl	red-brown glaze	d:29	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.4:16
14.	S463	pyxis	red glaze	ca.10	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:30
15.	S487 (+ S459)	sauceboat (base)	?	—	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.6:37, **Pl.65:b**
16.	S?	bowl	red glaze	?	Stavros	BSA 47, 1952, pl.49e
17.	S481	jug/askos	brown?	14	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.6:42, **Pl.65:a**
18.	S485	jug	U?	ca.16	Pelikata (VIla)	Ithaca II, pl.6:43
19.	S456	pitcher	grey-brown glaze	25+	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.6:40
20.	S462	2-handl. jar	?	9	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.5:31
21.	S488	tankard	black glaze	ca.17	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.6:46, **Pl.65:d**
22.	S424	depas cup	U?	—	Pelikata (I)	Ithaca II, pl.6:47, **Pl.65:c**
II. Semi-course wares						
23.	S479	Bass-bowl	dark burnished		Pelikata (VIla)	
24.	S478	Bass-bowl	dark burnished	16–17	Pelikata (VIla)	Ithaca II, fig.20:82–84, **Pl.65:g**
25.	S477	Bass-bowl	dark burnished		Pelikata (VIla)	
26.	S480	deep bowl	dark burnished	16.5	Pelikata (VIla)	Ithaca II, fig.20:85
27.	S472	Bass-bowl?	dark burnished	—	Pelikata (VIla)	Ithaca II, fig.20:86
28.	S473	cup	dark burnished	ca.7	Pelikata (IV)	Ithaca II, figs 20:87

Table G.2 Mycenaean vases from Ithaki (restored vases and selected fragments)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Decoration	H (or d.) cm	Date	Site	Reference/Illustration
1	V?	alabastron (rounded)	?	?	—	LH III	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 267:2, fig.3
2	S229	lekane/basin	294	L	14, rim d.32	LH IIIC	Polis	**Pls 25 & 66:c.2**
3	S230	lekane/basin	294	L	121.9, rim d.22	LH IIIC	Polis	**Pl.66:c.1**
4	S237	bowl	285	M/FM27	16	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 11:19, pl.6, **Pl.68:a**
5	S248	bowl	285	M	12	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 11:20, pl.6, **Pls 26 & 68:b**
6	S569	bowl	284	FM61.2	rim d.14	LH IIIB	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 5:29, fig.5
7	S347a,c	bowl	?	FM52,FM43	rim d.15.8	LH IIICl–PG	Polis	Polis II, 12:33, pl.6, **Pls 29 & 68:c**
8	S?	bowl	?	?/FM44	rim d.25	LH IIIA	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 6:35, fig.6, **Pl.24:b**
9	S?	bowl	?	?/FM48	—	LH IIIA2–B1	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 5:23, fig.3, pl.2a, **Pl.24:a**
10	S346b	bowl (stemmed?)	?	M?/FM61A.6	rim d.13.4	LH IIIC	Polis	**Pl.29**
11	S227	bowl (stemmed)	304–5	L/FM48	rim d.16.3	LH IIIB	Polis	Polis II, 11:23, pl.4, **Pls 24 & 66:a.4**
12	S228	bowl (stemmed)	305?	M/FM43	rim d.19.1	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 11:24, pl.6, **Pls 26 & 66:a.2**
13	S346a	cup	?	FM43	—	—	Polis	BSA 39, 1938–9, 12:24, pl.6, **Pl.29**
14	S611	cup	230	U	d.10	LH IIIA	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 5:15, fig.5, **Pl.24**
15	S236	cup (spouted)	252	M/FM46	8.8	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 13:53, pl.26, **Pls 26 & 68:d**
16	S?	dipper	236/253	U?	—	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 16:71, pl.5
17	S551	dipper	236/253	U?	—	LH IIIA2–B	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 12:139, fig.7, **Pl.23**
18	S615	flask (horizontal)	190–92	L/FM61.2	pres.14.7	LH IIIA2–B1	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 10:102, fig.5, pl.4, **Pl.24**
19	S556	flask (vertical)	189	L	—	LH IIIA2–B1	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 11:137, fig.6, pl.3
20	V?	flask (vertical)?	?	L	—	LH III	Aetos	**Pl.23:b**
21	S521	hydria?	?	L	—	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 9:5, pl.4
22	S?	jar or hydria	?	neck:wavy line	—	LH IIIA–B	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 10:105, fig.6, **Pl.23:a**
23	S517	jug	?148	?	—	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 9:1, pl.4
24	S490	jug	?136	M/arches	—	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 9:3, pl.4
25	S274	jug	FS?	L	—	LH IIIA–B	Polis	**Pl.67:d, left**
26	S273	jug	FS137?	L	—	LH IIIA–B	Polis	**Pl.67:d, right**
27	S?	krater	282	M	27	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 10:14, pl.6
28	S576	krater	7–8?	L/FM27.11,FM62.12	rim d.28	LH IIIB	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 5:17, fig.5, pl.2
29	S616	kylix/goblet	255?	L/FM48.5	rim d.21	LH IIIA1	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 3:1, fig.2, **Pl.27**
30	S572	kylix	256	U	—	LH IIIB	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 21:T1, fig.13, **Pl.23**
31	S215	kylix	275	M/U	16.3	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 14:59, pl.8, **Pl.67:c**
32	S224	kylix	275	M/U	16.6	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 14:60, pl.8, **Pls 26 & 66:b.1**
33	S234	kylix	258	L/FM44 or FM61.17	pres.10.5	LH IIIB/C	Polis	Polis II, 14:55, pl.8, **Pl.24**
34	S270	kylix	?	U	—	LH IIIB–Ce	Polis	Polis II, 14:56, **Pl.67:b**
35	S219	kylix	274–5	L	—	LH IIIC?	Polis	Polis II, 14:58, **Pl.67:a, left**
36	S222	kylix	276	M/r.b./M	17.4	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II, 14:62, pl.8, **Pls 28 & 66:b.4**
37	S220	kylix	275	U/M	pres.8.5	LH IIIC	Polis	Polis II. 14:?, **Pls 26 & 67:a, right**
38	S275	lekythos	122–23	M/43h	pres.10	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 10:10, pl.7, **Pl.25**
39	S?	small globular jug	67?	M	—	LH IIIA	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 10:101, fig.5
40	S225	stirrup jar	175	L/FM61A.1	12.2	LH IIIC1	Polis	Polis II, 16:69, pl.4, **Pls 25 & 66:a.1**
41	S226	stirrup jar	175	M/FM71	8.9	LH IIICl	Polis	Polis II, 16:60, **Pls 25 & 66:a.3**
42	S597	stirrup jar	?	L/FM64	—	LH IIIA2–B1	Tris Langades	Tris Langades, 10:121, fig.6, **Pl.25**

L = linear M = monochrome U = unpainted

Table G.3 Protogeometric pottery from Ithaki (restored vases and selected fragments)

No	MN	Shape	Decoration	H (cm)	Date	Site	Reference/illustration
1	V?	amphoriskos or small jug	M/wavy line	pres. 2.2	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33:b**
2	V?	amphora or hydria	M/zig-zag	pres. 4.3	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33:e**
3	V?	bowl	M/r.b.	pres. 4	AII	Aetos	**Pl.33:c**
4	S?	bowl	?/multiple loops	pres. 3.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, **Pl.29:a**
5	V?	bowl or kantharos	?/blob	pres. 3.2	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 51:87, fig. 29, **Pl.37:d**
6	S347b	cup?	M/running spiral	pres. 6.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, **Pl.29**
7	V?	cup or bowl	M/x-hatched triangle, bars	pres. 4.2	PII/AI or AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:d**
8	S329	cup (deep)	M	8.8	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:51, **Pl.30**
9	S328	cup (deep)	M	pres. 5.7	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:51a, **Pls 30 & 69:b, right**
10	S335	cup (deep)	M	pres. 7.4	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:51a, **Pl.30 & 69:e, left**
11	S334	cup (deep)	M/r.b.	pres. 7.5	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:50, pl.6, **Pl.31 & 69:d, right**
12	S331	cup (deep)	M	pres. 7	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:51a, **Pl.31**
13	S336	cup (deep)	M/wavy line	pres. 7.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:49, pl.6, **Pls 31 & 69:d, left**
14	S333	cup (deep)	M/wavy line	8.6	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:46, pl.6, **Pl.31**
15	S342	cup (deep)	M/wavy line	9.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:47, **Pls 31 & 69:b, left**
16	S330	cup (deep)	M/wavy lines	6.6	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:48, **Pl.31**
17	S284	cup (deep)	M/double-axe, checkers, x-hatched and solid triangles	pres. 11	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 17:1, pl.9e, **Pl.38**
18	V?	cup (deep)	M	pres. 6.5	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 45:52, fig.16, **Pl.38:a**
19	V?	cup (deep)	M	pres. 8	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.38:b**
20	V?	cup (deep)	M	7.3	PII/AI	Polis	**Pl.38:c**
21	S233	cup (shallow)	M/r.b.	5.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, 13:52, pl.6, **Pls 31 & 69:3, right**
22	V700	cup (shallow)	M, r.b./zig-zag	pres. 6.5	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 45:55, fig.19, **Pl.38**
23	V?	cup (shallow)	M/r.b.	6.9	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.38:e**
24	V?	cup (shallow)	M/wavy band	pres. 5	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.38:d**
25	V21	cup (shallow)	M/concentric circles	6.4	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 45:54, fig.18, **Pl.38**
26	V?	cup?	ladder, x-hatched triangle, bars	pres. 5.6	AII	Aetos	**Pl.38:f**
27	V?	cup or kantharos	M/zig-zag	pres. 4	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.37:b**
28	V?	cup or skyphos	M/wavy line	pres. 4.4	PI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 51:81 (jug), pl.6, **Pl.31:a**
29	V?	cup or skyphos	M/wavy lines	pres. 4.4	PI	Aetos	**Pl.31:c**
30	V?	closed shape (large)	M/zig-zag	pres. 6.5	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33:d**
31	V?	closed shape (large)	M/zig-zag	pres. 7.5	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33:f**
32	V?	closed shape	L/hatched and x-hatched triangle?	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:j**
33	V?	closed shape	L/x-hatched triangle	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:h**
34	V?	closed shape	L?/hatched and x-hatched triangle?	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:g**
35	V?	closed shape	L?/parallel diagonal lines	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:i**
36	S?	closed shape	neck: panel: double-axes, x-hatched triangles	8	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 17:5, pl.9f, **Pl.45:g**
37	V?	closed shape	?/multiple loops	—	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:46, pl.4, **Pl.45:a**
38	V?	closed shape	?/parallel diagonal lines	—	PII/AI?	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P141, fig.5, **Pl.45:b**
39	V?	closed shape	?/x-hatched diamonds	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.45:c**
40	V?	closed shape	neck: bars, ladder	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.45:d**
41	V708	closed shape	M/concentric circles	—	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:35, pl.3, **Pl.45**
42	V?	closed shape	M/concentric circles	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.45:e**
43	V?	closed shape	?/vertical zig-zag, bars	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.45:f**
44	V?	closed shape	?/fringed x-hatched triangle	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.45:h**
45	V?	closed shape	M/concentric circles, tongues	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.44:m**

Table G.3 Protogeometric pottery from Ithaki (restored vases and selected fragments) (continued)

No	MN	Shape	Decoration	H (cm)	Date	Site	Reference/illustration
46	V?	closed shape	?/zig-zag	—	AII?	Aetos	**Pl.44:a**
47	V?	closed shape	?/x-hatched triangles?	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.44:b**
48	V?	closed shape	neck: zig-zag	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:c**
49	V?	closed shape	M/zig-zag	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.44:d**
50	V?	closed shape	M/zig-zag	—	PII/AI or AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:e**
51	V?	closed shape	neck: zig-zag	—	AII?	Aetos	**Pl.44:f**
52	V?	closed shape	M, r.b./diagonal lines	6	AII	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 267, fig.6, **Pl.46:h**
53	S235	deep bowl	L/wavy line	ca. 13	PI	Polis	**Pls 29 & 72:b**
54	S351	deep bowl	M	12.1	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:21, **Pl.32**
55	S349	deep bowl	M/r.b.	pres. 9.5	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:21, **Pl.32**
56	V?	deep bowl	M/wavy line	pres. 4	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33**
57	S350	deep bowl (stemmed)	M	10.8	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:22, **Pls 32 & 72:a**
58	V620	jug	M/hatched triangles	pres. 12	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 50:78, fig.28, **Pl.45**
59	V640	jug (large)	neck: panel: bars, x-hatched triangles	pres.9	AII	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270: P147, fig.6, **Pl.45**
60	V642	jug (large)	neck: x-hatched diamonds, shoulder: fringed bars and triangle	pres. 11	AII	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270: P146, fig.6, **Pl.45**
61	V698	jug	neck: x-hatched, shoulder: x-hatched triangles	pres. 8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 51:77, fig.27, **Pl.44**
62	V617	jug	M/concentric circles	pres. 5.8	6 PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P142, fig.6, **Pl.44**
63	V?	jug (large)	M, L/panel: fringed vertical zig-zag, composite triangles	—	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 50:75, fig.26, left, **Pl.45:i**
64	V?	jug (large)	M, L/panel: x-hatched & multiple triangles	—	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 50:76, fig.26, right, **Pl.45:j**
65	V615	jug (large)	panel: bars, multiple triangles & other	—	AII	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P145, fig. 6, **Pl.46**
66	V23	jug (small)	M	9.5	PI/AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 47:71, fig. 2
67	S222	kylix	M, r.b./M	17.5	PI	Polis	Polis II, 14:62, pl.8, **Pl.28**
68	S223	kylix	M or U	18	PI	Polis	Polis II, 14:64, pl.8, **Pl.28**
69	S218	kylix	M	15.9	PI	Polis	Polis II, 14:63, pl.8, **Pl.28**
70	S217	kylix	M, L/multiple zig-zag	13.6	PI	Polis	Polis II, 14:66, pl.8, **Pl.28**
71	S216	kylix	L	23	PI	Polis	Polis II, 14:65, pl.8, **Pl.27**
72	S283	kylix	M/x-hatched & solid triangles, wavy bands	19	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 16:1, pl.9a, **Pl.34**
73	S345	kantharos	M/r.b.	9.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:25, pl.6, **Pl.30**
74	S344	kantharos	M	8.6	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:45?, **Pls 30 & 69:a, left**
75	S348	kantharos	M	9.2	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:24, pl.6, **Pls 30 & 69:a, right**
76	S339	kantharos	M	9.3	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:30, **Pls 30 & 69:c**
77	V?	kantharos	M	pres. 7	PI	Aetos	**Pl.30:a**
78	S337	kantharos	M/x-hatched triangles	9.3	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 11:26, **Pls 35 & 70:b, right**
79	S338	kantharos	M/x-hatched triangles	9.2	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 11:27, **Pls 35 & 70:b, left**
80	S347	kantharos	M/x-hatched diamonds	pres. 6.5	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 11:29, **Pls 35 & 70:c**
81	S352	tall kantharos	M/x-hatched triangles	pres. 11.7	PII/AI	Polis	**Pls 35 & 70:e**
82	V420	kantharos	M/x-hatched diamonds	pres. 8.2	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:18, fig.15, **Pls 35 & 70:d**
83	S282d	kantharos	M/x-hatched arcs	pres. 6.1	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 12:34, pl.4, **Pl.36**
84	S282a+c	kantharos	M/diagonal lines	pres. 6.4	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 17:6, pl.9d, **Pls 36 & 72:c, top 1,2**
85	V24	kantharos	M/multiple loops	pres. 10	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:16, fig.13, **Pl.36**
86	V618	kantharos	M/multiple loops, zig-zag	pres. 8.5	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:17, fig.14, **Pl.36**
87	V?	kantharos	M/diagonal lines	pres. 7.6	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.36:a**
88	S282m	kantharos	M/multiple loops	pres. 4.2	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 173, **Pl.36**

Table G.3 Protogeometric pottery from Ithaki (restored vases and selected fragments) (continued)

No	MN	Shape	Decoration	H (cms)	Date	Site	Reference/illustration
89	S200a	kantharos	M/zig-zag	pres. 7.8	PII/AI	Polis	**Pls 37 & 71:b, left**
90	S200b	kantharos	M/zig-zag	pres. 8	PII/AI	Polis	**Pl.71:b, right**
91	V616	kantharos	M/zig-zag	pres. 5	PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P132, fig.6, **Pl.37**
92	V614	kantharos	M, r.b./concentric circles	pres. 48	PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 268:P130, fig.6, **Pl.37**
93	V695	kantharos	M, r.b./zig-zag	pres. 8.6	PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 268:P131, fig.5, **Pl.37**
94	V?	kantharos	L/blobs	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.37:c**
95	V?	kantharos	M, r.b./?	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.37:a**
96	V?	kantharos	M/pendant multiple loops	pres. 3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.36:b**
97	V?	kantharos	?/x-hatched triangles	pres. 4.8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:51, pl.4, **Pl.36:c**
98	V?	kantharos	M	pres. 9	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:a**
99	V?	kantharos	?/dotted blob	pres. 3.2	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.35:a**
100	V?	kantharos	?/bars, x-hatched triangle	pres. 3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.35:b**
101	V?	kantharos	?/loops, x-hatched diamond	pres. 4.4	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.35:c**
102	V?	kantharos	?/blob	pres. 4.3	PII/AI or AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:49, pl.4, **Pl.35:e**
103	V?	kantharos	M/zig-zag	pres. 4	PII/AI or AII	Aetos	**Pl.35:f**
104	S?	kantharos	?/x-hatched triangle or diamond	pres. 3	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 11, **Pl.35:d**
105	BSA	kantharos?	?/panel: double-axe?	pres. 2.8	PII/AI	Polis	**Pl.35**
106	V?	kantharos?	M	pres. 6.2	AII	Aetos	**Pl.38:g**
107	V712	krater	L/panel: bars, ladder, vertical zig-zag	pres. 12	A II	Aetos	**Pl.41:h**
108	V718	krater	?/wavy line	pres. 5.6	PI	Aetos	**Pl.33**
109	V713	krater	?/x-hatched diamonds	pres. 8.2	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:30, pl.3, **Pl.42**
110	V?	krater	?/concentric circles	pres. 7.8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46:57, pl.5, **Pl.42:a**
111	V711	krater	?/concentric semi-circles	pres. 9.5	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:34, pl.3, **Pl.42**
112	V?	krater	?/panel: hatched & x-hatched triangles, double-axe	pres. 10.4	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46?, **Pl.42:b**
113	V709	krater	?/panel: concentric circles, diamonds	pres. 8.3	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46:63, pl.5, **Pl.42**
114	V?	krater (small)	M?	pres. 6	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46?, **Pl.42:d**
115	V?	krater	?/panel:?	pres 5.7	PII/AI?	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46?, **Pl.42:c**
116	V?	krater	?	pres. 4.4	PII/AI?	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46?, pl.5, **Pl.42:e**
117	V?	krater	?/panel: x-hatched triangles, dotted double-axe, chequers?	pres. 11.8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46:56, fig. 20, pl. 5, **Pl.43:a**
118	V?	krater (small)	?/pendant loops	pres. 5.8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:36, pl.4, **Pl.43:b**
119	V?	krater (small)	?/panel: bars, x-hatched triangle	pres. 5.7	AII	Aetos	**Pl.43:c**
120	V?	krater	? x-hatched diamonds	—	PII/AI?	Aetos	**Pl.43:d**
121	V?	krater	?/panel: concentric semi-circles	pres. 8	PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 43, 1948, 381, pl.23, **Pl.43:f**
122	V?	krater	?/panel: concentric semi-circles	pres. 4.6	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.43:g**
123	V?	krater	?/panel: concentric semi-circles	5.7	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.43:e**
124	V793	krater	?/panel: fringed triangles, bars, x-hatched diamonds?	pres. 7.8	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 46:62, fig.20, pl.5, **Pl.43**
125	V?	krater	M/panel: solid triangles, x-hatched triangles	pres. 7.2	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.43:h**
126	V28	lekythos	M, r.b./zig-zags	12.3	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 47:72, fig.22, right, **Pl.46**
127	V619	lekythos	?/x-hatched triangles, neck: zig-zag, dots	pres. 8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 47:73, fig.23, **Pl.46**
128	V?	lekythos	M/concentric semi-circles, hour-glass fill	—	LPG	Aetos	Ithaca I, 51:84, pl.6
129	S285	skyphos	M/multiple loops	pres. 6.8	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 17:2, pl.9b, **Pls 39 & 71:c, right**

Table G.3 Protogeometric pottery from Ithaki (restored vases and selected fragments) (continued)

No	MN	Shape	Decoration	H (cm)	Date	Site	Reference/illustration
130	V27	skyphos	M/multiple loops	12	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 40:12, fig.10, **Pl.39**
131	V? H14	skyphos	M/hatched triangles	pres. 10	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 41:14, fig.11
132	S346e	skyphos	M, L/x-hatched diamond	pres.12.5	PII/AI	Polis	**Pls 39 & 71:d, right**
133	S340	skyphos	M/x-hatched diamonds	pres. 9.5	PII/AI	Polis	Polis II, 11:32, pl.7, **Pls 39 & 71:d, left**
134	S353	skyphos	M/r.b.	pres. 13	PI	Polis	Polis II, 11:20b, **Pls 32 & 71:b**
135	V? H15	skyphos	M/hatched triangle	pres. 10	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 41:15, fig.12
136	V704	skyphos or kantharos	M/x-hatched diamonds, bars	pres. 9.4	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:31, pl.3, **Pl.40**
137	V641	skyphos or kantharos	L/panel: x-hatched diamonds, ladder	pres. 8.3	AII	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P134, fig.6, **Pl.40**
138	V705	skyphos or kantharos	?/dotted blob	pres. 6.8	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:48, pl.4, **Pl.40**
139	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/panel: chequers, x-hatched triangles, double-axe	pres. 4.5	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:26a, pl.3, **Pl.40:b**
140	V707	skyphos or kantharos	M/concentric circles	pres. 4.2	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:33, pl.3, **Pl.40**
141	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/fringed bars	pres. 3	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:f**
142	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/fringed bars	pres. 5.4	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:k**
143	V717	skyphos	?/panel: chequers, x-hatched triangle double-axe	pres. 7.8	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:26b, pl.3, **Pl.41**
144	V?	skyphos	M, zig-zag/bars, ladders	pres. 9.8	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:22, pl.3, **Pl.41:a**
145	V621	skyphos	M/panel: dotted double-axes, bars	pres. 11	PII/AI	Aetos	BSA 48, 1953, 270:P136, fig.6, **Pl.41**
146	V?	skyphos	M	pres. 9.3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.41:g**
147	V?	skyphos or kantharos	M/x-hatched diamonds	pres. 6.3	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:28, pl.3, **Pl.40:j**
148	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/zig-zags, fringed bars	pres. 5	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:e**
149	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/panel: vertical zig-zag, fringed bars, ladder	pres. 2.8	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:19, **Pl.40:g**
150	V?	skyphos	M/fringed vertical zig-zag	pres. 6.5	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:i**
151	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/vertical zig-zag, fringed bars	pres. 4.5	AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:h**
152	V?	skyphos or kantharos	M/multiple loops	pres. 3.2	PII/AI or AII	Aetos	**Pl.40:c**
153	V?	skyphos	?/pendant multiple loops	pres. 3.2	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.32:d**
154	V?	skyphos	?/pendant multiple loops	pres. 2.8	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:b**
155	V?	skyphos	?/multiple triangle	pres. 3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:c**
156	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/pendant multiple loops	pres. 3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:a**
157	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/multiple loops	pres. 4	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:37, pl.4, **Pl.39:g**
158	V?	skyphos or kantharos	M/x-hatched triangles	pres. 4	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:e**
159	V?	skyphos or kantharos	?/x-hatched triangle?	pres. 3	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:f**
160	V?	skyphos	?/pendant multiple loops	pres. 5	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.39:h**
161	V?	skyphos?	M/wavy line	pres. 5	PI	Aetos	**Pl.31:b**
162	V?	skyphos?	M/wavy line	pres. 6.6	PI	Aetos	**Pl.31:d**
163	V?	skyphos (large)	L/bars, x-hatched diamond	pres. 7	AII	Aetos	**Pl.41:b**
164	V?	skyphos	L/panel: bars, x-hatched triangle	pres. 5.6	AII	Aetos	**Pl.41:c**
165	V?	skyphos?	L/panel: bars, x-hatched diamonds	pres. 4.4	AII	Aetos	**Pl.41:d**
166	V?	skyphos?	L/panel: ladder, x-hatched triangles	pres. 3.8	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:24, pl.3, **Pl.41:e**
167	V?	skyphos?	L/panel: ladder, x-hatched triangles	pres. 5.6	AII	Aetos	Ithaca I, 43:23, pl.3, **Pl.41:f**
168	V?	pilgrim flask	spoked wheel	11	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 48:74, fig.25, **Pl.44:n**
169	V?	pilgrim flask	4-spoked wheel, x-hatched triangle fill	—	PII/AI	Aetos	**Pl.44:k**
170	V?	pilgrim flask	L, zig-zag	—	AII	Aetos	**Pl.44:l**
171	V715	tripod cauldron	M	pres. 6	PII/AI	Aetos	Ithaca I, 52:95, fig. 30, pl.6, **Pl.43**

L = linear M = monochrome U = unpainted r.b. = reserved band

TABLE H MYCENAEAN VASES FROM ZAKYNTHOS (COMPLETE VASES AND FRAGMENTS)

No	MN	Shape	FS	Decoration	H (cm)	Date	Site	Tomb	Illustration
1	Z22	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/FM57.2	15.4	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	VI	AD 28, 1973A, pl.106b, **Pl.48**
2	Z22a	alabastron (rounded)	85?	M	6.9	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	VI	AD 28, 1973A, pl.107c, left, **Pl.48**
3	Z34	alabastron (rounded)	85	M/FM53?	10.2	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.109b
4	Z36	alabastron (rounded)	85	L/58.32	7.8	LH IIIA2	Kambi	X	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110c, left, **Pl.47**
5	Z46	alabastron (rounded)	84?	32.5	—	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	XII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110b, right, **Pl.47**
6	Z45	alabastron (rounded)	85	32.5	—	LH IIIA2e	Kambi	IX	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110b, left, **Pl.47**
7	Z41	alabastron (rounded)	84	L/13.6–7	7.7	LH IIIA1	Kambi	XIV	AD 28, 1973A, pl.112c
8	Z40	alabastron (rounded)	85	M	7.8	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	XIV	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110c, right, **Pl.48**
9	Z90	alabastron (rounded)	85?	M	—	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	VII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.109a, left
10	Z6	alabastron (rounded)	84	FM52.1	5.6	LH IIB	Keri	Tholos	AD 28, 1973A, pl.113, **Pl.47**
11	Z27	alabastron (st. sided)	93?	L/64.21	14	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	II	AD 28, 1973A, pl.106a
12	Z23	alabastron (st. sided)	94	M/61.3–4	7.6	LH IIIB	Kambi	VI	AD 28, 1973A, pl.107a, **Pl.47**
13	Z37	alabastron (st. sided)	94	L/?	9.4	LH IIA–B	Kambi	X	AD 28, 1973A, pl.111c, **Pl.47**
14	Z?	amphora	?	L?	—	LH IIIA–B	Katastari	—	BSA 32, 1931–32, pl.39.2
15	BSA	bowl	?	pictorial	pres. 4.2	LH IIIB?	Katastari	—	**Pl.48**
16	Z?	closed shape	?	FM46	—	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	fill	**Pl.48**
17	Z31	feeding bottle	161	M	10.5	LH IIIB	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.108a
18	Z32	globular flask	191	L/FM19.8, 19.35	10.3	LH IIIA2	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.108b–c, **Pl.47**
19	Z18	kylix	?	M	—	LH III	Kalogeros	—	BSA 32, 1931–32, pl.39.10
20	Z28	kylix	?	?	—	LH III	Kambi	II	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110a, left
21	Z47	kylix	?	?	—	LH III	Kambi	X	AD 28, 1973A, pl.114, below left
22	Z?	piriform jar?	?	FM67	—	LH IIIA	Kambi	fill	**Pl.48**
23	Z33	pithoid jar	40?	M	17.9+	LH IIIB	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.109c
24	Z39	small handleless jar	78	M	7.5	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	X	AD 28, 1973A, pl.111d, left, **Pl.48**
25	Z42	small handleless jar	78	M	7.3	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	XIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.111d, right
26	Z25	small jug	112–14	M	10	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	VI	AD 28, 1973A, pl.111d, 107b
27	Z?	small jug	112–14	M	—	LH IIIA–B	Katastari	—	BSA 32, 1931–32, pl.39.11
28	Z7	squat jar	87	L/46.33	6.2	LH IIIA1	Keri	Tholos	AD 28, 1973A, pl.114a, **Pl.47**
29	Z48	stemmed bowl	304–5?	M/?	—	LH IIIA–B	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.110, right
30	Z28	stirrup jar	?	?	—	LH III	Kalogeros	—	BSA 32, 1931–32, pl.39.9
31	Z97	stirrup jar	178	?	7.3	LH IIIA2e	Kambi	VI	AD 28, 1973A, pl.107c, right
32	Z44	stirrup jar	?	L/18	—	LH IIIA2	Kambi	VIII	AD 28, 1973A, pl.109a, right
33	Z53	stirrup jar	179	L/?	8.5	LH IIIB	Kambi	?	AD 28, 1973A, pl.112d, left, **Pl.48**
34	Z52	stirrup jar	178	M	7.1	LH IIIA2–B	Kambi	?	AD 28, 1973A, pl.112d, right

L = linear M = monochrome

TABLES I.1–I.3 BRONZES: LEFKADA

Table I.1 Weapons: R-Graves

No	Gössler No	L (cm)	Type*	Tumulus	Illustration
I. Spearheads					
1.	D102/5	11.5	VII	R9	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.62:7 Branigan 1974, no.445, pl.10
2.	D99/1	18	VIII	R5	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.62:1 Branigan 1974, no.450, pl.10
3.	D?	?	VIII	R2a	ref. Alt-Ithaka, 292
4.	D?	23.5	VI	R24	Alt-Ithaka Bei.63a:2 Branigan 1974, no.439, pl.10
II. Daggers					
5.	D199/3	20	III	R17a	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.63a:3 Branigan 1974, no.157, pl.4
6.	D199/4	15.7	III	R17a	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.63a:4 Branigan 1974, no.158, pl.4
7.	D96/1	10	VI	R2a	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.62:9 Branigan 1974, no.257, pl.6
8.	D102/1	8.3m+		R9	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.62:2
9.	D99/2	13+	IIa	R5	Atl-Ithaka, Bei.62:8 Branigan 1974, no.130, pl.3
10.	D26a/1	12.5+	—	R2	**Pl.1**
III. Swords					
11.	D101/e	45+	Class A(?)	R7	Alt-Ithaca, Bei.62:3 Sandars 1961, pl.17:6, **Pl.50:e, left**
12.	D193a/4	34+	Class A(?)	R24	Sandars 1961, pl.17:5 **Pl.50:e, right**

* the types refer to Branigan's (1974) classification except in section III where they are Sandars's

Table I.2 Tools: R-Graves

No	Gössler No	L (cm)	Type*	Tumulus	Illustration (or reference)
I. Knives					
1.	D?	8.2+	VIIIa	R2a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:5 Branigan 1974, no.695, pl.14
2.	D101/b	13.5+	?	R7	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:6 Branigan 1974, no.696, pl.14
3.	D?	20.4	?	R17a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.63:8
II. Chisels					
4.	D/194a/3 D/195/2	6	I	R23	Alt-lthaka, Bei.63a:5 Branigan 1974, no.722, pl.14
5.	D195/1	10.8	II	R23	Alt-lthaka, Bei.63a:9
6.	D?	9.1	III	R26A	ref. Alt-lthaka, 293 Branigan 1974, no.783
III. Axe					
7.	D98/2	4.8	II	R4a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:11 Branigan 1974, no.599, pl.13
IV. Punchers					
8.	D98/2	8.1	I	R10a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:14
9.	D200/3	5.6	I	R16	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:13
V. Miscellaneous					
'flesh-hooks'					
10.	D199/1	11	I	R17a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.63a:7 Branigan 1974, no.1182, pl.15
11.	D199/2	12.8	I	R17a	Alt-lthaka, Bei.63a:6 Branigan 1974, no.1183, pl.15
fish-hook					
12.	D?	4	I	R16	Alt-lthaka, Bei.62:12 Branigan 1974, no.1161, pl.15
needle					
13.	D?	4+	—	R27	ref. Alt-lthaka, 294

* Branigan 1974.

Table I.3 Weapons and tools from Familiengräber S and F, and Nidhri

No	Gössler No	L (or d)cms	Type*	Tomb (or location)	Illustration
I. Daggers					
1.	D117 & D117/1	22	—	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.70:3
2.	D88/2	18	—	F7	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:15
II. Spearhead					
3.	D88/1	18	V	F7	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.73:16, 74a:2
III. Embossed disks (3)					
4.	D117/3	d: 4.5	—	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.70:4
IV. Knives					
5.	D119/1	21.5	Sandars 6b	S10	PPS 21, fig.4:3
6.	D118/1	15	Sandars 6b	S	
V. Saw					
7.	D116/3	11.6+	I	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.69:2 Branigan 1974, pl.14:708
VI. Chisels					
8.	D116/1	25	III	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.69:1
9.	D116/11	6.6	Ia	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.69:4 Branigan 1974, pl.14:724
10.	D117/4	12	—	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.70:2
11.	D116/2	21	—	S4	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.69:3
12.	D117/9	7	—	S8	Alt-Ithaka, Bei.70:1
VII. Double-axes					
13.	D?	?	—	Charadiatika	Buccholz & Karageorghis 1973, 266:575
14.	D?	?	—	Charadiatika	Buccholz & Karageorghis 1973, 266:576

* the types refer to Branigan's (1974) classification except where otherwise indicated.

TABLES J.1–J.3 BRONZES: KEFALONIA, ITHAKI, ZAKYNTHOS

Table J.1 Weapons

No	MN	Site	Tomb	L (cm)	Type*	Date	Reference/Illustration
I. Swords							
1.	A837a	Diakata	2	39	Fii	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 117f, fig.34:1 PPS 18, 1952, pl.XXVII:2, **Pl.20**
2.	A837b	Diakata	2	45.5	Fii	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 118, fig.34:2 PPS 18, 1952, pl.XXVII:1
3.	A1167	Lakkithra	A6	pres. 39	F?	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.20**
4.	Neuch.M	Aetos?	?	45	A?	LH III	BSA 29, 1927–28, 113, fig.1:1
5.	Walters no 2753	Ithaki or Kefalonia	?	43	G	LH III	BSA 29, 1927–28, 114, fig.1:2
6.	S?	Polis hoard	—	—	Type II?	LH III	Polis I, 72, figs 20:15a & b, 21a
II. Spearheads							
7.	A915	Diakata	1k	16.9		LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.36:1 Avila 1983, 63, Taf.18:134, **Pl.21**
8.	A916	Diakata	1k	6.8		LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.36:2 Avila 1983, 63, Taf. 18:135, **Pl.21**
9.	A914?	Diakata	1k/d	ca. 15		LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, fig.36:1
10.	A1174	Lakkithra	B2	ca. 9		LH IIIB–C	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left
11.	A1168	Lakkithra	A6	22.5		LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.21**
12.	A?	Mazarakata	?	ca. 16.4		LH IIIC?	Kavvadias 1914, 268, fig.462, **Pl.21**
13.	N97	Mazarakata	?	12.3		LH IIIB–C	Dessoulavy 1900, 146 no. 13 Brodbeck-Jucker 1986, Taf.XV:65
14.	N?	Mazarakata	?	12.8		LH IIIB–C	Dessoulavy 1900, 146 no. 14 Wardle 1972, 569, 158:1063
15.	A1593	Metaxata	A9	23		LH IIIC	AE 1933, 92, fig.41, left Avila 1983, 92, Taf.19:142
16.	A1592	Metaxata	A7	24 pres. 16.2		LH IIIC	AE 1933, 92, fig.41, right Avila 1983, 69, Taf.18:127, **Pl.21**
17.	A?	Oikopeda		?		LH III	AD 6, (1920–21)Par., 176 fig.3 AE 1932, pl.14 top
18.	A?	Oikopeda		?		LH III	AD 6, (1920–21)Par, 176 fig.3
19.	A606	Riza	Tholos	17.8		LH III	Avila 1983, 54, Taf.17:115, **Pl.21**
20.	S?	Polis hoard	—	18.5		LH IIIB/C	Polis I, 72 no 16, figs 20, 21
21.	S?	Polis hoard	—	8.2		LH III	Polis I, 72 no 5, fig. 20
22.	S?	Polis hoard	—	—		LH III	Polis I, 72 no 8, fig. 20
23.	BM?	'Ithaca or Corfu'	?	24.5		EBA	Branigan 1974, pl.10:452 Avila 1983, 131, Taf.30:838

*Sandars 1961, 1963.

Table J.2 Tools and objects of personal use

No.	MN	Site	Tomb	L (cm)	Date	Reference
I. knives						
1.	A	Diakata	2	18	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.35.1, **Pl.63:c.1**
2.	A839	Diakata	2	9	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 118, fig.35.3
3.	A	Diakata	2	10.4	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 118, fig.35.4
4.	A	Diakata	2	13.5	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.35.5, **Pl.63:c.3**
5.	A937	Diakata	1	6 (cat:14)	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.37.1
6.	A?	Diakata	1	?	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.37.2
7.	A962	Diakata	1	10.1	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 119, fig.37.3, **Pl.22**
8.	A589(a)	Kokkolata	pits	14.4	LH III	PAE 1912, 268, fig.49.1, **Pls 22 & 63:c.4**
9.	A589(b)	Kokkolata	pits	?	LH III	PAE 1912, 268, fig.32
10.	A579	Kokkolata	T.A	?	LH III	PAE 1912, 264
11.	A1170	Lakkithra	A2	12.3	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left
12.	A1171	Lakkithra	A8	10.5	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.22**
13.	A1177	Lakkithra	B2	8.8	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.22**
14.	A1178	Lakkithra	B6	10.8	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left
15.	A1175	Lakkithra	B8	13.3	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.22**
16.	A1176	Lakkithra	B5	17.8	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left, **Pl.22**
17.	A1379	Lakkithra	D	8.5	LH IIIB–C	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, right, **Pl.22**
18.	A1380	Lakkithra	D	8.8	LH IIIB-C	AE 1932, 39, pl.16, left
19.	A?	Mazarakata	?	(11.2)	LH III	Kavvadias 1914, 369, fig.460, **Pl.22**
20.	A1594	Metaxata	A9	?	LH IIIC	AE 1933, 93, fig.42a
21.	A1596	Metaxata	A9	10.9	LH IIIC	AE 1933, 93, fig.42b, **Pl.22**
22.	A1595	Metaxata	A9	11.3	LH IIIC	AE 1933, 93, fig.42c, **Pl.22**
23.	A1624	Metaxata	B10	8.1	LH IIIA2–C	AE 1933, 93, fig.42, **Pl.22**
24.	A1639	Metaxata	G5	10	LH IIIC	AE 1933, 93, fig.42, **Pl.22**
25.	A1408	Oikopeda	—	11.8 (19)	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.1, **Pl.22**
26.	A1407	Oikopeda	—	13.5	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.2, **Pl.22**
27.	A1406	Oikopeda	—	12.6	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.3, **Pl.22**
28.	A1410/12	Oikopeda	—	(7.4)	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.4
29.	A1409	Oikopeda	—	(9.2)	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.5
30.	A1411	Oikopeda	—	(7.7)	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14, below:1.6
31.	A1410/12	Oikopeda	—	(7.5)	LH IIIA–B	AE 1932, 12, pl.14a,b
32.	A?	no known proven.	—	17	—	**Pl.63:c.2**
33.	S?	Tris Langades	—	3	LH IIIA–B	Tris Langades, 23 no T24, fig.13
34.	S?	Polis hoard	—	—	LH III	Polis I, 72 nos 10–11, fig.20
35.	S?	Polis hoard	—	—	MBA?	Polis I, 73 no 14, fig.20
36.	S?	Stavros	—	—	MBA?	BSA 47, 241 no 35, fig.11
37.	Z35	Kambi	—	19.5	LH III	AD 68, 1973A, 209, pl.111b, **Pl.22**
II. razors						
38.	A?	Diakata	2	18.5	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 118, fig.35.2, **Pl.22**
39.	A?	Lakkithra	A5	?	LH IIIC	AE 1932, 39, fig.16, left (A5)
40.	A578	Prokopata	—	17.5	LH IIIA2–B	**Pl.21**
41.	615	'Kefalonia'	—	14.5	LH III	**Pl.22**
III. chisels						
42.	A1402	Oikopeda	—	6	LH IIIA–B	AD 5, 1919, 119, 12, pl.14, below:1.1, **Pl.21**
43.	A1403	Oikopeda	—	9.9	LH IIIA–B	AD 5, 1919, 12, pl.14, below:1.2, **Pl.21**
44.	S?	Polis hoard	—	pres. 6.7	—	Polis I, 73 no 12, fig.20
IV. tweezers						
45.	S?	Tris Langades	—	—	LH IIIA–B	Tris Langades, 23 no T23, fig.13
V. needles						
46.	A?	Mazarakata	?	12	LH IIIB–C	Kavvadias 1914, 369, fig.464
47.	A?	Kokkolata	A	10.5	LH IIIB–C	PAE 1912, 268, fig.47

Table J.3 Jewellery and objects of attire

No	MN	Site	Tomb	L (cm)	Date	Reference/Illustration
I. fibulae						
1.	A838	Diakata	1	13	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 117, fig.33
2.	A?	Mazarakata	?	8.5	LH III	Kavvadias 1914, 369, fig.461, **Pl.21**
3.	A1600	Metaxata	B2	9	LH IIIA2–C	AE 1932, 92, fig.42, **Pl.21**
4.	A1631	Metaxata	G2	?		LHIIIB-C
AE 1932, 92, fig.42						
II. pins						
5.	A923	Diakata	1	15	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 117, fig.32.1
6.	A949	Diakata	1	42.8	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 117, fig.32.2, **Pl.20**
7.	A948	Diakata	1	36.4	LH IIIC	AD 5, 1919, 117, fig.32.3, **Pl.20**
8.	A?	Kokkolata	pits	9	LH IIIB–C	PAE 1912, 268, fig.49.2
9.	A?	Kokkolata	pits	9.3	LH IIIB–C	PAE 1912, 268, fig.49.3
10.	A?	Mazarakata	?	15.6	LH IIIB–C	Kavvadias 1914, 368, fig.463, **Pl.21**
11.	NMA?	Mazarakata	B1	5.5	LH IIIA2–B	AAA VII(2), 1974, 187, fig. 2
III. rings						
12.	A1631	Metaxata	G2	2.6	LH IIIB–C	AE 1933, 93, fig.42, **Pl.21**
13.	A843	Diakata	2	—	LH IIIC	—

APPENDIX

THE EXCAVATION OF MAZARAKATA CEMETERY AND THE PROVENANCE OF THE POTTERY

The earliest known investigation of the chamber tombs was undertaken by Colonel de Bosset some time between 1810 and 1814, most likely in 1812. It has now been proven conclusively by Knoepfler (*Mus. Helv.* 27, 1970, 107 ff.) that the pottery and small finds housed in the Neuchâtel Museum and recently published came from these excavations. An important clue was provided by Lord Holland, who had visited the island in 1813 and mentioned in his *Travels* that nine or ten tombs at Mazarakata had been opened. Moreover, he linked these activities with Colonel de Bosset's collection of vases. The next recorded investigation at the site was carried out by Kavvadias. After 'discovering' the cemetery in 1899, he excavated it in 1909, but apart from a short account and sketches of some finds (Kavvadias 1914, 355 ff.), the results of the excavation were never published. Although Kavvadias knew of the existence of the de Bosset collection of vases, which by then had moved to Switzerland, he appeared unaware (either genuinely or because he wished to impress his patron, Goekoop) of any previous excavation at the site. The intriguing question is which of the sixteen tombs were excavated by de Bosset and which were excavated or re-excavated by Kavvadias. Knoepfler, mainly on the basis of Lord Holland's remarks and the notes and drawings made by Wolters during his visit in 1894 (*AM* 10, 1894, 486 ff.), came to the conclusion that the following tombs had been opened by de Bosset: Δ, H, Θ, Λ, M, N, Ξ and Π. However, Knoepfler did not know that the Argostoli Museum catalogue lists the pottery found by Kavvadias according to the tombs where it was found. These tombs, as Wardle recorded soon after in his thesis (1972), are A, B, Γ, Δ, E, H, Θ and Π. Knoepfler's suggestion and the Argostoli Museum catalogue agree on the following: (a) that the small tombs (**A**, **B**, Γ and **E**) at the eastern end of the cemetery and the larger H were excavated by Kavvadias, and (b) that Λ, **M**, **N** and Ξ were excavated by de Bosset. In fact Λ, **M** and **N**, having been drawn and measured by Wolters, are the three most certain to have been excavated by de Bosset. Knoepfler thought that the fourth tomb mentioned, but not drawn, by Wolters, about 5m east of the others, may have been the intercommunicating tombs Θ and I counted as one. This is quite likely as the Argostoli Museum catalogue records only nine vases from Kavvadias's excavations, which suggests that the tombs had been previously opened and pottery removed from them. The same must be the case with Π, which produced only one vase when excavated by Kavvadias. Tombs Δ and **H** are disputed. According to the Argostoli Museum catalogue, both produced enough pottery (twenty-three and thirty-five vases respectively) to suggest that they were excavated entirely by Kavvadias, and the museum lists are presumably more reliable than Lord Holland's brief remarks. Therefore the nine or ten tombs which had come to light by 1813 must be made up from the rest of the tombs, i.e. from those in which Kavvadias appears to have found no pottery. Thus we come to the conclusion that de Bosset excavated tombs Θ, I, K, Λ, M, N, Ξ, **O** and Π, and that Kavvadias excavated **A**, **B**, Γ, Δ, **E** and **H** from scratch and re-excavated tombs Θ and Π. No suggestion can be made about the small tomb **Z**.

This scenario divides the cemetery neatly into a western part investigated by de Bosset and an eastern part discovered and excavated by Kavvadias. It also reduces the discrepancy between the large number of tombs that de Bosset may have excavated and the small number of vases in his collection. The number, however, is still small (corresponding to approximately one vase per pit) and the only suggestion that can be made, except for some possible illicit activity at the site, is that the thirty-four vases of the Argostoli Library collection (now in the Argostoli Museum) may also have come from de Bosset's excavations. It is possible that de Bosset offered, or was asked to leave part of his collection to the island before his departure, but there is no evidence to back up this suggestion.

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