MICHAEL B. COSMOPOULOS

## THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS

THE BRONZE AGE

## I

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR'S PREFACE ..... XIII-XIV
PREFACE ..... XV-XVIII
ABBREVIATIONS ..... XIX
INTRODUCTION ..... 1-5
ARCHITECTURE, STRATIGRAPHY, BURIALS
Introduction ..... 9
Area 1: The South Slope ..... 9-70Sector I: Trenches to the south of the Epigraphic Museum 9-24. Sector II: Trenchesto the southwest of the Epigraphic Museum 24-28. Sector III: Trenches between theEpigraphic Museum and the "Tholos Tomb" 28-57. Sector IV: The Sacred House 57-64. Graves in the South Slope 65-70
Area 2: The East Slope ..... 71-149
Sector I: Bronze Age remains under the Peisistrateian Telesterion 71-117. Sector II: Bronze Age remains to the southeast and southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion 117-128. Sector III: The Stoa of Philo 128-130. Graves in the East Slope 131-149
Area 3: The Hilltop ..... 150-161
Graves 161
Summary ..... 162-190
POTTERY
Classification and Definitions ..... 193-196
Early Helladic ..... 197-206
Provenience, size, and composition of the material 197. Classification 197. Classes
198. Shapes 200. Summary 205
Middle Helladic ..... 207-315Provenience, size, and composition of the material 207. Classification 207. Pattern-Painted Pottery 207
Matt Painted207-263Definition 207. Size and composition of the material 208. Fabrics and manufacture210. Shapes 215. Decoration 239. Summary 258
The Lustrous Decorated Pottery ..... 264-268Definition 264. Size and composition of the material 264. Fabrics and manufacture265. Surface treatment 265. Shapes 265. Decoration 267. Summary 268
Grey Minyan ..... 269-281
Definition 269. Size and composition of the material 269. Fabrics and manufacture270. Shapes 271. Summary 280
Dark Burnished ..... 281-283
Definition 281. Fabrics and manufacture 281. Shapes 281
Red Slipped and Burnished283-289Definition 283. Size and composition of the material 284. Fabrics and manufacture284. Surface treatment and decoration 285. Shapes 285. Summary 288
Unpainted Pottery-Plain ..... 289-296
Definition 289. Size and composition of the material 289. Fabrics and manufacture
289. Surface treatment 290. Shapes 290. Summary 296
Incised / Plastic / Stamped ..... 297-299
Definition 297. Size and composition of the material 297. Fabrics and manufacture297. Surface treatment and decoration 298. Shapes 298
Summary299-315
Chronology 299. Production and Exchange 309
Late Helladic I ..... 316-344
Definition 316. Provenance, size, and composition of the material 317
Matt Painted Pottery - Monochrome ..... 318-323
Definition 318. Size and composition of the material 318. Fabrics and manufacture318 (Fine Untempered 318. Gold Mica 319. Dark Tempered 319). Shapes 319. Deco-ration 322
Matt Painted Pottery - Polychrome ..... 324-326
Definition 324. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 324. Fabrics and manufacture 324. Shapes 325
Light-on-Dark Lustrous Decorated ..... 327
Dark-on-Light Lustrous Decorated ("Late Helladic I Style") ..... 327-335
Definition 327. Size and composition of the material 328. Shapes 328. Decoration 333
Red or Black Slipped, Unburnished335-337
Definition 335. Size and composition of the material 336. Fabrics and manufacture336. Shapes 336
Red Slipped and Burnished ..... 337
Grey Minyan ..... 337-339Definition 337. Size and composition of the material 337. Fabrics and manufacture337. Surface treatment 338. Shapes 338
Yellow Minyan ..... 339-340
Definition 339. Size and composition of the material 339. Fabrics and manufacture 340. Shapes 340
Unpainted Pottery ..... 340-341
Summary ..... 341-344
late Helladic IIA ..... 345-365Definition 345. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 345. Fabrics andmanufacture 346. Shapes 347. Decoration 357. Summary 361
late Helladic IIB ..... 366-377
Definition 366. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 367. Fabrics andmanufacture 367. Shapes 368. Decoration 372. Summary 376
Late Helladic IIIA1 ..... 378-388Definition 378. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 378. Fabrics andmanufacture 379. Shapes 379. Decoration 384. Summary 387
Late Helladic IIIA2 ..... 389-404
Definition 389. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 390. Fabrics andmanufacture 390. Shapes 390. Decoration 398. Summary 402
Late Helladic IIIB1 ..... 405-415Definition 405. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 406. Fabrics andmanufacture 406. Shapes 406. Decoration 412. Summary 414
Late Helladic IIIB2 ..... 416-420Definition 416. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 417. Fabrics andmanufacture 417. Shapes 417. Decoration 419. Summary 419
Late Helladic IIIC ..... 421-428Definition 421. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 423. Fabrics andmanufacture 423. Shapes 423. Decoration 426. Summary 428
SUBMYCENAEAN ..... 429-433
Definition 429. Provenience, size, and composition of the material 430. Fabrics and manufacture 430. Shapes 430. Decoration 432
Undecorated Pottery ..... 434-436
Provenience, size, and composition of the material 434. Fabrics 434 . Surface treat- ment 435. Shapes 435
SMALL FINDS
Introduction ..... 439
Figurines ..... 439-440
Spindle Whorls and Loomweights ..... 440-441
Metal ..... 441
Stone Tools ..... 441
Chipped Stone ..... 441-442
Worked Bone ..... 442
Frescoes ..... 442-443
CONCLUSIONS ..... 447-459
LIST OF FIGURES ..... 461-468
LIST OF TABLES ..... 469
INDEX ..... 471-478

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The investigation of the great Attic Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis began as soon as Ioannis Kapodistrias took office as governor of the newly founded Greek state. It was Andreas Moustoxidis, a well-known intellectual of the period, and his collaborator, the painter Athanassios Iatrides, who conducted the first small-scale investigations at the site, in efforts to uncover monuments and discover inscriptions. The next phase in the exploration of the Sanctuary was undertaken by the Athens Archaeological Society, whose systematic excavations over the course of several decades freed the ancient ruins from the houses of the village that had been built on top. Several outstanding archaeologists, including the ephors Demetrios Philios, Andreas Skias, and Konstantinos Kourouniotis, the architect Ioannis Travlos, and professor George Mylonas, unearthed the monuments of Eleusis and with their studies laid the foundations for a complete knowledge of the Sanctuary.

The most recent and youngest scholar of the Sanctuary of Demeter is professor Michael Cosmopoulos, member of the Athens Archaeological Society and Fellow of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, whose study and publication of the Bronze Age finds sheds new light on the prehistory of Eleusis. For under the Classical Sanctuary there existed since the Middle Helladic period an important Bronze Age settlement, which had been partially investigated by the afore-mentioned excavators, but never systematically studied or published.

With the two volumes of the present work, Michael Cosmopoulos has filled an important gap in the scholarship of Eleusis. He studied thousands of finds from the old excavations and conducted an important stratigraphic excavation at a previously unexplored part of the Sanctuary, in order to determine the succession of the chronological periods in the lives of the inhabitants of prehistoric Eleusis using current archaeological methods.

His work, which we have been following over the years with great interest, has produced important results that are presented in detail in these two volumes. He reconstructs methodically the beginnings and early development of prehistoric Eleusis and its first trade connections with Aegina, the Cyclades, and Boeotia, as early as the middle phases of the Middle Helladic period. He describes the economic development, population growth, and social organization of the oldest settlement at the site. He studies the transition to the early and mature Mycenaean periods, between ca. 1450 and 1200 B.C., in the course of which Eleusis develops close commercial relations with the Argolid and also with neighboring Athens. During this age of economic growth, certain families acquire wealth and power and erect
large building complexes, a prime example of which is Megaron B. Around 1200 B.C. begins a period of decline and contraction, although the settlement will never be completely abandoned during the transition to the Early Iron Age.

With his latest momentous publication Michael Cosmopoulos makes available to the archaeological community the scientific knowledge of prehistoric Eleusis and completes the work of the previous distinguished researchers, reconstructing for us the earliest history of this sacred site. This book constitutes a significant scholarly contribution to the fields of history and archaeology. The Athens Archaeological Society is pleased to be publishing it.

Basileios Petrakos
Secretary General of
The Archaeological Society at Athens
The Academy of Athens

## PREFACE

One of the most vivid memories I have from Eleusis is of that bright crisp May morning in 1989, when I entered the storage room of the local museum, recently charged by the Athens Archaeological Society with the task of publishing the Bronze Age finds from the old excavations. I still remember my excitement as I opened drawer after drawer of sherds and inspected the material to be studied; by the end of that day, I had a plan in place for finishing the project in four to five years. Twenty-four years later, the study has finally come to an end.

The assignment to study and publish the Bronze Age finds from the settlement at Eleusis had come a year after the death of its last excavator, George Mylonas, at the suggestion of Professor George Korres. The motivation behind undertaking this task was my moral debt to Mylonas' memory. It was that great man who had taken me under his wing while I was still an undergraduate student at the University of Athens, allowed me to participate in the excavation at Mycenae, and guided my first academic steps in North America; it was also Mylonas who instilled in me the love for this amazing site.

The fact that, by the time of Mylonas' death, the Bronze Age finds from the old excavations had not been fully published is not a reflection of the ability of the early excavators, but solely a result of the difficult circumstances of excavation and of the exceptionally large volume of the material. Digging in adverse conditions, the early excavators of Eleusis unearthed an immense volume of finds, which was impossible for them to publish at the time. Reading through Philios' correspondence with the Board of the Archaeological Society or Mylonas' notebooks, it is difficult for anyone not to appreciate the immense practical and logistical difficulties they had to overcome and not to admire their strong determination, endless dedication, and advanced analytical skills. Modern scholars owe a great debt to Demetrios Philios, Andreas Skias, Konstantinos Kourouniotes, Ioannis Travlos, and George Mylonas for managing to reconstruct what we know about the Eleusinian Mysteries from the broken bits and fragmentary pieces of evidence that their spades uncovered.

Almost eighty years after the discovery of the Bronze Age remains, our knowledge of Aegean archaeology has increased tremendously and has been enhanced with a large amount of data from other excavations, making the publication of the finds from Eleusis imperative. From the start, the project encountered the usual difficulties involved with the publication of finds from old excavations, which are detailed below in the Introduction. Eleusis had been
tested over and over again by different excavators, each one using his own methods and approaches. Even this disparity in methodologies would have not been an insurmountable obstacle if complete excavation records had been preserved. Unfortunately, though, this was not the case, because over the course of the decades numerous excavation journals and find registries had disappeared. To make matters worse, the majority of the finds in the storage room of the museum had been disassociated from their labels - most of which were found bundled up together and chewed up by rodents or worn by humidity. These issues caused serious delays to the study and necessitated a new stratigraphic excavation, which I conducted in 1994 and 1995 in a previously unexcavated part of the south slope. That excavation produced comparative material that served as a reference guide for the finds of the old excavations, and also allowed us to recover types of evidence that were not systematically collected in the old excavations, such as faunal and botanical remains. It also provided a more detailed guide for the stratigraphic sequence of Bronze Age strata than what had been available until then.

The study of the finds from the old excavations resumed in 1998, after the completion of the study of the finds from the stratigraphic excavation. At that time I arranged for a series of chemical and petrographic analyses on a sample of pottery fragments. These analyses, conducted by Dr. Vassilis Kilikoglou and Dr. Ian Whitebread, provided useful new evidence, not only about the technological aspects of ceramic production and the exchange networks in which Eleusis participated, but also about the overall status and position of Eleusis in the network of Aegean sites of the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Further delays to the project were caused by lack of funding, my involvement with the Naxos, Oropos, and Iklaina projects, as well as personal and family reasons, which slowed down the progress of the project until 2008, when I was able to devote more time to it. The work in the museum was finally completed in the summer of 2011 and the writing of this book in January 2013.

For the privilege of working at such an important site and for years of moral, logistical, and financial support I am deeply grateful to the Board of the Athens Archaeological Society, especially the Secretary General, Dr. Vassileios Petrakos. A special debt of gratitude is also owed to the Curator of the Eleusis Museum, Kalliope Papangeli, who for many years tolerated my presence in the museum and facilitated my work in innumerable ways. Access to archival material of the Athens Archaeological Society was made possible through the kind help of the archaeologists Ioanna Ninou and Elena Papanikolaou; the former Ephors of the Third Ephorate of Antiquities, Drs. Theodora Karagiorga and Nikoletta Valakou allowed me access to the excavation records that were at the time kept in the archives of the Ephoreia. To Professor George Korres I am thankful for suggesting that I study the Bronze Age finds from Eleusis.

A number of my students at the University of Manitoba and the University of MissouriSt. Louis helped with recording the finds in the museum, especially Terry Wiess, Kent Fowler, Bryonie Carter, Alexis Dedo, Justin Courtney, Brittany Flowers, and Tristan John-
son. To Justin Courtney I owe many thanks also for his help with computer issues related to the project. The drawings of the finds have been executed by Chris Mundigler, Bretta Gerecke, Steve Clarke, Genevieve Freeman, Yuki Furuya, Kristina Kolb, and Yiannis Nakas. Travlos' architectural drawings have been inked by Steven Clarke, Vivian Stasi, and the author. The section of the Sacred House in fig. 59 has been inked by Alexandros MazarakisAinian and is reproduced with his kind permission from his 1997 book. The photographs have been taken by Chris Mundigler, Karen Howard, Vassilis Petrakis, and myself.

I am greatly indebted to the colleagues who contributed to this project, either by inspecting material at the local museum, or by reading drafts of this book, or both. In particular, I am grateful to Pigi Kalogerakou, Niki Sakka, Iro Mathioudaki, Vassilis Petrakis, Philip Betancourt, Bartek Lis, Kalliopi Sarri, Soren Dietz, Olga Philaniotou, Robin Barber, Patrick Thomas, Elizabeth French, John Papadopoulos, Daniel Pullen, Jorg Rambach, Michael Nelson, Nikolas Papadimitriou, Yannos Lolos, Christina Marabea, Anna Philippa Touchais, Philipp Stockhammer, Florian Ruppenstein, John Younger, and Anne Chapin. To Jim Wright and Cynthia Shelmerdine I am thankful for discussing with me aspects of the project and the Bronze Age occupation at Eleusis. Deborah Ruscillo identified the bones from the drain in front of Megaron B and studied the marine remains from the old and new excavations; the analysis of the faunal remains was conducted by Haskel Greenfield. Needless to say, I remain solely responsible for any mistakes or omissions in this book.

It is a pleasure for me to express my gratitude to the institutions that provided funding and logistical support for this project: in Greece, the Athens Archaeological Society and the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation; in Canada, the University of Manitoba (with special thanks to the then Head of the Department of Classics, Professor Rory Egan), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; in the US, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications, the Mellon Foundation, the Hellenic Government-Karakas Foundation Chair in Greek Studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and the National Endowment for the Humanities (Research grant FB-54201-09); and in the UK the Michael Ventris Memorial Award and the Mediterranean Trust.

For subventions that made possible the publication of this book I am indebted to The University of Missouri-St. Louis, especially the Director of International Studies and Programs, Dr. Joel Glassman, and the Chair of the Department of Anthropology, Sociology, and Foreign Languages, Dr. Susan Brownell; the Archaeological Institute of America; the Institute for Aegean Prehistory; and the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation.

My greatest and deepest gratitude goes to my family, who for so many years had to live with this project. For twenty years, my parents Vassilis and Efterpi provided endless moral and practical support, from driving with me to Eleusis in the years before the Attiki Odos, to tirelessly recording and labeling sherds in the museum. If I have one regret, it is that my father did not live to see this project come to an end. My wife, Deborah, has supported my
work in a myriad practical ways. This book is dedicated to my children in the hope that as they grow up, they will be captivated not only by the wonders of our own world, but also of those that came before it. To all friends, colleagues, and family, a deeply heartfelt Ev̉ $\chi \varrho \iota \sigma \tau \tilde{\omega}!$

## ABBREVIATIONS

| Chronology | c. | Century |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | EBA | Early Bronze Age |
|  | EH | Early Helladic |
|  | LBA | Late Bronze Age |
|  | LC | Late Cycladic |
|  | LH | Late Helladic |
|  | LM | Late Minoan |
|  | MBA | Middle Bronze Age |
|  | MC | Middle Cycladic |
|  | MH | Middle Helladic |
|  | MM | Middle Minoan |
|  | PG | Protogeometric |
| Pottery | ABW | Acropolis Burnished Ware |
|  | DB | Dark Burnished |
|  | D-o-L | Dark-on-Light |
|  | DT | Dark Tempered |
|  | FM | Furumark Motif |
|  | FS | Furumark Shape |
|  | GM | Grey Minyan |
|  | LD | Lustrous Decorated |
|  | L-o-D | Light-on-Dark |
|  | MP | Matt-painted |
|  | MPM | Matt-painted motif |
|  | MPS | Matt-painted shape |
|  | RSB | Red Slipped and Burnished |
|  | YM | Yellow Minyan |
| Measurements | cm | centimeter |
|  | diam. | diameter |
|  | dim. | dimensions |
|  | h. | height |
|  | 1. | length |
|  | m | meter |
|  | max. | maximum |
|  | min. | minimum |
|  | mm | millimeter |
|  | th. | thickness |
|  | W. | width |
| Other | ca. | circa |
|  | $\mathrm{fr}(\mathrm{s})$. | fragment(s) |
|  | $\mathrm{pc}(\mathrm{s})$. | piece(s) |
|  | vs. | versus |

## INTRODUCTION

## History of excavation

On June the 2nd 1882 Demetrios Philios launched the first systematic exploration of Eleusis under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society. With funds provided by the Society, Philios expropriated and demolished the houses that existed in the area of the Telesterion and then proceeded to clear the southeast corner of the Stoa of Philo, with the assistance of the then young Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Philios spent the next several years excavating the Stoa of Philo and the interior of the Telesterion and also cleared part of the Perikleian peribolos wall, bases of statues of the Roman period, the Peisistrateian Gate to the east of the Telesterion, the curved Geometric and Archaic retaining walls with remains of sacrificial "pyres" of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods, the foundations of the platform in front of the east side of the Telesterion, and the Kimonian Gate. To the north, he cleared the Roman House above the Peisistrateian Storage Building, the Roman Temple F, the Ploutonion, and tested the Panagitsa hill around the Frankish Tower. On the south side, right where later Andreas Skias would continue excavation, Philios unearthed part of the retaining wall that supported the south embankment of the ancient Stadium.

Andreas Skias continued Philios' work from 1894 until 1907. Skias excavated a large part of the court of the Telesterion in front of the Stoa of Philo, the Hellenistic Bouleuterion and the Late Classical complex in the south court, as well as the Proto- to Middle-Geometric cemetery in the South Slope of the hill. Skias also excavated the Bronze Age remains in the South Slope, where he found an extensive layer of burned remains and ash containing several burials, which led him to believe that the area was used as a cemetery. His publication of the "Nekropolis" shows how complex the stratigraphy was and how difficult it was for anyone at the time to make sense of the layer-upon-layer of strata spanning several centuries. Skias divided the area into "pyres", although in many cases individual "pyres" could not be separated and he himself realized that they may have been continuations of each other.

Konstantinos Kourouniotes took over the excavation in 1907 and continued to excavate on and off until his death, in 1945. During those years he excavated the largest part of the sanctuary with the assistance of two promising young scholars who were destined to play major roles in Eleusinian studies: the archaeologist George Mylonas and the architect John Travlos. In 1930 Kourouniotes assigned to Mylonas the excavation of the Bronze Age
remains in the southwest slope of the hill, near the area excavated earlier by Skias. At that part of the site, Mylonas uncovered a group of houses dating to the Middle Helladic and the Mycenaean period. The results of that excavation were published by Mylonas in his 1932 monograph. Starting in 1930, George Mylonas, assisted by Ioannis Threpsiades, opened new trenches under the Telesterion in order to investigate the origins of the cult of Demeter. They uncovered the building that has become known as Megaron B, as well as several other remains of the MH and LH periods. More Bronze Age remains were found in excavations on top of the Panagitsa hill. In the 1950s the Athens Archaeological Society assigned George Mylonas and John Travlos the directorship of the excavations. Mylonas excavated in several parts of the sanctuary, and also the West Cemetery, which he published in 1975. The results of limited-scale excavations in the sanctuary between the end of the Second World War and Mylonas' death in 1988 have been published in excavation reports in the Praktika. The excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Kalliope Papangeli in the town of Eleusis, outside the sanctuary, have been published in the reports of the Deltion.

## Methodology and organization of present study

Excavations at Eleusis have been conducted for more than a century by a number of different excavators using diverse field techniques and recording standards. The lack of grid, of uniform system of excavation, and of standardized methods of recording have proved major obstacles in the reconstruction and assessment of the stratigraphic sequence of the site. To compensate for some of these problems and make meaningful sense of the material, I have treated the site as one excavation, reorganizing the extant stratigraphic data so that they could be presented in a uniform manner. Accordingly, I have divided the site into three main "Areas": South Slope, East Slope, and Hilltop; where possible, these "Areas" have been further divided into "Sectors". The basic element of stratigraphy is the "Stratigraphic Unit" (abbr. SU), a distinct, coherent, and intelligible feature, such as a building, a road, a group of connected walls, or, in the absence of architectural remains, just a layer or a group of layers belonging together. Each SU is named with an uppercase letter denoting its Area and an Arabic numeral: thus "S SU 1" stands for South (Slope) Stratigraphic Unit 1, "E SU 1" for East (Slope) Unit 1, and "H SU 1" for Hilltop Unit 1. Composite SUs (such as, for example, a house with its walls and floors) are further divided into smaller units called "loci": a "locus" is the smallest identifiable findgroup within an SU. To the extent possible, loci reflect findgroups defined by individual excavators: for example, those ones of Skias" "pyres" that appear to constitute self-standing findgroups have been kept as separate loci, whereas those ones that seem to belong together or to have been continuations of each other have been combined into the same locus (the term "findgroup" is
reserved for the stratigraphic groups of the original excavators). A complete list of SUs and loci with brief descriptions and dates is provided in Data Table 3. Given the incomplete excavation records, the shortage of information about the trenches opened by each excavator, and the gaps in the recording of walls, I have not attempted to provide a unified numbering system for trenches or walls, but preserved the names or numbers used by each excavator. For example, Skias marked his walls with lowercase and uppercase Greek or Latin letters, sometimes followed by one or more accent marks, whereas Mylonas used lowercase Greek letters. As these refer to different SUs and different loci, there is no confusion between walls of different Areas; all walls are marked on the accompanying plans. Floors are identified on the basis of the description provided by the excavators, but have not been given separate numbers. Where Skias' "pyres" are concerned, I have included only those pyres which contained Bronze Age material; in cases where a Bronze Age feature is found adjacent to one of the later pyres, this pyre is mentioned but is not described or discussed extensively (e.g. pyre LXVIII associated with grave S.I.1, or pyres LXXI and LXXII, associated with graves S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I.5). Sections are not common in the extant excavation records, but those that are useful for the reconstruction of the stratigraphic analysis have been included here.

A permanent benchmark or datum point for the excavation does not exist, as different excavators used different reference points to record elevations. Where such reference points are recorded, either in the notebooks or in the published reports, the relevant information has been included here. Graves have not been assigned SU numbers, but have been named with an uppercase letter indicating their general Area (East, South, Hilltop), followed by a Roman numeral indicating their Sector and an Arabic numeral indicating the grave number: thus E.I. 1 is grave 1 of Sector I of the East Slope.

In addition to the lack of unified standards of excavation and recording, three other problems hindered the present study:
a) There are not any records of kept vs. discarded pottery; this becomes apparent in the analysis of unpainted and plain pottery, whose volume compared to the painted pottery is small.
b) The extant excavation records are incomplete. Especially challenging has been the absence of find registries, exacerbated by the disassociation of the finds from their labels in the museum. Some pieces have numbers either written in pencil on their interior surface or in ink on paper labels glued on their interior surface, but most of these have been worn away and are illegible. Of the indications that can be read, the commonest one consists of plain numbers referring to findgroups, but because the material has been excavated by different excavators, these numbers belong to different numbering systems and in many cases it is impossible to establish the correct findgroups. Even in cases in which the findgroup can be identified (which was possible for some of Mylonas' finds), the absence of find registries makes the identification of the provenience of these pieces impossible. Fortunately,
the provenience of several sherds with pencil numbers could be identified by cross-referencing with description of findgroups in the surviving excavation records.
c) Even for those loci for which the list of finds can be reconstructed, this list is usually incomplete: for example, some of the Megaron B findgroups (e.g. from the floor) were split between two or three bags, which suggests that some of the numerous bags without labels may actually have belonged to one or more of the identified SUs.

Because of these issues, the stratigraphic provenience of many finds remains unknown. This has impacted the way the material is presented, as finds could not be arranged and presented according to their stratigraphic origin. As a result, the finds included in the Catalogue have been assigned sequential Catalogue numbers (in bold throughout the book) following a general chronological order, from Early to Middle to Late Helladic. Each catalogue entry includes the catalogue number in bold, followed by an inventory number in parentheses; this inventory number is not necessarily the official museum number, but the inventory number that each sherd was assigned in the Master Database with Bronze Age finds, which includes all the Bronze Age finds and a copy of which has been deposited in the museum. The order in which information is presented in the Catalogue is shape, dimensions, fabric and manufacture, surface treatment and decoration, provenience (if known), references to previous publication of the specific find, parallels, if any, and date. For the EH and MH pottery, handmade pottery is marked as such, but if manufacture is not mentioned, the sherd is wheelmade. For the LH pottery all sherds included are wheelmade, unless otherwise indicated. Color designations are those of the Munsell Soil Color Chart (1975 edition). Except for rare cases, where it was necessary to combine views (e.g. 634), in the drawings sections are represented on the right-hand side and exterior views on the lefthand side of the vase; exterior painted decoration is rendered in solid black, interior in grey. Painted decoration on the underside of the base is shown under the section decoration on the top surface of the rim above the section. The form of the handle is rendered in solid black on or next to the handle; decoration on the external side of the handle is shown above or on the right-hand side of the handle cross section. Reconstructed parts are shown in dotted lines; as a rule breakages are not shown, unless important for understanding a motif.

Besides the Catalogue, abbreviated entries for sherds with known provenience are included with the description of the SUs or loci where they were found: these entries include only information about shape and date and the reader should refer to the Catalogue for full details. Closed deposits are rare, so a date is assigned to a locus if the majority of its finds belongs to a specific period; in most cases deposits are contaminated and contain earlier and/or later admixtures; there are a few loci from which only one or two sherds can be identified, but in most such cases we do have a general description of the finds in the excavation records, so a date is assigned on the basis of both the identified finds and the date assigned by the excavator. The absence of excavation records has resulted in the lack of quantitative data (including, as mentioned above, the number of discarded vs. kept
pots and weight information). Faunal and marine remains from Philios' and Skias' excavations have not been located in the museum and it is doubtful that they were kept; except for the recent stratigraphic excavation, botanical remains do not exist.

Unless otherwise indicated, all site measurements are given in meters and all find measurements in centimeters.

## ARCHITECTURE, STRATIGRAPHY, BURIALS

## INTRODUCTION

The discussion of the Bronze Age stratigraphy, architecture, and burials follows the division into three "Areas"; for the South and East Slopes each Area is divided into Sectors, but given the gaps in our data and the absence of a grid some of these sectors cannot be defined with precision.

The description of buildings and architectural features presents many gaps, especially from the Philios and Skias excavations, due to the lack of excavation records. For example, measurements for top and bottom elevations of walls are not usually preserved or were not recorded; in many cases we do not know whether walls bond or abut; and dimensions of stones used for the construction of most walls were not recorded, but categorized by the excavators as "large", "medium-sized", or "small". In general, if such information exists or can be deduced by the existing architectural plans, it is mentioned in the discussion; if it is not mentioned, it means that it is not preserved.

The term rubble is used to describe unworked stones and the term block to describe stones worked to a rectangular, irregular rectangular, or cuboid shape. Unless otherwise noted, the walls described below are known or assumed to have been built in the usual Bronze Age method, with a rubble socle and mudbrick superstructure.

## AREA 1: THE SOUTH SLOPE

The remains of the South Slope have been divided into four Sectors (fig. 1). Sector I includes the trenches opened by Philios and Skias to the south of the Epigraphic Museum; Sector II comprises the trenches opened by Skias to the southwest of the Epigraphic museum; Sector III includes Mylonas‘ trenches in the area between the Epigraphic Museum and the Hellenistic cistern known as "Tholos Tomb", as well as the trenches of the 19941995 excavation; and Sector IV is the Sacred House.

SECTOR I: TRENCHES TO THE SOUTH OF THE EPIGRAPHIC MUSEUM
The area to the south of the Epigraphic Museum was excavated by Philios from 1884 to 1889 and by Skias from 1895 to 1902. At that part of the hill, the slope rises towards the north-northwest by approximately 50 cm every 6 m . Philios opened an unknown number

Fig. 1. General plan of the South Slope showing the location of the four sectors.
of trial trenches, ${ }^{1}$ but information exists for only three of them: the first trench, approximately 12 m long, was opened in the northwest part of the excavated area in 1884; ${ }^{2}$ the second trench was opened in 1889 approximately 20 to 30 m to the east of the first one and revealed walls that had been founded on the bedrock, as well as mudbricks, at -2.30 to -2.50 m from the surface; ${ }^{3}$ a third trench is mentioned to the west of the first trench, but information about its exact location or finds does not exist, with the exception of a vague reference to "parts of walls that had been destroyed by fire, together with mudbricks and graves at - 3.50 m ."

Skias opened several trenches to the east and to the west of the area excavated by Philios (fig. 2). ${ }^{4}$ He found several skeletons covered by thick layers of ash and thought that the slope was occupied by a "necropolis" containing funeral "pyres". It was not until Mylonas' publication of the Bronze Age finds from the West Slope, ${ }^{5}$ that it was established that the entire South Slope was occupied by a prehistoric settlement destroyed by fire, and that the skeletons discovered by Skias belonged to burials deposited in residential areas and not to a cemetery.

Because field records from Philios‘ and Skias‘ excavations have not survived, the reconstruction of the stratigraphic sequence in this area is based solely on the published reports. As a rule, I have preserved Skias' pyres as distinct loci, except for those that seem to have belonged together, which I have combined into single loci. The discussion of the architectural remains and finds proceeds from west to east.

## West-Southwest Part of Sector I

## S SU 1

Numerous walls were excavated in the west-northwest part of this sector in 1898 and 1902. Stratigraphic Unit 1 (SU 1) consists of wall $\tau$ (recorded elevation +0.95 m ), ${ }^{6}$ covered by a layer of ash which was called by Skias pyre LXVII and which extended over a circular area with a diameter of approximately 8 m above and around wall $\tau .{ }^{7}$ The northwest part

[^0]n. 2). In the reports there are some discrepancies concerning elevations, but these are due to the fact that excavation was conducted in very narrow areas and under adverse conditions (Skias 1898a, 32, 35).
5. Eleusis.
6. It is unclear from the excavation report whether this measurement refers to the foundation or to the top course of wall $\tau$ (Skias 1912, 2).
7. Ibid. 2.

Fig. 2. General plan of Sector I of the South Slope, showing Skias' trenches. The shaded rectangles mark Philios' trenches; the line $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ in Structure A indicates the section in fig. 7. Underlined Arabic and Roman numerals indicate pyres. Bold numbers indicate the graves of Sector I (S.I).
of the pyre had been disturbed, but the area around wall $\tau$ had not. The pyre contained many bones from bovids, one worked bone, and fragments of tortoise shells. Wall $\mathrm{H}^{\prime}$, approximately 3.5 m to the northeast of wall $\tau$, had been founded on the bedrock and was of similar construction as wall $\tau$; it has not been included in the same SU, because it was not associated with any finds and its date and relation to wall $\tau$ cannot be established.
Finds. An unknown number of MP, GM, and coarse sherds were found around wall $\tau$ and in pyre LXVII. Of these, five sherds are illustrated in Skias 1912, fig. 1: two rims and one body of MP bowls, one body sherd from a coarse bowl with an incised potter's mark, and a neck of a MP jug could be MH III or LH I. These sherds have not been located in the museum.

## S SU 2

This SU overlies SU 1. It includes a 0.15 m thick layer of ash, dubbed by Skias "pyre LXVI" (which at some point may have blended with pyre LXVII), and wall $\tau^{\prime}$, which was built inside this pyre. The finds from this SU were never published or photographed and, as a result, it has not been possible to identify them in the Eleusis museum. The only information that we have is Skias' reference to "lustrous Mycenaean sherds", including stirrup jars, ${ }^{8}$ which might suggest a LH IIIA2/IIIB date. Pyre LXVI was covered with a layer of pebbles (possibly a floor) at an elevation of +1.58 m .

## S SU 3

This SU is located to the north of walls $\tau$ and $\tau^{\prime}$ and includes wall $\Phi$ (founded at +2.12 m ) and pyre LXX. This pyre was preserved to a length of 3.10 m and, like pyre LXVI, it included "lustrous Mycenaean sherds". According to Skias, pyre LXX and wall $\Phi$ date to the late Mycenaean period and correspond to his third or fourth architectural phases in the interior of Structure A (see below). The finds from this SU have not been found in the museum, but on the basis of Skias' observations they may be LH IIIA2/IIIB.

## S SU 4

To the southwest of the above SUs and approximately 4 m to the west of wall Z , Skias postulated the existence of a tumulus, on the basis of a thick ( $>1 \mathrm{~m}$ ) layer of ash which contained MH sherds and animal bones. This layer covered the north end of wall $Z^{\prime}$ and sloped considerably from north to south and from west to east. ${ }^{9}$ It has not been possible to identify the finds in the Eleusis museum.

## S SU 5

A number of walls were discovered to the west of Structure A (see below): walls B, B', $\mathrm{B}^{\prime \prime}, \mathrm{B}^{\prime \prime \prime}$, and Z had been founded on the bedrock and built in a crude manner. ${ }^{10}$ A plain "pre-Mycenaean" pithos near the west end of the trench and fragments from five small querns are mentioned by Skias in relation to these walls, ${ }^{11}$ but further information on these finds or their location does not exist.

## Central Part of Sector I (in and around Structure A)

Several Bronze Age deposits were found in the area of a circular structure of the Geometric period, which Skias named "Structure A" (fig. 2). Structure A has an external diameter of approximately 7.5 m and its walls are $0.50-0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ thick. Because of the slope of the bedrock at that part of the hill, the foundation of the south wall is approximately 1 m lower than the foundation of the north wall. ${ }^{12}$ Inside this building, Skias discerned six architectural phases, of which phases 1, 2, and 3 are associated with findgroups containing Bronze Age pottery. ${ }^{13}$ Although every effort was made here to correlate the stratigraphic sequence of the various findgroups with Skias' architectural phases, their correspondence is not always clear in the excavation reports and some margin of error should be allowed. Stratigraphic Units 6, 7, 8, and 9 are located inside Structure A, whereas SUs 10, 11, 12, and 13 outside.

## S SU 6

The deepest Bronze Age SU corresponds to Skias' architectural Phase 1 and includes walls $\Lambda, \lambda, \lambda^{\prime}, \mathrm{E}$ (along with $\varepsilon$ and $\varepsilon^{\prime}$, which are not shown in fig. 2, but form the upper courses of $E$ ), and $E^{\prime}$. All these walls are founded on the bedrock and Skias considers them contemporaneous with the walls he found to the southwest of Structure A (see below, SU 11). ${ }^{14}$ A number of pyres found around walls $\lambda$ and $\Lambda$ could belong to this phase: these are pyres $40,44,59,38,39 .{ }^{15}$ Pyre 38 lies above walls $\lambda$ and $\lambda^{\prime}$, under pyre 41 ; pyres 40 and 44 lie directly on the bedrock (under wall $\Theta$ and 0.66 m deeper than pyres 38 and 39) and

[^1]13. Ibid. 46-47. He calls these phases "strata" ( $\sigma \varrho \omega \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ ). The fourth (ibid.: walls N', M, v, $\Xi$; Skias 1912: $\tau^{\prime \prime}, H^{\prime \prime}$ ), fifth (Skias 1898a, building A; 1912: wall $\mathrm{H}^{\prime}$ ), and sixth architectural phases (Skias 1898a: wall @; Skias 1912: wall H) belong to the Geometric period and have not been included in the present discussion (Skias 1898a, 46-47; 1912, 4-5).
14. Skias 1898a, 45.
15. Ibid. 61-62.
could have been in fact continuations of pyre $59 .{ }^{16}$ Several fragments of mudbricks were found in pyre 44, where Skias reports also "animal and human bones". This SU dates to MH III/LH I.

Finds (fig. 3). An unknown number of coarse GM sherds, handmade MP sherds decorated with straight linear designs, and coarse cooking vases and bowls.
259. Neck, flaring rim, and vertical loop handle of a MP type 1 jar. MH III/LH I.
263. Belly and horizontal loop handle of a MP type 1 jar. Mended from several pieces found in 1896 in pyre 38 and in 1897 in pyre 40 under wall $\Theta$. MH III/LH I.
266. Belly of a plain jar (not illustrated). MH III/LH I.
553. Plain Jar. MH III/LH I.
575. Bird vase. MH III/LH I.


259



553

Fig. 3. Finds from S SU 6.
16. Ibid. 63-64.

## S SU 7

This SU corresponds to Skias' architectural Phase 2. It consists of wall $\Theta$, which partially covers wall $\Lambda$, along with pyres 56 and 57 . Wall $\Theta$ had been protected from sliding down the slope by the (possibly earlier but associated with the same floor) smaller wall $\theta^{\prime}$, which was eventually removed by Skias. ${ }^{17}$ Pyre 56 was found 0.40 m deeper than pyre 57 and 0.20 m higher than pyres 38 and 39 and it may in fact have been a continuation of pyre 39. ${ }^{18}$ Under pyre 57 there was a thin layer of pebbles that could have been the floor of a grave. ${ }^{19}$ A large number of animal bones was found in these two pyres: in pyre 56 were found a mandible, a horn core, and a scapula from a sheep/goat, as well as a bird bone, burned sea shells, cattle bones, and a cuttlefish bone; another cuttlefish bone was found in pyre $57 .{ }^{20}$ The plain and coarse pottery from this SU dates to MH III/LH I, but the decorated sherds suggest a LH I date.

Finds (fig. 4). An unknown number of MP sherds, coarse sherds with brown slip, unslipped burnished sherds and plain body sherds. ${ }^{21}$
548. One-handled jar. Found in pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
552. Three non-joining fragments of the body and rim of a cooking jar. From pyre 56. MH III/LH I.


Fig. 4. Finds from S SU 7.

| 17. Skias 1898a, 46 n .1. | 20. Skias 1898a, 66. |
| :--- | :--- |
| 18. Ibid. 62-63. | 21. Ibid. |
| 19. Eleusis 58. |  |

555. Fragment of the lower part of a coarse jar (not illustrated). From the fill around pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
556. Body of a closed vessel (not illustrated). Found in the fill around pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
557. Flat base and lower body of a large jar or krater. From the fill around pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
558. Fragment of the flat base and lower part of a body of a jar. Found in the fill around pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
559. Belly and horizontal loop handle from a jar (not illustrated). From pyre 56. MH III/LH I.
560. Goblet. Found in pyre 56. LH I.
561. Two joining fragments from the rim and the handle of an angular cup (FS 240). LH I.
562. Three joining fragments from the rim and the handle of an angular cup (FS 240). LH I.
563. Undecorated goblet with short stem. Found in the fill around pyre 56. LH II.

## S SU 8

This SU consists of wall $\varrho^{\prime \prime}$ and pyre 50 and corresponds to Skias' architectural Phase $3 .{ }^{22}$ Wall $\varrho^{\prime \prime}$ runs in a northwest-southeast direction, is preserved to a length of 1.50 m and is 0.50 m wide. Pyre 50 partially overlays this wall and extends towards the south-southwest (fig. 7). The cup 968 has been assigned to this SU, as it was found in pyre $50 .{ }^{23}$

## Find (fig. 5).

968. Spouted cup (FS 249). Found in pyre 50. LH IIIA2 late.


Fig. 5. Finds from S SU 8 (left) and S SU 9 (right).

## S SU 9

This SU consists of pyres 31, 32, and 49 (elevation approximately +0.50 m ). Because these pyres are not associated with any walls, this SU does not correspond to any of Skias'
architectural phases. The layer to which these pyres belong had been disturbed by the construction of Structure A; in fact, these three pyres could have belonged to one and the same locus, divided into smaller parts by walls $\lambda$ and $\theta^{\prime} .{ }^{24}$ Skias observed that these three pyres originally could have been continued by pyres 47,51 , and 52 , extending to the north of Structure A, from which they had been separated when the north wall of Structure A and walls P and $\varrho$ were constructed. ${ }^{25}$ The finds from this SU are a mixed bag, including MH, LH, and Geometric sherds. ${ }^{26} 893$ was found under pyre 49. A complete bone pin was found in pyre $52 .{ }^{27}$

Find (fig. 5).
893. Everted rim of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.

## S SU 10

This SU consists of pyre 51. This pyre, excavated in 1897 and $1898,{ }^{28}$ had been severely disturbed by the construction of the later wall P and included sherds from various periods and fragments of mudbricks. ${ }^{29}$ The following finds from this pyre can be dated to the Bronze Age.

Finds (fig. 6).
254. Body of a beak-spouted jug. MC III.
507. One-handled cup. MH II-III.
511. One-handled cup. MH II-III.
567. Rim, body and foot fragment of a tripod cooking pot. ?LH IIIB.
568. Body and foot fragment of a tripod cooking pot. LH IIIB/IIIC Early.

the museum.
28. Skias 1898a, 58.
29. Ibid. 58 and n. 2.
24. Skias 1898a, 55 n. 1.
25. Ibid. 56-57.
26. Ibid. 57-58.
27. Eleusis 146, fig. 1203; it has not been located in

## S SU 11

This SU includes several features to the west and southwest of Structure A. Although the number of these features cannot be determined with certainty, it seems that the deepest deposits to the west and southwest of Structure A, ${ }^{30}$ which correspond to Skias' architectural Phase 1 from inside Structure A, can be grouped together with walls K, K', E', and E. All these walls were crudely made and founded on the bedrock, and could have been associated with the same deposit. ${ }^{31}$ It is possible that this SU may be dated to the MH period, as in this part of the slope it is often MH walls that are founded directly on the bedrock. Pyre 34 and its underlying pyre 35 have been assigned to this SU because of their proximity to wall E. The only indication about the finds is a description by Skias of two sherds found under pyre 35, which suggests that they may have been MH III: the first sherd is from a handmade MP cup "made of off-white clay; its rim is inclined and decorated with a very simple branch-like motif"; and the second is a handle "of another vase of similar manufacture, with a snake-like motif". ${ }^{32}$ If walls $\mathrm{K}, \mathrm{K}^{\prime}, \mathrm{E}^{\prime}$, and E are MH III, pyres 34 and 35 must also date to the same period.


Fig. 7. Schematic stratigraphic section of Structure A ( $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ in fig. 2).
30. At -2.53 m from the Roman pipeline.
31. Skias 1898a, 45.






Fig. 8. Finds from S SU 12.
S SU 12
An unknown number of deposits found under the Geometric (?) graves $\gamma$ and $\gamma^{\prime}$ included many "pre-Mycenaean" and MP sherds, a MH III fragment of a bowl with a potter' s mark, and at least three LH I pieces: a Vapheio cup, a stemmed angular bowl, and a MP juglet. It is unclear whether these come from a residential deposit under the graves or from another unrecorded grave.

Finds (fig. 8).
527. Everted rim and body of a coarse rounded bowl. Potter's mark on the body. MH III/LH I.
608. Flaring rim, neck and vertical strap handle of a MP juglet. LH I.
683. Vapheio cup. Found under the floor of grave $\gamma$. LH I.
685. Stemmed angular bowl. Found on Sept. 26, 1896 under graves $\gamma$ and $\gamma^{\prime}$. LH IB.

S SU 13
Walls $\mu^{\prime}, \mu^{\prime \prime}, \chi^{\prime}$, and $\chi^{\prime \prime}$ were found immediately to the northeast of Structure A, but the finds from the associated loci were not recorded, nor were they found in the Eleusis Museum. Walls $\chi^{\prime}$ and $\chi^{\prime \prime}$ were founded on the bedrock and could have been MH. ${ }^{33}$

## East-Southeast Part of Sector I

## S SU 14

In the southeast part of this sector, Skias found a thick layer of ash, which he called "pyre LVI" (th. $1.5 \mathrm{~m}, 1.12 \mathrm{~m}$, min. w. 2 m ). This pyre connected pyres 41 and 45 and contained several small walls. ${ }^{34}$ The top of the pyre was found at +0.30 m and its lower part at -1.20 m . At spots this thick layer of ash was divided into three horizontal sections by two thin layers of fine sand: the top layer was $3-5 \mathrm{~cm}$ thick and the lower 3.5 cm thick. ${ }^{35}$
33. Skias 1898a, 46 and 48.
34. Skias 1912, 8.
35. Ibid. 9 and n. 3.

In the west end of the pyre stood a plain pithos and in its southeast part a small plain vase; additional information about these two vases does not exist and they could not be identified in the museum. Those finds from pyre LVI that have been identified are listed below: the jars 633 and 687 and the cup 694 are LH I; the Vapheio cup 824 and the jar 775 LH IIA; and the kylix 1026 LH IIIA1, so theoretically the three thinner layers of this pyre may have belonged to these three periods.

Finds (fig. 9).
633. Shoulder, handle, neck, and rim of a MP amphoroid jar. LH I.
687. Piriform jar (FS 27). LH I.
694. Semiglobular cup (FS 211/212). LH I.
775. Lower part of the body of a hole-mouthed jar (FS 100). LH IIA.
824. Type III Vapheio cup. LH IIA.
1026. Rim and body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA1/Early LH IIIA2.


Fig. 9. Finds from S SU 14.

S SU 15
This SU consists of two loci. Locus 1 includes the deposits under pyres 45 and 41 and locus 2 includes the main parts of pyres 45 and 41. Both loci contained MH III/LH I sherds, although two intrusive Proto-Corinthian sherds were found in locus 1 with the semi-globular cup $695 .{ }^{36}$ Right underneath, still in the upper part of the pyre, were found two Mycenaean sherds, one of which may have been from a Polychrome vase. ${ }^{37}$ Both loci of this SU can be dated to LH I.

Finds (fig. 10).

## Locus 1: Deposit under pyres 41 and 45

427. Small jug. Found on the bedrock under pyre 41. MH III/LH I.
428. Everted rim of a cooking pot (not illustrated). Found under pyre 45. MH III/LH I.
429. Body of a MP jug or jar. Found under pyre 41, 21 September 1896. LH I.
430. Shoulder and base from the neck of a jar. Found under pyre 45. MH III/LH I.
431. Semi-globular cup (FS 211). Found under pyre 45. LH I.


Fig. 10. Finds from S SU 15 (top: locus 1; bottom: locus 2).
36. Skias 1898a, 66, 70-72.
37. These sherds have not been found in the museum, but Skias mentions that one of them
belonged to a small cup decorated in black and red paint, which he compares to Furtwängler and Loeschke 1879, pl. VII.

Locus 2: Main part of pyre 41
260. Shoulder of a MP type 1 jar. Found in pyre 41. MH III/LH I.
602. One-handled cup. Found in pyre 41. LH IA.
604. MP cup with straight rim and no handles. Found in pyre 41. LH I.
622. Body of a MP jug or jar with bird decoration. Found in pyre 41. LH I.
634. Neck, rim, and handle of a MP jar. Found in pyre 41, 21 September 1896. LH I.
680. Vapheio cup, YM. Found in pyre 41. LH I.

S SU 16
This SU includes pyres 62, 64, and 65, which are located to the south of Structure A. Pyre 62, which contained sherds with a "lustrous coat, some decorated with stipple", ${ }^{38}$ was found to the north of pyre 65 and to the east of pyre 64, approximately 1.60 m under the Roman pipeline, 0.60 m higher than grave S.I. 13 and 0.70 m higher than pyre 65 . The MH spout 107 appears to have been found on top of this pyre (locus 1), but then Skias' mention of stipple would suggest a LH IIB / IIIA1 date; furthermore, the LH IIIA2 jar 1287 is recorded as having been found "lower than pyre 62 ", ${ }^{39}$ which suggests a serious disturbance of these loci.

Pyre 64 was located to the west of pyres 62 and 65 . It was one of the largest pyres, approximately 6 m long and 1.20-1.70 m wide and lay directly on the bedrock. Because of the slope of the bedrock, its north end was 0.70 m deeper than pyre 62 , but its south end 1.10 m . Inside this pyre (locus 3) were found several MH MP and GM sherds, as well as fragments of an early Mycenaean vase (not located in the museum), which Skias compares to the well-known LH I rhyton from Grave Circle A at Mycenae; ${ }^{40}$ another LH I vase was found above pyre 64 (locus 4). Other finds include numerous animal bones, mostly from sheep / goat and cattle. ${ }^{41}$ Under pyre 64 were found two Geometric sherds, ${ }^{42}$ suggesting that these loci may have been contaminated.

Pyre 65 was found 0.70 m lower than pyre 62; it was divided into two horizontal layers and contained a mixture of LH sherds. ${ }^{43}$ Two pyres that were found to the west of walls $h^{\prime}$ and c , at +1.77 m and +1.32 m , seem to have been continuations of pyres 62 and 65 and contained MH to LH IIIA/IIIB pottery. ${ }^{44}$

[^2]

Fig. 11. Finds from S SU 16.
Finds (fig. 11).
Locus 1: On top of pyre 62
107. Spout of a spouted MP bowl. MH II-III.

Locus 2: Lower than pyre 62, possibly from pyre 65
1287. Plain jar. LH IIIA2/IIIB.

Also sherds decorated with stipple (not found in the museum). ${ }^{45}$
Locus 3: Inside pyre 64
603. Everted rim and body of a rounded cup. LH I.
644. Everted rim and body of a polychrome deep bowl (not illustrated). LH I.

## Locus 4: Above pyre 64

261. Jar (hydria), partially restored. If this jar is, indeed, the one recorded by Skias (see note in Catalogue entry), it was found above pyre 64. ?MH III.
262. Piriform jar (FS 27). Found in pieces all over the area right on top of pyre 64. LH I.

SECTOR II: TRENCHES TO THE SOUTHWEST OF THE EPIGRAPHIC MUSEUM

## S SU 17

This SU includes the walls and the floor deposit of Room I. In the corner of the room stood the pithos 539, near which was found the strainer 573 and a bone pin. ${ }^{46}$ Further information about the walls associated with this room or other finds does not exist.

Finds (fig. 12).
539. Belly-handled jar. MH III.
573. Strainer. MH (?III).

[^3]

Fig. 12. Finds from S SU 17.

## S SU 18

This SU consists of pyre XXIX $\beta$, defined by walls $\beta$ and $\pi$ and bothros $\Omega$ (fig. 14); its northeast end was destroyed by the construction of the Hellenistic cistern. The pyre was 0.50 m thick and covered the bedrock. Near its east end, next to wall B, were found two mudbricks. Bothros $\Omega$ had a diameter of 0.80 m and a depth of 0.20 m and its floor was covered with pebbles; inside were found animal bones, including three scapulae and two horn cores from sheep and cattle, and fragments of a "large vase". Right outside this bothros, but near its edge and a little higher, were found other bones of cattle on a pile, as well as the jar 581 and the angular cup 399. Skias also mentions a base from a vase with red clay, a few MP sherds, and some obsidian fragments. ${ }^{47}$

Finds (fig. 13).
399. Angular GM cup. MH II.
581. Coarse Incised jar. MH II-III.

Fig. 13. Finds from S SU 18.


399



Fig. 14. Plan of the walls and graves near the southwest corner of the Epigraphic Museum.


Fig. 15. Schematic stratigraphic section of the trench near the southwest corner of the Epigraphic Museum ( $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ ).

## S SU 19

This SU includes pyres XXIX and XXXII (figs 14, 15). Pyre XXIX extends to a length of 7 m and covers walls $\beta$ and $\gamma$, starting to the west of wall $\alpha$ and ending near wall $\theta$, at a level lower than wall $\varepsilon$. Wall $\pi$ is founded in the ash of pyre XXII, but is later. The layer of ash in pyres XXIX and XXXII is 0.50 m thick and inside it were found the MP sherds 141



1125

Fig. 16. Finds from S SU 19.

Fig. 17. Finds from S SU 20.
and 232, the Cycladic sherds 463 and $468,{ }^{48}$ and a number of sherds illustrated by Skias (MP type 1 jars or pithoi and one fragment of a rounded bowl with flat rim, all decorated with variants of X-patterns). ${ }^{49}$ Other finds include a clay spindle whorl, bones of sheep/goat, dog or hare, a globular stone grinder, a fragment of a pen shell (Pinna nobilis), and a piece of red ochre. ${ }^{50}$

Finds (fig. 16).
141. Body of a MP beak-spouted jug or a jar. MH II.
232. Body of a MP pithos or jar. MH II.
463. Cycladic pyxis lid. MC I.
468. Rim, handle, and body of a RSB bowl. MC II.

## S SU 20

This SU includes pyre XXX, which lies approximately 0.40 m higher than pyre XXIX of S SU 19. It extends to a length of 7 m and a width of 2.50 m . Under and inside this pyre was found 1125 and two other pieces illustrated by Skias in his report (not located in the museum). ${ }^{51}$ An unspecified number of lustrous Mycenaean sherds were found on top of the pyre. ${ }^{52}$

Finds (fig. 17).
1125. Lower part of the body and the base of the vertical strap handle of a stemmed bowl (FS 305). Found under pyre XXX. LH IIIB1/IIIB2.
1127. Flaring rim and body with the horizontal loop handle of a stemmed bowl (FS 305). LH IIIB1/IIIB2.
48. Skias 1912, figs 7:5 and 7:4.
49. Ibid. fig. 7:1-3, 7-8.
50. Cf. Tsountas 1898, 186, 196.
51. Skias 1912, fig. 9:1-2.
52. Ibid. 17.


Fig. 18. Walls in the vicinity of the "Tholos Tomb".

SECTOR III: TRENCHES BETWEEN THE EPIGRAPHIC MUSEUM AND THE "THOLOS TOMB"

## S SU 21

Immediately to the west of the Hellenistic cistern commonly referred to as the "Tholos Tomb", Skias ${ }^{53}$ found a few MH sherds in three pyres (fig. 18: LXXXI, LXXX, LXXIX). These layers had been disturbed and were found in great disarray; the only notable feature was a pile of mudbricks and remains of small stone walls in pyre LXXIX, which Skias interpreted as remains of a small altar. The feature was very small (total area under 1 sq m ) and contained three or four well-like cavities with mixed MH I-III sherds. Chemical analyses of the ash that covered this feature showed a high level of phosphate, indicative of (?animal) burned bones. ${ }^{54}$

Finds (fig. 19).
40. Fragment of the flat incurving rim of a MP bowl. MH I.
45. Body of an open MP vessel, possibly a rounded bowl with everted rim. MH I.
64. Body of a MP type 1 pithos. MH I.


Fig. 19. Finds from S SU 21.
118. Everted rim, beginning of vertical strap handle, and body of a MP angular cup with everted rim. MH II.
366. Stem and raised concave base of a GM angular bowl. Found in pyre LXXIX. MH II-III.
713. Everted rim and body of a deep L-o-D bowl. MH II-LH I. ${ }^{55}$

## Between the "Tholos Tomb" and the Epigraphic Museum

This area was excavated by Mylonas in two excavation seasons, from July 9 to September 30, 1930 and from June 10 to July 10, 1931. Mylonas was assisted by G. Bakalakis as trench master and J. Travlos as architect. Although some notebooks from the excavation exist, the find registries have not been preserved, and as a result the identification of the findgroups from each SU is based mostly on the published reports and on descriptions in the excavation notebooks. In total, Mylonas and his colleagues opened seven trenches oriented from east to west, named sequentially after letters of the Greek alphabet (A to H); each trench was 2 m wide and 36 to 45 m long (fig. 21). For convenience, the discussion follows Mylonas' division of this part of the excavation into three parts (west, central, and east). Unless otherwise indicated, all elevations are measured from the surface of the ground.

The slope at that point rises 2.50 m over 10 m and the average thickness of the deposits is 2.75 m . The excavators divided arbitrary layers 0.30 m thick, but important changes in natural stratigraphy were recorded in the notebooks.

[^4]

Fig. 20. Section of the South Slope at the 35th meter (cf. fig. 21).

West part
The west part includes trenches A-H between the 28th and 45th meter (fig. 21). ${ }^{56}$ The top layer extended to a depth of approximately 1 m and was followed by a thick $(0.80 \mathrm{~m})$ deposit dating to the 3rd c. BC. In the north part (trenches $\mathrm{A}-\Gamma$ ) the excavators found the floor of a Hellenistic cistern at -1.40 m and 0.40 m below this floor there was a cement floor of the same period, associated with several Hellenistic and Roman walls (these walls are shown in black in figs 20 and 21). ${ }^{57}$ Immediately beneath the cement floor there was a thin

Fig. 21. General plan of the trenches to the west of the Epigraphic Museum, excavation 1930-1931 and 1994-1995. Sections $\alpha-\beta$ : fig. 20; $\gamma-\delta$ : fig. 48; $\varepsilon$-૬: fig. 49.
layer of ash (average thickness 0.02 m ), under which was found a thick ( 0.60 m ) layer of burned soil and ash; this layer extended over the entire excavated area all the way to the bedrock and contained MH sherds, a large number of carbonized wood fragments, remains of mudbricks, and animal bones from sheep/goats, pigs, and cattle. In this layer were found several MH walls, which belonged to at least two houses, A and B (fig. 21; see below). In trench $\Delta$ the surface layer was very thin $(0.15 \mathrm{~m})$ and was followed by a layer with Roman sherds, $0.35-0.40 \mathrm{~m}$ thick, which included a cement floor. Under the Roman layer there was a layer of coarse sand and pebbles (th. 0.10 m ), followed by a Geometric layer (th. 1 m ). The Bronze Age deposit started at -1.90 m , reached all the way to the bedrock ( -2.75 m ), and included a layer with LH I/II sherds. This layer was also found in trench E, but at a higher point ( -1.40 m ), and included many pieces of burned mudbricks. Trenches Z and $H$ present a different stratigraphic sequence. The mixed top layer was 0.60 m thick. Under this layer, at -0.60 to -1 m there was a layer with LH I/II sherds containing a large number of pieces from disintegrated mudbricks. Late Helladic I and II sherds were mixed, but at -1.30 m LH I become prevalent. Under this layer and separated from it by a layer of ash, there was a MH deposit reaching a thickness of 1.50 m . This yielded numerous GM and MP sherds, animal bones, several infant burials, remains of mudbricks, and several walls (Houses $\Gamma, \Delta, \mathrm{E}$ ). The bottom part of this layer was defined by another layer of ash, right on the bedrock. In the discussion below each building has been identified as a separate SU.

## S SU 22: HOUSE A

This SU includes House A (figs 21-23). ${ }^{58}$ Only three walls of this house have been preserved ( $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ in fig. 23). Wall $\beta$ runs from north to south, is 0.65 m wide and is preserved to a length of 3.80 m ; it is made of large stones in dry-laid rubble masonry ${ }^{59}$ and it appears that it abuts wall $\alpha$, a long wall made of medium-sized stones running east-west, 0.50 m wide, and preserved to a length of 7 m . Wall $\gamma$ is parallel to wall $\beta$ and of similar construction; it is 0.60 m wide, but preserved to a length of less than 1 m ; it is unclear if it abuts or bonds with wall $\alpha$. At -1.30 m from the surface was found a layer of ashes and 0.20 m below this layer there was another layer of pebbles, which could have been part of the floor of the house. The pottery from the layer of pebbles and from the loci around the walls consists exclusively of MP and GM sherds, but there is no other information about these finds. Fragments of mudbricks, an unidentified number of MP and GM sherds, as well as animal bones, marine remains, and broken querns were found in the space enclosed by the three walls.


Fig. 22. Houses A and B from the west (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1001).


Fig. 23. Plan of House A.


Fig. 24. Plan of House B.

## S SU 23

This SU includes House B. ${ }^{60}$ It is located 0.80 m to the south of wall $\alpha$ of House A and its long axis is parallel to that house. The apsidal wall $\alpha$ is 4.5 m long, 0.50 m wide, preserved to a height of 0.80 m , and runs in a west-east/southeast direction. The crosswall $\beta$

[^5]seems to bond with $\alpha$, is 0.50 m wide, preserved to a length of approximately 1 m and a height of 0.50 m and runs in a southwest-northeast direction (fig. 24). Both walls were found under a layer of ash at -1.30 to -2 m . They are built with medium-to-large size stones without any connecting material. Part of the floor of the house, made of packed earth, survives in the interior corner of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$. Approximately 0.50 m under wall $\alpha$ there was a layer of crushed sea shells (perhaps murex). In the corner between walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ was found grave S.III.1: the top surfaces of the walls of this grave project only 0.06 m above the floor, which suggests that the grave was installed while this house was still in use. Except for one GM and two MP sherds, the grave was empty, but it has been dated to the beginning of the MH period on account of its contemporaneity with House B.
Find (fig. 25).
28. One-handled cup. EH III-MH I.


Fig. 25. Find from House B (S SU 23).


Fig. 26. Find from House I (S SU 24).

## S SU 24: HOUSE I

This SU includes House I (fig. 27). ${ }^{61}$ It is located immediately to the south of House B, but was built at a higher level. Three long walls running in a roughly east-west direction


Fig. 27. Plan of House I.

[^6]( $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ ) and three crosswalls running in a roughly north-south direction $(\delta, \varepsilon, \zeta)$ have been preserved. Walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ essentially are one wall preserved to a height of 0.80 m , but its western part (here wall $\alpha$ ) is thicker, probably to provide extra support from the slope. The two faces of these walls are made with medium-sized stones set in a clay mortar and the core between the two faces is filled with smaller stones. It appears that walls $\delta, \varepsilon$, and $\zeta$ abut the long wall $\alpha-\gamma$.

The house would have been divided into at least two rooms, but the crosswalls were not preserved sufficiently for the excavators to establish the sizes of those rooms. It would seem that wall $\varepsilon$ is the main dividing crosswall, in which case the main room in the west (Room I) would have been 5.5 m long and the anteroom (in the east) about 2.5 m long. The entrance to the house would have been in the west. On the floor of this house was found the Vapheio cup 823.
Find (fig. 26).
823. Type III Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA.

## S SU 25: HOUSE Г

This SU includes House $\Gamma .{ }^{62}$ It is a rectangular house (figs 28, 29) located immediately to the south of House I. Parts of only three walls are preserved: the long ( 1.7 m ) wall $\alpha$ runs in a roughly east-west direction and connects with the two short crosswalls $\beta$ and $\gamma$, which run in a northeast-southwest direction. Wall $\alpha$ is preserved to a height of 0.50 m , but its width varies considerably ( 0.60 m in the east, 0.90 m in the west part); it appears that the west (thicker) part of $\alpha$ bonds with wall $\beta$, but the east (thinner) part was attached later. This house is founded right on the bedrock, which had previously been leveled. Walls $\beta$ (1. 1.50) and $\gamma$ define two rooms, of which only the length of the east could be established ( 4.35 m ).

In both rooms, the excavators were able to identify two phases of occupation. The first phase (locus 1) included a floor associated with walls $\alpha, \beta$ and $\gamma$, which was covered with a layer of ash and carbonized wood; the floor of the east room yielded numerous GM and MP sherds and fragments of disintegrated mudbricks, as well as the stemmed angular bowl 310 and the cup 504. The second phase (locus 2) consisted of another layer of ash, 0.05 m thick, approximately 0.45 m higher than the first one; in this layer were found the vases 422 and 423 and a clay spindle whorl (not found in the museum). Both phases seem to date to MH III.

Graves S.III. 2 and S.III. 3 were found approximately $0.30-0.40 \mathrm{~m}$ under the floor of the house, in a burned deposit to the north of wall $\alpha$.

[^7]

Fig. 28. Houses $\Gamma, \Delta$, I from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1010).


Fig. 29. Plans of Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$.

Finds (fig. 30).

## Locus 1

310. Stemmed angular GM bowl. MH IIIA.
311. One-handled cup. MH II-III.

## Locus 2

422. GM cup (?pyxis) with horizontal grooves. MH III.
423. Tripod GM cup (?pyxis) with horizontal grooves. MH III.

## S SU 26: HOUSE $\Delta$

This SU includes House $\Delta .{ }^{63}$ A group of walls, described below, although of different widths, seem to belong to this house. The north wall (wall $\alpha$ ) is partly formed by the bedrock (figs 28 and 29). It is 0.90 m wide and runs in a west-east direction; it has a preserved length of 4.80 m and a height of 0.60 m . Only two courses of stones are preserved. The eastern end of the wall is continued by the bedrock, on which was placed one course supporting the mudbrick superstructure. In the same eastern end of the wall, the bedrock falls approximately 0.40 m , but wall $\alpha$ is continued beyond this point by one large and two small stones that connect it to the crosswall $\gamma$, which runs towards the south; it is 1.15 m long, 0.40 m wide, and preserved to a height of 0.40 m . Wall $\varepsilon$, also 0.40 m wide and preserved to a height of 0.60 m , starts from $\gamma$ and runs towards the east for a length of 3 m before it connects with the narrow ( w .0 .36 m ) wall $\zeta$ at a right angle. The curved wall $\delta$ starts also from wall $\gamma$ and turns towards the south; it is preserved to a length of


Fig. 30. Finds from House $\Gamma$ (S SU 25).

[^8]2.50 m. ; although its end does not survive, it would have connected with $\zeta$ before completing the curve towards the west, presumably to crosswall $\gamma$. Both walls $\varepsilon$ and $\delta$ abut wall $\gamma$. These three walls $(\delta, \varepsilon, \xi)$ are founded on the bedrock and constructed in the same manner: the lower courses are made with large stones, the middle ones of smaller stones, and a layer of small flat stones is placed on top of the second course to form an even base for the mudbrick superstructure (part of which was preserved on top of wall $\varepsilon$ ). The use of the small triangular space formed by walls $\delta, \varepsilon$, and $\zeta$ is unclear, but given the steepness of the slope Mylonas suggested that walls $\delta$ and $\zeta$ may have been built to provide extra support for the apsidal wall $\delta .{ }^{64}$

The crosswalls $\beta$ and $\gamma$ divide the house into three rooms, the middle one being approximately 5 m in length. ${ }^{65}$ The dimensions of the east and west rooms cannot be assessed, as the ends of walls $\alpha$ and $\delta$ have not survived. The floor was made of packed earth and the foundations reached 0.20 m above the floor level. The floor was covered with a layer of burned soil and ash, indicating that it had been destroyed by fire. Under the floor were found two children pit graves. In the narrow space between Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$ were found four pit graves (S.III.4-S.III.7) and one cist grave (S.III.8), which were installed after the construction of these houses, but it is unclear whether they were in use at the same time as the houses. To the north of the east end of wall $\alpha$ was found a pit with animal bones.

Find (fig. 31).
508. Plain jug. MH II-III.


Fig. 31. Find from House $\Delta$ (S SU 26).


Fig. 32. Plan of House E.

## S SU 27: HOUSE E

This SU includes House E (figs 32, 33), ${ }^{66}$ located by the Hellenistic cistern (the cistern was built right into the west part of the house). It appears that Skias excavated part of this

[^9][^10]

Fig. 33. House E from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1009).
house in 1902, ${ }^{67}$ but he does not record it on the plan or in his report. The walls of this house are founded on the bedrock. The north side runs in a roughly east-west direction and consists of a straight $(\alpha)$ and an apsidal ( $\beta$ ) wall, which curves towards the south. The straight wall $\alpha$ is preserved to a height of 0.50 m and length of 2 m and is 0.60 m wide. Wall $\beta$, ranging in width from 0.30 to 0.60 m , is founded lower than wall $\alpha$ because of the slope of the bedrock, and is preserved to a height of 0.90 m and a length of 7.80 m . Both walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ are made of medium-sized stones, placed in such a way that their flat sides are visible towards the outside. The lower courses of both walls are built with larger stones and the core in-between is filled with mud and small stones. The top surface of wall $\beta$ is even and serves as the foundation for the mudbrick superstructure; from the preserved mudbrick fragments Mylonas concludes that the mudbricks were 0.35 m long and had an average thickness of $0.07 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{68}$ Wall $\beta$ is not entirely aligned with $\alpha$ and the junction of the two walls presents a thickening. The crosswall (wall $\gamma$ ) is made of large rectangular stones and seems to abut wall $\alpha$. The floor, made of packed earth, was 0.30 deeper than the top surface of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ (0.50-0.90 above bedrock). It was covered with a layer of ash and contained a large number of MP and GM sherds, but there is no further information about them.

Central Part (figs 21 and 48)
In the central part (trenches $\Delta, \mathrm{E}, \mathrm{Z}, \mathrm{H}$, from the 10th to the 28th m ) the stratigraphic sequence included four main strata, ${ }^{69}$ although some differences were noted between the north and south end of the excavated area.

In the north end (trenches $\Delta$ and E), the surface layer was 0.15 m deep and was followed by a layer with Roman pottery in which a Roman drain was located ( -0.55 to -0.75 m ). Under this Roman stratum there was a layer of sand and pebbles, 0.10 m thick, succeeded by the Geometric stratum. The Bronze Age deposits started at -1.90 m (trench $\Delta$ ) or -1.40 m (trench E) and went as deep as -2.75 m . They included LH I/II sherds, mixed with a few MP and GM sherds in the cavities of the bedrock (trench $\Delta$ ); similar finds were recovered from a 0.30 m thick layer with burnt soil. In trench E, the LH layer contained also fragments of burned mudbricks associated with the walls of House H.

In the south end (trenches Z and H ), the top layer was $0.60-1 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and consisted of sand and pebbles. At -0.70 to -1 m (trench H) and -0.60 to -0.70 m (trench Z) started the LH I/ II layer, the thickness of which ranged from 1 to 1.75 m . This stratum included the foundations of House H and fragments of burned mudbricks. There was no clear distinction between LH I and II layers, but in general LH I sherds became more numerous and prevailed starting at -1.30 m . The MH deposit lay under the LH I/II stratum: its thickness varied considerably, from 0.30 m under the floor of House H to 1.50 m in the south, and contained a lot of ashes and burned soil. Under this MH layer, the bedrock was covered by another layer of ash, $0.40-0.45 \mathrm{~m}$ thick.

## S SU 28: HOUSE H

This SU includes House H (figs $34-37$ ). ${ }^{70}$ The house is oriented from east to west, with the entrance in the east side. It is the best preserved house in the South slope: the entire two north walls $(\alpha, \beta)$ survive, together with parts of three crosswalls $(\gamma, \delta, \varepsilon)$, which divide the building into three rooms. The west room (Room I) is approximately 2.40 m long, the main room (Room II) 5.40 m long, and the anteroom (Room III) 2.40 m ; because wall $\gamma$ is not parallel to the other crosswalls, the length of the house would have ranged from 10.80 m in its south part to 11.50 m in the north. The widths of the rooms cannot be established with certainty, as the south part of the house had been destroyed and the crosswalls had not been preserved to their entire length. The two faces of the walls are made with medium-sized stones set in a clay mortar and the core between them is filled with smaller stones; the flat sides of the stones of the external face are visible from the outside,
70. Ibid. 29-34, figs 15-18; Notebook 17, 18, 19, 20,
giving to the wall an even appearance. ${ }^{71}$ In the joints between walls larger stones are used to provide stability. Wall $\beta$ is 8.70 m long, 0.50 m wide, and preserved to a maximum height of 1.40 m . Its east end forms an anta 0.80 m high, made of square blocks of stone (fig. 35); its top surface had been flattened in order to support the mudbrick superstructure. Walls $\gamma, \delta$ and $\varepsilon$ are made in the same manner and preserved to a height of $0.45-0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ from the floor of the house. Part of the threshold has been preserved in wall $\varepsilon$, constructed of small stones placed in packed earth and covered by a layer of clay. The floor, found at -1.75 m from the surface and 1.20 m deeper than wall $\beta$, was made of packed earth and pebbles and its thick ( 1 m ) deposit included ashes, disintegrated mudbricks, and fragments of a yellowish plaster, which originally could have covered its surface; traces of this plaster are also preserved on the internal surface of some of the walls. The mudbricks included a good deal of straw and, from the surviving fragments, it seems that in average they measured $0.25 \times 0.14 \times 0.008 \mathrm{~m}$. In Room I were found two piles of stones (possibly benches): one in the southeast corner adjacent to wall $\delta$ and one in the center of the room, at a distance of 2.20 m from wall $\alpha$. Under the floor there was an undisturbed MH layer that extended all the way to the bedrock.

This house is dated by Mylonas to LH I, but the LH I finds (and the MH sherds from the deposit under its floor) have not been located in the Eleusis Museum. The only vases that could be identified are 851 (found 1.40 m above the floor of House H) and $\mathbf{1 1 3 0}$ (found outside House H and at a higher level), which are, however, later. Here I follow Mylonas and date this house to LH I, as neither of these two later vases is associated with the habitation level of the house. We should also consider the possibility that "LH I" may have been LH IIA: before Dickinson's definition of LH I, the LH II (esp. the LH IIA) ${ }^{72}$ was quite often mistaken for LH I. Perhaps 851 indicates a later use of the building in LH IIB. This would still allow for Mylonas' LH I to be "LH IIA". ${ }^{73}$

Finds (fig. 38).
851. Alabastron (FS 82). LH IIB.
1130. Spouted bowl or cup (FS 249). LH IIIB1.

## S SU 29: HOUSE Z

This SU includes House Z. ${ }^{74}$ Only small parts of this house are preserved (fig. 34). The north wall is made of three parts (marked as $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ in fig. 39), which have been founded
71. There is no reference in the notebooks or in the published reports about worked surfaces or tool marks on these stones.
72. Dickinson 1974.
73. I thank Dr. Vassilis Petrakis for drawing my attention to this possibility.
74. Eleusis 27-28; Notebook 21, 28 August and 1, 2, 8 September 1930.


Fig. 34. Houses H and Z from the south (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1013).


Fig. 35. Drawing of the anta of wall $\beta$ (House H); reproduced from Eleusis fig. 17.
Fig. 36. Plan of House H (after Eleusis fig. 18).


Fig. 37. Isometric reconstruction of House H (by Stephen Clarke).


Fig. 38. Finds from House H (S SU 28).


Fig. 39. Plan of House Z.
on the bedrock and run in a west-east direction to a length of approximately 10 m . The east end of $\gamma$ turned towards the south and was continued by wall $\delta$. Either wall $\varepsilon$ or wall $\zeta$ (it is unclear which one) could have served as a crosswall dividing the house into two rooms. In the corner formed by walls $\gamma$ and $\delta$ and at a distance of 0.40 from wall $\delta$ was found a clay ring (marked with a circle in fig. 39; diam. $0.75, \mathrm{~h} .0 .15$, w. 0.03 ) from the belly of a pithos embedded in the floor (the upper parts of the pithos were not found). This ring contained only very little ash and does not seem to have been used as a hearth, but was probably used for storage. 323 and 472 were found on the floor (locus 2); Mylonas mentions that inside 323 were found bones of a small animal, possibly a hare. ${ }^{75} 27$ was found on the bedrock under the floor (locus 1). In an unspecified deposit to the south of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ were found three clay spindle whorls. The bowl illustrated in Eleusis 80, fig. 57:55 (right) has not been located in the museum.

Finds (fig. 40).

## Locus 1 (under floor)

27. Two-handled burnished bowl with everted rim. EH III/MH I.

Locus 2 (floor deposit)
323. Angular GM bowl. MH II.
472. Everted rim of a Red Slipped and Polished Cycladic bowl. MH/MC II.
576. Spouted bowl. MH (?II).

Clay: three clay spindle-whorls, one of which incised (not located in the museum).


Fig. 40. Finds from House Z (S SU 29).
75. Eleusis 70-71.

## East Part

The eastern part of the excavated area ( $0-10 \mathrm{~m}$, trenches $\Gamma$ - H , fig. 49), was excavated in $1931 .{ }^{76}$ Unfortunately, the notebooks from this part of the excavation are missing and the following discussion is based solely on the information published by Mylonas in Eleusis.

Under a 0.10 m thick mixed top layer there was a substantial LH deposit, 1.60 m thick, with large quantities of disintegrated mudbricks, tumbled stones, and numerous animal bones and sea shells. Within this stratum two phases were distinguished: up to -0.80 m the pottery was primarily LH III; from -0.80 m to -1.70 m it was LH I/II. There was no way of distinguishing between the two phases. The LH stratum was separated from the underlying MH stratum by a layer of ash, 0.04 m thick. The MH stratum was 1 m thick and included numerous animal bones, tumbled stones, and sea shells. The following houses have been defined by the excavators.

## S SU 30: HOUSE P

This SU includes House P, a rectangular building oriented from east to west (figs 41-43). ${ }^{77}$ Only three walls are preserved: the north wall $(\alpha)$ is 5.50 m long and 0.38 m wide and preserved to a height of 0.25 m above the floor; the west wall $(\beta)$ is 0.45 m wide and preserved to a length of 1.5 m and to a height of 0.30 m and apparently served the back wall of the house; wall $\gamma$, of similar width and height as $\beta$, is preserved to a length of 1 m and divides the house in two rooms. The front room would have been 2.20 m long and the back room 2 m long. The top course of the foundation walls had been lined with small flat stones and sherds (fig. 42), which supported the mudbrick superstructure (part of the mudbrick superstructure is preserved on the northwest corner of the house, at the junction of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta) .{ }^{78}$ The average dimensions of the mudbricks were 0.08 th., 0.18 w ., and 0.37 l. The finds from this house have not been located in the museum, but Mylonas dates it to the latter part of the MH period.

76. Eleusis 10-14.
77. Ibid. 28.


Fig. 42. View of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of House $P$ from the west (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1012).
Fig. 43. View of Houses K, $\Lambda, P$ from the south (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1016).


S SU 31: HOUSE $\Sigma$
Two walls (fig. 44) in the southernmost end of the excavated area (cf. fig. 43) could have belonged to a house dubbed by the excavators "House $\Sigma^{\prime \prime}$. Wall $\alpha$ runs in a west-east direction to a length of 1.50 m ; in its west end it connects with another wall, only a small part of which is preserved, which seems to have run in a northeast-southwest direction. Wall $\alpha$ bonds with wall $\beta$, which also runs in a northeast-southwest direction for a length of 2.80 m and disappears in the south under the unexcavated area and in the north under wall $\alpha$ of House P. Both walls of House $\Sigma$ are approximately 0.40 m wide. On the floor of the house, made of packed earth (which is visible in the lower left corner of fig. 43), were found MH MP and GM sherds; information about these finds does not exist, but a MH date is plausible.

## S SU 32 and S SU 33: HOUSES $K$ and $\Lambda$

Walls $\alpha-\varepsilon$ (figs 43 and 46) are considered by the excavators parts of two Houses, K and $\Lambda,{ }^{79}$ respectively called here S SU 32 and S SU 33. These walls range in thickness from 0.30 to 0.45 and in length from $1.80(\delta)$ to $4.20(\varepsilon)$. Walls $\alpha, \beta$ and $\gamma$ seem to have belonged to House K, which is the oldest of the two: although a description of the walls does not survive, it seems from the photograph in figs 43 and 47 that walls $\alpha, \beta$ and $\gamma$ were constructed of three courses of stones: each face of the wall was made with large stones set in clay mortar and the core between the two faces was filled with smaller stones. At a later phase, walls $\gamma$ and $\delta$ of House $\Lambda$ were built to connect with $\alpha$ and $\beta$. The floor of House $\Lambda$ (made of packed earth and small pebbles) was built approximately 0.05 m higher than that of K ; at an even later stage wall $\varepsilon^{80}$ was built, although it would seem that at that time walls $\alpha-\delta$ were still in use, because the top surfaces of all these walls are at the same level, suggesting that the mudbrick upper structures would have coexisted. The room of House K seems to have been 2.50 m long and that of House $\Lambda$ at least 2 m long; if wall $\varepsilon$ served as the south wall of these two rooms, their width would have been 2 and 2.50 m respectively. Mylonas dates the pottery from the floor of House K to LH I and that of House $\Lambda$ to LH II. ${ }^{81}$ The dipper 1286 was found in the deposit overlying the floor of House $\Lambda$, approx-
79. Eleusis 11, fig. 5.
80. Marked as "M" in Eleusis plan 1 and fig. 5.
81. Ibid. 11; see however, supra p. 35 for the possi-
bility that the "LH I" of the early excavators may have been in reality LH II.
imately 0.25 m under the surface of the ground; because it was found so close to the surface of the ground, it is probably not associated with the floor of the House. Part of a third house may be defined by wall N to the north of House K (fig. 47).
Find (fig. 45).
1286. Dipper. LH IIIB1.


Fig. 45. Find from House $\Lambda$ (S SU 33).
Fig. 46. Plan of Houses $K$ and $\Lambda$.


Fig. 47. House K and wall N from the north (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1005).

Fig. 48. Section of the South Slope at approximately the 21st m (cf. fig. 21) (after Eleusis p. 7, drawing 2).


Fig. 49. Section of the South Slope at the 5th meter (cf. fig. 21).

## S SU 34

In 1994 and 1995 a stratigraphic excavation was conducted under the direction of the present writer in a previously unexcavated part of the site, immediately to the north of House K and House $\Lambda$ at a distance of approximately 8 m from the northwest corner of the Epigraphic Museum (fig. 21)..$^{82}$ The objectives of that excavation were to reconstruct the stratigraphic sequence at that part of the hill and to produce comparative material that would compensate partially for the absence of provenience information and records from the old excavations. In the new excavation we followed natural stratigraphy, distinguishing individual features as separate loci. In total, two $2 \times 2 \mathrm{~m}$ trenches were opened in 1994 and one $2 \times 4 \mathrm{~m}$ trench in 1995; these were eventually connected into one long trench, which is defined here as S SU 34. In the west half of this long trench was found a destruction level of the second century CE, the debris of which covered a cement floor and a long cistern

[^11]with two entrances, one in the east and one in the west (figs 56 and 57; only the Bronze Age finds are included in this discussion). The Bronze Age strata were reached in the 1995 trenches and included the following loci. ${ }^{83}$ For brevity, only the most diagnostic pieces are presented here.

## Locus 1

This is a thick locus (findgroup 8), which extends horizontally over the entire trench to a depth of -1.45 m ( 1500 sherds, 13 kgr ). The soil is light brown ( $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 4$ ), poorly sorted, with sub-angular granules ( $2-4 \mathrm{~mm}$ ). At -1.21 m there is a thin layer ( 0.05 ) of sand and gravel that seems to have been deposited by rain. The finds include one Geometric and several LH IIIA1-IIIA2 sherds, two obsidian arrowheads, one obsidian blade, and a large number of animal teeth, bones, and sea shells.

Finds (fig. 50).
926. Lower body of a piriform jar (FS 23 or FS 31). LH IIIA1.
967. Body of a krater (?FS 7). LH IIIA1.
983. Base and the lower part of the body of a mug (FS 225-226). LH IIIA1-IIIA2.
984. Lower part of the body of a mug (FS 225-226). LH IIIA1.
1019. Handle of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1041. Everted rim of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1059. Domed base of a kylix (FS 256-257). LH IIIA2.

## Chipped stone

1450. Fragment of obsidian blade. LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2.


Fig. 50. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 1).

[^12]Locus 2
This locus includes findgroup 13, which extends immediately under findgroup 8 (-1.45 to -1.61 ) and is marked by a significant soil change: the soil is wet and sandy, without rocks, light brown (7.5YR 5/4). Besides the diagnostic pieces listed below, the pottery ( 350 sherds, 4 kgr ) includes a large number of small body Gold Mica and DT pieces, some of which are decorated with curved lines in matt dark brown/black paint (possibly Late Matt Painted); and a few GM and YM sherds. In the same locus we found remains of disintegrated mudbricks. The goblet 1015 is decorated with LH IIIA1-style stipple pattern and may have been intrusive, although at Tsoungiza this type of stipple appears in LH IIB. ${ }^{84}$ Despite the fact that this is not a closed group, we should consider the possibility that the presence of MH sherds in a predominantly LH IIA / IIB context may indicate the continuation of MH ceramics well into the early Mycenaean period.
Finds (fig. 51).
737. Body of a closed vessel (possibly piriform jar FS 20/21). LH IIA/IIB.
756. Shoulder of a ?rounded alabastron (FS 83). LH IIA.
815. Lower part of the body of a shallow cup (FS 219). LH IIA.
833. Rim of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA.
1015. Body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1173. Stem and base of a monochrome goblet. LH IIA/IIB.

Metal
1432. Lead mending clamp. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.
1433. Lead mending clamp. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.

Chipped stone
1451. Flint arrowhead. LH IIA/IIB / IIIA1.
1452. Black stone arrowhead. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.
1453. Fragment of black obsidian blade. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.
1454. Fragment of black obsidian flake. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.
1455. Fragment of obsidian blade. LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1.

Locus 3
This is findgroup 14, a layer of hard-packed earth and pebbles, red 10YR 5/6 (-1.61 to -1.75 m ), separated from findgroup 13 by a layer of white ash and carbon. ${ }^{85}$ At -1.61 m we found a floor, made of packed earth: the deposit from this floor ( 60 sherds, 750 gr ) is late
84. RMDP 25.
85. Mylonas (Eleusis 11-13, 14) had also discerned
a similar layer separating MH from LH strata at -1.70 m from the surface.

MH: MP sherds of goblets with oblique lines, spirals, and wavy lines, and GM bowls with rounded body and beaded rims. Other finds are one flint and three obsidian blades.


Fig. 51. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 2).

Finds (fig. 52).
161. Neck of a MP type 1 jar. MH II-III.
248. Everted rim and body of a MP bowl (not illustrated). MH III.
249. Fragment of the flat thickened rim and body of a MP bowl. MH III.
269. Body a MP pithos or jar. MH III.

Chipped stone
1456. Fragment of obsidian blade. MH II-III.
1457. Fragment of obsidian blade. MH II-III.
1458. Fragment of denticulate flint blade. MH II-III.

## Locus 4

This is findgroup 15, a layer of dark brown soil ( $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 2,-1.75$ to -2.00 m ) which contained the foundation of wall $\zeta$. This wall occupies the southeast corner of the trench and runs in a southeast-northwest direction. It is preserved to a length of 1.52 m , but at a distance of 0.88 m from the southeast corner of the trench there is a gap of 0.36 m , which divides the wall into two parts: the southeast part is made of a large stone ( 1.0 .88 m , w. $0.48 \mathrm{~m}, \mathrm{~h} .0 .35 \mathrm{~m}$ ), on top of which two smaller ones have been placed, and the northwest part is made of one larger triangular stone ( $1.0 .38 \mathrm{~m}, \mathrm{w} .0 .36 \mathrm{~m}, \mathrm{~h} .0 .32 \mathrm{~m}$ ) and three smaller ones attached to it immediately to the south. Further to the northwest, wall $\zeta$ was destroyed in Roman times by the east entrance to the cistern. The pottery ( 160 sherds, 2 kgr ) is pre-
dominantly MH II, with a few MH III admixtures. It includes MP sherds decorated with hatched triangles, running spirals, paneled motifs, GM bowls with ringed stems. One long and narrow obsidian blade was also found.

Finds (fig. 52).
74. Rim and body of an angular bowl with flat upright rim. MH II.
75. Rim and body of an angular bowl with flat upright rim. MH II.
76. Body of a MP angular bowl with flat rim. MH II.
115. Body and incurving rim of a spouted bowl. MH II.
151. Neck of a MP jar. MH II-III.
155. Flaring rim of a MP type 1 jar. MH II.
156. Shoulder and neck of a type 1 jar. MH II.
166. Body of a type 1 jar. MH II.
170. Body of a type 1 jar. MH II.


Fig. 52. Finds from S SU 34 (loci 3 and 4).
343. Rim, body, and handle of a GM angular bowl. MH II.
394. Rim, body and handle of a GM angular cup. MH II.

Stone tool
1442. Handstone. MH II.

## Chipped stone

1459. Obsidian blade. MH II.

## Locus 5

This locus includes findgroup 16, which extends right under locus 4 to -2.20 m ; the soil is dark brown (7.5YR 4/4) with small stones. In the northeast corner of the trench we found the top surface of two large flat stones that are part of wall $\eta(-2.03$ to $-2.13 \mathrm{~m})$. This wall is preserved to a length of 1.28 m and has a maximum width of 0.43 m and a height of 0.36 m and continues to the south under wall $\zeta$. Wall $\eta$ is built directly on the bedrock $(-2.20 \mathrm{~m})$. The pottery ( 55 sherds, 1.6 kgr ) includes MP angular cups decorated with diagonal bars, angular GM bowls with beaded rims and flat bases, and ring-stemmed angular bowls.

Finds (fig. 53).
160. Body of a MP jug or a jar. MH II.
180. Fragment of a crescent-lug handle of a type 1 jar. MH II.
188. Body fragment of a MP type 2 jar. MH II.
193. Flat everted rim of a MP type 1 pithos. MH II.
224. Rim of a type 2 pithos. MH II.


Fig. 53. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 5).
342. Thickened rim, body, and tubular handle of a GM angular bowl. MH II.
389. Everted inturned rim and body of an angular cup. MH IIIB.
471. Flaring rim of a Cycladic angular bowl. MC II.

Locus 6
This locus consists of findgroup 17, which includes the material from one of the two cavities of the bedrock under locus 5 , starting at -2.20 m . This is cavity I (fig. 56), which reaches to a maximum depth of 2.52 m and runs in an east-west direction. The pottery from the cavity ( 358 sherds, 4.60 kgr .) is mostly MH I, including 270, 583 and 585 . The two MH II-III pieces, the angular bowl 315 and the angular cup 398 may be intrusive.

Finds (fig. 54).
225. Everted rim and body of a MP pithos. MH I-II.
270. Everted rim of a Minoan rounded cup. MM IB.
315. Fragment of the molded rim and vertical handle of an angular bowl. MH II.
398. Carinated body of an angular cup. MH II-III.
583. High-swung vertical handle of an "Adriatic" deep bowl. MH I.
585. Large fragment of a Cycladic duck vase. MC I.

Locus 7
This is findgroup 18, which includes the material from cavity II ( $1.5 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{n}-\mathrm{s}, 0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ e-w, -0.25 to -0.32 m ), which was filled with moist and soft, dark reddish brown (5 YR 3/3) soil. It lies deeper than the foundation of the MH wall $\eta$ of locus 5 (fig. 56) and under a thin layer of ash and carbonized remains. ${ }^{86}$ This findgroup yielded a group of forty sherds


Fig. 54. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 6).

[^13]poulos 2004, 59). In the final study the EH material from cavity II was separated as a distinct locus.
( 0.7 kgr.). Of these, fourteen belong to sauceboats and saucers with inturned rims (catalogued below), ten fairly fine body sherds with DT fabrics that may have belonged to ?MH I MP vases, and sixteen sherds of coarse jars and pithoi. Only the EH finds are catalogued below. In the same locus we found one obsidian flake and one blade.


Fig. 55. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 7).
Finds (fig. 55).
3. Spout and neck of a type 1 sauceboat. EH II.
4. Incurved rim of a sauceboat. EH II.
5. Incurved rim of a sauceboat. EH II.
6. Incurved rim of a sauceboat. EH II.
10. Body of a saucer. EH II.
11. Body of a saucer (not illustrated). EH II.
15. Body of a closed vessel, possibly a jug. EH II.
16. Body of a closed vessel, possibly a jug (not illustrated). EH II.
17. Belly from a closed vessel, possibly a jug (not illustrated). EH II.

18-21. Four fragments of a faience-ware sauceboat. EH II.
22. Incurved rim and body from a type 1 saucer. EH II.

## Chipped stone

1460. Fragment of obsidian blade. EH II.

## SECTOR IV: THE SACRED HOUSE

The Sacred House was excavated by Kourouniotes in 1920, 1924 and 1937, and by Travlos in $1938 .{ }^{87}$ The various findgroups ${ }^{88}$ were numbered in sequential order and this num-

[^14]1999.
88. Called "бт@ǿซعıऽ" in the Notebooks.

Cement floor (2nd C. AD)

bering has been preserved here. The Bronze Age finds are scarce and were found under Geometric walls in the southeastern and northeastern parts of the Peisistrateian peribolos (figs 58,59 ); and in the deepest deposits of Rooms I-IV. ${ }^{89}$

## S SU 35

This SU consists of three superimposed loci which had been disturbed and contained both MH and LH pottery. Locus 1 was 0.40 m thick ${ }^{90}$ and contained ashes, carbonized wood, burned soil, disintegrated mudbricks, and stones in disarray; the pottery was mixed, containing MH and LH sherds. The underlying locus 2 was 0.32 m thick and was divided by the excavators into three parts $(\alpha, \beta, \gamma) .{ }^{91}$ Under locus 2 lay locus 3 which was found right on the bedrock and which sloped considerably towards the east and the north; for most of its length it had a thickness of about $0.60-0.70 \mathrm{~m}$, but because of the slope of the bedrock its thickness was reduced in the southwest to 0.10 m . It contained burned soil, many small stones (avg. w. $4-6 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) and MH pottery.

A little higher up, parts of three walls dating to the LH period were found, marked as A1, A2 and A3 in fig. 58. Wall A1, running in an east-west direction, is a double wall, formed by the walls of two attached houses. Scanty remains of a wall next to the south half of A1 show that its east end may have turned towards the south. Wall A2 runs in a north-south direction and A3 in a east-west direction; they connect in the southeast corner of A3. The dimensions of these walls are not recorded and their relation to the described loci is not clear, but for lack of a better knowledge of the stratigraphy at that spot they are included with S SU 35. In the faunal remains (Appendix II) there is a group of bones from findgroup " 236 ", but the pottery associated with this group has not been located.

Finds

## Locus 1

Findgroup 234. The pottery consists of a few MH sherds, two sherds with traces of MP linear motifs, approximately 10 GM sherds, about 20 LH sherds with remains of linear painted motifs, one decorated with spirals or concentric circles, one with stipple decoration (probably LH IIB / IIIA1), and numerous plain sherds, both MH and LH.

[^15][^16]

Fig. 58. Plan of the Sacred House by J. Travlos (based on plan no. 1146 at the Travlos Archive of the Athens Archaeological Society).
Fig. 59. Section in the southeastern corner of the Peisistrateian Peribolos of the Sacred House (based on original drawing by J. Travlos, inked by A. Mazarakis-Ainian; reproduced from Mazarakis Ainian 1999, fig. 7, with the kind permission of the author).

Locus 2
Findgroup $235 \alpha$. This findgroup contained both MH and LH sherds, including MP sherds of greenish or yellowish fabric, two GM sherds, an undisclosed number of LH sherds painted with linear motifs, several coarse sherds, as well as red slipped (probably MC) fragments.

Findgroups $235 \beta$ and $235 \gamma$. These two findgroups contained about 60 small MH sherds, including a few MP of coarse fabric and a few GM sherds. Also, several LH sherds of yel-lowish-greenish fabric, including one with a part of a large dense spiral in brown paint, another of reddish fabric which, according to Travlos, belongs to the Palace Style, and a few sherds with remnants of red or brown painted lines.

## Locus 3

Findgroup 240. This findgroup contained GM sherds (fragments from ringed stems, disk bases, rims, body sherds with deep incised lines, possibly MH III), MP sherds with yellow or greenish fabric (fragments of jar necks, of horizontal handles with triangular section, a few sherds with Geometric designs, and a beak-spout from a jug). Also, fragments from large coarse vases with reddish or black fabric (vertical loop handle from a jug), a few pieces with red slipped surfaces (probably Cycladic) and a small fragment of an obsidian blade.

## S SU 36

This SU consisted of four findgroups dating to the LH period. ${ }^{92}$ Findgroups 246, 247, and 248 were found on the bedrock and contained hard compact soil with ashes, in which were found LH sherds, including the spout and rim of a stirrup jar (?LH IIIA2-IIIB). Locus 249 was the soil between the outcrops of the bedrock, which contained LH pottery and was covered with large flat stones. The figurine 1404, found in a bag labeled "Sacred House 9", has been tentatively assigned to this SU on account of its LH IIIA2-IIIB date.

Finds (fig. 60).
1404. Stem and lower part of the upper body of a terracotta figurine, either phi- (group B) or psitype. LH IIIA2-IIIB1.
1441. Handstone (not illustrated). ?LH.

S SU 37
This SU contained five loci with MH and LH sherds found under the Geometric walls $Г 1, ~ Г 2$, and $Г 3$ (fig. 58): a description of the finds survives for loci 1,2 , and 3 , but there is no information about locus $4 .{ }^{93}$


Fig. 60. Finds from the Sacred House.

Finds (fig. 60).
Locus 1
Findgroup 280. This locus contained one small LH sherd with part of a spiral and approximately 20 small coarse sherds with red slipped surfaces, possibly MC. The MP bowl 89 may have been found here ( 280 marked on its back).
89. Rim, body, and one horizontal crescent-lug handle from an angular bowl with flat incurving rim. MH II-III.

## Locus 2

Findgroup 281. This locus contained 4 small sherds of greenish fabric with remnants of MP decoration (painted circles), a few small MH sherds, a fragment of a GM ringed foot, a fragment of a stone vase (black, porous stone) and an animal (?) bone.

## Locus 3

Findgroup 282. This locus contained a few MP sherds, mostly of coarse fabric, 2-3 GM sherds, small bone fragments (one possibly from a pig), and sea shells.

Locus 4
Findgroup 283. This locus contained approximately 15 small sherds (only one MP) and a fragment of a thick animal bone.

## S SU 38

This SU contained the deposits under Rooms I-IV. ${ }^{94}$ Travlos mentions MH, LH, and Geometric sherds, especially in the eastern part of the Sacred House, on top of which the House had been constructed.

Finds (fig. 60).
1168. Flaring rim and body of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.


## GRAVES IN THE SOUTH SLOPE

## SECTOR I

Skias excavated several graves in Sectors I and II, but the numbering and the description of these graves in his 1898a and 1912 reports are not always clear because of the complexity of the stratigraphy. The graves have been marked with bold numbers in the plans of fig. 2 (Sector I) and fig. 14 (Sector II). In some cases important information about each grave, such as type of grave, dimensions, elevations, or detailed descriptions of the architecture was not recorded or has not been preserved.

Grave S.I. 1 (=Skias' grave LXVIII; fig. 2). This is a simple pit with a pebble floor, found
 remains of a ten-year-old child in a contracted or seated position and no burial gifts. ${ }^{95}$

Grave S.I. 2 (=Skias' grave LXIX; fig. 2). Another pit grave, inside pyre LXVII, with a five-year-old child in a contracted position. ${ }^{96}$

Graves S.I.3, S.I.4, S.I. 5 (fig. 2). Three infant cist graves were found to the west of wall Z, between Skias' pyres LXXI and LXXII. Although these two pyres are marked in the plan of fig. 2, other information does not exist about them. Their walls were lined up with stones and the openings were covered with slabs. Two of the graves had pebble floors, covered with a thin layer of ash and carbon, explained by Skias as remnants of burial rituals, because the bones had not been burned. ${ }^{97}$

Grave S.I.6 (fig. 2). Near the north side of wall $Z^{\prime}$ was found an adult burial in a contracted position, placed in a small rectangular pit without any burial gifts except for a few MH sherds. The skull was missing, probably destroyed by the construction of a later wall. ${ }^{98}$

Grave S.I. 7 (fig. 2). Near wall Z human bones were found in a cist grave measuring $0.68 \times 0.55 \mathrm{~m}$. The walls of the grave were built with mudbricks and the opening was covered also by mudbricks. It did not contain any burial gifts, but LH sherds were found around it. ${ }^{99}$

Grave S.I. 8 (figs 2 and 62). A grave was found by Skias to the north of wall B. ${ }^{100}$ Skias found just a layer of pebbles on which lay five vases; human bones were not associated with this layer, so Skias assumed that they would have been destroyed by later construction. Of the five vases, only 842 and 915 have been located in the museum: 841,853 and 916 have been included in the catalogue for the sake of providing a complete record of the
95. Skias 1912, 3-4.
96. Ibid. 3-4.
97. Ibid. 12.
98. Ibid. 12 and n. 2.

[^17]finds of this grave, but their descriptions derive from the published information. All five vases date to LH IIB.

Finds
841. Small cup (FS 213). Not illustrated. LH IIB.
842. Small conical jar (FS 33). LH IIB.
853. Small alabastron (FS 83). Not illustrated. LH IIB.
915. Small conical jar (FS 33). LH IIB.
916. Small handleless jar (FS 77). Not illustrated. LH IIB.

Grave S.I. 9 (fig. 2). A two-year old child was found in pyre 20; this pyre included a layer of ash, 0.50 m thick and $4-5 \mathrm{~m}$ long, attached to the north side of wall B. ${ }^{101}$ Next to the burial there was a coarse jug ( h .15 cm ) and a small rounded bowl (diam. 10 cm ) with a perforation on the rim. No additional data about or illustrations of those two vases exist.

Grave S.I. 10 (fig. 2). Skias' "grave $\beta^{\prime \prime}$ was found between walls B" and B"" and contained few human bones, two obsidian blades, and MP sherds, which Skias compares to the LH I cup $604 .{ }^{102}$

Grave S.I. 11 (fig. 2). In his pyre 55 Skias found numerous human bones right on the bedrock. With the bones were found few lustrous LH and some GM and coarse sherds. ${ }^{103}$

Grave S.I. 12 (fig. 2). This is Skias" MH "grave $v^{\prime \prime}{ }^{104}$ It is an infant burial (l. 0.65 m , w. 0.20 m ), found in a small cavity of the bedrock and covered with a stone slab. The infant was placed on his/her side with the head towards the south. The grave contained a few small and worn GM, one MP, and some coarse sherds. Skias' wording ${ }^{105}$ makes it uncertain whether the grave was actually cut into the bedrock, or if a natural cavity was used for the interment.

Grave S.I. 13 (fig. 2). Skias Mycenaean "grave 61" was located near pyre 64 to the east of Structure A. ${ }^{106}$ The bottom of the grave was at -1.90 m from the highest point of Structure A or -1.10 m from the floor of the grave of Isis. The grave was covered with stone slabs. Inside the grave Skias found the remains of an infant, but the bones were in disarray. The only contents of the grave were fragments of one coarse vase, but on the cover slabs was found the jug 947 (broken, according to Skias, at the time of the funeral) and LH sherds with lustrous decoration. A horse skull was found near this grave. ${ }^{107}$ The relation, if any, of this grave to S SU 16 is unclear.

[^18][^19]Find (fig. 63).
947. Ovoid jug with wide neck (FS 110). Found on top of the grave. LH IIIA2 Early.


Fig. 62. Finds from grave S.I.8.


Fig. 63. Find from grave S.I.13.

SECTOR II (fig. 14)
Grave S.II.1. Skias grave XXX. ${ }^{108}$ In the ashes of pyre XXX a burial was found under a pile of stones. It belonged to an adult male, placed on his side in a contracted position, without burial gifts. The pile of stones could have served as a grave marker and was cut into the ash of pyre $X X X$, therefore it must have been later than the pyre. Pyre XXX seems to date to LH IIIB2/IIIC Early, so a LH IIIC Early date is possible for this grave.

Grave S.II. 2 (fig. 64). Skias' grave XXXI. ${ }^{109}$ About 1.20 m to the north of pyre XXX, was found a pit containing the remains of child, approximately 2 years old. One end of the grave was defined by a mudbrick next to the skull and the entire grave was covered with a stone slab. Inside were found the goblet 791, beads of glass, and two sea shells. The ashes of pyre XXX covered the grave.
Find (fig. 64).
791. Semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA.


Fig. 64. Find from grave S.II.2.

Grave S.II.3. Skias' grave XXVII. ${ }^{110}$ The bones of an infant were found inside an onehandled jar placed on top of wall $\delta$. Because this jar resembles 550, it is probably MH III/LH I.

## SECTOR III

The graves of Sector III are shown in fig. 61.
Grave S.III.1. ${ }^{111}$ Next to wall $\beta$ (fig. 24) in House B was found a small (l. 0.35 m , w. 0.20 m ) cist containing the remains of a $4-5$ year-old child, oriented north-south. The walls of the cist were lined with clay and protruded only 0.06 m above the floor of the house. The bottom of the cist was covered with pebbles, on which was placed the body in a contracted position, with the head in the northeast corner of the grave. With the exception of two MP and one GM sherds found between the pebbles of the floor, there were no objects found in the grave. Because the top surfaces of the walls of the grave were aligned with the floor of House B, the two are associated and the grave is dated to the same period as House B. Date: MH I.

Graves S.III. 2 and S.III.3. ${ }^{112}$ Approximately $0.30-0.40 \mathrm{~m}$ under the floor of House $\Gamma$, in a burned deposit to the north of wall $\alpha$, were found two pit graves with an unspecified number of burials. The pits had an irregular rectangular shape, measured $0.40 \times 0.25 \mathrm{~m}$, and did not have a floor. The dead seem to have been placed on the bedrock. Date: MH.

Graves S.III.4-7. ${ }^{113}$ Four ?children skeletons were found in a contracted position buried in the soil in the narrow space between Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$. One (S.III.7) was oriented northsouth and the other three east-west, as dictated by the available space between the walls and the bedrock. The bones were very poorly preserved and did not yield any physical information about the skeletons. Burial gifts were not associated with those burials. Because these graves were placed in the space between Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$, they postdate these houses, but it is unclear whether the houses were still in use when the graves were installed.

Grave S.III.8. ${ }^{114}$ A small $(0.50 \times 0.40 \mathrm{~m})$ trapezoid cist containing the remains of a child was found in the narrow space between Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$. The south and the east sides of the grave were defined by stone slabs placed vertically in the ground, the north side was built into wall $\alpha$ of House $\Gamma$, and the west side was formed by the bedrock. There was no covering slab, and it seems that the grave had been filled with soil. The bones were very poorly preserved, but it seems that the dead had been placed in the grave in a strongly contracted position. Because this grave, like S.III.4-7, was placed in the space between
110. Skias 1912, 18.
111. Eleusis 39; Notebook 30 July 1930.
112. Eleusis 36-37; Notebook 29 August 1930.
113. Eleusis 43-44.
114. Ibid. 46.

Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$, it must also postdate the construction of the houses (probably MH III), so it is also assigned a MH III/LH I date.

Graves S.III.9, S.III.10. ${ }^{115}$ In House $\Delta$, under the floor associated with wall $\delta$ were found "many bones of small children" that belonged to at least two skeletons, surrounded by GM sherds. Date: ?MH III.

Grave S.III. $11 .{ }^{116}$ This is a child grave, 0.50 m to the southwest of the east end of the curved wall $\delta$ in House $\Delta$. It is a trapezoidal cist, $0.55 \times 0.45 \mathrm{~m}$, oriented east-west. The long north side of the cist is formed by the bedrock, the south side is defined with an upright slab, whereas the two short sides are marked with a mudbrick each (mudbrick size $0.35 \times 0.20 \times 0.08 \mathrm{~m})$. The floor of the grave was covered by a layer of pebbles, on which the dead had been placed. The child was approximately 1.30 m tall and had been placed in the grave in a contracted position. Burial gifts were not found in the grave, with the exception of two GM sherds. Date: MH.

Graves S.III.12-S.III.14. Three graves are marked in Eleusis plan A, but no additional information exists about them. They were found to the south of wall $\alpha$ of House Z , on the bedrock.

Grave S.III.15. ${ }^{117}$ This is an almost circular pit, approximately 1.70 m to the east of the northeast anta of wall $\beta$ of House H and immediately to the north of wall $\gamma$ of House Z, $0.45-0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ higher than the floor of House H. The edge of the pit is defined by a row of small stones and the bottom of the interior was covered with a layer of sand and small pebbles. The grave belonged to a child, placed on the layer of sand and pebbles with its head towards the north. The difference in elevation between this grave and the floor of House H may suggest that the grave postdates that house, suggesting a tentative LH IIB / IIIA1 date.

Grave S.III.16. ${ }^{118}$ This grave was found at 0.45 m under the floor of House H , overlaying wall $\alpha$ of House Z (fig. 34). It is a cist grave, trapezoidal in plan; it is 0.50 m long, 0.30 m wide, and 0.25 m deep and oriented roughly east-west. The long (east and west) sides are made of one large stone each, with smaller stones filling the empty spaces around the large stones, whereas the short sides are also marked with one stone each. The roof of the grave was built with three slabs and was covered with a 10 cm -thick layer of sand. The floor was covered with a layer of pebbles, on which the dead (six- or seven-years-old child) had been placed in a slightly contracted position on his/her left side with the arms extended along the body. No burial gifts were found in the grave, except for three MP sherds found in the fill right under the cover. The cover of the grave protrudes 3 to 5 cm above the ash of the

[^20]117. Eleusis 44-45; Notebook 22 August 1930.
118. Eleusis 39-43, figs 22-23; Notebook 22, 23, 24, 25 August 1930.

MH stratum and it appears that when the grave was constructed House Z was partially destroyed. Accordingly, Mylonas dates the grave to the LH I period, although a LH IIA date is possible (see comments in the discussion of House H).

Grave S.III.17. ${ }^{119}$ In the area marked as $\Phi$ in Eleusis plan A, was found a 0.35 m . tall one-handled jar (for the shape see 550), containing the skeleton of a child placed feet down in the vase. Date: MH III/LH I.

Graves S.III.18-S.III.19. ${ }^{120}$ Two skeletons were found next to the north side of wall N (fig. 47). There is no other information about them. Mylonas dates the grave to the LH II period.

## AREA 2: THE EAST SLOPE

Most of the Bronze Age remains in the east slope were uncovered from 1931 to 1934 by K. Kourouniotes and G. Mylonas, with the assistance of G. Bakalakis, I. Threpsiades, and J. Travlos. The excavation proved very difficult, as the Bronze Age strata had been covered by later remains and at many spots the excavators were forced to dig in deep and narrow trenches, open tunnels under the bases of the columns of the later Telesteria, and even remove temporarily column bases of the Peisistrateian Telesterion. ${ }^{121}$ An added difficulty was that Philios had already excavated parts of the Telesterion down to the bedrock and then refilled his trenches without marking the excavated areas. ${ }^{122}$ Kourouniotes and Mylonas excavated in layers that, depending on the composition of the soil, were either $0.15-0.20^{123}$ or $0.20-0.30 \mathrm{~m}^{124}$ thick, but they also recorded in their notebooks changes in natural stratigraphy.

Here the Bronze Age remains of the East Slope are divided into four sectors (fig. 65). Sector I includes the remains under the Peisistrateian Telesterion, Sector II those in the area to the south and southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, Sector III the deposits in front and to the east of the Stoa of Philo, and Sector IV those under the Lesser Propylaea.

## SECTOR I: BRONZE AGE REMAINS UNDER THE PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION

The interior of the Peisistrateian Telesterion was excavated for the first time by Philios, who then proceeded to refill his trenches without marking the excavated areas. In the 1931 and 1932 excavations Threpsiades and Mylonas discerned the loose soil from Philios' backfill and noted which one of their trenches were in previously unexcavated areas. ${ }^{125}$ Elevation measurements in the notebooks are not uniform, sometimes taken from the surface of the ground at the specific spot of a trench and other times from the top slabs of adjacent Peisistrateian or Roman columns. For consistency I have calibrated elevations to the top surface of the Kimonian column $\lambda 4$, which in the two master plans by Travlos is marked as $0.00 .{ }^{126}$ Elevations in this sector are measured from this benchmark, except for features whose elevations could not be calibrated because of insufficient data, in which case it is stated that elevations are measured from the surface of the ground.
121. Kourouniotes 1930-1931, 18.
122. Philios 1884, 64-65.
123. Notebook 1931, 1.
124. Ibid. 4.
125. Notebook 1931, 3, 4, 17, 19; Mylonas personal notes 1932, 5-6.
126. Color plan in the Travlos Archives of the Athens Archaeological Society, Folder 9, subfolder 2.


Fig. 65. General plan of the East Slope showing the location of the four sectors.

## E SU 1

This SU includes the MH deposit found in a small rectangular trench next to column $\delta 5$ (marked as I in fig. 66). The deposit was 0.56 m thick, starting at -2.07 m and reaching the bedrock at -2.63 m . It included two loci: the upper locus contained pebbles and hard soil and its bottom was defined by a layer of ash of unknown thickness, at a -2.43 m . The second locus extended from the layer of ash to the bedrock.
Finds. The following finds are mentioned in the notebooks (Threpsiades' group 4): 20 MP sherds and about 70 plain and coarse sherds from large bowls or pithoi, 17 GM sherds from angular bowls, and 5 DB sherds.

## E SU 2

This SU includes the deposit of another small rectangular trench, approximately 2.30 m to the south of the trench of E SU 1 (marked as II in fig. 66). It includes two Bronze Age loci, one at the top, starting at -2.05 m , overlying a second locus that reached all the way to the bedrock.


Fig. 66. Plan of the Middle Helladic remains under the Peisistrateian Telesterion (based on an unpublished drawing by J. Travlos (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2); walls $6 \alpha$ and 7 of the LH Megaron B and 8 of the LH peribolos are shown for reference). Graves E.I.1-12 are shown. The line $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ shows the section of fig. 135 (digitized by the author).

Finds. The following finds are mentioned in the notebooks (Threpsiades' group $\alpha$ ): 5 GM sherds, 1 red "Minyan" (probably red-slipped MC), 5 MP sherds, including handles from jugs or jars, and 26 LH II and III sherds, including kylix bases and rims, some with painted decoration.

## E SU 3: Building A

Several MH walls were found under the Peisistrateian Telesterion. ${ }^{127}$ Although these walls are too fragmentary to allow the reconstruction of house plans (fig. 66, walls $\alpha-\chi$ ), at

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Fig. 67. Walls $\alpha$ and $\gamma$ from the east (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1126).
least one, and possibly two buildings can be identified. Building A (E SU 3) is an apsidal building with at least two rooms. The larger room is defined by walls $\alpha, \beta$, and $\gamma$. Wall $\alpha$ runs in a northwest-southeast direction; it is $0.68-0.75 \mathrm{~m}$ wide and preserved to a length of 9.50 m , suggesting that the overall length of the interior would have exceeded 10 m . It is partly founded on the bedrock and partly on a thin MH deposit. For most of its length it is made of two courses of fairly large stones placed in mortar, but its east end is constructed with flat stones placed perpendicularly to its axis; the wall ends in one large oblong stone (fig. 67). This stone joins wall $\alpha$ with wall $\gamma$, a slightly curved wall running towards the south, constructed with medium-sized stones placed in clay; it is 0.70 thick and founded directly on the bedrock. On the external (south) side the stones form an even face, but the internal (north) side is rough, which led Mylonas to suggest that it may have been used also as a retaining wall. ${ }^{128}$ A third wall, wall $\beta$, serves as a crosswall, dividing the unit into

[^22]book 1931, 16).
128. Notebook 1932, 44.
two rooms: a smaller back room and a larger one that extends towards the west. Wall $\beta$ is founded on a 0.28 m thick fill and is preserved to a height of 0.60 m ; it is carefully built with regular courses of flat stones on top of which fragments of mudbricks were laid (fig. 66). ${ }^{129}$

A second unit may have existed to the southwest of Building A, as suggested by the fact that the fragmentary walls $x$ and $\theta$, parallel to wall $\alpha$ and at a distance of 10 m to the southwest, seem to have originally belonged to one long wall, right under the LH wall 6 (fig. 74). A third wall, wall $\eta$, preserved to a length of 3.30 m and a maximum width of 0.40 m , was founded on a thin ( 0.28 m ) fill which, in turn, sat on the bedrock. It runs in a NE-SW direction and, as it appears to have abutted wall $\kappa / \theta$, it may have served as a crosswall dividing this unit into two rooms. The LH wall 6a of Megaron B is built on top of this wall, but with a slightly different orientation. ${ }^{130}$ Walls $x, \theta$, and $\eta$ are made of mediumsized stones placed in clay mortar; the top course is constructed with flat stones and serves as the base for the mudbrick superstructure. Unfortunately, information about the other MH walls found in the vicinity $(\delta, \varepsilon, \zeta, \iota)$ does not exist.

The pottery associated with these walls consists of MP and GM sherds, most of which can only be dated to the general MH II-III range. Mylonas mentions also Polychrome and YM sherds; ${ }^{131}$ although these have not been located in the museum, they must be MH III/LH I and given the absence of any certain MH II sherds, the entire SU may be dated to MH III/LH I. The following sherds were found next to wall $\beta$ in depths ranging from 1.30 to 2.00 m from the surface of the ground, in front of the foundation of the Peisistrateian column $\gamma 4$ (fig. 66).
Finds (fig. 68).
171. Body of a MP type 1 jar. MH II-III.
172. Body of a closed MP vessel (possibly a jar). MH II-III.
173. Two non-joining fragments from the body of a closed MP vessel (?type 1 jar). MH II-III.
174. Body of a closed MP vessel (possibly a type 1 jar). MH II-III.
262. Fragment from the straight rim and cylindrical neck of a ?jar. MH III/LH I.
300. Fragment of the body of a bowl. ?MH III.
302. Lower body of a GM rounded bowl. MH II-III.
303. Lower part of the rim and shoulder of a GM rounded bowl. MH II-III.
345. Rim of a GM angular bowl. MH III.
348. Rim and shoulder of a GM angular bowl. MH II-III.
408. Body of a GM angular bowl. MH II-III.
428. Vertical strap handle of a GM angular cup. Not illustrated. MH III.


Fig. 68. Finds from E SU 3.

## E SU 4: Megaron B

The building that has become known as "Megaron B"132 has suffered considerable damage from later construction and is only partially preserved (figs 74-75). ${ }^{133}$ It had two rooms, a main room and a vestibule, the loci of which have been grouped into E SU 4.

The main room is defined by walls $6,6 \mathrm{a}, 7$, and 7 a . Wall 6 is $0.63-0.68 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and preserved to a length of 10.40 m and a height of 1.09-1.16 m. ${ }^{134}$ Its foundation is made of three courses of large stones placed in clay mortar and forms an indentation at the level of the floor (fig. 74); the lowest course sits on a socle of smaller stones. ${ }^{135}$ The south (external) face of the wall is rather crudely made, with stones protruding from the line of the wall, and was probably covered with a thick layer of plaster. The north (internal) face is smoother, made of smaller and more regular stones placed in horizontal courses (shown in the section of fig. 71); presumably it would have been covered also with a thick layer of plaster. The east end of the wall is formed by an anta (fig. 76) 0.95 m thick (approximately 0.30 m thicker than the wall). The anta (fig. 69) is carefully made of large flat stones placed in horizontal courses and supported by a large block of black Eleusinian stone (h. 1 m ,

[^23]133. Kourouniotes 1930-31, 20-23; Kourouniotes 1931-32, 2-5; Mylonas 1961, 35-49.
134. Notebook 1931, 12, 45-51; 1932, 10-11, 24.
135. Notebook 1932, 10-11.


Fig. 69. The east anta of wall 6 and the thickened part of wall 5 from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1199).
w. 0.83 m , th. 0.55 m , marked as 6 in fig. 69), the face of which has been artificially smoothed; the block is almost rectangular, but one of its corners has been chiseled away, giving it an irregular polygonal outline. Its lower part, sitting on a layer of flat stones, sinks deeper than the foundation of the wall behind it, in order to provide extra support against the drop of the bedrock. The sherds found wedged between the stones of wall 6 are LH IIA/B (locus 1), although some of the plain sherds found inside wall 6 but closer to the steps (locus 2) cannot be dated with certainty. To the north of wall 6 a small fresco fragment was found (fig. 90 left), representing a human eye looking towards the right. ${ }^{136}$ The fresco was found in front of the north face of wall 6 in the space between the wall and the third Peisistrateian column ( $火 6$ in fig. 74 ) at a depth of 1.50 m from the top surface of the curved Geometric wall K.


Fig. 70. Plan of the east part of wall 6 with the steps $(\alpha-\varepsilon)$, the platform (solid black), wall 6 (grey) and the exit of drain D1 (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos, inked by Vivian Stasi (digitized by the author).

In the narrow ( $0.20-0.25 \mathrm{~m}$ ) space between the anta and the base of the adjacent Kimonian column $x 6$ there is a partially preserved flight of four steps (figs 70-72). Each step is made of a rectangular block of Eleusinian stone, placed on a layer of one or more small flat stones. Step $\alpha$ (top surface at -3.15 ) measures $0.72 \times 0.35 \times 0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ and step $\beta$ (top surface at -2.89 m ) measures $0.72 \times 0.40 \times 0.26 \mathrm{~m}$. ${ }^{137}$ The third step does not survive, but the flat stone that would have supported it is preserved on top of step $\beta$ at -2.79 m (thickness 0.10 m , marked as $\gamma$ in fig. 72). ${ }^{138} \mathrm{~A}$ fourth step would have filled part of the gap marked as $\delta$ in fig. 72, leaving room for the exit of drain D1 (see below). A flat stone (top surface at -1.99 m , marked as $\varepsilon$ in fig. 72), measuring $1 \times 0.76 \times 0.20 \mathrm{~m}$, supported by a layer of small



Fig. 72. The steps in front of Megaron B from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1180).


Fig. 73. Section of drain D1, next to wall 6. Based on a pencil drawing by G. Mylonas (Notebook 1932, p. 16) (digitized by the author).
stones without mortar, served as the top step and the cover of the drain. This stone served also as the landing to the vestibule in front of the main room, so the elevation of its top surface $(-1.99 \mathrm{~m})$ is also the elevation of the floor of the vestibule. The sherds from the steps (locus 3) are mostly LH IIA/B.

Drain D1 starts from the interior of Megaron B and exits at the height of the third step ( $\gamma$ in fig. 73), under the landing ( $\varepsilon$ in fig. 73). Its south wall is made of small unworked

Fig. 74. Composite plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion with the Mycenaean walls (based on an unpublished plan by J. Travlos. Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1).
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Fig. 76. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the anta of wall 6, the steps, drain D1, and the platform from the south (based on an unpublished plan by J. Travlos) (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1).


Fig. 77. Plan of wall 7 (unpublished sketch by G. Mylonas, Notebook 1932, 24).
stones; it is 0.32 m wide and 0.50 m high and supported by an upright slab, which partly rests against the anta of wall 6 . The north wall of the drain is also made of small unworked stones and is approximately 0.25 wide and 0.30 high. The opening of the drain between the two sides (grey in fig. 73) is $0.18-0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ wide and 0.40 m high. The floor of the drain is covered with small pebbles.

Wall 7 is 0.65 m thick, preserved to a height of 0.70 and a length of 9.70 m , and built on a thick $(0.50 \mathrm{~m})$ fill. ${ }^{139}$ For most of its length it is made with large stones set in a clay mortar, with the core filled with smaller stones; in the southeast corner, though, the wall is made of flat oblong stones spanning its entire width (fig. 77). Smaller stones, sherds, and


Fig. 78. Anta of wall 7 and anta of wall 9a from the east (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1121).
wood (carbonized remains of which are recorded by Mylonas) had been wedged in the spaces between and under the stones to strengthen the wall. The lower course sits on a socle of small stones, ${ }^{140}$ a feature that appears also in wall 6 . This wall also ends in an anta, constructed in a similar manner as the anta of wall 6 , with a large stone supporting layers of smaller ones; the only difference is that the ending block of this anta ( h .0 .70 m , max. w. 0.94 m , th. 0.50 m ) has a rounded irregular section (fig. 78). This block rests on an artificial fill, 0.43 m thick. Against the north face of wall 7 lies a shorter wall, wall $\xi^{\prime}$, which is 0.70 m wide and preserved to a height of $0.65 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{141}$ This wall appears to have been a repair or support wall meant to strengthen wall $7 .{ }^{142}$

A flight of steps originally existed between wall 9 a and the anta of wall 7, in symmetry to that next to wall 6. These steps were dismantled when Room B1 was built, at which time their slabs were incorporated into wall 9a (fig. 74). ${ }^{143}$ The sherds found between and around the stones of wall 7 (space between $\alpha$ and $\beta$ in fig. 74) are mostly LH IIB (locus 4).
140. Notebook 1932, 24.
141. Notebook 1931, 35-36.
142. Notebook 1932, 27.
143. Notebook 1932, 22; Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 276. Three of these slabs survive: infra, p. 114.

Wall 6a, which originally connected walls 6 and 7, is only partially preserved (figs 74 and 80). This wall separates the main (west) room of the building from the vestibule (east). ${ }^{144}$ It sits on the MH wall $\eta$ (fig. 66), but has a slightly different orientation and forms a right angle with wall $7 .{ }^{145}$ Although wall 6a was seriously damaged by the construction of the foundation of column V5, it still preserves an opening approximately 1.30 m wide, which served as the entrance from the vestibule to the main room. Three flat stones, found in situ next to the bottom course of wall 6a, served as the base of the threshold. The north end of wall 6a forms an anta.

The back wall of the room (wall 7a) (fig. 74) was destroyed by the Peisistrateian column $\beta 2$ and the Roman column V4, but there is sufficient evidence to confirm its location:

1) Its foundation trench is preserved to the east side of the Peisistrateian column $\beta 2$; the trench is clearly visible in Travlos' plan reproduced here (fig. 79): it starts from the west end of wall 7 (B3 in fig. 79) and runs towards wall 6.


Fig. 79. Travlos' plan of west end of Megaron B with channel of wall 7a (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2).

Fig. 80. Plan of Megaron B showing the preserved parts of the floor. Based on a pencil drawing by J. Travlos (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 1).

144. Notebook 1932, 12-13, 21-24.
145. For the relationship of wall 6a and the Exten-
sion B1 / B2/B3 see infra, p. 111.


Fig. 81. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the north (Kourouniotes 193132, fig. 1).
2) Three of the stones of wall 7a survive inside the foundation trench. These are oblong stones placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall, in a construction manner similar to that of the northwest part of wall 7. The join between walls 7 and 7 a is visible under the foundation of the Roman Telesterion. ${ }^{146}$
3) When extended, the line of these three larger stones is aligned with a row of smaller stones that stretches to the southeast and which appear to have been remnants of the wall.
4) This row of smaller stones marks the west edge of one of the three surviving patches of the floor in the interior of the room ( $\gamma$ in fig. 80), indicating that the floor would have ended at that spot.

The other two patches of the floor of the main room have been preserved between wall 6 and the base of column A (figs 80 and 81) at -1.70 m and next to wall 7 (unrecorded depth). ${ }^{147}$ This floor is made of a layer of packed earth, pebbles and lime, and slopes gently
146. Notebook 1932, 25-26.
147. Notebook 1931, 51; Travlos plan of the Tele-
sterion (Travlos Archives, Athens Archaeological Society, Folder 8, Subfolder 2).

Fig. 82. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the east (Kourouniotes 193132, fig. 2).

from west to east; its thickness ranges from 4 cm in the central part to 8 cm near the entrance. A small patch of an earlier floor, right under the main one, was found near wall 6. The bulk of the pottery found on the later floor dates to LH IIB/IIIA1, although there are also LH IIIA1/IIIA2 and LH IIIC sherds mixed in this locus (locus 5); the pottery found under the floor is mostly LH IIB, with MH and LH IIIA1/2 admixtures (locus 6).

At a distance of 2.20 m to the north of wall $6 \mathrm{a}^{148}$ was found the base of a column, which would have supported the roof (marked as A in figs 80 , 81 , and 82 ). ${ }^{149} \mathrm{~A}$ second column was restored approximately 2 m to the northwest of the first one. ${ }^{150}$ Under the floor of Megaron B was found the beginning of drain D1, that exits between the anta of wall 6 and the platform. There is no record of a hearth in the interior of this room, although a large part of the floor is missing.

The vestibule is defined by wall 6 a and the east ends of walls 5 and 7. Its floor, made of pebbles and lime, is $0.05-0.08 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and its elevation $(-1.99 \mathrm{~m})$ is marked by the landing of the south flight of steps, which agrees with Mylonas' observation that it was approximately 0.30 m lower than the floor of the main room (which, as we saw above, is at
148. Supra, p. 85.
149. Kourouniotes 1931-32, 2.
150. Mylonas 1961, 35; see, however, Darcque 2005, 119.
$-1.70 \mathrm{~m}) .{ }^{151}$ Because of this difference of 0.30 m between the floor of the vestibule and that of the main room, one or two steps would have been needed to provide access into the interior of the main room. ${ }^{152}$ The depth of the vestibule, measured from the east face of wall 6a to the anta of wall 7 is $2 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{153}$

Finds (figs 83-90). Megaron B (E SU 4). Not all original findgroups from Megaron B could be identified in the notebooks and in the museum; the ones that could be identified have been included here as distinct loci. The original numbering of these findgroups is given in brackets (because several findgroups have not been found in the museum, there are gaps in the sequential numbering of these findgroups). In general, the bulk of the material from all loci of this SU are LH IIB/IIIA1, with few earlier and later intrusions.

Locus 1 (findgroup 56; wedged between the stones of wall 6, found on 12 August 1931)
721. Shoulder of a ?conical-piriform jar (?FS 15/24). LH IIA/IIB.
755. Shoulder and the beginning of a loop handle of an alabastron (FS 81/83/84). LH IIA/B.
905. Everted rim and upper part of the body of an Ephyraean goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
1182. Everted rim and base of handle of an ABW jar or amphora. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1229. Everted rim of an undecorated goblet (FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 83. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 1).

Locus 2 (findgroup 65; finds from wall 6, next to the steps, 14 August 1931)
883. Short everted rim of a goblet (FS 254). Not illustrated. LH IIB.
1190. Body of a carinated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1.
1242. Domed base of a goblet (FS 263). LH IIB.
1245. Everted rim and carinated body of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1260. Body and vertical strap handle of a plain conical kylix (FS 264/269). ?LH IIB/IIIA1.
1290. Body of an undecorated jar or jug. LH IIB/IIIA1.


1190


1242


1245


1260


1290

Fig. 84. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 2).

Locus 3 (findgroup 51, sherds from the steps, 13 August 1931)
716. Shoulder and base of the neck of a ?jar (FS 15). LH IIA/IIB.
909. Lower part of the body of a ?goblet (FS 254/255). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 85. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 3).

Locus 4 (findgroup 47, finds from the area between walls 7 and 9a, 8 August 1931)
120. Rim and body of a MP angular cup with everted rim. MH II.
720. Lower part of the body of a ?conical-piriform jar (FS 15/24). LH IIA/IIB.
789. Body of a Marine style small closed vase (possibly a stirrup jar (FS 169). LH IIA.
848. Body and vertical strap handle of a conical jar (FS 30/31). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 86. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 4).
850. Body of a conical jar (FS 30/31). LH IIB /IIIA1.
891. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
897. Body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
906. Body of an Ephyraean goblet (FS 254). Not illustrated. LH IIB.
1159. Fragment of the shoulder of an ?amphoriskos (?FS 60). Submycenaean.

Locus 5 (findgroup 86, floor of Megaron B, 8 July 1932; findgroup 1005, floor of Megaron B, unknown excavation date)

## Findgroup 86

1177. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 263). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1178. Short thick stem and domed base of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1179. Body and the base of a vertical loop handle of a jar. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1180. Body of a jar. LH I-IIB.
1181. Everted rim and body of an undecorated goblet (FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1182. Body of a large coarse jar. LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 87. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 5, findgroup 86).

Findgroup 1005
724. Body of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA.
801. Straight lipless rim of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA.
804. Body of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA/B.
818. Straight lipless rim of a bell cup (FS 221). LH IIA.
894. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
956. Shoulder of a small globular stirrup jar (FS 171). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1030. Body of a kylix (FS 257). Not illustrated. LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1142. Flaring rim of a monochrome deep bowl (FS 284). LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early.
1148. Incurving lipless rim of a conical kylix (FS 275) or one-handled conical bowl (FS 242). LH IIIC Middle/Late.


Fig. 88. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 5, findgroup 1005).

Locus 6 (findgroup 1006, finds from under the floor and around the mudbricks, 8 July 1932)
In addition to the Bronze Age sherds below, this SU includes also three intrusive PG sherds. ${ }^{154}$
109. Body and incurving rim of a MP spouted bowl. MH II-III.
409. Body of a rounded GM bowl. Not illustrated. MH II-III.


Fig. 89. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 6).
411. Rim and handle from an angular GM bowl with molded rim. MH III.
413. Slightly everted rim of a rounded GM cup. MH II-III.
689. Lower part of the body and splaying base of a ?piriform jar (FS 27). LH I/IIA.
736. Body fragment of a closed vessel (possibly piriform jar FS 20/21). LH IIA.
803. Everted rim of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA.
844. Shoulder and horizontal loop handle of a small piriform jar (FS 28). LH IIB.
874. Flat base and the body of a ring-handled cup (FS 237). LH IIB.
910. Everted rim of a monochrome goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
928. Body of a large jar (?FS 22). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1004. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1194. Domed base and short stem of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB / IIIA1.
1235. Everted rim, upper body, and vertical strap handle of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIA/IIB.
1241. Domed convex base and stem of an undecorated goblet (FS 270). LH IIB.
1247. Body and the everted rim of an undecorated kylix (possibly FS 267). LH IIB / LH IIIA1.
1279. Conical bowl (FS 204). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 90. Fragments of frescoes found on July 20 next to wall 6.

## E SU 5: The Platform

Between the two flights of steps in front of the vestibule there is a raised platform (figs 74,75 and 91 ). It is only partially preserved, to a height of approximately $1.30-1.40 \mathrm{~m}$ above the floor of the courtyard. ${ }^{155}$ It is a $\Pi$-shaped structure formed by three walls: the south


Fig. 91. View of the platform from the southeast. The top step next to wall 6 is marked as $\varepsilon$; the exit of drain D1 is marked as $\delta$ (Athens Archaeological Society Archives, A/A 1151).
wall is 0.65 m thick and 2.50 m long, the north wall is 0.60 m thick and 2.46 m long, and the east wall, perpendicular to the slope of the hill, is 1.60 m thick and 2.80 m long. All three walls are made of medium-sized stones forming irregular courses; all three external faces of the platform had been smoothed and covered with a thick layer of plaster. ${ }^{156}$ The interior space formed by these walls was filled with soil and stones. The pottery from the loci associated with the walls of the platform is predominantly LH IIB/IIIA1, but locus 3, which includes the sherds wedged between the stones of the walls, includes also several LH IIIA1 / IIIA2 sherds.

Finds (figs 92-94).
Locus 1 (findgroup 1004: From the south wall of the platform, 8 July 1932)
847. Shoulder and neck of a piriform jar (?FS 23/31). LH IIB/IIIA1.
855. Rim of a medium-sized alabastron (FS 83). LH IIB / IIIA1.
869. Straight lipless rim of a carinated conical cup (FS 230). LH IIB/IIIA1.
882. Everted rim of a carinated conical cup (FS 230). LH IIB.
924. Shoulder and base of neck of a medium-sized piriform jar (FS 23). LH IIIA1.
1174. Everted rim of a monochrome goblet (FS 254). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1230. Everted rim of a goblet (FS 254-255). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1231. Everted rim of an undecorated goblet. LH IIIA1.
1232. Everted rim of a goblet (FS 254-255). LH II/IIIA1.
1233. Everted rim and upper body of an undecorated goblet (FS 254-255). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 92. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 1).
1234. Everted rim of a goblet (FS 254-255). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1236. Body and vertical strap handle of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
1238. Stem and domed base of goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1257. Flaring rim and body of an undecorated kylix (FS 266/267). LH IIIA1-IIIA2.
1259. Body and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1276. Stem and base of a kylix (FS 256/258). LH IIIA1/IIIA2/IIIB.
1280. Straight rim of a conical cup (FS 204). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1281. Rim of a large open vase (large bowl or krater). LH IIIA-B.
1284. Everted rim of an undecorated open vessel (?shallow cup/bowl). ?LH II-IIIA2.
1285. Rim of a shallow cup. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1297. Flaring rim of an undecorated jar. ?LH IIB/IIIA1.
1301. Base of an undecorated jar or amphora. LH IIB / IIIA1.

Locus 2 (findgroup 58, finds from the external north side of the platform, 13 August 1932)
752. Shoulder and neck of a squat jug (FS 87). LH IIA/IIB.
812. Body of a shallow cup (FS 218). LH IIA.
1007. Body of a goblet (FS 255/256). LH IIIA1-IIIA2.
1178. Body and the everted rim of a goblet (FS 263). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 93. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 2).

Locus 3 (findgroup 1014): Finds wedged in the walls of the platform, unknown excavation date) 794. Everted rim and body of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH IIA.


Fig. 94. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 3).
830. Straight lipless rim and body of a type III Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA/IIB.
941. Body of a closed vessel, piriform jar (FS 44) or jug (FS 120). ?LH IIIA1.
972. Everted rim and body of a kylix or shallow cup (FS 219/220). LH IIIA1.
974. Lower part of the body of a shallow cup (FS 219/220). LH IIIA1/ IIIA2.
981. Lower body and the slightly convex base of a mug (FS $225 / 226$ ). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
999. Rim of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1000. Body and beginning of the everted rim of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1016. Lower part of the body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1024. Body and base of vertical strap handle of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.

## E SU 6: The peribolos wall

Two walls, wall 5 and wall 8, have been grouped together as E SU 6 because, for reasons explained below, they belong to one structure, a peribolos enclosing Megaron B. ${ }^{157}$

Wall 5 (fig. 74) lies at a distance of 1.15 m to the south of wall $6 .{ }^{158}$ It is a long wall running roughly in an west-east direction, preserved to a length of 19 m and a height of 1.501.70 m ; its thickness ranges from 0.65 m (west end) to 0.84 m (east end). The curved Geometric wall K (top elevation -2.22 m , figs 96-97; also shown in figs $74-75$ ) is built right on top of wall 5 approximately 1.80 m from its east end. The bottom of the south side of the foundation of wall 5 is at -3.20 m , approximately the depth at which drain D $2^{159}$ crosses the wall. Because of the slope of the ground, the east part of wall 5 is founded on the bedrock, but the west part sits on an artificial fill. It is built with six to eight courses of medium-sized stones placed in clay, with the spaces in-between filled with smaller stones. The three lowest courses (which constitute the foundation) are $0.17-0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ narrower than the socle, forming an indentation at the level of the paved road that is built against the smooth south façade of the wall. ${ }^{160}$ The bottom course is constructed with large flat stones, averaging $0.50 \times 0.23 \mathrm{~m}$. Wall 5 continues towards the west, but its width diminishes from $0.80-0.85 \mathrm{~m}$ to $0.65-0.70 \mathrm{~m}$. and its top surface rises progressively from -2.22 m (in front of the west face of the curved Geometric wall K ) to -1.20 m (in the line of columns IV4-V4). The west part of the wall has been destroyed by the Kimonian column $x 4$ and the Peisistrateian column $\beta 1$. The pottery found under the foundation and wedged between the stones of wall 5 is predominantly LH IIA/B (loci 1 and 3); the pottery from the deposit adjacent to the wall (locus 2, unrecorded elevation) is LH IIB/LH IIIA1, and so are the finds found in the deposit above wall 5 (locus 5 ). Other than pottery, a broken stone hand

[^24]axe was found to the north of wall $5^{161}$ and a quern fragment was found approximately 1 m to the west of the point where wall 5 crosses the curved Geometric wall K. ${ }^{162}$

At a distance of 5.35 m from the east end of the wall for a length of 4.30 m , wall 5 almost triples in width, to 1.80 m (figs 69, 95 and 97). The thickened part would originally have been rectangular, as one of its original blocks, 0.40 m wide, ${ }^{163}$ seems to have been pushed inwards. The external side of the thickened part lies on a thin $(7 \mathrm{~cm})$ fill, which sits on the bedrock. The foundation is made of five large Eleusinian stones, the largest of which measures $0.75 \times 0.70 \mathrm{~m}$. These stones, which have been placed with their wider side towards the external face of the wall, were meant to provide additional support to the wall. Although the thickened part of wall 5 is taken by Mylonas to be a small "tower", it may also have served to provide extra support to the wall, as at that spot the bedrock falls sharply: at the west end of this "tower" the bedrock is found at -3.10 m , but at the east end the bedrock is at -4.05 m , a drop that would have made extra support necessary. A floor made of a layer of cobbles extends between walls 5 and 6 at the level of the top of Drain D2, -3.15 to -3.20 m . This floor originally would have covered the entire area in front of Megaron B, so it has been interpreted as a courtyard. The same floor was picked up further to the north of Megaron B, next to wall 8 (see below). ${ }^{164}$

The other preserved section of the enclosure wall is wall 8 (figs 74 and 75). ${ }^{165}$ This wall runs parallel to wall 5 at a distance of 16 m to the east. Two sections are preserved. The east section, preserved to a length of 4.40 m , runs in an almost parallel direction to wall 12. It is $0.80-0.90 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and constructed with six courses of medium-sized stones placed in clay, with the spaces in-between filled with smaller stones; as is the case with wall 5 , the stones of the bottom course are larger than those of the upper courses. The south face of the wall defines the end of the cobble floor of the courtyard, found at -3.20 (fig. 100). The west section is 0.80 m wide and preserved to a length of 8 m ; its top surface in front of the west side of the Peisistrateian column $\delta 3$ lies at -1.30 m . Its west end has been destroyed by the construction of the Peisistrateian column $\delta 2$.

A built drain (D3, figs 98 and 99) has been built against the south side of wall 8 and exits onto the paved floor of the courtyard under the later wall T1. ${ }^{166}$ Its interior width ranges from 0.35 to 0.44 m and its depth from 0.30 to 0.40 m ; its north and south walls are formed by two rows of medium-sized stones, the north row by wall 8 and the south by wall 12 of the Extension B1/B2/B3 (see below). The north wall is also lined up with upright slabs. The floor of the drain is made with a layer of small pebbles and its ceiling is formed
161. Notebook 1931, 45.
162. Ibid. 15.
163. Marked as " $v$ " in fig. 95.
164. Notebook 1931, 51; Cf. figs 75 and 95.
165. Notebook 1932, 66.
166. Kourouniotes 1931-1932, 2-3.


Fig. 95. Sketch of the "tower" of wall 5 and the paved courtyard (not to scale, based on Mylonas, Notebook 1932, 6).


Fig. 96. Curved Geometric wall $K$ and wall 5 (Athens Archaeological Society Archives, A/A 1037).
by a large horizontal slab measuring $0.641 . \times 0.24$ w. $\times 0.09$ th. A second drain (D4, fig. 99), slightly narrower than D3 (0.26-0.28 wide, 0.36 deep), was found at a higher level: it starts from the north of wall 8 and exits on top of D3. ${ }^{167}$
167. Notebook 1932, 4, 38.

Fig. 97. Plan and section of wall 5 (grey) and the curved Geometric wall K (black) (Travlos Archives, Athens Archaeological Society, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos, computer-enhanced by the author.


Fig. 98. Drain D3 and Peisistrateian column $\delta 4$ from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives, marked as "Avaбжач̀̀ 1933"; nо A/A).


Fig. 99. Exit of drains D3 (bottom) and D4 (top) under the Geometric wall T1 from the east (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1329).

Between the two sections of wall 8 there is a gap of about 4.5 m . The west part of the gap was caused by the partial destruction of wall 8 by column VII5 and the later walls that sit on top of walls 12 and 11 of the Extension B1/B2/B3. The central part of this gap preserves, however, a flight of three steps, each made of flat stones, $0.15-0.19 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and 0.32 m wide. The steps lead to an opening in wall 8 , which served as the gate to the courtyard that opened up towards the south. ${ }^{168}$ A road (below, E SU 7) ends in front of this gate.

The similarities between walls 8 and 5 suggest that these two walls belonged to one and the same structure, an enclosure wall surrounding the courtyard and Megaron B: ${ }^{169}$

1) they have the same orientation and construction techniques
2) their top surfaces lie at the same elevation
3) their interior faces (north for wall 5 and south for wall 8) define the ends of the same cobble floor of the courtyard that extended in -between
4) they are contemporaneous, as shown by the sherds found under their foundation and wedged between their stones.


Fig. 100. Walls 8 and 13 from the north, under the foundation of the early Archaic Telesterion. The paved road is shown by the arrow (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives, marked as "Ava-


Finds (figs 101-105).
Locus 1 (findgroup 52): sherds from the foundation of wall 5, depth 0.60 from the surface of the ground, 7 July 1931
657. Everted rim, bridge spout, and body of a red slipped spouted bowl or krater. LH I/IIA.
735. Body of a ?piriform jar (FS 20/21). LH IIA.
740. Hollowed base of a small closed vase, possibly a piriform jar (FS 27). LH IIA/IIB.
769. Shoulder of a straight-sided alabastron (FS 91). LH IIA.
839. Flaring rim of a ?kylix. ?LH IIA/B.
867. Body and vertical strap handle of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIB.
912. Lower part of the body and the start of the stem of a goblet (FS 261). LH IIB.
1090. Short everted rim and body of a miniature bowl or cup (FS 126). LH IIIB1/IIIB2.


Fig. 101. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 1).

Locus 2 (findgroup 59): sherds from the fill next to the sides of wall 5, 20 July 1931
860. Fragment of the flat base of a ?ring-handled cup. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1013. Lower part of the body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1017. Lower part of the body of a goblet (FS 255/256). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1205. Everted rim and body of a carinated monochrome kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1208. Body of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1209. Everted rim and body of a carinated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.


Fig. 102. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 2).

Locus 3 (findgroup 61, wedged between the stones of wall 5, depth 0-0.40 m from the surface of the wall, 28 July 1931)
868. Lower body and vertical strap handle of a carinated conical cup (FS 230). LH IIB.
907. Body of an Ephyraean goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.


Fig. 103. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 3).

Locus 4 (findgroup 62): sherds wedged between the stones of wall 5, depth 0.40-1 m from the surface, 29 July 1931
1014. Body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1031. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 256). LH IIIA2.
1210. Flaring rim and vertical strap handle of a goblet. LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1256. Flaring rim, body, and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.


Fig. 104. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 4).
 17 July 1931)
99. Body and rim of a MP rounded bowl with everted rim. MH II/III.
930. Shoulder of a piriform jar (?FS 22). LH IIIA1.
949. Shoulder and ridged neck of a beaked jug (FS 144). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1113. Body and horizontal loop handle of a deep bowl (FS 284). LH IIIB1/LH IIIB2 Early.
1188. Everted rim and vertical strap handle of a goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1222. Vertical loop handle of a large closed vessel (?stirrup jug FS 150). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.


Fig. 105. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 5).

Locus 6 (findgroup 1000, finds under wall 8, 20 August 1931)
811. Everted rim and body of a shallow cup (FS 218). LH IIA.
819. Everted rim and body of a bell cup (FS 221). LH IIA.
873. Rim and body of ?ring-handled cup (FS 237). LH IIB.
911. Everted rim and body of a goblet (FS 254/255). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1179. Everted rim and body of a monochrome goblet (?FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1186. Everted rim and body of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1187. Body of a monochrome goblet (?FS 263). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1189. Body of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1226. Everted rim, vertical strap handle, and body of a monochrome ring-handled cup (FS 222/238). LH IIIA1.
1240. Base, short stem, and lower body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIA/ IIB.
1255. Everted rim and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.

## Chipped Stone

The chert flake 1462 (plate 82) was found near wall 8 and has been assigned to this locus, but its exact provenience is unknown.


Fig. 106. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 6); and E SU 7 (no. 1299).

## E SU 7: The Road

Parts of a paved road were found to the north of the peribolos wall 8, leading from the northeast to the north gate of the peribolos. ${ }^{170}$ The road is illustrated in figs 100 and 107, but I have not been able to find more details about it in the notebooks. The findgroup below was found in the museum with the indication "from the road, 1933" and is probably associated with this road.

Finds (fig. 106).
Locus 1 (findgroup 1035, finds from the road 1933)
832. Straight rim and body of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). Not illustrated. LH IIA/IIB.
1185. Everted rim and body of a goblet. Not illustrated. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1193. Lower body, stem, and domed base of an unpainted goblet (FS 270). Not illustrated. LH IIB.
1237. Lower body, stem, and domed base of a goblet (?FS 254). Not illustrated. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1288. Horizontal loop handle of a ?jar/hydria. Not illustrated. ?LH II.
1299. Ring base of a plain jar (fig. 106). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 107. View of the paved road from the south (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1285).

## E SU 8: Drain D2

In front of the steps, the exit of drain D1, and the south wall of the platform (figs 74 and 76) there is a channel that runs to the south (fig. 108). ${ }^{171}$ The east side of the channel is defined by a row ( 0.32 m wide and 0.50 m high) of small and medium-sized stones. In addition to the waters from drain D1, this channel would have collected also those from platform and also the narrow part of the courtyard between walls 5 and 6 . The channel flows into another built drain, drain D2. Drain D2 continues under wall 5 and exits on the south side of wall 5 . It is preserved to a length of 0.84 m and goes under wall 5 at a distance of 1.90 m from the east end of the wall. ${ }^{172}$ The sides of this drain are carefully made with three courses of stones, reaching a height of 0.43 m at the east and 0.52 m at the west end (fig. 109-a). The width of the drain on the south side of wall 5 is 0.46 m at the base and 0.38 m at the top. The top of the drain is covered with two large slabs ( $0.30-0.40 \mathrm{~m}$ wide, $0.15-0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ thick, $0.75-0.80 \mathrm{~m}$ long), with their long axis aligned with the slope, the space in -between (about 0.15 m ) filled with small stones (fig. 109-b). The floor of the drain is formed partly by the bedrock, which has been smoothed with a slight incline towards the
south to facilitate the flow of the water, and partly by a layer of small stones in the south end of the drain, where the bedrock drops abruptly. The exit under wall 5 is well preserved, made of two parallel courses of small stones that form a smooth face. In front of the south face of wall 5 and on the east side of the exit of the drain there is a row of seven large and medium-sized stones, which would have directed the waters away from the foundation of the wall.

A group of important finds was discovered on July 18, 1931, inside this drain, at a distance of 2.40 m from the south wall of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (under wall 5). ${ }^{173}$
"In the upper layer [of the drain], immediately beneath one of the large slabs that cover the opening, we found small fragments of mudbricks. Under this layer, inside the fill, we found carbonized remains mixed with Late Helladic sherds. In the south part, at a depth of $1.15 \mathrm{~m}^{174}$ there was a layer of pebbles and large stones, under which we found a concentration of ashes mixed with animal bones and fragments from Late Helladic round alabastra". ${ }^{175}$

The findgroup (locus 1) consists of fragments of flat round alabastra, goblet stems and rims, and coarse jar fragments, as well as a small collection of burned animal bones (Table 1, fig. 111). ${ }^{176}$

For the three reasons listed below, it is plausible that these bones are sacrificial remains, rather than incinerated refuse:

1) All parts of the skeleton are represented, including phalanges, which would otherwise be one of the first items discarded in primary butchery for food. The fact that three of the bones reveal fine cut marks suggests that the victims were separated, perhaps for sacrifice on different altars, or for partial sacrifice and partial offering to the priests or for communal feasting.
2) All the bones are charred straight through to the medullary cavity - they have been left in a fire for hours - not consistent with cooking meat for consumption.
3) Immature animals - in this instance piglets - are choice individuals for cult.

On the other hand, most bones of this assemblage belong to distal extremities: except for a small fragment of a mid long bone and a corner of a distal left ilium, the meat bearing parts are missing. The trunks of at least two individuals are represented by ribs, though one bears a cut mark, perhaps while cutting the victim half at the waist. The cut mark on

[^25][^26]| IDENTIFICATION | AGE | SEX | OBSERVATIONS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sus right metacarpal III | $<2$ yrs | probably female |  |
| Sus left metatarsal III | ca. 2 yrs | probably female | complete in two pcs. |
| Sus distal metacarpal | $<2$ yrs | probably female | unfused |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text { Sus left mid calcaneum; } \\ \text { one fr. mid right } \\ \text { calcaneum }\end{array}$ | $<2$ yrs | female | $\begin{array}{l}\text { unfused; same } \\ \text { individual? }\end{array}$ |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text { Sus proximal and } \\ \text { medial phalanx }\end{array}$ | $>1$ yr | probably female | $\begin{array}{l}\text { probably from the } \\ \text { same individual, } \\ \text { though differentially } \\ \text { fired (prox. black, med. } \\ \text { calcined); proximal } \\ \text { end of proximal } \\ \text { phalanx cut straight }\end{array}$ |
| through? |  |  |  |$\}$

Table 1. List of burned animal bones from E SU 8, locus 1.
the cranium could be from the removal of the brain, and the cut mark on the proximal phalanx could be the separation of the distal extremities, though the adjacent metapodials are also represented in the assemblage. If these bones are, indeed, remains of sacrifices, it is more likely that they represent the more common selective sacrifice whereby choice pieces of meat are consumed by worshippers while the bones wrapped in fat are offered on the altar, than holocaust sacrifices.

Because of the summary way in which the excavation was published, the finds from this SU did not make its way into the published reports. They may, however, have important bearing on the issue of the function of Megaron B. ${ }^{177}$
177. See the discussion in the Conclusion.


Fig. 108. The channel in front of Megaron B, the entrance to drain D2 and MH grave E.I. 7 from the northeast (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1270).


Fig. 109. Section (a) and top view (b) of drain D2 (not to scale, based on Mylonas, Notebook 1932).

Finds (figs 110-112).
Locus 1 (findgroup 1018, found inside the drain, 18 July 1931)
778. Shoulder of a ?bridge-spouted jug (?FS 103). LH IIA.
852. Shoulder and vertical loop handle of a rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIB.
857. Lower part of the body of a rounded alabastron (FS 83). LH IIB/IIIA1.
886. Everted rim and globular body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
904. Lower body and base of handle of an Ephyraean goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.


Fig. 110. Finds from E SU 8 (locus 1).


Fig. 111. Burned bones from E SU 8 (locus 1).
908. Stem and base of an Ephyraean goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
1191. Stem of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1195. Fragment of the domed base and short stem of a monochrome goblet. LH IIB.
1293. Rim and vertical handle of a large closed vessel (amphora/jar). LH IIB/IIIA1.

Locus 2 (findgroup 1017, found outside the drain, 18 July 1931)
898. Lower part of the body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
933. Lower part of the body of a closed vessel, possibly a medium-sized piriform jar (?FS 23/39). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1033. Domed base of a kylix (FS 257/258B). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1175. Domed base, thick short stem, and lower part of the bowl of an ABW goblet (FS 270). LH IIB.
1221. Body and horizontal loop handle of a monochrome stemmed bowl (FS 304). LH IIIA2.
1239. Domed base, concave stem, and lower part of the bowl of a goblet (FS 270). LH IIB.
1277. Domed base and stem of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA1/IIIA2.


Fig. 112. Finds from E SU 8 (locus 2).

## E SU 9: Extension B1/B2/B3

Immediately to the northeast of Megaron B lies a complex of three rooms oriented roughly from north to south (B1, B2, B3 in fig. 74). ${ }^{178}$

## Room B1

This room is preserved almost in its entirety and measures $7 \times 4.40 \mathrm{~m}$. Its south wall ( 9 in fig. 74 ) is divided into two sections ( 9 a and 9 b ) by a doorway, which is 1.60 m wide and which leads onto the platform. Wall 9a rests directly on a fill 0.70 m thick (fig. 113). It is constructed with large flat stones, between which smaller ones are wedged. It is $0.60-$ 0.65 m wide and preserved to a length of 1.46 m and a height of 1.30 m . Its west end bonds with wall 10a, but its top course bonds with wall 6a by means of smaller stones placed as wedges between the two walls, suggesting that wall 6a was still in use when 9 a was built. ${ }^{179}$

[^27]277; Mylonas 1961, 37-38.
179. Notebook 1932, 31.


Fig. 113. The interior corner of walls $9 b$ and 11a from the north. The floor of Room B1 is marked with the arrow (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1246). The opening of grave E.I. 5 (infra p. 133) is visible in front of wall 11a.

The east end of 9 a is not preserved, but it must have ended in an anta similar to that of wall 9 b . Wall 9 b , built on a thick $(0.70 \mathrm{~m})$ fill, abuts wall 11a (fig. 113). Its construction is similar to that of 9 a , except for the lower course, which is wider ( 0.78 m ) than the upper ones $(0.65 \mathrm{~m})$ to provide extra stability because of the drop of the bedrock. It is 1.45 m long and is preserved to a height of 0.80 m . In the west it ends in an anta constructed of seven courses of fairly large and flat stones: the stones of the second and fourth courses from the top are placed in a direction perpendicular to the direction of the wall, whereas in the other courses the stones are placed parallel to the wall (fig. 117).

The west wall of Room B1 is wall 10 (fig. 74), preserved to a height of 0.60 m . The middle part of this wall was destroyed by the construction of the foundation of column VI5. The south segment of this wall, wall 10a, sits partly on top of wall 7 of Megaron B (fig. 114)


Fig. 114. Drawing of the southwest corner of Room B1 from the interior of the room (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos; digitized by the author.


Fig. 115. Plan $(\alpha)$ and section $(\beta)$ of the threshold of the doorway to Room B3 (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 1). Pencil drawing by Travlos; digitized by the author.
and partly on an artificial fill, 1.10 m thick, in the space between wall 7 to wall 9 a . Wall 10a extends towards the north to a length of 1.90 m . It is possible that a doorway leading to Room B2 in the west may have existed at that point, but the overall arrangement remains uncertain. The north segment of wall 10, wall 10b, is preserved to a length of 1.50 m and is abutted by wall 12. Its construction is similar to that of 10a.

The north wall ( 12 in fig. 74 ) is 4.40 m long, $0.60-0.65 \mathrm{~m}$ thick, and preserved to a height of 1.25 m ; in its east end it abuts wall 11 b (visible under the Peisistrateian column $\delta 5$ ). It has been built on an artificial fill, 0.40 to 0.60 m thick, and is constructed with large stones placed in eight irregular horizontal courses (fig. 116). The deposit next to wall 12 contained mostly LH IIIA2/IIIB1 sherds with both earlier and later admixtures (locus 1).

The east wall ( 11 in fig. 74) abuts wall $12 .{ }^{180}$ It is divided into two parts by a doorway that opens up to Room B3. The south part (wall 11a) is 3.30 m long and the north part (11b) 2.30 m long; the opening for the doorway is 1.20 m wide: in the opening and protruding into Room B3 was found a threshold made of a large Eleusinian stone, 0.95 m wide and 0.17 m thick (grey in fig. 115). ${ }^{181}$ Both segments of wall 11 are preserved to a height of 1.40 m to 1.65 m and are 0.60 m wide. ${ }^{182}$ They are made of at least ten courses of large and medium-sized irregular stones, with small stones wedged in the empty spaces between the
180. Notebook 1932, 66.
181. Ibid. 51.
182. Mylonas, personal notes July 1932, 5-8; Notebook 1932, 33-34.
larger ones; the bottom course is made of flat stones forming a socle and protrudes from the line of the wall for added stability.

A patch of the floor of the room was found adjacent to the west face of wall 11a, at -1.37 m . It is 0.05 m thick and 0.30 m wide and made of hard packed earth and pebbles. ${ }^{183}$ It had been severely burned and contained ashes and carbonized remains. Immediately under this floor there was a 0.08 m thick layer of pebbles; 0.05 m above it were found two handles of the Geometric period, one in the form of a bird (possibly a dove) and the other in the form of a griffin. ${ }^{184}$. Access to the interior of Room B1 was from the platform in the south (fig. 117). The level of the vestibule, at -1.99 m , was 0.62 m lower than the floor of Room B1 and at least two steps would have been required to provide easy access up.

When wall 9a was built, the staircase that originally flanked the platform on the north side (in symmetry with the south staircase between wall 5 and the south side of the platform) was dismantled and the slabs from its steps were incorporated into the wall. Three of these slabs survive, incorporated into wall 9a. ${ }^{185}$

## Rooms B2 and B3

Rooms B2 and B3 are only partially preserved. Room B2, of which only a stub of wall 13 survives, had been excavated by Philios. Room B3 was excavated by Kourouniotes and Mylonas, but a large part of it lies under the floor of the Peisistrateian prostoon and could only be excavated by means of tunnels. ${ }^{186}$ Its west side is formed by wall 11, which is abutted by the south wall 15 and the north wall 14 . Only its width could be established with certainty, spanning the space between walls 14 and 15 , which is 5.75 m . The room was accessed from Room B1 through the doorway mentioned above (fig. 118). Part of its floor was preserved, made of packed earth and small pebbles. The floor was covered by a 0.07 m thick layer of burned soil mixed with ashes and remains of carbonized wood, which in turn was covered by a 0.10 m thick layer containing burned mudbricks. A second layer of burned mudbricks was found under the top one; the pottery from the deposit between the two layers of mudbricks has not been identified in the museum, but in Mylonas' notes there is mention of sherds decorated with stipple ${ }^{187}$ and floral patterns, as well as a large fragment of a Vapheio cup and numerous plain sherds.

[^28]186. See the tunnel opened above the threshold $\alpha$ and into Room B3 in fig. 118.
187. Mylonas, personal notes July 1932, 6: "Tò

 stipple decoraton would suggest a LH IIIA1 date.


Fig. 116. Walls 9b, 11a, and 15 from the southeast. The cover slab of grave E.I. 6 is visible under wall $9 b$ (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1269).


Fig. 117. The entrance of Room B1 seen from the interior of the room (north), including walls 9a, $9 b$, stones from the foundation of the platform ( $\gamma$ ), the base of the Peisistrateian column $\delta 5$ ( $\delta$ ) and the Kimonian column $\alpha 6$ ( $\varepsilon$ ) (Athens Archaeological Society A/A 1267).


Fig. 118. Doorway to Room B3 from Room B1 seen from the east, showing the threshold ( $\alpha$ ), the foundation of wall $11(\beta)$, and the underlying MH floor ( $\gamma$ ). Notice the tunnel above the threshold, used by the excavators to access Room B3 (Athens Archaeological Society A/A 1281).

Finds (fig. 119).
Locus 1 (findgroup 26, from wall 12, 0-1.30 m from the surface of the ground, 10 August 1931)
925. Shoulder and base of the handle of a piriform jar (?FS 23/FS 34). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
953. Shoulder and short concave neck of a small jug (FS 114). LH IIIA2.
976. Everted rim of a ?shallow cup (FS 220) or kylix. LH IIIA2.
1066. Flaring rim and body of a bowl, possibly stemmed (FS 304/305). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1067. Body and horizontal loop handle from a deep bowl (FS 284) or a stemmed bowl (FS 304/305). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.


Fig. 119. Finds from E SU 9.
1112. Horizontal loop handle and the body of a deep bowl (FS 284). LH IIIB1/LH IIIB2 Early.
1258. Vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 260/266). LH IIIA2/ IIIB1.
1296. Flat outurned rim of an undecorated piriform jar (?FS 39). LH IIIA2.

SECTOR II: BRONZE AGE REMAINS TO THE SOUTHEAST AND SOUTHWEST OF THE PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION

E SU 10
The area immediately to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10) was excavated by Philios and Kourouniotes. ${ }^{188}$ Many MH walls were found here which, however, were too fragmentary to allow the reconstruction of house plans. ${ }^{189}$ In the 1931 Notebooks there is mention of at least three trenches in the area, but their precise location is not recorded. A fourth trench, to the southeast of column III4 continued an earlier sounding by Philios. The stratigraphic sequence in these trenches is as follows.

Trench 1. In the first trench the top layer was $0.60-0.80 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and contained soft soil and small stones with mixed LH to Byzantine material; within this layer were found three intact Mycenaean figurines; fragments from another two figurines were found at -0.30 m , near the southeast corner of the Peisistrateian Telesterion. ${ }^{190}$ A large number of other LH figurines ${ }^{191}$ was also found in the same general area, in unrecorded depths. ${ }^{192}$ It is unclear whether the figurines 1405 and 1406, which are marked as from the "Telesterion", came from this findspot. Under this top layer a second layer was found, from $0.60-0.80$ to 2 m , which also included mixed pottery, from LH to Hellenistic.

Trench 2. The second trench, opened a few meters to the south of the corner formed by walls 4 a and 4 b (precise location is not recorded) revealed a thick deposit containing LH sherds, fragments of mudbricks, and a head of an animal figurine. ${ }^{193}$ The bedrock was covered with a layer of ashes, 0.12 m thick, on which were found several fragments of stems from LH kylikes.

Trench 3. The third trench was opened next to the second one, near the corner of walls 4 b and $4 \mathrm{c}:{ }^{194}$ this trench revealed a layer with LH sherds (including kylix stems) overlaying a layer with coarse MH sherds sitting directly on the bedrock.

Trench 4. Philios had opened a trench under the stylobate of column III5 and excavated to -2.43 m . In continuing the excavation at that spot, Kourouniotes and Mylonas followed

[^29]190. Notebook 1931, 24.

192. Notebook 1931, 31, 39.
193. Ibid. 58.
194. Ibid. 96.
the foundation trench of column III5 (fig. 120:H) all the way to the bedrock ( -3.50 to -3.60 m ). To the northeast, the layer that covered wall 1 (fig. 120:A; -2.43 to -2.52 m ) included Protocorinthian and Corinthian sherds; under this layer there was a thin layer of burned soil and ashes (fig. 120:B), at approximately the same level as the top surface of wall 1 ( -2.52 to -2.70 m ). At -2.70 m was found part of a paved road of the Geometric period (fig. 120:C). The deposit under the Geometric road down to the bedrock was split into two parts: the northeast part, towards column III5 (fig. 120:D) contained Geometric sherds, whereas


Fig. 120. Section $\beta^{\prime}-\beta$ (fig. 74, view from the northwest); (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder "III5"). Pencil drawing by Travlos; digitized by the author. Scale approximate.
the southwest part, near wall 1 (fig. 120:E) was undisturbed and contained hard soil with traces of burning; this was succeeded by a LH (fig. 120:F) and a MH layer (fig. 120:G). The pottery from this trench has not been located in the museum. ${ }^{195}$

The surviving architectural remains (fig. 74) were severely damaged by later construction, especially the Geometric retaining wall $\mathrm{E} 1 / \mathrm{E} 2^{196}$ and the retaining wall Z of the Archaic terrace. ${ }^{197}$ The description of the Mycenaean remains in this sector proceeds from the southwest to the northeast.
195. Illustrated in Kourouniotes 1933-35, figs 36 and 37.
196. Mylonas 1961, fig. 4, E1, E2.
197. Ibid. fig. 4, Z6, Z7.

Wall 1 runs in a northwest-southeast direction. ${ }^{198}$ It is 5.30 m long, $0.55-0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ wide, and preserved to a height of $0.80-0.85 \mathrm{~m}$. It is founded at -3.30 m , partially on the bedrock and partially on the MH deposit G (fig. 120) and constructed of small stones placed in clay mortar. Its southwest end abuts the double wall $1 \mathrm{a} / 1 \mathrm{~b}$, which is 1.30 m wide and preserved to a length of $1.80 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{199}$ This double wall is constructed of large stones placed in clay mortar and runs in a southwest-northeast direction; as it is abutted by wall 1, it seems to be earlier, although when wall 1 was built wall $1 \mathrm{a} / 1 \mathrm{~b}$ was used as a retaining wall to the building to which wall 1 belonged. The sherds from wall 1a/1b (locus 11 ) ${ }^{200}$ are mostly LH IIA /LH IIB and wall 1 has been tentatively dated to the same period.

Wall 2 is parallel to wall 1 and lies at a distance of 2.65 m to the north. ${ }^{201}$ Parts of it were destroyed by the construction of the foundations of columns III4 and III5. It is made of both large and small stones placed in clay mortar, is $0.60-0.65 \mathrm{~m}$ wide and preserved to a height of $0.55-0.89 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{202}$ It is founded on the bedrock, except for few spots, where it sits on a thin layer of soil covering the bedrock. It continues to the northwest under the base of column III4 and it appears that it would have reached and possibly connected to wall 2a. Although the finds associated with this wall have not been located in the museum, in the Notebooks they are classified as "LH III". ${ }^{203}$ Because it is founded on the bedrock, the excavators consider it earlier than wall 3, which is founded on a thick fill sitting on the bedrock (see below). ${ }^{204}$ In Travlos' plans the depth of the top row of stones of wall 2 at the extension to the west of column III4, is at -1.32 m from the surface of the ground. ${ }^{205}$

Wall 3 is parallel to walls 1 and 2 and lies at a distance of 1.70 m to the northwest of wall $2 .{ }^{206}$ It is preserved to a height of 0.86 m , with its top surface at -1.70 to -1.90 from the line of the columns III4-IV4-V4. It has a length of 8.75 m and an average thickness of 0.55 $\mathrm{m} .{ }^{207}$ It is founded on a thick $(0.60-0.65 \mathrm{~m})$ fill that covers the bedrock and is constructed of irregular stones placed in clay mortar. It is possible that this wall connected with wall x , only part of which has been preserved, because its foundation trench meets wall $3 ;{ }^{208}$ because the bottom of this foundation trench lies at -1.32 m from the surface of the ground which, as we saw above is exactly the depth of the top surface of wall 2 to the west of column III4, it appears that wall $\times$ (and wall 3 , to which it connected), was later than

[^30]202. Notebook 1932, 60.
203. Notebook 1931, 72.
204. Notebook 1932, 60.
205. Folder 9, Subfolder 2.
206. Notebook 1931, 48-58: wall 8; Notebook 1932, 58-59.
207. Notebook 1932, 60.
208. Notebook 1931, 42, 55, and drawing 11.
wall 2. ${ }^{209}$ Perpendicular to wall 3 but at a deeper level was found wall $3 \mathrm{~g},{ }^{210}$ which runs in a northeast-southwest direction. Only one course is preserved, made with small stones placed in clay mortar, and founded on the bedrock. The wall is 0.45 m wide, preserved to a height of 0.30 m , and continues to the northwest under walls 3 and 2 ( $3 \mathrm{~g}-3 \mathrm{~g}^{\prime}$ in fig. 74) and to the northeast under the south wall of the Peisistrateian Telesterion. The pottery associated with it is MH. ${ }^{211}$ At a distance of approximately 3 m from the corner of walls 3 and $4 a / 4 a^{\prime}$ was preserved part of a floor made of large pebbles; this floor covered an area approximately 2 m long and 1 m wide, and could have been a courtyard or a road leading uphill, towards the northwest. ${ }^{212}$ The Geometric wall $3 \mathrm{~h}, 0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ wide, is founded on top of the fill covering the paved area and at a higher level than wall 3 and is not connected to the Mycenaean walls. ${ }^{213}$ The pottery found under wall 3 (locus 2) dates to LH IIIA2/IIIB1, which is the terminus post quem for the construction of the wall.

Wall $2 \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{b}, 0.60-0.69 \mathrm{~m}$ wide, runs in a northeast-southwest direction and is founded on the bedrock; it is preserved to a length of 4.10 m and a height of $0.22-0.65 \mathrm{~m}$. It is divided into two parts by a break, at a distance of approximately 1.5 m from its southwest end. The north part (fig. 74, 2b) is made of larger stones and is slightly narrower than the south part (2a), which is made of small stones and is slightly wider. This break is lined up with the line of a channel dug in the bedrock continuing wall 3, without however, reaching wall $2 a / b .{ }^{214}$

Wall $4^{215}$ runs in a northwest-southeast direction and is constructed with large stones placed in clay mortar. It has an average width of 0.65 m and is preserved to a height of $1.35-1.50 \mathrm{~m}$. This is a very long wall (approximately 17 m ), part of which was destroyed by the construction of the column base IV6. Its northwest and southeast ends join with walls $4 \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ and 4 c respectively, which run towards the southwest. Wall $4 \mathrm{a} / 4 \mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ is a double wall with a combined width of 1.08-1.15 m, ${ }^{216}$ preserved to a height of 1.20 m and constructed with medium-sized stones placed in clay mortar. To the west, it is abutted by wall 3 which is a later addition supported by the double wall. ${ }^{217}$ Wall $4 b,{ }^{218}$ parallel to walls 4 a and 4 c , may have defined two smaller rooms opening up to the southwest. It is founded at the same depth as wall 4 , is 0.50 m wide and preserved to a length of 2.20 m .; it is built with medium-sized stones placed in clay mortar. The pottery from the area defined by walls $4 / 4 \mathrm{a} / 4 \mathrm{~b}$ (locus 3), the south part of wall 4 (locus 4), the interior corner of walls 4 and 4 c

[^31]214. Ibid. 60-61.
215. Notebook 1931, 42, 43, 59, 61, 93, 97; Notebook 1932, 56-58.
216. Notebook 1931, 42; Notebook 1932, 58.
217. Notebook 1932, 58.
218. Notebook 1931, 77-78.
(locus 5), and to the southwest of wall 4 (loci 6-10, locus 12) is predominantly LH IIIA1 / A2. Near the south corner of wall $4 a / 4 a^{\prime}$ was found the head of an animal figurine. ${ }^{219}$ Two groups of human figurines were found on either side of wall 4 to the east of wall 4 b : the first group was found in a LH deposit that had been cut by the construction of the south wall of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, approximately 1 m to the south of the exit of the drain, and consisted of five LH figurines, two broken and three intact. ${ }^{220}$ The second group was found on the south side of wall 4, where "numerous Mycenaean figurines" are reported. ${ }^{221}$ These figurines have not been found in the museum.

In addition to the above-mentioned walls, there is a number of other walls which are too fragmentary to allow the identification of buildings:

1) At a distance of 1.5 m to the southwest of wall 4 c was found a thick wall, wall $\mathrm{y} .{ }^{222}$ This is a double wall (combined w. 1.10 m ) running in a northeast-southwest direction, but its southwest part has been destroyed by the south part of the Archaic terrace wall Z. It does not seem to relate to wall 4 , because its northeast part ends 0.20 m before reaching wall 4.
2) At a distance of approximately 8 m to the southwest of wall 1 Threpsiades excavated parts of two walls, walls 20 and 21 (not shown in fig. 74). ${ }^{223}$ These are made with mediumsized stones placed in clay mortar. Wall 21 is 0.65 m wide and preserved to a height of 0.50 m and length of 4.5 m. ; wall 20 is 0.55 m wide and preserved to a height of 0.50 m and a length of 1.30 m . They are founded partly on the bedrock and partly on a thin (0.10-0.13 m) fill. Wall 21, fragments of the mudbricks of which were found next to it, seems to have been older than 20, because wall 20 has been built on top of 21 .The deposits associated with these two walls were burned and contained "LH and coarse" sherds. The relationship, if any, of these two walls to walls 1-4 is not clear.

Finds (figs 121-132).
Locus 1 (from the deepest strata of the trench under the Geometric terrace wall E1,
20 August 1931)
56. Body of a type 1 jar. MH II.
80. Rim and body of an angular MP bowl with flat upright rim. MH II.
82. Rim and body of a MP angular bowl with incurving flat rim. MH II.
111. Rim and body of a MP spouted bowl. MH II.
148. Fragment of the cylindrical neck and shoulder of a MP type 1 jar. MH II-III.
149. Rim and neck of a MP type 1 jar. MH III.

[^32]221. Supra, nn. 191, 192.
222. Notebook 1931, 95-96.
223. Ibid. 100-101.
198. Body of a MP pithos. MH II.
221. Body of a bichrome Cycladic pithoid jar. MC IIB/IIIA.
275. Shoulder of a LD jar or a jug. MH II.



148


149

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221

Fig. 121. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 1).

Locus 2 (findgroup 46, from under wall 3, 20 August 1931)
943. Body of a handleless jar (FS 77). LH IIIA1.
951. Body of a closed vessel (piriform jar or jug with cutaway neck). LH IIIA1-IIIA2.
1070. Domed base and stem of a stemmed bowl (FS 304). LH IIIA2.
1201. Body and flaring rim of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA2.
1202. Body and flaring rim of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA2.
1022. Everted rim and vertical loop handle of a kylix (FS 257/258B). LH IIIA2.
1267. Body of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA1/IIIB2.
1272. Body of a kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1289. Body of an undecorated jar. LH IIIA1-IIIB1.


Fig. 122. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 2).

Locus 3 (findgroup 68, area between walls $4 a$ and $4 b$, depth 0-0.80 from the surface of the ground, 28 August 1931)
919. Shoulder and base of neck from a rounded alabastron (FS 85). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.


Fig. 123. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 3).
1211. Body of a monochrome kylix. LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1263. Vertical strap handle of a monochrome kylix. LH IIIA2.
1294. Concave neck and thickened flaring rim of an undecorated amphora (?FS 69). LH IIIB1/IIIB2.

Locus 4 (findgroup 13, from the deposit under the southeast part of wall 4, depth 2.20-2.80 depth 0-0.80 from the surface of the ground, 22 August 1931)
727. Body and beginning of everted rim of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
885. Everted rim of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1009. Body and beginning of everted rim of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1. For the uncertainty about the provenience of this sherd, see the catalogue entry.
1253. Body and beginning of the everted rim of a goblet (FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 124. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 4).

Locus 5 (findgroups 72 and 73, from the interior corner of walls 4 and 4c, 11 September 1931) 861. Concave neck and lipless rim of a squat jug (FS 87) or an alabastron (FS 84). LH IIB / IIIA1. 929. Shoulder of a piriform jar (FS 22). LH IIIA1.
979. Body and beginning of the flaring rim of a ?cup. LH IIIA1.
1212. Everted rim and body of a monochrome kylix (FS 255/256). LH IIIA1/ IIIA2.
1213. Body of a monochrome kylix. LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1214. Everted rim and body of a monochrome goblet (?FS 264/269). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1215. Everted rim and body of an ABW goblet (?FS 270). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.


Fig. 125. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 5).

Locus 6 (findgroup 12, from between the Archaic terrace wall Z and wall 4, 29 September 1931)
451. Lower part of the body of a DB angular bowl with molded rim. MH II-III.
485. Rim and body of a goblet. MH III/LH I.
1002. Body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1184. Everted rim and body of a monochrome goblet (FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.
1261. Body and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/ IIIB1.
1268. Body of an undecorated kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1269. Body and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1271. Body of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1291. Fragment of the flat base of an undecorated jar or hydria. LH IIIA1-IIIB1.


Fig. 126. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 6).

Locus 7 (findgroup 23, from around wall 4, 2-3 October 1931)
963. Body of a krater (FS 8). LH IIIA2/IIIB.
975. Lower part of the body of a ?shallow cup (FS 219). LH IIIA1.


975
Fig. 127. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 7).

Locus 8 (findgroup 20, first stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z, 21 September 1931)
940. Body of a jug or jar. LH IIIA2 Late.
1029. Everted rim of a kylix (?FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1106. Straight lipless rim of a Group A deep bowl (FS 284). LH IIIB1/LH IIIB2 Early.


Fig. 128. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 8).

Locus 9 (findgroup 69, third stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall $Z$, 22 September 1931)
1055. Flaring rim, base of vertical strap handle, and body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1071. Lower part of the body of a stemmed bowl (FS 304/305). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.


Fig. 129. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 9).
1088. Shoulder of a ?conical-piriform stirrup jar (FS 167). LH IIIB1.
1216. Lower part of the body of an ABW goblet (?FS 270). ?LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1217. Lower part of the body of an ABW goblet (?FS 270). ?LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1252. Everted rim of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB.
1292. Shoulder and base of neck of a ?piriform jar (?FS 44-45). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.

Locus 10 (findgroup 37, from around the pyre of the Archaic terrace wall, 9 September 1931) 763. Body of a ?squat jug (FS 87). LH IIA.

Fig. 130. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 10).

Locus 11 (findgroup 22, from walls 1a/1b, 1-2 September 1931)
738. Body of a ?piriform jar (FS 20/21). LH IIA.
754. Shoulder of a medium-sized rounded alabastron (FS 83). LH IIA.
821. Lower part of the body of a shallow cup (FS 218). LH IIA.
827. Fragment of a straight lipless rim of a type III Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA/IIB.
828. Fragment of a straight lipless rim of a type III Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA/IIB.
872. Rim and body of a ring-handled cup (FS 237). LH IIB.
896. Body and everted rim of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.


Fig. 131. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 11).

Locus 12 (findgroup 1028, from the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z , to the northeast of wall 4c, 24 May 1933, depth 1.55-2.70 from the surface of the ground)
83. MP angular bowl with flat upright or slightly incurving rim. MH II.
184. Neck of a MP type 2 jar. MH II-III.
606. Flat base and lower part of the body of a straight-sided cup LH I.
717. Shoulder and base of neck of a conical-piriform jar (FS 15/24). LH IIA.


Fig. 132. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 12).
831. Straight lipless rim of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH IIA.
858. Flat base of a rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIB.
964. Body of a krater (FS 8/9). LH IIIA2 / IIIB1.
1018. Lower body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1043. Flaring rim of a kylix (FS 256). LH IIIA2.
1047. Flaring rim and upper part of the body of a kylix (FS 257/258B). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1054. Flaring rim and upper part of the body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1062. Convex domed base and the stem of a kylix (FS 257/258B). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1064. Straight lipless rim, upper body, and beginning of horizontal loop handle of a ?deep bowl (FS 284) or ?stemmed bowl (FS 304/305). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1069. Ring base of a ?truncated stemmed bowl. ?LH IIIA2.
1101. Body sherd of an open vase (kylix or bowl). ?LH IIIB1.
1102. Lower part of the bowl and beginning of the stem of a kylix (FS 258B). LH IIIB1.
1121. Everted flat rim of a ?basin (FS 294). LH IIIB2.
1135. Everted flat rim of a ring-based krater (FS 282). LH IIIC Middle 2 - LH IIIC Late.
1137. Belly of a krater. LH IIIB/LHIIIC.
1131. Everted rim of a ?spouted cup (FS 249). LH IIIA2/B1.
1200. Flaring rim and upper part of the body of a monochrome kylix (?FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1244. Flaring lipless rim and upper body of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2 / IIIB1.
1248. Flaring rim of an undecorated kylix (?FS 265). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1250. Everted rim of an undecorated kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1264. Body of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA2 / IIIB1.
1265. Body of an undecorated kylix (?FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1266. Body of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1270. Body of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA1-IIIB2.
1273. Stem of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1283. Everted overhanging rim of an undecorated deep conical bowl (?FS 290/300). LH IIIA2.
1295. Concave neck and lipless rim of an ?amphora. LH IIIA1/IIIA2.

## SECTOR III: THE STOA OF PHILO

Bronze Age remains were found in an unknown number of trenches opened in front of the Stoa of Philo. ${ }^{224}$ The area in front of the central part of the Stoa (between the Stoa and the Peisistrateian Gate H29) was first tested by Philios and then by Kourouniotes in 1931 and 1933. ${ }^{225}$ Kourouniotes uncovered a paved road of the Geometric period (E in fig. 133), as well as a LH deposit starting at -7.50 m from the surface, associated with LH walls and
225. Philios 1883, 59-65; Kourouniotes 1931-32, 9-18. Mylonas $(1960,60)$ considers the possibility that
ash found on the floor of these rooms may have been the remnant of sacrifices, but there is no other evidence to support this (cf. Kokkou-Viridi 1990, 24).


Fig. 133. Plan of the remains to the east of the Stoa of Philo (adopted from Mylonas and Travlos 1952, plate 1; grave numbers followed by question marks indicate uncertainty about the exact location of the grave). $\alpha$. General view; $\beta$. detailed view of the area in the rectangle.
a well $(\Phi)$, which at the time could not be excavated (see below). A few MH sherds were found under the LH deposit, right on the bedrock. In the southwest part of the excavation, at -8 m from the surface there was a layer of ash, 0.10 m thick, in which graves E.III. 2 and E.III. 3 were found. Graves E.III. 1 and E.III.4-11 were found in the same major area.

## E SU 11

Additional excavations in 1952 in the area immediately to the north of the area excavated in 1933 and 1934 (bordered to the south by the Peisistrateian Gate H24 and to the
north by the northeast part of the retaining wall K17), brought to light fragmentary remains of the LH building $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{N}$ (fig. 133). ${ }^{226}$ Room M (pres. dimensions $1.65 \times 1.55 \mathrm{~m}$ ) has two architectural phases, to the second of which belongs the paved floor. The interior of the room was divided into two parts by a thin wall: the space to the west (fig. 133:O) contained a built drain that continued under the north wall of the room and exited in a bothros (fig. 133:B, max. w. 1.40 m ), which contained ashes and burned soil. Room N (fig. 133; pres. dimensions $2.1 \times 2.3 \mathrm{~m}$ ) was also partially preserved; in the north part of its interior a small curved wall defines an area $1.10 \mathrm{~m} \times 0.70 \mathrm{~m}$, which contained ashes and burned soil. A third building (fig. 133: $\Lambda$ ) was identified to the northeast of the bothros and also contained ashes and burned soil. The west sides of Rooms M and N were destroyed by the Stoa of Philo and the retaining wall K17.

To the south of room N there is a paved LH road ( $\Delta$, solid black in fig. 133); the sherds between and under the stones of the road are dated by G. Mylonas to the "closing years of the LH III period" ${ }^{227}$ To the southwest, the road leads towards Well $\Phi$, which had been discovered in 1933/1934, but investigated in 1952 (fig. 133). The well contained mixed pottery and could not be dated with certainty.

More LH walls were found to the east of the Geometric road E and a LH II grave (grave E.II.12) was found under Room $\Theta$ (not shown in fig. 133, but shown in Mylonas and Travlos 1952, fig. 1).

On the bedrock were found several fragmentary MH walls and a child pithos burial (grave E.III.14); another child burial (grave E.III.15) was found in front of the southwest corner of the wall K17. Both burials date to the MH period. ${ }^{228}$ The finds from this 1952 excavation have not been found in the museum.
226. Mylonas, Travlos 1952, 56-57.
227. Ibid. 56.
228. Ibid. 58.

## GRAVES IN THE EAST SLOPE

## SECTOR I. THE PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION

Several burials were found in Sectors I and II. ${ }^{229}$ The numbering of the graves follows that in Kourouniotes 1930-1931, plan 1 (underlined numbers in fig. 66). The only grave for which there is no record in the Notebooks is E.I.5.

Grave E.I. 1 (figs 66 and 134). ${ }^{230}$ Found at -0.86 m from the floor of the Roman Telesterion, near the north wall of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, in front of the entrance of the Perikleian Telesterion. It is rectangular, with internal dimensions $0.40 \times 0.29 \mathrm{~m}$, oriented from north to south. The opening of the grave was covered with three stones, ${ }^{231}$ placed on a schist slab ( $1.0 .50 \mathrm{~m}, \mathrm{w} .0 .30 \mathrm{~m}$, th. 0.04-0.05 m), which had been broken into seven pieces. The walls of the grave were formed by four vertical slabs, ranging in thickness from 0.05 to 0.09 m . The interior was filled with a sandy sediment that had seeped into the grave from the top; the floor was found at -0.25 m from the cover stones and consisted of a thin layer of small pebbles. The skeleton had not been preserved, except for a few fragments of the skull and the sides, but the size of the grave suggests a child burial. The only object found in the grave was a small obsidian piece.

Grave E.I. 2 (figs 66 and 134). ${ }^{232}$ This grave was found attached to the south side of grave E.I.1. It is trapezoidal, $0.40-0.53 \mathrm{~m}$ long, 0.42 m wide, and 0.30 m deep. The north, east, and


Fig. 134. Graves E.I. 1 and E.I. 2 from the west before (left) and during (right) excavation (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives, A/A 1286).
229. Mylonas, Kourouniotes 1933, 278.
230. Kourouniotes 1931-32, 6; Notebook 1932: photo inventory 1 and 2.

231 Dimensions: stone a: 1.0 .22 , w. 0.31 , th. 0.08 ;
stone b: 1. 0.31 , w. 0.28 , th. 0.07 ; stone c: 1.0 .16 , w. 0.13 , th. 0.04.
232. Kourouniotes 1931-32, 6; Notebook 1932: photo inventory 1 and 2.


Fig. 135. Section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ by the entrance to the Peisistrateian Telesterion (cf. fig. 66).
south sides were formed by vertical slabs (the south slab of grave 1 was used as the north slab of grave 2) but the west side would have been built with small stones, which have not been preserved. The grave was covered by a triangular slab 0.08 thick. Inside the grave there were no bones or objects. Around graves E.I. 1 and E.I. 2 and under grave E.I. 1 were found a few unidentified MH sherds.

Grave E.I. 3 (fig. 66). ${ }^{233}$ This is a small cist grave measuring $0.47 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{l} ., 0.35 \mathrm{~m}$ w., 0.30 m depth, located in the interior corner of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$, immediately to the north of column VI5. The walls are built with vertical slabs, 0.06 m thick. Other information about this grave does not exist, but the size of the grave suggests a child burial.

Grave E.I. 4 (fig. 66). ${ }^{234}$ This grave was found in a trench to the south of the Peisistrateian column $\delta 5$ (fig. 66), 0.53 m above the bedrock and $0.15-0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ deeper than the floor of the LH Room B1. It was oriented from the northwest to the southeast, its walls were built with flat stones placed in clay mortar (average thickness of stones $0.23-0.27 \mathrm{~m}$ ); the grave did


Fig. 136. Grave E.I. 6 from the southeast.
not have a cover. It was 0.40 m deep and its floor was covered with a layer of pebbles. It contained a child placed on the layer of pebbles near the south side of the grave. The bones had been considerably worn and crashed by fallen stones; the length of the body from the top of the head to the coccyx was measured at 0.32 m . The child lay on its left side, with slightly bent legs (femur length 16 cm , tibia length 14 cm ); only the right arm has been preserved (humerus length 15 cm , ulna length 13 cm ), with the arm resting on the chest. The only objects found in the grave were 14 worn sherds of coarse red fabric, one small GM sherd, a MP sherd, three coarse sherds, and a few animal bones.

Grave E.I.5. A grave marked as " 5 " between columns $\beta 5$ and $\gamma 5$ of the Peisistrateian Telesterion is noted in the plan Kourouniotes 1931-1932, but there is no information about this grave in the notebooks. The opening of the grave is visible in fig. 113.

Grave E.I. 6 (figs 66 and 136). ${ }^{235}$ This is a small cist grave, $0.60 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{l} ., 0.28 \mathrm{~m}$ w., 0.30 m deep. It was covered with a large slab ( $0.80 \mathrm{~m} 1 ., 0.70 \mathrm{~m}$., 0.09 m th.), right under the foundation of wall 9 b . The north, east, and west sides of the grave were made of large flat stones placed vertically into the ground, whereas the south side had been built with small stones without clay mortar. The grave belonged to a 3-4 year old child, but the skeleton had not been well preserved. It seems that the child had been placed on its right side, with the head turned towards the right and placed slightly higher than the rest of the body. The


Fig. 137. Grave E.I. 7 from the north $A / A 1331$.
legs were slightly bent. The excavators note that the grave contained some MH sherds, but there is no additional information about the finds.

Grave E.I. 7 (figs 66, 108 and 137). ${ }^{236}$ Found in front of the LH channel of Megaron B. This is the grave of an adult, placed on a layer of pebbles, on his/her right side, with the face turned towards the east. The right arm was bent at the elbow and placed in front of the neck and the left was also bent and pointed towards the elbow of the right arm. The spine had a light curve because of the bending of the legs. The lower part of the tibia, the tarsus, and the digits did not survive. There were no burial gifts on the pebble floor around the dead, but the sherds from the deposit above the skeleton were all MH, MP and GM. Height from the top of the skull to the tail bone 64 cm .

Grave E.I. 8 (figs 66 and 138). ${ }^{237}$ This grave was adjacent to the southeast side of the foundation of wall $\eta$. It contained the remains of three adults, placed on a layer of pebbles and covered by soil. The dead were laid on their right sides with their heads towards the east. They are so closely placed, that it was not possible for the excavators to distinguish


Fig. 138. Grave E.I. 8 from the south.
the position of the arms, except for those of the first (north), whose right arm extended along the body and left arm was bent at the elbow and placed on the belly. The legs were bent. Size of first skeleton: tibia 32 cm , femur 41 cm , length of spine 60 cm , radius 20 cm , ulna 29 cm , total height from head to the top of the femur 80 cm , total projected height 1.60 m .

Finds from grave 8 (findgroup 48, 8 August 1931) (fig. 139).
1053. Body of a kylix (FS 256/257). LH IIIA2.
1180. Rim and body of an ABW goblet (FS 270). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1181. Rim and body of an ABW goblet (FS 270). LH IIB / IIIA1.
1197. Base, stem, and lower body of an ABW goblet (possibly FS 270). LH IIB/IIIA1.


Fig. 139. Finds from grave E.I.8, Stoa of Philo.

Grave E.I. 9 (fig. 66). ${ }^{238}$ This skeleton was found immediately to the west of grave E.I.8. The dead was placed on his right side with the legs bent and oriented north-south, but the upper part of the body was destroyed by the foundation of column V5. Only the tibia ( 34 cm long) and the femur ( 41 cm long) were preserved, indicating that this was an adult. The grave contained only a few plain sherds. The proximity to grave E.I. 8 may suggest a LH IIB/LH IIIA1 date.

## sECTOR II: GRAVES TO THE SE AND SW OF THE PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION

Grave E.II. 1 (figs 74 and 140). ${ }^{239}$ This is a child burial, found at an unrecorded depth under wall 4 c . It is a cist grave constructed right on the bedrock, the walls of which are made of vertical slabs 0.06 m thick and smaller stones wedged in the corners between the slabs; the grave was covered by another slab, that had cracked, measuring $0.78 \times 0.48 \times$ 0.5 m . The grave was 0.68 m long, 0.39 m wide, and 0.32 m deep.

Grave E.II. 2 (fig. 74). ${ }^{240}$ Child burial, found near the south end of the retaining wall of the Archaic terrace ( Z in fig. 74). This is a pit grave, with the skeleton placed directly on the soil; Threpsiades mentions that it is possible ("лı $\theta \alpha v \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$ ") that there may have been


Fig. 140. Grave E.II. 1 from the southeast.
238. Notebook 1931, 34.
239. Ibid. 34.
another under this one. ${ }^{241}$ The fill of the grave contained coarse MH sherds, a few GM sherds, and one incised sherd, but the finds could not be found in the museum. Other information about this burial does not exist.

Grave E.II. 3 (fig. 74). ${ }^{242}$ Pit grave with the remains of a child in a contracted position, to the north of and at a deeper level than wall 3 and also at a lower level than the paved area to the east of wall 3, perhaps associated with the MH wall 3g. Only a few bones were preserved: part of the skull, a few rib bones, fragments of the tibia and a few digits from the foot. The orientation of the dead was not established, as the burial had been severely damaged by the construction of wall 3. The excavators mention GM and other MH sherds from the soil around and under the dead, but these have not been found in the museum.

## SECTOR III. GRAVES IN FRONT OF THE STOA OF PHILO

Grave E.III. 1 (fig. 133). ${ }^{243}$ In the 1930 excavation a child burial was found in a deep deposit in front of the Stoa of Philo. The exact location of the burial is not recorded, but G. Mylonas writes that it was found at -7.50 m from the surface and that it belonged to a child placed on its back, with the body oriented east-west and slightly turned towards the left. The bones had been severely worn and little information about the skeleton was retrieved; the total length of the spine was 0.17 m . The grave seems to have been roughly square, with a side of $0.29-0.30 \mathrm{~m}$, but its walls were not preserved. Mylonas dated this burial to LH I, but the pottery associated with it has not been found in the museum.

Grave E.III.2. ${ }^{244}$ At -8 m from the surface was found a jar placed in a thick layer of ash which, according to Mylonas, originally would have contained an infant burial. Nothing was found in this jar.

Grave E.III.3. ${ }^{245}$ At -8 m from the surface was found another large jar placed in a thick layer of ash. This jar was filled with ash and small stones and contained small fragments of human bones (without any signs of burning).

Grave E.III.4: no grave has been assigned to this number, so that the numbers of the graves that follow can match the numbers of Mylonas' graves 5 and 6 in Eleusis.

Grave E.III. 5 (figs 133 and 141). ${ }^{246}$ At -10 m from the surface of the ground in front of the Stoa of Philo was found grave 5, dug in the bedrock. It is rectangular, measuring 1.25 ml l., 0.65 m ., 0.40 m depth, oriented from southwest to northeast and its walls are made of eight vertical slabs (about 0.50 m wide and 0.10 m thick), with the space between
241. Ibid. 105.
242. Ibid. 53-54, 62-63.
243. Notebook 1930, Sept. 15; Eleusis 44, fig. 24.
244. Eleusis 46, fig. 26.
245. Ibid. fig. 27.
246. Notebook 1930, 17 September; Eleusis 50-53; Mylonas 1932, 110; West Cemetery B 208.
the slabs and the bedrock filled with stones and pebbles. The opening of the grave was covered by a large slab $(1.10 \mathrm{~m} 1 ., 1 \mathrm{~m} \text { w., } 0.25 \mathrm{~m} \text { th. })^{247}$ and by small flat stones in its southeastern corner. The floor was made of a layer of pebbles. The dead was an adult, laying on his/her back with the head tilted towards the left and pointing towards the northeast. The arms were crossed on the chest and the legs were open and bent (l. of ulna 32 cm , radius 27 cm , femur 40 cm , tibia 32 cm ). The total height is estimated to about 1.60-1.70 m, but the bones had been worn by the excessive humidity. ${ }^{248}$ Burial gifts were not found in the grave, with the exception of two GM and three MP sherds lying on the pebble floor. Under the pebble floor and away from the skeleton were found three obsidian arrowheads, ${ }^{249}$ which did not belong to the burial. Mylonas dates this grave to the final years of the MH period and its association to MH III/LH I grave E.III. 6 (below) suggests a MH III, if not a MH III/LH I date.

Grave E.III. 6 (figs 133 and 141). ${ }^{250}$ This is the so-called "Warrior Grave". ${ }^{251}$ The southeast side of this grave was found overlaying the east corner of grave E.III.5. Most of the grave was covered by an unexcavated deposit that supported a fill from Philios' excavation and could not be investigated properly. The grave was rectangular, oriented from northeast to northwest; it was 1.35 m long, 0.67 m wide, and 0.45 m deep, and its top courses found at approximately 9 m from the surface. Each one of the walls was built with three horizontal courses of flat stones placed in clay; ${ }^{252}$ the top surface of each side was lined with a course of smaller flat stones creating a flat surface, on which the cover was placed. The floor of the grave was formed by a double row of pebbles. The dead was an adult placed on his/her right side, near the northwest side of the grave, with bent arms and legs and the right hand under the right cheek and the left hand on the left cheek: ${ }^{253} 1$. of ulna 30 cm , radius 26 cm , femur 45 cm , tibia 40 cm (total height is conjectured to about 1.60 to 1.65 m , but the bones had been worn by the humidity).

The grave contained several burial gifts, including a blade from a bronze dagger, ${ }^{254}$ a small DB jug, ${ }^{255}$ a bone band decorated with concentric circles, and fifty-one worked small fragments of boar's tusks in a triple row, that could have belonged to a pendant. ${ }^{256}$ Under the floor of the grave were found three arrowheads and one fragment from an obsidian

[^33][^34]

Fig. 141. Plan of graves E.III. 5 (left) and 6 (right). Pencil drawing by J. Travlos, inked by the author.
blade. Mylonas dates this grave not much later than E.III.5. The DB jug suggests a MH III / LH I date. ${ }^{257}$

Grave E.III. 7 (figs 133 and 142). ${ }^{258}$ This is an exceptional grave, found by Philios by the northwest corner of the stereobate of the Stoa of Philo, inside the Peisistrateian peribolos and to the north of the Archaic altar. ${ }^{259}$ It is rectangular, oriented approximately east-west, with a total length of 5 m , width 1.60 m , and depth 1 m . The external walls, built with schist slabs in dry-laid rubble masonry, are thick ( $0.40-0.45 \mathrm{~m}$ ) and founded on the bedrock. The roof of the grave was made with six large slabs, $0.23-0.25 \mathrm{~m}$ thick. The floor was covered with a thin ( $0.05-0.06 \mathrm{~m}$ ) layer of pebbles. The interior was divided by a crosswall into two compartments, each one approximately $2.30-2.40 \mathrm{~m}$ long. If the entrance had been at the eastern end of the long north wall, which has been destroyed, the west compartment would have served as the main burial chamber and the east as a vestibule. ${ }^{260}$ It is also possible that a pile of stones found by Philios in the east compartment would have been used to seal the entrance, by analogy to T4 from the West Cemetery and the rubble found outside the entrance of $\Lambda \pi 4$. These two graves provide the closest parallels in form and construction to E.III.7, although they are later: the earliest pottery in $\Lambda \pi 4$ was LH II and T4, which is almost identical to $\Lambda \pi 4$ may have also been LH II. ${ }^{261}$ Grave E.III. 7 appears to have been the earliest of the three, established in MH III or LH I.

The grave was only partially cleared, because its west section lay under the Peisistrateian wall, but it contained several burials. Philios found two skulls (one adult, one child) and numerous other human bones. A small bothros ( $0.70 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{l.} ,0.50 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{w} ., 0.15 \mathrm{~m}$
257. Eleusis 148.
258. Philios 1889b, 188-191; Eleusis 58-59, 122.
259. Mylonas 1961, fig. 6:Z13.

[^35]

Fig. 142. Plan of grave E.III.7. Based on Philios 1889b, 188.
deep) in the floor of the grave near the north wall contained bones and fragments of coarse handmade vases. It is unclear whether those bones belonged to animals, in which case they may have been food or animal offerings; ${ }^{262}$ or humans, in which case they may represent the primary burial, which was placed in the pit during subsequent uses of the grave. ${ }^{263}$

The west ( $\delta-\varepsilon$ ) and north ( $\varepsilon-\zeta-\eta$ ) walls of the grave were encased by walls $\alpha-\beta-\gamma$ (fig. 142), which are parallel to the walls of the grave: the empty space between the north wall $\varepsilon-\zeta-\eta$ and the encasing wall $(\beta-\gamma)$ was 0.40 m and filled with rubble. The west encasement wall $(\alpha-\beta)$ was attached to the external side of the west wall $(\delta-\varepsilon)$ of the grave, creating in essence a thick double wall and suggesting that this encasement functioned as support to the grave. Given the long period of use of the grave, it may have been added later as repair. Philios found remains of a third wall to the east of the grave (not marked in his plan), but he considered more likely that that third wall may have belonged to another grave, rather than the east side of this encasement. It is unlikely that this was a sort of a peribolos wall, as it would have formed a rectangle, whereas all the periboloi in the West Cemetery are round. ${ }^{264}$
262. DIPG 32.
263. As was the case with primary burials in

Kaminia, Koukounara, and Nichoria: DIPG 54. 264. Papadimitriou 2001, 161 and n. 113.

The burial gifts contained numerous animal bones (including one astragalus from ?cattle and a deer antler), the thirteen complete or nearly-complete vases listed below, powder from a bronze object and an iron (sic) fragment. ${ }^{265}$ On the basis of the pottery found inside it, it seems that the grave was used from MH III/LH IA through LH IIB, which would be consistent with the numerous burials and the repair/construction encasement walls.
Finds (fig. 143).
414. Plain goblet. LH I.
416. GM goblet. MH III/LH I.
419. Semiglobular cup (FS 212). LH I.
420. Semiglobular cup (FS 212). LH I.
426. Polished amphoriskos. MH III-LH IA.


Fig. 143. Finds from grave E.III.7.

[^36]671. GM juglet with one vertical handle. MH III-LH I.
686. Spouted bowl. MH III/LH I.
745. Rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIA.
746. Rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIA.
748. Rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIA-IIB.
750. Rounded alabastron (FS 82). LH IIA/IIB.
758. Squat jug (FS 87). LH IIA.
870. Ring-handled cup (FS 236). LH IIB.

Grave E.III. 8 (fig. 133). ${ }^{266}$ Found next to the Kimonian Gate (F5 in the plan Mylonas 1961, fig. 6), to the east of the Peisistrateian peribolos. It is rectangular, measuring 0.65 m l , 0.30 m w., 0.40 m depth. The walls are made of four vertical slabs, the floor was made of a layer of pebbles, and the opening was covered by small slabs. The grave belonged to an infant, placed on his/her right side.

Finds (fig. 144). In addition to the vases listed below, a cup FS 219 is assigned by Mylonas to this grave but it has not been located in the museum. ${ }^{267}$

By the child's face:
877. Goblet (FS 261). LH IIB.

By the child's feet:
757. Squat jug (FS 87). LH IIA.
865. Feeding bottle (FS 158). LH IIB
914. Monochrome askos (FS 195). LH IIB.


Fig. 144. Finds from grave E.III.8.
266. Eleusis 59, figs 34, 35.
267. Illustrated ibid. fig. 102:361.

Grave E.III. 9 (fig. 147). ${ }^{268}$ This is a cist grave mentioned very briefly in Kourouniotes‘ 1931-32 Deltion report. The walls of the grave are lined up with mudbricks, one of which was found intact and measured $0.34 \times 0.34 \times 0.07 \mathrm{~m}$.

Grave E.III. 10 (figs 145 and 147). ${ }^{269}$ This grave and also E.III. 11 are not mentioned in Kourouniotes‘ excavation reports but plans and sections survive in Travlos‘ drawings. Three thick vertical slabs form the two long and one short sides and a thinner slab defines the other short side. It is 0.67 m deep, $0.69-0.76 \mathrm{~m}$ wide and $1.30-1.37 \mathrm{~m}$ long.

Grave E.III. 11 (figs 145 and 147). ${ }^{270}$ Built in the same manner as E.III.10, but the slab of one of the short sides is missing. It is 0.63 m deep, 0.62 m wide and 1.25 m long.


Fig. 145. Plans of graves E.III. 10 and E.III. 11 (left), and plan and section of grave E.III. 12 (right). Pencil drawings by J. Travlos, digitized by the author.

Grave E.III. 12 (figs 145 and 147). ${ }^{271}$ It was found under the foundations of the Peisistrateian wall and its excavation proved very challenging. The skeleton was removed and taken to the museum (Kourouniotes 1932-33, fig. 14). The floor was covered by a layer of white pebbles. 301 is reported as found in this grave.
268. Kourouniotes 1931-32, 9-10, fig. 12.
269. Ibid. fig. 12.
270. Ibid. fig. 12.
271. Ibid. 9-10, figs 12-14.

Find (fig. 146).
301. Bird-shaped askos. MH I/II.

Fig. 146. Bird vase from grave E.III.12.


Grave E.III.13. ${ }^{272}$ This is a cist grave found under Room $\Theta$ (not shown in fig. 133, but shown in the preliminary report). ${ }^{273}$ It is dated to LH II by Mylonas and Travlos.

Grave E.III.14. ${ }^{274}$ Child burial found in a jar on the bedrock under the base of the Peisistrateian wall (H24 in fig. 133). It dates to the MH period.

Grave E.III. 15 (fig. 133). ${ }^{275}$ Another child burial found in a pit in front of the southwest corner of wall K17. It dates to the MH period.


Fig. 147. Graves E.III.9, E.III.10, and E.III. 11 in front of Philo's Stoa (photo published in Kourouniotes 1931-1932, fig. 12).
272. Mylonas, Travlos 1952, 57-58.
273. Ibid. fig. 1.
274. Ibid. 58.
275. Ibid.

## SECTOR IV: LESSER PROPYLAEA

E SU 12
A trench opened in 1933 in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea brought to light a Geometric deposit starting at approximately -3 m from the surface of the floor of the Propylaea. ${ }^{276}$ This deposit covered a paved floor laid on a 0.20 m . -thick substratum of small stones. The layer under this Geometric deposit included LH sherds and a LH wall (fig. 149, wall $\alpha$ ) at 0.30 m above bedrock. ${ }^{277}$ The wall was 0.40 m thick and built with medium-sized stones forming regular courses. It ran in a northwest-southeast direction, defining a room that opened towards the east, which contained a floor made of


Fig. 148. Plan of the Lesser Propylaea showing the location of the 1933 trench (greyed area). Plan based on Noack 1927, pl. 4. For the section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ see fig. 149.
fine medium-sized black sea pebbles ${ }^{278}$ mixed with packed earth; fragments of lime found on the floor could have belonged to a coat covering the wall or the floor. On the floor were found about twenty LH sherds of the Granary style and of the well-developed LH III varieties that preceded that style. ${ }^{279}$ The major find from this floor is the well-known inscribed
276. Kourouniotes 1931-32, 22-24; Mylonas 1936a, 426.
277. It is unclear which part of the wall lay at 0.30 m above bedrock; in the reconstruction (fig. 149) I placed the foundation at that elevation.
278. Kourouniotes 1931-1932, 23: "... סалє́סov тov,
 $\chi \alpha \lambda ı x i ́ \omega v ~ \theta \alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \sigma \sigma \eta ร ~(\varkappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \varrho о \tau i ́ \mu \eta \sigma \iota v ~ \mu \varepsilon \lambda \alpha \nu о \bar{v} \chi \varrho \omega \mu \alpha-$ тоऽ) $\sigma \nu \mu 兀 \iota \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega v \mu \varepsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \gamma \tilde{\eta} \varsigma . . .{ }^{\text {. }}$.
279. Mylonas 1936a, 426.
stirrup jar. ${ }^{280}$ The finds from the floor have not been identified in the museum but Mylonas mentions twenty sherds, nine of the Granary style and eleven of "the well-developed Late Helladic III varieties that preceded that style". ${ }^{281}$

Although there is no record of trenches in this sector in the 1931 notebooks, a findgroup in the museum (below, locus 2) has the following indication: "July 1931, in front of the Lesser Propylaea, depth 2.50-3 m close to ...[indistinguishable]".


Fig. 149. Schematic reconstruction of the stratigraphic sequence under the Lesser Propylaea (cf. section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ in fig. 148). Not to scale.

[^37]so Petrakis‘ Appendix in the current volume. 281. Mylonas 1936a, 426.


Fig. 150. Inscribed Stirrup Jar 1132 from locus 1.

Finds (figs 150-151).

## Locus 1, floor of LH wall

1132. Inscribed stirrup jar. LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early.

Locus 2 (findgroup 1024; indication: "July 1931, in front of the Lesser Propylaea, depth 2.50-3 m close to ...[indistinguishable]")
966. Lower part of the body of a krater (FS 8). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
970. Everted rim and body of a shallow cup (FS 219). LH IIIA1.
1300. Ring base of an undecorated jar. LH IIB/IIIA1.
1010. Body and base of everted rim of a ?goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1-IIIA2.
1036. Everted rim and upper body of a kylix (FS 257/258B).
1046. Flaring rim and part of the body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1051. High-swung strap handle and everted rim of a feeding bottle (FS 160). LH IIIA2.
1057. Body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1058. Body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1072. Horizontal loop handle and body of a ?stemmed bowl (FS 305). LH IIIB1/IIIB2.
1080. Short concave neck and flaring rim of a small piriform jar (FS 48). LH IIIB1.
1083. Body of a closed vase, possibly a small piriform jar (FS 48). ?LH IIIB1.
1089. Belly of a conical-piriform stirrup jar (FS 167). LH IIIB1.
1091. Body of a ?ring-based krater (FS 281). LH IIIB2.
1092. Lower part of the body of a ?ring-based krater (FS 281). LH IIIB1/IIIB2.
1094. Everted rim and body of a Zygouries-type kylix (FS 258B). LH IIIB1.
1114. Ring base and lower part of the body of a deep bowl (FS 284). LH IIIB2.
1143. Flaring rim and upper part of the body of a monochrome stemmed bowl (FS 304). LH IIIB1.
1198. Body of a monochrome kylix (?FS 264). LH IIIA1/ IIIA2.
1199. Flaring rim of a monochrome kylix (?FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1203. Flaring rim of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA2.
1204. Body of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA2.
1218. Everted rim of a monochrome kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA2.
1220. Flaring rim, horizontal loop handle, and upper body of a monochrome deep rounded bowl (FS 304). LH IIIA2.
1246. Flaring rim and upper part of the body of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1249. Everted rim of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1251. Everted rim and upper part of the body of an undecorated kylix (FS 264). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
1254. Flaring rim and body of a rounded kylix. LH IIIA2-IIIB2.
1262. Everted rim and vertical strap handle of an undecorated kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1274. Stem of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1275. Stem of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1278. Domed base and beginning of stem of an undecorated kylix. LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
1282. Flaring rim, horizontal loop handle, and body of an undecorated ?stemmed bowl (FS 304). LH IIIB1.


Fig. 151. Finds from E SU 12, locus 2 (in front of Lesser Propylaea).

## AREA 3: THE HILLTOP

Bronze Age remains were brought to light by G. Mylonas and K. Kourouniotes in 1932 and 1934 in the northeast corner of the Eleusinian Hilltop, immediately to the west of the chapel of Panagitsa. ${ }^{282}$ The excavated area (figs 152 and 155) is roughly rectangular and measures $21 \times 13 \mathrm{~m} .{ }^{283}$ In the west and south parts of the excavated area were uncovered remains of the Hellenistic and Roman period (walls shown in outline in figs 152 and 155). The Bronze Age remains were discovered in the central and north parts, starting at a distance of 15 m from the northeastern end of the excavated area (fig. 155). In the west and south part of the excavated area there was a thick layer (down to 0.20 m above bedrock) with Hellenistic and Roman buildings, a cistern, and a potter's kiln; the 0.20 m deposit between this later stratum and the bedrock included MH pottery, but not any walls. ${ }^{284}$ In the central, north, and east parts of the excavated area, under the top soil there was a mixed (Geometric-Roman) stratum, 0.30 m thick, under which extended a thick (1.50-1.70 m) Bronze Age deposit, which included two major strata. The LH stratum had an average thickness of 1.30 m and included three layers: LH III (H SU 1 and H SU 2, combined avg. th. 0.80 m ), LH II (H SU 3 and H SU 4, combined avg. th. 0.35 m ) and LH I (H SU 5, avg. th. 0.15). The MH stratum (H SU 6) was located under the LH I layer and had an average thickness of 0.40 m and a maximum thickness of 0.90 m . A clear division among these strata and layers did not exist, just the number of sherds datable to each period became increasingly more dominant from one layer to another.

## H SU 1

This SU includes Unit A (figs $155-157$ ), ${ }^{285}$ which is approximately 3.70 m wide and preserved to a length of 6.50 m . It is defined by three walls: wall $\alpha$ is 1.03 m thick and preserved to a height of 0.50 m . and a length of 6.20 m .; wall $\beta$ is 0.90 m , thick and preserved to a height of 1.50-1.70 m (although in its southern end the height doubles to 3 m ) and a length of 7.90 m ; its external side rests on a foundation wall made of small stones, which provides extra support; wall $\gamma$ is preserved to a height of 0.65 m and a length of 3.47 m , but

[^38]283. Notebooks 1934, 18 July - 8 August; Notes 1934, pp. 1-25; Kourouniotes 1930-31, 30; Kourouniotes 1933-35, 26; Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 283284; Mylonas 1936a, 416-426.
284. Mylonas 1936a, 416.
285. Notebook 1934, July 25, August 3; Notes 1934, 13-18; Mylonas 1936a, 419-421.


Fig. 152. General plan of the northeast part of the Eleusinian Hilltop. Bronze Age walls are shown in solid black.
its thickness could not be established, because its northern part was covered by the long Medieval wall that borders the north end of the excavated area. A crosswall ( $\delta$ ), at a distance of 1.10 m to the south of wall $\gamma$, divides the building into two rooms; it is 1.10 m . thick, and preserved to a length of 3.47 and a height of 0.50 m . The use of the narrow space created by walls $\gamma$ and $\delta$ is problematic, especially since wall $\delta$ does not really have a foundation, but rests on the floor of the building and does not tie with walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$. The floor


Fig. 153. Panagitsa, general view of the excavated area from the east.


Fig. 154. Panagitsa, view from the south of H SU 3 (Room II) with surrounding walls and grave H.1.


Fig. 155. Plan of the Bronze Age remains on the Panagitsa hill (a-a' marks the section of fig. 158).
was found at -1.03 m from the top of wall $\alpha$ and was made of packed earth and small pebbles.

The finds from H SU 1 and H SU 2 have been identified on the basis of the photographs published in preliminary reports; ${ }^{286}$ as the exact provenience of the finds is not, however, identified in these photographs, we cannot establish which pieces come from H SU 1 and which from H SU 2. As a result, the finds from both H SU 1 and H SU 2 are listed together after the description of H SU 2 below. Mylonas is explicit that the two buildings assigned here to H SU1 and H SU 2 belonged to the same, latest, LH III stratum and must, therefore, be contemporaneous. ${ }^{287}$ The finds are a mixed bag of predominantly LH IIIA2/IIIB1 with sporadic LH IIB and LH IIIB1 sherds.

H SU 2
Unit B was partially constructed on top of the foundation of wall $\beta$ of Unit A. To the west it is defined by wall $\varepsilon$, which is preserved to a length of 5.50 m and a height of

[^39]

Fig. 156. Unit $A$ with walls $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$ from the south.
1.30 m and which to the north end in a carefully constructed anta, suggesting the existence of a porch to the north of the entrance. This porch could have been supported by the retaining wall $\xi$, which is 0.90 m thick and preserved to a length of 6 m . Next to wall $\varepsilon$, at -0.20 from its top surface, was found a fragment of a figurine. ${ }^{288}$

Finds (fig. 159). In addition to the sherds listed below, it is possible that 1009 (listed with E SU 10, locus 4) may have been found here (see note on provenience in the corresponding catalogue entry). Also, Mylonas (1936a, fig. 10 bottom row, right) illustrates a fragment from a pictorial krater, which has not been found in the museum.
862. Shoulder and vertical strap handle of a squat jug (FS 87). LH IIB/IIIA1.
884. Fragment of the body of a goblet (FS 254). LH IIB.
920. Shoulder of a piriform jar (FS 31). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.
921. Shoulder and base of vertical strap handle of a ?piriform jar (FS 31). LH IIIA1.
960. Body of a rhyton (FS 199). LH IIIA2 late.
997. Everted rim and upper body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.
1008. Body of a goblet (FS 255). LH IIIA1.


Fig. 157. Isometric reconstruction of Unit A (by Stephen Clarke).


Fig. 158. Section in the interior of Unit A (pencil drawing by J. Travlos, inked by the author).
1027. Lower part of the body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA1.
1052. Everted rim and body of a kylix (FS 257). LH IIIA2.
1074. Fragment of the thickened rim of a truncated stemmed bowl (FS 283). LH IIIA2.
1116. Straight lipless rim of a mug (FS 226). LH IIIB1/Early IIIB2.


Fig. 159. H SU 1 and H SU 2.
1225. Askos (FS 195). LH IIIA2.
1243. Kylix (FS 267). LH IIIA1/IIIA2.

## Figurines

1402. Torso of terracotta figurine, phi-type. LH IIIA1-IIIB1.
1403. Torso of terracotta figurine, phi-type. LH IIIA1-IIIB1.
1404. Part of the torso and neck of a quadruped. LH IIIA1-IIIB1.

H SU 3
This SU consists of three rooms, which may have belonged to three different buildings (grey relief in fig. 155). ${ }^{289}$

Room I is defined by walls $\eta, \theta$, 1 (the east side of the room could not be excavated, as it lies under the Roman building). All three walls are made of small stones placed in clay; each wall is made of two courses of stones and averages 0.50 m in thickness. The stones of walls $\eta$ and $\iota$ are small, but those of wall $\theta$, which was perpendicular to the slope, are larger and wider. The length of wall $\theta(2.98 \mathrm{~m})$ allows us to estimate the width of the room.

Room $\mathrm{II}^{290}$ is formed by walls $\alpha, \lambda, \mu$; this room is oriented from the northwest to the southeast with the entrance in the west side. Wall $\mu$ is 0.48 m thick and preserved to a length of 4.88 m and a height of 0.50 m . Wall $x$ is 0.50 m thick and preserved to a length of 2.15 m and a height of 0.45 m . Wall $\lambda$ defined the east side of the room, is preserved to a height of $0.70-1 \mathrm{~m}$, is 0.58 m thick, and its length (which would equal the entire width of the room) is 3.85 m . This wall is perpendicular to the slope and, as with wall $\theta$, it is built with larger and wider stones than the other walls; extra stability in its northeast end is provided by a stone foundation, on which the wall rests, and which extends to the bedrock. The floor was made of packed earth and pebbles.

Room $\mathrm{III}^{291}$ is defined by wall $v$, a long wall running almost parallel to walls $\mu$ and $x$ under the LH III walls $\alpha, \beta, \varepsilon$. This wall is preserved to a length of 4.80 m . In the space between the LH III walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of Unit A was found a LH II floor (probably associated with wall $v$, at -1.34 m from the top of wall $\alpha$ (fig. 157). ${ }^{292}$ It is 0.05 thick and made of pebbles and packed earth.

Finds (fig. 160).
714. Two non-joining fragments from the body and shoulder of a jar (FS 15/24). LH IIA.
722. Body of a ?conical-piriform jar (FS 15/24). LH IIA.

[^40][^41]723. Body of a ?conical-piriform jar (FS 15/24). Not illustrated. LH IIA.
733. Shoulder of a piriform jar (FS 20). LH IIA.


Fig. 160. Finds from H SU 3.

H SU 4
Only two LH I walls have been found in this area (individual stones drawn in solid grey in fig. 154). ${ }^{293}$ Walls $\xi$ and o define a room extending in a northwest-southeast direction. Wall o formed part of the long side of the room: it runs in a southeast-northwest direction for a length of 5.10 m . This wall ranges in thickness from $0.50-0.60 \mathrm{~m}$ and is preserved to a height of 0.25 m (just one course of stones); it is constructed of large stones placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall and its fill contained fragments of disintegrated mudbricks, presumably from the superstructure. To the northwest it joins wall $\xi$, which runs towards the southwest; this wall is poorly preserved (pres. l. approximately 1.5 m ) and made of two courses of larger stones. The floor was made of packed earth and pebbles. Approximately 0.40 m under the floor was the cover of grave H.1, in a fill with LH I pottery.

The following sherds have been assigned to this SU because they are published as LH I by Mylonas. ${ }^{294}$ Otherwise, no other information exists about their provenience.

Finds (fig. 161).
699. Lipless rim and body of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH I.
700. Lipless rim and vertical strap handle of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH I.
702. Straight lipless rim and upper body of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH I.
703. Straight lipless rim and upper body of a Vapheio cup (FS 224). LH I.
796. Everted rim and body of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH I/IIA.
797. Everted rim and body of a semi-globular cup (FS 211). LH I/IIA.


Fig. 161. Finds from H SU 4.

H SU 5
This SU includes the MH deposit under the LH strata. ${ }^{295}$ This deposit rests directly on the bedrock and ranges in thickness from 0.40 to 0.90 m . Parts of several MH walls were identified (walls $\pi, \varrho, \sigma, \tau, v, \varphi$, shown in cross-hatching in fig. 154), but they are too small to allow the reconstruction of house plans. Wall $\tau$ is curved and could have belonged to an apsidal house. The longest preserved MH wall is wall $\pi$ (fig. 153): ${ }^{296}$ it is 0.45 m thick and preserved to a length of 1.20 m and to a height of 0.20 m . It runs in a northwest-southeast direction and is constructed of large stones placed perpendicularly to its length. A floor was found between walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$, to the north of the LH II wall $v$ (see the section in fig. 157). It was made of a layer of pebbles, 0.05 m thick, at -1.45 m from the top surface of wall $\beta$ and under two later floors of the LH III and II periods (fig. 157). ${ }^{297}$ The layer under the floor was 0.09 thick, rested on a layer of ash, and contained MH sherds. The jar 550 had been placed into a pit in the floor in such a way that its rim was level with the floor and its bottom was placed in the layer of ash. The pottery from these walls and the floor contains mostly MH III and LH I pieces with sporadic earlier admixtures (one MH II, one MM IIB, and one MC II/III piece) and could be as late as LH I.

Finds (fig. 162). In addition to the sherds listed below, Mylonas (1936a, 417, 419) illustrates GM and YM sherds (ibid. fig. 3); also "Cycladic" and "Early Helladic" sherds (not found in the museum).
113. Incurving rim of a MP spouted bowl. MH II/III.
121. Rim and body of an angular cup with everted rim. MH II (final)/MH III.
131. Rim and body of a rounded cup with everted rim. MH II/III.
196. Body of a type 1 pithos. MH II/III.

[^42]296. Called " $\theta$ " in Mylonas 1936a, 417.
297. Notebook 1934, 3 August.


Fig. 162. Finds from H SU 5.
217. Thickened everted rim of a type 1 pithos. MC II/III.
235. Body of a Bogenrippen amphora. MH II.
258. Vertical circular-sectioned handle and body of a type 1 jar. MH III.
268. Rim and upper part of the body of a MP type 1 pithos. MH III/LH I.
271. Body and beginning of vertical strap handle from a semi-globular cup. MM IIB.
274. Body of a LD jar. ?MM IIB.
550. Undecorated one-handled jar. MH III/LH I.
618. Shoulder of a MP jar. LH I.
621. Body of a MP jar or jug. LH I.
645. Shoulder of a mainland polychrome jar. LH I.
712. Everted rim, base of vertical strap handle, and body of an angular cup. LH I.

## GRAVES

Grave H. 1 (figs 153, 154, and 163 left). ${ }^{298}$ This is a rectangular cist grave containing the remains of a child. It was found at a distance of 6.70 m from the northeastern end of the excavated area, 0.40 m below the floor of the room defined by walls $\xi$ and o in H SU 4 . Its walls were constructed with four thick stone slabs and its opening was covered by a single slab, which had been cracked and had a depression (diameter 14 cm , depth 8 cm ); Mylonas suggests that the depression was used for libations. ${ }^{299}$ The floor of the grave was made of a layer of pebbles, on which the skeleton had been laid in a contracted position. The only burial gift found in the grave was a glass bead. The grave is dated by the excavator to LH I. ${ }^{300}$

Grave H. 2 (fig. 154) is only mentioned once, in a sheet found in Travlos' archives, with the heading "Panagitsa Deposit". ${ }^{301}$ This is a MH MP jar, found at the eastern edge of the excavated area, next to the bell tower, at -1.20 from the surface of the ground; it contained the skeleton of a child.

Grave H. 3 (fig. 163 right). ${ }^{302}$ This is a simple pit with the remains of a child. Although a photograph of this grave exists in the Archives of the Archaeological Society, there is no information about its location or context (therefore it is not marked in fig. 154).


Fig. 163. Graves H. 1 (left) and H. 3 (right).

[^43]300. Ibid. 424.
301. "Елíx由бıऽ Паvаүі́тоаऽ".
302. Mylonas 1936a, 424.

## SUMMARY

## STRATIGRAPHY

## Early Helladic

The only noteworthy stratified EH material was found in S SU 34, locus 7. ${ }^{303}$ A handful of EH II and III sherds found by Mylonas on the surface of the South Slope ${ }^{304}$ may have rolled down from further up. Other EH sherds are reported from the Hilltop, ${ }^{305}$ but they have not been located in the museum. This material is so small that meaningful conclusions about the size and organization of the site in the third millennium cannot be drawn. The fact that the few known finds come from the Southwest Slope of the hill may suggest that the EH settlement extended over parts of that slope, but because EH architectural remains have not been excavated or are not preserved, we do not have even basic information about the construction, plan, and arrangement of the houses of the period. Some inferences about EH architecture may be drawn from a neighboring Early Helladic site unearthed by Kalliope Papangeli, director of the Eleusis Museum, at a distance of approximately 1300 m to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Demeter. Here Papangeli excavated building remains dating to two distinct architectural phases of the Early Helladic period (fig. 164; the site is marked as 1 in fig. 165). ${ }^{306}$ The earlier phase includes a long wall built in dry-laid rubble masonry, preserved to a length of at least 20 m and a height of 1 m . This wall is unusual, as it reaches a thickness of no less than 2 m , which is atypical of Early Helladic architecture: although wall widths in Early Helladic buildings range considerably depending on the overall size of the building, the widest recorded walls have a thickness of 1.40 m and most are less than 1.20 m thick. ${ }^{307}$ It is possible that this wall could have been a peribolos or even a fortification wall. A small elliptical bothros ( $0.60-0.80 \mathrm{~m}$ in diameter) had been opened approximately 5 m to the south of the thick wall. The later phase includes two 0.50 m -thick foundation walls, made of irregular stones held together with clay mortar, which defined the interior of a room. To the external side of the long wall an area paved with small stones was found, perhaps a road or a paved courtyard.

[^44]307. The only exceptions of which I am aware are at Lerna: Tower B has a maximum width of 1.50 m (Lerna IV 93) and W-133 reaches a width of 1.40 m (ibid. 160).

Fig. 164. Plan of the Early Helladic walls to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Demeter (based on Papangeli 1990, fig. 11).


The extent of Early Helladic habitation is also unknown. Other contemporary settlements in Attica range in size from 0.5 to 2 ha. but the Eleusinian evidence is insufficient for any such estimations.

Questions about the character and function of the site cannot, of course, be answered with the material in hand; nor is it possible for us to reconstruct the regional settlement pattern of which Eleusis was a part, as the area is heavily built and surface surveys are not feasible. Sporadic finds of other Early Helladic sites in the vicinity hint to a settlement pattern consisting of clusters of sites at close proximity to each other, as there are at least two other locations with Early Helladic finds in the immediate area. The first is the site mentioned above, approximately 1300 m to the northwest of the sanctuary, which also yielded a group of twenty-four obsidian blades, twenty-two obsidian flakes, and three stone grinders. The second (marked as 2 in fig. 165) lies approximately 500 m to the north of the sanctuary, where trial trenches under a later (Geometric to Classical) cemetery revealed
coarse handmade Early Helladic pottery and ten obsidian flakes, but no architecture. ${ }^{308}$ Further away, one Early Helladic II settlement is known at Keratsini and three in the region of Megara. ${ }^{309}$ More settlements of the same period are known from Attica, but their relationship to Eleusis cannot be established.


Fig. 165. General map of the area around Eleusis, showing the known Early Helladic sites (based on Papangeli 1990, fig. 8).

Middle Helladic ${ }^{310}$ (fig. 166)

There are only three deposits with MH I material: S SU 21, S SU 34, locus 6 (both of which, however, also contained later sherds), and locus 1 of S SU 29, under the floor of House Z (which yielded the probably MH I bowl 27). All three are located in the south slope (fig. 166), but an early and a late MH I phase could not be identified. These deposits appear to have been contemporary to Lerna VA, Lefkandi 4, and Kolonna VII-VIII. Correlations with the Aegean are sparse, as the only imported pieces are the MM IB cup 270 and
308. Papangeli 1988, 43-46.
309. Cosmopoulos 1991, nos 141 and 174-176.
310. Cosmopoulos 1998; 2010.
the MC I duck vase 585, both found in the same MH I deposit. The only MH I find is the bird-shaped askos 301 from grave E.III.12, but given the absence of other MH I finds from the east slope one might consider the possibility that it was kept as an heirloom from earlier periods.

The only pure MH II deposits were found on the floor of House Z (S SU 29, locus 2) and S SU 34, locus 5 of the new excavation, although the deposit in locus 4 of S SU 34 and that from the deepest layers of the trench under the Geometric terrace wall E1 in the east slope (E SU 10, locus 1) contained predominantly MH II material. Mixed deposits containing MH II-III sherds were found near the SW. corner of the Epigraphic Museum (S SU 18 and S SU 19), the west part of House $\Delta$ (S SU 26) and the Sacred House (S SU 37, locus 1). Additional MH II sherds mixed with later material came from the summit (H SU 5). The locations of the MH II deposits is shown in fig. 166. The MC II bowls 468, 471 and 472 were found in MH II contexts, as was the MC IIB-IIIA jar 221.

The only deposits with pure MH III material are the two loci of House Г (S SU 25, locus 2) and S SU 34 (locus 3). Some deposits to the west of Skias' Structure A (S SU 11) are prob-


Fig. 166. MH I-III deposits.
ably MH III and the deposits from the interior of House P (S SU 30) are dated by Mylonas also to MH III. Deposits that can only be dated to MH III/LH I have been found by wall $\tau$ and pyre LXVII of S SU 1, inside Skias' Structure A (S SU 6), Skias' pyre 51 (SU 10), in the loci under graves $\gamma$ and $\gamma^{\prime}$ outside Structure A (S SU 12), in pyre 62 of S SU 16 (locus 1), and in H SU 5 on the summit, and Room $A^{\prime}$ in the SW. corner of the Epigraphic museum (S SU 17). Same with the loci adjacent to walls $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ of Building A of the East Slope (E SU 3). The locations of the MH III deposits are shown in fig. 166. Although some margin of error must be allowed given the fragmentary nature of the material and the impossibility of dating closely several SUs, the general impression is that the site expands in MH III/LH I. The MC III jug 254 was found in a mixed context containing, however, predominantly MH III pottery; the MC II-III pithos 217 came from a MH II/ III/LH I context. The ?MM IIB cup 271 and the jar 274 were found in a MH III/LH I context.

Because, as mentioned above, the confirmed MH I deposits are located in the south slope, it is possible that in the beginning of the MH period the settlement was located in that part of the site, perhaps indicating continuity from the EH. Because houses from this phase have not been preserved, plans, construction techniques, and layouts cannot be reconstructed. If the three MH I deposits (S SU 21; S SU 29, locus 1, and S SU 34, locus 6) were contemporaneous, the minimum surface that the MH I settlement would have covered would have extended in the area between them, which is around 1 ha . ( $10,000 \mathrm{sq}$. $\mathrm{m})$. On the basis of estimates from other sites, in that case the population may have been between 150 and 200 people. ${ }^{311}$ Both the size and the location of the earliest MH settlement agree with those of other MH I settlements: built on the slope of a hill, it commands excellent views of the Saronic Gulf and the Thriassion Plain and has easy access to the fertile soils of that plain. In MH II it is possible that the settlement occupied a larger area in the South Slope, as indicated by the presence of MH II finds in House B, whereas MH II finds from the area of Panagitsa suggest that the Hilltop was also occupied; the total extent of the settlement in MH II could have been 1.5 to 2 ha. A marked change is seen in MH III, when considerable expansion occurs, with the settlement extending on the South Slope, the East Slope, and the Hilltop, reaching an area of about 3-4 hectares. ${ }^{312}$

Because of the extensive destruction of the MH levels by later construction, it is impossible to extract a settlement plan, except for sporadic walls, some of which can be combined

[^45][^46]into houses. The stratigraphic relation of apsidal vs. rectangular buildings is not clear, but in at least one case a MH III rectangular house (House $\Gamma$ ) was built on top of an apsidal one (House $\Delta$ ), after the apsidal house had gone out of use. The similarities in the orientation of both apsidal and rectangular houses (at least in the South Slope, where they are better preserved), suggests common orientation and layout in the latter half of the period.

The settlement organization in other MH settlements is uncertain, in the sense that we cannot establish whether it consisted of clusters of houses dispersed widely across a large area, ${ }^{313}$ or it was densely inhabited throughout its area. ${ }^{314}$ At Eleusis, because the MH settlement seems to be concentrated in the South and East Slopes and the Hilltop, it would seem that, at least starting with the MH II and continuing in the MH III, houses were organized in a tightly knit settlement.

## Late Helladic

Late Helladic I deposits are rare and even those that can be identified contain also MH III pottery, so they can only be assigned a MH III/ LH I range (fig. 167). In the South Slope, Skias' architectural phases 1 and 2 yielded MH III pottery with LH I sherds: Phase 1 consists of S SU $6{ }^{315}$ and Phase 2 of S SU $7 .{ }^{316}$ Although the number of identified pieces is very small, it is interesting to note that S SU 7 (= Skias' Phase 2) yielded "Mycenaean style" pieces, whereas the deeper lying (and presumably earlier) S SU 6 (Phase 1) did not, opening up the possibility that in that particular spot the "Mycenaean style" was introduced after the beginning of LH I. Other deposits with MH III/LH I material are those under graves $\gamma$ and $\gamma^{\prime}$ (S SU 12), which include MH III sherds and LH I vases. House H (S SU 28) and House K (S SU 32) are dated by Mylonas to LH I, but their finds have not been located in the museum. The two Proto-Corinthian sherds found mixed with MH III/LH I pottery in the deposit under pyres 45 and 41 of S SU 15 are intrusive, but the rest of the finds can be dated to LH I. In the East Slope, sporadic LH I sherds have been found in the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion. On the Hilltop, H SU 4 can also be assigned to LH I, whereas the slightly earlier H SU 5 could be MH III/LH I. The remaining LH I finds come from mixed or disturbed deposits: pyre LVI in S SU 14 contained LH I and LH IIA sherds; pyres 62, 64, and 65 in S SU 16 contained MH III/LH I pottery.

[^47]see Konsola 1981, 167, n. 38.
315. Supra p. 14.
316. Supra p. 16.


Fig. 167. MH III/LH I deposits.

Late Helladic IIA and IIB material has been found at several locations (fig. 168). The few sherds from H SU 3 are all LH IIA, whereas additional LH IIA material has been found in the deposits of House I (S SU 24) and of loci 10, 11, and 12 of E SU 10 (under the pyre of the Archaic Terrace wall). A LH IIB date can be assigned to wall 5 of the peribolos of Megaron B (locus 3, E SU 6); and possibly to the first phase in the occupation of House H (S SU 28). ${ }^{317}$ Deposits with LH II pottery mixed with material from other periods are those from pyres 31, 32, and 49 in S SU 9, where a LH IIB goblet was found with MH and Geometric sherds; pyre LVI in S SU 14, where LH IIA sherds were mixed with LH I sherds; and the small trench of E SU 2, which yielded LH II and III sherds. The deposit under the foundation of wall 5 of the peribolos of Megaron B (locus 1, E SU 6) contained also LH IIA and LH IIB material (although it also included a miniature LH IIIB vase), as did the deposit associated with walls 1a/1b outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion (locus 11, E SU 10) and S SU 34 (locus 2).

[^48]Several loci in the major area of Megaron B contained predominantly LH IIB/LH IIIA1 material. These include various deposits associated with Megaron B (E SU 4, loci 1-6, although these also contain sporadic LH IIA sherds), the peribolos wall (locus 2 and locus 6 of E SU 6), the drains (E SU 8), the south wall of the platform (locus 1, E SU 5), the road (E SU 7), and the deposit under the southeast part of wall 4 outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion (locus 4, E SU 10). The sherds wedged between the stones of wall 5 of the peribolos (locus 4, E SU 6) and those wedged between the stones of the platform (locus 3, E SU 5) are mostly LH IIIA1/IIIA2, which is also the case for the material of wall 12 of the extension B1/B2/B3 (locus 1, E SU 9, which has, however, more LH IIIA2/IIIB1 sherds). The majority of the deposits outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, loci 2, 3, 9 and locus 12, which is a mixed bag of pottery from various periods) contained LH IIIA2/IIIB1 material, with some LH IIIA1. On the Hilltop, Unit A of H SU 1 also included


Fig. 168. LH IIA, LH IIB, LH IIA/IIB, and LH IIB/IIIA1 deposits.

LH IIIA1 / IIIA2 material. ${ }^{318}$ Other LH IIIA2 / IIIB1 deposits were found in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12); and in the extension B1/B2/B3 of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 1).

Late Helladic material has been found also outside the Sanctuary, suggesting that the LH settlement extended to the east. Mycenaean sherds that cannot be dated closely and not associated with architecture were found under the south corner of a Roman building excavated in 1984 immediately to the south of the fence of the Sanctuary and at a distance of approximately 150 m to the southeast of Megaron B. ${ }^{319}$ Substantial architectural remains, including a building complex of the LH IIIA1-IIIA2 period have been found by Papangeli approximately 80 m to the south of Megaron B, outside the fence of the archaeological site. These include three buildings: one has seven rooms (one with a clay bathtub). The second has storage facilities, and the third was only scarcely preserved. ${ }^{320}$


Fig. 169. Location of LH IIIA1/IIIA2, LH IIIB, LH IIIC, and Submycenaean deposits.
318. See also supra, p. 154 for the pictorial-style sherd illustrated by Mylonas from the Hilltop.
319. Papangeli 1984, 18.
320. Papangeli 1983, 27-29 and fig. 5.

Late Helladic IIIC and Submycenaean deposits (fig. 169) are rare: there are sporadic LH IIIC sherds from the floor of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 5) and the Extension B1/B2/B3 (E SU 9), and the sherds between and under the stones of the paved road in E SU 11 are reported from Mylonas to have belonged to the "closing years" of the Mycenaean period. LH IIIC Early/Middle material has been found outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion in the mixed E SU 10 locus 12 and one LH IIIC sherd was found in E SU 12 locus 2 . Submycenaean sherds were found in Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 4), the Lykourgeion, and one complete vase (1163) probably came from a grave in the vicinity of the southwest stoa. This scarcity agrees with the lack of LH IIIC/Submycenaean burials both from the West Cemetery, as well as from the settlement area.

## ARCHITECTURE

## Middle Helladic

All the MH houses can be dated to MH II-III or MH III/LH I. Orientation depends on the slope: Houses A and B (S SU 22 and 23) are oriented east-west with a passage about 0.80 m wide between them. On the other hand, Building A (E SU 3) is oriented northwestsoutheast. Plans are rectangular (House $\Gamma$ in S SU 25, House $\Delta$ in S SU 26, House P in S SU 30) or apsidal (House B in S SU 23, House $\Delta$ in S SU 26, E in S SU 27, Building A in E SU 3, and wall $\tau$ in H SU 5). What survives of those houses is too fragmentary for us to establish full plans, but House $\Gamma$ and Building A had at least two rooms, whereas House $\Delta$ had three. In all cases there is at least one large room ( 4.35 m long in House $\Gamma, 5 \mathrm{~m}$ long in House $\Delta$ ), but full dimensions cannot be established.

As far as we can establish, most MH walls are founded on the bedrock (e.g. S SUs 5, 6, 11; Houses $\Gamma, \Delta, \mathrm{E}$ and Z ). The long wall $\alpha$ of Building A (E SU 3) was partly founded on the bedrock and partly on a thin deposit covering the bedrock. In at least one case (House $\Gamma$ ) the bedrock had been previously leveled. House $\Delta$ presents some particularities in terms of construction, as the foundation of its long north wall (wall $\alpha$ ) is partly formed by the bedrock (figs 28 and 29), whereas the built part consists of one course of stones placed directly on the bedrock. The foundations of the crosswalls $\beta$ and $\gamma$ rise 0.20 m above the floor level.

Because of the slope of the hill, some walls were constructed thicker to provide additional support to the building. The width of wall $\alpha$ of House $\Gamma$ increases progressively from 0.60 m in its eastern part to 0.90 m in its western part to provide extra support at the point where the slope becomes steeper. In House $\Delta$ the use of the small triangular space formed by walls $\delta, \varepsilon$, and $\zeta$ is unclear, but walls $\delta$ and $\zeta$ may have been built to provide extra support for the apsidal wall $\delta$; the north wall $\alpha$ runs perpendicular to the direction of the slope
and is very thick ( 0.90 m ), providing support for the entire building. This is an unual case, as most MH walls range in thickness between 0.50 and 0.65 m . Wall $\beta$ of House E ranges in width from 0.30 to 0.60 m and the long wall $\alpha$ of Building A, running roughly perpendicular to the direction of the slope, is $0.65-0.75 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and wall $\gamma$ of the same building 0.70 m thick. The slightly curved wall $\gamma$ of Building A is constructed with mediumsized stones placed in clay; on the external (south) side the stones form an even face, but the internal (north) side is rough, which led Mylonas to suggest that it may have been used also as a retaining wall. ${ }^{321}$

Most MH foundation walls are constructed with wet-laid rubble masonry. The lower course of walls $\delta, \varepsilon$ and $\zeta$ of House $\Delta$ is made with large stones, the middle course of smaller stones, and a layer of small flat stones is placed on top of the second course to form an even base for the mudbrick superstructure (part of which was preserved on top of wall $\varepsilon$ ). Walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of House E are made of medium-sized stones placed in such a way that their flat sides are visible on the face of the walls. The lower courses of these two walls are built with larger stones and the spaces in-between are filled with mud and small stones. The long wall $\alpha$ of Building A for most of its length it is made of two courses of fairly large stones placed in mortar, but its east end is constructed with flat stones placed perpendicularly to its axis (a feature also seen in wall $\pi$ of H SU 5, which is constructed of large stones placed perpendicularly to its length); the wall ends in one large oblong stone for stability. A third wall, wall $\beta$, serves as a crosswall, dividing the unit into two rooms: a smaller back room and a larger one that extends towards the west. Wall $\beta$ is founded on a 0.28 m thick deposit and is preserved to a height of 0.60 m ; it is carefully built with regular courses of flat stones on top of which were found fragments of mudbricks. Mudbrick superstructure was used for all walls: the top surface of wall $\beta$ of House $E$ is even and serves as the foundation for the mudbrick superstructure, as is the top layer of walls $\delta, \varepsilon$, $\zeta$ of House $\Delta$, which consists of small flat stones to form an even base for the mudbrick superstructure (part of which was preserved on top of wall $\varepsilon$ ). Two whole mudbricks were found in S SU 18. Mudbricks recovered from the superstructure of wall $\beta$ of House E were 0.35 m long and had an average thickness of 0.07 m . Part of the mudbrick superstructure was also preserved at the northwest corner of House P; the preserved mudbricks here were 0.37 m long, 0.08 m thick, and 0.18 m wide. Disintegrated fragments of mudbricks were found in pyres 44, 40, and 39; the interior of House A; the floor of the eastern room of House $\Gamma$; and on top of the crosswall $\beta$ of Building A. Floors are made of a layer of pebbles (such as in House A and also in H SU 5) or simply of packed earth (Houses B, $\Delta$, E, and $\Sigma$ ). Door openings or thresholds have not survived.

[^49]Bothroi are rare: bothros $\Omega$ (diam. 0.80 m , depth 0.20 m ) was found in S SU 18 and contained animal bones, including three scapulae and two horn cores from sheep and / or cattle, and fragments of a large vase. Right outside this bothros, but near its edge and a little higher, were found other bones of cattle on a pile with MH pottery and some obsidian fragments. A pit with animal bones was found immediately to the north of House $\Delta$. Finally, two bothroi containing both burned and unburned human bones reported by Skias in his pyre $\mathrm{LXV}{ }^{322}$ appear to have had a funerary rather than domestic use. ${ }^{323}$ Other notable features of the MH settlement are a pile of mudbricks and remains of small stone walls in pyre LXXIX (S SU 21), which Skias interpreted as remains of a small altar. The feature was very small (total area under $1 \mathrm{sq} . \mathrm{m}$ ) and contained three or four well-like cavities with mixed MH I-III sherds.

Storage features are rare. In the corner formed by walls $\gamma$ and $\delta$ and at a distance of 0.40 from wall $\delta$ of House Z (S SU 29) was found a clay ring, diam. 0.75, h. 0.15, w. 0.03, from the belly of a pithos embedded in the floor (the upper parts of the pithos were not found). This ring contained only very little ash and defined a depression probably used for storage.

Evidence for fortifications, such as the ones recently detected in other MH sites, ${ }^{324}$ or roads, ${ }^{325}$ has not been found.

In general, it is interesting to note that Eleusis seems to have been more or less continuously inhabited throughout the MH period; this is in contrast to the history of inland Attic sites, such as Kiapha Thiti and Panakton, which are resettled in MH III after a long period of abandonment since EH III. ${ }^{326}$

## Late Helladic

Late Helladic I remains have been found on the Hilltop, where walls $\xi$ and o (H SU 4) define a rectangular room extending in a northwest-southeast direction to a length of 5.10 m . The three rectangular rooms of H SU 3 date to LH IIA and appear to have been built close to each other. Other buildings that date to LH I or to LH IIA are Houses H, K, and I in the South Slope. ${ }^{327}$ These are rectangular, oriented from east to west, with their long axes parallel to the slope and, at least in House H, the entrance in the east side. House H was divided into three and House I into two rooms: in both cases the main room (Room II in
322. Skias 1912, 4.
323. Infra p. 183.
324. Papadimitriou 2010, 251, nn. 9, 66 with references for Kiapha Thiti, Anavyssos: Ayios Nikolaos, Thorikos, Brauron, Christos, Plasi; also KonsolakiYiannopoulou 2010 for a fortification wall at Megali Magoula, Galatas.
325. Agora XIII 52 and n. 5.
326. Rutter 2001, 131 with further references for similar developments in other parts of Greece.
327. See supra p. 41, for the possibility that what the excavators called "LH I" may in fact have been LH IIA.

House H and Room I in House I) was $5.40-5.50 \mathrm{~m}$ long; in House H the main room was flanked by an anteroom and a back room of the same length ( 2.40 m ). In general, LH I/LH IIA walls follow three construction modes: (a) the walls of Room I of H SU 3 were constructed with two courses of small (walls $\eta$ and $\iota$ ) or larger stones (wall $\theta$ ); (b) the walls of Houses I and H were built with two courses of medium-sized stones with the spaces in between filled with smaller stones and clay and larger stones placed at the joints for additional stability; (c) wall o on the Hilltop was constructed of large stones placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall. The north half of wall $\lambda$ in H SU 3 was built on top of a thick layer of rubble to provide additional support against the slope.

Clay mortar is recorded in House I. The interior walls of House H were covered with a yellowish plaster. From House $H$ comes also the earliest example of an anta at the site: the east end of the long wall $\beta$ formed an anta constructed of six courses of square blocks laid flat (fig. 35). Superstructures were made of mudbricks, fragments of which were found on the floor of House H and in the fill around wall o; the mudbricks from House H included a good deal of straw and seem to have measured $0.25 \times 0.14 \times 0.008 \mathrm{~m}$. The only preserved threshold (wall $\varepsilon$ of House H) was constructed with small stones placed in packed earth and covered with a layer of clay. Floors were made of packed earth and pebbles; the floor of House H was covered with a layer of yellowish plaster of the same type that may have covered the walls. In the back room (I) of House H two piles of stones may have been used as benches.

More architectural remains survive from the LH IIB/IIIA1 period, although the state of their preservation is poor. In the South Slope House $\Lambda$ seems to have been constructed partly on top of the earlier House K and reused walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of House K. In the East Slope Megaron B was built in LH IIA and continued to be used in LH IIB and LH IIIA1. Its plan and size are not unusual and find parallels in residential units at other Mycenaean sites. ${ }^{328}$ Both buildings were rectangular: the plan of House $\Lambda$ cannot be established, but Megaron B consisted of one large main room and an anteroom. Two construction modes are used in the walls: (a) the two faces of the wall are made with large, fairly flat stones set in a clay mortar and the core between the two faces filled with smaller stones (House $\Lambda$ ); and (b) flat elongated stones placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall (Megaron B). Both types of construction are employed in wall 7 of Megaron B, the northwest end of which was built with the second mode. The stones of walls 6 and 7 of Megaron $B$ were placed in clay mortar, but there is no record of mortar in House $\Lambda$.

Both long walls of Megaron B end in antae, formed by a rectangular (wall 6) or rounded (wall 7) block of black Eleusinian stone. Floors are made of layers of packed earth, pebbles,

[^50]and lime, ranging in thickness from 4 to 8 cm . It is from LH IIB/LH IIIA1 that we also have the earliest preserved drains, found under (D1) and in front (D2) of Megaron B. Drain D1 runs under the floor of Megaron B and exits under the vestibule; its walls are constructed with small unworked stones, but the south wall is supported by an upright slab; its floor is made with a layer of small pebbles. The opening of drain D1 under the vestibule is $0.18-0.20 \mathrm{~m}$ wide and 0.40 m high. Drain D2 (S EU 8) runs to a length of 0.84 m . Its walls are carefully made of three courses of stones, reaching a height of $0.43-0.52 \mathrm{~m}$; the width of the drain ranges from 0.38 to 0.46 m . The cover of the drain is made of two large slabs and the floor is formed partly by the bedrock and partly by a layer of small stones. The exit under wall 5 is well preserved, made of two parallel courses of small stones that form a smooth face. This drain feeds into an open channel running from the steps of Megaron B, where the main drain would have ended, towards the south. Its east side is defined by a small wall constructed by one course of small and medium-sized stones without mortar. Another large built drain runs between walls 7 and 8, with upright slabs lining up the walls and a horizontal slab covering the top.

The only paved road (E SU 11) was found to the north of the peribolos wall 8, leading from the northeast to the north gate of the peribolos, only a patch of this road survives, so we are not sure about its width and length.

## The architecture and function of Megaron B

Partly because of the fragmentary state of the architectural remains of Megaron B and partly because of the summary way in which those remains were published, the precise form and function of the Megaron B complex has been controversial. The controversy surrounds three issues of the architectural form of Megaron B and its surrounding buildings. ${ }^{329}$ The detailed analysis presented here, in combination with the unpublished evidence from the notebooks, can now be used to address these issues.

## a) The platform

The first issue is the function of the platform in front of Megaron B. Mylonas' explanation was that this structure was used as an altar, ${ }^{330}$ but Darcque considers it simply a retaining structure. ${ }^{331}$ If the platform had been used only as a retainer supporting the weight of

[^51][^52]Megaron B against the drop of the slope, we would expect it to be similar to other retaining structures that are used at the site during the period; if it also served another function, we would expect it to display some architectural particularities.

All the preserved LH retaining structures from Eleusis are long and thick straight walls: widths range from 0.65 to 0.90 m , with wall 1 a doubling up with 1 b to a combined width of 1.30 m (E SU 10); wall $\zeta$ (H SU 2) is 0.90 wide and 6 m long. The "tower" of wall 5 (see above), which has a width of 1.80 m , may have also served to support wall 5 against the drop of the bedrock: it has an irregular rectangular shape and protrudes from the south side of the wall. By contrast, the platform in front of Megaron B is not a wall, but a symmetrical $\Pi$-shaped structure and its floor formed a flat surface with an area of approximately 6.607 sq. m, rising approximately $1.30-1.40 \mathrm{~m}$ above the floor of the courtyard that extends to the east. Furthermore, it does not span the entire width of the east side of Megaron B, but with a width of 2.80 m it is half of the width of Megaron B ( 5.90 m ), leaving space for two symmetrical flights of steps on both sides. If the builders had intended to construct a simple retaining structure, this would have taken the form of a single or double retaining wall extending to the full length of wall 6a of Megaron B - or at least to the longest part of it, if they needed to leave space for a flight of steps. The $\Pi$-shape of the structure serves one purpose: to create a flat rectangular surface in front of the building, which was necessary for a particular function. In her critical analysis of the evidence for burned animal sacrifice in the Bronze Age, Bergquist $(1988,32)$ provides a definition of an architectural structure that would be suitable for burned animal sacrifices: "an appropriate, detached, built or otherwise shaped, solid structure of limited, upper surface and moderately raised for the display and operation of a ritual burning of (a part of) an animal offering". The platform in front of Megaron B is a solid structure attached to the Megaron; as mentioned above, it has a surface area of about $6.60-7 \mathrm{sq} . \mathrm{m}$ and its floor is elevated about $1.30-1.40 \mathrm{~m}$ from the paved courtyard that opens up in front of it, allowing for the actions taking place on its floor to be easily viewed by the people standing in the courtyard. The form and dimensions of the platform match, therefore, the criteria for an altar used for burned animal sacrifices. Such a function of the platform is also supported by the burned animal bones found in drain D2 in front of the platform, ${ }^{332}$ which are compatible with remains from burned animal sacrifice swept off the platform after the ritual.

## b) The peribolos

The second controversial issue is whether walls 5 and 8 formed part of a peribolos enclosing the Megaron B complex and separating it from its surrounding buildings, as Mylonas had suggested. A discrepancy between two architectural plans of the complex, both published in 1933, has been used as the argument for associating wall 5 not with wall 8

[^53](thus eliminating the idea of a peribolos), but with wall 3 and also with wall x outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion. ${ }^{333}$ The first of these two plans was included in the report that appeared in the Deltion of 1930-1931, ${ }^{334}$ where walls 3 and $x$ are shown as belonging to the same period and same architectural complex as wall 5 ; the result of such an association would be that wall 5 could not have functioned as the south wall of the peribolos. The second plan appeared in AJA 1933:335 in this plan walls 3 and x were disassociated from wall 5 , which in turn was associated with wall 8 and became the south wall of the peribolos.

This discrepancy cannot be clarified without consulting the unpublished excavation records. According to these records, walls 3, x, and 5 were excavated in 1930 by Threpsiades. As those remains began to be uncovered, Threpsiades' preliminary assessment was that they could have belonged together and enclosed a room; this is reflected in the plan accompanying the report that appeared in the Deltion of 1930-1931, published with a twoyear delay in 1933. Then, in the course of the 1932 excavation, which was supervised by Mylonas, it became clear that the association of walls $3 / x$ with wall 5 could not be supported, because the pottery from wall 3 was later than the pottery associated with wall 5 (a conclusion now confirmed by the dating of the loci associated with these walls). ${ }^{336}$ So, whereas the first plan (the one published in the Deltion of 1930-1931) was produced after the 1930 season and reflected Threpsiades' preliminary assessment of these walls on the basis of the progress of the excavation that year, the plan published in AJA 1933 was produced after the 1932 season and reflected the better understanding of the chronological relation of these walls based on the results of the 1932 season. Although both the Deltion and the $A J A$ articles have a publication date of 1933, it is important to remember that the $A J A$ report was submitted two years after the Deltion report. ${ }^{337}$ The later interpretation (presented in the $A J A$ article) is based on the more recent excavation data and therefore reflects the actual relationship of these walls.

Accordingly, for the following reasons walls 3 and 5 could not have belonged to the same building:

1) the space between these two walls was occupied by a courtyard or road, ${ }^{338}$ which means that they could not have defined the interior of a building;
2) wall 3 is narrower than wall 5 ( 0.50 m as opposed to $0.60-0.80 \mathrm{~m}$ of wall 5 );

[^54]with wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2, which is LH IIIA2/IIIB1) and those of the foundation and between the stones of wall 5 (E SU 6, loci 1 and 3, which are LH IIA/IIB).
337. Not in 1931-1932, as erroneously stated in Darcque 1980, 604. It is explicitly stated in Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933 (p. 271) that the $A J A$ report was prepared after the 1932 field season had been completed.
338. Supra p. 120.
3) wall 8 is clearly an external wall, as it has a gate opening up to the north and as on its south side it defines the courtyard;
4) the ceramic analysis of the finds suggests that wall 3 is LH IIIA2/IIIB1, whereas wall 5 is LH IIB/IIIA1.

On the other hand, there are strong arguments suggesting that walls 5 and 8 belong to the same structure:

1) they have the same orientation, foundation depth, and construction techniques (including the large stones that serve as the lowest course in both walls, a feature not found in adjacent walls);
2) they clearly define the north and south end of the paved courtyard;
3) they are both exterior walls: on its external (south) side wall 5 is bordered a road, whereas another road ended from the north on the external (north) side of wall 8 , where the gate was located;
4) the pottery found under the foundation and wedged between the stones of both walls is predominantly LH IIB /IIIA1, suggesting that the walls are contemporaneous.

Accordingly, the evidence suggests that the LH IIB/IIIA1 walls 5 and 8 belong to the same architectural structure, an enclosure wall surrounding a paved courtyard. Wall 3 is later than wall 5 and must be grouped with the other walls outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion, which are LH IIIA2/IIIB1.
c) The Extension B1/B2/B3

The third issue is the chronology of the Extension B1/B2/B3 and its relation to Megaron B. Mylonas had suggested that the Extension was built after Megaron B, but still within the Mycenaean period, whereas Darcque proposed that Rooms B1/B2/B3 were built in the Geometric period. ${ }^{339}$ Given the fact that the pottery associated with the floor of Room B1 is LH IIIA2/IIIB1 ${ }^{340}$ and that the pottery found between the two layers of burned mudbricks above the floor of Room B2 is also LH IIIA1/IIIA2, ${ }^{341}$ the construction of the extension can be safely dated to that period. Besides the ceramic, there is also architectural evidence for the concurrent use of Megaron B and the Extension: 1) as mentioned above, all but the top courses of wall 9a abut wall 10a, whereas the top course of $6 a$ has been modified with small stones used as wedges to make it bond with wall $9 \mathrm{a} ;{ }^{342} 2$ ) there is a carefully constructed doorway leading from Room B1 onto the vestibule and the platform; 3) when Room B1 and its doorway onto the vestibule were constructed, the doorway from the vestibule to the main room of Megaron B was preserved and continued to be in use.

The length of use of the Extension is uncertain. The two Geometric handles found by Mylonas above the floor of Room B1 had led him to suggest that Rooms B1/B2/B3 may
339. Darcque 1981, 599.
340. Supra E SU 9.
341. Supra p. 114 and n. 187.
342. Notebook 1932, 22.
have been used continuously until the 8 th $\mathrm{c} . \mathrm{BC},{ }^{343}$ but the stratigraphy from the preserved patch of the floor is unclear and it is possible that these two pieces represent reuse of the room in the Geometric period, as Mazarakis-Ainian has suggested. ${ }^{344}$

## Other buildings

Architectural remains of the LH IIIA2/IIIB1 are few. On the Hilltop, Unit A (H SU 1) is a rectangular structure with at least two rooms separated by a crosswall. Unit B was partially constructed on top of the foundation of wall $\beta$ of Unit A and seems to have had a main room and a porch opening up to the north. In the South Slope Extension B1/B2/B3 is added to Megaron B, while Megaron B is still in use. A number of walls to the south of Megaron B but outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10) appear to have been built at about the same time as the Extension B1/B2/B3, but they are too fragmentary to allow the reconstruction of house plans. It is possible that these walls belonged to two large rectangular units, the first defined by walls $4 a / 4 b / 4 c$ and the second to the west, defined by walls $4 \mathrm{a}, 2$, and $2 \mathrm{a} / 2 \mathrm{~b}$. Walls 3 and x appear to have been added later, possibly to enclose the exterior paved area to the west. The walls of this period are built either with large stones placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall (wall 9 of the Megaron B Extension) or with irregular stones (wall 11) which in some walls are placed in clay mortar (walls $1,1 \mathrm{a} / 1 \mathrm{~b}, 2,3$ in E SU 10). Double walls perpendicular to the direction of the slope are used to provide support to large buildings: such is the case of the double wall $1 \mathrm{a} / 1 \mathrm{~b}$, which have a combined thickness of 1.30 m and which served as a retaining wall for the building defined by wall 1. Also, walls $4 \mathrm{a} / 4 \mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ with a maximum combined thickness of 1.15 m served as support for wall 3.

Antae are used extensively: the most formal and best preserved ones are those of walls 6 and 9; they are made of large rectangular blocks of stones forming an even façade. The anta at the north end of wall $\varepsilon$ in H SU 2 was constructed of large rectangular stones.

Floors are made of packed earth and small pebbles (Unit A, H SU 1), although the floor associated with wall $\alpha$ (E SU 12, Lesser Propylaea), on which the inscribed stirrup jar was found, was unusual, in that it was made of fine medium-sized black sea pebbles mixed with packed earth and may have been coated with plaster.

Drains from this later period are not attested, with the possible exceptions of a drain found in the area between wall 12 and wall 8 in Megaron B (E SU 9) and another one in Room M (E SU 11); information about the first does not survive and about the second we only know that it was a built drain that continued under the north wall of Room M exited in a bothros. This bothros, about 1.40 m in diameter, is the only one identified from this period and contained ashes and burned soil.

Well $\Phi$ (E SU 11) contained mixed pottery and could not be dated with certainty, but it is possible that it was associated with a LH IIIC road, in which case it must have dated to the same period. This road, followed to a length of approximately 5.5 m , was paved and ran in a direction parallel to the external walls of Rooms M and N . Mylonas dates it to the "closing years of the LH III period".

## BURIALS

## Types of Graves

A total of approximately sixty graves have been found in the settlement area, which fall into three types (Table 2; Data Tables 1 and 2). ${ }^{345}$ Unfortunately, for many of these graves the available information is incomplete, because the notebooks for the graves excavated in the 19th century do not survive and because the finds in the storage room of the museum have been disassociated from their original context and cannot be located. Furthermore, for several graves we are missing important information ranging from type of grave to dimensions, elevations, or detailed descriptions of the architecture.

| SOUTH SLOPE | CISTS | PITS | JARS | TOTALS |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MH | 6 | 16 | 2 | 24 |  |
| LH | 2 |  | 3 | 0 | 5 |
| UNKNOWN DATE | 1 |  | 0 |  | 0 |
| 19 |  | 2 | 1 | 30 |  |


| EAST SLOPE | 0 |  | 0 |  | 0 |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MH | 9 |  | 4 |  | 3 |  | 16 |
| LH | 3 |  | 3 |  | 0 |  | 6 |
| UNKNOWN DATE | 4 |  | 0 |  | 0 |  | 4 |
| TOTAL EAST SLOPE |  | 16 |  | 7 |  | 3 |  |
| HILLTOP | 0 |  | 0 |  | 0 |  |  |
| MH | 0 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 26 |
| LH | 1 |  | 0 |  | 0 |  | 1 |
| UNKNOWN DATE | 0 |  | 0 |  | 0 |  |  |
| TOTAL HILLTOP |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| GRAND TOTAL |  | 26 |  | 27 |  | 6 | 3 |

Table 2. Types and frequencies of graves in the settlement area.

[^55]
## CIST GRAVES

The Simple Cist type consists of rectangular (E.I.6, E.III.5, E.III.6, H.1) or trapezoidal (E.I.2, S.III.8, S.III.11) cists, accessed from the top. Floor surfaces range from 0.07 to 0.985 $\mathrm{m}^{2}$, with the average at $0.36 \mathrm{~m}^{2}$ (Table 3); the third quartile of $0.47 \mathrm{~m}^{2}$ seems to be the cutoff size for children graves, as all adult graves are larger than that. Walls are usually formed by upright slabs (e.g. E.I.1, E.III.10, E.III.11), but in some graves three sides are slabs and one of the short sides is built with small stones (E.I.6, E.I.2; also grave $\Theta \pi 16$ in the West Cemetery). The long (east and west) sides of S.III. 16 are made of one slab each, with smaller stones filling the empty spaces around the slabs; short sides are formed by a large stone. In E.III. 5 the walls are slabs (about 0.50 m wide and 0.10 m thick) placed on a layer of stones and pebbles used to level the bedrock. ${ }^{346}$ In S.III. 1 the walls of the cist were lined with clay. Three graves are not made with slabs: the walls of E.I. 4 are built with mediumsized flat stones placed in clay mortar and those of E.III. 9 of mudbricks measuring $0.34 \times 0.34 \times 0.07 \mathrm{~m}$. The walls of E.III. 6 are built with three horizontal courses of flat stones placed in clay; on top of the higher course, a bed of small flat stones provides a level surface on which is placed the cover. In several instances one or more of the walls are formed by the bedrock. In S.III. 11 the long north side of the cist is the bedrock, but the south side is formed by an upright slab, and each one of the short sides is defined by a mudbrick (mudbrick size $0.35 \times 0.20 \times 0.08 \mathrm{~m}$ ). In S.III. 8 the west side is formed by the bedrock, the south and the east sides are slabs, but the north side uses wall $\alpha$ of House $\Gamma$. In the West Cemetery the bedrock may have been used in the construction of the grave E $\pi 2$, although Mylonas thought that originally this grave had had side slabs, which were later robbed. ${ }^{347}$ Openings are covered with one or two slabs ranging from 0.50 (E.I.1) to 0.80 m (E.I.6, E.II.1) in length, 0.30 m (E.I.1) to 0.50 (E.II.1) to 0.70 m (E.I.6) in width, and 0.04-0.05 (E.I.1, E.II.1) to 0.0080.09 m (E.I.2, E.I.6) in thickness. In E.III. 5 the opening of the grave was covered by a large slab ( $1.10 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{l.}$,1 m ., 0.25 m th.) and by small flat stones in its southeastern corner. In some graves (e.g. E.III.6), the top surface of each side was lined with a course of smaller flat stones creating a flat surface, on which the cover was placed, a practice also seen in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{348}$ Floors are usually made of a layer of small pebbles (E.I.1, E.I.4, S.I.3, S.I.4, S.III.1, S.III.11) or just the bedrock (E.II.1), although in E.III. 5 a cavity was opened into the bedrock and then lined with pebbles; in one grave (E.III.12) the floor was made of a layer of white pebbles and in another (E.III.6) there was a double layer of pebbles. Pebble floors are common in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{349}$

[^56]The Complex Built Cist type ${ }^{350}$ consists of two compartments and an entrance at the end of one of the long sides. It developed from the simple cist type during MH III/LH I. ${ }^{351}$ The only grave of this type in the settlement area is E.III.7, an unusually large grave with a floor surface of $8 \mathrm{~m}^{2}$, which makes it one of the largest known built cist graves in Greece. ${ }^{352}$ Its walls are made of schist slabs and reach a thickness of $0.40-0.45 \mathrm{~m}$.

| GRAVE | SURFACE $\left(\mathrm{m}^{2}\right)$ | AGE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| E.III.7 | 8 | Adults/children |
| E.III.10 | 0.985 | ?Adult |
| E.III.6 | 0.9045 | Adult |
| E.III.5 | 0.8125 | Adult |
| E.III.11 | 0.775 | ?Adult |
| S.I.7 (LH) | 0.374 | ?Child |
| E.II.1 | 0.2652 | Child |
| S.III.11 | 0.2475 | Child |
| S.III.8 | 0.2 | Child |
| E.I.2 | 0.1953 | ? |
| E.III.8 (LH) | 0.195 | Child |
| E.I.6 | 0.168 | Child |
| E.I.3 | 0.1645 | ?Child |
| S.III.16 (LH) | 0.15 | Child |
| S.I.12 | 0.13 | Child |
| E.I.1 | 0.116 | ?Child |
| S.III.1 | 0.07 | Child |

Table 3. Floor surfaces of cist graves with recorded measurements.

Most cist graves in the settlement are found in the East Slope (16 graves, vs. 8 in the South Slope). They become rare in the LH: H. 1 dates to LH I; S.III. 16 to LH I/LH IIA, E.III. 8
350. Papadimitriou 2001, 79.
351. West Cemetery B 226. Cavanagh and Mee (DIPG 29) and Papadimitriou $(2001,217)$ date the transformation from simple cist graves to the Complex Built Cist graves, especially those of the $\Gamma$-type, in MH III/LH I.
352. Grave $\mathrm{B} \pi 1$ of the West Cemetery, with a floor surface of $14.4 \mathrm{~m}^{2}(6 \times 2.40 \mathrm{~m}$, West Cemetery A 17) and the large grave at Portes in Elis, with a floor surface of $12.8 \mathrm{~m}^{2}$ ( $8 \times 1.60 \mathrm{~m}$, Moschos 2000, 15, fig. 8). See also
the extensive table with sizes of Built Cist graves in the Tomb Inventory assembled by Papadimitriou 2001, 246-253. Although this grave belongs to Mylonas‘ B-type, it is even larger (almost double the floor surface) of the larger $\Gamma$-type graves from the West Cemetery, calculated by Cavanagh and Mee at $4.1 \mathrm{~m}^{2}$ (DIPG 48). For the newly discovered Complex Built Cist grave at Mitrou see Tsokas et al. 2012, 423-425, fig. 5 b .
and, possibly, E.III. 13 to LH IIA/ IIB; and S.I. 7 can only be assigned a general "LH" date. In the West Cemetery, the earliest cist graves date to the late MH period, become progressively more numerous in the LH I/ IIA/IIB, and seem to increase in LH IIIA2.353

The Complex Built Cist grave E.III. 7 is the earliest grave of this type from both the settlement and the West Cemetery, as its construction in MH III or LH I antedates the construction of the only other graves of the same form, $\Lambda \pi 4$ (LH II) and T4 (probably also LH II). A group of three graves found in 1988 very close to Sector $\Theta$ of the West Cemetery are described by Papangeli as Complex Cist Graves with two compartments separated by a dry stone wall; at least one of them contained pottery of LH IIIA1. 354

## PIT GRAVES

Pit graves are as common as cist graves, although the majority are found in the South Slope (20 graves in the South Slope, vs. 7 in the East Slope: Table 2). In the MH period, the shape of the pit is usually irregular rectangular; sizes are recorded only for S.III.2/S.III. 3 $(0.40 \times 0.25 \mathrm{~m})$ and S.I. $12(0.65 \times 0.20 \times 0.20 \mathrm{~m})$. In some pits the dead were placed directly on the bedrock (S.I.10, S.I.11), but the floors of S.I. 1 and E.I. 7 had been lined with a layer of pebbles. S.I. 12 was the only pit grave covered with a stone slab. A similar effort to provide a cover to the pit is seen in grave $\Theta \pi 25$ of the West Cemetery, ${ }^{355}$ in which the deceased was covered with pithos sherds. ${ }^{356}$ The practice of covering pit graves with stone slabs or large pithos fragments is known also from other MH burial sites. ${ }^{357}$ Grave markers are not attested, with the possible exception of an upright stone placed above S.I. 1 and S.I. 2 in Skias' pyre LXV. ${ }^{358}$ This stone was associated with two small bothroi, which Skias thought may have been used to burn offerings for nearby burials (possibly referring to S.I.2). ${ }^{359}$

Pit graves continue to be common in the LH period. The dead were placed either directly on the bedrock (S.I.13) or on a thin layer either of pebbles (E.I.8) or of mixed sand and pebbles (S.III.15). The shape of the pits ranges from roughly square (E.III.1; side 0.290.30 m ) to almost circular (S.III.15); in one case (S.III.15) the edge of the pit was defined by a row of small stones. ${ }^{360}$

In contrast to the popularity of pit graves in the settlement, only six pit graves were found in the West Cemetery, ${ }^{361}$ all dating to the end of the MH period.

[^57]
359. Ibid.: "л@òs みaṽбıv દ̉vaүıбนát $\omega v$ ".
360. Cf. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 34 for a child pit grave defined by a row of stones at Midea: the floor of the pit was, however, covered with whitish-yellow plaster.
361. Н $\pi 14 \alpha, \mathrm{H} \pi 18, \Theta \pi 25, \Theta \pi 26, \mathrm{I} \pi 2, \mathrm{I} \pi 4$.

## GRAVES IN CERAMIC CONTAINERS

Six burials in ceramic containers have been found (S.II.3, S.III.17, E.III.2, E.III.3, E.III.14, H.2), all belonging to children or infants and all dating to MH III/LH I. Other information about these burials does not exist. The only pithos burial from the West Cemetery was the MH MP pithos Hл14, which contained the skulls of two infants. ${ }^{362}$ It would seem that at Eleusis, as at other sites, ${ }^{363}$ ceramic containers were reserved for infants or children.

## Number of dead, age, and position of the body

Except for two graves, ${ }^{364}$ all graves from the settlement are used for single burials and most are for children or infants (except for S.I.6, E.I.7, and E.III. 12 which contained one adult each). Cist graves S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I. 5 contained one infant each, E.I. 6 contained a 3-4 year-old child and S.III. 1 a 4-5 year-old child; the pit graves S.I. 1 and S.I. 2 contained a ten-year old and a five-year old respectively. In S.I.1, S.I.2, E.II.3, and E.I. 7 the dead had been placed in a contracted position on his/her right side. Children were placed in a contracted position on their right (E.I.6) or left (E.I.4) side, with the head slightly higher than the rest of the body, one arm resting on the chest, and the legs bent. Almost all adult graves are pits; the only exceptions are the cist graves E.III.5/E.III. 6 and the multiple Complex Built Cist E.III.7. In E.III. 5 the body lay in an extended position on its back with the head tilted towards the left and pointing towards the northeast, the arms crossed on the chest, and the legs open and bent. The crossed arms are paralleled in the West Cemetery, ${ }^{365}$ but the open and bent legs are not. In E.III. 6 the dead was placed on his/her right side, near the northwest side of the grave, with bent arms and legs and the right hand under the right cheek and the left hand on the left cheek. The arm position seems to be paralleled to that of the last deceased in $\Delta \pi 2 .{ }^{366}$ Although in some MH cemeteries dead are placed either on their left ${ }^{367}$ or their right side, ${ }^{368}$ there is no consistent pattern at Eleusis. ${ }^{369}$

In the LH period, grave E.I. 9 contained the remains of an adult, with the body oriented north-south and placed on the right side with the legs bent. E.III. 1 contained the remains of a child placed on its back, with the body oriented east-west and slightly turned towards the left. S.III. 15 contained a child as well, placed on its back with the head towards the

[^58]367. Eutresis, Kirrha, Orchomenos: Ruppenstein 2010, 436.
368. Lerna, Mycenae, mostly male burials: ibid. 434.
369. Although in the West Cemetery Mylonas (West Cemetery B 212) ) noticed that the majority of the dead had their faces turned towards the east, northeast, and southeast, but very rarely towards the west.
north. The only multiple burial is E.I.8, which contained three adults: the dead lay on their right sides with their heads towards the east and had been placed on a layer of pebbles. They are so closely placed, that it was not possible for the excavators to distinguish the position of the arms, except for those of the first (north), whose right arm extended along the body and left arm was bent at the elbow and placed on the belly. The legs were bent.

The preponderance of single burials in the settlement area contrasts sharply with the popularity of multiple burials in the West Cemetery, where most graves have between two and ten skeletons. ${ }^{370}$ In at least nine graves children were buried together with adults and in two graves (the LH IIIA2/IIIB1 M $\pi 6$ and the LH IIIB1 burials in the earlier grave $\Theta \pi 15$ ) a child had been placed in the arms of an adult, presumably its mother. ${ }^{371}$

## Burial gifts

Burial gifts are usually sparse: for most MH graves detailed records do not exist, but for those graves for which burial gifts are recorded, they consist of sherds from fine GM vases (presumably bowls and cups) and coarser (?storage) vessels. Grave E.I. 1 contained also one obsidian piece, E.I. 4 a few animal bones, and H. 1 a glass bead. The only grave that seems to have been wealthier is the "Warrior Grave" E.III.6, in which were found a blade from a bronze dagger, a small DB jug, a bone band decorated with concentric circles, and fifty-one worked small fragments of boar's tusks in a triple row, that probably would have belonged to a pendant. The paucity of burial gifts differentiates the graves of the settlement from those of the West Cemetery, where towards the end of the period the number of items deposited in the graves seems to increase, ${ }^{372}$ although this paucity may be explained by the fact that most graves belonged to children, which in the West Cemetery are also poor in terms of finds. Burial gifts are also sparse in the LH graves: kylikes, cups, and goblets, small jars, and alabastra. Glass beads were found in S.II. 2 (with two sea shells) and H.1. E.III. 8 contained a goblet placed by the child's face, and a squat jug, a feeding bottle, a monochrome askos, and a cup by the child's feet. E.III. 7 is unusual, in that it was used for a longer period of time and for multiple burials: it contained a minimum of thirteen vases, including fine alabastra, an astragalus (perhaps accompanying the child that was interred there), and the remains of a bronze object. The bothros in E.III. 7 contained (?animal) bones and fragments of coarse handmade vases.
370. DIGP 54; Papadimitriou 2001, 175.
371. West Cemetery B 49, 192. In the case of $\Theta \pi 15$, the child had been placed on the mother's chest, but apparently the two burials were not contemporaneous, but the mother had been buried earlier.
372. West Cemetery B 209. Still, however, as a
whole the Eleusinian graves contain fewer burial gifts than those of other areas (infra fn. 1609). The large number of graves without burial gifts agrees with the situation in other MH cemeteries (DIPG 31). In other MH cemeteries it has been observed that infant graves in general have more burial gifts than adult graves.

## Rituals and beliefs

Overall, direct evidence for rituals and beliefs is minimal. The alabastra in E.III. 7 perhaps suggest that in the Early Mycenaean period the dead were accompanied by refined products, perhaps perfumed oil. ${ }^{373}$ In the infant graves S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I. 5 the floor was covered with a thick layer of ash and carbon; the bones had not been burned, suggesting that the fire preceded the deposition of the burial. On the other hand, it is interesting that none of the West Cemetery graves contained traces of fire. Possible evidence for rituals outside the grave is restricted to an artificial depression on the cover slab of H.1, which may have been used for libations; ${ }^{374}$ and the broken vases on top of the slabs of E.I.13, which may have been the remnants of feasting. The bothros of E.III. 7 mentioned in the previous section contained bones that the excavator thought belonged to animals, although there is no mention of burning. If those were, indeed, animal bones, they may have been offerings.

## Location of settlement area graves

Several scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the graves that are located within the boundaries of MH and early LH settlements were not sensu stricto intramural, as they were placed either in abandoned houses or in burial plots adjacent to residential areas. ${ }^{375}$ This practice seems to have been followed also at Eleusis, where the following choices of location occur (cf. Data Table 1).
a) Open areas. In the South Slope the graves of Sector I appear to have been placed in an area that, at the time of their establishment, was empty of buildings: ${ }^{376}$ the case is clear for two of these graves (S.I.11 and S.I.12), which are not in the vicinity of any houses or walls. The remaining graves in this Sector appear to have been earlier or later than the walls that are found in their vicinity: graves S.I. 1 and S. I. 2 were cut into the layer of ash that covered walls $\tau$ and $\mathrm{H}^{\prime}$ and were, therefore, later than those two walls. S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I. 5 were earlier than wall Z; ; ${ }^{377}$ S.I. 6 was partly destroyed by the construction of wall Z and is, therefore, earlier than that wall; grave S.I. 7 was also earlier than wall Z. ${ }^{378}$ Finally, graves S.I. 9 and S.I. 10 were earlier than the adjacent walls B-B'-B"-B"". ${ }^{379}$ A similar case could be argued for the MH graves to the east/southeast of Megaron B and the Stoa of

[^59]$\varkappa \tau i ́ \sigma \mu \alpha ~ \tau \iota " ~(S k i a s ~ 1912, ~ 4 ; ~ i t a l i c s ~ m i n e) . ~ . ~$


 r@òs tòv đóqov $\beta^{\prime}$ ".
379. These walls were built inside and are, therefore, later than pyre 20 that covered those graves (Skias 1898a, 82).

Philo. E.I.1, E.I.2, and E.I. 4 are not surrounded by any walls; for E.I. 5 and E.I.6, whose relationship to walls $\delta$ and $\varepsilon$ (fig. 66) is not clear, lack a definite association with those two walls. The adult pit grave E.I. 7 is of uncertain date, but does not seem to be associated with any adjacent walls. All walls in the vicinity of E.II. 1 and E.II. 2 are later than the graves. Finally, no MH houses or walls have been found in the vicinity of the MH graves E.III.2E.III.6, E.III.9-E.III.12, E.III.14, E.III.15. It would, thus, be reasonable to suggest that in the MH period the southeast part of the South Slope and parts of the East Slope were used as cemeteries adjacent to but not parts of the residential areas of the site. ${ }^{380}$
b) Exterior spaces between houses. The pit graves S.III. 4 and the cist grave S.III. 8 were placed in the narrow space between Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$; although they postdate the construction of these two houses, it is unclear whether the houses were still in use when the graves were established. Similar cases are graves S.III.11, placed outside the apsidal wall of House $\Delta$, and S.III.12-S.III.14, placed outside wall $\alpha$ of House Z. The (?LH) grave S.I. 7 was installed outside wall Z; the LH IIB/IIIA1 cist S.III. 15 was placed between Houses Z and H, but at a level higher than House H. The LH II graves S.III. 18 and S.III. 19 seem to be located in the exterior space to the west of wall N .
c) Under the floors of a house at the time of its use. This seems to be the case with E.I.3, a small cist placed in the interior corner of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$, under the floor of House A. S.III.1S.III. 3 were placed under the floors of Houses B and Г, S.III. 9 and S.III. 10 under the floor of House $\Delta$, and S.III. 17 under the floor of House P, although this is not certain. E.I. 3 is located in the interior corner of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$, under the floor of the MH House A. It is interesting to note that S.III. 1 is the only certain MH I grave, suggesting that the custom of burying children under the floor of the house was in practice since the beginning of the period and continued until the LH I (the cist H. 1 was cut into the floor of the house in H SU 4). E.II. 3 may have been associated with the MH wall 3 g , but it is unclear whether it was found in the interior or the exterior of a house; if the second, this may be a case of a grave between houses. In the LH period, the LH I/IIA grave S.III. 16 was placed under the floor of House H.
d) Graves in abandoned houses. Although graves placed in abandoned houses have been claimed in some MH sites, ${ }^{381}$ this practice does not seem to be attested at Eleusis. There is only one location, S SU 18, where the infant jar grave S.II. 3 was found on top of wall $\delta$ of S SU 18 and one may assume that it was installed there after that wall and its corresponding room ceased to be used. In the same house in S SU 18 there are also two LH graves, uncon-

[^60]dense distribution of graves than what the plan fig. 2 shows.
381. Plasi, and possibly Asine and Kirrha (DIPG 25, nn. 25-27).
nected to each other, S.II. 1 and S. II.2, postdating wall $\varepsilon$ of S SU 18. It would seem that for some reason burials were placed in S SU 18 after the abandonment of that house. One other possible similar case is the LH IIB/LH IIIA1 grave E.I.9, which postdates wall $\eta$ but its relationship with wall t is not certain.

## Chronology

The vast majority of graves in the settlement area are used for single burials and date, therefore, to a single period - mostly MH III/LH I. Notable is the rarity of MH I burials: although it is possible that early MH graves have been obliterated by later construction, or that some of the undated graves may have been early, the fact is that the overall level of human activity in MH I is low, which suggests that the lack of MH I burials is more than the result of preservation bias.

Burials used for longer periods in the settlement area are few: E.III. 7 was used from MH III/LH I down to LH IIB. During this period very few graves were still being installed in the settlement, mostly pits (E.III.1, E.I.8, and E.I.9, S.I.8, S.III.15, S.II.2), but also a few simple cists (S.III.16, E.III.8, E.III.13). After that, only two graves exist in the settlement, the infant pit grave S.I. 13 (LH IIIA2 Early) and the adult pit grave S.II. 1 (possibly LH IIIC Early).

Notwithstanding the uncertainties about the date and even the type of several graves, when the settlement burials are viewed in conjunction with the burials at the West Cemetery some interesting patterns emerge (Data Table 2). As mentioned, the graves of the settlement area are clustered in the MH II-III and MH III/LH I chronological range, after which only sporadic burials take place only in open spaces between the walls of houses. As a rule, true intramural burials are reserved for children, placed under the floors of houses already in MH I (S.III.1), a practice that continues until LH I (H.1). In the MH period the standard type of grave appears to be Simple Cists, but it appears that starting in MH III/ LH I Complex Built Cists begin to replace simple cists. The use of open spaces near but not within residential areas may have started in the middle phases of the period, as the graves of South Sector I predate the MH III/LH I walls of S SU 1. If this chronological sequence is valid, it may suggest that at the end of the MH III or in the transition to LH I the settlement expanded into an area that until then had been used as burial grounds; a similar move has been observed at Asine, where the MH II houses in the area of House D were built in a spot previously used for burials. ${ }^{382}$ The absence of adult burials from the settlement area at a time when the West Cemetery had not yet been established, raises the question of where the adults were placed. One possibility is that adults were buried in

[^61]

Fig. 170. Frequency of new burials in the West Cemetery.
unmarked cemeteries in the countryside, a practice that is known from the Argive Heraion. ${ }^{383}$

The earliest graves in the West Cemetery appear in MH II-III and mark the beginning of more formal burial practices and the spreading of the custom of multiple burials. ${ }^{384}$ Graves in the settlement area begin to go out of practice by LH I and seem to fade out by LH IIA/ IIB: with the exception of E.III.7, which had a long history of use, only three cists and nine pits are used in the LH period. By contrast, the West Cemetery progressively expands, with the larger expansions in LH IIA (eight new graves) and LH IIIA2 (nine new graves; fig. 170). ${ }^{385}$ It is interesting that after the MH III period pit graves are not used in
383. DIPG 25 with further references.
384. West Cemetery B 206. Cf. Voutsaki 1999, 108. For the importance of the introduction of multiple burials across regions in the late MH period see $\mathrm{Pe}-$ trakis 2010, 412 and for the social implications of moving the burials to an external cemetery see PhilippaTouchais 2013. Mylonas has drawn attention to the fact that both at Eleusis and also at Mycenae the ceme-
teries are located to the west of the settlement, perhaps suggesting a preference for placing burial grounds to the west (West Cemetery B 206). For the argument that the MH data for such preferences are more complex see DIPG 26-28.
385. Cf. DIPG 64 and n. 26; Papadimitriou 2001, 165.
the West Cemetery, but continue to be used sporadically in the settlement until LH IIIC Early. Chamber tombs are not found in the settlement and are rare in the West Cemetery, where there are only four, all built in LH IIIB. Another group of four LH IIIA2 / IIIB1 chamber tombs was found by Papangeli in a salvage excavation a few meters to the northeast of Sector $\Theta$ of the West Cemetery. ${ }^{386}$ In general, Mylonas ${ }^{387}$ explained the lack of chamber tombs from the site in terms of the geology of the area (all four chamber tombs are opened in the soft soil of the cemetery area, rather than the hard rock of the hill), but one should not exclude cultural reasons for the low number of chamber tombs and the preponderance of cist graves.

## CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITIONS

As detailed in the Introduction, the Bronze Age material from Eleusis is fragmentary and presents several difficulties. The most serious problem has been the lack of provenience information for the majority of the pieces, because of the large number of missing excavation records (including find registers) and the disassociation of numerous pieces stored in the museum from their labels. Although every effort was made to reconstruct as many find groups as possible, it is possible that the list of finds for each locus may not be complete especially since there are no records of any pottery that may have been discarded during the excavations. The chronology of sherds with unknown provenience has been dated on the basis of parallels from other sites; the parallels for each piece are listed in the corresponding catalogue entry.

The classification system used in this study was devised with two objectives in mind. The first was to address the particularities of the pottery of each period, which resulted in the adoption of different classification systems for the EH, MH, and LH pottery. The analysis of the Early Helladic pottery is based on the system used by Wiencke and Rutter at Lerna and by Pullen at Tsoungiza, ${ }^{388}$ in which ceramic groups are defined on the basis of a set of multiple criteria, rather than a single criterion. In the analysis of the Middle Helladic pottery I maintained the traditional wares (Grey Minyan, Matt-Painted, etc.) with smaller fabric groups defined within each ware. For the Mycenaean pottery I use the standard system of shapes (Furumark Shapes, FS) and decoration (Furumark Motifs, FM), but also identify fabric groups that cross-cut through various shapes.

The second objective was to provide a measure of uniformity, so that some degree of coherency in the treatment of the material across periods could be achieved. The following criteria have been applied to the entire ceramic assemblage.

## A. Technology

The criteria below have been used in the analysis of the technological aspects of manufacture, surface treatment, and decoration of vases:
i) Composition of fabric (fine grained, medium grained, coarse grained)
ii) Color of fabric (color characterizations based on the Munsell Soil Color Chart)

[^62]iii) Manufacture (handmade vs. wheelmade)
iv) Baking (even, uneven)
v) Inclusions

- Shape (angular, globular, square)
- Size (small 2-4 mm, medium $4 \mathrm{~mm}-2 \mathrm{~cm}$, large $>2 \mathrm{~cm}$ )
- Distribution (regular-irregular)
- Frequency (as a percentage of the surface covered by inclusions vs. the total surface of the section of a sherd)
- Type (stone, pebble, organic temper)
- Mica (quantity, type)
vi) Surface treatment
- Untreated
- Smoothed (with a cloth or a soft object that creates a smooth but not glossy surface and leaves either subtle marks or no marks at all on the surface of the vase)
- Polished (with a cloth or a soft object that creates a smooth and glossy surface and leaves either subtle marks or no marks at all on the surface of the vase)
- Burnished (with a bone or grass or a hard object that creates a glossy surface and leaves visible marks on the surface of the vase)
- Scratched (more often in the interior surface of open vases, with a hard object that leaves deep marks)
vii) Surface coating
- Slip (clay coating of the same color as the clay; applied by dipping the vase into the slip solution)
- Glaze (lustrous clay coating, usually applied by brush).

On the basis of these criteria, the following four general classes of fabrics were distinguished, that cut across all periods. Variations within each period do, of course, occur, and are pointed out in the relevant sections of the discussion.

Coarse fabrics (fig. 171:1-2). Coarse-grained clay, uneven baking, small, medium, or large round or angular stone inclusions, percentage of inclusions 20-40\%. Handmade. The majority of sherds of this category belongs to open storage or utilitarian vases, such as pithoi, cooking pots, jars, and jugs. The surface usually is crude and untreated, but some vases have been burnished. In general, coarse vases are undecorated, except for pithoi with plastic, incised, or impressed decoration.

Fairly coarse fabrics (fig. 171:2-3). Coarse- or fine-grained clay, uneven baking, small to medium angular or round pebble or stone inclusions, percentage of inclusions 10-20\%; some of these fabrics preserve traces of burned organic temper. In general, these fabrics are used for undecorated handmade or wheelmade food consumption, serving, or storage vases (plates, cups, large jars).

Fairly fine fabrics (fig. 171:4-5). Fine-grained clay, even baking, medium or small angu-
lar or round stone inclusions, $5-10 \%$; often traces of burned organic temper. In general, these fabrics are used for wheelmade food consumption, serving, or storage vases (plates, cups, jugs, large jars) plain or painted.

Fine fabrics (fig. 171:6). Fine-grained, clean fabric without or with rare small inclusions, sometimes with traces of organic temper. Used for wheelmade decorated food consumption or serving vases (cups).


Fig. 171. Sections of various types of fabrics.

## B. Decorative criteria

The following three modes of decoration or lack of decoration have been distinguished.
i. Painted decoration (solidly painted, pattern-painted, unpainted; particularities are noted in the discussion of each period: for example, in the EH period the term "paint" means a clay slip).
ii. Glyptic decoration (incised, impressed, grooved, stamped).
iii. Plastic decoration (bands, knobs).

## C. Morphological criteria

The description of the overall shape of the body of vases follows that of Furumark (MP 18-79): the basic shape designations are globular, ovoid, piriform, cylindrical, conical, and angular; if two terms are used for the same vase, e.g. conical-piriform, the first one is the main characterization and the second defines it further. Shape accessories are described in terms of a primary feature, which is the shape of the attribute, and a secondary feature, which is its orientation. Where the distinction between cups and bowls is concerned, in general rim sherds with diameters smaller than 15 cm have been classified as cups and those with rim diameters over 15 cm as bowls. The terminology used for the primary features of shape accessories is illustrated in fig. 172.


Fig. 172. Typology of parts of vases.

## EARLY HELLADIC

PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The EH material from Eleusis is extremely poor. It includes two or three complete or nearly complete vases and approximately seventy sherds, twenty-five of which are diagnostic and have been included in the catalogue. Of the catalogued vases and sherds, 1-22 date to the EH II, 23-26 and 29 to EH III, and 27 and 28 could be EH III, but also MH. The only pieces with known origin are those found in 1995 in a cavity of the bedrock (S SU 34, locus 7) and 27, found in House Z (S SU 29), which, however, could be MH I. The contexts of the remaining pieces are unknown: some sherds were found by Mylonas on the surface or in mixed levels of the southwest slope of the hill ${ }^{389}$ and the Hilltop, ${ }^{390}$ but the majority were found in the storeroom of the museum without any indication of their provenience.

## CLASSIFICATION

In their now classic analysis of Bronze Age pottery, as well as in subsequent publications of Bronze Age material, Blegen and Wace assigned to the Early Helladic period several "wares": Polished (EH I), Glazed (EH II), Patterned (EH III) - as well as Unpainted, Coarse, and Miscellaneous wares, which are found in all three EH periods. ${ }^{391}$ Since then, classifications of EH pottery have followed along the same lines, ${ }^{392}$ or have been based on a strict morphological analysis of shape profiles, ${ }^{393}$ or shapes and fabric. ${ }^{394}$ The publication of the Lerna material by Wiencke and Rutter and of the Tsoungiza material by Pullen has taken analysis and classification of EH pottery to a new direction. At Lerna, the basic classificatory systems combine three main criteria: class (defined on the basis of fabric, surface treatment, and color), shape, and decoration. ${ }^{395}$ At Tsoungiza Pullen classifies the material into three large groups of fabrics: tablewares, cooking pot ware, and coarse ware; within each group various classes are distinguished on the basis of surface treatment, most of which overlap with the Lerna classes. ${ }^{396}$ Here I follow a modified version of this system, which includes only class and shape, as the very small number of decorated pieces does not allow a meaningful discussion of decoration.

[^63]394. Weisshaar 1983.
395. Lerna III 13-29; Lerna IV 316-328 and 713, table 2.
396. Tsoungiza 162-165, table 4.6 and 481-482, table 6.10.

CLASSES
DARK-PAINTED
This class includes the ware that has been traditionally called "Urfirnis" and dates to EH II. It is represented in the material by seventeen sherds. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, with clean and well levigated fabrics, ranging in color from very pale brown (10YR 8/4) to reddish (7.5YR 5/3-4/3), dark reddish brown (10YR 4/1), or reddish yellow (7.5 YR 8/6); two sherds are pink ( $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3-8 / 4$ ) at the core. $\mathbf{6}$ has lime inclusions and $\mathbf{1 1}$ sparse silver mica. Surfaces are covered with a paint ("glaze") of varying quality: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 11 have a fine thin red, light red, light brown, or grey paint applied with a brush (faint traces of the brush are usually visible on the surface), which is a characteristic of early EH II. ${ }^{397}$ On the other hand, $\mathbf{2}, \mathbf{1 3}$, and $\mathbf{1 4}$ have a thick red or black glaze, which is dated to the late EH II. ${ }^{398}$ All pieces are solidly painted with unburnished surfaces. ${ }^{399}$ Differences in the color of the paint on the same vase $(6,11)$ are the result of lack of control over the firing temperature and do not seem to have been intentional. ${ }^{400}$

## Light Painted Fine Polished

This is the EH II ware known in the literature under different names, the commonest of which are "Yellow Mottled", "Faience" or "Yellow-Blue Slipped and Polished". ${ }^{401}$ Only four $(\mathbf{1 8}, \mathbf{1 9}, \mathbf{2 0}, \mathbf{2 1})$ sherds of this class have been found, all in S SU 34, locus 7 and belong to the same vase, a thin-walled sauceboat with plain incurving rim. These small fragments do not allow a reconstruction of the specific sauceboat type to which the vase belonged. The fabric is fine, pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$. Both the internal and external surface are covered with a thin whitish (10YR 8/2) to very pale brown (10YR 8/3) paint applied with a brush, the marks of which are still faintly visible; the surface is mottled, producing subtle bluish streaks, and highly polished.

[^64]Caskey 1960, 153; Alt-Ägina III.1, 94, 97; Argissa 68, 79; Troy I 222, 288. In general, towards the end of the period both light and dark glazed pottery decline in frequency and are replaced by plain wares. A deterioration in the quality of EH II pottery has been statistically demonstrated at Perahora (Morin 1987, 364-365).
399. Tsoungiza 166, class 22.
400. Cf. Lerna IV 320, 325.
401. Zygouries 79; Asine I 206; Pullen 1984, 257; id. 1985, 256-257; see also the discussion in Lerna IV 321 and Tsoungiza 163.

## Light Painted Burnished

Only one sherd of this class has been found (22) in S SU 34, locus 7. It belongs to a type 2 saucer, with fairly fine, very pale brown (19YR 8/4) fabric, with few lime inclusions. The surface is covered with a thick reddish yellow ( 7.5 YR 6/6) paint and has been burnished. This class is represented at Lerna, ${ }^{402}$ but not at Tsoungiza. ${ }^{403}$

## Light-on-Dark Painted

This is the class that is commonly known as "Ayia Marina" ware ${ }^{404}$ and includes sherds with off-white linear geometric or abstract patterns painted on a surface covered with a dark (bluish-black) semi-lustrous paint. Four sherds, body and shoulder parts of tankards, were discovered by Mylonas in mixed deposits; of these four sherds 25 and 26 were not located in the museum and I was only able to examine 23 and 24 : they are both handmade, made of fine, reddish yellow ( 5 YR 6/6) fabric. Their surfaces are covered with a semi-lustrous black paint and appear to have been smoothed. 23 is decorated with a linear design composed of two groups of straight lines from which hangs a multiple-line triangle. 24 also bears a geometric pattern composed of four straight horizontal lines with a multiple-line triangle attached at the bottom. This class is in general rare in the NE. Peloponnese. ${ }^{405}$

## Solidly Painted and Burnished

This class is otherwise known as "Dark Burnished"406 or "Solidly Painted and Burnished". ${ }^{407}$ It is represented by one vase, the two-handled bowl 27, which has burnished external and internal surfaces covered with a dark brown 10YR 4/1-4/2 slip. It is handmade, with a reddish-brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 4 / 1$ fairly fine fabric with few stone inclusions. It was found under the floor of House Z (S SU 29, locus 1).

## Burnished Unpainted

This class corresponds to the ware called "Dark Burnished"408 or "Medium Coarse Burnished" ${ }^{409}$ It is represented by the one-handled cup 28, made of fairly coarse fabrics in different hues of red or grey. ${ }^{410}$ The surface does not have any slip or paint, but is burnished.
402. Lerna IV 322.
403. Tsoungiza 163.
404. French and French 1971; French 1972.
405. Lerna III 18 with further references; only three sherds were found at Tsoungiza: Tsoungiza 483.
406. French and French 1971; French 1972.
407. Lerna III 19; Tsoungiza 483, class 53.
408. French and French 1971.
409. Lerna III 26-27; Tsoungiza 483, class 58.
410. Infra p. 205.

## Fine Grey-Burnished

The closed vessel 29 belongs to the Fine Grey-Burnished class from Lerna ${ }^{411}$ and Tsoungiza. ${ }^{412}$ It is handmade, with fine and soft light grey $5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ fabric with sparse white inclusions and unpainted smoothed exterior surface. Neck and rim are missing, but the flat base, globular profile, and start of a vertical strap handle on the shoulder suggest an askos. ${ }^{413}$

## Coarse

Thirty three body and two base sherds from S SU 34, locus 7 belong to coarse storage and cooking vessels (not included in the catalogue). These are small belly pieces (avg. dim. $5 \times 7 \mathrm{~cm}$, avg. wall th. $0.4-0.7 \mathrm{~cm}, 390$ grams): the open vases were probably bowls and the closed medium-sized jars. Three pieces are thicker (wall th. $0.8-1.1 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) and probably belonged to pithoi. Fabrics are coarse, black or dark grey at the core and light brown, reddish brown, or light grey at the surface, with dense small lime and pebble inclusions; nine sherds have mica. Twelve sherds are burnished but the surfaces of the rest are untreated. The two bases are flat, but their diameters could not be established. Based on the dating of the decorated pieces from this SU, these sherds can be dated to EH II.

## SHAPES

## Sauceboat

Shape and size. Sauceboats are represented by a few Dark Painted and Light Painted Fine Polished pieces, but most are undiagnostic and cannot be assigned to one of Caskey's ${ }^{414}$ four types. The exceptions are the wide and long spouts of $\mathbf{1}$ and 3 , which identify them as type 1 sauceboats, ${ }^{415}$ whereas the short spout of 2 with the sharply everted rim could belong to a type 2 or 4 sauceboat; ${ }^{416}$ the Light Painted Fine Polished 18-21 have been tentatively assigned to type 3 , as at Lerna this is the commonest type of sauceboat for this class. ${ }^{417}$ Because of the fragmentary nature of these pieces, the original size of the sauceboats to which they belonged cannot be estimated, but on the basis of the thickness of its walls, $\mathbf{1}$ belonged to a fairly large sauceboat (max. th. 0.7), whereas the rest were smaller (0.3-0.4).

Fabrics and manufacture. All sauceboat fragments are handmade, with fine (2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 1821) or fairly fine $(\mathbf{1}, \mathbf{3}, \mathbf{6})$ fabrics ranging in color from pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 4-8 / 3$ to light 10 YR $7 / 4$ or very pale $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ or reddish brown $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 3-4 / 3$, or even reddish yellow 7.5 YR

[^65][^66]$7 / 6-8 / 6$ or light red (2.5YR 6/6). 3 has few lime inclusions, but the fabric of the rest is clean and well-levigated.
Surface treatment and decoration. 1-8 are Dark Painted, with external surfaces covered with a red (10R 5/6-2.5YR 4/6), dusky red (2.5YR 4/4-10R 3/3), or yellowish red (5YR 5/6) glazes, thin $(\mathbf{1}, \mathbf{3}, 6,8)$ or thick $(2,4,5,7)$. Internal surfaces are painted in the same color as the external ones, except for $\mathbf{1}$, the interior surface of which preserves traces of red (10R 5/8) to light red (10R 6/8) paint and 5, which has a red (10R 5/8) to black paint on the inside; faint brush marks are visible on most sauceboats. The surfaces of $\mathbf{1 8 - 2 1}$ are painted with a very pale brown (10YR 8/3) paint with bluish streaks and have been polished.
Provenience. The only stratified pieces are 3-6 and 18-21, which were found in S SU 34, locus 7. 1 and 2 were found by Mylonas on the surface of the south slope.

Origin and comparanda. Sauceboats constitute, of course, the most characteristic shape of the period and originally could have been made in wood ${ }^{418}$ or even produced from a gourd. ${ }^{419}$ Although an Anatolian origin for the shape has been suggested, ${ }^{420}$ the shape could have developed in the Cyclades, where some early forms of spouted saucers could have been its precursors. ${ }^{421}$ Its geographical distribution is wide: from Thessaly ${ }^{422}$ to the East Aegean and Crete. ${ }^{423}$ In terms of regional variation, Fahy ${ }^{424}$ has already noticed the high frequency of the low and open type 1 in the northeastern Peloponnese and the Cyclades and of the deeper type 4 in the Argolid; the popularity of pedestal bases in Attica and Boeotia (with more limited occurrence in Corinth, Lefkas, Naxos and Syros); and similarities in the form of the spout in Syros, Lefkas, and Aghios Kosmas. The types distinguished at Aegina ${ }^{425}$ seem to reflect chronological rather than regional variation. In fact the peculiar sauceboat of Group IX at Kolonna ${ }^{426}$ could be considered a hybrid form between the standard sauceboat and the tankard of the Kastri/Lefkandi I phase. ${ }^{427}$ Type 1 sauceboats could have come from the Cyclades. ${ }^{428}$

The typological evolution of sauceboats during the EH II can be followed in well stratified sites. ${ }^{429}$ In most sites, sauceboats from earlier strata are covered with dark paint belong

[^67]connection between Early Minoan sauceboats to Cycladic rather than Helladic prototypes. 424. Fahy 1962, 104-106.
425. Attic-Cycladic, Saronic, and Peloponnesian: Alt-Ägina III.1, 104.
426. Alt-Ägina III.1 pl. 84:125.
427. Rutter 1983, 344 n. 54.
428. Lerna IV 591.
429. Tiryns IV 15-16; Orchomenos III 38-43; Caskey 1960, 290-291, fig. 1; Cf. Fahy 1962, 23, 107; Renard 1989, pl. XLV:3-6.
to one of two types. The first is low and shallow (type 1), which at Lerna is introduced in late Phase A and used extensively in Phase B. ${ }^{430}$ The other type is deeper and cylindrical (type 3) and is also widely distributed in early EH II strata. ${ }^{431}$ In later strata the shape becomes deeper and rounder and appears still in dark glaze, while cylindrical sauceboats occur in light glaze. Sauceboats with deep angled body (type 4) appear in later stages of the period. ${ }^{432}$ At Tiryns, a type with very deep, almost carinated saucer appears in the Übergang phase, which seems to postdate the last phase at Lerna III;; ${ }^{433}$ sauceboats found in strata of the Kastri/Lefkandi group ${ }^{434}$ are too fragmentary for reconstruction.

The use of the sauceboat is controversial. It has been considered an oil lamp, ${ }^{435}$ a ritual vase, ${ }^{436}$ a vessel for making cheese ${ }^{437}$ or simply a pouring vessel. ${ }^{438}$ It seems clear, however, that it was a pouring vessel; the spout in some cases is disproportionately long and unsuitable for drinking and some variations of the type have double or triple spouts. Furthermore, the handle is suitable for pouring and not for drinking, as it is in the back and not the sides of the vessel.

## SAUCER

Shape and size. Six sherds belong to saucers: 12 and 22 are inturned rims from type 2 saucers; ${ }^{439} \mathbf{1 0}, \mathbf{1 1}, \mathbf{1 3}$, and 14 are belly parts and cannot be assigned to a specific type. ${ }^{440}$ Wall thickness ranges from 0.5 to 0.7 , with the exception of $\mathbf{1 2}$, which is slightly thinner. Only the rim diameter of 22 can be established at 19 cm but the small size of the preserved part of this vase does not allow the calculation of the ratio of interior height to rim diameter. ${ }^{441}$ Fabrics and manufacture. They have fine fabrics, ranging in color from brown (7.5YR 5/2) to very pale brown (10YR 8/4) or pink (7.5YR 8/3-7/4-/8); 11 has sparse silver mica and 13 few stone inclusions.

[^68]433. Weisshaar 1981, fig. 85:14.
434. E.g. Wilson and Eliot 1984, 81-83.
435. Tsountas 1899, 94, 99; Aghios Kosmas 25.
436. Weinberg 1969, 5-7.
437. Tsountas 1899, 94.
438. Tiryns IV 11; Renfrew 1972, 284; Cf. Fahy 1962, 19; less likely a drinking cup: Tsoungiza 549.
439. Lerna IV 596 and fig. II. 76c; Tsoungiza 354, form 7.
440. For the Lerna and Tsoungiza types see Lerna IV 599-606; Tsoungiza 353-356.
441. As per Tsoungiza 354.

Surface treatment and decoration. All fragments belong to the Dark Painted class, ${ }^{442}$ except for 22, which is Light Painted Burnished. External surfaces are covered with red or black paint of varying thickness: $\mathbf{1 0}$ and $\mathbf{1 1}$ are covered with a thin red $10 \mathrm{R} 4 / 6$ to $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6$ glaze, but the majority of the sherds have a thick, good quality black or red paint. 14 preserves burnishing marks.
Provenience. The only stratified pieces are 10, 11, and 22 (S SU 34, locus 7).
Comparanda. Saucers are very common in EH II and they usually have curved bodies and inturned rims. ${ }^{443}$ At Lerna type 2 saucers (such as 22) appear in late phase IIIA, possibly developing from the earlier larger ones and continue in IIIB and IIIC, when Light Painted Burnished type 2 saucers are common. ${ }^{444}$ Type 2 saucers, mostly Dark Painted, appear in advanced EH II phases in most sites. ${ }^{445}$

## Closed Vessels

Three sherds $(\mathbf{1 5}, \mathbf{1 6}, \mathbf{1 7})$ of the Dark Painted class have been classified as jars on account of the thickness of their walls ( $0.6-0.7 \mathrm{~cm}$.) and their fabrics, which are fairly coarse and micaceous, ranging in color from black to dark grey to reddish brown; $\mathbf{1 5}$ has lime inclusions and 16 shows traces or burnishing. ${ }^{446}$

## TANKARD

Shape and size. 23, 24, 25, and 26 belong to tankards, but their specific type cannot be identified. 23 and 24, which were located and examined in the museum, come from the lower part of the shoulder (23) and the upper part of the belly (24); the other two pieces have not been located and are known only from the photographs published by Mylonas. The lack of handles and rims makes assignment to a specific type impossible, although given that at Lerna L-o-D decoration is not used on neck-handled tankards, ${ }^{447}$ these pieces may belong to either rim-handled (Form I) or shoulder-handled (Form III) tankards; Mylonas ${ }^{448}$ draws a parallel with shoulder-handled tankards from Korakou ${ }^{449}$ and at Tsoungiza L-o-D

[^69]na III. 1 pls 81, 86; Weisshaar 1981, 226-228; Berbati fig. 112; Korakou fig. 5:2-5:3; Asea figs 73, 75; Aghios Kosmas fig. 129; Eutresis fig. 128; for other parallels see Lerna III 597-601.
446. For the coarse sherds found in S SU 34, locus

7, which may have belonged to jars, see supra p. 200.
447. Lerna III 279-281.
448. Eleusis 62, n. 1.
449. Korakou figs 10-11.
decoration is used on shoulder-handled tankards, ${ }^{450}$ which suggest that the Eleusinian pieces belong to this type. The thickness of the walls ( $0.5-0.6 \mathrm{~cm}$.) would suggest a medium size.

Fabrics and manufacture. 23 and 24 are handmade, with a fine, reddish yellow 5YR 6/6-7.5 YR 8/6 fabric.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are covered with a semi-lustrous black or dark blue glaze, on which linear patterns in white matt paint have been executed. The pieces are too small to allow the identification of syntax modes identified at Lerna ${ }^{451}$ and Tsoungiza. ${ }^{452}$ The patterns of 23 and 24 are horizontal lines ${ }^{453}$ from which hang triangles in white paint. ${ }^{454}$ 25 and 26 are decorated with cross-hatching. ${ }^{455}$ None of these motifs appears at Tsoungiza. ${ }^{456}$
Origin and comparanda. The tankard appears to have been of Anatolian origin and a onehandled version appears in the transitional Kastri/Lefkandi I phase in the Cyclades and on Euboia, before it is standardized into its two-handled version in the EH III on the Mainland. Rim-handled tankards are attested already in the first phase of Lerna IV, but become more common in later phases. ${ }^{457}$ Perhaps a later EH III phase can be postulated for the Eleusinian pieces. Its origin and distribution in other sites is detailed by Rutter. ${ }^{458}$

## Two-Handled Bowl

Shape and size. The two-handled bowl 27 has everted rim, ovoid body, flat base, and two thickened strap handles from the shoulder to the point of maximum diameter. Its dimensions (h. 8.5, max. diam. 11) place it in the group of small bowls from Lerna IV.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fairly fine fabric, reddish brown 10YR 4/1, with few stone inclusions.

Surface treatment and decoration. Its surface is covered with a dark brown 10YR 4/1-4/2 slip and is burnished.

Provenience. From the bedrock under the floor of House Z (S SU 29, locus 1).
Origin and distribution in other sites. At Lerna the shape is common in Phases IV. 2 and IV.3. ${ }^{459}$ The shape is of Mainland origin, ${ }^{460}$ possibly deriving from EH II two-handled jars. ${ }^{461}$

[^70]457. Lerna III 277.
458. Rim-handled, Form I: Lerna III 276-277; shoulder-handled, Form II: ibid. 283-284, 286-288, 293295, 297-301.
459. Lerna III 365.
460. Rutter 1982, 417.
461. Lerna III 376; Cf. Aghios Kosmas drawing 55:S-17.

The distribution of small and medium-sized two-handled bowls of this type is detailed by Rutter. ${ }^{462}$ This bowl may have been the ancestor of the MH rounded bowl. ${ }^{463}$ A large version of this shape appears in MH I at Lerna, ${ }^{464}$ so 27 could also date to early MH and has been assigned a chronological range of EH III-MH I.

## One-Handled Cup

Shape and size. 28 is an one-handled cup with everted rim and one vertical strap handle from the rim to the middle of the lower part of the body, similar to Rutter's Form IV.1a. ${ }^{465}$ The height of the vase (ranging from 4.8 to 5.9 cm ) is smaller than the rim diameter (5.5-9.4).

Fabrics and manufacture. Handmade, with fairly coarse fabric with dense small stone inclusions and mica; red 10R 5/6.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface is unpainted but burnished. ${ }^{466}$
Provenience. It was found in House B (S SU 23).
Comparanda. One-handled cups are common in EH III sites and most examples are unpainted and burnished, ${ }^{467}$ although several painted examples were found at Tsoungiza. ${ }^{468}$

## Asкоs

As mentioned above, 29 could have been an askos, on account of its flat base, globular profile, and vertical strap handle on the shoulder: it may belong to Rutter's Form XX, type 2,469 a type that is rare, both at Lerna and in other sites. The difficulty with this identification is that askoi of this type are not made in Fine Grey-Burnished ware, but in L-o-D. ${ }^{470}$ The Lerna askoi of this type occur only in Phase 1, so 29 may be dated to an early EH III phase.

## SUMMARY

The sparse EH material includes early EH II type 1 sauceboats, "Faience Ware" sauceboats, and sauceboats with thick and fairly lustrous dark red or black Urfirnis paint. Type

[^71]mottled red and brown slip, but the more globular HV 14 is recorded as unpainted but "polished". 467. See the comparanda in Lerna III 311.
468. Tsoungiza 519-521.
469. Lerna III 439-440, Ill. S-20.
470. See the comparanda in Lerna III 440.

2 saucers, light painted burnished pots, and thin Urfirnis paint can be dated to the later phases of EH II; vases of the EH IIB Kastri/Lefkandi group have not been identified. For EH III, the ?askos may be early, but the tankards belong to a late phase of EH III. The few pattern-painted sherds are decorated in L-o-D, which is common in central Mainland, especially Boeotia and Phocis but less so in the Peloponnese, where D-o-L patterned wares appear to be at home. ${ }^{471}$ Because of the paucity of the EH III material, the absence of D-o-L decoration could be accidental.

## MIDDLE HELLADIC

## provenience, size, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The MH pottery from Eleusis consists of approximately 10,000 sherds and 35 complete or nearly-complete vases, the vast majority of which are MP or GM. Approximately seventy percent are of unknown provenience. The specific findspots of MP wares are discussed in the corresponding sections below.

## CLASSIFICATION

The first systematic classification of MH pottery, based on surface treatment and decoration, was introduced by Wace and Blegen ${ }^{472}$ and was refined by more recent scholars. ${ }^{473}$ The most important contribution to the analysis of the pottery of this period came from Carol Zerner's work at Lerna: ${ }^{474}$ here, Zerner introduced a set of objective criteria based on technological characteristics, which allowed for greater precision in the definition of ceramic groups and the study of production and distribution of MH ceramics. It is one of the drawbacks of the present study that I have been unable to apply Zerner's fabric classifications in the material from Eleusis. The main reason is that the project started in the late 1980's, before these fabric categories were finalized; to adopt these categories mid-project would have necessitated a re-examination of the material in the museum, for which I did not have the resources. So in the analysis of the MH ceramic material I maintain the traditional "wares" (Matt-Painted, Grey Minyan, etc.), which are so embedded in scholarship, that they allow easily comparisons with the material from other sites. At the same time, recognizing the value of Zerner's fabric groups, these broad traditional wares are divided into "classes" defined in terms of fabric characteristics. The shapes and, where applicable, decoration are discussed within each class. This overall classification system is shown in Table 4.

## PATTERN-PAINTED POTTERY: MATT PAINTED

## DEFINITION

The definition of MP pottery relies on the composition of its paint. For the purposes of this study, as MP have been classified all sherds decorated with dark brown or black lusterless manganese-based paint. ${ }^{475}$ The geographical extent of MP pottery covers the "core
472. Wace and Blegen 1918; Cf. Korakou 19-34.
473. French 1972; Dietz 1991.
474. Zerner 1978; 1986; 1993.
475. Zerner 1993, 44, with further references; for
area", but MP pots appear also in Thessaly, Phocis, and the Cyclades. Despite the general use of what appears to be a common decorative tradition, MH MP pottery is not homogeneous and presents significant regional variation. ${ }^{476}$

| PATTERN-PAINTED |  | BURNISHED |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MATT-PAINTED | GREY MINYAN | UNPAINTED |
| Dark Tempered | Fine | PLAIN |
| Gold Mica | Typical | Gork Tempered |
| Fine Untempered | Graphite | Silver Mica |
| Fine Micaceous | Light grey | INCISED/PLASTIC/IMPRESSED |
| Cycladic Micaceous | Greyish-Brown |  |
| LUSTROUS DECORATED | Coarse/Fairly Coarse |  |
|  | DARK bURNISHED |  |

Table 4. Classification of MBA pottery at Eleusis.

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL
After conservation, the MP pottery from Eleusis amounted to approximately 2800 sherds. Of these, 2500 bear painted decoration and the rest belong to unpainted parts of MP vessels or to parts of undecorated vessels with the same fabrics as MP pottery. Most sherds are belly parts, followed by rims, necks, handles, and bases (fig. 173). The material is fragmentary: with the exception of a handful of complete or nearly-complete vases, it consists of sherds averaging 6.2 cm in height, 2.5 cm in width, and $0.7-4.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ in wall thickness. Approximately $2.5 \%$ showed recent breaks and could not be restored.

The MP material is significantly smaller than the material recovered from other MH sites of similar or smaller size, ${ }^{477}$ a result of the extensive destruction that the MH layers have suffered by later construction, but also of excavation bias, as there are no records of

[^72]476. French 1972, 30-32; Wünsche 1977a, 9; Pevkakia 148.
477. For example, over 20,000 MP sherds were found at the Aspis of Argos (Philippa-Touchais 2002, 4).


Fig. 173. Frequency of preserved parts of MH MP sherds.


Fig. 174. Frequency of the five fabric classes of MP pottery.
discarded vs. kept pottery. There is a large number of plain and coarse undiagnostic body sherds in the museum, but they can not be dated.

FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE
The fabrics of MP pots from Eleusis fall into five main classes (fig. 174) and several subclasses, on the basis of their inclusions, quality, and color.

## Dark Tempered (DT)

This class is represented by 434 pots/sherds spanning the entire MH period (fig. 174). The fabric is characterized by the presence of black to dark grey sharp-edged grits (small rock inclusions) of very small to medium size ( 1 to 4 mm ). The grits are in most cases very sparsely arranged and are visible on the fracture and sometimes on the surface. White lime inclusions appear often along with the black grits, or can be assumed on the basis of small holes on the surface of the sherds. The following subclasses are distinguished.

## FINE / FAIRLY FINE

Dark-tempered fabrics are used predominantly for fine and fairly fine pots and can be divided into several groups according to the color of the fabric. The largest group, containing about $40 \%$ of this subclass, consists of pale yellow fabrics ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-7 / 4-8 / 2-8 / 3$ to 5 Y $7 / 3-8 / 2-8 / 3$ ), belonging to type 1 jars, jugs, spouted bowls, angular cups with everted rims, and angular bowls with flat rims. Light brown (10YR 6/3-8/3) to light brownish grey or yellowish brown (10YR 6/2-6/4) fabrics represent $37 \%$ of this subclass and are used for type 1 jars, jugs, bowls, and angular stemmed cups. The third largest group ( $11 \%$ ) contains red (2.5YR $6 / 4$ or 10R $6 / 4$ ) to light reddish brown (5YP 6/4) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6$5 / 8$ or $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ ) sherds from spouted bowls, angular and rounded cups, as well as few type 1 pithoi (all fairly fine). Finally, two smaller groups of fine and fairly fine DT fabrics have been also identified: a porous light brown/brown 10YR 6/3-8/3 or pale to dark yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-8 / 3$ fabric ( $9 \%$ ) is used for angular bowls with flat rims, type 1 jars, and type 2 pithoi; and a sandy porous light brown/brown 10YR 6/3-8/3 or pale to dark yellow 2.5 Y $7 / 3-8 / 3$ fabric ( $3 \%$ ) has been identified in a few body sherds that could not be assigned to a particular form. Fine DT fabrics are present in all phases of the Middle Bronze Age, but show a heavy concentration in the Middle Helladic II period (ca $66 \%$ ). Only three fine DT examples are dated to MH I.

## FAIRLY COARSE

This is a small subclass, containing only 33 sherds. Eleven of these sherds belong to type 1 pithoi and type 1 jars with non-porous light brown (10YR 6/3-8/3 to light brownish grey or yellowish brown 10YR 6/2-6/4) fabrics. Another eleven sherds have non-porous
red (2.5YR 6/4 or 10R 6/4 to light reddish brown 5YP $6 / 4$ to reddish yellow 5YR 6/6-5/8 or 7.5YR 6/6) fabrics, all from angular bowls with everted rims. Seven sherds have nonporous pale yellow ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-7 / 4-8 / 2-8 / 3$ to $5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-8 / 2-8 / 3$ ) fabrics and belong to type 1 pithoi, spouted bowls, and jugs. Finally, only four sherds have porous light brown/brown or pale to dark yellow fabrics, but they are all body sherds from closed vessels and could not be attributed to a specific shape. Approximately half of Fairly Coarse DT sherds date to the MH II period. Type 1 pithoi exhibit the widest variety, with fabrics ranging from dark grey 10YR $4 / 1$ to reddish brown 5YR $6 / 6$ to pale yellow $2.58 / 2$ to $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 2$ or even reddish yellow $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 6$. The porous light brown group is not represented on the table, because these sherds could not be assigned to a specific shape.

## COARSE

Only eleven Coarse DT sherds have been identified in the material. Six fragments of type 2 pithoi have light brown 10YR 6/3-8/3 to light brownish grey or yellowish brown 10YR 6/2-6/4 fabrics. Four type 1 jars and type 1 pithoi have pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-7 / 4$ $8 / 2-8 / 3$ to $5 Y 7 / 3-8 / 2-8 / 3$ fabrics, and only one sherd (88) from an angular bowl with flat rim has a light red 10Y $6 / 3$ fabric. More than $60 \%$ of these sherds date to MH II.

Overall, DT fabrics are used mostly for jars, jugs, and pithoi and less often for cups and bowls. Their use spans the entire MH period, although they are more predominant in MH II. ${ }^{478}$

## Gold Mica

Gold Mica fabrics constitute a large class, representing more than half of the MP pottery and spanning the entire MH period (fig. 174). They range from fairly fine to fairly coarse and include the characteristic gold biotite particles. They are handmade, but some open shapes have traces of wiping (e.g. 42, 43), which resemble wheelmarks.

## FINE AND FAIRLY FINE

This subclass amounts to $86 \%$ of all Gold Mica pieces. The largest group consists of pale yellow to yellow fabrics ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-8 / 3$ to 5 YR 6/6-7/3-7/6) with few small inclusions and occasionally with holes from burned organic temper. These fabrics are used mostly for type 1 jars, type 1 pithoi, angular bowls with everted rims, and rounded bowls with everted rims; less often, they are used for angular cups with flaring rims, jugs, rounded cups with everted rims and spouted bowls. Light brown to brown (10YR 8/3-/7/4-8/3) fabrics with

[^73]few small inclusions are used mainly for angular bowls with flat or slightly everted rims, type 1 jars and type 2 pithoi. A third group contains reddish yellow (5YR 6/6-6/8-7/6-7/8) to pinkish red ( $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 6$ ) fabrics, usually with dense small-sized stone inclusions and occasionally holes from burned organic matter; these fabrics are used for jugs, type 2 pithoi, rounded bowls and cups with everted rims and, rarely, for spouted and angular bowls. Fine to fairly fine Gold Mica fabrics are present in all phases of the Middle Bronze Age but peak in MH II (almost $80 \%$ of the total).

## FINE POROUS

Gold Mica Fine Porous fabrics form the second largest subclass of Gold Mica wares, amounting to approximately $8 \%$ of the total. The fabric is distinguished by its light porous surface with very small holes caused by lime popping or spalling. Most pieces are pale yellow to yellow (predominantly, though, very light yellow 5Y 8/2-8/3) and are used for jars with or without distinct necks, type 1 pithoi and rounded bowls with everted rims; numerous body fragments of indistinguishable shape belong to this group, as well. Light brown ( $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ ) fabrics represent about one fifth of this group and are used mainly for type 1 jars. This fabric group is found in both the MH I and II periods; but is not attested among the datable MH III pieces.

## FINE SANDY / POROUS

Fine sandy / porous Gold Mica fabrics amount to about one percent of all the Gold Mica pieces, all of which date to MH II. They are characterized by a sandy and soft porous texture, with small or medium-sized holes created by lime popping or spalling. The commonest groups are brown (10YR 7/3-7/4-8/3) and yellow ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-7 / 4,5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 2$ ), with $75 \%$ of the material belonging to type 1 jars and type 1 pithoi in pale yellow to yellow colors. This fabric has also been identified in several undiagnostic body fragments.

FINE WITH BLACK BIOTITE
This subclass comprises the third commonest fabric category of Gold Mica ware, amounting to about five percent of the total and is characterized by the presence of black biotite in addition to the usual Gold Mica pellets. ${ }^{479}$ Colors range from yellow (pale yellow 2.5 Y 7.3 to reddish yellow $5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ ) to red (pinkish red $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$ ) or pale brown ( 5 YR $6 / 6$ ). Fine yellow fabrics with black biotite are the commonest, used mostly for angular

[^74]bowls with flat or everted rims; red fabrics are usually encountered in rounded bowls with everted rims; and pale brown fabrics for type 1 jars and type 1 pithoi. There are no identified MH III examples.

COARSE
Coarse fabrics comprise numerically the smaller subclass of Gold Mica pottery (only $0.3 \%$ of the total). They are attested in MH I and II, but this is probably a bias due to the fragmentary nature of the material. They fall into the same groups as fine/fairly fine pots and are used mostly for storage vases, especially type 1 pithoi.

## Fine, Untempered

This class represents about eight percent of the MP pottery and appears in all three periods (fig. 174). It is characterized by pieces with no or, in rare cases, very few limestone inclusions, tiny ( 1 or 2 mm ) and very sparsely arranged. It is possible that some pieces of this class may in reality have had gold mica, which is simply not preserved in the particular sherds. ${ }^{480}$ Three subclasses have been distinguished.

## YELLOW / BROWN / RED

This subclass amounts to $80 \%$ of the Fine Untempered fabrics. About half of the pots are yellow (pale yellow $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3-8 / 2$ to reddish yellow $5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6,7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6-7 / 6$ ) and used for a wide range of shapes: type 1 jars; jugs; angular bowls with flat or slightly everted rims; angular cups with flaring and everted rims; and rounded cups with everted rims. Pale brown (10YR 6/4-7/3-7/4) to light brownish grey or yellowish brown (5YR 6/2-6/4) fabrics are mainly used for angular bowls with flat or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims and spouted bowls. The third group has light red (2.5YR 6/4) fabrics and is only used for type 1 pithoi and type 1 jars. Fine brown-yellow-red fabrics are present in all MH periods.

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POROUS (FINE)
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This is a small group (about four percent of the Fine Untempered material), characterized by pots/sherds of porous and usually soft texture that are also very fine. Fabric colors include two groups. Pale brown (10YR 6/3-7/3-8/3) fabrics are used for type 1 jars, type 2 pithoi, and Bogenrippen amphoras. Yellow (pale yellow 5Y 7/2-7/3 to reddish yellow

[^75]2.5YR 8/4) fabrics are used for rounded bowls with everted rims, spouted bowls, type 1 pithoi and angular cups with everted rims. This subclass appears almost exclusively in MH II.

SANDY POROUS (FINE)
Sandy porous fabrics (about $16 \%$ of Fine Untempered) have a soft sandy texture that is usually also porous. As with the Sandy subclass, the most common clay color is yellow (2.5Y 7/3-7/4,5Y8/2), found on MH II type 1 jars and type 1 pithoi; a few brown (10YR $7 / 3-7 / 4-8 / 3$ ) body pieces could not be assigned to a specific shape.

## Fine Micaceous

This is a very small class, with only seven pots/sherds. These are fine pieces in brown or red fabrics, with few thin silver mica grits ( 1 to 3 mm ); macroscopically they resemble Argive or Boeotian fabrics. This class is represented by MH I type 1 pithoi (70). It seems to disappear in MH II (fig. 174), but it appears again in MH III with angular cups with everted rims decorated with spirals (250).

## Cycladic Micaceous

This class, referred to in the catalogue simply as "Keian", is represented by thirteen pots/sherds belonging to the MC II period (Keos period IV). ${ }^{481}$ The fabric is characterized by the presence of silver mica and quartz inclusions very small to medium size, 1 to 3 $\mathrm{mm} .{ }^{482}$ The inclusions are in most cases densely arranged on the clay matrix and are visible both on the surface and the fracture. The fabric is usually fairly coarse to coarse and often gritty. Cycladic (Keian) micaceous clays are used for large fairly coarse to coarse vessels, like type 1 pithoi (e.g. 207, 208) and in one case for a bowl (105). Almost every Keian sherd from the Eleusinian material belongs to large coarse pithoid vessels. The color of the fabric is in most cases red to dark red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6$ to $6 / 6-6 / 8$. In three examples the fabric differs slightly from the norm being reddish brown 5 YR 4/3 (213) or pale brown 10 YR 8/2 (105 and 215). Two rim and upper body fragments of type 1 pithoi are preserved among the material (207 and 216). The rims are thick everted and flattened perforated or/and with ledge at the top to support the lid. The walls of the upper body are straight and slightly conical. The sherd that possibly belongs to a bowl (105) is not particularly indicative of the shape of the vessel (whether it belongs to a globular or angular bowl), but it has a yellowish

[^76]482. For a condensed presentation of the Ayia Irini fabrics see Davis and Williams 1981, 291-300.
slip at both sides, on the exterior and on the interior. No identifiable handles and bases/lower body fragments have been found among the material. All sherds are handmade, a fact that corresponds to the examples from Ayia Irini.

All the Cycladic micaceous (Keian) pots/sherds are characterized by a thick yellowcreamy slip, which is the main typological trait of the Keian category known as "Dark-onLight yellow slipped ware" ${ }^{483}$ The slip in the sherds from Eleusis is either yellowish brown 10 YR 6/4-7/4 (207 and 211), pale yellow $2 / 5$ YR 8/3 (208), or very pale brown 10 YR 8/2 (209 and 220); note that in Keos "yellow slipped ware is the Keian equivalent of the coarse fabrics of Middle Helladic MP ware". ${ }^{484}$ Surfaces are smoothed and slipped, creating a light ground for the dark decoration in matt paint. Interior surfaces are usually only smoothed. At Eleusis only the D-o-L decorated variety is present: In D-o-L white slipped style the prevalent shapes are barrel jars (here type 1 pithoi), deep basins, and globular jars (which have not been identified at Eleusis). The only exception is 221, which belongs to a Cycladic bichrome jar: its sandy greenish buff and slightly porous fabric with calcite and black grits points to a Theran or Melian origin.

## SHAPES

In total ten open and seven closed shapes have been identified in the MP pottery of Eleusis (fig. 175).

BowL
ANGULAR BOWL

## Angular bowl with flat vertical or slightly incurving rim

Shape and size. Flat vertical or incurving rim, inverted conical outline with a sharp angle from the upper to the lower body, two horizontal lug handles under the rim; walls are fairly thick, usually $0.8-1 \mathrm{~cm}$ (although some sherds are as thin as 0.6 cm or as thick as 1.4 cm ); rim diameters range from 38 to 41 cm . The lip can be horizontal or sloping towards the interior of the vase and presents a slight thickening on both the internal and the external surfaces (41), or only the external surface (43). Handles are 1.5-1.8 cm thick and $2.5-4.8 \mathrm{~cm}$ wide. No identifiable bases have been found, but in other sites these bowls can have either a ring base or a tall cylindrical stem. ${ }^{485}$ At Aegina, Siedentopf traces the development of the outline of the rim from an early incurving type in MH I to a more upright rim in MH II, ${ }^{486}$ which also seems to apply to the Eleusinian material (fig. 176). Angular bowls

[^77]$\square$
Angular bowl with flat vertical or slightly incurving rim

Spouted bowl


Angular bowl with sharply inturned rim
Angular bowl with everted rim Rounded bowl with everted rim Plate

Angular cup with everted rim
Stemmed angular cup with everted rim

Beak-spouted jug

Jar with distinct neck (type 1)
Jar without distinct neck (type 2)
Pithos with thick everted rim (type 1)
Wide-mouthed pithos
(type 2) Angular cup with flaring rim

Thelastron
Boggenrippen amphora

Rounded cup with everted rim

Fig. 175. MP shapes.

Fig. 176. Rim outlines of MP angular bowls with flat rims.
with flat rim have not been found in the West Cemetery. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape A1 (Basin-shaped bowl).
Fabrics and manufacture. With the exception of 85 and 88 all sherds are wheelmade. Approximately half of the identified sherds have gold mica; the few non-gold mica sherds are either Fine Untempered (41) or DT (77).
Surface treatment and decoration. Almost all the bowls of this shape are coated with a thin slip, ranging in color from very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4-8/3 to pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 4-7 / 3-$ $8 / 3$ or reddish yellow 5YP $7 / 6$ (82); the handle 88 is coated with a thicker reddish brown 5YR 6/3 slip, whereas two sherds $(79,84)$ have pink $7.5 \mathrm{YP} 7 / 4$ slips. Internal surfaces are
usually slipped and polished, or smoothed (as in 77). The only sherd without a slip is $\mathbf{8 1}$, which has been burnished to a reddish yellow $7.5 \mathrm{YP} 6 / 6$ color.

The main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone at the height of the handles; this zone is defined at the top by a thick horizontal line under the rim and at the bottom by another line at the point of the angle to the lower part of the vase. The only motif that can be dated to MH I consists of groups of straight parallel diagonal lines: this finds exact parallels in MH I Aegina ${ }^{487}$ and is found on a sherd of Aeginetan origin (40). In general, groups of straight vertical lines are placed at the end of the decorative zone on either side of the handles. ${ }^{488}$ The standard motif for this shape is X-pattern, which appears in three variants:
a) In the first, the $X$ is designed with a single thick line in a panel defined by one thick vertical line (41, 42, 43); this variant has both MH I ${ }^{489}$ and $\mathrm{MH} \mathrm{II}^{490}$ parallels and on some pots it is used in combination with variant $\mathbf{b}$ (below), as in 43.
b) In the second variant the X is designed with two (e.g. 74, 77) or three (e.g. 82) thin parallel lines crossing each other; this motif, usually placed in wide panels with groups of straight vertical parallel lines, is common in Aegina ${ }^{491}$ and Argos ${ }^{492}$ and also appears at Eutresis. ${ }^{493}$
c) The third variant consists of X-pattern designed with one thick and three thin lines (only on 83).

Other motifs used on these bowls are groups of straight parallel vertical lines spanning the entire decorative zone $(85,86,87)$, alternating with X-pattern with two or three thin lines; these also appear in both MH I and MH II levels at Aegina. ${ }^{494}$ Chains of cross-hatched lozenges (243) appear in MH III at Lerna, but on different shapes. ${ }^{495}$

Interestingly, a series of Aeginetan motifs are not present at Eleusis, including X-pattern with solid fill, ${ }^{496}$ hour-glass motif, ${ }^{497}$ single zig-zag lines ${ }^{498}$ and cross-hatched arches. ${ }^{499}$ Secondary decoration consists of vertical strokes on the flat surface of the rim.
Stratigraphic provenience. In the deepest strata of the section under wall 2 (E SU 10, locus 1) were found 80 and 82 (E SU 10, locus 1); 83 was found in locus 12 of the same SU. Two sherds ( 74 and 75) were found in S SU 34, locus 3 of the new excavations. 40 was found in S SU 21 (area of the so-called "Tholos Tomb"), and two were found in the Sacred House: 79 (locus 204) and 89 (locus 280).
487. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 418-420.
488. Ibid. 33.
489. Cf. ibid. no. 429.
490. Cf. ibid. no. 449.
491. Ibid. no. 443.
492. Philippa-Touchais 2002, figs 2 and 3:8.
493. Eutresis fig. 211:2-3.
494. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 419, 453.

[^78]

Fig. 177. Motifs of angular bowls with flat rims.

Comparanda. At both Lerna and Aegina this shape is found in the earliest MH levels and may have been a descendant of the EH III bowl with inturned rim and horizontal handles. ${ }^{500}$ It is commonly encountered in MH sites, including Aspis at Argos, ${ }^{501}$ Asine, ${ }^{502}$ Lerna, ${ }^{503}$ Eutresis, ${ }^{504}$ and the Athenian Agora. ${ }^{505}$ The vast majority of the Eleusinian pieces appear to have been of Aeginetan origin: 40, 42, 43, 74, 79, 80, 82, 243, and 394 have Gold Mica or biotite fabrics, whereas the Fine Untempered 41, 78, 81, 84, and 86 can be identified as Aeginetan on the basis of typological parallels with Aeginetan bowls. The decoration of the DT 77 finds precise parallels at Aegina.

## Angular bowl with sharply inturned rim

Conical outline with rim sharply turning towards the interior and ring base. This is a rare shape, ${ }^{506}$ represented only by one piece (119) made of fairly fine, pink 7.5YR 7/4 fabric with few lime inclusions. It is decorated with horizontal herringbone under the exterior rim. Wall thickness ranges from 0.7 to 1 cm , rim diameter is 23 cm and base diameter 6.2 cm . It is dated to MH II, on the basis of its similarity with Alt-Ägina IV.2: 412.

## Angular bowl with everted rim

Shape and size. Everted rim, inverted conical outline forming a carination or a sharp angle close to the rim, two vertical crescent-lug handles under the carination, ring base. Rim outlines can be similar to those of angular stemmed cups, but the diameters of the bowls range between 20 and 29 cm , whereas those of the cups between 10 and 14 cm ; furthermore, the bowl is deeper and ends in a ring base, whereas the cup is shallower and ends in a stem. The transition from the upper to the lower body can be a true carination $(91,245,247)$ or a sharp curve blurring the distinction between angular and curved (93, 244, 246). Wall thickness ranges from 0.6 to 1 cm . At Aegina this shape presents a wide variety of handle

[^79]503. Zerner 1978, fig. 5:19-20.
504. Eutresis 151, fig. 208:1-5.
505. Agora XIII pls 20:302, 24:342.
506. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 32.
types, ${ }^{507}$ but at Eleusis only crescent-lug handles could be associated with it and are in average 1.8 cm thick and 2.5 cm wide. Angular bowls with everted rim have not been found in the West Cemetery (except perhaps $\Theta \pi 8-649$ ). This shape corresponds to Buck's series of bowl shapes with everted rims and angular outline: A2 (Wide-mouthed bowl), A3 (Deep bowl), A4 (Angular bowl), A5 (Carinated bowl), A6 (Small Carinated bowl), and A7 (Rim bowl). All the bowls from Eleusis date to MH II and III, which agrees with the chronological distribution of the shape in other sites. ${ }^{508}$


Fig. 178. Rim outlines of MP angular bowls with everted rims.

Fabrics and manufacture. The majority of angular bowls with everted rims have Gold Mica ( 92 , $93,245,247$ ). Dark Tempered $(91,246)$ and Fine Untempered $(244)$ are rare.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surfaces of most of these bowls are covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric and are polished: the exception is 93 , which is burnished. 95 has a polished external surface, but the interior preserves burnishing marks.

In MH II the main decoration is placed on the narrow horizontal zone defined by a straight horizontal line on the external surface of the rim and a second line, parallel to the first, on the carination to the lower body. There are two main decorative motifs in this zone:
a) groups of straight vertical (at least four in 91) or diagonal (four in 94) parallel lines; and
b) zig-zag lines, single (92), or triple (93).

In MH III, curvilinear motifs predominate: single or multiple festoons are used both on the main decorative zone between the rim and the angle to the lower body $(244,246,247)$ and the lower part of the body, hanging from the line that marks the transition; 245 is decorated with double festoons on the main zone and single festoons on the lower part of the body.


Fig. 179. Motifs of angular bowls with everted rims.

Provenience. The only MH II sherd with an identifiable indication is 123, which is marked with "Nekropolis "95". This refers to Skias' excavation, but there is no additional information.
Comparanda. Most Eleusinian pieces belong to the Gold Mica class and find precise stylistic parallels at Aegina, which suggests that the origin of the shape is Aeginetan. ${ }^{509}$ This shape is also common at Aspis of Argos, where it is considered an Aeginetan product, ${ }^{510}$ at Asine, ${ }^{511}$ and Eutresis. ${ }^{512}$

ROUNDED BOWL
Rounded bowl with everted rim
Shape and size. Everted rim, globular outline, flat base, two vertical strap handles from the shoulder to the widest part of the body. The rims can be wide ( $1.5-2 \mathrm{~cm}$, e.g. 97,98 ) or narrow (under 1 cm , e.g. 101, 102), corresponding respectively to Siedentopf's shapes A and B: ${ }^{513}$ the former has a taller outline and a larger diameter (about 20 cm , with the exception of the large bowl 100, which has a diameter of 29 cm ) than the latter, which is more squat and has a smaller diameter ( 19 cm or under). The lips can be pointed $(97,98$ ) or rounded (99). The outline of the rim resembles that of rounded cups with everted rims; ${ }^{514}$ in general, rim sherds with diameters smaller than 15 cm have been classified as cups and those with rim diameters over 15 cm as bowls. Handles and bases that can be attributed with certainty to this shape have not been identified, but at Aegina these bowls have two vertical strap handles and a flat base. ${ }^{515}$ Rounded bowls with everted rim have not been found in the West Cemetery. This shape corresponds to Buck's rounded bowl A2 (wide-mouthed bowl) with everted rim -without the horizontal handles.


Fig. 180. Rim outlines of rounded bowls with everted rims.

[^80]512. Eutresis 163, fig. 228:2.
513. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 37.
514. Infra, p. 226.
515. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 37.

Fabrics and manufacture. MH I rounded bowls with everted rims are either DT (45) or Fine Untempered (44), but in MH II all identified pieces have Gold Mica fabrics (97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104).
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are covered with a pale yellow 2.5 Y 8/3-7/3-6/3 or very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YP} 7 / 4$ slip and can be polished or burnished. Internal surfaces can occasionally be smoothed (99) or burnished (98). The large rim 100 is unslipped and its surface has been smoothed. The two MH I pieces (44 and 45) are slipped with the standard pale yellow slip both internally and externally. 103 has been polished to a high luster. Wider rims are decorated with strokes on the internal surface. The main decorative zone on the body is defined by either a thick horizontal line $(44,98,101)$ or two horizontal parallel lines $(97,102)$, or a thick and a thin parallel line (103) under the rim. The MH I sherds 44 and 45 are decorated with cross-hatched triangles in thick outline, hanging from a thick horizontal line at the base of the rim. Smaller hatched (103) and cross-hatched (97) triangles without a thick outline are used in MH II, also hanging from the rim line. Other motifs include groups of straight diagonal parallel lines ( $\mathbf{9 9}, \mathbf{1 0 0}$, although the surfaces of these two sherds are considerably worn) and X-pattern with triple lines (102).


Fig. 181. Motifs of rounded bowls with everted rims.

Provenience. 45 was found in S SU 21; 99 was found in the area of the Telesterion, in the deposit above wall 5, from the surface of the ground to the top of the wall (locus 5 of E SU 6).
Origin and comparanda. This shape appears to have been a descendant of the EH III bowl ${ }^{516}$ and continues throughout the MH period, but we do not have MH III examples at Eleusis. Both MH I and MH II pieces find parallels in Aeginetan pottery. ${ }^{517}$ The shape occurs also in several other sites, including the Aspis of Argos ${ }^{518}$ and Lerna. ${ }^{519}$ The possibly Keian 105 is not diagnostic as to the shape (it could belong to a globular or an angular bowl).
516. Wünsche 1977, 28-31; Pevkakia 1992, pls 37:11, 41:10, 46:13 and 93:4.
517. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 600 for MH I and ibid. nos

607-608, 619-621 for MH II.
518. Philippa-Touchais 2002, fig. 3:9.
519. Zerner 1988, fig. 4:1.

## PLATE

Plate fragments are rare at Eleusis. The few identified pieces have flat rims, typically 1.5 cm wide, ending in a slightly curved body and a flat base. Rim diameters are $32-33 \mathrm{~cm}$ and body wall thicknesses range from 1 to 1.4 cm . All pieces are wheelmade, with fairly coarse, pale olive $5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 3$ or very pale brown 10YP 8/3 fabrics. Surfaces are coated with a pale yellow $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 2$ or pale brown 10YP $8 / 3$ slip and are burnished. Typical decoration on the flat rim consists of thick vertical strokes (50) or multiple zig-zag lines (51), whereas the internal surface of the rim is marked by one (50) or two (51) thick horizontal lines.

The only piece with some indication of provenience is 51 , but even this one is marked generally "To the south of the Epigraphic Museum", without further details.

Cup
ANGULAR CUP
Angular cup with everted rim
Shape and size. Everted rim, biconical outline with a carination low in the body, flat base, two vertical strap handles that start from the carination, rise high above the rim line, and end on the top of the rim. Wall thickness $0.55-0.7$, diameters in the $13-14 \mathrm{~cm}$ range. Rim outlines can be similar to rounded bowls with everted rims ${ }^{520}$ but the diameters of the bowls are over 20 cm . Only one large body piece (250) can be dated to MH III, but the rim is missing. Angular cups with everted rim have not been found in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{521}$ This shape is one of the varieties of angular cups included in Buck's shape A11. ${ }^{522}$ Siedentopf classifies it as Typus A. ${ }^{523}$

## MH II



Fig. 182. Rim outlines of angular cups with everted rims.
Fabrics and manufacture. All pieces are wheelmade. The MH II pieces have DT (117) or Gold Mica fabrics (118), but the MH III 250 has a fine micaceous fabric and its decoration (see below) does not find parallels at Aegina.

[^81]522. Buck 1964, 284-285.
523. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 38-39; Cf. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 3:XXIX-2.

Surface treatment and decoration. External surfaces are covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric (in most cases pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-8 / 3$ ) and are polished or burnished; internal surfaces are almost always polished. Rims are decorated with groups of short diagonal lines on the external surface and vertical lines on the internal. The rim is separated from the body with groups of two or three thin parallel horizontal lines (117). These lines define a wide horizontal zone that extends down to the carination: this is the main decorative zone of the vase, decorated with hatched triangles hanging from the rim lines (barely visible on 117). 118 is decorated with parallel diagonal strokes on the external surface of the rim and a chessboard pattern on the body. It is almost identical to MH II cups from Aegina ${ }^{524}$ and given its fabric (see above), it may have been an Aeginetan import. The spiral of the MH III piece 250 does not appear in the material from Aegina, but is paralleled at the Athenian Agora; ${ }^{525}$ interestingly enough, this is the only micaceous example of this shape.


Fig. 183. Motifs of angular cups with everted rims.

Provenience. 118 was found in the vicinity of the Hellenistic cistern, in a mixed deposit (S SU 21).

Comparanda. At Eleusis the earliest examples date to MH II. On Aegina this shape was produced for a long period of time, from Stadt VII to Stadt X. ${ }^{526}$ In the Argolid it is considered an Aeginetan import, ${ }^{527}$ but the decoration of the cup found in the Athenian Agora ${ }^{528}$ is not matched at Aegina.

## Stemmed angular cup with everted rim

Shape and size. Everted rim, biconical outline forming a carination close to the rim, tall stem ending in a raised concave base, two horizontal crescent-lug handles at the point of the carination. Rims can be confused for those of angular bowls with everted rims, but in general cups have thinner walls ( $0.4-0.6 \mathrm{~cm}$, but note that the walls of 120 are 0.6 cm thick) and smaller diameters $(10-14 \mathrm{~cm})$. Some rims are indistinguishable from rims of angular

[^82]7:12a/11-2, Pr 199[12a/11-6].
527. Philippa-Touchais 2007, 104, fig. 5 and pl. 5.
528. Agora XIII: 84:333.
cups with everted rims and could have belonged to either shape. The shape does not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. All cups belonging to this shape are wheelmade. The MH II pieces belong to both the Gold Mica and Dark Tempered fabrics or, more rarely, to the Fine Untempered (120) fabrics. In MH III all the identified examples have Gold Mica (e.g. 251 and 252). Surface treatment and decoration. All cups of this shape have surfaces coated with a thin slip in the same (120) or similar (712) color as the fabric, which is usually burnished $(\mathbf{1 2 1}, \mathbf{2 5 1})$ or smoothed (122,252), and more rarely polished (120). The decoration is applied on the narrow zone between the rim and the carination, as well as the lower part of the body. In MH II, the motifs used in the top zone are single line X-pattern (122) and double zig-zag lines (120, 121), although the latter motif appears in the Argolid in the final phases of MH II ${ }^{529}$ and continues into MH III. Motifs used in MH III are horizontal chevrons (251) and double festoons (252). The lower part of the body is decorated with single festoons (120, 252).

MH II


MH III


Fig. 184. Motifs of stemmed angular cups with everted rims.

Provenience. 120 was found in Megaron B, between walls 7 and 9a (E SU 4, locus 4). Comparanda. The shape is commonly found in Aegina decorated in the MP style. ${ }^{530}$

## Angular cup with flaring rim

Shape and size. Flaring rim (fig. 185), concave cylindrical outline, carination low in the body, ring base, two vertical strap handles rising from the carination to above the vase and ending on the rim. Rim diameters range from 9.5 to 13 cm , wall thicknesses from 0.3 to 0.6 cm . It has not been possible to confirm the observation made at Aegina, ${ }^{531}$ that in MH I the rim diameter is smaller than the diameter of the body, whereas in MH II it is increased to equal the diameter of the body at the point of the carination. MH III examples have not been identified. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape A11 and Siedentopf's Typus B. ${ }^{532}$ It does not occur in the West Cemetery.
529. Cf. Dietz 1991, fig. 10:40.
530. See Alt-Ägina IV.2, pl. 89, 500-503.
531. Ibid. 39.
532. Loc. cit.


Fig. 185. Rim outlines of angular cups with flaring rims.

Fabrics and manufacture. Approximately half of the identified sherds have Gold Mica or biotite inclusions (46, 47, 48, 49, 124, 125, 126). The rest are either DT (128) or Fine Untempered (127). All angular cups with flaring rims are wheelmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. External and internal surfaces are covered with a thin slip (in most cases of the same color as the fabric) and are polished. In the MH I pieces, the main decorative zone extends from the rim to the carination and is defined by the contour of the shape instead of horizontal lines. The only motif used on the MH I pieces is X-pattern with triple lines crossing each other (e.g. 46) or with fill of chevrons (48). In the MH II, some pieces continue to have this wide decorative zone (125), but in most cases the part of the vase between the rim and the carination is divided into narrower horizontal zones, defined by horizontal lines (126, 127, 128). The motifs are painted inside these horizontal zones and include net fill (126) or continuous zig-zag lines (127, 128), which in the case of 127 are defined by vertical borders of two parallel thin lines, presumably near the (now missing) handle. ${ }^{533}$ The oblique lozenges of $\mathbf{1 2 5}$ are an uncommon pattern, perhaps a variant of the chess-board motif; at Aegina it is rare and used on Stadt IX angular cups with everted rims. ${ }^{534}$


Fig. 186. Motifs of angular cups with flaring rims.

Provenience. None of the sherds of this shape are of known provenience.
Origin and comparanda. The shape originates in Aegina, where it is found in large amounts. ${ }^{535}$ Aeginetan imports are known from other sites. ${ }^{536}$
533. As in Alt-Ägina IV.2: 737-738.
534. Ibid. nos 702-706.
535. See particularly ibid. pls 104-116.
536. Cf. Orchomenos IV pl. 64:2.

ROUNDED CUP

## Rounded cup with everted rim

Shape and size. Fairly globular outline, everted rim (fig. 187), ring base, one vertical strap handle starting from the widest part of the vase, rising above the rim line and ending on the rim. In sherd material it is difficult or even impossible to differentiate between everted rims of rounded cups and those of rounded bowls; ${ }^{537}$ in general, rim sherds with diameters smaller than 15 cm have been classified as cups and those with rim diameters over 15 cm as bowls. Most cup rims fall in the $14-15 \mathrm{~cm}$ range, with the exception of 134 , which is a small cup with a rim diameter of 8 cm . Wall thickness ranges from 0.4 to 0.7 , with most pieces being in the 0.6-0.7 range. Handles are about 3 cm wide and 1 cm thick. There are no MH I examples of this shape. In the West Cemetery this shape occurs in Minyan, ${ }^{538}$ but not in MP ware.


Fig. 187. Rim outlines of rounded cups with everted rims.

Fabrics and manufacture. Most sherds belong to Gold Mica (MH II 133, 134, MH III 253) or Fine Untempered (132; 601 could be LH I) fabrics. Few MH II pieces are DT (129, 131). All the pieces are wheelmade, with the possible exception of 133, which looks handmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. Most sherds are burnished, with fine burnishing marks visible on the surface. Surfaces are usually covered with a yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3$ or brownish (yellowish brown $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 3$, orange-brown 10YR 6/4, or very pale brown 10YP 8/4 slip. 131 is the only sherd that is not slipped, but is still burnished. The surfaces of the two MH III pieces (253 and 601) are coated with a fine slip in the same color as the fabric and are polished.

The main decoration is applied in a horizontal zone on the body, defined at the top by a horizontal line at the base of the rim and at the bottom by one or two straight parallel
horizontal lines at the point of the maximum diameter of the vase. ${ }^{539}$ The decorative motifs used in MH II are X-patterns with single (133) or double (131) lines, in frames defined by groups of straight vertical parallel lines (132); and hatched triangles hanging from the rim line (134). Rims are occasionally decorated with diagonal strokes (134). In MH III X-pattern with double lines and festoons decorate the lower part of the body (253). 601 is decorated with a single running spiral in a horizontal zone defined by straight parallel thin lines and could be LH I.


Fig. 188. Motifs of rounded cups with everted rims.

Provenience. None of the sherds of this shape have known provenience.
Comparanda. The shape is commonly found in other wares, especially Gold Mica ${ }^{540}$ and is dated to MH III to LH I. It probably originates from the angular bowls with everted rim of the Middle Bronze Age and its size and form seems to be a combination of a goblet (angular bowl) and a kantharos (angular cup). The shape has been found at Eutresis, ${ }^{541}$ Aegina, ${ }^{542}$ Kiapha-Thiti ${ }^{543}$ and Korakou. ${ }^{544}$

## Jug

Shape and size. Globular body, flat base, one vertical loop handle from the shoulder to the neck, beak-shaped spout. Wall thicknesses range from 0.4 to 0.7 cm (most vases are 0.6 cm thick), but the MH III shoulder 264 is $0.7-0.9 \mathrm{~cm}$ thick. It has not been possible to establish whether the changes observed at Aegina, from a tall piriform variant with a narrow spout to a squat globular one with a wider spout ${ }^{545}$ also occur at Eleusis. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape B10 and does not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. The MH I pieces have fabrics with black biotite (52, 53). Most MH II pieces have DT $(137,138)$ or Gold Mica fabrics $(136,140,141$, possibly 142); the Cycladic White pieces 38 and 39 have Fine Untempered fabric. In MH III the fabrics are DT (256,

[^83]542. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 645-646.
543. Kiapha-Thiti pl. 18.591.
544. Davis 1979, 244:75.
545. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 29.
257), Fine Untempered (255), or Cycladic Micaceous (254). With the exception of 142, all MH I and MH II jugs are handmade, but the MH III pieces are wheelmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. MH I jugs are polished (52) or burnished (53), with a pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 4$ or very pale brown 10YR $7 / 3$ slip. In the MH II most pieces are burnished, with slips ranging in color from pale yellow $5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-7 / 4$ to very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ to reddish yellow 5 YR $7 / 6$. 141, and 143 do not appear to have a slip, but their surfaces are polished to a lustrous yellow 10YR $8 / 3$ or pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ or pale yellow $5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3$ color; the Aeginetan 139 does not have a slip and its surface has been burnished. The MH III Cycladic piece 254 has a pale yellow 2.5Y 7/3 slip and it is polished. The (also Cycladic?) 257 shoulder does not have a slip and its grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ surface has been smoothed.

In MH I the shoulders are decorated with cross-hatched triangles with thick outlines, hanging from a horizontal line that runs along the base of the neck (52); sherds from the lower part of the body of MH I jugs have not been identified, but MH I jugs at Aegina do not have horizontal zones and the motif hangs freely from the shoulder lines. ${ }^{546}$ The Cycladic White ?jug 39 is decorated with alternating zones of discs and running quirk. In MH II, the placement of the main motif remains similar, with the motif hanging from the shoulder line. MH II motifs are small hatched triangles hanging from the shoulder line (139, $\mathbf{1 4 0}$ ), large triangles with thick border and fill of double lines (141; although this piece could belong to a jar with a distinct neck), and a motif that does not appear to have parallels in other sites, triple triangles with dot in center (Buck motif 43, 142). Besides the main decoration on the upper part of the body, MH II jugs bear painted decoration on the shoulder, such as double zig-zag lines (separated in 138 by two short straight vertical parallel lines). The spouts are decorated with linear motifs: $\mathbf{1 3 6}$ has one thick and two thin straight horizontal parallel lines at the base of the spout, a horizontal line under the exterior surface of the spout rim, two double diagonal lines on either end of the rim, and strokes on the edge of the rim. Handles are also decorated with parallel lines: $\mathbf{1 4 3}$ has eight lines perpendicular to the direction of the handle and one curved line around the base of the handle. ${ }^{547}$

In MH III the shoulder is decorated with a vertical wavy, snake-like, line (255) or with a vertical wavy line framed by two vertical parallel straight lines (264) or with cross-hatched lozenges (256). Cycladic jugs are mostly MH III (except for 38 and 39, which are MC I/II): 254 is decorated with a bird motif, with close similarities to Phylakopi. ${ }^{548}$ The decoration of 257 consists of semicircles; the space between them is filled with six parallel horizontal lines followed by vertical strokes, in dark grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 4 / 2$ paint. The motif reminds of a bird's tale. ${ }^{549}$

[^84]

Fig. 189. Motifs of Beaked-Spouted Jugs.

Provenience. The MH II 141 was found in S SU 19. The MH III 254 was found on the floor of pyre 51, on 23 July 1897 (S SU 10).
Comparanda. The earliest appearance of MP jugs is at Aegina. ${ }^{550}$ The MC I-II Cycladic White jug 38 is probably Theran, ${ }^{551}$ but 39 appears to have been Melian. ${ }^{552}$ In MC/MH III jugs are common in the Cyclades, at Akrotiri ("leaf-spouted") ${ }^{553}$ and Phylakopi. ${ }^{554}$

## Thelastron

Only one sherd from a thelastron (144) has been identified; it has cylindrical neck, flaring rim, and vertical loop handle. Walls are 0.7 thick, the handle measures $1.7 \times 1.3$, and the rim has a diameter of 6.3. It is handmade, with pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 4$ to very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ fairly fine fabric, with few stone inclusions. The surface is burnished, very pale brown 10YR 8/4. Decoration consists of four horizontal parallel lines on the neck and vertical strokes on the internal surface of the rim. The sherd is of Aeginetan origin. ${ }^{555}$ The shape does not occur in the West Cemetery. It corresponds to Buck's shape B10 and B13.

## Spouted Bowl

SPOUTED BOWL WITH CHANNEL SPOUT
Shape and size. Flat incurving rim, outline curving either at the point of the maximum diameter of the vase or slightly higher, one crescent-lug handle at the point of the curve, one channel spout on the rim diametrically opposite to the handle, flat base. Wall thicknesses range from 0.7 to 1.1 cm , rim diameters from 24 to 28 cm , length of spout 6.8 to 7.1 cm . All spouted bowls of this shape date to MH II-III. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape B2. It does not occur in the West Cemetery.

[^85]553. Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008.
554. Phylakopi pl. IX; Barber 1974, pl. 2b.
555. Gold Mica and exact parallels at Aegina: AltÄgina IV.2: 346-348.

Fabrics and manufacture. Spouted bowl are evenly split between Gold Mica (110, 111, 112, 113, $\mathbf{1 1 4})$ and DT $(106,107,108,109)$ fabrics, with only one Fine Untempered sherd (115). They are handmade, except for 114, 106, 110, and 115.
Surface treatment and decoration. External surfaces are polished or burnished, covered with a pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{YP} 7 / 3-5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ or pale brown 10YP $8 / 4-7 / 4$ slip. Internal surfaces are smoothed, occasionally showing shallow horizontal lines from the smoothing process (110). The rim is decorated with a horizontal line, from which hangs the main decorative motif. The main decoration consists of three variants of hanging triangles:
a) triangles with one thick and two $(110,112)$ or three (113) thin parallel lines, or
b) triangles with three thin lines (114), or
c) small hatched triangles (115).

## MH II-III



Fig. 190. Motifs of Spouted bowls.

These motifs are placed on the upper body and are defined by one or two thick curved lines at the base of the spout $(\mathbf{1 0 6}, \mathbf{1 0 9})$. The underside of the spout is decorated with two thick parallel lines running perpendicular to the axis of the spout $(\mathbf{1 0 6}, \mathbf{1 0 7})$, or a simple line running along the edge of the spout (108); examples of the dense thick lines decorating the underside of MH I spouts at Aegina ${ }^{556}$ have not been found.
Provenience. Four sherds were found in the South Slope: 106 and 110 were found to the "South of the Epigraphic Museum" (no additional information exists), 107 in S SU 16 (deposit on top of pyre 62, 20 August 1897), and 115 in S SU 34, locus 4. Two sherds were found in the east slope: 109 was found under the floor of the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 3); 111 was recovered from the deepest strata of the section under wall 2 (E SU 10, locus 1).
Origin and comparanda. The shape originates in Aegina, where it is found exclusively in MP ware. ${ }^{557}$ It may have been influenced from Cycladic shapes. ${ }^{558}$

SPOUTED BOWL WITH TUBULAR SPOUT
The tubular spout 116 may belong to a spouted bowl, possibly with a basket handle (Buck shape B4). The fine red $10 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6 \mathrm{DT}$ fabric is rare. The surface bears a very pale brown 10YP 7/4 slip and has been smoothed. The rim of the spout is decorated with vertical strokes and a line runs along the edge of the spout, all in reddish paint. The only close (but not identical) parallel has been found at Eutresis, ${ }^{559}$ but this belongs to a basket-handled bowl (Buck A4) and the opening of the spout is longer. The piece is not Aeginetan and could be local.

## JAR

JAR WITH DISTINCT NECK (TYPE 1)
Shape and size. Two main variants: a) piriform outline, cylindrical neck clearly articulated from the shoulder, ending in a flaring or everted rim, flat base, two diametrically opposite crescent-lug handles in the middle of the height or slightly lower in the body (Buck shape C5); b) ovoid outline, flaring neck ending in a flat or molded rim, flat base, two diametrically opposite crescent-lug handles in the middle of the height or slightly lower in the body and a third, vertical loop handle from the rim to the shoulder (Buck shape C6). The material is too fragmentary for any chronological differentiations, but in other sites the second type appears to date to the final part of the MH period. ${ }^{560}$ Wall thickness ranges from 0.5-0.8 cm , although the walls of $\mathbf{1 6 2}$ are 1 cm thick and those of the MH III/LH I 259 are 1.2 cm thick. Rim diameters range from $10-13 \mathrm{~cm}$, with most being in the $12-13 \mathrm{~cm}$ range. The crescent-lug handles can be 1.7 to 2.1 cm thick (usually $1.9-2 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) and 1.9 to 3.8 wide (usually $2.8-3 \mathrm{~cm}$ ); the vertical loop handles of the second type have an average diameter of 2.7 cm . Base diameters range from 8.5 cm (162) to 14.3 cm (147). The shape does not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. Approximately two thirds of the type 1 jars have fairly fine Gold Mica fabrics, dating to MH I (55, 56), MH II (156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168), and MH III (260). DT fabrics do appear in MH I (57; although this piece may have belonged to either a jar or a pithos), but increase in quantities in MH II (170, 171, 173, 174, 183) and become rare again in MH III. Fine Untempered jars are rare and identified examples date to MH I (54) and III (265), but not to MH II, undoubtedly because of the fragmentary nature of the material. In MH III appear also a few jars with black biotite inclusions $(616,617,618)$ and the Cycladic Micaceous 258 . The origin of the micaceous 261 could also be the Cyclades.
559. Eutresis fig. 218.
560. E.g. ibid. 170 and fig. 232:2; Grave Circle B pl.

Surface treatment and decoration. The vast majority of jars are coated with a pale yellow 2.5 Y 7/2-7/3-8/2-8/3 or 5Y 7/2-7/3-8/2-8/3 slip, most commonly burnished, but occasionally polished (e.g. 58, 166, 178) or simply smoothed (149). A smaller group, consisting of mostly MH I pieces $(64,67,68)$ carries a very pale brown 10YR 7/2-7/3-8/3 slip; the slipped surfaces are usually burnished, except for a few MH II-III sherds, which have been polished (e.g. 158).

Decoration is found in two zones: the neck and the shoulder/upper body. Necks are usually decorated with two or three parallel lines along the base of the neck, and occasionally two horizontal parallel lines under the rim; the rim itself is decorated with groups of vertical strokes. The main decorative zone extends from the base of the neck to approximately the height of the handles. The motifs that occur in MH I are concentric circles filled with a star (67) and two variants of X-pattern: the first with double thick lines filled with net pattern (combined on 64 with $X$-pattern with multiple thin lines and fill of stars and another X-pattern with multiple thin lines); and the second with single thick line and net fill $(54,55) .58$ has unusual decoration, consisting of multiple zig-zag line and hatched triangles: although there are not any parallels in Aegina, this pattern resembles that of a bowl from Pefkakia phase $4 .{ }^{561}$

In MH II the range of patterns includes X-pattern with one thick line and two thin lines crossing each other (156), triangles with one thick and two or three thin parallel lines (158, 159), single circles with a thick outline and a radius of double lines (Buck's "saltires": 164, 165,166 ), butterfly motif (167), X-pattern filled with net (54), and two concentric circles (168).

In MH III zig-zag lines bordered by two horizontal lines appear quite often: on 263 the lines are thick, whereas on 616 they are thinner and more carefully executed; the framing lines of $\mathbf{6 1 8}$ are thick but the zig-zag line is thin and more curved than the other examples. The thick wavy line of 263 ends in a spiral, for which there are no parallels. Floral patterns also appear in MH III. 258 is decorated with multiple stems of a flower stemming from a horizontal band; the fabric of this sherd is possibly Cycladic, but I have not been able to find a parallel for the motif. Other patterns include vertical herringbone without a border (260) and rows of short lines stemming from a curved line (265), possibly seaweed (Buck motif 129), although this may also be Dietz's motif LD-6 $6^{562}$ of LH IA date. The motif of 619 is too fragmentary to be reconstructed: it consists of diagonal lines radiating from the shoulder of a jar, and it may be part of a floral motif.
Provenience. Four MH I pieces have known provenience. 64 was found next to the wall of the Hellenistic cistern (S SU 21) and 56, 148, and 149 were found in locus 1 of E SU 10 (from


Fig. 191. Motifs of type 1 (left) and type 2 (right) jars.
the deepest strata of the section under wall 2, 20 August 1931). From the MH II period, 151, 155, 156, and 166 were found in S SU 34, locus 4. Finally, the MH III/LH I pieces 259 and 263 were found in S SU 6 and 260 in S SU 15.
Comparanda. The shape is commonly found in Aegina, ${ }^{563}$ Pefkakia, ${ }^{564}$ Agora, ${ }^{565}$ KiaphaThiti, ${ }^{566}$ Aspis of Argos, ${ }^{567}$ Asine ${ }^{568}$ and Korakou. ${ }^{569}$

## JAR WITHOUT DISTINCT NECK (TYPE 2)

Shape and size. Piriform or squat piriform outline, sloping shoulder gently merging with the neck, flaring or everted rim, flat base, two horizontal crescent-lug handles at the point of the maximum diameter of the vase or two vertical loop handles from the shoulder to the neck. Although it has not been possible to distinguish between the two variants in the Eleusinian material, the shoulder of 277, with its upright hatched triangles, is consistent with jars with horizontal crescent-lug handles, ${ }^{570}$ whereas the long neck of 183 resembles those of jars with two vertical loop handles. ${ }^{571}$ Wall widths range from 0.7-0.9 cm ; rim diameters range from $10-13 \mathrm{~cm}$. The dating of these jars is problematic: they are Aeginetan products, appearing at Aegina in MH II,,${ }^{572}$ but at Lerna they are dated to MH I. ${ }^{573}$ Because all the Eleusinian pieces have Gold Mica (see below), I have considered them Aeginetan imports and dated them to the MH II period. The shape does not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. This shape is found in MP ware, but is also common in LD (182, 186, 187, 188, 277, 278, 279). The MP jars are all Aeginetan, with fairly fine Gold Mica fabrics
563. Alt-Ägina IV.2, pl. 42-44, nos 166, 186-171.
564. Pevkakia pl. 41:8.
565. Agora XIII no. 301.
566. Kiapha-Thiti pl. 15:500.
567. Touchais 2007, fig. 6:63.
568. Dietz 1991, fig. 23:214-217.
569. Davis 1979: 97-105.
570. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 221.
571. Ibid. no. 220.
572. Ibid. 27.
573. Zerner 1988, 3, figs 13-14; see PhilippaTouchais 2002, 30-31.
( $\mathbf{1 8 2}, 186,187,277)$. Dark Tempered type 2 jars $(183,185)$ are rare. With the exception of the fine 277, all jars of this type are handmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are covered with a pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ slip. Approximately half of the pieces are burnished and the rest are polished. Decoration is placed in horizontal decorative zones. The top zone covers the neck and is defined by a horizontal line under the rim and another one at the base of the neck and is decorated with groups of straight vertical parallel (183) or diagonal (182) lines: 182 is missing the top right part, so it is possible that these four lines belonged to a triangle rising from the neck line. The second zone is placed under the neck zone: it is wider than that of the neck and covers the wide shoulder of the vase. Motifs (fig. 191) include hatched triangles with single (187, 277) or double (186) outline, rising from a horizontal band. The base of one of the triangles of 187 is shaped by an elliptical line, as in Alt-Ägina IV.2: 235.
Provenience. 188 was found in S SU 34, locus 5.
Comparanda. The shape is particularly common at Kolonna of Aegina, ${ }^{574}$ Aspis of Argos, ${ }^{575}$ Lerna, ${ }^{576}$ one jar has also been found at Kirrha. ${ }^{577}$

## Cycladic White jar

One flat rim from a Cycladic White jar (36) has been identified in the material. 39 has been discussed above with the jugs but it could have been also from a jar.

## Pithos

PITHOS WITH THICK EVERTED RIM (TYPE 1)
Shape and size. Deep ovoid outline, thick everted rims with horizontal or sloping top surfaces, occasionally perforated with one or two vertical holes (diam. $0.5-0.8 \mathrm{~cm}$ ), two diametrically opposite crescent-lug handles at the point of the maximum diameter of the vase, flat bases. Walls thicknesses range from 0.9 to 1.2 cm , internal rim diameters from 26 to 29 cm , rim widths from 5 to cm , base diameter from 28 to 31 cm . Whole pithoi have not been preserved, but the large pithos 59 would have had a height of $80-100 \mathrm{~cm}$. A smaller variety of this type, with cylindrical rather than ovoid outline, a height of approximately 40 cm , and wall thickness ranging from 0.6 to $0.8 \mathrm{~cm},{ }^{578}$ may be represented by 203, the walls of which are thinner than the rest of the pithoi. Rims of this smaller variety at Aegina resemble in outline and decoration those of the large pithoi, but their diameters are between 16 and
575. Philippa - Touchais 2002, fig. 24:82-83.
576. Zerner 1988, figs 13:37-38 and 14:39.
577. Kirrha pl. XLV.

20 cm ; pithoi rims with these diameters have not been identified in the material from Eleusis, but there is a large number of rim fragments that are too poorly preserved for their diameter to be established, some of which may belong to the smaller variety. Two rim and upper body fragments of type 1 pithoi (216 and 207) are Keian: they have thick everted and flattened rims, perforated and/or ledged at the top to support the lid. The walls of the upper body are straight. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape C1. type 1 pithoi do not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. In general, MH I pithoi seem to have been fairly coarse and predominantly Gold Mica (59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 73), with rare DT (64, 65) and Fine Micaceous (70) pieces. The same is true in MH II, with most pieces having Gold Mica or biotite fabrics (189, 190, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202) and only few DT (204), and Fine Untempered (205) examples. The few pieces that can be dated to MH III have Gold Mica (269) and DT fabrics (268).

Surface treatment and decoration. The surfaces of all the pithoi are coated with a slip, either pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 2-2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3-5 Y 8 / 3$ (all MH I pieces, half of MH II) or very pale brown 10YR 7/3-8/2-8/3 (half of MH II-III). All MH I pithoi are burnished, whereas MH II and MH III pithoi are evenly split between burnished and polished.

The top surfaces of the rims are decorated with thick vertical strokes. The main decoration is placed in a wide horizontal zone defined by one or more thick straight parallel horizontal lines under the rim and one or more thick straight parallel horizontal lines at the height of the handles. In some pithoi, this zone is further divided by thick lines into two narrower horizontal zones $(61,66)$, each one decorated with different motifs, or vertical panels (70). The motifs used in MH I are thick vertical chevrons (73), concentric circles with thick lines and fill of star (59), cross-hatched X-pattern combined on 61 with rows of small solid circles, cross-hatched X-pattern with one thick and two thin lines (62), circle with thick outline and fill of two groups of three (70) or four (66) thin parallel lines crossing each other. Empty spaces between the main patterns are decorated with stars (70).

The division of the main decorative zone into vertical panels and horizontal zones continues in MH II, although now the motifs are more isolated. Common patterns are X-pattern with one thick and two (189) or three ( $\mathbf{1 9 5}, \mathbf{1 9 6}, \mathbf{1 9 7}, \mathbf{1 9 8}$ ) thin lines crossing each other, two concentric circles with thick lines and fill of star (the circles of $\mathbf{1 6 9}$ may or may not have had a star), chessboard $(\mathbf{1 9 9}, \mathbf{2 0 0})$, and groups of two concentric circles connected with thin lines (201). The butterfly motif of 205 is not solid, as those found at Aegina, but has a black outline and dark brown fill.

The MC II Keian pieces are characterized by a thick yellow-creamy slip, which is the main typological trait of the "D-o-L yellow slipped ware". ${ }^{579}$ The slip of these pieces is either yellowish brown 10 YR 6/4-7/4 (207 and 211), pale yellow $2 / 5$ YR 8/3 (208), or very pale brown 10 YR 8/2 (209 and 220). Surfaces are smoothed and slipped, creating a light ground for the MP decoration, whereas interior surfaces are usually only smoothed. The main decoration is placed in a broad horizontal zone on the upper body and it usually reaches the handles. The commonest motifs are vertical, horizontal or diagonal bands, that stand alone or in connection to one another; cross-hatched hanging triangles that hang from a broad horizontal band around the rim and are divided with vertical lines (207 and 211); and vertical or horizontal rows of filled or cross-hatches lozenges $(\mathbf{2 0 8}, 210)$. Both parallels in the material from Ayia Irini. ${ }^{580}$

The MH III pieces are very few and are decorated with two motifs: a) two concentric circles with thick lines (267 is dated to MH III rather than MH II because there does not seem to have been a vertical panel preserved close to the circles, suggesting a more open style), ${ }^{581}$ and b) double zig-zag lines in a panel of two straight vertical thin parallel lines (although 203 may also be MH II).
Provenience. 193 was found in S SU 34, locus 5.
Comparanda. The shape is particularly common at Kolonna, Aegina, ${ }^{582}$ the Agora at Athens, ${ }^{583}$ Aspis of Argos, ${ }^{584}$ Lerna; ${ }^{585}$ examples have also been found at Eutresis, ${ }^{586}$ Lefkandi, ${ }^{587}$ Thebes ${ }^{588}$ and Kirrha. ${ }^{589}$


Fig. 192. Motifs of type 1 pithoi.

[^86]582. Alt-Ägina IV.2, pl. 1-5.
583. Agora XIII nos 318 and 313.
584. Touchais 2002, fig. 23:71-72.
585. Zerner 1988, fig. 11:31-33, fig. 12:34-36.
586. Eutresis fig. 201 and 205.
587. Popham and Sackett 1966, fig. 22:124.
588. Demakopoulou and Konsola 1975, pl. 34:А-Г. 589. Kirrha pl. XLIX.

WIDE-MOUTHED PITHOS (TYPE 2)
Shape and size. Conical outline, everted rims, two crescent-lug handles diametrically opposite at the point of the maximum diameter, flat base. Rim diameters range from 28 to 32 cm and wall thicknesses from 0.9 to 1.2 cm . Whole vases have not been preserved, but the large fragments 222 and 223, which belong to the same vase, would suggest a height of about $35 \mathrm{~cm} .{ }^{590}$ On the basis of their decoration (see below), all the Eleusinian pieces have been dated to the MH II. This shape corresponds to Buck's shape C2. Type 2 pithoi occur in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{591}$ The pithos 222 had been repaired in the MH period with two lead clamps, one placed under the rim and one further down in the belly. As far as we can tell, each clamp is made of two cylindrical rivets to which a rectangular lead crossbar was attached on the inside and another one on the outside of the vase.
Fabrics and manufacture. The identified pieces belong to three groups, represented in roughly equal numbers. DT jars are handmade, coarse or fairly coarse (222,223,224), with the exception of 226 which is wheelmade and has a fine fabric. Gold mica sherds are mostly fine and wheelmade $(228,231,233)$ or coarse and handmade (230). The third group consists of wheelmade fine untempered and rather porous fabrics (227, 229).
Surface treatment and decoration. All pithoi surfaces are covered with a slip, either pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 2-7 / 3-7 / 4$ to $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ or very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$, and are burnished ( 229 is smoothed). The inside surfaces of the rims are decorated with vertical strokes (230); on the outside, the base of the rim is accentuated with one thick straight horizontal line (226) or two parallel lines, thin (222) or thick (224). The main decoration is placed in a wide horizontal zone extending from the rim line(s) at the top to a group of two thin horizontal parallel lines under the handles (best seen in 223); this zone is divided into vertical panels by one or two straight vertical parallel lines (222). The motifs are placed in vertical rows inside the panels and consist of vertical chevrons with two thin lines, sometimes alternating with zig-zag lines made of one thick and two thin lines (222), X-pattern made of one thick and two $(\mathbf{2 2 4})$ or three $(\mathbf{2 2 6}, \mathbf{2 3 2})$ thin lines or two thick and two thin lines $\mathbf{( 2 2 7 )}$ ). The prevalence of X-patterns, chevrons, and zig-zag lines and the absence of curvilinear motifs, such as those from Stadt X in Aegina ${ }^{592}$ suggests that all our fragments date to MH II.
Provenience. 232 was found in S SU 19; 193 and 224 were found in S SU 34, locus 5.
Comparanda. The shape is particularly common at Kolonna, ${ }^{593}$ Eutresis, ${ }^{594}$ Aspis of Argos ${ }^{595}$ and Lerna;, ${ }^{596}$ one example has been identified at the Agora at Athens. ${ }^{597}$

[^87][^88]

Fig. 193. Motifs of type 2 pithoi.

## Bogenrippen Amphora

Shape and size. In the present study I use the term "Bogenrippen amphora" to describe jars with ribbed/plastic decoration. Two types are distinguished: a) piriform outline with bulging neck and wide everted rim, no handles, flat base; and b) globular outline with wide cylindrical neck and straight upright rim, two vertical strap handles on the shoulder, flat base. The material belonging to this shape is too fragmentary to establish the height of the vases, but at Aegina such amphoras are about 60 cm tall. ${ }^{598}$ Wall thicknesses range from 0.9 to 1.1 cm , with the relief parts reaching a thickness of 1.7 cm (240). Handles are 1.4 thick $\times 6.2$ long (242). On the basis of their decoration (see below), all the Eleusinian pieces can be dated to MH II. The shape corresponds to Buck's shape C3. It does not occur in the West Cemetery.
Fabrics and manufacture. The majority of the fragments of this shape belong to Gold Mica fabrics, fairly coarse with dense stone inclusions (234, 237, 241) or fine or fairly fine (235, 236, 238, 242). Only one example of Fine Untempered fabric (240) has been found.
Surface treatment and decoration. All the pieces are coated with a thick slip, pale yellow 2.5 Y $8 / 2$ or very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3-8 / 4-7 / 4$ (with the exception of 242 , which has a pink 7.5 YR $7 / 4$ slip), which is polished or, more rarely, burnished $(236,241)$ or smoothed ( 234 , 237). The characteristic decorative trait of this shape is the relief bands: these can be horizontal, marking the transition from neck to shoulder and shape middle to lower body and defining a wide decorative zone filled with painted ornaments; vertical, defining vertical panels; or curved, forming arches. They are painted with vertical strokes (241) or solid circles (239). The main painted motifs are applied in the wide zone defined by these two plastic bands and are arranged in vertical panels defined by straight vertical thick lines connecting the plastic bands or by vertical plastic bands. The commonest motifs include: a) variants of X-patterns: cross-hatched X-patterns with thick lines, either with an outline of two thin lines (234) or without outline (236) and X-patterns with five thin lines (235); and b) rows of hatched (235) and / or cross-hatched (234) triangles stemming from a thick hori-
zontal or vertical line. The handles are decorated with rows of small solid circles (242). The body sherd 240 is unusual, both because of its fabric (fine reddish yellow) and the decoration: cross-hatching of the triangles does not extend to the outline of the triangle, in contrast to the standard cross-hatching fill that covers the entire area of the triangle; the decoration of this piece is in a weak red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 4$ paint, as opposed to the dark brown paint used on the other pieces. The absence of fragments decorated in the "close" style and the existence of open spaces between the motifs suggest a MH II date. ${ }^{599}$


Fig. 194. Motifs of Bogenrippen amphoras.

Provenience. None of the Bogenrippen amphora sherds are of known provenience.
Origin and comparanda. Bogenrippen amphoras are an Aeginetan shape, ${ }^{600}$ exported to several sites on the Greek Mainland. ${ }^{601}$

## DECORATION

The decoration of the MP pottery from Eleusis consists mostly of linear decorative patterns and only rarely figured or floral motifs. The paint is mostly black (5Y 2.5/1, N2.5), dark grey (10YR 4/1, 2.5Y 4/1, 5YR 4/1), very dark grey (3/N 3/, 10YR 3/1, 7.5YR 3/1, 2.5Y 3.1), or less commonly, brown (10YR 4/3, 7.5YR 4/2-5/2). Overall, seventeen motifs have been identified.

## X-Pattern

This is the commonest pattern in the material from Eleusis (fig. 195). Ten variants are distinguished, on the basis of the thickness and number of lines that shape the " X ". In general, in the MH I period the variants in use include X-patterns made of thick lines with their quadrants filled with net (variants $e, f, g$ ), X-pattern made of one single thick line in a panel (variant $a$ ), of three or four thin lines crossing each other (variant $c$ ) and X-pattern made of one thin line with its quadrants filled with chevrons (variant $d$ ). In the MH II vari-
599. See the discussion in Alt-Ägina IV.2, 22-23.
600. Ibid. pls 31-32.
601. Eutresis 147, fig. 203; Aspis: PhilippaTouchais 2007, 107.
ant $c$ appears, with two thin lines and variant $h$, formed of one thick and two thin lines. In addition to the above, there are rare occurrences of X-patterns made of two thick lines with net fill (variant $f$ on a MH I pithos), a single thin line (variant $b$ on a MH II stemmed angular cup), two thick with two thin lines (variant $i$ on a MH II pithos), and five thin lines (variant $c$ on a MH II Bogenrippen amphora). This motif seems to go out of style in MH III.

## A. SINGLE LINES, THICK IN A PANEL

Used on angular bowls with flat rims, alternating with X-pattern with double thin lines; most pieces date to MH II, although 41, 42, and 43 find also MH I parallels at Aegina. The motif is placed on the main decorative zone of the vase, defined by a thick horizontal line on the rim; a second thick horizontal line marks the angle to the lower body. It is used on bowls with Gold Mica $(42,43)$ and Fine Untempered $(41)$ fabrics. The motif is found also on Gold Mica bowls at the Aspis of Argos ${ }^{602}$ and appears to have been of Aeginetan origin. At Eutresis the motif is also attested on the upper body of rounded bowls with everted rims. ${ }^{603}$

## B. SINGLE LINE THIN, NO PANEL

This variant is used only on one MH II stemmed angular cup (122) with DT fabric, in the narrow horizontal zone from the rim to the carination. I have not been able to find parallels for this variant; X-patterns with single thin lines do appear at Aegina, ${ }^{604}$ but in panels. This variant may be a local version of the Aeginetan X-pattern.

## C. TWO OR THREE LINES CROSSING EACH OTHER

There is only one example of the use of a double-line X-pattern on a DT angular bowl (77), but the surface of this sherd is burnished, in contrast to the polished surface of all the Gold Mica examples. The variant with three lines crossing each other is more popular (unlike variant $d$, where the lines do not cross each other and form chevrons). The motif is placed in a horizontal zone defined by a thick horizontal line on the rim and a second thick horizontal line that marks the angle to the lower body; often it alternates with X-pattern made of a single thick line (79), but on some sherds it stands alone (74). X-patterns with three thin lines are found in the MH II period on angular bowls with flat rims in Gold

Mica/biotite (74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82) or Fine Untempered (78, 81, 84) fabrics. In MH II, this pattern is also found on rounded bowls with everted rims $(\mathbf{1 0 1}, \mathbf{1 0 2}, \mathbf{1 0 4})$ and rounded cups with everted rims (133), all in Gold Mica fabrics. The variant is common at Aegina ${ }^{605}$ and is found also in the Argolid. ${ }^{606}$ Our sherds appear to have been Aeginetan imports.

## D. X-PATTERN WITH FILL OF CHEVRONS

The pattern is placed on the main decorative zone, extending from the rim to the carination. It resembles the X-pattern with three lines, except that the ends of the lines do not cross each other but form chevrons. It is found exclusively on angular cups with flaring rims in Gold Mica or biotite $(47,48,49)$ fabrics. The combination of pattern and shape is well attested in Aegina, ${ }^{607}$ from where the Eleusinian sherds were probably imported.

## E. SINGLE THICK LINES WITH NET FILL

A MH I pattern, with the X designed with a thick line, with the top and bottom quadrants filled with net, framed by a group of straight vertical parallel lines. It is found on the bellies of Gold Mica (55) and Fine Untempered type 1 jars (54) and DT type 1 pithoi (65). Although at Aegina the pattern is framed by thin-line X-patterns ${ }^{608}$ or vertical herringbone ${ }^{609}$ and not groups of vertical straight lines, it is an Aeginetan motif and our sherds are of Aeginetan origin.

## F. TWO THICK LINES WITH NET FILL

This variant is formed by two parallel thick lines, with the top and bottom quadrants filled with net. This is a rare variant of the single thick-lined X-pattern, found on MH I type 1 pithoi (64) and type 1 jars ( 57 ; although this piece may have belonged to either a jar or a pithos). The DT fabrics suggest that these pieces could be local products, especially since there are not any parallels of this variant at Aegina.

## G. SINGLE THICK LINES WITH NET FILL, FRAMED BY THIN LINES

Similar to variant $e$ (one single thick line and net fill), but the thick line is framed by two thin ones. It is used on MH I type 1 pithoi $(63,62)$ and MH II Bogenrippen amphoras

[^89]607. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 724-725.
608. Ibid. nos 170, 171.
609. Ibid. nos 163, 164.
a $\quad$ or $\mathbb{Z}_{\text {winh }} \times$
b
$X$


c $\mathbb{X}$ or $\mathbb{X} \mathbb{X}$





Fig. 195. Variants of X-pattern with their associated shapes.
(234), all made in Gold Mica fabrics. This is a common Aeginetan motif, found on Bogenrippen amphoras, ${ }^{610}$ the only difference being that on the Aeginetan amphoras the number of the framing thin lines ranges from four to seven. ${ }^{611} \mathrm{~A}$ (presumably) Aeginetan Bogenrippen amphora decorated with this pattern is also recorded at Eutresis. ${ }^{612}$
610. Ibid. no. 138 g .
611. Ibid. 2:4.

## H. ONE THICK LINE WITH MULTIPLE THIN LINES CROSSING EACH OTHER

X-pattern made of one thick and two or more thin lines decorates almost exclusively Gold Mica pots. In MH I it is found only on type 1 jars (56), but in MH II it is fairly common on type 1 jars $(156,157,162)$ and type 1 pithoi $(189,195,196,197)$. Next to this group of Aeginetan sherds, this variant is found only on two DT sherds, 226 (type 2 pithos) and 232 (either a type 2 pithos or a type 1 jar). This variant appears on Aeginetan type 2 pithoi from Lerna. ${ }^{613}$

## I. TWO THICK WITH TWO THIN LINES

Another rare variant of the X-pattern, made of two thick and two thin lines. It is found only on one MH II type 2 pithos (227, porous fine untempered fabric), decorating the main zone of the vase, that starts from the angle of the rim. This is a rare variant also in Aegina. ${ }^{614}$

## J. FOUR OR FIVE LINES CROSSING EACH OTHER

Four thin lines are found only on MH I/II angular cups with flaring rims and Gold Mica or biotite $(46,47)$ fabrics. ${ }^{615}$ The pattern is placed on the main decorative zone, extending from the rim to the carination. 46 is decorated with both three- and four-line $X^{\prime \prime}$ s. Only one sherd is decorated with an X made of five thin lines: the MH II Bogenrippen body 235 preserves the ends of what appears to be X-pattern made of five lines crossing each other, next to a cross-hatched triangle. The Aeginetan origin of this motif is confirmed both by the Gold Mica fabric of the sherd and also by parallels from Aegina. ${ }^{616}$

## TRiANGLES

This is another common motif, with five variants (fig. 196). With the exception of crosshatched triangles with thick outline (variant a), which are used in MH I, and the triangle with a dot in the center (variant $e$, uncertain date) this motif is commonly used as a primary motif in the MH II period. Hanging triangles, hatched, cross-hatched, or with a fill of two thin lines, decorate jugs and type 1 jars, but more often open shapes (spouted bowls, rounded bowls with everted rims, and angular cups with everted or with flaring rims). Upright hatched triangles decorate exclusively type 2 jars. As a secondary motif, small cross-hatched triangles in horizontal or vertical rows frame the plastic bands of Bogenrippen amphoras. Vases decorated with triangles are, as a rule, not of Aeginetan origin: the

[^90]only Gold Mica pieces belong to closed shapes decorated with variant $b$ : jugs decorated with hanging hatched triangles and type 2 jars decorated with upright hatched triangles, as well as one fragment from a spouted bowl, decorated with a triangle with three thin lines (variant d).

## A. CROSS-HATCHED

Triangles filled with cross-hatching decorate bowls, jugs, and jars: the triangle hangs from a horizontal line that defines the transition from rim to shoulder (bowls) or from neck to shoulder (jugs and jars). In MH I the triangles have a thick outline and appear on DT (45) and Fine Untempered (44) rounded bowls with everted rim, as well as beak-spouted jugs with black biotite $(52,53)$. The combination of this variant with these specific shapes is well represented at Aegina. ${ }^{617}$ In MH II, large cross-hatched triangles are used on type 1 jars in Gold Mica fabrics (158, 159, 160). Small cross-hatched triangles without a thick outline are used on Gold Mica or biotite (235, 236, 237, 238, 239) Bogenrippen amphoras as secondary decorative patterns, usually in horizontal or vertical rows framing the plastic bands. More rarely, this variant is found on MH II rounded bowls with everted rims (97). Numerous parallels for this variant exist at Aegina, where the variant seems to originate.

## B. HATCHED

This variant occurs only in MH II. It includes two sub-variants. The first consists of one or more small triangles hanging from two or three thin parallel lines at the base of the rim of open vases; the triangles are filled with five or six parallel lines. The commonest occurrence of hanging hatched triangles is on rounded cups with everted rims in both DT (129, 130) and Gold Mica (134) fabrics; there are stylistic differences between the two, as in the hatching of $\mathbf{1 3 4}$ is vertical, whereas that of $\mathbf{1 2 9}$ and $\mathbf{1 3 0}$ oblique. Hanging hatched triangles also decorate Gold Mica rounded bowls with everted rims, where they hang from a thin horizontal line marking the transition from rim to body (103). More rarely, the variant is found on DT angular cups with everted rims: (117) has a burnished surface and the horizontal lines from which the triangle hangs are not parallel. Larger triangles, hanging from a horizontal line on the rim are quite common on Gold Mica (114) and Fine Untempered (115) spouted bowls. This subvariant is also used on closed vessels, especially jugs, again in Gold Mica (140) and DT fabrics (139); these are decorated with triangles with oblique hatching hanging from groups of two or three horizontal parallel lines on the shoulder. The

[^91]a

萝


b






芯

c




$d$


e



Fig. 196. Variants of triangles with their associated shapes.

Gold Mica piece 140 is carefully executed: the lines of the hatching are parallel and at equal distances from each other, and the edge of the triangle is elongated, giving to the pattern a slender appearance; on the other hand, the lines of the hatching on $\mathbf{1 3 9}$ are unequally spaced and some of them not exactly parallel to the others.

The second subvariant consists of upright hatched triangles and is found exclusively on the shoulders of type 2 jars, both in Gold Mica $(187,277,186)$ and DT (185) fabrics. 277 is carefully executed, with 14 parallel lines of equal thickness, and is framed by a larger, sin-gle-lined triangle; 277 has two horizontal rows of fairly large triangles, one on the shoulder and one on the belly; the triangle on 186 is framed by a double-line larger triangle. All triangles on type 2 jars find close parallels at Aegina, down to the number of lines in the hatching, ${ }^{618}$ but the DT pieces may have been local products.

Besides Aegina, hatched triangles appear commonly at the Aspis of Argos ${ }^{619}$ and at Lerna. ${ }^{620}$

[^92]
## C. ONE THICK AND TWO OR THREE THIN LINES

Hanging triangles with a thick outline and fill of two or three thin lines crossing each other are used only in MH II. They are found exclusively on Gold Mica vessels, especially spouted bowls (110, 111, 112, 113), where they form rows hanging from a horizontal line on the rim. If 141 belongs to a jug, it is the only occurrence of this variant on jugs. The variant finds close parallels at Aegina and is an Aeginetan motif.

## D. THREE THIN LINES

This variant is rare. Hanging triangles with three thin lines are found on one sherd from a MH II Gold Mica spouted bowl (114): although precise parallels for this variant have not been published from Aegina, ${ }^{621}$ there is a Gold Mica spouted bowl from Lerna ${ }^{622}$ which has two thin lines and no thick outline. It can be assigned an Aeginetan origin.

## E. THREE LINES WITH DOT FILL

This variant is used on one closed vase, the Gold Mica 142, possibly from a beak-spouted jug or a jar). I have not been able to find parallels for this variant, but the fabric classifies it as Aeginetan.

## CHEVRONS

This is a rare motif, used only on Gold Mica pithoi and angular stemmed cups (fig. 197). In MH I the pattern is drawn with four or more thick lines on the body of the vessel (e.g. 73), but the surviving pieces are too small to establish whether the chevrons framed other motifs, such as cross-hatched triangles with thick outline, as they do on Aeginetan vessels. ${ }^{623}$ Another MH I subvariant consists of three or four thin horizontal chevrons used as secondary motifs (e.g. 59, 60). In MH II, groups of two thin vertical chevrons in panels are found on DT type 2 pithoi (e.g. 222); at Lerna, the subvariant is used on type 1 pithoi, ${ }^{624}$ but its use on type 2 pithoi seems to be unique and possibly of local inspiration. In MH III, continuous chains of small horizontal chevrons are found on the bodies of Gold Mica stemmed angular cups with everted rims (251): the carefully executed motif decorates the zone between the rim and the carination to the lower body. Although horizontal chevrons are used on stemmed angular cups at Aegina, they are less carefully executed than the

[^93]623. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 2.


Fig. 197. Chevrons with their associated shapes.


Fig. 198. Herringbone with its associated shapes.

Eleusinian example, with unequal spaces between the angles, ${ }^{625}$ paint running off from the points of the chevrons, ${ }^{626}$ and converging instead of parallel lines. ${ }^{627}$

## Herringbone

Vertical herringbone (fig. 198) is found only on one piece, the body of a MH III type 1 Gold Mica jar (260). The pattern is composed with one thick vertical line, on either side of which stem short diagonal lines, not of equal length and not always parallel. At Aegina, carefully executed vertical herringbone is found on MH I jars ${ }^{628}$ and lids ${ }^{629}$ or MH III cups. ${ }^{630}$ Because the context of 260 was MH III/LH I, this piece has been dated to that period. Horizontal herringbone is also found on 119, an angular bowl with sharply inverted rim.

## Zig-Zag Lines

Variants of zig-zag lines (fig. 199) are fairly common, both as primary and secondary motifs on MH II pots. Five variants have been found at Eleusis, with horizontal zig-zag lines being the commonest. One (variant $a$ ), two (variant $b$ ), or three (variant $c$ ) parallel zigzag lines in frames defined by one straight horizontal line at the top and one at the bottom
625. E.g. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 573.
626. E.g. ibid. no. 547.
627. E.g. ibid. no. 572.
628. E.g. ibid. nos 156, 164; Alt-Ägina III.1: 372.
629. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 250.
630. E.g. Alt-Ägina III.1: 446.
decorate angular bowls with everted rims and stemmed angular cups, covering the entire upper body of the vase. Double zig-zag lines without a frame (variant d) are found only on angular cups with flaring rims. Vertical zig-zag lines in panels (variant $e$ ) are used for type 1 and type 2 pithoi.

## A. HORIZONTAL, ONE LINE

One horizontal zig-zag line is used as a primary motif on Gold Mica MH II angular bowls with everted rims (92). It is placed in a decorative zone in the upper body, defined by a thick horizontal line on the rim and a second one on the angle to the lower body. The motif is Aeginetan, ${ }^{631}$ but is also attested in Boeotia. ${ }^{632}$ A Cycladic version is produced on Keos. ${ }^{633}$

## B. HORIZONTAL, TWO THIN LINES

Two thin parallel zig-zag lines are the commonest motif on MH II stemmed angular cups with everted rims, in DT (120) and Fine Untempered (121) fabrics. The lines are carefully executed, placed in the zone defined by a thick horizontal line on the rim and a second one on the angle to the lower body; in all examples the lower body is decorated with festoons. The combination of shape and pattern is common at Aegina ${ }^{634}$ and also appears in the Argolid ${ }^{635}$ and Attica. ${ }^{636}$ The use of this variant on jugs (such as our MH II DT 138) is not paralleled at Aegina, although some Aeginetan jugs are decorated with triple-line zigzags. ${ }^{637}$ The variant is also used on a DT rounded cup with everted rim, the MH II 131, resembling the decoration on Aeginetan cups with triple zig-zag. ${ }^{638}$ Outside Aegina, the motif is commonly found at the Aspis of Argos on angular bowls with flat vertical or slightly incurving rims, ${ }^{639}$ angular two-handled cups, ${ }^{640}$ and large two-handled deep bowls or goblets. ${ }^{641}$

## C. HORIZONTAL, THREE THIN LINES

Three thin parallel zig-zag lines decorate the upper bodies of Gold Mica MH II angular bowls with everted rims (93), placed in a decorative zone defined by a thick horizontal line
632. Eutresis 152, fig. 209.
633. Keos V pl. 25:P-5.
634. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 515-524.
635. Dietz 1991, fig. 10.40.
636. Kiapha-Thiti 17.567.
637. E.g. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 332.
638. Cf. ibid. 626.
639. Philippa-Touchais 2002, fig. 4:11-13; 2007, 101, figs 16-18.
640. Ibid. fig. 7:23.
641. Ibid. fig. 16:45.
a

b

C

(?)


d

e

e



Fig. 199. Variants of zig-zag lines with their associated shapes.
on the rim and a second one on the angle to the lower body; there are precise parallels from Aegina. ${ }^{642}$ A thick-line subvariant is found only on one type 1 pithos body of DT fabric (204), used as a secondary motif under a panel with X-pattern, a combination that does not find precise parallels at Aegina. ${ }^{643}$

## D. HORIZONTAL, TWO LINES, RUNNING

Two running parallel zig-zag lines are found on MH II angular cups with flaring rims in Fine Untempered $(\mathbf{1 2 7})$ and DT $(\mathbf{1 2 4}, \mathbf{1 2 8})$ fabrics. The lines are placed in the main decorative zone defined by the rim and the carination to the lower body; this wide zone is divided further into narrower zones by straight horizontal lines; these narrow zones end in vertical panels through the use of straight parallel double vertical lines on either side of the handles. The zig-zag lines are organized in sets of two within each narrow horizontal zone. Although the motif of zig-zag lines in general is common at Aegina, the particular
642. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 511.
643. Although Alt-Ägina IV.2: 29d has horizontal
variant of double zig-zag lines placed in narrow horizontal zones does not occur at that site. ${ }^{644}$ A cup fragment from Eutresis ${ }^{645}$ is decorated with double zig-zag lines in a narrow zone, but this zone is placed in the center of the upper body. By contrast, the double zigzag lines in a narrow zone above and beneath the carination of the angular cup 124 is paralleled at the Aspis of Argos. ${ }^{646}$

## E. VERTICAL, TWO THIN LINES

Vertical zig-zag lines in panels are common on pithoi. Two zig-zag lines in vertical panels are found on the MH II-III Gold Mica type 1 pithos 203, similar to Alt-Ägina IV.2: 106, suggesting an Aeginetan origin. Zig-zags made of one thick line framed by one thin line on either side are found on the DT type 2 pithos 222,223, also alternating with panels of vertical chevrons.

## Wavy Lines

Single vertical wavy lines (fig. 200) are found only on shoulders of MH III jugs in Fine Untempered fabrics $(255,264)$. The line on 255 starts from the horizontal line at the base of the neck and its top end is thickened, resembling the head of a snake; it finds a close parallel at Aegina, ${ }^{647}$ although the end of the Aeginetan piece is not thickened. Wavy lines are common in the Cyclades. ${ }^{648}$ On the Mainland they are commonly used as secondary motifs in the so-called Late Matt Painted pottery of LH I and II. ${ }^{649} 264$ does not have a true wavy line, but a curved line connecting two straight vertical parallel lines forming a horizontal panel; the sherd may also belong to Late Aeginetan MP pottery. ${ }^{650}$


Fig. 200. Variants of wavy lines with their associated shapes.

[^94]648. Cf. Barber 1974, pl. 5d.
649. See for example Athens Wells fig. 11:103, 105. Also supra p. 52, for MP sherds decorated with curved lines, discovered with LH IIA/IIB pottery in S SU 34, locus 2.
650. Athens Wells fig. 11.

Single horizontal or diagonal wavy lines, framed by straight parallel lines, are common on MH III jars. The lines can be thick with regular curves, such as those on the Fine Micaceous jar 263 which, however, could be as late as LH I; ${ }^{651}$ or thin with irregular sharp curves reminiscent of zig-zag patterns, such as those on 616 and 617 , in which case they resemble LH I Mainland Polychrome patterns (cf. 645).

## FESTOONS

Single or double festoons (fig. 201) are common on MH II and MH III cups and bowls. In MH II single festoons are used on angular bowls with everted rims and angular stemmed cups as secondary decoration, hanging from a horizontal line on the carination or the angle


Fig. 201. Variants of festoons with their associated shapes.
that marks the transition from the upper to the lower body. In MH III single festoons are used as primary motifs in angular cups, in the horizontal zone of the upper body, which is usually defined by a line under the rim and a line on the angle to the lower body (DT 246, Fine Untempered 244; the everted rim Gold Mica 247 could have belonged to either an angular bowl or a stemmed cup). Double festoons are rare, used on a few sherds from angular bowls with everted rims and rounded cups with everted rims as the primary motif on the upper part of the body (Gold Mica 245). Both single and double festoons are common in Aegina and other sites; it is possible that the Gold Mica and Fine Untempered pieces were Aeginetan and the DT ones local.

## Chessboard

Chessboard (fig. 202) appears rarely in the MP pottery from Eleusis. 118 is a fragment from the everted rim and upper body of a Gold Mica MH II angular cup. The motif is

[^95]

Fig. 202. Chessboard motif with its associated shapes.
spread over the entire preserved upper part of the body; it is defined at the top by a thin horizontal line under a group of short and thin straight lines on the external surface of the rim; and on the side by a thick diagonal line separating the zone of the handle. The motif is more common on the bodies of type 1 pithoi: rectangular checkered panels are used as primary motif between single or double straight vertical lines (Gold Mica/biotite 199, 200). The use of chessboard motif on angular cups and type 1 pithoi is well attested at Aegina, ${ }^{652}$ but not at other MH sites and can be considered of Aeginetan origin.

## LOZENGES

Two variants of this motif are found at Eleusis (fig. 203). A chain of cross-hatched lozenges is found on the body of a Gold Mica MH III angular bowl with flat rim (243): the lozenges are placed in a horizontal zone under the line of the rim, running around the vase; their outlines are painted with fairly thick lines. The motif appears in MH III in the Argolid, ${ }^{653}$ but does not have any parallels at Aegina. A small fragment from the shoulder


Fig. 203. Lozenges with their associated shapes.
652. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 707. Cf. Caskey 1956, pl. 39e.
653. Mostly on rounded cups with everted rims:
of a DT closed vase, probably a jug (256) preserves parts of what appear to have been crosshatched lozenges. This is not an Aeginetan piece and I have not been able to find any parallels for the use of this motif on jugs. The second variant is made of oblique solid lozenges. This appears on a Gold Mica MH II angular cup with flaring rim (125), where it extends from the edge of the rim to the carination to the lower part of the body. Although this is an Aeginetan piece, the use of this variant on angular cups with flaring rims is not paralleled at the published material from Aegina. ${ }^{654}$

## Butterfly

Two small solid opposing triangles forming a "butterfly" motif are used as secondary motifs on MH II storage vases (fig. 204). 167 belongs to the belly of a Gold Mica type 1 jar:


Fig. 204. Butterfly with its associated shapes.
the butterfly is framed by a thin vertical straight line on either end, possibly part of a vertical chain. ${ }^{655}$ On the other hand, the butterfly pattern on the Fine Untempered type 1 pithos belly 205 is made of two triangles with thin black outline and dark brown fill. The motif is Aeginetan; it is also found at the Aspis ${ }^{656}$ and Lerna, ${ }^{657}$ but not in Boeotia.

## Groups of Straight Parallel Lines

Groups of straight parallel lines in a horizontal frieze are used as main decoration on the upper body of angular bowls, placed in a horizontal zone between the rim and the

[^96]656. Philippa-Touchais 2007, 101 fig. 2:19-23.
657. Zerner 1988, figs 4:4, 5:14, 6:15.


Fig. 205. Groups of straight parallel lines with their associated shapes.
angle to the lower body (fig. 205). Angular bowls with flat rim are commonly decorated with groups of six to nine diagonal lines (MH I Gold Mica 40) or groups of five to seven vertical lines in a horizontal frieze (MH II Gold Mica 85, 86, 87, Fine Untempered 84), often alternating with double- or triple-line X-pattern. MH II angular bowls with everted rims (Fine Untempered 94, DT 91) and rounded bowls with everted rims (Fine Untempered 100) are decorated with groups of four diagonal lines. Groups of vertical lines also decorate the necks of DT type 2 jars (183). In general, this is a common pattern at Aegina, ${ }^{658}$ but it is possible that the DT pieces may have been local.

## NET

Horizontal zones filled with net pattern (fig. 206) are rare, only on Gold Mica MH II angular cups with flaring rims (126), which find precise parallels at Aegina ${ }^{659}$ and may be Aeginetan. Net is also used as a fill of X-pattern on MH I type 1 pithoi (see above, X-Pattern, variants e, f, g).


Fig. 206. Net with its associated shape.

## Circles

Circles are fairly common decoration on large storage vessels (fig. 207).
a
:88̊8:


b


C



d


e


Fig. 207. Circles with associated shapes.

## A. SMALL SOLID CIRCLES

Groups of small solid black circles arranged in parallel lines and placed in horizontal zones are used as main decorative motifs on the bodies of Gold Mica MH I type 1 pithoi (61). Although precise parallels are not found among the published material from Aegina, connected solid circles are common. ${ }^{660}$ Small solid circles in single rows decorate the handles of Gold Mica MH II Bogenrippen amphoras (242), which is a common feature at Aegina. ${ }^{661}$

## B. CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, THICK OUTLINES

Large concentric circles with thick outlines, occasionally filled with stars, are used as primary motifs on the bodies of pithoi and jars. In MH I two or three concentric circles filled with a star decorate the bodies of Fine Untempered type 1 jars (67) and Gold Mica type 1 pithoi ( $59 / 60$ ), placed in vertical panels alternating with panels decorated with crosshatched concentric circles. In MH II two or more concentric circles with thick outlines dec-
orate Gold Mica type $1(\mathbf{1 6 9}, \mathbf{1 9 0}, 202)$ and type 2 pithoi $(233)$, as well as DT type 1 jars ( $\mathbf{1 7 0}$, 173, 174). In MH III this variant is found on Gold Mica type 1 pithoi (267).

## C. CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, THIN OUTLINES

In MH II, two concentric circles with thin outlines, sometimes connected with small lines, are used on Gold Mica $(165,168)$ and DT type 1 jars $(171) .223$ is a large fragment from a DT type 2 pithos, preserving the edges of two thin concentric circles in a vertical panel above the handle, but not enough part of the circles has been preserved to establish whether they were connected.
D. SINGLE CIRCLES, THICK OUTLINE

Large circles with thick outline and fill of crosses are common on MH I type 1 pithoi. The fairly coarse Gold Mica sherd 66 is decorated with a circle with a thick line, filled with two groups of five straight lines crossing each other; the motif is carelessly executed, as the lines of the cross are not parallel. The Fine Micaceous 70 preserves part of a circle with a thick outline, filled with a cross; the circle is placed in a vertical panel; stars are used as fillers of the empty space between the circle and the panel. In MH II this variant is found on DT type 1 jars $(\mathbf{1 7 3}, \mathbf{1 7 4})$.

## E. SINGLE CIRCLES, THIN OUTLINE

In MH II thin circles with fill of crosses are common decoration on Gold Mica (166) and DT type 1 jars (164).

## Spirals

Spirals are a late motif, used as primary decoration on cups (fig. 208). Single isolated spiral is found on Fine Micaceous angular cups with everted rims (250): it is placed on the


Fig. 208. Spirals with their associated shapes.
main decorative zone of the cup, in a panel made of two parallel thin lines. Double running spiral is found on the body of a Fine Untempered rounded cup with everted rim (601), running continuously around the vase and framed at the top and bottom by two groups of two straight horizontal parallel lines. Both vases seem to have been of Argive origin and are late ( 601 could be LH I).

## Stars

Stars in general are used as fillers on MH I storage vases (fig. 209). They have four (67) to eight $(59,60)$ spires crossing each other in the center of the motif. We find them either on empty spaces between primary motifs on type 1 pithoi (DT 64 and the Fine Micaceous $70)$, or inside circles or on Gold Mica type 1 pithoi $(59,60,68)$.


Fig. 209. Star with its associated shape.

## BIRDS

Figure motifs are not common in the Eleusinian material (fig. 210). The Fine Micaceous jug 254 has decoration consisting of two birds: the tail of one and part of the lower body of the other a little higher up are preserved. This is a MC III motif with parallels at Phylakopi ${ }^{662}$ and Akrotiri. ${ }^{663}$ The only other sherd with bird decoration is the DT jug 257, decorated with curved parallel lines which are reminiscent of a bird's tail. ${ }^{664}$


Fig. 210. Birds with their associated shape.
662. Phylakopi pl. XXI.
663. Papagiannopoulou 1991, nos 98-103.
664. Cf. Furtwängler and Loeschcke 1879: pl. IX. 44.


Fig. 211. Floral patterns with their associated shapes.

## Floral Patterns

Floral patterns appear in MH/MC III jars (fig. 211). The Cycladic Micaceous jar 258 is decorated with leaves or branches stemming out of a horizontal line. The Fine Untempered 265 preserves part of what appears to have been a floral pattern (leaves stemming from a branch?) around the base of the handle.

## SUMMARY

The MH I MP repertory of shapes includes angular bowls with flat rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, angular cups with flaring rims, jugs, type 1 jars, and type 1 pithoi. Surfaces are clearly divided into horizontal decorative zones (usually two or more on jars and pithoi). The most common motifs are variants of the X-pattern, placed in vertical panels on both open and closed shapes; circles on jars and pithoi; and hanging cross-hatched triangles on rounded bowls and jugs. Some vases are decorated with multiple-line X-pattern framed by two horizontal lines. In some pithoi, curved lines divide the surface of the vase in elliptical sections; on others, empty spaces are decorated with secondary motifs (stars or small solid circles), following Wünsche's ${ }^{665}$ "close style". In the material studied the majority of the MH I MP sherds belong to the Gold Mica class, followed by DT.

The MH II period seems to be characterized by the addition of new shapes, but the material is too fragmentary to allow a comparison with the developments at Aegina and Lerna. ${ }^{666}$ In these sites the shapes that survive from MH I undergo several changes: type 1 pithoi become more slender and pear-shaped and taper towards the rim; Bogenrippen
amphoras and type 1 jars stretch along their vertical axis; and jugs become sorter and wider. On the other hand, some changes in the decoration of the Eleusinian material from MH I to MH II can be observed, ${ }^{667}$ as the close style of the MH I period disappears and large undecorated surfaces appear. Common motifs include hanging triangles (with the spaces in-between filled with vertical lines or circles with double diameters), zig-zag lines, and groups of vertical parallel lines. The general arrangement of decorative patterns emphasizes the distinct parts of the vase and conforms to the principles of the Aeginetan "mature" style. The four stylistic groups distinguished by Siedentopf at Aegina ${ }^{668}$ also exist at Eleusis: the first is characterized by the continuation of the use of MH I motifs (stars and crosshatched geometric shapes, e.g. 44, 52, 58, 59, 64, 68, 70, 73); the second by distinct horizontal zones with linear decoration of chevrons or X-pattern (e.g. 102, 110, 111, 129, 157, 196, 222); the third by a juxtaposition of such decorative patterns as chessboards, squares, crosses, zig-zag lines, and groups of dots (e.g. 93, 120, 118, 124, 142, 199, 200); the fourth by simplification and stylization of the decorative patterns, suggesting a shrinkage in the decorative repertoire (e.g. 245, 246, 250, 255).

The MH III material is small and shows a strong continuity to the MH II. The repertory of shapes includes only those continuing from the MH II and not any new shapes; a noticeable difference can be seen in the angular cup with flaring rim, the quality of which improves, perhaps because of the use of the fast wheel and higher baking temperatures. The organization of the motifs remains open and there is continuity in the arrangement in horizontal (esp. in the necks of jugs and the bellies of bowls) or vertical (on pithoi bodies) zones; the only exception is the jar, where the decoration in zones is eliminated and replaced by an open arrangement of the motifs. Several motifs become simplified and lose the ornate character seen in MH I and II. New motifs, such as spirals and floral motifs appear under the influence of Minoan pottery. ${ }^{669}$

A major issue is the identification of the workshops that produced the MP pottery found at Eleusis, as it relates to the exchange networks in which Eleusis participated and the economic status of the site. In general, the MP material from Eleusis falls into two general categories that seem to suggest two different production centers. The largest and best documented category is Gold Mica, which can be assigned an Aeginetan origin. ${ }^{670}$ The stylistic characteristics of Aeginetan MP pottery have been thoroughly discussed in the Aegina publications ${ }^{671}$ and need not be repeated here. What is important, is that not only the fabrics, but also the shapes and the decoration of Gold Mica pieces from Eleusis are closely paral-
667. Infra p. 303.
668. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 44-47.
669. Cf. Wünsche 1977b, 91.
670. For fabric discussion see infra p. 310; for
characterization studies see Cosmopoulos et al. 1999. 671. Wünsche 1977b, 91; Alt-Ägina IV.2, 10-13 and 44-47.


Fig. 212. Aeginetan motifs and shapes at Eleusis.
leled at Aegina (fig. 212); shape / decoration combinations not paralleled at Aegina are rare (e.g. oblique solid lozenges on angular cups with flaring rims, as on 125). ${ }^{672}$ Notable is the small number of MP pieces preserving potter's marks ( $90,181,502$ ), of which 181 and 502 may have come from plain, rather than MP pots. ${ }^{673}$

It is the second class, that with DT fabrics, which seems to represent a local (west Attic) or regional (Boeotian) answer to the Aeginetan MP pottery. As far as shapes are concerned, with the exception of thelastra and Bogenrippen amphoras, which appear exclusively in Aeginetan fabrics, DT shapes are the same as those made with Gold Mica fabrics. The decoration of the DT pots is, however, different than that of the Gold Mica ones, in that most MP pots in DT fabrics are decorated with motifs that do not appear at Aegina or do not appear at Aegina on the shapes on which they occur at Eleusis. These motifs (fig. 213) may be used to define the workshop that produced DT fabrics:

## X-PATTERNS

a. X-patterns drawn with a double thick line and net fill; found in MH I on large closed vases, type 1 pithoi and possibly type 1 jars (57) and in MH II on type 2 pithoi (64).
b. X-patterns with double thick line with two thin lines, found on MH I type 2 pithoi (227).
c. X-patterns with single thin line used on angular stemmed cups with everted rims (122). Although single-line X-patterns are used on such cups at Aegina, they are always framed by groups of vertical parallel lines ${ }^{674}$ and do not stand alone in an open space, as is the case with the Dark-Tempered pieces from Eleusis (e.g. 122).

## ZIG-ZAG LINES

a. Horizontal, two thin lines, in frame, on type 1 pithoi (204). The use of double zig-zag lines in a narrow horizontal zone defined by thick lines is not paralleled at Aegina. The closest parallel at Aegina is Alt-Ägina IV.2: 29d, which has triple zig-zag lines, with the spaces in-between decorated with small triangles.
b. Vertical, one thick and two thin lines, in frame decorating type 2 pithoi (222, 223); the combination of the subvariant of chevrons alternating with zig-zag is not found at Aegina.

[^97]137 and Philippa-Touchais 2007, 109. 674. E.g. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 531b.


Fig. 213. MP DT motifs and their associated shapes.

## LOZENGES

a. Chains of cross-hatched lozenges on MH III jugs (256).

WAVY LINES
a. Horizontal narrow curves on MH III type 1 jars are not paralleled at Aegina, but they find parallels in material from Attica (Kiapha Thiti).

BIRDS
a. There is one MH III jug sherd in DT fabric, which exhibits an unusual decoration of what looks like the body of a bird (257).
The geographical origin of this fabric is not known, but similarities with the fabrics from Eutresis (personal observation) and Orchomenos (Kalliope Sarri, personal communication) may suggest a possible location somewhere in west Attica/south Boeotia.

Because of the lack of stratigraphic information about the majority of our pots and the resulting unreliability of statistical analysis, it is not possible to establish with certainty the proportions of imported Aeginetan vs. local/regional pottery. The overall impression is, however, that in the studied sample, Aeginetan imports constitute the majority of MP pots throughout the MH period, an observation that seems to agree with similar observations in other sites. ${ }^{675}$

[^98](Philippa-Touchais 2007, 99). Cf. Gauß and Kiriatzi

2011, 242-246, table 87.

The remaining classes of fabrics represented in the material are imports from other parts of Greece. The imported Cycladic sherds belong to type 1 pithoi (207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, $\mathbf{2 1 3}, \mathbf{2 1 4}, \mathbf{2 1 6}, \mathbf{2 1 8}, \mathbf{2 1 9}, 220$ ). The fabric of the Keian type 1 pithoi is dark red and gritty and its main characteristic is the application of a whitish/creamy to pale yellow ( $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$ to $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ ) slip on the exterior surface of the vessel. This Yellow Slipped Ware appears to have been the Keian equivalent of the MH MP coarse wares. ${ }^{676}$ The surface is smoothed $(207,211,219)$ or lightly burnished $(208,212)$. Keian pithoi are all handmade, like their Aeginetan equivalents. The resemblance to the Aeginetan pottery is seen also in the decoration. Rows of reversed cross-hatched triangles hanging from the rim (207), framed lozenges $(208,209,210,219)$, and groups of curved lines or semicircles $(212,213)$ constitute typical Keian motifs, which are also found on Aeginetan MP vessels (see particularly 205, 167, 65). According to J. Overbeck ${ }^{677}$ the repertory of Ayia Irini IV, where the type 1 pithoi belong, parallels that of Kolonna VIII and IX. Siedentopf's "Reife Stil" of MP vessels equates with Kolonna IX and corresponds to the MP Yellow Slipped pottery of Ayia Irini. ${ }^{678}$ Keian imports at Kolonna are significant, while more Aeginetan vessels remain to be identified at Ayia Irini IV. ${ }^{679}$ As far as Eleusis is concerned, the presence of both Aeginetan and Keian type 1 pithoi (the latter being the sole Cycladic imports during the MBA) is particularly interesting taking into consideration the role that Aegina played in the distribution of local pottery. The Aeginetan shapes and motifs probably appealed to the consumers of pottery, since they chose to import similar pots from Keos. In fact, Keian type 1 pithoi are common at Kolonna and could have been also inspired by Aeginetan pottery workshops. ${ }^{680}$ The examples from Eleusis find close parallels at Aegina. ${ }^{681}$

In general, the distribution of MP shapes in the settlement presents many gaps, due to the large number of unstratified sherds. Some basic observations seem to hold true, however: type 1 jars are found in every part of the excavated settlement, whereas angular and rounded bowls and angular cups appear in most areas. On the other hand, the absence of drinking vessels from the Sacred House and of type 1 pithoi from the South Slope is a result of the fragmentary nature of the material.
676. Keos VII 10.
677. Overbeck 2007, 339.
678. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 45-46; Overbeck 2007, 340.
679. Overbeck 2007, 340.
680. Overbeck 1982, 42; Keos VII 10.
681. See the comparisons made by Overbeck 2007, 340.

## THE LUSTROUS DECORATED POTTERY

## DEFINITION

The term "Lustrous Decorated" refers to pots of different fabrics and decorative modes, which however share some basic technological traits, most notably the use of iron-based lustrous paints ${ }^{682}$ and tempering with sand grains. ${ }^{683}$ Lustrous Decorated pottery occurs in the beginning of the MH and continues to be used throughout the period, although in smaller numbers. ${ }^{684}$ The decoration can be either D-o-L, with black or brown motifs executed against a light brown or off-white background; or L-o-D, monochrome or polychrome, the second with white or purple motifs painted against a black or dark blue background. The first appears to have been a Helladic product, the second a product of Minoan inspiration ("Minoanizing"), but not of Cretan manufacture. ${ }^{685}$ The range of shapes includes small food-serving pots, mostly cups, made in fine fabrics, and food storage and transportation vases, usually jars, jugs and pithoi, made in fairly fine or fairly coarse fabrics. ${ }^{686}$

The main candidate for the origin of LD pottery has been thought to have been Kythera, as characterization studies have shown that LD pots found on the Mainland are made of clays similar to those found on Kythera (containing a variety of sand grains or chert and mudstone fragments). Kiriatzi, who recently analyzed the issue, points out, however, that the low frequency of this pottery at Kythera deposit $\delta$ (MM IB-MM II) and the strong Mainland stylistic features of LD pots weaken the possibility of a Kytheran production center: instead, she suggests that LD pottery may have been made by potters who were largely based at Kythera but seasonally travelled and worked in other sites of the mainland or Aegina with similar clay sources. ${ }^{687}$

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The LD pottery from Eleusis amounts only to 18 sherds, belonging to 16 individual pots. They are equally split between D-o-L and L-o-D styles and amount to only about $0.25 \%$ of the MH material. Most sherds are belly fragments, two are rim parts and one is part of a spout. The rim diameter of the cup fragment is ca. $9 \mathrm{~cm}(270)$ and the wall thickness of the

[^99][^100]preserved part of the vessel $0.3-0.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. The rim diameters of the type 2 jars range from 13 to 17 cm and the wall thicknesses from 0.6 to 0.9 cm .

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The fabric of the LD pottery is in most cases fine yellow (10YR 7/6) to light brown (10 YR 7/2) with few white or no discernible inclusions; in two cases ( 270 and 278) the fabric is overfired grey. The cups are wheelmade, but the jars and jugs are handmade. The bichrome barrel jar 282 has a fairly coarse reddish brown 5YR 6/4 fabric which may point to the Argolid as its place of origin. Such jars, also found in Athens, ${ }^{688}$ have the coarse gritty fabric encountered at Aegina and Lerna, ${ }^{689}$ as well as grooving marks from scrapers on their interior surfaces. ${ }^{690}$ Potmarks are not preserved on any of these sherds.

## SURFACE TREATMENT

All pieces has a well smoothed surface that is also occasionally burnished (e.g. 270, 275).

## SHAPES

Cup and Bowl
ROUNDED CUP WITH STRAIGHT RIM
Shape and size. Deep outline with straight, slightly incurving rim, vertical loop handle and flat or low pedestalled base. Walls are thin $(0.3-0.5 \mathrm{~cm})$ and the rim diameter is 9 to 10 cm . Fabrics and manufacture. The fabric is fine, of yellowish or yellowish-brown color (10 YR $7 / 6$ ) without any marked inclusions apart from small stone grits (270).
Surface treatment and decoration. Both identified pieces of cups are well smoothed and slightly polished. 270 is decorated with a broad red vertical band bordered by thinner white lines on dark semi-lustrous ground. On the other hand the body fragment 271 is decorated in L-o-D and may be a true Minoan import, decorated with curvilinear spiral motifs. ${ }^{691}$ Provenience. 270 was found in S SU 34, locus 6; 271 was found on the Hilltop, without additional information.
Comparanda. This shape is found in small numbers in early MH deposits in the Argolid, at the Aspis of Argos, ${ }^{692}$ and Lerna, ${ }^{693}$ and becomes extremely rare further north. ${ }^{694}$ It is more
688. Venieri 2010, 192, NMA 4003 and NMA 4042, figs 7-8.
689. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 65; Zerner 1988, 7-10.
690. Cf. Zerner 1986, 67 and 1993, 46.
691. Cf. Kommos II 370.
692. Philippa-Touchais 2003, fig. 3:1-3.
693. Zerner 1988, fig. 25:19-20.
694. Pevkakia pl. XXVI:9.
common at Ayios Stephanos ${ }^{695}$ and Kythera. ${ }^{696} 270$ dates to MM IB/late MH I and 271 to MM IIB.

SPOUTED CUP
Shape and size. Only one fragment from the spout of a spouted cup (272) has been found at Eleusis.

Fabrics and manufacture. Very fine with few black grits; color is whitish brown, compact and hard fired.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface is very smoothed and possibly also slipped (the interior seems to have a yellowish slip $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ ). The spout is decorated in L-o-D style, but was probably polychrome. ${ }^{697}$ The external surface is decorated with a curvilinear motif of a double crescent-like band.

Origins and comparanda. The lustrous decorated spouted cup is a Minoan shape, found in the Southern Peloponnese. ${ }^{698}$

JAR
JAR WITHOUT DISTINCT NECK (TYPE 2)
Shape and size. Jars with distinct neck are usually of medium or large size. Globular or ovoid body, funnel-like neck, everted rim; no base or handle fragments have been identified in the material, but in other sites bases are usually flat and the handles horizontal crescent-shaped. Fabrics and manufacture. All sherds are handmade and their interior surfaces bear grooving marks from scraping with a hard tool. Approximately one third of the identified pieces have fairly fine to fairly coarse (and usually gritty) fabrics. The color of the clay is pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 4-8 / 3$ to brown $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 2-6 / 2$ or $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$. 282 has a fairly coarse, reddish brown fabric with several dark grey small sized and some lime inclusions; it may have been imported from the Argolid.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface of these vessels is usually very smooth and sometimes also porous. Jars with distinct necks are commonly decorated in L-o-D style with several parallel rows of hatched or multiple triangles (277, 278), or groups of thin parallel oblique lines (279) and broad horizontal bands (280). The only polychrome example is 282 , which has been smoothed and slightly polished. The jar is decorated in the polychrome style and its motif is crudely executed as a row of horizontally arranged cross-hatched lozenges framed by three lines (a wide red in the middle and two thinner white ones at the edges).

[^101]697. Cf. Zerner 1988, fig. 25:25.
698. Zerner 2008, 259, fig. 5.32:1722.

Comparanda. Type 2 jars are common at Lerna ${ }^{699}$ and the Aspis. ${ }^{700}$ Monochrome D-o-L jars appear in early strata, but monochrome or polychrome L-o-D are sparse in the early levels and become more common as the period progresses.

## OTHER JARS

Shape and size. Two body fragments $(274,275)$ and one neck fragment $(276)$ from closed vessels can be identified as jars on the basis of the thickness of their walls (0.7-0.8 cm). 275 is part of a shoulder of a closed, possibly rounded, vessel; 276 is a cylindrical neck with the turn towards the rim.
Fabrics and manufacture. The fabric of these sherds is fine and brownish red (2.5YR 5/4), with few stone inclusions (275); and coarse pale brown (10YR 8/3) with several dark brown stone and white lime inclusions (274).
Surface treatment and decoration. Both sherds are polished and 275 is also burnished. Both are decorated in Polychrome style; 275 is decorated with a broad vertical red band that is bordered by two thinner white ones, while 274 is decorated with a multiple spiral motif with a central red painted eye. ${ }^{701}$
Provenience. 274 was found in H SU 5; 275 in locus 1 of E SU 10.

## DECORATION

Three decorative styles are attested in the small Eleusinian assemblage. The first is the D-o-L style, used on jars without distinct necks. This style is also very common at Argos and Lerna ${ }^{702}$ and probably also Aegina (since four of our pieces are of definite Aeginetan origin). Jars without distinct necks of D-o-L style are decorated with several parallel rows of hatched or multiple triangles, cf. 182, 186, 278, or groups of thin parallel oblique lines (cf. 279) and broad semi-lustrous horizontal bands (cf. 280).

The second group belongs to the Polychrome style. ${ }^{703}$ At Eleusis the cup with straight rim 270 is decorated with a red broad vertical band bordered by thinner white ones against a dark semi-lustrous background, which has an exact parallel at a late MH I (MM IB) cup from Ayios Stephanos. ${ }^{704}$ The same decoration is applied on the shoulder of the jar or jug 275. On the other hand, 274 bears a spiral-like motif with a central red eye, that may belong

[^102]702. Philippa-Touchais 2003, figs 1-2, 10-12; Zerner 1988, figs 34-38.
703. For typical motifs of this style see Zerner 1988, figs 24-27.
704. Zerner 2008, 290:2273.
to a slightly later stage (MH II or III). Another motif is found in the barrel jar 282, a possible import from the Argolid; the motif is crudely made by a row of horizontally arranged crosshatched lozenges framed by three lines (a wide red in the middle and two thinner white ones at the edges).

Only two examples of L-o-D decoration were found in the assemblage, one belonging to a semi-globular cup and one to a bridge-spouted jar. Both are decorated with curvilinear (Minoanizing) motifs, one with an open spiral (271) and one with double crescent-like line close to the end of the rim (272). The second finds parallels at Lerna and Argos. ${ }^{705}$

## SUMMARY

A notable feature of the LD pottery from Eleusis is its scarcity. As mentioned above, it amounts to about $0.25 \%$ of the total MH pottery. Lustrous Decorated material is characteristically small in most MH sites, but the Eleusinian is a really miniscule percentage. This can be partly explained by the distance of Eleusis from Laconia or Kythera, the possible workshops that produced LD wares: ${ }^{706}$ it has been established that the further away from the southeast Peloponnese a site is located, the smaller amounts of LD pottery it has. At Ayios Stephanos, LD pottery amounts to as high as $22 \%$ of the MH material, whereas at Asine the percentage drops to $2.84 \%$. In Attica, LD is hardly represented, as neither Agora nor Kiapha Thiti have produced any. ${ }^{707}$ Minoanizing coarse or fairly coarse sherds with large amounts of mica, which occur in south Peloponnesian sites, have not been identified at Eleusis. ${ }^{708}$

It is unfortunate that the stratigraphic provenience of the majority of our LD pieces is unknown, but the spatial distribution of the few sherds with known provenience covers the Hilltop and both the East and South Slopes. The only secure sherds are the cup rim 270, found in the MH I S SU 34, locus 6, which confirms its MH I/MM IA date. ${ }^{709}$ The MM II cup 271 and the jar 274 have been found on the Panagitsa hilltop, but their exact provenience is unknown. Finally, the MH I closed vessel (jar or jug) 275 was retrieved from a mixed layer outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion, under wall 2.

[^103]ca and further north see Kiriatzi 2010, 688 and n. 33.
708. Rutter's Micaceous Minoanizing (=Zerner's Minoanizing Red Silver Micaceous) group: Rutter and Rutter 1976, 11; Zerner 1993, 47; ead. 2008, 206.
709. For the similarities between early MH "Minoanizing" pottery and the MM IA deposit $\gamma$ at Kastri see Kiriatzi 2010, 694.

## GREY MINYAN

## DEFINITION

The term "Grey Minyan" is used for the fine, fairly fine and, more rarely, fairly coarse monochrome burnished pottery, "fired in a reducing atmosphere at a high temperature". ${ }^{710}$ It is characterized by polished to highly burnished grey or greyish-brown surfaces of soapy texture, which has been recognized by Sarri as a technology employed in different ways by workshops in various areas of the Mainland. ${ }^{711}$ This chapter discusses both fine, "true" GM pottery, as well as fairly coarse pots imitating GM. The distinction between fairly coarse GM and DB pots is often unclear, ${ }^{712}$ but the general rule followed here is that if the surface of a fairly coarse piece has the same color as the core, it is taken as an attempt on the part of the potter to imitate GM; if the surface is of a different color, it is classified as DB.

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The GM pottery amounts to 3600 sherds and 10 complete or nearly-complete pots. Most pieces are body sherds, followed by rims and bases (fig. 214). In general, the preserved sherds are large (width 1-21 cm, average 15 cm ; height $1-30 \mathrm{~cm}$, average 23.2 cm ; wall thickness $0.21-1$, average min. $0.6-\max .0 .71 \mathrm{~cm}$ ). Less than ten percent has recent breaks that could not be joined.


Fig. 214. Frequency of preserved parts of MH Gold Mica sherds.

[^104]711. Sarri 2007; ead. 2010, 607.
712. See the cautionary note in Zerner 1978, 135.

FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE
Chemical analyses on a sample of GM sherds has shown significant diversity in the chemical and mineralogical composition of the fabrics, ${ }^{713}$ which is in line with the results of analyses from other MH sites, such as Aspis, Kolonna, Lerna, Orchomenos, and Ayios Stephanos. ${ }^{714}$ In general, the fabrics of GM pots from Eleusis can be grouped into two main classes, on the basis of their inclusions, quality, and color.

## Fine/Fairly Fine

This is the predominant class, representing about $93 \%$ of the total GM material. It includes both handmade and wheelmade vessels ${ }^{715}$ with polished surfaces and fine or, less often, fairly fine fabrics containing sparse small lime inclusions (diam. 1 to 2 mm ). About 70 pieces include also very small sparkling mica grits ( $<1 \mathrm{~mm}$ ). The pots belonging to this class can be divided in four color groups, according to the color of the surface (fig. 215):
a) "typical" grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ ) occurs in all MH periods in angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, cylindrical cups, angular and rounded cups with everted rims, juglets, and flasks;
b) "graphite" grey (10YR 3/1) occurs in MH II and MH III in wheelmade angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, and angular and rounded cups with everted rims;
c) light grey ( 10 YR $5 / 1$ to $6 / 2$ ) occurs in MH II and MH III in wheelmade angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, and angular and rounded cups with everted rims;


Fig. 215. Distribution of Fine/Fairly fine GM color groups.
713. Cosmopoulos et al. 1999.
714. Kilikoglou et al. 2001, 133.
715. See, however, Choleva's recent study (2012,
374), which suggests that early MBA pottery was wheel-fashioned, rather than wheel-thrown.
d) greyish-brown (10YR 4/1) occurs in MH II and MH III in wheelmade angular and rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, angular and rounded cups with everted rims, and semiglobular cups.

Analyses on sherds of this class showed that their fabrics form a fine silicate group, consisting of fine-grained pastes with inclusions that, although not allowing a definition of their origin, ${ }^{716}$ are associated with a likely Boeotian low grade metamorphic environment. ${ }^{717}$

## Coarse/Fairly Coarse

This is a small class, representing about $7 \%$ of the total GM material. The fabrics are sandy grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ or $3 / 1$ ) or yellowish to brownish-red ( $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 4-4 / 4$ ) and in most cases contain small angular greyish to black pebble ( 1 to 3 mm ) or limestone ( 1 to 2 mm ) inclusions. Surfaces are burnished and some pieces have a fugitive dark-colored slip, which makes them difficult to distinguish from the fairly coarse or coarse DB pieces (e.g. 460 and 458). In these imitations of true GM, the GM potting tradition is attested only in the shape of the pot and not in the fabric or surface treatment. It is likely that this class comprises local products. The commonest shape is the stemmed angular bowl, of which some full profile and fairly large fragments have been recovered (433). Rounded bowls with everted rims (430, 431, 432) are also represented in smaller numbers, especially in MH I. This class is attested in all MH periods.

SHAPES (fig. 216)
Bowl
As bowls are classified open vessels with a diameter larger than 12 cm (cf. Pevkakia 72). Two main types have been identified at Eleusis, on the basis of the outline of the vessel.


Fig. 216. GM shapes.
716. Cosmopoulos et al. 1999.
717. Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011, 143-144, group FG8.

ROUNDED BOWL

## Rounded bowl with everted rim and flat base

Shape and size. Deep bowls with rounded outlines, flat bases, everted rims, and two vertical strap handles from the belly to the shoulder. Rims can be slightly thickened at the end (e.g. 291; Pevkakia shape 1DII) or straight (e.g. 431; Pevkakia shape 1EI). These differences reflect chronological variation: straight rims are MH I, whereas short and thickened or long and sharply everted rims are MH II (unfortunately, though, several pieces from Eleusis do not preserve the rim). The maximum diameter of these vases is at the middle of the height of the vase or a little lower. Bowls of this type vary from small and shallow to large and deep, but none of our pieces is preserved to the point where we can deduce its height. Rounded bowls with high-swung vertical strap handles from the shoulder to the rim (Pevkakia shape 1HI) are rare (292). ${ }^{718}$ Rim diameters range from 17 to 23 cm , wall thicknesses from 0.3 to 0.8 cm and handles can be as small as $0.4 \times 2.8$ (284), $0.6 \times 3.5$ (286) or as large as $1 \times 3.9$ (291). At Lerna Zerner notices an evolution of this form from a deeper (end of EH III) to a shallower version in MH I (here 284, 430, 431, 432). ${ }^{719}$ This type seems to go out of fashion sometime in MH II, to be gradually replaced by angular bowls.
Fabrics and manufacture. The commonest fabric is fairly fine dark brownish grey (2.5Y 4/1$4 / 2$ to $10 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 2,291,293$ ) to fine light greenish grey $5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ or grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 1$, with several lime and occasionally also stone inclusions $(284,291)$ and in some cases few mica grits $(286)$. In MH II, rounded bowls with everted rims have fairly fine fabrics, dark grey 2.5Y 4/15/1 to greyish brown 2.5YR 5/1 and contain either dense lime inclusions or both lime inclusions and few mica grits (305).

Surface treatment and decoration. Polished, but occasionally burnished surfaces. In some pieces the shoulder is decorated with horizontal grooves; the handles of 431 are decorated with parallel grooves. Sherds with irregular and not entirely parallel ridges (as a result of the grooves made by a blunt instrument as the vase was turning slowly) appear to be early (293), ${ }^{720}$ whereas sharp and crisp ridges $(286,306,307)$ may be a characteristic of MH II pots. Provenience. 302 and 303 were found in E SU 3.

Comparanda. The geographic distribution of the early type includes the northwest Peloponnese, ${ }^{721}$ central Mainland, ${ }^{722}$ Attica, ${ }^{723}$ and Euboia. ${ }^{724}$ Local variations appear in Arkadia, Laconia, and Messenia, ${ }^{725}$ but it seems to be missing from Orchomenos, where a squat,

[^105]baggy type occurs instead. ${ }^{726}$ The later type occurs in the West Cemetery and has also been identified at Kiapha-Thiti; ${ }^{727}$ the long, sharply everted rims of the MH II (442) are paralleled at the Argolid and Orchomenos. ${ }^{728}$

## ANGULAR BOWL

## Angular bowl with molded rim

Shape and size. Molded rim, conical outline forming a carination under the rim, two vertical loop handles attached on the rim and rising high above the vase. The rim is off-set creating a sharp angle with the shoulder and is slightly thickened at the edge; the diameter of the rim ranges from 17 to 20 cm . The section of the handles is either circular or elliptical with a central groove. Proportionally low stem (the published reconstruction of 310 with a tall stem is probably wrong), with a plastic ring at the point of transition from bowl to stem (310, 318, 319, 671 or in the middle of the foot, cf. 322). The stem is plain or ringed and ends in a splaying base. Average wall thickness is 0.4 (range 0.35-1.2) and average base diameters are about 10 cm .

The typological development of this shape at Pefkakia has been reconstructed by Maran: in MH I/ early MH II, the rim tends to be rather vertical and long, whereas in most MH II pieces the rim is sharply everted from the shoulder, shorter, and more oblique. ${ }^{729}$ This type in its later phases is sometimes referred to as "Pteleos goblet" and develops two horn-like protrusions on both sides of the handle. ${ }^{730}$
Fabrics and manufacture. Fine light grey to dark grey (10YR 5/1, 5/2, 2.5Y 4/1); occasionally with some small to medium sized lime inclusions and mica (hard to discern). In one occasion (322) the fabric is grey to light reddish ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1$ to $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 4$ ).
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface is burnished or polished; in most cases the surface has the same color with fabric, while in a few cases it is also slipped (312).
Provenience. The earliest example of an angular bowl came from a MH I deposit: 315 (S SU 34, locus 6) has a molded rim with a vertical loop handle, but it may be intrusive (see below). 343 from S SU 34, locus 4 dates to MH II. And 310 (House Г, S SU 25) to MH IIIA. The MH III 411 was found under the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 2).
Comparanda. This shape is not attested in the West Cemetery. In other sites early examples are rare: an almost intact angular bowl with molded rim, placed on a stubby ringed stem
726. Orchomenos IV 89; for the squat type see ibid. pl. 1:1.
727. West Cemetery 219-220, pl. 401ß; Kiapha Thiti 122-123, pls 16:532, 18:609 and 25:789.
728. Argolid: Dietz 1991, fig. 11 nos 47-49; Orchomenos IV 87.
729. For the early type see Pevkakia pls 46:14 and 55:7; for the later ibid. pls 68:12, 89:3, 93:7.
730. Ibid. pl. 148. For more complete examples of the stem of these bowls see Grave Circle $B \Xi: 173$, pl. 156a; Pevkakia pls 142.1 and 148.1-3.
was found under the floor of the early MH II House A at Eutresis; and another one, with carinated body, concave stem without ridges, and the base of the handle on the rim was found at Lerna VA. ${ }^{731}$ The shape starts to become common at Lerna VB ${ }^{732}$ and it seems that its floruit is the MH II period in several sites, including Aegina, Eutresis, Orchomenos, Pefkakia, and the Agora. ${ }^{733}$ This shape is rare in MH III, but it is found at Mycenae, Ayia Irini, and Pefkakia. ${ }^{734}$ At Eleusis it seems to continue in MH III, as suggested by 411 (which is stratified) and 410 and 412 (goblets).

## Angular bowl with beaded rim

Shape and size. There are two types of angular bowls with everted thickened ("beaded") rims.

## b1. Stemmed angular bowl

The "goblet" type (324, 326, 327, 328, 340, 341, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 359) has a deep conical body forming a carination below the shoulder, two vertical strap handles from the carination to the base of the rim, and a ringed stem with a raised concave base. The ringed stems vary considerably in terms of the number and morphology of the rings. A few pieces have only one or two rings $(324,359,362)$, but most have more than five rings ( 366,379 ). There are also a few cases, where the stem does not have any rings. In some cases the rings are sharp, creating a pointy edge $(368,374)$. Where it could be measured, the total height of these vases was at about 10 cm . Rim diameters (fig. 217) range from 20 to 27 cm (average 24.6), base diameters from 9 to 16.8 cm (average 11 cm ) and wall thickness from 0.4 to 0.6 .

## b2.Angular bowl with flat or ring base

The second type of angular bowls with beaded rims has a biconical outline with the carination approximately in the middle of its height, two vertical strap handles from the carination to the shoulder, and either a flat or a ring base (323, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 355, 425). Rim diameters (fig. 217) range from 18.9 to 29.8 cm (average 21.5 cm ), base diameters from 7 to 7.5 cm , and wall thicknesses from 0.4 to 0.7 cm . Because the material is so fragmentary, unless there is a substantial part of the shoulder or the base preserved, it is difficult to differentiate between the two types.

In general, angular bowls with beaded rims appear in MH II and continue in MH III. At Pefkakia J. Maran noticed that earlier pieces (phases 5-6, MH II) have fairly long shoul-

[^106][^107]ders, allowing for the handle to be placed on the shoulder; starting with phase 6, however, and continuing in phase 7 (MH III), shoulders are shortened and the handle is placed immediately underneath the rim. ${ }^{735}$ Moreover, starting with phase 6, rims become thickened and may form a groove on their top surface. The late dating of angular bowls with short shoulders and handles reaching high up to the rim is confirmed by finds from MH III grave deposits from the Argolid, as all the bowls in Grave Circle B belong to this type. ${ }^{736}$ On the other hand, at Pefkakia this development is gradual and cannot be used as a strict indication for dating; at Eutresis, bowls with a short shoulder and a handle under the rim have been found on the MH II floor of House C. ${ }^{737}$

At Eleusis there is significant variation in rim morphology (fig. 217), but only two rims are stratified and a chronological patterning cannot be established: 342, from a predominantly MH II deposit, has a long shoulder, but 343 from a MH III deposit has a short shoulder confirming its later date.

As far as the development of the stems is concerned, overall MH II stems are clearly articulated from the bowl of the vase, wider at the base and narrower at the top, and covered with dense parallel and well-formed grooves. ${ }^{738}$ Later examples flow smoothly into the bowl of the vase and can have more widely spaced ribs with wide channel-like grooves in-between, ${ }^{739}$ or they can be shorter with ribs covering only their upper part and smooth surfaces at the bottom and the base. ${ }^{740}$ Stems with incisions imitating grooves appear towards the end of the period. ${ }^{741}$ Cylindrical stems without rings are rare and seem to belong to angular bowls with molded rather than everted rims.


Fig. 217. Typology of rims of angular bowls with beaded rims.

[^108]XIII:5 and 69:1.
739. Eutresis fig. 183:10, 13.
740. Pevkakia pl. 117:15.
741. Eutresis fig. 183:7 and p. 137; also all the stems from Grave Circle B at Mycenae.

Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are similar to those of angular bowls with molded rims. The few exceptions include bowls in fairly coarse fabrics (323). In some cases the fabric has a brownish tinge ( $10 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 2$ ) and is possibly slipped ( $340,346,350$ ); these may be local. Surface treatment and decoration. Surface treatment is similar to that of angular bowls with molded rims. In some cases the surface may be slipped or washed (323, 328, 359), slightly darker in color. The Argive Minyan bowl 452 is decorated with three incised concentric semicircles that probably hang from the rim.
Provenience. All pieces can be dated to MH II-III. The MH II stemmed angular bowl 324 has the following entry in the museum inventory: "South courtyard, next to wall $\alpha 3$, bedrock". 345 and 348 were found in E SU 3; 342 was found in S SU 34, locus 5 . The stem 366 was found in the South Slope, in pyre LXXIX (S SU 21).
Comparanda. In Attica, angular bowls with beaded rims found at Kiapha Thiti belong to the later of the two types mentioned above: the only two pieces with longer shoulders were found in an overwhelmingly MH III deposit. ${ }^{722}$ In the Agora, at least two pieces belong to the later, short-shouldered, type and one to the earlier type. ${ }^{743}$ At Eleusis, the West Cemetery graves yielded coarse imitations of Grey Minyan angular bowls of the late type. ${ }^{744}$ In central Greece, stemmed angular bowls with beaded rims occur at Eutresis, Orchomenos, Thebes, and Medeon..$^{745}$ At Ayia Irini IV both types appear; ${ }^{746}$ at Aegina the early type appears in Stadt IX. ${ }^{747}$ For Mycenae and Eutresis see above, the discussion under Shape and Size.

Cup
In general, as cups are classified open vases with a diameter smaller than $12 \mathrm{~cm} . .^{78}$

## ANGULAR CUP

Shape and size. Angular cups with everted or flaring rims, often referred to in the literature as "kantharoi", are one of the commonest shapes of the MH period. They have everted or flaring rims with straight or incurved edges, biconical outlines, a carination approximately in the middle of the height of the body or lower towards the base, two vertical strap handles from the carination to the rim rising high above the vase, and flat bases. The diameter

[^109]with ring bases: ibid. pl. 13:19); Thebes: Demakopoulou and Konsola 1975, pl. 8:2; Medeon: Sarri 2000, pl. 6:14.
746. Caskey 1972, fig. 8:D1 and D102.
747. Alt-Ägina III.1, pl. 121, 440-441.
748. As per Pevkakia 72.
of some of these vases exceeds 12 cm , in which case they would be classified as bowls rather than cups, but the material is so fragmentary that often the diameter is indistinguishable. In general, rim diameters (fig. 218) range from 8.8 (395) to 12 cm (388), their walls are usually thin ( $0.3-0.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) and the handle of the only preserved example is $1.6 \times 0.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ (295). The small (rim diam. 6.5) cup 399 is the only example of an angular cup with a straight vertical rim.

In MH I the outline forms an angle (not a true carination) and the rim is everted with straight edges $(\mathbf{2 9 5}, \mathbf{2 9 7})$. In MH II the edge of the everted rim curves slightly towards the interior of the vase and by MH IIIB the angle becomes a true carination (387, 388); highswung handles also appear (393). The transition from the earlier to the later type may be represented by $\mathbf{2 9 6}$, which has the same biconical outline as $\mathbf{2 9 5}$, but a true carination instead of an angle and its rim has an incurved as opposed to a straight edge. Still, its handles are vertical and not high-swung. In MH II some cups develop shallow bodies; 386 could be dated to MH IIIB.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are similar to those of angular bowls with molded rims. In one case (887) the fabric has several medium-sized and few large lime inclusions, while in another (728) it is fairly soft.


Fig. 218. Outlines of angular cups with everted rims ("kantharoi").

Surface treatment and decoration. For surface treatment see above, angular bowls with molded rims. In all the pieces, the surface has the same color as the core.
Provenience. Only four sherds from the new excavation have a known provenience: 389 (S SU 34, locus 5); 394 (S SU 34, locus 4); and 398 (S SU 34, locus 6) were found in the new excavation. 399 was found in bothros $\Omega$ of S SU 18, together with the incised jar 581.

Comparanda. This shape is not attested in the West Cemetery. "Kantharoi" appear in the Argolid, in mixed deposits at Midea ${ }^{749}$ and in later Lerna $\mathrm{VA}^{750}$ and especially in Lerna VC. ${ }^{751}$ At Pefkakia they abound in phases 5 and $6 ;{ }^{752}$ at Kiapha Thiti they are common mostly in MH II, ${ }^{753}$ as they are at Eutresis, Orchomenos, and Aegina. ${ }^{754}$ Angular cups with everted rims are rare in MH III deposits, ${ }^{755}$ whereas the straight vertical rim of 399 is paralleled in Boeotian sites ${ }^{756}$ Angular cups on a short stem appear at Mycenae in a plain variety made of yellow clay. ${ }^{757}$

## ROUNDED CUP

## Rounded cup with everted rim

Shape and size. Globular outline, straight everted rim, shoulder clearly articulated from the body, two high strap handles from the point of maximum diameter (298) or the shoulder (403) to the rim, flat base. One MH I example (298) has a squat globular outline, but in MH II the outline becomes deeper and the rim shorter (400). The rim diameter varies from 10 (400) to $14 \mathrm{~cm}(401)$ and wall thickness from 0.3 to 0.5 cm ; the handles in the preserved pieces measure $0.5 \times 2.7$ (403) and $0.7 \times 3.6 \mathrm{~cm}$ (404).

This shape could be related to J. Rutter's "rim-handled tankards". ${ }^{758}$ It appears in Solidly Painted and Burnished pots and is also common in MP pottery. ${ }^{759} 401$ has been dated by S. Dietz to LH IA. ${ }^{760}$

Fabrics and manufacture. This shape appears in both fine and coarse GM pottery. In MH I there are few, fine or fairly fine examples $(\mathbf{2 9 8}, \mathbf{2 9 9})$. In MH II and III the shape appears in "true" GM fine fabrics, light to dark grey (2.5Y 5/1-4/1 to 10YR 4/1-3/1, e.g. MH II 400, MH III 665) or dark greyish brown (7.5YR 4/1, e.g. 401) with few small lime inclusions and occasional mica grits.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surface treatment same as that of angular cups; in some examples the surface is covered with a dark slip (fine 401, coarse 435). Horizontal parallel grooves are found on the shoulders of MH II fine cups (400).
Provenience. None of the cups is stratified.
Comparanda. This shape appears in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{761}$ It is also common at Aegina and
749. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 42, fig. 6.
750. Zerner 1978, 140.
751. Caskey 1957, 154, pl. 43a, from grave J4.
752. Pevkakia pl. XIV:3.
753. Kiapha Thiti 121.
754. Eutresis 139, fig. 187:3-4; Orchomenos IV pl. 4:7; Alt-Ägina III.1, pl. 121:436, Stadt IX.
755. Pevkakia pl. 117:1; Orchomenos IV 99.
756. Eutresis fig. 194:2; Orchomenos IV pl. 11:13.
757. Grave Circle В Г-21, Г-23.
758. Lerna IV 271-276.
759. Ibid. 273.
760. Personal communication.
761. West Cemetery pl. 231:M148.
the Argolid, ${ }^{762}$ but does not appear at Kiapha Thiti or the Agora. In Boeotia it occurs at Orchomenos. ${ }^{763}$ At Pefkakia it appears in the transition to MH and in MH I. ${ }^{764}$

## Rounded cup with everted thickened rim

We only have two pieces of rounded cups with everted and thickened rims: the MH III 413 and the (probably LH I) 666. As a type it is rare and the only parallels found in terms of profile are two pieces from Kiapha Thiti. ${ }^{765}$ Their fabric does not differ from the usual GM fabrics; 666 is fine grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ ) and 413 is light grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1$ ) without any visible inclusions. The surface of 666 is burnished at the interior and exterior and the same color with the core, while 413 is only smoothed.

## Cylindrical cup (?pyxis)

Shape and size. Only three examples of cylindrical cups were found. They have straight walls, straight rim, convex base, either with short legs (423) or without legs (422, ?424), and no handles. Rims preserve two or three horizontal perforations and rim diameters are in the $10-11 \mathrm{~cm}$ range; wall thicknesses range from 0.6 to 0.9 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Fairly fine fabric, grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 4 / 1,3 / 1,6 / 1$ ) with few white inclusions.

Surface treatment and decoration. Surface of the same color as the fabric, highly polished. Horizontal parallel grooves on the body.
Comparanda. It is possible that these two cups are GM imitations of Cycladic cylindrical or concave pyxides. ${ }^{766}$ A stone concave pyxis has been found in Grave N in Grave Circle B at Mycenae. ${ }^{767}$

JAR
406 is a fragment of the rim and neck of a MH III small jar with ledged thickened rim, short neck, and possibly a rounded to piriform body. It finds close parallels in the Argolid and Boeotia. ${ }^{768} 426$ is an amphoriskos with two vertical strap handles from the flaring rim to the shoulder: it imitates GM, but its surface is dark grey $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 4 / 1$ and polished to a high luster. Similar amphoriskoi are known from graves; ${ }^{769}$ this piece could be as late as LH IA.
762. Alt-Ägina III.1: 442; Argolid: Dietz 1991, p. 63, fig. 15:85-86; Zerner 1978, fig. 13:BD 406, fig. 18:BE 429 no. 1.
763. Orchomenos IV 93-94; at Eutresis it could be one of the cup shapes mentioned but not illustrated.
764. Pevkakia pl. 1:13.
765. Kiapha Thiti pls 6:210, 9:325.
766. Rutter 1985, 26.
767. Grave Circle B 176, pl. $154 \delta$.
768. Ibid. pl. 80:1-2; Orchomenos IV pl. 11.2.
769. Grave Circle B 95, pl. 80a; West Cemetery $\Lambda \pi 3-$ 823; Dietz 1991, fig. 61:BD-1; Papademetriou 2010, fig. 8 .

## Zoomorphic Vase

A ?MH I bird-shaped askos (301) and a MH III bull figurine or rhyton (429) are the only examples of zoomorphic vases from the settlement. The askos is made of fine light brown fabric with numerous small white inclusions and sparse mica and is decorated with vertical incisions on both sides of the body. ${ }^{770}$ The bull rhyton or figurine resembles the ones found in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{771}$ The only parallel that I was able to find for 301 is the bird-vase no. 395 from the MH I Fundgruppe XXVII at Kolonna. ${ }^{772}$ Because, however, 301 is the only confirmed MH I find from the East Slope, one might consider the possibility that it was kept as an heirloom from earlier periods.

## Spouted Cup

405 is a fragment from the spout of a miniature cup with incurving rim and upper walls. The shape is not attested in the West Cemetery.

## SUMMARY

The chronological development of GM pottery conforms with the developments in other sites. True GM pottery is present at Eleusis since MH I, but the other three groups of the Fine/Fairly Fine class ("graphite", light grey, and greyish-brown) appear for the first time in MH II and continue in MH III. The repertory of MH I shapes includes rounded bowls with everted rims and angular cups with everted rims; two fragments of flasks and one bird-shaped vase are unstratified, but can be assigned to the MH I on the basis of parallels with other sites. In MH II there is an expansion in the range of shapes, with angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, and angular and rounded cups with everted rims. These continue in MH III, when also cylindrical cups and small jars are introduced. Rounded bowls with everted rim are decorated with groups of parallel horizontal or vertical incised lines, rather irregular and shallow in MH I, but sharp and crisp in MH II; and also with horizontal parallel ridges in MH II. Only a small number of sherds are decorated with incised festoons, although such decoration occurs in GM pottery from most sites. ${ }^{773}$ Stems of angular cups with incisions imitating grooves appear towards the end of the period.

Grey Minyan is a high-quality ware, produced in specialized pottery workshops. There is general agreement that the center of production for GM pottery is located in Central

[^110]773. Eutresis 133 with fig. 178; 180-181; and 143 with fig. 199; Argos: Vollgraff 1906, fig. 8; Ayios Stephanos: Zerner 2008, 247, fig. 5.24:1484 and 287, fig. 5.52:2221.

Greece, possibly in the Attica-Boeotia region. ${ }^{774}$ Indeed, at Eleusis the class of Fine/Fairly Fine pottery (which, as mentioned above, represents about $93 \%$ of the total GM pottery) is at home in the Attic-Boeotian GM tradition: the same vessel shapes and fabrics that occur at Eleusis are attested at Orchomenos and other central Greek centers of production, especially angular bowls with beaded rims and rounded cups with everted rims and it is reasonable to assume that the Eleusinian GM pots were imported from there. On the other hand, the few coarse or fairly coarse "imitations" of GM may have been the local answers to the finer imported variety or simply products of "short-lived experimentations". ${ }^{775}$

## DARK BURNISHED

## DEFINITION

Dark Burnished pots have surfaces slipped and burnished with a hard tool. Often the distinction between coarse GM and DB is unclear; here I have classified as DB pots with surface color different than the color of the core, usually because of a glaze; ${ }^{776}$ in most cases these pots also preserve traces of burnishing marks. Eleusinian DB pottery corresponds to the "Brown Minyan" pottery of Orchomenos. ${ }^{777}$

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

Dark Burnished pots have sandy, fairly fine, fairly coarse, or coarse fabrics with lime and, in some cases, pebble inclusions. Fabric colors are mostly reddish brown 5YR-7.5YR 5/3-6/3 (338, 339, 455, 457) to yellowish brown 5YR 6/6-5/6 (458) or 7.5YR 6/4-6/6 (459); some pieces have dark $2.5 \mathrm{Y}-5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1(440,450)$ or light grey $5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1(443)$ fabrics. 339 , 438 , and 443 have silver mica.

SHAPES (fig. 219)
BowL
ROUNDED BOWL

## Rounded bowl with everted rim and flat base

Shape and size. Deep bowls with rounded outlines, flat bases, everted rims with straight lips, and two vertical strap handles from the belly to the shoulder. Rim diameters range from 17 (437) to $28(441) \mathrm{cm}$ and wall thicknesses range from 0.4 to 0.8 cm .

[^111]776. Cf. supra p. 269.
777. Orchomenos IV 75-76. K. Sarri, personal communication.


Fig. 219. DB shapes.

Fabrics and manufacture. Fairly coarse or fairly fine fabrics, with small stone and lime inclusions; usually the core is grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ to $4 / 1-4 / 2 ; 5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1$ ), but the edges can range from weak read 10R $4 / 4$ to reddish brown $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 3$. The coarser sherds have numerous stone and lime inclusions.

Surface treatment and decoration. External surfaces are usually covered with a dark brown or dark grey slip and are always burnished, occasionally to a high luster (443). In some MH II bowls groups of parallel horizontal ribs decorate the shoulders (e.g. 443, 441). Comparanda. See the comments on the GM rounded bowls. ${ }^{778}$

ANGULAR BOWL

## Angular bowl with beaded rim

Shape and size. The majority of the DB pieces belong to angular bowls with beaded rims. ${ }^{779}$ 338 and 339 have flattened and ledged rims and carinated profiles. Although in GM ware this shape appears in both a stemmed and ring- or flat-based variant, no bases have been identified in DB ware. As with their GM counterparts, stems can be ridged (461) or unridged (457) and range in diameter from 4.3 to 7.5 cm , with the exception of the larger pieces $462(9 \mathrm{~cm})$ and $458(12 \mathrm{~cm})$. Rim diameters are $26-27 \mathrm{~cm}$ and wall thicknesses from 0.4 to 0.6 cm .

Fabrics and manufacture. Dark Burnished angular bowls are, as a rule, made in fairly fine or fine light $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1 / 5 / 1$ or darker $5 \mathrm{Y} 3 / 1$ fabrics partly overfired at core, with small lime inclusions and mica. Approximately one third of the identified pieces have reddish brown fabrics in various hues (7.5YR 6/3, 5YR 5/3-5/4-6/3, 2.5YR 5/4-4/4).

Surface treatment and decoration. As with the rounded bowls, surfaces are slipped and burnished (339) or polished to a high luster (338). There is considerable variation in the color of the external surface, but in general most angular bowls have black or brown surfaces. The black burnished pieces are covered with a thick or thin dark slip, ranging in color from very dark grey 10YR 3/1-4/1 to black $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 3 / 1-3 / 2$ to $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 3 / 1$; with the exception of 452, these sherds do not belong to the Argive Black burnished ware, nor do they represent an attempt to imitate that ware. Brown burnished angular bowls constitute the second largest group, with brownish grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 2-5 / 3-4 / 2$ surfaces $(338,339)$. Only the ringed stem 458 has a red surface.
Provenience. 451 was found in the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, between the Archaic terrace wall and wall 4e (E SU 10, locus 6); this is a mixed deposit with MH and LH sherds.
Comparanda. See the comments above on the distribution of GM angular bowls. ${ }^{780}$

## FLASK

Two sherds (catalogued together in 438) belong to the body of a flask. They are decorated with oblique grooves from the neck to the body and find parallels in MH I Lerna ${ }^{781}$ and Kolonna. ${ }^{782}$ The shape is not attested in the West Cemetery.

## RED SLIPPED AND BURNISHED

## DEFINITION

Red Slipped and Burnished pottery is characterized by red or reddish orange slipped and often burnished surfaces. David French identifies three types: ${ }^{783}$ a) Orange-red slipped: "Anatolian" Type, with a bright orange-red or red slip, highly burnished; b) Red slipped: Mainland Type, which is wheelmade with red core and highly burnished red slip; and c) Red slipped: Aegina Type, which is wheelmade with a deep red coat, lightly burnished or dull. ${ }^{784}$ Dietz refers to this type as "Aeginetan Red Slipped" ware, since the surface is not always burnished; $; 785$ this type includes mostly goblets and deep bowls, dating to the end of the MH III or even to LH I. ${ }^{786}$
780. Supra p. 276.
781. Zerner 1978, 69:D594/2, fig. 5.
782. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 5:XXVII-14.
783. French 1972.
784. Ibid. 26; Zerner 1978, 148-150 and 1986, 64-65;

Kiapha-Thiti 182-183; Gauß and Smetana 2007a; Lindblom 2007.
785. Dietz 1991.
786. Infra p. 337.

Besides these three categories, in several MH/MC I-II sites appear also red slipped and burnished bowls with micaceous fabrics, which are of Cycladic, possibly Keian, origin. ${ }^{787}$

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The Red Slipped and Burnished pottery from Eleusis consists of twenty-six catalogued sherds / pots and approximately twenty body fragments that have not been catalogued. All fragments are characterized by their red slipped surfaces. These pieces belong mainly to carinated bowls and kraters, including an almost complete example of a "Cycladic type" carinated bowl with crescent-shaped handle (473). The rest are rim/body fragments (more than half), one pyxis lid (463) and another a rim and spout fragment of a shallow bridgespouted bowl (479). Five fragments belong to discoid bases with short stems. The rim diameter of the vessels varies from 15 (466) to 30 cm (490), their wall thickness from 0.4 to 1.2 cm and the base diameter from 10 (495) to 19 cm (large krater 496). The diameter of the handles of deep bowls or kraters is 1.8 to 2.2 cm .

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

Two classes have been identified in the material. The first corresponds to the type identified by David French as Aegina type and includes pots characterized by the presence of gold mica. In a few cases, although the soft fabric and the general appearance of the sherd looks Aeginetan, the gold mica platelets are not present (489, 491, 493, 495). The color of the clay is in most cases greenish yellow ( $5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 2$ ) to brownish yellow and brown (5YR $6 / 4$ to $10 Y \mathrm{Y} ~ 5 / 3-7 / 2$ ) and rarely light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/6). In one case (493) the fabric is dark brownish red (5YR 6/6). The clay is usually fairly coarse to coarse and in few cases sandy with several lime inclusions and sparse soft reddish brown to dark grey grits. The core is slightly sandy and soft $(490,491)$ and looks grainy on the fracture.

The second class includes pieces with very thin silver mica grits. The gritty micaceous clay is usually indicative of Cycladic (possibly Keian) origin (465, 467, 473, 475, 476, 479); thus, eight of fourteen Cycladic sherds possibly originate from Keos. The color of the clay is in most cases dark red (10R 5/4-5/6-5/8), or light (pinkish) red (10R 6/4) in one case (476), or reddish brown ( $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6$ ) in another case (475). The color of the clay in these cases also suggests a Cycladic (possibly Keian) origin. In one case (479) the fabric is fairly coarse sandy/gritty dark brown in color (10YR 5/3) with very dense mica grits; this may also be a Keian import. In most cases the fabric is fine (465) or fairly fine with grits (478). 469 and 472 have fine red (10R 5/6) fabric without silver mica grits or any other inclusions.
787. Cf. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 62; 2007b, 337 and fig. 33.9.

## SURFACE TREATMENT AND DECORATION

The interior and exterior surfaces of the Aeginetan pieces are coated with a slip which was usually fired weak to dark red ( $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6-4 / 6$ or $10 \mathrm{R} 4 / 3-4 / 4-4 / 6$ ). The surface is sometimes also burnished (493). The red, usually slightly polished to highly burnished slip is very characteristic $(480,489)$.

The interior and exterior surfaces of the Cycladic pieces are coated with a slip which is fired red or dark brownish red (10R 4/6-4/8 or 5YR 5/6; 474, 475) and burnished (469, 467, 473). All pots, regardless of shape, are decorated in the same technique. In some cases, the red burnished surfaces are decorated with painted or incised patterns. The shoulder of 471 is decorated with painted linear patters in white paint, ${ }^{788}$ while 472 is decorated with a complex and uncommon pattern of incised zig-zag lines and circles.

## SHAPES

The following RSB shapes have been identified (fig. 220).


Fig. 220. RSB shapes.

BowL
ROUNDED BOWL

## Rounded bowl with everted rim

Shape and size. Rounded outline with everted rim, discoid to slightly raised base with a low stem, one vertical strap handle from the rim to the point of maximum diameter. Walls are
thin ( $0.4-0.6 \mathrm{~cm}$.) and the rim diameter is 24 cm . The preserved fragments of bases (481, $488,496)$ are discoid with a short stem. Base diameter of the bases is 10 and 12.8 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. All fabrics contain gold mica and are fine to fairly fine sandy/gritty (481) suggesting Aeginetan origin. All specimens are wheelmade. The fabric of 480, fine reddish brown (2.5YR 7.4) with gold mica platelets, suggests Aeginetan origin.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are well smoothed, red slipped (10R 4/6) and polished. Surfaces of rounded bowls with everted rims are all well smoothed, red slipped (2.5YR 5/6-4/6 or 10 R 4/3-4/4-4/6) and burnished. The red, usually slightly polished to highly burnished slip, is very characteristic (480).
Provenience. No stratified pieces belong to this shape.
Comparanda. The shape is commonly found in Aegina ${ }^{789}$ and Kiapha-Thiti (Kiapha-Thiti pl. 5:170), where it is regarded as an Aeginetan import. The two stems 481 and 488 find many parallels at Aegina. ${ }^{790}$

DEEP BOWL OR KRATER
Shape and size. Four rim/body fragments (489, 490, 491, 493) belong to large and deep bowls ( 489 has a diameter of over 40 cm ) with everted rims and large horizontal loop handles with circular section. In one case (490) a large horizontal strap handle is attached to the rim. 489 has a very smooth carination below the rim and plastic knob decoration on the rim; no parallel of the shape is known. Wall thicknesses range from 6 to 12 cm in the largest fragments and rim diameters from 30 to 40 cm . Two body fragments $(491,493)$ with large horizontal handles with circular section are also preserved; it seems that this type of handle was the standard one for the deep bowls or kraters. Three stems ( $494,495,496$ ) belong to deep bowls, ranging from large and tall hollowed feet with diam. of 19 cm (496) to smaller broad ring bases ( 494 and 495) with diam. of 10 to 12 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. The color of the fabrics in which this shape is encountered is usually greenish-buff or light grey $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1$ to $5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 2(489,491)$ or soft orange buff to brownish red 5 YR $5 / 6$ to $6 / 6(490,493,494,495)$. The texture is in most cases fine soft-sandy or semifine and it contains lime and red to dark brown stone inclusions (489), mica inclusions and other sparkling grits (490) or, in most cases, gold mica platelets $(494,496)$.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface of the vessels is in most cases well smoothed, red to reddish brown slipped (10R 4/3-4/4-4/6 or $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6-4 / 6$ ) and burnished at both the interior and exterior (489, 490, 491, 493).

[^112]790. Lindblom 2001, pl. 1 no. 92.

Comparanda. The shape is particularly common at Kolonna, where its place of origin must be located. ${ }^{791}$ The shape is also found at Lerna and, rarely, at Orchomenos. ${ }^{792}$

## ANGULAR BOWL

Stemmed angular bowl with everted or flaring rim
Shape and size. Everted or commonly flaring rim, angular outline with a carination below shoulder, tall hollowed stem and two horizontal crescent-lug handles at the point of the carination. One rim and body fragment preserves part of a vertical handle or circular section (464). 465 has a flaring rim and a sharper carination below the shoulder, while 467 and 469 are more rounded with slightly everted rims. The rim diameter varies from 15 to 17 cm , with the exception of 471 and 472 with respective diameters of 27 and 28 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. The fabrics are in all cases fine, red 10R 5/6 $(464,465)$ or light red 2.5 YR $6 / 6$ (470), often highly micaceous with dense silver mica grits ( $465,467,470$ ). This is an Aeginetan shape, ${ }^{793}$ but none of the sherds of this shape at Eleusis have gold mica.
Surface treatment and decoration. 471 is the only piece decorated with groups of vertical white lines on the shoulder zone. ${ }^{794} 472$ bears a complex incised decoration of sets of parallel straight lines forming zig-zag pattern with stamped concentric circles in -between, which is uncommon for this type of pottery and reminiscent of earlier Cycladic incised wares.
Provenience. 471 was found in S SU 34, locus 5 and 472 was recovered from the upper layers of the MH deposit in House Z (S SU 29).
Origins and comparanda. This is a Cycladic shape, ${ }^{795}$ but is fairly common on the Mainland and Aegina. ${ }^{796}$

## Angular bowl with inturned rim

Shape and size. Conical outline with a smooth carination at the shoulder level, sharply inturned rim, flat base. Two diametrically opposite horizontal crescent-lug handles, vertically pierced.

At Eleusis an almost complete pot of this shape was found (473): it has an inturned rim, conical outline with a smooth carination below the short shoulder, a flat base, and one vertically pierced lug handle attached below the rim. Handles of this type are common in
791. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 8, Q3/86-2 and fig. 11, FG87-14. For feet of similar Aeginetan vessels see Lindblom 2001; 2007, fig. 11.
792. Zerner 1988, fig. 8 and Orchomenos (very rare: Orchomenos IV pls 68:11 and 69.1.
793. Lindblom 2001, 27, S8.
794. For parallels see Eutresis 131, fig. 175 and Alt-

Ägina IV.3, pl. 6: 28-29.
795. E.g. Keos VII pl. 43 Group S: no. 9 and pl. 74: Group CE: nos 1-2.
796. Eutresis 127, fig. 170; Zerner 1978, fig. 6 no. 1; Aegina: Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 72, fig. 4:XXVIII-22 (MH I), fig. 6:XXXV-10 (MH II); and 2007b, 334.
"Cycladic" bowls (474). 475 is also a large part of rim and body of a "Cycladic" bowl; its carination is more intense, but its other characteristics are the same. 476, 477, and 478 are incurving rim and body fragments. Rim diameters range from 16 (475) to 29 cm (477) and wall thicknesses from 5 to 8 cm . The base diameter of the sole example (473) is 7 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. All pieces have fairly fine to fine, dark red 10R 4/5-5/6 (473) to reddish brown 2.5YR 5.6 (475) or rarely pinkish buff $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 3$ (468) fabrics, often gritty and, in some cases, highly micaceous (473, 474, 475), which suggests a Cycladic origin. 477 contains large gold mica platelets and biotite inclusions.
Surface treatment and decoration. The surface of the vessels is in all cases well smoothed, red 10R 4/6-4/8 or red-orange 5YR 5/6 (474) slipped and highly burnished (473).
Comparanda. Parallels for this shape are found at Aegina, the Athenian Agora, Eutresis, and Keos. ${ }^{797}$

## Bridge-spouted bowl

479 has a shallow conical outline with slightly incurving ledged and flattened rim with a large and narrow bridge-spout. Rim diameter exceeds 35 cm and wall thickness ranges from 7 to 9 cm . It has a fairly coarse sandy/gritty fabric, dark brown in color (10YR 5/3) with very dense mica inclusions. Parallels for this shape have not been identified, but 479 looks like a good candidate for a Keian pot.

## PYXIS

Only one pyxis fragment has been identified (463), decorated with a row of incised hatched triangles filled with white paste, running around the edge of the top surface of the lid. It is made of fine greyish brown fabric 10YR 6/3, grey core, with dense small mica and a few white grits. The surface is dark reddish brown $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6$, slipped and polished inside out. This piece was found in pyres XXIX and XXXII (S SU 19) with the EC II Cycladic rim 468. It is paralleled at Aegina. ${ }^{798}$

## SUMMARY

With the exception of one pyxis lid (463), that could be MH I (or even earlier?), the other red slipped and burnished pieces are MC/MH II. They belong to Cycladic bowls with inturned rims, mostly in fine, dark red 10R 5/4-5/6, pinkish buff fabric 10R 6/4-7.5YR 6/3 or red 10R $5 / 8$ fabrics, with silver mica and few small white inclusions (except for 477,

[^113]which may have been Aeginetan); stemmed angular bowls with everted or flaring rims in micaceous fairly fine, red 10R 5/6 or light red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ fabrics; and bridge-spouted bowls in fairly coarse gritty/sandy brownish grey fabric $10 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 3$, with sparkling flakes, mica, large black grits and lime. A number of goblets (rounded bowls with everted rims) and deep bowls/kraters in fine light reddish brown, light brown-buff, or gritty orange-pink buff fabrics with gold mica may have been Aeginetan and could be dated to MH III/LH I or even later. ${ }^{799}$

## UNPAINTED POTTERY - PLAIN

## DEFINITION

In this class are included vessels with untreated or crudely smoothed surfaces. Two groups have been distinguished: a) fine or fairly fine bowls, cups, and juglets; and b) coarse or fairly coarse jars, cooking pots, and strainers. Undecorated pottery is common in all sites, but it is rarely analyzed because in many sites the material is not well stratified (which is the case at Eleusis) and also because it does not lend itself easily to typological and chronological classification. This situation has been remedied in recent years thanks to studies by Maran, Lindblom, and G. Touchais. ${ }^{800}$ The undecorated pots from Eleusis lack information about their provenience, so in general I have dated them in the MH II-III period, although some could be as late as LH I or even LH II.

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

In total, the undecorated pottery that could be assigned to the MH period amounts to about 200 pots and sherds, of which 74 have been included in the catalogue. Most sherds are rim and body fragments, but there are some complete or nearly-complete pots (539, 548, 550). Fine / fairly fine pots represent about $30 \%$ and coarse / fairly coarse pots about $70 \%$ of the total identified MH undecorated material.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The commonest fabric color of the fine/fairly fine pots is dark reddish brown to dark red or grey (2.5YR 5/4-4/4, 5YR 5/4-4/4 to 10R 4/4-5/6) (cf. 497, 548, 549, 551); in three cases the fabric color is light orange brown, $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ and $5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 4$ (cf. 427, 498, 574). The fabrics of the fairly coarse/coarse vessels ranges in color from dark reddish or greyish
799. Lindblom 2001, 32.
800. Kiapha-Thiti 144-147 and 185-188; Lindblom
brown to light/dark red or orange red 5 YR $4 / 4-4 / 1$ or $5 / 6$ to $10 \mathrm{R} 4 / 6-6 / 4$ or $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 4$ -4/4-5/6.

In both the fine/fairly fine and coarse/fairly coarse classes there are three groups of fabrics defined on the basis of inclusions:
a) Dark-tempered fabrics. They can be fairly fine, fairly coarse, or coarse and contain dark grey, black or brown stone inclusions (diameter 1 to 2 mm in the fine/fairly fine pots 506 and 574,2 to 4 mm in the coarse pots 520,524 ) and white lime inclusions (diam. 1-2 mm ), sparsely arranged. This class presumably includes local products.
b) Fabrics with gold mica and / or biotite platelets, along with several dark stone inclusions, fairly fine ( $c f .549,551$ ) or coarse ( $c f .512,525,526,569,570$ ). This is the well known Aeginetan category, identified also in other sites. ${ }^{801}$ Interestingly enough, the percentage of this group comes very close to the presumably local group, whereas in other sites it is much lower (e.g. at the Aspis of Argos it represents about $20 \%$ of the undecorated pottery). ${ }^{802}$ Unfortunately, the gold mica pieces do not have known stratigraphic provenience.
c) Fabrics with the usual small-sized dark stone inclusions and a large amount of very thin silver mica grits, fairly fine (cf. 427, 497, 498) or coarse (e.g. 518, 537). Pots of this group may have been imported from the Cyclades (possibly Keos).

## SURFACE TREATMENT

Internal and external surfaces are untreated or only crudely smoothed, as indicated by traces of wiping (cf. 512, 515); burnishing marks are visible in only a few vases (e.g. 427, 540). The color of the external surfaces of some cooking jars and tripod pots is variegated with intense firing clouds ( $c f .525,518$ ) due to the use of the vessel over an open fire for cooking. Some gold mica or biotite fabric pots (cf. 522,549) preserve a smoothed yellowishcreamy slip (7.5YR 6/4-7/4).

## SHAPES

The following shapes of unpainted vases have been identified (fig. 221).

## BOWL/BASIN

Shape and size. Rim/body fragments with small spouts and T-section rims probably belonged to deep bowls or basins with curved walls and a (probably) globular outline. Most rim diameters range from 20 to 30 cm (except for 497, which has a rim diameter of over 35 cm ); wall thicknesses $0.4-0.9 \mathrm{~cm}$.


Fig. 221. Shapes of unpainted vases.

Fabrics and manufacture. The fine, highly micaceous fabrics may suggest that they are imports; there is one deep bowl or basin, which has gold mica and was probably an Aeginetan origin. ${ }^{803}$
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are smoothed and covered with a thin slip in the same color of the clay; usually they are burnished.

Cup
Shape and size. Eight cups have been included in the catalogue. 505 is nearly complete, and 506 preserves a large part of the rim and the body. Undecorated cups have everted rim, short neck, globular (420) or conical (419) outline, flat base, one vertical strap handle from the neck or the shoulder to the point of maximum diameter. ${ }^{804}$ Rim diameters range from 6.2 to 10 cm (except for 503, which has a rim diameter of 13 cm and could actually have been a bowl); wall thicknesses from 0.3 to 0.4 cm , and the diameters of the preserved bases range from $3.5(503)$ to $5(419,420) \mathrm{cm}$.

[^114]804. Possibly rising above the rim, as in Zerner 1990, fig. 15 and Touchais 2007, fig. 7.

Fabrics and manufacture. With the exception of very few pieces (e.g. 503), cups are handmade, with fairly fine fabrics ranging in color from red (10R $5 / 4$ to $6 / 4$ ) to reddish brown 5 YR $5 / 4$ or dark orange red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6$, light red to red. 504 has a fairly coarse fabric, dark greyish brown to brown 5YR 4/1-4/2, with numerous inclusions. The fabric of 505 is highly micaceous, suggesting that this cup had been imported, possibly from the Cyclades.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are crudely smoothed and unslipped, but 419, 420, and 503 have been polished.
Provenience. 506 is marked with "Үлохо́ $\tau \omega$ лv@ãऽ/E4". 507 and 511 were found in Skias" pyre 51 (S SU 10).
Comparanda. Undecorated cups are common in several sites, including Eutresis, Asea, Lerna, Tsoungiza, and Argos. ${ }^{805}$ All the dated parallels are from late MH or early LH I contexts.

JuG
Three handmade jugs are undecorated. They have globular body with a vertical loop or strap handle from the rim to the shoulder, leaf-shaped spout (508) or no spout at all (501), and flat base. Their fabrics are fairly fine with lime inclusions, light red to red (2.5YR $5 / 6$ to 10R 5/4) or fairly coarse, light brown $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 3$. The surfaces are crudely smoothed, but 427 and 501 have been burnished.

LID
509 belongs to a handmade small (rim diam. ca. 8 cm ), crescent-shaped lid. It has a fine, soft porous yellowish red fabric $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ with lime inclusions and small mica grits. Its interior and exterior surfaces have been smoothed.

JAR
ONE-HANDLED JAR
Shape and size. To this shape, amounting to approximately $30 \%$ of the undecorated pots, belong mainly full profile fragments and some complete or nearly complete pots (cf. 548, 551), as well as rim, base, and lower body fragments. It has tall everted rim (cf. 516, 548, 551), globular (548) or slightly piriform (512) outline, one vertical loop handle from either the shoulder to the belly or the rim to the shoulder $(515,516,549,551)$, and splaying ( 548 ,

[^115]fig. 13:67, with slightly hollow base; Argos: Touchais 2007, 87, fig. 7.
551) or flat (519) base with sharp (551) or pared (554) edges. There is considerable variation in the size of these vessels: the height of the complete jars varies from 13.3 to 18.5 cm , the diameter of the rim can be as small as 9.6 and as large as 25 cm , base diameters range from 4.8 to 5.5 cm . Wall thicknesses are more uniform, from 0.45 to 0.6 cm .

Fabrics and manufacture. One-handled cooking jars occur in both Gold Mica (549, 551, 516, 514), Dark Tempered (515), and silver mica (518) fabrics, but potter's marks appear only on the Gold Mica pieces (Lindblom 2001, figs 14:B1 and 13:A15). Gold Mica fragments without potter's marks are missing the base $(514,516)$, which presumably would have been also marked.
Surface treatment and decoration. Both interior and exterior surfaces of most jars have been smoothed and are covered with a yellowish wash, producing colors ranging from dark reddish brown 2.5YR 4/3-5/3 to red 10R 5/4-5/6 or brown to brown 5YR 3/2-4/1-5/1-5/2$6 / 2$. Both the interior and the exterior surfaces of 552 have been burned.
Provenience. The only stratified pieces are 555 and 557, found in the South Slope, in the fill around pyre 56 (S SU 7). Most pieces can be assigned an MH II/III date on the basis of the chronology from other sites (see below), but 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, and 559 can be as late as LH I.
Comparanda. This shape is popular in many MBA sites on the Mainland and the Cyclades and is in use well into LH I. ${ }^{806}$ It remains basically unaltered throughout the MH period, with the possible exception of the observation made at Aegina, that bases seem to evolve from flat in MH II to raised in MH III. 807548 and 552 are Aeginetan. ${ }^{808}$

## WIDE-MOUTHED JAR

Shape and size. This shape is represented by $41 \%$ of the total undecorated material and occurs only in coarse fabrics. It has a tall everted rim, usually with rounded (520) or flat (560) edges, pear-shaped body, a splaying (534) base with sharp (535), rounded (536) or pared edges (537), or more rarely, a flat base (538). In terms of handles, wide-mouthed jars may have no handles at all ${ }^{809}$ or two horizontal loop handles on the belly ${ }^{810}$ or two vertical loop handles on the shoulder ${ }^{811}$ or two diametrically opposite lugs. ${ }^{812}$ Although we do not

[^116][^117]have any complete outlines that would allow us to establish the total height of these vases, at Argos it ranges from 25 to $40 \mathrm{~cm} .{ }^{813}$ Rim diameters range from 17.5 (526) to 25 cm but in some vases $(520,524)$ they can reach $40+\mathrm{cm}$ (in sherd material rims with smaller diameters, under 25 cm , are difficult to distinguish from those of one-handled jars and if the diameter of the rim is small, it is impossible to differentiate between the two). Base diameters range from 8.8 (534) to 10.2 ( 536 ) cm and wall thicknesses from 0.5 to 0.8 cm . Smaller jars were used for cooking and larger ones for storage, perhaps with their base embedded in the floor. ${ }^{814}$
Fabrics and manufacture. The majority of the identified pieces are made in gold mica fabrics and several pieces bear potter's marks: 527 has a small pellet under the shoulder and an incised pottery's mark underneath, on the external surface; other marks are three pellets under the rim $(524)$, a single pellet on shoulder $(525,526)$ or two small incised pellets under the rim (521). The few jars that do not occur in Gold Mica fabrics have coarse or fairly coarse porous fabrics with numerous dark brown and white or off-white grits (520,528,531, $536,538,561$ ) and could be of local manufacture; one piece ( 537 ) has silver mica. 560 is decorated with an impressed plastic rope band on the shoulder. With the exception of four pieces $(529,560,561,562)$ all pieces are handmade; the larger pieces show coils (523). The base of 534 preserves concentric marks, possibly from a slow wheel.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are smoothed, ranging in color from red 10R 4/45/ to brown 5YR 5/1-5/2-6/1-5/1.
Comparanda. The shape is common in MH sites; ${ }^{815}$ it does not appear among the published LH I material from Tsoungiza. ${ }^{816}$

## BELLY-HANDLED JAR

Shape and size. This shape is represented by $10-15 \%$ of the MH undecorated pottery. Bellyhandled jars are large vessels with everted rims, piriform outline, flat bases, and two horizontal lug handles with vertical perforations placed opposite each other at the point of the maximum diameter of the vase. 539 is a complete vase, 26.5 cm high, with a rim diameter of 18.5 cm and a base diam. of 9 cm ; the rest are body and handle fragments.
Fabrics and manufacture. With the exception of 545 , which is made of a soft, fairly fine fabric, all the belly-handled jars are made in fairly coarse fabrics with few lime inclusions. 547 has

[^118]been included here, but it is much coarser and has thicker walls than the other belly-handled jars and may belong to a pithoid jar.
Surface treatment and decoration. External surfaces are covered with a thick slip, either in the same color as the fabric (539) or black (541) and are slightly burnished (540) or just smoothed $(545,546)$.
Comparanda. Belly-handled jars are common in several MBA sites. ${ }^{817}$

## Tripod Cooking Pot

Shape and size. This shape is represented by fragments of only six sherds, but two are large enough to reveal the full profile of the pot $(567,568)$. The shape has a slightly everted rim, short globular (567) or slightly angular and shallow body (568), and two vertical loop handles from the rim to the point of maximum diameter of the vase. Rim diameters range from 30 to 35 cm , wall thicknesses from 0.4 to 0.7 cm , and the feet are $12-14 \mathrm{~cm}$ tall.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are coarse, but the fabrics of the two larger pieces 567 and 568 contain dark tempers, whereas those of the two feet 570 and 569 contain gold mica platelets; 571 has dense silver mica.
Surface treatment and decoration. All surfaces have been smoothed and do not preserve any traces of a slip. The interior surface of 517 is covered with a yellowish (7.5 YR 6/4) wash. Provenience. 567 and 568 were found in the disturbed deposit of pyre 51 (S SU 10), with a MH/MC III MP jug fragment with bird decoration, but they must be LH, possibly LH IIIB; ${ }^{818}$ the provenience of the other pieces is not known.
Comparanda. Tripod cooking pots are Minoan products. ${ }^{819}$ Betancourt distinguishes two types, one with an S-shaped outline and flat or slightly rounded bottom (to which the Eleusinian pieces belong), and one with straight walls and flat bottom. ${ }^{820}$ At Kolonna, tripod cooking pots occur in MH II levels and are considered local products imitating Minoan pots. ${ }^{821}$ On the Greek Mainland tripod cooking vessels are rare before LH IIIA2, with isolated MH/LH I examples known from Asine and Argos. ${ }^{822}$ The Late Mycenaean pieces 517, 567 and 568 are Aeginetan products, suggesting that imports from Aegina continue to flow into Eleusis until LH IIIB. The micaceous fabric of 571 suggests a Cycladic, possibly Keian, origin. ${ }^{823}$

[^119]821. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 64.
822. Dietz 1991, 65, fig. 16:108 (which is a parallel for the flattened oval section of 570); Cf. PhilippaTouchais 2000.
823. Cf. Keos III pl. 54:414.

## Strainer

Two large fragments of strainers have been found in the material. 573 is a stemmed strainer found almost intact on the floor of Room A' with pithos 539 (S SU 17). It has a fairly fine fabric and its surface is slipped and burnished. In the upper part of the body it preserves two horizontal rows of perforations (diam. appr. 5 mm ), regularly spaced. The rows are framed by incised horizontal parallel lines. 574 is the rim and upper part of the body, with two rows of perforations. Rim diameters are 13.2 (573) and 10.3 (574) cm. A similar strainer, but with triangular instead of round openings, was found outside the MH pit at Mt. Kynortion at Epidauros, possibly a remnant from EH times. ${ }^{824}$

## Bird Vase

575 is a vase in the form of a bird. It is 6.9 cm high and has everted rim, one vertical strap handle, three vertical straight legs, and conical body. It is made of fairly fine fabric with many small stone inclusions; the surface is slipped and burnished and preserves traces of burning. It was found in S SU 6 with the MP jars 259 and 263, the plain jars 266 and 553, and an unknown number of coarse GM sherds, handmade MP sherds decorated with straight linear designs, and coarse cooking vases and bowls. It is paralleled at Phylakopi. ${ }^{825}$

## SUMMARY

Although plain jars were undoubtedly in use from MH I, stratified examples have not been identified. Several pieces of one-handled jars can be dated to MH II-III, but the absence of stratified pieces makes it impossible to date securely any of them and draw any conclusions about their chronological development. As mentioned above, in other sites this shape remains basically unaltered throughout the MH period, with the possible exception of Aegina, where MH II flat bases become raised in MH III. ${ }^{826}$ Same with the wide-mouthed and belly-handled jars, which appear in many sites throughout the MH period. Cups and tripod pots can, on the other hand, be dated to MH III, on the basis of parallels to other sites.

About half of the one-handled jars have gold mica and may be Aeginetan products; the other half is equally divided between pots with silver mica, possibly from the Cyclades, and fairly coarse dark-tempered fabric, possibly local. Wide-mouthed jars and tripod pots are mostly made in Gold Mica fabrics and dark-tempered fabrics, with only one example with silver mica. All the basins have fabrics with silver mica.
824. Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2010, 532, fig. 5.
825. Phylakopi pl. IV:6.

## INCISED/PLASTIC/STAMPED

## DEFINITION

In this category are included fairly coarse or coarse vessels with burnished surfaces and incised, stamped, or plastic decoration.

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Two types of incised pottery occur at Eleusis. The first is the ware often referred to in the literature as "Adriatic" ${ }^{827}$ or "Herring-Bone Incision"; ${ }^{828}$ its typical characteristic is multiple incisions on the surface of the vase. ${ }^{829}$ Only three "Adriatic" pieces have been identified among the material from Eleusis: a nearly-complete jar (581), a base from a bowl (582), and a handle from a bowl (583). This ware is usually considered a product of Messenia or the southwest Peloponnese, but it occurs in most Mainland sites in diminishing quantities as we move away from that region. ${ }^{830}$

The second type of incised pottery comprises imported Cycladic vases, known also as "Dark Burnished and Incised". ${ }^{831}$ Vases of both categories have red, brown, or grey/black burnished surfaces and are usually pyxides or askoi. Six pieces have been found at Eleusis, some bearing stamped decoration of single or double concentric circles appears (584,585, 587, 588).

Plastic decoration is rare: in fifteen fragments of handmade wide-mouthed jars there is a horizontal plastic band under the rim, sometimes with short vertical or diagonal incisions. With the exception of 577 and 580, these jars have gold mica and are likely Aeginetan imports. The surfaces are smoothed and coated with a thin slip, usually in the same color as the fabric, except for 577 and 578 , which have a dark brown slip. The stratigraphic provenience of these jars is not known, but parallels in other sites date to the end of the MH period or even LH I. ${ }^{832}$

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

Fabrics belonging to the "Adriatic" group of pots are fairly coarse (581, 582 and 583) with the exception of the bird vase that is fairly fine (575). The fabric does not differ from the local coarse wares. The colors are never uniform and variegated surfaces are fairly com-

[^120][^121]mon. The clay, brown to dark red in color ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ to $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3-7 / 6$ ), is coarse and sometimes gritty. Dense stone inclusions of medium- and small-sized are common.

The Cycladic pieces are characterized by coarse fabrics, usually red to reddish brown in color ( $10 \mathrm{R} 5 / 8$ to $5 \mathrm{YR} 4 / 3$ ) with silver mica ( $584,585,586$ ); these appear to have been of Keian origin. Others (463) have pinkish to light brown fabrics ( 5 YR 7/3) with grey core, small mica grits and white (calcareous) inclusions and are possibly Theran or Melian. All vessels are handmade.

## SURFACE TREATMENT AND DECORATION

The entire surface of the vessel in "Adriatic" vases is covered with incisions: horizontal, vertical and / or oblique parallel lines, which cross each other or form "herring-bone" pattern (see particularly 582). Usually a series of parallel horizontal lines encircle the neck, whereas the incised lines on the body are placed in horizontal zones (581). The usual motifs are oblique lines, hatched triangles, chevrons, and (rarely) punctuated dots. Sometimes only the exterior surface is polished (582), although in other pieces both the exterior and the interior surfaces are polished. Incisions vary in depth and width. Some are broad and shallow, more like grooves than incisions (581) and others are narrow and deep (582). The decorated zone on the shoulder is usually delineated by one, two or three horizontal lines at the base of the rim or top of shoulder. Groups of chevrons dispersed round the shoulder and the body.

The surfaces of the Cycladic vases are usually smoothed and burnished to a high luster $(463,588)$. The commonest motifs are incised or stamped spirals and concentric circles, used on pyxis lids and flasks (585,587). Pyxis lids are also decorated with hatched triangles (463) or chevrons and dotted lines (588) filled with white paste.

## SHAPES

JAR
All fragments of incised coarse ware seem to belong to medium-sized, deep jars (with rim diameters large enough to be classified sometimes as bowls) with gently curved shoulders, everted rims, flat and thickened or slightly raised bases, and vertical ribbon handles; 591/590 has grooved decoration. The profile resembles angular bowls in GM and DB wares. In other sites it occurs already in EH III ${ }^{833}$ and becomes popular in the MH period throughout central Greece and the Peloponnese. At Lerna, in early MH I (early Lerna VA) deposits the body is rounded with everted rim, ${ }^{834}$ whereas in the later MH I the maximum diameter

[^122]descends in the lower half of the bowl. ${ }^{835}$ Other close parallels exist at Aspis, Asine, Asea, Kirrha, Ayia Irini, Pefkakia, Eutresis, Aegina, the Athenian Agora, and Nichoria. ${ }^{836}$

## Bird Vase

One bird vase has been found (575), with elongated body, vertical strap handle from rim to neck, and three stubs for feet. A parallel exists at Kolonna. ${ }^{837}$

## PYXIS/ASKOS

A few fragments of incised pots belong to pyxides $(463,584,588)$ or askoi $(585,586,587)$. Of special interest are the two fragments of incised lids of pyxides $(463,588)$, which find exact parallels at Aegina. ${ }^{838}$ The other fragments find parallels on Keos and Eutresis. ${ }^{839}$ Goldman considers this ware Cycladic and this may also be the case for the Eleusinian examples, as their fabric indicates.

## SUMMARY

## CHRONOLOGY

## Middle Helladic I

The MH I pottery from Eleusis includes the following classes.
a) Matt-Painted. Angular bowl with flat rim, rounded bowl with everted rim, angular cup with flaring rim, jug, type 1 jars and type 1 pithos, mostly in Gold Mica and DT fabrics, but also in Fine Micaceous and Fine Untempered fabrics. Surfaces are clearly divided into horizontal decorative zones (usually two or more on jars and pithoi), divided by thick straight lines. The most common motifs are variants of the X-pattern, placed in vertical panels on both open and closed shapes, circles on jars and pithoi, and hanging crosshatched triangles on rounded bowls and jugs. Occasionally, X-patterns with multiple lines are placed between two horizontal lines. In some pithoi, curved lines divide the surface of
835. Ibid. fig. 8:D BS Gen/26.
836. Aspis (although the frequency there decreases by MH III): Touchais 2007, 87; Asine I 265, fig. 184:11; Asea 104, fig. 102e; Kirrha pl. XXXIV.21; Keos VII no. 72, pl. 45: Group S and no. 12, pl. 45: Group T; Pevkakia 136-7; Eutresis 179, fig. 250:1-9; Felten and Hiller 1996, 110, pl. 17, FG 9a / 03; Agora XIII pl. 27:377 and 381-382; Howell 1992b, pls 3-16, 3-36, figs 3-22.
837. Felten and Hiller 1996, 98, 102, pls 11, 13, FG 7a/05-07.
838. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 4, FG 60-13 and fig. 5, XXVII-40.
839. Caskey 1972, pl. 84, D 56-57; Keos VII pl. 58 Group AQ, no. 7 and pl. 66, Group AY, no. 1; Eutresis 80-81 and fig. 97.
the vase in elliptical panels. On pithoi, empty spaces are decorated with secondary motifs (stars or small solid circles), following Wünsche's "close style". ${ }^{840}$
b) Lustrous Decorated. Few pieces are decorated in the D-o-L and Polychrome styles, mostly Minoanizing cups and jars decorated with red or white lines.
c) Grey Minyan. Rounded bowl with straight everted rim and flat base, decorated with horizontal grooves on shoulder; angular cup with outlines forming an angle but not a true carination and everted rim with straight edge. The fabric is in almost all cases fairly fine with small mica and limestone grits. In one case the fabric is fine with small angular stone inclusions (301).
d) Cycladic Red Slipped and Burnished. Bridge-spouted bowl and bowl with inturned rim. To the MH I period belongs the pyxis fragment 463; its fabric is fine with mica (one gold platelet) and small lime inclusions.
e) Dark Burnished. Rounded bowl with everted rim, solidly painted brown and burnished, belonging to fairly coarse (437) fabrics. 443 has also mica grits.
f) Plain and Coarse. There are not any plain and coarse pots that could be dated with certainty to MH I.
g) Cycladic Burnished, Stamped and Incised. Cycladic incised sherds, including duck vases, jars, and pyxides. The fabric of the duck vase fragments is coarse and brittle, red to reddish brown, whereas that of the jars and the pyxides is fairly fine with few pebble inclusions; all pieces have abundant mica. Surfaces are covered with a black or reddish-brown slip and the jar and pyxis fragments are polished. The decoration consists of stamped concentric circles and incised straight lines or herring-bone, occasionally filled with white paste.
h) Incised Bowls and Jars. Several sherds and one nearly-complete vase of the type usually referred to as "Adriatic Ware" or "herring-bone incision", belonging to deep bowls or jars in fairly coarse greyish to greyish brown fabrics, unevenly fired and usually brittle. The surfaces are slipped and burnished and are decorated with linear incised patters, such as rows of hatched triangles and vertical herring-bone.

As mentioned above, a transitional phase, such as the one identified at Lerna, ${ }^{841}$ has not been isolated at Eleusis. At Lerna, this phase is characterized by the introduction of three new classes: true MP (as opposed to the dull paint of EH III), Mainland Polychrome, and LD, and by the persistence, although in miniscule quantities, of EH III Solidly Painted and Unburnished pots, Gold Mica, and DB wares. ${ }^{842}$ With the exception of "true" MP and Main-

[^123][^124]land Polychrome pottery, similar ceramic elements appear in ceramic phase $G$ at Kolonna. ${ }^{843}$

Middle Helladic I deposits have been found at several sites. In the Athenian Agora five wells with mixed EH and MH material contained MH I pieces, including Red Slipped and Burnished carinated bowls, ${ }^{844}$ Incised Coarse Burnished sherds, ${ }^{845}$ and coarse pithoi and jars. ${ }^{846}$ Other MH I finds in Athens have been found in the North Slope of the Acropolis, ${ }^{847}$ and in various parts of the city. ${ }^{848}$ At Kiapha Thiti the earliest MH levels produced very little material, including a Gold Mica angular cup and a dark polished bowl with everted rim and horizontal grooves. ${ }^{849}$ At Aphidna pithos burial 3 yielded Gold Mica, red polished vases, and a Cycladic incised pyxis lid, suggesting an early MH date. ${ }^{850}$

In Boeotia, the earliest MH pottery from Orchomenos consists of fairly coarse and coarse GM rounded bowls, ${ }^{851}$ but does not include the finer wares known from the Argolid. ${ }^{852}$

At Aegina, Kolonna Phase H of Stadt VII is characterized by the first appearance of Aeginetan true MP pottery with angular cups ("kantharoi"), one-handled cups, and rounded bowls decorated with simple geometric motifs; also of DB and Plain rounded bowls, Cycladic incised pyxides and lids, Red Slipped and Burnished angular bowls and bowls with inturned rims, some L-o-D sherds, some Minoan barbotine pieces, solidly painted and burnished flasks with spiral ribbing, and plain unpainted and burnished rounded bowls and angular cups, beak-spouted jugs, and handleless straight-sided cups. ${ }^{853}$

At Lefkandi Phase 3 (early MH I) is characterized by an abundance of GM wares, continuing from Phase $2 .{ }^{854}$ Grey Minyan pottery is generally better made and wheelmade. The main shape is the deep bowl with everted rim and strap handle either on the shoulder or high swung above the rim. The plain wares of this phase are also of better quality. Common are also large storage vessels with narrow necks and crescent handles. ${ }^{855}$

At Lerna Zerner distinguishes an early and a late VA phase. ${ }^{856}$ Early VA is characterized by shapes in Gold Mica and DB (three varieties) classes: rounded bowls and cups without grooving on the interior of the rims and with shoulders incised with horizontal lines or with rounded ridges or ribs; MP cups and bowls with everted or inturned rims, decorated with broad bands and cross-hatched triangles or lozenges in D-o-L and polychrome styles; LD jars; Minoanizing cups and Minoan pottery; Coarse Burnished ware; and knobbed jars

[^125][^126]with one knob. Late phase VA includes Gold Mica, Brown and Black Burnished rounded bowls with everted rims; angular bowls or cups and shoulder bowls (which appear for the first time); MP shoulder bowls decorated with wide horizontal bands and jugs with cutaway spouts; LD of both Mainland and Minoanizing varieties; Gold Mica MP and Gold Mica Red Slipped and Burnished. Absent from Eleusis is a class of whitish grey Minyan (10YR 7/1) pots that Sarri has detected in early MH layers at the Aspis. ${ }^{857}$

At Nichoria, MH I material was identified in Area V and parts of the adjacent part of Area IV. ${ }^{858}$ In general, the early MH pottery is coarse and heavy, with large amounts of grit temper. Three distinct groups have been identified: Group A is the earliest and includes bowls or cups with everted rims, flat bases, strap handles, and darkish (grey or reddish yellow) polished surfaces, which are coarse imitations of Minyan ware, with few finer examples; coarse or fairly coarse open vases, plain, or decorated in matt paint, or with incisions; and heavily gritted and coarse storage jars with everted rims and flat bases; this group seems to correspond to Early Lerna VA and Lefkandi 4. Group B is not well defined, but it seems to include more fine fabrics. Group $C$ contains several large deposits and presents a significant increase in the amounts of fine Minyan and Black Minyan pottery, some with incised decoration. One of the commonest shapes of this group is a bowl with a tall everted rim, wide vertical strap handles, and a flat or slightly hollow base, which Howell calls "Nichoria bowl". ${ }^{859}$ Plain wares also abound, mostly jars, jugs, and bowls (too fragmentary to allow reconstruction of shape), but MP sherds are very few, with few large and bold patterns, bands, chevrons, and cross-hatched triangles. Few are also the sherds decorated (mostly with hatched triangles) in lustrous paint. Group C corresponds to late Lerna VA but does not have a corresponding phase at Lefkandi.

## Middle Helladic II

The MH II pottery from Eleusis includes the following classes.
a) Matt-Painted. The full range of MP shapes is represented: angular bowls with flat upright or slightly incurving rims and everted rims; rounded bowls with everted rims; spouted bowls with channel or tubular spouts; angular cups with everted or flaring rims and stemmed angular cups with everted rims; rounded cups with everted rims; beakedspouted jugs, thelastra, both type 1 and type 2 jars, type 1 and type 2 pithoi, and Bogenrippen amphoras. It is unfortunate, however, that the material is so fragmentary, that changes from the MH I repertory of shapes cannot be followed. ${ }^{860}$ Such changes have been

[^127]69-70.
859. Howell 1992b, 71.
860. Supra p. 259.
noticed at Aegina and Lerna, where in the MH II type 1 pithoi become more slender and pear-shaped and taper towards the rim; Bogenrippen amphoras and type 1 jars stretch along their vertical axis; and jugs become lower and wider. ${ }^{861}$ On the other hand, we are able to observe changes in the decoration of the Eleusinian material from MH I to MH II: the close style of the MH I period disappears and large undecorated surfaces appear. Common motifs include hanging triangles (with the spaces in-between filled with vertical lines or circles with double diameters), zig-zag lines, and groups of vertical parallel lines. The general arrangement of decorative patterns emphasizes the distinct parts of the vase and conforms to the principles of the Aeginetan "mature" style. The four stylistic groups distinguished by Siedentopf at Aegina ${ }^{862}$ also occur at Eleusis: the first is characterized by the continuation of the use of MH I motifs (stars and cross-hatched geometric shapes); the second by distinct horizontal zones with linear decoration of chevrons or X-pattern; the third by a manneristic representation of such decorative patterns as chessboards, squares, crosses, zig-zag lines, and groups of dots; the fourth by simplification and stylization of the decorative patterns, to the point that the impression of impoverishment of the decorative repertoire is given.
b) Lustrous Decorated. As mentioned, this class is rare. A Minoan cup and five D-o-L type 2 jars can be dated to the MH II/MM II.
c) Grey Minyan. True GM continues from MH I, and new fabric groups appear in the Fine/Fairly Fine class: "graphite", light grey, and greyish-brown. The range of shapes expands from MH I to include angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, and angular and rounded cups with everted rims. Rounded bowl with everted rim are decorated with groups of parallel horizontal or vertical incised lines, which in contrast to the MH I lines are sharp and crisp. Incised festoons, common in other sites of the period, are rare.
d) Dark Burnished. Rounded bowls with everted rims and flat bases; and angular bowls with beaded rims and ringed stems. Most pieces have silver mica.
e) Red Slipped and Burnished. Cycladic bowls with inturned rims and stemmed angular bowls with everted or flaring rims in fine, red or pinkish buff fabrics; bridge-spouted bowls in fairly coarse gritty/sandy brownish grey fabrics. One Aeginetan stemmed angular bowl.
f) Plain and Coarse. Some one-handled jars, wide-mouthed jars, basins, and strainers can date to MH II, but the absence of stratified examples make it impossible to define any characteristics of plain pots for the period.

The MH II period is better defined than the MH I. In the Athenian Agora MH II material was found in the five wells of the Northwest Slope and includes several Cycladic imported pots with incised decoration (ribbed askos and pyxides) and Red Burnished carinated
bowls. ${ }^{863}$ The strong carinated outlines resemble Argive Minyan pots and may represent a Mainland development of the shape and fabric under the influence of Minyan wares. ${ }^{864}$ Grey Minyan pottery was found in large quantities and includes stemmed goblets with carinated shoulder and loop handles, and carinated bowls or kantharoi with high-swung handles and rounded bowls. ${ }^{865}$ Yellow Minyan pottery on the other hand, occurs in small quantities: the prevalent shape is the stemmed goblet with curving outline and occasionally matt decoration. Matt Painted pottery is also present, ${ }^{866}$ including White-Slipped MP pots of Keian origin, which occur almost exclusively in closed shapes (large jars and pithoi).

At Eutresis the second habitation level (MH II and III period) is characterized by Red Burnished pots (undecorated or with white or incised patterns) and by Black Burnished bowls decorated with one or two rows of incised festoons. ${ }^{867}$ The fabric is gritty, grey with a red or brown tinge, suggesting a Peloponnesian origin. Another characteristic of MH II Eutresis is the large quantities of GM pottery, where high-stemmed goblets, bowls and cups predominate. ${ }^{868}$ The stems of the goblets are short and plain or short and ribbed, while others are very high. ${ }^{869}$ Especially common in MH II is MP pottery with linear geometric designs on semicoarse or coarse clay and prevalent shapes are pithoi and bowls (many of Aeginetan origin). ${ }^{870}$

At Kolonna the MH II period is represented by Ceramic Phase I (Phases VIII and IX), which has produced the richest material. ${ }^{871}$ In this phase appear MP carinated one-handled cups and "kantharoi", decorated mostly with circular and semicircular motifs. ${ }^{872}$ The GM pottery includes footed goblets and "kantharoi" ${ }^{873}$ Solidly painted red and burnished goblets also continue from previous phases. ${ }^{874}$

In Ayia Irini IV, local Yellow slipped plain and MP wares predominate, alongside with imported GM pottery. ${ }^{875}$ The type 1 pithos ("barrel jar") is the favorite shape in Phase IVa, but is replaced by the globular jar in IVb. ${ }^{876}$

At Lefkandi Phase 4 is characterized by an increase in grooved decoration on the shoulder zone of GM pots; predominant shapes are carinated cups with smooth carination, bowls and jars with grooves just above the carination. ${ }^{877}$ Deep bowls with strap handles continue in GM and Plain ware, as well as large storage vessels and Patterned Ware.

The MH II period is represented at Pefkakia by Phases 5 and Early 6. Grey Minyan pottery predominates in Phase 5 among the fine wares; new shapes appear with sharper car-

[^128]inated bodies (bowls type 1FIa-b, with vertical rim and upper body and cups type 2CIII with sharper outline). ${ }^{878}$ The same shapes are encountered in Black Burnished wares. Common are also Light Burnished wares, which appeared in previous Phase 4 (S-outline bowls of type 1DIII). In Phase 5 coarse pottery shapes are strongly influenced by GM shapes. ${ }^{879}$ Where MP pottery is concerned, coarse vessels with red to dark brown surfaces ( $\Delta 1 \beta$ ) are common. The material of Phase 6-Early derives mainly from Building 311B, where large quantities of GM pottery were found; among this material there are many bowls of type 1FI (footed goblets) and cups with high-swung handles and sharp carination (kantharoi). Dark Burnished pottery appears in the same frequency with GM. ${ }^{880}$ Fine pottery with red to brown slip appears in Phase 6-Early, but does not continue to 6-Middle. Light Burnished ware is common in domestic pottery of good quality (type 1D bowls and type 4A jars). In Phase 6-Early the well known Thessalian MP ware with monochrome or polychrome decoration on light red to yellow surface (slipped or not) makes its first appearance (the predominant local ware in the later phases of Pefkakia); 881 the shapes are almost exclusively jar and pithoi.

An interesting MH II deposit comes also from a rescue excavation at the settlement of Kirrha (Pappa plot), where GM pottery predominates. Here, typical Boeotian Light Burnished wares were also identified together with $\Delta 1$ B Thessalian and other Coarse Domestic wares. ${ }^{882}$

At Lerna, MH II pottery includes mostly Gold Mica Aeginetan Fabrics, in Red Slipped and Burnished, MP and Coarse Cooking wares. ${ }^{883}$ The main shapes are deep bowls with straight or inturned rims, carinated cups or goblets in Red Slipped and Burnished and MP wares; and kraters, wide-mouthed and barrel jars, and jugs in MP wares. ${ }^{884}$ In Coarse Cooking ware the commonest shapes are wide-mouthed jars with everted rims, usually decorated with clay knobs, and cups with everted rim and high swung handles. ${ }^{885}$ Apart from the Gold Mica Aeginetan fabrics particularly common in Phase V are LD pots in Fine and Grittier fabric. ${ }^{886}$ Shapes prevalent in LD ware are small sized goblets, angular and rounded cups and bowls (generally open shapes).

At Ayios Stephanos the MH II is represented by deposits from the Central Area (Areas Nu , Zeta and Eta) and is characterized by the appearance of the carinated cup in GM, MP and LD wares. ${ }^{887}$ A new imported shape in the MH II period is the DB hole-mouthed jar. ${ }^{888}$ The MH II at this site corresponds to Dietz's phase MH II (Late) in the Argolid.
878. Pevkakia 209.
879. Jar of type 4A, ibid. 210.
880. Ibid. 211.
881. Ibid. 211.
882. Skorda 2006.
883. Zerner 1986, 64 and 1988, 1.
884. Zerner 1988, 2-3.
885. Ibid. 5.
886. Ibid. 6-10.
887. Zerner 2008, 181.
888. Ibid. nos 1295-1296.

At Nichoria the MH II is not well stratified, as there are no remains of MH II buildings; most of the recovered material comes from the fill of the gullies draining the higher parts of the ridge or from the rubbish that had been washed over the slopes. ${ }^{889}$ The best deposit is in trial Trench K24-I in Area III and is fairly homogeneous. Several sherds are of Minyan types, including narrow necked flasks, bowls with horizontal grooves and cups with ribbing. Plain ware is the largest category, followed by coarse ware, painted ware, pithoi and incised coarse ware. In comparison to MH I there are proportionally more plain and painted ware, but fewer coarse and Minyan sherds.

## Middle Helladic III

The MH III pottery from Eleusis includes the following classes; notable is the absence of the Lustrous Decorated class and of incised bowls and jars.
a) Matt-Painted. Angular bowls with flat upright or slightly incurving rims and with everted rims; angular cups with everted rims; stemmed angular cups with everted rims; rounded cups with everted rims; jugs, jars with distinct neck (type 1); and type 1 pithoi. A strong element of continuity is seen from MH II, in that new shapes do not seem to be introduced and also in that the motifs are arranged in horizontal (esp. in the necks of jugs and the bellies of bowls) or vertical (on pithoi bodies) zones. The only exception appears to have been type 1 jars, where zone decoration is replaced by an open arrangement of the motifs. New motifs, such as spirals and floral motifs, appear under the influence of Minoan pottery. Aeginetan products represent a little over half of the MH III MP pots, the rest belonging to the DT class.
b) Grey Minyan. Rounded bowl with everted rim, angular bowls with molded rims, cylindrical cups, small jars, and zoomorphic vases, all in fairly fine or fine fabrics; stemmed angular bowls and rounded cups with everted rims in fairly coarse fabrics. The stems of angular cups have incisions imitating grooves.
c) Dark Burnished. Angular bowls with beaded rims, stemmed or with flat bases, in fairly fine or fairly coarse fabrics; stems decorated with multiple grooves.
d) Red Slipped and Burnished. Few pieces, all belonging to rounded bowls with everted rims (goblets) with gold mica, possibly dating also to LH I.
e) Plain and Coarse. One-handled jars and wide-mouthed jars, tripod cooking pots, cups, and large decorated jars, approximately one third of which has gold mica, the rest probably local.

Middle Helladic III is the main period of occupation for the acropolis of Kiapha-Thiti; the study of the material revealed the existence of two phases within MH III period; ${ }^{890}$ the
older is contemporary with Ayia Irini V and the younger with the earlier deposits of Ayia Irini VI (Tower E deposit). ${ }^{891}$ The phasing of MH III is evident in the material from Section 101 SE $3 .{ }^{892}$ Yellow Minyan and Red Slipped and Burnished pots of Aeginetan origin prevail. ${ }^{893}$

Kolonna X, dated to the MH III, is defined by ceramic Phase J. Aeginetan MP pots dominate the assemblage, decorated with curvilinear motifs, mainly garlands, wavy bands and rows of S-hooks; also double concentric circles are very common on the shoulders of type 1 jars. ${ }^{894}$ Red slipped and burnished pottery continues in large closed shapes, ${ }^{895}$ while potter's marks move from the shoulder to base zone. ${ }^{896}$

At Ayia Irini, the MH III period is defined by Ayia Irini V, ${ }^{897}$ where Helladic GM and MP wares are particularly common. ${ }^{898}$

At Lefkandi, the MH III period is represented by Phase 5, characterized by the first appearance of the carinated footed goblet and the first occurrences of MP wares. ${ }^{899}$ The GM cups have low ring bases, but they occur alongside tall stemmed goblets. In this phase Plain, Coarse GM, Coarse Domestic, MP and Aeginetan wares are frequent.

Phases 5 to early 6 at Pefkakia are contemporary with Lerna V. Fine local pottery with monochrome or polychrome decoration is very common. Phases 6 Middle to Late and partly Phase 7 of Pefkakia broadly correspond to MH III. Continuing from the previous phase, GM pots appear in large quantities and include shapes with sharply carinated outlines with thickened and angular rims and shoulders and ridged goblet feet. ${ }^{900}$ Dark Burnished bowls and cups with carination in their lower body are almost as common as GM pots. Fine pottery with light red to reddish yellow and burnished surface appears for the first time; the MP pottery resembles on one hand the coarse MP $\Delta 1 \beta$ types and on the other the fine MP ware with monochrome or polychrome decoration on light red to yellow surface (slipped or not), both encountered in previous phases. ${ }^{901}$

At Kirrha two phases within the last MBA horizon were also separated by the first excavators (MH IIIA and B)..$^{902}$ In MH IIIA the GM pottery is very rare in comparison to the Yellow Minyan, whereas in MH IIIB the presence of GM is even less evident. Most common are small sized vessels decorated with wavy bands and naturalistic motifs.

In the Argolid, the MH III period is divided by Dietz in two phases. ${ }^{903}$ Middle Helladic IIIA is characterized by kantharoi with high-swung handles, jugs with conical neck and bichrome decoration, and large jars with decoration in white or polychrome on lustrous
891. Davis and Cherry 1990.
892. Ibid. 204.
893. Ibid. 131-134.
894. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 65, fig. 10.
895. Ibid. fig. 11, FG 89-16.
896. Ibid. 65.
897. Caskey 1972, 386-388; Keos V 3-4.

[^129]dark. To this phase belong several deposits of Lerna V, Building I of Barbouna at Asine, and Tsoungiza. ${ }^{904}$ On the other hand, low-stemmed goblets with rounded outline but no incised rings, taller and slenderer Vapheio cups, some decorated with wavy bands, monochrome kantharoi and MP pots with decoration in clear zones are traits of MH III. Graves belonging to MH IIIB period are found at Lerna, Myloi, Argos, Mycenae (Grave Circle B), Prosymna, Tiryns and Asine, while domestic deposits come only from Asine and Aspis of Argos. ${ }^{905}$

Ceramic evidence from the end of the MBA derives also from Tsoungiza, EU 2 and EU 6. ${ }^{906}$ Particularly common are goblets with pedestal foot and low vertical handles. ${ }^{907}$ Goblets are found in GM and MP, but rarely in Dark Burnished ware. ${ }^{908}$ The range of patterns in MP pottery is restricted to oppose diagonals, large pendant loops of festoons and horizontal or vertical dashes. Grey Minyan and DB goblets characterize middle and late MH deposits and persist also in the LH I period, but in smaller quantities. ${ }^{909}$ Light burnished goblets (i.e. Yellow Minyan, nos 144-145) make their first appearance in the late MH period, later than the DB types.

At Nichoria MH III is well represented with stratified deposits. ${ }^{910}$ The best deposit is Deposit Lambda, in trial Trench L22-IV south of Area IV. The pottery resembles Mycenaean pottery and Minoanizing pottery becomes more influenced by the provincial style of Kythera. ${ }^{911}$ An interesting feature of the MH III deposits is the large amount of coarse ware, forming over half of the material. Next to frequency is the plain ware (Minyan), followed by painted ware, matt, lustrous painted or with bichrome decoration.
C. Zerner, in her recent study of the pottery from Ayios Stephanos, identifies an early MH III phase characterized by the introduction of new shapes, such as the ring-stemmed goblet with T-rim, and slight changes in existing shapes (e.g. the carinated cup develops a shorter upright rim). Some MH II wares, such as Dull Painted, cease to appear, and a number of Minoan shapes are added to the Lustrous Decorated repertoire, such as Vapheio cups and hole-mouthed jars. Fairly coarse large basins and jugs appear, and the range of decorative motifs expands. ${ }^{912}$

## The transition to LH I

A number of SUs yielded pottery that can be assigned a general MH III/LH I range and the material from these deposits is classified here as "MH III/LH I". The decorated MH III/LH I material includes the following classes:

[^130]909. Ibid. 429.
910. Howell 1992b, 65.
911. Ibid. 66.
912. Zerner 2008, 182.
a) Matt-Painted: jars (259, 260, 263, 264, 265)
b) Grey Minyan: the stemmed angular cups 414, 415, 416
c) a few Yellow Minyan angular cups $(673,674,675)$
d) red slipped and polished or burnished goblets 480, 481, 488 and deep bowls/kraters (489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496)
e) red or black slipped goblets $(482,483486,487)$
f) fine undecorated jugs (427)
g) several coarse or fairly coarse pots, including one-handled (548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 554, $555,556,557)$ and wide-mouthed jars (545,560,561,562,563,564,579), the tripod cooking pots 565,566 , and the jar 553.

Ceramic phase $K$ at Kolonna dates to the beginning of the LBA and has been identified in only one recently excavated deposit. ${ }^{913}$ The Aeginetan wide-mouthed jars continue and Mainland Polychrome pottery makes its first appearance. ${ }^{914}$ Locally made solidly painted and plain burnished wares continue from the previous phases.

To the final phase of Lefkandi (Phase 6) belong the first Early Mycenaean vases. ${ }^{915}$ During this phase, Plain wares increase while GM wares decrease and a new form of bowl with a "hawk's beak" rim appears. In MP wares the main change is the introduction of bichrome decoration.

The third habitation level at Eutresis has been claimed to belong to the first Late Helladic period. ${ }^{916}$ This view is mainly supported by the ceramic evidence, since Yellow Minyan pottery increases in quantity and is characterized by matt decoration in monochrome and bichrome patterns. ${ }^{917}$

In the Argolid the transition to LH is characterized by the increase of open and closed shapes of fine burnished vessels; a slight increase in the imported Aeginetan cooking pots; and the appearance of LD Minoanizing and Mainland Polychrome pottery; ${ }^{918}$ paneled decoration on straight sided cups becomes common. ${ }^{919}$ At Ayios Stephanos, the main characteristics of the transitional phase are the increase in Minoanizing shapes and motifs, the appearance of YM vases, the disappearance of some shapes (such as the carinated cup) and the introduction of new decorative modes, such as D-o-L on a reserved surface, with added white or red paint. ${ }^{920}$

## PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

The analysis of the fabrics of MH pottery suggests at least five different sources of origin for the MH pottery of Eleusis.

[^131]
## 1. Aegina

Imported Aeginetan products are characterized by the presence of gold mica or black biotite inclusions and include a wide range of shapes. ${ }^{921}$ Petrographic analyses published elsewhere ${ }^{922}$ suggest an Aeginetan origin for all the gold mica pieces. ${ }^{923}$

The vast majority of Aeginetan products are MP (Table 5), mostly with fine or fairly fine, yellow to pale yellow fabrics with few small inclusions and occasionally holes from burned organic temper. ${ }^{924}$ Less common are fine porous and sandy fabrics used mostly for storage jars and pithoi and coarse fabrics used for pithoi. ${ }^{925}$ Other Aeginetan products include red-


Table 5. Aeginetan imports.

[^132]accessed September 15, 2012).
924. Corresponding to Gauss and Kiriatzi's "fine to medium coarse, orange to buff firing, calcareous volcanic fabrics (MG 2/FG 2)" (Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011, 250).
925. "Noncalcareous volcanic fabrics (MG 1/FG 1)" (ibid.).
slipped and burnished angular bowls with inturned rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, and pyxis lids; coarse tripod pots; and plain one-handled and wide-mouthed jars.

Aeginetan products constitute a high percentage of the total MH pottery from Eleusis already in MH I. Given the fragmentary nature of the material reliable statistics cannot be produced, but estimates based on the number of datable sherds (which does not reflect the number of individual pots) suggest that the imported Aeginetan material amounts to about half of the total material in MH I, but rises to around $60 \%$ to $70 \%$ in MH II and MH III/ LH I. The high percentage of Aeginetan imports from the beginning of the period is not typical of other MH sites. At Kiapha Thiti, only one MH I Aeginetan import was found, ${ }^{926}$ whereas in MH III Aeginetan imports represent about $20 \%$ of the total pottery. ${ }^{927}$ In the Athenian Agora, with the exception of one MH I pithos fragment, ${ }^{928}$ all Aeginetan pieces are MH II or later, suggesting that the overall frequency of Aeginetan ceramics increases towards the end of the period. At Aphidna, the three bowls published by Wide are MH II-III. ${ }^{929}$ In Boeotia, Aeginetan imports are more numerous than Cycladic or Minoan imports, but their representation in terms of the overall MH pottery is lower than in Attic sites. ${ }^{930}$ In the Corinthia, Aeginetan products appear in LH I at Zygouries, Tsoungiza, and Korakou, ${ }^{931}$ but are few in MH III. They continue until LH II, but decline in LH IIIB. ${ }^{932}$ By contrast, in the Argolid we have considerable amounts of Aeginetan imports from early levels at Lerna and Asine, ${ }^{933}$ although the proportion of Aeginetan pottery in comparison to the total number of MH ceramics increases towards the end of the period and remains high in LH I. ${ }^{934}$ At Aspis, two different trends have been noted: MP Gold Mica pots importation decreases from MH I to III, possibly as imported types were being progressively replaced by local ones, ${ }^{935}$ while coarse wares continue to be imported in high numbers throughout the period. ${ }^{936}$

The consistently high percentage of Aeginetan imports suggests that Eleusis was a major trading partner of Aegina throughout the MBA. Moreover, the geographical proximity of Eleusis to Aegina and the proportionately higher frequency of Aeginetan products at Eleusis in comparison to other Attic sites could perhaps suggest that Eleusis functioned as the port of importation and distribution of Aeginetan products in Attica and south Boeotia.

The depositional distribution of Aeginetan imports across the settlement does not allow us to distinguish any locational patterns. For the majority of Gold Mica pots we do not

[^133]931. Lindblom 2001, 42.
932. Ibid. 41.
933. Zerner 1978, 156; Nordquist 1987, 49.
934. Dietz 1991, 53, fig. 9; 59, fig. 13; 71, fig. 18.
935. Philippa-Touchais 2002, 37-39.
936. Touchais 2007, 94.
have provenience information; the pieces with known provenience come from most SUs of the South Slope and in at least two SUs of the East Slope (E SU 10 and E SU 12), but even for these SUs we do not have a complete list of the finds and, therefore, we cannot establish the total number of Gold Mica pots found in different parts of the settlement. Statistics are meaningless given these gaps in our data, but it should be mentioned that about $45 \%$ of the Gold Mica sherds with known provenience was found in E SU 10.

## POTTER'S MARKS

About fifteen fragments bear potter's marks (Table 6): nine are mentioned by Lindblom ${ }^{937}$ and five were located in the material after Lindblom had visited the Eleusis museum and could not have been made available to him. These five sherds belong to Plain and Coarse pots (wide-mouthed and one-handled jars): 521, 524, 525, 526, 549. The pot mark of 549 belongs to the same category as $551: 938$ it consists of a single cut below the base and dates to LH I to IIIA1. ${ }^{939} 524$ with three shallow oval impressions in a row on the shoulder belongs to Lindblom's category G6, with only one example from Lerna. ${ }^{940} 525$ and 526 preserve one oval impression on the shoulder and belong to Lindblom's category G1, attested on several examples from Kolonna and Lerna. ${ }^{941}$ The last piece, 521, bears two applied clay pellets with impressed dots on rim-shoulder transition (Lindblom's rare category H8), found on a sherd from Kolonna. ${ }^{942}$

The other potmarks have been published by Lindblom: 181 is a single cut at baseline; ${ }^{943}$ 502 is formed by two shallow oval impressions in a row ${ }^{944}$ and may be as early as MH I or II; $;{ }^{945} 572$ is formed by two parallel vertically incised lines below handle (cook ware); ${ }^{946}$ 90 is an incised inverted V on handle (of MH II to LH II period). ${ }^{947}$ In twelve out of fourteen cases the pot marks are found on coarse vessels of domestic use, that belong to the Plain and Coarse Category of pottery. Only three are fine vessels (i.e. 90, 181, and 502) and, specifically, on the handles of Aeginetan jars. According to Zerner, marks placed on the shoulder of cooking pots belong to the earlier MH phases, while marks put underneath the bases are later. ${ }^{948}$

[^134]943. Lindblom 2001, no. 606.
944. Ibid. no. 767.
945. Ibid. 76.
946. Ibid. no. 1037.
947. Ibid. no. 1066.
948. Zerner 1986, 65.

| ELEUSIS \# | LINDBLOM \# | DESCRIPTION | MARK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No \# | 368 | A59 | $\triangle$ |
| No \# | 614 | C3 | $-1-1-2$ |
| No \# | 620 | C3 | $\rightarrow-\mathrm{A}$ |
| 90 | 1066 | I23 incised inverted V | - |
| 163 | 651 | C6 (two oval impressions) | $-0-0$ |
| 181 | 606 | C3 | $-3-1-3$ |
| 502 | 767 | G3 two shallow oval impressions | 00 |
| 521 | - | Two small oval knobs with vertical lines inside | 68 |
| 524 | - | Three pellets | 000 |
| 525 | - | One pellet | 0 |
| 526 | - | One pellet | 0 |
| 527 | - | One pellet with four to six diagonal lines underneath | 不, |
| 549 | - | A24 ${ }^{949}$ | 9 |
| 551 | 71 | A15 (one incised line) | 1 |
| 572 | 1037 | Two incised lines | 11 |

Table 6. Potter's marks on Aeginetan pottery.

## 2. South Laconia or Kythera

Lustrous Decorated Pottery is attributed to a workshop somewhere in south Laconia or the island of Kythera. It represents a miniscule percentage (about $0.25 \%$ ) of the total MH ceramic assemblage at Eleusis and seems to date mostly to the early phases of the period. Its sparseness at Eleusis is in line with the general trend that suggests that LD pots are common in the southern and eastern Peloponnese, but taper off in Attica and Boeotia. ${ }^{950}$ The lack of stratigraphic information for most of the LD pieces does not allow any depositional patterns to be distinguished, but in general they seem to have been distributed in all parts of the settlement (Hilltop and both the South and East Slopes).

## 3. Attica/Boeotia

It has been suggested above ${ }^{951}$ that the MP DT class may have originated somewhere in west Attica/south Boeotia. Dark Tempered pots at Eleusis are sparse in MH I, but increase considerably in MH II-III. The products of the workshop that used DT fabrics are
949. Lindblom no. 163, 168.
950. Rutter 2007a, 37.
differentiated from Aeginetan pottery in that they are characterized by different shape/motif combinations and the use of modified Aeginetan motifs.

To the same geographical area can be assigned also the fine and fairly fine GM pots, which belong to the Attic-Boeotian GM tradition: the same vessel shapes and fabrics that occur at Eleusis are attested at Orchomenos and other central Greek centers of production. ${ }^{952}$ On the other hand, three sherds ( $287,288,289$ ), all from handles of angular bowls, bear potter's marks consisting of two or three incised lines crossing each other (Table 7). Although the fabric of these three sherds does not include the characteristic Aeginetan biotite particles, the possibility that the workshop that produced them may have been Aeginetan should not be excluded. ${ }^{953}$ Other potters' marks have been identified on GM sherds from Lerna and Eutresis, and also possibly from Naxos. ${ }^{954}$

| ELEUSIS \# | CROUWEL 1973 | MARK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 287 | fig. 2c | + |
| 288 | fig. 2b | + |
| 289 | fig. 2d | + |

Table 7. Potter's marks on GM sherds.

## 4. Argolid

One sherd, the polychrome type 2 jar 282 may have been an import from the Argolid (cf. the jar decorated with cross-hatched triangles from Lerna). ${ }^{955}$

## 5. Cyclades

Recognized imports from the Cyclades amount to approximately 30 sherds. The largest class includes Cycladic Micaceous MP pots of the MC II period, probably from Keos. Their fabrics are characterized by the presence of silver mica and quartz inclusions very small to medium size, in most cases densely arranged on the clay matrix and visible both on the surface and the fracture. The fabric is fairly coarse to coarse and is sometimes gritty. With the single exception of the bowl 105, all Cycladic imports of this class are type 1 pithoi. All the Cycladic micaceous (Keian) sherds are characterized by a thick yellow-creamy slip, which is used as the background against which the motifs in dark matt paint are executed. At Eleusis only the D-o-L decorated variety is present, while the plain and the polychrome are missing.

[^135]953. Cf. Lindblom 2001, 32; Sarri 2010, 606.
954. Crowel 1973, 102-103.
955. Zerner 1988, fig. 39:66.

Red Slipped and Polished vases from the Cyclades are the second most common category of Cycladic imports, identified on the basis of their gritty fabrics with dense, very thin silver mica grits, probably also from Keos. With the exception of the pyxis lid 463, that could be MH I or earlier, most red slipped and burnished pieces are MC/MH II. They belong to Cycladic bowls with inturned rims, stemmed angular bowls with everted or flaring rims, and bridge-spouted bowls.

The third class of imports from the Cyclades includes coarse jars, but these are rare (the MH III/LH I 590/591). The fabric of these pieces is fairly fine with dense sparkling mica and some lime inclusions. The external surface is burnished to a mottled grey color, decorated with horizontal parallel ridges.

Burnished pyxides and askoi with incised or stamped decoration are also Cycladic and most (584-588) date to the MC I. They have coarse or fairly coarse fabrics, usually red to reddish brown, with silver mica, some of which appear to have originated in Keos (584, 585,586 ), while others (463) have pinkish to light brown fabrics with grey core, small mica grits and white (calcareous) inclusions, possibly indicating a Theran or Melian origin.

Finally, the Cycladic White jugs 36, 37, 38, and 39 may have been Melian and a number of undecorated pieces appear to have been Cycladic, including several one-handled jars with silver mica.

The MH III/LH I cups 422-424 may have been local GM imitations of Cycladic pyxides.

## 6. Crete

There are not any sherds that could be identified as imports from Crete, only a number of "Minoanizing" pots (e.g. 270, 271 and possibly 274). ${ }^{956}$ This agrees with the picture that we have from other Attic MH sites, where there is an absence of Minoan imports ${ }^{957}$ and only sparse "Minoanizing" vases found at Athens, Brauron, Plasi, and Palaiokastro. ${ }^{958}$

## LATE HELLADIC I

## DEFINITION

Pottery of the earliest Late Bronze Age period is best known from Mycenae (Grave Circles A and B, Kalkani Chamber Tomb 518); ${ }^{959}$ cist, pit graves and chamber tombs (T. 25, T. 26, T. 52) from Prosymna, ${ }^{960}$ Argos ${ }^{961}$ and Lerna VI; ${ }^{962}$ the West Cemetery at Eleusis; ${ }^{963}$ and several burial assemblages in the southwestern Peloponnese. ${ }^{964}$ Stratified domestic deposits have been isolated at Kiapha Thiti, ${ }^{965}$ Korakou East Alley Levels XII-XVI, ${ }^{966}$ Tsoungiza EU 8, ${ }^{967}$ Ayios Stephanos Areas Nu/Gamma 1 and the well-stratified deposit in Area Lambda 3/4, ${ }^{968}$ Nichoria, ${ }^{969}$ Koukounara: Katarrachaki and Tragana: Voroulia, ${ }^{970}$ Aigion, ${ }^{971}$ and Ayia Irini VI. ${ }^{972}$

The most notable ceramic development in the transition to the LH is the introduction of the D-o-L lustrous "Mycenaean style" pottery; other than that, the standard MH wares continue into LH I. ${ }^{973}$ Furumark's original ceramic definition of the period into LH IA and LH IB has been revised by Dickinson, ${ }^{974}$ who equated Furumark's LH IB with LH IIA. In other regions a fairly secure chronology of the transition to the LH has been established, ${ }^{975}$ but at Eleusis it has not been possible to separate stratigraphically LH I from MH III assemblages.

The classes of pottery that occur at Eleusis in LH I are summarized in Table 8; details about the ceramic definition of each class are provided in the discussion below.
959. Karo 1930-1933; Grave Circle B; Wace 1932, pl. 42.
960. Prosymna 368-409, figs 195, 208, 210; Shelton 1996, 273-274.
961. See Dietz 1991, 243-246.
962. Zerner 1986; 1988; Lindblom 2007.
963. West Cemetery.
964. Lolos 1987, 147-219a.
965. Schnitt 101, SE3 (Kiapha Thiti 77-82, pls 21-22).
966. Dickinson 1974; Davis 1979.
967. Rutter 1989.
968. Mountjoy 2008a, 345-352, 364-366, 369-371.
969. Lolos 1987, 129-145; Dickinson 1992, 473-480.
970. Lolos 1987, 28-41, 60-95; Korres 1977, 234-235.
971. Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 134-138.
972. Keos III; Keos X.
973. Cf. Davis 1979, 254 (Korakou); Dickinson 1992, 473 (Nichoria). Kiapha Thiti Schnitt 101 SE 3, which lacks "Mycenaean style" pots, although stratigraphically dates to the LH I period (Kiapha Thiti 205; Cf. RMDP 492).
974. MP 677; Dickinson 1972 and 1974.
975. In the Argolid Dietz (1991) has pushed back the ceramic equations so that his "LH IA' and "LH IB' are equated respectively with his earlier MH IIIB (Asine II.2) and the "standard" LH I (Rutter 1993c). In Laconia, Zerner (2008, 185-187) divides LH I in Ayios Stephanos into an "early" phase (Rutter and Rutter 1976, Period III) and a "late" phase, which is basically LH I/IIA (cf. Lindblom and Manning 2011). See also Dietz 1998 and 2007; Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2010.

POTTERY

| PATTERN-PAINTED | MONOCHROME SURFACE | UNPAINTED |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MATT-PAINTED | RED OR BLACK SLIPPED, UNBURNISHED | PLAIN |
| Monochrome | RED SLIPPED, BURNISHED |  |
| Polychrome | Aeginetan |  |
| LUSTROUS DECORATED | Cycladic |  |
| L-o-D | GREY MINYAN |  |
| D-o-L | YELLOW MINYAN |  |

Table 8. Classification of LH I pottery.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The LH I material from Eleusis is small, consisting of about approximately 180 sherds (of which 100 have been included in the catalogue) and 10 complete or nearly-complete vases. Deposits with LH I material have been found mostly in the South Slope. Inside Skias ${ }^{\text {© }}$ Structure A, S SU 6 has MH III/LH I material and S SU 11, outside that building, appears to date to the same period. Both loci of S SU 15 can be dated to LH I: locus 1, underlying pyres 45 and 41, contained the semi-globular cup 695, the beaked MP jug 620, the MP jar 632, the undecorated jug 427, and a fragment of a cooking pot (565); locus 2 contained the material from the interior of these two pyres, which includes the paneled cup 604, the rounded cup 602, the MP jars 634 and 260 , the jar or jug 622 with bird decoration, and the Yellow Minyan Vapheio cup 680. An advanced LH I date may be proposed for this SU because pyres 45 and 41 were at the same level as Skias' pyre LVI (S SU 14), which contained a 1.5 m thick deposit of ash, divided by thin layers of sand into three parts. Besides a LH IIIA kylix found here, the pottery from this SU dates to advanced LH I and LH IIA and includes a number of nearly-complete vases: the semi-globular cup 694, the piriform jar 687, the hole-mouthed jar 775, and the MP jar 633. There are no records indicating which vases came from which one of the three parts of the ash layer, so it is not possible to establish whether there was a clear separation of LH I and LH IIA material. Late Helladic I material was found also in S SU 7, which included wall $\Theta$ with pyres 56,57 , and possibly pyre 39. This SU can be dated to an advanced phase of LH I by the angular cups 706 and 707. Stratigraphic Unit S 12, on the other hand, is a compilation of several deposits found under the Geometric graves $\gamma$ and $\gamma^{\prime}$. A number of whole pots were found under those graves, including the undecorated Vapheio cup 683, the burnished angular stemmed bowl 685, as well as the neck and rim of a MP jug (608). Finally, LH I material has been found in S SU 16. This SU includes pyres 62,64 , and 65 , which are located to the south of Structure A. Late Helladic I sherds were found inside and above pyre 64 (S SU 16 loci 3 and 4), right on the bedrock. This was one of the largest pyres, approximately 6 m long and 1.20-1.70 m wide: in its interior were found the MP rounded cup 603 and the polychrome bowl 644 ,
whereas right above it were found the piriform jar 688 and the plain jar 261. Sporadic LH I finds have been found in other parts of the South Slope, such as the deep L-o-D bowl 713 from a mixed deposit in the vicinity of the so-called "Tholos Tomb" (S SU 21). In the East Slope, sparse LH I sherds have been found in the area immediately to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion. Several LH I sherds were found also on the Hilltop (699, 700, 702, 703, H SU 4; 618, 621, and 645, H SU 5). ${ }^{976}$

## MATT PAINTED POTTERY - MONOCHROME

## DEFINITION

Monochrome MP pottery continues to be produced in LH I along the same lines as in the MH period. Besides large amounts of Aeginetan products, which continue to be imported, in this period appear also pots with pale yellow clean, well-levigated fine fabrics; these are classified here with the Fine Untempered class which in LH I corresponds to Dietz's "Argive Light Ware". 977

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The MP pottery of LH I period from Eleusis includes thirty five catalogued sherds and several undiagnostic body fragments. A large number of the catalogued fragments belongs to rim fragments, while most of them are body fragments, mainly shoulder and handles. The material is fragmentary.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The fabrics of MP pots are all fine or fairly fine and can be divided into three classes.

## Fine Untempered

This is the largest class, amounting to about half of the Monochrome MP LH I pottery identified in the site. The fabric has no or very few small ( $1-2 \mathrm{~mm}$ ) lime inclusions. It is possible that some pieces may have had also gold mica, which is simply not preserved in the surviving sherds. Fine Untempered fabrics are in most cases pale yellow (2.5Y 7/3-8/2, $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ ) and are used for rounded and straight-sided cups, kantharoi, jugs, jars with distinct neck and amphoroid jars (in all MP shapes, e.g. 604, 608, 611, 628). Apart from a pale yellow

[^136]977. Dietz 1991, 29-31,
surface in rare occasions the surface has a pale brown or reddish yellow color (type 1 jars 621, 622, 627, 629). Fine Untempered fabrics are likely to have originated in the Argolid. ${ }^{978}$

## Gold Mica

Gold Mica pots represent about one third of the MP Monochrome pottery. Fabrics range from light red and reddish yellow (2.5YR 7/6 and 5YR 7/6) to pale yellow and brown ( 2.5 Y $8 / 2$ and 10YR $7 / 4$ ). Gold mica fabrics are used mainly for type 1 jars and amphoroid jars ( $614,615,619,620,633$ ), which were broadly exported from Aegina to other areas until the later part of LBA.

## Dark Tempered

This class, very common in the MH period, is rare in LH I. Only two fragments of type 1 jars have been identified ( 613 and 618). The fabric is characterized by the presence of black sharp-edged grits (rock inclusions) of small to medium size ( 1 to 4 mm ) usually very sparsely arranged. The color of the fabric is yellow or reddish yellow ( $5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 2$ and 7.5 YR $7 / 6$ ). The possibility that this class originates in Attica / Boeotia has been discussed above. ${ }^{979}$

## SHAPES

## Rounded Cup with Everted Rim

Shape and size. Only three fragments of MP rounded cups with everted rims have been identified in the material (601, 602, 603). They have semi-globular profile with an everted rim and one vertical strap handle (not preserved in our examples). Rim diameter is between 14 and 16 cm and wall thickness ranges from 0.2 to 0.5 cm . Bases have not been identified in the material.
Fabrics and manufacture. Rounded cups with everted rim have Fine Untempered yellow fabrics and are possibly of Argive origin. All are wheel-made.
Surface treatment and decoration. All three fragments of cups with everted rims are lightly slipped $(2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3)$ and polished. The main decorative pattern is applied on the rim zone and defined by parallel bands. The interior surface of the rim of 601 is also decorated with vertical strokes; the main decoration of 601 and 603 forms a row of hastily running spirals, while the decoration of $\mathbf{6 0 2}$ consists of a row of horizontal chevrons, a very common motif in the Argolid.
Comparanda. The shape is commonly found in the Argolid and Korinthia. ${ }^{980}$
978. Dietz 1991, 29-30.
979. Supra p. 261.
980. Davis 1979, p. $244: 75$ and Dietz 1991, 163: AB-17.

## Straight-Sided Cup

There are three straight-sided cups in Fine Untempered fabrics. The cup 604, although does not have panel borders in the preserved part, in form it is identical to Mainland Paneled cups; 981 the base has been restored as flat, but it was probably pedestalled. The surface is slipped and polished and the decoration consists of a running spiral bordered by a horizontal line on the rim and a group of eight horizontal parallel lines in the lower part of the body. Similar cups, but plain, have been found in the West Cemetery and in several sites in deposits from the period of the Shaft Graves. ${ }^{982}$ The lower body and base 606 is decorated with vertical bands. ${ }^{983}$ The cup 605 is decorated in the Mainland Paneled Style: two vertical parallel lines close to the handle connect the rim to the base and the space towards the handle is decorated with horizontal parallel strokes. From these two lines starts a thick horizontal band, approximately in the middle of the height of the body, framed by thick zig-zag lines, which runs around the vase and divides the body into two horizontal zones. The top zone is filled with short vertical wavy strokes, leading up to a thin horizontal zig-zag line on the exterior of the rim. Vapheio cups in the Mainland Paneled Style are also found in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{984}$

## Jug

Shape and size. One nearly complete (607) and four monochrome MP jugs have been identified in the material. 607, 609, and 610 belong to globular jugs (but 609 and 610 may have been MH IIIB); 607 preserves a nearly complete profile and has a ring base, globular body, straight-sided cylindrical neck, and a vertical strap handle from rim to belly. 608 is a rim/neck fragment of a juglet and 611 belongs to a jug with cut-away neck. 608 and 609 preserve a clay pellet imitating a plastic rivet between the rim and the handle, a reference to a metal prototype. Rim diameter is between 10 and 12 and wall thickness ranges from 0.3 to 0.6 cm . Some belly fragments of large closed vessels decorated with birds, included with the jars, could have belonged to jugs (620, 621, 622).
Fabrics and manufacture. All jugs have Fine Untempered Yellow fabrics and are possibly of Argive origin. Four appear to have been wheelmade and one (608) handmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. All fragments are lightly slipped (2.5Y 8/3), polished and, in one case (608), also burnished. The main decorative pattern is hanging semi-circles (609, 610), applied on the neck zone and defined by a broad band or a group of parallel bands. 607 is decorated with a squat running spiral; 611 is decorated with a running spiral ending in a tuft. 985

[^137]Comparanda. Jugs are commonly found in the Argolid and also found in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{986}$

JAR

## TYPE 1

Shape and size. Type 1 jars (with distinct neck) are well represented in the Monochrome MP material (about $60 \%$ of the total). They have ovoid profile, flaring necks ending in a flat or molded rim, and two vertical handles with round section from the neck to the point of maximum diameter of the vessel. With the exception of the rim/neck fragments 613, 614, and 615, the rest of the fragments are body sherds. Rim diameters are between 9 and 13 cm and wall thickness ranges from 0.6 to 0.9 cm . Handle diameters range from 1.6 to 1.9 cm .

Fabrics and manufacture. Jars with distinct neck are produced in all three MP monochrome fabric classes, perhaps suggesting that they were imported from different places. The highest percentage (about $40 \%$ ) belongs to Gold Mica fabrics, followed by Fine Untempered fabrics. Only two fragments ( 613 and 618) belong to Dark Tempered fabrics. Approximately one third of all jar fragments are handmade ( $620,626,627,630$ ).
Surface treatment and decoration. Almost every fragment of jars with distinct neck is lightly slipped and burnished or polished. Two body sherds $(616,619)$ are only burnished. The matt decoration of jars with distinct necks consists mainly of horizontal bands on the rim, the neck-shoulder transition and the point of maximum diameter of the vessel. Common are the framed wavy or zig-zag lines at the point of the maximum diameter or vertically arranged on shoulder $(616,617,618,619)$. The next commonest pattern is the figure-of-eight motif around the oval loop handles (626, 627, 628, 629, 630), a typical Aeginetan characteristic. ${ }^{987}$
Comparanda. The shape is commonly found at Aegina, Argolid, and Korinthia. ${ }^{988}$ It also occurs in Attica. 989

## AMPHOROID JAR

Shape and size. Amphoroid jars are introduced in the LH I period. They resemble jars with distinct necks, except that they have two vertical loop handles from the rim to the shoulder.

[^138]Davis 1979, 242 fig. 5.26 and 245 fig. 7.98, Dietz 1991, fig. 58:AI-6, Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 2:17.
989. Kiapha-Thiti pl. 3.93 and 15.500-501; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 221, fig. 6b.

Only two amphoroid jars, rim and neck fragments, were identified in the Eleusinian material, 633 and 634. Rim diameter is very small, 6 and 9 cm respectively, and wall thicknesses range from 0.6 to 0.9 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Amphoroid jars are wheelmade, in Gold Mica and Fine Untempered Yellow fabrics.
Surface treatment and decoration. Both fragments of amphoroid jars are lightly slipped (2.5Y $8 / 3$ ) and burnished. The main decorative pattern in 633 is concentric circles and in 634 a rare bird-like motif; the latter is common in the Argolid. ${ }^{990}$
Comparanda. The shape appears in Aegina, the Argolid, and Boeotia. ${ }^{991}$

## DECORATION

The decoration of the LH I MP pottery is more standardized than that of MH III. Motifs are usually linear and uncomplicated; figure and floral motifs appear rarely. The paint is mostly brown (10YR 4/3, 7.5YR 4/2-5/2) or very dark grey (10YR 3/1, 7.5YR 3/1, 2.5 Y $3 / 1$ ). Ten motifs have been identified, of which framed wavy and zig-zag lines, and fig-ure-of-eight motifs are particularly common.

## Spirals

Spirals are encountered in two examples and are either running and continuous (601) or single ending in a tuft (611). Running spirals on cups are commonly found at Korakou; single spirals are common motif at several sites. ${ }^{992}$

## Rows of Chevrons

Rows of horizontal chevrons decorate the area beneath the rim of cups, just like the running spiral motif. Here the motif is encountered in only one case of a cup (602), but is generally common in the Argolid. ${ }^{993}$

## Festoons

Festoons drawn with one or with two lines are used on cups or small jugs. At Eleusis the motif was found on two juglets of similar shape ( 609,610 , which could, however, be MH IIIB). Festoons are commonly found in MH II and III cups and obviously continue in

[^139]992. Double spirals: Davis 1979, 244, fig. 6:75; single spirals: Grave Circle B pl. 91b, Dietz 1991, fig. 49, AB-14.2, AB-10.5, p. 164 and fig. 55, AF-1.2, p. 184.
993. Dietz 1991, fig. 49, AB-15.3.
the LH I period; they hang from a horizontal line placed either under the rim or on the transition from neck to shoulder. Double festoons are rare in the MH period, but become common in LH I.

## Framed Wavy Band or Zig-Zag Line

Framed wavy bands or zig-zag lines is one of the commonest motifs in LH I MP Monochrome pottery of Eleusis (an approximate estimate is about $35 \%-40 \%$ of this class). Vertical wavy bands or zig-zag lines are usually found in panels on the shoulder and horizontal lines on the belly of type 1 jars $(617,618)$. Variants of zig-zag and wavy lines are commonly used in the MBA as secondary motifs, but become a primary motif on closed vessels in LH I and II Late Matt-Painted pottery. ${ }^{994}$ Framed bands are common in the Argolid and Eutresis. ${ }^{995}$

## BIRDS

Figure motifs are rare in LH I. ${ }^{996}$ Birds continue to be depicted in an unnatural manner, as was the case in MH III. In the MP material of LH I Eleusis birds are found on three sherds, two jars with distinct neck $(620,621)$ and one amphoroid jar $(634)$. Similar birds are depicted on pottery from the Argolid. ${ }^{997}$

## IVy Leaves

Ivy leaves are depicted on two fragments of jars with distinct necks $(623,624)$ and are commonly regarded as an Aeginetan motif. ${ }^{998}$

## Figure-of-Eight Motif

Figure-of-eight motifs decorate the space around the handles of jars with distinct necks $(626,627,628,629,630)$. This is one of the commonest MP motifs, possibly of Aeginetan origin. ${ }^{999}$

## Concentric Circles

Double or multiple concentric circles are a common decorative feature of the MH II and III periods in MP Aeginetan pottery surviving in LH I MP pottery. ${ }^{1000}$ At Eleusis this motif appears only on the amphoroid jar 633.

[^140]998. Grave Circle B pl. 65d and 145c; Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 2.17.
999. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 1.6; Zerner 1988, fig. 8.22; Dietz 1991, fig. 28.289, p. 97
1000. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 205-209.

## MATT PAINTED POTTERY - POLYCHROME

## DEFINITION

To this category belong the two pottery groups classified by David French as Aeginetan Polychrome MP and Mainland Polychrome MP; the Aeginetan Polychrome was recently analyzed by Wohlmayr and Lindblom. ${ }^{1001}$ The main characteristic of both categories is the bichrome matt decoration in red and black paint on an unburnished (Aeginetan) or a burnished (Mainland) surface. ${ }^{1002}$ Polychrome pots have fine reddish brown, light brown, or orange brown fabrics. Wace and Blegen regarded this pottery as a sub-category of the broader MP ware. ${ }^{1003}$ Dietz also treats the Aeginetan and Mainland varieties separately and considers both a typical feature of LH I. ${ }^{1004}$ Aeginetan pots occur in several central Mainland sites, including Orchomenos, Brauron, and Mitrou. ${ }^{1005}$ Mainland Polychrome pots, probably of Boeotian origin, ${ }^{1006}$ have a wide distribution in both Central Greece and the Peloponnese and may have been items of prestige. ${ }^{1007}$

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Polychrome sherds are reported from E SU $3,{ }^{1008}$ but the catalogue of finds from that SU does not exist. Presumably some of the sherds published here were found in that SU. Neither of the two varieties of Polychrome pottery is common. There are only six Aeginetan Polychrome ( $635,636,637,638,639,640$ ) and fourteen Mainland Polychrome (641-643, 645655) MP sherds. The shapes represented are deep bowls or kraters, jars, and cups. Most sherds are body fragments and five are rim fragments ( $635,636,639,640$ and 642 ). Two fragments preserve also the spout of the vessel $(636,637)$ and two jar fragments belong to the upper-shoulder close to the neck $(645,651)$.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

All the pots have fine or fairly fine fabric. Aeginetan Polychrome MP pottery has in almost every case gold mica platelets. The color ranges from yellowish red 5YR 5/6-6/6 $(635,636,639)$ to pale brown 10 YR $6 / 3$. All Aeginetan sherds appear to have been handmade.

[^141]1005. Orchomenos IV 171; Davis 1977; KramerHajos and O' Neill 2008.
1006. Mathioudaki 2009; Rutter 2010, 417.
1007. Rutter 2001, 141 and n. 195.
1008. Notebook 1932, 47.

The Mainland Polychrome MP sherds are characterized by the presence of white lime inclusions and very thin and hard-to-discern silver mica grits sparsely arranged (642, 646, 647). The same fabric consistency is common in Boeotian Minyan pottery. In a few cases very small stone inclusions are also visible in the fracture (642). The color of the clay varies from light reddish brown (5YR 6/4-6/6) to dark reddish brown or orange red (10R 5/6 or $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$ ). In one case (655) the fabric is light yellowish brown. Most sherds are wheelmade, except for four jar fragments (643, 646, 647 and 649 ) which appear handmade.

## SHAPES

Aeginetan Polychrome pots are deep bridge-spouted bowls or bridge-spouted kraters; Mainland Polychrome pottery is represented by kraters or deep bowls and large jars with two or four handles and distinct necks. There is one example of an angular cup (655).

## Deep Bowl or Krater

Shape and size. There are nine deep bowls or kraters. Most are Aeginetan (635, 636, 637, 638, $639,640)$ and only three Mainland $(641,642,643)$. Rims of Mainland kraters are flattened on top, but those of Aeginetan kraters are pointed; the bodies are always deep, with rounded profiles and flat or slightly discoid bases. Rim diameters are in the $20-22 \mathrm{~cm}$ range, and wall thicknesses range from $0.6-0.8 \mathrm{~cm}$. Similar profiles are found at Korakou and Aegina. ${ }^{1009}$
Fabrics and manufacture. Deep bowls or kraters appear in both Gold Mica and Fine Untempered fabrics of Aeginetan and Mainland origins, respectively. 642 has dense mica. 643 is handmade, but the rest are wheelmade.
Surface treatment and decoration. The Aeginetan Polychrome MP examples are polished or slightly burnished, while the Mainland Polychrome pieces are all burnished, sometimes to a high luster. The main characteristic in the surfaces of deep bowls or kraters is that both surfaces - interior and exterior - have had similar treatments. The Aeginetan examples are decorated with thin double wavy or zig-zag lines below the rim, which is usually red coated inside and outside $(635,639) .{ }^{1010}$ The decoration of the Aeginetan deep bowls or kraters is very standardized and repetitive. Mainland Polychrome MP deep bowls or kraters, on the other hand, show a variety of motifs, ${ }^{1011}$ although the Eleusinian examples are mainly characterized by triple bichrome bands or framed wavy lines (642). The commonest motifs are parallel straight of wavy bands in red and black paint. Curvilinear patterns of parallel circles or broad loops also appear (643).
1009. Davis 1979, 242, fig. 5:52-53; Lindblom 2001, 28 , fig. 5 .
1010. Cf. Davis 1979, 258.
1011. Cf. ibid. 256-257.

Comparanda. Aeginetan deep bowls or kraters are, of course, attested in large quantities on Aegina. ${ }^{1012}$ They are also found at Korakou, Lerna, and Ayios Stephanos. ${ }^{1013}$ Mainland Polychrome MP deep bowls or kraters are commonly found in Attic and Boeotian sites. ${ }^{1014}$

## JAR

TYPE 1
Shape and size. The ten fragments of jars with distinct necks that have been identified in the material belong to the Mainland variety. They are all body fragments and do not allow for a reconstruction of the full profile. Wall thicknesses range from 0.5 to 0.7 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. All pieces belong to Fine Untempered fabric of Mainland origin. Some pots were handmade (646, 647, 649); one (648) is handmade but possibly wheel-finished.

Surface treatment and decoration. Mainland Polychrome MP jars are all burnished, sometimes to a high luster (647). As opposed to deep bowls or kraters, jars have only their external surfaces burnished, which is their main characteristic as far as surface treatment is concerned. Jars with distinct necks are usually decorated with vertical panels of straight and wavy band, which divide the surface of the vessel in clearly defined zones. ${ }^{1015} 645,647,648$ and 649 are representatives of this paneled decoration. 650 has an unparalleled curvilinear decoration of dotted lines framed by straight parallel ones that fill a disc/circle of looplike motif; 651 has a triangular motif that is filled with parallel zig-zag lines.
Comparanda. Jars in Mainland Polychrome MP ware are attested in the Argolid, in Achaia and are commonly found in Boeotia. ${ }^{1016}$

Cup
Only one body fragment from an angular cup has been identified in the material, the Mainland Polychrome cup 655. The cup is smoothly carinated at the point of its maximun diameter. Its wall thickness is $2.5-3 \mathrm{~cm}$. Similar cups are commonly found in Boeotia, especially Eutresis. ${ }^{1017}$ The cup is decorated with a row of concentric semicircles, which is another common motif in Mainland Polychrome MP ware. ${ }^{1018}$

[^142]1016. Dietz 1991, 221, ID-1, 3-4; PapazoglouManioudaki 2010, 141, fig. 14 lower left; Orchomenos IV 171.
1017. Eutresis fig. 242.
1018. Cf. ibid. pl. XVII.3, fig. 242:4, 242:3; Aravantinos and Psaraki 2010, 394, fig. 1 second from left (Thebes).

## LIGHT-ON-DARK LUSTROUS DECORATED

One sherd (713) found in S SU 21 belongs to the everted rim and body of a deep L-o-D bowl. It is made of fine light reddish buff fabric $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 4$ with few whitish inclusions. The exterior surface is covered with a dark slip on which white decoration of running multiple spirals has been added; a broad white band decorates the transition to the shoulder. Similar decoration is found in the Argolid ${ }^{1019}$ and the sherd may have been imported from there.

## DARK-ON-LIGHT LUSTROUS DECORATED ("LATE HELLADIC I STYLE")

## DEFINITION

The style of pottery in which vases are decorated in a lustrous, iron-based paint (usually black, brown or red) on a light-color slipped surface is known as "Mycenaean" or "LH I". These "Mycenaean-style" vases are usually small and mostly made in fine fabrics, although one of their basic characteristics is careless manufacture (uneven shapes, unslipped and often untreated interiors of open vases) and decoration (lines and bands are not straight and often of uneven width, motifs are carelessly executed). ${ }^{1020}$

The place of origin of this style has not been established with certainty and could have been Laconia, Messenia or the Argolid. ${ }^{1021}$ What we know with certainty, is that it was heavily influenced by LM IA pottery, possibly through Kythera. ${ }^{1022}$ The "Mycenaean style" has been defined on the basis of the material from Korakou east Alley Levels XII-XVI. ${ }^{1023}$ Domestic deposits with pots in this style are found at Asine ${ }^{1024}$ and Ayios Stephanos; ${ }^{1025}$ also in Messenia, at Ano Englianos, Voroulia, Nichoria, Koukounara: Katarrachaki, and Peristeria. ${ }^{1026}$ In Attica, LH I pottery is sparse: none has been identified in the Agora and in Athens only one cist-grave has produced LH I vases; ${ }^{1027}$ "Mycenaean style" sherds at Kiapha Thiti were found in LH IIA or mixed deposits. ${ }^{1028}$
1019. Asine I fig. 278, lower row at right; Zerner 1988, fig. 27:6; Lindblom 2007, fig. 6, fourth row middle.
1020. Dickinson 1974, 114-115.
1021. Laconia: Rutter and Rutter 1976, 63-65; Zerner 1986, 66; Lolos 1987, 528-529; Cf. Shelton 2010, 142. Messenia: RMDP 68, 253. Argolid: Dickinson 1974 and 1992b; RMDP 491-492.
1022. Kythera 291; Dickinson 1974, 117; Lolos 1987, 525-530, 533-534.
1023. Dickinson 1974; Davis 1979.
1024. Asine II.2, 123-140; Dietz 1991.
1025. Mountjoy 2008a, 369.
1026. Lolos 1987, 60-95; 28-41; 42-59; Dickinson 1992, 473-480.
1027. Benzi 1975, 366; Pantelidou 1975, 61-66 and 220; Dickinson 1977, 96; Agora XIII 150.
1028. Kiapha Thiti 12, 40, 46, 62, 205, pls 1:26 (cup handle fragment, perhaps LH I?), 9:336-337 and 11:391 (FS 224 with FM 68), 15:505 (a rim sherd from FS 212,

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Fifteen pieces belonging to the "Mycenaean style" have been identified. Of these, the jars 687 and 688, the alabastron 692, the jug 693, the cups 695, 694, 706, and 707 are preserved to approximately half of their original size; the rest are rim sherds from cups and one body from a jar or jug (690).

## SHAPES

Piriform Jar (FS 27)
Shape and size. Two large fragments of piriform jars have been identified, 687 and 688; and a monochrome base (689), which may also have belonged to this shape. They have piriform to ovoid profiles and are fairly tall: their height is estimated at about $18-20 \mathrm{~cm}$, which makes them taller than vases of this shape from other sites. ${ }^{1029}$ Only the lipless rim and flaring neck of 687 is preserved; other rims are everted or down-sloping. ${ }^{1030}$ The base of 687 is not preserved, but was probably splaying, as those of 688 and 689 . It should be noted that the base of 688 is very finely formed for a LH I jar. ${ }^{1031}$
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabrics are fairly fine or fine, pale yellow 2.5Y 8/3, light brown 5YR 6/4 or red 2.5 YR 5/ 6 .
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are slipped and 687 has been polished. The motif of two linked spirals on 688 is uncommon; there is another jar from Ayios Stephanos decorated with this motif, ${ }^{1032}$ which has two thick curved lines linking the external coils of the spirals, as opposed to a curved and a straight diagonal line, as that of 688 . Other published jars are decorated with linked circles or linked spiral-and-circle, foliate bands, and hatched loop and quirk. ${ }^{1033}$ The version of hatched circular motif on 687 , with the tails of two discs connected by a short line is early. ${ }^{1034}$ The overall character of the decoration on the two jars from Eleusis is crude: lines and bands are not straight, the coils of the spirals are
possibly dated to LH I/IIA). Schnitt 1 SE 4 where pl. 1:26 was found is possibly LH IIA, but mixed; Schnitt 5 SE 1, where pl. 9:336-337 were found, has mostly LH IIA/B material and one LH IIIA1 sherd; Schnitt 6 SE 1 where pl. 11:391 was found is dominated by LH IIA/B; Schnitt 56/80 SE 1 where pl. 15:505 was found is predominantly LH IIA.
1029. Cf. the sizes of RMDP, Argolid nos 2-3, Laconia no. 1, Elis no. 1, Attica nos 2-4, Boeotia no. 1. The jar from Voroulia (Lolos 1987, 86-90, figs 116-117) is 27.5 cm tall, but to me it appears closer to the large jar FS 14, rather than the smaller FS 27. See Lolos' (1987, 87) and Mountjoy's (RMDP 312) comments about the
restoration of the handles.
1030. Everted: Orchomenos V fig. 2:4; down-sloping: Pantelidou 1975, pl. 9ß; Mountjoy 1995a, fig. 5:2-3.
1031. I would like to thank Patrick Thomas for this comment.
1032. Mountjoy 2008a, fig. 6.28:3462.
1033. Linked circles or linked spiral-and-circle: Prosymna fig. 195; MDP fig. 3.1; RMDP fig. 10:2; foliate bands: Prosymna fig. 195; MDP fig. 3.3; hatched loop and quirk: $R M D P$ fig. 178.2-4.
1034. Pantelidou 1975, pl. $9 \beta$ from Athens and RMDP 372:1 from Samikon.
unevenly spaced, and in 687 paint has dripped down into the neck from the interior rim band. The decorative zone extends from the base of the neck to the widest part of the belly and includes the handles; the lower part of the body bears two wide bands (688) or three narrower ones (687). Necks and rims are monochrome.
Comparanda. LH I piriform jars have not been found in the West Cemetery and the shape is not well represented in other sites, either. Three others have been found in Athens and only a handful in the Peloponnese. ${ }^{1035}$
Provenience. 687 was found in pyre LVI (S SU 14) and 688 was found above pyre 64 (S SU 16).

## Alabastron (FS 80)

Shape and size. One alabastron found in the settlement (692) and one in the West Cemetery can be assigned to LH I. ${ }^{1036} 692$ has a squat ovoid profile, tall concave neck, thickened rim, and two horizontal loop handles on the shoulder.
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabric is fine, light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surface slipped. The main motif is placed in a horizontal zone at the height of the handles, between the neck and two horizontal bands under the handles and consists of a row of simple-line attached spirals. Although close to FM 46:50, it is not paralleled at other sites, whereas the urchins that decorate the alabastron from the West Cemetery are linked into pairs by quirks. ${ }^{1037}$ The middle and lower parts of the body are banded. Both interior and exterior rim is monochrome.
Comparanda. These are the only two-handled alabastra published so far in Attica. Another two-handled alabastron comes from Prosymna. ${ }^{1038}$ Few LH I alabastra FS 80 have been published from other sites: they are decorated with linked spirals with blob fill, ${ }^{1039}$ tangent circles, ${ }^{1040}$ tangent spirals with blobs, ${ }^{1041}$ iris, ${ }^{1042}$ wavy band, ${ }^{1043}$ and joining semi-circles. ${ }^{1044}$

## SQuat Jug (FS 87)

Shape and size. In total three squat jugs are known from Eleusis, one (693) from the settlement and two from the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1045} 693$ and Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2327 have squat
1035. Pantelidou 1975, pl. 93; RMDP 80, 252, 312, 372.
1036. Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2334: West Cemetery pl. 129:662; RMDP 500, no. 5.
1037. See the comments in RMDP 500.
1038. Prosymna fig. 210; MDP fig. 4.1; RMDP 82, no. 6 .
1039. Mycenae, RMDP 82, no. 5.
1040. Prosymna, ibid. 82, no. 6.
1041. Samikon, ibid. 372, no. 3.
1042. Mountjoy 2008a, no. 3234, from Ayios Stephanos.
1043. Ibid. no. 3463, from Ayios Stephanos.
1044. Ibid. no. 3464, from Ayios Stephanos.
1045. Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2326, West Cemetery pl. 126:660; and Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2327, West Cemetery pl. 126:661.
ovoid profile and thickened, slightly downsloping rim, flat base, and a vertical strap handle from the shoulder to the lower body; Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2326 has a biconical profile. Furumark dates 693 to LH II, ${ }^{1046}$ but Mountjoy dates it to LH I on account of its downsloping rim (which is similar to the rim of the alabastron 692). ${ }^{1047}$
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabric fine, very pale brown 10YR 8/4.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are slipped and polished. The main decorative motif is placed in a horizontal zone on the shoulder. 693 is decorated with tangent spirals (FM 46:29) with blobs, which also appears on one of the two jugs from the West Cemetery, ${ }^{1048}$ although the spirals of 693 have a thick external coil and three thin internal ones, whereas those on the jug from the Cemetery have two coils of the same thickness. The other squat jug from the West Cemetery is decorated with urchins. ${ }^{1049}$ In all the Eleusinian pieces the lower part of the body is banded and the neck is monochrome inside and outside. The handle on 693 was probably decorated with diagonal bars, as per the Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2326. ${ }^{1050}$ The paint is lustrous black or dark brown.
Comparanda. Squat jugs from other areas are decorated with a different range of motifs: in the Argolid they are decorated with small circles, large linked or tangent circles, and running spirals; ${ }^{1051}$ in Messenia with linked circles with cross-hatched fill, foliate bands, and lilies; ${ }^{1052}$ in Elis with sea shells ${ }^{1053}$ and tangent spirals with blobs (this type resembles the type of spiral used on 693); ${ }^{1054}$ and in Laconia with running spirals and cross. ${ }^{1055}$

## Semi-Globular Cup (FS 211, FS 212)

Shape and size. Two nearly complete semi-globular cups $(694,695)$ and one rim sherd (696) were found in the settlement. 694 and 695 have semi-globular profile, everted rim, and one vertical strap handle from the rim to the middle of the height of the vase; 695 has a tall splaying base, but the base of 694 has not been preserved. Two sherds dated to LH IIA on account of their decoration (797 and 796) have unslipped interiors and could be as early as LH I.
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 8/3-7/4-8/4.

[^143]1054. Ibid. 373 , no. 7 and 372 , fn. 60.
1055. Mountjoy 2008a, nos 3235, 3465, 3466. A more globular version of FS 87, with the handle attached to the rim, rather than the shoulder, has been found in the West Cemetery (Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2333, West Cemetery pl. 129:663, RMDP 500, no. 9). This is a descendant of MH MP jugs (none of which have, however, been identified in the MP material at Eleusis), assigned by Furumark to FS 111a (MP 656). Mountjoy draws attention to another similar jug from Prosymna (Prosymna fig. 208; RMDP 82, no. 12).

Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are slipped outside, but unslipped inside. The main decorative zone on 695 is deep and extends from the rim to a single thick horizontal band above the base, but that of 694 reaches to slightly below the middle of the height of the vase and the lower body is decorated with three thick horizontal lines. The main motif on both cups is the double axe. The axes on 695 have wavy stems (FM 35:12) and those on 694 belong to the butterfly variant (FM 35:14); both variants are at home in LH IIA, but the crudeness of both vases suggests a LH I date. The double axes are placed in panels defined by groups of four vertical parallel lines (695) or one vertical wavy and two vertical straight lines (694). 696 is decorated with tangent spirals with blobs (FM 46:29). The interior and exterior surface of the neck, as well as the base are monochrome. The handles are decorated with diagonal bars (695) or a thick wavy line (694). On both vases the decoration is applied in red paint.
Comparanda. Several semi-globular cups are known from other sites. Double-axes are the main decoration on cups from Prosymna, but there they are divided by a vertical row of dots. ${ }^{1056}$ The tangent spirals with blobs of 696 are paralleled at Ayios Stephanos, Voidhokoilia, and the Ano Englianos "Grave Circle". 1057
Provenience. 694 was found in pyre LVI (S SU 14) and 695 was found under pyres 41 and 45 (S SU 15, locus 1).

## Vapheio Cup (FS 224)

Shape and size. Nine fragments of Vapheio cups of the straight-sided type II, can be assigned to LH I. The middle section of the vase is only present in 704 and forms a heavy midrib. Rims are of the usual lipless type, with diameters ranging from 12 to 14 . Exterior surfaces are slipped but interior surfaces are not. Bases or handles that could be assigned to LH I Vapheio cups have not been identified.
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/4-8/4-8/3, except for 698 (pinkish white $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 2$ ). The fabric of 699 is fairly fine, light grey 10 YR 7/2.
Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are slipped outside, but unslipped inside. ${ }^{1058}$ The main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone between the rim and the midrib and consists of variations of the spiral motif: running spirals (close to FM 46:12: 700) or tangent spirals with blob fill in lustrous black paint (FM 46:29: 697, 698, 701, 831). 704 is decorated with an early form of ripple (FM 78:1), which may have extended below the midrib. 704 has a black

[^144]exterior rim band and a deep interior one, but the thin black band at the top of the interior rim of 699 blends into a wide red band right underneath. 697, 698, and 831 have a very thin exterior rim band; 701 has no exterior rim band or line. 691 is decorated with crocus motif (FM 10).
Comparanda. Late Helladic I Vapheio cups are more common in the south Peloponnese and Kythera than in the northern Peloponnese, Attica, and Boeotia, where only a small number has been found. ${ }^{1059}$ The heavy midrib of 704 is paralleled at Ayios Stephanos. ${ }^{1060}$ The most common motifs are tangent spirals with blobs (FM 46: 29) and ripple pattern (FM 78:1). ${ }^{1061}$ Ripple is also used on Vapheio cups from the Argolid, Attica, and Boeotia. ${ }^{1062}$ Some cups do not have exterior rim bands. ${ }^{1063}$

Provenience. 699, 700, 702, and 703 were found on the Hilltop (H SU 4), but the provenience of the other pieces is not known.

Angular Cup ("Kantharos", FS 240)
Shape and size. The angular cup (traditionally known as "kantharos") with high-swung strap handles is a MH shape. At Eleusis the earliest examples date to MH II (e.g. 118) and the shape continues in MH III (250). 706 and 707 are the only examples decorated in lustrous paint: 706 has a carinated profile, but 707 forms an angle instead of a carination. Both pieces have everted rims and two raised vertical strap handles.
Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Fabrics are fairly fine pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$, with few stone inclusions.

Surface treatment and decoration. Surfaces are slipped outside, but unslipped inside. The main motifs are placed in a horizontal zone between the rim and the base of the handle (706), but 707 has also a second narrow horizontal zone under the top one. 706 is decorated with multiple-line zig-zags; 707 bears decoration of quirk (FM 48:5) in the top zone and hatched loops (FM 63:5) in the bottom. Both have exterior and interior rim bands; the handles are either monochrome 706 or decorated with horizontal bars (707).
Comparanda. The shape is common in MH MP pottery, ${ }^{1064}$ but pots decorated in lustrous paint have not been found at other sites.
1059. Mountjoy 2008a, 369; RMDP 83-85, 373-374, 502, 648.
1060. RMDP 253-254: no. 7.
1061. Tangent spirals: RMDP 253; Lolos 1987, 253; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 220, fig. 4. Ripple pattern: Mountjoy 2008a, no. 3240; Lolos 1987, 429.
1062. Grave Circle B pl. 52 $;$ Kiapha Thiti pl. 9:336,

337; Orchomenos V fig. 2:2-3.
1063. Cf. the Vapheio cups from Ayios Stephanos (RMDP fig. 82:9, 12) and Nichoria (ibid. fig. 105:7).
1064. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 38-39, pls 104-116; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 3:XXIX. 1-4 [Type A] and fig. 7:12a/11-2, Pr 199 [12a/11-6]; Nordquist 1987, fig. 52:7.

Provenience. Both pieces were found under Skias' "Structure A", in the South Slope, in pyres 56/57, with MH III/LH I pottery (see S SU 7).

## DECORATION

The general characteristic of LH I decoration is the careless rendition of the motifs: lines and bands are not straight, spiral coils overlap each other, rim bands drip. In all large pieces, the main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone defined by the bottom of the exterior rim band (which in most cases stops at the bottom of the neck) and the widest part of the vase; in closed vessels this zone includes the handles. The middle and lower part of the body are banded. The paint ranges from highly lustrous black (693) or reddish brown (695) to semi-lustrous red (688) or black (687); interestingly enough, none of the LH I Eleusinian pieces have added white paint, which appears fairly commonly in other areas. Nine motifs with their variants have been identified.

## Crocus (FM 10)

Only one sherd is decorated with crocus, the Vapheio cup rim 705.

## Running Spirals (FM 46)

Linked spirals (FM 46:9 or 11) are used on the piriform jar 688, in combination with blob fill. The variant used at Eleusis has a thick external coil, three thin internal ones (overlapping each other in the top left and bottom right parts of the spiral), and a solidly painted circle in the middle, which on 688 is off center. One thick curved line connects the bottom sides of the spirals and a thick diagonal line runs from the top right to the bottom left of the spirals. The use of this motif on piriform jars is rare: although it is attested at Ayios Stephanos, the links of the spirals are rendered differently. Linked spirals are found more often on alabastra FS $80 .{ }^{1065}$ The Vapheio cup 699 does not preserve the entire motif, which may have also been a linked spiral (FM 46:29). Tangent spirals (FM 46:29) are used on the squat jug 693, the semi-globular cup 696, and the Vapheio cups 697, 698, and 701. The spirals are similar to the linked spiral variant: they have an external thick coil, two or three thin internal ones, and a solid circle in the middle, which is off center. The tangents start from the top left of the spiral and end in the bottom right of the spiral to the left and are often tongue-shaped. Solid blobs frame the tangents. This is one of the commonest motifs in LH I, used on most closed and open shapes. ${ }^{1066}$ Mountjoy notes the absence of circles (linked or tangent) from Attica. ${ }^{1067}$ Simple-line running spirals (FM 46:33, FM 46:50) are used
on the alabastron 692. The spirals are made of thin lines of equal width and have four coils (692). I have not been able to find any parallels for the closely arranged spirals of this vase.

## Hatched Loops (FM 63)

Two linked hatched loops (FM 63:4) decorate the shoulder of the piriform jar 687. Both loops are of ovoid shape and have a thick outline and dense hatching. They face opposite directions and their tails are linked with a thick line which is an extension of their outline. There are no published parallels for this type of hatched loops: the loops of a large jar FS 14 from Samikon also face opposite directions to each other, but their tails are connected with a blob, rather than a line; ${ }^{1068}$ another piriform jar from Athens is decorated with another version of hatched loops, in which the loops face towards the same direction and the tail of one is connected to the head of the other. ${ }^{1069}$

The lower decorative zone on 707 carries a row of loops with simple cross-hatching, consisting of a straight line running from head to tail, crossed by ten to twelve short lines (FM 63:5). As far as I know, there are not any published parallels for this type of loop. ${ }^{1070}$

## Double Axe (FM 35)

Both semi-globular cups are decorated with double-axes. In both cases, the types of double-axes used are common in LH IIA, but the crudeness of the vases suggests a LH I date. The motifs are placed in a wide decorative zone extending from the rim to the base (687) or a narrower zone to right under the handle (694); the axes are placed in panels, defined by either a group of five vertical straight parallel lines (694) or groups of double straight vertical lines and one vertical wavy line (687). The double axe with a double wavy stem FM 35:12 of 695 is paralleled at a LH I semi-globular cup from Prosymna, but here the panels are defined by a vertical row of dots. ${ }^{1071}$ The fragment of the lower part of the body of a semi-globular cup from Korakou is decorated with juxtaposed double axes with a single haft (FM 35:5). ${ }^{1072}$ I have not been able to find any LH I parallels for the "butterfly" type FM 35:14 of 694.

## RIPPLE (FM 78:1).

Found only on the Vapheio cup 704. The motif covers the entire upper body, from the rim to the midrib, and may have extended under the midrib. The ripple lines present a

[^145]slight curvature towards the right, giving the motif a quasi-chevron appearance. The use of this motif on Vapheio cups is more popular in Laconia and Messenia, but less so in the Argolid, Attica, and Boeotia, perhaps a reflection of the larger number of Vapheio cups in the south Peloponnese. ${ }^{1073}$ Ripple is also used on cups and hole-mouthed jars. ${ }^{1074}$

## Multiple-Line Zig-Zags

The angular cup 706 is decorated with multiple-line zig-zag (FM 61:13), a motif used on angular cups since at least MH II. The motif is placed in a narrow horizontal zone under the rim and framed at the top and bottom by pairs of horizontal lines. I have not been able to find any parallels for the rendition of this motif in LH I lustrous paint.

## Quirk (FM 48:5)

Quirk (FM 48:5), used in the upper decorative zone of the angular cup 707 is rare in LH I pottery. The only other published vases decorated with this motif are two piriform jars (FS 27) found in Athens. ${ }^{1075}$ In both cases the quirk is placed on a decorative zone on the shoulder of the vase, but RMDP 500 no. 2 has two horizontal rows of quirk, whereas on RMDP 500 no. 3 the quirk has been placed in a narrow zone resembling 707.

## RED OR BLACK SLIPPED, UNBURNISHED

## DEFINITION

Solidly Painted pots have dark (red or black) slipped, but not burnished surfaces. The slip is matt and its color ranges from reddish brown to dark brown/ dark red (2.5YR 4/6 to $10 \mathrm{YR} 3 / 2$ and $10 \mathrm{R} 3 / 4$ ) and from black to dark grey ( $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 3 / 1$ to $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 3 / 1$ ). As a class, it may originate in the EH III Solidly Painted and Burnished pottery well known from Kolonna and Lerna. ${ }^{1076}$ Solidly Painted ware is especially common during the last part of the Middle and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The red variety, in particular, was continuously produced until LH IIIA1. ${ }^{1077}$ Both black and red varieties have been identified in the Eleusinian material and are dated to MH III-LH I or LH I.
1073. Mountjoy 2008a, no. 3240; Lolos 1987, 429; Grave Circle B pl. 52 $\gamma$; Kiapha Thiti pl. 9:336, 337; Orchomenos V fig. 2:2-3.
1074. MDP 11.
1075. Pantelidou 1975, pl. 9ß; RMDP 500: nos 2-3. 1076. Alt-Ägina III.1, 124; Lerna IV 17.
1077. Lindblom 2001, 32.

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The Solidly Painted (black or red) pottery from Eleusis consists of eight catalogued and approximately thirty non-diagnostic body fragments that have not been included in the catalogue. Most catalogued fragments are rims.

FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE
The fabrics belong to two groups: 1) Fine ( $660,661,915$ ). Pieces of this group have very small ( 1 or 2 mm ) and sparsely arranged lime inclusions and could originate in the wider area of Eleusis and Attica. Fabric color ranges from reddish yellow to light brown (5YR 6/4 to 7.5YR 5/3-5/4). 2) Fairly fine (e.g. 657, 658, 842). This is the largest group, represented by about $40 \%$ of the material. Fabrics are mostly light brown to brown (7.5YR 6/4 to 7.5YR $5 / 3$ ) or reddish yellow in color (5YR 5/6) and have large gold mica (biotite) platelets, which indicate an Aeginetan origin.

SHAPES

## Bridge-Spouted Bowl

Only two bridge-spouted bowls have been identified in the assemblage (657 and 842), but this may be the result of preservation bias, as there are bowl rim fragments without a spout which may have belonged to bridge-spouted bowls (for example 660 and 915). Bridgespouted bowls have a deep semi-globular shape and are mainly identified by their thickened rim with pointed edge; their profile and gold mica fabric suggest an Aeginetan origin. ${ }^{1078} 657$ is quite large (diam. c. 40 cm ). Surfaces are covered with a dull and fugitive black or reddish brown slip (7.5YR 3/1 or $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 4 / 6$ ).

## Deep Bowl or Krater

Deep bowls (or kraters) amount to $35 \%$ of the total Solidly Painted pieces. The catalogued examples are all rim fragments, since this type is mainly identified by the rim (e.g. $658,660,661,915)$, which either belongs to the so-called "hawk's beak" type, or is simply everted; pots with the "hawk's beak" rims may have been kraters. ${ }^{1079}$ In two cases parts of the horizontal handles are also preserved. 661 has a smooth carination on the shoulder. Rim diameter varies between 22 and 34 cm (average 29 cm ). Almost all pieces are fine, with fabrics ranging in color from reddish yellow to light brown (5YR 6/4 and 7.5YR 5/3-5/6).

In some examples the core is light grey to grey (915). Two examples (658 and 661) have mica inclusions and may be identified as Aeginetan imports. All examples are wheelmade. Surfaces are covered with a dull and fugitive dark brown to reddish brown slip (10YR 3/2 to 2.5YR 4/6).

## RED SLIPPED AND BURNISHED

Several Red Slipped and Burnished pieces discussed above may date to LH I. ${ }^{1080}$

## GREY MINYAN

## DEFINITION

In general, Grey Minyan pottery seems to continue uninterrupted from the MH, with the exception of the introduction of small-sized vessels (cups, small jars, and juglets), which do not appear in previous periods. Dark Burnished pots do not seem to continue in LH I.

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Late Helladic I Grey Minyan pottery amounts to twenty-three pieces. ${ }^{1081}$ These include ten complete or nearly complete vessels, eleven base/lower body sherds, and two rim fragments.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

Chemical analyses on a sample of Grey Minyan sherds has shown significant diversity in the chemical and mineralogical composition of the fabrics, ${ }^{1082}$ which is in line with the results of analyses from other MH sites (Aspis, Kolonna, Lerna, Orchomenos, Ayios Stephanos). ${ }^{1083}$ Most Grey Minyan pots that can be dated to LH I have fine pale grey ( 2.5 Y $8 / 4$ ) to greyish brown fabrics ( $10 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 3$ ). On occasion, the fabric contains sparse small sized lime inclusions, of 1 to 2 mm diam. ( $665,668,672$ ); some pieces include also small sparkling mica grits $(<1 \mathrm{~mm})(662,667)$. All pots are wheelmade, which is typical of LBA tableware. Most of the pottery is grey or greyish brown in color (2.5Y 4/1-5/1, 10YR 4/16/3 and 2.5YR 5/6.

[^146][^147]
## SURFACE TREATMENT

Surfaces are polished or burnished, sometimes to a high luster (671).

SHAPES
Cup
straight-sided (Vapheio) cup
Shape and size. The straight-sided (Vapheio) cup is a newly established shape in Grey Minyan pottery of the LBA, since no example has been found in a purely MBA deposit. One almost complete cup (663) and one base/lower body fragment (662) have been identified at Eleusis. The shape is characterized by its flat base, slightly conical walls and vertical strap handle from rim to base. Rim diameter varies from 7.2 to 9.4 cm and base is nearly 4 cm . Wall thickness ranges from 0.2 to 0.4 cm .

Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. Straight-sided cups are all of fine pale grey to grey fabric ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ to $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 4 / 1$ ); 662 has thin mica grits.
Comparanda. The shape is also attested in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1084}$

ROUNDED CUP WITH EVERTED RIM
Shape and size. Rounded cups continue from the previous period. There are five pieces, including a large part of the bowl with the base (664), two smaller base and lower body fragments $(667,668)$, and two rim fragments $(666,665)$. The shape is characterized by its globular or semi-globular (which is FS 212: MP 620, 212:1-2) profile, everted rim and shoulder articulated from the body, a vertical strap handle (not preserved in our examples) and a low slightly discoid base $(668,667)$. Rim diameter varies from 10 to 12.5 cm and base from 4.2 to 5.7 cm . Wall thickness ranges from 0.25 to 0.5 cm .

Fabrics and manufacture. Wheelmade. The fabrics of rounded cups with everted rims are fine, grey to light grey ( $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 4 / 1-5 / 1$ ); 667 and 664 have sparkling mica grits; 665 and 664 have lime inclusions.

Comparanda. The shape occurs in the West Cemetery and is common in other sites in LH I, including Mycenae, Ayia Irini on Keos, and Kiapha-Thiti. ${ }^{1085}$

Small Jar
Shape and size. 670 is the only Grey Minyan small jar identified at Eleusis. It has globular profile (wall th. 0.4) and a slightly concave base (diam. 4 cm ).

Fabrics and manufacture. 670 has a fairly fine grey brown to reddish brown fabric 10YR 5/1 to 5 YR $5 / 2-5 / 3$, porous with lime inclusions (lime popping phenomenon); external surface burnished, brownish grey 10YR 4/2. It is wheelmade.
Comparanda. Grey Minyan small jars are found in the Argolid and the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1086}$

## Juglet

Shape and size. 671 is the only Grey Minyan juglet. It has globular profile (wall th. 0.3), one vertical loop handle from rim to upper shoulder (handle diam. 1.1), and flat base (base diam. 3.7); rim is slightly everted (rim diam. 2.9).
Fabrics and manufacture. 671 is made of a fine grey $(2.5 \mathrm{Y} 4 / 1)$ fabric, well levigated and clean. It is wheelmade.
Comparanda. This shape is attested in the West Cemetery, Mycenae, and Korakou. ${ }^{1087}$
BowL
ROUNDED BOWL
672 is the lower part of a rounded bowl or krater. The profile is globular (wall th. 0.4) and has a wide ring base (diam. 11.7). It is wheelmade, with fine grey fabric $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 5 / 1$ and sparse small stone and lime inclusions. External surface polished, same color with core. ${ }^{1088}$

## YELLOW MINYAN

## DEFINITION

Like their GM counterparts, Yellow Minyan pots have polished to highly burnished surfaces, but the color ranges from yellow to yellowish brown. ${ }^{1089}$ The overall number of YM pots at Eleusis is very small and only one piece (680) has known provenience. The surviving pieces belong to angular cups, both the deeper, "goblet"-type $(676,677,678,679)$ and the smaller angular type ( $673,675,674$ ); and straight-sided cups ( $680,681,682$ ).

## SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Most parts are rim and upper body fragments ( $678,679,673,681,682$ ); one is a full profile fragment of a straight-sided cup (680), one is a discoid base fragment (677) and one is a handle (674).

[^148]1088. For parallels see Lindblom 2001, cat. no. 125 (Asine) and fig. 8:8-9.
1089. See the discussion in Asine II.2, 81.

FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE
All YM fragments are fine yellow to yellow brown in color (2.5Y 8/3-7/3 to 5Y 8/3$7 / 3$ ), sometimes with small lime inclusions ( $<1 \mathrm{~mm}$ : 677, 678, 679, 673, 674). In two cases $(676,677)$ the fabric is slightly sandy and soft. All pots are wheelmade. 678 preserves a clay lump at the top of the handle, imitating a rivet.

SHAPES
Cup
ANGULAR CUP
Shape and size. Seven pieces belong to angular cups; they have slightly angular profile, small everted rim, and two vertical strap handles from rim to shoulder; the base 677 is raised concave. Wall thickness is $0.25-0.3 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, yellow (5Y 6/3, $7 / 2,2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ ) to yellow brown ( $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ ) with few lime inclusions. In two cases ( 676 and 677 ) the fabric is sandy and soft. All pieces are wheelmade.
Comparanda. Angular cups are commonly found in the Argolid and Korinthia. ${ }^{1090}$

STRAIGHT-SIDED CUP
Shape and size. Three pieces of straight-sided cups have been identified among the LH I material of Eleusis. One is a full profile (680) and two are rim fragments (681, 682). The shape is characterized by flat base, slightly conical walls and vertical strap handle from rim to base. Rim diameters range from 9.5 to 14 cm , the base diam. is 9.6 cm , and wall thickness ranges from 0.3 to 0.5 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. The fabric of the straight-sided cups is fine yellow (5YR 8/3,10YR 8/2) without inclusions. All specimens are wheelmade.

## UNPAINTED POTTERY

Here have been grouped together fairly coarse and fairly fine vases that do not bear painted decoration. The LH IB 685 is a nearly complete stemmed angular bowl ("goblet") imitating GM ware. It has deep conical profile with smooth carination (wall th. 0.4-0.5), two vertical strap handles from the rim to the shoulder, low stem without ridges, and dis-

[^149]121:252; and for smaller angular cups Davis 1979, fig. 9:175 and 190; and Asine II.2, 80.
coid base. The profile appears less angular than that of the goblets of the previous phase. Total height 13.7, rim diam. 12.8, base diam. 7.6. The fabric is fairly coarse, yellowish red 5 YR 4/6, with numerous stone inclusions and holes from burned organic remains; the surface is burnished, red 2.5 YR 6/8, with extensive traces of burning; the interior preserves traces of black slip. The shape is also attested in the Argolid ${ }^{1091}$ and Kiapha-Thiti. ${ }^{1092}$

The complete stemmed bowl with a bridge spout 686 was found in grave S.II.4. It has straight rim (diam. 17.6), bridge spout, three horizontal loop handles (diam. 1.6), and hollowed base (diam. 6); the fabric is fairly coarse and unevenly fired, light greenish grey 5GY $7 / 1$; the surface is slipped and burnished; the underside of the spout and the body under the spout are decorated with incised parallel lines. It does not have precise parallels: a stemmed bowl from the Barbouna area at Asine and another one from Grave Circle B at Mycenae are stemmed, ${ }^{1093}$ whereas the one from Eleusis stands on a raised flat base; the carinated cup from Ayios Stephanos is tripodic. ${ }^{1094}$ Its provenience is unknown.

The Vapheio cup 683 and the stemmed cup 684 have fairly fine fabrics, ranging in color from pale grey to yellowish red or light brown. Surfaces are usually covered with a thin slip in the same color as the fabric.

## SUMMARY

The following classes of pottery can be dated to LH I.

1) Monochrome MP pots include rounded cups with everted rim, straight-sided cups, jugs, type 1 jars, and amphoroid jars. The decoration of the LH I MP pottery is more standardized than that of MH III. Motifs are usually linear and uncomplicated and include spirals, rows of chevrons, festoons, framed wavy band or zig-zag line, birds, ivy leaves, fig-ure-of-eight motif, and concentric circles in brown or dark grey paint. Framed wavy and zig-zag lines and figure-of-eight motifs are particularly common. About half of the monochrome MP pots are imported from the Argolid, one third from Aegina, and the rest appear to have been local products, or imported from the wider area of Attica/Boeotia.
2) Polychrome MP pots of the Mainland and Aeginetan varieties are not common and include deep bowls or kraters (most of which are Aeginetan), type 1 jars (Mainland variety), and one angular cup, also of the Mainland variety. The decoration of the Aeginetan deep bowls or kraters is very standardized and repetitive; Mainland Polychrome MP deep bowls or kraters, on the other hand, employ a variety of motifs, although the Eleusinian examples are mainly characterized by triple bichrome bands or framed wavy lines. The commonest

[^150]1093. Dietz 1991, 171:AE-3; Grave Circle B 238:551, pl. $212 \alpha$.
1094. Zerner 2008, fig. 5.26:1519.
motifs are parallel straight of wavy bands in red and black paint and curvilinear patterns of parallel circles or broad loops. Jars are usually decorated with vertical panels of straight and wavy bands, which divide the surface of the vessel in clearly defined zones.
3) Unburnished Red or Black Slipped pots are rare and include bridge-spouted bowls and deep bowls or kraters. Some of these pieces may originate in the wider area of Eleusis and Attica, but the majority are Aeginetan.
4) Red Slipped and Burnished pieces may be LH I, but in the absence of material from closed LH I deposits, it is impossible to separate them from the MH pots.
5) Grey Minyan rounded bowls continue from the MH, but a new range of smaller shapes is introduced. These include Vapheio cups, rounded cups with everted rims, small jars, and juglets. Dark Burnished pots do not seem to continue in LH I.
6) Yellow Minyan pottery is rare. It includes angular cups (both the deeper, "goblet"-type and the smaller angular type) and Vapheio cups.
7) Unpainted pottery includes vases without painted decoration. Shapes in fairly coarse fabrics include stemmed angular bowls ("goblets") imitating GM ware, and stemmed bowls with bridge spouts. Fairly fine unpainted pots include a Vapheio cup and a stemmed cup.
8) L-o-D Lustrous Decorated. One deep bowl is decorated with white running spirals and a white band against a background covered with dark slip.
9) D-o-L Lustrous Decorated ("Late Helladic I" Style) pots are usually small and mostly made in fine fabrics, although one of their basic characteristics is crude manufacture. Shapes include piriform jars (FS 27) decorated with linked spirals and hatched circles; alabastra (FS 80) decorated with simple-line attached spirals; squat jugs (FS 87) decorated with tangent spirals (FM 46:29) with blobs and urchins; semi-globular cups (FS 211, FS 212) decorated with double axes and tangent spirals with blobs; type II Vapheio cups (FS 224) decorated with running spirals (reminiscent of FM 46:12), tangent spirals with blob fill, and ripple (FM 78:1); and angular cups (FS 240) decorated with multiple-line zig-zags, quirk (FM 48:5), and hatched loops (FM 63:5). The general characteristic of LH I decoration is the careless rendition of the motifs: lines and bands are not straight, spiral coils overlap each other, rim bands drip. In all large pieces, the main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone defined by the bottom of the exterior rim band (which in most cases stops at the bottom of the neck) and the widest part of the vase; in closed vessels this zone includes the handles. The middle and lower parts of the body are banded. The paint ranges from highly lustrous black or reddish brown to semi-lustrous red or black; none of the LH I pieces have added white paint. The main motifs are running spirals (FM 46, FM 46:9/11, FM 46:29, FM 46:33, FM 46:50); hatched loops (FM 63:4 and 63:5); double axes (FM 35:12 and FM 35:14); ripple (FM 78:1); multiple-line zig-zags (FM 61:13); and quirk (FM 48:5). The combination of shapes and motifs of the Late Helladic I style is shown in fig. 222.

There is some overlap between shapes used in the settlement and shapes used in the cemetery, which include MP jugs and straight-sided cups in the Mainland Paneled style;


Fig. 222. LH I "Mycenaean style" shapes and motifs.

GM Vapheio cups, stemmed rounded cups, small jars, and juglets; and "Mycenaean style" alabastra (FS 80) and squat jugs (FS 87). It is noteworthy that there are some ceramic features that seem to be particular to Eleusis. These are the closely paralleled decoration on 650; certain stylistically idiosyncratic elements on LH I pots (e.g. the hatched loops on 687 and almost leaf-like on 707); and the decoration of traditional MH shapes with standard MP motifs drawn in lustrous paint (multiple zig-zag on the angular cup 706). This rendering of motifs known from the MH matt-painted repertoire and on a shape of such clean MH
ancestry as the "angular cup" ("kantharos" or "carinated cup with high handles") in lustrous paint is currently unparalleled in other sites.

In general, from the identified MH III/LH I pottery, more than half appears to have been Aeginetan: this includes MP, but also a number of RSB tableware pots with gold mica and handmade vases with potter's marks. ${ }^{1095}$ The Aeginetan imports remain strong in LH I and possibly LH II; although it is impossible to demonstrate this stratigraphically, it agrees with the picture that we have from the Argo-Saronic Gulf in the early Mycenaean period. ${ }^{1096}$ Dark Tempered pots also remain popular, suggesting continued ties with west Attica/Boeotia. By contrast, the small numbers of "Mycenaean style" pots agrees with the low frequency of this style in Attica, ${ }^{1097}$ although proportionately the number of "Mycenaean style" vases appears to be higher at Eleusis than in other Attic sites. Minoan imports have not been identified. This picture, of a strong Aeginetan presence with smaller-scale contacts with the Cyclades, fits quite well within what we know about ceramic developments in south Central Greece (Attica and Boeotia), but also Aegina and the northeastern Peloponnese.
1096. Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011, 244.

## LATE HELLADIC IIA

## DEFINITION

There is a sufficient number of funerary assemblages from this period, ${ }^{1098}$ but settlement deposits are few: besides Korakou East Alley Levels IX-X, ${ }^{1099}$ there are small deposits from Tsoungiza EU 10, ${ }^{1100}$ Ayios Stephanos, ${ }^{1101}$ and Nichoria Area IV ${ }^{1102}$ in the Peloponnese; and Ayia Irini periods VIIa-VIIb. ${ }^{1103}$ In Attica only Kiapha Thiti has produced stratified deposits (Schnitt 1 SE4 and Schnitt 5 SE2, ${ }^{1104}$ associated by Mountjoy ${ }^{1105}$ with the end of the LH IIA and the transition to LH IIB at Ayia Irini VIIb), but LH IIA/LM IB sherds have been found in mixed deposits in Athens, ${ }^{1106}$ as well as Thorikos and Varkiza. ${ }^{1107}$

Despite its debt to LM IB, ${ }^{1108}$ LH IIA is chiefly a Mainland style, ${ }^{1109}$ as next to the palatial shapes there is a wide range of domestic ones; Mountjoy also identifies a third, "pseudoMinoan" class, consisting of Mainland products imitating Minoan vases. ${ }^{1110}$ From a Cretan viewpoint, Warren has outlined some evidence that LH IIA already begun at some mature point in LM IA and only received additional feedback with the LM IB. ${ }^{1111}$ LH IIA marks the beginning of a rise to dominance of the "Mycenaean" style, characterized by significant expansion of range of shapes and motifs. ${ }^{1112}$ The standard discussion is still Dickinson" $\mathrm{s}^{1113}$ who emphasizes that Cretan styles are not imitated, but provide inspiration for the Mainland developments.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

In total, about 120 pieces have been assigned to LH IIA. Most are rim or body sherds, but there are ten complete vases (five alabastra, three squat jugs, one semi-globular cup, and one Vapheio cup) found in graves. Late Helladic IIA material has been found in all parts of the Eleusinian hill, but in disturbed deposits, except for S SU 34 (locus 2), which contained diagnostic LH IIA pottery, such as the piriform jar 737, the shallow cup 815, the rounded alabastron 756, and the Vapheio cup 833, with small numbers of Aeginetan MP and other MH-style wares. Other significant deposits with LH IIA material are S SU 14, which yielded the hole mouthed jar 775 and the Vapheio cup 824; and S SU 24, where the

[^151][^152]Vapheio cup 823 was found. The semi-globular cup 791 was found in grave S.II.2. In the East Slope there is a number of deposits with LH IIA material, of which E SU 4 was the richest: in locus 1 were found the jar 721 and the rounded alabastron 755 ; in locus 2 were found a number of LH IIA undecorated sherds (883, 1190, 1242, 1245, 1260, 1290) and in locus 5 the semi-globular cup 794. The shallow cup 812 was found in locus 2 of E SU 5. The jar 735 and the straight-sided alabastron 769 were found in locus 1 of E SU 6 and the monochrome goblet 1188 in locus 5 of E SU 6. Locus 6 of E SU 6 yielded the shallow cup 811 and the monochrome goblets 1179, 1187, and 1189. Several pieces have been found on the floor of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 4), including the jar 720, the semi-globular cups 801 and 804 and the bell cup 818. The bridge-spouted jar 778 was found in E SU 8 (locus 1). The piriform jar 736 and the monochrome goblets 1194 and 910 were found in locus 6 of E SU 4. E SU 10 yielded the squat jug 763 (locus 10) and the Vapheio cup 606; the piriform jar 738, the rounded alabastron 754, and the Vapheio cup 827 (locus 11); as well as the jar 715 (locus 14). Finally, a number of complete vases has been found in graves of the East Slope, of which grave E.II. 7 was the richest, with the rounded alabastra 745, 746, 748, 750, and the squat jug 758. The squat jug 757 was found in grave E.II.8. There are various LH IIA finds from the top of the hill, but their exact provenience is unknown, so they have been grouped under H SU 3. These include the semi-globular cup 796 and the jars 714 and 722. Two vases were found in two unidentified graves excavated by Philios: the jug 760 (grave "M58") and the alabastron 744 (grave "M56a").

Besides the "Mycenaean" style vases, there are indications that Late Matt-Painted may have still been in use (S SU 34, locus 2). Several monochrome pieces of goblets also date to LH IIA (below), as well as some plain undecorated pieces (discussed with the Unpainted pottery).

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The standard fabric for LH IIA pots is fine (for tableware) or fairly fine to fairly coarse (for storage vases), with hard fired and well levigated very pale brown 10YR 7/3-8/3-8/4 clay; this fabric is used for all shapes, with the exception of Minoan bowls and in-and-out bowls. In smaller quantities occur fine or fairly fine pink (7.5YR 7/4-7/3) fabrics, used for jars FS $15 / 24$ and $20 / 21(722,733)$, squat jugs FS $87(759,763)$, hole mouthed jars FS 101 (773), semi-globular cups FS 211 ( $791,804,805,806$ ), shallow cups FS $218(810,811)$, Vapheio cups FS $224(824,833)$, the tall alabastra 741 and 742, the Minoan shallow cup 817, and the in-and-out bowl 838. Light red 2.5YR 7/6 to reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4 fabrics are used for conical piriform or piriform jars (725, 737, although the fabric of 732 is brittle and differs from the red fabric of the other jars), squat jugs FS 87 (762), marine style jars, and stirrup jars (783, 786, 788). Three other fabrics appear more rarely: grey or light grey 10YR 7/2-8/2, 2.5 Y $6 / 1$ is used for jars FS $15 / 24$ and $20 / 21$ ( 716,720 ), straight-sided alabastra FS 91 (771,
possibly of Cycladic origin - see discussion of shape below), shallow cups FS 218 (815) and Vapheio cups FS 224 (831); pale yellow 2.5 Y $8 / 3$ fabrics are used for the jar 736, the piriform jar 689, and the cup 812; and pinkish white $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 2$ fabrics are used for the rounded alabastra FS 82/83/89 753 and 755 and the jar 743.

## SHAPES

Conical-Piriform Jar (FS 15/24)
Shape and size. None of the sherds included in the catalogue could be identified as the large conical-piriform jar FS 15/24 with certainty, since we are missing the handles that are needed for identification. 714 and 715 have been assigned to FS 15/24 because of the plastic ridge that runs around the base of their neck, although their walls are not as thick as the canonical FS 15/24.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/2-7/3-7/4-8/3, except for 716, which has a fairly fine, light grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 2$ fabric; 720 with a fairly coarse, light grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 2$ fabric, 722 with a fairly coarse pink fabric ( $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$ ) and 725 with a fairly coarse, light red 2.5 YR $7 / 6$ fabric with small and medium-sized pebble inclusions.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped, necks are monochrome, and the decorative zone covers the shoulder and seems to extend all the way down to the lower part of the body, which in 714 is banded. The main decoration is placed in this zone: 714 and 715 are decorated with elaborate compositions of hatched loops growing from diagonal curvilinear stems (FM 63:11) with fill of sea anemones (FM 27:12) and small solid circles. This elaborate decoration is at home in LH I, ${ }^{1114}$ although hatched loops are popular on LH IIA hole-mouthed jars, usually growing from straight vertical stems. The curvilinear stems of 714 and 715 may suggest an early LH IIA date. 715 was found in a thick deposit to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 14) with the LH I semiglobular cup 696, but that locus was mixed and cannot be used for dating. 714 was found in H SU 3, along with the LH I Vapheio cup 699 and several LH IIA pieces. 716 is decorated with a floral pattern, possibly papyrus (FM 11:5) with fill of star (FM 26), but I have not been able to find exact parallels. 719 belongs to the lower part of the body of a jar, assigned to FS $15 / 24$ on account of the thickness of its walls and the use of elaborate ogival canopy as the main motif, which is paralleled at Aegina. ${ }^{1115}$ Two other pieces have been assigned to FS 15/24: 720 on account of its conical profile and the use of thick zig-zag (FM 61:7) with fill of dots, combined with rockwork and weeds, which is paralleled at Phylakopi; ${ }^{1116}$ and 721, also decorated with thick zig-zag (FM 61:7) with fill of dots, a motif common on
1114. See the loops on the LH I Voroulia jar: Lolos 1987, figs 116-117.
1115. $C f$. MDP fig. 15:7-8.
1116. Mountjoy and Pontin 2000:18.

FS 15/24. ${ }^{1117} 725$ is decorated with stone pattern with fill of drops (FM 76: 2) and the lower part of its body is solidly painted; a similarly decorated vase from Aigion is dated to LH I. ${ }^{1118}$ Finally, 722 and 723 are decorated with double axes with double wavy stems (FM 35:8, 10-12), paralleled at Mycenae. ${ }^{1119}$
Provenience. Several conical piriform jars came from Megaron B: 716 was found in the steps (E SU 4, locus 3), 720 in the area between walls 7 and 9 (E SU 4, locus 4), 721 was wedged between the stones of wall 6 (E SU 4, locus 1), and 724 was found on the floor (E SU 4, locus 5). 717 was found outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z, to the northeast of wall 4c (E SU 10, locus 12). 714, 722, and 723 were found on the Hilltop (H SU 3).

## PiRIFORM JaR (FS 20/21/27)

Shape and size. 731 and 732 have been assigned to piriform jars FS 20/21 because of their decoration with curved stripes (FM 67) in horizontal zones, which is common for this shape. ${ }^{1120} 733$ and 738 have been tentatively assigned to FS 20/21, but their walls are thin (0.3-0.4) and may belong to smaller jars, as did the base 806. 735, 736, and 737 have fairly thick walls (0.5-0.6 cm).
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are mostly fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4-8/3$8 / 4 ; 720$ has a fairly coarse, light grey $10 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 2$ fabric and the fabric of 725 is fairly coarse, with small and medium-sized pebble inclusions, light red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 6$. The fabric of 732 is light reddish brown $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 4$ and of 737 is fine, red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 6.739$ has a fine, reddish yellow 5YR 6/ 6 fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. 735 is decorated with ivy FM 12:30;1121 737 and 738 are decorated with stone pattern FM 76:1. 731 and 732 are decorated with curved stripes (FM 67:2). ${ }^{1122}$ The double axes of 733 and 739 are common at Aegina, ${ }^{1123}$ Aghios Kosmas, ${ }^{1124}$ and Mycenae. ${ }^{1125}$
Provenience. 733 was found in H SU 3; 735 and 740 in E SU 6 (locus 1); 736 E in SU 4 (locus 6); 737 in S SU 34 (locus 2); and 738 E SU 10 (locus 11).

## Minoan-Type Jar

743 is a fragment of the ridged neck and shoulder of a LM IB Minoan-type jar. Its fabric is fine, pinkish white $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 2$ and its surface is slipped and polished, very pale brown

[^153]1121. Cf. ibid. fig. 16:1.
1122. Cf. ibid. fig. 17.5.
1123. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 6:91, 94.
1124. Aghios Kosmas fig. 135:72.
1125. RMDP 87:25.
$10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$. This piece is decorated with foliate band and a thick line around the top of the shoulder. ${ }^{1126}$

## Rounded Alabastron (FS 82, 83, 89)

Shape and size. Six complete or nearly complete rounded alabastra and several shoulder fragments have been found at Eleusis. 744 belongs to the type with squat outline, flat base, everted rim, two horizontal loop handles on the shoulder (FS 89.3); its height ( 5.8 cm ) is approximately two thirds of its diameter ( 9.5 cm ). 745, 746, 748, 750, and 751 belong to the type with curved profile, flat base, flaring rim, and three horizontal loop handles on the shoulder (FS 82.3). Within this type, there is some variation in outlines: in 748 and 745 the widest point of the vase is placed near the base, the shoulders are sloping towards the short neck, and the diameter is almost three times the height of the vase. On the other hand, the widest point of 746 and 751 is placed higher up towards the middle of the vase, the shoulders are less sloping, the neck is taller, and the diameter is approximately double the height of the vase.
Fabrics and manufacture. With the exception of 753 and 755 , which have a pinkish white 7.5YR 7/4-8/3 fabric, all other pieces are made in fine, very pale brown fabrics.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The commonest motif is the rock pattern (FM 32). 745 is the more elaborately decorated vase, with a multi-crested rock against a background of stone pattern (FM 32:17), which seems also to have been the case with 754. Although the version of FM 32 found on 750 (outline of a single row of dots FM 32:19) is common in LH IIB alabastra, ${ }^{1127}$ this vase has been dated to LH IIA because of its context in grave E.II.7. Same with 748, which has a rock pattern without outline (FM 32:22), which finds parallels in LH IIB. ${ }^{1128}$ The floral motifs of 749 and 746 (?palm) is not uncommon, ${ }^{1129}$ but the version used here, with the short spiral stem, no fronds, and two spiraliform leaves, does not find parallels in other sites. The use of regular rows of dots (stone pattern FM 76) on the shoulder of 751 is paralleled at Prosymna; ${ }^{1130}$ Malthi, ${ }^{1131}$ where stone pattern serves as background against trefoil rockwork; and Aegina, ${ }^{1132}$ where stone pattern is the main motif. In general the motif is popular on LH IIA squat alabastra, but the placement of the pattern between the handles in lieu of a main motif makes 751 unusual. 744 has two decorative zones, one on the shoulder and one on the belly, divided by two thin horizontal lines: each zone is decorated with a row of formal foliate bands (FM 64:3), which is similar to the jug 760. Rounded alabastra decorated with hatched loops (FM 63) occur both in the settlement
1126. Cf. Knossos pl. 60e.
1127. RMDP 510, no. 54.
1128. Athens Wells fig. 13:139.
1129. Cf. Prosymna fig. 188:379 from T. XXV.

[^154](747, 753) and the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1133}$ The small shoulder fragment 755, decorated with curved-stemmed ivy, could be either LH IIA or LH IIB; ivy is fairly common on rounded alabastra from the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1134}$ All the alabastra have monochrome necks and handles and one $(745)$ or more $(744,746)$ parallel horizontal lines around the base, which is decorated with wavy lines (745) or is left undecorated (746, 750).
Provenience. Four of the alabastra come from the same context: 745, 746, 748, and 750 were found in grave E.II. 7 with the squat jug 758. 744 and 751 also come from graves recorded with pencil on the vases, but have not been identified in the reports: 744 from grave "M56a" and 751 from grave "A4" (which could have been one of the graves excavated by Travlos in the West Cemetery). ${ }^{1135}$

## SQuat Jug (FS 87)

Shape and size. Four complete, one nearly-complete, and two body fragments of squat jugs have been identified. They have globular (757, 762), ovoid (759), or squat ovoid (760) profiles and they range in height from 7 to $8.5 \mathrm{~cm} ; 762$ is unusually high for a squat jug (estimated h. 10-12 cm), but it has been assigned to FS 87 because of the concave of the neck, the vertical handle, and the decoration of hatched loop. 763 has been assigned to FS 87 on account of its decoration with hatched loop. Except for 762, all jugs have flaring necks, one vertical handle from the shoulder to the belly, and flat base.
Fabrics and manufacture. All pieces have fine fabrics: 759 and 763 pink (7.5YR 7/4-7/3) and 762 light red 2.5YR 7/6.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The surfaces of most jugs are covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric, except for 758, which has a pink slip. The overall quality of decoration varies considerably: 757 and 759 are carefully decorated with fine regular lines and straight lines and bands, in contrast to 758 and 762 , which are carelessly drawn with wiggly lines and bands. On 758 and 759 the main decoration is placed in a horizontal decorative zone on the shoulder, although 760 has two narrow zones, both on the shoulder, divided by a double line. 757 is unusual, in that it has two horizontal decorative zones, one on the shoulder and one on the lower part of the body, separated by groups of parallel lines. The top zone is defined by a group of two thin lines at the top of the shoulder and two thicker lines above the middle of the height of the vase and is decorated with quirk; the bottom decorative zone is defined by the two thick lines and the base band and decorated with a double wavy line. The quirk on this vase resembles a simple-line spiral (FM 48:4); 759 is also decorated with framed quirk (FM 48:9), which is unusual. On the
1133. West Cemetery pls 56:484, 62:504, 67:506.
1134. Ibid. pls 56:467, 63:497, 67:510.
1135. Travlos 1953.
other hand, the running spiral FM 46:33 on 758 is reminiscent of the spirals on a jug from Prosymna. ${ }^{1136}$ Other motifs include formal foliate band FM 64:3 in the top two decorative zones of 760; and hatched loop (FM 63:1) on 762, 765, and 763. ${ }^{1137}$ All jugs have monochrome necks inside and outside and a band around the base. Handles are decorated with strokes (758) or are solidly painted (759), and the lower body is banded (759, 760, 762). Paint color ranges from red (758), to dark brown/red (760) or black (762).
Provenience. The four complete jugs were probably found in graves, although we only have information for 758 (grave E.II.7) and 757 (grave E.II.8).

## Straight-Sided Alabastron (FS 90-91)

Shape and size. One large fragment (767) and four smaller pieces from the shoulders of straight-sided alabastra (768, 769, 770, 771) can be dated to LH IIA.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4-8/4, except for 771, which has a light grey 10YR 7/1 fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. All pieces are slipped and polished. 767, 768, 769 and 770 are decorated with the standard rock pattern FM 32 against a background of stone pattern FM 76. ${ }^{1138} 771$ is decorated with curved stripes (FM 67:3); it finds a close parallel at Phylakopi ${ }^{1139}$ and may be Cycladic.
Provenience. 767 was found in 1931 behind the Epigraphic museum. 769 was found in E SU 6 (locus 1).

## Tall Alabastron

Shape and size. Two shoulder fragments of closed vessels $(741,742)$ have been classified as tall alabastra because of their thin walls and decoration with foliate bands.
Fabrics and manufacture. The fine, pink 7.5YR 7/4 fabric is unusual for Eleusis.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. These two pieces are decorated with vertical foliate band (FM 64:7) in black-brown paint. ${ }^{1140}$ Tall alabastra have been found at Ayia Irini and Phylakopi. ${ }^{1141}$ Despite the absence of such vases on the Mainland, at least one vase from Phylakopi can be attributed to a Mainland workshop on the basis of clay analysis ${ }^{1142}$ and Mountjoy ${ }^{1143}$ considers possible a south Laconian or Kytheran provenience for some of these vases.

[^155]1140. Cf. ibid. fig. 18:1.
1141. Ibid. 24; RMDP 872, 896.
1142. Mountjoy et al. 1978, 163.
1143. RMDP 896.

Hole-Mouthed Jar (FS 101)
Shape and size. Only five fragments can be attributed to hole-mouthed jars (FS 101). The concave rim with a ledge and shoulder 773 probably belongs to the smaller piriform Mainland type (Mountjoy's "plump dumpy" type), ${ }^{1144}$ on account of its small rim diameter $(8 \mathrm{~cm})$ and fairly coarse fabric. 775 also belongs to the smaller Mainland type on account of its piriform profile (which is also the reason for which it has been identified as a holemouthed jar rather than a piriform jar, which is more globular).
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/4 and surfaces are slipped. 773 stands out because of its pink 5YR 8/4 fabric and unslipped surface.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The decoration of 773 consists of "elaborate ivy leaves", which appears to have been a less ornate version of the elaborate ivy leaves on a jar from Ayios Stephanos. ${ }^{1145}$ The hatched loops growing from a double vertical stem on 774 and 775 is a more common decoration for this shape. Overall, this shape is not common in Attica: the only other published hole-mouthed jar comes from Kiapha Thiti and is decorated with double axe. ${ }^{1146}$ Hole-mouthed jars appear often in the Argolid, where they are usually decorated with hatched loop growing from vertical stems and wavy lines, ${ }^{1147}$ although there are also examples decorated with double-axe. ${ }^{1148}$ The shape is more at home in Laconia and Kythera, where it can also carry Marine-Style motifs. ${ }^{1149}$
Provenience. 775 was found in S SU 14.

## Bridge-Spouted Jug (FS 103)

Shape and size. Four sherds from closed vessels (776, 777, 778, 779) have been identified as bridge-spouted jugs (FS 103). Wall thicknesses range from 0.4 to 0.5 and rim diameters are in the $12-13 \mathrm{~cm}$ range.
Fabrics and manufacture. All four pieces have fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-8/4-8/3 fabrics and slipped surfaces.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. 776 is decorated with spirals FM 46:33 on the neck and groups of three vertical thin lines framed by single bands on the interior rim; the quality of the paint would indicate a Mainland product. ${ }^{1150} 778$ and 779 are decorated with ogival canopy (FM 13:5), paralleled in two bridge-spouted jugs from Aegina. ${ }^{1151}$ The rock pattern (FM 32) of 777 resembles MDP fig. 24:3.
1144. Ibid. 256.
1145. Mountjoy 2008a, 353, no. 3495.
1146. Kiapha Thiti pl. 1:18.
1147. RMDP 89.
1148. Ibid. 90.
1149. Ibid. 256.
1150. Dr. Elizabeth French, personal communication.
1151. Alt-Ägina IV.1, 153-154.

Provenience. 778 was found in the drain in front of Megaron B (E SU 8, locus 1).

## Jug with Cutaway Neck (FS 131)

Shape and size. 780, 781 and 782 have been identified as jugs with cutaway neck (FS 131) on the basis of the thickness of their walls $(0.7 \mathrm{~cm})$ and their decoration.
Fabrics and manufacture. All three pieces are made of fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3 fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. 781 and 782 are decorated with reed (FM 16:4), which is a preferred motif for these jugs. ${ }^{1152}$ The motif also appears on beaked jugs, but in those cases the reeds are smaller than the ones from the Eleusinian pieces and placed in a narrow horizontal zone at the lower part of the vase. ${ }^{1153} 780$ has been also classified as FS 131 because of the low ridge around the base of the neck and the decoration of dots in the narrow reserved zone.

## Marine Style Jar (?Stirrup Jar FS 169)

Shape and size. Two body sherds $(784,786)$ and one base $(785)$ can be assigned to stirrup jars (FS 169); three more body sherds from closed vessels (783, 787, 788) could have belonged to the same shape. 789 belongs to a closed vessel and could have been a small version of a stirrup jar.
Fabrics and manufacture. Almost all of these sherds are made in the typical very pale brown 10YR 7/4-8/2 fabrics, which suggest a Mainland origin. The exception is three pieces with reddish hard compact fabrics, which may have been Minoan imports: 783, which has a fairly fine, light red 2.5YR 6/6 fabric; 786, with a fine pale red 10R 7/4 fabric; and 788, which has a hard compact light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4 fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The decoration consists of marine style motifs: octopus type $B(784,789)^{1154}$ and type C (787), ${ }^{1155}$ rockwork ( 784,785$),{ }^{1156}$ spray frond and anemones (786), ${ }^{1157}$ sea urchins and rock work (788), argonauts and rosettes (783).

## Semi-Globular Cup (FS 211)

Shape and size. One complete example (791), several rims (791, 792, 793, 794, 800, 797, 796, 798) and body (804) sherds. Semi-globular profile, everted rim, tall splaying base, and one ver-

[^156]tical strap handle from rim to maximum diameter. At a height of only 5.5 cm and a rim diameter of $6 \mathrm{~cm}, 791$ and 803 are smaller than the other cups, the rim diameters of which range from 11 to 12 cm and their estimated heights are in the $10-14 \mathrm{~cm}$ range. ${ }^{1158}$
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4-8/4, except for 791, 804, 805, and 806, which have pink (7.5YR 7/4-7/3) fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The surfaces of all the pieces are slipped both inside and outside, except for 796 and 797 , which are unslipped inside and could be earlier. In most cases the slip is of the same color as the fabric, except for 799, 802, and 806, which are covered with a pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3-8 / 4$ slip. The decoration occupies the main body of the vase, in a wide decorative zone extending from the rim to the base. There are two main decorative motifs: 791 and 792 are decorated with thin curved stripes (FM 67:3), which is an unusual motif for this shape: there is one parallel from Aegina ${ }^{1159}$ and one from Prosymna. ${ }^{1160}$ The standard motif for FS 211 in other sites is wavy-stemmed double axes, which is also found in several pieces from Eleusis in its FM 35:10 and more commonly the FM 35:8 version, in which the double axes are separated by vertical rows of dots (793, 794). ${ }^{1161} 802$ is decorated with circles (resembling FM 41:8). Rims have an interior band, but the exterior can be monochrome $(793,796)$ or decorated with a wavy line $(803)$ or a row of dots $(794,800)$; if dots, these are framed by a horizontal line at the top of the rim and another one at the base of the rim. 794 and 799 have monochrome interiors, which is in general rare. ${ }^{1162}$ The paint can be highly lustrous (black 793, 796; dark reddish/brown 794) or semilustrous (dark brown 791).
Provenience. 791 was found in grave S.II.2, 794 and 804 in E SU 4 (locus 5); and 796 in H SU 3.

## SHALLOW CUP (FS 218)

Shape and size. About ten sherds of shallow cups decorated with framed or running spirals have been assigned to FS 218. Semi-globular profile, short everted rim (diam. 11-15 cm), one vertical strap handle from the rim to the bottom of the body (810), and splaying base (816).

Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, of the usual very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4-8/3 variety, except for 810 and 811 , which have pink $5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3$ to $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$ fabrics, 812 with pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 2$ fabric, and 815 with grey $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 6 / 1$ fabric.

[^157][^158]Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Except for 810, all pieces have both inside and the outside surfaces covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric; the only exceptions are 811, which has a very pale brown 10YR $8 / 4$ slip and 815 , which has a pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 7 / 3$ slip. The standard decoration for FS 218 is spirals ${ }^{1163}$ and this is the case also at Eleusis. 808 is decorated with framed spiral (FM 46:10) with added white dots on the tail;; ${ }^{1164}$ the spiral on 810 could be running spiral (FM 46:12, 14); 809 is decorated with tangent spirals; the external coil of $\mathbf{8 1 2}$ is disproportionately thicker than the internal ones. 807 is decorated with wavy line (FM 53:10). ${ }^{165}$ The double wavy line with sprigs attached to both sides on 821 may have belonged to rock pattern II (FM 33:19). Rims have exterior and interior rim bands; the handle of 810 is monochrome. The spirals are placed in a horizontal zone covering the entire body and framed by the rim band (810) and a horizontal line around the base (815, 816).
Provenience. 811 was found in E SU 6 (locus 6), 812 in E SU 5 (locus 2), and 815 in S SU 34 (locus 2).

## Bell Cup (FS 221)

Shape and size. This shape is of Minoan origin and rare on the Mainland, although bell cups from the Argolid and Messenia were locally made. ${ }^{1166}$ The three pieces from Eleusis identified as FS 221 are small and thin-walled ( $0.15-0.3 \mathrm{~cm}$ ); the rim diameter of 818 is 8 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-8/3.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. All three pieces have monochrome interiors. On the outside 818 is decorated with trefoil (FM 29:3) in lustrous dark brown/black paint, which may have been part of a trefoil-and-rock pattern motif in the Alternating Style. ${ }^{1167}$ It was found on the floor of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 5). $\mathbf{8 2 0}$ has been identified as a bell cup on the basis of the angle of body and its monochrome interior; the motif on the external surface resembles double axe (FM 35). 819 is decorated with ivy with unvoluted leaves (FM 12, type h). ${ }^{1168}$
Provenience. 818 was found in E SU 4 (locus 5).

## Vapheio Cup (FS 224)

Shape and size. Two large fragments (823, 824), several rim sherds (833, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 826, 825), and a base fragment (834) of type III Vapheio cups can be dated to LH IIA

[^159](although the foliate band of $\mathbf{8 2 5}, \mathbf{8 2 6}, 827,828,829$, and 830 may suggest a LH IIB date). They have cylindrical bodies tapering towards the top, lipless rims, shallow midribs, and one vertical strap handle from the rim to right above the midrib; the bases are beveled (823) or flat (834).
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10YR 8/3, except for 831 (light grey 10YR 7/2); and 824 and 833 (pink 7.5YR 7/4-7/3).
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Exterior and interior surfaces are covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric, except for 824 and 831 , which have a very pale brown 10YR 8/3-8/4 slip. There are three main decorative motifs: a) framed spirals decorate 823 and 824 and are paralleled on Vapheio cups from Prosymna; ${ }^{1169}$ b) 825, 826, and 827 are decorated with formal foliate bands arranged in two horizontal zones in the upper body, divided by groups of three to four thin horizontal lines; ;170 and c) ripple (833), paralleled at Kiapha Thiti, ${ }^{1171}$ Aegina, ${ }^{1172}$ Pylos, ${ }^{1173}$ and Ayia Irini. ${ }^{1174}$ The main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone between the rim band and the rim band under the midrib. All three motifs are commonly used for Vapheio cups: the lower body is banded and the handle is solidly painted $(823)$. Paint ranges from highly lustrous black $(823,825)$ to lusterless dark brown (824).
Provenience. 823 was found on the floor of House I (S SU 24), 824 in S SU 14, 827 in E SU 10 (locus 11) and 833 in S SU 34 (locus 2). 830 was found wedged in the walls of the platform of Megaron B (E SU 5, locus 3).

Goblet (FS 254, FS 262)
Shape and size. Two rim sherds have been identified as LH IIA goblets. The everted rim 835 has been assigned to the two-handled FS 254 on account of its decoration with framed spiral, which is not used on FS 262.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The spiral of 835 has a thick external coil and 9+ thin internal ones; the external coil blends with the rim band ${ }^{1175}$ in contrast to a goblet from Korakou, ${ }^{1176}$ where it is placed lower in the body. The monochrome interior is paralleled at a shallow cup FS 218 from Pylos; ${ }^{; 1177}$ but the diameter of 835 is larger and the body deeper than shallow cups.
1169. Prosymna fig. 105; MDP fig. 34:2; RMDP 95, no. 60 .
1170. Cf. Aghios Kosmas fig. 135.1 and RMDP 877, no. 43 from Ayia Irini.
1171. Kiapha Thiti pl. 4:148.
1172. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 3:31-34.
1173. Pylos III fig. 249:19 (=RMDP 323, no. 24).
1174. RMDP 877, no. 45.
1175. As in Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 5:81.
1176. Korakou fig. 56, right (=RMDP 206, no. 20).
1177. RMDP 323:25.

## In-And-Out Bowl

One sherd (838) belongs to an in-and-out bowl. It is made with fine, pink 7.5YR 8/3 fabric and the surface is slipped. It is decorated with ?reed on the outside and ?rock work pattern on the inside.

## DECORATION

IVY (FM 12)
The type with a thick outline (FM 12:30) framed by dots FM 12:30 is used on the ?piriform jar 735. The hole-mouthed jar 773 is decorated with an elaborate version of ivy leaves (FM 12:z), paralleled at Ayios Stephanos: ${ }^{1178}$ the leaves are outlined with a thick line and the interior space is filled with a thick spiral. The elaborate version of ivy leaves (FM 12:8) on the jar 719 is made of a thick outline with a thin interior line and rows of dots as a fill; it is similar to the ivy leaves used on a palatial jar from Tholos B at Kakovatos ${ }^{1179}$ and a large closed vessel from Aegina. ${ }^{1180}$ Curved-stemmed ivy (FM 12:21) is used on the rounded alabastron 755 and the jar 730, but only the edge of the leaves is preserved.

## Papyrus (FM 11)

One sherd (716) bears floral design that resembles papyrus (FM 11:5).

## Ogival Canopy (FM 13)

The motifs on the shoulder of the jar 726 and on the lower body of the jar 728 may have belonged to ogival canopies.

## PALM (FM 14)

Rare. The type used on the rounded alabastron 746, with a short spiraliform stem, no fronds, and two spiraliform leaves, does not have any parallels in other sites. ${ }^{1181}$

## REED (FM 16)

781, possibly from a large jug with cutaway neck (FS 131), and 734, possibly from a piriform jar, are decorated with reed (FM 16:4). The motif appears on beaked jugs, but the
1178. Mountjoy 2008a, 353, no. 3495.
1179. Lolos 1987, fig. 483.
1180. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 17:182.
1181. Supra p. 349.
reeds are smaller than that of 781 and placed in a narrow horizontal zone at the bottom of the jugs. ${ }^{1182}$

Octopus (FM 21)
One type B octopus decorates the marine style ?stirrup jar 784.
SEA ANEMONE (FM 27)
A sea anemone (FM 27:5) stemming up from a thick horizontal band decorates the stirrup jar 786, in combination with spray frond (FM 30:2).

Rockwork (FM 28)
Marine-style rockwork is used on stirrup jars FS 169 (784).

TREFOIL (FM 29)
Only one sherd from a bell cup (FS 221) is decorated with trefoil (FM 29:3).

## Spray Frond (FM 30)

The edge of a spray frond (FM 30:2) is visible above the sea anemones on the stirrup jar 786, in combination with sea anemones (FM 27:5).

Rock Pattern I (FM 32)
Used as the main motif on rounded alabastra (FS 80-82). It can be multi-crested with fill of stone pattern FM $76(745,754)$ or have no crests $(746)$. On 750 the rock has an outline of a single row of dots (FM 32:19) and on 748 no outline at all (FM 32:22).

Rock Pattern II (FM 33)
The double wavy line with sprigs attached to both sides on 821 may have belonged to rock pattern II (FM 33:19).

Double Axe (FM 35)
The type with double wavy stem (FM 35:10-12) is used on the jar 722 (probably FS $15 / 24$ ); although this type is found in jars from other sites, ${ }^{1183}$ the particularity of this piece
is that the edges of the double stem converge and connect to each other at the top (and possibly also at the bottom, which has not been preserved); the only parallel is a piriform jar from Phylakopi. ${ }^{1184}$ Double axes with double wavy stems, separated by vertical rows of dots, are also commonly used on semi-globular cups FS 211 (793).

## Running Spiral (FM 46)

The simple version FM 46:33 on the bridge-spouted jug 776 and the squat jug 758 is a LH IIA motif;; 1185 the excellent quality of the fabric and the decoration of 776 suggest a very good Mainland product, but 758 is crudely executed and is considered local. The running spiral FM 46:33 on this vase is reminiscent of the spirals on a jug from Prosymna. ${ }^{186}$ Framed spirals (FM 46:10 and FM 46:12) are commonly used on open vases. On the Vapheio cups 823 and 824 the spirals are framed between the rim and the midrib band, they have a thick external coil, four thin internal ones, and a solid center, occasionally with white dots (823); the spirals on 824 are carelessly executed and unevenly placed on the decorative zone, so that the two spirals that were painted last against each other rather than being linked. Framed spirals FM 46:10 is also the main motif on shallow cups FS 218 (with added white paint on 808); and on the goblet 835 .

## Quirk (FM 48)

The quirk on 757 resembles a simple-line spiral (FM 48:4); 759 is also decorated with framed quirk (FM 48:9), which is unusual.

## Zig-ZAG (FM 61)

Used on the jars FS 15/24720 and 721, in both cases made of thick straight lines framed by thinner ones and with fill of dots. The combination of zig-zag with rockwork and reeds on 720 is paralleled at Phylakopi, ${ }^{187}$ where, however, the zig-zag is made of four thin parallel lines, rather than a thick line framed by thinner ones. Thick lines framed by thinner ones decorate a large jar from Thorikos, ${ }^{1188}$ but here the secondary motif is small doubleaxes, instead of rockwork or dots.

[^160]
## 1187. RMDP 898, no. 28.

1188. MDP fig. 13:2.

## Hatched Loop (FM 63)

There are three types of hatched loop:
a) Hatched loop growing from diagonal stems (FM 63:11). Hatched loop growing from diagonal curvilinear stems (FM 63:11) with fill of sea anemones (FM 27:12) and small solid circles are used on two jars, possibly FS 15/24 (714, 715). The only published parallel for this type of hatched loop is found on a large LH I piriform jar FS 27 from Voroulia. ${ }^{1189}$ The curvilinear and slanted stems may mean an early LH IIA, or even LH I date. ${ }^{1190}$
b) Hatched loop growing from vertical stems (FM 63:10). Used on the hole-mouthed jar 775. The loops are of the elongated racket-leaf type and grow laterally from a double vertical stem which rises from the horizontal bands of the lower body. It is possible that the vertical stems developed from the diagonal stems of LH I ${ }^{1191}$. This type of hatched loop appears on hole-mouthed jars in the Argolid ${ }^{1192}$ and large piriform jars in Elis. ${ }^{1193}$
c) Free-floating hatched loop. Horizontally placed free-floating and racket-leaf shaped hatched loop (FM 63:1) decorates the squat jugs 762 and 763. Hatched loops are considered a common Peloponnesian feature, rare in Attica. ${ }^{1194}$

## Foliate Band (FM 64)

The naturalistic type (FM 64:6-8) is used on two shoulders from tall alabastra (741, 742); the drop-shaped leaves are placed in a horizontal row, with small triangles or dots as filling motifs in-between. This type of foliate band is used on tall alabastra from Melos and Keos ${ }^{1195}$, but is absent from the Mainland.

The formal type (FM 64:3) is commonly used on both closed and open shapes. The rounded alabastron 744 is decorated with two horizontal rows of curved leaves, one on the shoulder and one on the belly, separated by two horizontal parallel lines; same with the squat jug 760, which has two decorative zones on the shoulder. The Vapheio cups 827, 826, and 825 are decorated with two rows of curved leaves under the rim, separated by two parallel thin lines.

## Curved Stripes (FM 67)

Used on the piriform jars (FS 20/21) 731 and 732. They are organized in horizontal zones covering the shoulder and the body of the vase. The use of this motif on piriform jars is well attested from other sites. ${ }^{1196}$ Also used on the semi-globular cup 791.

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1189. Lolos 1987, 454, fig. }116
1190. Cf. supra p. 347.
1191. Lolos 1987, 454.
1192. RMDP 89.
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1193. Ibid. 374.
1194. Ibid. 492.
1195. Ibid. 872, 896.
1196. MDP fig. 17:21-22.

Stone Pattern (FM 76)
Found on three sherds from closed vases 736, 737, and 738, which may have belonged to piriform jars (FS 20/21). It is used as the background motif on rounded $(745,754)$ and straight-sided $(768,769)$ alabastra and as the main motif on the rounded alabastron 751 . On 725 the circles forming the pattern have fill of drops (FM 76:2).

RIPPLE (FM 78)
Thick lines decorate the Vapheio cup 833.

## SUMMARY

The deposit from S SU 34, locus 2, which contained LH IIA sherds with Aeginetan MP and small numbers of other MH-style pottery, may suggest that some MH survivals were still being used in LH IIA. In terms of the "Mycenaean" style, the full range of palatial (piriform and conical-piriform jars, Minoan jars, bridge-spouted jugs, and stirrup jars) and domestic (small piriform jars, hole-mouthed jars, rounded alabastra, jugs with cut-away necks, semi-globular and Vapheio cups, and goblets) shapes is represented at Eleusis (figs 223-225); the absence of palatial beaked jugs may be accidental, given the existence of an LH IIB jug. ${ }^{1197}$ Because of the fragmentary nature of the material frequencies cannot be established, but one may note the rarity of Minoan jars, marine style jars, tall alabastra, and in-and-out bowls. Mountjoy and Ponting have demonstrated that Marine Style sherds from Phylakopi, Ayia Irini, and even Knossos are of Athenian provenance, ${ }^{1198}$ and it would be reasonable to expect that the same would hold true for the Eleusinian pieces, confirming the seminal importance of LH IIA "palatial class" pottery workshops at Athens. On the other hand, the possibility that a class of "Mycenaean-style" pottery was produced at Aegina is still open. ${ }^{1199}$ As far as Minoan imports are concerned, without scientific analyses it is impossible to establish whether the sparse Eleusinian pieces are actual Minoan imports, or belong to Mountjoy's "Pseudo-Minoan" class, or are possibly Aeginetan products. Continuity to LH I is limited to only three shapes squat jugs FS 87, semi-globular cups FS 211, and Vapheio cups FS 224 (Table 9), although the fragmentary nature of the material should be taken into account.

In terms of decoration, the repertoire of motifs of closed shapes includes plants (most often foliate bands, ivy, and papyrus, but also palms), hatched loops, stone patterns, and

[^161]cussion of the issue of Aeginetan production of "Mycenaean-style" pottery in Gauss and Kiriatzi 2001, 220-221.

| SHAPE | LH I | LH IIA |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Jar FS 15/24 |  | X |
| Piriform jar FS 27 | X |  |
| Piriform jar FS 20/21 |  | X |
| ?Minoan jar |  | X |
| Rounded alabastron FS 80 | X |  |
| Rounded alabastron FS 82, 83, 89 |  | X |
| Squat jug FS 87 | X | X |
| Straight-sided alabastron FS 90-91 |  | X |
| Tall alabastron |  | X |
| Hole-mouthed jar FS 101 |  | X |
| Bridge-spouted jug FS 103 |  | X |
| Jug with cutaway neck FS 131 | X | X |
| Marine style jar (?stirrup jar FS 169) |  | X |
| Semi-globular cup FS 211-212 |  | X |
| Shallow cup FS 218 | X | X |
| Bell cup FS 221 | X |  |
| Vapheio cup FS 224 |  | X |
| Angular cup FS 240 |  | X |
| Goblet FS 254 |  |  |
| In-and-out bowl |  |  |

Table 9. Continuity between LH I and LH IIA shapes.
double axes; on open shapes more common are spirals, double axes, variations of the ivy motif, and ripple. Motifs occupy the largest part of the surface of the vase, as opposed to the shoulder placement of LH I, and interiors of cups are now slipped. A handful of Minoan stirrup jars decorated with marine motifs (octopus, spray frond, anemones, sea urchins, and rock work) may belong to the pseudo-Minoan class, but chemical analyses that may confirm this have not been conducted; sherds of the Arcade Group have not been identified in the material; the in-and-out bowl 838 may be the only example of the Alternating Style. There is considerable expansion in the range of motifs (figs 223-225), observable not only in the decoration of the shapes that are introduced for the first time in this period, but also in the decoration of the three shapes that continue from LH I:

- squat jugs FS 87 in LH I are decorated with running spirals FM 46:29, but in LH II the spirals are replaced by the more stylized FM 46:33, while the repertory of motifs expands to include hatched loops, quirk, and foliate bands;
- semi-globular cups FS 211 continue to be decorated with double axes, but circles, quirks, wavy lines, and ripple are also used;
- Vapheio cups FS 224, also continue to be decorated with running spiral and ripple, but foliate bands and chevrons are now added.


Fig. 223. LH IIA shape/motif combinations, part I.


Fig. 224. LH IIA shape/motif combinations, part II.


Fig. 225. LH IIA shape/motif combinations, part III.

## LATE HELLADIC IIB

## DEFINITION

Late Helladic IIB material is known from graves at Prosymna, Argos, Athens, and elsewhere, ${ }^{1200}$ but few LH IIB closed domestic deposits have been published. These include Korakou East Alley Levels V-VIII, ${ }^{1201}$ Tiryns Lower Town House D1, ${ }^{1202}$ and Statum 3 of North-West Room F in the Asine Lower Town. ${ }^{1203}$ Material associated with the construction of Mansion 1 on the Menelaion hill also belongs to this phase. ${ }^{1204}$ Pottery from Ayia Irini Period VIIc ${ }^{1205}$ dates also primarily to this phase. In Attica LH IIB material has been found mostly in the wells of the South Slope of the Acropolis, which probably date to the transition to LH IIIA1. ${ }^{1206}$

The most striking feature of LH IIB pottery is its emancipation from its Minoan prototypes, although Dickinson has shown convincingly that clear signs of a distinct Mainland development are already present in previous phases. ${ }^{1207}$ Overall, many shapes of the LH IIA Palatial class and some Minoan-style motifs fade away and decoration becomes increasingly stylized. The Ephyraean style makes its first appearance in the pre-destruction Phase VIIb at Ayia Irini, in a deposit that may have been LH IIA. ${ }^{1208}$ Whether this early occurrence signals an early emergence of the Ephyraean style in some LH IIA assemblages ${ }^{1209}$ or suggests that these assemblages are really LH IIB (and that this period begins before the end of LM IB in Crete) ${ }^{1210}$ is perhaps "a matter of stylistic definition without chronological implication". ${ }^{1211}$ Mountjoy has been able to take into account unpublished deposits from Tsoungiza that indicate that what had been hitherto known as LH IIIA1-style stipple was already in use in LH IIB. ${ }^{1212}$ In Athens the Late Matt-Painted ware, decorated in standard MH-LH I fashion, and the Acropolis Burnished Ware, a distinct Attic class of wheelmade burnished pottery, continue to be produced alongside the Mycenaean style. ${ }^{1213}$
1200. RMDP 24.
1201. Dickinson 1972.
1202. Tiryns VIII 18-26.
1203. Frizell 1980, 60-69.
1204. Menelaion 342-348, where there is also a discussion of some undifferentiated LH II material.
1205. Keos III passim; Keos X passim; Hershenson 1998.
1206. Athens Wells, passim; Mountjoy 1995a, 2021, figs 10, 12-13.
1207. Dickinson 1972, 108; 1974, 117.
1208. Orchomenos V 270-271. Cf. Dickinson 1972,

107; 1977, 29; Popham 1978, 181, n. 13 (sherds from Kythera: Kastri deposit $\omega$ ).
1209. Cf. Popham 1978, 181, n. 13; seemingly supported by Hershenson 1998.
1210. Cf. Dickinson 1977, 29.
1211. Orchomenos V 271.
1212. RMDP 24, 200.
1213. Also found in significant amounts at Ayia Irini on Keos (phase VIIc), where it was presumably imported from Attica. Cf. Mountjoy and Ponting 2000, 143, 149.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The LH IIB material consists of three wares. Scraps of MP pottery found in S SU 34, locus 2 probably belong to Late Matt Painted, but have not been catalogued. ${ }^{1214}$ A number of sherds belonging to Mountjoy's Acropolis Burnished Ware are discussed below. ${ }^{1215}$ The bulk of the material consists of pots decorated with lustrous paint in the "Mycenaean style", which includes seven complete and nearly-complete vases and approximately seventy sherds. Late Helladic IIB material has been found in all parts of the Eleusinian hill, but there are not any closed deposits. In the South Slope, the goblet 893 was found in S SU 9 and the rounded alabastron 851 in House H (S SU 28). A large number of LH IIB pieces was found in the Megaron B complex in the East Slope: inside the Megaron (E SU 4), wedged between the stones of wall 6 (locus 1) was found the Ephyraean goblet 905; in the area between walls 7 and 9a (locus 4) were found the Ephyraean goblet 906, the jars 848 and 850, and the goblets 891 and 897; on the floor of the Megaron (locus 5) were found the goblets 894 and 1227; and in the deposit under the floor and around the mudbricks (locus 6) were found the piriform jar 844, the ring-handled cup 874 , the piriform jar 689, and the goblets 910, 1194, and 1241. In the platform (E SU 5, locus 1) was found the goblets 1236 and 1259. A number of LH IIB sherds were found also in the deposits of the peribolos wall (E SU 6): the goblet 912 was found under the foundation of wall 5 (locus 1); and the Ephyraean goblet 907 and the conical cup 868 were found wedged between the stones of wall 5 (locus 3); finally, the ring-handled cups 1226 and 873 were found under wall 8 (locus 6). In the drain in front of Megaron B (E SU 8, locus 1) were found the rounded alabastron 852, the goblet 886, and the Ephyraean goblets 904 and 908 . From the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10) come the ring-handled cup 872 and the goblet 896 (walls 1a/1b, locus 11); the goblets 727 and 885 (sit under the southeast part of wall 4, locus 4); the jug/jar 940 (first stratum under pyre B, locus 8); and the rounded alabastron 858 (under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall $Z$, locus 12). The squat jug 862 is the only certain LH IIB piece from the Hilltop (H SU 2). Three complete LH IIB vases were found in two graves: the piriform jar 842 and the rounded alabastron 853 were found in S.I.8; and the goblet 877 in E.II.8.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The commonest fabric continues to be fine or fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 8/3-8/4-7/3, used for most piriform jars, rounded alabastra, ringed-handled cups, and goblets. The second most common fabric is fine or fairly fine pink 7.5YR 7/4-8/4, used for the piriform jars 844,849 , and 850 ; the rounded alabastra 851 and 856 ; the squat jugs 862 and 863 ;
the goblets 911, and 895; and the Ephyraean goblets 905 and 908. Fine, reddish yellow 5YR $7 / 6$ fabric is used on the piriform jar 843 and the goblets 887,893 , and 890 ; a light red variant 2.5 YR $6 / 6$ appears in the goblets 880 and 881 . The ring-handled cup 872 has a fine, light grey 10YR 7/2 fabric.

## SHAPES

Piriform Jar (FS 22, 28, 30, 31, 33)
Shape and size. 842,843 , and 844 are small piriform jars: 842 is FS 33 , the other two have been tentatively assigned to FS 33, but could also belong to the more conical FS 28.842 is intact; it has a piriform profile, flaring flattened rim, short concave neck, splaying base, and three horizontal loop handles on the shoulder. Several body fragments (846, 848, 849, and 850) have been assigned to medium-sized piriform jars (FS 30/31) on the basis of their estimated height (about 20-22 cm) and their decoration with scale pattern FM 70.845 belongs to a larger jar, possibly FS 22.
Fabrics and manufacture. They are made of fine fabrics, very pale brown 10YR 7/3-7/4 or pink 7.5YR 7/4-8/4, with slipped surfaces.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. 846 and 848 are decorated with scale pattern with fill of drops (FM 70:3) in black paint and 849 and 850 with simple scale without fill (FM 70:1) in red paint (which may suggest also a LH IIIA1 date). From the middle part of the body of 848 stems a vertical strap handle that would have ended higher up on the shoulder, which is common in LH IIIA1 jars. ${ }^{1216}$ The handle of 848 is monochrome. The decoration of curve-stemmed ivy on 842 (FM 12:12) and 845 (FM 12: 20) is common on jars from the period, ${ }^{1217}$ on the other hand, the wide curved bands framed by thinner lines (possibly a variation of ogival canopy FM 13:3) are paralleled in a jar from Aegina. ${ }^{1218}$
Provenience. 848 and 850 were found in Megaron B, in the area between walls 7 and 9a (locus 4 of E SU 4) with the goblet 891 . The exact provenience of 845 is not known, but it is marked in pencil with "1894, south courtyard".

## Rounded Alabastron (FS 82/83)

Shape and size. 856, 857, and 858 have been assigned to the medium-sized FS 83 on account of their small size ( 853 is 3.4 cm high) and include pieces with both curved (856) and tall (857) profiles. The rest of the pieces are relatively larger and have been assigned to FS 82.

Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are either fine pink 7.5 YR $7 / 4(851,856)$ or fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/4-8/3 (852, 857, 858, 859).

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The main motif is curve-stemmed ivy FM 12 ( 851 ; combined with palm FM 14 on 853 ), but especially rock pattern FM $32(852,856,857)$, which is common on rounded alabastra of the period on the Mainland and in the Cyclades. ${ }^{1219}$ The type of rock pattern used here is without a dotted outline (FM 32:22), in black paint. The bases 858 and 859 are decorated with a wavy spoked wheel.
Provenience. Only five pieces are of known provenience: 851 was found 1.40 m above the floor of House H (S SU 28), 857 in the drain in front of Megaron B (E SU 8, locus 1), 858 in the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12), and 853 in grave S.I.8.

SQUAT Jug (FS 87)
Shape and size. The shoulder/handle pieces 862 and 863 have been identified as LH IIB squat jugs on account of the oblique handles.
Fabrics and manufacture. Both vases are made in the same fine pink 7.5YR8/4 fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Decoration of these two pieces consists of a motif resembling a running spiral (possibly FM 46:51); both have monochrome handles, but the decoration of 862 is in dark brown/black paint whereas that of 863 in red paint. They are paralleled in a LH IIB squat jug from Galataki. ${ }^{1220}$

Beaked Jug (FS 143/144)
864, decorated with curved stripes (FM 67:3), has been identified as a possible beaked jug (?FS 143/144). The fine light red 2.5 YR $7 / 6$ fabric is unusual, perhaps suggesting an import. Beaked jugs decorated with curved stripes have been found in Athens. ${ }^{1221}$

## Feeding Bottle (FS 158)

865, found in grave E.II.8, has a globular profile, a basket handle rising above the rim (partly preserved), and a bridge spout on the neck. The decoration of joining semi-circles (FM 42:2) hanging from the deep rim band is paralleled at Athens. ${ }^{1222}$

Askos (FS 194)
The base 866 preserves two legs and the base of a third one and has been identified as an askos (FS 194).

[^162]Vapheio Cup (FS 224)
Several Vapheio cup rims discussed above with LH IIA pottery ${ }^{1223}$ could date to LH IIB. The monochrome handle 867 has been dated to LH IIB on account of the double ring around its base. ${ }^{1224}$

## Carinated Conical Cup (FS 230)

868 is a fragment of the lower part of the body with the base of a vertical strap handle of a carinated conical cup (FS 230). It is made of fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/3 fabric and is decorated with two horizontal zones of foliate band (FM 64:4), divided by three thin horizontal lines at handle zone; two thick lines under the carination. It was found wedged between the stones of wall 5 of the peribolos wall of Megaron B (E SU 6, locus 3). 882, found in the south wall of the platform of Megaron B (E SU 5, locus 1), is decorated with foliate band (FM 64:19), common in both carinated conical cups ${ }^{1225}$ and Vapheio cups. ${ }^{1226}$

## Ring-Handled Cup (FS 236)

Shape and size. 870 is the only complete example of a simple ring-handled cup (FS 236). It has curved profile, flaring flattened rim, one vertical strap handle rising from the rim above the vase and ending to the belly, and flat base; the other preserved rims are flaring (872) or everted $(871,873)$. The base of 875 is raised concave and that of 860 flat.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown 10 YR 8/3-7/4, except for 872, which has a fine light grey 10YR 7/2 fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Decoration consists of horizontal wavy lines (single FM 53:10 on 870 and double FM 53:9 on 872) running around the body of the vase and framed by a thick band around the rim and a second thick band around the base (860). A ring-handled cup (belonging to the more elaborate type FS 237) from Aegina is also decorated with a single wavy line. ${ }^{1227} 871$ and 875 are decorated with curved-stemmed ivy with triple stem (FM 12:25). 873 is decorated with formal foliate band (FM 64:4), paralleled at Thorikos, Prosymna and Mycenae (see also infra). The top surface of the rim of 870 is solidly painted and the handle is decorated with wavy band. The underside of the base is either bordered by a band (870) or decorated with crossing thick lines (872). 874 is the only cup with painted interior and is decorated with argonauts (FM 22:5), as is another cup from Aegina. ${ }^{1228}$

[^163][^164]Provenience. 872 was found by walls 1a/1b, to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 11). 873 was found under the peribolos wall (E SU 6 , locus 6). 874 was found either under the floor or around the mudbricks of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 6).

Goblet (FS 254, 261, 262)
Shape and size. Two complete goblets and more than fifty sherds can be assigned to LH IIB goblets. The globular FS 254 and the angular FS 261 are best represented, both with everted rims, two vertical strap handles from the rim to the belly (877, 751; although 876 does not have handles), short stems, and splaying bases; 899 may have belonged to FS 262. Some handles are oblique (866). The two complete vases 876 (FS 254) and 877 (FS 261) are small (h. 6.5-7 cm, d. 7.5-8 cm ), but the other pieces belong to larger goblets, with rim diameters ranging from 14 to 18 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine and belong to three groups: the majority are very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 2-8 / 3-8 / 4-7 / 3-7 / 4$; the second most common group is pink $7.57 / 4-8 / 4$; and the third is reddish yellow $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 6$ or light red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 6$. Some Ephyraean goblets have fine pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped and polished: the slip of goblets with very pale brown fabrics is of the same color as the fabric, but goblets with pink $(727,895)$ or reddish $(1188)$ fabrics may be coated with very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ slips. The interior and exterior surfaces of 893 are of different colors: pink 7.5YR 8/4 (exterior) vs. very pale brown 10YR 8/4 (interior).

Ephyraean goblets are commonly decorated with argonauts FM 22:5 (900, 906; FM 22:7 on 904) ${ }^{1229}$ and less often with hooked or pendant stemmed spiral (839), lily FM 9:7 or 9 or 16 (902), ${ }^{1230}$ rosette FM 17:13 (907), ${ }^{1231}$ and chevrons, either as a main motif FM 58:3 (903, 905) or as a fill under the handle FM 58:2. ${ }^{1232}$

The main motif of pattern-painted goblets is placed in a horizontal zone between the rim and the lower part of the body $(876,877,887)$ or covers the entire surface of the vase (892). In most cases the top of the main decorative zone is defined by continuous pendent rock pattern FM $32: 5(876,879,891,890,889),{ }^{1233}$ or by a simple band on the exterior rim $(878,880)$. The main motifs include wavy-stemmed ivy with double stem FM 12:24 (876, 878, 881; possibly triple-stemmed FM 12:13 on 727), ${ }^{1234}$ and palm FM $14: 10$ (880). ${ }^{1235}$ The motif of 893 is uncertain: if the three parallel lines represent stamens, it may be a variant of palm FM 14:16; however, the central motif, which appears to be a variant of starfish FM 26:3, is

[^165][^166]difficult to explain. Also unusual is the foliate band (FM 64:4) on 877 and the pendant FM 38:4 on $\mathbf{8 8 8}$. The occurrence of a foliate band on the goblet 877 might have been due to the influence from Vapheio cups (FS 224), where this decoration is very popular. The droplets of 897 may relate to stipple or some sort of scale pattern. ${ }^{1236}$ Interior and exterior rims are monochrome, handles are decorated with a thick vertical wavy line (887) or diagonal bars (877). Stems and bases are monochrome. A goblet FS 262 has been found in the West Cemetery and similar parallels are known from Aegina. ${ }^{1237}$
Provenience. Goblets have been found in the following spots: S SU 9 (893); E SU 4, locus 1 (905), locus 3 (909), locus 4 (897, 891, and 906), locus 5 (894), and locus 6 (910); E SU 6, locus 1 (912), locus 3 (907), and locus 6 (911); E SU 8, locus 1 ( $886,904,908$ ); E SU 10, locus 4 ( 885 and 727) and locus 11 (896); and grave E.II. 8 (877).

## Miniature Cup

913 is a fragment of the incurving rim from a miniature cup (rim diameter 6.3). It is decorated with pendent rock pattern FM 32:5. I have not been able to find parallels for the use of pendent rock pattern on miniature cups, but the incurving rim is fairly common. ${ }^{1238}$

## DECORATION

LiLY (FM 9)
Part of a lily FM 9b (resembling FM 9:7 or 9 or 16) decorates the Ephyraean goblet 902.

IVY (FM 12)
The curved-stem unvoluted type stemming from rock pattern (FM 12:14) is the main motif on the small piriform jar 842 and the rounded alabastron 853; on both vases it is combined with palm (FM 14:13). The same combination is also found on a small piriform jar from Dramesi, ${ }^{1239}$ although on this vase the ivy leaves are rounder (FM12 variant b) as opposed to the flatter leaves of 842 and 853 (variant c). The edges of the ivy leaf of 845 and 879 indicate that this vase was also decorated with the same variant (FM 12c, perhaps FM $12: 20$ ). Double wavy-stemmed ivy FM $12: 24$ is used as the main motifs on the goblets ( 876 , 878, 881; possibly also on 879); triple-stemmed ivy decorates the ring-handled cups 871 and 875 and possibly the goblet 727.

[^167][^168]
## Ogival Canopy (FM 13)

The goblet (?FS 262) 899 is decorated with a variant of ogival canopy FM 13:3, but the canopy is framed with a double wavy line with dots. I have not been able to find a parallel for this motif.

PALM (FM 14)
Palm with curved stem rising from rock pattern (FM 14:13) decorates the piriform jar 842 and the rounded alabastron 853; as mentioned above, it is combined with curved-stem ivy FM 12:14. In the Dramesi jar mentioned above the palm belongs to the upright elongated variant FM 12:16, rather than the rounder FM12:13 of 842. Palm FM 14:10 is used on the shoulder of the small jar 843 and the body of the goblet 880 ; the two groups of three, slightly curved parallel lines, on 893 could represent stamens from an FM 14:16, but the starfish-like central fill is difficult to explain.

## Rosette (FM 17)

The ends of the leaves of a rosette (FM 15:13) are preserved on the Ephyraean goblet 907.

## Argonaut (FM 22)

The simple type (FM 22:5) appears on the interior of the ring-handled cup 874 and on the exterior of the Ephyraean goblet 751. The interior of a ring-handled cup from Aegina ${ }^{1240}$ is decorated with the more elaborate FM 22:8, but the usual motif on Ephyraean goblets is FM 22:5 (900, 906). The variant with multiple coils FM 22:7 on 904 may suggest a LH IIIA1 date.

Rock Pattern (FM 32)
On the piriform jar 842 and the rounded alabastron 853 it is used as a base motif, from which rise the curved types of ivy FM12:14 and palm FM14:13. It is used as the standard main motif on rounded alabastra $(857,856)$ and in its pendent form on the rims of goblets ( $876,891,890,889,879$ ) and the miniature cup 913.

Pendant (FM 38)
One goblet (888) is decorated with a chain of pendants (FM 38:4).

[^169]Joining Semi-Circles (FM 42)
Joining semi-circles (FM 42:2) hang from the rim band of the feeding bottle 865 and find parallels in feeding bottles from Athens. ${ }^{1241}$

## Running Spiral (FM 46)

Used as the main motif on the squat jugs 862 and 863 ; it could be the variant with thick external coil FM 46:51, but the motif is only partially preserved. A parallel from the Argolid is decorated with FM 46:51. ${ }^{1242}$ Also used on the goblets 887 and 886 .

Wavy Lines (FM 53)
Horizontal wavy lines are common on ring-handled cups, either single FM 53:10 (870) or double FM 53:9 (872); in both cases the lines run around the body of the vase and are framed by a thick band around the rim and a second thick band around the base. A ringhandled cup (belonging to the more elaborate type FS 237) from Aegina is also decorated with a single wavy line. ${ }^{1243}$

## Chevrons (FM 58)

Chevrons with transverse bars (FM 58:3) decorate the Ephyraean goblet 903; this is a large variant of the motif, resembling one from Korakou. ${ }^{1244}$ The smaller open version FM 58:2 also appears as a fill under the handle (904), which is common in other sites. ${ }^{1245}$

## Foliate Band (FM 64)

The formal type (FM 64:3,5) is the standard decoration on the type III Vapheio cups. ${ }^{1246}$ The leaves on the bands of the two small goblets decorated with this pattern $(873,877)$ are drawn as oblique strokes and are arranged in horizontal zones separated by groups of three to four horizontal parallel lines.

## Scale Pattern (FM 70)

There are two variants of scale pattern used. Scales without a fill (FM 70:1) decorate the piriform jars 849 and 850, but this variant also continues in LH IIIA1. The more elaborate

[^170]FM 70:3 with fill of drops is used on the shoulder and middle part of the body of the piriform jars 848 and 846 ; this variant is also used on small piriform jars from the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1247}$ The droplets of 897 may be some sort of scale pattern. ${ }^{1248}$ The use of scale pattern with or without fill on piriform jars is common in other areas, ${ }^{1249}$ including Attica ${ }^{1250}$ and Boeotia. ${ }^{1251}$

## STIPPLE (FM 77)

The blotchy type is a fairly common decoration on goblets (895, 896, 894, 892). 1015 is decorated with the neat LH IIIA1-type stipple pattern, but was found with LH IIA / IIB pottery ${ }^{1252}$ and it is possible that this type of stipple appears earlier, as it does at Tsoungiza. ${ }^{1253}$

## Acropolis Burnished Ware

Sherds from wheelmade vases with pink or red fabrics and burnished unpainted surfaces belong to the Acropolis Burnished Ware, identified by Mountjoy in the wells of the South Slope of the Acropolis. ${ }^{1254}$ The majority of the catalogued sherds ${ }^{1255}$ belong to goblets with everted rims (FS 263, FS 270) and rim diameters ranging from 12 to 18 cm . They have fine or fairly fine fabrics, pink 7.5YR $7 / 4(\mathbf{1 1 7 5}, \mathbf{1 1 7 8}, \mathbf{1 2 1 2}, \mathbf{1 2 9 0})$ or red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 4(\mathbf{1 1 7 9}, \mathbf{1 1 8 0}$, 1181, 1218) or reddish yellow 5 YR $6 / 6(1184,1215)$ or light brown 5YR $6 / 4(1197,1205,1216$, 1217, 1231). There are also few fragments from jars with everted rims and vertical loop handles descending from the neck to the shoulder, in fairly fine reddish yellow 5YR $6 / 6$ (1182). Surfaces are covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric and are burnished. Most of the stratified sherds date to LH IIB ( 1175 from E SU 8, locus 2) or LH IIB/LH IIIA1: 1178, 1179, 1182, 1184, 1247, 1290, 1231 were found in E SU 4 (loci 1, 5, 6), E SU 5 (locus 2), E SU 6 (locus 6), E SU 10 (locus 10) and 1180, 1181, 1197 were found in grave E.I.8. On the other hand, 1205 and 1212, found in E SU 10 locus 5 and E SU 6 locus 2, as well as 1215, 1216, 1217, and 1218, found in E SU 10 loci 5 and 9 and E SU 12 locus 2, have a LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 context. Given that in other Attic sites the production of ABW seems to have ceased by LH IIIA2, these sherds may belong to LH IIIA1.

[^171]1253. Supra p. 366.
1254. Athens Wells 51-56.
1255. In the catalogue are included only the ABW sherds with known provenance. In the storage room of the museum there are other unstratified sherds that may belong to this ware.

Late Matt-Painted
There is meager evidence to suggest the use of MP pottery into LH IIB, in the form of scraps (avg. size $2 \times 3 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) from body sherds found in S SU 34 (locus 2). These sherds belong to open and closed vessels in Gold Mica and DT fabrics and preserve traces of black and dark brown lines in matt paint. Despite the fact that this is not a closed deposit, the finding of these sherds in a LH IIA/IIB context may indicate the continuation of MH ceramics well into the early Mycenaean period.

## SUMMARY

The range of shapes of the lustrous painted Mycenaean pottery (fig. 226) includes LH IIA domestic shapes (piriform jar, rounded alabastron, squat jug, Vapheio cup, and goblet), along with four new ones: ring-handled cup, feeding bottle, carinated conical cup, and miniature cup. Of the palatial shapes only the beaked jug seems to survive from the previous period. The decoration includes several motifs that continue from LH IIA but are more stylized than their predecessors: curved-stemmed ivy FM 12, ogival canopy FM 13, palm FM 14, rock pattern FM 32, running spiral FM 46, formal foliate band FM 64, and curved stripes FM 67. At the same time, a wide range of motifs seem to be introduced: lily FM 9, rosette FM 17, argonauts FM 22, pendent rock pattern FM 32, pendant FM 38, joining semi-circles FM 42, horizontal wavy lines (single FM 53:10 or double FM 53:9), chevrons FM 58, scale pattern with fill of drops or no fill FM 70, and the blotchy stipple FM 77. Late Helladic IIA motifs that are not found in LH IIB include anemones FM 27, trefoil FM 29, double axe FM 35, quirk FM 48, hatched loops FM 63, stone pattern FM 76, ripple FM 78, and the full range of LH IIA marine motifs (octopus, sea urchins, spray frond, rock works).

Compared with the LH IIB ceramic assemblages from other sites, the material from Eleusis has strong similarities with that from Well Z from the Acropolis. ${ }^{1256}$ These include ABW and, possibly, Late Matt Painted, although there are no data that would allow us to estimate the frequency of each ware. ${ }^{1257}$ The similarities in the Mycenaean style include piriform jars decorated with simple scale without fill FM 70:1; rounded alabastra decorated with curve-stemmed ivy FM 12 and rock pattern FM 32; Vapheio cups decorated with foliate bands (FM 64); and goblets decorated with pendent rock pattern FM 32:5, wavystemmed ivy with double stem FM 12:24, stipple FM 77, argonauts FM 22:5, lily FM 9:7 or

[^172][^173]9 or 16, and chevrons FM 58:3. Fewer similarities are noticed with Asine (rounded alabastra decorated with curve-stemmed ivy FM 12 and rock pattern FM 32 and goblets decorated with argonauts FM 22:5 and chevrons FM 58:3) and Tiryns (goblets decorated with argonauts FM 22:5 and chevrons FM 58:3). If this is not a result of bias due to the fragmentary nature of the Eleusinian material, it may indicate stronger connections with Athens than with the Argolid.


Fig. 226. Combination of LH IIB shapes and motifs.

## LATE HELLADIC IIIA1

## DEFINITION

Closed domestic deposits are more scarce than tomb deposits: the Atreus Bothros at Mycenae represents the typical assemblage of painted LH IIIA1 pottery. ${ }^{1258}$ Other deposits are LH IIB/IIIA1: the Lower Towns of Asine and Tiryns (Building 49), Menelaion Mansion 2, Ano Englianos deposit below Hall 65 and Lower Town: the "Southwestern Quarter" (Trench LT 1) and the "South Corner" (W21), the Area IV Megaron at Nichoria, Building F at Krisa, and Ayia Irini period VIII. ${ }^{1259}$ The fill from the wells in the South Slope of the Acropolis must have been deposited at the transition to (or the very beginning of) LH IIIA1, since LH IIB material is dominant, ${ }^{1260}$ while the grave furnishings from the Agora suggest this was a period of great prosperity for the settlement. ${ }^{1261}$ Acropolis Burnished Ware and Late MattPainted continue to be produced alongside Mycenaean decorated pottery in this phase.

In general, it is now recognized that LH IIIA1 is really a continuation of LH IIB and that LH IIIA2 is really the precursor of LH IIIB. ${ }^{1262}$ The general characteristics of LH IIIA1 are the expansion of the range of shapes, both in painted and in undecorated pottery; and the standardization of motifs used for painted pots (especially of spiral, net, stipple, scales, the four commonest motifs).

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

In total, about 70 pattern-painted and monochrome pieces can be dated to LH IIIA1. As mentioned above, closed LH IIIA1 deposits have not been found; instead, most loci contain both LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 material, or pottery that can only be dated to the general LH IIIA1/IIIA2 timeframe. The richest LH IIIA1/IIIA2 material was found to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion: here numerous closed (piriform and handleless jars) and open (kylikes, goblets, bowls, and shallow cups) vases were found in the deposits under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2), under wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 4), in the interior corner of walls 4 and 4c (E SU 10, locus 5), between the Archaic terrace wall Z and wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 6), around wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 7), in the first (E SU 10, locus 8) and third (E SU 10, locus 9) stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z, and the deposits under the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12). Some LH IIIA1/ IIIA2 sherds have been found on the floor (E SU 4,

[^174]and van Effenterre 1938; French 1964, 242; Mountjoy 1990, 254-256, figs 11-12; RMDP 750-752, figs 289:2526 and 290:30, 33-35 (Krisa); Caskey 1972, 397-398, pl.
96; Morris and Jones 1998 (Ayia Irini).
1260. Athens Wells.
1261. Mountjoy 1995a, 28-31.
1262. Rutter 2010, 418-419.
locus 5) and under the floor (E SU 4, locus 6) of Megaron B; and in the extension B1/B2/B3 (E SU 9, locus 1). Sporadic LH IIIA1/IIIA2 sherds were found in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12). The goblet 996 is marked as " $\Pi \alpha v$. Nє $\varrho . \alpha$. $\varrho .32$, 1895". In the South Slope stratified LH IIIA1 goblets, mugs, kraters, and piriform jars were found in the new excavation (S SU 34, locus 1). Several goblets were found on the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2).

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The vast majority (about eighty percent) of the LH IIIA1 pieces are made of fine or fairly fine very pale brown 10 YR 8/3-8/4-7/3-7/4 fabrics. The second most common category (about $15 \%$ ) consists of vases with fine or fairly fine pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 3-7 / 4$ fabrics: these include piriform jars ( $921,928,938,939$ ), one handleless jar (943), the stirrup jug 950, the shallow cups 973, 975, 977, 978, and a few goblets (1003, 1005, 1008, 1011).

## SHAPES

## Conical and Piriform Jar (FS 22/23/31/39/44)

Shape and size. In many cases identifications with specific FS are not certain, as the height, the outline, and the diameter of the vase cannot be reconstructed. 930 has been assigned to the wide conical-piriform jar FS 22 on account of the sharp angle of the shoulder to the neck and the thickness of the wall $(0.5 \mathrm{~cm})$; the almost flat belly fragments 931 and 932 may have belonged also to FS 22, although 932 is thinner and could have come from a smaller jar. A number of shoulder fragments have been assigned to the LH IIIA1 medium-sized piriform or conical jars FS 23 or FS 31 on the basis of the angle of their shoulder and their decoration (920, 921, 923, 926).
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine very pale brown, except for 935 which has a fine, porcelain-like fabric; and 932 which has a pink fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. All pieces are slipped. The commonest LH IIIA1 decorative pattern is thin curved vertical stripes FM 67:3 stemming from horizontal parallel lines on the belly (932) or the shoulder (929). The shoulder 923 is decorated with running spiral with zwickel fill (FM 46:40). 925 is decorated with scale pattern FM 70:1 without a fill, common in LH IIIA1/IIIA2. 951 preserves parts of two thick wavy lines, possibly from an argonaut FM 22; the arms of another argonaut FM 22:7 are visible on the belly fragment 920; both pieces can only be dated to the general LH IIIA1/IIIA2 range. The small jars 921 and 938 preserve the ends of a set of double curved stems under the handle, which probably belong to lilies (FM 9). ${ }^{1263}$ The small (FS 44) piriform jar 939 is decorated with net pattern
(FM 57:2). Piriform jars occur often in the West Cemetery: the LH IIIA1 FS 28 is decorated with papyrus FM 11, curved-stemmed spiral FM 49 and foliate band FM $64 .{ }^{1264}$
Provenience. The only stratified jars were found in the peribolos wall of Megaron B (930 from E SU 6, locus 5), the extension of Megaron B ( 925 from E SU 9, locus 1), the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, 951 and 929), and the new excavation in the South Slope (S SU 34, locus 1, 926). 923 is marked with "20/3/1892" and was probably found in the South Slope.

Handleless Jar (FS 77)
Two fragments from small closed vases decorated with evenly applied stipple belong to LH IIIA1 handleless jars (FS 77); the rarity of the shape at Eleusis agrees with its observed rarity in other sites of Attica. ${ }^{1265} 942$ is part of the shoulder and the base of the monochrome neck, made of fine, very pale brown fabric; 943, found in the deposits under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2), belongs to the upper part of the belly and the transition to the shoulder and is made of pink fabric. They are both decorated with the close version of stipple (FM 77:2). 943 was found in the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 2). In general the stippled version of this shape is more common in domestic deposits than in graves, ${ }^{1266}$ which explains why there is only one FS 77 decorated with stipple FM 77 in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1267}$

## Alabastron, Straight Sided (FS 91, 94)

Shape and size. Straight-sided alabastra (FS 94) are rare and none of the identified pieces has a known provenience. The three pieces included in the catalogue have slightly concave bodies and sloping shoulders. 944, which is the only complete vase of this shape, is 9 cm tall and has cylindrical neck, thick everted rim (diam. 6 cm ), three vertical loop handles, and flat base (diam. 13.8 cm ); 945 preserves only parts of a vertical loop handle; 937 may have been Cypriot.
Fabrics and manufacture. 944 and 945 are made of fairly fine, very pale brown fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are coated with a slip, either in the same color as the fabric ( 944,945 ). Bodies are decorated with straight parallel horizontal bands and lines: on 945 the bands are of equal thickness, but on 944 there are three thick bands framing two groups of thin parallel lines each. Shoulders are decorated with net pattern

[^175]1266. Ibid. 27.
1267. West Cemetery pl. 49.348 (grave Z $\pi 6$ ), $412 \beta$.
(944) and double foliate band (945). The neck of 944 is monochrome and the base is decorated with a group of four thin concentric circles and a solid center framed by a thin circle. 937 is unusual, in that it is decorated with a row of horizontal whorl shells (FM 23) on the shoulder (the motif on the main body is indistinguishable) and may have been of Cypriot origin. None of these pieces has a known provenience.

It is interesting that in the LH IIIA1 assemblage from the West Cemetery there is a preference for FS 93 and the squat FS 84 (the second decorated with the usual rock pattern FM $32^{1268}$ and FM 12 ivy ${ }^{1269}$ ), instead of the FS 91 and 94 that occur in the settlement. Mountjoy notes that a straight-sided alabastron from grave $\Theta \pi 13$ features the "short lower body of LH IIB vessels", ${ }^{1270}$ hinting at a possible conservatism in the development of the shape here. Another vessel from tomb H $\pi 1$ is decorated with wavy line. ${ }^{1271}$

Jug (FS 144, 150)
Shape and size. Very few body sherds from closed vases have been assigned to jugs. The shoulders 948 and 949 have been assigned to the beaked jug FS 144 on account of the ridge running around the base of the neck; the monochrome vertical loop handle $\mathbf{1 2 2 2}$ has also been assigned to an FS 150, because of the rarity of this kind of handle in other shapes. ${ }^{1272}$ The belly of the closed vessel 951, decorated with argonauts, has been identified as a beaked jug because this motif is commonly used on beaked jugs; 950 has been identified as a stirrup jug and not as a stirrup jar on account of its loop rather than strap handle.
Fabrics and manufacture. 948 and 949 have the standard fairly fine very pale brown fabric; 950 has a pink, fairly coarse fabric. The fabric of 951 is fairly fine and light grey.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Shoulders of beaked jugs are decorated with a wavy line (948) or foliate band (949).
Provenience. 949 was found on wall 5 of the peribolos of Megaron B (E SU 6, locus 5) and 951 in the deposits under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2).

## Krater (FS 7)

Only two sherds may have come from LH IIIA1 kraters (FS 7). The wide angle of the body and the tall and sharply everted rim of 961 suggests a LH IIIA1 FS 7 rather than LH IIIA2 FS 8; this is a large vase, with a rim diameter of 29 cm . The body fragment 967 has been identified as a krater on the basis of the thickness of its walls and its decoration

[^176]1270. RMDP 519-520, fig. 185:103; West Cemetery pl. 126.657.
1271. Ibid. pl. 56.465.
1272. MDP fig. 68:1.
(see below). Both have fairly fine, very pale brown, fabrics and slipped surfaces. The main decoration is placed in a wide decorative zone under the rim bands and consists of bivalve shells (961) or net (967). 967 was found in S SU 34 locus 1 of the new excavation; the provenience of 961 is not known.

Cup (FS 219, FS 220, FS 238)
Shape and size. Shallow cups FS 219 and FS 220 have everted (970) or flaring rims (the small cup 973) and shallow bodies; the identification of the rim 972 as a cup is tentative, given the deep exterior rim band; 972-974 could be either LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2. 979 has been tentatively assigned to FS 219/220 on account of its flaring rim and short body with the decoration in a horizontal zone, but the motif (see below, Decoration, Papyrus) is unusual. The monochrome 1226 belongs to a LH IIIA1/IIIA2 ring-handled cup FS 238. ${ }^{1273}$ Rim diameters range from 12 to 14 cm and wall thickness for most pieces ranges between 0.1 and 0.3 cm . Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine very pale brown. Exceptions are 973, which has a fine reddish yellow fabric; and 975, which have fine pink fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped inside and outside. The main decorative zone extends from the rim band to the horizontal line in the lower part of the cup and is decorated with stipple FM 77 (970, 971), quirk FM 48 (973), running spirals FM 46 (972).
Provenience. 972 and 974 were found wedged in the walls of the platform of Megaron B (E SU 5, locus 3); 975 was found in the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 5 and locus 7 respectively); and 970 in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12).

Mug (FS 225/226)
Shape and size. Three slightly convex or flat bases and a lower body sherd belong to mugs (FS $225 / 226$ ). Base diameters range from 8 to 13.7 cm .982 and 984 are LH IIIA1, but 981 and 983 can only be dated to LH IIIA1/ IIIA2.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown or reddish yellow.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped and polished or only slipped (982). The main decoration is placed in two horizontal zones, one defined by a band on the rim and a band in the middle of the vase and one between the middle band and the base band. The motifs used include running FM 46 (982) or curved-stemmed FM 49 (984) spirals; of the other two vases only bands are preserved.

Provenience. Only three pieces have known. 983 and 984 were found in S SU 34 (locus 1); and 981 was wedged in the wall of the platform in front of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 3).

## Goblet (FS 255, FS 263)

Shape and size. Several pieces of 994 are preserved, but they do not join. Additionally, three everted rims and over twenty body sherds from deep semi-globular goblets have been identified. With the exception of 998, which was small (rim diam. 12 cm ), the other pieces belong to larger goblets, with rim diameters ranging from 16 to 19 cm. 1020, from a large goblet, preserves the base of a wide and thin ( $4.2 \times 0.8 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) vertical strap handle. The monochrome goblets 1176 and 1177 have been identified FS 263 on account of their tall everted rims; shorter rims have been tentatively assigned to FS 270, but it is impossible to establish the height of the missing handles.
Fabrics and manufacture. The majority of the goblets is made in fine or fairly fine very pale brown fabric. Exceptions are 1004, 1008, 1019, 1011, 1003, which have pink fabrics; monochrome goblets pink fabrics (e.g. 725) and some are burnished (ABW, with pink 1178 or red 1180 fabrics). 1021 has an exceptionally fine, porcelain-like fabric. All monochrome goblets are wheelmade.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped and polished, with the exception of 1003. The main decorative zone extends between the rim band and one or more horizontal bands in the lower part of the body; the most popular motifs are spirals (running and curved) and scale patterns, although tricurved arch (996) and stipple (1014, 999, 1015) also appear (although 1015 may have been LH IIB). ${ }^{1274}$ The design on 1023 is unusual: it has a dotted stamen resembling FM 18:133, except that the radiating bars have been replaced by a thick curved line reminiscent of papyrus (cf. FM 11:54); otherwise, it may be two separate motifs in an elusive arrangement (since such a small surface is preserved). Monochrome goblets are covered with either a thin black paint (725) or a solid coating of a thick brick red slip, which has been burnished $(\mathbf{1 1 8 0}, \mathbf{1 1 8 1}) .1183$ is the only goblet that has an unpainted exterior surface and a monochrome interior. ${ }^{1275}$ Mountjoy has called attention to an interesting "advanced" goblet from grave $\Gamma \pi 17,{ }^{1276}$ the outline of which resembles FS 254, but features the short, non-pronounced rim of the LH IIIA2 form.
Provenience. Most goblet fragments with known provenience were found around the mudbricks of Megaron B (1004, E SU 4, locus 6), wall 5 of the peribolos wall ( 1017 and 1013 in E SU 6, locus 2; 1014 in E SU 6, locus 4), and the platform in front of Megaron B (1007, E SU 5, locus 2; 1000, 1016, $\mathbf{9 9 9}$, E SU 5, locus 3). Goblets have also been found to the south-
west of the Peisistrateian Telesterion: 1018 was found in the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12); and 1009 the deposit under the southeast part of wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 4); and 1002 and 1001 in the area between the Archaic terrace wall Z and wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 6). 1019 was found in S SU 34 (locus 1) of the new excavation and 996 is marked with the indication " $\Pi \alpha v$. Nع $\varrho . \dot{\alpha} \varrho .32,1895$ ". Two pieces come from the Hilltop ( 997,1008, H SU 1). Monochrome goblets have been found in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, locus 2, 1199), the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z, to the northeast of wall 4 c ( $\mathbf{1 2 0 0}$, E SU 10, locus 12), but mostly in and around Megaron B: the floor (1177, E SU 4, locus 5), the north side of the platform (the ABW 1178, E SU 5, locus 2), the peribolos (the ABW 1179, E SU 6, locus 6), and the fill next to the sides of wall 5 (the ABW 1205, E SU 6, locus 2). Three ABW goblets (1180, 1181, and 1197) were found in grave E.I.8.

## SHALLOW Bowl (?FS 295/296)

The bowl rim 980 has a small horizontal strap handle with a vertical perforation on the rim and can be dated to LH IIIA1 on account of its stipple decoration; it is perhaps related to the shallow bowl FS 295 or FS 296, dated by Furumark to LH IIIA1. ${ }^{1277}$

## DECORATION

LiLy (FM 9)
The ends of double curved stems under the handle of the small jar 921 appear to have belonged to a lily (FM 9), as do the lines of 938 . The kylix 1027 preserves double spiraliform lines, but cannot be readily identified with a lily either.

## ?PAPURUS (FM 11)

The motif on 979 seems to be a floral motif (probably a schematic rendering of a flower?) on a curved (or even wavy) double stem. Although only a part of the main motif is preserved, a lot of LH IIB "left-overs" in the IIIA1 floral repertoire are rendered in this way. The schematic main motif looks like an attempt to render a "fringed" papyrus. ${ }^{1278}$ The syntax is quite familiar in LH IIB and, especially, LH IIIA1. ${ }^{1279}$ The shape identification of this

[^177]fig. 88:96; the bivalves and papyri are frequently rendered in similar fashion.
1279. Comparanda (motif): MDP fig. 74.2-4 from the Athenian Wells, featuring FM 9 lily, FM 11 papyrus and FM 12 ivy; cf. Grotta 80.
piece is, however, tentative, as in LH IIIA1 cups FS 219/220 are usually decorated with more abstract motifs, such as stipple. ${ }^{1280}$

## Argonaut (FM 22)

The shoulder of the piriform jar (FS 31) 920 preserves parts of the tentacles of an argonaut, including parts of a spiral with a thick external coil and multiple thinner ones (FM 22:7), in the manner of the LH IIIA1 spiraliform tentacles. The goblet 1000 preserves parts of the external thick arm and a single thinner one (FM 22:9). The two thick lines of the jar or jug 951 belonged also to argonauts.

## Bivalve Shell (FM 25)

The krater 961 is decorated with bivalve shells with triple arcs joining a double calyx (FM 25:14).

## Running Spiral (FM 46)

Simple-line running spirals are commonly used on goblets. The tangent variant FM 46:52 is used on the large goblet 994 and the mug 982. The FS LH IIIA1 kylix 1025 is decorated with an S-shaped spiral (FM 46:55) with thick coils. The spirals of the goblets 1001, 1002, and $\mathbf{1 0 0 7}$ could have belonged to either FM 46:52 or FM 46:55. Simple-line spiral with zwickel fill (FM 46:40) is rare, found only on the shoulder of a piriform jar (possibly FS 23, 923); the zwickel is drawn in outline and filling the top and bottom spaces between the spirals, much like a jar from Phylakopi ${ }^{1281}$ and a kylix from the Agora. ${ }^{1282}$ The disintegrated version of the band spiral (FM 46:7) ${ }^{1283}$ is used on the goblets 1005 and 1006. The shallow cup 972 is decorated with a spiral, but it is too fragmentary to establish the specific type.

## Curved-Stemmed Spiral (FM 49)

The goblet 1008 preserves the end of the tail of a spiral and parts of the coils of the adjacent one (resembling FM 49:10).

## Ноoked Spiral

The "hooked spiral" of 1003 is not paralleled in other FS 255. The "hook" takes the form of a spiral emerging atop of another spiral. There is an edge of a spiral (or floral?) motif
1280. $R M D P$ 523-524, fig. 187: 115-117.
1281. MDP fig. 60:3.
1282. Agora XIII pl. 39:16.
1283. Cf. MP 354.
on the right. The overall arrangement is reminiscent of the decoration on kraters from Mycenae. ${ }^{1284}$

Net-Pattern (FM 57)
The small (FS 44) piriform jar 939 is decorated with simple diaper net pattern (FM 57:2). The same motif decorates the shoulder zone of the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) 944 and the body of the krater 967 .

Wavy Line (FM 53)
A cross-over between zig-zag (FM 61:2) and wavy line (FM 53:11) decorates the base of the neck of the beaked jug FS 144 (948).

## Tricurved Arch (FM 62)

The arches on the goblet 996 have also double outline, but the fill ornaments are U-shaped and enclose a short vertical line.

Foliate Band (FM 64)
A stylized version of foliate band FM 64:14 forming two rows on either side of a group of three horizontal lines decorates the base of the neck of the beaked jug FS 144 (949). The shoulder zone of the straight-sided alabastron 945 is decorated with an unusual version of a metallic foliate band: the loops, represented by short diagonal dashes, spring from an elaborate stem formed by three parallel lines; this motif resembles FM 64:24 (found on a LH IIB sherd from Zygouries: ${ }^{1285}$ the advanced stylization of the loops on 945, which have been reduced to linear, and the use of the motif on a straight-sided alabastron suggest a LH IIIA1 date.

## Curved Stripes (FM 67)

The thin version (FM 67:3) is used on the belly (932) or the shoulder (929) of large con-ical-piriform jars FS 22.

## Scale Pattern (FM 70)

The simple version of hanging scales without a fill (FM 70:1) is used as a zonal motif on the shoulders of piriform jars FS 23/34 and FS 30/31 (925) and as surface decoration on
the goblet FS 255 (997, 998, 1012). The scales of 1009 are inverted facing towards the top (cf. FM 70:7); the scales of 1012 are small and approach net pattern. The elaborate version of scales, with fill of dots (FM 70:2) is found on one goblet (1021); this variant of the motif is used also in LH IIB ${ }^{1286}$ and this piece may have been earlier than LH IIIA1.

## Stipple (FM 77)

The LH IIIA1 close variant of stipple (FM 77:2) is used on one closed shape, the handleless jar FS 77 ( 942,943 ), but is common in open shapes: goblets ( 999,1014 ), bowls ( 980 ), and shallow cups (970, 971).

## SUMMARY

As mentioned above, pure LH IIIA1 deposits have not been isolated at Eleusis. On the basis of the datable pieces, it appears that most known shapes are represented: those that can be assigned a LH IIIA1 date include jars (FS 22/23/31/44), handleless jars (FS 77), straight sided alabastra (FS 91/94), jugs (FS 144/150), cups (FS 219/220/245), goblets (FS 254/255), and kylikes (no FS). The four commonest LH IIIA1 motifs ${ }^{1287}$ are also present at Eleusis: stipple is used on handleless jars and cups; curve-stemmed spirals with flowing stems decorate kylikes and cups; net is found on small piriform jars, alabastra, and kraters; and scales without fill are found on piriform jars and goblets. These motifs cover a large part of the decorative surface. Monochrome goblets are fairly common.

As far as other wares go, a few Late MP and ABW sherds were found in mixed LH IIIA1/IIIA2 deposits. ${ }^{1288}$ Judging from Athens and Ayia Irini where by LH IIIA2 these two wares have ceased to be produced, ${ }^{1289}$ the Eleusinian pieces must be LH IIIA1.

The pottery from the settlement presents several differences to that of the West Cemetery. In LH IIIA1 the straight-sided alabastron FS 91 and 94 occurs in the settlement, but in the West Cemetery occur the squat FS 84 and the straight-sided FS 93 alabastron. Two shapes from the West Cemetery have not been identified in the settlement: the stirrup jug FS $150{ }^{1290}$ and the feeding bottle FS 159. ${ }^{1291}$

[^178]

Fig. 227. Combination of LH IIIA1 shapes and motifs.

## LATE HELLADIC IIIA2

## DEFINITION

Domestic LH IIIA2 deposits from Mycenae include extensive LH IIIA2 Late material from the Petsas House Apotheke A', the Terrace on the Atreus Ridge, the Terrace below the House of the Shields, and the Terrace below the House of the Oil Merchant. ${ }^{1292}$ A significant Early LH IIIA2 deposit from Tsoungiza was recently published by Thomas; ${ }^{1293}$ contemporaneous deposits from other sites include Ayios Stephanos (Area E wash layer) ${ }^{1294}$ and Nichoria (Area IV Trench L23 PQfg). ${ }^{1295}$

Late Helladic IIIA2 has been stylistically divided by Furumark into an Early and a Late phase, ${ }^{1296}$ but until now this division has not been confirmed from settlement deposits, except for three sites. At Tsoungiza, in EU 9 Thomas has identified a substantial LH IIIA2 Early deposit with close affinities with LH IIIA1 and marked differences to LH IIIA2 Late. ${ }^{1297}$ At Ayios Stephanos, the wash layer in Area E has been associated by Mountjoy with LH IIIA2 Early, ${ }^{1298}$ but given the particularities of the Ayios Stephanos material, it is difficult to use it to define LH IIIA2 Early in general. On the other hand, the divisions of LH IIIA2 at Nichoria are difficult to follow elsewhere: what is defined as LH IIIA2 Early (from lots with mostly undecorated wares) is very close to LH IIIA1, yet the occurrence of the stemmed bowl differentiates this phase from pure LH IIIA1. ${ }^{1299}$ The problem at Eleusis is that we do not have any closed deposits that could be dated to any one of those periods; instead, we have a large number of sherds which are either unstratified or have been found in mixed deposits and of which not enough is preserved to allow a precise dating. As a result, in this and in the following chapter they have been grouped together, although pieces that lend themselves to close dating are pointed out in the discussion of individual shapes. A large number of graves from the West Cemetery can also be dated to LH IIIA1/ IIIA2 ${ }^{1300}$ and have produced a number of vases that offer interesting comparisons to the settlement pottery (discussed below in reference to each shape).

In general, it is now recognized that LH IIIA2 is really the precursor of LH IIIB. ${ }^{1301}$ By LH IIIA2 the most popular shapes are kylikes, small piriform and stirrup jars and the most popular motifs are flower and whorl shell, although at Tsoungiza these motifs do not occur in the early part of the period. ${ }^{1302}$
1292. French 1965; French et al. 2003, 47-48; Shelton 2006; 2007; 2009. Schönfeld $(1988,163)$ prefers a LH IIIB1 date for the deposits from the two Terraces on the Atreus Ridge and the House of Shields.
1293. Thomas 2011.
1294. Mountjoy 2008a, 302-314.
1295. Nichoria 495-508.
1296. MP 99-101.
1297. Thomas 2011, 224.
1298. Cf. RMDP 28.
1299. Shelmerdine 1992, 495-496.
1300. Graves $\mathrm{B} \pi 16, ~ Г \pi 1, ~ Е л 1, ~ E л 3, Z \pi 3, Z \pi 4, Z \pi 6$, $Н \pi 1, Н \pi 3, Н \pi 22, \Theta \pi 4, \Theta \pi 12, \mathrm{I} \pi 1, \Lambda \pi 4, \Lambda \pi 16, \mathrm{M} \pi 2$, $\mathrm{M} \pi 6, \mathrm{M} \pi 11$; probably also $\mathrm{M} \pi 4$ and $\mathrm{M} \pi 9$.
1301. Rutter 2010, 418-419.
1302. Thomas 2011, 173.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

In total, about 90 pattern-painted and monochrome pieces can be dated to LH IIIA2. There is one complete vase (968), but the rest are sherds: mainly rims and bodies and a few bases and handles. The richest LH IIIA2 material was found to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion: here numerous closed (alabastra, jugs, stirrup jars) and open (kylikes, goblets, bowls, and shallow cups) vases were found in the area between walls 4 a and 4 b (E SU 10, locus 3), under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2), in the interior corner of walls 4 and 4c (E SU 10, locus 5), around wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 7), in the first (E SU 10, locus 8) and third (E SU 10, locus 9) stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z, and the deposits under the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12). Some LH IIIA2 sherds have been found on (E SU 4, locus 5) and under the floor (E SU 4, locus 6) of Megaron B, as well as in the walls of the platform (E SU 5, locus 3), the peribolos wall 5 (E SU 6, locus 4), outside Drain D2 (E SU 8, locus 2), and the extension B1/B2/B3 (E SU 9, locus 1). Sporadic LH IIIA1/IIIA2 sherds were found in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12). In the South Slope stratified LH IIIA2 kylikes were found in the new excavation (S SU 34, locus 1). Several kylikes, as well as the rhyton 960, were found on the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2). The jug 947 was found in grave S.I. 3 and the kylix 1053 in grave E.I.8.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The few sherds that can be dated to LH IIIA2 are made of fine or fairly fine fabrics, reddish yellow 5 YR $7 / 6$, very pale brown 10 YR 8/3-7/3, or pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$.

## SHAPES

## Conical and Piriform Jar (FS 22/23/31/34/39/?54)

Shape and size. In many cases identifications with specific FS are not certain, as the height or the outline of the vase cannot be reconstructed. A number of fragments have been assigned to the LH IIIA2 medium-sized piriform or conical jars FS 23 or FS 31 on the basis of the angle of their shoulder and their decoration (927). The decoration U-pattern on the shoulder 936 suggests a LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39. 940 carries a motif of vertical lines rising from a horizontal one, reminiscent of the late LH IIIA2 variant of papyrus with multiple stems ending in volutes (FM 11:35); the parallel lines that frame the main motif may have belonged to ?tricurved arches. It may have been a jug, but the motif is also used on a FM 54 jar from Cyprus. ${ }^{1303}$ Small piriform jars FS 45 have not been identified, but given

[^179]their common occurrence in other Attic sites this may be accidental.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine very pale brown, except for 927 which has a pink fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. 934 has an unslipped surface, but all the other pieces are slipped. The U-shaped oblique loop of the stem of the curved-stemmed spiral of 927 (FM 49:16) suggests a LH IIIA2 date, ${ }^{1304}$ as does the U-pattern (FM 45:1) of 936 and the tricurved arch (FM 62:30) of 934. In the West Cemetery LH IIIA2 jars include FS 44 and FS 45, decorated respectively with foliate band, flower and net pattern. ${ }^{1305}$
Provenience. The only stratified jars were found in the peribolos wall of Megaron B (930 from E SU 6, locus 5), the extension of Megaron B ( 925 from E SU 9, locus 1), the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, 951 and 929), and the new excavation in the South Slope (S SU 34, locus 1, 926). 923 is marked with " $20 / 3 / 1892$ " and was probably found in the South Slope.

## Alabastron, Straight Sided (FS 91, 94)

Only one LH IIIA2 straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) has been identified with certainty (946). It preserves part of the sloping shoulder, slightly concave body, vertical loop handle, and flat base and is made of fine, reddish yellow fabric. Its surface is coated with a very pale brown slip. Decoration consists of straight parallel horizontal bands and lines of equal thickness. The LH IIIA2 straight-sided alabastra (FS 94) of the West Cemetery are decorated with net ${ }^{1306}$ or foliate band. ${ }^{1307}$

Jug (FS 110, 114, 145/151)
Shape and size. Two whole vases $(947,1151)$ are jugs and two more body sherds from closed vases have been assigned to jugs. The jug with wide neck (FS 110) 947 comes from a funerary context and can be dated to Early LH IIIA2. It has depressed ovoid body, flaring rim, wide neck, one vertical strap handle from the point of the maximum diameter of the body to the rim, and hollowed base; Mountjoy considers it a variation of LH IIIA1 unpainted jugs. ${ }^{1308} 1151$ is a complete small jug (FS 115, height 9 cm ). It has squat globular outline, short neck, lipless rim, ring base, and one vertical loop handle from the upper part of the belly to rim. The shoulder 952 has been assigned to a beaked jug (FS 145) on account of

[^180]1307. Ibid. pl. 43.346 from grave $\mathrm{Z} \pi 3$. Mylonas had suggested a LH IIIB Early date for this vase on account of its decoration (ibid. A, 230).
1308. Mountjoy 1993, 71.
the ridge running around the base of the neck, although the angular multiple stems could indicate also a LH IIIA2 stirrup jug FS 151.
Fabrics and manufacture. 947 has a fairly fine pink fabric; 952 has a fairly fine very pale brown fabric; and 953 fine pink fabric. 1151 is made of fine fabric, pink 7.5YR 8/3.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The main decoration of 947 is curved stripes (FM 67:6) or stems (FM 19) ${ }^{1309}$ and is found in a horizontal zone in the upper part of the body, bordered by the band at the base of the neck and a group of three parallel horizontal bands at the widest part of the belly; a group of two wide bands and a parallel line inbetween decorates the bottom part of the body. The surface of 1151 is covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric. It is decorated with two horizontal parallel lines on the belly, one line around the base of the neck, and one around the base; the handle is decorated with parallel strokes. The LH IIIA2 952 is decorated with both open and closed multiple stem (FM 19).
Provenience. 947 was found in grave S.I. 3 and 953 in E SU 9 (locus 1). 1151 bears the indication "M. 39".

Feeding Bottle (FS 160)
1051 is a fragment of a vertical strap handle with the everted rim from a feeding bottle (FS 160). The handle, the rim, and the small preserved upper part of the neck are monochrome red.

## Stirrup Jar (FS 166/171)

Shape and size. Six pieces have been identified as LH IIIA2 stirrup jars. 958 is part of the lower part of the body, but the other three belong to shoulders with the handle and the false neck. The angle of the shoulders of 955 and 956 is tilted enough to suggest the globular FS 171 rather than the conical-piriform FS 166, in contrast to 952 which is more horizontal and could have belonged to FS 166; the sharp angle of 958 also suggests an FS 166. Fabrics and manufacture. The fabric of 955 is the usual very pale brown fairly fine fabrics, but 958 is made of fairly fine reddish yellow fabric and 956 with fairly fine pink fabric.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The shoulder zone on 955 is decorated with chevrons (FM 58:11), that of 957 with an unusual variant of multiple stem with hook-shaped anther (FM 19:65), ${ }^{1310}$ that of 956 with a voluted flower (FM 18:13 or FM 18:23). The disk of the false neck of 955 is decorated with concentric circles, a LH IIIA2 feature. ${ }^{1311}$ The unvo-
1310. Infra p. 399.
luted flower with circular element (FM 18c:81) on 954 is considered by Furumark a LH IIIA2 element, ${ }^{1312}$ but at Prosymna it is found on a LH IIIB1 FS $182^{1313}$ and a variant (FM 18c:118) is found on a LH IIIB1 FS 171 from Aegina, ${ }^{1314}$ so this piece may be dated to LH IIIB1. Stirrup jars are common in the West Cemetery: Mylonas had remarked that they are more popular in Eleusis than in Athens, ${ }^{1315}$ although he had considered almost all of them to be LH IIIB. ${ }^{1316}$ Mountjoy has since redated several pieces (mostly the small globular stirrup-jars FS 171) to LH IIIA2. These are decorated with a variety of stylized motifs, including multiple stem,,${ }^{1317}$ semicircles, ${ }^{1318}$ foliate band,,${ }^{1319} \mathrm{~V}$ and U pattern, ${ }^{1320}$ and wavy lines. ${ }^{1321}$ This is in agreement with the settlement material.
Provenience. 956 is the only piece with known provenience, found in E SU 4, locus 5, in the interior corner of walls 4 and 4 c .

Askos (FS 195)
One complete askos (1225) with squat biconical body, flat base, horizontal stap handle, tubular spout, and flaring rim has been found on the Hilltop (H SU1/H SU 2). It is made of fine, light brown 5YR 6/4 fabric and is monochrome dark brown. The outline of the body resembles the larger askos from Alike, ${ }^{1322}$ except that the handle does not reach to the top of the body but to the side.

## Rhyton (FS 199)

960 belongs to the body of a conical rhyton (FS 199) found on the Hilltop (H SU 1). It is made of fine, pink fabric and decorated with bivalve shells (FM 25:17) and chevrons in red paint, suggesting a late LH IIIA2 date.

## Krater (FS 8)

Shape and size. A small number of sherds from open vases with thick walls and everted rims have been classified as kraters FS 8. The decoration of the large (rim diam. 27 cm ) krater 962 (below) may suggest a LH IIIA2 FS 8. The body fragment 963 has been identified as a krater on the basis of the thickness of the walls and the decoration (see below). The
1312. MP 292.
1313. Prosymna figs 396.84 [bottom middle], 723; Shelton 1996, 16-17; RMDP 140:255.
1314. Alt-Ägina IV.1: 244; RMDP 547:225.
1315. West Cemetery B 232.
1316. With three exceptions that he dated to LH IIIA2, nos 499, 503 and 887 (West Cemetery pls 406-407).
1317. West Cemetery pls 12.94, 35.295, 40.306, 62.503, 139.671, 154.828.
1318. Ibid. pl. 60.487.
1319. Ibid. pl. 11.22.
1320. Ibid. pl. 60.499.
1321. Ibid. pl. 60.486.
1322. RMDP 532, Attica, fig. 190:155.
sherd illustrated in Mylonas 1936a, fig. 10 (lower left corner) may have been from a krater decorated in the pictorial style.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine, very pale brown, except for the pink $\mathbf{9 6 2}$.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped. The main decoration is placed in a wide decorative zone under the rim bands and consists of tricurved arch FM 62:13 (962) and, possibly, semi-circles FM 43:7 (963). The tricurved arch (FM 62:13) filled with angles on 962 suggests a late LH IIIA2 date. ${ }^{1323}$ Given the popularity of LH IIIA2 pictorial kraters in Attica and the islands of the Saronic Gulf, ${ }^{1324}$ the rarity of such vases in the Eleusis settlement and their total absence from the West Cemetery are remarkable.
Provenience. 964 was found in the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12); 963 was found around wall 4 (E SU 10, locus 7) of the East Slope. 966 was found in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12).

Cup (FS 214, FS 219, FS 220, FS 249)
Shape and size. 968 has a deep biconical profile and may have been spouted FS 249 rather than the typical Attic FS 214, which is semi-globular; another FS 249, 993 preserves the spout. 978 has been classified as FS 214 because of the short everted rim and deep banding on the exterior rim. 976 has a wide external band that may suggest a kylix, but has been tentatively classified as a cup because of its small rim diameter ( 12 cm ). The identification of 969 is based on the deep semi-globular outline with the lower part undecorated, the vertical strap handle, and the internal concentric circles. ${ }^{1325}$ Rim diameters range from 12 to 14 cm and wall thickness for most pieces ranges between 0.1 and 0.3 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine very pale brown.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped inside and outside and some have their external surfaces polished (976). The main decorative zone extends from the rim band to the horizontal line in the lower part of the cup and is decorated with spirals FM 46 (978), multiple stem FM 19 (976). 968 is decorated with inverted U-pattern FM 45:3; FS 214 has been found in the West Cemetery ${ }^{1326}$ and is, in general, common in Attica, ${ }^{1327}$ but rare in other areas: only one monochrome example is listed from the Argolid; ${ }^{1328}$ another monochrome cup comes from Phocis; ${ }^{1329}$ and two LH IIIB cups from Boeotia. ${ }^{1330}$ It is decorated with inverted U-pattern FM 43. In a LH IIIA2 grave in the West Cemetery

[^181]occurs a form of cup particular to Attica, a cross-over between FS 214 and FS 245, decorated with quirk FM $48 .{ }^{1331}$
Provenience. 968 was found in Skias' pyre 50 (S SU 8) and 976 in wall 12 of the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 1).

## Mug (FS 225/226)

Shape and size. Three straight or slightly flaring rims, one slightly convex base and one body sherd belong to mugs (FS $225 / 226$ ). Rim diameters range from 10 to 13 cm , with the exception of the large 986 which has a diameter of 16 cm ; the profile of this piece resembles also one-handled bowls FS 283, but these are smaller.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown or reddish yellow: 988 is of particularly fine quality, with well-levigated clay without inclusions.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The surface of 988 is slipped with a very pale brown slip and highly-polished. The surfaces of the other mugs are unpolished. The main decoration is placed in two horizontal zones, one defined by a band on the rim and a band in the middle of the vase and one between the middle band and the base band. The motifs used include running spirals FM 46 (988), tricurved arches FM 62 (987), multiple stems FM 19 (985), curved stripes FM 67 (989), and chevrons FM 58 (986). Mugs FS 226 occur in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1332}$
Provenience. None of the LH IIIA2 mugs are of known provenience.

## DIPPER (FS 236)

Three high-swung handles (990, 991, 992) belong to LH IIIA2 dippers (FS 236), but their provenience is unknown. 991 is preserved to a length of 6.1 cm and has a flat section. Its fabric is fine, very pale brown and the surface is slipped in the same color and polished. It is decorated with ladder motif in lustrous dark brown paint. 990 is longer (pres. 1. 7.9 cm ) and its section is ovoid. The fabric is fine, pink, and the surface is slipped very pale brown, without polish. It is decorated with a series of horizontal strokes connected attached to a vertical line running along the edge of the handle, all in red paint. 992 preserves the entire vertical handle with flat ovoid section and part of the lipless flaring rim. It has a fairly fine very pale brown fabric, slipped surface in the same color, and decoration of horizontal strokes.

[^182]1332. Decorated with FM 67 curved stripes (West Cemetery pl. 35.296, grave E 1 1).

Kylix (FS 256, 257/258B, FS 264)
Shape and size. About sixty sherds, half of them from rims, belong to kylikes. $\mathbf{1 0 2 5}$ has been discussed above with the LH IIIA1 goblets because of its shallow bowl with a long everted rim, which suggest a LH IIIA1 date; ${ }^{1333}$ the rest of the kylix fragments belong to the late LH IIIA2 FS 256 and FS 257, which have short everted or flaring rims and deeper bowls than that of the LH IIIA1 kylikes; they have two vertical strap handles $(995,1024)$, tall stem, and domed base (1060). Some rims with narrow rim bands (e.g. 1028, 1035) and banded stems and bases (e.g. 1061, 1062) may have belonged to the LH IIIB1 FS 258B. 1037 has been identified as FS 257 and not FS 256 because of the decorative zone, which continues below the base of the handles. There is considerable variation in size: the smaller kylikes (1042, 1055) have a diameter of about 12 cm and the larger ones can reach up to 18 cm (1046), but the majority are between 14 and 16 cm . Several rims and bodies of monochrome kylikes (e.g. 1200, 1201) have been assigned to the semi-globular FS 264.

Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics of both the pattern-painted and monochrome kylikes are fine or fairly fine, usually very pale brown, but also pink; the only exceptions are 1028 and 1206 which have red or reddish yellow fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. The main decoration extends in a horizontal zone from the rim band to one or more lines at the lower part of the bowl. The commonest motifs are running spirals FM 46 (e.g. 1026) $)^{1334}$ and tricurved arch FM 62 (1037, 1038); less frequent is horizontal whorl shell FM 23 (1045, 1046, 1039); U-pattern FM 45 (1050), octopus FM 21 (1044), rock pattern II FM 33 (1040), multiple stems FM 19 (1038) and hybrid flowers FM 18:16-16 or 36-40 (1042), and palm (resembling FM 14:7) or flower (resembling FM 18:30) (996). Handles are decorated with reserved triangles at the top (1034) and a pair of tails at the bottom $(995,1037)$. Stems are solidly painted (1060) or banded (1061). The wide bands on 1026 are an early feature, common on LH IIB goblets, which may suggest an early LH IIIA2 (or even late LH IIIA1?) date for this piece; on the other hand, the hybrid flower on $\mathbf{1 0 4 2}$ is paralleled in a LH IIIB1 krater from Tsoungiza and may be later than LH IIIA2. ${ }^{1335}$ Monochrome kylikes are coated with a red or brownish slip and are burnished (1218) or polished (1211).
Provenience. Kylikes are, as expected, very common. Pattern-painted stratified pieces come from the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12, 1043, 1054, 1062); the first (E SU 10, locus 8, 1029) and the third (E SU 10, locus 9, 1055) stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z; the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, 1036, 1046, 1057,

[^183]1058); the floor of Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 5, 1030), the platform (E SU 5, locus 3, 1024), the peribolos wall 5 (E SU 6, locus 4, 1031), the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2, 1027, 1052); Skias' pyre LVI (S SU 14, 1026); and the new excavation (S SU 34 locus 1, 1041, 1059). 1053 was found in grave E.I.8; 1060 is marked with "17/3/92" and 1035 with " 7 August 1898". Monochrome kylikes have been also found in several locations: in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, 1198, 1199, 1203, 1204, 1218); in the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12, 1200); from under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2, 1201, 1202); from the foundation of wall 5 (E SU 6, locus $2,1205,1208,1209$ ); the area between walls 4 a and 4b (E SU 10, locus 3, 1211); the interior corner of walls 4 and 4c (E SU 10, locus 5, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215); and the third stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 9, 1216, 1217).

BowL (FS 283/284, FS 304/305)
Shape and size. Seven rims, three body pieces with horizontal loop handles, and two bases belong to LH IIIA2 / IIIB1 bowls (FS 284) or stemmed bowls (FS 304/305). Rims are slightly flaring with diameters ranging between 15 and 19 cm ; handles are horizontal loop; and bases are ring. 1064 probably belongs to a LH IIIA2 FS 284, as suggested by the band under the exterior rim; ${ }^{1336}$ it could also be a stemmed bowl (FS 304/305), which has the same type of rim banding, but its size is too small. A number of sherds are more likely to be stemmed bowls FS 304/305 than deep bowls FS 283/284: the large size of 1063 suggests a stemmed bowl FS 304/305, although this sherd is similar to a FS 283 from Berbati, ${ }^{1337}$ with a narrow decorative zone bordered by a group of two thick lines high in the body under the handle (which is the case here) and interior body line; $\mathbf{1 0 6 7}$ has been assigned to a stemmed bowl (FS 304/305), because the handle is found at the point of maximum diameter of the body, as opposed to the handles of FS 284, which are higher; the identification of 1068 as a stemmed bowl (FS 304) is based on the presence of a second band under the exterior rim; ; ${ }^{1338}$ the identification of $\mathbf{1 0 7 0}$ is based on the banded decoration of the stem, ${ }^{1339}$ compared to the solidly painted stems of LH II goblets; and 1072 has been assigned to a stemmed bowl because of the thickness of its walls ( 0.6 cm ), the thick handle (diam. 2.2), and the presence of a band at the base of the handle. 1075 could have been a LH IIIA2 FS 283 or a LH IIIB1 stemmed bowl FS 305; 1074 has three horizontal grooves under the exterior rim, which suggests that it belongs to a truncated stemmed bowl FS $283 .{ }^{1340} 1064,1065,1071,1067,1066$, and 1063 could be as late as LH IIIB1. The monochrome bowl 1220 has thick horizontal handles and short flaring rim similar to the LH IIIA2 stemmed bowl FS $304 .{ }^{1341}$

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1336. Cf. MDP 91.
1337. RMDP 128:210.
1338. Cf. MDP 92.
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[^184]Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are pink or very pale brown, all fine except for 1069 and 1064, which are fairly fine.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are coated with a slip of the same color as the fabric and are polished. The main decoration is placed in the wide zone between the rim band and one (1066) to three (1063) bands at the lower part of the body. The motifs used are running spirals FM 46:14/15 and FM 46: 18 (1066, 1068); quirk FM 48:5 (1065); tricurved arch FM 62:19 (1063); and semi-circles (1074) arranged in a horizontal row with their ends detached from the framing horizontal line (cf. FM 43:23, but without a filling ornament). Handles are painted with a line (1067, 1072). 1220 is monochrome inside and out. The decoration of a LH IIIA2 deep bowl FS 284 from the West Cemetery ${ }^{1342}$ with whorlshell is not paralleled in the settlement material.
Provenience. With the exception of 1122, found in H SU 1/H SU 2, the pieces with known provenience come from the East Slope: 1066 and 1067 were found in wall 12 of the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 1); 1064 and 1069 in the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12); 1070 under wall 3 (E SU 10, locus 2), and 1071 in the third stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 9); 1063 is marked with " $18 / 3 / 92$ ".

## Conical Bowl, Spouted (FS 300)

1073 is a fragment of the flat base and lower part of the body of a large LH IIIA2 spouted conical bowl (FS 300), with a base diameter of 14.5 cm . It is made of fairly fine, pink 7.5 YR $8 / 3$ fabric and has unslipped surfaces. It is decorated with five horizontal lines and a line around the interior edge of base.

## DECORATION

?PAPURUS (FM 11)
The lower body 940 (placed with the jugs in fig. 227, but could have belonged to either a jug or a jar) is decorated with parallel vertical lines rising from a horizontal one, reminiscent of the late LH IIIA2 variant of papyrus with multiple stems ending in volutes (FM 11:35). The parallel lines that frame the main motif may have belonged to ?tricurved arches.

## FLOWER (FM 18)

The shoulder of 956 preserves what appears to be the lines from the arcs with dotted border of a voluted flower (perhaps FM 18:13 or FM 18:23), which would suggest a late

[^185]LH IIIA2 or even LH IIIB1 date. A similar date could be suggested for the hybrid flower on 1042, which could be late LH IIIA2 or early LH IIIB1. ${ }^{1343}$ The design on 1028 seems to preserve a hooked anther reminiscent of FM 18:52-58 and FM 18:62-63, but the radiating bars are replaced by two parallel lines connected with vertical strokes, paralleled in a LH IIIA2 kylix FS 257 from Korakou Area P. ${ }^{1344}$

## Multiple Stem (FM 19)

The motif on the shoulder of the stirrup jar 957 is a variant of the semicircular multiple stem with hook-shaped anther (FM 19:65), but it is unusual in that there is a row of short strokes connecting the top two lines of the anther. ${ }^{1345}$ The multiple stems on the stirrup jar 955 are angular (FM 19:15-21) ${ }^{1346}$ and the shoulder of the beaked jug 952 (FS 145) is decorated with two variants of angular stem, one with open outline (FM 19:17) and one with closed (FM 19:19). The mug 985 is decorated with multiple stem and tongue pattern FM 19:17, which suggests a late LH IIIA2 date. ${ }^{1347}$ The stems on the shallow cups 976 (if this is not a kylix) and 977 converge. For the motif of 947 see below, Curved Stripes.

## Octopus (FM 21)

Only two kylix sherds are decorated with octopuses. On 1044 are preserved two sets of tentacles stemming from the upper right part of the body; they are designed with broad dark brown lines with a thinner white line (FM 21:12); 1029 preserves the curved line from a tentacle under the rim band.

Whorl Shell (FM 23)
All examples of whorl shells are horizontal. The bodies are of the open type, formed with curved lines and horizontal series of dots $(\mathbf{1 0 4 6}, 1048)$ and the shells with a vertical row of dots (1045). The whorl shell on 1039 is large, designed with concentric ovals resembling FM 23:3 or FM 23:5; it is paralleled in a whorl shell on an early LH IIIB1 kylix from Tsoungiza and could, therefore, date as late as LH IIIB1. ${ }^{1348}$ The elongated antenna of 1048 is also unusual.

[^186]nae Kalkani T. 529 in MDP fig. 93.2) and that the outer line was added as an afterthought.
1346. Cf. ibid. fig. 91:2.
1347. Cf. ibid. fig. 101:9.
1348. Thomas 2004, fig. 12:1.

Bivalve Shell (FM 25)
The krater 961 is decorated with the LH IIIA2 version of bivalve shells with triple arcs joining a double calyx (FM 25:14).

Rock Pattern II (FM 33:22)
The thick wavy line framed by dots on the main decorative zone of the kylix 1040 is a version of the wave of Rock Pattern II (FM 33:22), except that the dots are placed closer to each other.

## Semi-Circles (FM 43)

The LH IIIA2/IIIB1 krater 963 preserves parts of thin concentric design that may have been isolated semi-circles (FM 43:7).

## U-PAttern (FM 45)

Used on the shoulder of the LH IIIA2 piriform jar 936: the U's are short and narrow, framed above and beyond by a horizontal line (FM 45:1). Inverted U's (FM 45:3) are used on open vases, such as the kylix 1050 and the spouted cup 968.

Running Spiral (FM 46)
Simple-line running spirals are commonly used on kylikes. The tangent variant FM 46:52 is used on the mug 988. The S-variant FM 46:55 on the kylix 1026. The bowl 1066 is decorated with either running FM 46:18 or curtailed FM 46:52 spiral; the bowl 1068 is decorated with running spiral FM 46:14/15. The LH IIIA2 cup 978 is decorated with tangent spirals FM 46:54 (Furumark's Variant A).

Curtailed running spirals are used on kylikes (1055); the spirals on 1035 are pictorialized (FM 46:20-21), unusually combined with tricurved arch with fill of single-line spirals (FM 62:19).

## Quirk (FM 48)

The LH IIIA1/IIIA2 shallow cup 973 and the LH IIIA2 bowl 1065 are decorated with a disintegrated version of running quirk FM 48:22, but in both cases the quirks are deep and U-shaped and may be as late as LH IIIB1.

## Curved-Stemmed Spiral (FM 49)

The loop of the stem on the shoulder of the piriform jar (FS 23/31) 927 is shaped like
a narrow oblique "U" (FM 49:16). The small curved line at the bottom of 1057 and the thin lines on 1058 probably belonged to curved stems of spirals with thick external coils (possibly FM 49:18).

Wavy Line (FM 53)
Horizontal wavy line with deep regular curves (FM 53: 5) decorates the shoulder of the straight-sided alabastron 946 ; the wave starts from the preserved handle and runs between two straight parallel horizontal lines in a narrow decorative zone common in late LH IIIA2; a close parallel ${ }^{1349}$ can be found on an alabastron from Prosymna. ${ }^{1350}$

## Chevrons FM 58

Horizontal chevrons FM 58:23 form the main decorative motif of the upper zone of the mug 986.

## Tricurved Arch (FM 62)

The body of the krater 962 is decorated with tricurved arches with double outline filled with short vertical chevrons (FM 62:13). Arches designed with triple lines are common on kylikes ( $\mathbf{1 0 3 7}, 1052,1053,1054$ ). On 1037 the arches are framed by flowers radiating from the top (FM 62:30), for which there is no FM equivalent; the closest parallel is the interior fill of FM 18:62 or FM 18:72. Tricurved arches are combined with running spirals on the kylix 1035; the arches of this pieces have a fill of single-line spirals (closest parallel FM 62:19). On the bowl 1063 the arches resemble FM 62:19 which could be as late as LH IIIB. The mug 987 is decorated with quadruple-line arches (?FM 62:30) in the top horizontal zone.
?Curved Stripes (FM 67)
The motif on the jug 947 could have been curved stripes (FM 67:6) or, as Mountjoy suggests, stems FM 19;1351 it is placed in a horizontal zone in the upper part of the body, bordered by the horizontal band at the base of the neck and a group of three parallel horizontal bands at the widest part of the belly; a group of two wide bands and a parallel line inbetween decorates the bottom part of the body.

## SUMMARY

On the basis of the datable pieces, it appears that most known LH IIIA2 shapes are represented: jars (FS 23/34/39), straight sided alabastra (FS 94), jugs (FS 110/145/151), stirrup jars (FS 166/171), rhyta (FS 199), cups (FS 214/210/220), mugs (FS 225/226), dippers (FS 236), spouted cups (FS 249), kylikes (FS 257), and conical spouted bowls (FS 300); flasks have not been identified in the LH IIIA2 material. Decoration includes the typical for the period range of floral motifs: voluted and unvoluted flowers, multiple stems, quirk, foliate band, U-pattern; as well as curtailed spirals. Stylized versions of marine motifs (octopus, argonaut, whorl shell) decorate kylikes. These motifs are arranged in horizontal zones. Pictorial style sherds have not been found in the material stored in the museum, but the sherd illustrated by Mylonas ${ }^{1352}$ may have been from a krater decorated in the pictorial style. The combination of shapes and motifs is shown in figs 228 and 229.

As far as other wares go, in LH IIIA2 Athens the ABW seems to be replaced by Red Wash Ware ${ }^{1353}$ which, however, has not been identified at Eleusis.

A number of LH IIIA2 shapes from the West Cemetery have not been properly identified in the settlement: the amphora FS 68 with linear decoration, ${ }^{1354}$ the ewer FS 117 decorated with FM 18 flower; ${ }^{1355}$ the rounded alabastron FS 85 usually decorated with rock pattern, ${ }^{1356}$ the feeding bottle FS 160, ${ }^{1357}$ the flask FS $1888^{1358}$ and FS 190, ${ }^{1359}$ the bowl with high handles FS 241,1360 and the spouted conical bowl FS $301 .{ }^{1361}$ Other shapes are only broadly paralleled, such as the beaked jug FS 149 decorated with FM 60 N-pattern, ${ }^{1362}$ the stirrup-jar FS 166 decorated with FM 61A, ${ }^{1363}$ as well as the spouted bowl FS 299a decorated with multiple stem FM 19, ${ }^{1364}$ which may find a parallel in the banded spouted bowl 1073 from the settlement. As expected, monochrome kylikes occur in the settlement, but the monochrome FS 269, found in the West Cemetery in grave E $\pi 3$, does not. ${ }^{1365}$

[^187]1360. Ibid. pl. 11.28.
1361. Ibid. pl. 11.29 with linear decoration.
1362. Ibid. pl. 191.900 from M $\pi 11$.
1363. Decorated with an unusual hatched triangle (ibid. pl. 85.532 from Нл22). Mountjoy (RMDP 529530, fig. 189:148) comments that the hatched triangle on this vase is paralleled in south Rhodian vessels and may have been of Minoan inspiration.
1364. West Cemetery pl. 154.832 from $\Lambda \pi 4$.
1365. Ibid. pl. 40.306a, with a tall, conical base that is an earlier feature (RMDP 540).


Fig. 228. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs (Part 1).


Fig. 229. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs (Part 2).

## LATE HELLADIC IIIB1

## DEFINITION

The LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2 phases and their ceramic characteristics have been defined by Elizabeth French on the basis of several deposits at Mycenae. ${ }^{1366}$ Late Helladic IIIB1 deposits include the domestic rubbish of Room 3 in the Citadel House Area, ${ }^{1367}$ the underfloor fill of the South House, ${ }^{1368}$ the destruction deposits from the Lower Town (Prehistoric Cemetery Central, Areas III and IV), ${ }^{1369}$ the House of the Oil Merchant, the House of the Sphinxes, the West House, ${ }^{1370}$ and the Panaghia Houses I-III. ${ }^{1371}$ Other important LH IIIB1 deposits are those from the Epichosis at Tiryns ${ }^{1372}$ and the rubbish pit 1 in EU 2 at Tsoungiza, recently published by Patrick Thomas. ${ }^{1373}$ Smaller or less diagnostic LH IIIB1 deposits have been isolated at Korakou East Alley Levels I-IV, ${ }^{1374}$ the so-called Potter's Shop at Zygouries, ${ }^{1375}$ Nichoria Area IV (trench L 23), ${ }^{1376}$ and Teichos Dymaion. ${ }^{1377}$ Several chamber tomb cemeteries (most notably Prosymna, Olympia, Agora, Rhodes and Kos) have yielded material of this phase. Late Helladic IIIB2 deposits have been isolated chiefly at Mycenae: the Causeway Deposit in the Citadel House Area, ${ }^{1378}$ Trench L in the Lower Town Perseia, ${ }^{1379}$ Panaghia Houses II and III, ${ }^{1380}$ and Tiryns (West Wall deposit or Ephichosis). ${ }^{1381}$ Additional material has been found at the Menelaion, ${ }^{1382}$ Nichoria (Area IV, trench L 23 and Area II, trench K 25), ${ }^{1383}$ the foundation of the Fountain House on the Athenian Acropolis, ${ }^{1384}$ Thebes, ${ }^{1385}$ and Delphi. ${ }^{1386}$ The sparse LH IIIB1 material at Ayios Stephanos is unstratified. ${ }^{1387}$

Ceramically, the characteristic shape of this period is the Zygouries-type kylix; ${ }^{1388}$ other shapes are globular stirrup-jars, and deep bowls FS 284 with considerable variety in profile and decoration. Decorative motifs are similar to LH IIIA2, but zonal composition becomes
1366. French 1966; 1967; 1969a. For Kilian's (1988) suggestion for a division of the period into four phases see Thomas 1992, 488-408.
1367. Wardle 1969.
1368. Mountjoy 1976.
1369. French 1966.
1370. French 1967.
1371. Mylonas-Shear 1986; 1987.
1372. Voigtländer's phase "Epichosis IIa" (Tiryns X); cf. French and Stockhammer 2009, 219; see also Schönfeld 1988 for smaller deposits.
1373. Thomas 2005.
1374. Rutter 1974, 22-104.
1375. Zygouries 33-38.
1376. Dickinson 1992, 503-509.
1377. RMDP 402-404, 416; Vitale 2006, 187-188.
1378. Wardle 1973.
1379. French 1969.
1380. Mylonas-Shear 1987.
1381. Verdelis, French and French 1965; Tiryns X 31 .
1382. Menelaion 366-399.
1383. Dickinson 1992, 509-517,
1384. Broneer 1939; Gauß 2003.
1385. Andrikou 1999; ead. 2006.
1386. Müller 1992, passim, pottery illustrated in fig. 7b.
1387. Mountjoy 2008a, 377, fig. 6.38.
1388. Thomas 2004.
less popular and there is an increased tendency for symmetry in the arrangement of the motifs, seen in the use of paneled decoration.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

In total, about twenty sherds can be dated to LH IIIB1, mostly rims and bodies of deep and stemmed bowls, kraters, and jars. In addition, there are two complete spouted cups (1129, 1130) and the well-known inscribed stirrup jar (1132). Besides the pieces that can be dated to LH IIIB1, there are twelve sherds that could have been either LH IIIB1 or very early, not fully developed, LH IIIB2 Early: the bowls 1105-1114, the mug 1116. ${ }^{1389}$ In this section are also included a few sherds that cannot be dated more precisely than "LH IIIB1/IIIB2" (1087, 1088, 1089, 1091, 1092, 1090, 1104, 1123, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1129, 1131).

Closed LH IIIB1 deposits have not been found; instead, most loci contain both LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2 material, or pottery that can be dated only to LH IIIB1/IIIB2. Most LH IIIB1 pieces were found in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, locus 2) and two deposits to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, loci 8 and 12). Sporadic sherds were found in wall 5 of the peribolos wall (E SU 6, locus 1), the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 1), and Skias' pyre XXX (S SU 20). The spouted bowl or cup 1130 was found in House H (S SU 28). The mug 1116 was found on the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2). In addition to the painted pottery discussed here, the two tripod pieces 567 and 568 , found with MH pottery in the disturbed deposit of S SU 10, must also date to LH IIIB1/IIIB2. ${ }^{1390}$

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The majority of the LH IIIB1 pieces are made of fine or fairly fine very pale brown 10YR 8/3-8/4-7/3-7/4 fabrics. The second most common category consists of vases with fine or fairly fine pink 7.5YR 7/3-8/4 fabrics and only a small number are made of fine or fairly fine reddish yellow $5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 6$ or pale yellow $2.5 \mathrm{Y} 8 / 3$ fabrics. These fabrics are similar to the ones of the LH IIIB1 pottery from Tiryns. ${ }^{1391}$

## SHAPES

PIRIFORM JAR (FS 40, FS 48)
Shape and size. The sloping rim/neck of $\mathbf{1 0 8 0}$ has been identified as a small LH IIIB1 piriform jar FS 48 on account of its small rim diameter ( 10.6 cm ) and solidly painted interior neck

[^188]1390. Supra, p. 295.
1391. Cf. Stockhammer 2008, 79.
(although it could also have been a small alabastron FS 85). 1083 is the lower part of the body of a piriform jar and has been assigned to a LH IIIB1 FS 40 because of the thickness of its walls $(0.6 \mathrm{~cm})$ and the angle of the body.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, pink 7.5YR 7/4-8/4, except for 1083, which is very pale brown.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped but not polished. The shoulder 1081 decorated with N-pattern FM 60:2 has been identified as LH IIIB1 FS 48 on the basis of its decoration. The neck/rim 1080 is monochrome black/red, as usual in LH IIIB1 for this shape.
Provenience. 1080 and 1083 were found in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12).

## Amphora (FS 68)

The small (h. 7.2 cm ) amphora 1152 has globular outline, slightly concave neck, thickened flaring rim, ring base, and two vertical strap handles from the rim to the point of maximum diameter. It is made of fine fabric, pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ and the surface is covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric. It is decorated with three horizontal parallel lines under the handle zone, a band on the transition from neck to shoulder and an exterior rim line; the interior rim is decorated with a band. The top surface of the handles is monochrome red.

## Jug (FS 136)

Shape and size. The shoulders 1085 and 1086 have been assigned to jugs FS 136 on account of their sloping angle and decoration.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fairly fine, pink (1085) or reddish yellow (1086).
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped but not polished. Both pieces are decorated with tricurved arches (FM 62): the arches of $\mathbf{1 0 8 5}$ (FM 62:30) rise from the horizontal line at the bottom of the shoulder and are filled with vertical chevrons; the arches of 1086 resemble FM 62:15 with dotted circle fill, paralleled, however, in a kylix from the LH IIIB2 Causeway Deposit. ${ }^{1392}$

Stirrup Jar (FS 167/183)
Shape and size. 1087 is the almost flat top of a conical stirrup jar FS 180 (or FS 182 or FS 183?). The shoulder / belly 1088 has been assigned to the LH IIIB1 conical-piriform FS 167

[^189]because the angle from the shoulder to the upper part of the body is sharper than that of the globular stirrup jars.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, very pale brown.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped but not polished. 1087 is decorated with LH IIIB1/IIIB2 unvoluted flower FM 18:112. 1088 is decorated with dots and bands ${ }^{1393}$ and 1089 preserves only the horizontal bands. Late Helladic IIIB1 stirrup jars are common in the West Cemetery: they are decorated with flowers on the shoulder ${ }^{1394}$ and zig-zag ${ }^{1395}$ or horizontal chevrons on the belly. ${ }^{1396}$ A FS 167 from grave $\Lambda \pi 15 \alpha$ is decorated with chevrons FM $58 .{ }^{1397}$ This variant of FS 167 belongs to a "particularly Attic version" with a very narrow lower body, which is almost stem-like. ${ }^{1398}$ A deep bowl FS 284 from grave H $\pi 15$ is decorated with what Mountjoy considers to be "an idiosyncratic version" of FM $62 .{ }^{1399}$

Provenience. 1088 was found in the third stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 9) and 1089 in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12).

## Krater (FS 9/FS 281)

Shape and size. The body sherd 1091 has been assigned to a ring-based krater FS 281 because of the thickness of its wall $(0.9-1.1 \mathrm{~cm})$. The thickness $(0.8 \mathrm{~cm})$ of the lower body 1092 in combination with its banded decoration also suggests an FS 281.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/4; the fabric of $\mathbf{1 0 9 2}$ is coarser than the standard fabric of kraters, but the interior bands, in combination with the thickness (see previous paragraph) suggest a krater.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are polished. 1091 is decorated with isolated semi-circles FM 43:14, and 1092 has bands inside and outside. ${ }^{1400}$ Interior rims carry a band.

Provenience. 1091 and 1092 were found in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12).

## Miniature Cup or Kylix (FS 126)

1090 is a fragment of the short everted rim and body of a miniature cup or kylix (FS 126). It is made of fairly fine, reddish yellow fabric and the surface is unslipped. It is decorated with red vertical lines from the rim to the horizontal line around the base. These

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1397. Ibid. pl. 173.844.
1398. RMDP }546
1399. West Cemetery pl. 77.18; RMDP }552
1400. Cf. RMDP fig. 142:1-5; fig. 159:1.
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miniature vases are typical of the LH IIIB period, ${ }^{1401}$ but their precise date can only be established on the basis of their context; in this case, the sherd was found in the deposit associated with the foundation of wall 5 of the peribolos wall (E SU 6, locus 1), which was a mixed bag of sherds from different periods. The decoration of 1090 is typical for LH IIIB1. ${ }^{1402}$ A miniature jug and a cup with a vertical handle rising above the rim from the West Cemetery ${ }^{1403}$ are welcome additions to this rare shape.

Mug (FS 226)
1116 is part of the straight lipless rim of a mug (FS 226, rim diam. 14). It is made of fine, very pale brown fabric with slipped surfaces. It preserves parts of a black spiral with the stem running towards the left and downward, possibly a variant of FM 46:55; ${ }^{1404}$ a thin horizontal line under the rim frames the spiral on the outside, whereas the interior rim is decorated with a thick horizontal line. It was found on the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2).

## Spouted Cup (FS 249)

Shape and size. Two complete spouted cups have been found. 1129 has a semi-globular profile, flaring lipless rim (diam. 8.2), ring base, a vertical strap handle from rim to the point of maximum diameter, and a bridge spout at right angle to the handle. $\mathbf{1 1 3 0}$ has a deep semi-globular body with slightly flaring lipless rim (diam. 11.5), bridge spout, and ring base; although FS 249 usually has a more flaring rim, ${ }^{1405} 1130$ is a true bowl to which a spout has been added. ${ }^{1406}$ The absence of handle in 1130 is unusual; Furumark cites another possibly handleless spouted cup from a grave at Kilindra on Aegina which, however, he dates to LH IIIA2. ${ }^{407} 1131$ has been classified as a spouted cup because of the everted rim without exterior paint.
Fabrics and manufacture. Both have fine, very pale brown fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Interior and exterior surfaces are slipped and polished. 1129 is decorated with a thick horizontal band in the upper part of the body, interrupted by the handle, and a group of five horizontal parallel lines in the lower part of the exterior body under the handle. 1130 is decorated with three parallel horizontal bands on the outside of the body; the top one slants downward as it approaches the spout and from it hang semi-circles (FM 43:15); the interior rim is decorated with a thick line; 1131 is sim-

[^191]1404. Cf. Mountjoy 1976, 86, fig. 5:26; also Wardle 1969, pl. 60c.
1405. Cf. MDP fig. 145.
1406. Cf. MP III pl. 137, no. 249:5.
1407. Ibid. II 41 and 58; for Kilindra see Gazetteer A 47; Cf. Furtwängler 1906, 435.
ilarly decorated with pendent semi-circles, but these are isolated and larger. The bases of both vases are banded and the handles solidly painted in dark brown paint.
Provenience. 1130 was found outside of House H (S SU 28) but at a higher level than the floor of the house. 1131 was found in the deposits to the northeast of wall 4 c under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12).

Kylix (FS 258)
Shape and size. The flaring rims 1096 and 1097, the body 1098, and the stems 1100 and 1102 are decorated in the standard mode of FS 258B. 1094 is a rim from a Zygouries-type kylix FS 258A. ${ }^{1408} 1093$ belongs to the lower part of the bowl and the top of the stem. Rim diameters range between 15 and 18 cm and base diameters are 8-9 cm .
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, very pale brown.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped and, occasionally (1100), polished. The main decoration on FS 258B kylikes consists of vertical whorl shells FM 23 (1096, $\mathbf{1 0 9 7}, \mathbf{1 0 9 8}$ ) hanging from the rim line and crossed by groups of horizontal parallel lines at the bottom of the bowl (1102); ${ }^{1409}$ the heads of the whorl shells on 1096 and 1097 are not filled; 1098 has a fill of dot-rosette between the whorl shells, popular in LH IIIB1. ${ }^{1410} 1101$ (which could be either a kylix or a bowl) preserves the end of a curved line that could have belonged to a flower with spiral at the tip. ${ }^{1411}$ The stem 1100 is banded. The Zygoyries kylix 1093 preserves the lines from what appears to have been the fill of a hybrid flower.
Provenience. Kylikes have been found under the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12, 1102, possibly 1101, if from a kylix) and in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, 1094). 1098 is marked with " T. П. 1, 70".

Deep Bowl (FS 284)
Shape and size. Deep bowls FS 284 have slightly flaring $(1104,1106)$ rims and horizontal loop handles (1113). 1095, 1109 and 1111 have a semi-globular profile, but the profile of 1105, 1106, 1107, and 1108 presents a slight curvature under the rim, a characteristic of the advanced LH IIIB1 or early LH IIIB2. ${ }^{1412}$ Rim diameters range from $13-16 \mathrm{~cm}$ and base diameters from $7-9 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown or pink, except for 1123, which has a light red 2.5YR 7/6 fabric.

[^192]1410. Ibid. 115.
1411. As ibid fig. 141:16.
1412. Thomas 2005, 487.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped and, in some cases (1104), polished. Exterior rim decoration consists of either a single horizontal band; or of a rim band and a narrow horizontal line right below (1105). In the second case, the rim band and the horizontal line are also mirrored on the interior rim. There are four modes of main decoration: a) paneled: decorated with paneled zig-zag FM 75:10 or FM 75:38 (1109), antithetical spirals FM 50:4 (1105, 1106); b) zonal, with tri-curved arches FM 62:15 (1104); c) circumcurrent, with vertical chevrons FM 58:15 or FM $58: 17(1095,1123)$ or ladder FM 75:4 (1111) or 75:10/38 (1109); and d) monochrome: the paint of 1141 is lustrous, almost glaze-like. The vertical zig-zag of 1105 is paralleled at Kanakia, ${ }^{1413}$ whereas 1104 is closely paralleled to a bowl from the unfinished chamber tomb XII in the Athenian Agora. ${ }^{1414}$ The handle 1112 is decorated with splashes. The deep bowls 1105-1107 and 1109-1114 could be LH IIIB2 Early.
Provenience. Deep bowls have been found wedged in wall 5 of the peribolos wall (E SU 6, locus 5, 1113), the extension of Megaron B (E SU 9, locus 1, 1112), the first (E SU 10, locus 8) stratum under pyre B by the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 8, 1106); and in front of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, 1110).

## Conical Bowl, Spouted (FS 300)

Shape and size. 1117 and 1118 are fragments of the rim and upper body of small conical bowls with flat, slightly everted, rather than down-sloping rims (rim diameters $14-15 \mathrm{~cm}$ ). ${ }^{1415}$ Fabrics and manufacture. They are both made of fine, pink fabrics.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Their surfaces are slipped inside and outside. 1117 is decorated with horizontal chevrons (FM 58:35) on the rim and an interior rim band and 1118 with one thick and three thin horizontal lines on the exterior and strokes on the top flat surface of rim. The horizontal chevrons and interior rim band are very common in this shape. ${ }^{1416}$

## Kalathos (FS 301)

1119 preserves the bridged spout and flat lipless rim of a LH IIIB1 spouted conical bowl, and has been classified as such, although the rim does not have the usual down-sloping section. ${ }^{1417}$ It is made of fairly fine, pink $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 4$ fabric, with slipped exterior but unslipped interior surface. The belly and spout are decorated with red bands and traces of a horizontal red line is visible under the interior opening of the spout; the exterior rim has another rim band.

[^193]1416. Cf. ibid. fig. 145:1-2.
1417. Cf. ibid. 118.

Stemmed Bowl (FS 304/305)
Shape and size. Stemmed bowls FS 305 have slightly flaring rims (diameters between 18 and 21 cm ) and horizontal loop handles. 1075 could have also belonged to a LH IIIA2 bowl FS 283. 1126 is thicker than other bowls and could have belonged to a LH IIIB2 stemmed krater FS 281. The placement of the handles high in the body of 1127 may suggest a date later than LH IIIB1, perhaps LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, very pale brown, except for the pink 1126.

Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped inside and outside; $\mathbf{1 1 2 7}$ is polished. The decorative zone is defined at the top by a thin line on the rim and a parallel thick horizontal band under the rim (1127). The main motif is isolated semi-circles in panels FM 43:22; the handle 1126 is painted with splashes. Interior rims are decorated with horizontal bands, but the rest of the interior surface is unpainted (1127).
Provenience. Stemmed bowls have been found in Skias pyre XXX in the South Slope (S SU 20, 1127) and the area to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 13, 1126).

## DECORATION

## FLower (FM 18)

Unvoluted flowers FM 18:112 decorate the shoulder zones of conical stirrup jars FS 182/183 (1087). 1101 preserves the end of a curved line that could have belonged to the volute of a flower FM 18:38 or FM 18:40 with spiral at the tip. ${ }^{1418}$ The lines of 1093 may have belonged to the fill of a hybrid flower FM18B?34 from a Zygouries-type kylix. ${ }^{1419}$

## Whorl Shell (FM 23)

Shells with the head formed by two concentric circles and the antenna rising from the external circle to the rim band decorate the kylikes 1096 and 1097; this variant of the motif (FM 23:1-3, 5-6) could be also late LH IIIA2. The left-hand side shell on the kylix 1098 is unusual in that the bottom part of its lower extremity is painted solid black, but the upper part is blank; a fill of dot-rosettes decorates the empty space between the shells. ${ }^{1420}$

Isolated Semi-Circles (FM 43)
The five semi-circles on the krater 1091 rise from a thick horizontal band and may have been paneled FM 43:14. Pendent semi-circles FM 43:13 are considered by Furumark a step
1419. Thomas 2004, fig. 10; id. 2005, fig. 11:9.
towards "symmetrization". ${ }^{1421}$ This motif is also used on stemmed bowls FS 305: the semicircles of $\mathbf{1 1 2 5}$ are not attached to the triglyph lines (cf. FM 43:22) and are connected with short oblique lines. Groups of small isolated semi-circles (FM 43:15) decorate the top band of the spouted cup 1130.

## Antithetic Spirals (FM 50)

Only the ends of the stems of antithetic spirals framing a vertical triglyph are preserved on the rims of two deep bowls FS 284. The stem of the spiral of 1105 is almost vertical before verging to the side, resembling the standard antithetic spirals FM 50:4 and FM 50:6 and $8-10$; the triglyph consists of two vertical parallel lines with the edge of a solid square attached to the first one. The stem of $\mathbf{1 1 0 6}$ crosses the second rim line and is more slanted (cf. FM 50:7); the triglyph consists of two sets of straight vertical parallel lines framing a vertical row of lozenges reminiscent of FM 75:12 or FM 75:25, but with a fill of small solid circles.

## Chevrons (FM 58)

The top flat surface of the rim of the conical bowl 1117 is decorated with horizontal chevrons (FM 58:32 or FM 58:35) with curved sides. Vertical chevron FM 58:15 decorate the body of the deep bowl 1095. ${ }^{1422}$

## N-PATTERN (FM 60)

Reversed N's FM 60:2 are used as the main motif on the belly of LH IIIB1 small piriform jars FS 48 (1081).

## Tricurved Arches (FM 62)

The tricurved arches of the jug 1085 rise from the horizontal line at the bottom of the shoulder and are filled with vertical chevrons (FM 62:30); the fill of the arches on the jug 1086 is small circles with a dot, resembling FM 62:15. ${ }^{1423}$ The arches on the deep bowl 1104 extend all the way to the rim line and have a double frame (similar to FM 62:15 and FM 62:19); the fill of circles with dots or smaller circles is also found in LH IIIB2; ${ }^{1424}$ a small curved line visible to the right may be part of a small stemmed spiral, such as those of FM 62:19. Tricurved arches with the same fill decorate a cup FS 245 in the Collection of the Goethe University Frankfurt a. Main. ${ }^{1425}$
1421. MP 342.
1422. Cf. Marabea 2010, fig. 55: 9.186.
1423. Cf. Wardle 1969, pl. 62d:2; Grotta pl. 16: 67-

53a.
1424. Cf. MDP fig. 165:3.
1425. Mountjoy 2008b, no. M160, col. pl. 5.

PANELS (FM 75)
Triglyphs used in combination with antithetic spirals have already been discussed. Panels are used in combination with isolated semi-circles FM 43 on stemmed bowls FS 305. 1109 is decorated with a vertical zig-zag line (FM 75:10 or FM 75:38) framed by two straight vertical parallel lines and could be LH IIIB2 Early. Similarly, the panel of 1111 (consisting of two vertical lines connected with horizontal crossbars forming a "ladder" motif) comes close to FM 75:4 (although the bars of FM 75:4 are replaced by wavy lines) and resembles the double crossbars on a LH IIIB2 Early stemmed bowl from Mycenae. ${ }^{1426}$

## SUMMARY

The LH IIIB1 material is fragmentary and problematic: the identified shapes are represented by only a few sherds each, the type shapes of the period are absent, and there is only one piece that could have belonged to a Zygouries kylix; on the other hand, the miniature bowl is a good chronological indicator. Typical LH IIIB1/IIIB2 motifs, such as vertical whorl shells, semi-circles, and tricurved arches with fill are used, but net pattern does not. Zonal decoration continues from the previous period, but deep bowls now have paneled decoration and motifs are arranged symmetrically.

A number of LH IIIB1 shapes do not seem to be represented in the settlement, although they are found in the West Cemetery: these include the feeding-bottle FS $161,{ }^{1427}$ the nar-row-necked jug FS 120, ${ }^{1428}$ the hydria FS 129, ${ }^{1429}$ and the flask (FS 192). ${ }^{1430}$ Kraters are absent from the West Cemetery in this period. ${ }^{1431}$

[^194]

FS 301


FM 43:22


FS 305
linear

Fig. 230. Combinations of LH IIIB1 shapes and motifs.

## LATE HELLADIC IIIB2

## DEFINITION

In contrast to the few LH IIIB2 deposits at Mycenae, the Unterburg at Tiryns has yielded a large corpus of LH IIIB2 material. ${ }^{1432}$ In a recent paper Elizabeth French and Philipp Stockhammer defined two LH IIIB2 phases at both Mycenae and Tiryns. ${ }^{1433}$ Late Helladic IIIB2 Early, isolated in the Citadel House Area at Mycenae ${ }^{1434}$ and horizons 16a0-a7 (architectural phase SH IIIB Mitte) at Tiryns, ${ }^{1435}$ is characterized by extensive use of linear decoration on the interior and exterior of bowls and cups. Diagnostic features include small collar necked jars FS 64; Rosette and type B deep bowls; and shallow bowls/ plates FS 296 with white bands on the interior. ${ }^{136}$ Late Helladic IIIB2 Late is present at the South House and the South House Annex, the Temple, the passage and small courtyard, Room XXIV, and the Northwest Quarter at Mycenae; ${ }^{1437}$ as well as horizons 17a0, 17a1-a3, 17a4-a5, and 18 (architectural phases SH IIIB Entwickelt and SH IIIB Ende) at Tiryns. ${ }^{1438}$ It is characterized by new variants in the linear decoration of well established shapes (especially deep bowls and cups); the use of dotted rims on bowls and carinated kylikes, which in LH IIIB2 Early had been unpainted; and the use of linear decoration on previously unpainted shapes. Diagnostic features of this phase are large amphorae FS 69, jugs FS 106 and hydriae FS 128 with slightly hollowed lips and linear decoration; deep cups FS 215 with dotted rims or monochrome interiors and medium-width bands on the rim or on the body or linear decoration inside and outside; linear or partially monochrome carinated kylikes FS 267; conical kylikes with dotted rims FS 274; rounded shallow bowls FS 295B; stemmed bowls with monochrome or linear interiors and banded exteriors; deep bowls with sinuous profile; and linear exterior decoration on type A and type B deep bowls FS 284 and rosette deep bowls (monochrome interiors with reserved circles at the base or with a medium-width rim band and no other decoration on the exterior). ${ }^{1439}$

Evidence for a LH IIIB2 Early and LH IIIB2 Late phase outside these two sites does not exist for the moment, ${ }^{1440}$ but this may be a bias of the strong regionalism and the few uni-

[^195][^196]versal features during the period. ${ }^{1441}$ On the other hand, the occurrence of certain LH IIIC Early types already at in LH IIIB 2 Late led Mountjoy to propose a Transitional LH IIIB2IIIC Early phase, although recent analyses of the stratigraphic sequences at Mycenae and Tiryns, as well as at other sites, suggest that such a phase cannot be isolated. ${ }^{1442}$ Vitale, returning to Rutter's earlier chronological scheme, proposed that LH IIIB2 be divided into an Early and a Late phase, followed by a LH IIIC Early 1 phase. ${ }^{1443}$

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Sherds that can be dated to LH IIIB2 are few: they belong to deep bowls (1108, 1122, 1146), one miniature bowl (1124), two kraters (1120, ?1145), two basins (1121, 1147), and one stemmed bowl (1144). Of these, 1144-1147 could be as late as LH IIIC Early. A number of pieces that cannot be dated more closely than LH IIIB1/IIIB2 have been discussed above, with LH IIIB1 pottery. ${ }^{1444}$ The deep bowls 1123, 1142, and 1143 can only be dated to the LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early range. With the exception of 1121, found to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10, locus 12), and 1146, found by Skias in the South Slope, the provenience of the LH IIIB2 pieces is unknown.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

The bowls 1122 and 1146 have fine pink fabrics and the basin 1147 a fairly coarse light reddish brown fabric. The rest have fine, very pale brown fabrics.

## SHAPES

Krater (FS 9, FS 281, FS 282)
1120 has been attributed to FS 9 and the thick rim/body 1145 may belong to a LH IIIB2 or LH IIIC Early krater. Both pieces are made of fairly fine very pale brown fabrics. The surface of $\mathbf{1 1 2 0}$ is polished, but $\mathbf{1 1 4 5}$ is not. 1120 is decorated with vertical whorl shell FM 23:6. ${ }^{1445} 1145$ is problematic: it has a thick curved line (presumably around the now lost handle), to which a ?simple running spiral (?FM 46:58) is attached; ${ }^{1446}$ on the other hand,

[^197][^198]it might be a crude execution of flower (FM18C) and thus LH III A2. ${ }^{1447}$ Both sherds preserve interior rim bands.

Bowl (FS 284)
Shape and size. Late Helladic IIIB2 deep bowls FS 284 have straight or flaring rims and semiglobular or bell-shaped outlines. 1124 is shallower than the standard bowls which, in combination with the decoration, suggests that it belonged to miniature bowl. ${ }^{1448}$ Rim diameters are 13 cm , except for the Group B bowl 1146, which has a diameter of 21 cm .1106 and 1107 have been discussed above with LH IIIB1 pottery, but they also find parallels in LH IIIB2 Early bowls from Mycenae and might have also been LH IIIB2.
Fabrics and manufacture. Fabrics are fine, very pale brown or pink.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Surfaces are slipped. Exterior rim decoration consists of either a single horizontal band or of two parallel horizontal lines. 1108 seems to have the stemmed bowl banding defined by French and Stockhammer as one of the diagnostic features of LH IIIB2. Exterior decoration consists of horizontal chevrons FM 58:23 (1122) or hanging semi-circles FM 43:13 (1124). Interiors can be monochrome (1122, 1146). 1142 and 1143 are solidly painted inside and outside with a dark reddish brown paint.
Provenience. 1142 was found on the floor of Megaron B (S SU 4, locus 5). 1146 is marked with "Паv. Nєщ@óло $\iota_{1} \varsigma^{\prime \prime}$, indicating that it was found by Skias in the general area of the South Slope, but its precise findspot is unknown.

## BASIN (FS 294)

Shape and size. 1147 is a fragment of the body, base of horizontal loop handle, and slightly flaring and thickened rim of an open vase; although the loop handle is not typical of basins, the sherd has been assigned to FS 294 because of the rim which is standard for this shape. 1121 has been assigned to a basin on account of its diameter and banded decoration, although the flat rim is not common.
Fabrics and manufacture. 1147 is made of fairly coarse light reddish brown 2.5YR 7/4 fabric and 1121 of fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR $7 / 4$ fabric.
Surface treatment, decoration, comparanda. Both interior and exterior surfaces are slipped and unpolished. 1147 is decorated with a red horizontal band under the handle and the interior

[^199][^200]is monochrome red, which may suggest a date in the LH IIIB2/IIIC Early range (although it does not feature an exterior rim band). ${ }^{1449} 1121$ is decorated with horizontal band on the rim and horizontal lines further down in the body.
Provenience. 1121 was found under the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12).

## Tripod Cooking Pot

Two pieces $(567,568)$ must be LH IIIB, but they have been discussed above with the MH pottery because of their provenience. ${ }^{1450}$

## DECORATION

Whorl Shell (FM 23)
Vertical whorl shell FM 23:6 is used as the main decoration on the krater FS 9 1120, although the shell is represented with an elongated upper part formed by a long zig-zag line as in FM 23:9, but the head, made with a small circle with a dot, resembles FM 23:12; the lower part is formed by almost parallel vertical lines with a fill of one row of dots.

## Isolated Semi-Circles (FM 43)

The paneled semi-circles FM $43: 13$ hang from the second rim line of the miniature bowl 1124 and are skewed and carelessly executed. The semi-circles of 1144 are not attached to the triglyph lines (cf. FM 43:22).

## Chevrons (FM 58)

1122 preserves a row of open-ended horizontal chevrons (FM 58:23) framed by a thick horizontal band and has a monochrome red interior; it resembles a Group B deep bowl from the Fountain House in Athens, which has a similar monochrome interior and a band on the outside, except that the main motif is quirk instead of chevrons. ${ }^{1451}$

## SUMMARY

The LH IIIB2 material is sparse and fragmentary. Only three shapes are represented, all from open vessels (kraters, deep bowls, miniature bowls, and basins), with a limited range of motifs (vertical whorl shell, semicircles and chevrons). Although some sherds may have been very early LH IIIB2 and others LH IIIB2 Late/LH IIIC Early, the lack of stratigraphic
1449. Cf. MDP fig. 197:2-3, from Lefkandi and Korakou.
1450. Supra p. 295.
1451. RMDP fig. 202:265.
information does not allow any conclusions about the distribution or possible phasing of LH IIIB2 pottery. The period is also under-represented in the West Cemetery, from which Mountjoy dates to LH IIIB2 an alabastron FS 94 with wavy line ${ }^{1452}$ and another two-handled FS 96 with cylindrical lower body decorated with net pattern. ${ }^{1453}$


Fig. 231. Combination of LH IIIB2 shapes and motifs.
1452. West Cemetery pl. 78.520 (the only pot from grave Hл16); Mountjoy (RMDP 553) notes its small size, reminiscent mostly of IIIC straight-sided alabastra.
1453. West Cemetery pl. 21.107a from grave Гл17. Alabastron no. 346, which was found in the same burial, is included with the LH IIIA2 alabastra (RMDP 526, n. 321).

## LATE HELLADIC IIIC

## DEFINITION

Late Helladic IIIC Early ${ }^{1454}$ is found in several domestic assemblages, most notably the Citadel House Area at Mycenae, ${ }^{1455}$ the North-Eastern Lower Town at Tiryns, ${ }^{1456}$ Houses H and P (Phases 3, 2) at Korakou, ${ }^{1457}$ Ayios Stephanos, ${ }^{1458}$ the Fountain House at Athens, ${ }^{1459}$ Eutresis, ${ }^{1460}$ Lefkandi Xeropolis Phases 1a and 1b, ${ }^{1461}$ and Krisa. ${ }^{1462}$ This phase is represented also in numerous tomb assemblages, especially Phase I at Perati ${ }^{1463}$ and several chamber tomb cemeteries on Rhodes. At Mycenae, Elizabeth French has distinguished two phases, LH IIIC Early 1 and LH IIIC Early 2 (in Rutter's terminology respectively LH IIIC Phase 2 and LH IIIC Phase 3). ${ }^{1464}$ Ceramically, LH IIIC Early is characterized by increase in the use of globular stirrup jars, amphoriskoi, ring-based kraters, and deep bowls; decline in the frequency of the LH IIIB stemmed kraters, stemmed bowls, and mugs; introduction of new shapes, such as lekythoi, deep semi-globular cups, carinated cups with high handles, and amphoriskoi; and disappearance of Group B deep bowls. ${ }^{1465}$ The use of patterned decoration shrinks in favor of linear and monochrome decoration: those motifs that become popular are simple (most often scrolls and tassels) and placed in narrow zones or panels. A new and imported class of handmade pottery with burnished surface (Handmade Burnished Ware) becomes popular in several sites of the Mainland. ${ }^{1666}$

Late Helladic IIIC Middle pottery is found in several domestic and tomb assemblages, but few of these are stratified and published. ${ }^{1467}$ The most prolific domestic assemblages have been found at Mycenae (deposits in the lower level of the Granary East Basement), ${ }^{1468}$ Tiryns ("Megaron" - Haus W), ${ }^{1469}$ Korakou (Phase 1, Floor 1, House P), ${ }^{1470}$ the Athenian Acropolis (domestic fill of the Fountain House), ${ }^{1471}$ Lefkandi Xeropolis (part of Phase 1b, Phase 2a and the beginning of Phase 2b), ${ }^{1472}$ Phylakopi, ${ }^{1473}$ and Koukounaries. ${ }^{1474}$ Of the

[^201]1465. Mountjoy 1993, 90-91; RMDP 43-44.
1466. Rutter 2010, 420.
1467. See the overview in Mountjoy 2007.
1468. Wace et al. 1921-1923, 38-61; see also now French 2007a.
1469. Tiryns V 1-19. Also see an overview of the Lower Citadel in Mühlenbruch 2007 and of the site in Mühlenbruch 2009.
1470. Rutter 1974, 134-316.
1471. Broneer 1939; Gauß 2003.
1472. Popham, Schofield and Sherratt 2006, 141175; Schofield 2007.
1473. Phylakopi III 344-360, figs 8.22-8.30.
1474. Schilardi 1984; 1992; 1995.
tomb assemblages, the most prolific are Perati Phases II and beginning III and several chamber tomb cemeteries in Achaea, Aplomata on Naxos, and Rhodes. ${ }^{1475}$ In the Argolid Mountjoy has discerned a developed and an advanced LH IIIC Middle, but this division cannot be applied in other regions because of the lack of published material. The most striking feature in terms of the ceramic definition of this phase is a surge in the use of patterned decoration, expressed in the expansion of the range of patterns and the increase in the complexity of decoration and resulting in local styles (Close Style, Pictorial Style, Octopus Style). Stirrup jars, amphoriskoi, ring-based kraters and deep bowls remain the most popular shapes, although the lack of published domestic deposits may account for the low frequency of drinking vessels, such as cups, mugs, and kylikes. ${ }^{1476}$ At Perati Iakovidis isolated a local White Ware with a light-colored slip and matt painted decoration. ${ }^{1477}$

Although material of the Late Helladic IIIC Late phase has been found in several sites, much remains unpublished and, as a result, the phase is not well defined. Domestic deposits with LH IIIC Late material have been found at three sites: Mycenae (the Bath Grave, the Pithos Burial, Lion Gate Strata X and XI, and the upper level of the Granary East Basement), ${ }^{1478}$ Tiryns (deposits in the Lower Town), ${ }^{1479}$ and Asine (Houses G and H). ${ }^{1480}$ Additional LH IIIC Late material has been found at Ramovouni Lakkathela, in Messenia (the destruction deposit), ${ }^{1481}$ Well U26.4 of the Klepsydra Cuttings in the Agora, ${ }^{1482}$ most of Phase 2b and Phase 3 at Lefkandi Xeropolis; ${ }^{1483}$ the Temple deposits at Ayia Irini, Keos, ${ }^{1484}$ the settlement at Koukounaries on Paros; ${ }^{1485}$ and phase 7, stages I and II at Emporio on Chios. ${ }^{1486}$ Of the tomb assemblages the most significant is Phase III at Perati, which spans part of this phase, as well as numerous reused chamber tombs. ${ }^{1487}$ As mentioned, this phase is not well defined ceramically: overall, the range of both motifs and shapes seems to contract and the overall quality of pottery declines vis-à-vis those of LH IIIC Middle. Because the most complete ceramic assemblages come from tombs, especially Perati, the commonest shapes are amphoriskoi and stirrup jars, collar-necked jars, trefoil-mouthed jars, and lekythoi, but cups are rare. Kraters and deep bowls are common and kylikes can belong to one of two types: the commonest type has broad bowl, tall stem, and wide base; the second type, found in the Argolid, Phocis, and Thessaly, has funnel-shaped bowl, small base, and swollen or ribbed stem. ${ }^{1488}$ The most popular mode of decoration consists of large surfaces

[^202]1482. Agora XIII 112.
1483. Popham, Schofield and Sherratt 2006, 166180.
1484. Caskey 1984.
1485. Schilardi 1984; 1992; 1995.
1486. Hood 1982, figs 271-273.
1487. Complete list in RMDP 51-52.
1488. Ibid. 53.
of the vases painted in dark paint with the motifs placed in reserved zones, although some closed vases retain their light background; the motifs are simple, most commonly wavy lines and necklaces, but scrolls, tassels, antithetic loops, cross-hatched triangles, and semicircles also occur.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The LH IIIC material from Eleusis is extremely sparse: approximately fifteen sherds and vases can be dated to LH IIIC Early-Late; in addition, four pieces discussed above with LH IIIB2 pottery may be as late as LH IIIC Early. ${ }^{1489}$ These few LH IIIC pieces are rims and bodies of kraters, deep bowls, kylikes, jars, and jugs, dating to all three LH IIIC periods. Because of the small size of the sample and also the uncertainties regarding the specific date of several of these sherds, the LH IIIC material is treated here as one group. 1135 and 1137 were found in the deposits to the northeast of wall 4 c under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z (E SU 10, locus 12). Handmade Burnished Ware has not been identified in the material.

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

There are two types of fabrics, both fine or fairly fine: pink 7.5YR 7/4-8/3-8/4; and very pale brown 10YR 7/4-8/4. The large amphora 1153 is made in a fairly coarse, pink 7.5 YR $8 / 3$ fabric. Although the sample is too small to allow any reliable substantive conclusions, it is interesting to note that for the LH IIIC Early pieces the very pale brown fabrics are more common, but virtually all LH IIIC Middle and LH IIIC Late sherds are made in the same pink fabric. The very pale brown fabrics appear similar to Argolic fabrics; the pink fabrics seem similar to Iakovidis‘ yellow fabric from Perati and may have been Attic.

## SHAPES

Cup, One-Handled (FS 215, FS 216)
The rim 1134 belongs to a semi-globular cup with slightly flaring rim (FS 215, rim diam. 13); its monochrome interior and deep external rim band as the only decoration occur at Mycenae in Elizabeth French's Phase IX (LH IIIC Early 1). ${ }^{1490}$ At Tiryns, medium-band cups and bowls appear in LH IIIB2 Late, but become frequent in LH IIIC Early. ${ }^{1491}$ At Iria and Thorikos FS 215 is also found in Mountjoy's transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early phase, ${ }^{1492}$
1489. Supra p. 417.
1490. French 2007b, fig. 7, row 3 left.
1491. Horizon 17 (French and Stockhammer 2009,
211).
1492. Mountjoy 1995b, fig. 5:50.
but for Rutter it is a diagnostic of LH IIIC Early 1. ${ }^{1493}$ Perati Phase I, where such cups also occur, ${ }^{1494}$ includes material from Mountjoy's transitional/Rutter's LH IIIC Early 1 phase and IIIC Early, that cannot be separated stratigraphically. The monochrome black interior of this piece is a standard decorative feature on deep bowls from both phases, as is the black narrow external rim band ( 1.1 cm , as opposed to $2+\mathrm{cm}$ for the medium-band and linear FS 284).

1133 is a slightly flaring rim of a semi-globular cup. The identification as an FS 216 is based on its rim diameter ( 12 cm ) and on the linear decoration, which consists of horizontal parallel bands on the exterior body and a thin line on the exterior rim; and horizontal bands on the interior. A similarly decorated cup from Mycenae is dated to LH IIIC Late. ${ }^{1495}$

## Krater (FS 282)

Kraters FS 282 with straight walls, squared rim, and interior and exterior rim bands are dated by Mountjoy to LH IIIC Late, but a recent analysis of the material from Tiryns by Stockhammer dates them to LH IIIC Middle 2; accordingly, the rims 1135 and 1136 have been dated to that range. ${ }^{1496} 1128$ has been attributed to a krater FS 282 on the basis of the square section of the rim and the thickness of the wall (max. 0.8). The thick body 1137 appears also to have belonged to a krater. Wall thickness is in the 0.6-0.7 range and rim diameters are about 31 cm . The incurving upper body is common in Attic kraters. ${ }^{1497}$ Fabrics are fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 7/4 and surfaces are coated with either a slip in the same color as the fabric, or pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 7 / 4$ (1135). 1135, 1136, and 1137 are decorated with reddish brown horizontal bands. On the inside 1135 is decorated with horizontal rim bands, but 1137 is monochrome. The top surfaces of the rims are either solidly painted (1135) or have reserved lines (1136). 1128 is decorated with triple-stemmed multiple stem, hooked shaped (FM 19:58) or tongue-shaped (FM 19:39), carelessly executed (the ends of the stems cut through the horizontal lines of the body). Ring-based kraters with squared flat rims occur in the Argolid in LH IIIC Late; ${ }^{1498}$ a krater from Perati ${ }^{1499}$ has the same rim type and same banded decoration as 1135 .

## Deep Bowl (FS 284)

Deep bowls have flaring rims (1141) ${ }^{1500}$ with diameters ranging from 16 to 18 cm and wall thicknesses from 0.4 to 0.5 cm . Fabrics are fine, pink 7.5 YR 8/4-8/3 to very pale brown 10YR 7/4 and surfaces are of the same color as the fabric, slipped and polished. Exterior

[^203][^204]rim decoration consists of a single horizontal band ( 2 cm deep on 1140 and 1141). 1140 and 1141 are decorated with thick wavy bands, which at Tiryns are common throughout LH IIIC. ${ }^{1501}$ The combination of thick wavy band and monochrome interior on 1141 suggests a date in LH IIIC Early 1 and is paralleled at Salamis. ${ }^{1502} 1139$ is decorated with a chain of lozenges reminiscent of FM 73:5, placed in a horizontal zone defined by a line under the rim band and another line under the lozenges; the motif resembles a LH IIIC Early 1 bowl from Tiryns. ${ }^{1503}$

## Kylix (FS 275)/One-Handled Conical Bowl (FS 242)

The lipless rim 1148 with a diameter of 13.5 cm may have belonged to either a small conical kylix FS $2755^{1504}$ or an one-handled conical bowl FS $242 .{ }^{1505}$ I do not think that it would have belonged to a mug because the walls form a carination right under the rim, in contrast to the mug, which has straight walls. The exterior preserves two horizontal lines under the rim and the ends of thin curved lines, possibly spirals. The linear interior is unusual, as both shapes have monochrome interiors; rare examples of kylikes with linear interior are the two kylikes FS 276 from Hexalophos in Thessaly, ${ }^{1506}$ which on the outside are decorated with a scroll. The stem/body 1149 belongs to a conical kylix (FS 275); its monochrome red interior with a reserved circle in the center of the bowl suggests a LH IIIC Middle date. Both pieces have fine, pink $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ fabrics. The surface of 1148 is coated with a slip in the same color, but 1149 has a very pale brown 10YR 8/4 slip. Both pieces can be dated to LH IIIC Middle.

Collar-Necked Jar (FS 64)
1150 belongs to a small collar-necked jar with straight lipless rim and short neck (FS 64); the rim diameter is compatible with those of collar-necked jars from Perati, but the neck is considerably shorter. At Perati the overall diameter of the vase is about double the diameter of the rim, so 1150 may have been approximately 22 cm in diameter. It is made of fairly fine fabric, pink 7.5YR 8/4. The surface is slipped in the same color. The exterior neck is monochrome black and the decoration of circles with a central dot ("sea anemone" FM 27:35) is placed on the shoulder, between the neck and two parallel horizontal lines. The motif of circles with dot is found on LH IIIC Middle collar-necked jars at Perati, either

[^205][^206]single ${ }^{1507}$ or in chains. ${ }^{1508}$ On the other hand, small collar-necked jars in the Argolid appear already in LH III B2 Early ${ }^{1509}$ so this piece has been dated to a general LH IIIB2-LH IIIC range.

Amphora (?FS 70)
The thick vertical strap handle 1153 may have belonged to a large amphora FS 70, but it cannot be dated more closely than LH IIIB / LH IIIC. The fabric is fairly coarse, pink 7.5YR $8 / 3$ and the surface is unslipped. Identification is based on the figure-of-eight pattern decorating its flat side. ${ }^{1510}$

## DECORATION

## Monochrome

Open shapes have monochrome interiors, such as the one-handled cup FS 215 (transitional and LH IIIC Early) and the krater 1137; also the kylix 1149 has a monochrome interior with a reserved circle in the center of the bowl. The exterior neck of the collar-necked jar 1150 is monochrome black.

## LINEAR

Rim bands are common in all open shapes: the external rims of the cup FS 215 and the krater FS 282 are decorated with a horizontal line (black on the cup, reddish brown on the krater), and the top surfaces of krater and bowl rims are either painted (1135) or have a reserved line (1136). Straight parallel horizontal bands are common as the main decoration on both open and closed shapes; of these, the linear interior of the LH IIIC Middle 1148 kylix is unusual, as kylikes have monochrome interiors, so it may belong to a conical bowl. In LH IIIC Late the one-handled cup 1133 is decorated with horizontal parallel bands on both the exterior and interior surfaces. The exterior rims of deep bowls FS 284 have a single horizontal band (ranging in thickness from 0.80 to 2 cm ). In the second case, these lines may also be mirrored on the interior rim. Handles of closed vases are decorated with fig-ure-of-eight pattern (1153).

## Sea Anemone FM 27:35

A motif consisting of circles with a central dot, resembling sea anemone FM 27:35 rather than circles FM 41, is placed on the shoulder, between the neck and two parallel horizontal

[^207]1509. French and Stockhammer 2009, 177.
1510. Cf. RDMP fig. 50:377.
lines of the collar necked jar 1150. This motif occurs in LH IIIC Middle jars from Perati (see above).

## Panelled Antithetic Spiral Pattern (FM 50)

Antithetical spirals with triglyphs serve as the main decoration of deep bowls.

## Wavy Line

Thick dark brown to black wavy bands decorate the exterior surfaces of deep bowls FS 284.


Fig. 232. LH IIIC shape/motif combinations.

Chevrons (FM 58)
The open-ended chevrons (FM 58:23) on bowls FS 284 are paralleled in LH IIIB2 ${ }^{1511}$ and LH IIIC Early bowls. ${ }^{1512}$

## Lozenges (FM 73)

One deep bowl (1139) is decorated with a horizontal row of cross-hatched lozenges (cf. FM 73:5, but without the hooks). The motif is paralleled at Tiryns. ${ }^{1513}$

## SUMMARY

It is not possible to isolate any LH IIIC Early 1 or Early 2 pieces, with the exception of 1128 and 1141, which can be dated to LH IIIC Early 2. The LH IIIC Middle phase is represented by the carinated cup FS 240, the deep bowl FS 284 with a thick wavy band on the outside and a monochrome interior; the conical kylix FS 275 (and possibly the one-handled bowl FS 242); and the collar-necked jar FS 64. Of these, the krater seems to date to Rutter's Phase 4b. The LH IIIC Late phase is represented by the cup FS 216, the jug FS 115, the amphora FS 69 and FS 70, and the ring-based krater FS 282, all with linear decoration. The combination of shapes and motifs is shown in fig. 232.

## SUBMYCENAEAN

## DEFINITION

There is considerable debate about what the term "Submycenaean" means. Mountjoy ${ }^{1514}$ considers it a distinct chronological phase that follows LH IIIC Late, whereas Desborough and Snodgrass think that this in reality was the style prevailing in Attica during the last phases of LH IIIC Late in the Argolid. ${ }^{1515}$ Rutter and Papadopoulos consider it a style used exclusively for burials during LH IIIC Late. ${ }^{1516}$ Because, as we shall see below, the provenience of the material from Eleusis is not known, it does not contribute to the issue of whether Submycenaean pottery was used for burials or cemeteries; accordingly, for the purposes of this study the term is used to describe a group of pottery that is either contemporary to LH IIIC Late or follows right after it; in either case, it is the chronological link between the post-palatial and the PG periods.

The Submycenaean period is not well defined stratigraphically: there are few domestic deposits at Asine, ${ }^{1517}$ Ancient Corinth,,${ }^{1518}$ Mitrou, ${ }^{1519}$ Elateia, ${ }^{1520}$ and Kalapodi, ${ }^{1521}$ but these are unstratified or contain very little in terms of diagnostic material; ${ }^{1522}$ at Mycenae and Tiryns Submycenaean material has been found stratified over LH IIIC Late. ${ }^{1523}$ The period is better known from cemeteries of pit and cist tombs and in reuse phases of chamber tombs. ${ }^{1524}$ Ceramically the period is characterized by a shrinkage in the range of shapes, with amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, lekythoi, cups, deep bowls remaining as the only popular ones. There seems to be considerable regional variation in the use of certain shapes: for example there is a preference for wide-necked jugs, as well as neck-handled and belly-handled amphoras in Elis and Attica, but less so or not at all in other regions. Patterned decoration includes simple motifs: cross-hatched triangles, semi-circles some with solid centers, wavy lines, and zig-zag are often found in reserved horizontal zones with the rest of the vase being dark monochrome; antithetic loops, solid triangles, and necklaces against light background decorate larger amphoras and jugs.
1514. RMDP 56.
1515. Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 1971.
1516. Rutter 1978; Papadopoulos 1993, 176-181. For further discussion see Whitley 1991, 81-82; Isthmia VIII, 254-256; Dickinson 2006, 14; Papadopoulos, Damiata and Marston 2011.
1517. Asine II. 3 passim. For the Submycenaean material from the Lower town see RMDP (Argolid), nos 466, 467, 468, 470-474.
1518. From the Weinberg House, the South Stoa,
and the Forum (RMDP 240-242).
1519. Van de Moortel 2009.
1520. Deger-Jalkotzy 2009.
1521. RMDP 818.
1522. See the discussion in Lis 2009; cf. RMDP 932 for a Submycenaean vase from the settlement at Koukounaries (with reference to Schilardi 1984).
1523. RMDP 79 with further references; Stockhammer 2009.
1524. RMDP 55.

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

Nine sherds, mostly shoulders from closed vessels, and one complete vase have been assigned to the Submycenaean period. Three pieces have provenience indications: the ?amphoriskos 1159 was found in Megaron B (E SU 4, locus 4); the amphoriskos 1163 was found by Philios in the southwest stoa, presumably in a grave; 1166 is marked as "Lykourgeion, box 73".

## FABRICS AND MANUFACTURE

Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, usually very pale brown 10YR 8/3 or reddish brown 7.5YR 5/3 with sparse lime inclusions (oenochoe/jug 1161; jug 1162). The amphoriskos 1163 has a light brown 10YR $7 / 4$ fabric and the fabric of the amphoriskos 1164 is pinkish white 7.5YR 8/2.

## SHAPES

Jug (?FS 115)/Lekythos (FS 124)/Stirrup Jar (FS 177)
1160, 1161, and 1162 belong to shoulders from closed vessels, jugs, stirrup jars or lekythoi. 1160 was probably a stirrup jar or a lekythos. 1161 has been assigned to a jug (possibly FS 115 given its small size) on account of the double vertical wavy lines being more commonly used on these vases than stirrup jars or lekythoi. ${ }^{1525} 1162$ could also have been a jug, on the basis of its wide neck. Fabrics are fine or fairly fine, very pale brown 10YR 8/3 (1160) or reddish brown $7.5 \mathrm{YR} 5 / 3$ with sparse lime inclusions (1161, 1162); surfaces are covered by a slip in the same color as the fabric, except for 1162 , which is covered in a whitish slip. Decoration consists of single $(\mathbf{1 1 6 0}, \mathbf{1 1 6 2})$ vertical wavy lines ending in the horizontal line that defines the bottom of the shoulder. Several stirrup jars and lekythoi from Kerameikos have similar decoration. ${ }^{1526} \mathbf{1 1 6 0}$ can be assigned to Ruppenstein's Stage II (stirrup jars of group 3 and 4; lekythoi of group 2). ${ }^{1527}$ If a jug, 1161 could be dated to Ruppenstein's Stage III. ${ }^{1528}$

## Amphoriskos (FS 60)

1159 has been assigned to an amphoriskos, as double wavy lines on the shoulder are unusual for lekythoi or oenochoae. The fabric is fine, very pale brown $10 \mathrm{YR} 8 / 3$ and the surface is unslipped but smoothed. It is decorated with a double wavy line (FM 53) bordered at the bottom by two straight horizontal lines. 1164 is a fragment of the shoulder and
1525. Kerameikos XVIII fig. 6, pl. 24: gr. 126/3; fig. 12, pl. 32: gr. 140/2.
1526. Kerameikos I pls 6 and 10; Kerameikos XVIII
fig. 5.
1527. Kerameikos XVIII 196, pl. 39.
1528. Ibid. Group 2.
neck of a large amphoriskos (FS 60). It is made of fairly fine fabric, pinkish white 7.5 YR $8 / 2$ and its surface is covered with a slip in the same color as the fabric. The neck is monochrome black and the shoulder is decorated with a horizontal wavy line. A close parallel can be found at Kerameikos. ${ }^{1529} 1165$ is part of the shoulder and upper part of the belly of a closed vessel, decorated with two rows of isolated semi-circles (FM 43). This pattern is found on collar-necked jars (FS 63/64), ${ }^{1530}$ but the size of this sherd suggests a smaller vase, possibly an amphoriskos FS 60. It is made of fairly fine, pale yellow 10YR 8/3 fabric and its surface is slipped in the same color as the fabric.

1163 is a complete amphoriskos: it has globular profile, everted rim (diam. 6), and flat base (diam. 3.2). What is unusual is that instead of the standard horizontal handles of the amphoriskoi, it has two vertical loop handles from the point of maximum diameter to the neck. Its fabric is fine, light brown 10YR $7 / 4$ and the surface is slipped in the same color. Decoration consists of scroll/quirk (FM 48) on the upper body and horizontal bands on the lower belly in brown paint; the interior rim preserves a narrow band. It probably came from a grave in the southwest stoa, but further information does not exist. This unusual vase finds parallels in the western part of central Greece. ${ }^{1531}$

## Deep Semi-Globular Cup (FS 217)

1166 is a flaring rim (diam. 10) with the vertical strap handle of a deep semi-globular cup (FS 217). Its fine, light brown 10YR 7/4 fabric is of Attic provenience. ${ }^{1532}$ Both interior and exterior surfaces are monochrome black, but the paint is cracked. It was marked as "Nuжои́øүعเov, xovì 73". ${ }^{1533}$ Monochrome-painted cups made their first appearance at the end of the Submycenaean and became popular during the PG period, so this piece can be assigned to these phases. ${ }^{1534}$

## Deep Bowl (FS 286)

1167 is part of the flaring rim (diam. 13-14) and upper part of the body of a deep bowl (FS 286). The rim flares considerably towards the outside. ${ }^{1535}$ The fabric is fine, pale yellow 10 YR $8 / 3$ and both the exterior and interior surfaces are monochrome, covered with a thin dark brown to black paint. Small fragments of monochrome-painted deep bowls are difficult to date, and could fall anywhere in the LH IIIC Middle to Submycenaean range.

[^208]120/2).
1532. J. Papadopoulos, personal communication.
1533. For parallels see MDP fig. 268:1.
1534. Cf. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 165: 135.
(F. Ruppenstein, personal communication).
1535. Cf. RMDP fig. 244:654.

## DECORATION

Most pieces are decorated with different versions of wavy lines (FM 53): single (1160, 1162) or double (1161) vertical wavy stems decorate the shoulders of oenochoae/jugs, stirrup jars, and lekythoi, whereas a single horizontal wavy line decorates the shoulder of the amphoriskos 1164 and a double the shoulder of the amphoriskos 1159. The scroll/quirk on the amphoriskos 1163 belongs to Furumark's late type (FM 48:3), paralleled in a jug from Mycenae. ${ }^{1536} 1165$ is decorated with two superimposed rows of isolated semi-circles (FM 43:24), characteristic of the transition from the Submycenaean to the PG period. ${ }^{1537}$ The cup 1166 and the bowl 1167 are monochrome inside and outside, covered with a thick but cracked (1166) or thin (1167) black paint. Parallels with the Kerameikos material may suggest that these pieces represent a good part of the Submycenaean period: ( 1164 could be dated to Ruppenstein's Stage I, 1160 to Stage II, 1161 to Stage III, 1165 and 1166 could be transitional to the PG period.

[^209]


FS 217

## Monochrome


?FS 286

Monochrome Linear

Fig. 233. Submycenaean shape/motif combination.

## UNDECORATED POTTERY

## PROVENIENCE, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION OF THE MATERIAL

The undecorated LH II-III material ${ }^{1538}$ amounts to over 500 pieces, but the majority are undiagnostic belly parts of kylikes and jars. Of these, about fifty have been included in the catalogue: these include kylix and goblet rims, stems, and bases, rims from deep and stemmed bowls, one conical bowl, and necks, bodies, and bases of jars, amphora, and hydrias. As mentioned in the Introduction, we do not know how much material from the old excavations was discarded and it is plausible that the small amount of undecorated pottery kept in the storage rooms of the museums reflects a high discard rate for such pottery.

In general, undecorated pots seem to have been kept mostly from two locations of the East Slope. The first is Megaron B (E SU 4), where several goblet and kylix fragments were found under the floor and around the mudbricks (locus 6: 1235, 1247, 1279), wedged between the stones of wall 6 (locus 1: 1229) and next to the steps of the same wall (locus 2: 1245, $\mathbf{1 2 6 0}$ ), as well as on the floor of the Megaron (1228, locus 5). Additional pieces were recovered from the peribolos wall (E SU 6), wedged between the stones of wall 5 (locus 4: 1256) and under wall 8 (locus 6: 1255). Goblets were found on the paved road to the north of wall 8 (E SU 7: 1237) and kylikes wedged in the stones of wall 12 of the Extension B1/B2/B3 (E SU 9, locus 1: 1258). The second location with many undecorated pots, again mostly kylikes, is to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (E SU 10): $\mathbf{1 2 6 3}$ was found between walls 4 a and 4 b (locus 3), 1261 and 1268 between the Archaic terrace wall Z and wall 4 (locus 6), and the deposits under the opening in the Archaic terrace wall Z , to the northeast of wall 4c (locus 12: 1248, 1264, 1244 and the conical bowl 1283). Other undecorated pieces were found in the deposits in front of the southeastern corner of the Lesser Propylaea (E SU 12, 1246, 1249, 1251, 1262, 1282); the South Slope (the dipper 1286 was found on top of House $\Lambda$ in S SU 32 and the jar 1287 under pyre 62 in locus 2 of S SU 16); and the Hilltop (H SU 1/H SU 2, 1243).

FABRICS
The commonest fabric is a fine, pale yellow 2.5 8/2-8/3 fabric found on kylikes (1247, 1261) and goblets (1235). Less common for goblets are a fairly fine, reddish yellow 5YR 7/6 (1228) and a fine light brown 7.5YR 6/4 (1229) fabric; and for kylikes a fine pink 7.5YR 7/4 (1243, 1251, 1262) and a fine very pale brown 10YR 7/4-8/3-8/4 (1244, 1245, 1246) fabric. The few ABW sherds have been discussed above. ${ }^{1539}$

## SURFACE TREATMENT

Most vases are smoothed, a form of surface treatment that is common both in LH IIB / IIIA1 and in LH IIIB. Burnished pieces are all early, dating to LH IIB / IIIA1 (1228, 1247, 1290, 1298), whereas polished vases are both LH IIB/IIIA1 $(1229,1231)$ and continue in LH IIIA1/IIIA2 $(\mathbf{1 2 4 3}, \mathbf{1 2 5 0})$ and in LH IIIB $(\mathbf{1 2 5 8}, \mathbf{1 2 6 4})$. Less often, surfaces are polished, slipped (1229) or unslipped (1243). The bowl 1283 preserves horizontal striations from the wheel.

## SHAPES

## Goblet

Both the LH IIA/IIB FS 254 (1235) and the LH IIB/IIIA1 FS $270(1228,1229)$ are represented. They have everted rim (FS 254 goblets are smaller, with a diameter of about 10 cm , FS 270 can be as large as $17-18 \mathrm{~cm}$ in diameter).

## Carinated Kylix FS 267

In general, carinated kylikes (FS 267) with shallow bodies and everted rims have been dated to LH IIIA1 / IIIA2 $(\mathbf{1 2 4 3}, \mathbf{1 2 4 5})$, whereas those with deeper bodies and flaring or lipless rims to LH IIIA2/IIIB1 (1244, 1246). Rim diameters range from 12 (1246) to 16 cm (1244). Handles can be slightly oblique (1262). Globular kylikes with everted rims (FS 264/265) are also represented: 1248, 1250; same with the shallow FS 260/266 (1258). Bodies are carinated and bases are domed (1278, 1241). For fabrics see above.

BowL
1279 is a complete conical bowl (FS 204), 5.6 cm high, made in a fine, pale yellow 2.5 Y $8 / 3$ fabric. Its surface is smoothed and preserves horizontal wheel marks, whereas the base preserves the usual string marks that are often found on bases of conical cups and bowls. ${ }^{1540}$ It was found in E SU 4 (locus 6). $\mathbf{1 2 8 2}$ is the fragment of the flaring rim, horizontal loop handle, and upper body of a LH IIIB1 undecorated ?stemmed bowl (?FS 304). ${ }^{1541}$ It has a diameter of 13 cm and is made in a fairly fine, light brown 5YR 6/4 fabric. The surface is smoothed, same color as the fabric. It was found in front of the Lesser Propylaea. 1283 is part of the everted overhanging rim (diam. 28 cm ) of an undecorated bowl, probably a LH IIIA2 bowl with deep conical body (?FS 290/300). Its fabric is fairly coarse, pink 7.5YR $7 / 4$ and its surface is smoothed, same color as fabric. It was found in E SU 10 (locus 12).
1540. Prosymna 413, 424; Agora XIII 174:III-12; Athens Wells 57; Gillis 1990, 83.
1541. Cf. Wardle 1969, no. 119.

## DIPPER

1286 is a dipper with a flaring rim, flat base, and high-swung handle with flat section, found in a deposit overlaying House $\Lambda$, but is later than this house (S SU 32). Total height 12.4 cm , rim diam. 11.6 cm . It is made of fairly fine, brownish yellow 10YR $6 / 6$ fabric with sparse silver mica. The surface is slipped, same color as the fabric. It is dated to LH IIIB1, on the basis of its similarity to the dipper from Zygouries. ${ }^{1542}$

## Jar/Hydria/Amphora

1287 is a piriform jar resembling the decorated jars FS 47/48, except that its profile is more conical than FS 47. It has thickened rim, wide neck, conical-piriform body, about 15 cm high, two vertical loop handles on the shoulder, and domed base. It is made of fairly coarse fabric, light brownish grey 10YR $6 / 2$ with few stone inclusions. The surface is smoothed, same color as fabric. It is dated to LH IIIA2 on the basis of its similarity to FS 47, but it could also be as late as IIIB1 (FS 48). It is largely complete, found in S SU 16, locus 2 . Besides this vase, there is a number of unpainted body pieces from closed vessels, which belong to jars (1289) or jugs (1290); rims (1293, 1295) and flat bases (1291) from amphoras or hydrias. 1292 is a fragment of the shoulder and base of neck of a ?piriform jar (?FS 44-45). Identification based on the ridge around the base of the neck; ring base of jars (1299, 1300). The body 1290 is dated to LH IIB/IIIA1 on the basis of its context; 1293 on the basis of parallels from Nichoria. ${ }^{1543}$ Also to LH IIB/IIIA1 can be dated 1298 (E SU 4, locus 5); 1299 (E SU 7, based on context); and 1300 (on the basis of its similarities to 1299). The amphora 1294 is dated to LH IIIB1/IIIB2. ${ }^{1544}$ Fabrics are mostly fairly fine pink 7.5YR $7 / 4$ (1290) to very pale brown 10YR $7 / 4(1292,1294)$; or fairly coarse red $2.5 \mathrm{YR} 6 / 4$ to very pale brown 10YR $7 / 3$ (1289, 1291). Surfaces are slipped (1289), smoothed (1291), or burnished (1224, 1298). ${ }^{1545}$

[^210]
## INTRODUCTION

The dearth of small finds speaks volumes about the destruction that the site has suffered and the loss of material. Only eleven figurines, six spindle whorls, five metal objects, three stone tools, and four lithics have been located in the museum; other small finds mentioned by Mylonas have not been located in the museum.

## FIGURINES

The Early Neolithic steatopygic figurine 1400 is not from Eleusis, but possibly from Mandra. The EC II figurine 1401 was also not found at Eleusis and may be from Amorgos, although the sparse EH II pottery from the South Slope indicates that the site was used also in that period. These two figurines are included in the book because they are located in the Eleusis museum, despite the fact that they were not found at the site.

From the MH period only the bird-shaped askos 301 and the zoomorphic vase 429 are preserved; two bull-shaped vases were found in the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1546}$

Figurines of the Mycenaean period are sparse: 1402-1406 are anthropomorphic of the phi( 1402,1403, probably 1405 ) and psi- (1406) types; 1404 could have belonged to either type. All five are made in the same fine, $10 \mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{R} 8 / 4$ very pale brown and well fired fabric. 1402 and 1406 are decorated with diagonal wavy lines from the upper right to the lower left corner and the contour of the torso is marked with a thick line; the breasts are indicated by small lentoid bits of clay added onto the torso. 1404 and 1405 have linear decoration on both sides of the upper body and broad vertical strokes on the two faces of the stem. Chronologically these figurines fall into the LH IIIA1-IIIB1 range. ${ }^{1547} 1402$ and 1403 were found in H SU 2, while 1405 and 1406 were found either in Megaron B or the peribolos wall. 1404 was found in the Sacred House, possibly S SU 36. The three figurines published by Mylonas ${ }^{1548}$ (all of unknown provenience) have not been located in the museum: one belongs to the phi-type and two to the psi-type. The collection of Mycenaean figurines from the West Cemetery consists of 26 anthropomorphic figurines of the phi- (standard and protophi), psi- (standard, hollow, high-wasted), and kourotrophos, types; most of these were
deposited in children's graves and date to LH IIIA2-IIIB1. ${ }^{1549}$ Figurines of the tau-type are absent from both the settlement and the cemetery.

The zoomorphic figurines 1407-1411 find parallels in LH IIIA1-IIIB1 figurines. All five are made in the same fine, $10 \mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{R} 8 / 4$ very pale brown and well fired fabric. The ?cattle figurines 1407,1407 , and 1409 preserve the torso of the animal. 1407, decorated with broad strokes running along the torso combined with short perpendicular strokes forming a net pattern in the underbelly, belongs to French's Spine type. It is possible that it may have been part of a chariot group, as the decoration between the two sides of the torso is not symmetrical. 1408 and 1409 are decorated with wavy lines (French's Wavy type 2). ${ }^{1550} 1410$ and 1411 preserve the neck and the head of animals. The eyes and tip of nose are indicated by painted dark-on-light dots. The base of the neck preserves wavy (1410) or straight (1411) lines, one of which on 1411 surrounds the neck like a collar. Horns or ears are preserved at the top. 1411 may represent cattle and 1412 a dog. ${ }^{1551}$ The only animal figurine with known provenience is 1407 , found in H SU 2. Mycenaean zoomorphic figurines have not been found in the graves of the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1552}$

## SPINDLE WHORLS AND LOOMWEIGHTS

Mylonas reports several terracotta and steatite conical and biconical spindle whorls, ${ }^{1553}$ but of these only a few have been located in the museum: three conical whorls, of which 1420 and 1421 belong to Nichoria Type 7 and 1422 to Type 9; and one biconical (1423) of Nichoria Type $4 .{ }^{1554}$ The height of the conical whorls is 2.1-2.2 cm and their weight 13-15 grams; the biconical 1423 is taller ( 3 cm ) and heavier ( 20 grams). Except for 1421, which has a fairly fine grey fabric, the rest are made of fairly fine, reddish yellow 5YR 7/6 fabric. 1424 appears to have been made by a pierced sherd. The stone disk $\mathbf{1 4 2 5}$ preserves a hole that appears to have been an incomplete perforation; in form and size it resembles terracotta discoid loomweights from Nichoria. ${ }^{1555}$ The incised spindle whorl found by Mylonas in House Z (S SU 29) has not been located in the museum.

The provenience of these whorls is unknown, with the exception of 1423, which was found in a drawer marked "Telesterion". As a result, they can only be dated to the general MH-LH range; one should, however, note that 1420 and 1421 belong to a type that, although introduced in the MH period, is considered a standard LH type. ${ }^{1556}$ Given the small sample and lack of provenience information, conclusions about cloth production cannot be drawn.

[^211]1553. Eleusis 142-143, fig. 118.
1554. Carrington Smith 1992, 676-679, figs 11-1, 11-2.
1555. Ibid. 687, no. 2789.
1556. Ibid. 682.

Twenty-five conical, biconical, and globular spindle whorls were found in graves of the $\Theta$ Sector of the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1557}$

## METAL

Only five metal pieces have been located in the museum. The bronze nail 1430 is preserved in its entirety. The length of the nail (which originally would have been approximately 9.5 cm ) may suggest that it did not have a practical use, but rather that the head supported a separate piece of jewelry (perhaps similar to the golden star cut-out pieces from the Shaft Graves)..$^{1558}$ The heavily oxidized piece 1431 may have been a projectile. 1432 and 1433 are lead mending clamps and 1434 a lead band. Nichoria evidence suggests a relatively extensive use of lead in the earlier LBA. ${ }^{1559}$ In addition to the above, Mylonas has published a bronze blade found in grave E.III. $6,{ }^{1560}$ which dates to MH III/LH I, but this has not been located in the museum.

## STONE TOOLS

The provenience of the hand axe 1440 is unknown; a second hand axe was found to the north of wall 5 (E SU 6). The pounders/grinders 1441 and 1442 were found respectively in the Sacred House and locus 4 of S SU 34 .

Among the items not located in the museum there is a small round pounder/grinder of hard stone reported from S SU 19, five small querns found by Skias near walls B, B', $B^{\prime \prime}, B^{\prime \prime \prime}$, and Z (S SU 5), and an unrecorded number of broken querns found in the interior of House A (S SU 22). Another quern fragment was found approximately 1 m to the west of the point where wall 5 crosses the curved Geometric wall (E SU 6).

## CHIPPED STONE

The collection of chipped stone tools is equally poor. Mylonas reports three arrowheads under the floor of grave E.III. 5 (one made of black Eleusinian stone, one of quartz, and one of obsidian) and three obsidian arrowheads were found in E.III.6. Two more arrowheads, one of black Eleusinian stone (1452) and one of flint (1451) were found in S SU 34 (locus 1). ${ }^{1561}$ Obsidian blades and flakes are reported by the excavators in S SU 18, the disturbed S SU 35 locus 3 of the Sacred House, grave S.I.10, and grave E.I.1; and a small number of both flakes and blades was found in S SU 34. One denticulated flint blade (1458) was found

[^212]1989, 29.
1559. Catling 1992, 624.
1560. Eleusis 146-148, fig. 121.
1561. Ibid. 148, fig. 122.
in S SU 34. 1453 preserves possible traces of "retouche d"utilisation" on the left and right edge.

## WORKED BONE

A number of worked bone artifacts published by Mylonas have not been located in the museum. A bone band, 18 cm long and 1.8 cm wide, decorated with incised concentric circles, was found in grave E.III.6. ${ }^{1562}$ Two bone pins, one with parallel horizontal incisions around the head and the other with a carved head, were found in S SU 9 and S SU 17 respectively. ${ }^{1563}$ A third pin, also illustrated by Mylonas, is of unknown provenience. ${ }^{1564} \mathrm{~A}$ small ( 1.8 .6 cm ) denticulated tool preserving nine teeth placed in a row may have been used as a comb. ${ }^{1565}$ Finally, fifty-one worked small fragments of boar's tusks, perhaps from a pendant, were found in grave E.III.6. ${ }^{1566}$

## FRESCOES

It is very unfortunate that the fresco fragment found in Megaron $B^{1567}$ (fig. 90, left) has not been located in the Eleusis museum. As far as it can be reconstructed from the only surviving photograph and a brief entry in Mylonas' notes, ${ }^{1568}$ the fragment preserves part of the face of a female figure facing towards the right-hand side of the spectator. The figure appears to have been life-size: the height of the eye is approximately 1.8 cm , which means that the height of the face would have been approximately 15 cm and the total height of the figure would have been approximately 1.60-1.70 m. ${ }^{1569}$ The slightly curved line of the forehead descends almost vertically; the eyebrow is gracefully arched and its line nearly touches the line of the forehead; the sclera is clear and the iris/pupil touch both eyelids; the tear duct is carefully drawn, short, narrow, and extending in a horizontal line towards the forehead. ${ }^{1570}$ The preserved photograph is black and white, but Mylonas describes the color of the face as off-white, the lines of the eye and the eyebrow as black, the outline of the face as red and the background as greenish ("viлол@́́бוvos"). It is difficult to determine the precise date of this fragment on the basis of stylistic criteria alone, since the artistic rendering of large-scale human eyes in Minoan, Cycladic, and Mycenaean painting remains fairly consistent (within a normative range of variation). ${ }^{1571}$ That said, the overall design

[^213]1567. Supra p. 77, fig. 90.
1568. Mylonas personal notes 1932, p. 71.
1569. Calculations based on the proportions of the Lady with the pyxis from Tiryns (Tiryns II pl. VIII).
1570. I am grateful to John Younger and to Anne Chapin for their comments on this piece.
1571. Anne Chapin, personal communication.
of the eye is reminiscent of some LC I/LM IA female figures from Thera, ${ }^{1572}$ except that Theran eyes are in general less elongated than the Eleusinian eye. From the Mainland, the Kadmeion procession fresco ${ }^{1573}$ preserves an eye which, like the Eleusis fragment, has a plain sclera but has been painted with a thicker brush and is thus less sensitive in its rendering. A fragment of a female eye, half life-size, discovered by Tsountas in the "pithos area" outside the West Portal of the palace at Mycenae and dated by Immerwahr to LH IIIA/B1 is quite similar to the Eleusis eye: both have plain scleras, carefully painted tear ducts, and the pupils are centered between upper and lower lids. ${ }^{1574}$ Likewise, the eye on the ?LH IIIA2/IIIB1 fragment 49a H nws from Pylos is similar to the Eleusinian eye in the design of the forehead, the elongation of the eye's outline, the clear sclera, and the full iris / pupil. ${ }^{1575}$ The LH IIIB Mykenaia has red sclera (as do many Aegean renderings of eyes, beginning in the Minoan era), a longer tear duct, and the eye is narrower and more elongated than that of the Eleusinian piece. In conclusion, a LH IIB / IIIA1 date for the Eleusinian piece would be consistent with the archaeological data (the depth in which it was found in Megaron B) and its stylistic similarities to other Aegean frescoes.

The piece illustrated on the right hand-side of fig. 90 has not been located in the museum, either. It is small ( $1.3 \mathrm{~cm}, \mathrm{w} .2 .8 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) and preserves a flat ledge 1.30 cm wide, the side of which drops to form a curve. The top surface of the ledge is decorated with a series of loops with a thin outline, forming a wave design. The ledge with the curved side would be compatible with the rim and upper part of the side of a plaster offering table, but the decoration is not paralleled in other tables, ${ }^{1576}$ so the case remains inconclusive.

[^214]187-89, pls 114-115, 1-8 T), most of which are decorated with adder marks or variants (2-5, 7 T ); 1 has running spirals (6 T) and one has dot-rosettes and parallel wavy lines (1 T). I thank John Younger for the parallels. A parallel for the decoration of the Eleusinian piece is found at Gournia (Anne Chapin, pers. comm.).

CONCLUSIONS

## EARLY HELLADIC

The EH material is so small that meaningful conclusions about the size, organization, and duration of habitation in the third millennium cannot be drawn. The fact that the few known finds come from the South Slope of the hill may suggest that the EH settlement extended over parts of that slope, although Mylonas also reported EH sherds from the Hilltop. The presence of such early EH II features as type 1 sauceboats, "Faience Ware", and thick and fairly lustrous Urfirnis suggest some level of occupation in the early phases of EH II; type 2 saucers, light painted burnished pots, and thin Urfirnis may suggest that occupation continued also in the later part of the period. The EH III material consists of an early askos and a handful of later tankards and one-handled cups. In terms of connections with the rest of the Aegean, the few pattern-painted sherds are decorated in L-o-D, which is common in central Mainland (especially Boeotia and Phocis), but less so in the Peloponnese.

It is very unfortunate that the EH evidence is so scanty, as it would have been useful to assess the degree to which Eleusis may have participated in the EH II "koine" and its relationship with the neighboring emerging power of Aegina towards the end of the third millennium. Furthermore, given the growth of Eleusis in the MBA, it would have been interesting to examine the issue of continuity from EH III to MH I and the factors that led to that growth.

## MIDDLE HELLADIC I-II

If not a bias of preservation, the absence of a transitional EH III-MH I phase, such as the one identified at Lerna, may suggest that the MH I period started at Eleusis slightly later than it did in the Argolid. ${ }^{1577}$ The few early MH deposits that we have been able to identify are located in the South Slope, perhaps reflecting locational continuity from the EH. ${ }^{1578}$ Both the size and the placement of the earliest MH settlement are typical of MH I settlements in other parts of Greece, but the lack of substantial architectural remains does not allow a reconstruction of settlement organization or layout at the onset of the Middle Bronze Age; it is possible that, by analogy to other early MH settlements, the organization of the settlement did not follow a common orientation or a coherent pattern. ${ }^{1579}$

[^215][^216]Similarly, the paucity of MH II deposits makes it difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions about the form and organization of the settlement in the middle phases of the period. It is possible that the settlement occupied a larger area on the West Slope than it did in MH I and that it also extended to the Hilltop, but a significant growth cannot be documented.

Already from the MH I period the external connections of Eleusis are dominated by Aegina: more than half of the total MH I pottery appears to have been of Aeginetan origin and this percentage surges to about $70 \%$ in MH II. The economic dominance of Aegina over much of the Greek Mainland in the MH I/II periods is well documented, ${ }^{1580}$ but Eleusis is the only published settlement in Attica with such a high percentage of imported Aeginetan pottery in the early part of the MBA. This seems to confirm Papadimitriou's suggestion, that Eleusis served as the point of entry of Aeginetan products into west Attica and Boeotia, ${ }^{1581}$ but also to indicate that the close relations with Aegina started earlier than what we had previously thought. It is possible that this connection may have provided the stimulus for the economic development of the site in the first half of the second millennium.

On the other hand, there are two large classes of pottery, Grey Minyan and MP DT, which were presumably manufactured somewhere in west Attica or Boeotia; although it is possible that Aeginetan pottery influenced the MP DT pottery from Eleusis, ${ }^{1582}$ as a rule DT pots are decorated with motifs that either do not occur on Aeginetan pottery, or are of Aeginetan origin but used on shapes other than the shapes on which they are found at Aegina. Such a differentiation may reflect some level of independence and innovation on the part of the workshop that produced DT pottery. At the same time, in MH I the percentage of wheelmade MP DT tableware is small but increases considerably in MH II, ${ }^{1583}$ perhaps suggesting that the potters of this regional west Attic/Boeotian workshop were catching up with their technologically more advanced Aeginetan competitors.

Another area with which Eleusis maintains contacts in the MH I/II period is the Cyclades, although judging from the small number of Cycladic imports these contacts are limited. In MH I/MC I there is only a handful of Keian and Theran/Melian pieces and, although Cycladic imports in the MH II/MC II period seem to increase with several Keian pithoi and (also possibly Keian) RSB fine tableware, they never reach the volume of imports from Aegina. The connections with the Peloponnese are even more sparse: the few MH I D-o-L vases are possibly imported from the Argolid, whereas in MH II appear the first imports from south Laconia or Kythera. Relations with Crete seem to have been non-exis-

[^217]tent, as there are no Minoan imports from either the settlement or the West Cemetery: the sparse "Minoanizing" sherds from the settlement probably came to Eleusis from Aegina or the Argolid and there are not any Minoan imports from this period in the graves of the West Cemetery. ${ }^{1584}$ This agrees with the small number of MM sherds from other Attic MH sites. ${ }^{1585}$

Little can be said about the social organization of the site in the early MBA. The picture we have from other early MH settlements is one of communities with low degree of social stratification. ${ }^{1586}$ At Eleusis there is no evidence that the situation was different, as the scantiness of MH I/II architectural remains and the lack of evidence for monumental buildings do not allow the identification of a central authority or of an elite or of corporate groups. ${ }^{1587}$ Furthermore, evidence for exotic or luxury items or elaborate rituals that might suggest social differentiation does not exist, whereas Minoan imports (which in the Argolid may indicate some level of differentiation) are, as we saw above, absent. ${ }^{1588}$ Although the evidence does not allow the reconstruction of the depositional distribution of imported vases across the site, the general impression is that Aeginetan pottery was widely distributed in the settlement, which in turn may indicate equal access to these imported products and a low degree of social differentiation. The information from the burials is inconclusive, as only children burials can be assigned to this period with some certainty. A formal burial ground does not seem to exist in MH I/II, unless the open area in Sector I of the South Slope had been used as a cemetery before it was built over in MH III/LH I. The absence of MH I/II adult graves in the settlement area at a time when the West Cemetery had not been established yet raises the issue of where adult burials were deposited. By analogy to the graves dispersed in the rural area around the Argive Heraion, ${ }^{1589}$ it is possible that adults were buried in the Eleusinian countryside.

## MIDDLE HELLADIC III/LATE HELLADIC I

During the MH III period there is clear evidence for expansion of the settlement, which now extends over the South and East Slopes, as well as the Hilltop. This is in line with the expansion noted in other MH settlements. ${ }^{1590}$ Buildings now have common orientation and

[^218]2011.
1587. Such buildings are absent in other MH I sites, with the possible exception of House 98A at Lerna. Cf. Caskey 1957, 149-150, fig. 4; Zerner 1978, 36-38, fig. VII; Mylonas-Shear 1987, 151.
1588. Dickinson 2010, 19. Cf. Wright 2001, 182;

Philippa-Touchais 2010, 795-796.
1589. DIPG 25.
1590. Wright 2008, 234-237.
organized layout, which is also in agreement with developments in other parts of Greece, as is the apparent transition from simple apsidal to multi-room rectangular houses. ${ }^{1591} \mathrm{~A}$ number of SUs with MH III/LH I pottery may be "transitional" in a very real sense, as most late MH wares are found together with "Mycenaean-style" pottery or with styles that were eventually discontinued at the end of LH I (such as Mainland Polychrome). Some ceramic features that occur at Eleusis are not paralleled at other sites (especially the decoration of standard MH shapes with motifs deriving from the MH MP tradition but executed in lustrous paint ${ }^{1592}$ ) and may indicate experimentation under the influence of the new style.

In these final stages of the MH period the settlement continues to experience economic growth, especially as trade with other areas persists and flourishes. Mainland Polychrome vases and DT pots indicate sustained exchanges with the Attic/Boeotian hinterland and Cycladic imports seem to increase in comparison to the previous period. It is, however, Aeginetan products that still dominate the market of imported pottery, a pattern that continues through LH I. The prominence of Aeginetan fabrics in LH I places Eleusis firmly within the core area of Kolonna's sphere of influence. ${ }^{1593}$ On the other hand, the number of "Mycenaean-style" vases as a percentage of the total identified LH I pottery appears to be higher at Eleusis than in other Attic sites: if this is not a bias of preservation, it may mean that at the dawn of the LBA Eleusis develops a stronger connection with the Peloponnese than the rest of Attica does. Such a multi-faceted trade activity may explain why Eleusis, in contrast to other harbor sites in Attica, ${ }^{1594}$ seems to grow through the MH and the LH I periods and, as Papadimitriou points out, may have functioned as the main port for trade between west Attica and Aegina/the Saronic Gulf. ${ }^{1595}$ The economic importance of Eleusis as a trading post may explain another difference between Eleusis and other Attic sites: Eleusis appears to have been continuously inhabited throughout the MH period, whereas inland Attic sites, to the degree that we can tell, are resettled only in MH III, after a long period of abandonment.

Industrial activities are not attested in LH I but, then again, this is not surprising given the gaps in the evidence. The ceramic experimentation noted above, ${ }^{1596}$ which involves decoration of typical MH pots with MP motifs but in lustrous paint, as well as certain stylistically idiosyncratic elements on LH I pots, may reflect short-lived tendencies of a local or regional workshop. The few metal objects found in graves E.III. 6 (bronze blade), and E.III. 7 (bronze "object") are not sufficient to suggest the existence of metallurgical activity at the site.

[^219]We noted above that during the MH III and LH I the settlement area seems to expand, possibly into areas that until then had been used as burial grounds. ${ }^{1597}$ This expansion may be explained in terms of population increase, brought about by the economic growth of the settlement. Judging from the large MH III Building A, in this period larger and more elaborate houses seem to be constructed. This phenomenon may have been the result of changes in kin and social relations, leading to pooling of resources by groups of families, as it seems to happen at other sites. ${ }^{1598}$ At Asine, Voutsaki associates these processes to the intensification of trade, ${ }^{1599}$ for which we have evidence also at Eleusis. ${ }^{1600}$

This population increase may have been one of the reasons for the establishment of the West Cemetery, but also for the introduction of graves with multiple burials. The expansion of the settlement in new areas does not seem to have been marked by construction of adult cist graves in abandoned residential quarters. ${ }^{1601}$ The majority of burials placed in the settlement are infants and children, which are still buried under the floors of houses or between buildings, ${ }^{1602}$ but adults are now buried in the new burial ground established in the West Cemetery. Similar developments are seen in Argos, where burials in the settlement area on the summit of the Aspis cease while new cemeteries are established to the south and southeast of the lower town. ${ }^{1603}$

The postulated population growth seems to have been accompanied by increased social stratification. In the West Cemetery graves are arranged into distinct groups and different burial plots; this practice, paralleled in other late MH cemeteries, ${ }^{1604}$ may indicate that at this time clans or corporate (?kinship) groups begin to separate themselves from other groups. ${ }^{1605}$ On the other hand, social differentiation needed not have been the only reason for the division of cemeteries into distinct areas: the development of different collective identities may have been another strong reason for the clear demarcation of group burials. ${ }^{1606}$ Graves containing both children and adults could have been family graves, ${ }^{1607}$ but
1597. Supra pp. 167 and 188.
1598. See Voutsaki 2010b, 776-777 for Asine.
1599. Ibid.
1600. Athough at Eleusis, much like at Asine and at the Aspis, facilities for large-scale storage (which would have been an indication of surplus accummulation and craft specialization) have not been preserved.
1601. As it happens in other sites (Dietz 1991, 292203; Maran 1995, 72). Klaus Kilian's earlier view was that this process had been the result of shrinkage of settlements.
1602. Of the sixty Bronze Age graves in the settlement area, only nine belong to adults and of these only two or possibly three can be dated to MH III/LH I.

Cf. also Pomadère 2010, 419-420; Papadimitriou 2010, 252-254.
1603. Papadimitriou et al. 2010.
1604. Papadimitriou 2001, 175; id. 2010; Wright 2008, 238. Philippa-Touchais (2010, 794-795) has noted a shift in burial practices at Aspis (Argos), where in MH I-II and MH IIIA burials are "either isolated inside our outside houses or organised in two groups in open areas next to houses", but in the final MH period there are no graves from the settlement.
1605. West Cemetery B 205, 216; Cf. DIPG 34; Voutsaki 1998, 46.
1606. Papadimitriou 2011; cf. Wolpert 2004.
1607. Papadimitriou 2001, 178 and n. 43.
in general infants and children are buried in separate graves than adults, which suggests that age was a major criterion for differentiation. ${ }^{1608}$ Differentiation according to gender, religion, or political or professional status is not visible. The only discernible differentiation is based on wealth: although on average Eleusinian graves are poorer in burial gifts than contemporaneous graves in the Argolid or in Attica, ${ }^{1609}$ there are rare examples of graves that suggest conspicuous consumption. Such is the case of the "Warrior Grave" E.III.6, which must have belonged to an important group, perhaps a family, as suggested by the burial of both adults and children. ${ }^{1610}$ The construction of elaborate Complex Built Cist graves, both in the settlement (E.III.7) and the West Cemetery $(\mathrm{Z} \pi 6)^{1611}$ may also reflect differentiation according to wealth and could have been an expression of competition and status marking, ${ }^{1612}$ as seems to happen also at Argos. ${ }^{1613}$ These larger and wealthier graves reflect the more general phenomenon of the emergence of elite groups during the Shaft Grave period, for which we have indications from other sites in Attica. ${ }^{1614}$ At the same time, one should also consider the possibility that the need for construction of more elaborate graves could have been the result of new and more elaborate burial rituals requiring a more complex mortuary space. ${ }^{1615}$

It is in the MH III/LH I period that we also have the first possible indications for ritual activities. In the settlement, the pile of mudbricks with the remains of stone walls in pyre S SU 21 may have been a small altar. The ashes associated with this feature came from burned bones which, assuming that they belonged to animals, ${ }^{1616}$ might have been the remains of sacrifices. The animal bones found in the vestibule of $\Lambda \pi 4$ in the West Cemetery may have been remains of feasting, although there is no clear indication of that; if that had been the case, one might also hypothesize that the vestibule of the Complex Built Cist grave E.III. 7 may have been used for funerary rites. ${ }^{1617}$ The ashes and carbonized wood covering
1608. Philippa-Touchais 2013. For differentiation according to age, gender, and other criteria in MH burials see Voutsaki et al. 2007 and Voutsaki 2009.
1609. Papadimitriou 2001, 70 . Note, however, that it is not uncommon for MH graves to not contain any burial gifts at all: at Lerna $70 \%$ of the graves did not contain objects and at the Lower Terrace of Asine this percentage reached $85 \%$ (DIPG 31 with further references).
1610. Kilian-Dirlmeier includes this grave in her group of uncommon graves, which she believes emerged already in the middle part of the MH period (Alt-Ägina IV.3, 46-47).
1611. West Cemetery 233-241.
1612. Dickinson 1977; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997; Vout-
saki 1998; ead. 1999; Papadimitriou 2001; Shelton 2010, 141.
1613. Papadimitriou et al. 2010.
1614. Papadimitriou 2010, 251 with further references.
1615. Papadimitriou 2011.
1616. The evidence for the presence of burned bones derives from the chemical analysis of the ashes, which included a high level of phosphate (Skias 1898a, 78); there is no further information, but given the absence of human remains from this area, these burned bones would probably have belonged to animals.
1617. Papadimitriou 2001, 160.
the floor of graves S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I. 5 may have also been the remains of funerary rites. Ceramic burial gifts do not seem to have had any metaphysical or symbolic value, as less than one third of MH graves contained any pots. ${ }^{1618}$ These indications for MH religious activity at Eleusis are important additions to the sparse evidence for MH cult practices in Greece, which is restricted to two other sites. At Nisakouli MH vases (including a composite vessel) found with burned animal bones could represent the remains of sacrifices and feasting: such rituals could have been associated with a pile of stones (?altar) or could have been funerary rites, as a burial pithos and a pit grave were also found in the vicinity. ${ }^{1619}$ Good quality MH drinking vases (cups and bowls) found with burned animal bones at the early Mycenaean sanctuary of Mt. Kynortion may also indicate sacrifices and feasting. ${ }^{1620}$

All in all, at the dawn of the Late Helladic, Eleusis gives the impression of a community undergoing economic growth and social transformation. ${ }^{1621}$ These are manifested in social stratification, expansion of settlement, population increase, and intensification of trade. Such phenomena are paralleled in other parts of the Aegean and lead progressively to the "Mycenaeanization" of Greece. Wright sees the emergence of the LBA as the result of a shift from agro-pastoral to craft-based economy and explains the emergence of the Mycenaean polity at Eleusis (along with those of Salamis and Athens) in terms of the decline of the economic dominance of Aegina. The growth of other sites around the Saronic Gulf, such as Megali Magoula, Galatas, may also have been connected to Aegina's decline. ${ }^{1622}$ Taken as a whole, all these developments clearly indicate increasing social complexity in the late MH and the early Mycenaean period, a development that agrees with those in the Argolid, Messenia, Boeotia, and Laconia. ${ }^{1623}$

## LATE HELLADIC IIA/IIB/IIIA1

The gaps in the stratigraphic record make it impossible to isolate LH IIA, LH IIB, and LH IIIA1 deposits. With the possible exception of three findspots, ${ }^{1624}$ LH IIA material is found mixed with LH I or, more often, LH IIB. Similarly, only one pure LH IIB deposit can be isolated, ${ }^{1625}$ as in most cases LH IIB material is found with LH IIIA1, whereas LH IIIA1 material is found in mixed LH IIB/IIIIA1 or LH IIIA1/IIIA2 deposits.
1618. Rutter 2007, 43; cf. Zerner 1990 and Nordquist 2002, 121-127. The deposition of pairs of vases, which Nordquist (ibid. 127-133) observed for some MH III/LH I graves, is not documented at Eleusis.
1619. Excavation report in Choremis 1969; detailed discussion of the ritual significance of this find in Hägg 1997, 15-16, fig. 2.
1620. Labrinoudakis 1980, 43-45 and 1981, 63; cf.

Hägg 1997, 16-17.
1621. Papadimitriou 2001, 195.
1622. Wright 2010, 815; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2012, 73.
1623. Papadimitriou 2010, 248.
1624. S SU 24, locus 10 of E SU 10, and H SU 3; but even for these we do not have complete records of all the finds.
1625. E SU 6, locus 3.

The small number of deposits which contain LH IIA material are located in the same areas as MH III/LH I deposits, perhaps an indication that in LH IIA the settlement did not expand; in fact, an element of continuity may perhaps be seen in the occasional reuse of LH I walls. ${ }^{1626}$ In LH IIB/IIIA1 the number of deposits increases, especially in the East Slope, suggesting a flurry of activity in and around Megaron B. If this is not a bias of preservation it may reflect economic growth and/or changes in the social organization of the site (see below). Similar developments have been noted in Athens, where there is an expansion in LH IIIA1 but, as mentioned, at Eleusis the stratigraphic sequence does not allow the distinction between LH IIB and LH IIIA1.

Pottery made in the MH tradition continues to be produced or imported throughout LH IIA and possibly also LH IIB/LH IIIA1, as is the case with other sites in Attica, the Saronic Gulf, and the northeastern Peloponnese. Some of the Late MP wares at Eleusis are probably imported from Aegina, but their proportion to the "Mycenaean-style" pots is so small that the interaction between Eleusis and its island neighbor seems to have shrunk. At the same time, in comparison to LH I, the range of shapes and motifs of the "Myce-naean-style" pottery expands considerably to include almost all palatial and domestic shapes. Connections with Athens seem to be stronger than those with the Argolid, ${ }^{1627}$ whereas contacts with Crete continue to be minimal to non-existent. In a broader Attic perspective, Eleusis adds important evidence to the so far meager LH IIA/IIB/IIIA1 material, otherwise largely restricted to fragmentary evidence from Athens and Thorikos.

As mentioned above, there is evidence for increased social complexity in the Early Mycenaean period, a period in which much of central and south Greece is divided into principalities/chiefdoms, ruled by chiefs. ${ }^{1628}$ Dickinson has suggested that in this period Eleusis may have been one of the principalities/chiefdoms of Attica. ${ }^{1629}$ If that were the case, one would expect to find at Eleusis a mansion (such as the ones at the Menelaion or Athens) and possibly also a monumental tomb (such as a tholos tomb). Unless an as yet undiscovered or already destroyed LH IIB/IIIA1 building complex existed on the Hilltop, Megaron B is the best candidate for a mansion that could have been used as the residence of the family of the local ruler/chief, of the sort that Mountjoy stipulates for Athens. ${ }^{1630}$ In this scenario, the exceptional Complex Cist Grave E.III.7, very close to Megaron B, may have served as the status-marking burial for that family, perhaps in a manner similar to that of the tholos tombs that were erected close to the seats of Early Mycenaean rulers in Messenia. As this grave predates the construction of Megaron B, it is possible that it may have been associated with the large Late MH Building A, which lies under Megaron B and to which Megaron B may have been the successor.
1626. Supra p. 173, but see also p. fn. 81.
1627. Supra p. 361.
1628. Wright 2008, 244-245.
1629. Dickinson 1977, 96.
1630. RMDP 485.

This grave, E.III.7, is unique also in that it was in use for a very long time, from possibly the end of the MH through LH IIB / IIIA1, even at a time when the West Cemetery expanded and burials in the settlement area went out of fashion. Whether there is a connection between the apparent end of use of this grave after LH IIB/IIIA1 and the construction of the Extension B1/B2/B3 cannot be established on present evidence. What may be noted is that, as we saw above, starting in LH IIA there is a surge in the construction of new graves in the West Cemetery, most of which are of the Complex Built Cist type with multiple burials. ${ }^{1631}$ The fact that most of these graves continue to be used through LH IIB and LH IIIA1, at a time when E.III. 7 was still in use in the settlement area, may suggest competition between a group with a long lineage, preserving and maintaining the ancestral grave in the settlement area, and new and emerging groups, buried in the West Cemetery. Whether this indeed signifies the existence of more than one elite groups in the settlement or of the same group moving its burial ground to the West Cemetery, following the general trend of the period, remains unknown. The dearth of weapons in the graves of Eleusis, both in the settlement area and in the West Cemetery, has been taken as an indication of the nonmilitary character of the social groups buried at the site. ${ }^{1632}$

One of the mechanisms used by ruling elites to consolidate their authority is "controlled centers of worship", which allow the elites to formalize religious activities. ${ }^{1633}$ There is sufficient aggregate evidence to suggest that some form of religious activity took place in the Megaron B complex ${ }^{1634}$ and it is tempting to see in this building an expression of the trend towards establishing a controlled center of worship by the local elite. The finds from the interior of Megaron B suggest that the building was used as a family residence. At the same time, the special architectural features of the building and the evidence for burned animal sacrifices ${ }^{1635}$ indicate that the building was also used for cultic activity. All this seems to confirm Travlos' theory, that Megaron B was the residence of a prominent family at Eleusis and that it was at the same time used as a shrine. ${ }^{1636}$

Which deity was worshipped in Megaron B? Although it might be tempting to draw a parallel between the use of pigs in the burned animal sacrifice of Megaron B and in later sacrifices for Demeter (after all, Demeter had a "special fondness for sacrificial pig"1637), in reality there is no evidence to support such a connection - especially since Demeter is not included in the deities of the Mycenaean pantheon. It is possible that in the Mycenaean period her role had been fulfilled by the potnia siton, ${ }^{1638}$ mentioned in the Linear B tablet

[^220]1636. Travlos 1970; id. 1983
1637. Clinton 2005, 167; cf. Burkert 1985, 242. See Hägg 1998, 50 for the late date of the practice of sacrificing pigs to Demeter.
1638. Palaima 2008, 349.
from the Citadel House and depicted in the Room of the Fresco but, of course, there is no evidence for the worship of such a divinity in Megaron B.

The lack of uniformity of LH religious buildings aside, as a general rule Mycenaean religious architecture appears to have grown out of local domestic architecture, possibly inspired by shrines in houses of prominent leaders. ${ }^{1639}$ Within this line of development, it is plausible that Megaron B represents an early stage, in which a "special" building is used both as residence and cult place for a powerful family. A simple rectangular building in LH IIA, it expands with the addition of the platform and peribolos in LH IIB/IIIA1 and the Extension B1/B2/B3 in LH IIIA2/IIIB1. The growing complexity of the architectural arrangement of Megaron B could reflect the growing complexity of the cult, perhaps initially unstructured and informal, but becoming more formalized with the passage of time. ${ }^{1640}$ Such a development fits well with Wright's model for the development of Mycenaean religion, in which an early (LH I/II) stage, with unstructured and non-formalized rituals using under-developed and non-standardized symbolism is succeeded by a later (LH III) stage, with more formalized and monumentalized ritual practice. ${ }^{1641}$ The enlargement of the architectural space of Megaron B and the increasing complexity of its premises could very well have been an expression of the same trend.

## LATE HELLADIC IIIA2/IIIB1

Late Helladic IIIA2 / IIIB1 deposits have been found mostly to the southeast and southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, in front of the Lesser Propylaea, and in the Extension B1/B2/B3 of Megaron B. The distribution of LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB1, and LH IIIB1 deposits suggests that the settlement continues to occupy a large area. One issue that needs to be addressed is the absence of a Mycenaean palace. By analogy to other major Mycenaean sites, one would expect that a palace would have been located on the Hilltop, perhaps protected by a fortification wall. The substantially built but partially preserved walls of H SU 1 and H SU 2 may have been parts of a large building complex that, in theory, may have belonged to a palace obliterated by later construction. These remains are built on top of LH I and LH IIA structures which, given their advantageous location, must have belonged to important members of the community. In turn, this may mean that in the early Mycenaean period there may have been at least two important groups, one residing in Megaron B (and possibly using grave E.III. 7 as a status burial) and another on the Hilltop, perhaps using the new graves in the West Cemetery, which would have been in direct view

[^221]chitectural features, especially the peribolos wall. For the general question of "popular" vs. "official" Mycenaean cult see Hägg 1981 and 1995; Kilian 1992; Shelmerdine 1997, 577.
1641. Wright 1994, 74.
of the Hilltop. On the other hand, it is possible that Eleusis followed its own trajectory and that the center of power of the site was never moved to the Hilltop, but for centuries remained in the area of Megaron B.

Remains of this period have also been found by Papangeli outside the sanctuary area; these suggest that the settlement extended to the south and the east. Mycenaean pottery that cannot be dated closely and not associated with architecture was found under the south corner of a Roman building excavated in 1984 immediately to the south of the fence of the Sanctuary and at a distance of approximately 150 m to the southeast of Megaron B. ${ }^{1642}$ Substantial architectural remains, including a large complex of the LH IIIA1-IIIA2 period, have been found approximately 80 m to the south of Megaron B, outside the fence of the archaeological site: this complex has seven rooms, one with a terracotta bathtub. A second building in the vicinity included storage facilities, and there is a third building that has not been well preserved. ${ }^{1643}$ All these finds clearly suggest that by LH IIIA2 the settlement had expanded.

An expansion is also seen in the West Cemetery, where several new graves were constructed. ${ }^{1644}$ In striking difference to Athens, the inhabitants of Eleusis continued to use the traditional built grave types of their ancestors, never quite adopting the use of chamber tombs - asserting, as Cavanagh writes, "tradition over fashion". ${ }^{1645}$ This would suggest that, despite their economic ties, Athens and Eleusis maintained important cultural differences. ${ }^{1646}$ Some low level of economic interaction with Aegina may be seen in the sparse Aeginetan products, which seem to continue to be imported until possibly LH IIIB. ${ }^{1647}$ Given the popularity of LH IIIA2 pictorial kraters in Attica and the islands of the Saronic Gulf, ${ }^{1648}$ the rarity of such vases in the Eleusis settlement and their total absence from the West Cemetery are remarkable. On the other hand, the preference for open shapes in the graves of the West Cemetery seems to be a common practice in Attica. ${ }^{1649}$

Direct evidence for religious rituals is very poor, although the Megaron B complex, now augmented with the Extension B1/B2/B3, continues to be in use. The ceramic assemblage from this complex is also poor and does not allow any conclusions to be drawn about feasting, ${ }^{1650}$ although feasting related to burial rituals may be seen in the broken vases on the slabs of grave E.I.13. ${ }^{1651}$
1642. Papangeli 1984, 18.
1643. Papangeli 1983, 27-29 and fig. 5.
1644. Data Table 4.
1645. Cavanagh 2008, 330.
1646. Perhaps even political differences and opposition (DIPG 56).
1647. As indicated by the tripod cooking pots 567 and 568 .
1648. RMDP 532-535.
1649. Ibid. 31.
1650. Such as the evidence from Tsoungiza in LH IIIA2 (Thomas 2011, 173).
1651. See, however, the comments made by Cavanagh and Mee (DIPG 112) about the possible psychological explanation of breaking objects on the grave, as a "ritual of separation".

## LATE HELLADIC IIIB2/IIIC/SUBMYCENAEAN

The scarcity of LH IIIB2 material indicates that at the end of the 13th century Eleusis undergoes a period of decline. Not only is the number of pieces belonging to this period very small, but their provenience is unknown and, as a result, LH IIIB2 deposits cannot be identified. A sharp contrast to this picture of general decline is the unique inscribed transport stirrup jar 1132, found in E SU 12 under the Lesser Propylaea. Its inscription includes a toponym well attested on Linear B tablets from Knossos (da-*22-to), as well as a personal name that may also occur there (da-pu2-ra-zo). This vase belongs to a well-defined class produced in Crete in LM IIIA2-IIIB Early and imported chiefly to Boeotian and Argolid sites as part of a remarkable nexus of overseas trade. As such, it seems to hardly fit LH IIIB / IIIC Eleusis, where Cretan imports are otherwise negligible and where transport stirrup jars of this type (FS 164) are remarkably scarce. It is even more intriguing that this singular find from an otherwise illiterate site bears an inscription whose associations with the Linear B pinacological tradition are most apparent, as betrayed by the fine execution of the signs and the arrangement of the text in two "lines". It should be therefore permissible to wonder whether EL Z 1, dated stylistically to LM IIIB Early, might have ended somewhat erratically at Eleusis, being originally destined for a Boeotian or Argolid centre where considerable amounts of transport stirrup jars have been found. One might postulate that the jar itself had been re-used before it arrived at Eleusis; or, just as possibly, that it was included in booty from a shipload that never made it to its intended destination. ${ }^{1652}$

The general decline in the extent of habitation at the site continues in the 12th and the 11th centuries, although apparently Eleusis is never entirely abandoned, in contrast to other Attic (Alimos, Aghios Kosmas, Thorikos) and Saronic (Kolonna, Kanakia) sites. The complete amphoriskos 1163 is likely to have come from a grave, which suggests that Submycenaean burials took place in the settlement area (which explains the abandonment of the West Cemetery). The same vase indicates connections with West Greece, which agrees with Ruppenstein's suggestion that Attica and west central Greece were in contact during the period. ${ }^{1653}$ Notwithstanding the small number, fragmentary character, and lack of provenience information for the Submycenaean sherds, parallels with Kerameikos suggest that these pieces span a good part of the Submycenaean period, possibly reaching down to the transition to PG. ${ }^{1654}$

It has been a common tenet in Eleusinian studies there was a break between the end of LH IIIB and the PG period. ${ }^{1655}$ Although the sparse LH IIIC and Submycenaean material

[^222][^223]published here does not permit any meaningful conclusions about the nature or extent of use of the site during these periods, it demonstrates that the site was not totally abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean period and that there was no actual break in the material record. One of the most important conclusions of the present study is that in fact there is continuity in the human presence from the LH IIIC period through the Submycenaean and into the PG. The issue of the Early Iron Age habitation at Eleusis and the problem of the continuity of cult falls outside the scope of the present study and will be treated in a separate publication. ${ }^{1656}$
period and 700 exists, no sherds, no other finds, no signs of life of any kind...". Cf. Desborough 1964, 114115; Hope-Simpson 1981, 46; Burkert 1985, 49; Van

Gelder 1991, 60; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 347. 1656. Cosmopoulos 2014; id. forthcoming.

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. General plan of the South Slope showing the location of the four sectors.
Fig. 2. General plan of Sector I of the South Slope, showing Skias' trenches. The shaded rectangles mark Philios' trenches; the line $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ in Structure A indicates the section in fig. 7. Underlined Arabic and Roman numerals indicate pyres. Bold numbers indicate the graves of Sector I (S.I).
Fig. 3. Finds from S SU 6.
Fig. 4. Finds from S SU 7.
Fig. 5. Finds from S SU 8 (left) and S SU 9 (right).
Fig. 6. Finds from S SU 10.
Fig. 7. Schematic stratigraphic section of Structure A ( $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ in fig. 2).
Fig. 8. Finds from S SU 12.
Fig. 9. Finds from S SU 14.
Fig. 10. Finds from S SU 15 (top: locus 1; bottom: locus 2).
Fig. 11. Finds from S SU 16.
Fig. 12. Finds from S SU 17.
Fig. 13. Finds from S SU 18.
Fig. 14. Plan of the walls and graves near the southwest corner of the Epigraphic Museum.
Fig. 15. Schematic stratigraphic section of the trench near the southwest corner of the Epigraphic Museum ( $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ ).
Fig. 16. Finds from S SU 19.
Fig. 17. Finds from S SU 20.
Fig. 18. Walls in the vicinity of the "Tholos Tomb".
Fig. 19. Finds from S SU 21.
Fig. 20. Section of the South Slope at the 35th meter (cf. fig. 21).
Fig. 21. General plan of the trenches to the west of the Epigraphic Museum, excavation 1930-1931 and 1994-1995. Sections $\alpha-\beta$ : fig. 20; $\gamma-\delta$ : fig. 48; $\varepsilon-\zeta$ : fig. 49.
Fig. 22. Houses A and B from the west (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1001).
Fig. 23. Plan of House A.
Fig. 24. Plan of House B.
Fig. 25. Find from House B (S SU 23).
Fig. 26. Find from House I (S SU 24).
Fig. 27. Plan of House I.

Fig. 28. Houses $\Gamma, \Delta$, I from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1010). Fig. 29. Plans of Houses $\Gamma$ and $\Delta$.
Fig. 30. Finds from House $\Gamma$ (S SU 25).
Fig. 31. Finds from House $\Delta$ (S SU 26).
Fig. 32. Plan of House E.
Fig. 33. House E from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A / A 1009).
Fig. 34. Houses H and Z from the south (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A / A 1013).
Fig. 35. Drawing of the anta of wall $\beta$ (House H); reproduced from Eleusis fig. 17.
Fig. 36. Plan of House H (after Eleusis fig. 18).
Fig. 37. Isometric reconstruction of House H (by Stephen Clarke).
Fig. 38. Finds from House H (S SU 28).
Fig. 39. Plan of House Z.
Fig. 40. Finds from House Z (S SU 29).
Fig. 41. Plan of House P.
Fig. 42. View of walls $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of House P from the west (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1012).
Fig. 43. View of Houses K, $\Lambda$, P from the south (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1016).

Fig. 44. Plan of House $\Sigma$.
Fig. 45. Finds from House $\Lambda$ (S SU 33).
Fig. 46. Plan of Houses $K$ and $\Lambda$.
Fig. 47. House K and wall N from the north (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A / A 1005).
Fig. 48. Section of the South Slope at approximately the 21st m (cf. fig. 21) (after Eleusis p. 7, drawing 2).
Fig. 49. Section of the South Slope at the 5th meter (cf. fig. 21).
Fig. 50. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 1).
Fig. 51. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 2).
Fig. 52. Finds from S SU 34 (loci 3 and 4).
Fig. 53. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 5).
Fig. 54. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 6).
Fig. 55. Finds from S SU 34 (locus 7).
Fig. 56. Plan of the 1994-1995 trenches.
Fig. 57. Section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ of 1994-1995 trenches from the south (cf. fig. 56).
Fig. 58. Plan of the Sacred House by J. Travlos (based on plan no. 1146 at the Travlos Archive of the Athens Archaeological Society).
Fig. 59. Section in the southeastern corner of the Peisistrateian Peribolos of the Sacred House (based on original drawing by J. Travlos, inked by A. Mazarakis-Ainian; reproduced from Mazarakis Ainian 1999, fig. 7, with the kind permission of the author).
Fig. 60. Finds from the Sacred House.

Fig. 61. Plan of Sector III. Arabic numerals indicate the S.III graves. Cf. fig. 21.
Fig. 62. Finds from grave S.I.8.
Fig. 63. Finds from grave S.I.13.
Fig. 64. Finds from grave S.II.2.
Fig. 65. General plan of the East Slope showing the location of the four sectors.
Fig. 66. Plan of the Middle Helladic remains under the Peisistrateian Telesterion (based on an unpublished drawing by J. Travlos (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2); walls $6 \alpha$ and 7 of the LH Megaron B and 8 of the LH peribolos are shown for reference). Graves E.I.1-12 are shown. The line $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ shows the section of fig. 135 (digitized by the author).
Fig. 67. Walls $\alpha$ and $\gamma$ from the east (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1126).
Fig. 68. Finds from E SU 3.
Fig. 69. The east anta of wall 6 and the thickened part of wall 5 from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A / A 1199).
Fig. 70. Plan of the east part of wall 6 with the steps $(\alpha-\varepsilon)$, the platform (solid black), wall 6 (grey) and the exit of drain D1 (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by J. Travlos, inked by Vivian Stasi (digitized by the author).
Fig. 71. Section of wall 6 from the north (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by J. Travlos; inked by Vivian Stasi (digitized by the author).
Fig. 72. The steps in front of Megaron B from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1180).
Fig. 73. Section of drain D1, next to wall 6. Based on a pencil drawing by G. Mylonas (Notebook 1932, p. 16) (digitized by the author).
Fig. 74. Composite plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion with the Mycenaean walls (based on an unpublished plan by J. Travlos) (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1).
Fig. 75. Schematic section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ (cf. fig. 74) at the Telesterion.
Fig. 76. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the anta of wall 6, the steps, drain D1, and the platform from the south (based on an unpublished plan by J. Travlos) (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1).
Fig. 77. Plan of wall 7 (unpublished sketch by G. Mylonas, Notebook 1932, 24).
Fig. 78. Anta of wall 7 and anta of wall $9 \alpha$ from the east (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1121).
Fig. 79. Travlos' plan of west end of Megaron B with channel of wall 7a (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2).
Fig. 80. Plan of Megaron B showing the preserved parts of the floor. Based on a pencil drawing by J. Travlos (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 1).

Fig. 81. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the north (Kourouniotes 193132, fig. 1).

Fig. 82. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the east (Kourouniotes 193132 , fig. 2).
Fig. 83. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 1).
Fig. 84. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 2).
Fig. 85. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 3).
Fig. 86. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 4).
Fig. 87. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 5, findgroup 86).
Fig. 88. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 5, findgroup 1005).
Fig. 89. Finds from E SU 4 (locus 6).
Fig. 90. Fragments of frescoes found on July 20 next to wall 6.
Fig. 91. View of the platform from the southeast. The top step next to wall 6 is marked as $\varepsilon$; the exit of drain D1 is marked as $\delta$ (Athens Archaeological Society Archives, A/A 1151).
Fig. 92. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 1).
Fig. 93. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 2).
Fig. 94. Finds from E SU 5 (locus 3).
Fig. 95. Sketch of the "tower" of wall 5 and the paved courtyard (not to scale, based on Mylonas, Notebook 1932, 6).
Fig. 96. Curved Geometric wall K and wall 5 (Athens Archaeological Society Archives, A/A 1037).
Fig. 97. Plan and section of wall 5 (grey) and the curved Geometric wall K (black) (Travlos Archives, Athens Archaeological Society, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos, computerenhanced by the author.
Fig. 98. Drain D3 and Peisistrateian column $\delta 4$ from the southeast (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives, marked as "Avaбみацฑ̀ 1933"; no A/A).
Fig. 99. Exit of drains D3 (bottom) and D4 (top) under the Geometric wall T1 from the east. Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1329).
Fig. 100. Walls 8 and 13 from the north, under the foundation of the early Archaic Telesterion. The paved road is shown by the arrow. Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives (marked as "Avaбхафŋ̀ 1933, Máıos-'Tov́ 1 ıos"; no A/A).
Fig. 101. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 1).
Fig. 102. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 2).
Fig. 103. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 3).
Fig. 104. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 4).
Fig. 105. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 5).
Fig. 106. Finds from E SU 6 (locus 6); and E SU 7 (no. 1299).
Fig. 107. View of the paved road from the south. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1285.

Fig. 108. The channel in front of Megaron B, the entrance to drain D2 and MH grave E.I. 7 from the northeast (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1270).
Fig. 109. Section (a) and top view (b) of drain D2 (not to scale, based on Mylonas, Notebook 1932).

Fig. 110. Finds from E SU 8 (locus 1).
Fig. 111. Burned bones from E SU 8 (locus 1).
Fig. 112. Finds from E SU 8 (locus 2).
Fig. 113. The interior corner of walls 9 b and 11a from the north. The floor of Room B1 is marked with the arrow (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1246).
Fig. 114. Drawing of the southwest corner of Room B1 from the interior of the room (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos; digitized by the author.
Fig. 115. Plan ( $\alpha$ ) and section ( $\beta$ ) of the threshold of the doorway to Room B3 (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 1). Pencil drawing by Travlos; digitized by the author.
Fig. 116. Walls $9 \mathrm{~b}, 11 \mathrm{a}$, and 15 from the southeast. The cover slab of grave E.I. 6 is visible under wall 9b (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1269).
Fig. 117. The entrance of Room B1 seen from the interior of the room (north), including walls 9a, 9 b , stones from the foundation of the platform ( $\gamma$ ), the base of the Peisistrateian column $\delta 5(\delta)$ and the Kimonian column $x 6$ ( $\varepsilon$ ) (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1267).

Fig. 118. Doorway to Room B3 from Room B1 seen from the east, showing the threshold ( $\alpha$ ), the foundation of wall $11(\beta)$, and the underlying MH floor $(\gamma)$. Notice the tunnel above the threshold, used by the excavators to access Room B3 (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1281).
Fig. 119. Finds from E SU 9.
Fig. 120. Section $\beta^{\prime}-\beta$ (fig. 74, view from the northwest); (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder "III5"). Pencil drawing by J. Travlos; digitized by the author. Scale approximate.
Fig. 121. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 1).
Fig. 122. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 2).
Fig. 123. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 3).
Fig. 124. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 4).
Fig. 125. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 5).
Fig. 126. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 6).
Fig. 127. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 7).
Fig. 128. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 8).
Fig. 129. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 9).
Fig. 130. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 10).
Fig. 131. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 11).
Fig. 132. Finds from E SU 10 (locus 12).
Fig. 133. Plan of the remains to the east of the Stoa of Philo (adopted from Mylonas and Travlos 1952, plate 1; grave numbers followed by question marks indicate uncertainty about the exact location of the grave). $\alpha$. General view; $\beta$. Detailed view of the area in the rectangle.

Fig. 134. Graves E.I. 1 and E.I. 2 from the west before (left) and during (right) excavation (Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives, A/A 1286).
Fig. 135. Section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ by the entrance to the Peisistrateian Telesterion (cf. fig. 66).
Fig. 136. Grave E.I. 6 from the southeast.
Fig. 137. Grave E.I. 7 from the north A/A 1331.
Fig. 138. Grave E.I. 8 from the south.
Fig. 139. Finds from grave E.I.8, Stoa of Philo.
Fig. 140. Grave E.II. 1 from the southeast.
Fig. 141. Plan of graves E.III. 5 (left) and 6 (right). Pencil drawing by J. Travlos, inked by the author.
Fig. 142. Plan of grave E.III.7. Based on Philios 1889b, 188.
Fig. 143. Finds from grave E.III.7.
Fig. 144. Finds from grave E.III.8.
Fig. 145. Plans of graves E.III. 10 and E.III. 11 (left), and plan and section of grave E.III. 12 (right). Pencil drawings by J. Travlos, digitized by the author.
Fig. 146. Bird vase from grave E.III. 12.
Fig. 147. Graves E.III. 9 E.III.10, and E.III. 11 in front of Philo's Stoa (photo published in Kourouniotes 1931-1932, fig. 12).
Fig. 148. Plan of the Lesser Propylaea showing the location of the 1933 trench (greyed area). Plan based on Noack 1927, pl. 4. For the section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ see fig. 149.
Fig. 149. Schematic reconstruction of the stratigraphic sequence under the Lesser Propylaea (cf. section $\alpha-\alpha^{\prime}$ in fig. 148). Not to scale.
Fig. 150. Inscribed Stirrup Jar 1132 from locus 1.
Fig. 151. Finds from E SU 12, locus 2 (in front of Lesser Propylaea).
Fig. 152. General plan of the northeast part of the Eleusinian Hilltop. Bronze Age walls are shown in solid black.

Fig. 153. Panagitsa, general view of the excavated area from the east.
Fig. 154. Panagitsa, view from the south of H SU 3 (Room II) with surrounding walls and grave H.1.

Fig. 155. Plan of the Bronze Age remains on the Panagitsa hill (a-a' marks the section of fig. 158).
Fig. 156. Unit A with walls $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$ from the south.
Fig. 157. Isometric reconstruction of Unit A (by Stephen Clarke).
Fig. 158. Section in the interior of Unit A (pencil drawing by J. Travlos, inked by the author).
Fig. 159. H SU 1 and H SU 2.
Fig. 160. Finds from H SU 3.
Fig. 161. Finds from H SU 4.
Fig. 162. Finds from H SU 5.
Fig. 163. Graves H. 1 (left) and H. 3 (right).
Fig. 164. Plan of the Early Helladic walls to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Demeter (based on Papangeli 1990, fig. 11).

Fig. 165. General map of the area around Eleusis, showing the known Early Helladic sites (based on Papangeli 1990, fig. 8).
Fig. 166. MH I-III deposits.
Fig. 167. MH III/LH I deposits.
Fig. 168. LH IIA, LH IIB, LH IIA/IIB, and LH IIB/IIIA1 deposits.
Fig. 169. Location of LH IIIA1/IIIA2, LH IIIB, LH IIIC, and Submycenaean deposits.
Fig. 170. Frequency of new burials in the West Cemetery.
Fig. 171. Sections of various types of fabrics.
Fig. 172. Typology of parts of vases.
Fig. 173. Frequency of preserved parts of MH MP sherds.
Fig. 174. Frequency of the five fabric classes of MP pottery.
Fig. 175. MP shapes.
Fig. 176. Rim outlines of MP angular bowls with flat rims.
Fig. 177. Motifs of angular bowls with flat rims.
Fig. 178. Rim outlines of MP angular bowls with everted rims.
Fig. 179. Motifs of angular bowls with everted rims.
Fig. 180. Rim outlines of rounded bowls with everted rims.
Fig. 181. Motifs of rounded bowls with everted rims.
Fig. 182. Rim outlines of angular cups with everted rims.
Fig. 183. Motifs of angular cups with everted rims.
Fig. 184. Motifs of stemmed angular cups with everted rims.
Fig. 185. Rim outlines of angular cups with flaring rims.
Fig. 186. Motifs of angular cups with flaring rims.
Fig. 187. Rim outlines of rounded cups with everted rims.
Fig. 188. Motifs of rounded cups with everted rims.
Fig. 189. Motifs of Beaked-Spouted Jugs.
Fig. 190. Motifs of Spouted bowls.
Fig. 191. Motifs of type 1 (left) and type 2 (right) jars.
Fig. 192. Motifs of type 1 pithoi.
Fig. 193. Motifs of type 2 pithoi.
Fig. 194. Motifs of Bogenrippen amphoras.
Fig. 195. Variants of X-pattern with their associated shapes.
Fig. 196. Variants of triangles with their associated shapes.
Fig. 197. Chevrons with their associated shapes.
Fig. 198. Herringbone with its associated shapes.
Fig. 199. Variants of zig-zag lines with their associated shapes.
Fig. 200. Variants of wavy lines with their associated shapes.
Fig. 201. Variants of festoons with their associated shapes.
Fig. 202. Chessboard motif with its associated shapes.

Fig. 203. Lozenges with their associated shapes.
Fig. 204. Butterfly with its associated shapes.
Fig. 205. Groups of straight parallel lines with their associated shapes.
Fig. 206. Net with its associated shape.
Fig. 207. Circles with associated shapes.
Fig. 208. Spirals with their associated shapes.
Fig. 209. Star with its associated shape.
Fig. 210. Birds with their associated shape.
Fig. 211. Floral patterns with their associated shapes.
Fig. 212. Aeginetan motifs and shapes at Eleusis.
Fig. 213. MP DT motifs and their associated shapes.
Fig. 214. Frequency of preserved parts of MH Gold Mica sherds.
Fig. 215. Distribution of Fine/Fairly fine GM color groups.
Fig. 216. GM shapes.
Fig. 217. Typology of rims of angular bowls with beaded rims.
Fig. 218. Outlines of angular cups with everted rims ("kantharoi").
Fig. 219. DB shapes.
Fig. 220. RSB shapes.
Fig. 221. Shapes of unpainted vases.
Fig. 222. LH I "Mycenaean style" shapes and motifs.
Fig. 223. LH IIA shape/motif combinations, part I.
Fig. 224. LH IIA shape/motif combinations, part II.
Fig. 225. LH IIA shape / motif combinations, part III.
Fig. 226. Combination of LH IIB shapes and motifs.
Fig. 227. Combination of LH IIIA1 shapes and motifs.
Fig. 228. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs (Part 1).
Fig. 229. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs (Part 2).
Fig. 230. Combinations of LH IIIB1 shapes and motifs.
Fig. 231. Combination of LH IIIB2 shapes and motifs.
Fig. 232. LH IIIC shape/motif combinations.
Fig. 233. Submycenaean shape/motif combination.
Fig. 234. Drawing of EL Z 1 .
Fig. 235. Comparanda for $\mathrm{AB} 20<$ zo>.
Fig. 236. Comparanda for $A B 22$ (unstransliterated).
Fig. 237. Comparanda for AB $29<$ pu2>.
Fig. 238. Comparanda for $A B 60<$ ra>.

## LIST OF TABLES (in text)

Table 1. List of burned animal bones from E SU 8, locus 1.
Table 2. Types and frequencies of graves in the settlement area.
Table 3. Floor surfaces of cist graves with recorded measurements.
Table 4. Classification of MBA pottery at Eleusis.
Table 5. Aeginetan imports.
Table 6. Potter's marks on Aeginetan pottery.
Table 7. Potter's marks on GM sherds.
Table 8. Classification of LH I pottery.
Table 9. Continuity between LH I and LH IIA shapes.

INDEX

## INDEX

Achaea 422
Acropolis 301, 366, 367, 375, 376, 421
Aegean 164, 204, 443
Aegina, Aeginetan 202, 209, 215, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 274, 276, 278, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 295, 296, 297, 299, 301, 303, 304, 305, $306,307,309,310,311,312,313,314,317,318$, $319,321,322,323,324,325,326,336,337,341$, $342,344,345,347,348,349,352,354,357,361$, 368, 370, 372, 373, 374, 393, 410
Aghios Kosmas 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 348, 356
Agora 173, 218, 223, 233, 236, 237, 268, 274, 276, 279, 288, 294, 299, 301, 303, 304, 311, 327, 368, 375, 378, 385, 406, 411, 417, 422, 435, 436
Aigion 348
Akrotiri 229, 258
Alike 393, 394
altars $28,107,108,139,173,175,176,452,453$
Aphidna 301, 311
Aplomata 422
Apollo Maleatas (Mt. Kynortion) 296, 453
Architecture (see also buildings, houses)
antae $41,42,69,76,77,78,83,84,85,87,88,111$, $112,154,174,179$
blocks 3, 76, 77, 78, 84, 174
bothroi $25,130,139,162,173,179,183,185,186$, 277
drains 100, 106, 175, 179, 390
floors 11, 13, 16, 20, 24, 25, 30, 32, 34, 35, 38, 40, $41,44,45,47,48,50,52,60,65,66,68,69,76$,
$80,83,85,86,87,88,90,91,92,97,101,106$, 112, 114, 116, 120, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148, 153, 157, 158, 159, 161, 164, 165, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 200, 205, 229, 230, 274, 275, 294, 296, $346,348,355,356,367,369,371,378,379$, 384, 390, 397, 406, 411, 418, 421, 434, 441, 453 mudbricks $3,11,15,19,25,28,32,35,37,38,39$, $40,41,45,47,60,65,67,69,75,91,107,114$, 117, 121, 143, 158, 172, 173, 174, 181, 367, 371, 434, 452
Argolid 202, 217, 223, 224, 241, 248, 252, 265, 266, $268,273,275,278,279,301,305,307,309,311$, $314,316,319,321,322,323,326,327,328,330$, $332,335,339,340,341,352,355,360,374,377$, 394, 422, 424, 426, 429
Argos 209, 217, 218, 220, 221, 233, 234, 236, 237, 239, 240, 245, 248, 250, 253, 262, 265, 267, 268, 270, 280, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 299, 302, 308, 311, 337, 366
Arkadia 272
ash $11,13,20,26,28,32,34,35,38,40,41,44,45,52$, $56,65,66,67,70,72,129,137,159,173,186,317$
Asine 166, 183, 187, 188, 198, 199, 203, 204, 220, 268, 293, 294, 295, 299, 307, 308, 311, 316, 327, 339, 340, 341, 366, 377, 378, 422, 429
Athens Archaeological Society 46, 71, 73, 74, 78, 79, $80,83,84,85,93,98,100,101,106,109,112,113$, 115, 116, 118, 131, 161
Athens, Athenian 46, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, $85,86,93,98,99,100,101,106,109,112,113,115$, $116,118,131,167,218,223,236,237,250,265$, 288, 299, 301, 303, 311, 315, 323, 327, 328, 329,

334, 335, 345, 349, 359, 361, 366, 369, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 384, 387, 393, 394, 402, 406, 411, 419, 421
Ayia Irini 215, 263, 274, 276, 304, 345, 351, 356, 361, 366, 378, 387, 422
Ayios Stephanos 267, 270, 305, 309, 316, 326, 328, 329, 331, 332, 333, 337, 341, 345, 352, 357, 389, 406, 450

Bakalakis, G. 29, 71
bathtub 170, 457
bedrock $11,13,14,19,20,22,23,25,32,35,37,38$, $40,41,44,55,56,60,62,66,68,69,71,72,74,75$, $77,96,97,106,107,112,117,118,119,120,121$, $129,130,132,136,137,138,139,144,145,150$, 157, 159, 171, 175, 176, 181, 183, 198, 205, 276,317
Betancourt, P. 202, 295
Blegen, C. E. 198, 208, 324
Boeotia 207, 248, 253, 262, 279, 281, 301, 311, 313, $319,322,326,328,332,335,341,344,375,394$, 447, 448, 453
bones
hare 27, 44
Brauron 173, 315, 324, 326, 394, 449, 450
Buck, R. 216, 219, 220, 222, 224, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238
buildings
Building A (East Slope) 73, 171, 172
House A (South Slope) 32, 33, 172, 187, 274, 389, 406, 416, 441
House B (South Slope) 33, 34, 68, 166, 171, 206
House E (South Slope) 38, 172, 174
House H (South Slope) 41, 69, 70, 167, 168, 173, $174,187,318,367,369,407,411$
House I (South Slope) 34, 35, 168, 173, 174, 356
House Z (South Slope) 41, 43, 69, 70, 164, 165, 173, 187, 440
House $\Gamma$ (South Slope) 35, 36, 68, 165, 167, 171, 172, 181, 273
House $\Delta$ (South Slope) 36, 37, 69, 165, 167, 171, 172, 173, 187
House K (South Slope) 48

House $\Lambda$ (South Slope) 47, 48, 50, 174, 434, 436 House P (South Slope) 45, 47, 166, 171, 172, 187 House $\Sigma$ (South Slope) 47
Structure A (South Slope) 13, 14, 19, 20, 23, 66, 165, 166, 317, 333
Unit A (Hilltop) 150, 154, 155, 179
Chapin, A. 442, 443
Corinth 202, 429
Corinthia 311
Crete, Cretan 202, 204, 264, 315, 345, 366, 448, 449, 454, 458
Cyclades, Cycladic 27, 44, 56, 62, 159, 202, 205, 209, $214,215,227,228,229,230,231,232,234,248$, 250, 260, 263, 279, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 311, $314,315,317,344,347,351,369,442,448,450$
Cyprus, Cypriot 380, 381, 390, 425
Darcque, P. 175, 177, 178
Demeter 162, 163
Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 41, 272, 316, 327, 331, 345, 366, 384, 406, 429, 436, 441
Dietz, S. 186, 208, 217, 218, 220, 224, 227, 232, 233, $248,273,275,278,279,283,294,295,297,305$, $307,308,309,311,316,318,319,320,321,322$, 323, 324, 326, 327, 339, 340, 341
Dramesi 372, 373

## East Aegean 202

Eleusinian stone 76, 78, 97, 113, 174, 441
Eleusis museum 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 35, 44, 45, $65,75,88,105,114,118,119,121,130,137,142$, $143,146,150,154,159,162,167,180,193,198$, 200, 204, 211, 276, 312, 351, 375, 402, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443
Emporio 422
Epidauros 296
Epigraphic Museum 3, 166
Euboia 205, 272
Eutresis 174, 184, 203, 204, 217, 218, 220, 227, 231, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242, 248, 250, 262, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 285, 287, 288, 292, 299, 304, 309, 314, 323, 326, 421
figurines 117, 121, 439, 440
flint 53, 441
French, D. 324
French, E. 197, 199, 352, 378, 386, 389, 405, 406, 414, $416,418,421,422,423,440$
frescoes 456
Furumark, A. 193, 195, 316, 330

Galatas 173, 236, 453
Geometric strata $14,19,20,23,32,41,51,60,62,77$, $96,97,98,99,100,114,118,120,121,128,130$, 141, 145, 150, 163, 165, 178, 179, 317, 441
Goldman, H. 299
Grotta 369, 374, 384, 394, 413
Hexalophos 425
houses
apsidal $33,38,40,74,159,167,171,187,450$
rectangular $3,35,40,45,65,68,72,77,78,97$, 131, 137, 138, 139, 142, 150, 161, 167, 171, $173,174,176,179,181,183,237,252,450,456$

Iakovidis, S. 416, 421, 422, 423

Kakovatos 357
Kalapodi 429
Kanakia 411, 436, 458
Kastri / Lefkandi group 202, 203, 205, 207
Keos, Keian 214, 215, 221, 235, 236, 248, 263, 274, 284, 287, 288, 290, 293, 294, 295, 298, 299, 304, 307, $314,315,316,338,360,366,372,375,422,448$
Kerameikos 430, 431, 432, 458
Keratea 236
Keratsini 164
Kiapha-Thiti 227, 233, 248, 273, 283, 286, 289, 293, 294, 297, 306, 321, 336, 338, 341
Kilian, K. 451
Kilian-Dirlmeier, I. 442
Kimon 78
Kiriatzi, E. 262, 264, 268, 271, 310, 314, 344, 361
Kirrha 184, 187, 199, 234, 236, 299, 305, 307
Korakou 198, 199, 203, 204, 208, 227, 233, 311, 316, $322,325,326,327,334,339,345,356,366,374$, 399, 406, 421

Kos 355, 406
Koukounara 140, 327
Koukounaries 421, 422
Kourouniotes, K. 57, 71, 73, 76, 86, 87, 101, 105, 111, $114,117,118,119,128,131,133,143,144,145$, $150,153,159,161,175,177$
Krisa 174, 378, 421
Kythera 199, 264, 266, 268, 308, 313, 327, 331, 332, 352, 448

Laconia 268, 272, 313, 316, 327, 330, 335, 352, 448, 453
Lefkandi 164, 236, 272, 301, 302, 304, 307, 309, 419, 422
Lefkas 202
Lerna 162, 164, 184, 193, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 217, 218, 221, 233, 234, 237, 243, 245, 246, 253, 260, 265, 267, 268, 270, 272, 274, 278, 283, 287, 292, 298, 300, 301, 302, $303,305,307,308,311,312,314,316,326,335$, 337, 447, 452
Lindblom, M. 261, 286, 287, 289, 293, 294, 297, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 324, 325, 326, 327, 335, 336, 339, 361
Lis, B. 293
Lolos, Y. 425, 436
Lykourgeion 171, 430

Marabea, Chr. 425, 436
Maran, J. 186, 273, 274, 289, 451
marine remains
murex 34
pinna nobilis 27
Mazarakis-Ainian, A. 114, 179
Medeon 276
Megara 164
Megaron B 73, 75, 76, 80, 85, 87, 88, 96, 97, 101, 108, 112, 134, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 186, 224, 273, 346, 348, 353, 355, 356, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 390, 391, 395, 397, 398, 407, 411, 418, 430, 434, $439,442,443,454,455,456,457$
Melos, Melian 215, 229, 298, 315, 360, 448

Menelaion 366, 378, 405, 454
Messenia 272, 297, 327, 330, 335, 355, 453, 454
Midea 183, 278, 416
Mithraion 60
Mitrou 182, 324
Mountjoy, P. 316, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 335, 345, 347, 351, 352, 353, 357, 361, 366, 367, 375, 376, 378, 381, 387, 389, 391, 401, 402, 406, 409, 410, 417, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 429, 436, 454
Mycenae 23, 184, 189, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 308, 316, 329, 338, 339, 341, 348, 370, 378, 386, 389, 406, 414, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 423, 424, 429, 432, 443
Atreus bothros 378
Citadel House 406, 416, 421, 456
Granary 145, 146, 421, 422
Grave Circle A 23
Grave Circle B 231, 274, 275, 278, 279, 293, 308, $316,321,322,323,332,333,335,338,339,341$
House of Shields 389
House of the Sphinxes 406
Kalkani 316, 399
Lion Gate 422
Panaghia Houses 406
Petsas House 389
Terrace on Atreus ridge 389
West House 406
Mylonas, G. E. 3, 11, 29, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 52, 70, $71,73,74,75,76,80,83,84,87,97,98,109,111$, 113, 114, 117, 118, 129, 130, 131, 137, 138, 139, 142, 144, 145, 146, 150, 153, 154, 158, 159, 161, 162, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 184, 186, 189, 190, 198, 200, 202, 204, 391, 393, 394, 402, 406, 439, 440, 441, 442, 447, 449

Naxos 202, 314
Nichoria 299, 302, 306, 308, 316, 327, 332, 440, 441
obsidian $25,51,52,53,54,57,62,66,131,138,163$, $164,173,185,441$
ochre 27
Orchomenos 184, 262, 270, 272, 273, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281, 287, 301, 314, 324, 337

Overbeck, J. 263

Palaiokastro 315, 449
Panagitsa chapel (Hilltop) 150, 152, 153, 161, 166, 268
Papadimitriou, N. 139, 140, 141, 166, 173, 182, 183, $185,189,315,448,449,450,451,452,453,455$
Papadopoulos, J. 429, 431
Papangeli, K. 162, 163, 164, 170, 183, 190, 457
Pefkakia 232, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 299, 304, 305, 307

## Pellana 384

Peloponnese, Peloponnesian 200, 202, 207, 266, 268, 297, 298, 304, 313, 316, 324, 329, 332, 335, 344, 345, 360, 447, 448, 454
Perati 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427
Peristeria 327
Petrakis, V. 41, 146, 458
Philios, D. 3, 11, 12, 71, 73, 114, 117, 128, 138, 139, 140, 141, 150, 346, 430
Philipp Stockhammer 416, 418, 425
Phocis 207, 209, 394, 422, 447
Phylakopi 228, 229, 258, 296, 347, 351, 359, 361, 385, 421
Plasi 173, 187, 315, 449
pottery
Acropolis Burnished Ware 366, 367, 375, 376
Alternating Style 355, 362
Ayia Marina Style 200
Close Style 422
Cycladic White 227, 228, 229, 234, 315
Dark Burnished 200, 281, 282, 303, 305, 306, 308, 337, 342
Dark Tempered 52, 57, 209, 211, 216, 218, 219, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 231, 234, 235, 237, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 293, 299, 306, 313, 376
Ephyraean 88, 90, 103, 109, 110, 366, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 374
Faience Ware 57, 198, 205, 447
Fine Untempered 209, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 235, 240, 241, 244,

248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 258, 260, 299, 318, 319, 320, 321, 326
Gold Mica 52, 209, 211, 212, 218, 219, 220, 221, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230, 233, 235, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 260, 261, 269, 284, 286, 288, 293, 299, 300, 301, 302, $305,311,312,319,321,325,376$
Grey Minyan 13, 15, 23, 25, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, $41,44,47,52,53,54,55,56,60,62,63,66,68$, $69,72,73,75,91,92,133,134,137,138,141$, 142, 159, 185, 208, 269, 270, 271, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 296, 298, 301, 303, 304, $305,307,308,309,314,315,339,340,342,343$
Handmade Burnished Ware 423
Late Matt Painted 52, 250, 367, 376
Lustrous Decorated 264, 268, 300, 303, 306, 308, 313, 342
Mainland Polychrome 324, 325, 326, 450
Marine Style 89
mica 194, 209, 212, 213, 222, 224, 227, 228, 231, 235, 240, 241, 243, 244, 246, 248, 251, 254, 255, 257, 258, 260, 261, 268, 284, 293, 299, $301,302,305,311,312,314,322$
Minoan 56, 202, 261, 264, 265, 266, 268, 295, 301, 303, 306, 308, 311, 315, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 353, 355, 361, 362, 366, 402, 442, 443, 448, 449
Minoanizing 264, 267, 268, 300, 301, 302, 308, 309, 315, 449
Pictorial Style 422
polychrome 24, 160, 266, 267, 301, 305, 307, 314, 317
Urfirnis 199, 447
Yellow Minyan 23, 52, 75, 159, 309, 339, 340
Propylaea, Lesser 71, 145, 146, 148, 179, 379, 384, $390,396,397,407,409,411,434,435,456,458$
Prosymna 308, 316, 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 349, 351, $353,354,355,356,358,359,366,370,382,393$, 401, 406, 435
Proto-Corinthian sherds 22,167
Protogeometric 91, 429, 431, 432, 458, 459
Pullen, D. J. 193, 198, 199

Pylos, Ano Englianos 327, 331, 356, 378, 443
querns 14, 32, 441

Roman 11, 19, 23, 30, 32, 41, 53, 71, 85, 86, 131, 150, 157, 170, 171
Routsi 441
Ruppenstein, F. 184, 430, 431, 432, 458
Ruscillo, D. 107, 176, 455
Rutter, J. B. 173, 193, 198, 201, 202, 205, 206, 266, 268, 278, 279, 292, 293, 294, 308, 313, 316, 323, 324, 326, 327, 344

Sacred House 3, 57, 60, 62, 63, 165, 217, 263, 439, 441
Salamis 425, 436, 453
Samikon 328, 329, 334
Saronic Gulf 166, 394, 450, 453, 454, 457
Sarri, K. 262, 269, 276, 281, 302, 314
See Cistern 28
Siedentopf, H. B. 215, 220, 224, 261, 263, 303
Skias, A. 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 38, 65, 66, 67, 68, 150, 165, 166, 167, 173, 183, 186, 187, 220, 292, 317, 333, 395, 397, 407, 412, 417, 418, 441, 452
Snodgrass, A. 429
Stoa of Philo 71, 128, 129, 130, 136, 137, 139
Stockhammer, Ph. 406, 407, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426
Syros 202

Teichos Dymaion 406
Telesterion
Peisistrateian 71, 73, 107, 117, 120, 121, 131, 133, $167,168,169,171,177,178,179,268,283$, $318,347,348,367,371,378,380,382,384$, 391, 407, 412, 434
Roman 86
Terrace wall, Archaic 168
Thebes 167, 276, 326, 375
Thera, Theran 215, 229, 298, 315, 443, 448
Thessaly, Thessalian 202, 209, 305, 422, 425
Thomas, P. 328, 389, 394, 396, 399, 406, 410, 411, 412, 457

Thorikos 173, 345, 359, 370, 423, 449, 454, 458
Threpsiades, I. 71, 72, 73, 107, 117, 121, 136, 177
Tiryns 202, 203, 204, 308, 366, 377, 378, 406, 407, 416, 417, 418, 421, 423, 424, 425, 428, 429, 442
Tiryns, Epichosis 406, 418
Trachones 394
Tragana 316
Travlos, J. 29, 57, 62, 71, 73, 78, 79, 83, 85, 86, 99, 113, $118,119,129,130,131,139,143,144,155,161$, 350, 455
Tsoungiza 52, 193, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 292, 294, 308, 311, 345, 355, 366, 375, 389, 396, 399, 457

Varkiza 345
Voroulia 316, 327, 328, 347, 360
Vourvatsi 394
Voutsaki, S. 189, 449, 451, 452

Wace, A. J. B. 198, 208, 316, 324, 421, 443
West Cemetery 137, 138, 171, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 216, 219, 220, 222, 224, 226, 227, 229, 231, 235, 237, 238, 273, 278, 280, 283, $316,320,329,330,338,339,350,372,375,380$, 381, 383, 387, 391, 393, 394, 395, 398, 402, 409, 410, 414, 415, 420, 439, 440, 441, 448, 449, 451, 452, 455, 457, 458
Wiencke, M. H. 193, 198, 199
wood 32, 35, 60, 84, 114, 202, 452
Wright, J. C. 166, 449, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456

Younger, J. 442, 443

Zerner, C. 449, 453
Zygouries 198, 199, 203, 204, 322, 386, 406, 436

THE BOOK

## THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS

THE BRONZE AGE I

BY MICHAEL B. COSMOPOULOS
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[^0]:    1. "...סохıцабтıxás тıvas тáq@ovऽ" (Philios 1884, 83-87; Cf. id. 1889b, 171-184).
    2. Philios 1884, 83-87; 1889b, 171-184 and plan on p. 176.
    3. Philios 1889b, 185.
    4. Unless otherwise noted, all elevations are taken from Skias' benchmark, which was set on the floor of the grave of Isis, at a depth of 3.13 from the bottom of the Roman drain and 9.85 m lower than the oldest of the three thresholds of the South Gate (Skias 1912, 1
[^1]:    10. Skias 1898a, 45.
    11. Skias 1912, 12.
    12. The north wall is founded at an elevation of +2.53 m . The top row of its stones is at +3.03 m , minus 0.50 m (the preserved height of the wall at that point, as per Skias 1898a, 37 n. 1 and 61-62). The south wall is founded at +1.31 to +1.16 m (top row at $+2.06 \mathrm{~m} \mathrm{mi}-$ nus $0.75-0.90 \mathrm{~m}$, which is the preserved height of the wall; Cf. ibid. 38 and 61-62).
[^2]:    38. Skias 1898a, 75.
    39. Ibid. 74; possibly pyre 65.
    40. Skias refers to Furtwängler and Loeschke 1879, pl. IV:14.
    41. Skias 1898a, 74.
    42. Ibid. 75.
[^3]:    45. Skias 1898a, 75: "őбт@axа $\mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \sigma \tau ı \lambda \pi v o \tau \alpha ́ \tau o v ~$
    
[^4]:    55. See the catalogue entry of this piece for a note on its chronology.
[^5]:    60. Eleusis 25, fig. 11; Notebook 28-31 July 1930.
[^6]:    61. Eleusis 34, Notebook 28, 30-31 July 1930.
[^7]:    62. Eleusis 25-26; Notebook 26, 27, 28 August and 5-6 September 1930.
[^8]:    63. Eleusis 20-25; Notebook 26 August, 5-6 September 1930.
[^9]:    64. Eleusis 23.
    65. It is possible that wall $\gamma$ was continued by a wall made entirely of mudbricks, as suggested by a
[^10]:    line of mudbricks that seems to continue the line of wall $\gamma$ to the south (shaded area in fig. 29).
    66. Eleusis 17-20.

[^11]:    82. Reports in Cosmopoulos 1994a; 1994b; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1996.
[^12]:    83. All elevations are taken from the benchmark, placed at 17.785 masl.
[^13]:    86. During the preliminary study of the material both cavities were grouped as "locus 17" (Cosmo-
[^14]:    87. Kourouniotes and Travlos 1937; 1938; Kourouniotes 1938 and 1940; Travlos 1983. For a reassessment of the stratigraphy of the Sacred House see Mazarakis
[^15]:    89. In addition to the two areas with Bronze Age deposits described here, sporadic MH and LH sherds were found also in the following mixed deposits: 204 (Notebook 1937, p. 24; the MP bowl 9197 was found here), 231 (Notebook 1937, p. 166), 246-250 (Notebook 1937, pp. 197, 214, 226), 258-259 (Notebook 1937, p. 218), 270 (Notebook 1938, p. 241), 279 (Notebook 1938, p. 244), 318 $\alpha$ (Notebook 1938, p. 278, north of the
[^16]:    Archaic temple). A few MH and LH sherds were also found under the floor of Room I of the Sacred House (Notebook 1938, p. 233), as well as the Mithraion (23 September 1937: Notebook 1937, p. 197; 3 October 1937: Notebook 1937, p. 226; 8 October 1938: Notebook 1938, p. 269).
    90. Notebook 1937, pp. 180-187.
    91. Notebook 1937, p. 184.

[^17]:    99. Skias 1898a, 90.
    100. Ibid. 81-82; marked as " 17 " in the insert plan of Skias 1898a, pp. 29-30; Cf. Eleusis 58.
[^18]:    101. Skias 1898a, 81-82.
    102. Ibid. 81-82, 84.
    103. Ibid. 68.
    104. Ibid. 52.
[^19]:    105. Ibid.: «દ̉v т $\tilde{\sim} \beta \varrho \alpha ́ \chi \varphi ~ \varepsilon ̉ v เ \delta \varrho ข \mu \varepsilon ́ v o \varsigma » . ~$
    106. Skias 1898a, 52-53; Eleusis 58.
    107. Skias 1898a, 74.
[^20]:    115. Ibid. 37; Notebook 5-6 September 1930.
    116. Eleusis 46-49, fig. 28; Notebook 30 August and 4 September 1930.
[^21]:    127. Philios 1884, pl. $\Delta$, hatched walls to the north Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 277-279 and pl. of column $\beta$; Kourouniotes 1930-1931, 18, walls A, A’; XXXIV; Notebook 1932, 44-48 and passim. Some Early
[^22]:    Helladic sherds were also found in various locations under the Telesterion, but always in disturbed de-

[^23]:    132. The term megaron is used here for convenience, as this is how the building has become known. For the ambiguity surrounding the definition of this term see Darcque 1990; id. 2005, 318; also Werner 1993, 3-5.
[^24]:    157. A full discussion of the controversy surrounding the peribolos can be found in the end of this chapter. Infra, p. 176.
    158. Notebook 1931, 13-22, 44-45; Notebook 1932,
[^25]:    173. Notebook 1931, 15-16.
    174. Elevations in this part of Threpsiades' notebook are measured from the top surface of wall K.
[^26]:    175. "А@то́б $\chi \eta \mu \alpha^{\prime \prime}$.
    176. Identification and observations on these bones by Dr. Deborah Ruscillo.
[^27]:    178. Notebook 1931, 31-35; Notebook 1932, 29-38; Mylonas personal notes, July 1932, 1-8; Kourouniotes
[^28]:    183. Mylonas, personal notes July 1932, 5-6; Notebook 1932, 35.
    184. Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 277; Mylonas 1961, 38. Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, 148 n. 1028) points out that these two handles may in fact be Late Geometric or Protoattic.
    185. Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 276.
[^29]:    188. Philios 1884, 75-76, pl. $\Delta: \Pi-\Pi ' ; ~ N o t e b o o k ~$ 1931, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 43, 57, 58; Notebook 1932, 5667. The 1931 notebooks were kept by Threpsiades and the 1932 Notebooks by Mylonas.
    189. Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 279.
[^30]:    198. Notebook 1931, 85; Notebook 1932, 61.
    199. Preserved height unrecorded; Notebook 1931, 87; Notebook 1932, 61.
    200. It is unclear whether these sherds were found wedged between the stones of wall $1 a / 1 b$, or in the deposit in front of the wall. The label reads: " $\mathrm{E} \varkappa \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ тó́xผv 16 [here wall 1a] rai 17 [here wall 1b]".
    201. Notebook 1931, 71, 87; Notebook 1932, 60; Kourouniotes 1933-35, 32-33.
[^31]:    209. Supra, n. 205.
    210. Notebook 1931, 50, 71-72: wall 10/14; Notebook 1932, 59.
    211. Notebook 1931, 72; Notebook 1932, 59.
    212. Notebook 1931, 54-55; Notebook 1932, 58.
    213. Notebook 1932, 59.
[^32]:    219. Notebook 1931, 58, depth unrecorded.
    220. Ibid. 29. Depth -0.30 m (?from the surface of the ground).
[^33]:    247. Eleusis figs 29 and 31.
    248. Ibid. fig. 30.
    249. Ibid. fig. 122.
    250. Notebook 1930, 19 September; Eleusis 53-57; Mylonas 1932, 110-111, fig. 7.
    251. DIPG 32.
    252. Eleusis fig. 32.
[^34]:    253. Ibid. fig. 33.
    254. Ibid. 146-148, fig. 121.
    255. Similar to West Cemetery pl. $21 \gamma$ from grave $\Delta \pi 6$.
    256. Eleusis fig. 119; Mylonas 1932, fig. 14; Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 40, no. 8.
[^35]:    260. Papadimitriou 2001, 79.
    261. Travlos 1950, 136; Papadimitriou 2001, 79; also 77 no. 48 and 78-79 no. 54 (for the other two graves).
[^36]:    265. Philios 1889b, 191. Papadimitriou (2001, 79) (Late Geometric) use of the grave. explains the iron piece in terms of a possibly later
[^37]:    280. Below, locus 1; Mylonas 1936a, 426-431; Mylonas 1936b; Mylonas 1961, 49-51; Bennett 1986; see al-
[^38]:    282. Earlier investigations on the top of the hill by D. Philios and A. Skias had not produced significant Bronze Age finds (Cf. Philios 1889a, 24; Philios 1892, 32; Skias 1894, 15 ff.); one LH IIIA2/ IIIB1 bowl fragment ( 1063 Eleusis museum inv. no. 14700) is marked with " 18 March 1892", which suggests that it may have been found by Philios in the 1892 excavation.
[^39]:    286. Kourouniotes 1933-1935, figs 24-27 and Mylonas 1936a, figs 8-10.
[^40]:    289. Notes 1934, 7-8.
    290. Referred to as "Megaron $\Delta$ " in the 1934 Notebooks.
[^41]:    291. "Megaron E" in the Notebooks.
    292. Notebook 1934, August 3.
[^42]:    294. Mylonas 1936a; Kourouniotes 1933-1935, fig. 25.
    295. Notes 1934, 5-8; Mylonas 1936a, 416-419.
[^43]:    298. Kourouniotes 1933-35, 25-26; Mylonas 1936a, 424.
    299. Mylonas 1936a, 424.
[^44]:    303. Cosmopoulos 1995a, 37-38; 1996; 2004.
    304. Mylonas 1932, 107; Eleusis 30; Cf. Forsen 1992, 108-109.
    305. Mylonas 1936a, 419.
    306. Papangeli 1990, 56-58.
[^45]:    311. Malthi 125-175 people per ha., Asine 200-250 per ha. See Wright 2008, 241, based on Nordquist 1987 and Touchais 1998, 71-78.
[^46]:    312. See Papadimitriou 2010, 247, for similar expansion in other sites of Attica.
[^47]:    313. As per Pantelidou's $(1975,219)$ suggestion for the MH settlement of Athens.
    314. For Athens see Venieri 2010, 194; for Thebes
[^48]:    317. See, however, the comment made earlier (supra p. 41) about the definition of LH I.
[^49]:    321. Notebook 1932, 44.
[^50]:    328. Aghios Kosmas Houses S and T; Eutresis Houses BB and V; Krisa House E, second phase; Ko-
[^51]:    329. Darcque 1981.
    330. Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 285; Mylonas 1961, 47.
    331. Darcque 1980, 600; id. 2005, 298-299. It should be mentioned that the suggestion that the excavators had thought originally that this was a retaining wall ("avant de suggérer qu'elle puisse être un autel, les
[^52]:    fouilleurs l'avaient interprétée, de façon plus plausible, comme un ouvrage de soutènement pour le sol de la pièce principale") is not correct: the reference given by Darcque to Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 275, does not refer to the platform, but to the crosswall 6a which indeed served as a retaining wall.

[^53]:    332. Supra E SU 8. Detailed discussion on the subject in Cosmopoulos 2003; Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.
[^54]:    333. Darcque 1981, 601.
    334. Kourouniotes 1930-1931, drawing 1.
    335. Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933.
    336. Notebooks 1932, p. 60 (referring to the original grouping of wall 3 with wall 2 instead of wall 5):
    
    
     This is confirmed by the dating of the loci associated
[^55]:    345. For the definition of each type of grave see DIPG 26-27.
[^56]:    346. Cf. the tendency to cover the rim of the cists with sand or pebbles to provide a solid surface on which the cover slabs would be placed, as in $\Theta \pi 16$ in the West Cemetery, West Cemetery B 207, pl. $129 \beta$.
[^57]:    353. See the discussion in Papadimitriou 2001, 164-165.
    354. Papangeli 1988, 40-41.
    355. West Cemetery B 60, pl. 140 $\alpha$.
    356. Cf. Nordquist 1987, 94-95 for a similar practice at Asine.
    357. Cf. ibid. 93 (Asine); Zavvou 2010, 91 (Sparta).
    
[^58]:    362. West Cemetery A 319-321, fig. 84, pl. $74 \alpha-\beta$; B 211 .
    363. DIPG 24.
    364. The MH III-LH IIB Built Cist grave E.III. 7 ( $2+$ skeletons) and the LH IIB/IIIA1 pit grave E.I. 8 (3 skeletons).
    365. Graves $Г \pi 6$ and $\Theta \pi 22$ : West Cemetery A 7071, B 56-57, fig. 110, pls 14 $\gamma, 135-136$.
    366. West Cemetery A 146-7, fig. 30, pl. 23.
[^59]:    373. DIPG 110.
    374. Mylonas 1936a, 424.
    375. Kilian 1987 and 1989; Dietz 1991, 293; Maran 1995, 69-72; DIPG 24-25 with a full review of bibliography; Milka 2010.
    376. See Skias' comment: " $\chi \alpha \theta$ ’ $\alpha \not \pi \alpha \sigma \alpha v ~ \tau \grave{\nu} v \pi \varepsilon-$
    
    
[^60]:    380. Skias (1898a and 1912, passim) is explicit that more graves lay in Sector I, but they had been so eroded that it was not possible to number them and describe them separately, so one must assume a more
[^61]:    382. Nordquist 1987, 76.
[^62]:    388. Lerna III; Lerna IV; Tsoungiza.
[^63]:    389. Mylonas 1932, 107; Eleusis 30.
    390. Mylonas 1936a, 419.
    391. Wace and Blegen 1918; Zygouries; Korakou.
    392. Asine I; Berbati; Caskey 1960; French and French 1971.
    393. Fossey 1978; Fossey and Mogelonsky 1983.
[^64]:    397. Lerna IV 321; Heath-Wiencke 1986a; Weisshaar 1983, 332; Kosmopoulos 1948, 55, Aghios Kosmas 121; Theochares 1953-54, 67; 1954, 108; Sampson 1988, 77; Caskey and Caskey 1960, 153; Kirrha 66; Kythera 274; Alt-Ägina III.1, 94; Argissa 50, 59; Myrtos 395; Troy I 54.
    398. Lerna IV 321-322; Weinberg 1937, 515-521; Robinson and Weinberg 1960, 244-247; Lavezzi 1978, 424; Korakou 6; Weisshaar 1983, 342; Zygouries 83-84, 87; Berbati 144; Asine I 220-222; Asea 72; Zachos 1987, 171; Aghios Kosmas 121; Theochares 1953, 112; 1954, 108; 1953-54, 68; Sampson 1985, 144; Caskey and
[^65]:    411. Rutter 1983; Lerna III 23.
    412. Tsoungiza 483, class 55.
    413. Infra p. 205.
    414. Caskey 1960, 290, fig. 1.
[^66]:    415. Lerna IV 585-587.
    416. Cf. ibid. 587-588.
    417. Cf. Tsoungiza 351, for type 3 sauceboats in this class.
[^67]:    418. Branigan 1974, 134 and n. 3.
    419. Hood 1982, 33, 244 n. 18; Betancourt 1985, 39, pl. 3:C.
    420. Frankfort 1927, 89, 107 and n. 8.
    421. Smith 1955, 143-145, no. 4; Fahy 1962, 17; Lerna IV 591.
    422. Argissa 188.
    423. Korres 1984, 25 n. 1, 91; Syriopoulos 1968, 258; Renfrew 1972, 453; Troy I 54; Thermi fig. 32:521; Poliochni 650-651, pl. CXXXg; Warren 1972, 395; 1981, 631; Wilson 1984, 301-303; Cf. Doumas 1976, 71 for a
[^68]:    430. Lerna IV 587; Cf. Caskey 1960, 290; Korakou fig. 6; Zygouries fig. 79:115; Aghios Kosmas fig. 158:228; Tsoungiza 175.
    431. Asine I 207-210, fig. 154:6; Berbati 136, fig. 113:4; Zachos 1987, fig. 57:P3770, A24; Aghios Kosmas fig. 125:44; Alt-Ägina III.1, 94, fig. 70, pl. 80:91; Eutresis fig. 118; Poliochni 409, 651.
    432. Caskey 1960, 290; Weisshaar 1983, fig. 13:8; Zachos 1987, fig. 58:P2762; Aghios Kosmas 25, dr. 53; Argissa, Beilage 12:11; Zygouries 89-90, fig. 78; Asine I fig. 160:4; Sampson 1985, dr. 34:54, 55; Theochares 1954, 109, figs 3-4; Barber and Hadjianastasiou 1989, 71.
[^69]:    442. Cf. Tsoungiza 356.
    443. Cf. Tiryns IV 20-21, pl. VII:13; Caskey 1960, 290, fig. 1:A; Alt-Ägina III.1, 98, fig. 89 and pl. 86:146; Aghios Kosmas 68:C-4, fig. 157:238; Theochares 1953, fig. 9 (left); Sampson 1985, 273, fig. 62a: 19; similar types appear in Crete: Myrtos fig. 48:P133; and at Troy: Troy I 226:A12, fig. 377:35.603; for more Aegean parallels see Lerna III 597-601.
    444. Lerna IV 323, 596-597.
    445. Zygouries figs 75-76; Asine I 339-340; Alt-Ägi-
[^70]:    450. Tsoungiza 515.
    451. Lerna III 34-39.
    452. Tsoungiza 487-491.
    453. Rutter's Pattern I, Lerna III 596, Ill. D-27.
    454. Rutter's Pattern VII.3: Lerna III 607-608:Ill. D33:1.
    455. Rutter's Pattern XIV: Lerna III 617.
    456. Tsoungiza 512-513.
[^71]:    462. Lerna III 361, 363; Cf. Tsoungiza 525-529.
    463. Wünsche 1977, 28-31; Pevkakia pls 37:11, 41:10, 46:13 and 93:4.
    464. Zerner 1978, 144, fig. 18:BE 429 / 4.
    465. Lerna III 309.
    466. Cf. Tsoungiza 571-573, where HV 11 has a
[^72]:    the history of research on MP pottery see Pevkakia 147-149; Gauß and Smetana 2002; 2007a, 61; for the possibility that the manganese came from Laurion see Noll 1991, 141; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 61, n. 33.

[^73]:    478. For observations on the origin of these fabrics see below, p. 261.
[^74]:    479. This group may be merged with the first one (fine or fairly fine) in the future, after petrographic
[^75]:    480. Petrographic analysis may shed some light on this issue.
[^76]:    481. The early phases of MBA are missing from Ayia Irini.
[^77]:    483. See Keos VII 10.
    484. Ibid.

    2007, fig. 1:1-3.
    485. Cf. Zerner 1988, fig. 6:16; Philippa-Touchais
    486. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 33-34, fig. 5.

[^78]:    495. See the one-handled cup with everted rim: Caskey 1956, pl. 39e.
    496. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 459, 465.
    497. Ibid. nos 461-462 - also common in MH II-III Argolid: Dietz 1991, fig. 6:4.
    498. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 475.
    499. Ibid. nos 477-480.
[^79]:    500. Illustrated in Lerna IV 376-377, fig. I11.S-13: type 1 .
    501. Philippa-Touchais 2007, fig. 1:4-7.
    502. Dietz 1991, fig. 10:40.
[^80]:    509. Alt-Ägina IV.2, pls 89-96; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 78, fig. 10:XXXVIII-4.
    510. Philippa-Touchais 2007, figs 2:15, 17, 21, 24.
    511. Dietz 1991, figs 10:39, 41 and 14:78.
[^81]:    520. Supra p. 220.
    521. The two cups West Cemetery pl. 91: $\Theta \pi 2-597 \alpha$ and pl . 191: $\mathrm{M} \pi 12-901$ are rounded rather than angular and not MP.
[^82]:    524. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 707-711.
    525. Agora XIII: 84:333, with more parallels.
    526. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 38-39, pls 104-116; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 3:XXIX. 1-4 [Type A] and fig.
[^83]:    539. Not found in the Eleusis material, but see AltÄgina IV.2: 626-632.
    540. Dietz 1991, 202, fig. 61:BA-5.
    541. Eutresis 153, fig. 212.
[^84]:    546. Cf. ibid. no. 282.
    547. Cf. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, fig. 13, middle.
[^85]:    550. Alt-Ägina IV.2, pls 63:301 and 64:302.
    551. Papagiannopoulou 1991, pl. 3:12.
    552. Barber 2007, 205, fig. 6.7:126, pl. 25e; id. 2008, pl. 11:440-441.
[^86]:    579. Keos VII 10; Plain and Polychrome wares from Kea have not been identified at Eleusis.
    580. Ibid. pl. 55 Group AO no. 10, pl. 58 Group AQ no. 16 and pl. 59 Group AQ nos 19-20.
    581. Cf. similarly-decorated MH III pithoi from Megali Magoula in Galatas (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010, 71, fig. 10) and Velatouri in Keratea (Kakavogianni and Ntouni 2010, 210, fig. 5).
[^87]:    590. At Aegina, such pithoi are about 30 cm tall: Alt-Ägina IV.2, 20.
    591. West Cemetery pl. 405: Н $\pi 14-515$.
    592. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 120-123.
    593. Ibid. pl. 22-24.
[^88]:    594. Eutresis figs 200 and 202.
    595. Touchais 2002, fig. 23:75-77.
    596. Zerner 1988, fig. 10:28-30.
    597. Agora XIII no. 330.
[^89]:    605. Ibid. no. 449.
    606. Cf. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 43, fig. 11, lower left, framed by two thick vertical lines.
[^90]:    613. Zerner 1988, fig. 10:28.
    614. The only parallel I have been able to find is Alt-Ägina IV.2, pl. 75:384.
[^91]:    617. Bowls: Alt-Ägina IV.2: 600, jugs: ibid. no. 285.
[^92]:    618. Usually 13 to 14: cf. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 222, 226, 234.
    619. Philippa-Touchais 2003, figs 1, 10:19, 15; 2007.
    620. Zerner 1978, figs 14:5, 15:2; 1988, figs 13:3738, 14:39.
[^93]:    621. All published spouted bowls have a thick outline, e.g. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 374, 380.
    622. Zerner 1988, fig. 7:18.
[^94]:    644. E.g. the lines on Alt-Ägina IV.2: 741 are placed in a wide horizontal zone in the center of the upper body.
    645. Eutresis fig. 221.3.
    646. Philippa-Touchais 2007, 104, pl. 7.
    647. Alt-Ägina IV.2: 337.
[^95]:    651. Cf. Zerner 1988, fig. 16:46.
[^96]:    654. See Alt-Ägina IV.2: 702-706 for the pattern and 724-727 for the shape.
    655. As ibid. no. 174.
[^97]:    672. See Alt-Ägina IV.2: 702-706 for the pattern and 724-727 for the shape.
    673. See the comments in Lindblom 2001, 34-35,
[^98]:    675. Very few sites have produced reliable frequencies. At the Aspis of Argos Aeginetan imports
[^99]:    682. Zerner 1978, 159-170; 1986, 66-68; 1988, 6-10; 1993, 45-47, 50-51; Philippa-Touchais 2003.
    683. Mudstone, chert, and carbonates: Zerner 1993, 46; Kilikoglou et al. 2003, 134-135; for the most up-to-date discussion see Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011, 178-180.
[^100]:    684. Philippa-Touchais 2003, 4; Kiriatzi 2010, 688.
    685. Cadogan and Kopaka 2010, 849-850.
    686. For the typology of LD pottery see Zerner 1988, 6-10.
    687. Kiriatzi 2010, 694-697.
[^101]:    695. Taylour 1972, 233, fig. 16, Rutter and Rutter 1976, no. 415; Zerner 2008, 290, fig. 5.54:2268-2273.
    696. Kythera pl. 23:7-13.
[^102]:    699. Zerner 1988, figs 34-39.
    700. Philippa-Touchais 2003, 19-24.
    701. For the possibility that an Aeginetan workshop specialized in Minoanizing pots see Hiller 1993, 198-199.
[^103]:    705. Zerner 1988, fig. 25:25; Philippa-Touchais 2003, 12-13:7.
    706. Zerner 1986, 67 and 1993, 46; Jones 1986, 420424 and 1993; Kiriatzi 2010, 694-697.
    707. The LD pieces in the Agora do not belong to the Minoan LD pottery, but to the early MH I so-called "Lustrous Decorated" pottery of Argolic origin: Agora XIII pl. 20:309-311. For the scarcity of LD finds in Atti-
[^104]:    710. Zerner 1993, 47; for earlier discussions see Forsdyke 1914; Childe 1915.
[^105]:    718. Cf. Zerner 1978, fig. 1:D563.1.
    719. Ibid. 138-140.
    720. Ibid. 139.
    721. Common at Lerna VA: Zerner 1978, fig. 1: D607.1, fig. 3:D602.1, fig. 12:BD155.2; Berbati 103, 121,
[^106]:    731. Eutresis 138, fig. 184:3; Zerner 1978, 126-127: deposit BE 427 / 1, pl. XIX.
    732. Zerner 1978, 141.
    733. Aegina: Fundgruppe XXXV: Alt-Ägina III.1, pl. 121:437, 438, 439; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig.
[^107]:    6:XXXV-4); Eutresis fig. 184:4; Orchomenos IV 128; Pevkakia 86; Agora XIII pl. 18:275.
    734. Grave Circle B pls $156 \alpha$ and 216: $\Xi-173$; Keos V 84; Pevkakia pl. 116:14.

[^108]:    735. Pevkakia 85-86, fig. 3.
    736. Grave Circle B pls 214-215; Cf. Dietz 1991, 195, 202:BB-1, BB-2.
    737. Eutresis 135, fig. 185:4-5.
    738. Ibid. fig. 183:1, 2, 3, 5; fig. 184:3; Pevkakia pls
[^109]:    742. Kiapha Thiti catalogue numbers 536 and 817, from Section 59, Stratigraphic Unit 4; Ibid. 65.
    743. For the later type see Agora XIII cat. nos 272, 273; for the earlier type see Agora XIII cat. no. 274.
    744. West Cemetery pl. 401ß.
    745. Eutresis fig. 185; Orchomenos IV 120 (also
[^110]:    770. Cf. Alt-Ägina III.1, pl. 115:395.
    771. West Cemetery pl. 405ß:Ел2-301, 302; Мл 9894, Гл 19-107 $\gamma$.
    772. Alt-Ägina III.1, pl. 115.
[^111]:    774. Zerner 1993, 43, 47; Sarri 2007, 151 and personal communication.
    775. Sarri 2007, 151.
[^112]:    789. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 8:Q3/83-2 [MH II] and fig. 12:Q6/115506 [MH III].
[^113]:    797. Aegina: Wünsche 1977b, 3-48; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 4:XXVIII-21 and 24; Agora XIII pl. 70:259; Eutresis fig. 170:1, 7; Keos: Caskey 1972, fig.
[^114]:    803. Inv. no. 20079 (not included in the Catalogue).
[^115]:    805. Eutresis 177, fig. 245:1-2; Asea 105, fig. 103:d, e; Lerna: Zerner 1988, fig. 21:7, in gold mica fabric; ead. 1990, 27, figs 15, 17; Tsoungiza: Rutter 1990, 438,
[^116]:    806. Kiapha-Thiti pl. 6: 220a; Zerner 1988, fig. 23, no. 18; Argos (Aspis and also lower town under Aphrodision): Touchais 2007, 91-92; Asine I fig. 139, 89; Asine II. 2 fig. 59:58; Nordquist 1987, 172, fig. 50.8; Grave Circle B pl. 172b); Aegina: Wohlmayr 2007, 55, fig. 21; Keos VII pl. 80: Group CE:133 and pl. 64:Group AT:27; Keos III pl. 58, no. 593. For LH I see Davis 1979, 251, fig. 11:240, 241; Rutter 1989, 18, fig. 6:17.
    807. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 65.
[^117]:    808. I would like to thank Dr. Bartek Lis for the observation.
    809. As in Lindblom 2001, fig. 4, shape 14.
    810. Ibid. shape 12.
    811. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, fig. 12Q6/18-1; however, Dr. Bartek Lis has informed me that this piece is wrongly restored on paper with two handles.
    812. E.g. Touchais 2007, fig. 4.
[^118]:    813. Ibid. 85.
    814. Philippa-Touchais 2000, 430.
    815. Agora XIII pl. 25:362; Kiapha-Thiti pl. 26: no. 811; Asine I fig. 139, 8-9; Asine II. 2 fig. 59:58; Dietz 1991, fig. 11, no. 50; Keos VII pl. 80, Group CE:133-137;
[^119]:    817. Orchomenos IV 191, 192, 196, pl. 71:3; Keos VII pl. 87c.
    818. Cf. Marabea 2010, 145-146.
    819. Betancourt 1980; van de Moortel 1997, figs 73-75.
    820. Betancourt 1980, 3.
[^120]:    827. Valmin 1938, 287-29; Asea 106.
    828. French 1972, 37.
    829. Cf. Touchais 2007, 88-89.
    830. For its distribution see Orchomenos IV 184185.
[^121]:    831. Caskey 1972, 378; for the decoration see Rambach 2000.
    832. Dietz 1991, fig. 25:232; Kiapha-Thiti pl. 26: no. 811; Lindblom 2001, fig. 4: no. 12.
[^122]:    833. Lerna IV 633-634. 5:D594/21.
    834. Zerner 1978, 188, fig. 1:D607/12, fig.
[^123]:    840. Wünsche 1977a, 12; 1977b, 90-91.
    841. In Area D, House of Pithos (Caskey 1956, 148151; Zerner 1978, 7-10) and House D (deposits D563 and D607: Zerner 1978, 10-11, pls VII-VIII); also in
[^124]:    Area BD, where two deposits (D414 and D419) contained mixed EH III and MH I material with some transitional pieces (Zerner 1978, 22-25).
    842. Zerner 1978, 191-192.

[^125]:    843. Floor 19/28 in Area 19 (Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 61).
    844. Agora XIII 58, pls 17, 70, 262-263.
    845. Ibid. pl. 27:381-383.
    846. Ibid. pl. 26:366.
    847. Broneer 1933, 356; Hansen 1937, 539.
    848. Pantelidou 1975, 160; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1985, 100.
    849. Kiapha Thiti 200.
[^126]:    850. Wide 1896; Cf. Hielte-Stavropoulou and Wedde 2002. See, however, Forsen 2010 for the possibility of an EH date for the tumulus.
    851. Orchomenos IV 89.
    852. Ibid. 206.
    853. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 61-63.
    854. Lefkandi I 9.
    855. Ibid.
    856. Zerner 1978.
[^127]:    857. Personal communication. I thank Dr. K. Sarri for the observation.
    858. Nichoria I 132; Howell 1992a, 16-28; 1992b,
[^128]:    863. Agora XIII 58-59:260-263.
    864. Ibid. 59.
    865. Ibid. 60-61.
    866. Agora XIII 61:328, 338
    867. Eutresis 32.
    868. Ibid. 135-141.
    869. Ibid. fig. 183.
    870. Ibid. 144
    871. Gauß 2007, 206; Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 63, figs 6-9.
    872. Ibid. fig. 6, XXXV-8.
    873. Ibid. fig. 6, XXXV-5.
    874. Ibid. 63 and fig. 8, Q3/83-2.
    875. Keos VII 10-11.
    876. Ibid. 11.
    877. Lefkandi I 10.
[^129]:    898. Keos V 6 and 84-85.
    899. Lefkandi I 10.
    900. Pevkakia 211-212.
    901. Ibid. 212.
    902. Kirrha 78.
    903. Asine II. 2 142-143.
[^130]:    904. Dietz 1991, 253.
    905. Ibid. 253.
    906. Rutter 1990, 428.
    907. Ibid. fig. 9, nos 39-44, 46-53.
    908. Ibid. 423, nos 1-13, 114-119, figs 7-8.
[^131]:    913. Gauß and Smetana 2007a, 65.
    914. Ibid. fig. 12 Q6/18-6, 13.
    915. Lefkandi I 10, fig. 10.
    916. Eutresis 124; Cf. Philippa-Touchais 2006, 698; Pevkakia 309.
[^132]:    921. For a full discussion of physico-chemical characterization see Lindblom 2001, 38-40.
    922. Cosmopoulos et al. 1999.
    923. See, however, recent geochemical characterization studies of Aeginetan Ware, which suggest that there may be other sources of Gold Mica fabrics besides Aegina. See Dorais and Shriner 2002 and online at http:/ / www.indiana.edu/sava/database.htm (last
[^133]:    926. Kiapha Thiti 200. Although overall Kiapha Thiti is sparcely occupied in MH I-II.
    927. Ibid. 181, 186, 189, 198, 201, 200-214.
    928. Agora XIII no. 314.
    929. Wide 1896, pl. XV:4-6.
    930. Orchomenos IV 203-204.
[^134]:    937. Lindblom 2001, 137.
    938. Ibid. 54, A14.
    939. Ibid. 54.
    940. Ibid. 76 and 50, fig. 15.
    941. Ibid. 75.
    942. Ibid. 82. Here I follow Lindblom $(2002,38)$ in taking clay pellets to have been potter's marks.
[^135]:    952. Indirect confirmation of the Boeotian origin of GM pottery at Eleusis at Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011, 143-144. See also above, p. 271.
[^136]:    976. For the date of S SU 28 (House H) see supra p. 41.
[^137]:    981. Davis 1978, 220:25.
    982. West Cemetery pls 49:358 and 113:638; Davis 1978, 218.
[^138]:    986. Dietz 1991, fig. 48.AB 1(2), p. 162; West Cemetery grave Zл6:352.
    987. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 1.6; Zerner 1988, fig. 8.22; Dietz 1991, 97, fig. 28.289; Pevkakia pl. 126.12.
    988. Grave Circle B pls 77c-d, 78a-b and 105b,
[^139]:    990. Zygouries fig. 126.7; Grave Circle B pl. 45b; Dietz 1991, fig. 71:KB-3.
    991. Alt-Ägina IV.2, 205-209; Dietz 1991, fig. 71:KB; Orchomenos IV 152-153.
[^140]:    994. Athens Wells fig. 11:103, 105.
    995. Dietz 1991, fig. 58:AI-6; Eutresis fig. 240:3-5.
    996. For the human figure from Tzoungiza see Rutter 2001, 142, fig. 17.
    997. Grave Circle B pl. 45b; Dietz 1991, fig. 71:KB-3.
[^141]:    1001. French 1972, 33-36; Wohlmayr 2007, fig. 19; Lindblom 2007, figs 13-14.
    1002. French 1972, 33-36; Davis 1979, 241; Marthari 1980, 182; Mathioudaki 2009; 2010.
    1003. Wace and Blegen 1916-1918.
    1004. Dietz 1991, 217-223.
[^142]:    1012. Alt-Ägina IV.1, 14; Wohlmayr 2007, fig. 19; Lindblom 2007, figs 13-14.
    1013. Davis 1979, 242:33; Zerner 1988, fig. 8.22; Rutter and Rutter 1976, fig. 26.724.
    1014. Kalogeropoulos 2010, 220, fig. 4b (Brauron); Orchomenos IV 131; Eutresis 172.
    1015. Cf. Eutresis fig. 240.
[^143]:    1046. MP 598:87.18.
    1047. RMDP 500, no. 8.
    1048. Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2326, West Cemetery pl. 126:660.
    1049. Eleusis Museum inv. no. 2327, ibid. pl. 126:661.
    1050. West Cemetery pl. 126:660.
    1051. RMDP 82, nos 7-10.
    1052. Ibid. 314 and no. 2.
    1053. Ibid. 373, no. 6.
[^144]:    1056. Prosymna fig. 190; RMDP 83, no. 17.
    1057. RMDP 253, no. 4; Lolos 1987, fig. 284a; Pylos III fig. 234:7 (= RMDP 315, no. 5).
[^145]:    1068. RMDP 372:1.
    1069. FM 63:2; Pantelidou 1975, pl. 93; RMDP 501:4.
    1070. For a LM IB leaf-like design that may have
[^146]:    1080. Supra p. 283.
    1081. Included in the MH Grey Minyan material discussed above there may also be pots of the LH I
[^147]:    period, but these are impossible to date precisely. 1082. Cosmopoulos et al. 1999.
    1083. Kilikoglou et al. 2002, 133.

[^148]:    1086. Grave Circle B 95, pl. 80a; Dietz 1991, fig. 61:BD-1; West Cemetery $\Lambda \pi 3-823$.
    1087. Ibid. graves $Z \pi 6-355$ and $\Theta \pi 6-636 ;$ Grave Circle B 95, pl. 80a; Davis 1979, 225.
[^149]:    1090. For the deeper, "goblet" cups see Davis 1979, fig. 9:184, 189; Dietz 1991, AA-6; Asine II.2, fig.
[^150]:    1091. Grave Circle B pl. 215, $\Lambda$ 132; Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 55, fig. 5.
    1092. Kiapha-Thiti 127, pl. 13 no. 477.
[^151]:    1098. RMDP 21.
    1099. Used by Dickinson 1972 to define the LH IIA style.
    1100. Rutter 1993b.
    1101. Ayios Stephanos 21; Mountjoy 2008a, 299.
    1102. Dickinson 1992, 480-481.
    1103. RMDP 863-864.
    1104. Kiapha Thiti 207-211.
    1105. RMDP 492.
[^152]:    1106. Mountjoy 1995a, 16-19.
    1107. Mountjoy 1984, 213.
    1108. MP 484-486.
    1109. Dickinson 1972, 108-109.
    1110. RMDP 21-22.
    1111. Warren 1999, 894-895; Cf. also Zerner 2008, 187.
    1112. Cf. Rutter 1993a, 787.
    1113. Dickinson 1972.
[^153]:    1117. Cf. MDP fig. 13:2.
    1118. Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 141, fig. 15 top.
    1119. RMDP 87, nos 24-26.
    1120. Cf. MDP 23.
[^154]:    1130. Ibid. fig. 188:376.
    1131. RMDP 318, fig. 106:12.
    1132. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 21:214.
[^155]:    1136. Prosymna fig. 210; RMDP 82:10.
    1137. Cf. MDP fig. 21:1. Not a very popular motif on Attic squat jugs ( $R M D P 23$ ).
    1138. Cf. MDP fig. 22:1.
    1139. Ibid. fig. 22:2.
[^156]:    1152. Prosymna fig. 415; RMDP 92:49; MDP fig. 26:1-2.
    1153. Cf. Prosymna fig. 415.57 [T. XIV]; RMDP 92, no. 49 .
    1154. Cf. Mountjoy and Ponting 2000, 80.
    1155. Cf. Mountjoy 1984, fig. 4: Kastri 2.
    1156. Cf. ibid. fig. 5: Kastri 5; Mountjoy and Ponting 2000, 80.
    1157. Cf. Mountjoy and Ponting 2000, no. 115.
[^157]:    1158. For the height of complete cups from other sites see RMDP 507, nos 31, 33-36.
    1159. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 5:65.
    1160. Prosymna fig. 105:407 [T. XVII]; Shelton 1996, 40 (no. 407), 277. For FM 67 on alabastra from
[^158]:    Tsoungiza (more common) see Rutter 1993b, 61-62, fig. 5:4-5, 7 and pl. 13:4-5, 7.
    1161. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 6:91, 94; Aghios Kosmas fig. 135:72.
    1162. MDP 32.

[^159]:    1163. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 5:82-83; RMDP 94, no. 57.
    1164. Cf. MDP fig. 32.1.
    1165. Cf. ibid. fig. 35:1.
    1166. RMDP 94.
    1167. Cf. Prosymna fig. $166=R M D P$ 94, no. 58; Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 4:60.
    1168. Cf. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 2:17.
[^160]:    1184. Ibid. fig. 16:3.
    1185. Cf. Athens Wells fig. 13:145.
    1186. Prosymna fig. 210; RMDP 82:10.
[^161]:    1197. Infra p. 369.
    1198. Mountjoy and Ponting 2000.
    1199. Lindblom 2001, 38; see also the recent dis-
[^162]:    1219. Cf. MDP fig. 44:1, fig. 64:2; Grotta 72.
    1220. RMDP 209, no. 46.
[^163]:    1223. Supra pp. 355-356.
    1224. Cf. RMDP fig. 358:55.
    1225. Ibid. fig. 18:90.
[^164]:    1226. Cf. MDP fig. 50:1-3.
    1227. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 9:138.
    1228. Ibid. pl. 9:140.
[^165]:    1229. Cf. MDP fig. 54:1, 13, 15, 20.
    1230. Cf. ibid. fig. 54:3-8, 14, 17.
    1231. Cf. ibid. fig. 54:2.
    1232. Cf. ibid. fig. 54:16, 19.
[^166]:    1233. Cf. ibid. fig. 53:2, 4.
    1234. Cf. ibid. 53:4, 8.
    1235. Cf. ibid. fig. 53:11-12.
[^167]:    1236. Cf. Keos X pl. 42m.
    1237. West Cemetery pl. 177:852 (=RMDP 509, Attica no. 40); Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 6:84-85.
[^168]:    1238. Cf. MDP fig. 56:1.
    1239. Orchomenos V fig. 22:13; MDP fig. 41.1; RMDP 652:20.
[^169]:    1240. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 9:140.
[^170]:    1241. Athens Wells fig. 25:338 = RMDP 514, no. 70.
    1242. RMDP fig. 65:46; cf. Grotta 74 for parallels from Naxos.
    1243. Alt-Ägina IV.1, pl. 9:138.
[^171]:    1247. West Cemetery pls 67:509 and 176:849.
    1248. Cf. Keos X pl. 42m.
    1249. MDP 39-40.
    1250. Agora XIII pl. 39:12.
    1251. RMDP 654:24, from Thebes.
    1252. Supra p. 52.
[^172]:    1256. Athens Wells Table III.
    1257. Mountjoy (Athens Wells 69-74) reports a quite lower percentage ( $6.3 \%$ ) of Mycenaean pottery from Well Z , which is the only one completely analyzed. In the same context, more Late Matt-Painted is
[^173]:    reported (18.1\%), but the precise amount of Acropolis Burnished Ware is somewhat hidden within the vast amount ( $75.6 \%$ ) of plain pottery. Overall, the majority of the plain wares were burnished ( 2553 out of 3463 sherds).

[^174]:    1258. French 1964.
    1259. Frizell 1980 (Asine); Podzuweit and Salzmann 1977 (Tiryns); Menelaion 348-359; Pylos I 257; RMDP 26, 308 (deposit below Hall 65 and 'Southwestern Quarter' Trench LT 1); Pylos III 51-57, fig. 155; RMDP 330-333, figs 111:46-50, 52 and 112:54-58 ('South Corner' W21); Nichoria II 488-495; Jannoray
[^175]:    1264. West Cemetery pls 56.470 (grave H 1 ), 176.851, 180.872 (grave M $\pi 2$ ).
    1265. RMDP 493.
[^176]:    1268. Ibid. pl. 56.466 (grave H 1 1).
    1269. Ibid. pl. 57.468 (grave Hл1), 126.656 (grave $\Theta \pi 13$ ). Interestingly, a FS 84 from grave $\Theta \pi 13$ has net reaching below the handles (ibid. pl. 126.655).
[^177]:    1277. For such "shallow bowls with horizontal handles" or "strap-handled bowls" in LH IIIA1 Nichoria (mostly plain, however) see Dickinson 1992, 493, fig. 9-32.
    1278. Cf. the 'fringed' bivalves on a LH IIIA2 FS 171 stirrup jar from Pellana in RMDP 268-269,
[^178]:    1286. Cf. RMDP 510:46.
    1287. Mountjoy 1993, 65.
    1288. Supra pp. 375.
    1289. Absent from the Second phase of Period VIII (cf. Morris and Jones 1998).
[^179]:    1303. MP III no. 54:26.
[^180]:    1304. Cf. MP 362.
    1305. West Cemetery pl. 154.829-831 from grave へл4.
    1306. Ibid. pl. 62.501.
[^181]:    1323. Thomas 2011, fig. 5:8 (kylix); cf. Grotta 82-83. 1324. RMDP 532-535.
    1324. Cf. ibid. 535:167-170, fig. 193.
    1325. West Cemetery pl. 12:96.
    1326. Vourvatsi, Trachones, Athens, Alike, Ligori,
[^182]:    1331. West Cemetery pl. 12.96, grave Г $\pi 1$. For this type of cup see RMDP 535.
[^183]:    1333. No FS, Cf. MDP 66
    1334. The thick external and irregular internal coils of $\mathbf{1 0 2 6}$ (Thomas 2011, fig. 7:32) resemble a LH II-
[^184]:    1339. Cf. ibid. fig. 112:1.
    1340. Cf. RMDP fig. 196:202.
    1341. Cf. ibid. fig. 112:7.
[^185]:    1342. West Cemetery pl. 176.848, grave $\Lambda \pi 16$.
[^186]:    1343. Thomas 2005, fig. 13:6.
    1344. RMDP 218-219, fig. 69:120.
    1345. Another possibility is that these strokes were intended as a filling design, somewhat parallel to the outline of the FM 19 (cf. the FS 171 from Myce-
[^187]:    1352. Mylonas 1936a, fig. 10 (lower left corner).
    1353. RMDP 31.
    1354. West Cemetery pl. 19.106 from grave Гл17.
    1355. Ibid. pl. 154.380 from $\Lambda \pi 4$.
    1356. Ibid. pls 11.24-30-31, 60.488, 61.490-491-496.
    1357. Monochrome (ibid. pl. 19.107, 183.873) or patterned with multiple stem (ibid. pl. 183.974).
    1358. Decorated with chevrons and concentric arcs (ibid. pl. 107.627)
    1359. Decorated with with multiple stem (Ibid. pl. 60.489).
[^188]:    1389. I thank Dr. Elizabeth French for the close dating of these pieces.
[^189]:    1392. Wardle 1973, pl. 58c. 128.
[^190]:    1393. Cf. MDP fig. 154:7.
    1394. West Cemetery pls 86.534, 171.841.
    1395. Ibid. pl. 77.519.
    1396. Ibid. pl. 86.534.
[^191]:    1401. Cf. Thomas 2005, 468-470.
    1402. Cf. Wardle 1969, 277, fig. 7.61-62; also MDP fig. 123 (LH IIIB1), fig. 153:2 (LH IIIB2 bowl from Tiryns).
    1403. West Cemetery pl. 107.628 from $\Theta \pi 5$ (jug); ibid. pl. $131.668 \Theta \pi 15$ (cup).
[^192]:    1408. Distinction between FS 258A and FS 258B as per French 1966, 222.
    1409. MDP fig. 141:12 from Kopreza.
[^193]:    1413. Marabea 2010, fig. 51: 6.134.
    1414. Agora XIII pl. 43:4.
    1415. Cf. MDP fig. 145:2;
[^194]:    1426. French 1969, pl. 19b:8.
    1427. West Cemetery pl. 131.665.
    1428. Ibid. pl. 171.842 from grave $\Lambda \pi 13$.
    1429. Ibid. pl. 176.847.
    1430. Ibid. pl. 131.666, which, however, although
[^195]:    1432. Tiryns XIV; Stockhammer 2008.
    1433. French and Stockhammer 2009.
    1434. Rooms XXIV, 32, and 38.
    1435. Kilian's architectural phases are preserved by French and Stockhammer 2009 and equated with ceramic phases. The ceramic phase LH IIIB2 Early corresponds to Kilian's "SH IIIB Mitte" (Kilian 1988a, 132; id. 1988b, 120; Mühlenbruch 2005; French and Stockhammer 2009, 197).
    1436. Summarized in French and Stockhammer 2009, Table 1, where a list of "problematic" features is
[^196]:    also included.
    1437. Described by Elizabeth French in French and Stockhammer 2009, 185-195; for the Northwest Quarter see Iakovidis 2006, 176-177.
    1438. Tiryns XIV 7; French and Stockhammer 2009, 183.
    1439. Supra fn. 1436.
    1440. At Midea Lower Terraces, Trench Va stratum 10 LH IIIB1 and IIIB2 features seem to appear together (Giering 2007, 125-127); cf., however, French and Stockhammer 2009, 221.

[^197]:    1441. For example the Rosette bowl or the Type B deep bowls (Vitale 2006, 202 with references).
    1442. For Mountjoy's Transitional phase see Mountjoy 1995b; 1997; 1999; RMDP 36-38. This transitional phase corresponds to Rutter's (1977) LH IIIC Early 1. Cf. Demakopoulou 2003, 91; French and Stockhammer 2009, 215; Vitale 2006.
[^198]:    1443. Rutter 1977 and 2003; Vitale 2006.
    1444. Supra p. 406.
    1445. Cf. MDP fig. 134:1, 135:2, 156:1-2.
    1446. Cf. the krater from the Agora (Agora XIII pl. 40: 25), decorated with a similar wide band to which, however, are attached concentric arcs instead of spirals.
[^199]:    1447. Possibility suggested by Dr. Philipp Stockhammer (personal communication).
    1448. It is closely paralelled to three miniature bowls from the Epichosis at Tiryns: U. Damm, Die spätbronzezeitlichen Miniaturgefäße und hohlgeformten
[^200]:    Stiere von Tiryns. Eine Analyse der Form und Funktion (Ph. Diss., University of Bonn 1997) pls 17-18 (I thank Philipp Stockhammer for the identification and reference).

[^201]:    1454. Mountjoy 1993, 90-97; RMDP 36-47; Vitale 2006; Rutter 2010, 420-421.
    1455. French 2007b; Cf. Iakovidis 2003a.
    1456. Stockhammer 2006.
    1457. Rutter 1974, 134-350.
    1458. Mountjoy 2008a, 377-386.
    1459. Broneer 1939.
    1460. Eutresis 68, 189-190, figs 77, 263; Orchomenos V 93-96; Vitale 2006, 192.
    1461. Popham, Schofield and Sherratt 2006, 137150.
    1462. Jannoray and van Effenterre 1938, 135-147. 1463. Iakovidis 2003b.
    1463. French 2007b, 528. These correspond to Phases IX (LH IIIC Early 1) and X (LH IIC Early 2).
[^202]:    1475. Full list in RMDP 47-48.
    1476. Ibid. 49
    1477. Perati 88-89
    1478. Recently overviewed by French (2009).
    1479. Stockhammer 2008; id. 2009; French and Stockhammer 2009.
    1480. Asine I figs 206-208.
    1481. Coulson 1986, 12-16; RMDP 303 and Messenia nos 131, 133, 136, 138, 139.
[^203]:    1493. Rutter 2003, 197.
    1494. Perati pl. 79:452.
    1495. RMDP fig. 56:429.
    1496. Ibid. 186; Stockhammer 2009, 349.
[^204]:    1497. RMDP figs 94: 160, 95: 172.
    1498. Ibid. 186.
    1499. Perati pl. 16:97 (=RMDP 623:594).
    1500. Cf. MDP fig. 227:6.
[^205]:    1501. Tiryns XIV pls 12-14; French and Stockhammer 2009, 214.
    1502. Yannos Lolos and Christina Marabea, personal communication.
    1503. Stockhammer 2006, fig. 4:3. The motif is typically found on Cypriot White Slip ware, but the fabric
[^206]:    is not. It is possible that this piece may have been a Cypriot import (Philipp Stockhammer, personal communication).
    1504. Cf. MDP fig. 222.
    1505. Cf. RMDP fig. 222:464.
    1506. Ibid. fig. 346:126-127.

[^207]:    1507. Perati pl. 76ү:159 = RMDP fig. 216:405.
    1508. Perati fig. 78:459 and pl. 112 $\alpha: 459$.
[^208]:    1529. Kerameikos I pl. 17:432.
    1530. Cf. ibid. pl. 21; RMDP fig. 240:620.
    1531. F. Ruppenstein, personal communication. Cf. the pieces from Elateia in Deger-Jalkotzy 2009, 113 fig. 12; 115 fig. 14; also the handmade amphoriskos from Kerameikos (Kerameikos XVIII fig. 5, pl. 21: gr.
[^209]:    1536. MP III pl. 77, 138:1; see, however, supra n. 1531 for west Greek parallels.
    1537. Cf. the stirrup jar from Kerameikos, grave PG 22 (Kerameikos IV pl. 4: 922).
[^210]:    1542. Zygouries fig. 144:88.
    1543. Dickinson 1992, fig. 9-70 [P3868]; Mountjoy 2008a, 372-373:3668.
    1544. Cf. Agora XIII pl. 60:430 (= Mountjoy 1993, no. 214).
[^211]:    1549. West Cemetery B 249-250; cf. French 1971, 185.
    1550. French 1971, 154, 185.
    1551. Cf. the ears ibid. 161, fig. 13.
    1552. West Cemetery B 250.
[^212]:    1557. West Cemetery B 225-226, Г pls $92 \gamma-\varepsilon, 100 \alpha$.
    1558. Schliemann 1880, 189-193; Dickinson 1977, 77. $C f$. also the still unpublished headdress or "crown" from Routsi tholos 1, described in Ergon
[^213]:    1562. Eleusis 144-145, fig. 119 top; also Mylonas 1932, 115, fig. 14.
    1563. Illustrated in Eleusis fig. $120 \beta$ and $120 \delta$.
    1564. Ibid. fig. $120 \gamma$.
    1565. Ibid. 146, fig. 120 $\alpha$.
    1566. Ibid. fig. 119 (which shows fifty-three instead of the reported fifty one tusks); also Mylonas 1932, fig. 14; Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 40, no. 8.
[^214]:    1572. E.g. the "Basket Bearer" from Xeste 3 (Doumas 1992, pl. 132).
    1573. Keramopoullos 1909, pl. 1.
    1574. Wace et al. 1921-23, pl. XXXVIIIp; Immerwahr 1990, 191.
    1575. Pylos II 83-85, 246, pls 33, 116, 127, 128.
    1576. Cf. the plaster tables from Pylos (Pylos II
[^215]:    1577. Recent radiocarbon dates from the Argolid suggest that the MH I period there started about 2100/2000 BC and the MH II around 1900 BC (Voutsa-
[^216]:    ki et al. 2010).
    1578. Supra pp. 164-165.
    1579. Philippa-Touchais 2011, 37.

[^217]:    1580.Papadimitriou 2010, 250 with further references.
    1581. Ibid.
    1582. Cf. Dickinson 2010, 17, who points out that

[^218]:    1584. As possible Minoan imports have been suggested two seals and two bull rhyta: however, one of these seals was probably LH IIB (West Cemetery B 256) and the bull rhyta do not find any parallels in Crete.
    1585. See Papadimitriou 2010, 249 with references to possibly MM finds in Athens, Brauron (cf. Kalogeropoulos 2010, 217), Plasi, and Palaiokastro. Certain Minoan imports appear only in the MH III/LH I tombs of Thorikos.
    1586. Voutsaki 2010b, 776-777; Philippa-Touchais
[^219]:    1591. Ayios Stephanos 569 (already in MH I) and 572.
    1592. Supra pp. 343-344.
    1593. Cf. Rutter 2001, 134, fig. 15.
    1594. Dickinson 2010, 26.
[^220]:    1631. Fig. 170 and Data Table 2.
    1632. Papadimitriou 2001, 182.
    1633. Wright 2008, 249.
    1634. Supra pp. 175-178; more analytically discussed in Cosmopoulos 2014.
    1635. Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.
[^221]:    1639. Rutkowski 1986; Whittaker 1997, 136. For the religious elements of the LH IIIB palaces see Petrakis 2009.
    1640. Hägg $(1981,36)$ considers Megaron B as an expression of "official" cult, because of its formal ar-
[^222]:    1652. For a more extensive discussion of this piece and the interpretative problems associated with it see Petrakis' comments in Appendix 1.
    1653. Supra n. 1531.
[^223]:    1654. Supra p. 432.
    1655. In the words of Judith Binder (1998, 132): "Not a scrap of evidence for continuity at the telesterion site for the period between the end of the LH IIIB
