THE INFLUENCE OF MIDDLE MINOAN POTTERY ON THE CYCLADES

by

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Volume I

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ABSTRACT

The Cyclades have been chosen as the central area of Minoan expansion in the Aegean. The MC period in particular is the formative period, when most of the elements of the EBA way of life change and yet the final developments of the LBA have not been completed.

By studying the developments in local pottery alongside the MM imports and imitations, a more balanced view of the changes taking place is obtained, since pottery, as one of the materials most frequently in use, is bound to reflect changes in the community's character.

On the other hand, by illustrating the MM presence in the East Aegean, as well as on islands not belonging to the Cyclades, as Aegina and Kythera, the various ways of the infiltration of the Minoan world in the Aegean could be compared.

One main result of this study has been to elucidate the many roads of contact between the Cycladic islands themselves and each one with Crete. This showed the vitality present during the MBA, something not always evident during LC I period. Another result was the realization of the beneficiary results of Cyclado-Cretan interaction on both ends of the trade, particularly, since the Cycladic islanders played the role of intermediaries on behalf of Crete on the Greek Mainland.

Finally, through the different ways of acquiring minoan innovation and transforming them to something new, the indigenous population of the Cyclades seems to have proved that the control of their home affairs all through the MBA was on their own hands.
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<td>Archäologischer Anzeiger</td>
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<td>Ἀρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών</td>
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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The exploration of BA Cyclades started at the end of the last century by Tsountas. With his recovery of several hundreds of graves on Syros, Paros, Antiparos, Despotikon, Siphnos and Amorgos, as well as the fortified EB settlement at Kastri, it became apparent that a quite flourishing civilization existed on these islands early in the BA period.

Several excavations have taken place since, providing material for what today is known as the Cycladic culture.

The first successful attempt to put the evidence in coherent order and create the missing framework for the sequence of Cycladic civilization was the publication of Phylakopi excavations on Melos.

It was this material along with the evidence from Crete published by A. Evans between 1921 and 1935 that was used by Furumark to reconstruct the history of the Aegean from ca 1550 to 1400 in his important article of 1950. He was then able to compare Cycladic evidence with material from the Italian excavations at Trianda and conclude that the Cyclades had been simply politically subjugated by the Minoans, while Trianda had been a Minoan colony.

K. Scholes survey added material from both the Middle and Late Bronze Age on many islands and was able to emphasize the sequence between the two periods.
However, until the 1960's, Phylakopi remained the only site in the Cyclades with an understandable sequence from the Early to the Late BA. Only when excavations started at A. Irini on Keos (1960) and Akrotiri on Thera (1967) could the Melian evidence be placed in its context. On the other hand, with more EC cemeteries being explored, a comprehensive study of Early Cycladic culture could be undertaken. One such study was published in 1972 by C. Renfrew (Emergence). 'Emergence' offered not simply a condensed, clear and articulate review of the EB and partly the MB periods, but it also traced some of the fundamental problems underlying the reconstruction of BA life in the Cyclades. However, this book, dealing mainly with the 3rd millenium, considers Cyclado-Cretan relations only briefly and then generally for the purposes of relative chronology. It was ten years after this first review and more than thirty years after Furumark's influential article, that a congress was held by the Swedish Institute at Athens, on the subject of 'Minoan Thalassocrasy'. There the evidence concerning Creto-Cycladic contacts was reconsidered from different points of view and emphasis was given to the Cyclades as well as Crete.

Up until that time, the characteristic feature of most of the articles referring to or dealing with the Minoan expansion in the Aegean, was that they examined the problem from the point of view of Minoan pottery rather than that of Cycladic material culture. Furumark's article dealing with the LC I pottery from Melos and Scholes' article examining the MC and LC pottery had been two main exceptions to
this rule. They have been followed in recent years also by people excavating on the islands, like Schofield (1982) and Doumas (1982). It has become apparent that the analysis of Cycladic material was a necessary step before the minoan influence on it could be evaluated.

In this respect R. Barber's work both in his Thesis and in his reexamination of the 1911 Phylakopi results, and also his articles concerning the MC and the LC periods provided a secure Cycladic typology on which the effects of minoan expansion could be investigated.

On the other hand, Walberg's publication of MM palatial and provincial pottery provided a corpus of minoan shapes and motives to which minoan exports to the Cyclades could be compared. For dating, Evans' dating system together with the revisions made by the restudy of the material by Dr. MacGillivray (personal communication) could be used.

Finally, in addition to the evidence from Keos and the pottery from the 1899 and 1911 excavations at Phylakopi, access offered to the author to the unpublished MM material from the old excavations at Phylakopi kept in the Athens National Museum as well as to the MC material from Akrotiri, helped to formulate a more thorough picture concerning the MC period pottery and to distinguish the impact of the importation of MM styles in more detail.

This study will try to explore the transformations taking place in the history of BA Cyclades during the MC period through pottery changes. In particular, it will try
to analyze the relations of the islands with Crete during this period and throw some light on how 'Thalassocracy', 'Pax Minoica', 'Minoan colonization' or any other term likely to be used for the role played in the Aegean by Crete during this period, affected the Cyclades.

Some assumptions will be taken for granted and used without further investigation in this project:

That the established typology for Crete and the Cyclades correlates to these different groups of whom the ethnic identity will not be defined more closely.

That pottery products can be considered as finished artifacts independent from any other factors of the 'ceramic environment' (procurement of raw material, mode of production, etc.).

That variability in the distribution of the different wares may represent the patterning of the interactions of past societies on the economic level, the political, social or religious relations being left aside.

And finally, that the intensity of these interactions is a major determinant for the degree of stylistic variability on each site.

These assumptions being made, the reader must be warned of the limitations of such a research posed by different factors.

Some difficulties arise from the circumstantial evidence of the MBA material and hence the scarcity of statistical information.
Other limitations are due to the differences in archaeological technique as well as the viewpoints concerning pottery as an archaeological tool during the past eighty years of excavations on the islands. Yet another constraint is the fragmentary state of the MM pottery found in MC settlements and hence the limitations of information gathered by them.

Finally, due to the preliminary state of the publication of some of the evidence, some of our conclusions have necessarily a provisional character.

Notwithstanding the above, the aim of this research will be to establish the character of local MC pottery on each of the major sites: A. Irini on Keos, Phylakopi on Melos, Akrotiri on Thera and Paroikia on Paros. Aegina will also be examined as a nearby island with many Cycladic connections.

Besides the local tradition, the quality and quantity of MM imports will be evaluated and their imitations will be criticized. In this way, it is hoped that the importance of Minoan trade will be traced by the effect it had on local Cycladic ceramic production.

All these transformations were gone by the LC I period, when the process of the so-called 'minoanization' was completed.

On the other hand, the role played by the Cyclades in the Aegean during the MC period will be investigated by both the analysis of the islands' contact between themselves and
with Aegina, as well as by the survey of the distribution of the MC pottery in the Dodekanese and on the Greek mainland.

This examination, along with that of the distribution of minoan wares in the Cyclades and in the East and West Aegean, will help to evaluate the importance of Cyclado-Cretan trade and to differentiate between the various types of minoan expansion in the Aegean.

This thesis will be organized in five parts:
Part I will deal with MM deposits in Crete and on Kythera, which is chosen as a typical provincial minoan outpost.
Part II will incorporate the Cycladic evidence from Thera, Melos, Keos, Paros, describing both the local and the imported MM pottery characteristics.
Part III will deal with the local Aeginetan wares and with the MM exports to the East Aegean.
Part IV will give a review of other aspects of MC culture and will examine the transition from MC to LC, while in Part V the final conclusions will be drawn.
Two Appendices will concentrate the evidence of MM and MC pottery distribution in the Aegean, which will be further illustrated by two maps.
FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Arch. Eph., 1898–9.
2 Doumas 1976b, 190.
3 Atkinson et al., 1904.
5 Ibid. 200.
6 BSA 1956, 9–41.
7 Doumas 1976b, 194–5.
8 Emergence 198, 456.
12 R. Barber 1974.
13 R. Barber 1978.
14 R. Barber 1981.
16 G. Walberg 1983.
PART I
CHAPTER 1

MIDDLE MINOAN KNOSSIAN DEPOSITS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE REST OF CRETE

Without wanting to examine the problem of MM contexts in Crete in detail, since this would require a separate research altogether, I would like to give a general description of some typical MM deposits from Knossos for the purpose of comparison to the imported MM material found in the Cyclades. This way, it would be more understandable why, for example, some sherds are dated to MM Ib/IIa period and not in either of these two phases separately. On the other hand, some of the criteria I use for dating the material will be more lucid than a mere reference to some published material from the palaces.

For Phaestos I will use the chart of synchronisms between Knossos and Phaestos, acceptable to Mr. S. Hood and Mr. J. MacGillivray who have restudied the MBA material from Knossos and revised much of Evans' dating (personal communication with J. MacGillivray). I will not discuss the stratigraphy of the Phaestian Palace, since this is still a controversial topic.¹

For Eastern Crete I will rely mostly on Pendlebury's motives along with the revisions of more recent archaeologists² for the synchronisms with Central Crete. Much material has been added since Pendlebury from this part of Crete, as a quick look through Walberg's MM Provincial Pottery³ shows,
but most of it is still unpublished.

It is generally very difficult to distinguish Phaestian from Knossian material although the fabric from the latter palace tends to be paler buff/pink than red/buff, as in Phaestos. Specialists sometimes find cups at both palaces made by the same hand. However, some of the motives and organization of the decoration on particular shapes becomes popular in each palace differently and indicates the existence of workshops specializing in some type. This way, for some sherds at least, we can be sure that they came from Knossos and not from Phaestos or vice versa. Analysis has not progressed much for the distinction between other provincial or palatial centres of E. or W. Crete. The clay, the motives and character of the slip are the only indices for a provenance other than the two main palatial centres for the moment.

Starting from the MM Ia period, the main characteristic is the initiation of the use of polychromy. At Knossos, at least, much of the EM III shapes continue into the MM Ia period and the only real difference between the pots of these two periods is the existence of a colour other than white, as was previously the case (EM III period). Pots are still handmade and characteristic shapes are the goblets, the footless goblets, the askoi, the fruitstands, the pitchers, the sheep bells, the hole-mouthed pots, the pyxides, the trays, the jugs with cut-away spout, and the tall two handled collar necked jars. The decoration is simple with the butterfly motif frequent, horizontal white and black bands, oblique and vertical parallel lines and the start of barbotine.
The richest material from this period comes from the Houses beneath the Kouloures of the West Court at the Palace of Knossos. Other material again from Knossos comes from the earliest strata of the Basement of the Monolithic Pillar. For the south we do not have contemporary material from the palace, but from the Messara Plain and Kamares Cave. It is difficult to fix the correlations between the East and North-Central Crete. There is evidence of MM Ia pottery from central Crete being found in EM III contexts and the opposite. So EM III style in East Crete must have continued, while MM Ia vases were produced in Knossos. Pendlebury, noticing this synchronism in the Archaeology of Crete in 1939, still remains right.

A pure MM Ib deposit has not been identified inside the palace according to Mr. J. MacGillivray's research. Yet it has been distinguished stratigraphically in the Royal Road. Wheel starts to be used and polychromy is well advanced. New shapes may be considered to be the carinated cup with differently pronounced carination and upper body height and the tumbler, wheel-made and always covered with red or brown slip. The three handled jugs, the cup with crinkled rim, the Kalathoi, the tankard-pitchers, the tankards are all previous shapes. The decoration may be considered a continuation of MM Ia period with more imagination in synthesis and more of the surface of the vessel covered. Most of the Kamares Cave material is of this period. These and the Messara area vases mostly have barbotine decoration. In E. Crete, on the other hand, alternating use in white and red of the same motif as the
ivy leaf, the fish, the floral springs, are characteristic. This is a developed MM I (or sub-MM Ia) style in E. Crete and is synchronous to Knossian MM Ib.

In MM IIa an important advance in ceramics was the extensive use of the wheel, which technically enabled better quality results. The walls of the pots sometimes are so thin that the name 'egg-shell' has been given to them by Evans, although true 'egg-shell' is only a very limited number of pots. Polychromy is well established with one major difference from the MM I period. Orange is less frequently used and red is used instead. Now the carinated, semiglobular and straight-walled cups become the most common drinking pots in the palace, but not to the exclusion of goblets, tumblers or footless goblets. The decoration is more tightly combined with the shape of the vase and the product is a better balanced artifact. Characteristic are saucers with wheel marks on the inner side and small juglets with globular body and round mouth. This plain ware may include some of the new shapes of the period. The plume motif, a particularly E. Cretan motif, the hatched loop, the wavy orange bands with additional motives in the interspace, the rosette in circle, the fluting in imitation of metal prototypes and elaborate spirals, are some of the motives used during this period. The most representative deposit from Knossos comes from the Royal Pottery Stores. Other vases of this period come from the early deposits of the House of the Sacrificed Oxen, the S.E. Palace Angle in Evans' and Pendlebury's terminology. In Phaestos, since no destruction happened at the end of the MM IIa period
(phase Ia of the palace) according to D. Levi, no distinction between MM IIa and MM IIb material is possible. Fiandra however believes that 'Periodo 2°' ended up in an earthquake, which necessitated the reconstruction and addition of many rooms in the Old Palace of Phaestos. According to Levi a part of phase Ia of Phaestos palace is contemporary with MM IIa, while phase Ib is synchronous to MM IIb at Knossos. According to Fiandra, Levi's phase Ia is contemporary with MM Ib, phase Ib with MM IIa, while phase II with the MM IIb. The motives mentioned above for Knossos are present in the Phaestian pottery also (wavy lines on semiglobular cups, plumes and spirals on jugs, hatched loops, etc.). Peculiarities like the octopus, the fluting with tangential loops in the interspaces, the ivy leaf band, the frequent use of the whirling motif, may indicate some of the preferences of that palace.

In E. Crete much of the MM I style pottery continues throughout the MM II period in central Crete and this synchronism is evident from the coexistence of local MM I with imported Knossian MM IIa material. Some examples of E. Cretan sub-MM Ia or MM Ib period is evidenced in Vassiliki, House A, in Zakro 'Old Palace period repositories', in Palaikastro, in the early town period at Gournia and elsewhere. It must be remembered, however, that there is no strict dividing line between MM Ia and MM Ib in E. Crete. There are only some motives (horizontal chevrons, pendant concentric semicircles, hatched triangles) that stop being used in MM Ib, which is taken to be contemporary with MM II in central Crete.
According to the recent research on Knossian material no MM IIb destruction level is found in the Knossian palace, since the Loom Weight Basement previously dated by Evans in MM IIb is now considered to be MM IIIa. MM IIb has, however, been found in the Royal Road. For this reason much of the Knossian material must be dated to the MM IIb/IIIa period.

The MM IIIa material shows a distinct fall off from the MM IIa standard. The lustrous black slip is very seldom met and red is sparingly used. The decoration is more zonal than field now and the cups (semiglobular, straight-walled, conical) are hastily slipped over the ridges left on the inside walls. Pendlebury's motives for the MM IIb are representative of MM IIIa period now (running spiral, horizontal foliate band, filled continuous semicircles, reed pattern, palm motif, zone of chevrons) plus the tortoise shell ripple, which is the innovation of the period. The bevelled straight-sided cup, the oval mouthed amphora, the ewer with plastic ring on the neck, bowls with flaring rim, cylindrical tripod pots, open conical jars with small arched handles, are some of the shapes that now become popular. Some kitchen ware comes from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen, as basins, wide-mouthed pithoi, tall collar necked jars with horizontal small handles, oval-mouthed amphorae, lamps and other specialized shapes. Representative material of this period from Knossos comes from the 'Kouloures', the Loomweight Basement, the House of the Sacrificed Oxen.

In Phaestos, phase II seems to be contemporary with
MM IIIa at Knossos but with less material to exhibit. In E. Crete there is no separation between MM IIIa and b.

The last phase of the MM period (MM IIIb) shows some negligence in the pottery artifacts. The vases seem to be produced in masses without particular interest in their quality and inventiveness in their decoration. We have a good selection of household ware from Knossos Royal Magazines, which comprise jugs with high neck and ring at the base of the neck with knobs on the body; tripod cooking pots with several horizontal handles and conical lid; handmade juglets and ladles; conical cups with wheel traces on the inside and double conical vessels with lids and double interior.

The decorated ware of this period has two main characteristics. First, that the light on dark ware is very rarely polychrome, using plain white on a dull lilac brown slip as the lily jars from the Magazine S. of the Domestic Quarter at Knossos. Second, that it bears a small repertory of decorative motives mainly the spiral, horizontal bands or speckles, the ripple and some floral designs as the lily, the crocus, the floral quirk, motives that are going to survive into the LM I period and be used by dark on light pottery as well. Dark on light, in any case, is already popular in this last phase of the MM period with bands, the trickle pattern and, of course, the ripple, which combines both styles. A characteristic MM IIIb deposit from Knossos is that from the Temple Repositories and the houses besides the Acropolis where light on dark coexists with dark on light tortoise.
shell ripple, linked disks, spirals and reeds are well represented. A peculiarity of MM IIIb polychrome ware at Knossos is what Evans called Finicking Ware\textsuperscript{34} which is represented by the lower deposit of Gypsades Well and which is a very detailed drawing of zonal white motives with some additional red colour.

In E. Crete where MM III follows the local MM Ib style\textsuperscript{35} the disks and loop motif starts being popular and survives into the LM Ia. The triple plume, on the other hand, lasts up to the end of MM III or maybe slightly later. Floral motives, as well as the whirling motif, seem to have been the favourite in the local workshops. Generally, however, in the E. as in the S. and Central Crete, the quality of the pottery has dropped and the vases seem standardized.
CHAPTER 2

PROVINCIAL MM POTTERY AS EVIDENCED AT KASTRI, ON KYTHERA

The results of the excavations conducted at Kastri on the island of Kythera were published in 1972 (Kythera, Excavations and Studies, eds. J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, 1972).

The excavators believed that this was the earliest known Minoan colony outside Crete (EM II). This was because the pottery evidence corresponds to the Minoan Provincial ware; there exist collective chamber tombs with short dromoi, which have good parallels in Crete and there are other architectural (drainage system) or portable finds of minoan character.

The earliest deposit of the MM Ia period is deposit γ. The central part of the MBA is poorly documented by a stratified deposit in the Town Drain, deposit δ (MM Ib-IIIa). The MM IIIb materials are more abundant and are represented by deposit ξ. The upper layers of this deposit illustrate the transition to LM Ia period.

The pottery from Kastri described below is classified in four general categories according to the function of the vases, drinking, pouring, storing, cooking.

1. DRINKING AND EATING VASES

Pedestalled goblet: It was used from EM II till MM Ia. It has a tall conical body and a flat spreading base. Its decoration consists of rows of barbotine waves and diagonal
comb pricks coinciding with a zone of added white. (Kythera, Pl. 21:1-3).

Carinated cup: It has a tall generally vertical lip with sharp carination and narrow base. Its decoration consists of purple and white stripes on a streaky black coat, although usually they are plain coated. In Crete this shape is used from MM Ia to MM IIIa, but in provincial sites it may have lasted longer (MM IIIb). (Ibid. Pl. 74, D76).

Rounded cup: This cup began to substitute the carinated cup in MM IIIb and by LM Ia had totally replaced it. The profile becomes more and more rounded and the base from raised becomes flat. A variety of motives is used for its decoration applied on a dull black to brown slip. Sometimes dark on light decoration is used. (Ibid. Pl. 75, E1).

Straight-walled cup: It starts in MM Ib without rib. Certain imports of MM II already have the rib. In MM IIIb both the ribbed and the unribbed varieties are found. However, the final standardization in three types so well known throughout the Aegean (Kythera, 284) is reached only in LM Ia. (Ibid. Pl. 68, C5; Pl. 70, C5-6; Pl. 71, D39-42).

Tumbler: Deep plain cup with flaring lip and a swelling half way up its body. It first appears in MM IIIb and gains its strict conical profile in LM Ia. (Ibid. Pl. 26, ζ34; Pl. 29, n33).

Bowls: They appear in various profiles mainly in MM IIIb. One most interesting variety is the in and out bowl, which
bears decoration on both sides. It is shallow, with rounded walls and double lug handles. (Ibid. Pl. 68, C9).

There is also the conical bowl, which is an enlargement of the contemporary conical cup, with a similarly shallow profile. (Ibid. Pl. 69, C26).

Plate: The typical type of MM IIIb plate at Kastri is made of coarse Oatmeal ware and is unpainted. It is flat with very low, vertical walls meeting the base at a right angle. This variety is known from Knossos and Phaestos and continues to be made up to the LM Ia period at Kastri. (Ibid. Fig. 89, E40).

There are many other shapes like the in and out basin, the kalathos, the ring-handled basin and the saucer that may have been used for serving food. Some (kalathos and ring-handled basin) are imitations of stone prototypes.

2. POURING VASES

High-spouted jug or Beaked jug: It is found all through the MM deposits. The MM Ia examples (Ibid. Pl. 82, L1) have an almost vertical spout, a high neck, globular body and wide base. The handle starts from the shoulder and reaches the neck under the spout. Many fragments of this particular shape have also been found in recent excavations on Mt. Philerimos, Trianda on Rhodes (T. Marketou, unpublished). During the MM period this shape starts to change and by MM IIIb, the spout rises at a lower angle, the neck becomes shorter and wider and the body more elongated (Ibid. Pl. 73, D64-68). The jugs may be plain, covered with dark paint or may bear some foliate band arranged in different ways
on the body. Only very rarely an ambitious decoration is attempted. (Ibid. Pl. 73, D63).

Ewer: This shape shares the development of the beaked jug, the main difference being that it has a round mouth and a short flaring rim. It appears on Kythera in the MM IIIb period with a dark slip or characteristic ripple decoration. (Ibid. Pl. 72, D61-63; Pl. 83, L3-4).

Two-mouthed jug: This is yet another metal- or stone-inspired shape. Although it seems not particularly popular at Kastri (Ibid. Pl. 27, j76), it has been imitated in all major Cycladic settlements from MC III onwards.

Hole-mouthed or Bridge-spouted jar: It appears both in gritty and fine fabric from MM Ib on Kythera. Although no complete example has been preserved at Kastri, the shape is well known in Crete, where excellent examples appeared in MM II Kamares style. At Kastri in MM IIIb these jars acquire a short lip set off from the body and leaning inwards. (Ibid. Pl. 78, E54).

Rhyton: The conical variety and the ostrich-egg rhyton began on Kythera from the MM IIIb period. (Ibid. Pl. 24, ε65-68; Pl. 24, ε72). This however may be due to the scarcity of finds during the middle phases of MM period, since this shape is extremely popular in Crete from MM II period onwards.

Small vases like askos (Ibid. Pl. 24, ε69) or the alabastron (Ibid. Pl. 81, ζ27) really become popular from LM Ia period.
3. STORING VASES

Pithos: Fragments of MM Ia pithoi from Kastri have thick outturned rims and sometimes ribs on the upper part of the body (Ibid. Pl. 21, γ13-15 and 19-21). In MM Ib-IIIa period (Ibid. Pl. 22, δ53-55) the necked pithos variety appears, with an applied coil on the shoulder probably at handle level. Paint on this coarse ware is applied as a slip or in slashes. The more standardized form of minoan pithos appears in deposit ε, MM IIIb period. It still has an overlapping rim but more vertical walls and the decoration is either painted (Ibid. Pl. 25, ε105-6) or plastic (Ibid. Pl. 25, ε107-9).

Jar: Many jar fragments have been found at Kastri but no complete profile could be reconstructed, apart from the hole-mouthed jar. The oval-mouthed jar is exemplified by a miniature example (Ibid. Pl. 69, C31).

The amphora is another very common storing vessel in Crete and it is peculiar that it is so rare in Kastri deposits.

4. COOKING AND OTHER UTILITARIAN VASES

Tripod cooking pot or tripod cooking dish: Both varieties exist in Kastri from MM Ib onwards (Ibid. Pl. 22, δ58-59; Pl. 28, ξ128-132). The cooking pots have either vertical round handles or horizontal strap handles. The body has not yet settled down into the cylindrical form of the LM Ia period. In contrast to the cooking dishes, which are shallow, the cooking pots seem to have a rather deep globular body with a vertical rim. (Ibid. Fig. 39, ξ128).
Brazier: It makes its first appearance in MM IIIb with a standard shallow body and an offset handle (Ibid. Pl. 69, C29). It is usually unpainted.

Cençer: This shape appears at Kastri from MM IIIb period onwards. Most examples however come from the chamber tombs and belong to LM Ia and b periods. There are three types: the form of lid with two lug handles, one central hole and a few smaller ones around (Ibid. Pl. 82, ζ36); the type with flanges to fit on a small vessel (Ibid. Pl. 69, C30) and the long handled type supported by tripod legs (Ibid. Pl. 57, w297).

Lamp: The small fragments of lamps from deposit 6 (Ibid. Pl. 22, 631-32; Fig. 38, 632) show a simple incurving rim and a spout. A peculiarity seems to be the imitation of a stone lamp in MM IIIb (Ibid. Fig. 38, ε76).
FOOTNOTES

PART I

CHAPTER 1


5 PM IV, 82-87, in House A, B; JHS 26 (1906), 243-267, Pl. 10 for House C referred to as N. Quarter of the City.

6 JHS 26 (1906), 243-267, Pls. 7, 9.

7 VTM 58ff, Pl. VI (excerpt 5067), Pl. XXXVIa, top row etc.

8 BSA XIX, 1-35, Pl. IVb, Pl. VII.


10 BSA XIX, 1-35, Pls. VI, IX.

11 Pendlebury 1939, Pl. 281-2.

12 Ibid. Fig. 18.


14 PM II, PIs. IX, a, b, d, f.

15 Festôs, Tav I1, Pl. 36.

16 Ibid, Pl. 54b.

17 Ibid. Pl. 54c.

18 Ibid. Pl. 21, Pl. 47b, PIs. 48a, b, Pl. 30d.

19 Pendlebury 1939, 137.

20 AJA 81, 346, Ill. 2-3.


22 BSA 1901-2, 286-316, Figs. 9, 12.
23 AJA 81, Ill, 6A-E; Gournia, Pls. VI, 3, 4, 6, 9.
24 Pendlebury 1939, Fig. 23.
25 PM IV, Pl. 29E.
26 PM II, 302-4, Fig. 176.
28 PM I, 248-270, Figs. 190-2.
29 PM II, 301-3, Fig. 176.
30 PM I, 562-8, Fig. 412.
31 PM I, 578-9, Figs. 443, 420-1.
32 PM I, 550-561, Fig. 404.
33 BSA 1979, 1-81.
34 PM I, 595, Figs. 437c, d, e.
35 AJA 81, 341, 353.
PART II
A. THERA
B. MELOS
C. KEOS
D. PAROS
PART II
A. THERA
CHAPTER 1
THE SITE AND ITS STRATIGRAPHY

Akrotiri excavations have regularly taken place every summer since 1967. Sp. Marinatos was the director up until his death in 1974. Ch. Doumas has continued with the excavations and the study of the material from this site which, to say the least, is extraordinarily well preserved.

The best preserved period on the site, which shows an economic prosperity of its inhabitants, falls into LC I/LM Ia period. At the end of this phase, the site was totally destroyed by the eruption of a volcano, which made most of the island sink. Pottery finds however dispersed all around the site and mostly revealed, whenever dexion pillars were placed in the deepest layers of this settlement, showed that the history of this site goes back at least as far as EC II period.\(^1\)

The exact lower limit of the EB establishment (settlement or cemetery is not yet clear) is not known; nor can the transition from EB to MB age be described. These levels have not been searched and it is doubtful whether they ever will be over an extended area, due to their great depth underneath multi-storied LBA buildings.

Evidence from a small excavated area, possibly a
cemetery, S. of Fira, at Ftellos\(^2\) showed that the island was definitely inhabited during the EC III-MC I period.

Supplementary unpublished evidence comes from a nearby area at the Karageorghis mines, which is probably again a cemetery used during the EC IIIb to MC II period (cf. Cat. No. 1-20).

Most of the MC finds from the Akrotiri settlement itself however do not date earlier than the MC III period. The only significant exception to this for the moment is the Fire Deposit, which contained material from EC IIIa/b to early MC. Of course the sorting of sherd material is still in its early stages due to the great amount of whole vases from the main Akrotiri period, which need to be studied first. So our conclusions still have a provisional character.

It is only with the evidence from outside Akrotiri that we can fill the gap for the MC early phases on Thera at this stage of our research.

As regards the end of MC period at Akrotiri, it has been proved that it came about with an earthquake. This is evidenced by the ruins that were levelled beneath the foundations of the houses when the LC I settlement started being built.\(^3\) Remnants of this destruction have been collected in several open places to make space for the rebuilding of the new settlement. It is mostly from these debris layers that MC pottery is collected and not from stratified layers. Therefore no subdivision of the MC period can yet be undertaken.
The most extensive excavation of such MC debris took place in 1978 in front of Δ20, between Xeste 2 and sector Delta. The trench excavated there (Sounding A) provided most of the MC pottery examined here. It showed both the peculiarities of Theran MC pottery but also its similarities with other MC material known already from Phylakopi and A. Irini settlements.

From the minoan sherds found among this debris we were able to date the time of this penultimate destruction. The local pottery continued mainly in the MC tradition, the main pottery fabrics being the Bichrome, the Cycladic White and the Burnished Wares. As regards the imports, some of the MM imports belong to the MM IIIa and/or b periods, such as the cups with white speckles (Nos. 278-279) or spirals (Nos. 274-275), the ribbed cups (No. 340) and the semiglobular cups with wavy line decoration etc. (No. 287). Others like the examples with ripples (No. 280), spirals (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7a) or rosettes (No. 294) bear motives that are also common in LM Ia period. Therefore the MC settlement must have been destroyed at the end of the MC period which may be contemporary with the end of the MM period and the very beginning of the LM Ia period in Crete. No advanced LM Ia floral style has yet been introduced and the light on dark style was still in use.

The rebuilding activities that took place after the MC destruction, prove that although new Cretan influenced techniques and ideas start being used, the plan of the MC city definitely determined the layout of the LC I successors.
The indigenous population that knew the plan of the previous city took advantage of some standing walls or demolished others to create a new plan for the houses. Some of the MC pottery had been collected as heirlooms in cavities underneath the floors of the new buildings to remind them of their ancestry. The local element is definitely present even if under some foreign consultancy. Besides the architecture, this fact is attested to by some of the details of the frescoes and the survival of the stone industry and maybe most of all by the distinctiveness of the decorative repertoire and some of the shapes of the LC pottery.
CHAPTER 2
LOCAL POTTERY

The Middle Cycladic (MC) local pottery from Thera that is under consideration here comes from the settlement site of Akrotiri and the possible 'cemetery' site of the Karageorghis Mines.

Ftellos material will only be considered as comparative material, since it includes only one published example of early MC pottery, i.e. an early MC jug.

Before starting with the MC sequence in pottery, some EC IIIb pots should be described. These were found along with MC wares, in a rescue excavation in the area of the Karageorghis Mines not far from Ftellos, S. of Fira, the modern capital of Thera.

All the main fabrics of decorated EC pottery are present there. From the Dark Faced and Incised ware we have two examples, a pyxis (No. 1) and an askos (No. 2) very close in style to the Phylakopi I-iii types from Melos, Paros and Keos. It is interesting to notice that in Keos incised duck vases and pyxides are still found in Period IV, which is early MC period. The same is the case in Aegina and, of course, in Lerna and other sites on the Greek mainland. This has been used as evidence that the EC IIIb period is contemporary with the early MH period. According to J. Rutter the high point of popularity of the duck
vase in the Cyclades comes in the EB III period. However, until the final publication of the site, we can not definitely date these pots in either EC IIIb or in early MC, since material from both periods is represented on the site.

Another three fan shaped jugs (Nos. 3-5) of Red Burnished fabric have also been found, and exact parallels of EC IIIb Melos.

Finally some Matt-painted jugs (Nos. 6-7) bear the characteristic bands and lines from the shoulder down the body of other 'geometric style' examples from EC IIIb period Melos, Paros and Keos. Again in Aegina similar pots are found in early MC period.

The same style of decoration is also found on a feeding bottle (No. 10), a shape particularly common in graves. The shape is still elongated and reminds us of another example of EC IIIb date from Ftellos.

Plain ware is represented by a Cycladic bowl (No. 8), one of the most typical Cycladic shapes. It is covered by a dark slip and has parallels from Melos, Keos, Paros and earlier examples from Delos. A similar bowl has also been recovered in Ftellos.

Besides the EC IIIb wares, the Karageorghis Mines provided also some mature MC period pottery. The style of this pottery does not exhibit the imagination of Melian potters who painted goblins or quadrupeds. Nor does it have the ease with curvilinear designs of Melian Cycladic White in mature MC period (cf. Melos, Chapter three).
Still the very fine quality of some of these vases as well as the motives chosen, like the dotted rosette and the rock pattern (No. 11) or the vertical S-Spiral (No. 12) show the beginning of curvilinearity on Thera. The shape of the Theran and the Melian Cycladic White channel-spouted jug is the same but the decoration used on each of these islands is different.

On these grounds, the jug (No. 308) found at Lerna looks more Theran than Melian resembling jug No. 11 from Karageorghis.

In Kea, jugs of this shape come from Period IV, second and third strata. They must date therefore to Phylakopi II-i/ii or early MC period. The fact that these jugs are found at Karageorghis along with EC IIIb pottery is maybe indicative of how close Phylakopi II-ii style pottery is to I-iii. It also raises questions about the existence of II-i phase, which is anyway recognized only in pottery.

The evidence of Karageorghis is important for one more reason besides the fact that it gives information about the earlier MC period phases on Thera. This is because it proves that Cycladic White fabric has been manufactured locally on the island of Thera from the mature MC period onwards. Hence, pots of this ware found on Keos or on central Cyclades cannot anymore be considered a priori Melian imports, unless they comply stylistically and/or chemically to Phylakopi examples.

If we now consider the pottery evidence from Akrotiri
we find that, apart from the Fire Deposit, which anyway
dates more to the EC IIIb period than to the early MC,
no other early MC material of the type with the so-called
'geometric' decoration represented in Phylakopi II early
period\textsuperscript{26} is found here.

Possible exceptions are only five stray fragments
(Nos. 114-116) which belong to feeding bottles and jars
of unknown shape of early MC period. Future sorting of
sherd material is bound to provide more evidence.

Before proceeding with the examination of the late
MC fabrics from Akrotiri, it is useful to discuss the 'Fire
Deposit' assemblage. This material was concentrated in a
cavity, found by Marinatos in 1969.\textsuperscript{27} He named it 'Sacrificial
Fire' deposit, because the pots had signs of fire and the
cavity had a layer which was 'intensively burnt'.

In subsequent years many such cavities with traces
of fire and remains of charcoal, sometimes covered with
slabs, have been found at Akrotiri. These mostly contained
material of the MC period, like the cavities found in the
soundings beneath the floors of the West House and just
outside its North Wall. Their exact significance is
unknown, but presumably consisted of a few heirlooms that
were kept at the foundations of the LC I houses for
superstitious reasons.

The pottery represented in the Fire Deposit is either
plain or with matt decoration. The broad mouthed jar
(No. 21) and the cylindrical handleless cups (Nos. 25-29)
find good parallels in Paros and hence belong to the EC IIIb period. The bottle-shaped jarlets with lug handles, similar to a published pot from Ftellos, are of the same date. On the other hand, the matt-painted barrel jar (No. 22) and the two Cycladic bowls with the painted band around the rim (Nos. 23-24) can be as late as early MC period. The beaked juglet (No. 39) with fan-shaped spout and handle underneath the rim can be as early as EC IIIa resembling the Christiana group.

According to this dating the cavity of the Fire Deposit, although a closed assemblage, seems to have contained heirlooms of different periods. They were concentrated there and fumigated maybe as part of some ceremony.

Now, as mentioned above, the MC pottery from Akrotiri described below only rarely comes from stratified layers, an exception being the pots found in the soundings beneath the floors of the West House (Nos. 35-37, 97, 117-118, 184, 217, 243-247, 249). Most of the MC sherd material is found in the debris layers concentrated in different empty spaces of the LC I settlement or in the walls and floors of the LC I houses and therefore are dated only on stylistic grounds.

The three main decorated pottery styles that are found also in the other two well-known MC settlements (Phylakopi and A. Irini) are present here too. These styles are the Bichrome Ware, the Cycladic White Ware and the Burnished Ware. Besides these, other minor fabrics like the Slipped Ware, the Light on Dark Ware and the Imitative Kamares Ware have been used by the local potters alongside the Minoan.
and Helladic imports.

A. BICHROME OR BLACK AND RED STYLE POTTERY

This is not the most common fabric found at Akrotiri but is the most beautiful one. In this ware black, red and often white, all on buff ground, are used for the decoration. The most representative bichrome ware pottery at Akrotiri is the bird jugs. These are local both in shape and decoration. An almost complete example (No. 35) has three birds of the typically Theran 'swallow' type painted on its body. It is interesting that not all three are painted with their legs shown, an omission or a deliberate peculiarity of the artist. The surface treatment of this pot and the style of its decoration speaks of some specialist. This thought is reinforced by the existence of another two bird jugs (Nos. 36-37) fairly well preserved, but of poorer quality, as well as by the numerous sherds with bird decoration from other broken examples.

There must have already been a local workshop of bird jugs on the island of Thera in the MC period. The tradition was so strong that this was one of the few pictorial motives that survived into the LC I period. The fabric of the MC bird jugs is quite different from that of the later examples. The MC bird jugs have burnished surfaces and bear an orange/buff slip on which the decoration is applied. The LC examples do not have burnished but slipped surfaces.

The Theran bird jugs seem to have been quite well known in the Aegean, since they have been imitated on the
Jugs with bird decoration must have been transported from both Melos and Thera to the mainland more often than between these two islands themselves. This is also shown by the helladic imitation of Melian bird jugs, while only one fragment of a Theran bird jug has been found at Phylakopi and none of the Melian type with Bichrome decoration has yet appeared at Akrotiri. Maybe the content of both Melian and Theran bird jugs was similar and hence not useful for inter-islandic trade. That the helladic bird jugs are mainland imitations of their Cycladic prototypes has been verified by chemical analysis even though no close matchings with sites in the Peloponnese have been made. This may show that the content of the bird jugs was a Cycladic product highly priced on the mainland, as with the imitation of the duck vase.

The Theran bird jugs must be contemporary with the Melian ones, examples of which have been found in The Temple Repositories in MM IIIB context. Although the same type of Melian bird jugs have been found both in Phylakopi II-iii and III-i, in Thera there is a clear distinction both in shape, fabric and decoration between the MB and the LB examples. The perfection of some of the MC birds drawn on jugs can only be found in the swallows of the Spring Fresco at Akrotiri.

Few other shapes can securely be reconstructed in the bichrome fabric apart from the bird jugs (Nos. 35-49). We know of other jug fragments (Nos. 81, 82, 84) and most of the sherds belong generally to closed pots but of an
unknown shape. Some bichrome open pots like the Keftiu cup (No. 65), the tumbler (No. 63), and the saucer (No. 68) are minoan intrusions.

There is however a particular type of cup which is a fusion of local and minoan elements. It is found either with flaring rim (Nos. 87-90) or with plain rim (Nos. 91-96) and with flat or raised base. It is not clear whether the type with the flat base (Nos. 85-86) always had a flaring rim, while the type with raised foot (No. 97) always had a plain rim. Only one complete example has been found (No. 97) and this is of the raised foot type.

In any case, the decoration of these cups has been greatly influenced by MM IIIa-b cups with speckle decoration found in Crete. The decoration of the Theran cups is always the same around the rim. It consists of bands in black and/or orange paint on which multiple series of dotted white lines are added. Lower down the body the cup could either have a reserved buff zone with some motif, like the relief ivies (No. 97) or be totally covered by paint and have a series of white speckles (No. 89). This type of decorated cup was particularly popular at Akrotiri and although the style of decoration is minoanizing, the shape of the cup, especially that with the raised foot, is exactly like the panelled cup shape and hence Cycladic.

Generally Biochrome Ware is a compromise between local and foreign (minoan) elements.

The local motives most characteristic of Akrotiri
Bichrome pottery, besides the swallows, are the grape, the goat and the pomegranate.

The grape (No. 66) is also met in Cycladic White fabric (No. 157) and survived into LC I period. Maybe Thera was a centre of wine production in antiquity, as it is today, and some of these jugs were wine containers. Installations for juice extraction have not yet been found in the settlement, but a small vine stalk and also grape pips were found in pithoi. The goat is interesting as a motif (No. 52) because again it survived into the LC I period. Although this sherd's provenance is unknown, the presence of the goat motif on the West House pithos No. 4854 which has many MC characteristics as well as the existence of similarly decorated sherds in other fabrics suggests the existence of this motif already in the MC period. The goat again survived into the LC I period. The pomegranate (Nos. 72, 73, 75, 76) is popular in Thera, as in Melos, and must have been one of the fruits produced in the Cyclades symbolizing fertility as it still does. Other bichrome ware motives common to Thera and Melos are the red or black bands with superimposed white lines and reserved buff zones in between (Nos. 57-60), the red disks surrounded by black circles (Nos. 53-56, 70) and the foliate band or tree motif (Nos. 64, 79).

Some of the minoan motives introduced in Bichrome pottery are the ivy band (No. 62), the reed (No. 63), the crocus (No. 67), the chevrons (No. 69) and maybe the crescents (No. 65) too. The appearance of some foliate
motives (Nos. 62, 63, 67) is indicative of LM Ia style pottery and so some of the Theran Bichrome must date late in MC which is parallel to early LM Ia.

Bichrome pottery on Thera may either use only black and red paint or may also have additional white paint. The shades of the colours may range from deep red to orange and from brown/black to charcoal/black. Further research may prove whether all these are chronological differences, as Marthari seems to believe, or whether they are mere workshop differences that do not always comply with chronological distinction.

Finally, polychromy survived in Theran LC I pottery but only for the depiction of pictorial scenes such as the dolphins and the goats on the Kyme, or the pictorial representations on pithoi, and the favourite LC I bird jugs. It is only very rarely used in LC I Akrotiri for the minoanizing ware with flowers, although it was customary in Phylakopi III-i phase. Theran LB I dark on light pottery is either painted with black, in different tones due to the thickness of the paint, or with black and white paint. Plain white is used for the light on dark style but never red, black and white together for the regular LC I style pottery.

The death of Cycladic Bichrome fabric seems to have followed the death of MM Kamares style. The time of multicoloured designs has passed and the standardization of pottery is well on its way, with the limitation to one,
or at most, two colours and the stylization of the decoration.

B. CYCLADIC WHITE POTTERY

The term 'Cycladic White' has been adopted by Barber\(^\text{51}\) to replace the old terms 'Early Mycenaean with Designs in Matt Black', which was used by the early excavators of Phylakopi, or 'Curvilinear and Naturalistic' pottery which was used by Scholes.\(^\text{52}\) Until recently the vases of this fabric were thought to be only Melian in origin\(^\text{53}\) since no Theran examples of this fabric have yet been found. A few sherds of this style illustrated by Marinatos\(^\text{54}\) were described as 'matt-painted sherds with representations of birds and twice with human figures... ... the birds being well known from Melian vases'. Whole pots of this fabric, that have been published by Zervos\(^\text{55}\) have the legend 'Style de Phylakopi' and a whole jug of this fabric from Thera in Aberg\(^\text{56}\) is described as Matt-Painted Ware.

The term 'Cycladic White' denotes the characteristic buff/yellow clay of these pots with their whitish self-slip and matt black decoration.

Since 1980 whole pots of Cycladic White Ware have been found in Ftellos, Karageorghis and Akrotiri itself. The great quantity of sherds of this fabric, from all over Akrotiri proves that this site had produced and used this pottery from early MC period onwards. On these grounds, Cycladic White pots found in central or northern
Cyclades (Keos) and other Aegean sites generally, can not a priori be attributed to Melos. We would need to distinguish the differences in the decoration of the pots that are most popular in each of these islands and hopefully also distinguish the two centres of production by chemical analysis of their clay.

As a general rule this fabric mostly follows Cycladic tradition in the shape of the vases while some minoan influence can be distinguished in the decoration. The channel-spouted jugs (Nos. 11-13), the panelled cups (Nos. 117-147), the Cycladic cups (Nos. 148-156), the hemispherical cups (Nos. 174-177), the jarlets (Nos. 178-183), the type 9:4a cups (Nos. 172-173) and the feeding bottles (Nos. 19-20) all belong to the Cycladic tradition.

It is only the hole-mouthed jar (No. 14) discovered at Karageorghis that breaks this rule being a minoan intrusion into the local repertoire of shapes.

More analytically, the channel-spouted jug type, of which complete examples were found at Karageorghis (Nos. 11-13), is represented at Akrotiri by two spout fragments (Nos. 158-159), two bases (Nos. 163-164) and a body sherd (No. 160). These examples belong to mature MC period as equivalent parallels from Phykiroipi 57 and Keos 58 show.

On the other hand, it is not at all sure what was the shape of the Cycladic White bird jugs on Thera. At Akrotiri we have a number of 'bird jug' sherds of this
fabric (Nos. 98-110) of which the whole shape is missing. In Melos, according to the early excavators\textsuperscript{59} Black and Red bird jugs are found in both the ewer\textsuperscript{60} and the thrown back neck type.\textsuperscript{61} There is no specific mention of Matt\textsuperscript{1} Painted bird jugs.

Cycladic White bird jugs however, must have existed on Melos too, since birds are found on Cycladic White panelled cups\textsuperscript{62} as at Akrotiri (No. 106). MacGillivray speaking about the three varieties of Melian bird jugs found at Knossos,\textsuperscript{63} describes two varieties of bird jugs with tilted back neck and only black and brown paint, therefore of Cycladic White fabric.

It is possible therefore that the shape of the Theran bird jugs was the same as that of Melos, i.e. that of the thrown back neck type.\textsuperscript{64}

Melian bird jugs have been found in Knossian MM IIIb context,\textsuperscript{65} Myrtos LM I context,\textsuperscript{66} on the mainland in MH II context\textsuperscript{67} and Keos, Period V, i.e. late MC context.\textsuperscript{68} The Bichrome bird jugs, like most of these examples, are contemporary with the Cycladic White jugs and therefore Theran Cycladic White bird jugs are also of late MC period.

The drawing of Cycladic White birds at Akrotiri is quite different from the Black and Red type. Birds are sometimes executed in outline like the Phylakopi birds (Nos. 98, 100) or with the head and neck in compact paint (No. 99). The beak is not always the same and the bodies vary (Nos. 99, 105, 110). The feathers in contrast to
the Bichrome birds are always rendered with multiple strokes drawn from a long line (Nos. 104, 105, 110) instead of the black outline used for the Bichrome swallows. In this they resemble Phylakopi and Helladic birds. One sherd may actually be a Helladic import (No. 112) while others closely resemble Melian types (Nos. 98, 100, 102, 104).

Finally, it would be interesting to distinguish different painters in the different types of birds. But even if that could be accomplished, we would still not be able to say whether a pot was the work of a Melian potter working on Thera or a Melian pot exported to Thera. It would be necessary to find out whether there is a different fingerprint for Melian and Theran Cycladic White clay. For the moment, this is not the case.

Among cups a very popular shape is the panelled cup (Nos. 117-118). This shape is found at Akrotiri only in the MC period, since in the main Akrotiri phase (LC I) there are only three examples, all of which are considered Helladic imports. This coincides with Phylakopi, where the shape belongs primarily to II-iii and may have been superseded in the following period. In Kea, examples of this shape, Melian imports according to Davis, were found both in Period V and in the earliest phase of Period VI. Yet, even there, they are probably characteristic of later MBA.

The decoration of panelled cups on Thera is entirely curvilinear and influenced by Crete. There are only a
few motives like the linked opposite loops (No. 139) or the outlined hook (No. 147) that are local and unique to Akrotiri. The syntax of the decoration however seems rather standardized and lacks the inner unity of minoan style.

On Theran panelled cups, rock motif is placed on the rim, horizontal lines (Nos. 173-174), rock motif (Nos. 113, 143) or radiating leaves (No. 118) around the base, and spirals, wavy lines, linked dots or other curvilinear decoration on the body. The cup combines the local taste (in shape) with some Cretan elements (in decoration).

Another vessel however, which must have been used more for eating than for drinking, is the Cycladic cup. No complete profile has survived in the Cycladic White fabric at Akrotiri, but both a deep and a shallow variety must have existed as complete examples in other fabrics show (cf. No. 217 in Burnished Ware and Nos. 245-6 in Plain Ware). The only type to continue into the LC I period at Akrotiri was the deep variety with foot always in light on dark style. This continues the tradition of the MC Burnished examples.

At Phylakopi the transition from the shallow to the deep Melian bowl took place in II-ii/II-iii and the LC I-II successors look quite different in shape.

At Ayia Irini, where the shape is found abundantly especially in the Burnished fabric, they start from Period IV and continue up until Period VI. This shape is found also in Aegina where it is considered a Cycladic influence.
The standard decoration of a Theran Cycladic White 'Cycladic cup' is loops on the rim and two horizontal bands one on, and the other, under the carination (Nos. 148-9, 151, 153-4, 156). Vertical strokes or crescents that are popular on Melos are found more rarely on Thera (No. 152) as are other motives (No. 155). One example may be a Melian import (No. 150).

Another cup that is manufactured in Cycladic White fabric is the flat handled hemispherical cup (Nos. 174-177). This must have been an everyday cup of the household and survived in large quantities in LC I Akrotiri also. The interior walls of the cup in both periods are slipped but the slip of the MC examples tends to be lighter (orange to red) than that of the LC I cups (brown). Also it seems that the band that decorated the rim was wavy during the MC period and horizontal in the LC I period.

Two base fragments of cups (Nos. 172-3) with interior decoration may belong to type 9:4a examples. However, complete examples have not been found either for this shape or for the shape of the jars with flat outturned rim (Nos. 178-183).

Generally, Cycladic White Ware has been quite popular in MC Akrotiri as at Phylakopi. The quality of the different vases usually differs from fine to semi-fine. Some of the fine ware at Akrotiri looks identical to the Melian equivalents and it is possible that on both islands a particular clay was chosen carefully and processed in exactly the same way until it was considered ready for use.
The decoration of some of the pots also coincides. However, on each island some preference for different motives can be discerned and this can be used when more evidence from MC Akrotiri is accumulated, to group the production on each island separately. For example, Theran panelled cups and especially Cycladic cups of Cycladic White Ware certainly show some standardization in their decoration which may be helpful in this respect.

On the other hand, as regards Minoan influence in the decoration of Cycladic White fabric, one would certainly speak of comparatively limited impact on Thera. The panelled cups that really contained most of the newly introduced motives at Phylakopi here rarely show any inspiration in their curvilinear decoration. Motives like the complicated spiral variations and the floral elements exhibited on the Melian equivalents⁷⁹ are lacking here. Theran panelled cups are more sparsely decorated and the designs look simplified. The local taste seems still to be alive and free of Cretan influence. This can be concluded from the existence of many Cycladic morphological elements in the decoration such as the bird, the grape, the hook, the linked opposite loops, the S-spirals, etc. and from the whole arrangement of borrowed elements which is zonal and uninspired.

C. BURNISHED WARE POTTERY

This is another quite common fabric at Akrotiri. Two different varieties of burnished ware are found on
Thera, the Red Burnished (RB) and the Black Burnished (BB). Sometimes pots are covered with a red surface inside and a black outside thus showing that the colour variation depended very much on the firing conditions (oxidizing or reducing). The RB examples tend to be more abundant and the tradition survived into LC I period with the Red-Painted Ware of LC I Akrotiri. The BB ware stopped at the end of MC period apart from really very few BB Cycladic cups (two examples) and minimal other LC I survivals.®®

Only three shapes have been reconstructed in the BB fabric. The bridge-spouted pithamphora from the Mavromati Mines (No. 309), which has a good parallel from the Shaft Graves,®¹ the Cycladic cup (Nos. 219-228) which is the most common shape in this ware and the conical bowl (No. 235-7, 240) which finds good parallels in Keos®² and may have had its ultimate origin in Cretan pots.®³

Bases of other closed vases (Nos. 230-233) have been found but the complete shape is unknown. It is interesting that fragments of identical fabric have also been found at Knossos.®⁴ It seems they have been exported from Thera which is the only place where such burnished ware has appeared for the moment.

Red Burnished Ware on the other hand seems to have comprised of a greater variety of shapes, some of which are new shapes that arrived from Crete; the ewer with plastic ring around the neck (No. 185), the rhyton (Nos. 189-192), the hemispherical cup or bowl (Nos. 200-201), the hole-mouthed pot (No. 193) and the saucer (No. 202) are
Other shapes continue the Cycladic tradition such as the Cycladic cups (Nos. 210-217), which have exact parallels in Keos, Period V\textsuperscript{85} and the basins (Nos. 203-206) with inturned rim, which is a development of the inrolled rim (No. 209), found in EC types. A single example of a ribbed jar (No. 194) has an equivalent in Keos Period III\textsuperscript{86} and is also Cycladic.

Generally, the RB ware seldom has any decoration in white paint (Nos. 200-201, 207, 210) and rarely exhibits a high lustre on its surface. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from the Red-Painted Ware of LC I Akrotiri, although the latter seems to have had a darker red cover and usually white painted decoration.\textsuperscript{87}

Another difficulty is to distinguish Theran from Melian RB Wares. Melian RB material is similar in clay to the Theran ware although the outer surface of the former tends to be darker red. Recently, it has been possible to characterize some Melian RB ware by NAA (Neutron Activation Analysis) and distinguish its clay from the rest of MC fabrics.\textsuperscript{88} RB ware has been used abundantly on Keos. Kean RB is easily recognized, since the local reddish clay looks quite different from Theran and Melian yellow clays.

One last consideration regarding the Theran Burnished shapes in this fabric, is that for the moment we have not found 'Minyan' imitating shapes, such as the stemmed
goblet or the kantharos found on Kea, Aegina and Melos. This may be further evidence that Minyan imports existed (Nos. 269-272) but were rather rare on Thera.

Besides these three major decorated fabrics, vases were manufactured in other wares too. One must not forget that the most common pottery in all settlements is plain ware. Plain ware at Akrotiri is found in both coarse and semicoarse fabrics. Some complete vases of plain ware (Cycladic bowls, cups, a saucer and a tumbler) found in the Soundings beneath the floors of the West House, have a brownish discolouration on their outer and inner walls. It is not certain whether this was a result of their burial in the soil, which, in some cases, has also been burnt, or whether it was some kind of slip with which they were covered from the start (Nos. 243-249). More distinctive is the slip on pithoi fragments. The slip can be white (Nos. 251, 254-257), brown (Nos. 250, 252, 253) but sometimes black (Nos. 258) or red (No. 259) too. These pithoi have thick out flaring walls and plastic ribs just under the rim. All the Minoanizing Theran pottery trying to be a close imitation of the dark ground MM pottery was also covered with dark slip. The white dotted lines of the Keftiu cup fragments (Nos. 260, 262) are imitating MM III examples from Crete with a speckle decoration. 89

Orange is additionally used for the minoanizing pots (Nos. 265-268) on Thera only very rarely. Generally the minoanizing dark ground pottery in MC period is, from the
evidence available for the moment, minimal and comprises a few shapes like the Keftiu cup (Nos. 260–263), the hole-mouthed pot (Nos. 265, 267–268) and the semiglobular cup (No. 266).
CHAPTER 3

MM IMPORTS

For the moment very few sherds of MM period have been gathered among the MC material at Akrotiri. The reason is that only little sorting of the sherd material has yet taken place at Akrotiri. It is nevertheless certain that a great deal more will be selected if sorting is continued.

Most of the MM sherds published here come from the so-called Sounding A trench (cf. Chapter 1). A few sherds, already published by Marinatos, come from Complex Delta.

The total is not so numerous as to allow anything more than a typological discussion.

Most of the sherds belong to small vases, predominantly cups. One body sherd (No. 301) from the W. House Soundings comes from a big closed vase. It bears the tree motif and does not look Knossian. A lot more unpublished material, however, known to the author belongs again to storage vessels: jugs or amphorae. Trade, therefore, was definitely not limited to fine drinking cups taken home to Thera as curios, but included foodstuffs or other material exchanged between Crete and Thera in big pottery containers.

As a general conclusion, one could say that for the moment none of the Akrotiri MM sherds date necessarily earlier than MM IIa. On the other hand, most of the sherds come from palatial workshops with the characteristic fine
clay quality, lustrous black slip and intricate decoration. Of course, this only goes for the fine ware since, with the coarser pottery, it is more difficult to decide.

The most common shape of imported MM cup is the straight-walled cup and the semiglobular cup.

There are many sherds of the straight-walled cup, most of which have the plastic rib (Nos. 273-280). The earliest in date is a body sherd (No. 297) with barbotine decoration covered in white paint. This type of decoration is not so popular after the MM IIa period and is rather more common in the MM Ib period, particularly in the Mesara region. Most of the rest of the sherds bear white broad running spirals (Nos. 274-276) and hence belong to the MM IIIa period, like the similar vase from the Magazine of the Lily Vases. Other sherds (Nos. 278-279) have white dotted lines covering their walls in imitation of the speckles common in the two palaces of central Crete during MM IIIa.

The sherd with tortoise shell ripple (No. 280) seems to be of LM Ia date, although this motif starts in MM IIb.

One sherd is quite distinct (No. 281) in that it bears an oblique foliate band in the East Cretan style. It is of MM II date. Another fragment (No. 298), with brownish slip and white oblique lines is perhaps from the same area.

Next to the straight-walled cup in popularity is the
semiglobular cup. The earliest example of this shape at Akrotiri, for the moment, is a rim fragment (No. 291) which bears the motif of two interconnected orange bands outlined by white dots. This may be part of a cross motif found at Knossos in the Royal Pottery Stores in MM IIa context but also at Phaestos. Of similar, if not earlier date, is a body fragment (No. 300) with multiple white lines that meet a vertical orange band with superimposed black dots and orange lines. There is no close parallel for this sherd.

A clear indication of continuation of imports in MM IIb period is a single fragment (No. 288) with a white horizontal foliate band, the exact parallel of which is found on a hole-mouthed jar from Phaestos.

The most popular imported cup from Crete in the next phase is the semiglobular cup with impressed concentric circles (Nos. 284-285, 296 and other unpublished fragments). The impressed decoration is usually covered with white paint. These cups, which find parallels at Mallia and Knossos, in the MM IIIa period, may have been part of a whole set of vases that were decorated with the same motif. Among these vases there may have existed a hole-mouthed jar for pouring the liquid that was consumed. A sherd from Keos Period IV and probably also a fragment from Akrotiri (No. 295) belong to such jars with impressed circle decoration.

To the MM IIIa period also belong the semiglobular cups
with wavy line decoration of which one example has survived at Akrotiri (No. 287). This style of decoration became popular during MM IIIa in Crete from Palaikastro to Knossos and Phaestos.99

The sherds with plastic ribs and black and orange bands (Nos. 293-293a) may belong to a small jar and do not have any close parallel.

Two sherds with dark on light decoration, one with horizontal bands (No. 290) and the other with rosettes between the bands (No. 294), probably belong to LM Ia rather than to MM III period, but the distinction between these two periods is not so clear in Crete.100

The same goes for the MM sherds with spirals and ripples that were published from Sounding A.101 This corpus is merely indicative of the type of MM material found in the penultimate destruction layers at Akrotiri. It mostly contains material of MM IIIa period but some sherds could well go down to the very early LM Ia period. We will need further investigation of the evidence and both stylistic and maybe statistical analysis of similar material to decide on firm grounds the relative chronology of the earthquake that brought MC Akrotiri to an end. It should, however, be remembered that the local pottery in the penultimate destruction layers seems to be predominantly MC in character and only some imitation of minoan spiral and ripple motives had begun.
CHAPTER 4
DISCUSSION

This review of MC pottery from Akrotiri on Thera deals mainly with the local pottery from this site and some additional MBA material from a possible cemetery site at Karageorghis. It is still early to estimate the Minoan influence on MC Akrotiri since the sorting of sherd material has not yet progressed to a satisfying degree and we have only a sample of MM sherds from this settlement.

Akrotiri has produced pottery dating as far back as EC II period at least. But no architecture is connected with these finds and therefore one can not be sure whether this was a habitation or a cemetery site.

Very few sherds (Nos. 114-116) are similar to what has been thought as characteristic Phylakopi II-i pottery. These constitute the earliest MC material from the settlement.

Pottery of this same style has been found among the material from the cemetery sites, at Ftellos and Karageorghis (Nos. 6-10). On these grounds, the island may still have had several settlements during the early MC, aggregation starting later in this period.

The next phase, mature MC period or Phylakopi II-ii, is also poorly represented at Akrotiri (Nos. 158-160, 163-164), although whole pots of this period are again found at Karageorghis (Nos. 11-13).
The only period that, for the moment, is amply documented at Akrotiri is the late MC period, Phylakopi II-iii. All the major Cycladic fabrics common at Phylakopi and A. Irini during the MBA are present here too, i.e., Bichrome, Cycladic White and Burnished Ware.

Firstly, Bichrome Ware (cf. Chapter 2). Of particular interest in the Bichrome pottery are the bird jugs that had been exported to other Cycladic islands and the Mainland. This style of jug continued into LC I Akrotiri but with differences in shape and surface treatment. Many of the Bichrome motives from Thera resemble the Black and Red pottery from Melos like the pomegranate tree (Nos. 72-73, 75-76) or the alternating black and red bands (Nos. 57-60) or the foliate band (No. 79). The red elements of the decoration can be burnished but this is not always the case as it is on Melos. Another difference is that white colour is sometimes used at Akrotiri for the additional details of the decoration, as, for example, superimposed lines (Nos. 35, 57) or dots (Nos. 49, 53), a detail not mentioned for Melian bichrome fabric.

This three-colour combination survived during the LC I period but mostly, if not exclusively, for pictorial representations. In all the other cases one or two-colour decoration is used.

Secondly, Cycladic White (cf. Chapter 2). Theran Cycladic White is important in that it shows another centre of production of what was thought to be primarily a Melian
or Aeginetan fabric. That this is definitely produced on Thera and not imported from Melos, like on Keos, is clear by the existence of motives exclusive to Thera such as the grape (No. 157), the outlined hook (No. 147), the linked opposite loops (No. 139), etc.

In this fabric some standardization not only in shapes but in motives also, can be distinguished already from this period (late MC).

The Cycladic cup for example has settled down to an angular profile with loop handle and decoration most of the time of running loops on the rim and two broad bands on the carination. The panelled cup, which is another hallmark of late MC period, seems always on Thera to have the rock motif on the rim with some additional curvilinear decoration on the body. Many examples bear an orange slip on the inside walls.

The same is the case with another very characteristic cup at Akrotiri, the hemispherical cup. This has a wavy band around the rim and always orange slipped interior walls. It becomes particularly abundant in LC I Akrotiri, maybe because it bears some similarity to the Cretan semiglobular cups. The band around the rim of the LC I examples becomes horizontal and the slip on the interior walls, brown.

Unlike Melos, where the Cycladic White Ware portrayed most of the effects of the imported MM pottery to the settlement with an increase of complicated curvilinear motives, Thera, for the moment, seems to fall behind in this
Minoanizing trend. Theran Cycladic White shows more room in its decoration and the final motives lack the developed style of Melian spiral and floral decoration.

Either Theran potters were more conservative in their ideas or MM pottery started to be imported in some quantity to Akrotiri later than at Phylakopi. This thought is reinforced by the scarcity of local light on dark pottery at Akrotiri during the late MC period (Nos. 260-264). This fabric survived into the LC I period and it is odd that so little material of this style appeared up to now in MC layers.\textsuperscript{108}

Thirdly, Burnished Ware (cf. Chapter 2). This kind of pottery seems to have been widely used at MC Akrotiri. So much so that we have two varieties; the Black (BB) and the Red Burnished (RB) pots. The BB ware is for the moment a Theran peculiarity and it is very interesting that BB sherds of closed vessels, possibly containers of some Theran product, were found at Knossos.\textsuperscript{109}

Cycladic cup rims and bases of big closed vases are the most common shapes, sherds of which are found in the MC layers of the settlement. The pithamphora, which was found at the Mavromati Mines (No. 309), gives some suggestion about a possible shape of these closed pots.

The RB ware is more popular and this is why it survived into the LC I period as Red-Painted Ware. It is usually undecorated unless some additional white linear motives are used, such as vertical strokes on Cycladic cups (No. 230),
or reeds on bowls or cups (Nos. 200-201), or some foliate curvilinear decoration on the interior walls of basins (Nos. 205, 207).

A few shapes in this fabric imitate Cretan vessels, such as the ewer with plastic ring around the neck (No. 185), the hole-mouthed pot (No. 193), the rhyton (Nos. 197-199), etc.

No Minyan imitations in the Burnished Ware have yet appeared at Akrotiri. This comes as no surprise since only minimal Grey Minyan sherds were found in the settlement altogether (Nos. 269-272). It shows, however, that Theran trade was mainly oriented towards Crete during the MC period.

Most of the above evidence comes from debris layers found underneath the foundation of the LC I houses at Akrotiri or in empty spaces, where these debris were collected before the rebuilding of the LBA town took place, or even in the walls and floors of the LC I houses.

Walls of the MC settlement were identified in several places and many times were used for the LC I houses, but they were not found in relation with undisturbed MC deposits. The only MC pottery found stratified is the material placed in cavities under the LC I floor of the West House and to the North of it (cf. Chapter 1). For the moment, no MM sherds have been found associated with them (except for sherd No. 301). However, from the MM sherds found in the debris layers excavated in 1978 (Sounding A) the penultimate destruction of the MC settlement at Akrotiri
is dated in Minoan terms around the end of MM III period and the very beginning of the LM Ia period.

Most of the MM imported sherds from Trench A are of MM IIIa date, such as the cups with impressed circle decoration (Nos. 284-285, 296), or wavy line (No. 287), or the broad white running spirals (Nos. 274-276), etc. Other sherds with tortoise shell ripple and running spiral motives\textsuperscript{111} are of MM III/LM Ia date. Many parallels for these can be found among the material from the South Corridor of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, dated to this period.\textsuperscript{112}

It seems that there is no reason therefore, as regards the imports, to date the destruction of the MC settlement at the very beginning of the LC I/LM Ia period.\textsuperscript{113} More so when the local pottery style during this period follows the MC ceramic tradition. The bird jugs, which are the best example of the Black and Red style, bear additional white wavy bands, much as the vases with the 'Polychrome' decoration.\textsuperscript{114} So this style already began in the late MC period instead of the 'Mature' LC I phase.\textsuperscript{115}

On the other hand, the fabric called by Marthari 'Matt-painted' ware\textsuperscript{116} is simply a coarser version of the Cycladic White pottery manufactured still in the MC period. Different qualities of Cycladic White all belonging to the MC period were noticed also at Phylakopi.

Finally, for the moment, it seems that the way we will decide to call the phase following the penultimate destruction, 'LC I Mature' (Marthari 1984) or 'LC I' plain is more a
terminological question than a stratigraphical one and it is related with Crete. Unless good MM IIIb and LM Ia deposits are published from Crete the MM imports belonging to this penultimate phase at Akrotiri can not be closer defined.

Rebuilding must have started immediately after destruction. This is evidenced by the fact that many MC walls were used in the LC I houses and by the existence of many 'archaic' characteristics in the pottery of LC I Akrotiri. Some of these characteristics are:

1) The survival of the ripple and the spiral as two main motives of the LC I pottery.
2) The existence of many light on dark decorated vessels during LC I.
3) The survival of the Red-Painted Ware as an important fabric of the LC I pottery.
4) The use of the hemispherical cup and the Cycladic cup as everyday vessels all through the MC and LC I periods.
5) The longevity of the white additional motives in a mainly monochrome decoration.
6) The utilization of MC pictorial elements like the grape, the bird or the quadruples in the LC I pictorial style.
7) The continuation of local MC shapes like the flower pots (unpublished sherd material) and the nippled ewers into the LC I period, etc.

So rebuilding started by the indigenous population, who decided to keep some of their MC pottery tradition but
also depended seriously on the new trends experienced in Crete.

The most important new feature of LC I pottery at Akrotiri is the abundance of Minoan shapes and motives executed by the local potters. They, however, do not produce vases, as a provincial minoan workshop would do, totally in agreement with the Minoan shape repertoire, from cups to pouring vessels and household utensils (cf. Part I, Chapter 2). They adopt the foreign elements in their own visual and economic necessities. They continue to have some of their own drinking cups or jugs or flower pots or other specialized vases (ribbed vessels, kymbe). At the same time, they borrow some cup shapes from Crete but mostly they substitute their big closed vessels with Minoan equivalents, like the oval-mouthed amphora, the ewer, the bridge-spouted jar, the minoan pithos or jug, etc.

This process must have started at Akrotiri late in the MC period, maybe a little later than at Phylakopi, with the great amount of Minoan products reaching the settlement at Akrotiri in MM IIIa.

By the LC I period, the pottery (both local and Minoan shapes) becomes standardized to such a degree that some vases are found always in identical size, fabric and decoration as, for example, the small bridge-spouted jar, the oval-mouthed amphora and the bridge-spouted jug, to mention only a few. 118

The MC inventiveness and polychromy is gone and one
gets the impression that pots follow certain rules. Potters
do not create according mainly to their own taste, but they
try to fulfill certain prerequisites. It is true that some
standardization had already started in the late MC period
with the Cycladic cups and the bird jugs being the most
striking examples. This process seems to have been completed
in the LC I period, so that Theran pottery production would
fit better in the Minoan repertoire and, thus, facilitate
the close trade relations between Crete and Thera.

The exchange between these two islands of quite different
size and power during the LC I period, becomes maybe more
subtle but probably includes many more aspects than their
pottery can indicate to us. For one thing, the quantity of
LM IA pottery imported to Akrotiri is not as important any­
more, since local Theran pottery had been dramatically
transformed to imitate the Minoan repertoire.

On the other hand, the fact that no LC I Theran pottery
reached Knossos, although it reached Pyrgos and Kommos may be used as indication for a change or intensification
of Theran trade with East Crete rather than as slackening
of the trade altogether. It certainly does not exclude
Theran exchange with Central Crete that already existed
from the MBA.

We believe that Kea had strong trade relations with Crete all through MC-LC II periods, although no Kean pottery
has yet appeared in Crete. Different areas may have traded different commodities, some of them archaeologically
untraceable.
Theran LC I exports to E. Crete should also be examined along with the fact that Theran LC I pottery shows particular similarities to the E. Cretan LM Ia style (cf. conical rhyta from both areas with spiral and floral motives, love for reed and tendril motives, similarity in certain pots of specified use as the goat rhyton from Palaikastro, or the bull rhyton from Mochlos and Pseira, etc.). This surely shows close Theran-E. Cretan connections during LB I.

Unfortunately it is not possible to examine any possible specialization in trade during the MBA since the number of MM imports found at Akrotiri is yet too small. Generally, however, it seems that as regards products exchanged in ceramic containers, the direction of the trade had been very much the same in MC and LC I periods. This was mainly from Crete to the Cyclades, than vice versa. The total of forty Cycladic pottery items found at Knossos in the MM III period and some more found maybe in other palaces, cannot be compared with the innumerable MM imports that reached the Cyclades from Crete (Akrotiri included) during the same period. The Cyclades must have offered something in return that was not exchanged in ceramic containers.

Theran minoanization may not yet be possible to follow closely in the transitional MC III-LC I period but it is plain that there is no break in this process of gradual integration into the minoan orbit here, no more than it is in the other Cycladic settlements.
FOOTNOTES

PART II

A. THERA

CHAPTERS 1, 2, 3 & 4

1 See forthcoming BSA, EC pottery from Akrotiri on Thera and its chronological implications by P. Sotirakopoulou.


3 Thera II, 17; IV, 8-9; V, 9, 27.

4 Thera V, 44-5; Marthari-Palyvou 1984, 119-147.

5 Marthari 1984, 119-133, Figs. 2, 4.

6 Marthari 1984, 132 for contrary opinion and Chapter 3 for full discussion of MM imports.


8 Ibid. Pl. 9.

9 Phylakopi, Pl. IV3, 6.

10 AM 1917, Figs. 35-43.

11 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D56-7, D137-8.

12 Alt-Ägina III1, Pl. 115, 394-5.

13 Barber 1978, 368; MacGillivray 1984, 75.

14 TWAS 10, 1985, 18.

15 Phylakopi, Pl. IX1.

16 Phylakopi, Pl. IX10.

17 AM 1917, Fig. 75.

18 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D136.

19 Alt-Ägina III1, Pl. 118, 413.

20 AAA 1982, Pl. 10 left.

21 MacGillivray 1980, Fig. 10.

22 AAA 1982, Pl. 11 left.
23 Zervos 1957, PIs. 284-6.
24 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D62-3.
26 Phylakopi, PIs. XI-XIII.
28 AM 1917, Figs. 71, 74.
29 AAA 1982, Pl. 11.
30 Thera II, Pl. A; V, Pl. 58.
31 Mylonas 1972, 57, Grave Γ, Pl. 44a.
32 Mylonas 1972, Grave N, PIs. 143a, b.
33 Phylakopi, Fig. 92.
36 PM I, Figs. 404-405; MacGillivray 1984, 153-4.
37 Phylakopi, 262, 264.
38 Thera IV, PIs. 121-125.
39 Catling 1979, Fig. 18, B49, 95-98 for Keftin examples with this decoration; PM I, Fig. 298 for other vases.
40 Thera III, Pl. 56; Thera VI, Pl. 79a.
41 Thera VI, PIs. 80-81.
42 PAE 1980, Pl. 179a.
43 Thera IV, Pl. 96b.
44 Thera VI, PIs. 80-81.
45 Phylakopi, Pl. XX_14.
46 Phylakopi, Pl. XX_2, Pl. XX_5 and Pl. XX_16 respectively.
47 Marthari 1984, Table 1.
48 Phylakopi, Pl. XXIII.
49 Thera IV, Pl. 72; Thera IV, Pl. 70a respectively.
50 Thera IV, Pl. 70b.
51 Barber 1978, 375.
52 Scholes 1956, 18.
53 Scholes 1956, 18, 20.
54 Thera II, 44, Fig. 30.
55 Zervos 1957, Pls. 280-283.
56 Aberg 1933, Fig. 227.
57 Phylakopi, Pl. XIV1-6.
58 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D62-63.
59 Phylakopi, 119.
60 Phylakopi, Pl. XXI1.
61 Phylakopi, Pl. XIV1 or better still XIV8.
62 Phylakopi, Pl. XVI4.
64 Ibid. Fig. 1.
67 Barber 1974, 35.
68 Keos V, 83±AA 71).
69 Thera V, Pl. 62.
70 Phylakopi, 260.
71 Barber 1974, 33.
72 Keos V, 83.
73 BSA 69, 45.
74 BSA 17, Pl. X, 86, 103.
75 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 83, D121, D145, D40.
76 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 91, F32.
77 Alt-Ägina III:1, Pl. 122:443.
78 Phylakopi, Pl. XXXIII.
79 Phylakopi, Pl. XVII.
80 Thera VII, Pl. 46b.
81 Mylonas 1972, Fig. 230:0-199.
82 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 91, F34.
83 Popham 1974, Fig. 5:1, Fig. 6:16.
84 MacGillivray 1984, 156.
85 Keos Pt. II, Fig. 12, F23.
86 Keos Pt. II, Fig. 6, C 21.
87 Thera IV, Pls. 74, 84, 85a, etc.; Thera VI, Pls. 74a, 77a, etc.
89 Catling 1979, Fig. 18, B49, 95-98.
90 Festós, Tav II, Pls. 91c, f.
91 PM I, Figs. 420-21.
92 Catling 1979, Fig. 18, B49, 95-98; PM I, Fig. 298; Festós, Tav III, Pl. 127c.
93 PM I, Fig. 435.
94 Gournia, Pl. C:3, Pl. VI:8.
95 Festós, Tav II, Pl. 112e.
96 Festós, Tav II, Pl. 110f.
97 Mallia Maisons IV, Pl. XXIII:E, G; PM IV, Pl. XXIX, Figs. 88-9.
98 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 83, D119.
99 PM IV, Figs. 100-101; Festós, Tav II, Pls. 124c, f.
100 Popham 1984, Pls. 128-140.
101 Marthari 1984, Fig. 7a.
102 Phylakopi, Pl. XI-XIII.
104 Phylakopi, Pl. XX14.
105 Phylakopi, Pl. XX2.
106 Phylakopi, Pl. XX16.
107 Barber 1978, 376.
108. Thera II, Pl. 25; III, Pl. 1; 3, Pl. 50; IV, Pl. 74, Pl. 84, 85a; VI, Pl. 77a, etc.

109. MacGillivray 1984, 156.


111. Marthari 1984, Fig. 7a.

112. Popham 1984, Pls. 128-140.


115. Marthari 1984, Table 1.

116. Marthari 1984, Fig. 8a.


118. Thera II, Pl. 35; IV, Pl. 66a; VI, Pl. 75 respectively.

119. Arch Rep 1977-8, Fig. 32.


121. MacGillivray 1984, 156.

122. MacGillivray 1984, 156.
Excavations were first conducted at Phylakopi on behalf of the British School at Athens in 1896-99. The publication of these excavations\(^1\) established the stratigraphy of the site which was accepted until very recently.

The second season of excavation which took place in 1910, added more material from the site,\(^2\) while the recent excavations in 1974-77\(^3\) changed some of the dating of the Melian architecture and added more new information about the life of this settlement.

According to the first excavators, the site is divided by two general catastrophes. The first destruction marked the end of City I (EC IIIB) which was succeeded by City II (MC) to the plan of which belonged both the general town layout and the building of the fortifications. Doubts concerned only the earliest stage of City II (II-i), which was evidenced not by architecture but only by pottery remains. Floor deposits were found both for Phylakopi II-ii and II-iii and showed continuity in the ceramic sequence from Phylakopi I.

Middle Minoan exports to Phylakopi are mentioned,\(^4\) appearing in early floor-deposits of the Second City 'at a time, when geometric ware is still current though the transition to curvilinear design is in the process of
being accomplished'. Cretan polychrome ware attains a maximum in II-ii and stops being imported in II-iii period.

Other Cretan influence was exemplified, according to the first excavators, by the pillar crypts and the flying fish fresco. ⁵

The 1910 excavations did not alter these conclusions but after the 1974-77 seasons a fourfold division was adopted ⁶ where City III now corresponds only to LH I-II/ LM Ia-b and City IV covers the LH III period. According to the recent excavators, Mackenzie was misled on two occasions by his tripartite division. ⁷ Firstly, when he dated the pillar room and the frescoes in Square G3 to MB instead of the LB I period and, secondly, when he did the same for the fortification walls. Most of what the initial excavators have considered as Second City walls are now regarded as belonging to the Third City. Therefore, no private or public building could be taken as characteristic of Phylakopi II, which, however, was believed to be similar in general appearance to Cities III and IV. ⁸

As far as the pottery sequence is concerned, no finer stratigraphic divisions have been made for the MC period by the recent excavations, since the MC levels reached represented the levelling fill laid down during the reconstruction of the town after the destruction at the end of Phase C (Second City).

This was the second general catastrophe on the site
and it was followed by a fire, which happened in the early LM Ia period. According to the first excavations, the settlement may have been temporarily abandoned. On the other hand, according to Barber, some parts of the town may not have been inhabited for a while, since the City could not have been rebuilt 'all at once'. The indigenous population was however, responsible for the rebuilding operations, since the street alignment and the building techniques remained the same. New features of the town were the polygonal masonry used to build the fortifications and the central spacious (20 x 12m) house, the so-called 'Mansion', which was probably related to the administration of the town, since a Linear A tablet was found in the vicinity.
CHAPTER 2
LOCAL POTTERY

The influence exerted on MC Phylakopi by the MM wares seems more and more profound as one starts examining analytically the different pottery fabrics of Phylakopi MBA.

One may generally say that, apart from the Burnished Ware, which seems to follow local tastes or otherwise be influenced by Helladic tradition (the single exception among this ware is some White decorated Burnished pottery), the other major MC fabrics, the Cycladic White and the Black and Red (Bichrome) wares, show many minoan features, both in their decoration and in the different shapes, that are newly introduced in the Cycladic repertory.

It is important however to describe the local shapes before examining the MM imports and their effect on local wares.

A. Drinking Vessels - Cups

There are four types of cups in MC Phylakopi: the Cycladic or Melian bowl, the conical cup, the handled cup and the panelled cup. The first three always have linear decoration, while the panelled cup appearing at the end of the MC period and continuing through to the LC I period always has curvilinear designs.

1) Cycladic or Melian bowl, § 15. No. 310, Pl. 27 (cf. (MM 39), BSA 69, 44), (other examples Phylakopi,
This vessel has a long life on the island continuing its existence approximately from I-iii to III-i. period. Its local origin is undeniable. It is found on the other islands too, for example on Keos, Paros, Thera. Even this undeniably Cycladic shape sometimes shows Minoan characteristics. No. 310, which is exhibited in MM, has a black wash on both sides and a white band around the rim with superimposed black dots. It probably belongs to the MC period and its decoration gives the impression of the white-on-black MM style. More examples are found among the sherd material.

2) Conical cup. 6:10b. No. 311 (MM 88). Unpublished and No. 312.169 (MM 110), Fig. 20 (cf. BSA 17, Pl. VI; BSA 69, Fig. 4). (Other examples, Phylakopi, Pl. VII, (NAM 5742), Pl. VII12 (NAM 5743); BSA 17, Pl. VI, 170.)

This type of cup with convex profile and geometric motives in red or black paint belongs to Phylakopi I-iii/early MC period. Its precursor is type 6:10a, with vertical walls and decoration, if any, of two red spots just under the rim. This latter type has a definite I-iii context in Melos and does not survive into the MC period, when it seems to be superseded by type 6:10b. The only other place where 6:10b is attested is in Kea, where it is again found in MC context. However,
6:10a type has a wider distribution being also found in Paros\(^\text{17}\) in Phylakopi I-iii context and in Thera in EC IIIb/MC context.\(^\text{18}\) So it seems that type 6:10b is the development of 6:10a, a type universal in S. Cyclades (Melos, Thera, Paros) rather than an innovation of MBA.

The closest parallel to this cup in Crete is the footless goblet of MM Ia found in the Houses beneath the Kolonnes.\(^\text{19}\)

As mentioned above, type 6:10b belongs primarily to Phylakopi I-iii\(^\text{20}\) but some examples with matt-painted decoration date to the MC period, such as the example No. 311 (MM 88).\(^\text{21}\)

3) Handled cup. \(7:3\). No. 313 (NAM 5725). Pl. 27, Fig. 20. (Other examples BSA 17, Pl. VI, 133 (MM 47), 245 (MM 32), (MM 341).)

This type of cup bears some similarity in profile to the MM I/II tankard shaped cups from Crete.\(^\text{22}\) Walberg distinguishes two types, 195 and 194, in the 'weighed-down mug' as she describes her Form 42. Type 195\(^\text{23}\) has the typical convex-concave profile of our handled cup of 7:3. The other type, 194,\(^\text{24}\) has straight-cylindrical upper part and finds again counterparts in Melos in type 6:11 cups,\(^\text{25}\) which are of late I/early II date.

In Phylakopi, the straight-cylindrical type (6:11) is earlier than the convex-concave type (7:3). The same chronological difference seems to exist in Crete.
too, although, according to MacGillivray, Walberg's type 194 is found only at Knossos and there it is probably a Melian import.\textsuperscript{26}

In Paros, where both varieties exist, one example of the straight-walled type is decorated with vertical zig-zag bands in red paint,\textsuperscript{27} while a convex-concave example is painted with matt black semicircles\textsuperscript{28} (early MC). In Aegina again both types are found. The convex-concave type is decorated with linked disks\textsuperscript{29} (MC period), while the straight-walled type has reddish bands in a 'geometric' style\textsuperscript{30} (EC period).

The shape of convex-concave handled cup is well known in MH Matt-Painted ware as well.\textsuperscript{31} The single burnished example from Lerna IV, mentioned by Buck, must be the only example of this type belonging to the EH III period. The straight-walled type is not found on the mainland.

According to this review the handled cup of both types have a definite local Cycladic evolution.

\textsuperscript{4)} Panelled cup. \textsuperscript{4}9:5. (Phylakopi, Pl. XVI 1-9, 20-21; Pl. XVII; BSA 17, Pl. XIII, 205 (MM 347), 234 (MM 449); BSA 69, Pl. 3f 20\textsuperscript{+} (MM 29), Pl. 3e (MM 424).)

These cups with convex upper body, foot, strap handle and curvilinear decoration in a panel, are characteristic of Phylakopi II-iii and may have been superseded in the following period. Similar cups of local Theran fabric and MC date have been found at Akrotiri,\textsuperscript{32} while the LC examples there
may come from the mainland.  

In Kea they are found in Period F, but also occur in Period G with simplified decoration. They are present in the Shaft Graves of Circle B and Circle A. The shape must have been introduced in the MH MP ware from the Cyclades. It represented the luxury drinking cup of the late MC settlements.

B. Pouring vessels - Jugs

Three varieties of jugs already existed in Phylakopi in the First City: types 6:8a, 8b, 8c.

Type 6:8a is low bellied with fan-shaped spout and handle separate from the spout; type 6:8b is similar but with handle attached just behind the spout; type 6:8c has pinched together spout. These types continued into the early Phylakopi II period while new shapes also appeared.

The new shapes of early MC period (MC I) are a small triangular bodied juglet with narrow channelled spout (7:2a) and a bigger size jug of two variations (7:2bi and 2bii). Type 2bi is bulky with a narrow beak that does not rise too high. The tendency of the beak to become narrower and horizontal instead of vertical, is found also in Crete, where from the wide-mouthed three handled jugs, common at Phaestos Phase Ia (MM IIa), we come to the LM Ia examples with narrow spout, which rises at a lower angle. There are many fragments of jugs from Melos with white horizontal band decoration on the body. One complete example, No. 314 (NAM 5726), Pl. 28, Fig. 21,
has a narrow high neck and globular body and may belong to the early MC period (type 7:2bi).

The second type of jug of the early MC period (MC I), 7:2bii, has a short wide spout and cut-away mouth. According to Barber 'such jugs appear to have most in common with Cretan shapes of EM III/MM I and later'. The Melian 2bii jugs are made of local clay and do not imitate so closely their prototypes. This may become apparent from the comparison to one such imported MM jug, No. 396, Pl. 51, Fig. 36, which is roughly contemporary with the 2bii jugs and yet looks quite different from them. The cut-away spouted jugs continue into the LC I period as No. 320, Pl. 31 shows.

In the MC II period (Phylakopi II-ii) a standardization of the shape of jugs in the Cyclades is reached. Type 9:1a has an elongated globular body, channelled spout, raised base and occasionally plastic breasts. A very characteristic decoration of this phase (II-ii) is the goblin, as an example No. 315 (NAM 5777), Pl. 28 (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XIV, 6A-C). This type of jug becomes popular in the Cyclades and is even traded to Knossos and Lerna. Among the Cyclades it is found in Keos, Naxos, Amorgos, Tenos and Thera.

Melos seems to be a major centre of production of fine specimens of this type, with intrinsic curvilinear motives, like the double spirals, rosettes in circles, hatched triangles, hatched leaves, wavy bands and the goblin, which for the moment is found only on Melos.
Type $^{1} \text{9:1b (MC II-iii to III-i)}$ shows a peculiarity in the formation of the neck, which is titled backwards and always bears birds for decoration. Although there is no whole example of this type from Melos itself, there are twelve such specimens from Knossos from the Temple Repositories. According to the clay analysis, these jugs have a definite Cycladic provenance and from their style they must come from Melos. Since they have been found in a MM IIIb context at Knossos, they must belong right to the end of the MC period and this is counter-checked by the context of similar jugs found in the Shaft Graves of Circle B. At Korakou they come from MH levels and the same goes for Asine.

The MC Bird jugs from Akrotiri continue to exist in LC I but with differences in the shape and the decoration. In Melos they survive in use without much change into the Third City. In Kea they have been found as imports from Melos in Period V, while other sherds with bird decoration of Bichrome fabric have been found also into LC I levels. The one nearly complete example from Myrtos (Pyrgos) is of LM I date. So, generally, it depends on the fabric and type of decoration of each specimen, if found out of context, to be classified in either late MC period or early LC period.

By the MC III period, a number of jugs came about under the influence of MM III examples. Two such Minoanizing jugs are No. 316 (BSA 69, Pl. 4a) and No. 317, Pls. 29-30 (BSA 69, Pl. 4d). They have light-on-dark curvilinear decoration.
Another kind of jug, the ewer, has round mouth and handle just under the rim and goes back to the EC III period. Two unpublished fragments, No. 318 and 318a, Pl. 30, Fig. 22, are of Red Burnished fabric as the EC examples and additional white patterns. The neck is, however, shorter and wider and the handle reaches the rim. One example of a ewer published in Phylakopi, Pl. XXIV, is referred to as Kamares ware and may date to the MM II period. Nos. 318 and 318a may be later than this imported example resembling more to the MM III ewers (Catling 1979, Fig. 24:155-70). The transformation from the trumpet like neck to the regular neck of the ewer may have taken place contemporaneously in Crete and the Cyclades. The shape survived into LC I, No. 319, Pl. 31 (Phylakopi, Pl. XXI,) when the neck becomes shorter, the rim less flaring and the body elongated.

C. Storage vessels

The evidence for local MC storage vessels is poor. In the first excavation report only one plate is devoted to pithoi, which are either of EC or LC date. Some of the fragments illustrated in other plates of Phylakopi may also belong to pithoi of I-iii/II early date. The single complete restored example of a pithos of EC IIIB/early MC period is that on Phylakopi, Pl. VII, with the decoration of linked multiple homocentric circles. Some justification to this fact was made by the 1911 report, where several shapes cf. urns and pithoi are illustrated. However, none belong to the MC period. One more restored example of possible MC date is the
squat barrel jar type of pithos published in BSA 69, Pl. 1d (MM 158). It is of unknown context but is considered as a 'more advanced type' and is possibly of early MC date. The same goes for the fragment on BSA 69, Pl. 1c (MM 145), with matt black decoration of hatched crosses, asterisks and zig-zags in panels.

Finally, another fragmentary example of a pithos, No. 321 (MM ), Pl. 32, with globular body, flaring rim and dark paint is exhibited in Melos Museum and may belong again to the MC period.

A variety of coarse closed vases such as jars, amphorae and pithoi have been recovered from the 1974-77 excavations but no complete profiles have been added to the ones already known. A great variety of rim profiles from open vessels is also attested. Basins with incurved, plain and ledge rim, are found and generally it seems the everyday ware and household utensils did not suffer any great change under the influence of Minoan equivalent wares.
CHAPTER 3a

MM IMPORTS AND IMITATIONS

This review of MM imports from the settlement of Phylakopi will mainly be based on the MM material found during the early excavations (1899) on the site. These sherds are now stored in the Athens National Museum. (Other material kept in the Ashmolean or other Museums, as well as the sherds from the 1974-77 excavations have not been considered.)

Some of these sherds have already been published in Phylakopi by Edgar and in Chronologie by Åberg.

No particular stratigraphic details are attached to this material apart from Mackenzies' remarks that specimens of Cretan polychrome ware was found in a 'floor deposit of a typical house of the period of the Second City in the north part of the town at H1:1-13 and room 6..... Thus Cretan polychrome ware appears in early floor-deposits of the Second City at a time when 'geometric' ware is still current, though the transition to curvilinear design is in process of being accomplished'.

The excavations of 1974-77 provided more MM material. But, since the MC levels found in trenches pi-C, pi-D/E and PL mostly represent 'levelling fill laid down during the reconstruction of the town after the destruction of the end of Phase C (City II)' (Barber, forthcoming), no clearer stratigraphy must be expected.
The MM sherds are easily distinguishable as fabric from the local ware, since the Cretan clay is finer, pinkish-buff and of more compact texture. Most of the fragments, however, have been badly affected by burying and have lost their lustrous slip and along with it many times their decoration too. The local imitations never reach the quality of the prototypes and are rarely, if ever, polychrome.

Here the imitative Minoanizing vases are going to be arranged along with the imports, while the impact of the MM motives on the decoration of the local Cycladic White fabric will be discussed in Chapter 3b.

The examination of the MM imports will follow the shape repertoire and for each shape the local imitations are going to be described.

The term 'Kamares' is not going to be used since it came to denote the pottery of MM II period from the two palatial centres of Knossos and Phaestos, although MM II palatial pottery is now known from other palaces as that of Zakros and Mallia. Strictly speaking, the term 'Kamares' should, with more justification, be used for the polychrome material of Kamares cave which is dated mainly into the MM Ia and b periods. For the above mentioned reasons, the term is not sufficiently accurate and instead, the chronological system worked out for Knossian MM pottery deposits will be used.

The shape of the straight-walled cup, Walberg's
form 45, is represented by nineteen fragments (Nos. 322-340), which belong to rims and bases and almost all (except for sherds Nos. 338-339) share the black slip on both sides (Figs. 23-26, Pls. 32 bottom-36).

Three types of these cups are present. Most of the examples belong to Walberg's type 207, with flaring sides, relatively narrow base and medium height. Fragments Nos. 322-323a and No. 332 are of this type. More rare is the type with straight walls, wide base and low height, Walberg's type 201. Fragments Nos. 326 and 331 may be of this type. Finally, there is another category with ribbed walls, not described by Walberg, but found frequently in Knossian MM IIIa contexts. Fragment No. 340 belongs to this category.

As regards the decoration of these sherds, most of them find parallels in MM IIa-IIIa ware.

In more detail, fragment No. 322, Fig. 23, can safely be dated to MM IIa, since the antithetic loops with half rosettes springing out of their joints, marked here by an orange dot (WM 3:10), meet, as accessory motif, on an elongated wide-mouthed bridge-spouted jar from Knossos, S.E. Angle of the Palace. Of the same date must be fragments Nos. 323-323a, Fig. 23, since the components of its decoration like the spiral, the orange loops and the hatching are found also on a semi-globular cup from the Royal Pottery Stores and other vases (WM 5(iii)8). Dots or spirals around the rims of straight-walled cups,
as on No. 325, Fig. 23, are common in MM IIIb Phaestos.\textsuperscript{75} At Knossos, the rim and foliate band below is common in many vases of the MM IIb-IIIa period.\textsuperscript{76}

The orange circle with groups of radiating white lines around it is not a typical Knossian motif, found on sherd No. 330, Fig. 24. No close parallel could be found.

True barbotine decoration is used only on cup No. 326, Fig. 23, where barbotine knobs are preserved in six rows with superimposed orange splashes here and there. This example is closer in style to S. Cretan material, where barbotine is popular\textsuperscript{77} and maybe dates from MM Ib to IIb. Another fragment, No. 324, Fig. 23, with plastic ribs on the main zone and orange lines painted on white bands above and below,\textsuperscript{78} may belong to the same period. These are the earliest MM sherds found in the Athens National Museum collection. No MM Ia material could be identified.

Two other sherds of straight-walled cups (Nos. 327 and 332) find good parallels at Knossos (unpublished material). No. 327, Fig. 23, has a white loop motif for decoration imitating the fluting of metal prototypes (WM 16(iii)5). The lower handle attachment reaches the base, which is bevelled.\textsuperscript{79} Cups with this kind of base\textsuperscript{ref} mainly from MM IIb to IIIa. Finally, No. 332, Fig. 24, has the speckled decoration of many straight-walled and semi-globular cups of MM IIIa-b period.\textsuperscript{80}

To MM IIb/IIIa period belongs the only ribbed wall fragment found in this collection, No. 340, Fig. 26.
This type of cup became very popular in the minoanizing ware of the Cyclades and particularly at A. Irini. 81

Non-palatial imports are represented by cups No. 338, Fig. 25;339, Fig. 26. The clay of both is reddish rather than buff and the slip red/brown instead of lustrous black. No. 338 has a rather E. Cretan motif of rosettes with red centres and white petals (PMMP l(iii)). No. 339 bears the network pattern (PMMP 31(ii)6) which is again not a Knossian motif but common in provincial MM pottery.

These straight-walled cup fragments dating from MM Ib to MM IIIb evolved a series of local imitations. The earlier minoanizing straight-walled cups are made in the red burnished fabric probably trying to imitate the lustrous black slip. The decoration is white. One unpublished example of this category comes from NAM collection, No. 341 (NAM 5736), Pl. 36, Fig. 26. It has no handle and the decoration consists of a band with vertically placed leaves around the rim and a body zone with quirk pattern. Horizontal bands are found around the base. Here a combination of local and minoan motives is tried. The leaves decorate the neck of many local beaked jugs of the same period82 while quirk is a Cretan motif.83 In another two examples, we have the motive of retorted spiral, covering either a body zone (No. 342) or the whole body (No. 343). According to Barber,84 the latter, No. 343.240 (MM30), resembles the MM Ib cups.85 But the only stratified example, No. 344.166(MM86) Pl. 36 (cf. BSA 17, Pl. VII) belongs to Phylakopi II-i.86
maybe indicates a terminus post quem for cups of this fabric. On the other hand, since the fabric lasted for a long time in the settlement, each example must be dated, as Barber rightly suggests, according to external parallels. Therefore, No. 343 with the wide retorting spirals covering the whole body of the cup, resembles more the MM III Knossian examples and must belong to the late MC period.

The straight-walled cup continues all through the LB I, II and III early and middle periods on Melos. Examples with ripple decoration show the first specimens of the dark-on-light style, minoanizing LC I straight-walled cups on the island.

The semiglobular cup is represented by twenty-three sherds (Nos. 345-67, Figs. 27-30, Pls. 37-40 middle). Six out of them (Nos. 345-350) have already been published either in Phylakopi and/or in Åberg's Chronologie. All of them seem to be products of the two central Cretan Palatial centres and are characterized by the lustrous black slip on both sides and the developed motives of MM II-IIIA period. Some bear decoration on their interior walls as well (No. 361).

The general shape conforms to the rounded profile with slightly flaring rim of Walberg's type 197 cup. There is only one example of the stemmed rounded cup (No. 353), Walberg's type 198, which generally was less popular than the semiglobular cup. Most of the fragments belong to the rims of the cups. Those that have lost their decoration from the time they were first found will.
be given, drawing references also. Most of the sherds belong to MM IIa-IIIa period. No. 345, Fig. 27 bears a dotted circle from which spring a trefoil loop, while hatching is used in the interspaces (WM 5(iii)). All these elements of decoration are found in Phaestos (Phase Ib) and Knossos in the MM IIa period. Sherd No. 346, Fig. 27, is covered by wavy orange bands (WM 16 (ii)) with small white loops and lozenges interweaved in the interspaces. The sherd is published already by Åberg and is representative of a series of cups with wavy line motives common both at Phaestos and at Knossos. Small motives like dotted rosette, or lozenges, or small branches fill the interspaces. This style lasted up to the MM IIIb period but this particular sherd belongs to the eggshell ware and hence is of MM IIa date.

No. 347, Fig. 27, has vertically placed impressed dotted zig-zag lines, parallel to these orange dotted lines and in the interspaces rhomboid white leaves (WM 8:17). A parallel for this sherd comes again from Phaestos MM Ib/IIa period.

Very characteristic of MM IIa period is No. 348, Fig. 27, an eggshell fragment with a wavy profile. This profile is the result of impressed dots forming the centres of orange leaved rosettes, that decorate the body of this cup. Around the flowers, impressed circles with orange centres form wavy bands. This fragment reminds us of the decoration of the Twelfth Dynasty hole-mouthed jar found at Abydos dated in MM IIa.
similar wavy profile is found also on a cup from Kommos.  

Still another characteristic sherd, No. 349, Fig. 27, bears the motif of linked ivy leaves with white hatched centres and rhomboids hanging from its volutes. Ivies are found in both Phaestos and Knossian pottery. Two examples with hatched ivies, though in a vertical arrangement, come from Phaestos. This sherd also may belong to the MM IIa period.

Another popular decoration used in MM IIa-IIIa pottery was the radiating motif drawn on the base of cups and other, very often wavy line style, used for the body. Sherd No. 350, Fig. 28, preserves the lower part of the body decorated by a rosette, while a small spiral is preserved from the upper body decoration. It has both Knossian and Phaestian parallels.

Some sherds show only parts of their old decoration, such as No. 351, Fig. 28, with oblique white strokes on the inside of the rim; No. 353, Fig. 28, the stemmed cup with two orange lines bordered the body zone and vertical strokes on the stem; No. 352, Fig. 28, in the same white semicircle on the rim and same foliate (?) band on the body and finally, No. 356, Fig. 29, with an orange band on the rim and some maybe floral motif underneath.

There are other sherds with linear motives like parallel lines, No. 354, Fig. 28, or vertical lines, No. 355, Fig. 28, or even netting, No. 359, Fig. 29.
There is also a group of sherds, Nos. 362-7, Fig. 30, from bases of cups or bowls which are covered with a black slip on both sides and have the decoration of oblique or vertical white bands or leaves. The only use of the white paint in their decoration may not be decisive for their date, since these sherds come from the lower body of the cups and may have had additional colours higher up on their body. As regards their shape, they may come from bowls or cups, since this type of decoration characterizes both bowls and rounded cups at Phaestos in Phase Ib as well as at Knossos in MM IIIa.

One sherd, No. 357, Fig. 29, is interesting for its whorl shell decoration, while another eggshell fragment, No. 358, Fig. 29, combines the impressed shell decoration on the rim with the painted decoration on the body (orange band with superimposed red zig-zag line or black band with white zig-zag lines). Embossed or impressed cockle shells (WM 28:4) are found in both the palaces of Phaestos and Knossos.

Two examples of the in-and-out decorated cups are found in this collection of MM sherds with their motives fairly well preserved; No. 360, Fig. 29, which is the rim of such a cup with netting decoration on the inside and No. 361, Fig. 29, which bears radiating leaves on the inner side and radiating lines on the outer. Parallels are found both at Phaestos and Knossos. The same kind of decoration on both sides is found on very finely decorated bowls too. No. 368, Fig. 31, bears a papyrus motif with
two lines, an orange and a white, framing it. While, the best preserved example, No. 369, Fig. 31, has radiating foliate motives on the interior and groups of radiating lines outside.

All these sherds are dated to MM IIa-IIIa period. Only fragment No. 347, Fig. 27, may go back to MM Ib period. No typical MM IIIb pottery, like 'Keftiu' cups with plastic rib is found. Parallels could be found at both Phaestos and Knossos and therefore no particular palace can be connected with the trade with Melos.

The MM semiglobular cups helped in the popularity of another local cup in the Cycladic White fabric which imitates the form of the Cretan prototype. This is the shallow cup (9:4).

In early MC period the popular Cycladic drinking cup was the conical cup of type 6:10b and the handled cup of type 7:3 (cf. Chapter 2).

These cups fell in popularity as the new types of cup 9:4 appeared. This new shape is called 'shallow' in the publication of Phylakopi and henceforth remained in use in recent work too. The term semiglobular has been kept for its successor in the Later Local pottery of the LC I period.

The shallow cup came in four variations. The three variations have slightly everted rim and raised base. They resemble Walberg's 197:6 type. The last variation (9:4d), No. 372, Fig. 32, has no foot, it is merely
flattened underneath and bears panelled decoration.\textsuperscript{114}

Only two examples of these 'shallow' cups both of 9:4d variation have been found in some context in the 1911 excavations at Phylakopi. According to Barber\textsuperscript{115} they are both of II/III transition. This is reinforced by the Theran parallel\textsuperscript{116} which again is of 4d type. Already from the first publication the cups on Phylakopi, Pl. XVI, which include some examples of all four variations, are said to belong to II-iii and be after the period of importation of MM III polychrome vases.\textsuperscript{117} So it is clear that the shallow cup came as a local response to the 'Kamares' semiglobular cups imported to Melos from the Palatial centres of Crete.

As mentioned above, the shallow cup was not the only drinking cup in Melos during the later MC period. Apart from the Cycladic or Melian bowl, which is best suitable for eating than for drinking (Chapter 1), there was also the panelled cup\textsuperscript{118} which appeared at approximately the same time as the type 9:4d cups. According to MacKenzie\textsuperscript{119} the panelled cups also have an undeniable affinity with Minoan examples and derivative character since the Minoan wares as a whole belong to an earlier deposit. It seems however, that panelled cups owe much of the inspiration for their decoration to Minoan influence but their shape is a local Cycladic invention (cf. Chapter 1).

So local and foreign traditions mingle by the end of the MC period to produce a more standardized pottery repertory during the LC I period. By that time the type
The semiglobular cup bears always the motives common in Crete during the LM Ia period, such as foliates and spiral or else has simpler curvilinear decoration, such as some Black and Red examples. Another shape, which again started in the MC period under the influence of minoan examples, is the in-and-out bowl. A local adaptation of this shape is the bowl, No. 374 (NAM 5740), Pl. 43-4, Fig. 32, (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XV). The walls of this bowl form a semiglobular shape, the base is slightly convex and the rim is flattened on top. Two round sectioned handles are raised above the bowl. There is no decoration on the outside apart from a band below the rim and groups of vertical lines on it and on the handles. On the inside there is a whirling motif consisting of isolated spirals. Around this central motif there is a band with vertical leaves like the ornamentation of some beaked jugs of Cycladic White fabric again. So we have a combination of local and minoan elements. Examples of this shape from Phaestos, Phase Ib have exactly the same shape with more intrigue interior decoration and simple outer patterns.

In Phylakopi this shape did not gain much preference, since, apart from the two imported fragments (Nos. 368-9)
there are altogether only nine imitations. These 'minoanizing' bowls are published in *Phylakopi*.\textsuperscript{124} No other pots are found in later publications, apart from a few examples among the unpublished material of the 1974-'77 excavations (Barber, forthcoming).

The in-and-out bowl has been imitated on Keos\textsuperscript{125} and on Thera (Nos. 172-173) but always on a small scale.

Only two sherds of carinated cups (Nos. 370-371, Fig. 31) have been identified among the MM sherds from the old excavations on Melos kept in the Athens National Museum. Carinated cups have been found very rarely in Period V Keos according to J. Davis, while, for the moment, do not appear among the MBA Theran material. They do not seem to have been imitated frequently.

The evidence for a trade of closed pots is meagre, Nos. 375-380. These pots, jars, jugs or amphorae must have been imported for their contents. Their small number is interesting in connection with the great number of drinking cups that have been described above. This, however, may be purely fortuitous due to the selective amount of MM sherds decided to be kept by the early excavations of Phylakopi. Sherds, Nos. 377-379, have an orange brown slip instead of black and maybe have been received from another area than central Crete. Sherds Nos. 397-398, Pl. 52, Fig. 35, belong to jugs. The only complete example is No. 396 (NAM 5726), Pl. 51, Fig. 36. The strong local tradition for jugs all through the MC period (Cf. Chapter 2), however, permitted only limited.
imitation of jugs among which is the ewer.

Nos. 400-401 are also from closed pits and are peculiar for their decoration (provincial minoanizing products?), while No. 402, Fig. 37, is an early imitation of an oval-mouthed amphora with barbotine decoration.

More interesting as imports were the hole-mouthed jars. There are at least eleven hole-mouthed jar fragments from the first excavations at Phylakopi with some decoration preserved and other not so informative pieces. There is variation in their shape as well as their quality. The quality of the slip on most imports (Nos. 381, 382, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391) is very good but unluckily we have few body sherds of a satisfying size to give us more information about their decoration. The best example is No. 382, Fig. 33, with homocentric circles and dot designs decorating an angular shaped jar. This jar may date as early as MM Ib/IIa but similar examples are found at Phaestos in Phase Ib too. Another example of possible MM Ib/IIa date is No. 386, Fig. 34, with linked disks and crosses in the interspaces.

The remaining sherds have orange and white line or plain white decoration. No. 383, Fig. 34, may belong to a pitharaki. Its brownish slip and careless decoration made it look a provincial product.

As regards the shape there exists both the early MM I type with angular shoulder and ledge rim (Nos. 383, 386) and the MM II variety with plain rim and globular body (Nos. 381, 388-391).
Some imitation started already with the first MM imports as the stratified example of No. 192, 210 (MM83), Fig. 35, found in Phylakopi II-ii level shows. But, since this shape of pot was one of the most useful and practical containers, it was bound to have a long life in Melos as it did in Crete (LC II).

The fact that hole-mouthed minoanizing jars are first found in the red burnished fabric with white decoration as the minoanizing straight-walled cups is maybe an indication that minoanizing pottery started first in Cycladic pottery workshops. The hole-mouthed jar, No. 392, Pls. 48-49, Fig. 35, imitates exactly the Phaestian Phase Ib jars and must belong to the period of importation of these jars. On the other hand Barber is right to put No. 148 (BSA 17, Pl. VII, 148) close to post-Kamares ware of MM III, since it has a raised base like the Kamilari examples.

In the MC III period the local imitations of hole-mouthed pots on Melos continue to develop according to their minoan equivalents. In MM III Crete we have first a pedestalled type represented by the Kamilari examples or some Phaestian Phase III hole-mouthed jars and a type with deeper body and wider base. In accordance to these types in Melos we have a type with raised somehow base, No. 393, Pls. 49-50 (BSA 69, Pl. 6a) (Keos Pt. II, F51, Pl. 90) and another, No. 394, Pl. 50 (BSA 69, Pl. 6b) (Thera III, Fig. 34) with deeper body, short handles and wider base. Their decoration is poor and consists of
thinly applied white paint. If this close similarity of the minoanizing MC III hole-mouthed jars of Melos to Cretan prototypes is further documented to be true it must be taken as indicative of the existence of a local Minoanizing workshop supervised, at least, by Cretan potters who were able to produce the current Minoan repertoire even away from their motherland.

In the LC I period the Black and Red jars or jugs (Phylakopi 9-10-12) and the jars of the Later Local pottery (Ibid. 13) were used for imitating the LM Ia imports. The hole-mouthed jar No. 395, Pl. 51, has bichrome decoration and although similarly decorated vases imitating LM Ia imports belong to the LC I period, this particular example was found along with LM Ib imports and belongs to Phylakopi III-ii period.

The shape of the hole-mouthed pot continues until LC II, when the body becomes bulkier and more globular, the spout springs from a vertical neck and there is only one handle. Hole-mouthed jars are found also in Kea, Phase G and H as well as Thera in the LC I period. There are two sherds in the NAM collection belonging to rhyta with Nos. 11500 and 11501. Finally, a 'Kamares' figurine discovered in the 1899 excavation is No. 405 (NAM 11991) Pl. 54, Fig. 37. This figurine was not published in the excavation report but was published by Myres in 1903. Only the back of the upper body and half of the lower body are preserved. The head, the lower part of the hands, the breasts and half of the lower body are missing. It is
decorated in the typical 'Kamares' technique with lustrous black paint for the background and white and orange superimposed motifs. From the details of this decoration today only a cross made of orange dots can be seen on the back of the upper body. Four white papyrus-like ornaments and two foliate bands, again in white, spring out of this cross. On the lower body traces of white and orange paint exist.

The reconstruction of this figurine is not so easy since idols of the MM II period are lacking except for the foot of a painted figurine from Knossos. More helpful are the MM I period figurine from Chamaizi and Petsofa, which have permanently attached head, the first with turban hat, the second with bag-like hat. In the same period belong heads of figurines from Mallia, Myrtos and Kommos, which are independently attached to the body and give us some information about how the face characteristics may have been rendered. The hands are not folded on the body, but are brought forward like the Chamaizi-Petsofa type. The skirt is different than the MM III faience figurines from Knossos, S. Propyleum. Instead of a flounced skirt we have here a bell-shaped one. We know nothing of the shape of the feet, if there existed any.

As regards the date of the figurine, the best parallel is an example from Phaestos. It preserves only the upper part of the body without head and skirt, but shows the same black paint for the bodice, the necklace
and the outline of the breasts. Its hands and nude bust are white. The Phaestian example does not use orange in the decoration however and may be later. The motif of an orange cross from which foliate bands spring, is found in a bowl of Phaestos Phase Ib\textsuperscript{141} and on Knossian MM IIIa pottery.

The significance of this figurine is difficult to gather. For Crete, Warren believes that the worship of a goddess goes back to the EBA, since Myrtos female figurine was found in a shrine. The domestic cult with a household goddess, one of whose attributes was the snake, begun in EM II, while the fertility aspect of the Mistress of Animals is clear already by EM III. But, whether this foreign statuette carried any religious context in its travel to Melos, is difficult to assess. The findspot on the site is unknown, but, together with the two terracotta heads of bulls at Phylakopi\textsuperscript{142} it is one of the few figurative pieces from the site from the period of Minoan influence and is likely to have been used in the practice of cult.

Finally, the 'Kamares' figurine is similar in posture and maybe position of hands to the big statues from Kea. Three explanations have been offered for the ladies of A. Irini. First, that they are adorants of a goddess being a votive offering. Second, that they are the goddess herself and third, that they are dancers. It would be fortuitous to characterize a single find like the 'Kamares' figurine with any of these qualities, since,
apart from the 'Fire' group in Santorini and the MBA hearths at Kea Temple, there is nothing else to show MC religious customs in the Cycladic settlements. This MM figurine remains for the moment a solitary find.
Contacts between the Cyclades and Crete started from the Neolithic period. They were tentative during EM I and II, stopped during EClIIa and continued from EC IIIB onwards.

The relation between the two areas throughout the MC period, particularly the relation between Melos and Crete, which is under consideration, became especially close in MC III. The communication then, as has been shown above in Chapter 3a, is not limited to actual imports that are exchanged between the two islands, but Cretan motives are imitated on local wares and particularly the Cycladic White (CW) fabric. It is interesting to follow this transformation of decorative motives through the MC period in order to emphasize the local initiative in this process of 'Minoanization' and give some credit to the Melian potters, that were responsible for this change. Furumark, considering the Cycladic pottery decoration of the EC and MC period, made two important characterizations; 1) that the morphological and syntactic nature of Cycladic vase painting is derivative from EC incised ware and 2) that the borrowed Minoan features are all used dissolved from their original synthesis and rearranged in an 'aimless' (quotations are mine) manner. These principles being true in general, one needs to look closer to individual motives so that the sequence of stylistic
variation during the MC period is better understood.
Comparative Minoan motives are taken from Walberg's Kamares (WM) and Provincial Middle Minoan Pottery (PMMP).

On the Phylakopi II early, beaked jugs (7:2b), we notice some of the first curvilinear designs of the MC period, some of which are motives that decorate also the MM pottery.

1) SPIRAL: The spiral preexists in Cycladic incised ware as well as on EC IIIb painted pottery. The double running spiral based on the S-pattern starts already in the EC I period. The round multicoiled disks are introduced in EC I/II, while the whirling spiral motives are placed in the middle of EC II and perhaps continue into EC III. In early MC period the S-spirals in zones or detached, as well as the disks with tangents continue an earlier tradition. There is not yet any running spiral motif as in the last phase of the MC period (MC III) and for this reason we are justified to say that the running spiral, instead of the connected homocentric circles or the S-spirals, is an innovation, that will come about only through Minoan influence.

2) BIRD: The bird motif with linear neck, head, legs and hatched body already starts from the beginning of the MC period on beaked jugs. Pictorial motives are not popular in MM pottery and especially the bird is rarely encountered.

3) ASTERISK: Along with the bird we find the asterisk on
one of the vases,\textsuperscript{158} which is a minoan supplementary element\textsuperscript{159} ('stellate' pattern) found on MM pottery among wavy lines (WM 16:7), or in a more complex form (WM 10, radiating motif).

4) ARCADES: The arcade design or the two antithetic zones of joined semicircles (WM 13:3)\textsuperscript{160} is found again on MM pottery and it is a purely minoan intrusion.

5) BARBOTINE: Minoan is again the barbotine decoration, so common on MM Ia and b pottery. It is only however exceptionally imitated at Phylakopi, as on an amphora (No. 402, Fig. 37)\textsuperscript{161} where barbotine knobs cover the whole body of the pot. The minoan barbotine is more irregular and big knobs covering the whole body of the pot are not usual. Apart from the beaked jugs, which bear some MM motives and the two examples of amphorae\textsuperscript{162} the remaining pots all through the early MC period bear motives based on the local Cycladic tradition.

6) VERTICAL STROKES, NETWORK, ZIG-ZAG LINES, HORIZONTAL LINES, LOZENGES, PARALLELOGRAMS, CHEVRONS: Many simple rectilinear motives can easily turn up in different areas and so do not show particular minoan influence. The spouted Melian bowls (type 7:5) bear the decoration of groups of vertical strokes\textsuperscript{163} while the straight-walled spouted bowl (type 7:8) bears a network pattern on the whole body,\textsuperscript{164} which is known both on Provincial MM pottery (PMMP 31(ii)3-9) and from the EC IIb painted ware as well.\textsuperscript{165} This network pattern and the vertical zig-zags on a handle\textsuperscript{166} cup of type 7:3, as well as the spiral on...
a beaked jug\(^{167}\) are the only examples of surface decoration in the early MC period. This is an innovation due to the minoan influence. The motives themselves may be of local derivation as the vertically incised zig-zags known from the EC IIIb incised and painted pottery,\(^{168}\) but their new syntax is a minoan invention. Simple rectilinear patterns like the horizontal bands on the necks of the vases\(^{169}\) or the group of vertical lines on the body of the jugs\(^{170}\) continue the earlier EC IIIb tradition.\(^{171}\) Also the combinations of horizontal and vertical lines,\(^{172}\) the lozenges, parallelograms, chevrons, groups of vertical lines or hatched chevrons with a spot at the head which meet on melian bowls\(^{173}\) continue the linear decoration of the EC IIIb period. The Cycladic initiative during the MC I period is best evidenced by the pictorial decoration which is found on some body sherds of this period.\(^{174}\)

7) FISH: Unlike the bird with long oval hatched body, high legs and long neck, which is popular,\(^{175}\) the fish with hatched body and fins, is less common,\(^{176}\) but is drawn in the same linear way. In PMMP however, the fish is rendered with compact white or black body or in outline as the dolphin\(^ {177}\) and is more common than the bird.

8) ANIMALS: Animal figures are also found in Melos\(^{178}\) but these again look different from the MM animals which have hatched bodies.\(^{179}\)

9) SHIP: The ship\(^{180}\) once in MC Melian painted ware. Two parallel lines are used to render the hull, a vertical line is the mast and double oblique lines are drawn for
the sheets. Small diagonal lines are the oars and a longer line the steering oar. Some of these details (the hull and oars) already exist in incised ware of the EC period. Others, like the mast, sheets and steering oar, are new additions. The ship is not found in MM pottery.

10) HUMAN FIGURE: Men appear both in dark-on-light and light-on-dark decoration in the MC pottery. The dark-on-light human figures have two hatched triangles for bodies and upraised hands or else linear bodies with hands bent downwards. Two antithetic triangles for upper and lower body are used for the light-on-dark figures which again have hands bent upwards. There are corresponding human figures (WM 29:1) in MM pottery as well, where the lower body and legs are naturalistically painted. In both Cycladic and Minoan pottery the figures have usually hands bent at the elbow and raised. An exception is Phylakopi, Pl. XIII figure (hands down). The hairstyle is always wild and additional details like a dagger worn on the waist are sometimes added. There are no female figures in a 'dancing' stance (WM 25(vi)1-2) in Cycladic pottery. There is probably some kind of local development in the human figure motif of Cycladic pottery painting. The chevron motif with dots at the ends painted on one of the Melian bowls resembles the upper body of the human figure on Phylakopi, Pl. XIII. When another chevron is added at the bottom plus the head, the figure is complete. On the other hand, the precursor of the light-on-dark figure can be the painting on an
EC IIIb amphora, where the place of the body is taken by three vertical bands from which spring two bent and raised upwards hands. So there is no need to search for Cretan prototypes in Cycladic pictoralized motives, since the local pottery seems to be more rich in pictorial representations than the contemporary minoan art.

The last group of vases of the MC I pottery, that need to be mentioned, is some body sherds of pithoi which continue the geometric decoration of late EC IIIb period with some additional minor minoan supplementary ornaments.

11) HATCHED GEOMETRIC DESIGN: Of Cycladic origin is the cross motif with hatched sides and reserved centre or the hatched chevron in circle or the antithetic hatched chevron and the radiating triangles with cross hatching. These purely geometric motives are continued with the arcade motif, the small chevron, or the wavy line, which are minor elements in minoan art.

We thus come to the MC II period pottery, when major stylistic changes in the decoration of the local pottery are accomplished. This is the time when more Cretan polychrome pottery was imported into the settlement, which had as a result more minoan motives to be adopted and, more important still, a tendency towards field rather than zonal decoration to be found. The beaked jugs, of this period show still the strength of the local tradition by the appearance of the goblin which is an imaginative local creation. But this motif asks for space and therefore for field decoration.
12) GOBLIN: Evans has seen in this goblin design an ingenious transformation of the double axe sign. However, this motif is a pure Cycladic creation. The formation of the head with an outward curve and the serpentine body can be compared to the corresponding formation of the quadrupeds. If one adds the hatched triangles for the wings and the details of the face, the new grotesque figure is created, that decorates some of the most elegant jugs of this period. Additional motives like the S-spirals (WM 5) and the disk with radiating J-spirals (WM 11(iv)12) or the quatrefoil rosette (WM 10(i)) taken from the minoan repertoire add to the field decoration and create a rich curvilinear complex. So the goblin is not a pictorialized double axe, but the need for a freer style of decoration may have come, under the influence of the complicated curvilinear designs of minoan art, which were rendered in a field decoration.

13) C-SPIRALS WITH HATCHING: Other jugs that do not bear the goblin design are decorated by C-spirals with hatching between the spirals or with a hatched papyrus leaf between their coils. Hatching accompanies M-II spiral motives in Crete (WM 4:2) but is already used in BC II incised ware on Melos as the filling triangles, chevrons and semicircles.

14) ROSETTE: The field decoration of these jugs is usually accompanied by the dotted rosette. It is only in this period that this minor minoan element is introduced in the Cycladic decorative motives, where it becomes popular.
This simplified 4-dot sign has more in common with the provincial MM pottery than with the palatial MM wares. In a more developed form the dots are rendered as leaves and are surrounded sometimes with single or double circles. They are found alternatively with hatched triangles decorating the body of beaked jugs.

The zonal decoration as noted above, is very rare on the mature MC (MC II) beaked jugs. Motives like filled circles, the arcade, pendant leaves and oblique lines in series decorate most of the upper body, while on the lower body horizontal parallel lines are drawn. On the other hand, zonal decoration is very common for another shape of this period, that of the shallow bowl, which shows the still strong local tradition by the zonal syntax of the decoration. These bowls, bear on the outside a band underneath the rim and vertical strokes on the rim while on the interior surface they bear a decoration in zonal syntax with some of the designs of cups of the MM II and MM III period. Otherwise, the whole interior walls are covered by surface decoration.

15) RADIATING MOTIF: The innermost part is covered by a radiating motif. Either an eyed circle with J-spirals all around or a kind of rosette.

16) POINTED LEAVES AND CIRCLES ENCLOSING SEMICIRCLES: In the circumference a band of pointed leaves, the motif known from the beaked jugs of the same period, or a zone with circles enclosing semicircles, the
motif found on the shallow cups of the period. In the cases where the whole inner surface of the bowl is covered by a single motif this can be the hatched leaf and the papyrus leaf alternatively drawn in a medallion, or detached spirals, or even plain circles. Again the designs have equivalents in the minoan repertory but the outcome is a local inspiration that transforms the borrowed elements giving a different outcome.

Similar to the shallow bowl is the decoration of the shallow cups of this period (9:4a, b, c). The variety 9:4a, which bears inner decoration only, has again zonal decoration of crescents in the circumference and some circular motif (circle, double circles) in the middle. The 4b and c types bear the zonal decoration on the outer walls with pointed leaves, circles with enclosed semi-circles, J-spirals, lozenges, S-spirals, etc. Only a few examples bear pictorial motives like quadrupeds and birds. It is only by the end of MC period (MC III) that surface decoration gains ground and this is exemplified by the style of ornamentation of panelled cups, 9:5, the cups that are popular in Melos from the final MC period and continue into the early LC I period. These cups bear both pictorial and curvilinear decoration always into a panel to the right of the handle.

17) C.W. BIRD: From the pictorial designs the bird is chosen as the most appropriate for the decoration. The Cycladic White bird is drawn in outline from head to
tail, with stretched outwards wings and legs drawn apart as if it is ready to start off. It has exactly the same position as the Black and Red style birds that decorated the famous Melian jugs only that by adding the red circle for the body of those birds, they become heavier and the movement implied in their original design is degenerated. They are, however, no more geometric designs as the early MC period birds (Motif 2) although some variations of birds with long necks are reminiscent of these earlier preferences.

18) BUCRANIA: A row of bucrania is met only once on a cup from Melos and must be intrusive from Crete. They are schematically drawn by the Cycladic potter.

The majority of panelled cups and other cups of the late MC period bear spiral or floral designs.

19) RUNNING SPIRAL: Now for the first time the running spiral is introduced although the connected multicoiled spiral survives. The eyed running spirals with filled interspaces and the eyed spirals with dots around the eye may belong to the LM IA period since these variations are more popular then.

20) HALF ROSETTE, PLUME FOLIATE BAND: From the floral elements the half rosette the 'plume' with only 3 petals or the foliate band are the most popular.

21) QUIRK: Equally frequent is also the quirk motif which derives from the S-spirals. The linked disk design is another form of the quirk.
22) ROCK PATTERN, WAVY BANDS, SEMICIRCLES: Joined semi-circles, rock pattern, wavy bands, crosses or combinations of these motives also appear and all owe their origin to minoan prototypes.

23) J-SPIRAL: Finally the J-spiral detached or in tree-like formations or with wavy stem and disk head are also present.

Some of the Black and Red Style pottery must have started in the late MC period and continued in the LC I period since some motives, like the foliate band, the papyrus leaf, the circle with J-spirals around it, the crescents and of course the birds are already used in Cycladic White ware.

It is only the developed floral designs of LM Ia period like the crocus, the reed, the lily that make the beginning of a new era in the decoration of LC I pottery along with the more complicated spirals and the interlocked wavy motives, all being influences of the minoan repertoire.

It was Furumark who, analysing the expansion of the minoan world in the Aegean, noticed that the 'Cyclades were drawn into the sphere of Minoan influence in the MM II period. Now a strong influence from Crete may be observed in the archaeological material its most obvious symptom being the curvilinear style of pottery decoration inspired by MM IIb (IIIa) Kamares Style'.

The synchronism of different Middle Cycladic
settlements with Crete is only now becoming clear (TABLE III). MM Ib-IIb pottery is broadly contemporary with Phylakopi II-ii settlement, if Mackenzie was right when he wrote that 'Cretan polychrome ware appears in early floor-deposit of the 2nd City at a time, when geometric ware is still current, though the transition to curvilinear design is in process of being accomplished' ....and that 'they (Cretan polychrome) had already long gone out of use by the time the Melians themselves were able to produce some handsome types as those grouped together on Pl. XV', presumably by II-iii, when the panelled cups appeared. There is a quite interesting point here. On the one hand, Cretan polychrome imports attain a maximum in the middle period of the Second Settlement, while the Melian panelled cups, which really exhibit the prime of the curvilinear style and hence local imitation, belongs to II-iii, which is parallel to MM IIb/IIIa.

What were the exact conditions of pottery exchange between Crete and Melos during the MC period we might never be able to assess. It seems, however, clear as it maybe should be expected that it was not at the time of the actual imports as Furumark notes, that the imitation of Cretan pottery starts. The curvilinear style and much of the minoanizing pottery described in Chapter 3a belongs to the final stage of the MC period (MC III) while Minoan polychrome imports, that gave the impetus, were no longer imported.
In the beginning of the Middle Cycladic period (MC I) the local geometric style is still flourishing (Motives 1, 6, 11) and the transition to the curvilinear decoration is only starting. The foreign elements that enter the Cycladic repertoire are few (Motives 3-5) and are always executed in the zonal syntax that was the rule for EC pottery already. The fact that pictorial motives (Motives 2, 7-10) are popular during this period shows that the Melians had the initiative in their pottery style.

By mature Middle Cycladic period (MC II) under the influence of polychrome MM pottery, the accomplishments of Cretan potters started to be understood by the islanders and this gave an impetus to the local decorative style bringing about some new motives, the rosette and the radiating motives (Motives 14, 15), which were based no more in the geometric design, but in a curvilinear drawing. Still, however, the local tradition survives both as morphological elements in the decoration exhibited by the hatching, the triangles, the pointed leaves, the S-spirals and, above all, the goblin and by the preferential use of zonal instead of field decoration.

It is only by the end of the Middle Cycladic (MC III/ to MM IIb/IIIa) period and when no more polychrome MM pottery was imported from Crete, although MM IIIa pottery, like the ribbed straight-sided cups, did come, that the islanders felt free to absorb the richness of MM pottery and created their own curvilinear style based both on borrowed motives (running spiral, rosettes, foliate bands,
quirk, rock pattern, wavy band, J-spiral, plume) (Motives 19-23) and on the practice to cover the whole field of the vase with a unified design (field decoration). If Minoanizing pottery workshops were responsible for this pottery, the MC III period is the time they should have started functioning.
The earliest MBA connections between Melos and Crete are not absolutely clear. Phylakopi I -iii, last phase of the First City, is considered to be of EC IIIb date and contemporary with 'MB rather than EB phases elsewhere'. This is because of the similarity of its 'geometric' pottery with MH Matt-painted wares. However, no definite MM Ia material has been published from the First City of Phylakopi, although Cycladic ceramic imports to Knossos and from Crete to the Cyclades have already started from the EM IIa and many examples of incised pyxides and lids, as well as burnished wares of EC IIIb type, appear in MM Ia Vat Room Deposit at Knossos. It seems the trade, as far as ceramic containers can show, and this is of course just a very small indication, is oriented from the Cyclades to Crete still in the EB III period.

Some MM material found in the old excavations at Phylakopi has been dated by Renfrew to MM Ia period. However, on stylistic grounds, none of these sherds need to be dated earlier than MM IIa (cf. Chapter 3a). In particular, the fragments of a hole-mouthed jar, No. 386, bearing the motif of orange disks linked by wavy lines with crosses in the interspaces, is reminiscent of similar compositions appearing in pottery of MM Ib/IIa date. On the other hand, sherds of another hole-mouthed
jar, No. 382, bear the decoration of dotted orange cross surrounded by homocentric circles. This motif is again found in pottery of the Royal Pottery Stores at Knossos (MM IIa), while the cross motif survives up until the MM IIIa period (WM 10(i)15). On the other hand, both the shape and the decoration of MM Ia hole-mouthed jars are completely different. Only the rim and body fragments from a jar or pitharaki, No. 383, with its chalky white paint and pale orange colour may be of MM I/II date if it is not a provincial product. Also the straight-walled cup illustrated by Aberg looks early, although it is difficult to date it accurately without examination and because of its horizontal band decoration.

Therefore, there is no published evidence of any MM Ia or Ib material from Melos yet. If there was some contact during this period it must have been sporadic. Most of the MM imports must be dated to MM IIa (Nos. 322, 323, 335; 3381 345-350, etc.) and are found along with 'geometric' pottery and classic Minyan ware in Phylakopi II-ii layers. This synchronism has been better evidenced by the discovery of a Phylakopi II-ii jug in a MM Ib basement in the Royal Road excavations, Knossos.

The apparent lack of MM Ia and Ib material and the existence of very little MM Ib material does not help to clarify the problem of the beginning of the Second City at Phylakopi (II-i), which remains to be identified architecturally, although it is referred to by the early excavators on the site.
In any case, by Phylakopi II-ii the Cretan polychrome pottery that enters the settlement and the Melian jug found at Knossos in MM Ib context show that trade between Melos and Crete had been established. (One sherd in Ashmolean Museum Inv AE 580 from the old excavations at Phylakopi is dated to MM Ia period \(^{267}\) but has not been included in this survey.)

This exchange will continue up until the LC II period (LM Ib) putting Melos on the receiving end as far as ceramic products are concerned (cf. Chapter 3a), becoming an exporting partner\(^{268}\) only to a small extent towards the end of the MC period. It is quite significant that while the popularity of the MM imports lasted (MM IIa and partly into MM IIIa) the demand for them, which has not yet been calculated in percentage, has been met mostly by the imports. The existing evidence consists mainly of small vessels, mostly cups (Nos. 322-340, 345, 367, 370-371) which can hardly have been imported for any other reason than their quality. This of course could be entirely due to the degree of preservation by the early excavators. Otherwise, it would indicate that these cups, as well as the nicely decorated hole-mouthed jars (Nos. 381, 382, 384, 386) were brought to Melos as luxury goods. In any case, up to now we have very little evidence for MM storage or pouring vases (Nos. 375-380 and Nos. 396, 397-399 respectively) being imported from Crete.

The local Cycladic White ware continues to be creative (cf. Chapter 3b, Mot. 14, 15) and everyday pottery, particularly jugs and other everyday vases (shallow cups,
Cycladic cups, handled cups) is based on local tradition (cf. Chapter 2).

Only towards the end of the MC period (MC III) and while the imports from Crete had significantly decreased (MM IIIb imports to Phylakopi almost elusive) did the local potters start to imitate not only MM motives (cf. Chapter 3b, Mot. 19-23) but also the syntax of the Minoan decoration thus acquiring the field instead of the zonal placement of the motives. Some MM shapes like the straight-walled cup, No. 344, and the hole-mouthed jar, No. 392, have already started being imitated in Phylakopi II-ii but most of the Minoanizing pottery was produced in Phylakopi II-iii like Nos. 341-343, RB straight-walled cups; Nos. 393-394, RB hole-mouthed jars and Nos. 316-317, Light-on-Dark jugs.

This Minoanizing production probably tried to fill the gap that was created by the lack of imports after the MM IIIa period. Melian potters were by that time ready to substitute local imitation for the imports and it is possible that Minoan master potters were there to help. In any case, the Minoan pottery during MM IIIb was of much poorer quality than the contemporary local Cycladic ware (like the Bird jugs and the panelled cups). It is only fair to say that this realization of the derivative character of the local late MC pottery towards Minoan imports, was already noticed by the first excavators of Phylakopi, when they wrote that the Minoan ware belonged to a 'much earlier deposit' than the 'shallow' and panelled cups on Phylakopi, Pl. XVI.
This period of imitation rather than importation of Minoan pottery does not in fact imply some slackening in the relations between Melos and Crete. In fact, this is the period to which the early excavators of Phylakopi dated the pillar crypt in G3 with the flying fish fresco.\textsuperscript{270} Their dating is not considered valid today, although the fact that Minoanization starts only in this period is still accepted.

The pillar rooms have been redated after the 1974-77 excavations to Phylakopi III-i\textsuperscript{271} and this is also the date for the flying fish fresco. It is interesting that, while the early excavators recorded that this was found along with pottery illustrated in Phylakopi, Pls. XVI-XXI,\textsuperscript{272} some of which is characteristic of early Phylakopi III, they dated it to the Second City. This is explained by Renfrew because in digging the pillar room Mackenzie observed that these deposits were second from the surface. Hence he assigned it to Phylakopi II. According to Renfrew's stratigraphy,\textsuperscript{273} the Second city from the top is City III. On the other hand, while the pillar crypts have their origin in Crete, the flying fish fresco may be contemporary with the equivalent Dolphin fresco in Queen's Megaron at Knossos\textsuperscript{274} and therefore, there is no reason necessary to characterize it as Minoan.

Even taking this new dating into consideration, it is obvious that Melos continued and probably developed its relationship with Crete during the MC III period. The Minoanizing pottery evidently shows more dependence
on Minoan culture than would have been demonstrated merely by a number of imports. These cultural ties continue in the LB I period when, besides imitative pottery, architectural features as well, comply to the Minoan world.

Also, the twelve examples of Bird jugs exported during MM IIIb to Knossos,275 taken together with a group of another thirty Cycladic ceramic imports,276 may suggest a special relationship, particularly between Knossos and the Cyclades. This exclusive relationship cannot unfortunately be verified also by the MM imports to Phylakopi, since these find parallels both in Knossos and Phaestos and sometimes in Eastern Crete as well. Anyway, MM II/IIIa pottery from Knossos cannot easily be distinguished from contemporary Phaestian pottery (Part I,1) and so the possibility remains that more than one palatial centre contributed to the trade with the Cyclades.

This relationship with multiple centres in Crete is more in accordance with a peaceful exchange between the two areas.277 On the other hand, since Melians started imitating Minoan pottery by their own choice, since they kept their entrepreneurial spirit exporting pottery to Knossos and, since the process of their 'Minoanization' has a gradual character, it is not reasonable to assume any political change during the MC period. No matter how much the ethnic consistency of Phylakopi had changed from MC III onwards, the indigenous population must have always outnumbered the foreigners since, apart from the conical cups, the rest of the plain ware was mainly Cycladic.
On the other hand, since the MM imports are never concentrated in one house or one quarter of the town, but are dispersed throughout the settlement,\textsuperscript{278} it seems Minoans never formed any 'community' colony in Branigan's sense.\textsuperscript{279}

The Second City at Phylakopi was destroyed violently in the early LM Ia period and the destruction was accompanied by fire. The destruction was complete throughout the settlement and led to a temporary abandoning of the town according to the first excavators.\textsuperscript{280} The new town, Third City, was built by the same people, who had inhabited the Second City, but fortifications were added and a large 'Mansion' was built.\textsuperscript{281} The painted pottery of this new city keeps some of the traditionally Cycladic ware,\textsuperscript{282} but the great majority is Minoanizing both in shape and decoration.\textsuperscript{283} The Melian Minoanizing workshops show ability and taste in their choice of motives. The Minoan imports, although few are published both in Phylakopi and BSA 17, are distinguished by the fine quality of their clay and their lustrous paint. The local imitations nonetheless are now much closer to the originals, since the light-on-dark MM pottery had presented difficulties, which no longer existed.

Generally the style of pottery changes slowly from the late MC period onwards and gradually the new style gains in preference to the extent that by the LC II period it drives local tradition in shapes completely out of the market. The local elements still visible in
LC I are absent in LC II and the Cycladic individuality declines. If late MC Phylakopi was still exporting to Crete, in LM Ia context no Cycladic ceramic exports are found at Knossos and there are only a few in Crete altogether. Yet from the LC I period onwards, relations between Melos and Crete become increasingly close but with no signs of decline being observed on Phylakopi. The town is expanded and new building activities (fortifications, Mansion) are inaugurated. In fact, both islands' economy during LB I seems to be thriving and the existence of Minoanizing pottery workshops on Melos may indicate a mixed clientele.

It seems risky to assess what kind of political or economic conditions have been agreed between their great neighbour and their own town only from factual evidence. The evidence is still ambiguous apart from the fact of their close connection.

If we are to accept the existence of some Minoan population in Phylakopi by the LC I period, because of the urge to imitate the LM Ia style or because of the existence of an influx of conical cups, although the latter is not conclusive, we must consider the status of these people living in Phylakopi town. This town now shows signs of some central authority (Mansion, Linear A tablet) and increased security consciousness (fortifications). It is difficult to envisage that it was Minoan settlers who, after establishing themselves with some kind of administration in the 'Mansion', fortified the
whole settlement. This town was also undoubtedly inhabited by the old Cycladic stock, against whom the Minoans had been fighting a few years previously. It is rather more likely that the development of a central authority in the LC I town came about in connection with the increased centralization and intensification of trade with Crete and that the fortifications have something to do both with this development and with the Minoan cultural and trade expansion in the Aegean. The Cycladic islanders both because they had the organization now but also the wealth, decided to protect themselves from possible marauders. In such a community, intruding Minoan traders, artisans or other settlers must have tried to keep good relations with the local population and authorities. If the above preconditions are correct, 'Minoanization' on each of the three major MC/LC sites, A. Irini, Phylakopi, Akrotiri, came about in a different way and must not be considered as a unified cultural event. This may be further evidenced, when the transition from the MC to the LC period is better classified in each of the settlements. For example, Keos Period V destruction cannot be related to the Cretan intrusion into the Cyclades, since that island had always balanced Cretan and helladic affiliations. On the other hand, Akrotiri has entered vigorously from the LC I period into the Minoan cultural orbit and, although we still know little about the penultimate destruction of Akrotiri, there is already evidence of economic transactions between Crete and Thera from the MBA. If further elaborated, these may show a gradual
'Minoanization' similar to Melos. Yet the final result, LC I Akrotiri town, developed on different principles from Phylakopi. We do not yet know if there was one central building, or several important buildings and no fortifications have been found yet. But we do know that the methods of building and decorating their houses show a greater dependence on Minoan style of life than on Melos.

The same differentiation in the way the Minoan world succeeded in imposing itself at least culturally on the Cycladic settlements, is illustrated by the date and the frequency of the MM imports. Phylakopi received the earliest MM exports along with A. Irini (MM Ib/IIa) and this may not be due only to the incomplete excavations at Akrotiri. It definitely received the majority of MM IIa/IIIa pottery shipped to the islands, as shown by the variety of decorative motives on MM pottery exported to Melos (Chapter 3a). It seems that a localized trade of goods has taken place between Crete and each of the islands during the MM III/LM Ia period.

Melos has always been the source of obsidian and later probably wine (Bird Jugs) and wool. Keos had ample evidence of smelting lead and maybe copper too. Its proximity to Lavrion may have helped it to be a stepping stone for the exploitation of those ores. Akrotiri had a stone mortar industry in the LC I period and was renowned in antiquity for its saffron sources as well as for its cloth weaving. Crete, therefore,
may have created a preferential trade with each of these islands and, accordingly, forced them to some political commitment. This would not necessarily have involved Minoan rulers on the islands, but would have necessitated the creation of a local central authority that would have helped in the trade.

Are we allowed to postulate then that for the same reason that the Argolid became the centre of the dispersion of Minoan style in the Peloponnese, i.e. the rise of the royal power at Mycenae, for similar reasons Phylakopi became the centre of Minoan intervention in the Cyclades, i.e. the rise of local authority there. Phylakopi must have been the oldest commercial partner in the Cyclado-Minoan trade. For this particular reason, the mechanisms of trade must have always been oriented towards the facilitation of the flow of goods, both imports and exports. During the MBA Melians were better equipped or organized, were able to take advantage of the extraordinary 'Kamares' ware which they may have discovered on their trips to Crete and dispersed it to the other settlements along with their own CW and Bich pottery (cf. Part II D, Paros, II C, Keos, II A, Thera and Part III A, Aegina).

For this particular reason, from the three possibilities offered by Renfrew for the status of Phylakopi vis-a-vis Crete,\textsuperscript{293} i.e. - that of being a colony with a palace administration, thereafter developing independently - that of being a colony governed directly by Crete and - that of developing independently as a palace
polity, enjoying trade with Crete, only the third is acceptable and with one major difference, Phylakopi may have developed independently as a 'palace' polity enjoying a flourishing trade with Crete. Yet it remained oriented towards its great neighbour with all the affiliations and obligations that this trade required.
FOOTNOTES

B. MELOS

CHAPTERS 1, 2, 3a, 3b & 4

1. Atkinson et al. 1904.
5. Phylakopi, 261.
6. Renfrew 1978, 404-5, Table II.
9. Phylakopi, 263.
11. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 12, F23-24.
12. AM 1917, 23, Fig. 15
13. Thera VI, Pl. 26a.
14. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXV 1,2.
15. BSA 17, Pl. VI 116, 243, 259, 177.
16. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 12, F49.
17. AM 1917, Fig. 18a.
18. Thera III, Fig. 4, 6.
20. Phylakopi, Pl. VIII 8, 12; BSA 17, Pl. VI, 169, 170.
21. BSA 69, 25.
22. Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XIX 2:g.
24. PM IV, Fig. 53:1.
129

25 Phylakopi, Pl. VII\(_g\) (NAM 5742), 10 (NAM 5730), 11 (NAM 5731); BSA 17, Pl. VI, 31 (MM 84).
26 MacGillivray 1986, 250.
27 AM 1917, Pl. 71.
28 AM 1917, Pl. 76.
29 Kolona Museum, No. 1569.
30 Kolona Museum, half preserved.
31 Buck 1964, Pl. 39, A\(_{12}\).
32 Cat. No. 117-147.
33 Thera V, 31, Pl. 62.
35 Keos Pt. II, 393; Keos III, Pl. 30:410.
37 Karo 1930, Grave VI, Pl. clxxiii, 953, 943.
38 Buck 1964, Pl. 39, A15.
39 6:8a (Barber 1978 unpublished Pl. 7b); 6:8b (Phylakopi, Pl. IX\(_1\)); 6:8c (BSA 17, Pl. V:1, 13, 7, 8).
40 BSA 69, 24.
41 Phylakopi, Pl. XI\(_4\).
42 BSA 69, Pl. 2e, Fig. 4; Phylakopi, Pl. XI\(_1\), 2.
43 Festôs, Tav I\(_1\), Pl. 23.
44 Phylakopi, Pl. XI\(_3\); BSA 69, Fig. 4, 195 (MM 401).
45 BSA 69, 26.
46 No. 396 (NAM 5726), Pl. 51, Fig. 36; Phylakopi, Pl. XXIV\(_{11}\).
47 No. 320.142 (MM 79), Pl. 31.
48 Phylakopi, Pl. XIV\(_{1-11}\).
49 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D62-63, Pl. 85, D69; Naxos, Emergence, Pl. 13; Knossos, MM Ib, Emergence, Pl. 132; Amorgos, CVA Denmârk i, Pl. 37, 3; Lerna, Hesperia XXVI, 152; Thera, No. II, 13, 158-9, 160, 163-4; Tenos, Scholes, 19.
50 PM I, 557, Fig. 404.
51. TAW I, 478.
52. Mylonas 1972, 57, Pl. 44a.
54. O. Frödin and A. Perrson 1938, 295, Fig. 203.
55. Nos. 35-42 for MC Bird jugs; Thera V, Pl. A for LC examples.
56. BSA 69, 35.
57. Keos V, AA 71, Pl. 33.
58. Arch. Rep. 1974-75, 21, Fig. 37.
60. BSA 17, Pl. VI, 16, 164, 160, 212.
61. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXIV.
62. Ibid. Pl. XIII.
63. BSA 17, Pl. V, 168, 65, 255.
64. BSA 69, 23.
65. This information comes from the unpublished MC material from the 1974-77 excavations kindly sent to me by Dr. Barber but which I did not consider analytically in this research.
66. PM II, Fig. 176, MM IIIa Domestic vessels from House of Sacrificed Oxen; PM I, Fig. 412, MM IIIb Domestic ware from Royal Magazines.
67. Most of the sherds with NAM Cat. Nos. are exhibited today in the Museum.
68. Atkinson et al. 1904, 148-51, Figs. 126-133.
69. Aberg 1933, 176-181, Figs. 326-333.
70. Phylakopi, 260.
71. Walberg 1976, 12.
72. Part I, Chapter 1.
73. PM II, Pl. IXd1.
74. PM II, Pl. IX, Cl-2.
75. Levi 1976, Tav I, Pls. 126d, 127i, 128q.
76. PM I, Fig. 199e.
77. Boll d'Arte, 36, 1951, 352, Fig. 40.
79 Levi 1976, Tav I₁, Pls. 129b, d.
80 Catling 1979, Fig. 18:49, 95-98.
81 Keos Pt. II, Fig. 11, F33, F20.
82 Phylakopi, Pl. XIV.
83 Levi 1976, Tav I₁, Pis. 210a, b.
84 Barber 1974, 30.
85 Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XVII, 2d, 3a.
86 Barber 1974, 28.
87 Pendlebury 1939, Fig. 23, MM IIb hence now MM IIIa motives.
88 BSA 17, Pl. VIII, 48, 127.
89 Phylakopi, Fig. 128 and 131-133.
90 Aberg 1933, Figs. 329-333.
91 Phylakopi, Fig. 132.
92 Boll d'Arte 36, 1951, Fig. 41:10a; Levi 1976, Tav I₁, Pl. 124i; PM II₁, Pl. IXc.
93 Boll d'Arte 36, 1951, 354, Fig. 46 top row, third from the left, rim band.
94 Aberg 1933, Fig. 332.
95 Levi 1976, Tav 124, c, f.
96 PM II, Pl. IXa.
97 Aberg 1933, Fig. 333.
98 Annuario 35-6, 1957-8, 220, Fig. 37, No. C11197.
99 Aberg 1933, Fig. 331.
100 Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XXI₂.
101 Hesperia 47, 1978, 161, Fig. 3, C183.
102 Aberg 1933, Fig. 329; Phylakopi, Fig. 133.
103 Levi 1976, Tav I₂, Pl. XXXIXc and Pernier 1950, Tav XXVI.
104 Aberg 1933, 330.
132

Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XXII, 3.

Boll d'Arte 37, 1952, 326, Pl. III bottom row.

Festòs, Tav I, Pl. L1c and d.

Ibid. Pl. L1a, b and Tav I, Pl. 124g, e.

Barber 1974, 31.

Phylakopi, Pl. XXVI1-6, i.e. type 13:4.

Phylakopi, 113-114, 19:4a-d.

Phylakopi, 113, Pls. XV1-16.

Kamares, Pl. 175.

Phylakopi, Pls. XVI11-19.

BSA 69, 33.

Thera IV, Pl. 76b.

Phylakopi, 260.

Phylakopi, Pl. XVI1-7.

Phylakopi, 260.

Phylakopi, Pl. XXVI.

BSA 17, Pl. X:83-4.

Phylakopi, Pls. XIV4, 7.

Festòs I, Pl. 122a, b.

Phylakopi, Pl. XV17, 18, 19, 20 and Figs. 77-81.

Keos Pt. II, Fig. 10, D64.

Davis 1986, 87.

Festòs, Tav I, Pls. 29b and d.

Festòs, Tav I, Pls. 200e, 201d, f and 202-3.

Festòs, Tav I, Pls. 200k, 201g, i.

BSA 69, 37.

Phylakopi, Pls. XXV4, 5, 6; BSA 17, Pl. VIII78, Pl. XI140.

Keos Pt. II, Pl. 93, G44-49.

Ibid. Pl. 94, H7.
134 Thera II, Pl. 352, VI, Pl. 73 right.
135 Myres 1903, 369.
136 Pendlebury 1939, 140.
137 PM II, 453 but maybe Hellenistic.
138 Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XX_1-2.
139 PM II, 702.
140 Festos, Tav I_1, Phase III, 221b.
141 Festos, Tav I_1, 107c; Walberg Mot. 10:15.
142 Phylakopi, Figs. 178-9.
143 Kunst der Kykladen, 153.
144 MacGillivray and Barber 1984, 73.
145 Furumark 1941, 217-223.
146 Phylakopi, Pl. XI_1.
147 Ibid. Pl. V_15.
148 Ibid. Pl. VII_1.
149 Kunst der Kykladen, 139.
150 Ibid. 139.
151 Phylakopi, Pl. XIII_9, 12.
152 Ibid. Pl. XV_10.
153 Ibid. Pl. XIII_11.
154 Ibid. Pl. XVII_10, 11A & B, 15, 16.
155 Furumark 1941, 220.
156 Phylakopi, Pl. XI_2, 5; Pl. XII_24, 26, 27.
157 PMMP 25:3; PM I, Fig. 132b.
158 Phylakopi, Pl. XI_5.
159 Furumark 1941, 218.
160 Phylakopi, Pl. XI_3.
161 Phylakopi, Pl. XI_6.
162 Ibid. Pl. XI_1-3, 5-6.
163 Ibid. Pl. XI, 7, 8, 16.
164 Ibid. Pl. XI, 15
166 Ibid. Pl. XI, 13.
167 Ibid. Pl. XI, 1.
168 No. 1 (FM 4873); AM 1917, Fig. 71 for Paros.
169 Phylakopi, Pl. XI, 12.
170 Ibid. Pl. XI, 4.
171 Ibid. Pl. IX.
172 Ibid. Pl. XI, 9-11.
173 Phylakopi, Pl. XII, 1-18.
174 Ibid. Pl. XII.
175 Ibid. Pl. XII, 24, 26, 27.
176 Ibid. Pl. XII, 28 (NAM 11431).
177 PMMP 24 (ix) 3-4, 25:7.
178 Phylakopi, Pl. XII, 29 (NAM 11432).
179 PMMP 24 (x) 1-7.
180 Phylakopi, Pl. XII, 23.
181 Kunst der Kykladen, Fig. 89.
182 Phylakopi, Pl. XIII, 14 (NAM 5829).
183 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 16.
184 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 17, 18.
185 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 18.
186 Ibid. Pl. XII, 18.
188 Ibid. Pl. XIII.
189 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 5.
190 Ibid. Pl. XIII.
191 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 6.
192 Ibid. Pl. XIII, 7.
Ibid. Pl. XIII_8.

Ibid. Pl. XIII_1.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_6, 9.

PM I, 704, Fig. 527.

Phylakopi, 109, Figs. 87, 89.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_9.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_6c.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_10.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_5; BSA 17, Pl. XIII_175.

Ibid. Pl. IV_1-2, 5-6.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_3, 5, 10.

PMMP 1(iii) 4 or 1(iv) 2.

WM 10 (iii).

Phylakopi, Pl. XIV_8.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_3; BSA 17, Pl. XIII, 173, 35.

Phylakopi, Pl. XIV_4.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_7.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_4, 7.

Ibid. Pl. XV_20, Figs. 78, 79.

PM I, Fig. 181; Festös, Tav I_1, Pl. 122a.

PM I, Fig. 435.

Phylakopi, Figs. 80, 81.

Ibid. Pl. XV_20.

Eyed rosette, Ibid. Fig. 78; compact rosette, Ibid. Fig. 79; outlined rosette, Ibid. Fig. 82.

Ibid. Pl. XV_20, Fig. 79.

Ibid. Pl. XIV_7.

Ibid. Fig. 82.

Ibid. Pl. XV_2-3.

Ibid. Pl. XV_18.
WM 9(iv) 2 and WM 3:19 respectively.

Phylakopi, Pl. XV₁₈.

Ibid. Fig. 81.

Ibid. Fig. 80.

Ibid. Pl. XV₁₅, 16.

Ibid. Pl. XV₁₄.

Ibid. Pl. XV₁₂-1₃.

Ibid. Pl. XVI.

Ibid. Pl. XVI₄, 2₀.

Ibid. Pl. XXI₁.

Ibid. Pl. XVI₁.

Ibid. Pl. XI₅.

Ibid. Pl. XVI₃.

PMM 2₅:6.

Phylakopi, Pl. XVII₁₁A-1₄.

Ibid. Pl. XVI₁₀ (PMM 6(i)).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₁₅ (PMM 6(i)).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₁₆ (WM 7(i)₅).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₁₉, 2₀, 2₂, 2₃, Pl. XVI₁₂, 1₉ (WM 1₀ (v) 1₀) (PMM 1₀(iv)₃).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₁₇, 1₈ (WM 1₁(i)₁).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₂₅, 2₉ (WM 1₈:6).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₄, 5 (WM 8:₁) (PMM 1₉(iii)₃).

Ibid. Pl. XVII₈.

Ibid. Pl. XVII₁, 2, 6, 9.

Ibid. Pl. XVII₃.

Ibid. Pl. XVI₅ (NAM 5₇₅₉).

Ibid. Pl. XVI₇.

Ibid. Pl. XVII₂₇.

Ibid. Pl. XX₁₆.
137

251 Ibid. Pl. XX<sub>15</sub>.
252 Ibid. Pl. XX<sub>8</sub>.
253 Ibid. Pl. XX<sub>2</sub>.
255 Phylakopi, 260.
256 MacGillivray and Barber 1984, 70.
257 Barber 1974, 48.
259 PM I, 166-8, Figs. 119b, 125<sub>2</sub>; MacGillivray 1984a, 153, note 1.
260 Emergence, 198, Tables 1-31.
261 Cf. Arch. Rep. 1958, Fig. 31.
262 Cf. PM IV<sub>1</sub>, Fig. 50<sub>13</sub>, Fig. 51<sub>18</sub>.
263 Aberg 1933, Fig. 327.
264 BSA 17, 17.
265 Arch. Rep. 1959-60, 22, Fig. 24; MacGillivray 1984a, 153, note 3.
266 Phylakopi, 258.
267 Rutter J., AJA 87, 72-73.
268 MacGillivray 1984, 153.4.
269 Phylakopi, 260.
270 Phylakopi, 262.
271 TAW I, 405.
272 Phylakopi, 262.
273 TAW I, 405-7.
274 Hood 1978, 53-54.
275 MacGillivray 1984, 153; PM I, Fig. 404.
276 MacGillivray 1984, 156.
277 Phylakopi, 262.
278 Phylakopi, 148.
279 Branigan 1981.
280 Phylakopi, 263.
281 TAW I, 407-412.
283 Ibid. note 5.
284 MacGillivray 1984, 156.
285 Hood 1984, 34.
287 Milburn 1965, 128.
288 TAW I, 429-436.
290 Keos III, House A, 140.
291 Douskos 1980, 141-5.
292 Douskos 1981, 251-64.
293 TAW I, 418.
Fig. 3. Plan of the Town showing Walls of the Main Period (M. M. III to L. M. IB/L. H. II) (R. L. Holzen).
C. KEOS
CHAPTER 1

EXCAVATIONS AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF MBA

Excavations at A. Irini in Keos started in 1960 and continued up to 1965 with other additional campaigns from 1966 to 1970. Preliminary reports have appeared several times.¹

Studies of different aspects of the settlement were already being published from 1965.²

Final publications concern the Neolithic site at Kephala,³ the potters' marks⁴ House A and Period V.⁵ Additional separate articles deal with more specific questions. Here some of those dealing with pottery and trade are going to be mentioned.⁶

MBA pottery and architectural remains came up in many parts of the town showing that there was an extensive settlement during that period.⁷ Here the evidence published in the preliminary reports by J. Caskey is going to be used. Further evidence concerning Period IV of the MBA will appear in the final publication while Period V appeared when this chapter had finished and so was consulted only for the MM imports.

Above the room with the hearth in Area C, walls and floors gave evidence of a long occupation with Minoan and matt-painted wares found everywhere below the LBA levels.

In the trial trench E near the line of the fortifications
a fragment of MM Kamares ware, proved the contact of the island with Crete in the First Palace period.

In one of the rooms in Area L a MC type jug suggests MBA deposits.

Deep soundings in many parts of Area A have shown that it was densely occupied by buildings in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. In particular in 1972, underneath the floor of Room 3, the best collection of pottery for Period IV was found. Rooms 12 and 13 were built first in Period V and went out of use before any part of House A proper was constructed. The area of Room 14 and a room under Room 9 may have belonged to the same building as the remains below Rooms 5 and 6. In this respect it is interesting that the construction of a major building program, such as that of House A, had started already in Period V and was to span Periods VI and VII also. This continuity in planning is in agreement with the methods of construction of the house complex. The only innovation of the LBA period was the introduction of basements and some of the features of the domestic quarter.

Unfortunately, only two stratified pottery finds from the MC period of House A are illustrated, a saucer and a rim with seal impressions. No Minoan imports are reported in association with these finds.

Another major architectural feature of the MC period is the fortifications. The earliest wall DJ was built in Period IV. Minoan pottery from the lowest habitation levels contemporary with this wall may be dated to MM IIa.
Some years later these fortifications were destroyed and went out of use. The latest contemporary habitation levels contain Minoan wares, which have been dated to MM IIb/IIIa.\textsuperscript{17} Evidence of heavy burning has been found in the destruction deposits. The new fortifications, called the Great Fortifications, were built probably slightly later than the destruction of the Old Palaces in Crete. This new defensive system marks the start of Period V (MM IIb/IIIa), when the town grew prosperous and the settlement increased its trade relations. Not long after the fortifications were built, rooms adjacent to the wall at the N., W. and E. sectors of the city show a new destruction with pottery stylistically the same as that in use when the Great Fortifications were built (J. Davis, forthcoming). Part of the fortifications themselves were rebuilt in Period VI (LM Ia), when in some areas the walls were constructed from the foundations as in the gateway area and the N.E. bastion.

So the history of the fortifications testifies to a long development from the beginning of the MBA through late MC period and LC I also.

MC remains have also been found underneath level -0.40 and up to ca. -1.55m in Room IV of the Temple. A floor with flagstones and a doorway with a white marble step or threshold slab as well as a bench over these and along wall V, are the architectural remains of that period. These are associated with MP and Minyan wares.\textsuperscript{18}

Keos is important particularly for the evidence it provides also for the burials during the MBA. It is the
only MC settlement for the moment that revealed cemetery areas of that period. A third of the total burials (66 graves) belong to the MBA period.¹⁹

The West Cemetery North (WCN) and the West Cemetery South (WCS) are located just outside the town wall and belong to Period D (IV), apart from graves 48 and 49, which are jar burials of Period VI. Some MC burials exist also in the East Cemetery. Most of the vases discovered are local ware, but there are some minoanizing pots too. Generally there are three types of graves: the jar burials, the earth-cut pits and the constructed tombs such as cists, stonelined trenches and tombs. The burials can be single or multiple (G 31). Like the EC cemeteries the MC ones are extramural and the continuity in grave types and customs sometimes even from the Neolithic period is remarkable.²⁰

In summing up one could say that although the MC town could not always be revealed because of the good condition of preservation of the LBA buildings on top, the spread of the remains in many of the Areas of the LC town along with the Cemetery and the Fortifications, testifies that A. Irini had started to be prosperous well before the LC I period. There still remains an uncertainty over the earlier stages of Period IV, which might have followed a short abandonment of the site by the end of the EBA.²¹ The change from Period IV to Period V is architectural and not ceramic, some of the buildings being reconstructed after the earthquake that destroyed the settlement around MM IIB/IIIA. Finally, Period V was ended by a fire, which mainly affected
the houses near the Fortification Wall somewhere in MM III period. The transition from MC to LC period shows some gap as regards the MM imports according to J. Davis (Davis forthcoming, no MM IIIB pottery identified), which however does not mean that the site was abandoned (Ibid). This problem will be further examined in association with the pottery of the two periods.
CHAPTER 2

LOCAL POTTERY

The fabric of Keian pottery is usually brownish red, micaceous, often with many white quartz inclusions. According to the treatment of the surface it can be divided into:

1) Yellow Slipped Pattern Painted, which is the Keian equivalent of Coarse Middle Helladic Matt-Painted fabrics. It bears a yellow slip over the darker biscuit and the decoration is painted in matt black paint or sometimes in matt red and black paint. Yellow slipped ware may also be undecorated.

2) Light-on-Dark Ware, which can be divided into two groups. The white-on-red, which is usually hole-mouthed jars and lids and the white-on-grey, for which there is better evidence in Period V.

3) Burnished Pottery is the most popular fabric at A. Irini. It occurs in great quantities and can be highly lustrous. This fabric has been exported to mainland Greece and the other Cyclades. Painted decoration is fairly frequent but is not the rule.

4) Plain Ware, is as in every MC settlement the majority of the everyday pottery and is used for semifine pots such as saucers, bowls, plates, jars and coarser vessels as pans and pithoi.

Apart from the local pottery the inhabitants of A. Irini imported Minyan and Matt-Painted pottery from the mainland, Cycladic White pottery from other Cycladic settlements and Middle Minoan pottery from Crete.
J. Overbeck (forthcoming) has been able to distinguish three chronological phases for Period IV, which had a longer duration than Period V, according to the stratigraphy preserved in the area of the West Cemetery South. Phase IVa is connected with the building of the early fortification wall DJ, Phase IVb is the time after the blockage of the gateway and IVc is after the overthrow of the old fortifications and before the Great Fortifications were built (J. Overbeck, forthcoming). The different development of the various fabrics can be evidenced throughout these phases as will be seen in the final publication. The following description of the local wares in Period IV and V will be based mainly in the preliminary reports (Keos Pt II) and will be therefore limited.

Period IV: The Yellow Slipped Pattern Painted (or Cycladic Matt Painted as Caskey describes it) forms the local decorated pottery and comprises many fabric qualities from fine to semicoarse. In Period IV it is hand made, it bears a powdery yellow slip, which rubs off easily extinguishing the decoration along with it. Shapes found in this fabric are mainly jugs and barrel jars. The motives range from the rectilinear parallelograms with hatching and bands to somewhat finer examples such as the dotted and plain circles, and the polychrome four petal rosette enclosed in a circle. The panelled cup started during this period. Yellow Slipped ware was exported to Attica and Lerna.

From the White-on-Red ware in Period IV, the lids and the hole-mouthed pots are the best examples. Jugs are found more often in the white-on-grey variety but the
decoration always consists of broad bands forming simple patterns. This fabric will gain in popularity in Period V.

The Burnished ware of Period IV has a brown/red biscuit with smoothed and even lustrous outer surface. The shapes comprise Cycladic shapes such as Cycladic bowls, Cycladic cups and jars of barrel shape. More rarely jugs, a jar with trough shaped rim and even pyxides are found. Occasionally they are painted with cream white lines, dots or rosettes. Equally rare is the incised decoration such as that found on some pyxides and lid sherds. Some of the rare finds is a duck vase. Imitations of Minyan shapes such as low and high stemmed goblets, and other bowls or cups of Helladic tradition are common in burnished ware. Generally this fabric is used for non-Minoan shapes. Shapes of Minoan derivation are rarely produced in burnished fabric (Davis, forthcoming), a practice found also in Thera and Melos.

Burnished Keian pottery has been found at Lerna, Aegina, Eutresis and maybe more is going to be recognized in the future. This was probably the only fabric in which the island could produce good quality drinking vessels, although clay quality was not exclusive for vessels used as containers.

It is in the plain ware that one can distinguish better the influence exerted by the Minoan imports in Keos. This is better realized, when one compares the shapes found in the plain ware of Period IV with those of Period V. Of course the change is not abrupt, but, as we come closer to the end
of Period IV, more minoanizing pots are found and these increase in Period V. The local plain ware shapes of Period IV are the Cycladic bowls with carinated profile or the bowls with rounded profile. Coarser clay is used for the two handled wide-mouthed jars, the pans and brazier. But household utensils like these are not easy to attribute to specific cultural milieu in the Aegean, where it seems that there is a homogeneity in cooking utensils (cf. tripod cooking vessels).

Unlike the abrupt change between A. Irini III and IV, the lower limit of Period IV is marked by architectural change and not ceramic. Pottery of the latest strata of Period IV cannot be distinguished from that of early next period (Davis 1986, 1). From the examination of the stratigraphy the excavators came to the conclusion 'that IVc was an interval of time between the old and the new walls, during which the town was not fortified'.

Period V: Period V is the time of the Great Fortifications and the deposits of this period came from an early destruction during which some of the houses along the inner face of the fortifications were burned (Davis 1986, 1).

All the fabrics of Period IV continue into V. The burnished ware is no longer of great importance, but continues in the imitation of minyan shapes. The Yellow Slipped Pattern Painted ware disappears along with some of its shapes in IVc to revive in V. It will continue into VI. Light-on-Dark ware becomes popular in V as an attempt to imitate the effect of MM wares (Overbeck, forthcoming). Plain ware shows
a picture of minoan shapes (Davis 1986, 86-88).

In the Burnished ware the Cycladic bowl disappears but we have two varieties of the Cycladic cup, one with flat base and another with raised base. Both have loop handles. The globular jar has already replaced the barrel jar from Period IVb. Generally in Period V this fabric looks darker and is rarely lustrous. On the other hand, Minyan goblets produced in this pottery group are not as plentiful as in Period IV. They have characteristic small strap handles and often grooved shoulders (Davis 1986, 85).

In the Yellow Slipped Pattern Painted ware, a very characteristic shape of Period V is the pedestalled bowl which is considered non-minoan (Davis 1986, 85). It bears a standardized decoration of horizontal bands on the outside and a cross inscribed in a circle on the inside. The period of its production falls totally within Period V. The prototype however of this shape seems to be found in the MM pottery from Knossos. This has the same flaring rim and ring foot and therefore is not a Cycladic shape. The light-on-dark fabric has been used extensively in Period V for the imitation of the minoan imports, but the different shapes involved are going to be described along with the actual imports. The same goes for the Plain ware.
CHAPTER 3

MM IMPORTS AND IMITATIONS

Period IV: 'It has not yet been established whether Period IV settlement followed immediately upon the EBA or after an interval, when the site was abandoned.' The MM imports do not help much in solving the earliest possible date of the early phase of the MC settlement, since most of the imports date to MM IIa, while reference is made to even earlier (MM IB) ones, which are not yet published. Keos Period IV MM imports have according to J. Caskey a buff to buff/pink clay, which is rather coarse. They are coated with dark semilustrous slip usually black, but sometimes red and often there are traces of patterns in white. Occasionally red is used.

The shapes of the imports can only rarely be reconstructed due to their extremely fragmentary state.

The 'Keftin' cup starts already from this period in three different variations. One has flaring walls, another bears incised lines just underneath the rim and has a bevelled base, while a third variety, which becomes very common in Period V, has walls with grooves (the so called 'clapboard').

Since individual pieces are not always described in the preliminary report both imports and imitations are described here together. This confusion is not raised in Overbeck's catalogue, because both categories are examined.
there again under the same heading: Minoan Wares. Therefore, only the clearly stated imports are going to be used for dating purposes here.

Among the secure 'Keftiu' cup imports are the walls and the base of a cup. It is of fine biscuit, covered with black slip and decoration in white band and a curvilinear motif below (spiral?). It resembles similar cups from Crete of MM IIa-IIIa date.

The carinated cup has been both imported and imitated at A. Irini but on a smaller scale. Some imported fragments have patterns in red and white, but their decoration cannot be reconstructed. The local example has a very good parallel from Kythera for its mild carination and concave lip profile, but as a provincial product it is similar to MM IB palatial pottery and hence contemporary with MM II palatial ware. The imported example has a sharp carination, a low foot and decoration of red horizontal bands and white lines on a black glazed surface. It is dated to MM II.

Another shape represented is the in-and-out decorated bowl or cup. On one side it has a radiating angular leaved rosette encircled in a dotted circle with semicircles around it. On the other hand, there is a whirling motif inscribed in a circle with pendant semicircles around. This fragment should date from MM IIa to IIIa period as parallels from Knossos and Phaestos show.

A fragment of a bowl with arched handles also looks minoan in shape.
Apart from the cups, closed vessels seem to have been imported in some quantity to A. Irini for their contents.

One of the most characteristic shapes is the round mouthed jug with a ledge at the base of the neck. The profile shows similarity with the minoan jugs of the N.E. Magazines at Knossos (MM IIIa-b).

One body sherd of a closed vase, perhaps a hole-mouthed jar, has moulded decoration of retorted spirals and traces of red and white paint. It is imported. Sherds from cups with similar decoration were popular in Akrotiri too. Moulded spirals decorate both hole-mouthed jars and other pots of MM IIb/IIIA date at Knossos. The same decoration is found also in Phaestos.

Another finer import has lustrous black slip, broad white bands and thin pendant petals in brown on the shoulder (jug?).

The profile of many jars imported to A. Irini is not possible to reconstruct. The only recognizable shape is that of the hole-mouthed jar, which seems to have come in peculiarly rich quantities (1/6 of the minoan imports according to rough measurements from Overbeck's catalogue). From the profile of the rim and their decoration most of these sherds belong to MM IIa date. The best published example was found beneath Room A3 and belongs to Period IV a/b. It is datable to MM IIa. Other fragments are less elegant.

Finally the rim fragment with the plastic decoration.
of a barley spray\textsuperscript{83} reminds us of similar examples of MM IIIa
date from Knossos.\textsuperscript{84}

All the above shapes (Keftim, carinated cups, jugs, jars, etc.) have been imitated locally. In the local plain
ware we also find shapes that do not exist among the imports such as saucers\textsuperscript{85} and of course conical cups. The latter are
found in Keos 'about the same time as in Crete'\textsuperscript{86} (MM Ia?).
If this is so, which is doubtful, then they constitute the
earliest evidence of minoanizing ware in Keos, Period IV
and they are far earlier than any MM pottery imported in this period.

A single find of Period IV is the bird rhyton.\textsuperscript{87} It
is covered with buff slip and bears traces of dull dark
paint. Bird vases are found in Crete from the EM III
period.\textsuperscript{88} They continue to MM I\textsuperscript{89} and up to MM III period.\textsuperscript{90}
They only went out of fashion in LM Ia period, when the bull
and lion head rhyton become fashionable. The Keian bird
rhyton has no exact Minoan parallel, but belongs to the
same theriomorphic pottery tradition.

It is relevant to include in this report a few more
minoanizing pots, that come from the West Cemetery South,
which were found outside the wall of Period IV and parallel
to the Great Fortifications. Almost all the graves in this
cemetery belong to Period IV or the beginning of V.

The plain hole-mouthed jar\textsuperscript{91} from the urn burial\textsuperscript{92}
imitates the shape of MM II hole-mouthed jars.

From the built tomb 31, apart from the three seal stones
that correspond to Minoan types of EM III/MM I, come two small round-mouthed juglets,\(^93\) which are reminiscent of similar juglets from the Loomweight Basement at Knossos.\(^94\)

From the East Cemetery, graves 15 and 16 have some minoanizing pots. In grave 15 the stone bowl E32\(^95\) imitates MM I examples, while the Cycladic jug E33\(^96\) has a cut-away neck, a characteristic of Minoan jugs already from the EM period. From tomb 16 comes a Keftiu cup\(^97\) with red slip inside and outside and decoration in matt black paint of concentric circles in the main zone and bands above and below. This cup may be an import from outside central Crete of MM IIb/IIIa date, although the decoration is generally not common in Crete.

Period V: The inflow of Minoan vessels continued and increased in Period V. All the imports date to MM IIb-III period. Unfortunately Keos V which gives a detailed report of the imports separately from the imitations appeared too late for me to be able to make full use of the evidence and detailed description. It seems, however, that real MM ware was never dominant. The bulk of the pottery is made up of local plain semicoarse and coarse wares.\(^98\) This of course does not contradict the progressive minoanization of the settlement, since, as will be shown below, the majority of this local ware imitates the Minoan pottery repertory during this period.

Generally, as regards the drinking vessels, the 'Keftiu' cup and the semiglobular cup are the most popular cups during Period V. The drinking cups, however, imported from Crete constitute only a quarter of the total Cretan imports to Keos. On the contrary, it seems to be mostly goblets and kantharoi that are imported from the Mainland rather than storage vessels.
There are two varieties of 'Keftiu' cup. One has ribbed sides and bevelled base ('clapboard'). One fragment of this variety is covered by black glaze.\textsuperscript{99} This variety has been imitated locally in some quantity. It is found in the Yellow Slipped ware with grooves on the lower part of the walls of the cup, wavy lines above the grooves and a painted band around the rim.\textsuperscript{100}

The other variety of the 'Keftiu' cup is the one with spreading walls and plain base. In the local ware it has been abundantly imitated in the light-on-dark fabric\textsuperscript{101} bearing the decoration of scallops on the rim and horizontal bands on the lower part of the body. Sometimes speckles or trickle decoration are used.\textsuperscript{102}

The variety of the grooved 'Keftiu' cup characterizes mainly the MM III\textsuperscript{a} period in Crete, but never gained much popularity.\textsuperscript{103} More frequent is the 'Keftiu' cup with plain spreading walls, which covers both MM II\textsuperscript{a}-III\textsuperscript{a} periods and survives into the LBA.

The semiglobular cup, already popular from Period IV, is found during Period V in two varieties. One has flat base\textsuperscript{104} and the other raised base.\textsuperscript{105} It is mostly imitated in the light-on-dark fabric with decoration of horizontal bands, wavy lines, speckles or spirals.\textsuperscript{106} More rarely polychrome decoration is used.

Carinated cups survive into Period V,\textsuperscript{107} but are rare as in Crete by the end of MM III.

Many varieties of bowls either with double curved
profile\textsuperscript{108} or with conical walls\textsuperscript{109} look minoan in shape. The repertoire has not yet settled down to the limited number of standardized conical types of LC I and II periods.

Among pouring vessels very characteristic imports are the lentoid jugs. The only complete example has a small base and a knob underneath the spout.\textsuperscript{110} In some cases they may also have a ledge at the base of the neck.\textsuperscript{111} Similar examples exist in Crete, from Phaestos (jug with similar decoration of whirling loop motives)\textsuperscript{112} or from Knossos.\textsuperscript{113}

Characteristic Minoan pots are also the truncated jugs. One example\textsuperscript{114} bears light-on-dark decoration of spirals and two plastic knobs on either side of the spout. On another example,\textsuperscript{115} small white dots cover the body. Both, because of their buff biscuit and the red/brown slip that covers the whole body underneath the decoration, must be imports. In Crete, truncated jugs are found in Phaestos.\textsuperscript{116}

Minoan must also be the channel spouted jug with dark-on-light decoration of bands and reed.\textsuperscript{117} Similarly decorated but round mouthed jugs with light-on-dark style come from MM III houses at Knossos.\textsuperscript{118}

Many more closed pots\textsuperscript{119} whose shape cannot be reconstructed have reached A. Irini during MM III period. The only easily recognizable shape is that of the hole-mouthed jar again. One complete example\textsuperscript{120} has rough red-brown biscuit, near black surface and is maybe an import. It differs from Period IV examples\textsuperscript{121} in being more elongated with shorter spout and ribbon handles. It must be dated
Trefoil mouthed jugs, oval mouthed amphoras, side-spouted jars and stirrup jars are also reported in Period V. In most of these vessels dark ground decoration is used with additional white paint for their decoration. Occasionally polychrome decoration is found.

Some shapes are found only in the imitative repertoire without the equivalent minoan imports. For example, the deep conical jars with incurving rim are reminiscent of a minoan stone shape. The saucers are reminiscent of MM III examples, while the pedestalled bowls are found also in Crete during MM III period.

It is unfortunately impossible to characterize any change in the household ware. The form of baking pans and plates is so simple that no development can be recognized between Period IV and V. Again lamps and tripod vessels are used, which are similar to minoan examples, but could also have been used locally before any minoan influence was present on the island.

As regards the decoration of all the minoan or minoanizing wares one gets the impression that only very rarely exceptionally nice pieces, artistically speaking, are found at A. Irini. The trickle pattern, the speckles, the running spiral, the foliate band and some whirling motives are used, but rarely in the fine combinations of MM pottery.
CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

There are four points one should examine concerning Keo-Cretan trade relations. One is the time of the exchange relations between Keos and Crete. The second will inevitably concern the content and, if this is untraceable, the implications for this content through pottery. The third is the impact this trade had on Keos as regards the local production of pottery and the other aspects of life on the island. Finally, it would be interesting to find other inter-Cycladic relations such as those between Keos and Melos and examine whether these were affected by the orientation of Kean trade towards Crete.

Before discussing these points, it must be made clear that any definite conclusions are a priori impossible since a) only a small sample of the pottery has been published\textsuperscript{132}, b) the minoanizing pottery is only rarely distinguished from the true minoan ware and c) there are no percentages given of any Kean fabric per phase apart from a sample taken from a small deposit.\textsuperscript{133}

Let's start from the Melos-Keos exchange which is crucial. Melos is used as the traditionally known source of Cycladic wares like Cycladic White and Bichrome Ware in MC period. After the realization that equivalent fabrics exist in Thera however, it must for the moment remain an open question from which particular island these fabrics originated. In any case for convenience we may for the moment regard Melos
as the source of these wares.

Melian pottery is found on Keos already from Period IV.\textsuperscript{134} In Period V Melian imports are numerous. They belong to Phylakopi IIiiii and are mainly of the Cycladic White and Bichrome Ware.\textsuperscript{135} Like the imports from Crete those from Melos enter the settlement at A. Irini both as containers and as fine ware. We find at Keos, Melian panelled and Cycladic cups as well as beaked jugs, bridge-spouted jars and feeding bottles (Davis 1986, 83-84).

This Melo-Kean trade looks as if it had suffered in LC I-II periods. The Cycladic wares with patterns in dark paint, that may come from Melos, are few during Period VI.\textsuperscript{136} One major factor however is forgotten when intra-Cycladic relations are sought during the LBA: the fact that 'minoanization' is a common phenomenon in all three Cycladic LBA sites excavated up to now. So, when we try to explore the exchange of pottery between the Cyclades during LC period, we must mostly look for minoanizing material rather than traditionally Cycladic ware. All Cycladic potters have reorientated their repertoire towards minoan standards for reasons that must be sought on each island separately. However, the result of this reorientation is that little traditionally Cycladic material is manufactured any more to be exchanged between the islands. Hence, to detect the effect of minoanization on inter-cycladic trade during the LBA, we would first need to distinguish the different minoanized LC I and II workshops operating on Melos, Thera and Kea. By grouping in this way
the minoanized cycladic products, we could follow their dispersal to the different settlements and test whether there was any actual decline in the inter-cycladic trade.

Now as regards the beginning of the pottery exchange between Keos and Crete one would place it in MM Ib/Ia period approximately, although none of the published imports can be dated to MM Ib. The locally made carinated cup of Period IV looks very much like a cup from Kythera, which is a non-palatial MM I imitation, hence contemporary with palatial MM II. Similar carinated cups have been lately discovered at Trianda dating to MM III (Unpublished). So it remains to be proved what has been claimed, i.e., that the MM imports start already from MM Ib. The latest imports in Period IV are dated to MM IIIa.

As there is no pottery gap between Period IV and V in the local ware, MM IIIa continues to be imported also in Period V. According to J. Davis (Davis, forthcoming) the destruction deposits of Period V do not contain pottery of the latest MM styles (MM IIIb).

This needs further illumination, since many of the parallels for the MM imports of Period V can be found among the pottery from the Houses beside the Akropolis at Knossos, some which are dated in MM IIIb. It must also be remembered that in Melos too we have not identified any definite decorated ware exported from Crete in MM IIIb. Much of the non polychrome ware of MM IIIb period continues as in MM IIIa period and so it is difficult to distinguish it from the MM IIIa material. It is only with 'finicking' ware, the polychrome
MM IIIb pottery, that we are able to characterize MM IIIB material definitely.

In any case, the relation with Crete during MM III period is becoming stronger and this is shown much more by the imitative plain ware than by the actual imports.

As regards the content of this trade very little is known. It could not have consisted simply of agricultural products. Since, however, vessels used as containers have started to be imported right from the beginning of Period IV (Chapter 3, Period IV, round mouthed jugs, jars and other closed vessels), one would think, that among other things that left no archaeological trace, agricultural goods also have been exported from Crete to A. Irini. These goods never reached a degree that would supplant the local agricultural production nor even greatly influenced it. This is easy to gather from the amount of the Minoan wares in comparison to the local wares in the settlement. Judging by the calculations given by J. Overbeck\(^\text{141}\) for a 'lot fairly but not extremely early within Period IV', we find that 76% consist of local pottery, 12% is Matt Painted and Minyan wares, 5% is Cycladic White imports from other islands and only 8% is Minoan wares.\(^\text{142}\) This taken along with the observation that some of the pottery referred to as Minoanizing is considered to be at home in the Peloponnese,\(^\text{143}\) shows how a small percentage of the pottery of the settlement represents the real MM imports.

Although the amount of imports increased in Period V, they still remained in small percentages in comparison to
the local wares. This had one more reason for being so. The Kean potters in Period V were able to produce imitative Minoan wares, that substituted for much of the pottery they needed to import before. In this respect, it would be interesting to know in more detail the percentage use for each big category of minoanizing vessel shapes: drinking, pouring, storing, cooking. If the storing vessels (closed shapes) increase rapidly in the minoanizing ware, one might explain this as the result of a need to conform to a universal Aegean metrical system for transported goods. If only the drinking, pouring pots showed a dramatic increase one could suspect what has been described as the 'Versailles' effect. The change in cooking vessels would be more significant for actual colonisers (immigrants or emigrants) on the site, since these would have brought with them their eating habits. However, we are still unable to distinguish the Cycladic Kitchen ware from the Minoan, and what is generally suspected from the published report of the pottery of Period V is that minoanizing ware increased in all ceramic categories together, storing, pouring and drinking.

So, whatever the content of the trade, its impact on the pottery production of this island settlement was important. In Period V, apart from the Cycladic cup and the panelled cup, all the other drinking vessels are Minoan ('Keftiu', semiglobular, carinated) or Helladic (goblets, kantharoi). As regards the pouring vessels apart from the beaked jug all the newly introduced shapes, such as the truncated jug, the lentoid jug, the hole-mouthed jug, are again Minoan. For storing, they keep the wide-mouthed two-handed
jar and the globular jar, but introduce also the minoanizing pithoi with the rope pattern decoration (Davis 1986, Pl. 58:X11). There is also an abundance of the uninspired conical cups and various other bowls and saucers of Minoan profile. Generally the pottery, although it is a native product, follows the Minoan ceramic style in full scale.

The only sound reason for changing the local repertory for a Minoan one, if a sudden change imposed by a foreign attack is excluded, as it is by the excavators, is some fundamental change in the economic system of the settlement. If it was simply a cultural event following some prosperity of the town, it would have mainly affected vessels used for personal needs, like the cups. However, after calculations made on the basis of the Minoan wares of Period IV based on Overbeck's catalogue of Minoan wares (Overbeck, forthcoming), a rough estimation of 46% concerns closed shapes (jugs, jars, closed pots, but not hole-mouthed jars) and only 21% of the minoanizing wares are cups (Keftiu, carinated, rounded, bowls). Of course this calculation can not serve a detailed research analysis firstly, because a whole group of cups such as the conical cups, are not included in the catalogue and hence neither in the above calculation. Secondly, because no subsidiary calculations could be made concerning the fragmentary material referred to in the catalogue, but not individually described.

These calculations are confirmed however by the evidence of Period V where Minoan cups are a quarter of the total MM ware imported to Keos. Both show quite clearly that the trade did not remain simply on the cultural level, but involved some change of the local ware to correspond to that of Crete, especially for those vessels which were
used for storing and transporting goods. Hence the relationship of the two islands expanded in the economic sphere. Whether now it was the cultural or the economic factors that were the determinant element for the process of minoanization at A. Irini is not easy to tell. As the years passed, Keos entered more and more into the orbit of the Minoan civilization and this is eloquently expressed by the different shapes, that one moment are alien to the local repertoire and the next gain enormous popularity. A good example for this is the hole-mouthed jar, which is non existent in EC III period and which forms 16% of the minoanizing wares in early MC period.

The minoanization accepted, we must mention a few features that exclude the possibility of A. Irini being a settlement or a governed colony in Branigan's definition. The major argument is that local tradition in pottery making never died out. Besides, the affiliation of Keos with mainland Greece and the other Cycladic islands never stopped.

Melos-Keos relations have already been mentioned. For the Helladic relations of Keos one could simply mention the abundant Minyan and minyanizing material from Period IV and their milder continuation in Period V. The Mainland imports to A. Irini continue in considerable quantity and variety up to LC I-II levels also. In the heyday of the minoanization of the settlement, in LC I and II, Minoan ware coexists along with Helladic and Cycladic imports (Keos III, House A). One of course could argue that it was the Minoan settlers that continued this trade. It would
not be reasonable however for Minoans to orientate their trade towards other spheres than the metropolis, and it would remain unexplicable why cycladic shapes like the panelled cup, the Cycladic cup or the wide mouthed jar continued to be manufactured in LC I period. These are shapes made by Cycladic potters for the native clientele of the settlement that was always active on the site.

So the possible Minoan settlers at A. Irini - 'community colony' in Branigan's definition - traders, artisans, officials and mariners, involved themselves in the life of the settlement without forming an enclave or imposing their tradition to the exclusion of other influences. If they promoted trade with Crete it would be difficult to detect archaeologically and in any case this discovery would not have changed the character and history of A. Irini settlement. A. Irini would still be characterized as a Cycladic site with strong Helladic and Minoan relations.
FOOTNOTES

C. KEOS

CHAPTERS 1, 2, 3 & 4

cf. J. Caskey in General Bibliography.


Hesperia 1964, 320.
Hesperia 1964, Pls. 49c, d.
Hesperia 1964, Pl. 49e.
Hesperia 1966, 371.
Keos III, Vi.
Ibid. 30.
Cummer 1980, 3-14.
Keos III, Pl. 51:293, 295.
Keos Pt I, Fig. 2.
Keos Pt II, 375.
Hesperia 1972, 378.
Keos Pt I, 385
G. Overbeck, 1974.

21 Keos Pt II, 375.

22 Similar to the imported Melian examples (Keos Pt II, D62-3, Pl. 82

23 Keos Pt II, D65-67, Fig. 10, Pl. 84; D139-142, Pl. 85.

24 Keos Pt II, D68, Pl. 85.

25 Keos Pt II, D69, Pl. 85.

26 Keos Pt II, 381.

27 Immerwahr 1971:320 and 322.

28 Argos storerooms, C. Zerner pers. communication.

29 Keos Pt II, D59-60, Fig. 10.

30 Keos Pt. II, D61, Fig. 10.

31 Keos Pt II, D58, Pl. 84.

32 Keos Pt. II, 378.

33 Keos Pt II, D121, Pl. 83; D37-38, Fig. 9.

34 Keos Pt. II, D40, Pl. 83; D41, Fig. 9.

35 Keos Pt II, D46, Fig. 9; D6, Fig. 8; D65, Fig. 10.

36 Keos Pt II, D134, Fig. 9.

37 Keos Pt II, D137-138, Pl. 84.

38 Keos Pt II, D56, Pl. 84.

39 Keos Pt II, D125-132, Fig. 9, Pl. 84.

40 Goblet exhibited in Argos Museum.

41 Alt-Agina III, Pl. 121:435.

42 Goldman 1931, Pl. X.

43 Keos Pt II, D75, Fig. 9; D76, Pl. 85.

44 Keos Pt II, D144, Pl. 85.

45 Keos Pt II, D85, Pl. 85; D87-8, Fig. 10.

46 Keos Pt II, D89-90, Fig. 10.

47 Keos Pt II, D91, Fig. 10.

48 Overbeck 1984, 108.
168

49 Keos Pt II, F24, Fig. 12.
50 Keos Pt II, F23, Fig. 12.
51 Keos Pt II, F34-35, Pl. 91.

52 Deposits from the Sacrificed Oxen and houses of MM III date; Catling 1979, Fig. 23, 160.
53 Keos Pt II, F3, F4, F15, Pl. 90.
55 Keos Pt II, 376.
56 Keos Pt II, D8, Fig. 8.
57 Keos Pt II, D143, Pl. 85.
58 Overbeck forthcoming, AP22.
59 Keos Pt II, D115-116, Pl. 83.
61 Keos Pt II, D11, Pl. 82 and D71, Pl. 85.
62 Keos Pt II, D111-113, Pl. 83.
63 Ibid. D71, Pl. 85.
64 Kythera, D76, Pl. 74.
65 Keos Pt II, D11, Pl. 82.
66 D. Levi 1976, Tav I1, Pl. 130 lower two rows, MM IIb.
67 Keos Pt II, D114, Pl. 83.
68 PM IV, Fig. 100.
69 Levi 1976, Tav I1, Pl. 124c-e.
70 Keos Pt II, D64, Fig. 10.
71 Catling 1979, Fig. 18, 100.
72 Keos Pt II, D78-83, Pl. 85.
73 Keos Pt II, D77, Fig. 10.
74 PM I, Fig. 415B.
75 Keos Pt II, D119, Area J, Pl. 83.
76 PM IV, Pl. XXIXE.
77 Pernier 1935, Pl. XXIVa.
Keos Pt II, D12, Pl. 82.

Keos Pt II, D118, Pl. 83; D9-10, Fig. 8.

Keos Pt. II, D26-27, Pl. 82; D61, Fig. 10.

Arch. Delt 28, Pl. 509b.


Keos Pt II, D117, Pl. 83

PM I, 414, Figs. 299a, b.

Keos Pt II, D74, Fig. 10.

Thalassocracy, Davis, 37.

Keos Pt II, D146, Pl. 85, K3977.

Koumasa, PM I, Fig. 85.

Platanos, VTM, Pl. 51, 6868.

Hood 1978, 32, Ill. 7, chicken pot from A. Triadha.

Keos Pt II, E11, K3279, Pl. 87.

Keos Pt II, barrel jar E9, Pl. 87.

Keos Pt II, E21-22, Pl. 88.

MM IIIa, PM I, Fig. 191

Keos Pt II, Pl. 89.

Ibid.

Keos Pt II, E34, Pl. 89.

Keos Pt II, 391.

Keos Pt II, F21, Pl. 90.

Keos Pt II, F33, Pl. 90.

Keos Pt II, F1-2, Pl. 90.

Davis, 1986, Pl. 20:Cl.

Gournia, Pl. VI, 34; Catling 1979, Fig. 18, V49, V95-98.

Keos Pt II, F46-47, Fig. 11.

Ibid. F48.

Davis, 1986, Pl. 22:E1; Pl. 20:C2-3; Pl. 26:U4-6.
107 Keos Pt II, F38, Fig. 11; F22, Pl. 90.
108 Keos Pt II, F39-40, Fig. 11.
109 Ibid. F41, F44.
110 Keos Pt II, F5, Pl. 90.
111 Ibid. F6.
112 Levi 1976, Tav I, Pl. XXXd.
113 PM II, Fig. 121a.
114 Keos Pt II, F8, Pl. 90.
115 Ibid. F7.
116 Levi 1976, Tav I, Pl. 22f, MM IIa; I₂, Pl. 32b, MM IIb.
117 Keos Pt II, F16, Pl. 91.
118 Catling 1979, Fig. 24, 157.
119 Keos Pt II, F9-14, Pl. 90.
120 Keos Pt II, F51, Pl. 90.
121 Keos Pt II, El1, Pl. 87.
123 Davis, 1986, 82.
124 Keos Pt II, F18, Pl. 91.
125 Keos Pt II, F50, Fig. 12.
126 Keos Pt II, F34, Fig. 12.
127 Catling 1979, Fig. 19: 107-109.
128 Keos Pt II, F35, Fig. 12.
129 Catling 1979, Fig. 23: 160.
130 Keos Pt II, F52-56, Fig. 12.
131 Keos Pt II, F57-58, Fig. 12.
132 Keos Pt II; Keos IV, A. Irini: Period V.
133 Overbeck 1982, 40.
134 Keos Pt II, D62-63, 68, 139-141, Pls. 84-5.
135 Keos Pt II, F25-32, Pl. 91.
Keos Pt II, G51-58, Pl. 93.

Keos Pt II, D71, Pl. 85.

Kythera, D76, Pl. 74.

Overbeck 1984, 108.

Moulded spiral decoration of fragment D119; barley spray in relief, D117; in and out bowl, D114.

Overbeck 1982, 40.

This total gives a 101%, but is based on Overbeck's calculations.

Overbeck 1982, 41.

Keos Pt II, 391.

Thalassocracy, 17.


Keos Pt II, D1-4, D92, D102-105, Fig. 8; D93-101, Pl. 82; D122, D124, D126-127, D129-133, Pl. 84.

Keos Pt II, 387.

Cherry and Davis 1982, 336.

Keos Pt II, Pl. 93, G60-61.

Keos III, Pl. 61: 826; Pl. 71: 1113.

Ibid, Pl. 56: 425.
The material excavated by Rubensohn in 1917 on Paros on the Paroikia hill, today called Kastro, revealed some interesting aspects of life on the island during the prehistoric period. Paroikia's importance lies in the fact that it is the only settlement on Paros that seems to show a long history from EC I until at least LC IIIc period.

Although as Renfrew wrote there are 'no well documented finds from Keros-Syros culture on Paros', more recent researchers found at Paroikia both material with late EC I characteristics and with EC IIIa features. So the gap, if any, should not have lasted for long.

Another problematic area in the settlement's history seems to be the late MC period, of which little evidence exists.

Apart from Phylakopi and possibly Daskalio, Paroikia is the only documented settlement in the Cyclades that has not been abandoned during the EC IIIb period. The other two settlements in Paros, Avyssos and Pyrgos, excavated in 1898 by Tsountas, belong to the EC I period and did not survive thereafter. The more recently excavated site at Koukounaries has up to now provided, apart from an unfinished EC idol, material of LC IIIb/c and
Paroikia therefore seems to have been the main settlement on the island during the prehistoric period and might have cast light on many tantalizing problems, particularly of the EC period, had it been fully excavated.

The MC life of the settlement is, unfortunately, badly destroyed and remains obscure. One of the problems concerning this period is whether Paros at that stage had any contact with Crete as the other Cycladic islands did (Kea, Thera, Melos). Before dealing with this problem it may be useful to give a brief account of the architectural evidence revealed by Rubensohn and now permanently sealed under the modern village.

The area excavated lies NE of the foundations of a Temple, and part of it is still visible underneath the Church of St. Konstantine, which dominates the hill today.

Rubensohn's description of the prehistoric buildings lead to two conclusions:

1st) That the buildings of prehistoric Paroikia were constructed in at least three different phases of which only the middle one (Phase b) has been preserved and could be dated.

Phase a comprised the walls underneath Walls h and l. It had no pottery associated with it but it must antedate walls h and l, which belong to the EC III period. 6

Phase b was the best preserved (Walls a, b, c, d, i,
l, f, k, o, m, q, r, n, e, h, y, w, x) and was dated by the bulk of the pottery to the EC III period. The Phase c was represented only by Wall p, which was built in the same technique as the Phase b walls, but belonged to a different level, which Rubensohn described as later without giving a specific date. Wall p stands partly on Wall q of Phase b so it postdated it.

The rest of the walls in Rubensohn's plan belong to a later period ('hellenischer Zeit').

2nd) That the plan of the buildings and their construction technique were of purely Cycladic character. They form a series of small rooms built solidly of flagstones joined by mortar. These rooms are interconnected through doorways marked by the slabstones of their thresholds. The area excavated was of course small and one cannot reach definite conclusions concerning the identity of the settlement. However, the absence of frescoed walls, of a central court, of a drainage system, provide negative arguments against any strong Minoan presence on the site.

The best parallel to this Parian complex is Kean Building XI, which was built in EC II, but continued into the EC III period with small alterations.
CHAPTER 2
LOCAL POTTERY

A. BICHROME WARE

The most important example of local bichrome pottery found at Paroikia is a deep semiglobular bowl, No. 406, Pl. 55, of which half of the rim and part of the body is preserved. It bears a zone of eyed spirals connected by double tangents, inbetween two horizontal lines, painted all in black. This zone lies between two horizontal handles, only one of which is preserved. Above and below this decorative zone there exist bands in orange paint bearing sometimes superimposed black lines. The profile reminds us of MH bowl shapes like Buck's A type or else LM II deep bowls. A rim fragment of a large vessel from Phylakopi bears another kind of spiral but in the same Bichrome style. The best equivalent of this Parian bowl decoration is found in the spiral decoration of a LM Ia sherd from Kythera.

Hence, this bowl fragment can belong to the LC I of the LC II period since the Bichrome style survived to LC I but the shape looks peculiar for this period.

Another Bichrome sherd published by Rubensohn, No. 407, Pl. 55, could find Helladic parallels for its fabric in the Shaft Grave period pottery. This sherd and the handle with the same Bichrome decoration, may be Helladic exports to Paros.
B. CYCLADIC WHITE WARE

Two typically CW fragments of the late MC period (MC III) are found among the unpublished material from Paroikia excavations (Nos. 408-409).

No. 408, Pl. 56, bears the Minoanizing motif of J-spirals as equivalent examples from Melos, while No. 409, Pl. 56, has horizontal bands around the foot, which are common on Melos, Thera and the mainland.

Another unpublished panelled cup fragment, No. 410, Pl. 56, may be a Late Helladic I imitation of the traditionally Cycladic panelled cup, since the ripples are not found either on Melos or Thera.

The shape of the amphora is also represented in the CW ware of Paros. One complete amphoriskos, No. 411, Pl. 56, bears no decoration on its yellow slip, while on another amphora of the same shape, No. 412, Pl. 57, the motif of dotted rosette is painted as on many vases of the MC period from Melos, Keos and Thera. The shape of this amphora is Melian type 6:5, which is similar to Keos D, example and dates to Phylakopi I-iii/II early period.

The handled cup, Melian type 7:3, is another shape found at Paroikia among CW wares. The example published by Rubensohn bears matt black decoration of semicircles again with equivalent on Melos.

Finally, CW ware is used for the imitation of Minyan shapes something not so common outside Melos and Aegina.
It is not yet clear whether this Cycladic White fabric had been produced locally on Paros or if it had been imported from other islands like Melos, Thera or both.

Local clay is red and when Parians wanted to make their pots resemble the whitish Melian clay, they would have needed to cover them with a white slip, exactly as it was the case on Keos. Otherwise, it may be proved that a local source for whitish clay was also available on Paros.

The practice of painting their pots with yellow slip must have started early on Paros as a type 6:8c jug, No. 415, Pl. 58, shows. Other examples like the juglet, No. 413, Pl. 57, and the amphoriskos, No. 414, Pl. 57, belong to the transitional EC/MC period, while a barrel jar, No. 416, Pl. 58, may be of early MC date. It may be proved that all the CW pots on Paros were imported from Melos or/and Thera and that the Yellow slipped and Painted ware was the local substitute for CW on the island.

C. BURNISHED WARE

Already from the EC IIIb period on Paros White-on-Red Burnished ware was common. Nos. 417-419, Pls. 58-59, belong to this period. According to Rubensohn, this fabric replaced the white filled incised ware and is always of EB date. However, more recent finds have proved that both White-on-Red and White-on-Black Burnished wares began in the EC III period, but continued into the MC period.

Most of the published Red Burnished ware from Paroikia
is of EC IIIb period, but the Red Burnished goblet with the plain stem\textsuperscript{24} belongs to the MC period, being an imitation of a Minyan goblet and possibly a Keian export to Paros, while the unpublished rim of a Black Burnished Cycladic cup, No. 421, Pl. 60, looks very similar to Theran MC equivalents (Theran export?).

Two other Burnished Cycladic bowls with mottled decoration, Nos. 422-423, Pl. 60, belong to the EC III period and show the continuity of this shape and fabric at Paroikia from the EC III to the MC period.
CHAPTER 3

MM IMPORTS AND IMITATIONS

The excavator at Paroikia publishing the pottery from the site believed that there was no Minoan pottery or Minoan influence on Paros. His statement, of course, concerns the period from MC II to LC II, since it is during this period that the other Cycladic settlements imported Minoan wares.

Architecturally, as has already been explained, little remains after the EC III period on the site and so it is reasonable that, since not much late MC material is preserved, Minoan influence could not be amply evidenced. However, among the pottery from Rubensohn's excavations there are some sherds that belong to the MC/LC period and are Minoan or of Minoan influence. These are the following:

Some Conical cups, Nos. 424-425, Pl. 61, one example of which was published by Rubensohn, and some tumblers, No. 426, Pl. 62, which belong to the MBA and seem to be made of local clay.

Some light-on-dark ware, which is usually imitative of the MM III pottery, as sherd No. 427, Pl. 62 and a fragment of an amphora.

Finally, two may be actual imports from Crete, both unpublished, No. 428, Pl. 63, which is the spout of a hole-mouthed pot and No. 429, Pl. 63, which is the base of a jug with a reed-like motif.
Two more unpublished fragments of straight-walled cups, No. 430a-b, Pl. 64, look Helladic in manufacture and fabric, but the shape is ultimately Minoan again.
CHAPTER 4
DISCUSSION

It is clear from the above evidence that, although at Paroikia we have two MM imports, only a few local imitations of conical cups and tumblers, as well as a few examples of the developed curvilinear style (panelled cup), which evolved in the other MC settlements under the influence of MM II-III pottery, we cannot speak of lack of Minoan presence altogether.

The bulk of Paroikia material belongs to the late EC III (EC IIIB) period. Some may come down to early MC. But there is no evidence of the channel-spouted jugs so typical at Phylakopi in the MC II period, when MM wares started arriving at that settlement.

What exists as Minoan influence at Paroikia constitutes a pocket of late MC material (MC III), which preserved the conical cups, the tumblers, some light-on-dark pottery, the spout of a hole-mouthed jar and the base of a MM III jug. The straight-walled cup fragments are still later in date (LH I).

Generally, Minoan imports found at Paroikia seem to be much smaller than Melian imports found at the same settlement. Maybe again because more Phylakopi I-iii material survived. The proximity of Paros and Melos is more than evident when one looks at the EC IIIB material from the site. The beaked jug, type 6:8c (No. 415, Pl. 58)
has an exact parallel in Phylakopi I-ii/iii,\textsuperscript{28} while other examples published by Rubensohn,\textsuperscript{29} No. 432, Pl. 64; No. 433 and 434, Pl. 65, look like Melian exports to Paros. This close connection continued into the MBA as the panel-led cup fragments, the amphora and the Kantharos of CW fabric discussed above (Chapter 2).

Similarity appears also in the Coarse ware, since the two published handled jugs or urns,\textsuperscript{30} Nos. 435-436, Pl. 65, have good parallels on Keos\textsuperscript{31} but again also on Melos.\textsuperscript{32}

Is it therefore justifiable to suspect that Minoan influence reached Paros mainly through Melos. Extending the strong relationship existing between the two islands from the EC IIIb to the MC period, it might have been always the case that Paros took what was left over from the Melian trade with mainland Greece (Minyan ware) and Crete (MM ware). This is maybe why the Minyan ware found on Paros\textsuperscript{33} was imitated there, as at Phylakopi, in the CW fabric, something which did not happen at Akrotiri or at A. Irini, where Minyan imitations are found only among Burnished ware. However, we need more evidence from Paros to understand Minoan influence and the island's relationship with the rest of the Cyclades.
FOOTNOTES

D. PAROS

CHAPTERS 1, 2, 3 & 4

1 AM 1917, 1-98.
3 Emergence, 515.
4 Barber and MacGillivray 1980, 145, 150.
5 Ibid. 152.
6 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. II.
7 Closer dating is not possible without the exact correlation of the pottery with these walls.
8 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 72.
9 Phylakopi, Pl. XIII\textsuperscript{13}.
10 Kythera, w, Pl. 52:57.
11 Schofield 1982, 10 for a LM Ib date.
12 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 73.
13 Phylakopi, Pl. XVI\textsuperscript{5}, 14\textsuperscript{1}.
14 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 74.
15 Phylakopi, Pl. XVI\textsuperscript{8}, Pl. XIV\textsuperscript{1}.
16 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 85, D68, Dl41-2.
17 Nos. 11 and 13.
18 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 76.
19 Phylakopi, Pl. VIII\textsuperscript{9} and BSA 17, Pl. VI:31.
20 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 77.
21 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 58.
22 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 20, 19.
23 Rubensohn 1917, Pls. 49-55.
24 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 34; No. 420, Pl. 59.
25 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 18b.
26 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 18a.
27 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 56.
28 Phylakopi, Pl. IX, 6 and BSA 69, Pl. Ia.
29 Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 75, Pls. 60-61 respectively.
30 Rubensohn 1917, Pls. 26-27.
31 Keos Pt. II, Pl. 87, E14, 17, 16.
32 BSA 17, Pl. IV:209.
33 Rubensohn 1917, Pls. 31-33.
PART III

A. AEGINA

B. EAST AEGEAN
PART III
A. AEGINA
CHAPTER 1
EXCAVATIONS AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

The first excavations in Aegina, Kolonna hill, have been executed by the end of the previous century by A. Stais. P. Wolters and G. Welter continued from 1925 and uncovered most of the prehistoric site. Unfortunately, in the Second WW most of Welter's documents kept in the German Institute of Archaeology were lost and we were left with the short publication of 1937. New excavations started in 1966 by H. Walter to continue up to 1970. Henceforth, the Austrians have undertaken the research in the area of Kolonna hill that is continued up to now.

Cities I to VI (2500 to 2050 - 2000 BC) belong to the EBA. Already in City III there is a main building, 'White House', which resembles in plan the House of Tiles in Lerna although, the latter is bigger. In City IV evidence for copper working is clear in the important kiln built in the ruins of the White House. City V is the first really fortified town, with walls running 80m long, three towers and two entrances. According to the excavators this city was ruined by a big fire ('Brand Katastrophe') probably by invaders. However, the new City (VI) was built by the same inhabitants, since only they knew the plan of the old city and were able to use the collapsed walls as foundations for the new fortifications. The
The pottery sequence testifies also the continuity in folk. The wall of City VI is 4-5m thick and has its two entrances flanked by rectangular towers. In front of this the old fore-wall was reconstructed and reinforced where needed.

City VII (2000 - 1900 BC) belongs to the MC period. A new change in the defence system of the entrances is inaugurated so that the visitor now enters from the South and passes through a long corridor before his final entrance into the town. The same system of entrance exists already for the fore-wall.

City VIII (1900 - 1800 BC) presents the strongest fortification wall (ca 8m wide) ever built before, although, no major change is attested both in the plan of the two walls and their building technique. In City IX (1800 - 1650 BC) a significant rise in the height of the fore-wall brings both walls to the same height. Behind the outer entrances the visitor finds himself in yards and again through long corridors, that go through the thickness of the main wall, the town is reached. In the southern yard a house was built (Haus im Südhof) in the foreroom of which the most representative pottery of the period was found.

No major change takes place in the fortifications during City X (1650 - 1600 BC) and only some gates, corridors and yards are abandoned or closed.

So Aegina, during the MC period, must have been an extremely prosperous settlement to provide its town with
this remarkable work of defence, which was continuously enlarged as the town was expanded. It would be interesting to know more about the town plan as well, which, particularly for the MC period, is missing apart from a few houses here and there.
CHAPTER 2
LOCAL WARE

The main report on MC Aeginetan pottery is found in H. Walter's and F. Felten's publication, which comprises the pottery groups of local ware either stratigraphically or stylistically belonging to the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Here some imported vases of Cycladic derivation are found, but no MM ware is yet published. Some attention to MC Matt-painted ware is given by P. Wünsche in his study of Aeginetan pottery.

There are three main pottery categories in Aegina throughout all the MBA: The Matt-painted (MP), the Burnished and the Plain ware.

In the beginning of the MB period (MC I) (City VII) we find MP pithoi, jugs, basins and kantharoi. No complete profiles, apart from those of kantharoi, are known, but the shapes as we can gather from the fragmentary sherds find easily forerunners in the EC III pottery of City VI and are rarely innovations of the period. In Burnished ware, which is found in a great variety of colours from red to brown and black, the slip is generally thicker than that of the EC period and more lustrous. The repertoire of shapes is small and even more linked to the traditions of Cities V and VI than the MP ware. The most common shapes are kantharoi and basins. None of the shapes in the early MC town reminds us of the
Minoan repertoire. They belong to the EH III tradition and find parallels in mainland sites (Asine, Korakou, Lefkandi, Zygouries). Only the Red Burnished bowls, which start in the EBA seem to show a common development with those of Phylakopi. In this Helladic milieu of the early MC period the only imports are Cycladic Matt-painted vases, which are known as Cycladic White ware in the rest of the Cyclades and Cycladic Burnished pottery. Through Cycladic imports and particularly through Cycladic White ware, the introduction of some curvilinear motives is initiated in Aegina. No local imitation is yet dared apart from the use as filling ornaments of a few signs not met before, like the asterisk, the linked dots or the 'urchin'. City VII potters keep the tectonic character of their pottery decoration and develop it to its full. They have created their special language in their style of decoration and they will be very reluctant to abandon it.

The shapes of vases for pithoi, jug, kanthoroi or basins do not change in City VIII, which is still MC I. The only significant change is that curvilinear motives now are not used only on Cycladic imports, but are also locally imitated. The complete jug No. 413 and pithos sherd No. 414 (maybe also pyxis lid No. 418, Taf 118, if it is not Helladic) which date in Phylakopi I–iiii–II-i period, show that the contact with the rest of the Cyclades has progressed so that potters based on Aegina can manufacture shapes used in Melos. From this time onwards,
hatched surfaces on pots are reduced and more empty spaces are left.

In City VIII according to Walter Cycladic potters came into Aegina and were responsible for the duck vases and the light-on-dark ware found in the town. He also mentions regular trade with Crete.

With City IX we enter the later MC period (MC II-III) as it is attested by the standardized shape of kantharos and the ring stemmed goblets. The technique and the clay of the vases have nothing new, but now even the bigger pots use the sandy greenish yellow clay known as characteristic for Aegina. Red clay is exceptional. Pithoi of the Cycladic barrel jar shape with outward flaring flat rim seem to gain in popularity, while the older type with collar neck still exists. Jugs also come closer to Cycladic standards in shape, although their decoration retains the geometric, EBA character. The neck zone is the only place of the vase where some innovations are permitted, as the groups of vertical lines at intervals.

No Cycladic drinking cups seem to undermine the standard preference for kantharoi. Only that the latter now bear a subsidiary dotted line and a linked semi-circle band on their body. Sometimes, big dots may also decorate the main body zone. On pithoi concentric circles also may cover the vertical body zones. These innovations bring a major change in the syntax of the decoration, which this way stops being zonal and slowly
becomes filled decoration. 36

Apart from the purely Cycladic imports, one category of vessels exchanged between Aegina and the other Cyclades during this period must have been Minyan ware. 37 One goblet from Aegina in particular 38 must be a Keian import both because of its reddish clay and its red slip.

In City X, final MB period (MC III), the pottery technically uses the same sand y clay of greenish yellow clay and only for household ware the coarser dark clay 39 was used. In the decoration two innovations took place. First, besides the Matt-painted ware, there exists a variety of pots both imports 40 and local, 41 which have a varnished paint, that sticks better on the body of the pot. Second, the potters for the first time start using more colours in the decoration of the pots. Here MM pottery 42 and Cycladic Bichrome ware 43 must be granted as the ultimate source of inspiration.

Changes can be seen also in the use of the old motives and the introduction of new ones. The hatched triangle is no longer used as isolated geometric motif, but is drawn in the circumference of the body of the vase 44 and finally becomes a field decoration. 45 In the place of the zig-zag, curvilinear wavy bands become popular. 46 Concentric circles are linked in a running band by tangents 47 and even the first S-bands 48 and the first spirals 49 are present. The plume-like motif 50 and the dotted rosette 51 have also their ultimate origin in Crete, but arrived in Aegina through the Cyclades again.
Besides the actual Cycladic imports,\textsuperscript{52} Cycladic shapes are now manufactured more frequently. Thus, we have examples of panelled cups\textsuperscript{53} or panelled jugs or cups\textsuperscript{54} or semiglobular spouted bowls.\textsuperscript{55}

So this last MC phase in Aegina breaks the tectonic, geometric character used for the decoration of the pottery up to now and enters to a new system of design, where field motives are favoured instead of zonal ones and curvilinear instead of straight lines are preferred. Aegina has reached this stage late in the MC period, while this type of decoration is already used in the MC II period in the rest of the Cyclades. Only the direct Cycladic imports (No. 455, Bichrome jug) or some advanced imitations (Nos. 446, 447, panelled cups) speak for the synchronism of City X with late MC period. In any case, this pottery provided the formative stage and the link towards LC I style pottery in Aegina.
CHAPTER 3
DISCUSSION

Since the imported MM ware from Aegina is not yet published, one can only speak of the strong relation between the rest of the Cyclades and that island, taking always into account that Aegina was predominantly influenced by the Greek mainland during the EBA.

While Aeginetan-Mainland cultural relations have been decisive, the island's connection with the other Cyclades can be attested from the EBA by three categories of pottery:

1) The red polished ware, which according to Wünsche led in Aegina and Phylakopi a different development, but can claim a common ancestry.  

2) The incised pottery, duck vases, pyxides, lids.

3) The painted Phylakopi I pottery, which imitates incised ware much as the equivalent Aeginetan ware of the period.

This mixture of Helladic-Cycladic elements in Aeginetan pottery continues into the MC period and seemingly the Cycladic influence becomes more and more important.

In City VII we have imported Cycladic Burnished ware and new filling motives in the local MP ware.

In City VIII Aeginetan potters imitate Cycladic jugs and pithoi.
In City IX, a deep change in local MP ware is accomplished by the introduction of field decoration, still now quite timid, and the adoption of more curvilinear motives. In Burnished ware a common inter-Cycladic Minyan or Minyanizing pot trade is flourishing.

Finally, in City X (MC III), the outskirts of the developed Cycladic White style as it was manifested in panelled cups or jugs appear and the first efforts for a polychrome style are dared by local Aeginetan potters.

It seems that this Aeginetan-Cycladic relationship helped in the introduction of the Minoan world to the inhabitants at Kolonna hill. This settlement seems so mainland orientated and so conservative in the development of its pottery, that the imported MM ware never inspired the 'Minoanizing' style as in the rest of the Cyclades. The introduction of curvilinear motives in the local MP ware really begins in the late MC period. The new motives are allowed only after being tried by the other Cycladic potters. The dotted rosette, the linked concentric circles, the spiral, the plume, the wavy line, the S-band, have gained the preference of Aeginetans because they were the commonest minoanizing designs of MC pottery elsewhere.

So there is a clear differentiation in the way MC pottery in Aegina was transformed to become LC I ware with all the Minoan influence this had involved. While in the other Cyclades the potters absorbed and transformed Minoan elements of decoration gradually during the MC
period, in Aegina no such expertise was gained with the result of, first, imitating the Cycladic minoanizing with no inspiration and, second, of evolving a LC/LH I style with developed LM Ia motives without any local taste to intervene. This fact would be better evidenced if the LBA finds from Aegina (Alt-Ägina IV₁) were accompanied by stratigraphic information. Yet the fact that polychromy was mainly used in Aegina only in the transitional from the MC to LC period, is indicative. Again the fact that the true LM Ia floral style minoanizing pots happen to be Cycladic imports⁶¹ points to the same fact. Finally, the lack of initiative on behalf of Aeginetan potters towards the formation of the LH I style of decoration can be seen in the tectonic character kept during the LC I period and the lack of any real floral style on the island.

Of course there is reference to 140 whole and fragmentary MM vases from the site to be published in the future⁶² and there is also Welter's reference to a potter's wheel of Minoan clay ... Maybe Minoans arrived in Aegina through the Cycladic islands since Aegina is the natural bridge to the mainland.

One still would need to look closer at the relationship between the Cyclades and Aegina during the LC I period to explain how Aeginetan pottery developed during the LBA. Superficially, the absence of the so well known 'bird vases' from Aegina and the lack of any 'figured scene' vases found in some of the other Cyclades
points to some change in the orientation of the Aeginetan trade in LB I, which may have simply now become more direct towards Crete and the Mainland without the need of other Cycladic middle-men.
FOOTNOTES

PART III

A. AEGINA

CHAPTERS 1, 2 & 3

1Arch. Ephem. 15, 1895, 235.
2Welter 1937, Aigina.
3Alt-Ägina III, Fig. 5.
4Ibid. Figs. 17-20.
5Ibid. Figs. 21-22.
6Alt-Ägina III, 1981.
7P. Wünsche 1977.
8Alt-Ägina III.
9Ibid. 406, Taf 117; 400, 402, Taf 116; 369, Taf 111.
10Ibid. 371, Taf 111; 373-4, Taf 112; 396, Taf 116.
11Ibid. 403-405, Taf 116.
12Ibid. 378-380, Taf 113.
13Ibid. 405 basin, Taf 116.
14Ibid. 388-390, Taf 114.
15Ibid. 383-387, Taf 113-4.
16Wünsche 1977, 45.
17Alt-Ägina III, 375, Taf 112; 407, Taf 117.
18Ibid. 392-395, Taf 115.
19Ibid. 375, Taf 112.
20Ibid. 372, Taf 111.
21Ibid. 370, Taf 111.
22Ibid. 374, Taf 112.
23Ibid. 413, Taf 118.
24H. Walter 1985, 114.
25 Ibid. Pl. 86.
26 Ibid. Pl. 87.
27 Alt-Ägina III, Taf 119 and 121.
28 Ibid. 425, 429, Taf 119.
29 Ibid. 426, Taf 119; 433, Taf 120.
30 Ibid. cf. handle of one of them 429, Taf 119.
31 Cf. Aegina's Ibid. 432, Taf 120 and Melos, BSA 17, Pl. V:162.
32 Alt-Ägina III, 432, Taf 120.
33 Ibid. 434, Taf 120.
34 Ibid. 427, Taf 119.
35 Ibid. 426, Taf 119; 433, Taf 120.
36 Ibid. 423, 426, 427, Taf 119.
37 Cf. goblets from Aegina, Ibid. Taf 121 and Melos, BSA 17, Pl. VII, No. 27 and fragments, also Keos Pt. II, Pls. 82, 93-109.
38 Alt-Ägina III, 435, Taf 121.
39 Ibid. 453-456, Taf 123.
40 Ibid. 454-455, Taf 123.
41 Ibid. 458, Taf 123.
42 Ibid. 454, Taf 123, MM import or Cycladic imitation.
43 Ibid. 455, Taf 123.
44 Ibid. 444, Taf 122.
45 Ibid. 443, Taf 122.
46 Ibid. 454, 453, Taf 123.
47 Ibid. 444, Taf 122; 457, Taf 123.
48 Ibid. 449, Taf 122.
49 Ibid. 445, Taf 122.
50 Ibid. 448, Taf 122.
51 Ibid. 449, Taf 122.
52 Ibid. 455, Taf 123, Melian? Cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX5.
53 **Alt-Ägina III**, 446-447, Taf 122.

54 Ibid. 445, 450, Taf 122.

55 Ibid. 443, Taf 122 cf. Melian, **BSA** 17, Pl. X.

56 Wünsche 1977, 45.

57 Ibid. 51-55.

58 **Alt-Ägina III**, Taf 115.

59 Ibid. 413, Taf 118.

60 Ibid. 414, Taf 118.

61 **Alt-Ägina III**, Taf 2, 17-19.

B. EAST AEGEAN

CHAPTER 1

MM POTTERY FOUND ON SAMOS

On Samos there are two sites where Minoan Bronze Age pottery has been excavated; Tigani/Kastro and Heraion. Both sites are situated in the main S.E. plain of the island.

Kastro is a low hill above the only natural harbour of this coastal plain. The harbour is now called Pythagoreion. The Germans had revealed pockets of Minoan pottery on Kastro hill in 1930. The Bronze Age pottery was found lying always under the Hellenistic and Roman remains above a layer of blackish earth mixed with pebbles, that contained Neolithic material. The Bronze Age finds are never related to any building level, belonging rather to the rubbish dumps of a settlement that vanished under subsequent building activities.

There are four areas where this Bronze Age ware has been collected; two pits, one bothros (No. 14) and a deposit under the eastern side of the stylobate of the S. Roman Peristyle. The sherds and pots collected are of both Anatolian and Minoan affinities, while the Cycladic influence, which can be distinguished already from the EBA by stone objects and contemporary sherds, continues into the MBA.

The Minoan sherds from Kastro range from MM III to
LM II. The material belonging to MM III or to the transitional MM III/LM Ia phase is quite limited. It consists of:

Two light-on-dark sherds
One plain pithos fragment
One Conical cup

The two light-on-dark sherds were found in Pit 7 (Grube 7), which lay underneath the S.W. side of the Roman Peristyle. They were made of red coarse hard-baked clay and might belong to large storage vessels (pithoi?). Their decoration consists of spirals and is better distinguished on fragments AM 60-1, Pl. 49:2. Pithoi with the same decoration are known from Knossos, while many similarly decorated sherds come from Serraglio. The lack of any additional colour makes these sherds of late MBA date, but they cannot be dated more closely because light-on-dark fabric lasted for a long time and continued into the LB period.

Another MM III sherd was found by R. Heidenreich 'in einer Nische des gewachsenen Felsens', which is, again, unstratified. It is the bottom of a pithos, which bears two plastic ribs with the typical decoration of thumb impressions. Similar examples from Kythera are dated to the MM IIIb period. Other plain sherds with plastic decoration were found all around the excavation field, 'aber nicht zusammen mit älteren Dingen', which probably implies not along with Neolithic material. In any case, the sherds with the decoration of flattened bands with incisions look later (LM Ia) than the pithos
fragment with the finger impressions, but still of the BA period.

The richest Bronze Age pottery deposit from Kastro came out of bothros 14. This was a nicely built circular bothros with walls standing up to 1.10m. high and with a 2m. diameter. It was found underneath the foundations of the N. Stylobate of the Basilika. Its southern part was filled up by a Roman E-W wall and only the northern half of the pit had been left intact. There, among the blackish earth, a number of Anatolian and Minoan pottery fragments of LB I period have been collected. The majority of the Minoan sherds are undoubtedly of the LM Ia period and at least a tumbler outlined on AM 1935-6, Fig. 5:3 is dated by J.N. Coldstream to the LM Ib period. However, in the plain ware of this bothros one might distinguish also MM III survivals. One example of these is the conical cup illustrated which has a contour already common in the MM IIIb. The closest equivalent of a conical cup from Kythera is D5. Another reminder of MM pottery is the sharp angle at the carination of another cup. These carinated cups are common in Crete from MM Ia and both in Crete and at Kythera go out of fashion in the MM IIIb period.

The remaining plain ware illustrated from Kastro belongs to the LM Ia period (hole-mouthed jars on Pl. 70) or has Trojan affinities. On the other hand, all the painted (dark-on-light) sherds belong to the LM Ia repertoire, apart from at least three sherds, which
One painted dark-on-light sherd, a rim fragment, which is compared by W. Buttler with the 'MM eggshell ware', preserves the decoration of a big dot and must rather belong to the LM Ia period as equivalent decoration on Keftiu cup fragments of that period shows. So there is no MM dark-on-light evidence from Kastro.

Of the Cycladic sherds found at Kastro, two are of the MC/LC 'Black and Red Bichrome' ware. The sherd on Pl. 49:3 shows a red spot bordered by two black circles and might have belonged to a Melian Bird jug. The other on Pl. 49:4, is a neck fragment of a jug decorated by a red band outlined by black lines. The small detail of the pendant spiral finds again its equivalent in the Melian pottery.

The third MC fragment is of the Matt-black decoration. It bears the motif of an eyed spiral.

W. Buttler mentions also a 'Minyan' sherd, which he considers to be Cycladic. However, he gives insufficient descriptive details to exclude an Anatolian origin.

So, at present, the Minoan ceramic evidence from Pythagoreion is small. However, taken together with the Heraion finds and particularly those found outside the sanctuary area, it shows an uninterrupted relationship between Samos and the Minoan world from the Early to the Late Bronze Age. Since Tigani, bothros 14, gives ample evidence of LM ceramic presence on the island and the
finds of the excavations at Heraion outside the sanctuary area, mentioned below, belong to an EB settlement with some contact with the Minoans, the lacuna is bridged over only by these scanty and unstratified MBA remains from Kastro plus a few sherds from the Heraion sanctuary described below.

The excavations at Heraion, some 7 km. W. of Pythagoreion, revealed an EB settlement datable to Troy II. The material was published by V. Milojčić who, after the EBA pottery fabrics, mentions some vessels made of porous, pumice-like clay, from pink to buff colour, alien to the EB ceramic tradition of the site. He divides this category of vases into three groups, the first of which consists of vessel fragments found as stray finds, concentrated in the space of the foundations of the Pronaos of the big Temple. Their date coincides with early Troy VI (MM III/LM Ia according to Milojčić's synchronisms), but they do not find parallels for their shapes there. Their rarity at Heraion and their shape led the excavators to consider them as 'Aegean' imports but from one not easily identifiable centre. The other two groups of the same fabric vessels find suitable counterparts in the Anatolian MBA repertoire such as, for example, the shape of the ring footed bowl, or the basin with the flaring rim and raised handles. All this category of pots collected, as mentioned above, in the area of the Pronaos of the big Temple, provides the only evidence for the habitation of Heraion site (Heraion VI) during the MBA.
Of special interest to this research are the five porous clay sherds of the first group, considered to be 'Aegean' imports. Three of these sherds are handle and hence are not diagnostic. The other two are: firstly, the spout and part of the body from a hole-mouthed pot; secondly, the spout and part of the handle of a beaked jug. Although neither of these fragments can provide conclusive evidence as regards their equivalence with Aegean prototypes, maybe the hole-mouthed fragment bears some resemblance to the Phaestian Protopalatial hole-mouthed jars. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the beaked cut-away spout of the Samian jug is close to Period II (EM IIb) jugs from Myrtos which continued into the MBA. As has already been mentioned, this group of sherds with 'Aegean' influence is of the same fabric as the rest of the fragments on Samos I, Pl. 30, which are closer to the Anatolian wares. Hence, even if we characterize the above sherds (Milojčić 1961, Pl. 30:1, 2) as 'Minoanizing', they could never have been imported directly from Crete because of their clay. Troy, on the other hand, must be excluded as the place of their origin, since its contemporary pouring vessels look quite alien to our examples. So these sherds can either be Cycladic since both the hole-mouthed jar and the beaked jug exist in the MC repertoire introduced into the Cyclades from Crete or local 'Minoanizing' ware. The latter possibility is reinforced by the four Conical cups published by H. Walter from the sanctuary area at Heraion. They are of semi-coarse clay with thick walls and resemble the
MM III example from Tigani. The rest of the pottery illustrated belongs to the LM Ia and b periods or has Anatolian affinities.

Finally, outside the Heraion Sanctuary a quite rich complex of three houses has been excavated according to P. Isler, up to the end of the 3rd millennium. It is interesting to see that as in so many other settlements of this area (Iasos, Tigani, Emporio) the early inhabitants of Heraion, who belonged to the W. Asia Minor milieu, had managed to establish trading contacts both with the Cyclades and with the Minoan world. Among the pottery of the settlement we find duck vases and an aryballos incised in the characteristic EC style. One wide-mouthed jug illustrated has a barbotine Minoanizing decoration, while a spindle whorl is decorated with the incised scene of a 'priestess with her attendant', a typically Minoan theme and composition. Whatever the date of these finds, EB III (according to the excavator), or rather MM I to II (according to F. Schachermeyr, Die Ägäische Frühzeit, 1, 239), the important fact remains that the Minoan world was in contact with Samos quite early, at least as early as MBA.

Finally, another important issue seems to come up and this is the cultural synthesis of the settlements of the E. Aegean during the EB and the beginning of the MBA. This problem is related to the possible ways that 'Minoanization' has taken place at this area.
The sites of Iasos (Chapter 3[^]), Emporio, Tigani and Heraion seem to show a distinctive combination of Anatolian, and to a lesser extent, Cycladic elements during the EBA.

The islanders of the Cyclades, as is well documented, played a quite important role in the Aegean trade during the EBA. Their presence is manifested in the E. Aegean area, not so much so by the export of their stone objects (Karpathos, Nisyros, Cape Krio, Iasos, Tigani), which being valuable were hard to purchase and therefore had more limited distribution, but mainly by the distribution of Cycladic pottery, one shape of which seems to be particularly popular i.e. the duck vase.^[54]

In addition, the use of cist tombs of definitely Cycladic type as at Iasos shows that at some places at least the islanders may have been settlers. Apart from Iasos, the pottery from the two Heraion cist tombs[^^] has equivalents in the EC III repertoire and it is interesting that these tombs are dated by Milojčić to the end of the EBA and probably a little later (Samos I, 50).

Tomb 3, also, at Askupis, Kos[^] shows Cycladic characteristics, not only because it is an inhumation in a round cist (Kephala cemetery) and not a pithos burial, but also because two of the pots it contained look Cycladic.^[57]

It seems reasonable to suspect therefore that, since
these areas had such strong cultural contacts in the EBA, they continued to have a close trade relationship, at least up until the MBA. So it may be possible to explain sometimes the arrival of the MM pottery in the E. Aegean area through the trading of the islanders and not always by direct contact with Crete.
CHAPTER 2
MM POTTERY FOUND AT MILETUS

Since 1907 prehistoric levels have been revealed at Miletus. C. Weickert began excavations at Miletus again in 1938 and published his first small report in 1940. He resumed excavations from 1955 uninterruptedly and, along with his colleagues, produced reports of the results of their work in 1957 and 1960. He distinguished three prehistoric levels, firmly stratified by two catastrophes. The first building period came to an end with an earthquake, while the second was followed by a major destruction produced by human hand.

W. Schiering, who excavated the Südabschnitt, S.W. of the Temple of Athena, was able to subdivide each of these three major building periods into two phases. In his excavation square he revealed the most extensive remains of the first building period, which coincides with the Minoan presence on the site. Stretches of wall presumably belonging to the same house were cleared¹ but the ground plan produced seems quite haphazard and complicated.

The excavator attributed this house to the first inhabitants of Miletus, whom he believed to be Minoans.² The walls of the house are built of fieldstones and reach sometimes the width of 1m. Remains of plaster and frescoes collected, in red, white and black show some desire for
decoration, which could be proven to be a Minoan influence, if the designs were known.

Walls of the first building period have been found in the Western and Eastern Abschnitts by C. Weickert and P. Hommel respectively.

The successor of this house in the second phase of the first building period was restored as an apsidal house. This restoration is not secure, but if it is proven correct, it shows new building principles foreign to Minoan architecture of the LBA.

Generally, the state of preservation of the walls of the first building period is bad and their excavation is impeded because of the ground water covering them. No tombs of this period are mentioned.

There are 170 published sherds from the first building period. These include, apart from the Minoan and Mycenaean, a lot of Anatolian plain ware. The Minoan sherds of the first phase of this building level date from MM III to LM Ia. Those of the second phase are of LM Ib date.

The sherds and pot closer to the MM pottery, hence of interest to this research, are the following:


The twenty-nine light-on-dark sherds should not be earlier than MM III, both because of their stylistic poverty, i.e. the repetition of the multiple wavy lines, but also because of their lack of polychromy. Given in addition their context (MM III-LM Ia) and the fact that they are provincial products, they might even be dated to the early LM Ia period, since it is well exemplified that this technique survived longer outside Crete, in provincial Minoanizing pottery workshops (Trianda, Kos).

One important exception is the fragment of a semi-globular cup.\textsuperscript{4} This sherd preserves some violet blue and white painted floral design. According to Hommel, the motif is similar to the dotted rosettes of a MM III wavy line decorated semiglobular cup from Phaestos.\textsuperscript{5} The motif is not easily distinguishable from the illustration, but because of its polychromy, the sherd seems to be of MM II date and hence, claims to be the oldest MM import found at Miletus. If it is really of MM II date, it must have been brought to the settlement as an heirloom along with the first inhabitants, who then could have been Minoans.

As regards the shapes of the vases, the light-on-dark sherds are non diagnostic. One may single out a stirrup jar, *Ist. Mitt. IX-X*, Pl. 8:1a, a small pithos, Ibid. Pl. 8:1b, the ewers rather than the beaked jug, Ibid. Pl. 34:1 and 2 and the semiglobular cup, Ibid. Pl. 33:1.
The single almost complete example of the plain ewer, Ibid. Pl. 38:1, is one of the few vases of Minoan shape which is preserved so well and the only whole vase of MM tradition published up to now. It resembles the MM IIIb examples from Kastri showing the same short neck and globular body. The Kos ewers may be a little earlier because of their higher neck and handle attached to the neck.

Of the dark-on-light sherds, only one example seems to be of MBA date. This is a sherd (Ist. Mitt IX-X, Pl. 33:2) which may come from the walls of a small pithos or jar. It bears zones of the disk motif inbetween plastic horizontal ribs, both elements of decoration of the MM III period.

Another small sherd, Ist. Mitt. IX-X, Pl. 35:1b, is decorated with the ripple motif, common from MM IIIb onwards. Since we do not have at Miletus a number of firmly stratified sherds with ripple motif decoration, it is dangerous to date this sherd alone to the MM IIIb period, since in Kythera, no difference has been noticed between the MBA and the LBA examples of this motif.

This is the evidence from the published pottery of the first phase of the first building level of Middle Bronze Age Minoanizing pottery at Miletus. It consists of one sherd from a MM II cup, a MM III ewer and a fragment from a pithos, MM III/LM IA. It is very limited and fragmentary to allow for further analysis.
A. IASOS

At Iasos the best sequence of the 2nd millenium levels is found below the Imperial Agora. These walls of M and LBA are found beneath the sea level and among PG tombi. The most important BA building is Edificio F, which is a rectangular building with its gate facing to the North onto a cobbled street, dating to MM III period. Its perimeter walls are made of large stones with worked outer sides and smaller stones in the interstices. On the inside, thinner walls delimit rectangular rooms paved with large slabs. This building has undergone three main reconstructions.

The lowest strata at 2.75m are dated by MBA pottery, among which are MM imported vases and imitations as well as local pottery similar to that found in MB levels at Aphrodisias.

The strata above this at 2.45m have imported pottery of the Second Palatial period (LM I/II) and local imitations, while the next at 2.05m have LH III vases and imitations.

Among the Minoanizing pottery found at Iasos, a pithos fragment with rope decoration and a tripod cooking pot, as well as lamps, bronze objects and many conical cups, speak of Minoan influence, if not presence
(because of architectural remains, Building F) on this site.

The reference to sherds of 'Kamares' style cannot be properly evaluated, since none of these are published. The majority of the published pottery of Minoan character belongs to the light-on-dark fabric, well known from Serraglio, which is a MM III pottery imitation. None of the sherds with light-on-dark decoration published by Levi^6 and Laviosa^7 need to be dated earlier than MM III period. It is significantly in this period that Minoan influence becomes strong at Serraglio settlement on Kos also.

B. KOS

The first systematic excavations on Kos started in 1935, when Morricone uncovered the first geometric tombs in Halvagià area of Kos town.8 This necropolis was found to be sunk into the upper levels of a Minoan/Mycenaean settlement of at least four phases, that lasted up to LH IIIc.

The Serraglio area, which lies to the east of Halvagià Road and where most of the excavations took place, was dug for five months in 1936 and subsequently from 1940 to 1943 and in 1946 again.9 The Greek Archaeological Service took over from 1959 onwards.

The Italians never reached virgin soil where the deepest layers were dug, but according to Ch. Mee,10 who has reexamined burnished pottery sherds from the
lowest levels (below Level 1) kept at the BSA collection, the settlement at Serraglio 'must have been Anatolian in EB III and perhaps in the early Second Millenium also'. Between this lowest level reached by Morricone and Level 1, another layer was found not yet well dated, but surely preceding the MM III settlement at Serraglio. T. Marketou\(^{11}\) has recovered from this several plain carinated cups dated in early MM III phase. Between this new layer, however, and Morricone's EB III layer, there is a layer without finds, probably marking a temporary abandonment of the site in the MBA.

The pottery of Level 1 is of MM III date. Walls of this phase are dispersed all around the excavation area and show the same N-S alignment as the walls of the following Level 2, which belong to the LBA. An a.-psidal building excavated in 1959\(^{12}\) may belong to this Level 1.

Level 1 pottery still shows many Anatolian features in shapes as well as in the preservation of the Burnished technique. But the Light-on-dark material manufactured during this period locally and in great abundance shows clearly MM influence and maybe was dispersed from Serraglio to other East Aegean sites also. Out of the 222 examples illustrated by Morricone, 200\(^{13}\) are without contextual reference and only 4\(^{14}\) belong to whole vases, plus one large fragment of a 'bevelled' cup, published more recently.\(^{15}\) The light-on-dark sherds come from jugs, ewers, hole-mouthed jars, oval-mouthed amphoras and pithoi, all familiar shapes in MM III contexts. It is
interesting that the same light-on-dark decoration is used also on Anatolian pottery as on high-necked jugs,\(^1\) or three handled torus based pithoi,\(^2\) etc. As regards the motives\(^3\) the most common are straight and wavy bands that cannot be dated precisely. Others, like simple foliate bands or dotted bands can belong to the MM III period, while some, like the racket-motif or the spiral with filled angles, must derive from LB I styles.

The two complete ewers illustrated by Morricone\(^4\) with light-on-dark decoration have elongated bodies, round short neck, flaring rim and plastic ring at the base of the neck, like Temple Repositories'\(^5\) and NE Magazines' examples.\(^6\) However, the handle of the Minoan examples reaches the rim and not the neck of the vase, while the body is even more elongated and therefore the Keian ewers must be a little earlier. The light-on-dark bevelled straight-walled cup and a plain saucer with flaring rim\(^7\) have MM IIIa equivalents from the House of the Fallen Blocks and the House of the Sacrificed Oxen. Finally, the many conical cups from the site, although unstratified,\(^8\) speak undoubtedly again of Minoan influence at Serraglio. So Serraglio may have been initially an Anatolian settlement which, by MM III period, became again affected by Minoan culture to such an extent that a local Minoanizing pottery workshop has been established there. Its products have been much appreciated in E. Aegean since pottery of the same style has been found at Samos, Kalymnos, Iasos, Miletus\(^9\) and even travelled to Keos.\(^10\)
The settlement of Trianda lies on the NW coast of Rhodes on the outskirts of the modern village of Trianda. It was excavated by Monaco in 1935/6 in an area of ca 13 sq. m. Monaco distinguished three levels, 'inferiore', 'medio' and 'superiore', which were revised by Furumark and called Trianda I, IIA and IIB.

The settlement is totally Minoan/Mycenaean and dates from LM Ia till LM II/LH IIIa₁ according to Furumark. J.N. Coldstream has however pointed out two unpainted pots, a jug and a hole-mouthed jar which are of MM I date.

Since these finds are unstratified, the settlement at Trianda as a whole, if not the area excavated by the Italians, goes back to the MBA.

In recent years, in what started as another rescue excavation by the Archaeological Service at the area of Trianda, an important prehistoric building was revealed and excavations resumed. This site lies only a few metres off the main road and around 200 metres south of the Italian excavations, that are now completely covered.

When I visited the site, the excavator, L. Papazoglou, had not reached the lower strata, which is expected to shed more light, particularly on the origins of
Trianda settlement. But it already seems certain that the new building belongs to the same settlement already revealed by the Italians forty-five years ago. This is proved not only by the familiar Minoan ware brought to the Ephoria Storerooms from the area between the former and the new site, but also by the amazing similarity of motives and shapes between the ceramic finds of the new and the old excavation, as will be seen after the new finds have been published.

The walls of the upper stratum revealed up to now in this site (Theochari plot) show a somewhat symmetrical arrangement of three rooms to the North and three to the East. The latter are divided by two corridor-like spaces, one of which should have been a staircase to the upper floor. Other walls revealed show that the house extends outside the plot, thus covering an area bigger than the 20 x 8 sq.m. dug up to then. In one of the rooms a pillar base and a stone bench were found along with two large conical pithoi. In others, pebble floors were used. What is very important in this site in particular, is that underneath a centrally placed wall of the upper stratum, but covering only a limited area of the excavation, a white dust has been found. After examination it proved to be Theran tephra (κόσμημα) as Dr. Doumas kindly informed me. The excavators have not yet removed the filling earth underneath this tephra but only a metre away from this, where the dig has progressed in depth, the walls of at least another two layers have been found. Even there the base ground had not yet been reached. If
this tephra layer dates the upper stratum according to the Theran destruction after the LM Ia period, the other two strata must date the origins of this house at Trianda back to the Middle Bronze Age. By further excavation and discovery, particularly of the patterned ware of the lowest stratum, we will be able to determine with some certainty the date of the foundation of the Minoan colony at Trianda on Rhodes.

On the other hand, since the overall picture of this new excavation coincides with the Italian one (especially the three layer division), it now seems justified to speak of the lower stratum (Stratum I) of the Italian excavation as already constituting the start of the settlement, which continued its life during the other two strata (Stratum IIA and IIB). Of course, its poor ceramic assemblage could question the validity of its minoan character (15 sherds recovered in all, one bronze basin, a terracotta head of goat and two pieces of Yiali obsidian). But a consideration of the pottery sequence and the other finds from the site, along with the fact that there was no destruction between Strata I and IIA, leads us to believe that there should always have been a pure Minoan ancestral background at Trianda.

In addition to the old evidence of MM I period from Trianda published by Monaco and the recently published MM I vases from Ialysos, new material has come to reinforce the belief that the Minoans had created a strong outpost on the island of Rhodes from the beginning
of the MBA. The following preliminary remarks are made with the kind permission of the excavator, T. Marketou, after common examination of the material.

On Mt. Philerimos and near Profitis Elias Church, unstratified pottery from a ravine revealed:

High necked spouted jugs with round sectioned handles in the middle of the neck and a plastic ring at the base of the neck, like the examples published from both Trianda and Ialysos.

High necked round mouthed ewers with metallic flaring rim and handle at the middle of the neck (trumpet-like neck). One complete example of such a ewer has one wide, flat and vertically placed line from neck to the base. This is similar to the example already published from Trianda although the latter has lost its metallic appearance and must be a later version. The Anatolian counterparts always have a slot at the back of the rim and a narrower base.

An early variety of carinated cups with high upper rim and angular carination, usually with a dark wash inside and out.

A clay pipe stretching along the remains of a wall suggests some drainage system already in this early period (MM Ia).

In comparison to this evidence from Profitis Elias the material from Trianda, according to T. Marketou's recent finds, seems for the present to be of later
date (MM III). A Carinated cup with softer carination and still covered by a dark black or brown slip and a straight-walled cup are the only complete examples.

From another plot with remains of at least two main phases belonging to the MBA and the LM Ia Phase come a peg top rhyton in the Red Burnished style with paring marks on the neck (1st Phase) and a lot of LM Ia pottery imports and imitations (2nd Phase).

The most important finds come from yet another plot and are three remarkable statuettes of bronze, two female and one male. The most well preserved example of these figurines presents the same gesture as the Berlin goddess.

Generally, the abundance of conical cups, the existence of a drainage system, the evidence of a polythyron, the horns of consecration and pieces of frescoes, one of them with the double axe and sacral knot representation, are all undoubtedly evidence of a strong Minoan presence.

Since Benzi's finds from Ialysos date to the MM I period and since the MM III settlement at Trianda was erected on the barren earth with only two Anatolian pots having been discovered up to now, we may suspect a Minoan colony on Rhodes already in the MBA.
CHAPTER 5

MM POTTERY FOUND ON KASOS, KARPATHOS AND SAROS

These three islands which lie between Crete and Rhodes have a geographical and strategic importance, being the stepping stones extending from E. Crete to the S. Western coast of Asia Minor. The islands are visible from E. Crete on a clear day. Kasos is situated only forty-five kilometres from Capo Sidero in E. Crete and therefore it is natural that Minoan interest in the Karpathos group was expressed quite vigorously.

In the beginning of the MBA when there was a boom in the settlement pattern of the island, a total of 18 sites out of 25 produced Minoan evidence. The number of settlements increased in the MB-LB I period, where out of 41 sites, 39 have produced definite or uncertain Minoan pottery. It is equally interesting that in this period, according to Melas, out of the 25 indisputable settlements, 21 appear to be new ones and if proved after excavation to be of exclusively Minoan character, they must imply a massive wave of Minoan colonization during this period. This movement of Minoans coincides with a period of economic prosperity and decentralization in Crete itself.

Not all sites where Minoan pottery was found are settlement sites. Most of them are farmhouses or hamlets. Only Pigadhia on Karpathos and Trapeza on Kasos seem to have been coastal settlements of some size.
Minoan pottery, as is to be expected in a colony, is made of local clay and imports from Crete are rare. In this, as well as in the existence of a dye-industry based on Murex-shells, the Minoans at Pighadia were similar to the Minoans at Kastri.

The following are some characteristics of the MM pottery of the Karpathos group. In the beginning of the MBA the pottery, according to Melas, was made on the slow wheel and was insufficiently fired. By the beginning of the LB I period a high quality was achieved.

In the MM I-LM I period the painted pottery is very rare and the decoration is of matt purple or dark brown colour. The range of motives is limited and confined to simple bands, spirals and trickle patterns. The bulk of the pottery of this period is fragmentary and comes from surface collection. Among the shapes the hallmark of the Minoan world, the well known conical cup, forms the most common domestic vessel found in these islands. Next come the straight-walled cup in different variations, the carinated and the rounded cups. There are sherds of jugs, ewers, jars and other closed vases, but it is interesting that the oval-mouthed amphora and the hole-mouthed jars, which were popular in Cycladic Minoanizing pottery, do not appear very frequently in these islands.

Generally, Minoan presence in this island group must have been important both for the security and the trade communication between the East Mediterranean and the palaces of Crete.
Therefore, Mycenaeans may have succeeded in controlling these islands later (LH IIIc) than other Minoan outposts in the Aegean. According to Melas, in some cases they may even have failed to expel the Minoan inhabitants at sites like Tou Stavrou to Kefali, Psorari and the area around Vonies. Future excavations in these islands are bound to produce very interesting results.
FOOTNOTES

B. E. AEGEAN

CHAPTER 1

1 W. Wrede 1935-6, 115.
2 Ibid. Fig. 1, Nos. 13, 7.
3 Ibid. Pl. 49:1, 2.
4 Ibid. Pl. 50.
5 Ibid. Pl. 52:4.
6 Ibid. Pl. 49:1, 2.
7 PM I, 576, Fig. 420.
8 Morricone 1972-3, 307, Figs. 287, 312, 294e, 314, 295b, c, d, e, f.
9 Heidenreich 1935-6, 166, Pl. 50.
10 Kythera, Pl. 25, el07.
11 Heidenreich 1935-6, Pl. 51.
12 Ibid. 168.
13 Ibid. Pl. 51: top row, right and bottom row, left and right.
14 Buttler 1935-6, 190, Pl. 25.
15 Ibid. 167, Figs. 78-81.
16 Ibid. 191, Fig. 5.
17 Kythera, 294.
18 AM 1935-6, Pl. 52:4.
19 PM I, 586, Fig. 432 and Fig. 403F.
20 Kythera, Pl. 70, D5.
21 AM 1935-6, Pl. 52:3.
22 Ibid. Pl. 68 and Pl. 69.
23 Ibid. Pl. 49:3, 4 and Pl. 70:1.
Ibid. Pl. 69:7.

Kythera, Pl. 75, E5.

AM 1935-6, Pl. 49:3, 4.

Phylakopi, Pl. XXI.

Phylakopi, Pl. XX10.

AM 1935-6, Pl. 70:1.

Phylakopi, Pl. XVII 15.

AM 1935-6, 194, Pl. 70:2.


Samos I, Pl. 30:1, 2.

Milojcic 1961, Pl. 30:1-5.

Ibid. 50.


Ibid. Pl. 49:21 and Pl. 49:24 respectively.

Ibid. Pl. 30:1-5.

Ibid. Pl. 30:3-5.

Ibid. Pl. 30:1 and Pl. 49:23.

Ibid. Pl. 30:2 and Pl. 49:17.

Festôs, Tav 11, 178b.


Warren 1972, Pl. 50A.

Troy III2, Fig. 293.

Phylakopi, Pl. XXV.

Ibid. Pl. XXIV11.

Walter 1957, Pl. 49:1.

AM 60-1, 1935-6, Pl. 52:4.


Ibid. 1973, 173 top row.

Ibid. 175.
CHAPTER 2

2 Ibid. 16.
3 Schiering 1959-60, 7-8 and Beilage 3.
5 Palazzo II, Fig. 266.
6 Kythera, D45 and L4.
7 Ann. 50-51, 1972-73, Fig. 60.
8 Cf. Catling 1979, Dep. C, Fig. 24, 152.
9 Palazzo II, Fig. 301; Knossos, PM I, Fig. 409.
10 Mallia, Maisons I, Pl. VIII, 8493; Kos, Ann. 50-51, Fig. 61 right.

CHAPTER 3

1 Lav.iosa 1978, 1098.
2 Lav.iosa 1984, 183.
3 Levi 1972, Fig. 24.
4 Mellink 1974, Pl. 25.
5 Levi 1972, Fig. 31.
6 Ibid. Figs. 30, 32.
7 Lav.iosa 1978, Fig.
8 Morricone 1972-3, 50-1, 152, Fig. 7.
9 Ibid. 159, Fig. 21.
CHAPTER 4

2. Furumark 1950, 151.
4. Clara Rhodos X, Fig. 5:1, 2.
5. Furumark queries the relation of the walls under House 1 to this house as it developed in Stratum IIA.
6. Monaco 1941, Fig. 5:1, 2.
8. Monaco 1941, Fig. 5:1.
9. Benzi 1984, 99, Fig. 9.
10. Monaco 1941, Fig. 5:3.
CHAPTER 5

1. Melas 1985, 159.


3. Ibid. Fig. 45.

4. Ibid. 124, Shape 10.

5. Ibid. 130, Shape 16.

6. Ibid. 179.
PART IV
PART IV

TRADE IN MC PERIOD. A PERSPECTIVE OF CYCLADIC LIFE DURING MC PERIOD AND THE TRANSITION TO LC

Recent research has been emphatically oriented already from the previous decade to the problems of exchange for two main reasons. First, because it realized its significance in the cultural change of primitive societies and, second, because it acquired or tried to acquire the means (statistical, environmental, chemical, theoretical) to specify closer the material transactions of past societies.¹

By trade we mean here the peaceful transfer of goods between different families, villages, regions or cultures, or else, as Renfrew defined it, 'the procurement of materials from a distance by whatever mechanism'.² The difficulty lies on the one hand in specifying exactly the exchanged goods, both because some of them were perishable (slaves, wine, hides, liquids, etc.) and because the conditions of their deposition and recovery vary enormously. On the other hand, the picture of exchange patterns is blurred by our inability to establish the social parameters that formulated it, since the social formations of these societies are still incompletely understood.

To give only in outline some of the questions raised by research in Aegean trade we have to start first by giving some information about the ships and navigators of BA East Mediterranean.
The technology of shipbuilding in the Cyclades and Crete is far from well known. The evidence for the Neolithic period points to reed crafts and for the EBA to dugouts of simple (Naxian lead and Palaikastro clay models) or more developed type (frying pan boats). Sails gave an impetus to the trade by permitting the crossing of longer distances and were already known from EM period. The Theran ship fresco has added another seventeen new depictions of ships giving information on the LBA ships. These were small, medium and large sized. Escaping from the long sustained argument about which end of the vessel is the bow and which the stern, we can safely attest for the LBA to the existence of (plank?) built ships of fifty-men crew and ten passengers, which by far exceed the 35m length of EBA ships. This new vessel allowed for an all purpose use, trade, transportation and war. They were designed to navigate the estuaries characteristic of the BA Mediterranean coasts and could sail sternfirst, be moored in deep water and sustain combat in open water.

The question whether the fleet belonged to Minoan Crete, the Cyclades or the Mainland is not yet answered. The arguments advocating the Cycladic ownership are concentrated along two lines: 1st) That the prosperity of LCI and II settlements could not have come about, if the islanders had not provided their maritime services to the Minoan palatial centres in return for the luxury goods, agricultural and other materials they acquired from Crete. 2nd) That the
island: settlements based both their vitality and growth on trade alone already from the Neolithic period, being environmentally restricted and culturally secluded. One may add that if the goods exchanged, especially pottery, point to the three major BA Cycladic settlements (A. Irini, Akrotiri, Phylakopi) as not mere ports of call, but also as distributive centres of both Helladic and Minoan wares, one might expect these centres to have the means to transport these goods to the secondary centres.

The problem of who were the navigators, whether they were the owners of the ship or/and the cargo, is related to another major vacuum in our knowledge of the ancient trading system. This is the mechanism through which trade was executed. Renfrew has worked out four models to account for the differences in the patterning of travelling artifacts. These are the model of Down the Line trade, the Prestige Chain exchange, the Freelance Commercial trade and the Directional Commercial Trade. Further work has shown that two or more types of exchange can result in nearly identical archaeological patterns of distribution. However no matter what variants affect this patterning, the axiom, that different social factors (besides distance) have some (vague for the moment) relation to the mode of exchange, still remains. Taking into account these social variants, plus the other measurable dimensions (distance, value, demand, supply) three other models were produced, 'home based reciprocity, emissary trading and colonial enclave'. The discussion on the topic of models of exchange
is extensive. Yet the evidence from the Cycladic BA societies being so circumstantial, it is, for the moment, difficult to pinpoint exactly one or several of these models of trade and it would always be hypothetical, since no written documents exist to speak about these transactions. (cf. the differences in the models proposed by Renfrew (1977), Warren (1970) and Davis (1979)).

For this reason it seems more feasible at the moment to clarify better the core of this trade than the conditions under which it was executed, although admittedly both are sides of the same question. By core here we mean the results that are evidenced in the different aspects of the societies that took part in this trade. Some of these aspects are the production, the demography of the settlements, their location, the social organisation of these societies, their burial habits as evidence of their post mortem beliefs and maybe, most tractable of all, the stylistic variation or homogeneity noticed in their pottery.

The following will be a rough and particularly incomplete review of the results of the research in these areas of Aegean prehistory leaving pottery examination aside. The focus will be on MBA Cyclades.

As regards the evolution of sedentary communities and production in the Aegean, there exists an analysis model according to which the islands that were either large or close to the Greek and Anatolian mainland were the first to be colonized in late Neolithic. The major boom in island
settlements however came about in the EBA (70% of the islands in E. Mediterranean were settled by the end of the 3rd millennium) not because of the establishment of the agriculture, already known from the 6th millennium, but because 'trade' networks emerged only then.\textsuperscript{13}

From carbonized seeds examination it has been discovered that barley was the primary crop cultivated in the site territory of Phylakopi along with wheat and possibly oats. Pulses and orchard crops were also used.

However, these sedentary communities sustained periodic failures in production by storage, diversification in agriculture mobility and what has been called 'social storage'.\textsuperscript{14} By 'social storage' is meant the extension of inter-community exchange of goods in lean years, when instead of non-food tokens, foodstuffs were exchanged or valuable goods were converted to agricultural goods. The need to balance good and bad yields results in an extended regional network of exchanges and an increase in the centrally located sites. In that way better storage facilities and administrative services of all the necessary transactions\textsuperscript{15} are secured. This nucleation of settlements and rise of leadership results in the intensification of production above the level of community self-sufficiency. By nucleation in the MBA the waste of labor lost to reach far away fields, had to be balanced by the exploitation of the differential potential of land for particular resources (flax, sheep, etc.).
On the other hand, since agricultural intensification was insufficient, (given that 50% of the immediate catchment of Phylakopi lies in the sea), the settlement had to reorientate its subsistence using husbandry. The examination of animal bones from the site showed a change from the EC period, when goat and sheep were prevalent, to cattle and pig in the MC period. Cattle were exploited for their secondary products and used for plough traction and burden carrying.

Questions of this kind have not yet been faced for other Cycladic settlements. Therefore we still need a lot of research to establish the carrying capacity of each settlement according to its catchment area, its population density and the means of agriculture on each island. An important guide for this research is Melos Research program.  

Renfrew's early work on demographic problems was pioneering. He estimated for some 18 sites during the MBA Cyclades that each covered as a proto-urban centre an area from 4,500 to 15,000 sq.m. (estimate for EBA sites) approximately. These sites showed some continuity into the LBA. The MC sites according to his estimations carried a population of about 20,300 people, that is 450 persons per average MC settlement. Many of these numbers, and hence the conclusions based on them, have been revised and questioned. However, they still remain useful even if hazardous as a general framework of the research in this area.
Systematic survey will solve many of these unknown aspects of Cycladic life. In this respect Keos survey, which is going to be published, will be very useful. Thera produces many limitations for a regional intensive survey, because the BA level lies underneath a thick layer of ash and pumice. On the other hand, more than half of the island's surface had been submerged after the eruption along with all the settlements on it so that no precise settlement calculation can ever be reached. Only eleven sites are known for the pre-eruption period, but of course more existed.

Only Melos for the moment can give some information about the diachronic location of BA settlements on the island. During the EC period on Melos several sites (35 for the Grotta-Pelos, 90 for the Keros-Syros, 60 for Phylakopi period) were scattered all around the island. Around 1800 BC Phylakopi must have ranked as a substantial nucleated settlement and maybe the only permanently inhabited location on the entire island. Kapari, the sole other MC settlement, must have been connected as an annexe to this main settlement. The scattering of several cemeteries also disappears to be replaced by the extensive town cemetery at Phylakopi. The estimate for the Phylakopi town that was preserved (after part of the settlement was submerged into the sea), is that it covered an area of ca 18ha within the walls, 75% of which is dwellings. Hence it supported a population of 1,400 to 2,250 people approximately at the minimum. Four sites are known for the LBA, which means no great change in the nucleation strategy.
Akrotiri has up to now been excavated over an area of 10,000 sq. m. and the borders of the settlement have not yet been reached. So it seems much larger in size than A. Irini.

As regards how these settlements are scattered and whether there is an hierarchy in their relation, it seems there is a change from the EB to the MBA. The EC sites were situated on low hills normally not far from the sea and with fertile plains in the vicinity. They are either fortified or unfortified and give the impression of autonomous villages based on self sufficiency. Each one had its own cemetery. In the MBA there is a concentration of settlements in one central place mostly near the sea with a favourable harbour and a fertile hinterland, but sometimes further inland (cf. Kastro in Siphos; Rizokastelia in Naxos; Palaikastro in Mykonos). Some of these settlements built their own fortification walls (A. Irini, Akroterion Ourion(?)).

The density of buildings and the regularity in the planning of the houses and streets speak of a communal rather than an individual initiative. This character continues both in technique and in organization into the LBA with the additional factor of growth and clear signs of central organization.

The problem of the social organization of these early societies remains vague. But one axiom is generally accepted and this is that 'ranking' is connected both with surplus and with exchange. The MC and MM settlements are the first near-urban sites in Europe and their appearance cannot be explained through the diffusion of Near Eastern
economic dominance, since no great volume of prestige goods or raw materials are imported in the Aegean from the Near East in these formative years. Emphasis hence is given to the inter-Aegean trade among centres of equal status and of similar environmental diversity (Cyclades-Crete).

The crucial point is whether there is a distinction between MB and LBA as regards the size of institutions (writing, weighing) or other cultural features (fortifications, central buildings), that are regarded as indices of centrally organised urban sites. If these features exist in a rudimentary, formative stage during the MC period the break between Middle and Late Bronze Age is arbitrary from this point of view and hence the genesis of urban societies can be seen already in the MC period, when trade networks were well established. Let's examine some of these features.

1. Fortifications:

Keos: Keos resembles Aegina by having some sort of fortification wall (DJ) earlier than the other sites. Early in MC period fortifications at A. Irini were erected (Period IV), which were quite extensive (80m long) and similar in length to the contemporary fortifications on Aegina. (The walls in their final form in LC period at Phylakopi were much larger.) The eastern sector of Phylakopi wall resembles the wall at A. Irini in construction, while the rectangular towers at intervals along the wall resemble those on Aegina. Period IV walls at
A. Irini were destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt in Period V (later MC period) with an extension on the N.E. part to comprise a larger fortified area. The destruction by fire that took place not a long time after the new walls were erected, forced the inhabitants to make a new reconstruction in LCI (period VI), where the walls were demolished, but no more additions were made.

Melos: Early excavations have dated the walls at Phylakopi to MC period. The 1974-77 excavation redated it according to finds in two trenches in early LC I period. All architecture taken as City I and II are now evaluated as City III and hence no major buildings are mentioned for City II, which was completely destroyed by an earthquake. The standing walls therefore have a 'likely post quem date of ca 1550. This however does not exclude the possibility that a wall existed before LC I period, since no fortification wall has been revealed crossing over a MC building as was the case in EC period. Renfrew himself accepts that an 'earlier fort may yet be discovered'. He refers to Davis' comments concerning the similarity of Phylakopi wall with that of Keos and notices that the new excavations made 'the inference' from the two trenches dug that further to the West the wall was of the same date.

Aegina: In Aegina the town had some kind of provision for defence already from the EBA (City III). The
first fortification wall dates to City V, 2200-2050\(^{31}\) and is 80m long with towers and gateways.\(^{32}\) By City VI there are two walls, the main fortification being built on City V houses, while the forewall has circular towers and reinforced entrances. This elaborate fortification system grew continuously in dimensions with the widening of the town and each rebuilding was more sophisticated. In City IX\(^{33}\) the forewall rises to the height of the main wall, while in City X\(^{34}\) minor alterations are performed to close some of the entrances, corridors and squares. In Mycenaean period no widening of the inner city took place and only a few wall additions were felt to be needed according to Welter's Ägina (1937). We still have to see the final publication though.

Thera: No fortifications have yet been discovered.

2. **Central Buildings:**

Keos: The major building of LC I period at A. Irini is House A.\(^{35}\) This is a combination of four or five rectilinear units, usually a line of several small rooms. This is the scheme used also in Houses B, C and F.\(^{36}\) Its construction and design in many respects continues practices that had long been established at A. Irini\(^{37}\) 'Room 12 and 13 and the predecessors of Rooms 5, 6, 9 and 14 were built in Period V'.\(^{38}\) Hence this house is not without some kind of predecessor which of course cannot be characterized as a 'central building' because of its small size. Its main
difference from the rest of the buildings in the LC I town is its size and the Minoan innovations it comprised like the lightwell, the bathrooms and toilet, which do not add a particular use to this house.

It is in this respect interesting to notice that the orientation of the whole planning of the town changed between EC and early MC period and again between early MC and late MC period. Henceforth the alterations and the additions kept the same orientation in the town.

Continuity between MC and LC period is reinforced by revealing several MC architectural remains in different areas of the later settlement. Any changes in the architecture observed may be due more to the expansion of the town in a rather haphazard way than to external factors.

Melos: Since the final excavation report from Phylakopi is not yet published, we are forced to limit the architectural remarks concerning Phylakopi to the old report with the reservation that many MC buildings may have been redated to the LC period. We know of one room excavated in the latest excavations with well built walls, surfaced by white plaster of Phylakopi I date, but 'the agglomerate character of the settlement plan has been made clear..... and it is possible that already in the First City the rooms were of the same scale and construction as later.....In Phylakopi II
the settlement is as extensive as in the preceding phase.\textsuperscript{46}

Six houses were attributed by the first excavators to period II: the pillar crypt,\textsuperscript{47} a unit of rooms in H\textsubscript{1-2}, a complex of four rooms in J\textsubscript{2}, and other house complexes in J\textsubscript{2-3}, H\textsubscript{2-3} and in H\textsubscript{2-3}, J\textsubscript{2-3}. All of them represent rectangular buildings with a series of rooms built on a longitudinal axis, principles that have continued into the Third City.\textsuperscript{48}

The street alignment also does not seem to have changed between City II and III.\textsuperscript{49} City II has been completely destroyed and the rearrangement of the houses in City III has been explained as some intervening period of abandonment of the site. Yet the same people must have come back to build City III.\textsuperscript{50}

One major change however between City II and III is the building of a big house (20 x 12m), the 'Mansion' of LC I period.\textsuperscript{51} Nothing is known of the contents of this house, but its possible relation with the broken Linear A tablet found nearby, may suggest some administrative use for the building.

We have no public buildings from City II to compare it with. Aegina: As regards central buildings in Aegina one could find already in the EBA (City III, 2400-2300) the so called 'White' House,\textsuperscript{52} which is the island's equivalent of the House of the Tiles in Lerna. It
is not known whether it is possible from its plan and size (18.30 x 9m) to interpret it as a leader's dwelling or simply as a wealthy man's house. The town in subsequent years has best been revealed for City V (2200-2050), when there are rectangular blocks of houses with separating streets in between, which seem to be built almost with equal prerequisites (plan, dimension). No more central buildings are built.

In Cities VI, VII and VIII of the MC period the houses have been amalgamated with the strong fortification wall and only minor houses have been revealed. We have no plan for the LBA city to compare with the preceding period but no 'megaron' building is mentioned by Welter.

3. **Seals:** Some crude clay seals are known from the Cyclades but do not seem to have been widely used. Wooden stamp seals were used for EC vessels and Minoan or Mycenaean sealstones were found in LBA, but they are not great in number. So seals in the Cyclades can for the moment give no serious information about the social organization of the islands.

4. **Frescoes:** The same is true for the frescoes, since the major fresco work belongs to the early LBA. At Phylakopi and Akrotiri it has been noticed that frescoes were probably painted over an earlier work. At Kea, frescoes were probably painted over a previously plastered surface. However, no MC frescoes have
survived, most of the upper stories of the houses being either destroyed or repainted.

5. **Writing:** Linear A tablets have been found in Keos\(^5\) and Melos.\(^6\) The context of the Linear A tablet in Keos is MC and that of Melos LC I. Several Linear A signs on roundels and vessels have been found at Thera,\(^6\) Melos\(^6\) and Kea,\(^6\) some of which go back to MC period. Potters' marks are mentioned also at Aegina from a MC context. They resemble those from Asine, Phylakopi and Lerna.\(^6\)

It is interesting that the study of Keian potters' marks\(^6\) showed that from the beginning of the MBA (Period IV) the marking of pottery develops into a widespread practice. During the following period (V) they begin to take the form of linear signs some of them resembling the Linear scripts. So Linear A signs emerged during Period V.

6. **Weights:** Lead weights of a unit in the vicinity of 61 grams have been found at A. Irini, Akrotiri and Phylakopi. Keos and Thera alone have produced fully two thirds of the total number of Minoan balance weights.\(^6\) Both in Keos and Thera there are lead objects already from the MC period\(^6\) although admittedly none of them are lead weights. Maybe this shows a standardization in the volume of exchanged goods not achieved before LC I period.
From the above review of public architecture and institutions, the picture that emerges is the following: Fortifications were built already from MC period in Keos, Aegina, if not in Melos. Imposing buildings exist both in Keos and Melos in LC I period but in the first case there was some predecessor underneath (House A), and in the second, we do not have any MC evidence to compare it with. On the other hand in Aegina central buildings stopped being used by the end of EC period. Linear A signs are known in all three settlements, Phylakopi, A. Irini, Akrotiri and possibly Aegina too. Finally lead weights conforming to a rather unified system come about only in LC I context, although lead bars (ingots?) may have been some kind of precursor.

This evidence strongly speaks for a continuity in the Cycladic culture between MC and LC period. Some of the cultural features take their final form in LC I period (central buildings, weights), others are standardized already in MC period (fortifications, writing). A division between these two periods would be artificial and this is further strengthened when the evidence from the burials is considered, although this concerns mostly EC and MC periods only.

No major MC or LC I cemeteries have been identified at Akrotiri and Phylakopi up to now.

Keos: Keos is the single site where MC graves are best preserved. They are placed close to the earlier town
wall in Area J as well as in Area M. The graves (23) of Area J are scattered southwards to the region of tower W and comprise stone built chamber tombs (T.31), simple cists (G 15), inhumations and jar burials. Graves in Area M are also extramural. One tomb (T.54) is stone built and has two compartments; another (T.40) has a major chamber with a shaft for entrance probably of MC date (robbed) and a tumulus on top added later. Urns were used mostly for children already from EC III period, while extramural burials of several types were used for adults. The dry stone walling instead of slots and the multistorey graves are features that developed during the EC times and continued into the MC period.

Thera: The evidence from Akrotiri was up to the 1985 excavations, lacking in any burials. One urn burial was known from outside the settlement and dated to the EC period. In 1982 some architectural remains from the mines at Ftellos could possibly be interpreted as burials. Especially the plan of Room I with its rounded section shows some similarity with Keian T.40. The Ftellos structure belongs to EC/MC period and thus provides the missing link for burial practices between the two periods. There are still other structures, possibly graves from Karageorghis mines, that date to late EC/MC period, but are still unpublished. A very important structure was revealed in 1985 practically in the middle of Akrotiri settlement, to the East of
the complex Delta, not far away from Marinatos' fire deposit. It consists of a shaft and a side chamber dug into the rock. Some kind of tumulus covered the whole structure. Only a few fragments of pottery have been found in the pile of the shaft, which belong to the EC period.

Melos: Unfortunately, MC burials are missing from Phylakopi. There have been found pits (plundered mostly), urn burials (of Phylakopi I date), cists and rock cut chambers with geometric pottery (of Phylakopi I date). No burials are definitely associated with material from the 2nd and 3rd City and most burials are not accurately dated. The burial ground of Phylakopi II must have changed, but some of the chamber tombs may date up to LC I period if Edgar's 'imported Mycenaean' is of that period. So Phylakopi will be the only place where chamber tombs survived all through from EC III to LC period, Akrotiri will provide the link between late EC-early MC period and A. Irini will be the only extensive MC cemetery.
FOOTNOTES

PART IV

1 Renfrew 1975, 3.
2 Renfrew 1977a, 72.
3 Cherry 1985, 21.
5 A. Raban 1984, 12.
6 A. Raban 1984, 18.
7 Doumas 1979, 5-14.
8 Cherry 1981; 1985, 23.
9 Cherry and Davis 1982, 338.
10 Renfrew 1975, 41-51.
11 Ibid. Figs. 11-14.
12 Cherry 1985, 12-29.
13 Cherry 1985, 18.
14 Halstead 1982, 93.
15 Halstead 1982, 96.
17 Renfrew, Wagstaff 1982.
18 Renfrew 1972, 225-264.
19 From the 18 MC sites, 11 sites survived into LBA and another 21 new sites were added during LC period, Table 14.7.
21 Barber 1978, 374; Wagstaff, Cherry 1982, 137.
22 Wagstaff 1978, 449.
23 Renfrew 1982, 37.
24 Atkinson et al., 1904, 234-7.
26 Renfrew, Shennan 1982.
27 Renfrew 1982, Part III.
28 PK and KKd trenches, TAW I, 1978, 408.
29 Barber 1981, 2.
30 Atkinson et al., 1904, 255.
31 Felten, 1981, Alt-Ägina III₁.
32 Ibid. Figs. 21-22.
33 1800-1650.
34 1650-1600.
36 Ibid. 41.
37 Ibid. 40.
38 Ibid. 30.
39 Keos, Pt I, Fig. 7.
40 Ibid. Fig. 8.
42 Area C, L, G, F. cf. chapter on Keos.
43 Overbeck 1979, 107.
44 Atkinson et al., 1904.
45 Renfrew 1982, 37.
46 Ibid. 38.
47 Atkinson et al., 1904, Fig. 26.
48 Atkinson et al., 1904, Pl. 1.
49 cf. Atkinson et al., 1904, Fig. 25 and Fig. 42.
50 Atkinson et al., 1904, 263.
51 Phylakopi III-i.
52 Alt-Ägina III₁, Fig. 5.
53 cf. Ibid. Figs. 21-22.
54 Aigina, 1937.
55 Barber 1978, 222.
56 Atkinson et al., 1904, 75.
62 Atkinson et al., 1904, 176-185.
64 Alt-Agina III, Pl. 124.
65 Bikaki 1984, Keos IV, 42.
66 Petruso 1979, 138.
67 Gales 1984, 255, Fig. 8.
68 Keos, Pt I, 373.
69 Keos, Pt I, 379.
70 Overbeck 1979, 108.
72 AAAXV, 1, 1982, 86-100.
73 Thera III, 20.
74 cf. T-40 in Keos.
75 Atkinson et al., 1904, 236.
PART V

CONCLUSIONS

'A country's relations with the world outside is for these ancient civilizations, something far easier to establish than to explain'

R.J. Kemp/R.S. Merrillies 1980, 268
Historical setting and retrospect of the research

The exchange between the Cyclades and Crete began in the EBA. Some sort of contact between the two areas had already started in the Neolithic period, but consisted only of random collection of Melian obsidian and not regular trade. More regular trade relations are observable from the MM IIa period onwards. In this period the First Palaces were already built in Crete while in some of the Cyclades the dispersed EC settlements aggregate to nucleated communities. A. Irini on Keos and Phylakopi on Melos are the best known at present and evidence from Akrotiri on Thera is slowly growing. Some MC pottery is also known from sites on Paros, Naxos, Siphnos, etc. (Appendix I).

By MM IIIa imports from Crete to the islands became abundant and Cycladic potters start imitating the foreign products on a larger scale. This trend continues into LC I/LM Ia and for Phylakopi and A. Irini into the LC II period too.

Different theories have been expounded to explain this phenomenon. Evans and Pendlebury believed in the formation of a Minoan empire, that perhaps started as a trading partnership and developed into a military alliance between Crete and the Cyclades. Furumark, on the basis of his analysis of LC I Melian pottery, believed again,
that by the LC I period Crete had politically subjugated the islands, although the indigenous population was still responsible for its pottery production.

Scholes\(^6\) was able to add more MC material in her survey of fourteen MC settlements and emphasised the continuity between the MC and the LC periods. She explained minoanization of LC I as a culmination of a process that had started in the MC period.

More recent researchers have analysed the change in the cultural development of the islands in MC-LC times in three ways. Political/religious supremacy of Crete, military control of the islands by Crete, economic developments that necessitated the transformations of the LC I period. Some examples of these theories are given below.

R. Buck\(^7\) interpreted Cycladic settlements as a combination of buffer zone bases, client kingdoms and trading posts.

C. Renfrew\(^8\) accepts the dominant role of Crete (economic and cultural, if not political). He gives three possible alternatives for the status of Phylakopi and Akrotiri vis à vis Crete, independent colony, governed colony and palace polities independently trading with Crete.\(^9\)

P. Warren\(^10\) believed in Cretan political supremacy, while J. Davis\(^11\) emphasized the special economic relations between the W. Cyclades and Crete, noting the scarcity of Minoan finds in the other Cycladic islands ('Western String').

E. Schofield,\(^12\) as a framework for Cyclado-Cretan
exchanges, has proposed a 'special relationship between the W. Cyclades and Crete (the 'Western String' trade), where trade was controlled by the palaces in Crete and possibly freelance middlemen operated in some kind of cooperation rather than rivalry'.

Ch. Doumas\textsuperscript{13} believes in the political autonomy of the islands, which may have been used by Crete for defending its northern frontiers.

K. Branigan\textsuperscript{14} defines three types of colonies, the 'settlement', the 'governed' and the 'community colony' and argues that Minoan influence in the settlements can be better equated with the 'community colony' model where a significant element of a settlement's population is composed of immigrants from a foreign place, who form a distinctive social grouping within the settlement's society.

Additions to this list could be made which incorporated the various views expressed by scientists at the conference held at the Swedish Institute in Athens in 1982\textsuperscript{15} on the subject of 'Minoan Thalassocracy'.

Among the various views particularly relevant to the problem of the Minoanization of the Cyclades are M. Wiener's cautionary remarks on two opposites. What he has called the 'Karum' effect and the 'Versailles' effect.\textsuperscript{16} The 'Karum' effect is exemplified by the Assyrian colony at Kültepe-Karum where, if there were no literary record, no other archaeological evidence would have testified the colony's existence. On the other hand, there exists the
possibility ('Versailles' effect) that without any actual movement of population the cultural prestige of one society is the only reason for making another society adopt many of its cultural features.

**MC pottery manufacture and trade**

One important element in our understanding of how Minoan culture influenced the Cyclades during the MC-LC periods is the local MC pottery and its transformation during the LC period.

Besides the material from Melos (Part II, B₂), Kean Period IV and V pottery (Part II, C₂) and Theran MC wares (Part II, A₂) are now available. This material shows a flourishing MC culture with some shared major features.

There are three fundamental ceramic categories in these settlements during the MC period: Cycladic White (CW), Burnished (B) and Black and Red or Bichrome (Bich) wares. Pottery is manufactured in these fabrics with the local clay on each island. In the case of A. Irini Bich and CW wares were imported from Melos, according to the excavators, because the local Kean red micaceous clay was inappropriate for these wares. Apart from this, however, the shapes and motives exhibited by MC pottery show a homogeneity that would be impossible, if there had not been regular intercommunications between these three islands.

This homogeneity is more remarkable, if MC pottery is compared with the developments of the LC I period. Few of the MC shapes would need to be mentioned like the
Melian bowl or 'Cycladic cup', the panelled cup, the bird jugs and other profiles of jars to prove the remarkable unity that had been attained during the MBA in the Cyclades.

On the other hand, evidence for inter-Cycladic exchanges, such as pots exported from Melos to A. Irini (Part II, C₄) notably the bird jugs and panelled cups, or the Melian type 6:8c jugs and 6:11 handled cups exported to Paroikia on Paros (Part II, D₄) or the Phylakopi CW bird jugs exported to Akrotiri* (Part II, A₂) or the Melian (?) CW exported to Siphnos, Naxos, Aegina, or Kean and Melian pots found on Aegina (Part III, A₂) or Kean white-on-grey recovered on Melos, speaks of established intercommunications between the islands during the MBA, that permitted exchange of information and allowed a more universal style to develop independently from mainland Greek and Cretan influences, something not evident in the LC I period.

It still remains to prove that Akrotiri and A. Irini were equally involved in these exchanges as Phylakopi. For the moment, partly perhaps because Kean clay is not of good quality and partly because Theran CW fabric is not distinguishable from that of Melos, Phylakopi holds a preeminent role in these inter-Cycladic relations as Scholes has already noticed. However, her suggestion that Melian colonists were present on Thera is no longer acceptable.

This picture may of course alter in the future, when
more Theran late MC material is known both from Thera and from other Cycladic islands, as that reported lately from Ios.\textsuperscript{20} It may also become possible to distinguish chemically Theran from Melian clay. Otherwise, we may have a situation in the MC period where the Melians were the first to be organized and equipped for such a prominent role in inter-Cycladic relations. We must not forget that the nucleation of settlement at Phylakopi has been proved for Melos by the early MC period. Kea seems to comply to the same pattern to judge by the results of the survey there,\textsuperscript{21} but we do not yet know what was the situation on Thera. Mature MC material from the latter island comes not only from Akrotiri but from the Karageorghis Mines, which was probably the cemetery of a nearby settlement, which coexisted with Akrotiri (Part II, A\textsubscript{2}). Phylakopi, having established the new type of community organization in the mature MC period, was able to enter first and more vigorously into trade with the other Cyclades and then, as will be shown below, with Crete.

The poor quality of its pottery excluded Kea from exporting fine ware to the other islands, but it was again quite early involved in trade with Crete.

\textbf{Other archaeological evidence of the MC period}

Besides the pottery evidence it is useful to understand the various developments in other aspects of Cycladic culture happening in these settlements (Part IV). A. Irini was already fortified in the early MC period (Period IV) and the fortifications acquired a more
monumental character in the late MC period (Period V), and continued to exist up to LC III early/LH IIIA.

Phylakopi, according to the results of the latest excavations, was fortified only in the LC I period without excluding the possibility that part of the fortifications were earlier. They lasted at least up to LC III middle/LC IIIb1 phase. Akrotiri, up to now, has not produced evidence of fortification. As regards the writing evidence a fragment of a Linear A tablet has been recovered near the 'Mansion' at Phylakopi and from area N at A. Irini (LB I and MB II contexts respectively), while signs of Linear A script have been found in all three settlements.

A central building called House A at Keos acquires its multifunction compartments (smelting, living, cooking quarters) by the LC I period, while, in the same period, the so-called 'Mansion', a large building with administrative and perhaps other functions appears.

Akrotiri MC architecture is not well known, but no central building has yet been revealed in the LC I settlement. It shares one important feature with Phylakopi and A. Irini in that the LC I town was built on the MC remains with no change in the orientation of the houses.

Generally one could say that, although there is a uniformity in MC pottery, first attained for the islands during this period, other developments followed at each site a different tempo relative to the necessities and the stage of organization each community had reached.
So some of the sites may have been fortified earlier (A. Irini) or they may have had central buildings linked with administrative functions (Phylakopi), while others kept the more traditional multifunction wealthy man's dwelling (A. Irini). As regards nucleation, Melos and Keos follow the same pattern, but on Thera at least two settlements are still active in the mature MC period and maybe administration and trade is shared between them.

All three islands nonetheless were acquainted with the prevailing contemporary writing\(^{22}\) and weighing system,\(^{23}\) both essential for trade.

The evidence of MM pottery in the Cyclades and its implications (Table I)

At this point of development of Cycladic life, ceramic imports from Crete arrived in some quantity. The earliest imports, that are dateable in MC levels, belong to MM Ib and are mostly fine wares.\(^{24}\) These might not have travelled to the islands until MM IIa.

They come after a period of turmoil both in the Cyclades and in Crete (EC IIIa period when no contact between the islands and Crete at all and possible arrival of Anatolian elements in the Cyclades. EC IIIb only few exports to Crete. EM III/MM Ia internal struggles in Crete cf. St. Alexiou 1979, 41) MM Ib pottery travels in small quantities and not on a regular basis. It is a period in which Aegean trade routes are reestablished.

In the following MM IIa and IIb periods, imports from
Crete become more abundant in the Cyclades and elsewhere. They consist of both storage vessels and fine wares. No percentages are yet known from the three excavated Cycladic settlements that would throw some light on this aspect of trade in the early MC period. But, from scattered references, it is possible to detect a trend in the whole trade, that will be further substantiated or refuted, when more material becomes available.

One small sample from Keos, early in Period IV contained 8% Minoan and Minoanizing wares.

Unfortunately the evidence from Phylakopi is less informative. Even the 1911 excavations, when Minoan wares were known, do not give much information about Minoan imports. Kamares ware is reported to be found in small quantities in relation to the mass of local ware. It is calculated that 70% of the total amount comes from levels with 'Geometric' pottery (7 of II-ii), while the greater part of the rest is found with the 'Early Mycenaean' vases (9 of II-iii). This generally agrees with Mackenzie's earlier remarks, but does not give further details about the quality and percentages of MM pottery in the two periods. No reference is made to the non-polychrome MM pottery. The light-on-dark found in the 1911 excavations is considered to be a local imitation of the MM Cretan pottery and it is reported to be found 'in certain numbers', but 'apparently few such vases were made'. It is also added that no other colour than white was used.
in the minoanizing ware of Melos.\textsuperscript{31}

From the examination of the MM sherds in the National Athens Museum collection (Part II, B₃) that come from the old excavations at Phylakopi, although small and clearly representing only a sample of all the MM material found, it is evident that MM IIa and particularly IIb/IIIa material reached Phylakopi in large quantities. This is suggested both by the variety and the quality of the sherds found (Nos. 325, 327, 330, 350-352, 385, etc.). These sherds presuppose the wider availability of MM imports than the equivalent material from Keos.

This point will be further clarified by the MM wares from the 1974-77 excavations at Phylakopi to be published by S. Hood.\textsuperscript{32} On the other hand, the scanty MM IIa material from Akrotiri may imply poorer trade transactions with Crete during the MM IIa-IIb periods, at least as regards pottery (Part II, A₃).

If further evidence from Akrotiri shows these distinctions to be valid the contacts with Crete in the MM IIa period cannot conform to a 'Down the Line' model,\textsuperscript{33} where the quantity of exports is greatest in the islands closest to Crete and decreases in direct relation to increasing distance from the source. Nor in this respect does Akrotiri typify the 'Directional Exchange' model\textsuperscript{34} that Davis describes for the Cyclades as the 'Western String' trade\textsuperscript{35} which associates Thera, Melos and Kea with their sheltered bays as stepping stones for Cretan voyages to Attica.
It rather suggests an independently organized trade (free-lance commerce) between each island and Crete during the early MC period, whose operation was dependent upon the social and economic structure of each island community.

It is also impossible, at present, to attribute the initiative for this trade during the early MBA to either side (Cyclades or Crete). For, although the organization of the palaces in Crete shows purely an advance in the social formations of this area in comparison with the 'proto-urban' Cycladic settlements of the MC period, one should be aware of the possibility of increased involvement with the sea even of the poorest coastal site. This is particularly the case when the prospects for good agricultural yields are restricted (examples from modern Greek history). Trade presents for them the only other alternative for wealth. Therefore the Cycladic people may have travelled themselves to Crete and back in search of additional food stuffs or luxury goods from the Cretan palaces. During the MM IIIa period the trade between the Cyclades and Crete seems to acquire a more regular character, with Minoan wares being found in quite large quantities at Akrotiri (Nos. 275, 277-9, 284-5, 287, 295-6, etc.), as well as Phylakopi (Nos. 340, 357, 359-60, etc.) and A. Irini. Aegina became also involved more vigorously in this trade although imports from Crete are already reported from MM I and II periods. Echoes reach as far north as Skyros and Iolkos, where pottery imitating MM III is found (Appendix II3), in the east the Dodecanese, where
MM III pottery in local clay is made (Appendix II\textsubscript{2}) and in the west Messenia (Appendix II\textsubscript{3}), where at Nichoria Minoan influence is found, perhaps via Kythera or from W. Crete.

This is the time when the New Palaces are reconstructed in Crete and Minoan pottery shows a marked deterioration. Thus the frequency of pottery imports increases exactly at the time when the standard of Cretan ceramic products is in decline. Indeed, Cycladic potters themselves were producing much more original wares at this period. In CW the beautiful panelled cups with the many curvilinear motives, in the Bich and CW the famous bird jugs, in the Bich the closed vases with the many floral designs, such as the pomegranate tree, the foliate bands, the grape etc. and finally, many finely burnished 'Cycladic cups', goblets and bowls. Therefore, one is justified in assuming that Cyclado-Cretan trade by the late MC period represents economic transactions in which pottery serves as containers for articles of trade and fine ware was travelling only as a by-product of this trade.

This conclusion is further reinforced if one analyses the percentages of closed to open shapes among the Cretan imports to Kea, where pottery of Period V has been published. From Davis' Minoan wares of Period V (roughly MM III\textsubscript{a} date) only a quarter of the total belongs to cups (Part II, C\textsubscript{4}). The rest belong to bigger vessels such as jars, jugs and amphorae. This conclusion will be further confirmed by the MM pottery from Akrotiri (unpublished).
MM material found at Phylakopi in the old excavations is selectively preserved and must not for this reason be taken as representative of the true picture. Since the discussion concerns only MM imports, it is interesting to notice some change during the MM IIIb period. Typical MM IIIb sherds (especially polychrome) are hard, almost impossible, to find in both Kea and Melos and this is natural since they are rare in Crete itself. MM IIIb sherds with white-painted decoration are found at Akrotiri (No. 276). None of the sherds examined in the National Athens Museum collection from Phylakopi can be attributed to this period, although some could be as late as MM IIIb (Nos. 332, 340).

MM IIIb material seems to be elusive for Kea also. According to Davis* Keftiu' cups with midrib are absent during Period V and therefore the destruction of the MC settlement took place before MM IIIb wares started being used in Crete. However, one may notice that shapes such as the jug with plastic ledge at the base of the neck that belong primarily to the MM IIIa period, may at a provincial site still be manufactured in the MM IIIb period. Definite MM IIIb material, like the 'Keftiu' cups with midrib and white spiral decoration (No. 276), is found at Akrotiri. One sherd of E. Cretan style (No. 281) has again the midrib (MM II-III). There are also many sherds with ripple decoration and some with spirals, all of which may again belong to the MM IIIb or early LM Ia periods. The evidence is not conclusive enough to speak of an overall drop in the frequency of Minoan imports to the Cyclades.
in MM IIIb, but, at present, Akrotiri seems to have been receiving the largest proportion of Minoan exports to the islands during this period.

The MC Minoanizing pottery (Table II)

In order to characterize the impact of this importation of MM pottery to the Cyclades it is useful to present a brief summary of the Minoanizing pottery that occurs on each of the three major MC sites.

On Kea imitation starts already in Period IV with three varieties of 'Keftiu' cups (Part II, C_3), carinated cups and in-and-out bowls. Containers such as jugs or hole-mouthed jars are also found. Even more specialized vessels like the bird rhyton are manufactured.

In Period V Minoanizing shapes increased. 'Keftiu' cups are found in two varieties, the semi-globular type in two, and there is a number of bowls with Minoan profiles (Part II, C_3). Well known jug types, like the truncated, the lentoid and other varieties, as well as jars are present. Even pithos sherds with rope pattern are found. Specialized Minoan shapes continue and it is interesting that they also included household utensils, such as pedestalled lamps, trays and tripod cooking pots.

On Melos (Part II, B_3) Red Burnished examples of straight-walled cups (Nos. 341-4) with white decoration start during Phylakopi II-ii (No. 344) and may continue as late as II-iii (No. 343). The shape continues in the
dark-on-light style of Later Local Pottery of the LC I period and up to LC III middle/LH IIIC.

On the other hand, the semi-globular cup did not find many close copies until the LC I period. It was the 'shallow cup' of type 9:4d that filled this gap during the late MC/early LC I period (No. 372), which greatly resembles the semi-globular cup.

The in-and-out bowl that again was imported from MM IIa-b (No. 369) and continued in MM IIb/IIIa (No. 368) found very few copies during the MC III period in CW fabric (No. 374). From the 1974-77 excavations more Minoanizing pottery will be added such as conical bowls and cups, tumblers, and even carinated cups. It is unfortunate in this respect that this new material comes from levelling fills and cannot be more closely dated.

However, judging by the quantity and the fact that the Minoanizing pottery appears mostly in coarse ware rather than CW or Bich, it is evident that the imitative tendency developed rather slowly at Phylakopi at least until the later stages of the MC period. Local fabrics and shapes seem to have been much more important than Minoanizing material at Phylakopi. The same tendency is apparent in closed vases as well, with the exception of the hole-mouthed jar. The latter is the only closed shape that had already been imitated in Phylakopi II-ii (No. 392), i.e. contemporaneously with the real imports (No. 382, 386 of MM Ib/IIa). These first Minoanizing hole-mouthed
jars are found, like the 'Keftiu' cups, in the RB fabric with white decoration and only later in the period in other fabrics. Light-on-dark examples (Nos. 393-4) belong to the MC III period. The shape gains in popularity in the LC I (No. 395) and II periods.

The other closed shapes, such as jugs, amphorae, jars, find very little imitation (Part II, B3). For this reason the local shapes, such as the jug, followed a long course of development from the early MC (types 7:2bi, bii) through the mature MC (type 9:1a) into the late MC/early LC periods (type 9:1b) (Part II, B2). The light-on-dark Minoanizing jugs (Nos. 316-7) seem to be rare. Other types like the round-mouthed jug and the jug with cut-away spout have both Cycladic and Cretan predecessors. The evidence from Akrotiri is useful only for the Minoanizing material of the late MC period. The closest copies are the light-on-dark 'Keftiu' cups and the Bich semi-globular cups (Nos. 260-2 and Nos. 87-90 respectively). Generally, colours other than white appear very rarely on Minoanizing material (Nos. 265, 267-8).

Hole-mouthed jars again appear on Thera quite early among the imitations, as one complete example from the Mines (No. 14) shows. This seems to be a rarity, since most of the CW material is manufactured in conventional Cycladic shapes and Minoan elements appear only in the decoration (No. 62 ivy, No. 63 reed, No. 67 crocus, No. 69 chevrons, No. 65 crescents). Apart from the
light-on-dark fabric, it is mostly among the RB and the Plain ware that we find Minoanizing material.

A jug with the ledge at the base of the neck (No. 185), rhyta (Nos. 189-92), cups or bowls (Nos. 200-1), a hole-mouthed jar (No. 193) and a saucer (No. 202) all appear in the RB fabric.

Among the plain MC Minoanizing pottery a saucer (No. 249), the tumbler (Nos. 247-8) and conical cups (Nos. 15-16) are the only shapes yet known.

So Akrotiri in the late MC period was still rather backward in adapting its pottery to Minoan tastes. Even the curvilinear designs that occur on late CW pots, like the panelled cups, are less competent on Theran than on Melian examples.

This has been explained (Part II, A4) either as evidence of backwardness and conservatism on the part of Theran potters or as the result of the late date at which MM pottery was imported to Thera on a large scale (only from MM IIia).

In this respect, Melian craftsmen seem to have exhibited a greater ability or will (Part II, B4) to imitate Minoan pottery than the rest of the islanders, even though they started later than the Keians. On Melos, by the late MC period (MC III), running spirals, the rosette, foliate bands, quirks, rock patterns, J-spirals, the plume, etc. (Motives 10-23 in Part II, B4) were
combined in successful entities of field decoration.

It is important, however, to emphasize that this accomplishment came about only late in the MC period (MC III), while in MC II zonal decoration with designs of geometric derivation, such as the hatched leaves and triangles, was still much in use. Melians, like Therans, may have been reluctant until late in the MC period to produce local pottery after the fashion of Minoan prototypes. When they decided to do so, however, they were more successful than the other islanders.

Keians, on the other hand, as mentioned above, were quite early ready to introduce Minoan shapes in their repertory, as the Period IV Minoanizing material shows (Part II, C₃). Rather than something fortuitous this can be attributed to the mixed influences found in Keos all through the MBA (Helladic-Cretan) and hence the affiliation of this island with other than Cycladic pottery repertoires. However, Keians lacked the high quality clay needed to produce fine Minoanizing pottery. They were unable to produce fine CW and Bich fabrics, the two wares on which curvilinearity could be practised. Therefore, although they adopted most of the Minoan shapes in Period V, the decoration consisted of only the simplest motives, such as pendent scallops, filled circles, random dots, splashes and bands (Part II, C₃).

"Finally, through Minoanizing Cycladic pottery and through real Minoan exports, areas bordering the islands,
like Aegina (Part III, A₂) and also mainland Greece (Appendix II₃) came to be familiar with Minoan advances and be influenced by them. In this respect, Cycladic Minoanization was a development with far reaching results.

The continuity of trade in the LC I/LM Ia period

A decline in actual Minoan ceramic exports to the islands may have taken place in the LM Ia/LC I period, contrary to the current opinion that exports follow an ascending trajectory in this period.⁴⁷

This observation should be regarded as provisional, since statistical information comparing MM to LM Ia imports is not available for each site. We know that the Minoan and Minoanizing ware of Kea Period IV was calculated to 8% and that Minoan and Mycenaean imports in the same settlement in Period VII was again 8%. We know also that Minoan wares in LC I levels at Phylakopi amounted to 2.8%.⁴⁸

If one tries to isolate the true LM Ia pottery from the Phylakopi publication, one finds only very limited evidence. This is implied also in the 1911 report, where the amount of LM Ia is said to be extremely small:⁴⁹ 'The fragments numbered 19 and 20 on Pl. XIV and a few sherds with 'wood-pattern' (i.e. ripples) are practically all'. Melian craftsmen produced vases 'which seem to have ousted the originals from the market'.

This possible drop in LM Ia imports from Crete does
not fall in the scope of my research, but if it is true it continued a trend that had started in the MM IIIb period. This trend does not imply a decline in contact of the two areas. On the contrary, the adaptation of the local MC III and LC I pottery to the Minoan repertoire speaks of close cultural relations and of the possible existence of provincial Minoan workshops on the islands to produce ad hoc Minoanizing wares. In this respect it is interesting to note that Cycladic exports to Crete also decrease in the LM Ia period. From the forty pottery imports found at Knossos in MM III and a few contemporary sherds from Kommos, we encounter an abrupt cessation at the beginning of LM Ia at Knossos and only a few pots at Pyrgos.

Therefore, we may be justified in saying that direct ceramic exchanges may have declined in frequency in both directions at the beginning of LM Ia with trade between the two areas acquiring possibly another content, to which reference will be made below.

The impotence of the Cyclades in the Hellado-Cretan trade relations and the possible reason for the 'Minoanization'

Having established the importation of MM pottery to the Cyclades the consequent transformations which affected the different islands, one must attempt to answer a particularly significant question, why did all this happen?

As a result of the random character of the evidence, the incompleteness of research in other aspects of Cycladic life, the fragmentary nature of our understanding of the
BA history of the Cyclades (only three settlements known in some detail) and the limitation of stylistic analysis of pottery alone (petrological and chemical analysis also needed) we can only make suggestions. It seems that the geographical position of the Cyclades in the Aegean sea and the historical coincidence of the rise in the LBA of two rival civilizations, that of the Mycenaean world and that of the Minoan, deprived the islanders of the possibility of existing as an autonomous culture, unaffected by their neighbours.

From the distribution of MC material on the Greek mainland (Appendix I) one can see a substantial Cycladic presence from the EC period in two main areas, Attica (Athens, Eleusis, Marathon, Brauron, Thorikos) and the Argolid (Mycenae, Lerna, Asine, Tiryns, Argos). Most of the sites were coastal or major trade centres (Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens). Almost all, if they were settled, had established contact with the Cyclades in the EBA (except for Thorikos?). Few sites that had EC imports stopped trading with the Cyclades during the MC period (Asea, Zygouries, Orchomenos, Perati, Drachmani). This is probably to be explained by the appearance of other prominent trade centres in the same districts, for example Mycenae, Tiryns and Korakou in place of Zygouries in the Argolid; Athens, Marathon, Thorikos in place of Perati in Attica; Kirrha in Phokis and Eutresis in Boeotia but not Orchomenos and Drachmani in Boeotia; Malthi in Messenia but not Asea in Arcadia. During the MC period no decline
in Hellado-Cycladic trade can be seen, since areas previously excluded from the sphere of Cycladic contacts, such as Thessaly, are for the first time incorporated during the MBA. Pefkakia in Thessaly must have played an important role in the communication between the two areas.

Not all the centres which imported Cycladic pottery were seriously affected by this contact as far as pottery production is concerned. While it has been admitted that Helladic Matt-Painted owes much to MC pottery, in only very few cases (Mycenae, Lerna, Korakou), all in the N.E. Peloponnese, have the Cycladic imports inspired some local imitation (never a style). From this one could jump to the easy conclusion that the islanders played a minor role as traders on the Greek mainland.

It is, however, important to compare the distribution of MM pottery with that of MC pottery on the Greek mainland (Map A and B) and observe how closely these coincide. If one then evaluates the rest of the evidence for Cyclado-Helladic contacts from the EC period onwards, it becomes easy to appreciate the importance of this link for the emergence of LH I civilization.

It seems that at least in the N.E. Peloponnese, where the MH culture was well established, it was only through the Cycladic filter that Minoan influences were felt. Meanwhile in the S.E. Peloponnese (A. Stephanos, Epidavros, Limera, Pavlopetri) as well as in Messenia (Nichoria, Peristeria) the Minoan impact was felt directly through
their colony at Kastri on Kythera.

This expansion towards the mainland may be linked with the change in the exploitation of metal sources in the Aegean that took place between the MC and LC periods. During the EC period Siphnian ores were the main source for Cycladic silver and lead artefacts, according to lead isotope analysis.\(^{52}\) This changed in the LM Ia/LC I period, when out of the twenty-seven lead artefacts analysed from Akrotiri, twenty-six were made of lead from Lavrion.\(^{53}\) Cyclado-Cretan trade maybe has been influenced by this change in the origin of metal ores. The Cyclades had a longterm relation with both Crete and the mainland. Cretans may have established trade with the nucleated MC settlements in the beginning, exporting agricultural and luxury goods for Cycladic metal and other resources, until in LC I they became aware of the significant resources on the Greek mainland and the potentials of a new market. The Cyclades then started serving as a bridge between Crete and the mainland metal sources and they were no more the end of Cyclado-Cretan voyages. Being thus squeezed between the Helladic principalities and the minoan palaces and having always poor agricultural resources the islanders had to decide on whose part they were going to operate. They naturally decided to become more committed to their closest partners, the Minoans, who were at that time also the most powerful neighbours. In this context it is important to make a further remark. The prosperity of Cycladic settlements lasted as long as the Minoans needed them for their expansion in the Aegean (MC III to LC II).
The decline of this prosperity was simultaneous with Cretan submission to Mycenaean domination: The Cyclades' total involvement in the Cretan economic system probably deprived them of the ability to survive as autonomous settlements and they were unable to continue to play the role of intermediaries during the period of Mycenaean expansion in the Aegean (LC III period).

After trying to explain the possible reasons for the necessity of the Cycladic sites to conform to the Minoan style of pottery, it is interesting to consider who was responsible for this change. Is the gradual 'Minoanization' of Cycladic pottery from MC II period onwards synonymous with an actual population movement from Crete to the islands that changed the character of the MC settlements, or, Cycladic Minoanizing workshops operated with indigenous potters helped by some Minoan master potters for a mixed population? Here the lack of written records, and MC/LC cemeteries, as well as the absence of potters' quarters makes the problem difficult to solve. Pottery examination can help us only up to a point. It is in this respect illuminating that the same evidence, namely conical cups, has been used to prove, convincingly, two different situations.\(^{54}\) In the first case, the fashion of conical cups is believed to have spread to the Cyclades through the prestige of the Minoan world, but is also taken as evidence for the existence of actual Minoan settlers on the islands. In the second, conical cups follow the process of standardization forced on local Cycladic potters when they tried to cut the production costs of their pottery.
to be able to compete with Minoan potters. Hence, in this case, it is not mere fashion but economic necessity and it could have arrived without any movement of populations.

Since we do not yet have the means to identify ethnic identity from pottery it is safer to be cautious in our conclusions.

During the MC period 'Minoanization' passes through its formative phase. This phase lasted around three and a half centuries and it is possible that some Minoans that travelled between the islands and Crete decided to stay in the islands to better promote their interests. These settlers did not change the character of the MC settlements but may have encouraged more settlers to come and create closer ties with Crete. Among these settlers some may have been potters, who in the beginning worked side by side with traditional Cycladic workshops to serve a mixed clientelle. The bird jugs, the panelled cups or the Cycladic bowls were the products of the Cycladic pottery workshops while the light-on-dark minoanizing pottery, and the imitative straight-walled cups and the hole-mouthed jars, may have started in a Minoanizing workshop. Finally, the different traditions amalgamated to produce the developed styles of LC I Minoanizing pottery found on each of the three best investigated BA sites, Phylakopi, A. Irini and Akrotiri.

From what has gone before it is apparent that the Minoanization of the Cyclades cannot be examined as a
single cultural event, but should be studied as a separate phenomenon on each of the Cycladic islands. We should not seek to find in the Cyclades the type of geographic sequence in the 'Minoan expansion' observed in the East and S.W. Aegean. In the East (Part III·B), Kasos and Karpathos are in contact, if not colonized, from the EM III period. Rhodes follows in the MM Ia period, as the evidence from Ialysos and Trianda demonstrates. The expansion proceeds northwards through Kos, Iasos (MM III) and as far as Samos and Miletus (MM III). We need to know much more about this area of the Aegean which seems to have enclosed Cycladic, Anatolian and Minoan cultural elements. The same gradual expansion of Minoan exports or actual settlement outposts is seen in the W. Aegean. Kythera is colonized in EM II, then follows the contact with Epidavros Limera,\textsuperscript{55} Messenia and the Argolid (MH/LH I).

The existing Cycladic culture probably did not allow the imposition of Minoan cultural elements unless these were chosen by the local population. This is the reason why the MM imports have a different quality, quantity and effect on each of the Cycladic settlements (Table III, Relative Synchronism). In this respect, it is useful to view the Minoan 'Thalassocracy' from the Cycladic point of view as well as the Minoan and highlight the importance of this region in the developments which occur during the BA in the Aegean.
FOOTNOTES

PART V

CONCLUSIONS

1. S. Stucynski 1982, 50-51; MacGillivray 1984, fnt. 2; K. Branigan 1985, 57.


3. PM I, 561.


6. BSA 1956, 36-40.


11. Davis 1979, 143.


23. Petruso 1979, 135-142.

For Thera Part II, A; Melos II B; Keos II C;
Paros II D; Aegina, Appendix II; E. Aegean Part II B.

Overbeck 1982, 40.

Phylakopi, 260.

BSA 17, 9-10.

Phylakopi, 260-261.


BSA 17, 10.

Cf. Barber 1984, 180, Fnt. 11.


Renfrew 1977, 85.

Davis 1979, 146.

Keos V, 81-83; U-82, U-89-94, U-104, etc.

Welter 1925, Fig. 4.

Welter 1937, 19-36.

Keos V, 83.

Marthari 1984, Fig. 7a.

Keos Pt. II, Pl. 85, D146.

Keos V, Pl. 62:AA65.

Keos V, Pl. 27:U44.

Keos V, Pl. 97:U45-57.

Barber, forthcoming.

Barber, forthcoming.


AJA 86, Ill. 2.

BSA 17, 14.

MacGillivray 1982, 156.

Ibid. Fnt. 29.

Gale 1981, Fig. 13.

Ibid. Fig. 14.

55 Hood 1984, 34-5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. Straight-walled cups</th>
<th>b. Semiglobular cups</th>
<th>c. Bowls and other cups</th>
<th>d. Hole-mouthed jars</th>
<th>e. Other closed vases</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MM Ia</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Thera</td>
<td>Melos</td>
<td>Thera</td>
<td>Melos</td>
<td>Thera</td>
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<td><strong>MM Ib/IIa</strong></td>
<td>297</td>
<td>322, 323, 323a, 324, 326</td>
<td>291, 300</td>
<td>345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 353, 354, 358</td>
<td>381, 382, 383, 384, 386</td>
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<td></td>
<td>288</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MM IIIb</strong></td>
<td>276</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MM IIIb/ LM Ia</strong></td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
<td>290, 294</td>
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**TABLE I**  
MM POTTERY IMPORTS FROM CRETE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC I</th>
<th>a. Straight-walled cups</th>
<th>b. Semiglobular cups</th>
<th>c. Bowls and other cups</th>
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<th>e. Other closed vases</th>
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# TABLE III

**RELATIVE SYNCHRONISMS BETWEEN THE CYCLADES AND CRETE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minoan Sequence</th>
<th>Cycladic Sequence</th>
<th>Melos Stratigraphy</th>
<th>Keos Stratigraphy</th>
<th>Thera</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MM Ia</td>
<td>EC IIIa</td>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM Ia/b</td>
<td>EC IIIb</td>
<td>I-i, ii, iii</td>
<td>Abandonment</td>
<td>EC Akrotiri ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General disaster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(earthquake)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM Ib/IIa</td>
<td>MC I or MC early</td>
<td>II-i?</td>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM IIa-b</td>
<td>MC II or MC mature</td>
<td>II-ii</td>
<td>IVb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM IIb/IIIa</td>
<td>MC III or MC late</td>
<td>II-iii</td>
<td>IVc</td>
<td>MC Akrotiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>V earthquake (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General disaster</td>
<td>and fire</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(earthquake?) and</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM IIIb</td>
<td></td>
<td>III-i</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>LC I Akrotiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM Ia</td>
<td>LC I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX I
CHAPTER 1
DISTRIBUTION OF MC SETTLEMENTS

Maps and bibliography can be obtained in Barber's Thesis (1978, Chapter 3). Previous survey details in Emergence (Renfrew 1972, Appendix I) and Scholes (BSA 51, 1956, 9-40). Melos survey definitely proved Phylakopi as the main and single settlement of MC Melos. Mikre Vigla and Keos survey are still to be published.

AMORGOS
Aegiale (Vigli): Scholes 11.
Some fragments of MC pithoi.
Arkesine (Kastri): Bossert (AM 11, 1886, 23, n1, 3) Scholes 11.
The location of the double grave studied by Bossert must be near Kastri and dates in EC IIIB period. There is some MC material unprovenanced. The twin beaked jug with leaved rosettes, dotted rosettes and plain leaves definitely belongs to the MC period. (AM 11, Pl. 2, centre 7)

ANAPHI
?Georganou: Thera V, 47.
Marinatos reports prehistoric material, possibly MC. Barber (1978, 35) found nothing on this hill site, but this island is too close to Thera to have remained uninhabited.

DELOS
Mt. Kynthos: Delos XI, 11-50; A. Plassant, 1928, Les Sanctuaires et les cultes du mont Cynthe; BCH 104,
1980, Mt. Kynthos in Delos. The Early Cycladic settlement, 3-45; BCH 99, 1975, Notes Déliennes, 247-62; Delos XV, Vases Préhelléniques 7-10, Pl. I; Gallet de Santerre, 1958, Délos Primitif et Archaïque, Pl. XI. From the results of the excavations on Mt. Kynthos, habitation has been recovered for EC II (Group A pottery) and EC IIIA (Group B) period. Little evidence for substantial reoccupation after the abandonment in EC IIIA and before the LBA period.

FOLEGANDROS

Poundaki: Barber 1978, 43. Promontory site east of Karavostasi Bay. Some of the sherds on the surface 'seemed MC', though the majority were of post-BA.

IOS

Chora: BSA 69, 170, 50. Sherd material includes some MB pieces.

KEA

A. Irini: Keos '60-'61 in Hesperia 31 (1962); Keos '63 in Hesperia 33 (1964); Keos '64-'65 in Hesperia 35 (1966); Keos Pt. I in Hesperia 40 (1971); Keos Pt. II in Hesperia 41 (1972). For further bibliography cf. General Bibliography.

Continuous habitation from EB till LBA. The MC finds can be dated on minoan terms from MM Ib/IIa till MM III late.


Occupation from EB till the main period (LC I-II).
KYTHNOS

A. Irini: Scholes 12; Barber 1978, 52.

Hill by the sea noted by Scholes and Barber for its MB and LB sherds.

MELOS


The occupation continues from the EB till the LBA.

The MC sequence is dated in minoan terms from MM Ia?, MM Ib till late in MM III.


Remains from EC III-LB period.

MYKONOS

Palaiokastro: Scholes 12; Barber 1978, 63.

This hill settlement inland from the bay of Panormos has definite MC occupation.

NAXOS

Aila: PAE 1903, 97; AD 17 (1961-68) A, 104-49.

A group of tombs excavated by Cl. Stephanos has been published by Papathanasopoulos. Some finds are clearly of MBA.


This settlement on the N./N.E. side of the modern town is unlikely, according to Barber (Barber 1978, 69) to have been the MC town of Naxos both because of the
scarcity of the MB finds (no structures) and because of its seaside location (although the latter is not exclusive). The beaked jug with spiral decoration found (PAE 1963, Pl. 130b) belongs to late MC period, but maybe has been brought to the site.

Rizokastelia: PAE 1910, 272-3; Scholes 12, n9.

It is an Akropolis site with clear signs of MC (including imitation Minyan) and LB occupation. An imported Melian sherd was noted by Scholes.


It is a promontory site with evidence from EC I or II well into LH III. Other island imports also. This may have been the main settlement during the MC period.

PAROS

Paroikia: AM 42 (1917) 1-98.

A small hill in the centre of the modern town on the W. coast of the island, which belongs mainly to Phylakopi I-iii phase, but also has evidence of MC material (cf Chapter on Paros).

SIPHNOS

Kastro: BSA 44 (1945), 1-52; Scholes 31-2.

This is a natural Akropolis on the E coast of the island. Apart from the Minyan ware (BSA 44, Pl. 12:7), it produced burnished ware (Ibid. Fig. 6:4, 5) as well as MP material (Ibid. Pl. 12:3, 4).

A. Andreas: AAA vi (1973) i, 101.

This is a fortified Akropolis of the LH IIIB period. However, after recent excavations it was found that it may go back to MC period, since MC sherds in Phylakopi II styles were found (BSA 69 (1974) 50).
SYROS

A. Loukas: Scholes 12; Emergence 514; AE 1899, 79.
A grey Minyan kantharos and a Phylakopi I type pyxis came from a grave in a cemetery, which is otherwise of KS culture.

TENOS

This is a settlement that goes back to the EB period. The fortification walls may belong to the MBA.

THERA

This seaside settlement on the S. coast of Thera may go back to EB II, possibly EB I. It has produced definite MC material, while the minoan imports of the MBA date from MM Ib/IIa-MMIII. The flourish of the settlement belongs to LC I period.
Ftellos: AAA XV, 1, 1982, 86-100.
MC pottery possibly from graves.
Karageorghis: Unpublished.
MC pottery possibly from graves.
MC pottery.
CHAPTER 2

DISTRIBUTION OF MC MATERIAL IN EAST AEGEAN

Apart from the evidence from Troy (Barber 1978, 233), Cyclades seem to have a rather SE orientation in their transactions in Eastern Aegean. The following sites from N to S have showed Cycladic contact during the MBA. Extensive bibliography in AS XXVIII, 1978, 120, where details of the 'Aegean Trade and settlement in Anatolia' by Ch. Mee are given. Also H. Simpson and J. Lazenby 'Notes from the Dodecanese' I, II, III in BSA 57, 65, 68, where full account of their survey in the area is found.

CHIOS


Both MP and Grey Minyan ware have been found at Emporio. Some of the polychrome MP pottery resembles Cycladic equivalents. Particularly a whole jug (No. 2658, Fig. 257, Pl. 114) shows the influence of Cycladic Bichrome in local ware.

SAMOS

Tigani: Kastro (Pythagoreio): AM 60/61 (1935-6), 165-9, 190-6.

A low hill settlement above a natural harbour, which produced definite Cycladic imports (Pl. 49:3, 4; Pl. 70:1; maybe also Pl. 69-7) of MB period. Stone objects of EC type also.

Heraio: V. Milocjic (Samos I, 1961); Archaeology 26 (1973), 170.

Extensive EB settlement linked to Troy II and to the final EB phase includes some Cycladic type pottery as well as grave cists. Among the MB material mentioned
some pieces are reported as imports from an unknown, possibly Cycladic, centre (Taf 30:1-5).

PATMOS

Sherd resembling material from Paroikia.

ANATOLIA

Iasos: D. Levi (Ann 47-8 (1969-70), 488, Fig. 33).
Apart from the EC type cists, marble vessels and pottery, which have affinities with Grotta-Delos culture, in the 2nd millennium some polychrome MP pottery resembles Emporio MC wares and hence bear an ultimate Cycladic influence (Ibid. Fig. 33).

KALYMNOS

Vathy Cave: Cl. Rh. I, 110-7, Fig. 94.
EC duck vase without context.

KOS

As in the other islands of the Dodecanese EB material from Kos (Aspripetra, Tsilimbiri, Asklupi) produced pottery of both Anatolian, Cycladic and Samian affinities. Some local carinated bowls of the MBA may show Cycladic or Anatolian connections (T. Marketou, pers. communication), while the minoan element follows in the end (MB III) of the period.

ASTYPALEAIA

Possible EC pieces (Pl. 44a:3, b:1; Pl. 44 d:2) and
one MC MP sherd (Ibid. Pl. 44a:7).

RHODES

Trianda:
Some sherds in Rhodes storerooms from recent excavations at Trianda looked of EC fabric.

These two sites produced one MH/MC sherd each.

Unprovenanced from Rhodes: Gazetteer 1979, 357.
Two duck vases alleged to be from Lakki and 'surroundings of Vati' respectively attributable to EB III (Acta Archaeologica 45 (1974), 135).

Karpathos and Kasos are not included in this list, since they have produced EC material but no M and LC.

They produced a Cycladic figurine purchased by Bent there.

Produced a holed fragment from a bowl resembling cheese-pots of GP type (Gazetteer 1979, 359). Knidos on the Anatolian coast produced also EC figurines.

For the Dodecanese one could notice a standard trend to change the strong Cyclado-Anatolian relations of the EBA to minoan relations in the end of MB and beginnings of LB I periods (cf Simpson and Lazenby, BSA 68 (1973), 170, who notice links with the Cyclades, Samos and Anatolia already from the last part of the Neolithic and first part of the EBA).

Cyclades seem first in establishing trade relations
with that part of the Aegean. On the other hand, however, two sites, Miletus and Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes, either did not provide any Cycladic material (Miletus) or very little (Rhodes) up to the moment. It is significant then that in these very areas, by the end of the MB period and LM Ia, Cretans create trade outposts, or at Trianda maybe even a colony. For the same picture in the W. Aegean cf Distribution of MC pottery in Mainland Greece, where there is a distinction between N.E. and S.E/W. Peloponnese. Kasos and Karpathos seem to belong also to the Minoan world from the end of the MB and the beginning of the LB period.
CHAPTER 3

DISTRIBUTION OF MC POTTERY ON THE GREEK MAINLAND

A review of Cycladic LB pottery found on the Greek Mainland can be found in R. Barber's Thesis (1978, Appendix IVB, 227). More sites have been added since by new excavations (i.e. Argos). Here only the evidence of Cycladic imports on the Mainland during the MBA has been concentrated. Aegina is not included in this list although the island does not belong to the Cyclades. For Cycladic imports in Aegina see the chapter on Aegina.

Argos: Aspis BCH 30, 1906.

Cycladic slipped and Burnished bowl with lug handle (Fig. 22). Matt-painted pithoi (Fig. 24, 26, 31). Open bowls with the characteristic geometric decoration in a band around rim (Figs. 27-30 cf Alt-Ägina III, Taf 119). Another open bowl (BCH 1978, Fig. 38).


Incised pottery and typical EC shapes like frying pans and pyxides showed a strong Cycladic influence during EBA. However, only four cists belonging to the MH period may possibly betray Cycladic influence while no other Cycladic features can be seen in the pottery of the MBA. The Arcadian MH pottery as that of Achaia shows a strong provincial character immune to other Cycladic or Minoan influences (cf G. Graziadio, Studi Micenei ed Ego-Anatolici, 68, 1978, 186).
The influence starts in the EC period, when Cycladic incised
ware sometimes white filled is found. For MC period the
pot in Fig. 200:5 with rosette decoration looks like
Cycladic White ware, although the shape would be peculiar
in the Cyclades. The influence continues in the LB (Ibid.
Fig. 202).

**Athens: Agora XIII, 1971.**
Besides the EC incised ware there are Red Burnished bowls
(Nos. 260-263) and perhaps a Matt-painted spouted bowl
(No. 328) of MC period. M. Pantelidou (1975, *Ai Proistorikai
Athinai*) published some EC material from tombs. Davis
(*Papers in Cycladic Prehistory, 1979, 153*) mentions another
three pieces which may be of MC/LC date.

"Sherd from Black and Red Style (?) bird jug, (Hansen 1937,
554, Fig. 10); Sherd from shoulder of closed vessel with
decoration in the Naturalistic style and a panelled cup"
(Dontas 1971, Pl. 39 gamma).

**Brauron: AAA 10, (1977), 272.**
Cycladic Matt-painted and Red Burnished sherds have been
found.

**Eleusis: Kourouniotis 1932, Eleusiniaka.**
The site provided EC incised ware (Ibid. Fig. 84) and
burnished ware (Ibid. Figs. 54-5). The local Matt-painted
ware has close cycladic parallels as the pithoi (Ibid.
Figs. 77-9) and the jar (Ibid. Fig. 80). One jug looks
like Cycladic White ware (Ibid. Fig. 76:226) hence a
direct Cycladic import.
Euboea: Manika, Chalkis, Amarynthos, Aliveri etc.


Apart from the minyan ware among the MP wares described by Howell, there are sherds described as Aeginetan Ware, which are commonest at Amarynthos and Manika, the latter being strongly influenced by the Cyclades as early as EH II. Generally contacts with Southern Aegean are considered responsible for the development of the MP wares, while the fine bichrome pottery in particular is in all probability related to Black and Red wares at Phylakopi (Ibid. 99). For recent EC evidence in Euboea (cf Calligas, 1984, 88).

Eutresis: H. Goldman, 1931, *Excavations at Eutresis*.

This site has mostly EC material like lids and duck vases but one sherd (Ibid. Fig. 211:5) bears a dotted rosette in the MC Matt-painted style, while a fragment of a Cycladic jug (Ibid. Fig. 242:1) may be a direct import.


Incised Cycladic pottery has been found in a MH context, but also Black and Red style bird jugs (Ibid. Pls. 31, i, k, l).

Korakou: C. Blegen 1921.

Besides the incised Cycladic pottery, MC burnished ware (Ibid. Fig. 25), Aeginetan influenced Matt-painted ware (Ibid. Figs. 29, 30, 38) and Cycladic influenced panelled cups (Ibid. Figs. 34:6, 11, 13) were found. A beaked
jug with breasts and spirals must be of LC I period (Ibid. Fig. 35:3).


Already in EC period imports from the Cyclades. In MC period many similarities with Aeginetan Matt-painted ware as the spouted bowl (Ibid. Pl. 8a) which is the exact parallel of an Aeginetan bowl (Alt-Ägina III₁, Taf 122, 433). Also a jar (Ibid. Pl. 8b), an askoid vase (Ibid. Pl. 11a) or a Matt-painted kantharos (Hesperia 25, Excavations at Lerna, 1956, Pl. 43b, cf Alt-Ägina III₁, Pl. 120, 434). Many direct imports from Aegina in Argos Museum storerooms (C. Zerner, personal communication).

The influence continues in the LBA (Davis 1979, 155).


Incised potmarks some on MH vases are similar to those at Phylakopi.


Black and Red style bird jug in MH context.

Mycenae: Mylonas, 1972, O taphikos Kyklos B ton Mykenon.

Matt-painted jars in Cycladic style (Ibid. Pl. 27α, β; Pl. 65β; Pl. 106γ:11): Pl. 113; Pl. 114α; Pl. 145α, β, γ; Pl. 171β).

Matt-painted panelled cups of Cycladic influence in shape or decoration (Ibid. Pl. 53β(1-2-3), γ; Pl. 115α(1,2).

Bird jugs from Thera (Ibid. Pl. 44α) or Melos (Ibid. Pl. 143α). Jugs with other decoration again from the Cyclades (Ibid. Pl. 44γ; Pl. 46β: Pl. 144) or of Cycladic influence (Ibid. Pl. 45α(1-2); Pl. 47γ) and a Bichrome Melian (?) ewer (Ibid. Pl. 127β(2)). Some of the minyan goblets may also be Cycladic imports, as it is also the case with some of the askoi (Ibid. Pl. 134γ, Pl. 206β).
Aeginetan matt-painted amphora is mentioned along with other Cycladic wares in the same context with Minyan and a fine Kamares sherd.

Thorikos: H. Mussche et al., 1966, Thorikos III. Cycladic material is reported (Ibid. Fig. 18) and one fragment belongs to a panelled cup (Ibid. Fig. 19).

Tiryns: Phylakopi I material AA 1982, 440-66, Fig. 73, but also Cycladic Bichrome imported mentioned (Tiryns V, 28).

An interesting aspect of Hellado-Cycladic exchange is the area of contact of each particular island with the mainland. This clearly shows that Minoans did not penetrate the Cyclades to create a buffer zone, at least not primarily for this reason. Apart from exploiting the metal and other resources of the islands themselves, the Minoans took advantage of the differentiated pottery trade of each island with the Greek Mainland according to each one's geographical placement opposite the Mainland coast. This consideration necessitated several minoanized posts for the prospect of Minoan penetration to the MH and later Mycenaean settlements.

In the Argolid, three island-agents are active. Most important is Aegina, then Melos and Thera. Lerna clearly has great similarities and direct imports from MC Aeginetan pottery. Mycenae produced bird jugs from Thera and Melos as well as Matt-painted decorated pottery attributable again to Melian/Theran style. Korakou and Argos may again show a stronger Aeginetan presence.

In Attica, it was mainly Keos and Aegina that participated
in the mercantile transactions. Although the evidence is meagre, Athens and Eleusis are maybe better placed for trading with Aegina, while Keos for trading with the E. Coast of Attica (Thorikos, Brauron, Marathon).

Some products from the Cyclades, such as Bichrome fine wares, might have been traded as luxury goods. Their distribution cannot be expected to be strictly localized, since it represented only a part of the whole amount of merchandise exchanged and could have travelled independently of the regular stuffs and raw material exchanged. In this sense the rather broad distribution of the Black and Red style pottery from Kirrha to Marathon and from Eutresis to Mycenae, must not be taken as a widening of Melo/Theran trade by the end of the MC beginning of the LC period. Keos (which imported bird jugs from Melos) and even Aegina (which had provided no bird jugs yet) could easily have been importing such items only for the purpose of re-exporting them.

We may still be a long way from making fine distinctions in the spheres of contact between the Cyclades and the Mainland. We have not yet been able to distinguish the clay difference, if any, between the Melian and Theran Cycladic White and Bichrome Ware. We have, however, identified the Melian Burnished ware clay (Hydra 1985, 1, 59-65) and there are clear distinctions between Keian and Aeginetan clay. When chemical analysis is further elaborated, and the different Cycladic workshops better understood, the MC exports on the Mainland and elsewhere will be a game of patchwork.
There seems however, an overall picture of intense trade during the MC period both inter-Cycladic and Mainland-Cycladic. The inter-Cycladic trade tends to decline in importance in the LC I period, when the links with Crete become stronger. On the other hand, the Mainland-Cycladic trade becomes more frequent.
APPENDIX II
CHAPTER 1
MM IMPORTS FOUND IN OTHER CYCLADIC ISLANDS, AEGINA AND SKYROS

Apart from the MM evidence described analytically for Thera, Melos, Kea and Paros, some MM pottery is found in other Cycladic settlements as well. Mikre Vigla on Naxos seems particularly important since apart from minoan, helladic and other islandic imports are reported (Arch. Rep. 1984-85, 25). Again from Naxos, from Aila (tomb 24) Papathanasopoulos has published (Deltion 17 (1961-62) Pls. 63-64) the pottery found there by Cl. Stephanos. The published pots consist of six straight walled cups plain or painted (with vertical or horizontal lines), one conical cup and a semiglobular cup. Cl. Stephanos mentions more pots as well as 'Kamares' ware. The pottery illustrated looks of local fabric (hence minoanizing) and of MM III/LM Ia date.

On Delos there are not many minoan imports. Among the finds of 'Theke' a conical cup (Delos V, Fig. 90), and a hole mouthed jar (Ibid., Fig. 91), possibly dating to MM III, are the most important. In 'Sema' many sherds resembling in style to EM III-MM pottery have also been found (BCH 1924, 258-9). Similar sherds have been reported from the Artemission (Gallet de Santerre, 1958, Pl. XI 20d, h).

On MYKONOS a conical cup comes from Palaiokastro (BCH 88 (1964) 556, Fig. 17:10).
From Aegina 'ca 140 whole and fragmentary MM vases' are in the process of being published (Rutter-Zerner 1984, 81, App. IIIB2). The number is rather big for a mainly helladic settlement, no matter how prosperous, and it may of be that some are helladic/local imitations MM wares.

From the sherds published by Welter (AA 40, 1925, 319, Fig. 4) three motives are prominent. The rosette with painted leaves, the pendant foliate band and the rosette in a circle. Some of these sherds may belong to the same pot and all may be dated into MM IIa-IIb period (cf PM I, Fig. 198a, 199a). The only earlier evidence (MM Ia), two unpublished barbotine cup rims (R 168, 222), one of a type well represented at Lerna and Kastri on Kythera (cf Rutter-Zerner 1984, 81, App. IIIB1), and hence, may not be true imports, since MM Ia is extremely rare in the Aegean islands.

Parlama (1984) has published three cups, two straight-walled and one carinated, from Skyros, Atsitsa (Parlama 1984, Fig. 16).
CHAPTER 2
MIDDLE MINOAN/IZING POTTERY IN EAST AEgeAN

Here apart from Rhodes, which I have examined personally, I will refer to the pottery as described by the different excavators with the reservation that some of the material, referred to as MM, might be light-on-dark ware of local character, characteristic particularly of the Seraglio settlement on Kos, and only indirectly influenced by MM wares (cf. An. St. XXXII (1982), 33-41, for catalogue of light-on-dark sherds in E. Aegean).

SAMOS

Tigani; Kastro (Pythagoreio): AM 60/61 (1935-6), Pl. 49:1, 2. Two light-on-dark sherds of MB/LB I context;
(Ibid. Pl. 52:2, 3.) Carinated cup and/or bowl dating to MM I-MM III;
(Ibid. Pl. 70:4, 5.) Bridge spouted jar fragments of MB/LB I context;
An. St. XXXII (1982), 38, Fig. 2. MM I egg cup rim fragment found in the collection of the American School in Athens.

For the moment all the evidence from Heraion is of EB date. However, it is worth mentioning this amphora with barbotine decoration in EB context;
(Ibid. Pl. 13:1-2.) Ewers with flaring rim and round handled in the middle of the neck of EB date, similar to those from MC strata at Ialysos, Rhodes;
decoration, probably an import from Crete in EB period.

MILETUS

*Ist Mitt IX-X (1959-60), Pl. 33,1.* A MM II polychrome cup fragment imported from Crete. The only import. The rest of the evidence belongs to Light-on-Dark sherds.

Weichert (1940) in *Bericht über den VI Internationalen Kongress für Aichäologie, 'Grabungen in Milet 1938', 325, Pl. 24:1.*

Light-on-Dark sherd from unstratified context. *Ist Mitt VII (1957), 102, Pl. 28:3,* underneath 'House I' which consist of disjointed walls' maybe not of one phase.

*Ist Mitt IX-X (1959-60), 4, Pl. 8:1* in LBA context;

*Ist Mitt IX-X (1959-60), 31, Pl. 32:3b* and Pl. 34.

Again Light-on-Dark material associated with MB and LB pottery: *Ist Mitt IX-X (1959-60), 63, Pl. 69* in LBA levels.

IASOS

Laviosa (1978), *Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 'Les fouilles de Iasos', Fig. 13.* Light-on-Dark sherd with foliate band motif probably of MBA and conical cups.

There is also mention of polychrome ware in Kamares style which is not illustrated;

Levi 1972, *Annuario 47-8, 461, Figs. 30-2.* Light-on-Dark sherds probably of MBA;

Ibid. Fig. 31 conical cups.
KALYMNOS

Vathy Cave: Cl. Rh 1, 1926, 114.

Sherds 'del tipo di Camares'.

KOS

Serraglio:

Ann 50-1 (1975), 139-396.

Figs. 265-99. 200 unstratified pieces of Light-on-Dark ware.

(Ibid. Fig. 60r). Ewer of MM III date found insitu.

(Ibid. Fig. 611). Unstratified jug with trefoil mouth possibly of similar date.

(Ibid. Fig. 77). Light-on-Dark pithos; Fig. 88, Light-on-Dark jug, both possibly of Anatolian shape and minoan inspired decoration.


Fig. 1. Straight walled cups of MM IIIA style with Light-on-Dark decoration.

(Ibid. Fig. 2). Shallow imported saucer in MM IIB-III A shape.


Carinated cups of MM III date.

KNIDOS

AJA 1978, 321.

Sherds presented by Love in a Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America are described probably of MM I date (cf Davis An. St. XXXII (1982) 39) ranging down to LM I period. They include fine and coarse ware.
TELOS

AAA XIII, 1980, 68-73, Figs. 2-5.

A. Sampson reports conical cups of MM types.

RHODES

This island provides abundant evidence of close relation with Crete already from MM Ia period.

Trianda: Monaco 1941, Cl. Rh X, 41-183, Fig. 5:1.

High-necked jug of MM Ia date.

(Ibid. Fig. 5:2). Hole-mouthed jar of similar date.


Plot Papavasileiou:

A carinated cup of MM III date in local fabric.

A straight walled cup of same clay and date.

Plot Bourni:

A peg top rhyton covered in red slip of MM III period.

Sherds of carinated cups of similar date.

Plot Theochari:

(L. Papazoglou unpublished) Conical cups, beaked jug, carinated cup, trefoil mouthed jug, a Light-on-Dark sherd.

Mt. Philerimos near Profitis Elias Church:

High-necked jugs with plastic ring at the base of the neck of MM Ia date (cf example published by Monaco 1941, Fig. 5:1).

High-necked ewers with trumpet-rim of similar date (cf Monaco 1941, Fig. 5:3).

Carinated cups of early type (MM I) with high upper body and angular carination. Characteristic dark wash.
The pottery evidence continues in Minoan style all through the LB period and up to LM IIIB. Thereafter the evidence is not yet clear.

Ialysos: Thalassocracy 1984, 93-105, Figs. 5, 9-12:
10907-10910 four carinated cups of MM IB/IIA.
10904-10906 three bridged-spouted jars of MM I and II period.
10903 high spouted jug of MM I date.

KARPATHOS

Pigadhia: BICS 30 (1983), 53-9, Fig. 2, (and Melas 1985).
Occupation from MM II to LM Ia period (Fig. 2), possibly some EM too.
Afiartis plain, Arkassa region on the south show abundant LM occupation but some sherds from Asomati, Leftoporos go back to the MM period.

KASOS

Chelatros Bay: BICS 30 (1983), 55, Fig. 3.
CHAPTER 3

MM POTTERY FOUND ON THE GREEK MAINLAND

Here only the real imports are considered (since the corpus of minoanizing pottery is enormous). A catalogue of 'minoica' on the Greek Mainland is given by J. Rutter and C. Zerner (1984, 81-82). The pottery evidence presented here is selected from there plus two sherds from Tiryns and one more sherd from Euboea.

Amarynthos: BSA 61(1966), 99, Fig. 22:123, MM III? import.

Argos: Aspis: MM IB-II/MH II.
W. Vollgraff 'Fouilles d'Argos', BCH 30, 1906, Fig. 68, stone.

MM IB-II/MH II, Fig. 192:1.
MM III?, Figs. 191:2-11, Fig. 192:2-3.

MM IA/MH I, No. 1, Figs. 36-7? Handled pedestalled goblet.

Ibid. 233, HS 31, Pl. 45b, polychrome cup.
Ibid. 257, HS 96, Pl. 49d.1, polychrome painted bowl.

MM IB/MH II Taylor (supra).
Ibid. 216, HS 18, Fig. 8, one handled cup.
Ibid. 219-20, HS 21-22, Fig. 12:1-2, Pl. 41h, one handled cup and spouted bowl.
Ibid. 224, HS 25-26, Pl. 43c, jug and Vapheio cup.
Ibid. 234, HS 32, Pls. 45c-d, jar.
Ibid. 257, HS 98, Pl. 49c, fragments of jar.
Ibid. 265, Figs. 37:15, 38:1-4, 9, white on black decorated sherds.
Rutter and Rutter (Supra).
Ill. 7, Pl. 1, Fig. 1.
Ills. 8-9, Pls. II-III, Figs. 4-5.
Dendra: A. Perrson 1942, New Tombs at Dendra near Midea, 15, Fig. 6:5, (MM III?).
Euboea: BSA 61 (1966), 99, Mention of a MM Ia sherd without reference to specific site (Manika, Amarynthos, Lefkandi or Psahna?).

Eutresis:
Thalassocracy 1984, 81, Appendix IIB5.
Iokos: MM Ib-II/MH II
Thalassocracy 1984, 82, Appendix III6.

Lerna: MM Ia/MH I
Hesperia 25, 1956, 160, Pl. 43c, pedestalled goblet.
MM Ib-II/MH II.
Hesperia 23, 1954, Pls. 8c-e, jug, bowl, cup, polychrome.
Hesperia 25, 1956, Pl. 43a, fragment of polychrome jug.
Hesperia 26, 1957, Pl. 43c and quantity of unpublished material.

Mycenae: MM Ib-II/MH II
Prehistoric Cemetery Grave 25: A. Wace 'Mycenaean Life and Death' ILN 221, 1952, 718-21, Fig. 4 left.
Nichoria: MM III?
W. McDonald, Hesperia 41, 1972, 257-258.

Pavlopetri: MM III?
Figs. 14:18, 22, neck of amphora or ewer and rim of hole-mouthed jar.

Plasi: MM III?

Pefkakia: MM Ib-II/MH II
V. Milojcic, Deltion 28, 1973, Chron., 340, Pl. 303c, second row, 2nd and 4th sherds from left. Other pottery also.

Tiryns: Tiryns V, Taf 11: 2 left, 3 left, MM III(?) body sherds with spiral decoration in the light-on-dark style.

THE INFLUENCE OF MIDDLE MINOAN POTTERY ON THE CYCLADES

by

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A Thesis submitted to the University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology

Volume II

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Figure 35 No. 392  Red Burnished Hole-mouthed Jar
Figure 35 Nos. 397-399  MM Jug Sherds from Phylakopi
Figure 36  MM Jug from Phylakopi
Figure 37 No. 405  'Kamares' figurine from Phylakopi
Figure 37 No. 402  'Minoanizing' Oval-mouthed Amphora from Phylakopi
A. Dark Faced and Incised Ware


B. Red Slipped and Burnished Ware


C. Patterned Ware with Geometric Design and Coated Ware with No Decoration


8. (FM4866): Bowl with incurved rim. H.0,057. Rim D.0,143. Unpublished. Plate 2. Whole pot notably originally covered by dark slip. (cf. Phylakopi, XXXIII 1-2; Keos Pt. II, Fig. 6, C; Paros, AM 1917, Fig. 15; AAA 1982, Pl. 11, 36)


Early MC to Mature MC Period Pottery

11. (FM4859): Jug with channelled spout. H.0,226. Body D.0,107. Unpublished. Plate 3, Fig. 1. Elongated body, slightly raised base, long spout, neck drawn backwards. Handle from shoulder to just below the rim. Decoration of dotted rosettes divided by vertical line. Upper and lower limit of decoration marked by rock pattern. Three horizontal bands around the base, filled semicircle band around the neck. Eye and edge of spout painted. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XIV 1-6; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D62-63)

12. (FM4863): Jug with channelled spout. H.0,21. D.0,095. Unpublished. Plate 3. Handle from body to rim. Spout raised almost vertically. Slightly raised base. Decoration of double lozenges and S-spirals alternately placed on the body. Three horizontal bands around the neck and lower body. (cf. AAA 1982, Pl. 9, 31; Aberg 1933, Fig. 227)

14. (FM4867): Hole mouthed pot. H. 0.105. Unpublished. Plate 4, Fig. 2. Globular body, slightly raised base, handles drawn outwards, spout raised. Decoration of linked and detached spirals on the upper part of the body. Rock pattern and wavy band on the lower part of the body and rock pattern around the rim. Three horizontal bands around the base and painted eye on the spout. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Pl. 87, ElI for shape)


EC IIIB/Early MC Period Pottery from Fire Deposit
(Thera III, 19-24)

21. Broad mouthed jar (Thera III, Fig. 2).
   Horizontally placed handles. Impressed cross like sign and two additional lines
   framed in a square and placed on the body in between the handles.
   (cf. AM 1917, Pl. 74)

22. Barrel jar (Thera III, Fig. 4).
   Biconical body, narrow mouth, vertically pierced lug handles. Decoration in upper
   body of lozenges drawn in double lines with hatching in between and vertical strokes
   in the centre of each lozenge.
   (cf. Kirrha, Pl. XXXVIII)

23. (FM582): Bowl. H.0,062. Rim D.0,137 x 0,142.
   (Thera III, Fig. 5 right). Plate 5, Fig. 3.
   (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXIII^_2)

24. Bowl. Rim D.0,225. (Thera III, Fig. 5 left).
   Same shape as No. 23.(FM582).

   Rim D.0,078. (Thera III, Fig. 6). Plate 5.
   (cf. AAA 1982, 98, Pl. 11, Φ5; Emergence, Pl. 16^_1)

   D.0,09. (Thera III, Fig. 6). Plate 5.
   Same as above.

27. (FM584): Cylindrical handleless cup. H.0,083.
   D.0,093. (Thera III, Fig. 6). Plate 5.
   Same as above. No knob.

   Same as above. No knob.

   D.0,091. Unpublished. Plate 5, Fig. 3.
   Same as above. No knob.

30. (FM590): Jarlet. H.0,064. (Thera III, Fig. 8 left).
   Plate 5.
   Lug handles with two holes vertically
pierced. Handmade.  
(cf. Tsepi (Marathon); AAA 1970, 366, Fig. 31)

31. Jarlet. (Thera III, Fig. 8 right). Same as above.

32.(FM594): Jarlet. H.0,05. (Thera III, Fig. 8 centre). Plate 5. Lug handles with one hole pierced horizontally. Handmade. (cf. AAA 1982, 99, Pl. 11, φ7)


Late MC Period Pottery

Dating is based on the stylistic analysis of the pottery apart from pots like 35, 36, 37, 97, etc., which were found stratified underneath LC I floors.

Provenance (Prov.) is described, when certain, and date is given only when different from MC period.

All the material is unpublished unless otherwise indicated.

Sherds follow the shape categorization unless they bear bird motives or cannot be attributed to any particular shape and hence are again grouped according to their decoration.

A. Bichrome Ware

I. Bird motif

35.(FM5915): Bird jug. H.0,155. Plate 6, Fig. 4. Complete apart from beak of spout and parts of the body. Globular body, neck tilted backwards, small flat handle from rim to
shoulder, flat base. Fine buff clay and
burnished orange/buff outer surface.
Decoration in matt black, orange red and
white. The main body motif is the typi-
cally Theran swallow. The plastic breasts
are painted black and are surrounded by
a dotted circle. The neck is decorated
by a broad black band with a superimposed
white wavy line. Above and below this
orange/red lines a dotted black line
higher up on the neck and an eye painted
on either side of the spout. Two horizon-
tal black lines around the base.
Prov.: West House, Room 3\. sounding beneath
floor.

Part of the body and the neck missing.
Shape as No. 35. Decoration similar but
roughly executed.
Prov.: Same as above.

Part of the spout and the body missing.
Shape as No. 35. Decoration of couples of
swallows on the body roughly executed.
The remaining decoration the same as on
the above two jugs.
Prov.: Same as above.

P.W.0,067. Plate 7.
Thin walled fragment of buff clay. Black
band with superimposed white line on the
upper end and dotted line on the lower. Two
red lines underneath.
Prov.: Sounding A.

Plate 7.
Same fine clay homogeniously baked. Same
neck decoration.
Prov.: As above.

40. Neck fragment of bird jug. H.0,06. P.W.0,02.
Plate 7.
Same as sherds 38 and 39.
Prov.: As above.

Plate 7.
Only the traces of the two red lines close
to the neck are preserved.
Prov.: As above.


49. (FM503): Body fragment of jug. H.0,06. P.W.0,06. (Thera II, Fig. 30). Plate 8. Head of swallow. Black band with superimposed white dots and one red line above and below. Date: MC III/LC I. Prov.: Arvaniti 1 and 3. (cf. Thera II, Fig. 2, 28-29, Pl. A; VI, Pl. 74a; VII, Pl. 47c)


II. Goat motif

52. (FM4363): Body fragment of closed pot. H.0,09. P.W.0,099. Plate 8, Fig. 18.
Goat's head in black. Crocus flower in red with black stamens and leaves. Alternating black and red bands around the neck on the upper edge of the sherd.

Date: MC III/LC I. (cf. Thera VI, Pl. 80-81; Aberg 1933, Fig. 237)

III. Bands and Disks

53. Body sherd. H.0,06. P.W.0,05. Plate 8. Bands in red with narrower black bands, which bear dotted white additional lines.


57. Base fragment. H.0,11. Base D.0,09. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 8, Fig. 5. It belongs to big closed vessel. Red and black bands cover the body alternately, with white lines marking their borders. Near the bottom reserved buff zone bears the decoration of ripples.

Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX)


Prov.: Sounding A.

59. Neck fragment of jug(?). H.0,03. P.W.0,046. Plate 8, Fig. 5. Red and black bands.

Prov.: Sounding A.


Prov.: Sounding A.

IV. Advanced floral and other Motives

61. Body sherd. H.0,097. P.W.0,077. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 9. Black loop and red band around the neck.

Prov.: Sounding A.
62. Body sherd. H.0,044. P.W.0,036. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 9.
Decoration of relief ivy zone in black, with red dot in the centre of each ivy leaf.
Black and red bands above.
Date: MC III/LC I.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XVIII15; Keos V, Pl. 461C19)

63. Rim sherd of tuber(?). H.0,028. P.W.0,092.
(Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 9.
Reed pattern in black and red alternately.
Date: MC III/LC I.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XIX9-10)

64. Body sherd of closed pot. H.0,061. P.W.0,036. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b).
Plate 9.
Red and black painted reed or floral band.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX16)

65. Base fragment of straight walled cup.
H.0,0411. P.W.0,025. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8c). Plate 9, Fig. 5.
Plastic ring covered with orange band. On the lower body reserved buff zone with black crescents. Inside orange slip.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXV10)

(Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 9.
Red band from which hangs grape motif in black.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Thera III, Pl. 56,; VI, Pl. 79a for continuation of grape motif)

67. Body sherd. H.0,07. P.W.0,094. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b). Plate 9.
Flower motif in red with stems in black (crocus?).
Prov.: Sounding A.

68. Rim of bowl or saucer. H.0,038. P.W.0,03. Plate 9, Fig. 5.
Broad oblique lines alternately in black and red.

Red chevrons in between vertical black strokes. Black band at the carination.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXIII4, 14)
70. Body sherd. H.0,082. P.W.0,08. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Two red disks surrounded by black circles. In the outer spaces dotted circles in black. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX_5; Keos V, Pl. 64:AP5)

71. Body sherd. H.0,055. P.W.0,085. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Line of big black dots and black ball with lighter circumference connected with black wavy line to another missing motif (pomegranate tree?). Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Marthari 1984, Fig. 8d; Phylakopi, Pl. XXXI_4)

72. Body sherd. H.0,03. P.W.0,036. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Red ball with additional black element (pomegranate?). Prov.: Sounding A.

73. Body sherd. H.0,034. P.W.0,045. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Black wavy line in between red motives (disks?). Prov.: Sounding A.

74. Body sherd. H.0,034. P.W.0,024. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Red disk with black circle around. Prov.: Sounding A.

75. Body sherd. H.0,065. P.W.0,054. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Black dots, red disk and black line (pomegranate?). Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. No. 71 for references)

76. Body sherd. H.0,055. P.W.0,035. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Two red disks one of which has 'pomegranate top' in black. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX_14)

77. Body sherd. H.0,04. P.W.0,05. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Zig zag black line and red similar band below. Prov.: Sounding A.

78. Body sherd. H.0,035. P.W.0,025. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9. Red disk with black petals. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX_13; Keos IV, Pl. 45:A9)
79. Body sherd. H.0,06. P.W.0,055. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 9.
Red horizontal line from which black leaves spring.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XX\textsubscript{16}; Keos V, Pl. 45:A8)

80. Neck fragment of jar or jug. H.0,064. P.W.0,061. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8b).
Plate 10.
Decoration of black and red bands with superimposed white dots and dashes.
Prov.: Sounding A.

81. Neck of jug (bird jug?). H.0,052. P.W.0,05. Plate 10.
Brown/red band with superimposed wavy white line. Black zone on the upper edge of this band with additional white dotted line.

82. Neck of jug. H.0,051. P.W.0,044. Plate 10, Fig. 5.
Red band, black band with superimposed white dots. Part of another motif in black (spiral?).

Black band with superimposed white dots. Red zone in between.
Prov.: Sounding A.

Black wavy line around the base. Double black line and red band above.
Prov.: Xestè 3, Room 2.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XIV\textsubscript{2})

V. Dotted cups or bowls

85. Base fragment. H.0,016. Base D.0,054. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8c). Plate 10, Fig. 5.
Orange line around the base, black band with additional white dots above, white line on top. Interior orange slip. Maybe base covered by orange slip initially.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. PM I, Fig. 298; BSA 74, Fig. 18:95-98 for dotted cups; No. 97 for complete example)

Same decoration as sherd No. 85.

87. Rim fragment. H.0,033. P.W.0,052. Plate 10, Fig. 5.
Red band around the flaring rim. Black band with additional white dots on the body. Orange slip inside.


91. Rim fragment. H.0,02. P.W.0,052. Plate 10. Orange band on the rim, black zone with additional white dots below and horizontal orange lines underneath.


94. Rim fragment. H.0,029. P.W.0,034. Plate 10, Fig. 5. Brown slip on the rim with white dots and horizontal brown lines below.


96. Ring fragment. H.0,027. P.W.0,027. Plate 10. Orange band around the rim and brown with additional white dots below.

VI. Dotted pedestalled cup

97.(FM5914): Pedestalled cup in the shape of panelled cup. H.0,088. D.0,111. Base D.0,048. Plate 11. Almost complete. Orange slip on the interior. Orange band on the rim and the base on the outside. Black band with two dotted lines in white just under the rim band and broad body zone in black with relief foliate band (ivies?) reserved in buff colour. Additional horizontal lines in white below. Prov.: West House, Sounding beneath the floor of Room 3F, 1984. (cf. for decoration Keos V, Pl.ô46:C19; for syntax of decoration and shape Aberg 1933, Fig. 221)
B. Cycladic White

I. Bird Motif

98. (FM502): Body sherd of jug. H.0,077. P.W.0,06. (Thera II, Fig. 30). Plate 11, Fig. 6. Buff smooth outer surface with fine slip. Head and neck of bird in outline. Multiple lines above the head maybe from feather of another bird. Prov.: Bronos 2, 1969. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXI9, 12)


100. (FM4851): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,053. P.W.0,04. Plate 11, Fig. 6. Bird's head and multiple lines above bird's head maybe from feather of another bird. Similar to fragment 98. Prov.: Xestê 3, Room 6, 1979. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXI9, 12)


102. (FM3535): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,039. P.W.0,037. Plate 11, Fig. 6. Bird's head in outline. Prov.: Complex Delta, Room 16.

103. (FM3531): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,04. P.W.0,049. Plate 11, Fig. 6. Bird's head and filled semicircles above. Prov.: Complex Delta, outside Room A9γ.

104. (FM500): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,06. P.W.0,07. (Thera II, Fig. 30). Plate 12, Fig. 7. Bird's head and feather of another above it. Prov.: Arvaniti 1 and 3.

105. (FM505): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,085. P.W.0,09. Plate 12, Fig. 7. Spirals on the upper part probably decorating the neck of vase and bird's neck, feather and part of the body underneath. Prov.: Bronos 2, 1969. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXI1)
Plate 12.
Rock motif on the rim and bird's head below.
Orange slip inside.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XVI, 4)

107. (FM4362): Body sherd of jug(?). H.0,034. P.W.0,03.
Plate 12, Fig. 7.
Bird's body(?).
Prov.: Complex Delta.

108. (FM495): Body sherd. H.0,037. P.W.0,038. (Thera IV,
Pl. 96a). Plate 12, Fig. 7.
Bird's head in outline.
Prov.: Bronos 2, Room 4b.

109. (FM4272): Body sherd. H.0,001. P.W.0,002. Plate 12,
Fig. 7.
Bird's head in outline.
Prov.: West House, Room 5, Basement.

110. (FM4686): Body sherd. H.0,022. P.W.0,045. (Marthari
1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 12, Fig. 7.
Bird's head painted with compact paint.

Bird's feather.

Bird's feather painted with lustrous black
paint on a burnished orange surface.
(may be Helladic cf. AAA 7, 1974, 416-22)

113. Body fragment of cup. H.0,025. P.W.0,05.
Plate 7.
Tail and feather of bird(?) orange slip
outside.

II. Feeding Bottle

114. Rim fragment. Rim D.0,06. Plate 12.
Three groups of multiple semicircles inscribed
on the rim.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Keos Pt. II, Pl. 88, E24)

114a. Funnel spout probably from same pot.
L.0,045. Plate 12.
Two bands around the base of the spout and
two lines of small dashes on top.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. No. 114 for references)
III. Jars of unknown shape

115. Rim fragment. H.0.05. P.W.0.045. Plate 12. Plastic ribs and on the flat surfaces between the ribs linked dot motif. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XVII 8 for motif)

115a. Body sherd. H.0.115. P.W.0.085. Plate 12. Maybe from same pot as No. 115 but not joining. A part of the sherd has plastic ribs and linked dot motif. On a flat surface above the angle of a rectangular motif partly hatched. Prov.: Pit 48. (cf. No. 115 for references)


IV. Panelled Cup


118. (FM5913): Panelled cup. H.0.088. P.W.0.123. Base D.0.047. Plate 13, Fig. 8. Complete apart from handle and small parts of rim. Wavy band around the rim, spiral on the body and vertical petal-like lines underneath. Prov.: West House Soundings, Room 3F, 1984. (cf. No. 117 for references and Keos V, Pl. 33:AC1 for motif)


120. Rim fragment. H.0.065. P.W.0.085. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 13, Fig. 9. Rock pattern on the rim and curvilinear wavy lines underneath. Line around the rim on the interior. Prov.: Sounding A.

122. Rim fragment. H.0,03. P.W.0,027. Plate 13. Rock pattern on the rim and curvilinear motif below. Prov.: Sounding A.

123. Base fragment. H.0,045. Base D.0,046. Plate 13, Fig. 9. Horizontal band around the base and vertical line of panel with another two horizontal lines inside. Prov.: Sounding A.

124. Base fragment. H.0,045. Base D.0,05. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 13. Black horizontal band around the base and two groups of double lines inside the panel. Prov.: Sounding A.


135. Body sherd. H.0,05. P.W.0,045. (Thera I, Fig. 72, where more sherds from same pot preserved). Plate 14. Similar surface treatment as sherd 128. (FM4360). Prov.: Bronos 2. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XVIIg)


139. Body sherd of open vase (panelled?). H.0,035. P.W.0,052. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 14. Fine buff slip on the outside and orange slip on the interior. Two linked loops drawn to opposite directions and hatched in their upper part. Motif exclusive to Thera. Prov.: Sounding A.

140. Body sherd. H.0,038. P.W.0,039. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 14. Fish tail(?) motif. Prov.: Sounding A.

141. Body fragment of open vase (panelled?). H.0,053. P.W.0,042. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 14.
Quirk pattern in black thick paint.  
Prov.: Sounding A.  
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXII\textsubscript{4})

142.  
Body sherd with handle attachment (panelled?).  
H.0,03.  P.W.0,037.  Plate 14.  
Some curvilinear decoration with dot motif in centre.  
Prov.: Xesté 3, Room 11.

143.  
Base fragment.  H.0,033.  P.W.0,047.  
Plate 14, Fig. 9.  
Band around the base and rock motif above.  
Prov.: Xesté 3, Room 11.

144.  
Base fragment.  H.0,036.  Base D.0,04.  
(Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b).  Plate 14.  
Horizontal lines in a panel just above the base band.  
Prov.: Sounding A.

145.  
Base fragment.  H.0,023.  Base D.0,037.  
Plate 14, Fig. 9.  
Band around the base and rock pattern and dash above.  
Prov.: Xesté 3, Room 11.  
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XVI\textsubscript{1}; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 91, F25, 27)

146.  
Body fragment with handle attachment.  H.0,057.  
P.W.0,039.  (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b).  
Plate 14.  
Oblique lines starting from a band around handle.  Orange slip inside.  
Prov.: Sounding A.

147.  
Handle of cup (panelled?).  H.0,022.  
P.W.0,019.  Plate 14.  
Hook motif in outline.  
Prov.: Sounding A.

V. Cycladic Cups

148.  
Hanging loop motif on the rim and two horizontal bands on the body.  Dark slip inside.  
Prov.: Sounding A.  
(cf. Keos V, Pl. 55:U67)

149.  
Filled loop motif on the rim and horizontal band underneath.  Orange slip inside.  
Prov.: Sounding A.  
(cf. No. 148 for references)


VI. Closed Vases

157. (FM4364): Body fragment (jug?). H.0,067. P.W.0,058. Plate 15, Fig. 19. Grape motif. Horizontal band on upper part. Prov.: Bronos 1a. (cf. Thera III, Pl. 56, for LC I grape and No. 66. (FM4372) for MC bichrome ware with same motif)

159. Spout fragment of beaked jug. L.0,049. Plate 15, Fig. 9. Edge of beak broken. Painted eye in brown colour. Prov.: Xeste 3, Room 11. (cf. Comparanda as above)


162. Body sherd of big vessel. H.0,079. P.W.0,054. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15. Vertical wavy line and fish tail (?). Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. No. 140 for motif)

163. Base fragment of beaked jug. H.0,035. P.D.0,08. Plate 15. Wavy line in compact black paint. Not certain whether it belongs to Bichrome or Cycladic White jug. (cf. No. 84; Phylakopi, Pl. XIV.)

164. Base fragment of beaked jug. H.0,03. P.W.0,04. Plate 15. Wavy line motif. (cf. Comparanda as above)


166. Body sherd. H.0,03. P.W.0,052. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15. Surface worn out. Horizontal lines. Prov.: Sounding A.

167. Body fragment of small closed pot. H.0,06. P.W.0,065. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15. Interior very rough. Black band on the upper and lower edge. Hook motif in outline. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. No. 147)
168. Body sherd. H.0,061. P.W.0,054. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15.
Circle from which horizontal lines start.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Keos V, Pl. 54:V-61 for motif)

169. Body sherd. H.0,048. P.W.0,036. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7c). Plate 15.
Linked disk motif.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. No. 70 for disks in bichrome ware)

170. Body sherd. H.0,068. P.W.0,058. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15.
Pomegranate motif.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. No. 76 for same motif in bichrome ware)

171. Handle of jug. P.H.0,07. W.0,047. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 9). Plate 15, Fig. 19.
Vetch motif.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Thera VI, Pl. 73b right)

VII. In and Out bowls or cups

172. Base fragment. P.W.0,035. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7b). Plate 15.
Rosette motif in outline.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Phylakopi, 112, Fig. 82)

Preserved only circular line.
Prov.: Sounding A.

VIII. Hemispherical Cups

Thin wavy band on the rim and slip inside.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. BSA 17, Pl. XIII:88; Thera IV, Pl. 76b for shape)

Wavy band on the rim, orange slip inside.
Prov.: Sounding A.

176. Rim sherd. H.0,024. P.W.0,03. Plate 15.
Wavy line on the rim, orange slip inside.
Prov.: Xesté 3, Room 11.

Wavy line on the rim.
Prov.: Xesté 3, Room 11.
IX. Jars with outturned flat rim


182. Rim sherd. H.0,045. P.W.0,116. Plate 16, Fig. 9. Semicircles on the rim deleted. Wavy line on the neck with superimposed white dashes. Maybe this sherd not typical Cycladic White but of LC I style. Prov.: Pit?

183. Rim sherd. H.0,03. P.W.0,07. Plate 16, Fig. 9. Semicircles on the rim with dot in the intersection. Dotted line underneath the rim on the neck. Prov.: Pit?

X. Jug


C. Burnished Ware

Sherds Nos. 185-216 and pots 217 and 242 belong to the Red Burnished fabric. Sherds Nos. 218-241 and pot No. 309 belong to the Black Burnished Ware.
I. Jugs

185. (FM0543): Part of the neck. H.0,067. Neck D.0,102. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Red slip outside and inside in a band. Plastic ring on the neck. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Pl. 85, D78-83; Pl. 91, Fl8; Melos, Barber forthcoming; BSA 74, Fig. 16:8)


188. Base fragment. H.0,098. Base D.0,063. Plate 17. Red slip on the outside only. Prov.: Sounding A.

II. Rhyta?

189. Rim fragment. H.0,042. P.W.0,09. Plate 17, Fig 10. Burnished red slip outside and around a band on the inside. Rim flat with ledge. Prov.: Sounding A.

190. Rim fragment. H.0,04. P.W.0,03. Plate 17. Shape and decoration as above. Prov.: Sounding A.

191. Rim fragment. H.0,04. P.W.0,06. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 17, Fig. 10. As above. Prov.: Sounding A.

192. (FM0540): Rim fragment. H.0,06. P.W.0,05. Plate 17, Fig. 10. As above. Prov.: Sounding A.

III. Jars

193. Rim fragment of hole mouthed pot. H.0,05. P.W.0,084. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Red slip on the outside where rim forms ledge. (cf. BSA 17, Pl. VII:148, 210; Barber forthcoming; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 87, Ell for hole mouthed pot with plain rim)
194. (FM0546): Rim fragment of open jar. H.0,11. P.W.0,17. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Red slip on outer surface. Interior rough. Plastic ribs start just under the ledge of the rim which is broken. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 6, C21)

195. Rim of small jar. H.0,055. P.W.0,043. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Slip outside. Groove just under rim. Prov.: Sounding A.

196. (FM0546): Rim fragment. H.0,056. P.W.0,094. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 17, Fig. 10. Slip only on outside. Rim is flat and turns inwards. Small proturbance on the outside walls. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Barber forthcoming)

IV. Cups or Conical Rhyta

197. (FM0540): Rim fragment. H.0,053. P.W.0,053. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 17, Fig. 10. Burnished red slip on the outer surface. Inner surface rough. Traces of slip in a wide band around the rim. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Kythera, Pl. 23, 17-19, dep. ε)

198. Rim of fragment. H.0,03. P.W.0,032. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Red slip on both sides. Pronounced flaring rim. Prov.: Sounding A.

199. Rim fragment. H.0,03. P.W.0,052. Plate 17, Fig. 10. Thick walls. Deep red slip on both sides. Small flaring rim. Prov.: Sounding A.

V. Cups or bowls with white painted motives


201. Body sherd. H.0,053. P.W.0,035. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 17. Red slip on both sides. White reed motif. Prov.: Sounding A.
VI. Saucer

202. Rim fragment. H.0,027. P.W.0,047. Plate 17, Fig. 11. Burnished red slip on both sides. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Melos, Barber forthcoming)

VII. Basins

203. (FM0633): Rim fragment. H.0,062. P.W.0,185. Plate 18, Fig. 11. Burnished red slip on the inside, dark brown on the outside. Rim turned inwards. (cf. Melos, Barber forthcoming)


205. Rim fragment. H.0,046. P.W.0,10. Plate 18, Fig. 11. Mottled red/brown slip on both sides. Burnished only on the outside. Relief leaf decoration on the rim and white painted decoration on the inside of filled semi-circles and curvilinear motives.

206. Rim fragment. H.0,045. P.W.0,085. Plate 18, Fig. 11. Burnished red slip on the inside and outside. Rim as Nos. 203-4.

207. Base fragment. H.0,034. P.W.0,062. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18. Brown/black slip on the outside, red on the inside. Curvilinear white painted motives on the inner walls. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXX23, Fig. 112-5)

208. Rim fragment. H.0,072. W.0,09. Plate 18, Fig. 11. Black slip on the outside, red on the inside. Rim as Nos. 203-4.

209. (FM0542): Rim fragment. H.0,03. P.W.0,028. Plate 18, Fig. 11. Burnished red on both sides. Rim as Nos. 203-4.

VIII. Cycladic Cups

210. (FM0542): Rim fragment with lug handle partly preserved. H.0,046. P.W.0,10. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18. Red slip on both sides. White vertical
strokes on the rim and wide horizontal bands on the body painted in white. Above the lug handle filled semicircles.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. No. 217 for references)

211. Rim fragment. H.0,048. P.W.0,088.
(Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18.
Red slip on both sides.
Prov.: Sounding A.

212. Base fragment. H.0,057. Base D.0,054.
(Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18.
Thick red slip on both sides. Rings on the interior walls.
Prov.: Sounding A.

Slipped on both sides.
Prov.: Sounding A.

214. Rim and walls of a 'Cycladic shaped cup'.
H.0,052. P.W.0,073. Plate 18.
Brownish red slip on red clay. No characteristic carination. Rim curved inwards smoothly. Import or earlier survivor?

215. Rim and part of the walls. H.0,092.
P.W.0,058. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18.
Red slip on both sides.
Prov.: Sounding A.

216. Base fragment. H.0,039. Base D.0,055.
(Marthari 1984, Fig. 7d). Plate 18.
Thick red slip on both sides. Knob on the interior of base.
Prov.: Sounding A.

Plate 19, Fig. 12.
Red slip on both sides. Deep bowl with raised base and loop handle on the rim. No decoration.
Prov.: West House, Room 35. 26/7/84 Sounding beneath the floor.
(cf. Keos V, Pl. 24:N-1)

218. (FM5895): Body with handle attachment. H.0,03.
P.W.0,04. Plate 19.
Brown burnished in and out.

Brown burnished in and out.

220. (FM5897): Same as above. H.0,038. P.W.0,048.
Plate 19.


IX. Pithos

229. (FM0543): Rim and part of the walls. H.0,137. P.W.0,24. Plate 20, Fig. 11. Reddish brown slip on the outside. Flaring flat rim and spout just under the rim incompletely preserved. Horizontal flat handle on the body and series of plastic rings on the walls of the vase. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Melos, Barber forthcoming, Fig. 16:1087; Fig. 17:1092-1093)

X. Jars or other closed vases

230. Base fragment. H.0,09. P.W.0,16. Plate 20, Fig. 11. Brown burnished outer surface. Prov.: Sounding A.

231. Base fragment. H.0,052. P.W.0,102. Plate 20, Fig. 11. Brown burnished outer surface.

232. Base fragment. H.0,02. P.W.0,04. Plate 20, Fig. 11. Brown burnished outer surface.


**XI. Open bowls or saucers**


**XII. Conical bowl**

241. Rim fragment of open vessel. H.0,055. P.W.0,09. Plate 21, Fig. 14. Brown burnished outside. Flaring rim and small ridge just under the rim. (cf. Keos V, Pl. 31:26; Kythera, Pl. 69:C26)
XIII. Amphora

242. (FM6045): Complete. Restored on rim and spout. H.0,18. Rim D.0,060. Max. D.0,165. Plate 21, Fig. 13 for outline. Red burnished. Flat outturned rim. Funnel spout. Two flat handles from rim to shoulder. Globular body, flat narrow base. Prov.: Square North of the West House Sounding beneath LC I levels. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Pl. 88, E23 for miniature amphora of same shape without spout; Thera III, Fig. 39 LC I survivor)

D. Slipped Ware

I. Cycladic Bowl

243. (FM5893): Complete. H.0,078. Rim D.0,158. Plate 22. Slip mostly worn out. Mat impressions on the base. Prov.: Sounding beneath Room 4 of West House. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 9, D75)

244. (FM5891): Complete. H.0,069. Rim D.0,118. Plate 22, Fig. 15. Slip worn out. Mat impressions on the base. Prov.: Sounding beneath Room 5 of West House. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 9, D75, D37; Melos, Barber forthcoming)

II. Cycladic Cup


246. (FM5911): Restored. H.0,05. Rim D.0,125. Plate 22. Slip on both sides. Loop handle on the rim. Slightly raised base. Prov.: Soundings beneath floor of West House. (cf. Keos Pt. II, Fig. 12, F24; Thera III, Fig. 31 LC I survivor)

III. Tumbler

247. (FM6048): Complete. H.0,080. Rim D.0,109. Plate 23, Fig. 15. Self slipped. Rough surface. Wheel made. Prov.: Soundings beneath floor of West House, Room 3y. (cf. Kythera, Pl. 52, Dep. o 97a)
248. (FM3959): Complete. H.0,08. D.0,066. (Thera VI, Pl. 67b). Plate 5. Rough surface. Brown slip in and out. Hand made cross incised on walls. Prov.: Complex Delta, Room 16, NW corner under the floor. (cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXV; Paros, AM 1917, Fig. 18a)

IV. Saucer

249. (FM5894): Restored. H.0,048. Rim D.0,136. Plate 23. Slip on both sides, worn out at places. Prov.: Soundings beneath floor of West House. (cf. MM III examples from House of Sacrificed Oxen, PM II, Fig. 176; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 91, F34; Kythera, Fig. 42, Dep. μ,50)

V. Pithoi

250. Rim fragment. H.0,05. P.W.0,07. Plate 23, Fig. 14. Flaring flat rim and rib on the neck. Brown/black slip outside and a band on the rim inside. Buff clay with black inclusions. (cf. Red Burnished unpublished pithos in Melos Museum; MC examples, Barber forthcoming; from Thera, PAE 1980, Pl. 178, No. 4854, pithos from West House)

251. Rim fragment. H.0,085. P.W.0,16. Plate 23, Fig. 14. Flaring flat rim with two ribs on the neck. Brown band covering the rim inside and up to the neck on the outside. The rest white. (cf. No. 250 for references)

252. Rim fragment. H.0,05. P.D.0,102. Plate 23, Fig. 14. Flaring flat rim and two ribs on the neck. Dark red/brown slip in and out. (cf. No. 250 for references)

253. Rim fragment. H.0,07. P.W.0,094. Plate 23, Fig. 14. Flaring thick rim. Brown/black slip on both sides and plastic ribs on the neck. (cf. No. 250 for references)

254. Rim fragment. H.0,065. P.W.0,167. Plate 23, Fig. 14. Flaring flat thick rim. Fine white slip coating the outside walls. Partially chipped off. (cf. No. 250 for references)


E. Imitation Kamares

I. Light on dark

260. Base fragment of keftiκ cup. H.0,05. Base D.0,07. (Marthari 1984, Fig. 8c). Plate 24, Fig. 16. Plastic ring and handle attachment preserved. Black paint on the outside with two dotted lines in white around the base. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. MM III cups from House by the Akropolis at Knossos, Catling 1979, Fig. 18:B49, 95-98)


262. Base fragment of keftiκ cup. H.0,038. P.W.0,03. Plate 24, Fig. 16. Plastic ring. Dark red slip. Broad white band underneath the plastic ring and dotted line on it. (cf. Festős, Tav Ii, Pl. 123 for dots on plastic ring)

263. Rim fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,045. P.W.0,055. Plate 24, Fig. 16. Black band around the rim, orange band below. Inside red slip. Walls of cup ribbed. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Melos, No. 340 of this catalogue; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 90, F21; Kythera, Pl. 70:D3; Catling 1979, Fig. 18:B95-8)
II. Polychrome


266. Rim of semiglobular cup. H.0,02. P.W.0,02. Plate 24. Black slip outside and in a band around the rim inside. Orange slip below probably covering the inside walls of the cup.


F. Imported Grey Minyan Ware

269. Base fragment. H.0,025. Base D.0,052. Plate 24, Fig. 16. (cf. BSA 17, Pl. VII for Minyan at Phylakopi; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 82, D93-109 for Kea; AM 1917, Fig. 31-34 for Paros)

270. Rim sherd. H.0,036. P.W.0,034. Plate 24, Fig. 16. Groove just under the rim.

271. Body sherd. H.0,026. P.W.0,03. Plate 24, Fig. 16. Grooves. Prov.: Bronos 2.

272. Handle. Fig. 6. Plate 24, Fig. 16. Grooves.

G. Middle Minoan Imported Ware

273. Base fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,031. D.0,056. Plate 25, Fig. 17. Bevelled base. Wheel marks on the inside walls and knob on base. Plastic rings on the inside walls. Black slip on both sides. No decoration preserved. Date: MM II-III. Prov.: Sounding A.
274. Base fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,032. P.W.0,055. Plate 25. Base not flat but convex. Red/brown slip on both sides worn out. Date: MM II-III. Prov.: Sounding A.

275. Base and wall fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,044. P.W.0,057. Plate 25. Bevelled base, fine walls. No traces of plastic ring preserved. Surface slip destroyed inside. On the outside traces of white running spiral. Date: MM III. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. PM I, Fig. 420-21; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 207; Gournia, Pl. VI:35)


277. Base fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,015. P.W.0,034. Plate 25. Black slip on both sides. Too small to be diagnostic. Prov.: Sounding A.

278. Rim fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,023. P.W.0,035. Plate 25. Black slip. White dots on the outside. Date: MM III. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. MM IIIA-B Keftiu cups with speckle decoration from Knossos, Catling 1979, Fig. 18, B49, 95-98; Same decoration PM I, Fig. 298; from Phaestos, Festós, Tav II, Pl. 127c; from Gournia, Gournia, Pl. VI:34)


280. Rim fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,02. P.W.0,02. Plate 25. Ripples. Date: MM III/LM IA. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 23, C149; Fig. 27, D186; PM I, Fig. 435)
281. Rim fragment of keftin cup. H.0,07. P.W.0,04. Plate 25, Fig. 17. Black clay. Slip destroyed. Plastic ring. Oblique foliate band in E. Cretan style. Date: MM II. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. PM I, Fig. 133 for E. Cretan flower style; Gournia, Pl. C:3, Pl. VI:8)

282. Base fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,042. P.W.0,065. Plate 25. Horizontal wheel marks on the inside walls. Black slip preserved on the inside only. Prov.: Sounding A. (cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 19, BlO, 11)


284. Rim sherd of semiglobular cup. H.0,03. P.W.0,035. Plate 25. Horizontal grooves underneath the rim and impressed circles on the body. Black lustrous slip preserved on both sides. Date: MM IIIA. (cf. Mallia, Maisons IV, Pl. XXIII:E, G)


286. Rim fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,022. P.W.0,025. Plate 25. Black lustrous slip on both sides. Pendant white semicircles on rim and dotted line underneath. Date: MM II-III. (cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 124h)

287. Rim fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,027. P.W.0,04. Plate 25. Black slip on both sides. Wavy line decoration worn out almost completely. Date: MM IIIA. (cf. PM IV; Fig. 100 from Knossos, Fig. 101 from PalaiKastro; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 124c, f)

Black slip preserved only at different spots on the base of handle. Round section. Prov.: Sounding A.

Fine walls decorated in buff and black bands alternately. Decoration usual for lower body of many cups particularly of the LM I period.
Date: MM III?/LM IA.
Prov.: Sounding A.

291. Rim fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,032. P.W.0,03. Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black slip on both sides. Two orange bands create a triangle, which is outlined by white dots. Maybe the complete motif created a cross as similar sherds from the Royal Pottery Stores and NW pit at Knossos (pers. comm. MacGillivray unpublished material).
Date: MM IIA.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. Festôs, Tav li, Pl. 112e for orange cross outlined by white lines)

Walls rough, base uneven. Brown/black slip on both sides with no decoration preserved.
Prov.: Sounding A.

Black, orange, black bands on ribbed walls. White line superimposed on the black band just under the rim.
Date: MM II-III.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. for similar walls of vases Festôs, Tav ii, Pl. 116f, Pl. 125c)

Same clay and decoration as No. 293.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. No. 123 for references)

Black band around the rim, body reserved zone with rosette motives and black band underneath.
Date: MM III/LM IA.
Prov.: Sounding A.
(cf. MM IIIA light on dark example of rosette
295. (FM3414): Body fragment of jar. H.0,048. P. W. 0,059. (Thera VI, Pl. 67d). Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black/brown slip on both sides. Body zone with relief homocentric spirals covered in white.
Date: MM IIIA.
Prov.: 'Anchor House', i.e. Complex Delta. (cf. BSA, Suppl. Paper I, 1923, Fig. 11a; PM IV, Pl. XXIXg, Fig. 88-89; for same motif in metal PM II, Fig. 411 for ewer from shaft graves; Phaestos, Palazzo, Tav, Pl. XXXV)

296. (FM4660?): Body fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,034. P. W. 0,035. Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black slip well preserved on both sides. Groove with white filling under the rim. Homocentric spirals in body zone.
Date: MM IIIA.
(cf. No. 295 for references)

297. (FM4548): Body fragment (upside down in plate) of straight walled cup. H.0,036. P. W. 0,048. Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black slip on the inside. Main body zone with barbotine covered in white.
Date: MM IB/IIA.
(cf. Festôs, Tav ii, Pl. 91c, f for barbotine; PM I, Fig. 129a for rock work; Mallia, Maisons IV, Pl. XXIII:D)

298. (FM3959?): Body fragment of straight walled cup. H.0,043. P. W. 0,038. Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Dark red/brown slip on red clay. Decoration of white dots and oblique lines. Maybe East Cretan.
(cf. Mallia, Maisons IV, Pl. XXI:A)

299. (FM5908): Base fragment. H.0,046. P. W. 0,044. (Thera VI, Pl. 67b). Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black slip on both sides with white semicircles on outer side.
Date: MM IIA.
Prov.: Delta 16.

300. (FM5909): Body fragment of semiglobular cup. H.0,037. P. W. 0,048. (Thera VI, Pl. 67b). Plate 25, Fig. 17.
Black slip on both sides. Vertical white band with superimposed orange lines and black dots. Three horizontal white lines at a right angle to this.
Date: MM IB/IIA.
Prov.: Delta 16.
(cf. Phaestos, Palazzo, Tav, Pl. XXXIII)

H. Various Other Imports

302. Body fragments of closed vessels. Biggest sherd H.0.05, P.W.0.10. Red slipped and burnished outer surface with linear geometric decoration in white. Possibly Parian. Date: EC III. (cf. AM 1917, Fig. 50-51)


I. MC Theran Material from Other Publications

306. Jug. Øberg 1933, Fig. 227 (Corp. Vas., Bd. Louvre). Cycladic White example of a type between the fan-shaped and the channelled spout variety. Dotted rosette underneath the handle and horizontally placed spiral motif in front. Date: EC IIIB/MC period. Prov.: Akrotiri. (cf. AAA 1982, Pl. 9:01)

307. Ewer. H.0.50. Øberg 1933, Fig. 254 (Zahn, a.a.0). White on burnished ware. Neck of ewer short, plastic ring, handle attached under the rim. Foliate white band in double circle on the shoulder and two bands one wide and one narrow in the middle of the body.
Date: Late MC period/LC I.
Prov.: Zahn's House.
(cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 24:157; Fig. 25:152)

Plastic breasts, raised base, flaring spout. Iris like motif in a band around the neck.
Painted eyes, edge of spout, breasts. Vertically placed dotted rosettes on the sides and triple plume motif in the front and under the handle. Two bands around base.
Date: Early MC period.
Prov.: Lerna.
(cf. No. 11.(FM4859) of this catalogue)

THERA

MAVROMATI MINES

309. (FM5462):  Restored around the body. Otherwise complete.
Brown burnished. Flat outturned rim.
Bridged spout just under the rim. Flat handles from rim to shoulder. Globular body. Flat narrow base.
Date: Late MC period.
Prov.: Mavromati Mines.
(cf. Mylonas 1982, Fig. 230:0-199)

This catalogue of MC Theran pottery is by no means complete. Each summer the sorting of previous years' excavated material produces quite a rich quantity of MC sherds, that may have been used as building material in the walls and floors of the LC I period houses. All this material belongs to the penultimate catastrophe that destroyed MC Akrotiri.

B. MELOS

PHYLAKOPI

A. Local Ware

Herebelow are a few selective examples of local pottery that follow the Cycladic tradition. Examples of local ware that has been manufactured in imitation of Cretan shapes will be catalogued along with the MM imports.
Repaired, defective, spout raised, smoothed only. Black dots on white band around the rim.
Date: Phylakopi II middle.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXXIII 10, 12, 13)

Complete. Lozenges with linear filling in matt black paint. Double lines around the lower body.
Date: Phylakopi II early.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. VII 8, 12)

312.169(MM110): Conical cup. H.0,08. D.0,085. (BSA 17, Pl. VI; BSA 69, Fig. 4). Fig. 20.
Repaired and restored. Hatched lozenges horizontally placed. Hatched triangles in the interspaces. Three bands on lower body all in red paint.
Date: Phylakopi I-iii.
(cf. BSA 17, Pl. VI:170)

Plate 27, Fig. 20.
Complete. Groups of vertical lines from rim to lower body drawn at intervals and crossed by two sets of double lines, one under the rim and the other on lower body.
Date: Phylakopi I-iii - II-ii.
(cf. BSA 17, Pl. VI:133, 245; Phylakopi, Pl. IX 9, 10, 11; AM 1917, Fig. 76)

314.(NAM5726): Jug. H.0,17. Unpublished. Plate 28, Fig. 21.
Beak chipped off. Globular body, raised handle, pinched together spout. Three plastic knobs in front. Horizontal white bands over black paint on body.
Date: Phylakopi II?.
(cf. Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D135-6 for light on dark style)

Globular body, channelled spout, raised base, plastic breasts. Goblins, circles, hatched leaves, dotted rosettes. Bands on rim, neck, lower body and handle.
Date: Phylakopi II-ii.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XIV 7; BSA 17, Pl. XIII:173, 35; Emergence, Pl. 13:1, 2; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 84, D62-63; No. 11 of this catalogue; Amorgos, CVA Denmark i, Pl. 373; Lerna, Zervos 1957, Pl. 284-6; Tenos, Scholes 19)
Mouth and handle missing. Globular body.
Curvilinear scrawl beneath bands in white.
Date: Phylakopi II late.

317.101+(MM69): Jug. H.0,22. (BSA 69, Pl. 4d, Fig. 6).
Plate 29-30.
Repaired and restored apart from mouth.
Fired red to black. Globular body. Rock
motif in different variations on the shoulder
and body. Volutes and florals in the inter­
spaces.
Date: Phylakopi II late.

Plate 30, Fig. 22.
Handle pushed through body. Red burnished
fabric. White double rectangle on rim.
Date: Phylakopi II late.
(cf. BSA 17, Pl. VI:16, 164, 160, 212
earlier examples; Keos Pt. II, Pl. 85, D78­
83 same shape in different fabric; No. 185
of this catalogue of Red Burnished Theran
ewer; Kythera, Pl. 72:D61-63; Catling 1979,
Fig. 24; Fig. 25:152(bis))

Plate 30, Fig. 22.
Handle pushed through body. Red fabric not
lustrous. Double rectangle on rim, multiple
dotted lines, beginning of spiral on body
all in white.
Date: Phylakopi II late.
(cf. No. 318 for references)

Plate 31.
Restored. Whitish slip fired red at places.
Black and Red decoration of bird and
stylized tree. Dots and connected spirals
around the neck, festoons on the interior
of rim. Hand made.
Date: Phylakopi II-iii/III-i.
(cf. Phylakopi, Pl. XXI, 2-15; Keos V,
Pl. 33:71 for similar bird decoration)

320.142(MM79): Jug with cut-away mouth. H.0,19. (BSA 17,
Repaired and restored. Mouth defective.
Flowers with wavy stems and grasses painted
alternately. Bands on mouth, neck, base
and handle.
(Phylakopi, Pl. XXIII,1; Keos Pt. II,
Pl. 93, G41-43 for jugs with cut-away spout)

Partly restored. Bottom missing. Flaring
flat rim, globular body. Dark paint all
over.
Date: Phylakopi II/III.
(FAE 1980, Pl. 178, No. 4854 for general shape)
B. MIDDLE MINOAN IMPORTS AND LOCAL IMITATIONS

All the following MM sherds belong to the collection of the National Museum of Athens (NAM) and have been found during the first excavations (1896-99) at Phylakopi. No particular stratigraphic details are known and hence all sherds are dated according to their similarity to Cretan examples. They are unpublished unless otherwise indicated. The whole vases that are all local imitations, apart from No. 396, of the MM imports, will be entered in this catalogue according to their shape along with their prototypes.

Ia. Straight-walled cup Imports

322. (NAM11972): Base fragment. H.0,056. P.W.0,087. (Phylakopi, Pl. XXIV.10, Fig. 130; PM I, Fig. 186e). Plate 32, Fig. 23.
Dark slip on both sides slightly worn out near the base. Antithetic loops with palmettes springing out of their joins, which are marked by orange discs. White horizontal band around the base, which is slightly concave, and white curve underneath.
Date: MM IIA.
(cf. PM II., Pl. IX d1 for the palmette; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 128e for the syntax)

323. (NAM11973): Base fragment. H.0,034. P.W.0,084. Plate 32, Fig. 23.
Base concave. Dark slip on both sides. White curvilinear motif (foliate/spiral?) partly preserved. Orange loop hangs from the bottom of outer curve. Hatching between coil of the curvilinear motif.
Date: MM IIA.
(cf. PM II., Pl. IX C1; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 128e for elements of decoration)

323a. (NAM11974): Rim fragment, not joining, but probably belonging to the same pot as No. 323. H.0,049. P.W.0,032. Plate 33, Fig. 23.
Decoration as No. 323.
Date: MM IIA.
Plate 33, Fig. 23.
Dark slip on both sides worn out mostly on the inner side. Plastic ribs on the outer side and wheel traces on the inner. Two white bands with red superimposed lines above and below the plastic ribs.
Date: MM IB/IIA.
(cf. Festôs, Tav II, Pl. 39h; Kythera, Pl. 82:L2 for plastic ribs)

Plate 33, Fig. 23.
Brown slip on both sides. White dots around the rim underlined by an orange band. Oblique white strokes (foliate band?) underneath.
Date: MM IIB/IIIA.
(cf. Kamares, WM 20:16; Phaestos, Boll d'Arte 38, 1953, 261, Fig. 16:4)

Plate 33, Fig. 23.
Dark slip on both sides, worn out at some parts on the inner side. Barbotine knobs preserved in six lines. Wide orange band around the base and other orange dots dispersed on the body.
Date: MM IB-IIB.
(cf. Festôs, Tav III, Pl. LXIIm and Tav II, Pl. 31f)

327. Base fragment and lower attachment of handle. H.0,022. P.W.0,042. Plate 34, Fig. 23.
Dark slip on both sides defective. Clay more yellowish than usual. Marked groove around the base, 'bevelled' as in many straight sided cups. Perhaps fluted decoration white on body.
Date: MM IIB/IIIA.
(cf. Festôs, Tav II, Pl. 128e for decoration)

328. Base fragment. H.0,022. P.W.0,061
Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Dark slip on both sides defective. Decoration worn out. Not diagnostic.

Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Dark slip on both sides. Traces of orange and white paint but motives elusive. White horizontal band around the base and white curve underneath. Not diagnostic.
330. Body sherd. H.0,033. P.W.0,035. Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Black slip on both sides. Orange circles connected with each other by groups of multiple white lines forming thus a radiating motif.
Date: MM II-III.
No comparable material found.

331. Half body extant. H.0,51. D.0,058. Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Brown, at places black, slip. Preserved on inner side and on lower body on the out-side. Surface partially chipped off. Oblique strokes in white. Floral?
Date: MM III?
(cf. Festos, Tav Ii, Pl. 209n-q)

332. Body fragment and small part of base.
H.0,053. P.W.0,048. Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Black lustrous slip on both sides. White spots on the inside walls. Decoration deleted on the outside.
Date: MM IIB-IIIB.
(cf. Festos, Tav II, Pl. 127d, Pl. 210g-m; Catling 1979, Fig. 19:58, 116, 114, 119; No. 278 of this catalogue for more references)

333. Rim fragment and attachments of handle.
H.0,044. P.W.0,053. Plate 34, Fig. 24.
Black slip on both sides poorly preserved. Not diagnostic.

334. Rim fragment. H.0,056. P.W.0,072. Plate 34, Fig. 25.
Black slip on both surfaces slightly defective. Decoration deleted. Not diagnostic.

335. Rim fragment. H.0,031. P.W.0,041. Plate 35, Fig. 25.
Black slip on both sides. Wide orange band around the rim and spiral in the main body zone in white.
Date: MM II-III.
(cf. Festos, Tav II, Pl. 127i, 128g, i for MM IIB kefitu cups with spiral bands near the rim, Pl. 207d, e, g, h for MM III examples)

336. Rim fragment with upper attachment of handle. H.0,039. P.W.0,039. Plate 35, Fig. 25.
Black slip on both sides worn out a lot. No decoration preserved. Not diagnostic.
337. Base fragment. H.0,032. P.W.0,053.
Plate 35, Fig. 25.
Black slip worn out. Not diagnostic.

338. Half extant. H.0,037. P.W.0,043. Plate 35, Fig. 25.
Semifine brown/buff clay. Red/brown paint on both sides. Rosettes with four dots for petals in white and an orange dot in the centre. Probably provincial MM product.
Date: MM II-III.
(cf. PMMP WM l(iii)2; Palaikastro, BSA, Suppl. Paper 1, 1923, 8, Fig. 5d; Seager 1912, Pl. VIII middle)

339. Half extant. H.0,069. P.W.0,078. Plate 35, Fig. 26.
Brownish black slip on the outside and around the rim on the inside. Splashes of paint on the base inside. Decoration badly preserved. White network covering the whole body. White horizontal bands around the rim and the base. May be provincial MM product.
Date: MM II-III.
(cf. PMMP WM3l(ii)6-7; Mallia, Nekropo\^es I, Pl. XVIe)

Plate 35, Fig. 26.
Black slip on both sides. Ribbed fragment. Bevelled base.
Date: MM IIIA-B.
(cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 19:52, 116, 114, 119; No. 263 of this catalogue for references)

Ib. Local Imitations

341.(NAM5736): Almost complete. H.0,084. W.0,143.
Plate 36, Fig. 26.
Red burnished slip on the outside and around the rim on the inside. Rim slightly everted. Decoration of vertically placed leaves in between horizontal white bands. Body zone with quirk pattern and horizontal bands around base.
Date: MC III.
(cf. Festôs, Tav II, Pl. 210a, b, d)

342.175(MM95): Handle and part of the rim missing.
H.0,063. W.0,105. (BSA 17, Pl. VII; BSA 69, Fig. 5)
Red burnished slip on both surfaces. Pair of horizontal white bands below the rim and above the base. In the main zone running S-spirals.
Date: MC II/III.
(cf. Festôs, Tav II, Pl. 128g, i)
Date: MC III.
(cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 207n, o, p)

344.166 (MM86): Handle and part of rim missing. H.0,075. W.0,105. (BSA 17, Pl. VII; BSA 69, 28, Fig. 5). Plate 36.
Date: Phylakopi II-ii.
(cf. Phaestos, Boll d'Arte 36, 354, Fig. 45a)

IIa. Rounded cup imports

(Phylakopi, Fig. 132; PM I, Fig. 186c).
Plate 37, Fig. 27.
Black slip on both sides, lustrous on the outside. Running dot and circle motif. From lower part of circle spring three petaloid loops and a small volute.
Hatching is used in part of the lower and upper interspaces. Orange dot on the rim just outside the circle.
Date: MM IIa.
(cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 124i; PM II, Pl. IX Cl-2)

(Äberg 1933, Fig. 332, PM I, Fig. 186b).
Plate 37, Fig. 27.
Dark slip on both sides. Slightly flaring rim. Wavy orange bands and in the interspaces white rhomboid leaves with a pair of loops raised out of them.
Date: MM IIa.
cf. Phaestos, Boll d'Arte 36, 1951, 354, Fig. 46, top row third from left for rhomboids; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 124c, f)

(Äberg 1933, Fig. 333). Fig. 27.
Black slip on both sides. Impressed dotted zig-zag lines and parallel to these orange painted dotted lines. In between white rhomboid leaves. Internally on the rim white oblique strokes.
Date: MM IB/IIA.
(cf. Phaestos, Annuario NS.35-6, 1957-8, 220, Fig. 37, inv. No. 11197; Annuario NS.14-16, 1952-4, Fig. 61 for other eggshell with oblique strokes on rim interior)
348. (NAM11981): Rim and body fragment joining together. H.0.059. P.W.0.083. (Rübert 1933, Fig. 331). Plate 37. Fig. 27.
Fine walled fragment, example of eggshell ware. Black slip on both sides. Orange rosettes with depressed centres drawn in naturalistic manner. Around the flowers impressed circles with orange centres form wavy bands. Oblique white strokes on rim. Wavy profile of cup. Date: MM IIA. (cf. Knossos, PM I, 241, Pl. IIc; Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XXI, Abydos, MM hole mouthed jar; Kommos, Hesperia 47, 1978, 161, Fig. 3, C183)

349. (NAM11983): Body fragment. H.0.039. P.W.0.071. (Rübert 1933, Fig. 329; PM I, Fig. 186d). Fig. 27.
Black slip on both sides. Decoration deleted and distinguished only from the traces left by the white paint. Linked papyrous leaves with hatched surfaces and rhomboid leaves hanging from their volutes. Two small bands on the upper part of the body with vertical strokes at intervals. Date: MM IIA. (cf. Palazzo, Tav, Pl. XXIb; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 110c)

350. (NAM11982): Thin walled body fragment with small part of base. H.0.046. P.W.0.072. (Rübert 1933, Fig. 330). Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Eggshell ware. Black slip on both sides. Rosette with its centre at the base, covers with its petals the lower part of the body of the cup. A small spiral above the rosette remains from the rest of the decoration. Date: MM IIA-MM IIIA. (cf. Knossos, Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XXII 3g; Phaestos, Phase Ib, Boll d'Arte 37, 1952, 326, Pl. III:5; Festós, Tav II, 125h, i, k; Knossos, PM I, Fig. 181)

351. Rim fragment. H.0.031. P.W.0.031. Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Fine walls. Black slip on both sides. Decoration deleted mostly. Orange line in the groove under the rim on the outside, oblique white lines on the inside of rim. Date: MM II/III. (cf. Festós, Phase Ib, Tav II, Pl. 124c, e)

352. Rim fragment. H.0.048. P.W.0.031. Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Black slip on both sides. Traces of white and orange decoration badly preserved. Foliate band? Not diagnostic.
353. Body fragment with lower handle attachment preserved. H.0,041. P.W.0,045. Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Black slip on both sides. Lower body of this cup raised (Kamares, W5198, Ill. 175). Decoration is not well preserved. Two orange lines border the body zone. Traces of white and orange paint on body.
Date: MM IIA.
(cf. Phaestos, Annuario N.S. 35-6, 1957-8, Fig. 59:1; PM I, Pl. IIb)

354. Body fragment. H.0,039. P.W.0,045. Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Extremely fine walls. Black slip on both sides, lustrous on the outside. White horizontal bands covering the whole body and orange vertical band bordering them vertically.
Date: MM II?
(cf. Festos, Tav III, Pl. XLIIIa; Tav II, Pl. 134c for vertical and horizontal lines)

355. Rim fragment. H.0,061. P.W.0,042. Plate 38, Fig. 28.
Black slip on both sides with lustre preserved on the outside. Rim raised more vertically than usually. A white horizontal line in the groove just under the rim and orange superimposed dots. White vertical strokes like pointed leaves on the body and two encircling lines on the inside of the rim.
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. Festos, Tav II, Pl. 134d)

356. Rim fragment. H.0,039. P.W.0,045. Plate 38, Fig. 29.
Black slip on both sides at places chipped off. Orange band around the rim and traces of white motif placed obliquely on the body. Not diagnostic.

357. Body fragment. H.0,035. P.W.0,029. Fig. 29.
Thin walled. Black slip on both sides, lustrous on the outside. White isolated spirals have small strokes hanging out of their outer coil (whorl shell decoration). Two horizontal white bands underline the body design.
Date: MM II-B/MM IIIA.
(cf. Knossos, PM IV, Fig. 77b; PM II, Pl. IX_e)
358. Rim and body fragment. H.0,023. P.W.0,047. Plate 38, Fig. 29.
Black slip on both sides. Shell impressions on the rim. Wide orange band on the body with superimposed red zig-zag lines followed by a black band with white zig-zag lines on it. Fine MM II eggshell ware.
Date: MM IIA.
(cf. Festós, Tav ii, Pl. 77a; III, Pl. LXXIX; PM IV, Fig. 83, 84a, 85, 86; I, Fig. 182a)

359. (NAM11984): Body fragment. H.0,046. P.W.0,072. Plate 39, Fig. 29.
Black slip on both sides. Thin walls. Netting motif in white covers the whole body outside. Small groove at the lower part of the body outside just above the base (WM 32:9).
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. Festós, Tav ii, Pl. 124c for radiating lines from base)

360. (NAM11986): Rim fragment. H.0,017. P.W.0,063. Plate 39, Fig. 29.
Black slip on both sides. On the outer side white dotted zone and small orange semi-circles. On the inner, network pattern in between two dotted lines all in white.
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. PM II, Pl. IXb for rim of mug with two sided decoration; Festós, Tav ii, Pl. 124c, f for rounded cup rims with same decoration)

361. (NAM11985): Base fragment of rounded cup or bowl. H.0,008. P.W.0,046. Plate 39-40, Fig. 29.
Black slip on both sides. Decoration of leaves in a radiating syntax on the inner side. Star on the outside.
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. for outer side, Knossos, JHS 1903, Pl. VI; for inner side, Festós, Tav ii, Pl. 124c)

362. Base fragment. H.0,024. P.W.0,069. Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Black slip on both sides and over the base outside. Cutting marks. Vertical white bands on body.
Date: MM II-IIIA.
(cf. Festós, Tav iii, Pl. LII)

363. Base fragment. H.0,024. P.W.0,057. Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Black slip on both sides. White crescents on the outside.
Date: MM II-IIIA.
(cf. Festós, Tav iii, Pl. LII)
Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Black lustrous slip on both sides. Vertical white bands.
Date: MM II-IIIA.
(cf. No. 362 for references)

Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Black slip on both sides and underneath the base. Crescents in white on the body and white band on base.
Date: MM II-IIIA.
(cf. No. 363 for references)

Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Black slip on both sides and under the base. Cutting marks. White oblique bands on body and curvilinear band on base.
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. No. 363 for references)

Plate 40, Fig. 30.
Slip preserved only on the outside. White leaves vertically placed.
Date: MM II-MM IIIA.
(cf. Festós, Tav Iii, Pl. LIXe)

IIIa. In and Out bowl/cup imports

368. (NAM11887): Body and base fragment. H.0,039. P.W.0,048.
Plate 40, Fig. 31.
Fine clay. Black slip on both sides, lustrous. White papyrus on the inside, bordered by orange and white oncades. On the outside groove just above the base.
Date: MM II-IIIA.
(cf. Annuario N.S. 14-16, 1952-4, 464, Fig. 108 for papyrus motif)

Plate 41, Fig. 31.
Joined from two pieces. Fine clay, thin walls. Black slip on both sides. No wheel marks left. Groups of vertical lines radiating from the base and two orange spots on the outside. Pictoralized foliate bands (Kamares, WM 25(iv)8) radiating from the centre of the base with antithetic ζ-Spirals in between (Kamares, WM25(i)1) and an orange dot on the inside.
Date: MM IIIA-IIIB.
(cf. for the outer side Festós, Tav Iii, Pl. LIXe; for the inner side, Festós, Tav Iii, Pl. XLIIIb; PM I, 246, Fig. 186a, Pl. III)
IV. Angular Cup Imports

370. Rim fragment. H.0,044. P.W.0,038.
Plate 41, Fig. 31.
Buff clay. Black slip on both sides. Fine orange bands on the body and just under the rim.
Date: MM II-III.
(cf. Festôs, Tav li, Pl. 212n)

Plate 41, Fig. 31.
Rim flares outwards. Rounded carination.
Outer surface destroyed. Trace of white and orange decoration.
Date: MM II-III.
(cf. Festôs, Tav li, Pl. 212k, p)

Iib and IIIb. Local Imitations

(BSA 17, Pl. XIII; BSA 69, Fig. 6).
Plate 42, Fig. 32.
Slightly chipped; schematic floral pendant from rim. Stripes on handle.
Date: MC III.
(cf. Thera IV, Pl. 76b)

(BSA 17, Pl. X; BSA 69, 38). Plate 43.
Repaired, defective, handle missing.
Bichrome decoration of dots, horizontal and wavy bands.
Date: MC II late/III early.
(cf. BSA 17, Pl. X:83, 84)

374.(NAM5740): In and out bowl imitation. H.0,097
(Phylakopi, Pl. XV). Plate 43-44, Fig. 32.
Restored. Inner side: In the centre medallion of disk and circle with J-spirals radiating out of it. In the circumference zone with vertical leaves in between bands. Outer side: Vertical strokes on rim and handles. Band underneath the rim.
Date: MC III.
(cf. No. 172-173 of this catalogue)

V. Closed Vases, Imports

375. Base fragment. H.0,026. P.W.0,081.
Plate 44.
Black slip on outer side and traces of it underneath the base. White band around base.
Uneven thickness of walls. Not diagnostic.

376. Base fragment. H.0,024. P.W.0,061.
Plate 44.
Same slip and decoration as No. 375. Not diagnostic.


VIa. Hole-mouthed Jar Imports

381. (NAM11988): Spout fragment. H.0,062. P.W.0,102. Plate 45, Fig. 33. Restored, defective. Lustrous black slip on the outside and around a band on the inside. White band on the edge of the rim and hanging semicircles below. Body decoration not preserved, except for white pointed ends of bands (leaves?) and two parallel lines on spout. Date: MM IIA. (cf. Phylakopi, 149, Fig. 126; Festós, Tav II, Pt. 107c or Pt. 109b)

382. (NAM11589): Rim fragment with handle. H.0,026. P.W.0,046. (NAM11589): Body fragment. H.0,026. P.W.0,028. (Phylakopi, Fig. 127).

(NAM11589): Shoulder fragment. H.0,042. P.W.0,047. (Rberg 1933, Fig. 326).

(NAM11589): Body fragment. H.0,024. P.W.0,009. Plate 46, Fig. 33. Black slip on outer side and around the rim on the inside. Angular body profile, flattened rim, round sectioned handle raised above the rim. White band and lines just under the rim. Three homocentric circles in white include an orange dotted cross. Two dotted white lines follow the cross in outline. In the four angles of the cross double homocentric dotted white circles. In between the homocentric circles an oblong placed vertically and filled with dotted lines in orange and white.
383. Rim and body fragments. Rim sherd. H.0,048. P.W.0,053. (Emergence, Pl. 134). Body sherd. H.0,084. P.W.0,085. Plate 46, Fig. 34.
Flat rim and rather straight walls. Maybe pitharaki. Orange clay. Slip brown, dull. Chalky white and orange paint. Orange band and white line around the rim. Orange flower-like motif below surrounded by white dotted line. On the body combination of vertical and horizontal straight and wavy, white and orange lines hastily painted. Provincial product?
Date: MM II?

Date: MM IIa.
(cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 115a for decoration)

Date: MM III.
(cf. Festós, Tav. II, Pl. 199e for festoons; cf. No. 317 jug with festoon decoration also)

386. Rim fragment with handle attachment. H.0,052. P.W.0,088. (Phylakopi, Fig. 129). Plate 47, Fig. 34.
Clay with inclusions. Rim flattened and body probably with carination. Black slip on the outside and on the inside around the rim. White dots on rim. Orange band with dots just under the rim. Two bands of linked orange disks with white crosses in the interspaces decorated the body once. Only traces of thin decoration preserved on the sherd now.
Date: MM Ib/IIa.
(cf. Arch Rep 1958, Fig. 31 for later example of similar decoration; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 41d for similar motives)

Body fragment. H.0,045. P.W.0,032. Black lustrous slip and oblique white and orange bands.
Not diagnostic.

389. Rim fragment. H.0,033. P.W.0,053. Plate 48. Lustrous black slip on the outside and around the rim on the inside. Filled semi-circles hanging from the rim and traces of homocentric circles in white on the body. Date: MM IIa-III.


VIb. Local Imitation

392.210(MM83): Repaired, restored jar. H.0,10. (BSA 17, Pl. VII; BSA 69, 47). Plate 48-49, Fig. 35. Coarse local clay. Slip red. Two zones of vertically placed outlined leaves on body; stripes on handle and spout. Date: Phylakopi II-ii. (cf. Festôs, Tav II, Phase Ib jars for shape and Pl. 107f for lower zone decoration)


394.211(MM155): Almost complete. One handle missing. H.0,365. (BSA 69, Pl. 6b). Plate 50. Surface worn. Clay local. White concentric festoons hanging from rim and horizontal band on lower body. Date: MC late. (cf. Thera III, Fig. 34 for shape; Festôs, Tav II, Pl. 199e)
395.87 (MML33):  Almost complete. H.0.11. D.0,065. (BSA 17, Pl. III; Åberg 1933, Fig. 214). Plate 51. Repaired, restored. Coarse clay. Eyed spiral with dots around the eye and filling ornaments at interspaces in black and red style. Date: Phylakopi III-II. (cf. Thera II, Pl. 35 for Theran equivalent of this period)

VIII. Jug Imports

396. (NAM5726):  Jug with cut away spout. H.0,25. (Phylakopi, Pl. XXIV). Plate 51, Fig. 36. Red clay, smoothed outer surface varying in colour from red to black. Globular body, cut away spout, ring base. White bands cross each other on the body. Date: MM Ib-IIa. (cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 87d; PM I, Fig. 122)

397. Spout fragment. P.H.0,064. P.W.0,048. Plate 52, Fig. 35. Clean buff clay. Groove at the base of the neck and finger impressions underneath. Plastic knob for the eye. Brown/red slip. Provincial product? Date: MM? (cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 84c for plastic eye and ring; Catling 1979, Fig. 22, B139 for grooves on neck)

398. Neck fragment. H.0,053. P.W.0,064. Plate 52, Fig. 35. Clay clean buff. Black lustrous slip outside. Plastic ring on the base of the neck. White curvilinear band on the body. Date: MM II-III. (cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 16, A8)

399. Neck fragment (maybe from ewer?). H.0,053. P.W.0,064. Plate 52, Fig. 35 (upside down on Plate). Black slip on both sides. Plastic ring. White curvilinear decoration on the neck and shoulder. Date: MM III?

VIII. Various Imports and Imitations

400. Body sherds of closed vase. H.0,102. P.W.0,76. Plate 52. Grey coarse clay with many white inclusions. Ribs on the inner side. Black on the outer surface. Reed motif in white. Provincial Product? Date: MM III. (cf. Catling 1979, Fig. 18, B90; Fig. 29, E209)
401. Rim of jar. H.0,05. P.W.0,085. Plate 53. Black slip outside. White lines under the rim and traces of red crosses? Linked white lozenges obliquely placed on the body. Provincial product? Date: MM?


403. 244+(MM97): Amphoroid jar. H.0,125. (BSA 69, Pl. 5e). Lug handles and plastic semicircles surrounding them. Plastic ribs around neck. Date: Phylakopi II-ii? (cf. CVA Denmark i, Pl. 36,8).

404. (MM98): Same as above. (BSA 69, Pl. 5e). (cf. PM I, Fig. 416b S.W. Basement MM III inscribed jar)

405. (NAM11991): Middle Minoan figurine. Body P.H.0,029. P.W.0,051; Skirt P.H.0,033. P.W.0,021. Plate 54, Fig. 37. Statuette preserved only at the back of the upper body and half of the lower body. The head, the hands, the breasts and half of the lower body are missing. The arms are brought forward like the Chamaizi-Petsofa types; the skirt is bell shaped like the A. Triadha figurines. Lustrous black slip covered the whole outer surface on which white and orange motives were painted. Only details of the decoration preserved at the back of figurine are a cross made up of orange dots from which spring four white papyrus like leaves and white foliate bands on the arms. No decoration preserved on the skirt. Date: MM IIIa. (cf. Festós, Tav II, Pl. 107c and Pl for decoration; Festós, Tav II, Pl. 221b; Pendlebury 1939, Pl. XX1-2; A. Triadha, G. Maraghiannis, Ant Crêt, Premiere Serie, Pl. XXVI-6; Palazzo, Tav, Pl. XV; Mallia, Et. Cr. 26, Quartier Mu II, 103, Fig. 139; Seager 1912, 49, Fig. 21; Keos II, Pl. 38, 44, 53-4 for ceramic examples of figures and figurines of approximately the period from MM I to LM Ia)
This is only a list of pottery illustrated from Paros.


411. Amphora (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 74). Pl. 56.


416. Barrel jar, Pl. 58. Yellow slipped and painted.


420. Minyan imitation goblet (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 34). Pl. 59. Red Burnished (Keian?).
   Black Burnished (Theran?).

   Mottled Burnished surface.

   Mottled Burnished surface.

424. Conical cups (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 18b). Pl. 61.

425. Conical cups (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 18b). Pl. 61.

426. Tumblers (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 18a). Pl. 62.

427. Light-on-Dark decorated sherd. Pl. 62.


430a-b. Base and body sherds of straight-walled cups. Unpublished. Pl. 64. (Helladic?)

431. Handleless cup of type 6:10a (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 71). Pl. 64.

432. Jug of type 6:8c (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 75). Pl. 64. (Melian?)

433. Jug of type 6:8c (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 60). Pl. 65. (Melian?)

434. Jug of type 6:8c (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 61). Pl. 65. (Melian?)

435. One handled jug (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 26). Pl. 65.

436. One handled urn (Rubensohn 1917, Pl. 27). Pl. 65.
6. (FM4860)  7. (FM4879)

8. (FM4866)  9. (FM4874)  9a. (FM4875)
PLATE 3

7. (FM4879)  10. (FM4872)  4. (FM4869)

11. (FM4859)  12. (FM4863)  13. (FM4862)
36. (FM5917)  37. (FM5916)

38  39  40  41  42. (FM4366)
43  44  45  46
47  113  48
PLATE 13

117. (FM5872)  118. (FM5913)

119 120 121
122 123 124 125
PLATE 17

185. (FM0543) 186 187
189 193 188
190 191 192. (FM0540)

194. (FM0546) 195 196. (FM0546)
197. (FM0540) 198 199
200 201 202
PLATE 40

361 inner side

362 365
363 366
364 367

368
372 front view

372 back view
374. (NAM5740) inside

375  376
377
406, Rubensohn's Pl. 72

407, Rubenschhn's Pl. 73
408 409 410

411, Rubensohn's Pl. 74
PLATE 57

412

413, Rubensohn's Pl. 20  &  414, Rubensohn's Pl. 19
PLATE 58

415, Rubensohn's Pl. 58

416  417, Rubensohn's Pl. 49
418, Rubensohn's Pl. 50

420, Rubensohn's Pl. 34
424, Rubensohn's Pl. 18b

425
426, Rubensohn's Pl. 18a

427
PLATE 65

433 434 (Rubensohn's Pls. 60, 61)

435 436 (Rubensohn's Pls. 26, 27)
FIGURE 20

![Figure 20](image)

312 MM 110

313 NAM 5725