

The Mycenaean Cemetery at Achaia Clauss near Patras

People, material remains
and culture in context

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with contributions by
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ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Summertown Pavilion

18-24 Middle Way

Summertown

Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78491-919-1

ISBN 978-1-78491-920-7 (e-Pdf)

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Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

In memory of Litsa Kontorli-Papadopoulou

Contents

| | |
|--|-------|
| List of Figures | v |
| Prologue | xx |
| Preface – Acknowledgements | xxi |
| Introduction – methodology of research | xxiii |
| Chapter 1. Mycenaean period in Achaea | |
| A. Brief survey of sites and history of research | 1 |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1. Eastern Achaea | 3 |
| 2. Central mountainous and semi-mountainous Achaea | 5 |
| 3. Western Achaea | 6 |
| 4. The region of Clauss and neighbouring sites | 8 |
| 5. The rest of western Achaea..... | 12 |
| B. Distribution of sites and the character of Mycenaean Achaea | 14 |
| Chapter 2. Description of tombs | |
| Tomb A..... | 16 |
| Description..... | 16 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb A | 20 |
| Tomb A. Chronological chart of burials | 22 |
| Tomb B..... | 23 |
| Description..... | 23 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb B | 29 |
| Tomb B. Chronological chart of burials | 34 |
| Tomb Γ | 34 |
| Description..... | 34 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb Γ..... | 35 |
| Tomb Γ. Chronological chart of burials..... | 37 |
| Tomb Δ..... | 37 |
| Description..... | 37 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb Δ | 41 |
| Tomb Δ. Chronological chart of burials | 44 |
| Tomb E. ‘The tomb of women’ | 45 |
| Description..... | 45 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb E..... | 50 |
| Tomb E. Chronological chart of burials..... | 53 |
| Tomb ΣΤ..... | 53 |
| Description..... | 53 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb ΣΤ | 59 |
| Tomb ΣΤ. Chronological chart of burials | 62 |
| Tomb Z (chambers Za, Zb) | 62 |
| Description..... | 62 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb Z..... | 64 |
| Tomb Z. Chronological chart of burials | 67 |
| Tomb H | 67 |
| Description..... | 67 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb H..... | 70 |
| Tomb H. Chronological chart of burials | 73 |
| Tomb Θ and alcove I | 73 |
| Description..... | 73 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb Θ | 82 |
| Tomb Θ and alcove I. Chronological chart of burials..... | 86 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Tomb K..... | 86 |
| Description..... | 86 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb K | 92 |
| Tomb K. Chronological chart of burials | 95 |
| Tomb Λ | 95 |
| Description..... | 95 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb Λ | 101 |
| Tomb Λ. Chronological chart of burials..... | 104 |
| Tomb M (chambers Ma and Mb)..... | 104 |
| Description..... | 104 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb M | 109 |
| Tomb M. Chronological chart of burials | 114 |
| Tomb N | 115 |
| Description..... | 115 |
| Conclusions – The history of use of tomb N | 119 |
| Tomb N. Chronological chart of burials..... | 123 |
| Chapter 3. The setting and architecture of the tombs | |
| A. The setting and layout of the cemetery tombs..... | 124 |
| B. The architecture of tombs..... | 126 |
| Chapter 4. Catalogue of the finds from the cemetery | |
| Tomb A..... | 129 |
| Tomb B..... | 138 |
| Tomb Γ | 168 |
| Tomb Δ..... | 177 |
| Tomb E..... | 188 |
| Tomb ΣΤ..... | 211 |
| Tomb Z..... | 233 |
| Chamber Za..... | 233 |
| Chamber Zb..... | 235 |
| Tomb H | 236 |
| Tomb Θ..... | 246 |
| Alcove I | 272 |
| Tomb K..... | 277 |
| Tomb Λ | 299 |
| Tomb M..... | 308 |
| Chamber Ma..... | 308 |
| Chamber Mb | 315 |
| Tomb N | 318 |
| Tomb Ib of Kyparissis' excavations..... | 331 |
| Looted tomb of Kyparissis' excavations | 331 |
| Chapter 5. The finds from the cemetery. Analysis | |
| I. Pottery..... | 332 |
| Introduction | 332 |
| A. Closed shapes | 333 |
| 1. Stirrup jars..... | 333 |
| 2. Alabastra | 377 |
| 3. Amphorae | 384 |
| 4. Jugs..... | 391 |
| 5. Lekythoi | 394 |
| 6. Handleless globular jars | 397 |
| 7. Piriform jars or <i>krateriskoi</i> | 398 |
| 8. Flasks | 399 |
| 9. Collar-necked jar or <i>stamnos</i> | 400 |
| 10. Feeding bottle | 401 |
| 11. Ring-shaped vases | 402 |
| 12. Bird askoi | 404 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| B. Open shapes..... | 408 |
| 1. Cups..... | 408 |
| 2. Spouted mugs..... | 409 |
| 3. Multiple vases | 410 |
| 4. Kylikes | 413 |
| 5. Dipper | 413 |
| 6. Deep bowl or <i>skyphos</i> | 413 |
| 7. Kalathoi | 414 |
| 8. Tripod bowl | 415 |
| II. Bronze objects..... | 416 |
| Introduction | 416 |
| Weapons | 416 |
| 1. Sword..... | 416 |
| 2. Dagger..... | 420 |
| 3. Spearheads..... | 421 |
| Tools..... | 423 |
| 1. Knives | 423 |
| 2. Sickle and sickle-like knives | 425 |
| 3. Razors | 426 |
| 4. Pairs of tweezers | 427 |
| 5. Needles and fragments of needles or pins..... | 429 |
| Ornaments | 430 |
| 1. Rings | 430 |
| Vases | 430 |
| 1. Vase handle | 430 |
| III. Bone objects | 431 |
| Introduction | 431 |
| 1. Pins..... | 431 |
| 2. Comb..... | 432 |
| IV. Stone objects..... | 433 |
| 1. Whetstone..... | 433 |
| 2. Pigment (<i>cretis</i>) | 433 |
| V. Other small finds | 434 |
| 1. Spindle-whorls..... | 434 |
| 2. Seals | 437 |
| 3. Beads..... | 439 |
| 4. Clay figurine | 445 |

Chapter 6. Funerary customs in the cemetery

| | |
|--|-----|
| Introduction..... | 447 |
| Primary burials..... | 447 |
| 1. Inhumations on the floor | 447 |
| 2. Inhumations in pits | 449 |
| 3. Cremation | 450 |
| Cleansing practices of the Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean period at Claus..... | 453 |
| Pyres | 453 |
| Covering the dead with lime..... | 454 |
| Funerary offerings in primary burials | 455 |
| The positioning of funerary offerings..... | 455 |
| Funerary offerings and gender..... | 457 |
| Child burials and their offerings | 459 |
| Childbearing and the family | 461 |
| Secondary burials or relocations | 462 |
| The <i>legal looting</i> of the dead..... | 464 |
| Reconstruction of the funerary ritual. Summary of evidence | 464 |
| The ceremony of burial..... | 465 |
| After the funeral | 467 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Chapter 7. The people and society of Claus. Overview and history of the cemetery | |
| Phase 1: transition from the LH IIIB2 to the early LH IIIC period | 470 |
| Phase 2: LH IIIC early period | 471 |
| Phase 3: LH IIIC middle period | 471 |
| Phase 4: Transition from the middle to the late LH IIIC period | 474 |
| Phase 5: LH IIIC late period..... | 475 |
| Phase 6: final phase of the LH III C period | 475 |
| Epilogue. The years after the end of an era | 475 |
| Chapter 8. Bioarchaeological approach to the human remains from Claus | |
| A. The cremation in tomb N (by Dr Photini J. P. McGeorge)..... | 477 |
| B. Human remains from Achaia Claus – bioarchaeological observations (by Dr Wiesław Więckowski) | 480 |
| Introduction | 480 |
| Material and Methods..... | 481 |
| Results of the Analysis | 481 |
| Minimal Number of Individuals | 481 |
| Demographic information..... | 482 |
| Health | 483 |
| Burial customs..... | 483 |
| Appendix. Tables of data | 485 |
| Bibliography..... | 494 |

List of Figures

Cover illustration

Two-handed kalathos with five vases inside of it and one more outside, found in chamber tomb B at Clauss

Preface

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 1. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1936 conducted by N. Kyparissis | xxi |
| Fig. 2. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1937 conducted by N. Kyparissis | xxi |
| Fig. 3. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1990 conducted by T. Papadopoulos and L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou | xxi |

Chapter 1.

| | |
|---|----|
| Fig. 4a. Map of Mycenaean sites of Achaia | 2 |
| Fig. 4b. Mycenaean Achaia. Index of sites | 3 |
| Fig. 5. The vineyard of Achaia Clauss wine factory as it looks from the cemetery site (from southeast) | 8 |
| Fig. 6. The vineyard of Achaia Clauss and the Koukouras hill seen from the wine factory (from northwest) | 8 |
| Fig. 7. The Mycenaean settlement on top of the Mygdalia hill seen from the southeast, overlooking the Achaia Clauss cemetery at the foot of the Koukouras hill (right), the plain and the gulf of Patras | 9 |
| Fig. 8. The LH IIIC 'corridor house' type megaron on the top of the Mygdalia hill, seen from the northwest | 9 |
| Fig. 9. The LH IIIC storeroom with its content <i>in situ</i> | 9 |
| Fig. 10. Aerial photo of terrace 2, Mygdalia. Child graves 1-4 under the floors of outdoor spaces and of one room | 10 |
| Fig. 11. Topographic sketch of the Mycenaean cemetery at Achaia Clauss. Tombs excavated by Papadopoulos are marked with letters of the Greek alphabet, from A to N. Tombs excavated by Kyparissis are marked with numbers, 1-5. Σ1 marks the chamber tomb plundered in 1986 | 16 |
| Fig. 12. Tomb Σ1 plundered in 1986. It belongs to the cemetery's fourth row of tombs | 16 |

Chapter 2.

| | |
|---|----|
| Fig. 13. Dromos and the entrance of tomb A | 17 |
| Fig. 14. Loose stones and the dry-stone wall blocking the entrance of tomb A | 17 |
| Fig. 15. Second row of rubble masonry from the dry-stone wall of the entrance | 17 |
| Fig. 16. Pit covered with slabs and containing primary burial A1, behind tomb's entrance | 18 |
| Fig. 17. Pit containing primary burial A1, behind tomb's entrance | 18 |
| Fig. 18. Tomb A. Burial A in the middle of the chamber | 18 |
| Fig. 19. Tomb A. Cruciform dagger A15 near the skull of burial B | 19 |
| Fig. 20. Tomb A. Pile of bones and offerings along the east wall of the chamber | 19 |
| Fig. 21. Tomb A. Burial pit by the west wall of the chamber | 19 |
| Fig. 22. Tomb A. Primary burial E in the pit by the west wall of the chamber | 20 |
| Fig. 23. Tomb A. Ground plan illustrating the tomb's dromos and the chamber's burial stratum | 21 |
| Fig. 24. Tomb A. Ground plan of children burials A1 and E found in pits | 21 |
| Fig. 25. Section of tomb A | 22 |
| Fig. 26. Tomb B. View of the dromos and of the first two rows of the dry-stone wall blocking the entrance | 23 |
| Fig. 27. Tomb B. View of the chamber from the tomb's entrance after the removal of the dry-stone wall | 24 |
| Fig. 28. Tomb B. View of the chamber as found after the opening of the stomion | 24 |
| Fig. 29. Tomb B. Chamber's south wall was found collapsed, revealing bones and vases from the neighbouring tomb Δ | 24 |
| Fig. 30. Tomb B. Pit I along the north chamber wall, with lekythos (B1) and kalathos with five vases (B2 and B3-B8) placed on top of the slabs | 24 |
| Fig. 31. Tomb B. Primary male burial Z in pit I with sickle B52 at waist level | 25 |
| Fig. 32. Tomb B. Two-handed kalathos with five vases inside of it and one more outside, as found in the chamber | 25 |
| Fig. 33. Tomb B. View of the chamber's finds before revealing the burial stratum. Three vases (B9-B11) stand higher on a bench at the back of the chamber | 25 |
| Fig. 34. Tomb B. Bench with bases B9-B11 over the primary burials A and A1 | 26 |
| Fig. 35. Tomb B. View of the burial stratum | 26 |
| Fig. 36. Tomb B. Primary burials A and A1 | 26 |
| Fig. 37. Tomb B. Detail of burials A and A1 showing skull A1 concealed under the left palm and the finger bones of female burial A | 26 |
| Fig. 38. Tomb B. Pit II found under the burials A and A1 and covered with four slabs | 27 |
| Fig. 39. Tomb B. Pit II containing primary burial H of a 6 year-old child | 27 |
| Fig. 40. Tomb B. Large pile of pushed aside human bones and offerings | 27 |
| Fig. 41. Tomb B. Pit III with vases B50, B51 inside | 27 |
| Fig. 42. Tomb B. Pit III including primary burials Ξ and Ο | 27 |
| Fig. 43. Tomb B. Vases B12-B14 were found fallen by the stone, where they once stood | 28 |
| Fig. 44. Tomb B. Female primary burials ΣΤ and Γ lying in the middle of the chamber | 28 |
| Fig. 45. Tomb B. Pit IV containing the secondary burials Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ and Ν | 29 |
| Fig. 46. Tomb B. View of the chambers pits I-IV at the end of the research | 29 |
| Fig. 47. Tomb B. Elevation of the façade with the last row of dry-stone wall | 29 |
| Fig. 48. Tomb B. Plan depicting the visible finds, before revealing the burial stratum in detail | 30 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Fig. 49. Tomb B. Plan of the chamber's burial stratum | 31 |
| Fig. 50. Tomb B. Plan of the chamber with slab-covered pits I-III..... | 32 |
| Fig. 51. Tomb B. Plan of the chamber with opened pits I-III..... | 33 |
| Fig. 52. Tomb Γ. The remains of the east and the south walls of the chamber and the burial stratum on the floor..... | 35 |
| Fig. 53. Tomb Γ. Vases and skulls B and Γ along the south and the west walls of the chamber | 36 |
| Fig. 54. Tomb Γ. Ground plan illustrating the chamber's burial stratum..... | 36 |
| Fig. 55. Tomb Δ. View from the excavation shaft of the chamber and of the dry-stone wall blocking the entrance. Pit I is visible to the left | 38 |
| Fig. 56. Tomb Δ. View from the chamber of the dry-stone wall blocking the entrance. Stirrup jar Δ7 was found over fallen soft rock fragments..... | 38 |
| Fig. 57. Tomb Δ. View of the burial stratum | 39 |
| Fig. 58. Tomb Δ. Bones and burial offerings in pit I..... | 39 |
| Fig. 59. Tomb Δ. Primary burials B, Γ and Δ on the chamber's floor..... | 40 |
| Fig. 60. Tomb Δ. Primary burials Γ and Δ on the chamber's floor | 40 |
| Fig. 61. Tomb Δ. Pit II covered with slabs | 41 |
| Fig. 62. Tomb Δ. Primary burial Z in pit II | 41 |
| Fig. 63. Tomb Δ. Vases Δ8-Δ10 found on top of fallen soft rock fragments..... | 41 |
| Fig. 64. Tomb Δ. Vases Δ8-Δ10 found on top of fallen soft rock fragments..... | 41 |
| Fig. 65. Tomb Δ. Ground plan of the stomion and the chamber with the vases found over the burial stratum..... | 42 |
| Fig. 66. Tomb Δ. Ground plan of the burial stratum | 43 |
| Fig. 67. Tomb Δ. Ground plan and section of pit II..... | 43 |
| Fig. 68. Tomb Δ. Section of the tomb's chamber | 44 |
| Fig. 69. Tomb E. View of the tomb's dromos and entrance | 45 |
| Fig. 70. Tomb E. The dry-stone wall blocking the entrance | 45 |
| Fig. 71. Tomb E. View from the entrance of the chamber and its burial stratum | 46 |
| Fig. 72. Tomb E. View from the excavation shaft of the burial stratum with primary burials A and Δ | 47 |
| Fig. 73. Tomb E. Primary burial A and her offerings | 47 |
| Fig. 74. Tomb E. Primary burial Θ | 47 |
| Fig. 75. Tomb E. Primary burials A, B and pile I at the back | 48 |
| Fig. 76. Tomb E. Primary burial Γ and her offerings..... | 48 |
| Fig. 77. Tomb E. Pile I of bones and burial offerings swept aside | 49 |
| Fig. 78. Tomb E. Vases E15-E18 at the north edge of pile I | 49 |
| Fig. 79. Tomb E. Vases E23-E25 and knife E33 at the south edge of pile I | 49 |
| Fig. 80. Tomb E. Pile II of bones and burial offerings | 50 |
| Fig. 81. Tomb E. Detail of pile II with vase E37 and bronze spear E38..... | 50 |
| Fig. 82. Tomb E. Primary burial E in the middle of the chamber..... | 50 |
| Fig. 83. Tomb E. Elevation of the successive rows of dry-stone walls blocking the tomb's entrance..... | 51 |
| Fig. 84. Tomb E. Ground plan..... | 51 |
| Fig. 85. Tomb E. Section..... | 52 |
| Fig. 86. Tomb E. Ground plan with burial stratum..... | 52 |
| Fig. 87. Tomb ΣΤ. View of the blocked entrance with the broad and shallow channel cut on the dromos floor..... | 54 |
| Fig. 88. Tomb ΣΤ. View of the entrance with its second row of stones and of the shallow channel cut on the dromos floor | 54 |
| Fig. 89. Tomb ΣΤ. Joining fragments of a high-stemmed kylix to the left of the stone pile before the entrance | 54 |
| Fig. 90. Tomb ΣΤ. The burial stratum with burials A, B, Γ and Δ seen from the excavation shaft | 55 |
| Fig. 91. Tomb ΣΤ. Moved burial A | 55 |
| Fig. 92. Tomb ΣΤ. Secondary burial Γ and skull B..... | 55 |
| Fig. 93. Tomb ΣΤ. South half of the chamber including primary burials E, ΣΤ and Z and a pile of bones and offerings..... | 56 |
| Fig. 94. Tomb ΣΤ. Bones and offerings in a pile along the southeast wall | 56 |
| Fig. 95. Tomb ΣΤ. Detail of some offerings from the chamber's pile | 56 |
| Fig. 96. Tomb ΣΤ. Stirrup jars ΣΤ25-ΣΤ30 between burials E and ΣΤ..... | 57 |
| Fig. 97. Tomb ΣΤ. Primary burial Z with his offerings..... | 57 |
| Fig. 98. Tomb ΣΤ. Pits I and II | 58 |
| Fig. 99. Tomb ΣΤ. Pit I and vases ΣΤ53 and ΣΤ55 which fell inside | 58 |
| Fig. 100. Tomb ΣΤ. Pits I and II with female burial I and male burial Θ respectively..... | 58 |
| Fig. 101. Tomb ΣΤ. Elevation of the entrance and its first row of dry-stone wall..... | 59 |
| Fig. 102. Tomb ΣΤ. Elevation of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th rows of dry-stone walls blocking the tomb's entrance | 59 |
| Fig. 103. Tomb ΣΤ. Elevation of the 5th row of dry-stone wall and section of the entrance | 60 |
| Fig. 104. Tomb ΣΤ. Ground plan of the burial stratum..... | 60 |
| Fig. 105. Tomb ΣΤ. Ground plan with pits I and II covered by slabs..... | 61 |
| Fig. 106. Tomb ΣΤ. Ground plan with pits I and II and burials I and Θ inside..... | 61 |
| Fig. 107. Tomb Z. View of the dromos, chamber Za at the back and Zb to the right..... | 63 |
| Fig. 108. Tomb Z. View of the dromos and the dry-stone wall of chamber Za | 63 |
| Fig. 109. Tomb Z. Chamber Za | 64 |
| Fig. 110. Tomb Z. Primary burial A with his offerings..... | 64 |
| Fig. 111. Tomb Z. Detail of primary burial A and vases Za1-Za3..... | 64 |
| Fig. 112. Tomb Z. View from the chamber of the dry-stone wall and the burial stratum | 65 |
| Fig. 113. Tomb Z. Skull A on the upper fill of chamber Zb..... | 65 |
| Fig. 114. Tomb Z. Burials B and Γ in chamber Zb | 65 |
| Fig. 115. Tomb Z. Burials B and Γ in chamber Zb | 65 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Fig. 116. Tomb Z and its chambers Za and Zb. Ground plan..... | 66 |
| Fig. 117. Tomb Z. Section of dromos and chamber Za..... | 66 |
| Fig. 118. Tomb H. View of dromos and the dry-stone blocking the entrance..... | 68 |
| Fig. 119. Tomb H. Stratigraphy at the right side of the dromos..... | 68 |
| Fig. 120. Tomb H. View from the chamber of the blocked entrance..... | 68 |
| Fig. 121. Tomb H. View of the chamber at the end of the excavation..... | 69 |
| Fig. 122. Tomb H. Primary burial A..... | 69 |
| Fig. 123. Tomb H. Primary burial A and his offerings..... | 69 |
| Fig. 124. View of the chamber and its burial stratum..... | 70 |
| Fig. 125. Tomb H. Secondary burials Δ-M along the east wall of the chamber..... | 70 |
| Fig. 126. Tomb H. Vases H4, H5, H14 by the pile of bones and skull of burial B to the right..... | 70 |
| Fig. 127. Tomb H. Primary burial B and his offerings (H6-H8)..... | 71 |
| Fig. 128. Tomb H. Primary burial Γ and his offerings (H11-H13)..... | 71 |
| Fig. 129. Tomb H. Elevation of the façade..... | 71 |
| Fig. 130. Tomb H. East-to-west section of the chamber, with the pile of secondary burials..... | 71 |
| Fig. 131. Tomb H. Ground plan of the tomb's dromos and chamber with burial stratum..... | 72 |
| Fig. 132. Tomb H. Section of the tomb's dromos and chamber..... | 72 |
| Fig. 133. Tomb Θ. View of the south wall of the dromos with the blocking of alcove I..... | 74 |
| Fig. 134. Tomb Θ. Alcove I at the south wall of the dromos..... | 74 |
| Fig. 135. Tomb Θ. Alcove I with secondary burials inside..... | 74 |
| Fig. 136. Tomb Θ. The disturbed blocking of the entrance seen from the chamber and a pile of swept aside bones and offerings to the left..... | 74 |
| Fig. 137. Tomb Θ. Upper stratum of the chamber fill deposit with large four-handled jars Θ7 and Θ8 to the left and a pile of swept aside bones and offerings to the right..... | 75 |
| Fig. 138. Tomb Θ. View of the chamber's burial stratum. Primary burial A is partly covered by four-handled jars Θ7 and Θ8..... | 75 |
| Fig. 139. Tomb Θ. Detail of the upper stratum of the chamber fill deposit along the east wall, with the chopped bones of a slaughtered calf..... | 76 |
| Fig. 140. Tomb Θ. View of the east wall of the chamber with the bench bearing the slaughtered calf and the pile of swept aside bones to the right..... | 76 |
| Fig. 141. Tomb Θ. Primary burials E (left) and Δ (right)..... | 77 |
| Fig. 142. Tomb Θ. Primary burial E and bronze tool Θ60 under her left humerus..... | 77 |
| Fig. 143. Tomb Θ. View of primary burial B and of four-handled jars Θ7 and Θ8 above the warrior's burial (primary burial A)..... | 78 |
| Fig. 144. Tomb Θ. Primary burial B with some of her offerings and skull Γ behind her skull..... | 78 |
| Fig. 145. Tomb Θ. Skull Γ behind primary burial B (left) and the warrior's burial (primary burial A) with his bronze weapons and tools (Θ11-Θ14)..... | 79 |
| Fig. 146. Tomb Θ. View of the chamber with the flexed legs of primary burial B and her razor Θ51 found upon the slabs of pit II (middle) and primary burial Δ (right)..... | 79 |
| Fig. 147. Tomb Θ. Primary burial B by warrior's burial with his bronze weapons and tools at his right and four-handled jars Θ7 and Θ8 above his head..... | 79 |
| Fig. 148. Tomb Θ. Warrior's bronze weapons and tools as found <i>in situ</i> | 80 |
| Fig. 149. Tomb Θ. Primary burial Δ with her offerings..... | 80 |
| Fig. 150. Tomb Θ. Detail of primary burial Δ with bronze ring Θ53 on her thumb..... | 80 |
| Fig. 151. Tomb Θ. Pits II (middle) and I (right)..... | 81 |
| Fig. 152. Tomb Θ. Pit I containing the bones and offerings of nine secondary burials..... | 81 |
| Fig. 153. Tomb Θ. Pit II with primary burial Θ..... | 81 |
| Fig. 154. Tomb Θ. Ground plan of tomb's dromos, alcove I and chamber with the upper stratum of its fill deposit containing the slaughtered calf and four-handled jars Θ7 and Θ8..... | 82 |
| Fig. 155. Section of alcove I..... | 82 |
| Fig. 156. Tomb Θ. East-west section of the chamber containing the bench with the slaughtered calf..... | 83 |
| Fig. 157. Tomb Θ. North-south section of the chamber containing the bench with the jars Θ7 and Θ8..... | 83 |
| Fig. 158. Tomb Θ. Ground plan of the chamber's burial stratum..... | 84 |
| Fig. 159. Tomb Θ. Ground plan of the chamber. Pits I and II..... | 84 |
| Fig. 160. Tomb Θ. West-east section of the chamber and pit II..... | 85 |
| Fig. 161. Tomb K. Dromos and stomion..... | 87 |
| Fig. 162. Tomb K. Dromos and stomion..... | 87 |
| Fig. 163. Tomb K. View of the chamber's burial stratum and the huge leap of stones, fallen from the doorway's blocking..... | 88 |
| Fig. 164. Tomb K. View of the chamber's pit covered with slabs..... | 88 |
| Fig. 165. Tomb K. View of the chamber's pit after the removal of its cover..... | 89 |
| Fig. 166. Tomb K. View of the chamber during its excavation, presenting the niche and its barrier..... | 89 |
| Fig. 167. Tomb K. Retaining wall against the northeast wall and primary burials A and B..... | 89 |
| Fig. 168. Tomb K. Primary burials A and B..... | 89 |
| Fig. 169. Tomb K. Vases K2-K15, K23, K2-K7 are attributed to primary burial A, while K8-K15 and K23 to primary burial B..... | 90 |
| Fig. 170. Tomb K. Vases K2-K14, K31, K32, K2-K7 and K31, K32 are attributed to primary burial A..... | 90 |
| Fig. 171. Tomb K. Vases K8-K15 and K23 are attributed to primary burial B..... | 90 |
| Fig. 172. Tomb K. Vases K16, K18 and K29 were placed upon fallen parts of the chamber's roof..... | 91 |
| Fig. 173. Tomb K. Parts of amphora K1 placed upon fallen parts of the chamber's roof..... | 91 |
| Fig. 174. Tomb K. Pile of bones and offerings swept aside along the southeast wall of the chamber..... | 91 |
| Fig. 175. Tomb K. Detail of the pile of bones and offerings swept aside along the southeast wall of the chamber..... | 91 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 176. Tomb K. Sealstone K56 found in the pile of bones and offerings swept aside along the southeast wall of the chamber..... | 91 |
| Fig. 177. Tomb K. Pit covered with slabs by the south wall of the chamber. Vases K60-K63 were found standing <i>in situ</i> | 92 |
| Fig. 178. Tomb K. Primary burial Z in the chamber's pit..... | 92 |
| Fig. 179. Tomb K. Ground plan with burial stratum..... | 92 |
| Fig. 180. Tomb K. Ground plan of the chamber after the removal of the burial stratum, presenting the slab-covered pit and vases K60-K63 <i>in situ</i> | 93 |
| Fig. 181. Tomb K. Ground plan of the chamber with pit including primary burial Z..... | 94 |
| Fig. 182. Tomb K. Section of the chamber's pit..... | 94 |
| Fig. 183. View of the cemetery's fourth row of tombs. Dromos and chamber of tomb A (left), dromos of tomb K (middle), dromos and chambers of tomb M (right) and the chamber of the tomb, plundered in 1986 (back)..... | 96 |
| Fig. 184. Tomb A. Dromos and entrance blocked with dry-stone wall. To the right is the vertical shaft opened to provide access to the chamber..... | 96 |
| Fig. 185. Tomb A. Vertical shaft opened to the right of the dry-stone wall of the entrance, providing access to the chamber..... | 97 |
| Fig. 186. Tomb A. Chamber's burial stratum and the ditch cut into it with the clay pipe running along..... | 97 |
| Fig. 187. Tomb A. Primary burials A and B and offerings A1-A11..... | 98 |
| Fig. 188. Tomb A. Detail of the clay pipe..... | 98 |
| Fig. 189. Tomb A. The rock-cut tunnel with the clay pipe running south of chamber A. The opening at the back reveals chamber Ma..... | 98 |
| Fig. 190. The rock-cut tunnel of the clay pipe runs around chamber Ma and below tomb's K dromos..... | 99 |
| Fig. 191. Tomb A. Left: the ditch cut into the chamber's floor. Right: the burial stratum with the remains of primary burials A and B..... | 99 |
| Fig. 192. Tomb A. The chamber's burial stratum..... | 99 |
| Fig. 193. Tomb A. Bronze needle A21 found below stirrup jar A3..... | 100 |
| Fig. 194. Tomb A. Stirrup jars A4, A9 and A10 step on whitish rock fragments and not directly on the floor, unlike vases A5-A8..... | 100 |
| Fig. 195. Tomb A. The remains of secondary burial Γ and the chamber's pit, covered with a large slab..... | 100 |
| Fig. 196. Tomb A. Pit with secondary burial Δ and some offerings..... | 101 |
| Fig. 197. Tomb A. Ground plan of the tomb and the clay pipe's tunnel running along its chamber and further to the south, between chamber Ma and tomb's K dromos..... | 101 |
| Fig. 198. Tomb A. Ground plan and appendix (top right) presenting the interior of the chamber's pit..... | 102 |
| Fig. 199. Tomb A. Section..... | 103 |
| Fig. 200. Tomb M. Dromos with two entrances (left and back) blocked with dry-stone walls..... | 104 |
| Fig. 201. Tomb M. The down-sloping dromos and the dry-stone wall of chamber Ma..... | 105 |
| Fig. 202. Tomb M. View from the surface of the blocked entrances of chambers Ma (left) and Mb (right)..... | 105 |
| Fig. 203. Tomb M. Pottery fragments in the dromos fill..... | 105 |
| Fig. 204. Tomb M. View of the burial stratum of chamber Ma. The opening on the top right of the chamber's wall connects it to the clay pipe tunnel of the later aqueduct..... | 106 |
| Fig. 205. Tomb M. View of the dry-stone wall of the entrance from the chamber and some scattered bones and offerings..... | 106 |
| Fig. 206. Tomb M. Primary burials A and B in chamber Ma..... | 107 |
| Fig. 207. Tomb M. Piriform jar Ma3 and stirrup jar Ma10 found by the warrior's skull..... | 107 |
| Fig. 208. Tomb M. Warrior's bronze spear Ma8 and sickle-like knife Ma9 in chamber Ma..... | 107 |
| Fig. 209. Tomb M. Bronze spear Ma5 and spindle whorl Ma14 found with the scattered bones and offerings in the north half of chamber Ma..... | 107 |
| Fig. 210. Tomb M. Scattered bones and offerings in the north half of chamber Ma..... | 108 |
| Fig. 211. Tomb M. Dry-stone wall blocking the entrance of chamber Mb..... | 108 |
| Fig. 212. Tomb M. View of chamber's Mb burial stratum..... | 109 |
| Fig. 213. Tomb M. View of chamber Mb after the removal of burials and offerings..... | 109 |
| Fig. 214. Tomb M, chamber Mb. Stirrup jar Mb1 found on a mound of soil, at the back of the entrance..... | 110 |
| Fig. 215. Tomb M, chamber Mb. Primary burial A..... | 110 |
| Fig. 216. Tomb M. Pile of bones and offerings along chamber's Mb east wall..... | 110 |
| Fig. 217. Tomb M. Ground plan of chambers Ma, Mb and their common dromos. Part of the clay pipe tunnel runs on the top..... | 111 |
| Fig. 218. Tomb M. Ground plan of chamber Ma..... | 112 |
| Fig. 219. Tomb M. Ground plan of chamber Mb..... | 113 |
| Fig. 220. Tomb M. Section of dromos and of chamber Ma..... | 113 |
| Fig. 221. Tomb M. Section of dromos and of chamber Mb..... | 114 |
| Fig. 222. Tomb N. The remains of the entrance with the few stones of its blocking found <i>in situ</i> | 115 |
| Fig. 223. Tomb N. The entrance with the remaining stones of its blocking and the chamber at the back..... | 115 |
| Fig. 224. Tomb N. View of the chamber (front) and of alcove I (left)..... | 116 |
| Fig. 225. Tomb N. View of the chamber's burial stratum..... | 116 |
| Fig. 226. Tomb N. Primary burials A, B, Γ and Δ at the chamber's north half..... | 117 |
| Fig. 227. Tomb N. Primary burial Δ and his offerings..... | 117 |
| Fig. 228. Tomb N. Children burials E and Z with their offerings and pits I (middle) and II (right)..... | 118 |
| Fig. 229. Tomb N. Pits I and II covered with slabs..... | 118 |
| Fig. 230. Tomb N. Pit I (left) with burial H and cremation Θ and pit II (right) with burial I..... | 119 |
| Fig. 231. Tomb N. Pit II with male burial I..... | 119 |
| Fig. 232. Tomb N. Pit I with male burial H and cremation Θ..... | 119 |
| Fig. 233. Tomb N. Ground plan of the entrance and the chamber's burial stratum..... | 120 |
| Fig. 234. Tomb N. Ground plan illustrating pits I and II with burials H and I and cremation Θ..... | 121 |
| Fig. 235. Tomb N. Section of the chamber and pit I..... | 122 |

Chapter 3.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 236. Topographic sketch of the Mycenaean cemetery at Achaia Clauss. Tombs excavated by Papadopoulos are marked with letters of the Greek alphabet, from A to N. Tombs excavated by Kyparissis are marked with numbers, 1-5. Σ 1 marks the chamber tomb plundered in 1986. The arrows point to the five successive rows of tombs of the cemetery..... | 125 |
| Fig. 237. General view of the cemetery after the completion of its last excavation season, in 1992. Chambers Θ , N – and later K – were once more filled and covered with earth, in order to be protected. Tomb E is beyond the frame, 16 m to the south of plundered tomb Σ 1 (to the right)..... | 125 |
| Fig. 238. June 2014. View of tombs Δ (bottom right) and B (top) sunk in the wild vegetation of the slope..... | 128 |

Chapter 4.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 239. Cat. no. A1. Π 8523..... | 129 |
| Fig. 240. Cat. no. A2. Π 8522..... | 129 |
| Fig. 241. Cat. no. A3. Π 8524..... | 130 |
| Fig. 242. Cat. no. A4. Π 8525..... | 130 |
| Fig. 243. Cat. no. A5. Π 8530..... | 131 |
| Fig. 244. Cat. no. A6. Π 8537..... | 131 |
| Fig. 245. Cat. no. A7. Π 8532..... | 132 |
| Fig. 246. Cat. no. A8. Π 8531..... | 132 |
| Fig. 247. Cat. no. A9. Π 8536..... | 132 |
| Fig. 248. Cat. no. A10. Π 8533..... | 133 |
| Fig. 249. Cat. no. A11. Π 8526..... | 133 |
| Fig. 250. Cat. no. A12. Π 8534..... | 134 |
| Fig. 251. Cat. no. A13. Π 8535..... | 135 |
| Fig. 252. Cat. no. A14. M 3966..... | 135 |
| Fig. 253. Cat. no. A15. M 3973..... | 135 |
| Fig. 254. Cat. no. A16. M 5614..... | 136 |
| Fig. 255. Cat. no. A17. Π 8527..... | 136 |
| Fig. 256. Cat. no. A18. Π 8528..... | 137 |
| Fig. 257. Cat. no. A20. M 5533..... | 137 |
| Fig. 258. Cat. no. A22. M 5613..... | 137 |
| Fig. 259. Cat. no. A23. Π 8529..... | 137 |
| Fig. 260. Cat. no. B1. Π 15669..... | 138 |
| Fig. 261. Cat. no. B2. Π 8652..... | 139 |
| Fig. 262. Cat. no. B3. Π 8649..... | 139 |
| Fig. 263. Cat. no. B4. Π 8651..... | 140 |
| Fig. 264. Cat. no. B5. Π 8648..... | 141 |
| Fig. 265. Cat. no. B6. Π 8647..... | 141 |
| Fig. 266. Cat. no. B7. Π 8650..... | 142 |
| Fig. 267. Cat. no. B8. Π 8542..... | 142 |
| Fig. 268. Cat. no. B9. Π 15662..... | 143 |
| Fig. 269. Cat. no. B10. Π 8656..... | 143 |
| Fig. 270. Cat. no. B11. Π 8539..... | 144 |
| Fig. 271. Cat. no. B12. Π 8642..... | 145 |
| Fig. 272. Cat. no. B13. Π 15674..... | 145 |
| Fig. 273. Cat. no. B14. Π 15681..... | 146 |
| Fig. 274. Cat. no. B15. Π 14013..... | 147 |
| Fig. 275. Cat. no. B16. Π 15680..... | 148 |
| Fig. 276. Cat. no. B17. Π 15670..... | 148 |
| Fig. 277. Cat. no. B18. Π 14014..... | 149 |
| Fig. 278. Cat. no. B19. Π 15682..... | 149 |
| Fig. 279. Cat. no. B20. Π 15667..... | 150 |
| Fig. 280. Cat. no. B21. Π 12372..... | 150 |
| Fig. 281. Cat. no. B22. M 4810..... | 151 |
| Fig. 282. Cat. no. B23. M 4814..... | 151 |
| Fig. 283. Cat. no. B24. M 4811..... | 151 |
| Fig. 284. Cat. no. B25. Π 8643..... | 152 |
| Fig. 285. Cat. no. B26. Π 15666..... | 152 |
| Fig. 286. Cat. no. B27. Π 15657..... | 153 |
| Fig. 287. Cat. no. B28. Π 15664..... | 153 |
| Fig. 288. Cat. no. B29. Π 8541..... | 153 |
| Fig. 289. Cat. no. B30. Π 15658..... | 154 |
| Fig. 290. Cat. no. B31. Π 14015..... | 154 |
| Fig. 291. Cat. no. B32. Π 8655..... | 155 |
| Fig. 292. Cat. no. B33. Π 15654..... | 156 |
| Fig. 293. Cat. no. B34. Π 15663..... | 156 |
| Fig. 294. Cat. no. B35. Π 15678..... | 157 |
| Fig. 295. Cat. no. B36. Π 8644..... | 157 |
| Fig. 296. Cat. no. B37. Π 8540..... | 158 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 297. Cat. no. B38 and B40. П 15660..... | 158 |
| Fig. 298. Cat. no. B39. П 15655 | 159 |
| Fig. 299. Cat. no. B41. П 15661 | 159 |
| Fig. 300. Cat. no. B42. П 14016 | 160 |
| Fig. 301. Cat. no. B43. M 4812..... | 160 |
| Fig. 302. Cat. no. B44. M 4818..... | 160 |
| Fig. 303. Cat. no. B45. M 4817..... | 160 |
| Fig. 304. Cat. no. B46. M 4809..... | 161 |
| Fig. 305. Cat. no. B47. П 8654 | 161 |
| Fig. 306. Cat. no. B48. M 4816..... | 161 |
| Fig. 307. Cat. no. B49. П 15665 | 162 |
| Fig. 308. Cat. no. B50. П 15656 | 162 |
| Fig. 309. Cat. no. B51. П 15672 | 163 |
| Fig. 310. Cat. no. B52. M 4854..... | 163 |
| Fig. 311. Cat. no. B53. П 14017 | 163 |
| Fig. 312. Cat. no. B54. П 15668 | 164 |
| Fig. 313. Cat. no. B55. П 15673 | 164 |
| Fig. 314. Cat. no. B56-B58. П 12371 | 165 |
| Fig. 315. Cat. no. B59. П 8670 | 165 |
| Fig. 316. Cat. no. B60. П 14018 | 166 |
| Fig. 317. Cat. no. B61. M 5587..... | 166 |
| Fig. 318. Cat. no. B62. M 5588..... | 167 |
| Fig. 319. Cat. no. B63. M 5589..... | 167 |
| Fig. 320. Cat. no. B64. П 14019 | 168 |
| Fig. 321. Cat. no. B65. M 5586..... | 168 |
| Fig. 322. Cat. no. Г1. M 4819..... | 168 |
| Fig. 323. Cat. no. Г2. M 5585..... | 169 |
| Fig. 324. Cat. no. Г3. П 8653 | 169 |
| Fig. 325. Cat. no. Г4. П 8645 | 169 |
| Fig. 326. Cat. no. Г5. П 8666 | 170 |
| Fig. 327. Cat. no. Г6. П 12373 | 171 |
| Fig. 328. Cat. no. Г7. П 8646 | 171 |
| Fig. 329. Cat. no. Г8. П 15677 | 172 |
| Fig. 330. Cat. no. Г9. П 14020 | 173 |
| Fig. 331. Cat. no. Г10. П 12375..... | 173 |
| Fig. 332. Cat. no. Г11. П 15671..... | 174 |
| Fig. 333. Cat. no. Г12. П 8668..... | 175 |
| Fig. 334. Cat. no. Г13. П 15675..... | 175 |
| Fig. 335. Cat. no. Г14. П 15676..... | 175 |
| Fig. 336. Cat. no. Г15. П 15679..... | 176 |
| Fig. 337. Cat. no. Г16. П 8664..... | 176 |
| Fig. 338. Cat. no. Г17. П 8669..... | 177 |
| Fig. 339. Cat. no. Г19. M 4815..... | 177 |
| Fig. 340. Cat. no. Δ1. П 14011..... | 178 |
| Fig. 341. Cat. no. Δ2. П 8665..... | 178 |
| Fig. 342. Cat. no. Δ3. П 14012..... | 179 |
| Fig. 343. Cat. no. Δ4. П 8667..... | 179 |
| Fig. 344. Cat. no. Δ5. П 15659..... | 180 |
| Fig. 345. Cat. no. Δ6. П 14822..... | 180 |
| Fig. 346. Cat. no. Δ7. П 15007..... | 181 |
| Fig. 347. Cat. no. Δ8. П 15004..... | 181 |
| Fig. 348. Cat. no. Δ9. П 15401..... | 182 |
| Fig. 349. Cat. no. Δ10. П 14826 | 182 |
| Fig. 350. Cat. no. Δ11. П 15375 | 182 |
| Fig. 351. Cat. no. Δ12. П 14599..... | 183 |
| Fig. 352. Cat. no. Δ13. M 5607 | 183 |
| Fig. 353. Cat. no. Δ14. П 14040 | 184 |
| Fig. 354. Cat. no. Δ15. П 14041..... | 184 |
| Fig. 355. Cat. no. Δ16. П 14042..... | 185 |
| Fig. 356. Cat. no. Δ17. П 14033..... | 185 |
| Fig. 357. Cat. no. Δ18. M 5590 | 186 |
| Fig. 358. Cat. no. Δ19. П 14600..... | 186 |
| Fig. 359. Cat. no. Δ20. П 14820..... | 187 |
| Fig. 360. Cat. no. Δ21. П 12185..... | 187 |
| Fig. 361. Cat. no. Δ23. M 5529 | 188 |
| Fig. 362. Cat. no. Δ24. M 5606 | 188 |
| Fig. 363. Cat. no. E1. П 14615 | 189 |
| Fig. 364. Cat. no. E2. П 14029 | 190 |
| Fig. 365. Cat. no. E3. П 14819..... | 190 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 366. Cat. no. E4. П 14617 | 191 |
| Fig. 367. Cat. no. E5. П 14026 | 191 |
| Fig. 368. Cat. no. E6. П 14616 | 192 |
| Fig. 369. Cat. no. E7. П 14030 | 192 |
| Fig. 370. Cat. no. E8. П 14618 | 193 |
| Fig. 371. Cat. no. E9. П 14601 | 193 |
| Fig. 372. Cat. no. E10. П 14611 | 194 |
| Fig. 373. Cat. no. E11. П 12182 | 194 |
| Fig. 374. Cat. no. E12. П 14028 | 195 |
| Fig. 375. Cat. no. E13. П 14043 | 196 |
| Fig. 376. Cat. no. E14. П 15035 | 196 |
| Fig. 377. Cat. no. E15. П 14612 | 197 |
| Fig. 378. Cat. no. E16. П 14027 | 197 |
| Fig. 379. Cat. no. E17. П 15039 | 198 |
| Fig. 380. Cat. no. E18. П 14031 | 198 |
| Fig. 381. Cat. no. E19. M 5592..... | 199 |
| Fig. 382a. Cat. no. E20. M 5523a..... | 199 |
| Fig. 382b. Cat. no. E20. M 5523b..... | 199 |
| Fig. 383. Cat. no. E21. П 14602 | 199 |
| Fig. 384. Cat. no. E22. M 5530..... | 200 |
| Fig. 385. Cat. no. E23. П 14044 | 200 |
| Fig. 386. Cat. no. E24. П 14045 | 201 |
| Fig. 387. Cat. no. E25. П 14619 | 202 |
| Fig. 388. Cat. no. E26. M 5531..... | 202 |
| Fig. 389. Cat. no. E27. П 15031 | 203 |
| Fig. 390. Cat. no. E28. П 15034 | 203 |
| Fig. 391. Cat. no. E30. M 5608..... | 204 |
| Fig. 392. Cat. no. E31. M 5526..... | 204 |
| Fig. 393. Cat. no. E32. M 5605..... | 204 |
| Fig. 394. Cat. no. E33. M 5522..... | 204 |
| Fig. 395. Cat. no. E34. M 5603..... | 205 |
| Fig. 396. Cat. no. E35. M 5594..... | 205 |
| Fig. 397. Cat. no. E36. П 14603 | 205 |
| Fig. 398. Cat. no. E37. П 14613 | 205 |
| Fig. 399. Cat. no. E38. M 4978..... | 206 |
| Fig. 400. Cat. no. E39. M 5604..... | 206 |
| Fig. 401. Cat. no. E40. M 5593..... | 206 |
| Fig. 402. Cat. no. E41. M 5591..... | 206 |
| Fig. 403. Cat. no. E42. M 5602..... | 207 |
| Fig. 404. Cat. no. E43. M 5528..... | 207 |
| Fig. 405. Cat. no. E44. M 5595..... | 207 |
| Fig. 406. Cat. no. E45. П 15026 | 207 |
| Fig. 407. Cat. no. E46. П 14032 | 208 |
| Fig. 408. Cat. no. E47. M 5598..... | 208 |
| Fig. 409. Cat. no. E48. П 14614 | 209 |
| Fig. 410. Cat. no. E49. M 5582..... | 209 |
| Fig. 411. Cat. no. E50. П 15027 | 209 |
| Fig. 412. Cat. no. E51. M 5597..... | 210 |
| Fig. 413. Cat. no. E52. M 5581..... | 210 |
| Fig. 414. Cat. no. E53. M 5610..... | 210 |
| Fig. 415. Cat. no. E54. M 5599..... | 210 |
| Fig. 416. Cat. no. E55. M 5600..... | 210 |
| Fig. 417. Cat. no. E56. Uncatalogued..... | 211 |
| Fig. 418. Cat. no. ΣT_2 , 35 and 54. П 14825 | 211 |
| Fig. 419. Cat. no. ΣT_3 . П 14035..... | 212 |
| Fig. 420. Cat. no. ΣT_6 . П 14824..... | 212 |
| Fig. 421. Cat. no. ΣT_7 and ΣT_{34} . П 15398 | 212 |
| Fig. 422. Cat. no. ΣT_9 . П 15394..... | 213 |
| Fig. 423. Cat. no. ΣT_{10} . П 14620..... | 213 |
| Fig. 424. Cat. no. ΣT_{11} . П 14021..... | 214 |
| Fig. 425. Cat. no. ΣT_{12} . П 15006..... | 214 |
| Fig. 426. Cat. no. ΣT_{14} . П 14610..... | 215 |
| Fig. 427. Cat. no. ΣT_{15} . П 14022..... | 215 |
| Fig. 428. Cat. no. ΣT_{16} . П 14604..... | 216 |
| Fig. 429. Cat. no. ΣT_{17} . П 14023..... | 216 |
| Fig. 430. Cat. no. ΣT_{18} . П 14605..... | 217 |
| Fig. 431. Cat. no. ΣT_{19} . П 14036..... | 217 |
| Fig. 432. Cat. no. ΣT_{20} . П 15000..... | 218 |
| Fig. 433. Cat. no. ΣT_{21} . П 14609..... | 219 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 434. Cat. no. $\Sigma T22$. П 14999 | 219 |
| Fig. 435. Cat. no. $\Sigma T23$. П 15033 | 220 |
| Fig. 436. Cat. no. $\Sigma T24$. П 14821 | 221 |
| Fig. 437. Cat. no. $\Sigma T25$. П 14037 | 221 |
| Fig. 438. Cat. no. $\Sigma T26$. П 14817 | 222 |
| Fig. 439. Cat. no. $\Sigma T27$. П 14621 | 222 |
| Fig. 440. Cat. no. $\Sigma T28$. П 14038 | 223 |
| Fig. 441. Cat. no. $\Sigma T29$. П 14606 | 223 |
| Fig. 442. Cat. no. $\Sigma T30$. П 15029 | 224 |
| Fig. 443. Cat. no. $\Sigma T31$. П 14607 | 225 |
| Fig. 444. Cat. no. $\Sigma T32$. П 14024 | 225 |
| Fig. 445. Cat. no. $\Sigma T33$. П 15376 | 226 |
| Fig. 446. Cat. no. $\Sigma T36$. П 15038 | 226 |
| Fig. 447. Cat. no. $\Sigma T37$. П 15030 | 227 |
| Fig. 448. Cat. no. $\Sigma T38$. M 5596 | 227 |
| Fig. 449. Cat. no. $\Sigma T39$. M 5527 | 227 |
| Fig. 450. Cat. no. $\Sigma T40$. П 14025 | 227 |
| Fig. 451. Cat. no. $\Sigma T41$. П 15397 | 228 |
| Fig. 452. Cat. no. $\Sigma T42$. П 14622 | 229 |
| Fig. 453. Cat. no. $\Sigma T43$. M 5583 | 229 |
| Fig. 454. Cat. no. $\Sigma T44$. П 14034 | 230 |
| Fig. 455. Cat. no. $\Sigma T45$. П 14039 | 230 |
| Fig. 456. Cat. no. $\Sigma T46$. M 5601 | 231 |
| Fig. 457. Cat. no. $\Sigma T47$. M 5524 | 231 |
| Fig. 458. Cat. no. $\Sigma T48$. M 5584 | 231 |
| Fig. 459. Cat. no. $\Sigma T49$. П 15037 | 231 |
| Fig. 460. Cat. no. $\Sigma T50$. M 5525 | 232 |
| Fig. 461. Cat. no. $\Sigma T51$. M 5609 | 232 |
| Fig. 462. Cat. no. $\Sigma T52$. П 14823 | 232 |
| Fig. 463. Cat. no. $\Sigma T53$. П 14608 | 232 |
| Fig. 464. Cat. no. $\Sigma T55$. П 15036 | 233 |
| Fig. 465. Cat. no. $Za1$. П 15395 | 233 |
| Fig. 466. Cat. no. $Za2$. П 15377 | 234 |
| Fig. 467. Cat. no. $Za3$. П 15032 | 234 |
| Fig. 468. Cat. no. $Zb1$. П 15396 | 235 |
| Fig. 469. Cat. no. $Zb2$. П 14623 | 236 |
| Fig. 470. Cat. no. $Zb3$. П 14818 | 236 |
| Fig. 471. Cat. no. $H1$. П 15727 | 237 |
| Fig. 472. Cat. no. $H2$. П 12181 | 237 |
| Fig. 473. Cat. no. $H3$. П 14624 | 237 |
| Fig. 474. Cat. no. $H4$. П 12350 | 238 |
| Fig. 475. Cat. no. $H5$. П 12761 | 239 |
| Fig. 476. Cat. no. $H6$. П 12177 | 239 |
| Fig. 477. Cat. no. $H7$. П 12179 | 240 |
| Fig. 478. Cat. no. $H8$. П 12349 | 240 |
| Fig. 479. Cat. no. $H9$. П 12348 | 241 |
| Fig. 480. Cat. no. $H10$. П 14625 | 241 |
| Fig. 481. Cat. no. $H11$. П 12368 | 242 |
| Fig. 482. Cat. no. $H12$. П 14626 | 242 |
| Fig. 483. Cat. no. $H13$. П 14627 | 243 |
| Fig. 484. Cat. no. $H14$. П 14628 | 244 |
| Fig. 485. Cat. no. $H15$. M 5546 | 244 |
| Fig. 486. Cat. no. $H16$. П 15745 | 244 |
| Fig. 487. Cat. no. $H20$. M 4856 | 245 |
| Fig. 488. Cat. no. $H21$. M 5537 | 245 |
| Fig. 489. Cat. no. $H22$. П 16480 | 245 |
| Fig. 490. Cat. no. $\Theta 1$. П 12771 | 246 |
| Fig. 491. Cat. no. $\Theta 2$. П 12753 | 246 |
| Fig. 492. Cat. no. $\Theta 3$. П 12775 | 247 |
| Fig. 493. Cat. no. $\Theta 4$. П 15400 | 248 |
| Fig. 494. Cat. no. $\Theta 5$. П 12774 | 248 |
| Fig. 495. Cat. no. $\Theta 7$. П 15003 | 249 |
| Fig. 496. Cat. no. $\Theta 8$. П 15001 | 249 |
| Fig. 497. Cat. no. $\Theta 10$. П 15024 | 250 |
| Fig. 498. Cat. no. $\Theta 11$. M 4858 | 251 |
| Fig. 499. Cat. no. $\Theta 12$. M 4855 | 251 |
| Figs. 500a-b. Cat. no. $\Theta 13$. M 4977 | 252 |
| Fig. 501. Cat. no. $\Theta 14$. M 4860 | 252 |
| Fig. 502. Cat. no. $\Theta 15$. П 12345 | 253 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 503. Cat. no. 016. П 12772..... | 253 |
| Fig. 504. Cat. no. 017. П 12769..... | 253 |
| Fig. 505. Cat. no. 018. П 12759..... | 254 |
| Fig. 506. Cat. no. 019. П 12781..... | 254 |
| Fig. 507. Cat. no. 020. П 12178..... | 255 |
| Fig. 508. Cat. no. 021. П 14629..... | 255 |
| Fig. 509. Cat. no. 022. M 5559a-c..... | 256 |
| Fig. 510. Cat. no. 023. M 5543..... | 256 |
| Fig. 511. Cat. no. 024. M 5542..... | 256 |
| Fig. 512. Cat. no. 025 and 030. П 12354..... | 257 |
| Fig. 513. Cat. no. 026. П 12746..... | 257 |
| Fig. 514. Cat. no. 027. П 12780..... | 258 |
| Fig. 515. Cat. no. 029. П 12169..... | 258 |
| Fig. 516. Cat. no. 032. П 12777..... | 259 |
| Fig. 517. Cat. no. 033. П 12173..... | 260 |
| Fig. 518. Cat. no. 034. П 15020..... | 260 |
| Fig. 519. Cat. no. 035. П 12764..... | 261 |
| Fig. 520. Cat. no. 036. П 12763..... | 261 |
| Fig. 521. Cat. no. 037. M 5579..... | 262 |
| Fig. 522. Cat. no. 038. M 5540..... | 262 |
| Fig. 523. Cat. no. 039. M 5541..... | 262 |
| Fig. 524. Cat. no. 040. M 5549..... | 262 |
| Fig. 525. Cat. no. 041. M 5568a..... | 262 |
| Fig. 526. Cat. no. 042. M 5568b..... | 262 |
| Fig. 527. Cat. no. 043. M 5550..... | 263 |
| Fig. 528. Cat. no. 044. M 5566..... | 263 |
| Fig. 529. Cat. no. 045. M 5536..... | 263 |
| Fig. 530. Cat. no. 046. П 15021..... | 264 |
| Fig. 531. Cat. no. 047. M 4862..... | 264 |
| Fig. 532. Cat. no. 048. M 5570..... | 264 |
| Fig. 533. Cat. no. 049. M 5571..... | 265 |
| Fig. 534. Cat. no. 050. M 5567..... | 265 |
| Fig. 535. Cat. no. 051. M 4861..... | 265 |
| Fig. 536. Cat. no. 052. M 5577..... | 265 |
| Fig. 537. Cat. no. 053. M 4864..... | 265 |
| Fig. 538. Cat. no. 054. M 5576..... | 265 |
| Fig. 539. Cat. no. 055. П 12776..... | 266 |
| Fig. 540. Cat. no. 056. П 12767..... | 266 |
| Fig. 541. Cat. no. 057. M 5575a..... | 267 |
| Fig. 542. Cat. no. 057. M 5575b..... | 267 |
| Fig. 543. Cat. no. 057. M 5575c..... | 267 |
| Fig. 544. Cat. no. 058. M 5544..... | 267 |
| Fig. 545. Cat. no. 059α. M 5538..... | 267 |
| Fig. 546. Cat. no. 059. П 15022..... | 267 |
| Fig. 547. Cat. no. 060. M 4857..... | 268 |
| Fig. 548. Cat. no. 061. M 5539a-c..... | 268 |
| Fig. 549. Cat. no. 062. П 12770..... | 269 |
| Fig. 550. Cat. no. 063. M 5574..... | 269 |
| Fig. 551. Cat. no. 064. M 5556..... | 269 |
| Fig. 552. Cat. no. 065. П 12351..... | 269 |
| Fig. 553. Cat. no. 066. M 5534..... | 270 |
| Fig. 554. Cat. no. 067. П 14995..... | 270 |
| Fig. 555. Cat. no. 068. M 4867..... | 270 |
| Fig. 556. Cat. no. 069. П 12778..... | 271 |
| Fig. 557. Cat. no. 070. П 12748..... | 271 |
| Fig. 558. Cat. no. 071. M 4798..... | 272 |
| Fig. 559. Cat. no. 072. M 4863..... | 272 |
| Fig. 560. Cat. no. 073. П 15729..... | 272 |
| Fig. 561. Cat. no. 11. П 12172..... | 273 |
| Fig. 562. Cat. no. 13. M 5535..... | 273 |
| Fig. 563. Cat. no. 14. M 5580..... | 273 |
| Fig. 564. Cat. no. 15. M 5572a-d..... | 273 |
| Fig. 565. Cat. no. 16. П 12184..... | 274 |
| Fig. 566. Cat. no. 17. M 5561..... | 274 |
| Fig. 567. Cat. no. 18. M 5611..... | 274 |
| Fig. 568. Cat. no. 19. П 15019..... | 275 |
| Fig. 569. Cat. no. 110. П 12369..... | 275 |
| Fig. 570. Cat. no. 111. П 12364..... | 276 |
| Fig. 571. Cat. no. 112. П 12167..... | 276 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 572. Cat. no. I13. П 12180 | 276 |
| Fig. 573. Cat. no. I14. M 5553 | 277 |
| Fig. 574. Cat. no. I15. M 5612 | 277 |
| Fig. 575. Cat. no. K2. П 12755 | 277 |
| Fig. 576. Cat. no. K3. П 12779 | 278 |
| Fig. 577. Cat. no. K4. П 12175 | 279 |
| Fig. 578. Cat. no. K5. П 12168 | 279 |
| Fig. 579. Cat. no. K6. П 12760 | 279 |
| Fig. 580. Cat. no. K7. П 15008 | 280 |
| Fig. 581. Cat. no. K8. П 15025 | 281 |
| Fig. 582. Cat. no. K9. П 12347 | 281 |
| Fig. 583. Cat. no. K10. П 12756 | 282 |
| Fig. 584. Cat. no. K11. П 15023 | 282 |
| Fig. 585. Cat. no. K12. П 12176 | 283 |
| Fig. 586. Cat. no. K13. П 12171 | 283 |
| Fig. 587. Cat. no. K14. П 12758 | 284 |
| Fig. 588. Cat. no. K15. П 12757 | 284 |
| Fig. 589. Cat. no. K17. П 12766 | 285 |
| Fig. 590. Cat. no. K18. П 15005 | 285 |
| Fig. 591. Cat. no. K19. П 12363 | 286 |
| Fig. 592. Cat. no. K20. П 12376 | 286 |
| Fig. 593. Cat. no. K21. П 12765 | 287 |
| Fig. 594. Cat. no. K22. П 12762 | 287 |
| Fig. 595. Cat. no. K23. П 12174 | 288 |
| Fig. 596. Cat. no. K24 and K59. M 5555 | 288 |
| Fig. 597. Cat. no. K25. П 12747 | 288 |
| Fig. 598. Cat. no. K28. П 12344 | 289 |
| Fig. 599. Cat. no. K29. П 12186 | 289 |
| Fig. 600. Cat. no. K30. П 12750 | 290 |
| Fig. 601. Cat. no. K31. M 5564 | 290 |
| Fig. 602. Cat. no. K32. M 5565 | 290 |
| Fig. 603. Cat. no. K33. M 5554 | 290 |
| Fig. 604. Cat. no. K34. M 5551 | 290 |
| Fig. 605. Cat. no. K35. M 5560 | 291 |
| Fig. 606. Cat. no. K36. П 12752 | 291 |
| Fig. 607. Cat. no. K37. П 12768 | 291 |
| Fig. 608. Cat. no. K38. П 12183 | 292 |
| Fig. 609. Cat. no. K39. П 12342 | 292 |
| Fig. 610. Cat. no. K41. M 5563a-c | 293 |
| Fig. 611. Cat. no. K42. M 4859 | 293 |
| Fig. 612. Cat. no. K43 α . M 4797 | 293 |
| Fig. 613. Cat. no. K43 β . M 5562a | 293 |
| Fig. 614. Cat. no. K43 β . M 5562a-c | 293 |
| Fig. 615. Cat. no. K44. П 12366 | 294 |
| Fig. 616. Cat. no. K45. M 5557 | 294 |
| Fig. 617. Cat. no. K46. M 5578 | 294 |
| Fig. 618. Cat. no. K47. M 5573a-b | 294 |
| Fig. 619. Cat. no. K48. M 5569a-c | 295 |
| Fig. 620. Cat. no. K49. M 5548a-b | 295 |
| Fig. 621. Cat. no. K50. M 4866 | 295 |
| Fig. 622. Cat. no. K51. M 5558 | 295 |
| Fig. 623. Cat. no. K52. П 12170 | 295 |
| Fig. 624. Cat. no. K53. M 5547 | 296 |
| Fig. 625. Cat. no. K54. Uncatalogued | 296 |
| Fig. 626. Cat. no. K55. M 5552 | 296 |
| Fig. 627. Cat. no. K56. M 4799 | 296 |
| Fig. 628. Cat. no. K57. M 5545 | 296 |
| Fig. 629. Cat. no. K58. П 12367 | 297 |
| Fig. 630. Cat. no. K60. П 12343 | 297 |
| Fig. 631. Cat. no. K61. П 12754 | 298 |
| Fig. 632. Cat. no. K62. П 15399 | 298 |
| Fig. 633. Cat. no. K63. П 12346 | 299 |
| Fig. 634. Cat. no. A1. M 4885 | 299 |
| Fig. 635. Cat. no. A2. П 12359 | 300 |
| Fig. 636. Cat. no. A3. П 12370 | 300 |
| Fig. 637. Cat. no. A4. П 12743 | 301 |
| Fig. 638. Cat. no. A5. П 12737 | 302 |
| Fig. 639. Cat. no. A6. П 12736 | 302 |
| Fig. 640. Cat. no. A7. П 12365 | 303 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 641. Cat. no. A8. П 12362..... | 303 |
| Fig. 642. Cat. no. A9. П 15028..... | 304 |
| Fig. 643. Cat. no. A10. П 12773..... | 305 |
| Fig. 644. Cat. no. A11. M 4869..... | 305 |
| Fig. 645. Cat. no. A13. П 12352..... | 306 |
| Fig. 646. Cat. no. A14. M 4892..... | 306 |
| Fig. 647. Cat. no. A16, A17, A19, A20. M 4887a-d..... | 306 |
| Fig. 648. Cat. no. A18. M 4874..... | 307 |
| Fig. 649. Cat. no. A21. M 4882..... | 307 |
| Fig. 650. Cat. no. A22. П 15730..... | 307 |
| Fig. 651. Cat. no. A24. П 12374..... | 308 |
| Fig. 652. Cat. no. Ma1. П 14997 and П 15743..... | 308 |
| Fig. 653. Cat. no. Ma2. M 4884..... | 309 |
| Fig. 654. Cat. no. Ma3. П 14998..... | 309 |
| Fig. 655. Cat. no. Ma4. Uncatalogued..... | 309 |
| Fig. 656. Cat. no. Ma5. M 4870..... | 310 |
| Fig. 657. Cat. no. Ma6. П 15728..... | 310 |
| Fig. 658. Cat. no. Ma7. П 15741..... | 311 |
| Fig. 659. Cat. no. Ma8. M 4868..... | 311 |
| Fig. 660. Cat. no. Ma9. M 4875..... | 312 |
| Fig. 661. Cat. no. Ma10. П 15747..... | 312 |
| Fig. 662. Cat. no. Ma11. M 4888..... | 312 |
| Fig. 663. Cat. no. Ma12. M 4876..... | 313 |
| Fig. 664. Cat. no. Ma13. П 12745..... | 313 |
| Fig. 665. Cat. no. Ma14. M 4888..... | 313 |
| Fig. 666. Cat. no. Ma15. M 4888..... | 313 |
| Fig. 667. Cat. no. Ma15. M 4893..... | 314 |
| Fig. 668. Cat. no. Ma15. M 4894..... | 314 |
| Fig. 669. Cat. no. Ma16 and Ma17. M 4889a-b..... | 314 |
| Fig. 670. Cat. no. Ma18. M 4888..... | 314 |
| Fig. 671. Cat. no. Ma19. M 4877..... | 314 |
| Fig. 672. Cat. no. Ma20. M 4878..... | 315 |
| Fig. 673. Cat. no. Ma21. M 4890..... | 315 |
| Fig. 674. Cat. no. Ma22. M 4796..... | 315 |
| Fig. 675. Cat. no. Ma23. П 15748..... | 315 |
| Fig. 676. Cat. no. Mb1. П 12353..... | 316 |
| Fig. 677. Cat. no. Mb2. П 12744..... | 316 |
| Fig. 678. Cat. no. Mb3. П 12751..... | 317 |
| Fig. 679. Cat. no. Mb5. П 12738..... | 317 |
| Fig. 680. Cat. no. N1. П 15737..... | 318 |
| Fig. 681. Cat. no. N3. M 4886..... | 318 |
| Fig. 682. Cat. no. N4. M 4879..... | 318 |
| Fig. 683. Cat. no. N5. П 15731..... | 318 |
| Fig. 684. Cat. no. N5. П 15732..... | 318 |
| Fig. 685. Cat. no. N5. П 15733..... | 318 |
| Fig. 686. Cat. no. N5. П 15735..... | 319 |
| Fig. 687. Cat. no. N5. П 15736..... | 319 |
| Fig. 688. Cat. no. N6. M 4883..... | 319 |
| Fig. 689. Cat. nos N7, N9. M 4891..... | 319 |
| Fig. 690. Cat. no. N8. M 4880..... | 319 |
| Fig. 691. Cat. no. N10. П 15010..... | 320 |
| Fig. 692. Cat. no. N11. П 12740..... | 320 |
| Fig. 693. Cat. no. N12. П 15013..... | 321 |
| Fig. 694. Cat. no. N13. M 4886..... | 321 |
| Fig. 695. Cat. no. N14. M 4886..... | 321 |
| Fig. 696. Cat. no. N15. M 4886..... | 321 |
| Fig. 697. Cat. no. N16. M 4886..... | 321 |
| Fig. 698. Cat. no. N17. M 4881..... | 322 |
| Fig. 699. Cat. no. N18. П 12735..... | 322 |
| Fig. 700. Cat. no. N19. П 15012..... | 323 |
| Fig. 701. Cat. no. N20. M 4871..... | 323 |
| Fig. 702. Cat. no. N21. П 12356..... | 323 |
| Fig. 703. Cat. no. N22. П 12361..... | 324 |
| Fig. 704. Cat. no. N23. П 12739..... | 324 |
| Fig. 705. Cat. no. N24. П 12741..... | 325 |
| Fig. 706. Cat. no. N25. П 12733..... | 325 |
| Fig. 707. Cat. no. N26. П 12358..... | 326 |
| Fig. 708. Cat. no. N27. П 12732..... | 326 |
| Fig. 709. Cat. no. N28. П 12734..... | 327 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Fig. 710. Cat. no. N29. П 15011..... | 327 |
| Fig. 711. Cat. no. N30. П 12742..... | 328 |
| Fig. 712. Cat. no. N31. П 12360..... | 329 |
| Fig. 713. Cat. no. N32. П 15734..... | 330 |
| Fig. 714. Cat. no. N32a. П 15002..... | 330 |
| Fig. 715. Cat. no. N33. M 4886..... | 330 |
| Fig. 716. Cat. no. N34. M 4801..... | 330 |
| Fig. 717. Cat. no. N35. M 4872..... | 330 |
| Fig. 718. Cat. no. N36. M 4886..... | 331 |
| Fig. 719. Cat. no. N37. M 4886..... | 331 |
| Fig. 720. Cat. no. N38. M 4873..... | 331 |
| Fig. 721. Cat. no. M 5532..... | 331 |
| Fig. 722. Cat. no. M 3964..... | 331 |

Chapter 5.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 723. Single or double foliate band, FM 64:20..... | 335 |
| Fig. 724. Wide or confined free hand-drawn isolated semi-circles, FM 43:d..... | 335 |
| Fig. 725. Fringed isolated semi-circles, FM 43:p..... | 335 |
| Fig. 726. N-patterns in a row, FM 60:1..... | 335 |
| Fig. 727. S-patterns in a row (or disintegrated quirk), FM 48:6..... | 336 |
| Fig. 728. Phase 1. Potter A. Vases from Clauss..... | 336 |
| Fig. 729. Phase 1. Potter B. Vases from Clauss..... | 337 |
| Fig. 730. Concentric hatched semi-circles FM 43:5..... | 338 |
| Fig. 731. Simple isolated semi-circles, FM 43:d..... | 338 |
| Fig. 732. Arched dashes recalling parallel chevrons FM 58:17..... | 339 |
| Fig. 733. Bivalve shell, fringed at the top, FM 25:16 and 25:17..... | 339 |
| Fig. 734. Hatched papyrus-like ornament (zwickel), FM 11:66..... | 339 |
| Fig. 735. Triangles filled with net, FM 61A:5..... | 339 |
| Fig. 736. Quirk, FM 48:18..... | 339 |
| Fig. 737. Double or triple dotted lozenge, FM 73:h, i, p..... | 339 |
| Fig. 738. Zone filled with diaper net, FM 57:2..... | 340 |
| Fig. 739. Double horizontal dotted line (recalling a row of solid circles), FM 41..... | 340 |
| Fig. 740. Wavy or simple lines in radiating arrangement, FM 53:38..... | 340 |
| Fig. 741. Triglyph, FM 75:4..... | 340 |
| Fig. 742. Phase 2. Potter A. Vases from Clauss..... | 341 |
| Fig. 743. Phase 2. Potter Г of 'the workshop of Krini'. Vases from Clauss..... | 342 |
| Fig. 744. Vases from Clauss attributed to the <i>workshop of Krini</i> | 342 |
| Fig. 745. Groups of simple isolated concentric semi-circles, FM 43:h..... | 346 |
| Fig. 746. Groups of dotted isolated semi-circles, FM 43:i..... | 346 |
| Fig. 747. Groups of fringed isolated semi-circles, FM 43:p..... | 346 |
| Fig. 748. Parallel chevrons, simple or dotted, FM 58:17..... | 346 |
| Fig. 749. Triglyph, filled with parallel chevrons, and rows of concentric semi-circles, FM 43:18, 75:20..... | 346 |
| Fig. 750. Simple triglyphs of three parallel lines, FM 75:15..... | 347 |
| Fig. 751. Tassel pattern, in the form of a fringed band, FM 72:13..... | 347 |
| Fig. 752. Simple and double dotted line (or row of solid circles), FM 41..... | 347 |
| Fig. 753. Simple and double foliate band, FM 64..... | 347 |
| Fig. 754. Tassel pattern, FM 72:7..... | 347 |
| Fig. 755. Hatched concentric semi-circles FM 43:5..... | 347 |
| Fig. 756. Open hatched triangles, FM 61A:6..... | 347 |
| Fig. 757. Sea anemone, FM 27:11..... | 348 |
| Fig. 758. Elaborate triangle, FM 71:e..... | 348 |
| Fig. 759. Quirk, FM 48:26..... | 348 |
| Fig. 760. Joining semi-circles (scaled net/triangle), FM 42:19, 42:21..... | 348 |
| Fig. 761. Triangles filled with horizontal wavy lines and zigzags, FM 53:22, 61:18, 61A..... | 348 |
| Fig. 762. Triangles filled with net, FM 61A:5..... | 348 |
| Fig. 763. Lozenges filled with net, FM 73k, 73:5..... | 349 |
| Fig. 764. Rectangles filled with net, FM 57:2..... | 349 |
| Fig. 765. Horizontal wavy lines, FM 53:22..... | 349 |
| Fig. 766. Multiple triangles with a solid one in the middle, FM 61A:2..... | 349 |
| Fig. 767. Shoulder decoration of stirrup jar E10..... | 349 |
| Fig. 768. Vases of Clauss attributed to Potter A of the 'workshop of Krini and Clauss'..... | 350 |
| Fig. 769. Vases of Clauss attributed to Potter B of the 'workshop of Krini and Clauss'..... | 351 |
| Fig. 770. Phase 3. Potter Г. Vases of Clauss..... | 352 |
| Fig. 771. Phase 3. Potter Г. Vases of Clauss..... | 353 |
| Fig. 772. Phase 3. Potter Δ. Vases of Clauss..... | 354 |
| Fig. 773. Phase 3. Potter E. Vases from Clauss..... | 355 |
| Fig. 774. Phase 3. Potter ΣT. Vases from Clauss..... | 355 |
| Fig. 775. Phase 3. Potter Z. Vases from Clauss..... | 356 |
| Fig. 776. Phase 3. Potter H. Vases from Clauss..... | 357 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 777. Phase 3. Potter Θ . Vases from Clauss | 357 |
| Fig. 778. Phase 3. Potter I of stirrup jars of the <i>Clauss</i> type..... | 358 |
| Fig. 779. Synthesis of isolated semi-circles FM 43:34, 43:35 | 361 |
| Fig. 780. Synthesis of isolated semi-circles FM 43:32 | 361 |
| Fig. 781. Synthesis of isolated semi-circles FM 42:27, 43:h, 43:34..... | 362 |
| Fig. 782. Dotted multiple triangles with scaled core, FM 61A: 1, 70:7, 72:9 and FM 43:h..... | 362 |
| Fig. 783. Dotted or simple scaled triangles combined with parallel chevrons, FM 42:32, 58:22, 72:9..... | 362 |
| Fig. 784. Fringed multiple triangles, flanked by fringed groups of isolated semi-circles, FM 43:p, 61:1 | 362 |
| Fig. 785. Multiple lozenges, flanked by two groups of isolated semi-circles, FM 43:h, 73:i..... | 362 |
| Fig. 786. Multiple elaborate triangles, flanked by two unbordered triangles, FM 61A:6, 71:10..... | 362 |
| Fig. 787. Synthesis of multiple dotted triangles, FM 43:i, 58:22, 61A | 363 |
| Fig. 788. Three groups of unbordered hatched triangles, FM 61A:6 | 363 |
| Fig. 789. Three or two groups of fringed isolated semi-circles in a row, FM 43:p..... | 363 |
| Fig. 790. Groups of dotted isolated semi-circles in a row, FM 43:i, 43:31..... | 363 |
| Fig. 791. Three simple groups of isolated semi-circles in a row, FM 43:h..... | 363 |
| Fig. 792. Phase 4. Potter A of Achaean Style. Vases from Clauss | 364 |
| Fig. 793. Phase 4. Potter B of Achaean Style. Vases from Clauss..... | 365 |
| Fig. 794. Phase 4. Potter Γ of Achaean Style. Vases from Clauss | 366 |
| Fig. 795. Simple foliate band, FM 64:20..... | 366 |
| Fig. 796. Perpendicular parallel chevrons, FM 58:28 | 367 |
| Fig. 797. Groups of isolated semi-circles, FM 43j..... | 367 |
| Fig. 798. Hatched (or filled with net) triangles in radiating arrangement, FM 61A:5 | 367 |
| Fig. 799. Crosses in a row, FM 54:6..... | 367 |
| Fig. 800. Fringed lines or herring-bone in radiating arrangement, FM 58:29 | 367 |
| Fig. 801. Stemmed spirals, FM 51:15..... | 368 |
| Fig. 802. multiple concentric lozenges, FM 73:w..... | 368 |
| Fig. 803. Elaborate triangles, FM 71:g..... | 368 |
| Fig. 804. Panel filled with perpendicular chain of concentric multiple lozenges, FM 73:w, 73:10, 75:27 | 368 |
| Fig. 805. Hatched concentric semi-circles, FM 43:5 | 368 |
| Fig. 806. Pair of double dotted joining semi-circles..... | 368 |
| Fig. 807. Dotted scaled triangle, FM 42:21 | 369 |
| Fig. 808. Composition of multiple concentric lozenges, FM 43:h, 73:i, 73:ad, 73:11 | 369 |
| Fig. 809. Phase 4. Potter E. Vases from Clauss..... | 370 |
| Fig. 810. Phase 4. Potter Σ T. Vases from Clauss | 371 |
| Fig. 811. Phase 4. Workshop 1. Vases from Clauss..... | 372 |
| Fig. 812. Groups of simple isolated semi-circles, FM 43:h..... | 374 |
| Fig. 813. Groups of fringed isolated semi-circles, FM 43:p..... | 374 |
| Fig. 814. Groups of dotted isolated semi-circles, FM 43:i..... | 374 |
| Fig. 815. Elaborate triangles, FM 71:d | 374 |
| Fig. 816. Synthesis of dotted multiple triangles, FM 43:i, 61A: 1 | 374 |
| Fig. 817. Two groups of concentric semi-circles interconnected by parallel chevrons, FM 43:h..... | 374 |
| Fig. 818. Phase 5. Potter A. Vases from Clauss | 374 |
| Fig. 819. Antithetic spiral, FM 50:14 | 375 |
| Fig. 820. Two groups of simple isolated semi-circles, FM 43:h, 43:36, 75:1 | 375 |
| Fig. 821. Simple groups of isolated semi-circles in a row, FM 43:h..... | 375 |
| Fig. 822. Stirrup jars of phase 6 from Clauss..... | 376 |
| Fig. 823. Groups of isolated semi-circles, FM 43:h | 376 |
| Fig. 824. Groups of fringed isolated semi-circles, FM 43:p..... | 377 |
| Fig. 825. Perpendicular double and triple wavy lines, FM 53:12..... | 377 |
| Fig. 826. Continuous rock pattern, based on a band round the maximum body diameter, FM 32:5 | 378 |
| Fig. 827. Double curve-stemmed spirals, FM 49:10, 53:13 | 378 |
| Fig. 828. Multiple stem and tongue pattern, FM 19:8..... | 378 |
| Fig. 829. Net, FM 57:2 | 378 |
| Fig. 830. Foliate band, FM 64:21 | 379 |
| Fig. 831. Curve-stemmed spirals, in a row, FM 49:4 | 379 |
| Fig. 832. Wavy line, single or multiple, FM 53:4 | 379 |
| Fig. 833. Curve-stemmed papyri, in a row, FM 11:48 | 379 |
| Fig. 834. Continuous rock pattern, FM 32:5..... | 380 |
| Fig. 835. Wavy lines, FM 53 | 380 |
| Fig. 836. Multiple triangles, FM 61A:1..... | 380 |
| Fig. 837. panelled multiple wavy lines, FM 75:18 | 380 |
| Fig. 838. Net, FM 57:2 | 380 |
| Fig. 839. Continuous rock pattern, FM 32:5..... | 381 |
| Fig. 840. Continuous rock pattern, FM 32:5..... | 381 |
| Fig. 841. Net, FM 57:2 | 381 |
| Fig. 842. Parallel dashes recalling a foliate band, FM 64:20 | 382 |
| Fig. 843. Quirk, FM 48:6 | 382 |
| Fig. 844. Row of densely arranged vertical zig-zag lines | 382 |
| Fig. 845. Quirk, FM 48:14 | 383 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 846. Running spirals, in connected pairs, FM 46:54 | 383 |
| Fig. 847. Detail of alabastron <i>B11</i> | 384 |
| Fig. 848. Detail of alabastron <i>B15</i> | 384 |
| Fig. 849. Detail of amphora <i>I8</i> | 386 |
| Fig. 850. Wavy line, FM 53:19 | 386 |
| Fig. 851. Detail of amphora <i>B14</i> | 386 |
| Fig. 852. Detail of amphora <i>Δ8</i> | 387 |
| Fig. 853. Detail of amphora <i>K18</i> | 387 |
| Fig. 854. Hatched unbordered triangles, FM 61A:6 | 388 |
| Fig. 855. Hatched zig-zag bands, FM 61:6 | 389 |
| Fig. 856. Quirk, FM 48:5 | 389 |
| Fig. 857. Panelled wavy lines, FM 53:28 | 389 |
| Fig. 858. Wavy line, FM 53:18 | 389 |
| Fig. 859. Foliate band, FM 64:20 | 389 |
| Fig. 860. Vases of Claus attributed to potter <i>K</i> of phase 3 | 390 |
| Fig. 861. Net, FM 57:2 | 390 |
| Fig. 862. Foliate band (or tassel pattern), bordered or unbordered, FM 64:21, 72:13 | 390 |
| Fig. 863. Wavy line, FM 53:22 | 390 |
| Fig. 864. Free-standing stemmed spiral, FM 51:15 | 390 |
| Fig. 865. Jug <i>H6</i> from Claus and stirrup jar cat. no. 36 from Spaliareika Lousikon, attributed to potter <i>E</i> of phase 2 | 393 |
| Fig. 866. Parallel chevrons in radiating arrangement FM 58:22 | 393 |
| Fig. 867. Wavy line, FM 53:30 | 393 |
| Fig. 868. Multiple triangles FM 61A:1 | 395 |
| Fig. 869. Parallel chevrons in radiating arrangement, FM 58:15 | 396 |
| Fig. 870. Zigzag lines and horizontally arranged parallel chevrons, FM 58:33, 61:4 | 396 |
| Fig. 871. Groups of isolated semi-circles in a row | 396 |
| Fig. 872. Multiple triangles, FM 61A:1 | 397 |
| Fig. 873. Antithetic spirals, FM 50:8 | 397 |
| Fig. 874. Painted cross on the underside of lekythos <i>H3</i> | 397 |
| Fig. 875. Stipple pattern, FM 77:2 | 398 |
| Fig. 876. Fringed panels filled with zig-zag lines, FM 61:12 | 398 |
| Fig. 877. Parallel oblique lines, recalling a foliate band, FM 64:21 | 399 |
| Fig. 878. Scale pattern, FM 70 | 399 |
| Fig. 879. Diaper net, FM 57:2 | 399 |
| Fig. 880. Multiple zig-zag lines FM 61:18 | 400 |
| Fig. 881. Vases of Claus attributed to potter <i>Γ</i> of phase 1 | 401 |
| Fig. 882. An <i>invalid cup</i> of the late 19th c. AD | 402 |
| Fig. 883. Detail of ring-shaped vase <i>E1</i> | 403 |
| Fig. 884. Detail of ring-shaped vase <i>B3</i> | 403 |
| Fig. 885. Detail of ring-shaped vase <i>H2</i> | 404 |
| Fig. 886. Detail of ring-shaped vase <i>ΣT40</i> | 404 |
| Fig. 887. Detail of bird vase <i>I9</i> | 405 |
| Fig. 888. Detail of bird vase <i>Δ21</i> | 405 |
| Fig. 889. Vases from Claus and Agiovlasitika attributed to the <i>artist of bird askoi of Claus</i> | 406 |
| Fig. 890. Detail of cup <i>E46</i> | 409 |
| Fig. 891. Detail of cup <i>ΣT49</i> | 409 |
| Fig. 892. Detail of cup <i>Zb3</i> | 410 |
| Fig. 893. Double hatched isolated semi-circles FM 43:5 | 411 |
| Fig. 894. Vases from Claus attributed to potter <i>Λ</i> of phase 3 | 412 |
| Fig. 895. Foliate band FM 64:20 | 414 |
| Fig. 896. Five sealstones and one glass seal from Claus | 437 |

Chapter 6.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 897. Chronological table of the Achaean pottery phases 1-6 | 448 |
|---|-----|

Chapter 7.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 898. The <i>couple of warrior and his partner</i> from chamber tomb <i>Θ</i> at Claus | 473 |
|--|-----|

Chapter 8.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fig. 899. Right parietal/temporal | 477 |
| Fig. 900. Right petrous | 477 |
| Fig. 901. Left parietal | 477 |
| Fig. 902. Left zygomatic | 477 |
| Fig. 903. Occipital: nuchal prominence | 477 |
| Fig. 904. Mandible | 477 |
| Fig. 905. Fragment sizes of cranium | 478 |
| Fig. 906. Right humerus | 478 |
| Fig. 907. Left tibia, lateral | 478 |
| Fig. 908. Right tibia, posterior | 478 |
| Fig. 909. Right femur, anterior | 478 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fig. 910. Left femur, posterior | 478 |
| Fig. 911. Fragment sizes of long bones | 479 |
| Fig. 912. Long bone fragment with black core..... | 479 |
| Fig. 913. White surface with web of cracks | 479 |
| Fig. 914. Plakalona, Tourloti LM III cremation burial: Urn (left) / highly distorted shapes of the right humerus fragments (right)..... | 480 |
| Fig. 915. The Tourtloti LMIIC double urn cremation..... | 480 |
| Fig. 916. Abscess and fistula on the mandible body | 484 |
| Fig. 917. Fractured and healed metacarpal of an individual from Tomb N, Burial A..... | 484 |
| Fig. 918. Some bones showing fire treatment coming from the Tomb Mb, Burial A | 484 |
| Table A. Burn colour code according to Stiner, Kuhn, Weiner and Bar-Yosef, 1995 | 479 |
| Table B. Weights of cremations from sites of LBA/ Geometric periods in grammes | 480 |
| Table C. Results of bioarchaeological analysis..... | 482 |
| Table D. Demography of the analyzed portion of the cemetery | 483 |

Appendix

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1. Burials dated to LH III C period at Clauss | 485 |
| Table 2. Spindle-whorls. Classification according to shape and chronology | 486 |
| Table 3. Spindle-whorls from primary burials. Classification according to shape and gender of owners | 486 |
| Table 4. Spindle-whorls. Distribution per burial | 486 |
| Table 5. Beads. Classification according to shape and chronology | 487 |
| Table 6. Clauss burials according to chronological period/phase | 487 |
| Table 7. Primary burials on the floor of the chambers. Position of the bodies according to gender and chronological phase | 488 |
| Table 8. Primary burials in pits. Position of the bodies according to gender and chronological phase..... | 489 |
| Table 9. Classification of funerary offerings in primary burials according to gender and chronological phase | 490 |
| Table 10. Secondary burials/relocations. Classification according to chamber and modes of placing | 491 |
| Table 11. Offerings found with relocated burials of the LH IIIA and IIIB periods. Classification according to shape and chronological phase | 492 |

Prologue

I met Kostas for the first time during my teaching as visiting professor in the newly founded Ionian University at the beginning of the 1990s. He attracted my attention by his excellent progress: in attending my lectures in Aegean Prehistoric Archaeology, in the first-class grades he gained in the examinations and above all for his highly quality of his behaviour and character.

Later Kostas kept up his studies with me: he took part as undergraduate student of the Ionian University in a surface survey in Kephallenia; and after getting his B.A. diploma in History from this University, as an undergraduate and post-graduate student of archaeology of the Ioannina University (getting both B.A. and Ph.D. diplomas with first honours) when he worked on my excavations in Achaea, Ithaca and Jordan (ca. 1992-2011).

During this long period of close and productive cooperation, *καρηκομίων* (as a student) Kostas showed to the full his abilities, energy, zeal and devotion, as well as responsibility and creativity of thought – thus he succeeded in getting the best result out of whatever work he was undertaking, both in the field and in the museum apothekes. In the field was always careful and responsible, ready to ask for advice and help; he kept a thorough and detailed diary – the notes enriched with accurate measurements, photos, sketch plans and excellent drawings. In the museums of Patras, Ithaca, Brauron and Jordan again he proved very helpful and diligent: working hard under my supervision at the registration, dating and drawing of the finds. Taking into account all these abilities and qualifications, I thought that it was worth giving him the chance to study for a Ph.D. diploma, and so I put at his disposal the material of the Mycenaean cemetery at Clauss, in the excavation of which he had participated.

In addition, Kostas has accompanied me and Litsa, together with some other good students and collaborators, on educational excursions and excavations in Greece, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. (Jordan

is such a pleasant country, the so-called ‘Archaeological paradise’ of the Middle East). Everywhere Kostas helped in the preparation and organization of the projects, enlivening the excavation teams in Greece and Jordan with humour, jokes and songs. Unforgettable moments! Honouring the Mycenaean dead and warriors buried at the cemeteries of Clauss and Kallithea, attending afternoon lessons and discussions, revelling in our stay in Ithaca and at the ‘Pilgrim’s House’ at Madaba, and working enthusiastically at Gawr es Safi and Tell Kafrein.

Kostas continues to love the Mycenaeans: in his present post in the National Archaeological Museum, he is working intensively not only to advance his career, but also to keep an open eye for and to participate in whatever new and profitable occasion happens along that can promote Greek prehistoric archaeology.

So, it is a pleasure for me to write this prologue and to present his book on the Mycenaean cemetery of Clauss near Patras. He has revised and brought up to date his unpublished dissertation presented in 2014 to the Faculty of History and Archaeology of Ioannina University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (duly awarded). This dissertation, and the book it has birthed, is a very valuable and important contribution to the study of the Mycenaean burial architecture and customs in Achaea. Taken in conjunction with other such works, either finished and published or in progress, and also with the adjacent settlement at Mygdalia (Dr Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki’s excavation), the present volume will certainly add to and so enrich our understanding of this region in Mycenaean times. Thus, Dr Paschalidis’s work, in which so much new, detailed and impressive information and burial data has emerged thanks to his systematic and meticulous study of the extremely important cemetery at Clauss, is a most welcome addition to the growing literature about the prehistory of Achaea and the western Mycenaean world.

Professor Thanassis Papadopoulos
Athens, 23/11/2016

Preface – Acknowledgements

From 1988 to 1992, the emeritus professor of Archaeology at the University of Ioannina, Thanassis Papadopoulos, directed the excavations of the Archaeological Society at Athens in the Mycenaean cemetery of Clauss near Patras. In the course of the excavation project at the Clauss cemetery, 15 chamber tombs were located and researched in detail, to be added to those already known from the pre-war excavations by Nikolaos Kyparissis (figs 1, 2). This work was carried out with the support of his indefatigable wife, an assistant professor at the same University School, Litsa Kontorli-Papadopoulou, who also undertook the training of numerous students, a great number of them being today members of the staff at the local Ephorate of Antiquities, as well as at various directorates of the Greek Archaeological Service (fig. 3). This monograph is dedicated to her memory as a minimum token of gratitude.



Fig. 1. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1936 conducted by N. Kyparissis (Kyparissis 1936, 96 fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1937 conducted by N. Kyparissis (Kyparissis 1937, 84 fig. 1).



Fig. 3. Photograph of the excavations at the cemetery of Clauss in 1990 conducted by T. Papadopoulos and L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou.

The last year of research at Clauss was meant to be the first excavation I ever took part in: as a first-year student. This was also destined to be the site whose study my professors entrusted to me, a few years later, in the context of my doctoral thesis. My twenty six-year-long apprenticeship with them both showed me my way in Mycenaean archaeology, based on sound scientific methodology, and inculcated in me a sense of respect for the remains hidden under the ground. My gratitude towards my professors cannot be expressed merely by saying Thank-You, no matter how well-worded and no matter how appropriate such sentiments are naturally considered to be for the introduction of such a piece of work. To a great extent, I owe the motivation, the burgeoning and development of my archaeological career to their ceaseless and generous love and continuous attention. For all this I will be indebted to them forever.

Decisive for the completion of this work was the study of the skeletal remains from the tombs A-Θ, K, including cremation Θ in tomb N, that was conducted by Dr Photini J.P. McGeorge. Tina helped me at many stages of this project with long enthusiastic discussions and with the valuable data of her research. Unfortunately, Tina's precious study is not complete at the moment of this volume's publication; therefore it will follow soon as a separate monograph.

Of crucial importance is the study of the anthropological material from alcove I and tombs Λ-N, which was done by Dr Wiesław Więckowski and is included here in Chapter 8. I am indebted to him for his contribution.

The study of the Clauss cemetery was financially supported by INSTAP, who covered Dr Więckowski's

(2005) and my accommodation in Patras (study seasons of 2005-2006, 2012-2014), as well as the photographic documentation, the drawing and inking of the material and the translation of the Greek manuscript into English. I am again deeply thankful and indebted.

Quite significant were the corrections to the final text made by the emeritus professor of the University of Athens, Georgios St. Korres, whom I warmly thank for his contribution to the bibliographical enrichment of my work. I owe my deepest thanks to the directors of the ΣΤ' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr Michalis Petropoulos, Ms Zoe Aslamatzidou, Ms Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Dr Erofilia Kolia, Dr Anastasia Koumoussi, as well as to my colleagues, curators of the same Ephorate, Mr Ioannis Moschos, for initiating me to his 6-phase system of the Achaean LH IIIC pottery sequence (Moschos 2009a and Moschos 2009b), Dr Sophia Kaskantiri, Dr Gioulika Christakopoulou-Somakou, Ms Andromachi Vasilopoulou, Ms Stella Nestoridou, Ms Maria Athanasiou, Mr Michalis Gazis, for our countless discussions about aspects of Mycenaean Achaea and for their help with just about everything during my research in Patras. I wish to thank especially Ms Konstantina Aktypi, curator of the same Ephorate for her tireless encouragement and vital help in the preparation of this volume. She has been a true inspiration to me.

To my familiarisation with Mycenaean Achaea, my long-term collaboration with the emeritus Head of the Collection of Prehistoric, Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities in the National Archaeological Museum, Dr Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki has greatly contributed. We have excavated together since 2008 at the Mycenaean settlement of Mygdalia Petrotou near Clauss. Her advice about the bibliographical research of the subject and our discussions were of crucial importance. Assistance and encouragement was offered to me by Dr Evangelia Papadopoulou-Chrysiopoulou, who studied thoroughly the neighbouring Mycenaean cemetery of Kallithea-Laganidia, by Dr Theodoros Giannopoulos,

Dr Colin Macdonald, Dr Nikolas Papadimitriou and Ms Peggy Ringa, with whom I shared endless discussions and ideas, as well as by my colleagues in the National Archaeological Museum, Dr Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Ms Katerina Kostanti, Dr Vassiliki Pliatsika and Dr Katya Manteli. The last, moreover, undertook tirelessly the titanic task of translating the manuscript into English with excellent results. Dr Doniert Evely did the editing of the final text with patience and helped me in the overall organization of it, thanks to his rare experience and efficiency. Mr Spyros Michalopoulos helped me immensely with the editing of the endless illustrations during the last and crucial days of this volume's preparation. I am indebted to Mr Vangelis Tsingiaouoglou for his cordial and unfailing support, throughout the tiring years of my research. I am deeply thankful to Ms Harikleia Lanara, Head of the Secretariat of the Central Archaeological Council, who constantly encouraged me to publish my work, reminding me that only *scripta manent*.

The topographic plan of the cemetery as well as the architectural ground plans and diagrams of the tombs are the work of Mr Charalambos Marinopoulos. Ms Konstantina Aktypi composed the map of sites, illustrated in fig. 4a. Most of the drawings of the finds were prepared by the author, by Ms Sophia Sakkari, Mr Yannis Nakas and Dr Stavros Oikonomidis, while a certain number of them were done by archaeology students of the Ioannina University during the periods of recording the material in the storerooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Achaea. The photos of the tombs and cemetery spaces were taken by Professor Thanassis Papadopoulos, while those of the finds are by the author.

Finally, I extend my warmest thanks to my parents, Panagiotis and Maria Paschalidis, for their constant support and faith in the successful outcome of my efforts. Without having ever become acquainted with the object of my work, they yet loved it, seeing it as a part of my life's devotion.

Athens and Bristol, May 2018

Introduction – methodology of research

This work comprises the study of the finds from the excavation of the University of Ioannina and the Archaeological Society at Athens in the Mycenaean cemetery of Clauss in Patras, carried out between the years 1988-1992 under the direction of Professor T. Papadopoulos. The presentation of the topic expands into seven thematic chapters, proceeding from the whole to the parts – and then returning to the whole. Thus, one progresses from the general review of the cemetery space and the sites, to the analytical description of the excavation, to the remarks on the architecture, to the study of the finds, to the analysis of the burial customs and finally to the narration of the overall history of the cemetery according to chronological period and generation of its people. The eighth and last chapter is an addendum including a presentation of the anthropological analysis of the skeletal material. More precisely, the study is organized as follows:

Chapter 1 includes a complete and brief catalogue of the Mycenaean sites in Achaea. The cemetery site is described separately with special mention of the neighbouring excavations. Furthermore, in this chapter the distribution and character of the sites across the entire territory is examined and presented as a general overview. References to archaeological sites are accomplished by citing a compiled bibliography of the recently published catalogues, without quoting the primary excavation reports (to save space).

In **Chapter 2**, the description of the tombs is to be found, arranged into three parts for each in turn. The first section focuses on the description of the tomb's architecture and the clustering and appearance of the finds in it. The second part sums up all the above evidence, following the chronological sequence of the burials. The third part displays, through easy-to-understand tables, the burials along with the gender, the age and the grave-goods of each individual, grouped in chronological order of introduction into the tomb. These tables also record any other non-burial episode that has been attested through the history of the chambers, in chronological order too.

In **Chapter 3**, the area of Clauss is examined, as well as the layout of the cemetery, the architecture of the tombs, the bedrock, the manner of construction and the structural problems related to them.

Chapter 4 contains the analytical catalogue of the finds in each tomb, recorded according to their excavation

numbering (e.g. A1 for the first find of tomb A, ΣΤ13 for the thirteenth find of tomb ΣΤ etc.), accompanied by the corresponding Museum of Patras inventory number (e.g. Π 15027, M 4886 etc.). The catalogue contains one or more photos and drawings of each find, its detailed description and bibliographical documentation with parallels selected mainly from published assemblages from the rest of Achaea, Elis and the nearby Ionian islands.

Chapter 5 deals with the analytical presentation of the finds from the cemetery, citing typological parallels from the entire Mycenaean world, including comments on their use in the cemetery and in their era, in general. The examination of the finds is arranged according to category: pottery, bronze, bone, stone finds, along with minor objects made of various materials (spindle whorls, seals, beads and a figurine).

In **Chapter 6**, the burial customs of the cemetery are discussed as these emerge from the investigation of the archaeological finds and the results of the osteological study by Dr Photini J.P. McGeorge, whose full analysis is not included in the present work and by Dr Wiesław Więckowski, whose report is presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 sums up all of the research data into a brief and concise overview of the burials according to chronological period and generation (phases 1-6 of the LH IIIC period), with reference to the society that the Clauss people and their contemporaries in the rest of Achaea had brought into being, and with a presentation of the cemetery's history.

In **Chapter 8**, Dr Photini J.P. McGeorge presents her detailed study of cremation Θ in tomb N, while Dr Wiesław Więckowski offers the results of his study on the anthropological material from alcove I and tombs K-N.

The richly illustrated documentation of the tombs derives from the archive of the excavation. The photographs of the nearby Mycenaean settlement at Mygdalia Petrotou come from the archive of its ongoing excavation project and contribute to the understanding of the region's archaeological landscape. The presentation of the data tables at the end of this book (**Appendix**) facilitates the comprehension of specific aspects of the cemetery (burial practices according to gender and age, grave-goods according to gender/age/generation, demographic data per generation etc.).

Chapter 1.

Mycenaean period in Achaea

A. Brief survey of sites and history of research

Introduction

Achaea, as defined by its modern administrative boundaries,¹ encompasses a geographical area of marked relief and comprises a variegated landscape (figs 4a, 4b). Centrally situated, the massive and imposing Mt Panachaikon stretches across to Mt Chelmos to the east and to Mt Erymanthos to the south. To the north, Mt Panachaikon runs down to the sea, at the promontory of Drepanon, so forming a narrow flat corridor connecting the west and east territories. East of Drepanon and along the Gulf of Corinth extends the coastal plain of Aigialeia, while, to the west, at the mouth of the Gulf of Patras, lies the plain of Patras and that of Pharai, the latter spreading across the neighbouring region of Elis. Pharai along with the adjacent slopes of Mt Panachaikon and Mt Erymanthos make up the 'Dymaeen Land'.²

Papadopoulos, who wrote the first systematic synthesis of Mycenaean Achaea, divided the history of archaeological research into three phases.³ The first one, which began in 1919/20 and ended in 1939/40, when the Second World War broke out, includes the excavations of Nikolaos Kyparissis, who in his reports in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Society at Athens* provided a first approach to the Mycenaean topography of Achaea. Kyparissis, who served as Ephor of Antiquities, was succeeded by the curator Nerantzoulis who, in turn, conducted research on a smaller scale in the area of Aigion. The second phase spanned the 1950s and comprises the research projects carried out by the Ephors of Antiquities N. Gialouris, N. Zapheiropoulos and N. Verdelis. The spectacular finds from their excavations enriched the exhibition of the old Museum of Patras, which was founded in 1958,⁴ and nowadays constitute the core of the exhibition of the new Patras Archaeological Museum. In the third phase of research are classified the excavations of the Ephor of Antiquities, E. Mastrokostas, at the Dymaeen Wall and Aigion (1962-1967) and those of Professor

Papadopoulos at Aigion (1970) and Kallithea-Rabadania (1976-1981).

To Papadopoulos' outline should be added a fourth phase, long and full of research activity, spanning the years from 1980 to today. During this period were conducted extensive surveys, and excavations, bringing to light some dozens of new sites, accompanied by a great number of publications. These research projects were mainly carried out by the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, with input too from the University of Ioannina under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens (Clauss, Kallithea), the Austrian Archaeological Institute (Aigeira) and the American School of Classical Studies (Helike).

Through these research projects, Achaea has emerged as an important and populous territory of the Mycenaean world, with continuous habitation from the onset of the 16th century BC down to the transition to the Early Iron Age, a continuity that had initially been disputed, as for many years archaeological interpretation of the region was primarily based on finds dating to the last phase of the LH III period.⁵

More than a hundred sites preserve remains of the Mycenaean civilisation, spreading across the entire region (figs 4a, 4b).⁶ Some are coastal and their economy was associated with marine communications, fishing and agriculture, and others are situated in mountainous areas, close to major tracks, and their subsistence strategy was based on stock-breeding and the cultivation of fertile plateaus. The majority of sites are cemeteries, mostly of chamber tombs. Furthermore, six tholos tombs (at Katarraktis [2], Kallithea-Laganidia, Petroto, Portes [2]) and a few tumuli (at Agrapidies of Chalandritsa, Lappa, Portes and possibly Pharai and Starochori) have been located in Achaea.⁷ Settlements are much less well represented, and remain unexplored or unpublished. Nonetheless, the dense distribution of sites of this period across the entire territory is indicative of the long-term and intensive habitation of the region. The historical

¹ Following Papadopoulos, Moschos and Giannopoulos, in this work we define Achaea on the basis of its current geographical boundaries and not those of antiquity as determined, for instance, by Pausanias, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 17, Moschos 2007, 16-17, Giannopoulos 2008, 3.

² Kolonas 2000, 93.

³ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 17. For the history of research of Mycenaean Achaea, see also Rizio 2011, 8.

⁴ Panitsas 2005, 356. For the adventure of the foundation of the Archaeological Museum of Patras, see Petropoulos 2002.

⁵ Papadopoulos rebutted the older impression of sporadic habitation in Achaea in the early Mycenaean period by demonstrating a trend of continuity and the occurrence of a more or less equal number of sites throughout the entire period, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 183, with bibliography. Also see relevant comment in Kolonas 1996-1997, 469 and Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 269.

⁶ Moschos 2007, 13, 16-17, Kolonas 2008c, 3 and Rizio 2011, 4.

⁷ Another two tholos tombs reported from the region of Chalandritsa, are not known with certainty, therefore not included in this overview. See Moschos 2007, 32, Moschos 2012, 304, Aktypi (forthcoming 1).

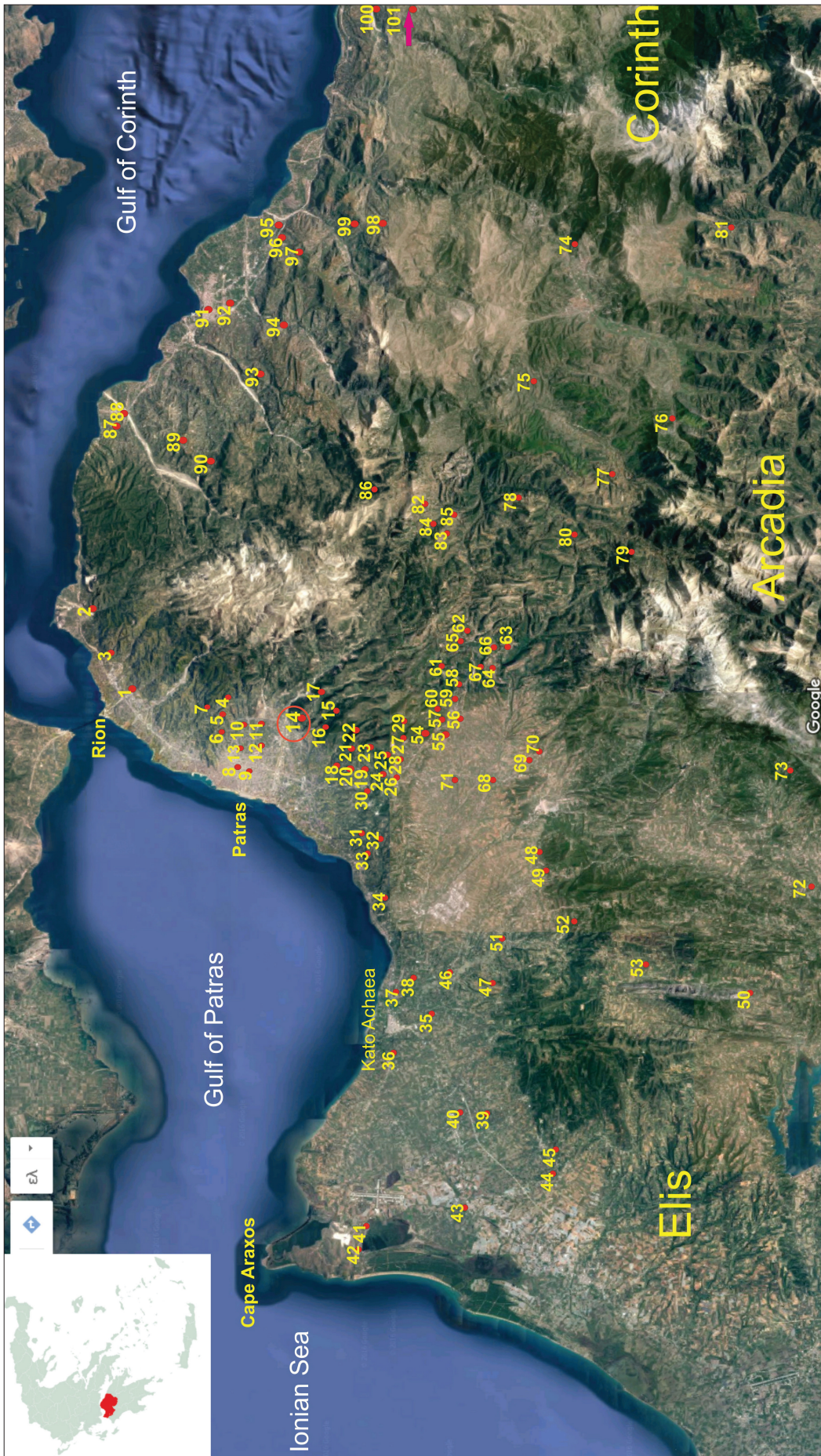


Fig. 4a. Map of Mycenaean sites of Achaea (after Moschos 2007).

| | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Ortos | 27. Kallithea: Rabadania or Spentzes | 53. Charavgi | 79. Agios Vlasios |
| 2. Drepanon | 28. Kallithea: Laganidia | 54. Platanovrysi | 80. Vartholomio |
| 3. Platani | 29. Ano Kallithea: Kivouri or Skamnia | 55. Kamini | 81. Kastria |
| 4. Voudeni | 30: Ouvia | 56. Chalandritsa: Agios Vasileios | 82. Leontio: Vragianika |
| 5. Bortzi | 31. Agios Panteleimon | 57. Chalandritsa: Troumbes | 83. Leontio: Agios Ioannis |
| 6. Agia Kyriaki | 32. Melissa-Drestena | 58. Chalandritsa: Agradities | 84. Leontio: Koutreika |
| 7. Ano Sychaina: Asprochoma | 33. Monodendri | 59. Chalandritsa: Stavros | 85. Leontio: Agios Konstantinos |
| 8. Patra: Germanou str. | 34. Tsoukaleika | 60. Chalandritsa: Agios Antonios | 86. Rakita |
| 9. Patra: Smyrnis &Laskareos str. | 35. Agiovlasitika | 61. Mirali: Pori | 87. Kamares: Xeriko |
| 10. Samakia | 36. Niphoreika | 62. Katarraktis: Drakotrypa | 88. Kamares: Paliomylos |
| 11. Gerokomeio | 37. Alissos | 63. Katarraktis: Agios Athanasios | 89. Arravonitsa |
| 12. Pagona | 38. Kamenitsa | 64. Katarraktis: Agios Georgios | 90. Mageiras |
| 13. Patras Castle | 39. Pournari | 65. Pyrgaki | 91. Aigio |
| 14. Clauss | 40. Rachi | 66. Rodia | 92. Kouloura |
| 15. Petroto: Mygdalia | 41. Dymaeen Wall | 67. Bouga – Karela | 93. Trapeza |
| 16. Petroto: Goupata | 42. Gerbesi | 68. Pharai | 94. Achladia: Achouria |
| 17. Petroto: Skondreika | 43. Lappa | 69. Starochorion | 95. Nikoleika |
| 18. Krini: Meligrou | 44. Kangadi | 70. Starochorion: Xirokampos | 96. Nikoleika: Agios Georgios |
| 19. Krini: Drimaleika | 45. Sotiroula | 71. Vasiliko | 97. Keryneia |
| 20. Krini: Zoitada | 46. Spaliareika Lousikon | 72. Skouras | 98. Mamousia |
| 21. Krini: Agios Konstantinos (site A) | 47. Kalamaki or Elaiochori | 73. Drosia | 99. Derveni |
| 22. Krini: Agios Konstantinos (site B) | 48. Mitopoli: Profitis Elias | 74. Kalavryta Castle | 100. Akrata |
| 23. Thea: Roditsa | 49. Mitopoli: Agia Varvara | 75. Vrysari | 101. Aigeira |
| 24. Thea: Agios Nikolaos | 50. Portes- Kephalovryson | 76. Kertezi | |
| 25. Thea: Kastro | 51. Ano Soudeneika | 77. Manesi: Vromoneri | |
| 26. Pavlokastro | 52. Flokas | 78: Mikros Pontias | |

Fig. 4b. Mycenaean Achaea. Index of sites (after Moschos 2007).

account of Mycenaean Achaea is accomplished by dividing sites, according to their geographical position, into three areas (eastern, mountainous and western Achaea) and three chronological phases (prepalatial, palatial and postpalatial). A brief classification of the sites on the basis of the aforementioned criteria aims at a concise presentation of the archaeological framework encompassing the Mycenaean cemetery of Clauss, which constitutes the topic of this book.⁸

⁸ In recent years many studies have been published on the Mycenaean topography of Achaea, see Kolonas 1996-1997, Mountjoy 1999, 399-402 (in conjunction with the Mycenaean pottery of the region), Kolonas 2000, Moschos 2007, Giannopoulos 2008, 23-94 (with full bibliographic documentation for all excavations), Aktypi 2011 (in conjunction with the study of inland and sea routes of communication), Rizio 2011 (especially for the Mycenaean settlements with full bibliography) and Moschos 2012. For this reason we have chosen to present, in this context, a brief panorama of the sites dating to this period, instead of

1. Eastern Achaea

The easternmost Mycenaean site of Achaea is **Derveni (fig. 4, no. 99)**, where Verdalis excavated two chamber tombs containing an unusual number of pits. The pottery from these tombs dates to the LH IIIB-C periods and the cemetery they belonged to was possibly associated with the adjacent settlement of Aigeira.⁹ Built on the hill of Palaiokastron, next to the theatre of the similarly named ancient city, the small settlement of **Aigeira (fig. 4, no. 101)** was inhabited

an extensive catalogue, focusing mainly on the region surrounding the Clauss cemetery and its neighbouring sites, and assessing the character of Mycenaean Achaea at the end of the chapter.

⁹ As argued by Papadopoulos (Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 37). Also see Kolonas 1996-1997, 488, Mountjoy 1999, 399, Moschos 2007, 44, Giannopoulos 2008, 93-94, with bibliography.

from the early to the end of the middle LH IIIC period, in two successive architectural phases, and has been identified by many scholars as Aigeira-Hyperesia, listed in the *Iliad's* Catalogue of Ships (Νηών Κατάλογος) as part of Agamemnon's territory.¹⁰ A few kilometres to the west, lies the coastal hill of **Akrata** (fig. 4, no. 100), at the foot of which traces of a possible Mycenaean cemetery were located.¹¹ In the periphery of the city of Aigion various sites have been uncovered. On the slopes of the **Trapeza** hill (site Chatzi, fig. 4, no. 93), where the ancient city of Rypai, mentioned by Pausanias,¹² is placed, Nerantzoulis and Papatheodorou located and investigated a number of chamber tombs.¹³ The finds from this site have unfortunately been mixed up, in the Museum of Aigion, with those from the chamber tombs of **Achladia** (site Achouria, fig. 4, no. 94), lying south of the city and excavated by the same curator of Antiquities in the 1930s. The cemetery of Achladia, reported to have been plundered in 1854, might have belonged to a settlement situated, according to Papadopoulos, at Achouria.¹⁴ However, the cemetery of **Trapeza** is once more excavated since 2012 by Borgna and Vordos, providing rich evidence and new light.¹⁵

The most important cemetery of the region lies at **Nikoleika** (fig. 4, no. 95), where 14 chamber tombs and a cist grave came to light, containing a rich pottery assemblage dating from LH II to the end of the LH IIIC period. Most of the tombs had been plundered in the past. From the tombs excavated so far many minor-art objects and bronze weapons have been recovered, including a Naue II sword, unique for the region of Aigialeia, which had belonged to one of the *warriors* of postpalatial Achaea. The settlement connected with the cemetery is situated, on the evidence of surface finds, at the top of the adjacent hill of **Agios Georgios** (fig. 4, no. 96).¹⁶ Settlement and cemetery have been identified by Petropoulos with Mycenaean Helike, listed in the Catalogue of Ships (Νηών Κατάλογος) of the *Iliad*.¹⁷ A few kilometres further to the south, in the

foothills of Mt Panachaikon, lies the site of **Mamousia** (fig. 4, no. 98), next to the village of Derveni, where, as Papadopoulos informs us, Kyparissis speculated that a Mycenaean cemetery existed, although he never excavated it.¹⁸ Be that as it may, two stirrup jars kept in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum bear the indication 'Derveni, probably from Kyparissis' excavations', evidently deriving from this site.¹⁹ On the other side of the Kerynitis river, lies **Keryneia** (fig. 4, no. 97), cited as the place of provenance of a double axe, its occurrence potentially indicating yet another Mycenaean site in the region.²⁰ On the eastern outskirts of Aigion, at **Kamares**, close to the bank of Erineos, a few chamber tombs were investigated by Nerantzoulis. Other similar tombs were located at the top of the **Xerikon** hill (fig. 4, no. 87) and one in the area of **Palaiomylos** (fig. 4, no. 88).²¹ A few kilometres further south, at the site of **Arravonitsa** (fig. 4, no. 89), at least three disturbed MH tumuli were recovered, while the same site is referred to as the place of provenance of certain LH IIIC vases found in the storerooms of the Aigion Museum.²² At nearby **Magairas** (site of Paliometochon, fig. 4, no. 90) Mastrokostas mentions the occurrence of a chamber tomb from which come two straight-sided alabastra of the LH IIIA period.²³

The most important site of Mycenaean Aigialeia is certainly the settlement and cemeteries of **Aigion** (fig. 4, no. 91). The modern city expands over ancient Aigion, which is included in the Catalogue of Ships (Νηών Κατάλογος) as part of Agamemnon's territory.²⁴ The city preserves traces of continuous habitation from the Neolithic era onwards. Remains of the EH, MH and LH I-LH IIIC periods have been unearthed in the course of numerous but scattered rescue excavations in plots of the centre and across the north-east district of the

¹⁰ *Iliad* B 573. For Mycenaean Aigeira, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 37, Kolonas 1996-1997, 487-488, Mountjoy 1999, 399, Moschos 2007, 44, Giannopoulos 2008, 93-94, Rizio 2011, 32, 34-38, with bibliography. For a detailed discussion of the finds from Aigeira kept in the Berlin Museum, see Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2003. For the stratigraphic correlations of the pottery from Aigeira, see Deger-Jalkotzy 2003.

¹¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 36-37, Kolonas 1996-1997, 487, Moschos 2007, 44, with bibliography.

¹² Pausanias *Achaea* (Αχαϊκά) 23.4. At the top of the Trapeza hill a Doric peripteral temple was recently excavated, dating from the last decades of the 6th century BC and decorated with pediment sculptures, see Vordos 1999-2001 and Vordos 2001.

¹³ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 35, Kolonas 1996-1997, 487, Mountjoy 1999, 400 (site of Chatzi), Moschos 2007, 42, Giannopoulos 2008, 74-75.

¹⁴ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 35-36, Kolonas 1996-1997, 487, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 42, Giannopoulos 2008, 74-75. Moreover, Kyparissis mentioned traces of 'recent illegal excavations', see Kyparissis 1939, 103-104.

¹⁵ Borgna and Vordos 2016, Licciardello 2017.

¹⁶ Petropoulos 2006, 37-44, Petropoulos 2007a, Moschos 2007, 42, Giannopoulos 2008, 81-83.

¹⁷ *Iliad* B 575. For the site of Helike, also see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 36.

¹⁸ More precisely, Kyparissis mentioned the excavation of the 'small town of Keryneia (Mamoussa) ... which had primarily been the shelter of Mycenaean refugees' (Kyparissis 1939, 104). Also see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 36, Kolonas 1996-1997, 497, Moschos 2007, 44.

¹⁹ The identification of Derveni as the locality mentioned in the text, as opposed to the similarly named place on the Achaea/Corinthia boundaries, is based on the fact that in the latter case the cemetery was investigated in 1956 by Verdelis, and till then was not known, at least to Kyparissis. Stirrup jars under cat. nos 17972 and 17973 of the National Archaeological Museum, decorated in the Argive and Achaean Dense Style respectively, with indicated derivation from 'tombs of Derveni, probably from Kyparissis' excavations', have been stored in their current place on 28/1/1976. It is unknown whether these vases come from excavation or the handing over of antiquities, since they have not been listed anywhere in the Museum Book of Entries. Gauß studied recently the vases at the National Archaeological Museum and is about to shed new light on their provenance and role. See Gauß (forthcoming).

²⁰ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 36, Kolonas 1996-1997, 487, Moschos 2007, 44.

²¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 34, Kolonas 1996-1997, 485-486, Moschos 2007, 38-40, Giannopoulos 2008, 74.

²² Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 34, Kolonas 1996-1997, 486, Moschos 2007, 40.

²³ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 34 and fig. 138a, g, Kolonas 1996-1997, 486, Moschos 2007, 40, Giannopoulos 2008, 74.

²⁴ *Iliad* B 574.

city.²⁵ The megaroid building on 8 Polychroniadou street dates to the LH II period, while from the upper archaeological layers of the plot on 29 Eisodion street a rich ceramic assemblage came to light dated to the LH IIIA2/B periods, the last phase of the LH IIIB and, in particular, the beginning of the LH IIIC period, according to the excavator, Papazoglou-Manioudaki. A handful of sherds, in fact, are attributed to the advanced LH IIIC.²⁶ At the west entrance of the city, in the area of **Hypsila Alonia** or **Gymnasion**, Yalouris, Mastrokostas and Papadopoulos investigated 31 chamber tombs, many of which had been plundered, and collected abundant finds dating from the LH IIB to the LH III early periods.²⁷ At the site of **Kallithea**, west of the city, a large Mycenaean cemetery was located, which was plundered and archaeologically never explored. The areas of **Kouloura** (fig. 4, no. 92) or **Vovodes**, south of the city, are considered as possible places of provenance of a stirrup jar, potentially revealing the existence of a Mycenaean tomb at either of these sites.²⁸

2. Central mountainous and semi-mountainous Achaea

Dispersed across the plateaus of Mt Chelmos, Erymanthos and Panachaikon, at the heart of Achaea, many sites of the Mycenaean era have been located along major routes: they lie close to fertile meadows, large pasturelands and abundant water resources.²⁹

The most remote cluster of mountainous Mycenaean sites lies on the north slope of Mt Erymanthos, in the region of **Kalavryta**. Moreover, on the west slope of the medieval **Castle** of Kalavryta (fig. 4, no. 74), prehistoric pottery was found by Mastrokostas.³⁰ Nevertheless, the most important Mycenaean site of the region is **Vrysari** (fig. 4, no. 75). There, on the hill of **Agia Paraskevi**, 32 chamber tombs were located and investigated by Kyparissis, Gialouris and Petropoulos, spanning a long period from LH IIB to the onset of the Early Iron Age. A short distance away, at the site of **Prinakia**, Kyparissis found traces of other chamber tombs.³¹ A few kilometres to the west, in the area of **Mikros Pontias** (fig. 4, no. 78), at the site of **Lompokas**, Kyparissis excavated three chamber tombs, one of which contained finds of the late LH IIIC period.³² Further south and higher up the slopes

of Mt Erymanthos lies the village of **Agios Vlasios** (fig. 4, no. 79), whence Kyparissis reports the presence of Mycenaean sherds indicative of a settlement, as well as that of **Manesi**. At the site of **Vromoneri** (fig. 4, no. 77), a little outside Manesi, the same archaeologist unearthed certain chamber tombs with pottery of the middle and late LH IIIC periods. Furthermore, Papadopoulos mentions that in the village itself were also excavated two or three similar tombs.³³ At an even higher elevation, in the region of the **Vouraikos** river headwaters, extends the area of **Kertezi** (fig. 4, no. 76), where in 1969 a chamber tomb was located by chance. From this derives a stirrup jar of the LH IIIC period.³⁴

The two most distant sites are situated on the southeast slopes of Mt Chelmos. The former is the **Cave of Limnes**, lying at a distance of c. 2 km north of the **Kastria** village (fig. 4, no. 81), at an elevation of 800 m. From the first of its three compartments have been recovered finds indicating a continuous use of the cave from the Early Neolithic period to the end of the Bronze Age, as well as in historic times.³⁵ Having excavated a number of female burials dated to the MH III–LH I period, Sampson formulated the theory that this cave had probably been a place of confinement and burial for victims of mental diseases or other neurological seizures, a practice that generated the popular belief that the daughters of mythical **Proitos** were buried in it.³⁶ The latter site is located in the area of **Palaiopyrgos** of the **Tourlada** village, where a ‘fortress installation’, namely a residential complex recalling the layout of a fortress, has been identified along major mountainous tracks leading from Achaea to Korinthia and Arcadia.³⁷

The most important and dense concentration of semi-mountainous sites in Achaea is situated on the southeast slope of Mt Panachaikon, from **Leontion** and **Katarraktis** to **Chalandritsa** and **Platanovrysi**.³⁸ Certain among these sites have the highest elevation in Achaea, clustered around the modern village of **Leontion**, on the south slope of the mountain. There have been located three cemeteries of chamber tombs. A few tombs were uncovered and investigated by Kyparissis at the sites of **Vragianika** (fig. 4, no. 82) and **Agios Ioannis** (fig. 4, no. 83), yielding pottery and small finds dated to the LH IIIC and LH IIIA1–C periods, respectively. The same archaeologist also located certain damaged tombs with no finds in the region of **Koutreika** (fig. 4, no. 84). Finally, at the top of the neighbouring hill of

²⁵ Kolonas 1996–1997, 486–487, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1998, Mountjoy 1999, 399–400, Moschos 2007, 40–42, Giannopoulos 2008, 80–81, Rizio 2011, 31, 39–41, with bibliography.

²⁶ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1998, 85–91.

²⁷ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 34–35, Kolonas 1996–1997, 486, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 42, Giannopoulos 2008, 75–80.

²⁸ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 35, Kolonas 1996–1997, 487, Moschos 2007, 42, Giannopoulos 2008, 76, with bibliography.

²⁹ Aktypi 2011, 13–16.

³⁰ Moschos 2007, 36.

³¹ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 33, Kolonas 1996–1997, 485, Mountjoy 1999, 401–402, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, Moschos 2007, 36, Giannopoulos 2008, 68–71, with bibliography.

³² Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 32, Kolonas 1996–1997, 484, Mountjoy 1999, 401 (erroneously citing that there were investigated 34 tombs instead of three), Moschos 2007, 36–38, Giannopoulos 2008, 68.

³³ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 32, Kolonas 1996–1997, 485, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 36 (for Manesi–Vromoneri), 38 (for Agios Vlasios), Giannopoulos 2008, 71, with bibliography.

³⁴ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 33, Kolonas 1996–1997, 485, Moschos 2007, 36, Giannopoulos 2008, 72, with bibliography.

³⁵ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 32–33, Sampson 1997, 321–328, Moschos 2007, 38, Giannopoulos 2008, 72–73, with bibliography.

³⁶ Sampson 1997, 339–340.

³⁷ Alexopoulou 2012, 316.

³⁸ For a detailed panorama of the ancient sites from this region see Aktypi 2017, 1–8.

Agios Konstantinos (fig. 4, no. 85), Kyparissis found the traces of a Mycenaean settlement, to which these tombs might have belonged.³⁹ A few kilometres to the east, in the pit deposit of the temple of *Artemis Aontia*, at the site of **Achnari**, in the region of **Rakita (fig. 4, no. 86)**, Petropoulos collected a Mycenaean seal, an artefact that is regarded as a votive-heirloom.⁴⁰ In the area of **Drakotrypa** of **Katarraktis (fig. 4, no. 62)**, Zapheiroopoulos excavated a sector of a Mycenaean settlement founded in the MH period and reinhabited for the entire LH IIIC period, as indicated by the intact ceramic vases, tools and other finds that came to light.⁴¹ At this settlement was also found a child grave.⁴² At the neighbouring site of **Agios Athanasios (fig. 4, no. 63)**, east of Rodia village, another settlement was investigated by the same Ephor of Antiquities, preserving a megaroid edifice. In that building, constructed in the MH period and still in use in the LH, another child grave of the LH IIIB period was uncovered, among other finds.⁴³ Traces of probable Mycenaean habitation exist at **Agios Georgios (fig. 4, no. 64)**.⁴⁴ Outside the village of **Rodia (fig. 4, no. 66)**, Zapheiroopoulos excavated two already plundered tholos tombs (A and B), while a short distance away from the latter he located a hoard that contained several bronze and one silver vases, the well-known dagger with inlaid dolphins, as well as bronze weapons and tools, dated to the LH IIB-III A1 periods.⁴⁵ Close by the same tomb, in 2003, a cluster of graves was excavated, including five built cist-graves and one elliptical pit grave lined with built walls.⁴⁶ The Mycenaean cemetery of Rodia was recently re-examined and its forthcoming results will be more than welcome.⁴⁷ Finally, at the site of **Bouga-Karela (fig. 4, no. 67)**, Kyparissis and Yalouris excavated a part of a cemetery of chamber tombs, while the latter unearthed the remains of a Mycenaean settlement on an adjacent hill.⁴⁸

On the west slope of Mt Panachaikon, a few kilometres away from Katarraktis, lies the site of **Pori**, near Mirali (**fig. 4, no. 61**), where Kyparissis mentions the existence of chamber tombs.⁴⁹ On the hill of **Stavros (fig. 4, no. 59)**, above the modern village of **Chalandritsa**, was located and excavated by Mennega and Kolonas one of the most important Mycenaean settlements of Achaea. The houses, arranged in six concentric rings defined by corresponding streets, surround the south-west slope of the hill, at the top of which an important building must once have existed. Underneath the floor of certain houses were found child burials, while among the material evidence stands out the strong indication of local bronze-casting activity⁵⁰ and the possible debitage produced during the manufacture of stone seals from black steatite. The settlement dates to the LH IIIB-C periods.⁵¹ Three kilometres northwest of the settlement, at **Agios Vasileios (fig. 4, no. 56)**, was located and excavated by Kyparissis, Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Petropoulos a large cemetery numbering a total of about 45 chamber tombs, their finds dating from the LH IIB/III A1 to the Sub-Mycenaean periods.⁵² The cemetery has been recently studied in detail by Aktypi,⁵³ who identified episodes of Geometric re-use at some tombs.⁵⁴ At the neighbouring site of **Troubes (fig. 4, no. 57)** built tombs of the Geometric period were unearthed, erroneously referred to as 'tholos tombs',⁵⁵ while at the steep slope of Mt **Korakofolia (Mertika)** Moschos mentions two tholos tombs, partly destroyed.⁵⁶ At **Agrapidies (fig. 4, no. 58)** a tumulus was excavated containing cist-graves, dated to the transition from the MH III to the LH I period.⁵⁷ The last semi-mountainous sites before descending down to the wide plain of Pharai are **Platanovrysi (fig. 4, no. 54)**, where Kyparissis located a few already plundered tombs and collected four 'common' Mycenaean vases, and the nearby **Kamini (fig. 4, no. 55)**, where yet another LH cemetery was found by Mastrokostas.⁵⁸

3. Western Achaea

Across the western coastal plain of Achaea is concentrated about 60% of the total Mycenaean sites in

³⁹ For all these sites around Leontion, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 31-32, Kolonas 1996-1997, 484, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 38, Giannopoulos 2008, 67, 131-133, with bibliography.

⁴⁰ Kolonas 1996-1997, 484, Moschos 2007, 38. For the temple of Artemis at Rakita, see Petropoulos 2001 and Petropoulos 2006, 31-37.

⁴¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30, Kolonas 1996-1997, 483, Mountjoy 1999, 401 (dating the decorated vases from the site to the LH III B), Moschos 2007, 34 (assigning the earlier habitation of the site to the LH I), Giannopoulos 2008, 47-48, Rizio 2011, 50-51, with bibliography. The settlement must have had a significant LH I phase, as commented in Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 1)

⁴² Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30.

⁴³ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30-31, Kolonas 1996-1997, 483, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 34, Giannopoulos 2008, 46-47, Rizio 2011, 49-50, with bibliography.

⁴⁴ Papadopoulos 1996-1997, 31, Kolonas 1996-1997, 484, Moschos 2007, 34.

⁴⁵ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30-31, Kolonas 1996-1997, 483, Mountjoy 1999, 401 (mentioning that the decorated vases from one of the tombs date to the LH III A1 period), Moschos 2007, 34, Giannopoulos 2008, 41-46, Kolonas 2008c, 14-17, with bibliography. These tombs are known in archaeological literature as 'the tholoi of Pharai'.

⁴⁶ Kolonas 2008c, 17.

⁴⁷ Aktypi and Gazis (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 31, Kolonas 1996-1997, 483-484, Moschos 2007, 34, Giannopoulos 2008, 42, with bibliography.

⁴⁹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 29, Kolonas 1996-1997, 477, Moschos 2007, 34, Giannopoulos 2008, 40, with bibliography.

⁵⁰ Soura 2017.

⁵¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 29 (for introductory note about the site), Kolonas 1985, Kolonas 1996-1997, 482, Kolonas and Gazis 2006, Moschos 2007, 32-34, Giannopoulos 2008, 40-41, Kolonas 2008c, 7-13, Rizio 2011, 44-48, with bibliography. Furthermore, Rizio mentions that, according to Dr L. Kolonas, the acropolis of the Mycenaean settlement of Chalandritsa is situated a little further to the north, at the site of Malivarno (Rizio 2011, 47). See also Aktypi 2017, 11.

⁵² Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 29, Kolonas 1996-1997, 477, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 32, Giannopoulos 2008, 39-40, Kolonas 2008c, 13, with bibliography.

⁵³ Aktypi 2017.

⁵⁴ Aktypi 2014a, Aktypi 2014b, Aktypi (forthcoming 1), Aktypi (forthcoming 2).

⁵⁵ Aktypi 2014b, 154 and Aktypi 2017, 277 and n. 621.

⁵⁶ Moschos 2007, 32, Moschos 2012, 304, Aktypi (forthcoming 1).

⁵⁷ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 29, Kolonas 1996-1997, 477, Moschos 2007, 32, Giannopoulos 2008, 40, with bibliography.

⁵⁸ Aktypi (forthcoming 1).

the territory. The two largest clusters lie in the area of Patras: to the south of the city, in the west foothills of Mt Panachaikon, with quite a number scattered in the large plain of Pharai and around Mt Skollis, within the south region of the prefecture.

The northernmost areas of Mycenaean interest are situated on the promontory of **Drepanon** (fig. 4, no. 2, site of Akarnes), from which have been reported sherds of the early Mycenaean years, and on the flat top of the **Ortos** hill (fig. 4, no. 1), near the University Hospital of Rion, where surface pottery and architectural remains suggest the existence of an important Mycenaean installation at a particularly strategic location. An extensive cemetery of chamber tombs was also recently located at the nearby site of **Platani** (fig. 4, no. 3).⁵⁹ Advancing towards Patras, at the hill of **Asprochoma**, near the village of **Ano Sychaina** (fig. 4, no. 7), seven chamber tombs were located and excavated by Kyparissis. Yalouris excavated two more tombs east of the village, the finds from which date from the LH IIIA to the LH IIIC periods, while Papadopoulos estimated that the local settlement must have been situated on the hill of **Tsouga**, in the vicinity of Asprochoma.⁶⁰ However, the investigated Mycenaean settlement closest to Patras is that of **Agia Kyriaki** (fig. 4, no. 6), near the mouth of Sychainiotikos (Meilichos) river, which, on the evidence of small-scale and dispersed excavations, was an extensive installation – probably used for safe anchorage. Founded in the MH period, it was inhabited right through until the Sub-Mycenaean. Excavation data indicate that at the end of the palatial times (transition from the LH IIIB to IIIC periods) there took place an overwhelming destruction, but, thereafter, the settlement was re-built and flourished during the entire length of the postpalatial period.⁶¹

At a very short distance from the aforementioned sites and just seven kilometres north-east of Patras lies one of the most important sites of Achaea. This is the large cemetery of **Voudeni** (fig. 4, no. 4), spreading across the west slope of the hill of **Amygdalia**. Among the 78 investigated chamber tombs, there are some, including the ‘ruler’s’ tomb 4 and tomb 75, of monumental dimensions, the biggest ones known from Achaea. From this cemetery were recovered important and valuable minor-art objects dating to the prepalatial and palatial period (sealstones, jewellery), the largest assemblage of ceramic vases of any prehistoric site in Achaea, a larnax, unique for the north-west Peloponnese, shaped like a bathtub, bronze objects imported from the Italian peninsula, four swords of Naue II type, which

are characteristic of *warriors’ tombs* in the postpalatial period, and a single cremation. The use of the cemetery lasted from the LH IIB to the Sub-Mycenaean periods.⁶² Less than one kilometre to the east of the cemetery lies the hill of **Katarrahi** or **Bortzi** (fig. 4, no. 5), at the top of which Kolonas located and investigated part of a Mycenaean settlement preserving remains of houses, a gravel road as well as a fortification wall along the east easily accessible hillslope. This installation was founded at the end of the MH period and inhabited up until the late Roman times.⁶³ Although no particularly important finds come from the site, Moschos, judging from the finds of the neighbouring cemetery, views it ‘as a probable location for the seat of palatial authority’.⁶⁴

The northernmost Mycenaean site of Patras is situated in the area of the ancient citadel and medieval **Castle** of the city (fig. 4, no. 13), which occupies part of the Aroe hill. From the Roman **Odeion** (Odeum), outside the Castle, was recovered a large stirrup jar (FS 164)⁶⁵ of the kind that is often found in the storerooms of palaces or big architectural complexes.⁶⁶ A little further south of the Castle and near the Odeion, in plots on **Germanou Street** (fig. 4, no. 8), were located and excavated by Papazoglou-Manioudaki three chamber tombs, in use from the LH IIIA2 to the LH IIIC periods. Among the finds are included certain stirrup jars, which reached this area in the palatial period from the Argolid and Mycenaean Kydonia (Chania, Crete).⁶⁷ The cemetery of Germanou street is associated by the majority of scholars with a very important settlement the location of which must have been at the top of the Castle citadel.⁶⁸ Finally, a short distance away, in a plot at the junction of **Smyrnis** and **Laskareos** streets (fig. 4, no. 9), cist graves came to light, dated to the transition from the MH III to the LH I period.⁶⁹

On the south slope of the Aroe hill, in the region of **Pagona** (fig. 4, no. 12), a sector, dispersed over various plots, of an extensive settlement was located and excavated by Stavropoulou-Gatsi: it appears to have been founded in the EH period, but flourished

⁶² Kolonas 1996-1997, 478-479, Kolonas 1998, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 18-20, Kolonas 2008a, 11-31, Giannopoulos 2008, 64-66, Kolonas 2012, with bibliography.

⁶³ Kolonas 1996-1997, 479, Moschos 2007, 20, Giannopoulos 2008, 66, Kolonas 2008a, 9-11, Rizio 2011, 16-19, Kolonas 2012, 350, with bibliography.

⁶⁴ Moschos 2012, 304.

⁶⁵ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 28 and fig. 113 h, Kolonas 1996-1997, 479, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 22, Giannopoulos 2008, 60, Rizio 2011, 14, with bibliography.

⁶⁶ See relevant discussion in Chapter 5: Stirrup jars of the middle LH IIIC period or phase 3 (FS 164, 174, 175).

⁶⁷ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1993, Kolonas 1996-1997, 479, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 20, Giannopoulos 2008, 60-61, with bibliography.

⁶⁸ For the matter of occurrence of a Mycenaean installation at the Castle of Patras and the difficulty of its location, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 28, Rizakis and Petropoulos 2005, 6, Petropoulos 2012, 340, Gadolou and Paschalidis (forthcoming).

⁶⁹ Moschos 2007, 20, Moschos 2012, 303.

⁵⁹ For all these sites, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 28, Kolonas 1996-1997, 475-476, 478, Moschos 2007, 18, Giannopoulos 2008, 66, Rizio 2011, 20, with bibliography.

⁶⁰ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 26-27, Kolonas 1996-1997, 478, Mountjoy 1999, 400, Moschos 2007, 20, Giannopoulos 2008, 64, with bibliography.

⁶¹ Moschos 2007, 20, Moschos 2009a, 347, 352, Aktypi 2011, 6-7 and Rizio 2011, 20-22, with bibliography.

in the MH and Mycenaean periods (LH IIB–LH IIIB).⁷⁰ The Mycenaean settlement of Pagona comprises two architectural phases⁷¹ and a destruction by fire, which, according to Moschos, occurred at the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC early. Thereupon, the settlement was rebuilt.⁷² Yet another extensive Mycenaean cemetery had been located, in the pre-World War II times, in the adjacent neighbourhoods of **Aroe** and **Samakia** (fig. 4, no. 10), and an isolated tomb was investigated in 1965 at the site of **Vakros**, in the **Gerokomeion** region (fig. 4, no. 11), with finds dating to the LH IIIB and early LH IIIC periods.⁷³ The aforementioned tombs have been associated in the bibliography with the settlement of Pagona.⁷⁴

4. The region of Clauss and neighbouring sites

The largest concentration of Mycenaean sites in Achaia lies in the south environs of Patras, stretching from the wine estate of Achaia Clauss to Pavlokastró. The cemetery of **Clauss** (fig. 4, no. 14), which is the topic of this book, is situated at the edge of the mavrodaphni -a local cultivar - vineyard of the similarly named wine factory, at the foot of the verdant Koukouras hill (figs 5, 6). The site was located and excavated by Kyparissis in the years 1936–1938 and by Papadopoulos from 1988 to 1992. In the first period about 12 chamber tombs were researched and in the second one another 15 chambers, which had been in use from LH IIIA1 to the final phase of the LH IIIC period. A rich assemblage of finds was recovered from the tombs, consisting of various minor-art objects, a stone pyxis of the prepalatial period (unique for Achaia), decorated with carved in relief argonauts, two *warriors' tombs* furnished with swords of Naue II type, about one hundred bronze finds, including artefacts imported from Italy, many hundreds of ceramic vases, primary and secondary inhumations, and one cremation.⁷⁵ Papadopoulos suggested that the settlement going with the Clauss cemetery must have been situated underneath the premises of the modern wine factory, but there has never been found any evidence corroborating this hypothesis.⁷⁶ On the contrary, at the top of the neighbouring hill of **Mygdalia Petrotou** (fig. 4, no. 15, fig. 7), about



Fig. 5. The vineyard of Achaia Clauss wine factory as it looks from the cemetery site (from southeast).



Fig. 6. The vineyard of Achaia Clauss and the Koukouras hill seen from the wine factory (from northwest).

one kilometre away, on the opposite bank of the Filiouras (or Fileris) torrent, Papazoglou-Manioudaki located an extensive settlement.⁷⁷ The site has been the subject of systematic excavations since 2008 by Papazoglou-Manioudaki and the author of this book: it appears to have been founded in the transitional phase from the MH III to the LH I period and was consistently inhabited up to the end of LH IIIC.⁷⁸ The hilltop, offering a panoramic view of the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Patras, is a naturally fortified locality, reinforced by a strong enclosure wall along its accessible south side. Situated on a flat area of the hilltop, an LH IIIC building of the 'corridor house' type megaron was uncovered, characterised by a succession of rooms with roofs supported by timber posts (fig. 8). On a hill terrace a little lower, remains of houses

⁷⁰ Kolonas 1996–1997, 480, Moschos 2007, 20–22, Giannopoulos 2008, 61–63, Rizio 2011, 15, 16 fig. 6, 52–54, with bibliography.

⁷¹ Rizio 2011, 53.

⁷² Moschos 2009a, 347.

⁷³ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 26, 28, Kolonas 1996–1997, 476, 479–480, Mountjoy 1999, 400–401, Moschos 2007, Giannopoulos 2008, 63–64, Rizio 2011, 16, with bibliography.

⁷⁴ Kolonas 1996–1997, 480, Rizakis and Petropoulos 2005, 6.

⁷⁵ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 27, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Kolonas 1996–1997, 476, Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2006, 23–24, Moschos 2007, 22, Giannopoulos 2008, 55–56, Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, Paschalidis 2016, Paschalidis (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 27. As ascertained through our repeated surveys of the site, the hill of the wine factory and especially the adjacent vineyard preserve surface archaeological evidence of sherds and tiles of the Hellenistic period.

⁷⁷ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003, 433.

⁷⁸ For the excavation at Mygdalia Petrotou, see Morgan 2010, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, 502–504, Pitt 2012, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis 2017, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 1), Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).



Fig. 7. The Mycenaean settlement on top of the Mygdalia hill seen from the southeast, overlooking the Achaia Clauss cemetery at the foot of the Koukouras hill (right), the plain and the gulf of Patras.



Fig. 8. The LH IIIC 'corridor house' type megaron on the top of the Mygdalia hill, seen from the northwest.



Fig. 9. The LH IIIC storeroom with its content *in situ*.

came to light, arranged in successive rows, as well as a storeroom, 15 m long by 4 m wide, its roof supported by timber posts and on its floor lying many preserved *in situ* ceramic two- and four-handled amphorae, cooking vessels, a bronze knife and a monochrome skyphos of the late LH IIIC period (fig. 9). Underneath the storeroom lay a multi-roomed house of the LH IIIA1 period, assigned to a preceding architectural phase, while, in an adjacent building, a destruction layer of LH I was revealed under the overlying floors of the LH IIIC period. In 2016, 2017 and 2018, remains of a vast and strong LH IIB/IIIA1 two-storied building were excavated close to the enclosure wall. The building preserved an intact context of two dozens of bronze and some stone tools, together with jewellery made of

stone and shell and decorated tableware of the early LH IIIA2 phase, mysteriously abandoned *in situ*.⁷⁹ Evidence for the occurrence of violent destruction by fire or earthquake was found nowhere in the Mygdalia settlement stratigraphy, therefore its final abandonment in the Sub-Mycenaean period occurred for unknown, perhaps social-based reasons. Moreover, one built and three simple cist graves were unearthed under the floors of small outdoor spaces, between the houses and in once case cut into the floor of a room

⁷⁹ This is the time when the settlement was either abandoned or in decline, before its new flourishing in the LH IIIC early period. For the monumental building by the enclosure wall and its intact content, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 1), Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).



Fig. 10. Aerial photo of terrace 2, Mygdalia. Child graves 1-4 under the floors of outdoor spaces and of one room.

(child grave 4) containing unfurnished child burials, dated to the LH I times (fig. 10).⁸⁰

Outside the settlement, about 60 m to the south of its enclosure wall, a plundered apsidal and built tomb of the early Mycenaean times was found, preserving parts of a circular wall that had retained the earthen tumulus over it.⁸¹ Finally, on the south-west slope of the Mygdalia hill, at the site of **Goupata** (fig. 4, no. 16) of

the old community of Petroto, a little higher than the stream of Xeropotamos, Petropoulos excavated a tholos tomb, which was constructed and used in the LH IIB and LH IIIA1 periods, while in the following palatial period it was turned into a place for depositing relocated inhumations.⁸²

At the top of the abrupt **Koukouras** hill (site **Skondreika**, fig. 4, no. 17), above Clauss and opposite Mygdalia, Petropoulos located the remains of a Mycenaean

⁸⁰ Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis 2017, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 1), Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).

⁸¹ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, 503-504.

⁸² Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003, Moschos 2007, 22, Giannopoulos 2008, 57-59, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, 505-517, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).

settlement with surface sherds of the LH IIIA-C periods and a cemetery of plundered chamber tombs, at the site of **Marathia**.⁸³ Archaeological investigation of these sites was not allowed by the owners of the land⁸⁴ and, therefore, it remains unknown whether this secluded settlement and cemetery were extensive or not and for how long they were in use. All in all, judging from the morphology of the landscape and the dating of finds, it seems probable that the sites of Clauss and Mygdalia formed part of the same community.⁸⁵ The foundation of Mygdalia precedes that of Clauss and, in all probability, the inhabitants had initially used as their burial place the slope under the south access route to the settlement where the built apsidal tomb lies. A century later, the ruling family of the settlement built the tholos tomb and a little later again the cemetery of Clauss was founded, meeting the needs of the local population for burial space for three and a half centuries. Mygdalia and Clauss were peacefully abandoned in the latest phase of the LH IIIC or the beginning of the Sub-Mycenaean period, for reasons unknown.

At the neighbouring site of **Krini**, around the modern hamlet that lies in the foothills of Mt Oblos, three cemeteries of chamber tombs were unearthed, stretching across smooth slopes.⁸⁶ The first extends over the main part of a small village, on the slope of **Zoitada** (fig. 4, no. 20), where 11 tombs have been revealed. Remains of the second were located in the northeast foothills of Mt Oblos, in a pine forest, at two spots at **Agios Konstantinos** (fig. 4, nos 21, 22), about 300 m apart from each other, and conventionally called A and B. At spot A, four chamber tombs were excavated, one of which contained the oldest known sword of Naue II type from Achaea. Three more tombs were found at spot B. On the hill of **Drimaleika** (fig. 4, no. 19) another three tombs were excavated and in the last one Papazoglou-Manioudaki found a *warrior* burial dating to the middle LH IIIC period. The deceased had been buried with his 'female partner' (as the excavator attributed another adult burial connected to the *warrior*), and was accompanied by a sword of Naue II type with its scabbard. The cemeteries of Krini date from the LH IIB to the late LH IIIC periods, and, as it has been argued elsewhere, belonged to a trio of dispersed hamlets;⁸⁷ or possibly to one large settlement, which,

not having at its disposal a single area of adequate terrain, had to settle for several dispersed spots of ground suitable for the construction of tombs.⁸⁸

The next cluster of Mycenaean sites is situated in the region of **Thea** (Tsaplaneika), a very small distance south-west of Krini. At **Roditsa** in Thea (fig. 4, no. 23) two cist graves were investigated, dating to the transitional period from MH to LH I. Kyparissis excavated certain chamber tombs at the top and on the east slope of the **Agios Nikolaos** hill (fig. 4, no. 24), with finds dating from the LH IIIA1 to the LH IIIC periods. Finally, Papadopoulos argued that the settlement of the region lies either under the small village of Thea or at the site of **Kastro** (fig. 4, no. 25). A few chamber tombs of the LH IIIA-C periods were also investigated by Kyparissis at nearby **Pavlokaastro** (fig. 4, no. 26).⁸⁹ Petropoulos, on the other hand, identified the region of Thea as *Antheia*, one of the three cities founded by the Ionians, which, according to Pausanias' narration, was deserted and never again inhabited by the Achaeans of Patreus.⁹⁰

To the east of Thea, within a distance of a few kilometres, the important necropoleis and settlements of **Kallithea** are situated. At the site of **Rabadania** or **Spentzes** (fig. 4, no. 27), Yalouris excavated two chamber tombs (A and B), known as *warriors'* burials with swords of Naue II type. In the first tomb along with the sword, spearhead and other grave goods of the middle LH IIIC period were also found a pair of bronze greaves and fragments of an unusual cylindrical helmet. Among the ceramic and bronze grave offerings of *warrior's* tomb B, dated to the late LH IIIC period, a boar's-tusk helmet is included. The *warrior* in tomb B, according to the excavator's description, had been buried with his female partner.⁹¹ Excavations at the site were continued by Papadopoulos, who revealed another 24 chamber tombs with rich finds of the LH IIIA-C periods, including a cremation.⁹² At the neighbouring site of **Laganidia** (fig. 4, no. 28), Papadopoulos located and excavated one tholos tomb and 23 chambered ones arranged around it. The tholos tomb must have been constructed in the LH IIA, but appears to have continued in use right through the

⁸⁸ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 28 and Kolonas 1996-1997, 482.

⁸⁹ For the sites of Thea and Pavlokaastro, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 27, Kolonas 1996-1997, 476, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 49-50, with bibliography.

⁹⁰ Pausanias *Achaea* (Ἀχαιικά) 18.2-6. For identification of Thea as *Antheia*, see Petropoulos 2007b. Furthermore, Petropoulos argued that the *synoikismos* (unification) of Patrai did not take place at the end of the Mycenaean times or the beginning of the Geometric period, as it is commonly believed, but at a much later stage, at the onset of the Classical era, see Rizakis and Petropoulos 2005, 10. For this issue, see an earlier discussion by the same in Petropoulos 1991, 252-254.

⁹¹ Yalouris 1960, 44.

⁹² Yalouris 1960, Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 27, Kolonas 1996-1997, 476-477, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2006, 21-22, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 52-55, with bibliography.

⁸³ Petropoulos 1994, Kolonas 1996-1997, 481, Touchais 1999, 702, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 59-60, Rizio 2011, 20.

⁸⁴ Petropoulos 1994. Land owned by the Skondras family to which the site owes its name, also mentioned by Kyparissis, see Kyparissis 1936, 97.

⁸⁵ Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis 2017. The settlement at Mygdalia is approximately 1.2 kilometers away and above the Clauss cemetery, which lies at a much lower level. Such is the case of Chalandritsa, with its settlement on top of the Stavros hill and its cemetery one kilometre away and below, in a field, see Aktypi 2017, 11-12.

⁸⁶ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 27-28, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, Kolonas 1996-1997, 481-482, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 50-52, 125-130, Kaskantiri 2012.

⁸⁷ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 199-200 and Kaskantiri 2012, 2, 12.

prepalatial period for burials accompanied by animal offerings (one horse, cattle, sheep and goat and one dog), while from the LH IIIA2 to the Protogeometric periods it was turned into a place for depositing relocated inhumations and a single cremation. The finds from the chamber tombs date from LH IIB to late LH IIIC. In tomb VIII, a primary burial came to light accompanied by a 'hoard' of bronze weapons and tools of the LH IIIA2 period.⁹³ On the opposite hill of **Pournarakia**, to the north of the cemetery, Papadopoulos located and excavated scarce remains of a Mycenaean settlement to which the cemetery might have belonged.⁹⁴ Finally, Kolonas located at **Skamna** or **Kivouri** of Ano Kallithea (fig. 4, no. 29) a probable residential installation with surface finds of the MH and LH periods.⁹⁵ As it has been suggested by the same, this settlement might have been associated with the two cemeteries of Kallithea.

5. The rest of western Achaia

To the south of Patras stretches a long series of Mycenaean sites, distributed along the entire length of the similarly named gulf, at a short distance from the sea, across the fertile plain of Pharai.⁹⁶ The northernmost site lies in the area of **Ovria** (fig. 4, no. 30), where a Mycenaean settlement is probably located.⁹⁷ At **Agios Panteleimon** (fig. 4, no. 31), in the area of Vrachneika, a chamber tomb was excavated containing finds of the LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIC periods, its occurrence potentially indicating the locality of an as yet unknown cemetery. Yalouris located, but did not excavate, another cemetery on the coast of **Tsoukaleika** (fig. 4, no. 34). As it has been suggested by Papadopoulos, the settlement of the region could have been situated at nearby **Melissia-Drestena** (fig. 4, no. 32).⁹⁸ At the neighbouring site of **Stenosia Monodendri** (fig. 4, no. 33), Papapostolou excavated two chamber tombs of another cemetery. Among the finds, which date to LH IIIA2, there stands out a bronze ring that belongs to a central-European type of the Tumulus Culture Age (1600-1300 BC).⁹⁹

⁹³ Kolonas 1996-1997, 477, Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopolou 2006, 22-23, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 53-54, with bibliography. For tholos tomb, see Papadopoulos 1987. For burial with 'hoard' of bronze objects, referred to by the excavator as a burial of the *warrior-priest*, see Papadopoulos 1992b, 58 and pl. 19. This Mycenaean cemetery has been thoroughly studied by Papadopolou-Chrysikopoulou in the recent years and is expected to enrich our image of the region, once it is published.

⁹⁴ Papadopoulos 2002, 62-63.

⁹⁵ Kolonas 1996-1997, 482, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 54-55 and Rizio 2011, 20.

⁹⁶ According to Aktypi, these sites could have operated as intermediate stations along the coastal transportation line of the Mycenaean period, see Aktypi 2011, 5-6.

⁹⁷ Moschos 2007, 24.

⁹⁸ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 26, Kolonas 1996-1997, 475, Mountjoy 1999, 401, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 48-49, with bibliography. For *Tsoukaleika*, also see Rizio 2011, 19.

⁹⁹ For the tombs of *Monodendri*, see Kolonas 1996-1997, 475, Moschos 2007, 24, Giannopoulos 2008, 134-139 and Giannopoulos 2009, 120-126, with bibliography. For the imported ring and its context, see Giannopoulos 2009, 122-126.

A few kilometres to the south-west, along the gulf coast, lie the sites of **Alissos** (Oukri and Agia Papaskevi, fig. 4, no. 37) and **Kamenitsa** (Mouria, Agios Georgios, Koutsouro and Scholi, fig. 4, no. 38) with reported surface finds of the Mycenaean period.¹⁰⁰ Outside Kato Achaia, near **Niphoreika** (fig. 4, no. 36), is the site of Vouchomata, a small hill, where Kyparissis collected surface sherds of the EH and LH periods.¹⁰¹ The westernmost sites of the Gulf of Patras are located near the promontory of Araxos. The acropolis of the **Dymaeon Wall** (Teichos Dymaion, fig. 4, no. 41) is situated in this region, on the peak of the southernmost and lowest of the rocky Mavra mountains, at a locality that visually controlled the opening of the Gulf of Patras to the Ionian Sea.¹⁰² The acropolis was inhabited from the Late/Final Neolithic to the middle Byzantine era, but it was in the Mycenaean Age that it flourished and especially in the LH IIIB period, when a cyclopean fortification wall was built along its north, east and south sides. It was completely destroyed by fire in the transition from the LH IIIB2 to the early LH IIIC period, but was subsequently rebuilt and remained in use till its second and final destruction at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. None of the Mycenaean buildings excavated by Mastrokostas and Kolonas, within the fortification wall, exhibited features of a palatial complex, only houses of the common type have been recovered. No tomb nor cemetery associated with the cyclopean acropolis have been traced up to now in the surrounding area.¹⁰³ To the south of the fortified site, at **Gerbesei** (fig. 4, no. 42), building remains and Mycenaean pottery were found, probably belonging to another settlement of the region.¹⁰⁴

Across the inland part of the fertile Pharai plain, up to the foothills of Mt Erymanthos, in the south region of the prefecture, many Mycenaean sites are dispersed, obviously rural in character. At **Lefkos** in **Agiovlasitika** (fig. 4, no. 35), Papazoglou excavated a large, partly damaged, chamber tomb, containing finds of the LH IIIB-C periods, which belonged to a cemetery of rock-cut tombs.¹⁰⁵ From the neighbouring site of **Rachi** (fig. 4, no. 40) Mycenaean pottery was

¹⁰⁰ Moschos 2007, 26.

¹⁰¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 25, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 26, Giannopoulos 2008, 29, with bibliography.

¹⁰² Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 24, Kolonas 1996-1997, 470, Mountjoy 1999, 402, Moschos 2007, 26, Giannopoulos 2008, 23-28, Kolonas 2008b, Moschos 2009a, 346-347, Gazis 2010, Rizio 2011, 24-26, 42-43, with bibliography.

¹⁰³ Teichos Dymaion is currently studied by Gazis, who has given precious access to the preliminary results of his on-going study, see Gazis 2010, Gazis 2017 and Gazis (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁴ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 25, Kolonas 1996-1997, 470, Moschos 2007, 26, Giannopoulos 2008, 28-29, with bibliography.

¹⁰⁵ Kolonas 1983, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471-472, Moschos 2007, 26, Giannopoulos 2008, 29-30. As L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki informed me (pers. comm. in 2010), the reference made in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* of 1983 with regard to a bronze dagger from this tomb is erroneous. In fact, there were found a bronze knife, some ceramic vases and a bird-like askos, which had been placed on the slabs covering a child burial, also see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2014.

collected.¹⁰⁶ Two important Mycenaean cemeteries are situated a few kilometres to the south-east of Rachi. The former, at **Spaliareika Lousikon (fig. 4, no. 46)**, comprised nine chamber tombs with a rich array of finds, some imported from Syro-Palestine. In tomb 2, along with other material, two cremations were unearthed, as well as the weapons and armour of two warriors, dating to the beginning of the late LH IIIC period. Among the disturbed skeletal material of the tomb were identified the remains of an adult female. The cemetery of Spaliareika was used from the LH IIIA1 to the end of the LH IIIC periods.¹⁰⁷ In the second cemetery, at **Kalamaki of Elaiochori (fig. 4, no. 47)**, 32 chamber tombs were investigated and many more, plundered once located. The cemetery had been situated over preceding rock-cut tombs of the EH I period, a few of which were reused as ossuaries, and its use lasted from LH IIIA1 to the end of the LH IIIC period. One more sword of Naue II type also comes from this cemetery, its occurrence certainly indicating a burial of yet another *warrior* of postpalatial Achaea.¹⁰⁸

Further to the south, at **Pournari (fig. 4, no. 39)**, a tomb was investigated, referred to as a 'tholos tomb', a definition that has been disputed. From this tomb derive at least two ceramic vases of the late LH IIIC period and one leaf-shaped spearhead.¹⁰⁹ A few kilometres to the south-west, in the area of the village of **Lappa (fig. 4, no. 43)**, the remains of a Mycenaean installation were located, lying over tumuli of the ME III-LH I periods.¹¹⁰ Outside the adjacent village of **Kangadi (fig. 4, no. 44)**, Yalouris excavated a cemetery of chamber tombs, which was in use right through the LH IIIC period and included among its finds a sword of Naue II type, obviously relating to a *warrior's* burial. At the site of **Sotiroula (fig. 4, no. 45)**, on the outskirts of the same village, a similar cemetery must have existed and, according to Papadopoulos, the Mycenaean settlement of the region was there too.¹¹¹

In the heart of the plain of Pharai, halfway between the coast and Mt Erymanthos, lies another cluster of Mycenaean sites, obviously rural in character, practising livestock farming. In the area of **Ano Soudeneika (fig. 4, no. 51)**, at the sites of **Flokas (fig. 4, no. 52)** and **Charavgi (fig. 4, no. 53)**, further

south, were located surface finds of this period.¹¹² In the stretch of land between the hamlets of **Mitopolis** and **Komi** two cemeteries are situated. The former, at the site of **Prophitis Elias (fig. 4, no. 48)**, has become known through the handing in of antiquities, including that of a bronze spearhead, which for years was considered as an import from the Italian peninsula.¹¹³ The latter cemetery, lying at the site of **Agia Varvara (fig. 4, no. 49)**, was first located by Kyparissis and there were excavated seven chamber tombs containing rich finds dating from the LH IIIA1 to the beginning of the late phase of the LH IIIC period. Among the finds stands out a *warrior's* burial of the LH IIIB period (tomb 1) and an Assyrian cylinder seal (tomb 3). As it has been suggested by Kolonas, the Mycenaean settlement must have extended in the area where the modern houses now stand.¹¹⁴ The tumuli at the neighbouring site of **Pharai (fig. 4, no. 68)**, which contained Geometric graves, although never systematically investigated, are often included by most scholars in the catalogue of probable early Mycenaean funerary monuments of the region.¹¹⁵ The same goes for the tumulus at **Xerokampos of Starochorion (fig. 4, no. 70)**.¹¹⁶ In the same area, at the site of **Lalousi**, Kyparissis mentions the existence of a Mycenaean cemetery. A stirrup jar of the middle LH IIIC period comes from that site.¹¹⁷ Finally, two small jars, deriving from the village of **Vasiliko (fig. 4, no. 71)**, have been regarded as Mycenaean.¹¹⁸

The most remote Mycenaean sites of the region lie in south Achaea, in the foothills of Mt Erymanthos, bordering the prefecture of Elis. At Kivouria in **Skouras (fig. 4, no. 72)** a built tomb was excavated, containing vases of the LH IIIA-B periods. At the site of **Drosia (fig. 4, no. 73)**, according to Kyparissis' estimations, there once existed over one hundred chamber tombs, all damaged and plundered, from which a handful of finds was preserved, dated by Papadopoulos to the LH IIIC and Sub-Mycenaean periods.¹¹⁹ The most important researched site of the entire region is situated at **Portes-Kephalovryson (fig. 4, no. 50)**, in the foothills of Mt Skollis. The

¹¹² Moschos 2007, 32.

¹¹³ This is spearhead PMX 75, see Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 163 and fig. 316a, which belongs to a well-known type, characteristic of the Adriatic coast, and for which metal analysis has shown that it was manufactured from Cypriot bronze, namely it was an Achaean imitation of a foreign type. See relevant discussion with regard to a similar imported spearhead (*Ma8*) in Chapter 5.

¹¹⁴ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 29, Kolonas 1996-1997, 473, Moschos 2007, 30, Giannopoulos 2008, 36-38, Kolonas 2008c, 19-24, Christakopoulou-Somakou 2010 with bibliography.

¹¹⁵ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 36.

¹¹⁶ Moschos 2007, 36.

¹¹⁷ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30 and fig. 92i, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 36, Giannopoulos 2008, 38 with bibliography.

¹¹⁸ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 30, Moschos 2007, 36.

¹¹⁹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 33, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 36, Giannopoulos 2008, 36 (for Skouras) and 38 (for Drosia) with bibliography.

¹⁰⁶ Moschos 2007, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Kolonas 1996-1997, 472-473, Petropoulos 2000, Papathanasiou 2002-2005, Moschos 2007, 28, Giannopoulos 2008, 99-124, Kolonas 2008c, 25-28.

¹⁰⁸ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 25 (Phostaina), Kolonas 1996-1997, 473, Vasilogamvrou 2000, Moschos 2007, 28-30, Giannopoulos 2008, 31-34, Kolonas 2008c, 29-31, with bibliography.

¹⁰⁹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 25, Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 26, Giannopoulos 2008, 34.

¹¹⁰ Kolonas 1996-1997, 471, Moschos 2007, 28.

¹¹¹ Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 25, Kolonas 1996-1997, 470-471, Mountjoy 1999, 402, Moschos 2007, 28, Giannopoulos 2008, 29, with bibliography.

large cemetery of Portes includes all the funerary architectural types known from the Mycenaean world. The earliest are two burial tumuli constructed in the LH I period and used up to LH IIIA-B. To the LH II period date the two tholos tombs of the cemetery, of which one was excavated, providing evidence that it continued in use up to the LH IIIA period. Dispersed in the cemetery were found some built cist graves and others lined with slabs. Finally, there were located and excavated 29 chamber tombs, in use from LH IIB to the Sub-Mycenaean periods, furnished with rich finds, some imported from the Italian peninsula. A number of chambers had many burial pits opened in their floor, while tomb 3 contained one of the most important *warrior* burials of postpalatial Achaea. The deceased had been buried with a sword of Naue II type, a pair of greaves, an unusual cylindrical helmet (similar to that from tomb A of Kallithea-Rabadania), a bronze bowl, weapons, tools and ceramic vases dated to the LH IIIC middle period. Placed close by him was a contemporary, richly furnished female burial. To the north-west of the cemetery and almost adjacent to it were located the remains of the Mycenaean settlement of the region.¹²⁰

B. Distribution of sites and the character of Mycenaean Achaea

As has already been mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Mycenaean Achaea was densely inhabited right throughout the LH period, with over 100 sites (figs 4a-b), many of them already established in the MH period. The three larger clusters of sites appear a) in the area of the city of Patras, b) in the foothills of Mt Panachaikon, a few kilometres to the south and east of the city and c) on the west slopes of the same mountain from Chalandritsa to Leontion. In these regions the larger part of the population must have been concentrated, as well as the economic life and administration, throughout the period.

It is also interesting to emphasise two more points. Most of the tumuli of Achaea, constructed at the transition from the MH III to the LH I periods, are located in the south part of the territory (Lappa, Portes and possibly Pharai and Starochori) near the border with Elis, where this type of funerary monument was more common.¹²¹ All six tholos tombs of Achaea (Kararrachtis [2], Kallithea-Laganidia, Petroton, Portes [2]) were built in the LH II period and used up to the end of the LH IIIA1 or the beginning of the LH IIIA2 period. Their localities potentially coincide

with the administrative centres of prepalatial Achaea. These tombs were neglected in the palatial period (LH IIIA2-B), as is mostly their destiny in the central areas of the Mycenaean world, falling into disuse as a consequence of the abolition of established local centres and a concentration of authority in new and less numerous ones.¹²²

To the palatial period also date a few distinguished burials, like the *warriors'* from tomb VIII of Kallithea-Laganidia and tomb 1 of Mitopolis. To a similar and contemporary burial we could attribute the bronze weapons and tools, and some of the vases that are now kept at the State Museums of Berlin and are reported to have been found in an Achaean tomb at Aigeira prior to 1904.¹²³ In this period, moreover, the exceptionally rich cemetery of Voudeni stands out, although the settlement associated with it is too small, with poor finds, to have fulfilled any role of a palatial and administrative centre.¹²⁴ On the contrary, the densely inhabited area of Patras and especially of its Castle presents certain qualitative traits, such as an assemblage of few but distinctive finds, which rank it as a possible location for a palace – if there ever was one.¹²⁵ Finally, the monumental fortification of the Dymaeon Wall in the LH IIIB period can be integrated into the framework of similar palatial building programs known from other citadels of the Mycenaean world (Gla, Midea), not necessarily functioning as seats of administrative authority, but as military bases with residential facilities in their interior. All of the above mentioned traits justify the classification of Achaea in the palatial Mycenaean world as one of its territories. The argument based on the fact that a local palace has not yet been found is not strong enough to substantiate its characterisation as periphery,¹²⁶ or as a region organised in chiefdoms alongside the palatial territories,¹²⁷ two views further

¹²² As opposed to the numerous tholos tombs of Messenia, some of which continued to be in use throughout the palatial period, see Voutsaki 1998, 51-52, 54-55, observing, however, a reduction in their use from the LH III A2 onwards. For the change of use of prepalatial tholos tombs in the palatial period, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, who distinguished cases of abandonment or acts of 'dishonouring' in most of the tholoi of the northwestern Peloponnese as a result of the new palatial ideology, imposed there. Further evidence on this topic is provided by the on-going excavation of the Mycenaean settlement at Mygdalia Petrotou and the re-evaluation of the burial stratigraphy from the Petroto tholos tomb, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).

¹²³ Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2003.

¹²⁴ There is a general lack of evidence from Mycenaean settlements in western Achaea due to the problematic nature of research. Few settlements are known. Fewer are properly excavated and none is fully published so far, as seen in Rizzio's brave synthesis of the available data (Rizzio 2011). Therefore, general conclusions about the modes of administration in Achaea during the Mycenaean palatial period, which are based on the absence of wealth or of specific finds, are unsafe or should be considered impossible for the time being.

¹²⁵ See *supra* the brief presentation of the Mycenaean sites around the Castle of Patras and the special character of some finds, that came to light from there.

¹²⁶ As it has been argued by Middleton, see Middleton 2011, 101.

¹²⁷ As it has been argued by Arena, see Arena 2015.

¹²⁰ Kolonas 1996-1997, 473-475, Moschos 2007, 30-32, Kolonas 2008c, 33-47, Giannopoulos 2008, 34-36, with bibliography.

¹²¹ Nikolentzos 2011, 117-121. Tumuli are much more numerous in the south-west Peloponnese (Elis and mainly Messenia) than anywhere else, see Korres 1976-1978, 340-342, 344-345, Korres 1993, 235, 236, 238 and Korres 2011.

contradicted by the synthesis of the available material remains and archaeological topography.¹²⁸

The violent destruction by fire of quite a few Achaean settlements in the transition from the LH IIIB to the early LH IIIC period (Dymaeon Wall, Agia Kyriaki, Pagona) indicates that Achaea suffered equally the violence that marked the end of the palatial world. The destruction was at once followed by a phase of rebuilding and display. The postpalatial period of Achaea was its golden age. Almost all of the above cited sites were inhabited in the LH IIIC period, indicating population growth deriving, in all probability, from the overall prosperity of the era and not from a sudden influx of refugees. Relations and exchanges with the Italian peninsula were much intensified and administration was again conducted in local centres apparently headed by those buried as *warriors*. Although the structure of this new type of authority is not known to us, the *warriors* of the era appear to have shared a common mode of burial

and attribution of honours, notwithstanding the fact that some of them stand out by their wealth and special finds. These are the dead buried in tomb A of Kallithea-Rabadania and tomb 3 of Portes, who were offered, apart from various weapons and tools, idiosyncratic helmets and pairs of greaves. The *warriors* of Kallithea-Rabadania and Portes might have been *primi inter pares* among the local rulers of postpalatial Achaea. The mountainous region of Achaea, where no such burial has been found so far, is excluded from the network of *warriors*, while the eastern part of the territory is represented only by tomb 4 at Nikoleika of Aigion. Similar burials have been excavated in Elis¹²⁹ and Arcadia.¹³⁰

The destruction by fire of the Dymean Wall at the end of the LH IIIC period signals the end of the era: this, in most cases, was peaceful and occurred through the gradual abandonment of cemeteries and settlements, such as those of Clauss and neighbouring Mydgalia Petrotou.¹³¹

¹²⁸ A more analytical discussion on the cultural and historical nature of the northwestern Peloponnese during the Mycenaean times, with special regard to its role in the era of the palaces, is given in Gadolou and Paschalidis (forthcoming).

¹²⁹ Nikolentzos 2011, 305 note 1835, Vikatou 2012b, 366 fig. 740, listing all of the unpublished *warriors'* burials in Elis, and Vikatou 2012a, 70, 73 fig. 9, for tomb 8 at Mageiras of Elis with sword, remains of its scabbard, spearhead, a greave and *warrior's* ring, and again 293 cat. no. 1/3, 304 and 305 cat. no. 1/43, for the remainder of the *warriors'* weapons from the same cemetery.

¹³⁰ Salavoura 2015, 378-380.

¹³¹ Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis 2017, 457, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis (forthcoming 2).