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SOMMARIO

<i>Oliver Dickinson</i> The Use and Misuse of the Ahhiyawa Texts	7
<i>Giampaolo Graziadio</i> Some Considerations on the Connections between Western Peloponnese and Cyprus in the Mycenaean Period	23
<i>Davide Nadali</i> Speaking Pictures, Writing Words: On the Interplay of Communication in Ancient Mesopotamia	47
<i>Laura Puértolas Rubio</i> How to Bewitch Someone: Bewitching Techniques According to Incantations in the Hittite and Luwian Ritual Texts	59
<i>Ester Salgarella</i> Non-Connective Behaviour of the Particle – <i>Qe</i> in the Linear B Documents from Pylos	71
POLITICAL BOUNDARIES AND CULTURAL CONTACTS DURING THE IRON AGE IN SOUTH-EAST ANATOLIA: CILICIA, AMUQ AND THE KARA SU VALLEY	
<i>Anna Lucia D'Agata</i> Misis (Ancient Mopsouestia) and the Plain of Cilicia in the Early First Millennium BC: Material Entanglements, Cultural Boundaries, and Local Identities	87
<i>Sabina Kulemann-Ossen, Hannah Mönninghoff</i> Hybridity of Styles: Iron Age Pottery from Sirkeli Höyük	111
<i>Marina Pucci</i> The Iron Age Sequence in the Amuq	147
<i>Sebastiano Soldi</i> The Iron Age Pottery of Zincirli Höyük: An Assemblage among Neighbouring Traditions	165

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN WESTERN PELOPONNESE AND CYPRUS IN THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD

Giampaolo Graziadio

Summary

A remarkable group of three-handled jars was manufactured on Cyprus in the 14th century BC under the influence of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 jars FS 44 and FS 45, which suggests that they were the earliest Cypriot vases of Mycenaean inspiration. In this article a comparative analysis between these Cypriot examples and the Mycenaean pottery found in Achaea, Elis and Messenia is carried out. Several morphological affinities between the jars FS 44 and FS 45 with the conical and conical-piriform shapes from these regions and the Cypriot three-handled jars are apparent. There are also additional common features concerning the decoration, such as old-fashioned motifs and the presence of secondary motifs under the handles, which became some of the main decorative elements of the Cypriot three-handled jars. Based on the convergence of this circumstantial evidence, it can be suggested that the influence of the Mycenaean pottery of the western regions of the Peloponnese played an important, although ephemeral, role on Cypriot pottery production during the 14th Century BC. This could be attributed to the substantial development on the Greek mainland, after the destruction of Knossos, of perfumed oil and perfumed ointment production, which led to the widespread export of Mycenaean slow-pouring and unguent containers throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

INTRODUCTION

There is general consensus that of the Mainland Mycenaean areas, the Argolid was the region that had the most interaction with Cyprus. In fact, archaeometric research has shown that nearly all the abundant LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery found on Cyprus was manufactured in the Argolid (Jones 1986, 542-573, 689-609; Crouwel 1991, 51-53, for Pictorial Style). On the contrary, previous study on the interconnections between Cyprus and Achaea, Elis and Messenia has been minimal and has resulted in variable interpretations on the scale and nature of interaction through time. Therefore, this paper begins with a critical examination of the evidence presented in previous research.

1. A REVIEW OF THE PAST LITERATURE

1.1. *Achaea and Cyprus*

Some decades ago Th. Papadopoulos (1978-1979, 180; 1985, 146) suggested that there was evidence for limited and discontinuous contacts between Achaea and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. However, evidence for the earliest connections might be found in a few fragmentary bowls from LH I contexts at Patra *Pagona* (Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Karageorghis 2003, 97-98, fig. 2, pls. 1, 2). The main ceramic feature considered indicative of Cypriot connections was the handle of these bowls, which, according to V. Karageorghis, resembled a “wishbone handle” of Cypriot inspiration. The shape of these Achaean bowls was considered an imitation of some Base Ring I examples (Karageorghis 2003).

Twenty years ago I discussed the adoption of the typical wishbone handle by some Minoan potters in the LM IB and LM II-III A1 periods suggesting that some Cretan craftsmen made bowls with a Minoan shape and dec-

oration, combined with a wishbone handle of Cypriot type (Graziadio 1999). The Achaean bowls discussed above, however, are not comparable with the Minoan examples. On the Minoan bowls, the wishbone handles, which were genuinely inspired by Late Cypriot bowls, are generally put obliquely or horizontally on the outer side of the vase. The Patra *Pagona* bowls, on the other hand, have handles that were attached in an almost vertical position below the rim. Even more important is the fact that there are handles similar to those found at Patra that occur widely throughout Greece, from the western and northern Peloponnese to the central-western regions of the mainland and the Ionian islands (see, for example Dietz, Moschos 2006, 54-55; Pavúk 2012, 66-67). Therefore, Achaean wishbone handles probably do not have any connections with Cypriot examples, despite the equivalent term used to describe them.

A few later connections were also suggested by Th. Papadopoulos based on a LH II carinated bronze bowl from Tholos B at Katarraktis. For Papadopoulos, this metal vessel, with a flat handle considered characteristic of the wishbone handle, imitated Cypriot prototypes or was even directly imported from Cyprus (Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 152-153, fig. 304.b, d, e, 337; 1985, 144-145; also Catling 1964, 181, 23 a, no. 2; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 324 no. 379, pl. 76). However many doubts were raised regarding the connection due to the lack of precise parallels in Cypriot metal and ceramic production (Matthäus 1980, 236-238 no. 354, pl. 42 no. 354: shape and handle of Aegean type; Cline 1994, 247 no. 1029: “problematic import” and “possibly local Mycenaean”; Giannopoulos 2008, 43, fig. 10.7, 44-45).

Although the nature of Cypro-Achaean relations in the later Late Bronze Age was considered “not easily discernible during the LH II-III A and the early phases of LH IIIB” (Papadopoulos 1985, 146: b), more definite evidence exists by LH III A in the form of the piriform jars that are discussed further below. Mycenaean stirrup jars with undecorated shoulders were also suggested as exports from Cyprus to various Achaean sites, but the origin and chronology of these are debated.¹

In the last centuries of the second millennium BC, pottery provides the primary evidence for suggested connections between the two areas, despite some different opinions on the ancestry of particular shapes, such as the “bird askoi”, as well as on the modes for transmission of stylistic influences (Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 101-104 and esp. 103, figs. 163-168, 255.a-f; 1985, 142-143; Paschalidis, McGeorge 2009, 90, fig. 14.a, for recent finds). Moreover, some unsolved questions persist about the Cypriot origin of some decorative motifs of the final period of the Late Bronze Age, as well as the provenance of an amphoriskos and a few stirrup jars from Achaea, which were ascribed to the period corresponding to LH IIIB and LH IIIC (Papadopoulos 1985, 141-142; 144.3, 4, 5, 146.12; cf. Cline 1994, 62; 241 no. 973; 245 no. 1017; 246, nos. 1019, 1021, 1023, “possibly local Mycenaean”). We also are still far from having reached consensus on the suggested connections between metal objects found in the two areas (Papadopoulos 1985, 142.c, 145-146.10, 11; cf. Cline 1994, 249-250 nos. 1054-1056, 251-252 no. 1071, “problematic imports”). These include possible Argive imported bronze greaves from Kallithea in Achaea and from the Swedish excavations of Enkomi Tomb 18 (Papadopoulos 1985, 145: 9, pl. 6.a). Despite this scarcity of solid evidence, it has been suggested that Cypriot copper was exported to Achaea during LH IIIC Middle (Jung et al. 2008, 90 no. 35; Moschos 2009, 377; Jung 2009, 74-75) and that connections between the northern Peloponnese and Cyprus became even stronger in LH IIIC Late and in early Sub-Mycenaean as a consequence of the increasing trade in Cypriot copper, coupled with the intermediate role of Achaea in the Cypriot maritime routes to the Central Mediterranean (Moschos 2009, 377-378, n. 145, 386; Arena 2015, 30).

1 PM 428 (from Chalandritsa): Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 209 no. 434, fig. 104.f; 1985, 141 (LH IIIB-C); cf. Cline 1994, 245 no. 1016 (LH IIIA2); BE. 431 (from Aigion): Papadopoulos 1985, 141; cf. Cline 1994, 245-246 no. 1018 (LH IIIA-C); PM 114 (from Chalandritsa): Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 201: no. 116, fig. 100.c (LH IIIA2); 1985, 141 (LH IIIC); Cline 1994, 245 no. 1015 (LH IIIA2 or LH IIIC); PM 670 (from Kangadhi): Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 212 no. 541, fig. 92. d-e; 1985: 141 (LH IIIB-C); Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 323 no. 378, pl. 36 (LH IIIA or LH IIIA2); cf. Cline 1994, 246 no. 1020 (LH IIIA or Sub-Mycenaean); PM 625 (from Patra area): Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 211, figs. 112.h, 202.c, 228.d; 1985, 141 (LH IIIB-C); cf. Cline 1994, 246.1024 (LH IIIB2). Papadopoulos (1985, 141) included these vases in the group of “Cypriot objects in Achaea”, asserting a degree of certainty of their “Cypriot origin (or influence)”, but Cline (1994, 245-246) regarded all of them as “problematic imports” and “possibly local Mycenaean”.

1.2. *Elis, Messenia and Cyprus*

In reviewing archaeological evidence for contacts between the Western Peloponnese and Cyprus, it should be preliminarily noted that, in addition to the very late metallurgical connections recently discussed (Jung *et al.* 2008, 90 no. 35; Jung 2009, 74-75), new finds include an 11th century BC horned vase from a chamber tomb at Tripes (Elis) that was considered a local imitation of a Cypriot example (Vikatou, Karageorghis 2006; cf. however Moschos 2009, 376 n. 140). On the other hand, in past excavation reports attention was only occasionally paid to a few Mycenaean piriform jars, which were incorrectly attributed to Cypriot shapes (FS 46 and FS 47) and will be discussed further below.

In turning specifically to Messenia, the Linear B texts from Pylos, dating to about 1200 BC (Bennet 1996, 52), must be considered, even though, as is well known, they do not offer any direct information on trade, but only contain rare allusions to the palatial foreign relations without mentioning merchants and long-distance trade exchanges in detail (Tartaron 2013, 24, 35-36). However, terms such as *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *a-ra-si-jo* in the Linear B tablets are of interest. The term *a-ra-si-jo*, attested in three tablets from Knossos, cannot be safely identified with Cyprus because the term corresponds to the geographic entity called Alashiya only in the eastern texts. However, there is wide consensus on the identification of Alashiya with Cyprus or at least part of the island (Knapp 1996, 1, 11-13; Bennet 1996, 51; Del Frio 2016, 648). The term *ku-pi-ri-jo*, on the other hand, appears in the Pylos tablets four times and while considered connected with Cyprus, it is not clear if the term refers to a personal name corresponding to the Greek κύπριος or to an ethnic adjective referring to **kupros* (i.e. 'Cyprus'), a name unattested elsewhere.² At any rate, the term *ku-pi-ri-jo*, which in the form *ku-pi-ri-ja/kupria*, is also attested in a Knossos tablet (Od 667), seems to be connected with the Greek name of the island of Cyprus, although it first appears in Homer in the 8th century BC (Knapp 1996, 11; cf. Bennet 1996, 52).

Given that Cyprus is generally associated with copper, it is also worth considering the possibility that Cypriot copper was used in the Pylos region. The Knossos tablets record 60 copper ingots, indicated by ideograms in the shape of oxhide ingots, amounting to 1,562 kg (Chadwick 1976, 142: Oa 730, 733 e 734). On the other hand, Pylos' texts refer to metals and their working, but they do not contain any information on the copper trade. According to various scholars the term *ka-ko* on these tablets and the logogram AES could indicate either the raw material (copper) or bronze objects (Muhly 1992, 18; Gillis 1997, 506-508; Kayafa 1999, 124 n. 128 with refs. Also see Varias 2016, 403, 404). Containing lists of materials and craftsmen, Pylos' texts of the Jn series show that numerous bronze workers were not necessarily tied to the palace (Ventris, Chadwick 1973, 509, from 300 to 400 workers; Kayafa 1999, 126-128, 270 workers; also see Gillis 1997, 506 n. 5), and that each bronze worker was responsible for small amounts of bronze (Gillis 1997, 512; Kayafa 1999, 128). However, the social status of the bronze workers is undetermined and the total amount of the worked bronze is uncertain (Chadwick 1976, 140; see, however, Gillis 1997, 506 n. 5). It was suggested that tablet PY Ja 749 refers to ca 1.04 kg of bronze distributed by the palace to the bronze workers while details of the material were recorded in the Jn series (Varas 2016, 404 n. 6, 405). On the other hand, based on the absence of traces of metallurgical activity inside the palace, C. Gillis (1997, 508, 511-513) considers the possibility that independent craftsmen, living in the Pylos region, were engaged in metallurgical activities and that the palatial administration was not directly involved in the acquisition of raw material, but only controlled final products.³

At any rate, no information on the provenance of copper used in the kingdom of Pylos is provided by the tablets. The amount of naturally occurring copper in Messenia, and more generally in the Peloponnese, is insigni-

2 In fact, this term is associated to persons shepherds (Cn 131; Cn 719) or to metal allotments to bronze workers (Jn 320) or to a payment in wool and dresses (Un 443): see Palaima 1991, 280-281, 291-295; Knapp 1996, 52-53, Texts 96-99; also see Cline 2007, 199.

3 There were some bronze workers in the kingdom of Pylos, as shown by tablet PY Jn 431, where reference is made to *a-pe-ke-e*, a place of uncertain identification (Varas 2016, 406, 408); other tablets (Group B) show that some workshops were located in the Hither Province (Varas 2016, 409); other places are mentioned in PY Jn 832 (Varas 2016, 411); in PY Jn 829 various amounts of bronze were assigned to single districts both of the Hither and Further Provinces (Varas 2016, 413-416).

nificant (Cooke, Nielsen 1978, 269). Therefore, if the bronze workers living in the Pylos region used portions of oxhide ingots, as suggested by Smith (1992-1993, 180; also see Kayafa 1999, 128-129), copper was of Cypriot origin, since there is a broad consensus that Cypriot copper was used for the production of all the oxhide ingots circulating in the Mediterranean after 1450 BC (Gale 1991, 215; 1999, 116). Unfortunately, this suggestion cannot be confirmed because no oxhide ingots have so far been found in Messenia. This clearly is in consonance with the rarity of oxhide ingots in the Peloponnese, even in the Argolid,⁴ while it is in contrast with the large number of examples from Crete, although not all the Cretan ingots were made of Cypriot copper (Kassianidou 2014). Lead Isotope Analysis of some EH and MH copper-based artefacts from the Peloponnese confirms this picture, with only a minority of the objects made of copper consistent with a Cypriot provenance, while the majority are made from copper sources located in the Aegean, especially in the Cyclades and, to a lesser extent, in Attica (Kayafa *et al.* 2000, 43, 44, 52, table 2.10; 2010, 708, 710, fig. 8). This probably indicates that in these periods Cypriot copper was not directly imported, but it was distributed through Cycladic or Minoan intermediaries (Kayafa 1999, 397-398, 400; 2010, 708). Although there were some changes through time, copper-based artefacts made of Cypriot copper were still few in the Late Bronze Age. During the LH IIIA-C periods, only 18% of the analyzed copper-based objects from the Peloponnese had a composition consistent with Cypriot copper, while artefacts made of Laurion copper amounted to 43% (Kayafa 1999, 405). On the other hand, the supply of Cypriot copper reached its peak in the advanced and late phases of LH IIIC. In taking into account the general rarity of Cypriot copper, it is therefore not surprising that only three samples from Nichoria in Messenia had a composition consistent with Cypriot copper, while Laurion was the main source of raw material. None of the other Messenian artefacts analyzed were made of Cypriot copper, apart from one MH sample from Voidoikilia (Kayafa 1999, 359-361).

In this situation, the trade in a variety of often archaeologically invisible goods should also be taken into account. For example, long distance trade supplied Messenia with alum, ivory, and lapis lazuli, in addition to other highly degradable exotic goods such as sesame, spices and drugs. At Pylos, *pistacia* resin was acquired for use in the perfume industry (D'Agata 1997). Although the routes of acquisition of these raw materials are not recorded, the possibility that Cyprus was among the Eastern Mediterranean suppliers of these valuable goods cannot be ruled out (Knapp 1991; also see Michailidou, Voutsas 2005, 18-20; Lupack 2016, 388). Textiles and oils labelled as *xenwia* in the Knossian and Pylian tablets might have been among the goods exported to the eastern countries (Killen 2008, 181-189 with refs.).

Given the previous scarcity of information on the contacts between Cyprus and the west Peloponnese, it is now worth discussing some pieces of archaeological evidence from a different perspective.

2. THE MYCENAEAN SMALL PIRIFORM JARS AND THE CYPRIOT THREE-HANDLED JARS

2.1. *General discussion*

A remarkable group of Cypriot small three-handled jars, amounting to 122 catalogued items, was discussed in a recent study of mine (Graziadio 2017). Since they were manufactured on Cyprus under a strong Mycenaean influence in the 14th century BC, corresponding to the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 periods, these three-handled jars can be considered the earliest Aegean-type vases produced on the island. In fact, their production actually began more than a century earlier than the appearance of the so-called "Levanto-Mycenaean" pottery in the late 13th century BC and of the well-known White Painted Wheelmade III ware, which in the 12th century BC replaced the tradi-

4 Only one example from the Acropolis and twelve fragments from three LH IIIB deposits of the Poros Wall Hoards were found at Mycenae (Gale 1991, 226, fig. 20). A fragmentary example was found at Tiryns (Knapp 1990, 122 n. 57 with refs.), but also a slab ingot made of Cypriot copper comes from this center (Vetters 2011, 22 n. 182 with refs.). Only a few ingots made of Cypriot copper derive from Mycenaean sites: three fragments from Thebes (Lolos 2009, 40 with refs.), an example from Aigina (Lolos 2009, 40 n. 5) and a fragment from Salamis (Lolos 2003, 112, fig. 22). To these finds the ingots from the Kyme (Euboea) shipwreck should probably be added (Buchholz 1959, 35-37, Pl. 5.3-4; Stos-Gale *et al.* 1997).

tional Cypriot pottery and became the most common ware in LC IIIA contexts (Graziadio 2017, 10-11 with refs.; also see Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 467-470, figs. 31-32, and 33; Mountjoy 2015, 542-546, fig. 11).

In Furumark's classification these Cypriot three-handled jars were called FS 46 and FS 47 (Furumark 1941, 592). They feature the following characteristics: 1) a conical, biconical or conical-piriform body, often with a rather angular profile,⁵ 2) three horizontal handles, 3) a generally wide neck with a lightly concave or straight profile; 4) an outer surface that is often matt, and 5) paint for decoration that is matt or semi-lustrous. They were found only in Cyprus and in a few Levantine and Egyptian sites. They are almost exclusively recovered from burial contexts and were probably used as ointment containers for the body of the deceased. Earlier scholarly work focused on a few small FS 47 jars with a particular spiral motif that was regarded as a peculiar Cypriot style of decoration (Furumark 1941, 362, 521, 562, 563, fig. 62.Series 22-28; Graziadio 2017, 16-18 with earlier refs.).

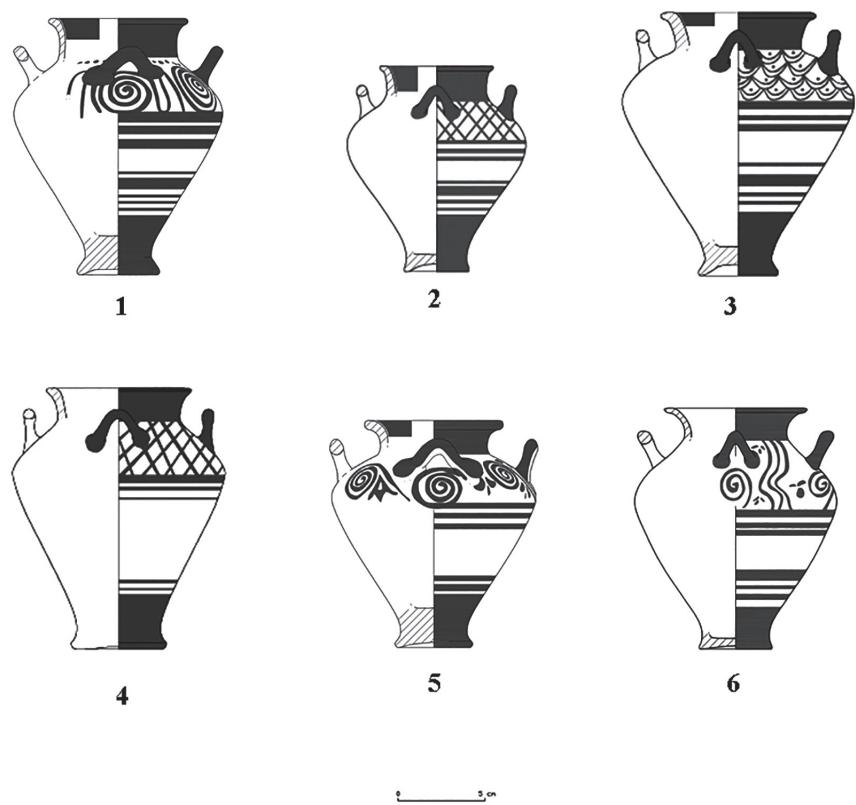
Recently conducted pXRF and NAA analysis provide important information on the production of these types. To date, only one FS 47 jar with the spiral motif, recovered from Hala Sultan Tekke, has been analyzed with NAA. The results confirmed that this vessel was of local production (Mommsen *et al.* 2003, 6, HST 7). Considering these analytical results, P. Mountjoy and Mommsen (2015, 471, fig. 33) recently inferred that all the small FS 47 jars with similar spiral motifs were local imitations of Mycenaean vases of LH IIIA2 early date and were possibly produced at various sites on the island. However recent pXRF analysis of 30 samples proved that there is no significant difference in clay composition between FS 47 and FS 46 jars; pXRF analysis also showed that both shapes belong to a ceramic group (Group A) which is different, in terms of clay composition, from the piriform jars (Group B) which were considered Mycenaean imports on the grounds of visual analysis (Dikomitou-Eliadou, Georgiou 2017, 122-125). Based on these results, in my 2017 study all the small jars of both FS 46 and FS 47 type were regarded as Cypriot products. However, in order to distinguish terminologically Cypriot examples from Aegean jars, the Mycenaean prototypes were called "piriform jars", while the corresponding Cypriot vases were termed "three-handled jars". Moreover I did not follow Furumark's terminology for the Cypriot three-handled jars as FS 46 and FS 47, since his shape classification applies specifically to Mycenaean pottery. Instead, I have used the terms "Shape 46" and "Shape 47" for the main Cypriot types and "Shape 46: a", "Shape 46: b", "Shape 47: a" and "Shape 47: b" for their subtypes (Graziadio 2017, 19, 36-37, figs. 1, 2; here Figs. 1, 2).

2.2. *The Mycenaean prototypes of the Cypriot three-handled jars*

In searching the Mycenaean prototypes for the Cypriot three-handled jars in the LH IIIA repertoire, it should again be emphasized that the main feature of the Cypriot three-handled jars is the conical or conical-piriform shape of the body. Many Mycenaean LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 conical shapes (FS 18-19, FS 22-23, 28, 31 e 33) cannot be considered possible prototypes because evidence for these forms is totally absent or remarkably scarce in Cyprus (Åström 1972, 289-384) and, more generally, in the Eastern Mediterranean (Leonard 1994). Therefore, attention must be paid to the small piriform jars FS 44 and 45 of the LH IIIA period, since their shape, according to Furumark (1941, 591-592: Shape 44, Shape 45), is part of the group of "conical piriform types", and, even more importantly, they are among the most common Mycenaean shapes on the island. In fact, the FS 44 piriform jars show a degree of variability in body shape, but many examples of this type dating to LH IIIA1 have a conical body, contrary to other FS 44 piriform jars which have a more piriform body. The piriform jar FS 45, occurring in LH IIIA2, appears to continue in the tradition of the small jars FS 44. Specifically, its body is basically conical-piriform, becoming markedly piriform in LH IIIA2 late as a consequence of the general tendency of the period. Therefore, Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 are the best candidates as sources of inspiration for the development of the Cypriot three-handled jars. In addition to form, the Mycenaean piriform jars and the Cypriot three-handled

5 Although I am aware that the terms "conical", "biconical", and "conical-piriform" are purely conventional as derived from Furumark's terminology, here I follow Furumark's nomenclature for the sake of convenience. In particular it should be noted that Furumark's usage of "biconical" in most cases might correspond to "rounded biconical" more precisely, since in the three-handled jars no carination generally is at the body's point of maximum diameter. On the other hand, the use of "conical-piriform" is intended to suggest that the lower body of the vase is slightly more conical than that of the distinctively "piriform" jars.

Shape 46:a



Shape 46:b

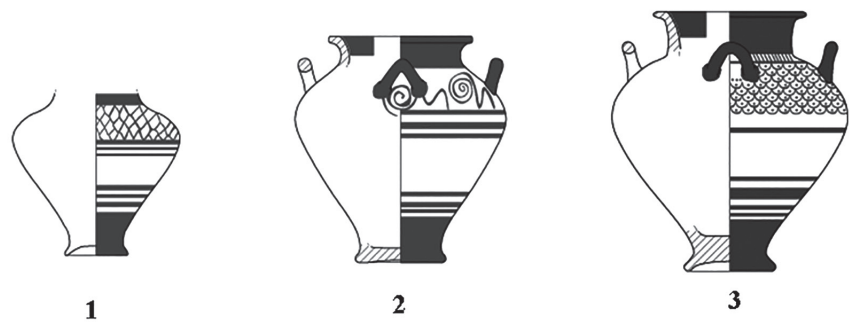
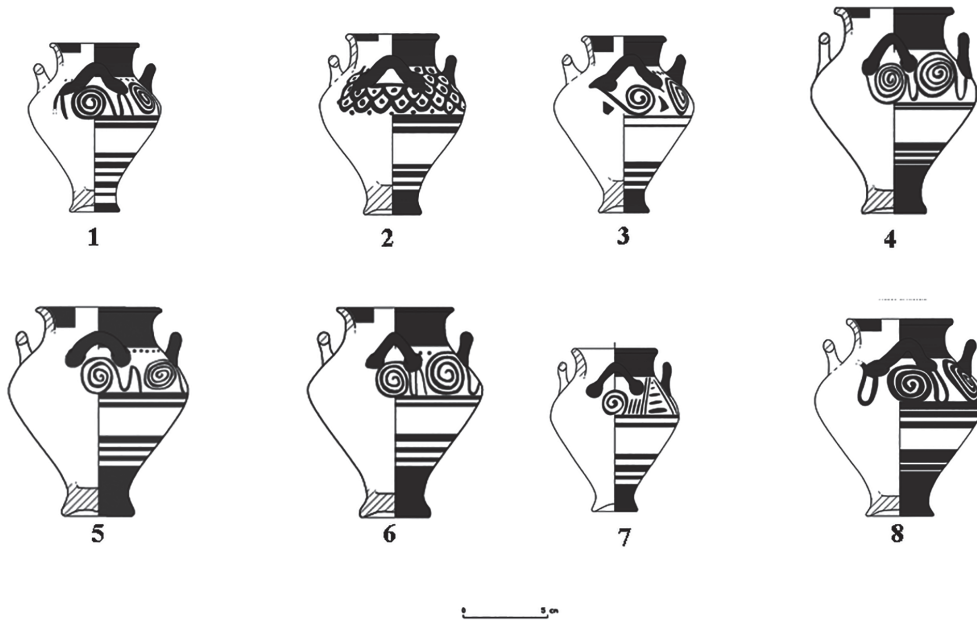


Fig. 1. A selection of Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 46:a and Shape 46:b (after Graziadio 2017, 36, fig. 1).

Shape 47:a



Shape 47:b

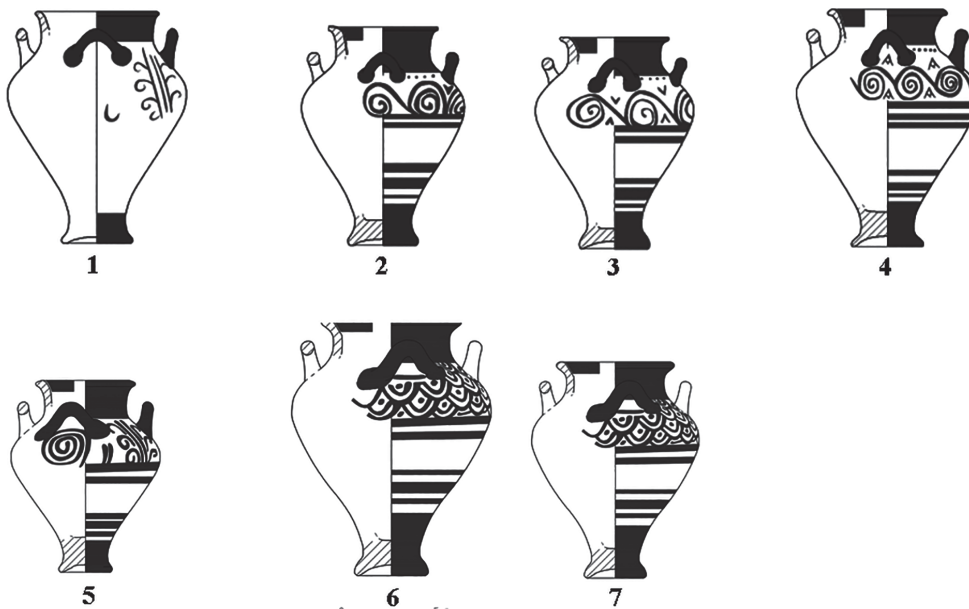


Fig. 2. A selection of Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 47:a and Shape 47:b (after Graziadio 2017, 37, fig. 2).

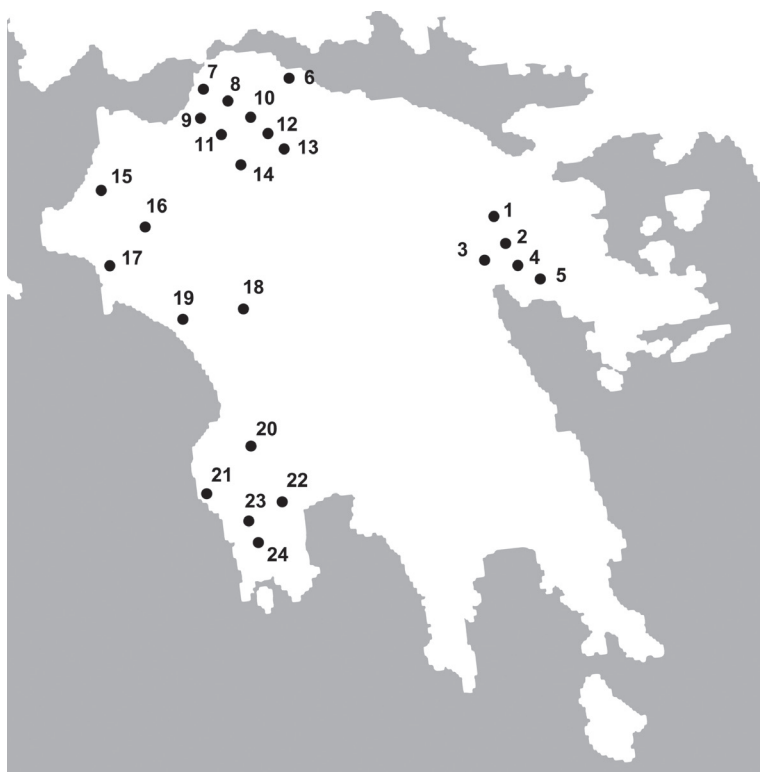


Fig. 3. The Peloponnesian sites where the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 with conical and conical-piriform body were found. 1: Mycenae; 2: Prosymna; 3: Argos; 4: Tiryns; 5: Asine; 6: Aigion; 7: Monodendri; 8: Achaia Clauss; 9: Krini; 10: Petroto; 11: Chalandritsa; 12: Leontion; 13: Kato Goumenitsa; 14: Rhodia; 15: Dafni; 16: Agrapidochori; 17: Varvasaina; 18: Kalosaka (Olimpia); 19: Samikon; 20: Volimidhia; 21: Pylos; 22: Nichoria; 23: Koukounara; 24: Kissos.

cal body are even rarer in these areas. However, compared to all the LH IIIA1 and IIIA 2 piriform jars FS 44 and 45 with a distinctly piriform body from the same regions, the conical and biconical forms generally seem to be minority finds. This likely reflects the fact that the workshops producing LH IIIA pottery in these regions preferred to follow the general trends of Mycenaean pottery development for the period, producing mostly piriform jars with a conical-piriform body, and had little interest in the production of the small jars with a markedly conical or biconical body.

This does not seem to be the case in Achaea, Elis and Messenia. From a preliminary glimpse of the occurrence in the Peloponnese of Mycenaean conical and conical-piriform jars of the LH IIIA period, it is clear that their distribution is much more widespread, although admittedly not exclusive, in the western Peloponnese (Fig. 3). It is also relevant that in past publications certain scholars regarded some piriform jars with conical or biconical body from various northern or western Peloponnesian sites as FS 46 or FS 47. Such is the case of two examples from Achaea – one from Achaia Clauss (Table 1, no. 6, Fig. 4A) and the other one of unknown provenance (Table 1, no. 20), both of which were classified as FS 47 and considered Cypriot imports (Papadopoulos 1985, 142 b). Similarly, in her discussion concerning a piriform jar from Krini (Table 1, no. 11, Fig. 4B), L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki (1994, 194, no. 16) noted that this vase was very similar to the Cypriot three-handled jars, while P. Mountjoy (1999, 406, fig. 142.10, 407 no. 10) classified a piriform jar with conical body from an unknown Achaean site (Table 1, no. 1) as FS 44/46. In Elis, a piriform jar from Kalosaka, Olimpia, (Table 2, no. 29) as well as a jar with biconical body and distinct foot from Agrapidochori (Table 2, no. 31) were both regarded as three-handled jars FS

jars also were functionally equivalent, serving as containers for products such as unguents, in burial contexts (Leonard 1981, 94, 96-97, fig. 8; Steel 1998, 295; 2004, 73, 77).

In assuming the Cypriot three-handled jars were inspired by the Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and 45, it is worth examining the route of transmission. Although in my 2017 study, I stated that identifying the possible sources of inspiration might be premature (Graziadio 2017, 170), a re-examination of the available evidence has convinced me to consider the possible benefit of applying a regional comparative approach.

The Mycenaean piriform jars with conical body from the west Peloponnese will be discussed below in detail. First, however, it should be noted that some small conical FS 44 jars dating to the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 early periods have been found in the Argolid, at the sites of Mycenae, Prosymna, Argos, Tiryns and Asine, as well as in Central Greece (Attica, Boeotia and Euboea) and in the Dodecanese [Karpachos, Rodi e Kos (Graziadio 2017, 43-44, 46, with refs.)]. LH IIIA2 small jars (FS 45) with conical or biconical

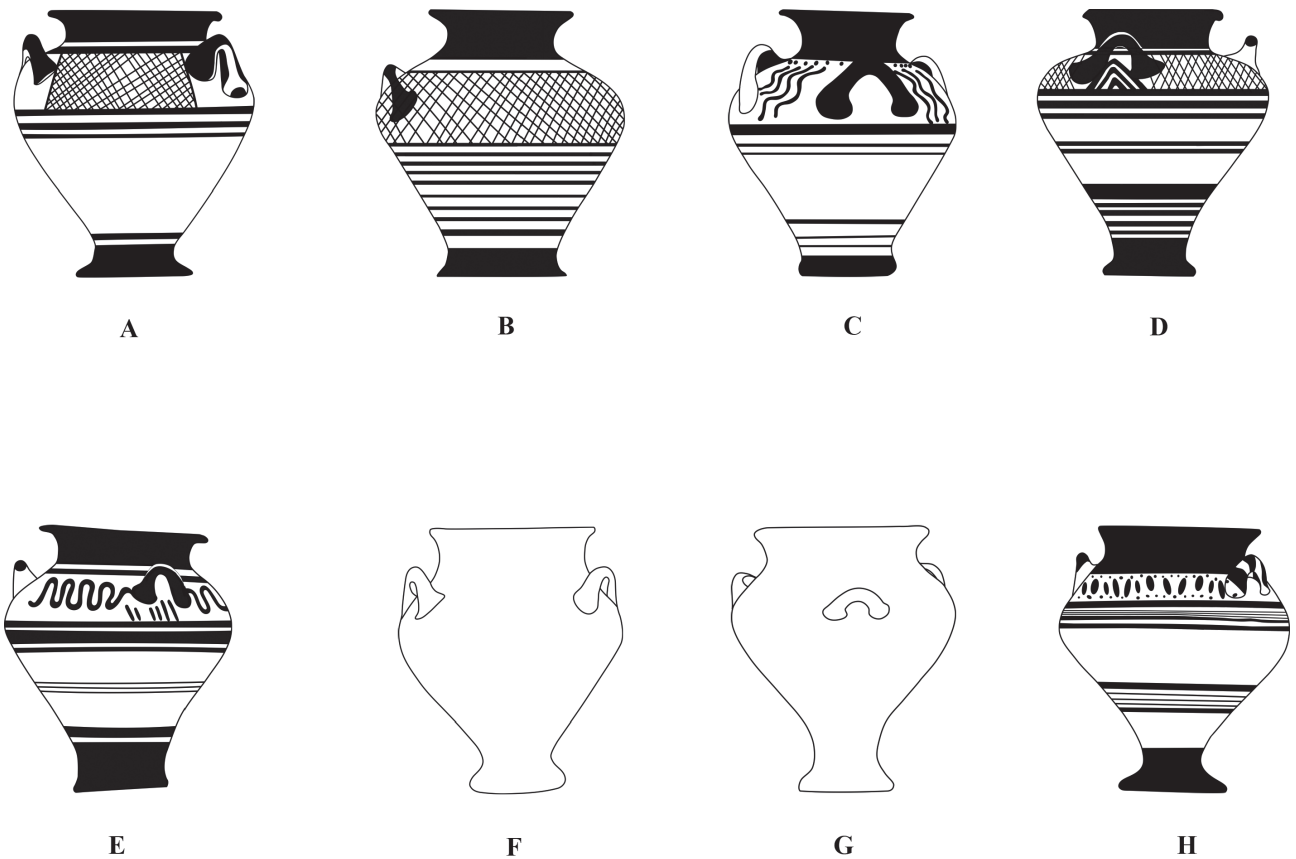


Fig. 4. Sketch of selected piriform jars FS 44, FS 44/45, and FS 45 from the north-west Peloponnese. Not to scale. A: no. 6; B: no. 11; C: no. 27; D: no. 28; E: no. 17; F: no. 39; G: no. 25; H: no. 23.

47 by Parlama (1971, 55 no. 5; 1973-1974, 38 no. 7), and in Messenia an example from a tomb at Nichoria (no. 39, Fig. 4F) was classified as FS 47 by Choremis (1973, 28 no. 686). However, it is worth noting that all these Peloponnesian small vases cannot be classified as FS 46 or FS 47, because the three-handled jars originally classified as FS 46 and FS 47 of Cypriot production only occur in the Eastern Mediterranean; instead, they must be considered Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 or FS 45 with a conical or conical-piriform body, likely of local production. However, it should also be pointed out that their original misidentification was to a certain extent justified by their close resemblance to the Cypriot three-handled jars. Based on these considerations, some small jars with a conical body from the Profitis Ilias cemetery at Tiryns must also simply be regarded as piriform jars FS 44 with conical body of LH IIIA date, despite the fact that they were originally classified as FS 44/47 (Rudolph 1973, 28 no. 9, pl. 11.3; 58 no. 9, pl. 30.2; 66 no. 7, pl. 37.2; 72 no. 15, 1, pl. 40.1, fig. 14; 75 no. 32, pl. 40.2, fig. 14; 29, Grab II no. 2).

2.3. The conical and conical-piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 in Achaea, Elis and Messenia

In her influential study on Mycenaean regional pottery, P. Mountjoy (1999, 365) pointed out that the Mycenaean pottery from western Achaea and northern Elis seems to belong to a single regional school of production and that southern Elis had many contacts with Messenia, especially in the early phases of the Late Bronze Age. Archaeometric studies published by Mommsen *et al.* (2002, 623; see also below) confirmed this suggestion based on visual inspection. Analysis of Mycenaean pottery found in Italy also confirms that there are many connections between the pottery from different regions of the western Peloponnese (Jung *et al.* 2015, 455-463). It is, however, useful to discuss relevant evidence region by region.

Catalogue Number	Provenance	Shape/Date	Decoration	References
Cat. no. 1	Unknown provenance, PM 747	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57: 2, diaper net; concentric semi-circles under the handles	Mountjoy 1999, 406, fig. 142:10, 407 no. 10; Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82 (2b), PM 747, fig. 121: a; Graziadio 2017, 54, 171.
Cat. no. 2	Unknown provenance PM 743	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA 1	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82 (2b), PM 743, Pl. 121: c.
Cat. no. 3	Trapeza (Aigion) (site no. 6)	Unpublished FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	Unpublished	Unpublished; Information courtesy of A. Licciardello
Cat. no. 4	Trapeza (Aigion) (site no. 6)	Fragmentary FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	Unpublished	Unpublished; Information courtesy of A. Licciardello
Cat. no. 5	Monodendri T. I (site no. 7)	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA1	FM 46, running spirals, concentric semicircles under the handles	Giannopoulos 2008, Pls. 72-73 no. 9.
Cat. no. 6	Achaia Clauss (site no. 8), PM 323	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Papadopoulos 1978-79, 82 (3), PM 323, 180, fig. 123: b; Papadopoulos 1985, 142 (b), Pl. 2: a; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 324 no. 381, Pl. 36; Cline 1994, 245 no. 1014 ("possibly local Mycenaean"); Graziadio 2017, 46. Fig. 4: A
Cat. no. 7	Achaia Clauss (site no. 8), Tomb B	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA1	FM 41, circles; FM 64: 21, foliate band.	Paschalidis 2018, 165. B 59, P 8670, fig. 315.
Cat. no. 8	Achaia Clauss (site no. 8), Tomb ST	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 70: 1, scale pattern	Paschalidis 2018, 233, P 15036, fig. 464.
Cat. no. 9	Achaia Clauss (site no. 8) Tomb P	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57. sim. diaper net	Paschalidis 2018, 316 P 12744, fig. 677.
Cat. no. 10	Krini (site no. 9), Chamber Tomb, Lower Level, PM 5130	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA1	Multiple curve stems	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 194, 196 no. 15, Pl. 34: c; Graziadio 2017, 46.
Cat. no. 11	Krini (site no. 9), Chamber Tomb, Lower Level, PM 5139	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57:2, diaper net	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 194 no. 16, Fig. 20, Pl. 34: c; Graziadio 2017, 46. Fig. 4: B
Cat. no. 12	Trapeza (Aigion) (site no. 6)	FS 44/45, with conical-piriform body, LH III A1/ LH IIIA 2 or LH IIIA2	Unpublished	Unpublished; information courtesy of A. Licciardello
Cat. no. 13	Unknown provenance, PM 726	FS 44/ 45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/ LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 61, zig-zag	Papadopoulos 1978-79, 83 (5), PM 726 fig. 123: c; Graziadio 2017, 46 n. 73.
Cat. no. 14	Unknown provenance, PM 444	FS 44/ 45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/ LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82 (4 a) PM 444, fig. 122: g.
Cat. no. 15	Chalandritsa (site no. 11) PM 1050	FS 44/ 45 with conical piriform body LH IIIA1/ LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 46, running spirals	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82 (4 a), PM 1050, fig. 122: c-d.
Cat. no. 16	Achaia Clauss T. K (site no. 8)	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Parallel oblique lines	Paschalidis 2018, 288, P 12747, fig. 597.
Cat. no. 17	Petroto (site no. 10)	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 53, wavy line, vertical strokes under the handles	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003, 435, 445 fig. 7: 2. Fig. 4: E

Cat. no. 18	Aigion: Psila Alonia (site no. 6)	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 19, Multiple Stem	Mountjoy 1999, 406 fig.142: 8, 407.
Cat. no. 19	Vrysarion, Kato Goumenitsa (site no.13), PM 195	FS 44/ 45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/ LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82 (4 a), PM 195, fig. 121: e.
Cat. no. 20	Unknown provenance, PM 191	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	FM 53, wavy line	Papadopoulos 1978-79, 82 (3), figs. 122: h; Papadopoulos 1985, 142 (b), Pl. 2: a; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 322 no. 374 pl. 36; Cline 1994, 245 no. 1013 ("possibly local Mycenaean"); Graziadio 2017, 46.
Cat. no. 21	Leontion (site no. 12), Tomb II	FS 44/45 with conical body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Triangles with oblique lines	Giannopoulos 2008, 128, Pls. 63-64 no. 7.
Cat. no. 22	Rhodia (site no. 14), PM 569	FS 45, with biconical body LH IIIA2	Badly preserved decoration	Papazoglou- Manioudaki 2011, 514 fig. 19; Aktypi 2017, 5 n. 39 with refs.
Cat. no. 23	Unknown Provenance, PM 196	FS 45, with biconical body LH IIIA2	FM 64: 18, foliate band	Papadopoulos 1978-79, 83 (5), PM 196, fig. 123: d; Aktypi 2017, 108. Fig. 4: H
Cat. no. 24	Unknown Provenance (Aigaleia)	FS 45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA2	FM 64, foliate band	Licciardello 2015, 155, figs. 3-4.
Cat. no. 25	Chalandritsa, Ay. Vasilios (site no. 11), Tomb 24/7	FS 45 with biconical body LH IIIA2	Badly preserved decoration	Aktypi 2017, 108 n. 139, fig. 149, 212. Fig. 4: G
Cat. no. 26	Kato Goumenitsa (site no. 13)	FS 45 with conical body LH IIIA2	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Kyparissis in Prakt. 1925, 44, fig. 1, lower row fila, the first one on left.

Table 1. Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 with conical and conical-piriform body shape from Achaea.

Achaea

When comprehensively considering the LH IIIA piriform jars from Achaean sites, the frequent occurrence of FS 44 examples with conical body appears remarkable (nos. **1-11**). These examples differ slightly in the shape of the neck and the base (see Fig. 4A, B), while the shape of the body of nos. **5**, **7** and **10** can be considered biconical. The lower features and the breadth of the decorative zone below the handle on nearly all the piriform jars FS 44 is indicative of their LH IIIA1 chronology. No. **1** has a narrower zone, but P. Mountjoy (1999, 407 *sub* no. 10; also see below) compared it to the "Mycenaean/Minoan" hybrid jars of the LH IIIA1 period.

The regional preference for piriform jars with conical or biconical body is also confirmed by the LH IIIA2 jars FS 45 (nos. **22-26**) showing this anomalous shape. Their form is somewhat different from canonical piriform jars FS 45 of LH IIIA2 date because they feature an upper conical, if not biconical (nos. **22**, **23** and **25**), body. However, they have a foot that gives the vase a more piriform profile and may therefore be dated to LH IIIA2. A case in point is piriform jar FS 45 no. **25** (Fig. 4G) from Chalandritsa, Ay. Vasilios T. 24, which has a biconical body and a high foot. These characteristics also appear in other Achaean examples, such as the piriform jar from a rich deposit found outside Tholos B at Rhodia (no. **22**).⁶ It is also worth noting that no. **23** (Fig. 4H), dating to

⁶ The same is true of no. **24**, from Aigaleia. Aktypi 2017, 108-109 mentions similar examples from Voudeni and Mitopolis but I have not been able to see them. For a list of the precious finds from Tholos B at Rhodia, see Aktypi 2017, 5 n. 39 with earlier refs.; the pottery was dated to LH IIIA1 by Mountjoy (1999, 401 n. 231).

LH IIIA2 based on the narrow decorative zone of the shoulder, confirms the Achaean appreciation for piriform jars with biconical profile also during this period.

Other jars (nos. **12-19**) have a less distinctive appearance. Nos. **13-19** have a wide conical body characteristic of the piriform jars FS 44, but the profile of their body demonstrates a tendency toward the piriform (see Fig. 4E) shape of the canonical FS 45 piriform jars of LH IIIA2 date. These vessels may therefore be classified as transitional FS 44-45 and dated to the LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2 period.

Finally, it is important to note that the examples with conical or conical-piriform body catalogued in Table 1 comprise a significant part of all the piriform jars found in the region (Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 82-83, pl. 228.c, e), and that FM 57: 2, diaper net pattern, is a particularly common motif on the Achaean piriform jars (also see Mountjoy 1999, 407).

Catalogue number	Site	Shape/Date	Decoration	References
Cat. no. 27	Dafni (site no. 15), Tomb 14	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 41: 6, circles; FM 53, wavy line	Arapogianni 2000, 271, fig. 3. Fig. 4: C
Cat. no. 28	Samikon (site no. 19)	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57: 2, diaper net; stacked triangle under the handles	Yalouris 1965, 24: 52, Pl. 25: γ; Mountjoy 1999, 378 no. 29, fig. 131: 29. Fig. 4: D
Cat. no. 29	Kalosaka (Olimpia) (site no. 18)	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA2 late	FM 74, triglyph and half rosette	Parlama 1973-1974, 38 no. 7, Pl. 30: δ.
Cat. no. 30	Varvasaina (site no. 17)	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Badly preserved decoration	Vikatu 1996, 193, Pl. 62: β.
Cat. no. 31	Agrapidhochori (site no. 16)	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA 2	FM 41: 6, circles; FM 64: 13, foliate band	Parlama 1971, 55 no. 5, Pl. ΛΑα.
Cat. no. 32	Samikon (site no. 19)	FS 45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Yalouris 1965, pp. 24-25, no. 53, Pl. 15: δ.

Table 2. Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 with conical and conical-piriform body shape from Elis.

Elis

Comparatively few LH II-III A1 vases have been published from Elis (Mountjoy 1999, 370), but there are various examples of piriform jars, some of which show a conical body and a decoration with net pattern. Piriform jars became more common in LH IIIA2, when Elean pottery also shows traces of contacts with Crete (Mountjoy 1999, 370).

Three (nos. **27-29**) out of the six piriform jars listed in Table 2 are FS 44 with marked conical body and may be assigned to LH IIIA1. Two representative examples of this group are the conical piriform jars no. **27**, from Dafni (Fig. 4C) and no. **28** from Samikon (Fig. 4D). A significant exception is represented by the jar from Kalosaka no. **29**, which has the conical body of FS 44, but its shoulder is decorated with FM 74, triglyph and half rosette, in a narrower decorative zone than that on all the other Elean piriform jars FS 44. Therefore, this vase may date to the LH IIIA2 late period if not to the LH IIIB period, as suggested by Parlama (1973-1974, 38 n. 7). As already shown in no. **23** from Achaea, the coupling of a conical shape with a narrow decorative zone is particularly noticeable and confirms the west Peloponnesian interest in conical shapes during the late 14th and even in the 13th centuries BC, when, in other regions of the Mycenaean world, pottery workshops nearly exclusively produced vases with a piriform shape. The jar with biconical body from Agrapidhochori (no. **31**) shows a similar feature, while no. **30**, from Varvasaina, has a conical-piriform body and may be considered an example of a transitional FS 44/45 type of LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2 date. Another piriform jar, no. **28** (Fig. 4D), has a distinct decoration represented by a secondary motif under each handle, a trait of west Mycenaean pottery which will be discussed later in detail. The conical-piriform shape of an unpainted example from Samikon (no. **32**) is reminiscent of unpainted FS 45 examples from Messenia and may be assigned to the LH IIIA2 period.

Messenia

The majority of the Messenian piriform jars FS 44 with conical body and transitional FS 44/45 with conical body of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 date have been found at Pylos (nos. **35-38**, **42-45**), in chamber tombs, but a few unpainted examples having a wide conical body (nos. **42-45**) have been found in deposits of the South Corner, which predate the construction of the Palace.⁷ Interestingly, most of the other LH IIIA piriform jars of different shapes (FS 28, 39, 49 and 50) from the Pylian chamber tombs also have conical bodies, confirming the general appreciation for the conical shapes by the local potters.⁸

Two conical decorated piriform jars FS 44 of LH IIIA1 have also been found at Volimidia (nos. **33**, **34**). Instead, the unpainted piriform jar from Nichoria Tourkokivoura (no. **39**; Fig. 4F) has a conical base, and is paralleled by no. **40** as well as by the unpainted examples from the area of the Palace at Pylos nos. **42-45**, and this detail may be indicative of a transitional type 44/45 and of a LH IIIA1/IIIA2 or LH IIIA2 chronology. The unpainted examples from Kissos (no. **41**) and from Pylos, Tomb K-2, (no. **46**), although showing a more rounded profile, have a similar low foot and may be contemporary.⁹ Another unpainted example from Nichoria, Akones (no. **47**), which has a narrower conical-piriform body, may be attributed to a transitional FS 44/45 type, probably belonging to the same period.

Finally, it should be noted that P. Mountjoy (1999, 308-309) has pointed out that the conical body of the piriform jars are also indicators of Minoan influences in LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 Messenian pottery. These Minoan connections will be discussed in detail below.

2.4. *Final considerations on the conical and conical-piriform jars from the west Peloponnese*

To summarize, the piriform jars from the north and west Peloponnese may be assigned to two main types (Fig. 4). The first type is represented by the piriform jars FS 44 of LH IIIA1, which have a wide body of conical or biconical shape, a more or less pronounced concave neck that splays into a short lip, and a rather low conical base (see, for instance, Fig. 4A-D). Despite some minor morphological differences, such as the markedly biconical body in nos. **5**, **7**, **10**, **33**, **34**, most of the examples catalogued here (nos. **1-11**, **27-29**, **33-38**) are representative of this type. The majority of examples examined here have a high concave neck, while in only a few, such as nos. **6** and **9**, is the neck wide and low. It is also worth emphasizing the occurrence at Kalosaka in Elis of no. **29**, which can be regarded as a jar of this first type, but with a narrow decorative zone that can be assigned to the LH IIIA2 period. As far as Cypriot connections are concerned, the Mycenaean piriform jars of the first type are paralleled by Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 46: a and Shape 46: b (Fig. 1), which are particularly common in Enkomi tombs, although they are also found elsewhere on the island.¹⁰

7 Blegen *et al.* 1973, 41, 42. Excavators listed these vases according to their Shape 51 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 42, Small Pithoid Jars) which was considered equivalent to FS 28 (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 386), but their size, higher than 10 and up to 13 cm, more closely corresponds to piriform jars classified here as FS 44/45.

8 No piriform jars have been found in Tombs E-3, E-4 and E-10. The conical jars FS 44 nos. **35** and **36**, as well as a jar FS 31 with conical body (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 191, CM 1567, pl. 244.7) are from T. E-6. In addition to no. **38**, T. K-1 yielded other piriform jars of different shape: two of them, a jar FS 49 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 215, CM 1569, fig. 273.5) and an undecorated FS 50 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 215: 18, CM 1567, fig. 273.4), have a conical body, while a jar FS 49 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 215: 19, CM 1571, fig. 273.8) and a jar FS 39 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 213-214: 9, CM 1576, fig. 273.7) have a piriform body. In T. E-9 only the piriform jar with conical body no. **37** and a small piriform jar FS 28 with a conical body were found (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 205 [9], CM 2841, fig. 260.12).

9 Note that the piriform jar from Pylos T. K-2 was assigned to LH IIIB (no. **46**; Blegen *et al.* 1973, 235.17) but it was found within a group of pottery (Group VI) in a pit containing two levels of internments. This vase may date to the earlier burial level, which is associated with four skulls, two LH IIIB stirrups jars, and two fragmentary kylikes (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 227). Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the vase belonged to an earlier burial of LH IIIA2 late date.

10 Cf., for example, the three-handled jars of this shape from Enkomi: Cyprus Museum no. 1675 (Karageorghis 1963, 21 no. 7, pl. 18.7; Pilides 2011, T. 78: A 1675); British Museum C 472 (Smith 1925, II c b, 3 no. 10, pl. I.10); French Tomb 5 no. 203 (Schaeffer 1952, 180, figs. 171.255, 81.203); Cypriot Tomb 10 no. 382 (Dikaios 1969-1971, 383, no. 382, pls. 203.31, 228.11). Also see an example from Kladhna, Cyprus Museum A 1676 (Malmgren 2003, 43 no. 72, pl. 20.d).

Catalogue Number	Site	Shape/Date	Decoration	References
Cat. no. 33	Volimidhia (site n. 20), Kefalovryso Tomb 2	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA1	FM 49, curve-stemmed spiral	Marinatos 1964, 82, Pl. 94: ε.
Cat. no. 34	Volimidhia (site no. 20), Voria	FS 44 with biconical body LH IIIA1	Oblique strokes	Marinatos 1964, 81, Pl. 87: δ.
Cat. no. 35	Pylos (site no. 21), Tomb E-6	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 189 [2]: CM 1541, fig. 244: 5.
Cat. no. 36	Pylos (site no. 21), Tomb E-6	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 5: 13, wavy lines; triangles	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 191 [12], CM 1552, Pl. 244: 6.
Cat. no. 37	Pylos (site no. 21), Tomb E-9	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	Horizontal bands	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 206 [16], CM 2846, Pl. 260: 23.
Cat. no. 38	Pylos (site no. 21), Tomb K-1	FS 44 with conical body LH IIIA1	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 213 [8], CM 1566, Pl. 273: 9
Cat. no. 39	Nichoria (site no. 22), Tourkokivoura Nikitopoulou Tomb 2	FS 44/45 with conical body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Choremis 1973, 28: 686, tav. 6: β. Fig. 4: F
Cat. no. 40	Koukounara (site no. 23), Gouvalari Tomb α 6	FS 44/45 with conical body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Korres 1975, 442-443, Pl. 307, first row, first one from left.
Cat. no. 41	Kissos (site no. 24)	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Marinatos 1966, 128, Pl. 110: a 2.
Cat. no. 42	Pylos (site no. 21), South Corner, Palace area	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 42, CM 2679, fig. 143: 8.
Cat. no. 43	Pylos (site no. 21), South Corner, Palace area	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/ IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 42, CM 2681, fig. 143: 9.
Cat. no. 44	Pylos (site no. 21), South Corner, Palace area	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 42, CM 2682, fig. 143: 10.
Cat. no. 45	Pylos (site no. 21), South Corner, Palace area	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 42, CM 2683, fig. 143: 12.
Cat. no. 46	Pylos (site no. 21), Tomb K-2	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 235 [17], CM 1757, fig. 292: 1.
Cat. no. 47	Nichoria (site no. 22), Akones, Tomb Veves	FS 44/45 with conical-piriform body LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2	Unpainted	Choremis 1973, 54: 587, Pl. 23: ε.

Table 3. Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 with conical and conical-piriform body shape from Messenia.

The second type is represented by the LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45, presented in nos. **22-26**, and **32** (see, for instance, Fig. 4G, H). Their shape is conical, if not biconical (nos. **22**, **23** and **25**). While the upper body is basically similar to that of the first type, most of the second type vessels have a high conical foot. As a result, the shape of their lower body is more piriform in profile, following the general tendency of LH IIIA2 period forms. This chronology is also confirmed by the narrow decorative zone of nos. **23** (Fig. 4H), similar to the above noted piriform jar no. **29** of the first type. While no. **32** has a lower conical foot, it may also be assigned to LH IIIA2 owing to its piriform profile. The general shape of the piriform jars of the second type resemble those of the latest Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 47: b (Fig. 2).

In addition to the two main types, some other piriform jars have transitional shapes between the first and the second types. This is the case of many examples from Achaea (nos. **12-20**), while fewer examples have been published from Elis (no. **30**) and Messenia (no. **47**). The jar from Petroto, Achaea, no. **17** (Fig. 4E) is representative of types with a wide conical body and a general profile tending to become piriform that is indicative of a LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2, if not fully LH IIIA2, chronology. This shape admittedly is not exclusive to the west Peloponnese and is

also paralleled by some Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 47: a (especially Fig. 2: 1, 2, 7).¹¹ Although unpainted examples with a conical base from the area of the Palace at Pylos (nos. 42-45) seem to be a separate group, some other Messenian unpainted examples, such as nos. 39, 40, and 41, also seem to be transitional FS 44/45 of the LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2 period, because they have a conical body and a low conical foot (Fig. 4F). In shape, these resemble the Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 46: a (cf., for instance, Fig. 1: 5), but such parallels may be rather fortuitous since these unpainted Messenian small jars undoubtedly were not produced for export.

In addition to the piriform jars discussed above, in the west Peloponnese there is another category of piriform jars with conical body which is worth considering in detail, that is the “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” piriform jars.¹² Two LH IIIA2 examples of this type were found in Messenia, at Pylos and Madena (Mountjoy 1999, 333, 334, fig. 112: 62, from Pylos, and fig. 112: 63, from Madena). Their ring base was considered a Mycenaean feature, while the very conical lower body as well as the lipless rim were regarded as Cretan characteristics. It should also be emphasized that, according to P. Mountjoy (1999, 407, *sub* no. 10), no. 1, from an unknown Achaean site, had a conical shape which was similar both to the Messenian “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” jar from Madena and to the Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 46. In this connection, it should however be noted that the Cretan piriform jars did not have any direct influence on the development of the Cypriot three-handled jars (Graziadio 2017, 50-53), while the important and relevant connections between the “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” piriform jars from the west Peloponnese and the Cypriot vessels are considered below.

3. THE CONNECTIONS IN THE DECORATION BETWEEN THE PIRIFORM JARS FS 44 AND FS 45 FROM THE WEST PELOPONNESE AND THE CYPRIOT THREE-HANDLED JARS

Generally speaking, the shoulder decoration on piriform jars of FS 44 type and of LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 date extends well below the handles, while it is much narrower, resulting in less decoration, on LH IIIA2 jars of FS 45 type. The lower body of piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 is banded and the base is always monochrome. The examples from the west Peloponnese follow this general pattern of decoration, although some piriform jars from Achaia (nos. 7, 11, Fig. 4B) and Elis (no. 31) have the lower body entirely filled by parallel horizontal bands which foreshadow the syntax of some Achaean vases of the later LH IIIC period. On the body of some examples, such as nos. 6 (Fig. 4A), 7, 9, 10, 11 (Fig. 4B), 16, 27 (Fig. 4C), 33, 34, and 35, the decorative zone is very wide, extending near or below the maximum diameter of the vase. On all the Cypriot three-handled jars the decorative zone extends under the handles, and this may be considered a local trait inspired by the syntax of the Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 of the LH IIIA1 period (Graziadio 2017, 88-89).

Turning to the single elements of decoration, most of the motifs on the piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 from the western Peloponnese are common to the contemporary Mycenaean pottery found elsewhere, although some local preferences, such as diaper net (FM 57: 2), are particularly characteristic of Achaia and Elis (nos. 1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 14, 19, 26, 28, 35, 38). On the other hand, the Cypriot three-handled jars are decorated with many motifs taken from the Mycenaean repertoire, and some characteristics of the decoration of the Cypriot three-handled jars are particularly relevant to the current discussion.

11 There are many three-handled jars with similar shapes in Cyprus, especially at Enkomi. See, for example, the following from Enkomi: British Excavations T. 12 no. 20 (Smith 1925, 3 no. 6 pl. I.6; Crewe 2009: 12. 209); British Excavations T. 45 no. 24 (Smith 1925, 3 no. 25; Crewe 45: 24); British Excavations T. 59: A 1681 (Pilides 2011, T. 59: A 1681); Swedish Excavations T. 13 no. 193 [(Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 534 n. 193, pl. LXXXV, row 12.17, no. 193 (Carlotta Medelhavsmuseet no. E.013: 193)]; French Excavations T. 5 no. 324 (Schaeffer 1952, 194, no. 324, fig. 73.324); Cypriot Excavations T. 10 no. 123 (Dikaios 1969-1971, 371 no. 123, pl. 211.22).

12 “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” vases of various shape have also been found in the Dodecanese (Mountjoy 1999, 971, 972 fig. 395.1, 2, Karpathos; 984, Rhodes; 1082, fig. 442.9, 1084, Kos) as a result of the close connections between the islands and Crete. For a recent discussion of this category, also see Graziadio 2017, 53-54.

3.1. *Old fashioned decoration*

Generally speaking, the decoration of the Cypriot three-handled jars shows many distinctive traits which are considered local adaptations of the decoration from the Mycenaean decorative repertoire. This is particularly represented in the following elements: 1) the reversed curved-stemmed spiral, 2) the spiral with the stems descending from the top of the coils, 3) the additional detail in the running spiral decoration, 4) the panel decoration with various motifs, 5) the oblique strokes, and 6) the scale pattern with double outline (Graziadio 2017, 164-167). Additionally, the Cypriot incorporation of 'out of fashion' motifs and decorative systems is of particular interest. A case in point is the dot row (FM 41: 6, 7) at the base of the neck in association with running spirals, stemmed spiral and scale patterns that is found on many Cypriot three-handled jars of the 14th century BC (Graziadio 2017, 57: Decorative Scheme 1: B; 59, Decorative Scheme 1: C; 60, Decorative Scheme 1: D; 66, Decorative Scheme 2: E; also see Graziadio 2017, 57-58, 163, 169; here Fig. 1, Shape 46: a, no. 1; Fig. 2, Shape 47: a, nos. 1, 5, 6; Shape 47: b: 2, 3, 4). This style contrasts with the decorative development of Mycenaean pottery, since it is very common on LH IIA and IIB closed shapes, such as alabastra, jugs, rhyta, squat jugs etc., but is remarkably uncommon in LH IIIA pottery,¹³ especially on piriform jars 44 and 45. However, despite their rarity in the Aegean, at least two piriform jars FS 45 of LH IIIA2 date with this decoration have been found on Cyprus (Åström 1972, 391-392, *sub* Motif 41, Circles and Dots: 45q2; 45x6). This 'out of fashion' motif is also apparent on some Achaean and Elean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 date, indicating they are contemporary with the similarly decorated Cypriot three-handled jars. At Achaia Claus, the dotted line appears on the base of the neck of a LH IIIA1 biconical jar FS 44 (no. 7). On the piriform jar FS 44 with the conical body (no. 27) from Dafni, in Elis, a dotted line on the base of the neck is associated with vertical wavy lines (FM 53: 12; Fig. 4C), another motif that A. Furumark (1941, 516) regarded as a derivative pattern from an earlier style of decoration. It is worth emphasizing that the coupling of the same old fashioned motifs is apparent on a Cypriot three-handled jar from Kourion (Walters 1912, 94, C 463; Furumark 1941, 592, Type 46: 7, 516; Kiely 2011: Kourion 55.1; see also Graziadio 2017, 75, 165; here Fig. 1, Shape 46: a, no. 6).

3.2. *Secondary motifs under the handles*

Another distinctive trait of many Cypriot three-handled jars which is relevant to the current discussion is the presence of a secondary motif under each handle that is different from the shoulder decoration. The most common secondary motif on the Cypriot three-handled jars is the stemmed spiral, which is combined with compositional panels, local "spiral trees", and spirals (see, for example, Fig. 1, Shape 46: a, nos. 5, 6; Fig. 2, Shape 47: a, no. 7, Shape 47: b, no. 5) and may be considered one of "the main distinctive traits of the decorative repertoire of the local three-handled jars" (Graziadio 2017, 171). The use of a secondary decoration was considered another "early feature" by A. Furumark (1941, 516). In fact, this style of decoration also is uncommon in the LH IIIA pottery found in the Aegean, because as a rule in Mycenaean pottery the zone under the handles is left undecorated or is filled with the continuing main decoration. A review of the Mycenaean vases with this anomalous decoration is now of the utmost importance. If we consider altogether the published piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 and the alabastra FS 84 and FS 85 found throughout the Aegean, the examples with secondary decoration are only 33.¹⁴ It does not seem accidental that 21 examples come from Achaea, Elis and Messenia (Table 4), while only 12 are from all the other regions of the Mycenaean world (Argolid, Laconia, Attica, Boeotia, Euboea, Thessaly and Dodecanese). We can therefore assert that the use of secondary decoration on LH IIIA piriform jars and alabastra is "a feature of late

13 For LH IIIA versions of this motif, see FM 41: 6, 7; Furumark 1941, 335: "Dotted lines like no. 6 and no. 7 are common in the earlier Mycenaean phases, especially in the LH IIA style..."; 337, Index (for their survival in LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2).

14 For a full discussion on the occurrence of secondary decoration in the Aegean see Graziadio 2017, 172-173, table 1. Note that nineteen examples were catalogued there, while fourteen additional items are listed here in Table 4: one piriform jar FS 44 (from Monodendri), two piriform jars FS 44/45 (from Petroto and Trapeza), two piriform jars FS 45 (from Trapeza and Pylos) and nine alabastra (from Achaia Claus, Leontion, and unknown sites in Achaea).

PROVENANCE	MAIN DECORATION	SECONDARY DECORATION	REFERENCES
Piriform Jars FS 44 (LH IIIA1)			
Achaea, Unknown provenance, PM 747	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Concentric semi-circles	Cat. no. 1
Achaea, Monodendri T. 1	FM 46, running spirals	Concentric semi-circles	Cat. no. 5
Elis, Samikon	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 61 A, stacked triangle	Cat. no. 28 ; fig. 4: D
Messenia, Rizomylo	FM 53, wavy line	Stems	Mountjoy 1999, 323, fig. 108: 33, 325.
Piriform jars FS 44/45 (LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2)			
Achaea, Petroto	FM 53, wavy line	Vertical Strokes	Cat. no. 17 ; fig. 4: E
Achaea, Trapeza (Aigion)	Unpublished	Unpublished	Cat. no. 12 ; information courtesy of A. Licciardello
Piriform Jar FS 45 (LH IIIA2 late)			
Achaea, Trapeza (Aigion)	Unpublished	Unpublished	Information courtesy of A. Licciardello
Messenia, Pylos T. K-1	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical Strokes	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 213 [8], CM 1566, Pl. 273: 9.
Alabastra FS 84, FS 85 (LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2)			
Achaea, Achaea Clauss	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical strokes	Paschalidis 2018, 178-179, P 14012, fig. 342.
Achaea, unknown provenance PM 347	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 70: 2, scale pattern with dot fill	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 86 (a), fig. 129: i.
Achaea, unknown provenance PM 345	FM 45, U-pattern	Concentric Semicircles	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 86 (a), fig. 130: f.
Achaea, unknown provenance PM 346	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical Strokes	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 86 (a), fig. 131: h.
Achaea, unknown provenance A/A 788	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 61 A, stacked triangle	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 88 (b), fig. 138: a.
Achaea, unknown provenance PM 38	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Concentric semi-circles	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 88 (b), fig. 138: d.
Achaea, Achaldies Chadzi AM 9	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 61 A, stacked triangle	Papadopoulos 1978-1979, 88 (b), 219, fig. 142: a, b.
Achaea, Leontion Tomb II	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical strokes	Giannopoulos 2008, 153-154, Pls. 63-64 Cat. no. 1.
Achaea, Krini Chamber Tomb 3	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical strokes	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 195 no. 19, pl. 35: β.
Elis, Agrapidochori	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 61 A, stacked triangle	Mountjoy 1999, 380 no. 32, 379, fig. 131: 32.
Elis, Agrapidochori	FM 57: diaper net,	FM 58, chevrons	Parlama 1971, 54 no. 1, Pl. A: α.
Messenia, Volimidhia, Voria Tomb 7	FM 57: 2, diaper net	Vertical Strokes	Marinatos 1964, 81, Pl. 88: α.
Messenia, Pylos	FM 57: 2, diaper net	FM 58, chevrons	Mountjoy 1999, 326, 327, fig. 109: 36.

Table 4. Mycenaean piriform jars and alabastra with secondary decoration under the handles from north-west Peloponnese.

LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 early in the north-west Peloponnese” as already suggested by P. Mountjoy (1999, 104 *sub* no. 102; also pp. 27, 325, 378, 407-408) although considering a limited number of examples.¹⁵ Based on the above discussed local preferences in pottery production of these regions, it should also be emphasized that a significant ratio (five out of eight) of the piriform jars from Achaea, Elis and Messenia catalogued in Table 4 are piriform jars FS 44 dating to LH IIIA1 or conical or conical-piriform jars FS 44/45 dating to LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2 (nos. 1, 5, 12, 17, 28; Fig. 4D, E).

Turning to the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus, the occurrence on the island of 18 examples of Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 of LH IIIA date with secondary decoration under the handles is surprisingly high (Graziadio 2017, 176-177, table 2), especially compared with their rarity all over the Mycenaean world. Therefore, it is extremely likely that this feature of the Cypriot three-handled jars was inspired by the high quantity of Mycenaean imported piriform jars with similar anomalous decoration. If so, assuming that this style of decoration was mainly practiced by Achaean, Elean and Messenian potters, the Mycenaean pottery from the west Peloponnese may ultimately be considered the source of influence for the Cypriot vases.

15 Note, however, that in her discussion of a small jar FS 28 with secondary decoration from Deiras at Argos, Mountjoy (1999, 194, fig. 19.102) emphasized the western appearance of its decoration although she claimed that its clay differed from clays used in the Argive and the west Peloponnese.

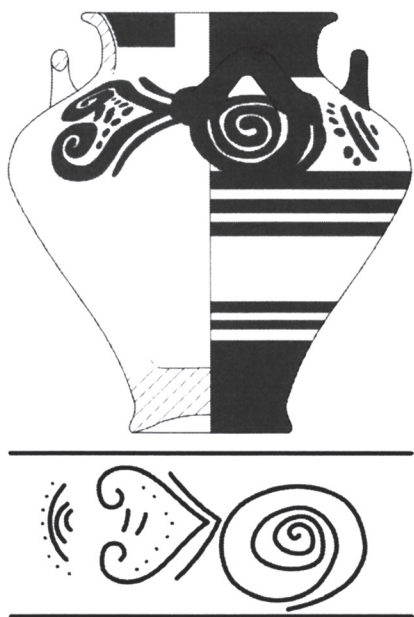


Fig. 5. The piriform jar LB 56, Pierides Museum, Larnaca, and a sketch of its decoration (after Graziadio 2017, 175, fig. 1).

the Cypriot three-handled jars. However, significant evidence is provided by the small jar LB 56 of unknown provenance that is stored in the Pierides Museum at Larnaca (Fig. 5). This vase was originally classified as a piriform jar FS 46, likely due to its conical body and the concave neck and flat lip, which are comparable to the features of some Cypriot three-handled jars of Shape 46: a (Karageorghis 1965, 9 no. 1, pl. 15.1; Åström 1972, 304, Type 47.03). However, its decoration, represented by an ivy pattern, diminishing arcs with a dotted contour, and stemmed spirals under the handles, also deserves particular attention. The closest parallels for the ivy pattern and the diminishing arcs with a dotted contour may be found in LM IIIA pottery (Graziadio 2017, 177-178), while, the stemmed spirals are fully correspondent with the most common secondary motif on the Cypriot three-handled jars. If this vase were found in Greece, it would be considered a “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” piriform jar of west Peloponnesian origin (see above). PXRF analysis may also reinforce this suggestion. The Pierides example cannot be considered of Cypriot production because its clay composition is not consistent with the grouping (Group A) that includes most of the analyzed Cypriot three-handled jars. On the contrary, its clay composition is closer, though not fully consistent, to that of the imported Mycenaean vases (Group B) of Argive production which were analyzed for comparison (Dikomitou-Eliadou, Georgiou 2017, 122, fig. 2: LB56; 129, fig. 7: LB56). This jar may therefore provide an explanation for the adoption of stemmed spirals as secondary motifs on the Cypriot three-handled jars and may be considered as additional evidence for the connections between the west Peloponnese and Cyprus in the 14th century BC.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The appearance on Cyprus of the three-handled jars revealing the earliest Aegean influence on the Cypriot pottery production must be placed into the wider scenario of the trade in perfumed oils and viscous substances between the Aegean and Cyprus in the 14th century BC. The most important event of this century in the Aegean no doubt was the destruction of the palace of Knossos. This also had a profound impact on the international trade of perfumed

A comparison of the range in the repertoire of secondary motifs on Mycenaean vases, Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, and examples from the west Peloponnese also proves useful (Graziadio 2017, 176-177, table 2). Secondary motifs on piriform jars and alabstra from the west Peloponnese catalogued in Table 4 include concentric semicircles, chevrons, stacked triangles, stems and, most commonly, vertical strokes. When combined with net pattern, vertical strokes may also be a simplification of the main decoration (Graziadio 2017, 174 n. 34). A resemblance to the repertoire of secondary motifs on the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 found in Cyprus is evident, with the occurrence of concentric semicircles as the most common secondary motif found on vases from both groups. Other motifs, such as chevrons and vertical or oblique strokes are also represented with some frequency on the Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 from Cyprus, while motifs such as angular multiple stems, parallel waves, zig-zag, rock pattern, shallow U-shaped curves, S-shaped curve and spirals only appear on individual examples.

Despite the affinities, the absence of the stemmed spirals in the repertoire of secondary motifs on the piriform jar FS 44 and FS 45 found both in the Aegean and in Cyprus is problematic, since this is one of the most distinctive trait of

oils and ointments since Knossos had been the main producer of these commodities for export in LM II-III A1. With the probable dispersal of the Knossian perfumers, production quickly became a major industry on the Mainland (Rutter 2005, 39). Therefore, in LH III A1 and LH III A2 slow-pouring as well as unguent containers, such as small piriform jars FS 44 and 45, alabastra FS 83 and FS 85, and pyxides FS 94 and 95, were widely exported by the Mycenaeans throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. This phenomenon is particularly significant in Cyprus, where piriform jars quickly became one of the most popular Mycenaean vessels in LC IIA and LC IIB funerary contexts along with other containers of viscous substances, possibly representing a new commodity because there are no exact parallels in the Cypriot repertoire (Steel 2004, 73). However, L. Steel (1998, 295-296; 2004, 73, 77) argued that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware spindle bottles were the prevailing high status unguent containers on the island, while the appeal of the Mycenaean ointment containers for the Cypriot élite was limited since they were widely available to lower status people. The great demand for Mycenaean unguent containers by these social classes may therefore explain the origin and the success of a local production of the three-handled jars, since it can be inferred from the archaeological evidence that, generally speaking, there was not a marked competition between the imported Mycenaean small piriform jars and the local three-handled jars in the composition of burial assemblages (Pezzi 2017, 116).

The comparative analysis between the LH III A1 and LH III A2 piriform jars FS 44 and 45 found in the west Peloponnese and the Cypriot three-handled jars therefore demonstrates that, despite the many suggestions made in the past, the 14th century BC was the earliest period of cultural connections between the two regions. The convergence of the circumstantial evidence supports this suggestion. Principally, the occurrence of several morphological affinities between the vessels from the two areas is apparent and suggests that the local production of the small Cypriot three-handled jar of conical or conical-piriform shape developed under the influence of the Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 and 45 with the conical and conical-piriform shapes, a form particularly common to the west Peloponnese, especially Achaia. There are also additional elements relating to the decoration that favours the interpretation of the archaeological evidence proposed here. Specifically, the presence of some distinctive old-fashioned motifs and the occurrence of secondary motifs under the handles can be considered indicative of regional preferences in west Peloponnesian pottery productions. In this situation, it clearly cannot be considered simply coincidental that these decorative features also appear on the Cypriot three-handled jars and even become some of the main distinctive elements of their decoration. Emphasis can therefore be given to the small piriform jar LB 56, stored in the Pierides Museum at Larnaca. This vessel may be considered an example of the “Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid” pottery which mainly occurs in the west Peloponnese, probably as a result of the relations between this area and Crete. Its secondary decoration with stemmed spirals under the handles is the main design element of interest because of its similarity to the most common secondary motif on the Cypriot three-handled jars. PXRF analysis shows that the clay composition of this jar is not consistent with that of the majority of analyzed Cypriot three-handled jars, but the analysis was not able to identify precisely its place of production.

As far as archaeometric research is concerned, it is well known that NAA results are more reliable and, unlike pXRF analysis, can help to determine areas of Aegean pottery production. There is broad consensus that most of the LH III A and LH III B pottery found in Cyprus was produced in the Argolid (Jones 1986, 542-573, 689-609; Crouwel 1991, 51-53, for Pictorial Style). Turning to the Mycenaean pottery from the west Peloponnese more specifically, analytical studies confirm that there is a “connection between the regions Achaia and Elia concerning pottery production in LH” and that many sherds from these regions had a provenance from “either Achaia/Elia or Northern Argolid” (Mommsen *et al.* 2002, 623). In fact, it is important to point out that the chemical classification of the Mycenaean pottery from the Northern Peloponnese resulted in a group which shows a chemical composition very similar to that of the pottery produced in the Argolid (Hein *et al.* 2002). It was also noted that statistical separation of the North Peloponnesian samples from the Argive pottery on the basis of the chemical signature is very difficult. Therefore, following the title of the article of Hein *et al.* 2002, this can be considered a case “where chemistry leaves unanswered questions”. Only a complementary mineralogical examination of the samples by X-ray diffraction was considered useful to detect differences in the mineralogical composition. Considering this

data, archaeometric research alone cannot at present distinguish the contribution of the west Mycenaean pottery and Argive pottery to the development of the Cypriot production of the three-handled jars. Therefore, as demonstrated here, the application of comparative archaeological analysis continues to provide important and relevant data for enriching our understanding of Cypro-Aegean interconnections.

Finally, one of the most relevant questions is whether the political conditions of the western Peloponnese in the 14th century support the suggestion that these regions had trade contacts with Cyprus in this period. While the well-known picture of Messenia leaves no doubt on the possibility that trade connections could have been established with the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the Late Bronze Age, the situation of Achaea and Elis is apparently more problematic. As a matter of fact neither palatial buildings nor signs of administrative activities have been found in these regions. However, it has been argued that at least in western Achaea there were various polities ruled by local elites which were autonomous from the power of Mycenae already in the Early Mycenaean period (Arena 2015, 19-22). Most notably, in reference to LH IIIA Argive and North Greek sites, in his recent study on Achaea during the Palatial Age, E. Arena suggested that “the destruction of Knossos may have, for a short period of time, permitted differential access to long-distance exchange to elites at Mainland centers other than Mycenae” (Arena 2015, 17). If indeed this was the case, it seems entirely plausible that all the regions of the western Peloponnese established independent trade relations with the Eastern Mediterranean and participated in the incipient Mycenaean trade in oil/ointment with Cyprus that occurred after the drop of the Minoan commerce following the destruction of Knossos. In this scenario, although not regarded as status indicators of primary importance, the imported Mycenaean piriform jars of western Peloponnesian origin were well appreciated on the island and stimulated the birth of the earliest Cypriot production of Aegean-type pottery.

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