THE MYCENAEAN KYLIX AT MT. LYKAION: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LATE HELLADIC VESSEL'S APPEARANCE AT THE ASH ALTAR OF ZEUS

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Abstract

Fragments of hundreds of Mycenaean kylikes (a common Late Helladic ceramic, drinking vessel) have been found in the ash altar of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion. In this thesis, I conduct a distribution analysis of the Mycenaean kylix to gain a better understanding of Mt. Lykaion in the Late Helladic period and its association with/within the larger region. I look critically at the cache of kylix sherds recovered from the altar from 2007-2010 and compare it against assemblages of kylikes from other Late Helladic sites in the Peloponnese. To that end, I hope to start a discussion about who was consuming the pottery found at the site, where they were coming from, and whether or not they were bringing the vessels with them. This thesis will largely be dependent on a typological study of the Mycenaean kylix. As such, there are limitations as to how much can be gleaned from typology alone. I imagine though that my research could lend itself to subsequent work that would go on to encompass archaeometric methods of analysis, like zircon or clay sourcing, for the provenancing of ceramics from Mt. Lykaion.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction: Research Questions

The scope of this thesis is to examine the character of the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion, in the southwest portion of the region of Arkadia, during the terminal phase of the Greek Bronze Age: the Late Helladic (LH) III period (1390 – 1065 BCE). The presence of large amounts of Mycenaean kylikes (stemmed drinking vessels) on the sanctuary's ash altar, in association with terracotta figurines and calcined bone, lends credence to the idea that there was a cult place during that time.[1] A study of Mt. Lykaion's kylikes might help enhance an understanding of the site's role within the wider region. A number of research questions will be considered:

- What was the character of the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion in the Late Bronze Age, specifically during LH III?
- Can connections between Mt. Lykaion and another nearby site or sites be ascertained from the extant pottery evidence?
- Based on the high volume of Mycenaean pottery at Mt. Lykaion, what are the implications for its importance in LH III and its association with the wider region?

My hypothesis is that the large cache of kylikes discovered at the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion proves that during the LH III period the site was a major cult place that enjoyed a level of importance that has not been previously recognized, to the degree that the site seems to have functioned as a prototype for Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. The next few pages provide a broad overview of the topics and issues that are addressed in later chapters.

[1] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582; Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 527.

1.2 Overview

There are two traditions associated with the birthplace of Zeus. According to one tradition the god was born on Mt. Ida in Crete. A comparably old Arkadian tradition however has it that Zeus was born on Mt. Lykaion.[2] Indeed, Mt. Lykaion was popularly regarded in antiquity as being the ancient birthplace of Zeus. There is an abundance of ancient references to the site, which make explicit mention to its association with the god. The 3rd c. BCE poet Kallimachos and then the later Roman author Pliny, from the 1st c. CE, both remarked in their writings about the long history of the site.[3] But, perhaps no better account of Mt. Lykaion in antiquity exists than the one provided by the 2nd c. CE Greek traveler Pausanias, who described the sanctuary in great detail in his collection of books entitled: *Description of Greece* (Paus. 8.38.2-10).[4]

In his book devoted to Arkadia, Pausanias makes several allusions to the early history of the sanctuary and surrounding area. Two of those passages are worth mentioning here. Concerning the sanctuary, Pausanias described the mountaintop ash altar as having afforded a beautiful vantage point of the whole of the Peloponnese. But, he characterized the cult activities there as secretive and sinister. His writing stops short of detailing what the sacrificial rituals were but the passage hints at something grizzly when he wrote: "I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice, let them be as they are and were from the beginning", πολυπραγμονῆσαι δὲ οὔ μοι τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐχέτω δὲ ὡς ἔχει καὶ ὡς ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς (8.38.7). Another passage, earlier from the same book, offers a profile of the nearby town of Lykosoura which Pausanias referred to as the oldest on Earth (8.38.1). Taken together, these pieces allude to the then-ancient

[2] Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 10.
[3] Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 10.
[4] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 571-574.

history of Mt. Lykaion and its environs. That early history which was elusive to Pausanias in his day remains so today and, as such, warrants further investigation.

This thesis considers the early history of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion. Konstantinos Kontopoulos and Konstantinos Kourouniotis were the first to excavate at Mt. Lykaion between 1897 and 1905. They were succeeded, following a 75 year gap, in 1982 by Theodore Spyropoulos, the then-*ephor* of Lakonia and Arkadia, who briefly dug in the altar, *temenos*, and lower sanctuary.[5] His work and findings were never published though so, unfortunately, little can be said of his investigation. It has only been with the current systematic excavation of the site's upper sanctuary, conducted by the Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project, sponsored by the University of Arizona and co-directed by Drs. David Gilman Romano and Mary E. Voyatzis, that Mt. Lykaion's Bronze Age profile has begun to take shape. When excavation of the upper sanctuary's ash altar began in 2007 the character of the pottery that was first pulled out was a mixture of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic period material.[6] Some Early Helladic (EH), Middle Helladic (MH), and LH pottery was observed in most levels, from the upper layers down to bedrock.[7] But, prominent among the Bronze Age material was a cache just above bedrock with the fragments of hundreds of Mycenaean kylikes and other Late Helladic drinking vessels.

These Late Helladic Mycenaean ceramic vessels have already drawn considerable interest. A recent project, undertaken in association with the Fitch Laboratory at the British School at Athens, helped to both define the fabric typology of pottery consumed at the site as well as match the fabric with the geology in the wider area of Mt. Lykaion.[8] But, questions still

[5] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 575.
[6] Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 13.
[7] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 579.
[8] Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 526-529.

persist. The character of the site during the Neolithic (6500-3200 BCE), EH (3200-2050 BCE), and MH (2050-1600 BCE) periods is still largely known.[9] Moreover, while the majority of Bronze Age material at the site belongs to the LH periods, and specifically LH III, more needs to be said of the evidence for ritual activity in the Mycenaean period. Prior to 2007, scant little material evidence for the Final Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Early Iron Age (EIA) had been found in Arkadia, let alone in a single, archaeological context.[10] The discovery of several hundred kylikes in the sanctuary's ash altar was a revelation. The importance of these Mycenaean kylikes cannot be overstated.

The Mycenaean kylix was a popular stemmed cup for drinking, primarily in use from LH IIIA through the end of the LH IIIC.[11] Of particular interest are two points. One, the kylix is associated with cult activity, including ritual feasting.[12] Moreover, the clear typological evolution of the kylix allows for diagnostic fragments to be, more or less, securely dated to a specific archaeological period. The topic of Mycenaean pottery has been explored extensively, both by Arne Furumark (1941) and much later by Penelope A. Mountjoy (1986). But, until 2007, relatively little Mycenaean pottery had been found in Arkadian archaeological deposits (save for Tegea and Palaiokastro) so there is not a robust body of research devoted to it. To highlight the disparity, Mountjoy (1999) was only able to compile four pages worth of material for the whole region of Arkadia. This represents a clear lacuna in the scholarship. There is then an opportunity here to fill a knowledge gap.

[9] Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 526.
[10] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582-583.
[11] It is worth mentioning that Thomas (2011, 297) has identified the angular kylix (FS 267) as first appearing in a limited number of archaeological contexts datable to the very end of LH IIB. Mountjoy (1986, 88) champions the more widely held view that the development of the kylix begins in LH IIIA. I adhere to her model in this thesis.
[12] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582.

The presence of Late Helladic kylikes supports the idea that Mt. Lykaion was a cult center, similar to those found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Phylakopi, Maleatas, and Asine.[13] Moreover, the large quantity of kylikes would seem to indicate a site of pronounced importance. An analysis comparing the distribution of kylikes from Mt. Lykaion with those of other sites promises to advance our knowledge of how the site was associated with the wider region. To that end, important studies by Richard Hope Simspon (1965) and Ελενη Σαλαβουρα (2010) were essential in compiling a list of sites for analysis. My goal is to be able to use the distribution analysis as a tool for gauging both the site's importance and likely candidates for intra-site/regional activity.

The idea for this thesis has some precedent. There is a body of scholarship that is relevant to this research. As an analytical tool, designed to quantify/qualify intra-site relationships, the distribution method has been around since the early 1990s. James I. Ebert's 1992 *Distributional Archaeology* is an instructive and comprehensive introduction to the efficacy of distributional archaeology. A considerable amount of work has already been devoted to the method's application in Mycenaean Bronze Age archaeological contexts, and primarily the regions of the Argolid and Messenia. Owing to a veritable wealth of archaeological material, these regions have enjoyed a privileged place in scholarship. Jamie D. Aprile, Michael L. Galaty, Julie Hruby, and James Wright have each written extensively on the implications for understanding trade networks and associations between Bronze Age sites based on distributional data. Although his ceramic analyses primarily draw from thin-section petrography, Galaty (1999) and in other works (e.g. 2010) has singled out the Mycenaean kylix as the focus for much of his research in Messenia. His work is complemented by two authors whose work I have taken fully into

[13] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582.

account. Wright (2004) worked with distributional data in discussing drinking rituals – his writing heavily influenced this thesis.[14] Additionally, Gemma Marakas' (2010) research on Late Bronze Age ritual practice factors prominently in this research. My proposal is to use the scholarship that is currently available to build on the work that has already been done in these two regions and apply it to Bronze Age Arkadian archaeological contexts.

1.3 Conclusion

It is my hope that, as a result of this thesis, the place of Mt. Lykaion within the broader region during the LH III period will be better understood and its association with other sites quantified. To that end, this thesis provides a more holistic view for how Mt. Lykaion could have served as both an important Mycenaean cult site and Pan-Hellenic sanctuary prototype.

[14] Wright 2004a, 138-145.

Chapter 2: Et in Arcadia ego

A more complete understanding of Mt. Lykaion during the Late Helladic period is the ultimate aim of this thesis. But, before we begin to examine the place of Mt. Lykaion in that temporal space, it is first necessary to place Mt. Lykaion within a larger topographical, mythological, historical, and archaeological context. Doing so will allow for better critical insight into the Late Helladic period that is the focus of this investigation.

2.1 Mt. Lykaion – Topography

Mt. Lykaion is located in Arkadia near the borders of Messenia and Elis in the Peloponnese (Fig. 2.1). The mountain rising to an elevation of 1382 m overlooks the Megalopolis basin. From its southern peak onlookers can, on a clear day, see a majority of the Peloponnese. The mountain's viewshed is considerable. Mt. Mainalon (the highest mountain in Arkadia at 1986 m) can be seen easily enough from Mt. Lykaion, approximately 64 km away. The mountains that define Arkadia's northern border with Achaia – Mt. Erymanthos (2224 m), Mt. Aroania (2109 m), and Mt. Kyllene (2376 m) – can be seen from Mt. Lykaion. To the south, the highest mountain in the Peloponnese, Mt. Taygetos (2407 m) in Lakonia, is similarly visible from the mountaintop, as is the Gulf of Messene.[15]

Mt. Lykaion, within a larger topographical context, is located in SW Arkadia. Arkadia can be divided into two subsidiary zones. The western half of the region, to which Mt. Lykaion belongs, is rugged and mountainous, making it ideal for pastoralism. The western mountains are juxtaposed by valleys and basins, the soil made fertile by snowmelt and fountain drainage. While basins, like the Megalopolis basin, are suitable for farming, it has been the old practice of the

[15] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 570.

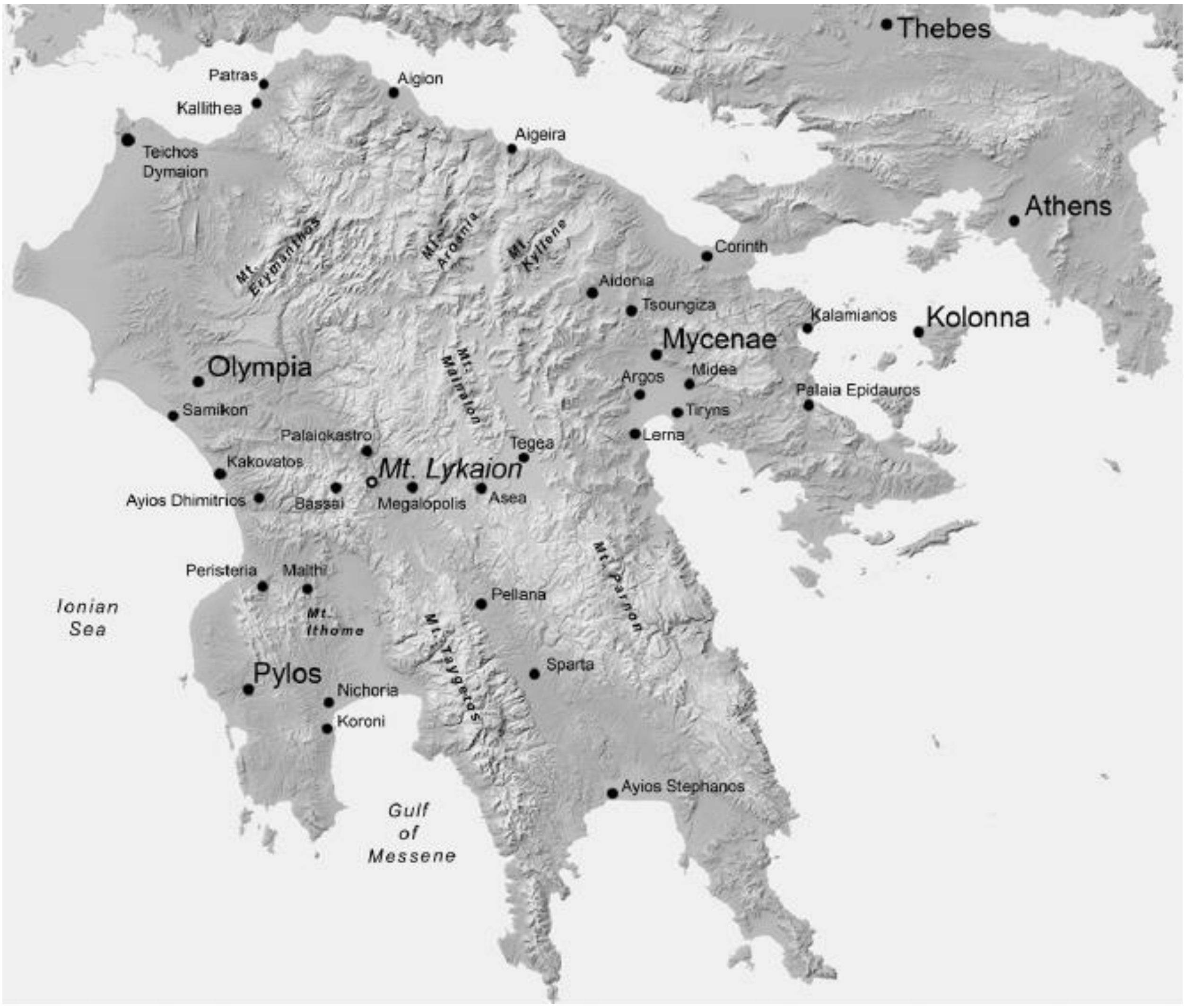

Figure 2.1 Map of the Peloponnese, showing Mt. Lykaion and other key sites (Credit: Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 570).

local people to rely primarily on terrace farming in the hill and mountainsides.[16] Eastern Arkadia, by contrast, is marked by its high, arable plains. According to J.A.O. Larsen, the eastern half boasts the best land in the mountainous region.[17] Arkadia, as a whole though, is plagued by erratic rainfall making it difficult to grow much there. There are no olive trees.[18] Arkadia has several major, navigable rivers, the Ladon, Alpheios, and Neda Rivers. The region was

[16] Pihokker 2013, 44.
[17] Larsen 1968, 180.
[18] Fields 2001, 110.

landlocked in antiquity but rivers permitted access to the west coast of the Peloponnese. These factors have contributed to the longstanding characterization of Arkadia as an isolated region.[19]

2.2 Ancient Arkadia – Mythology

The perception of Arkadia as somewhat isolated is ancient and dates back to the 5th and 4th c. BCE. Herodotus (5th c. BCE) and Polybius (2nd c. BCE) characterized the ancient Arkadians as simple, with Herodotus going as far as to call the region's inhabitants "acorn eaters", *balanefagoi andres* (1.77). For these authors Arkadians were products of their inhospitable, mountainous environment.[20] Beginning in the Hellenistic period, Theocritus (*Idylls* I.123-139, XXII.137) and other poets began to cast Arkadia as a beautiful, secluded paradise. Roman bucolic poetry and Renaissance literature carried on the tradition. The famous Nicolas Poussin painting, from 1637 – 1638, *Et in Arcadia ego* (*Les bergers d'Arcadie*) is a product of this thinking.

But, there is an even older view towards Arkadia, an appreciation of which allows for a better understanding of the place of Mt. Lykaion. Arkadia was, moving past Herodotus and Polybius, more commonly understood by the Greeks in antiquity as unique. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Arkadia was a source of boundless inspiration for authors. The writings of Hekataios of Miletus, Pherekydes, Hellanikos the ethnographer, Ar(i)aithos of Tegea, Aristippos, Architimos, Nikias, and Aristotle, to name just a few, point to the region's specialness.[21] Theirs was a preoccupation with the mythological traditions of the Arkadians — this is one of two traditions that must be stressed since it directly relates to Mt. Lykaion. There are rich mythological stories associated with the region. The genealogy of the god Pan, the cult of Zeus

[19] Jost 1994, 217; Hope Simpson 1965, 7.
[20] Pihokker 2013, 44.
[21] Nielson 1999, 16-17.

Lykaios, and stories of great kings like Kyspelos were immensely popular.[22] A point of particular intrigue for them though was the seeming timelessness of the people who inhabited the land. The Arkadians traced their genesis back to the mythical figure Pelasgos, who they credit with founding a great dynasty, and whose son, Lykaon, and offspring were the founders of all the oldest settlements in Arkadia.[23] Arkas, the supposed progenitor of the Arkadian people, was son to Zeus and Kallisto. According to one version of the story relayed by Pausanias (8.3.6), Hera, after learning of the intrigue and in a fit of jealousy, turned Kallisto into a bear and set upon Arkas. Zeus intervened and sent Hermes to recover Arkas and hide him in the land that would later bear his name, Arkadia.

2.3 Ancient Arkadia – History

The second tradition associated with Arkadia, that is stressed here, is its actual history. Arkadia's history can be traced fairly far back. Before people were writing about the region's politics the first literary references to the Arkadians present them as a distinct ethnic group. The issue of ethnic identity in ancient Greece is interesting. It is clear that ethnic divisions did not appear uniformly. There is evidence to support that in some regions identity developed rather late and *ex nihilo,* such seems to have been the case for the Messenians in the 4^{th} c. BCE.[24] By contrast, the Arkadians seem to be special in this regard as well and appear, Thomas Nielson argues, as an ethnic group very early on. In the 5^{th} c. BCE, the Arkadians are identified by Herodotus (8.73) as one of seven *ethne* (people) in the Peloponnese and there is evidence for a common, shared identity earlier still. Indeed the common name for the Arkadians, *Arkades,* is first attested in Homer —they are credited in the Catalogue of Ships with having sent troops to

[22] Nielsen 1999, 16-17.
[23] Nielsen 1999, 16-17.
[24] Luraghi 2008.

Troy (Hom. Il. 2.603-610).[25] As far as literary evidence suggests, this common identity pervades from Homer through the Hellenistic period and onward. Herodotus (8.73; 6.127.3), Thucydides (5.49.1), and Xenophon the three great historians of the Classical period all recognize the Arkadians as a distinct, ethnic body. Through this lens it is easy to appreciate that there is a great antiquity attached to Arkadia, more so than other regions.

2.4 Mt. Lykaion – Myths and Traditions

So, bearing that in mind, it is to the ostensibly remote reaches of SW Arkadia that we, again, return to Mt. Lykaion. If Arkadia's specialness is derived from its mythological underpinnings then Mt. Lykaion is exceptional. As mentioned in **Chapter 1**, the mountain was popularly regarded in antiquity as the ancient birthplace of Zeus. Pausanias (8.21.1) makes mention of the cave, on Mt. Lykaion, where Rhea hid Zeus from Kronos.[26] The 3rd c. BCE poet Kallimachos and then the later Roman author Pliny, from the 1st c. CE, similarly remarked in their writings about the long history of the site as well as the mythology attached to it. Another story, provided by Pausanias (8.2.1), refers to Pelasgos' son Lykaon, for whom the mountain is eponymously named, establishing both the cult of Zeus Lykaios and the Lykaion Games.[27] Lykaon's descendant Arkas, to re-iterate, is considered the progenitor of the Arkadian people and is also credited with introducing agriculture to the region.

2.5 The Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion – Layout of the Site

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion has two principal areas, a lower part and an upper part (Fig. 2.2). The lower area of the sanctuary is treated cursorily here, although there is a good deal that could and should be said about it. The inequity of attention is easily explained though,

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[25] Nielson 1999, 21.
[26] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 571.
[27] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 571.

since all of the LH cultural material with which this thesis is primarily concerned belongs to the upper sanctuary. But, with that said, several points are worth mentioning here regarding the lower sanctuary. A number of buildings and structures have survived the travails of time: a *xenon* (or administrative building), bath, hippodrome, stadium, seats, stoa, two fountains, and a corridor (leading from the *xenon* to the stadium) are visible today.[28] Most of these buildings served to support the administration of the Lykaion Games, which were held every four years in antiquity.[29] Pausanias refers to the Lykaion Games, while also attesting to another building – the Sanctuary of Pan – that has eluded discovery (8.38.5):

> ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἱππόδρομός τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνδριάντων βάθρα, οὐκ ἐπόντων ἔτι ἀνδριάντων: ἐλεγεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἑνὶ Ἀστυάνακτός φησιν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάνακτα εἶναι γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος.
>
> There is on Mount Lykaion a Sanctuary of Pan, and around it a grove of trees and a hippodrome, and a running-track before it. In the past the Lykaion Games were held here. On this spot there are the bases of statues, with no statues still on them. On one of the bases an inscription says that it belonged to an image of Astyanax, and that Astyanax was of the race of Arkeas.[30]

The Olympic Games, which began in 776 BCE in the neighboring region of Elis, may have somehow impacted the development of the Lykaion Games. But, the connection is still being investigated. The earliest material from the lower sanctuary dates to the 7th c. BCE.[31] Earlier

[28] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 574.
[29] Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 261.
[30] Translation by author.
[31] Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 19.

cultural material has not been found yet. But, a plethora of earlier Bronze Age material has been unearthed from Mt. Lykaion's upper sanctuary.

The upper sanctuary is on the mountain's southern peak (which is actually at a lower elevation than the northern peak) and is comprised of three notable features: a *temenos* (sacred precinct), an ash altar, and a possible *dromos* (race track).[32] Each is worthy of further explanation.

Pausanias provides a detailed description of the precinct of Lykaion Zeus, which, in his time was the most wonderful marvel to be found at the sanctuary (8.38.6). Pausanias describes the *temenos* as an *abaton* (an inaccessible place), which people were not allowed to enter. Trespassers purportedly died within a year. Moreover, as if that were not mysterious enough, he goes on to describe that nothing within the *temenos* cast a shadow. The *temenos* is situated 24 m below the ash altar and approximately measures out to 55 m wide x 120 m long, at least that was the estimation of Kourouniotis.[33] In antiquity, there was a path that connected the upper and lower sanctuaries. However, scant little evidence for it remains today. Pausanias provides a hint for where it may have been. He describes the eastern end of the precinct as being marked by two columns, once capped with golden eagles (a symbol of Zeus). The column bases survive today and most likely represent the end point of the path that led to the *temenos* from the lower sanctuary – it is a reasonable inference that the supposed path ran by the Agno Fountain which is exactly half way between the two.[34]

To the immediate west of the *temenos* there is the proposed *dromos*, or proto-stadium. The space is flat and covers an area of 150 m x 12 m. Moreover, the adjacent sloping hillside

[32] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 629.
[33] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 575, 577.
[34] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 626.

could have served as a spectator area. The suggested idea here is that this space, neighboring the altar, could have been the location of the Lykaion Games in the early years of the festival. Romano, whose dissertation work revolved around ancient athletics, is still exploring this idea (Fig. 2.2).[35]

But, the most important feature of the upper sanctuary is what Pausanias describes as the "altar of Zeus Lykaios," Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμός (8.38.7). On the southern peak of Mt. Lykaion is an open air altar of ash, 30 m in diameter and approximately 1.5 m deep at its deepest point. The ash that the mountaintop altar is includes calcined animal bones, seeds, and charcoal. Britt Starkovich, a Ph.D. from the University of Arizona, conducted C^{14} analyses on samples of animal bone, charcoal, and seeds from the altar and found that the earliest material, just above bedrock, belonged to the Bronze Age and to calibrated dates of 1527 ± 97 BCE, 1468 ± 54 BCE, and 1332 ± 52 BCE.[36] Faunal analysis showed that 98% of the assemblage of bones belonged to the femurs and patellas of sheep/goats, and the remainder to pig and cattle.[37]

[35] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 629.
[36] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 614-615.
[37] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 646.

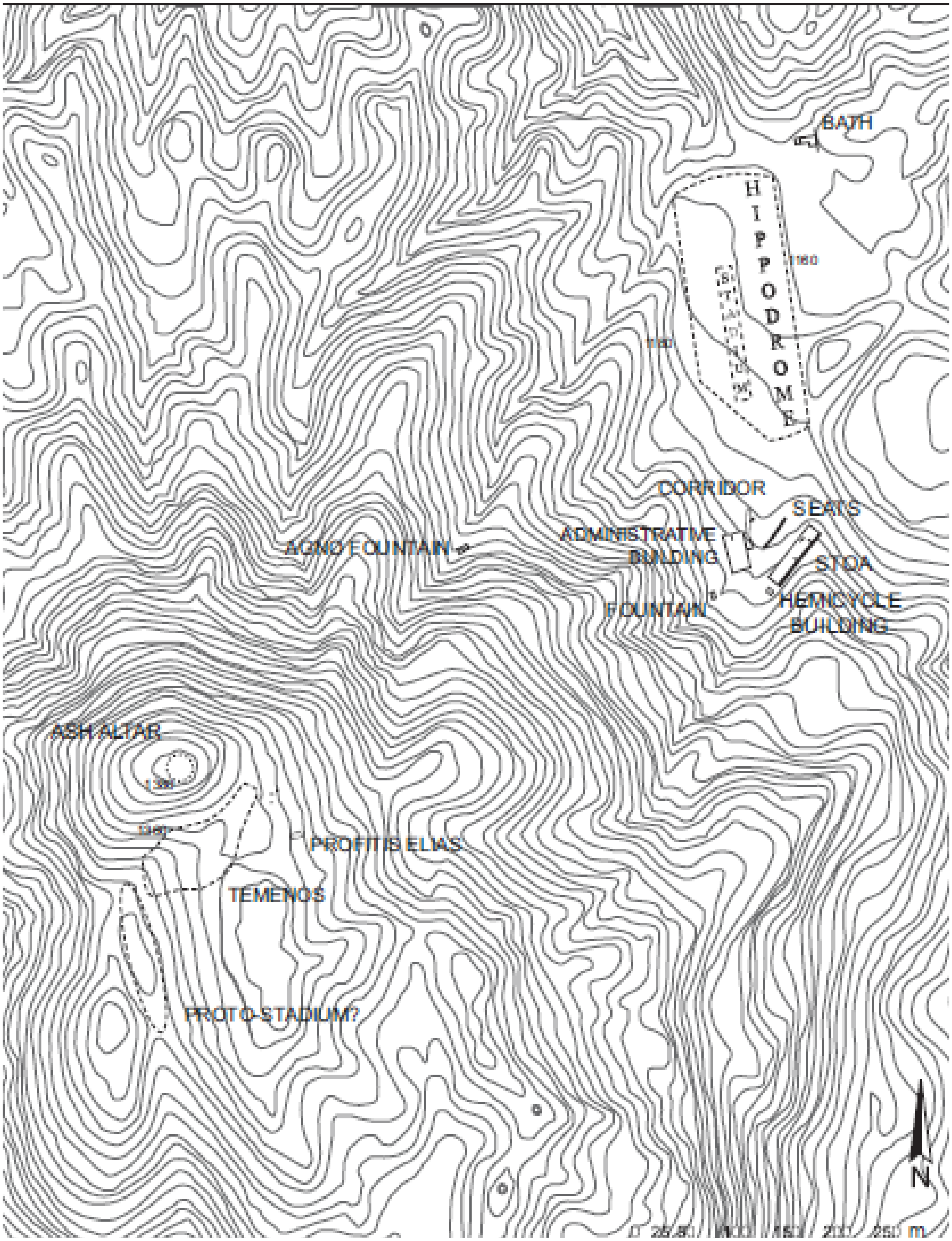

Figure 2.2 Map of the upper and lower parts of the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion (Credit: Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 574).

Material from an array of periods make up the assemblage of artifacts from the ash altar. Final Neolithic through Hellenistic material are all evidenced – miniature bronze tripods, a Minoan seal stone, Final Neolithic – EIA ceramics, and Classical black glaze pottery have all been found. Perhaps most interesting though was the cache of Bronze Age material, particularly Mycenaean, that began to appear just above bedrock at the altar in 2007. But, of particular note are the 500+ Mycenaean kylix sherds discovered together in 2007 – 2010. Until 2007 there was scant evidence for Mycenaean activity at the site but a cache of several hundred sherds from the Late Bronze Age has since brought about a reconsideration of the mountain's place in pre-history. The calcined animal bones and associated cultural material (to be elaborated on below) suggest continuous cult activity, perhaps relating to the *thysia* ritual, from the LH IIB period through the Classical period.[38]

2.6 Previous Investigations

Under the auspices of the Archaeological Society of Athens, the first two excavations at the site were carried out by Kontopoulos in 1897 and then, six years later, by Kourouniotis.[39] Theirs cannot truly be considered to be intensive scientific, systematic investigations of the site. But, a number of important discoveries can be credited to them. With regards to the lower sanctuary, Kourouniotis is responsible for identifying the major structures of the lower sanctuary.[40] Kontopoulos dug a test trench in the ash altar. Kourouniotis, digging six years later in the altar, dug five trenches – the locations of these earlier trenches is now known. The oldest artifacts Kourouniotis identified, two miniature bronze tripods, would be dated to the 7th c. BCE and a preponderance of the material belonged to the 5th and 4th c. BCE.[41] Beyond the early work

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38 Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 590-591.
39 Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 576; Kontopoulos 1898; Kourouniotis 1903; 1904a; 1904b; 1905; 1909.
40 Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 575.
41 Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 575-576; Kourouniotis 1904a, col. 166.

of Kontopoulos and Kourouniotis, Sypropoulos, in the 1990s, explored a trench in the altar, as well as one in the *temenos*, and the lower sanctuary. But, nothing related to that work was published.[42] The current project, sponsored by the University of Arizona and co-directed by Romano and Voyatzis, represents the first systematic, scientific investigation conducted at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion. The first round of excavations (in both the Lower and Upper Sanctuaries) were conducted from 2006-2010 and have since resumed in earnest with a new excavation permit for another 5 years, until 2020.

2.7 Conclusion

In summary, the Mycenaean material found in the ash at Mt. Lykaion — drinking vessels, terracotta figurines, votive offerings (miniature tripods) — not only points to cult activity at the site but also suggests that the mountain was a major Bronze Age shrine. Being able to qualify and quantify that suggestion would have major implications for understanding Mt. Lykaion's importance in the Late Helladic period. To date, only a handful of Mycenaean shrines have been identified, such as at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos (e.g. Room 93 and court 92), Phylakopi, Apollo Maleatas (Mt. Kynortion), Methana, and Asine.[43] The Greeks of the Classical and Hellenistic periods certainly believed that there was something special about the site, as well as the larger region. Perhaps, the importance attached to the site in later periods was rooted in its great antiquity and persistence of cultural memory that was just poorly understood.

[42] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 575.
[43] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582; Taylour 1970; 1983, 43-64; Lambrinoudakis 1981; Rutkowski 1986, 169-199; Whittaker 1997, 163-183; Marakas 2010, 91-93.

Chapter 3: Mt. Lykaion – A LH III Shrine

3.1 Overview

Artifacts from Mt. Lykaion, primarily drinking vessels (kylikes, goblets, cups, and stemmed bowls), with associations to ritual activity suggest the presence of an important Mycenaean open-air, mountaintop shrine in use from LH IIB – IIIC.[44] This chapter attempts to qualify and quantify ritual activity at Mt. Lykaion by broadly exploring the character of Late Bronze Age shrines, with particular attention paid to the LH IIIA – IIIB periods. Shrine surroundings, principal criteria for identifying cult practice, and the relationship between ritual and feasting are covered in this chapter. The kylix's function, evolution, associations to cult practice, and distribution among shrine contexts factor prominently into this discussion.

3.2 Background

Mycenaean growth and expansion between the LH IIIA – IIIB periods (approximately the 14th and 13th c. BCE) on the mainland are discernible in monumental buildings, furnished settlements, and rich cemeteries.[45] Palace centers were constructed at major sites across the mainland: Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea in the Argolid; Pylos in Messenia; Thebes in Boeotia; construction at Iolkos and Athens probably also occurred during this time.[46]

The volume of material from the LH period far exceeds that of the preceding Early and Middle Helladic periods. Architectural phases as well as distinct ceramic styles observable in the archaeological record allow for the LH period to be divided into LH I, II, and III. The greatest abundance of material belongs to the last of these three phases – LH III – allowing for further

44 Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 628.
45 Schofield 2007, 75.
46 Mountjoy 1999, 29; Marakas 2010, 2.

division into LH IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC.[47] The appreciable amount of material datable to LH III makes sense as Mycenaean civilization reached its apex during the LH IIIA-B periods.[48]

The LH III period is then most deserving of our attention. Mycenaean ritual practices are largely derived from Middle and Late Bronze Age Crete. But, extant cultural material suggests that ritual practices find, to use the words of James Wright, their "fullest expression" during the LH IIIA-B, continuing on through the post-palatial LH IIIC.[49] To that end, some of the most important Mycenaean shrines date to the LH IIIB period.[50] The Cult Center at Mycenae with its three associated building complexes belong to this period and at Pylos, Tiryns, and Midea, Methan, Kea, Phylakopi, to name a few, new spaces were being used for ritualistic actions.[51]

Across mainland archaeological deposits datable to LH IIIA-IIIB a greater volume of ritual equipment has been unearthed, again, exceeding what has been recovered from the preceding Early and Middle Helladic periods. Helene Whittaker has looked at material from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and the open-sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas on Mt. Kynortion, and concluded that Mycenaean ritual activity is, in part, more archaeologically discernible in LH III because of an apparent increased interest in "materializing religious concepts."[52]

3.3 Chronological Scope

A brief profile for each of the archaeological periods currently under consideration is included in this section. The table below presents the absolute chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age arrived at by Peter Warren and Vronwy Hankey.[53]

[47] Taylour 1964, 48.
[48] Marakas 2010, 2.
[49] Wright 2004a, 134,
[50] Marakas 2010, 74.
[51] Marakas 2010, 75-76.
[52] Whittaker 2015, 617.
[53] Warren and Hankey 1987, 169

LH IIIA1	c. 1390+ – 1370/1360 BCE
LH IIIA2	c. 1370/1360 – 1340/1330 BCE
LH IIIB1	c. 1340/1330 – 1225 BCE
LH IIIB2	c. 1225 – 1185/1180 BCE
LH IIIC-early (LH IIICe)	c. 1185/1180 – 1150/1140 BCE
LH IIIC-middle (LH IIICm)	c. 1150/1140 – 1100/1090 BCE
LH IIIC-late (LH IIICl)	c. 1100/1090 – 1050/30 BCE

Table 3.1 Warren and Hankey's Aegean Absolute Chronology (Credit: 1987, 169).

LH IIIA (general) is an important archaeological phase in the Late Bronze Age, divided into IIIA1 and IIIA2. During IIIA1 proto-palaces are constructed in the Argolid at Tiryns and Mycenae, replacing earlier mansions, and in Messenia at Nichoria and Pylos.[54] In Lakonia, a LH IIB mansion at the Menelaion is rebuilt and chamber tomb cemeteries start to appear all over Mycenaean Greece.[55] A number of stylistic and technological changes occur in the first half of this phase (IIIA1) to make it an archaeologically distinct period. First, an increase in standards of production is apparent in extant pottery. According to Taylour, "the clay was selected with care, levigated, and fired to a hardness that gives a clear clink when struck."[56] The LH IIIA1 phase is brought to an abrupt end (c. 1370/1360 BCE) by the destruction of the proto-palaces on the mainland. LH IIIA2 is marked by the construction of the monumental palaces that took their place. At Mycenae the first known fortifications are similarly built in this time.[57] Schofield summarily describes this phase as follows:

[54] Mountjoy 1999, 26.
[55] Mountjoy 1999, 26.
[56] Taylour 1964, 52.
[57] Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 34; Wace 1949, 132.

> The Mycenaeans entered a period of stability, which was to stretch into the latter years of the thirteenth century and was reflected at home in monumental buildings, flourishing settlements, and rich cemeteries.[58]

Indeed growth at home on the mainland during LH IIIA2 was part and parcel of the Mycenaeans' vast expansion across the Mediterranean in this time.[59]

LH IIIB (general) is divided into LH IIIB1 and IIIB2, but, according to Mountjoy, the two can only be separated stratigraphically in the Argolid.[60] LH IIIB can be succinctly described as the period when the great Mycenaean palaces, begun in the period prior, reached their apogee. The palace economies centered on Pylos, Mycenae, and Thebes dominated the mainland.[61] Cyclopean defensive walls replaced earlier LH IIIA2 fortifications at the sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, the fortress at Gla was built, and the palace at Athens was probably constructed at this time (although little evidence survives for it).[62] Moreover, at Mycenae both the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra were built.[63] It is arguably the most consequential period in Mycenaean history.[64] Signs of growing instability abound though. The completion of the last great phase of construction, on the fortification walls, at Mycenae, is completed in approximately 1200 BCE – the walls' construction has been interpreted as a sign of unrest. Similarly, the Lion's Gate was erected during this period, c. 1250 BCE. LH IIIB1 ends with several archaeological observable destructions. At Mycenae, the Lower Town and Citadel are destroyed by an earthquake. A number of buildings at Tiryns apparently succumb to the same vicissitude.[65] LH

[58] Schofield 2007, 75.
[59] Mountjoy 1986, 67.
[60] Mountjoy 1999, 32.
[61] Mountjoy 1999, 33.
[62] Mountjoy 1999, 28-32.
[63] Mountjoy 1999, 28-32.
[64] Mountjoy 19993, 19-21.
[65] Mountjoy 1999, 33.

IIIB2 is, by comparison, difficult to characterize. LH IIIB ends with the destruction of the major palace centers. Their destruction and burning at the end of the 13th c. BCE hinders our ability to glean information about the years leading up to that point.[66] It is worth noting that much of the information we do have for the latter half of the LH IIIB has come down to us in form of Linear B tablets, recovered from destruction deposits at the great palaces — Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, and Thebes.[67]

The end of the Mycenaean period is approximated to 1100/1090 – 1050/30 BCE. The LH IIIC – the period leading up to the Iron Age – is subdivided into three phases, LH IIIC – early, -middle, -late and is generally characterized as a post-palatial period of decline.[68] In the wake of the earthquakes that shook the major palace centers of the Argolid, to mark the end of the LH IIIB2 period, there was recovery. But, while repairs and rebuilding were carried out on the Citadel at Mycenae and at Tiryns, some smaller settlements were abandoned and others continued, just on a smaller scale, as people moved. The time of the flourishing palace economies was effectively over.[69] By the LH IIIC-middle monumental architecture had ground to a halt and a new series of destructions swept the mainland: the Granary at Mycenae was burnt, destruction layers are discernible at Tiryns, Korakou was abandoned, and the Phase 1b settlement at Lefkandi was destroyed. On the whole, architecture for LH IIIC-middle is difficult to discern, due to a dearth of stratified deposits.[70] The later, final phase of the period is marked by unrest and then collapse. Some of the major centers remain occupied but on a smaller scale. A swelling of burials in cemeteries, a profusion of warlike imagery on pottery, and numerous

[66] Mountjoy 1986, 121.
[67] Mountjoy 1993, 21.
[68] Taylour 1964, 59.
[69] Mountjoy 1999, 42-43.
[70] Mountjoy 1999, 48.

warrior graves suggest both growing instability coupled with sudden increases and decreases in population size in some regions.[71]

3.4 Identifying LH III Shrines: Why Propose an Identification?

With the LH having been broadly contextualized now, two issues need to be addressed at the outset: why are some sites interpreted as primarily ritual and why should Mt. Lykaion be counted among them? Marakas' doctoral research, which explored ritual practice and shrines on the Greek mainland between the Late Bronze Age and Protogeometric period, provides satisfying answers to these and other questions.[72] At a glance, Mt. Lykaion's ostensibly remote location in SW Arkadia and mountaintop, open-air altar invites comparison to a number of "isolated shrines", to borrow Marakas' nomenclature: Agia Triada in the Argolid, Mt. Hymettus in Attica, Aphaia on Aigina in the Saronic Gulf, Amyklai in Lakonia, and Kalapodi in Phokis share certain similarities among them, and, more broadly, with Mt. Lykaion. Her justification in all instances, and the "why" of the matter, boils down to two things, seen here in this note on Aphaia:

> The sanctuary holds a position on a mountain ridge in the north-east of the island, isolated from settlement remains… [t]he classification is given due to this site's isolated location alone with its numerous forms of pottery associated with drinking and dining.[73]

Marakas stresses that the location and assemblage of material are, above all else, the most important factors to be considered in the identification of shrines.

[71] Mountjoy 1999, 52-53.
[72] Marakas 2010, 8-15, 129-131.
[73] Marakas 2010, 28.

The term "shrine" here can be broadly understood to connote a site used for cult activity. To that end, the importance of location in shrine identification is easy to understand when discussing the class of Mycenaean shrines that Marakas refers to as "isolated". The setting for most of these sites – isolated from settlements, situated on high places, and devoid of architecture (in most cases) – seemingly lends itself well to discerning ritual activity, there are scant few alternative interpretations to offer.[74] Moreover, there are certainly examples from other European and Asiatic peoples that attest to the importance of mountain summits in religious traditions.[75]

One such example relates to Mt. Lykaion. In 1943 G.E. Mylonas argued that the columns topped by eagles, described by Pausanias (8.38.6), on Mt. Lykaion's Upper Sanctuary, viewed in association with the open-air, earthen altar behind them paralleled Minoan cult iconography.[76] His observation seems prescient now. And Marakas aptly points out that these isolated shrines can loosely be compared to peak-sanctuaries from Minoan Crete.[77]

Mt. Lykaion with its mountaintop location, separated from any nearby settlement (at least not one that is known) fits well in Marakas' class of isolated shrines. The location and surroundings in which shrines are found varies though and can make identification difficult. In her list of classes, Marakas explores what she refers to as "palatial shrines" and "settlement shrines".[78] The idea and use of space for palatial and settlement shrines is markedly different from the isolated shrines noted above. With regards to the latter, in most instances free-form shrine space allowed ritual to take place, "unhindered by boundaries or structures which would

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[74] Renfrew 1985, 15.
[75] Rutkowski 1985, 201.
[76] Mylonas 122-133; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 628.
[77] Marakas 2010, 80.
[78] Marakas 2010, 75-78.

restrict vision in any way."[79] Participation in the acts would have ostensibly been unrestricted. The same cannot be said for palatial and settlement shrines. As far as the palace centers are concerned, shrine space took the form of a room or complex of rooms adjacent to a courtyard or exterior space for participants. This seems to have been the case at Mycenae, with the Room with the Fresco complex, the Temple, and the Tsountas House Shrine. The same can be observed at Midea and Tiryns.[80] The situation is different at the Palace of Nestor insofar as the distribution of shrine equipment across several rooms in the palace hints at ritual not being confined to one location there.[81] At the settlements Agios Konstantinos, Agia Irini, Phylakopi, and Apollo Maleatas shrine room complexes, which could not have accommodated many people, are evidenced, albeit, in most instances, without the courtyard spaces characteristic of the palaces.[82] In terms of setting, the line of continuity connecting palatial and settlement shrines is a focus on more restricted access. But, obviously this cannot be said to be unique to shrines and therein lies the limitation of identifying shrines solely by location.

By itself, location cannot allow for the proposed identification of a shrine. A site's assemblage of material is equally critical in that determination. Taken together, these form the broad basis for "why" a site can be considered ritual in character. As is discussed in greater detail in the next section, there are general, agreed upon guidelines that govern "how" a site is compellingly shown to be ritual in character.

3.5 Identifying LH III Shrines: How to Identify a Shrine

[79] Marakas 2010, 80.
[80] Marakas 2010, 74-76.
[81] Marakas 2010, 76.
[82] Marakas 2010, 77-78.

In this section I adopt Marakas' criteria for shrine identification, which incorporates Korinna Pilafidis-Williams' views, and apply it to Mt. Lykaion.[83] The criteria are outlined in Table 3.2.

Marakas examines a suite of Mycenaean sites and grades their proposed status as shrines against her primary and secondary criteria by way of a scoring system. While she does not outline specifically what score a site needs to be confirmed in its classification as a shrine, what is clear is that she consistently requires one principal criterion to be present (represented by the symbol: ┼) and one minor criterion (represented by: ╬). According to Marakas' framework, isolated shrines are awarded an extra point (╬) for location. Higher scores translate to a greater degree of certainty in a positive identification.

3.5.1 Shrine Identification: Scoring Mt. Lykaion

Beginning with the final set of criteria (Categorization of shrine type), the shrine area in-question is an open-air altar on the southern peak of Mt. Lykaion. The site is isolated as it seems to have been remote from any specific settlement. There is evidence for a single burial at Mt. Lykaion's ash altar, although the date is currently unclear and likely post-dates the LH IIIA and IIIB shrine currently being assessed (╬ x2).

[83] Prior to Marakas (2010) Pilafidis-Williams (1998) had devised, based on observations from the shrine at Aphaia, the most detailed list of correlates to be used for shrine identification.

1. Principal Criteria: Artifacts

- 1.1 Assemblage of votive offerings
- 1.2 Presence of cult statue or image
- 1.3 Religious iconography
- 1.4 Evidence for ritual dining
  - a. Pottery for drinking and dining
  - b. Concentrations of animal bone / fatty deposits

2. Minor Criteria: Features

- 2.1 Built furnishings for ritual practice
- 2.2 Hearth or hearth area (including ash altars)
- 2.3 Features for libation practices
  - a. Installations for libations
  - b. Apparatus for libations

Categorization of Shrine type

Built Shrine
- a. A built structure
- b. Temenos area / recognizable open-air space
- c. Lack of evidence for multiple functions

Non-built Shrine
- a. Focal area. E.g. cave, mountain peak/plateau, burnt area
- b. Association with abandoned ancestral settlement
- c. Lack of contemporary settlement or burials

Table 3.2 Marakas' Framework for Shrine Identification (Credit: 2010, 9).

For the first set of principal criteria several things can be said. A positive answer may be given for criterion 1.1 (votive offerings) based on animal and human terracotta figurines, a rock-crystal lentoid seal, and two Mycenaean askoi datable to the Late Bronze Age (┼).[84] With respect to criterion 1.2 (Presence of cult statue or image) the answer is not negative but has to remain open. A hollow psi-type figurine belonging to LH IIIA2-IIIB and a head from a phi figurine could potentially contribute to this criterion but a definitive answer seems more likely inconclusive than confirmed.[85] Marakas and Pilafidis-Williams note that larger figurines that

[84] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 615-616.
[85] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 616.

display a greater level of detail typically work well as cult statues or image, although their appearance at shrines is not common.[86] Criterion 1.3 (Religious iconography) does not seem to be represented among the material published in Romano and Voyatzis' excavation report and as such has to be answered negatively here. By contrast, a positive answer is warranted for criterion 1.4 (┼ ; Evidence for ritual dining). Kylikes, goblets, cups, and stemmed bowls were found in large quantities at the site.[87] Wright addressed the above vessel types in his discussion of 'feasting equipment'.[88] Noticeable among this collection from Mt. Lykaion is the cache of kylix fragments (500+ fragments) which represents the largest assemblage of Mycenaean pottery yet discovered in Arkadia.[89] It is worth stressing though that some of the fragments are small and some may belong to the same vessel.

Mt. Lykaion is under consideration for classification as an isolated, open-air shrine. With that in mind and concerning the second set of criteria (Features), negative answers and circumstantial evidence, such as a lack of built features, contribute more to the recognition of non-built shrine than positive answers.[90] For criterion 2.1 (Built furnishing for ritual practice) the answer is not a negative but, at present, has to remain open. A series of long, flat stones with N-S orientation, that seem to have been intentionally placed, are currently under investigation as a platform for Mycenaean offerings.[91] This both would and would not be in keeping with other shrines. The majority of Mycenaean shrines do have fixed features. However, Marakas notes, "[t]he only sites which have no evidence of platforms for display are found in contexts which are

[86] Marakas 2010, 12; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 126.
[87] Romano and Voyatzis 2004, 628.
[88] Wright 2004a, 146.
[89] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 591.
[90] Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 124.
[91] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 583.

of a solely *open-air* focus."[92] A positive answer can be given with confidence for criterion 2.2 (hearth or hearth area (including ash altars)). The ash altar at Mt. Lykaion, an area of concentrated burning with organic material datable to the Late Bronze Age certainly confirms the presence of this feature (╬).[93] The answer for criterion 2.3 (Features for libation practices) is negative – there are no discernible dug or constructed channels. But, in this instance a negative answer contributes positively to the identification of an open-air shrine.

The proposed open-air, isolated classification can, against Marakas' framework, be given due to the site's location, removed from a settlement, on a mountaintop along with figurines and large amounts of pottery for ritual drinking. In terms of overall scoring (┼ x2 ╬ x 3) Mt. Lykaion satisfies enough criteria to earn a positive identification as a shrine.

3.6 The Need to Further Qualify Ritual Activity at Mt. Lykaion

Discerning cult activity can been a tricky affair. When the first Bronze Age material was discovered at the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina – a site with many noted similarities to Mt. Lykaion – Adolf Furtwängler was quick to identify the site as a Mycenaean cult center. While his conclusions were largely accepted by the broader scholarly community there were dissenting opinions, like that of Richard Hope Simpson who wrote:

> [T]he figurines apparently date from L.H.IIIA:2-B at least, and may be a votive deposit. But such a deposit need not be of Mycenaean date and there is no necessity that this was a Mycenaean cult centre.[94]

Today, it can hardly be doubted that the site of Aphaia on Aigina was an important Mycenaean shrine but the cautionary note above highlights the need to qualify our assumptions and the high

[92] Marakas 2010, 13; the identification of an architectural feature, likely a platform, at the ash altar by Romano and Voyatzis (2013, 583) warrants a reconsideration of Marakas' criteria.
[93] Marakas 2010, 13; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 614-615.
[94] Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 121.

standard of proof that has to be met for a positive identification of cult practice.[95] While employing frameworks is a useful exercise in qualifying shrine identification, it is not the be-all and end-all. All proofs that can be put forward to buttress an identification should be.

3.7 The Mycenaean Kylix

Noticeable among the principal criteria examined earlier was the evidence for ritual drinking, which correlates to criterion 1.4. Marakas' framework certainly highlights the importance of feasting equipment in shrine identification. But, from here on out, discussion will revolve around one type of vessel – the kylix – which, among feasting equipment, is noted as particularly important for ritual drinking.[96] It is the stated opinion of this thesis that kylikes specifically are useful in shrine identification and can, in the case of Mt. Lykaion, allow for a more positive confirmation of the site's shrine classification.

Among the repertoire of Mycenaean drinking vessels, the kylix is one of the primary LH III shapes associated with ritual feasting.[97] Kylikes, as will soon be seen, are very often found at shrines, so much so that their appearance across palatial, settlement, and isolated shrine contexts suggests drinking and dining were common to ritual practice.[98]

It is worth considering whether or not acts involving kylikes and other drinking vessels can be said to be either definitively secular or sacred. It is possible that to ancient, prehistoric peoples it was a mixture of both. Marakas uses the example of the Greek Orthodox celebration for the Panagia (Assumption Day) on August 15th. There is certainly an intrinsically social aspect to the gathering, as banqueting and drinking follow formal church services. But, critically, the

95 Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 146.
96 Wright 2004a, 145.
97 Wright 2004a, 145.
98 Marakas 2010, 12, 126-127.

reason for people to gather and participate is for sacred observance of the Panagia.[99] The same logic may be applied to ritual drinking.

The kylix's specialized, ritual function is, in part, inferred from other, earlier drinking vessels. The Late Bronze Age drinking practices of Mycenaean elites seem to have been influenced heavily by earlier Minoan and Cycladic rituals.[100] To that end, some Mycenaean practices can then be said to trace their genesis back to the sanctuary of Kato Syme on Crete, where an unusually high number of cups and chalices were found indicating ritual drinking.[101]

Over the course of Middle Bronze Age, the acquisition of exotic drinking vessels appears to have developed into a sign of social status for elites on the mainland. Imported jugs and cups from Lerna indicate as much.[102] By the end of the Middle Bronze Age on the mainland ceramic vessels began factoring prominently in mortuary contexts, with a combination of foreign and local drinking vessels predominating.[103] With the start of the Late Bronze Age, foreign shapes and decorations from across the Aegean, specifically Crete, started to be incorporated into the repertoire of mainland ceramic vessels, albeit with increased standardization. A fusion Helladic-Minoan goblet from Grave Circle A at Mycenae illustrates the change.[104] The kylix was, in Wright's view, the final product to come out of this period of time:

> In Mycenaean society, drinking rituals achieved standard expression through certain vessel shapes, beginning with the Vapheio cup and shallow cup, both of which were popular ceramic shapes during LH II and IIIA… They were replaced by the kylix during IIIA.[105]

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[99] Marakas 2010, 121.
[100] Wright 2004a, 170.
[101] Wright 2004a, 137; Lebessi and Muhly 1987; 1990, 324-327.
[102] Wright 2004a, 138.
[103] Wright 2004a, 138.
[104] Wright 2004a, 140.
[105] Wright 2004a, 145.

The use of the kylix extends from the LH IIIA period through the LH IIIC period, or from approximately the mid-14th century BCE to the mid-11th century BCE. Among LH IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC archaeological deposits the kylix is, in general, the most common ceramic shape found.[106] Ceramic vessels and specifically kylikes can serve as indicators for ritual activity.

3.8 Kylix Distribution and Distribution Density at Mycenaean Shrines

For the reasons stated above the kylix is particularly well-suited for identifying ritual activity. It is important to quantify this connection though. In this section shrines examined by Marakas are put forward and the distribution and distribution density of kylikes at each site is graphically illustrated (Figure 3.1). The period(s) of use as well as the density ranking for each shrine are included in the table. Site labels correspond to the cataloged sites that can be referenced in Appendix B. The sites included in the map can be seen in Table 3.3 (isolated shrines are indicated by an "I", palatial shrines by a "P", and settlement shrines by an "S"; each site's ranking follows its type).[107]

1. Agia Irini, Kea (S) - 1	LH IIIB-C	12. Midea (I) - 2	LH IIIB-C
2. Agios Konstantinos (S) - 2	LH IIIA-B	13. Mt. Hymettus (I) - 2	LH IIIB
3. Agia Triada, Argolid (I) - 2	LH IIIB	14. Mycenae (P) - 7	LH IIIB
4. Amyklai (I) - 2	LH IIIB2-C	15. Palace of Nestor (P) - 31	LH IIIB
5. Aphaia (I) - 4	LH IIIB-C	16. Phylakopi (S) - 2	LH IIIB-C
6. Apollo Maleatas (S) - 2	LH IIIB	17. Polis Cave-Ithaka (I) - 1	LH IIIB-PG
7. Asine (S) - 3	LH IIIC	18. Profitis Elias Cave, Argolid (I) - 1	LH IIIB
8. Delphi (I) - 0	LH IIIB		
9. Eleusis (S) - 0	LH IIIB	19. Thermon (I) - 1	LH IIIC
10. Kalapodi (I) - 2	LH IIIB	20. Tiryns (P) - 3	LH IIIB
11. Kalaureia – Poros (S) - 0	LH IIIC	21. Mt. Lykaion (I) - 8	LH IIIA-C

Table 3.3 LH III Proposed Shrines (Table by author; Marakas 2010, 17).

[106] Schallin 2002, 152.
[107] Marakas 2010, 17.

Sites were georeferenced and plotted on ArcGIS. It is worth noting that these sites are also included in the distribution analysis conducted in the next chapter. Distribution density is measured and represented according to a ranking, wherein a range of kylix fragments is given a weighted number. That ranking can be seen in Table 3.4 (the ranges were borrowed from the distribution analysis in the next chapter). Shrines with no kylikes ("0") are represented by white dots, while shrines with kylikes ("1" onwards) are represented by blue dots.

Ranking	No. of Fragments
0	0
1	1-4
2	4-10
3	10-50
4	50-100
6	200-300
7	300-400
8	400-500
31	2800-2900

Table 3.4 Site Ranker (Rankings by author).

Of the 21 LH IIIB-IIIC shrines that Marakas explored, kylikes were found, in varying quantities, at 18 sites.[108] Kylikes were, according to her research, definitely absent from Eleusis, Delphi, and Thermon. Marakas also includes the Megaron Complex at Midea. However, Midea could potentially be discounted from that list, as a recent excavation report, perhaps unavailable when she studied the site, does have some catalogued kylikes from the Megaron Complex.[109] Conversely, sites like Amyklai and Aphaia have produced considerably greater amounts of material, in terms of votive offerings and drinking vessels, than most settlements or shrines frequented during the LH IIIB period.[110] In terms of overall quantity, Aphaia boasts an

[108] Marakas 2010, 122.
[109] Walberg 2007.
[110] Marakas 2010, 79.

impressive 698 terracottas and 193 kylikes that, according to Marakas, confirm the shrine's importance.[111]

By contrast then the fragments from Mt. Lykaion are certainly noteworthy. Approximately 130 diagnostic kylix sherds have been selected to allow for relatively secure dating, along typological lines (Refer to Appendix C). They represent a fraction of more than 500+ kylix sherds in total. Again, it should be stressed that many of the fragments are small and

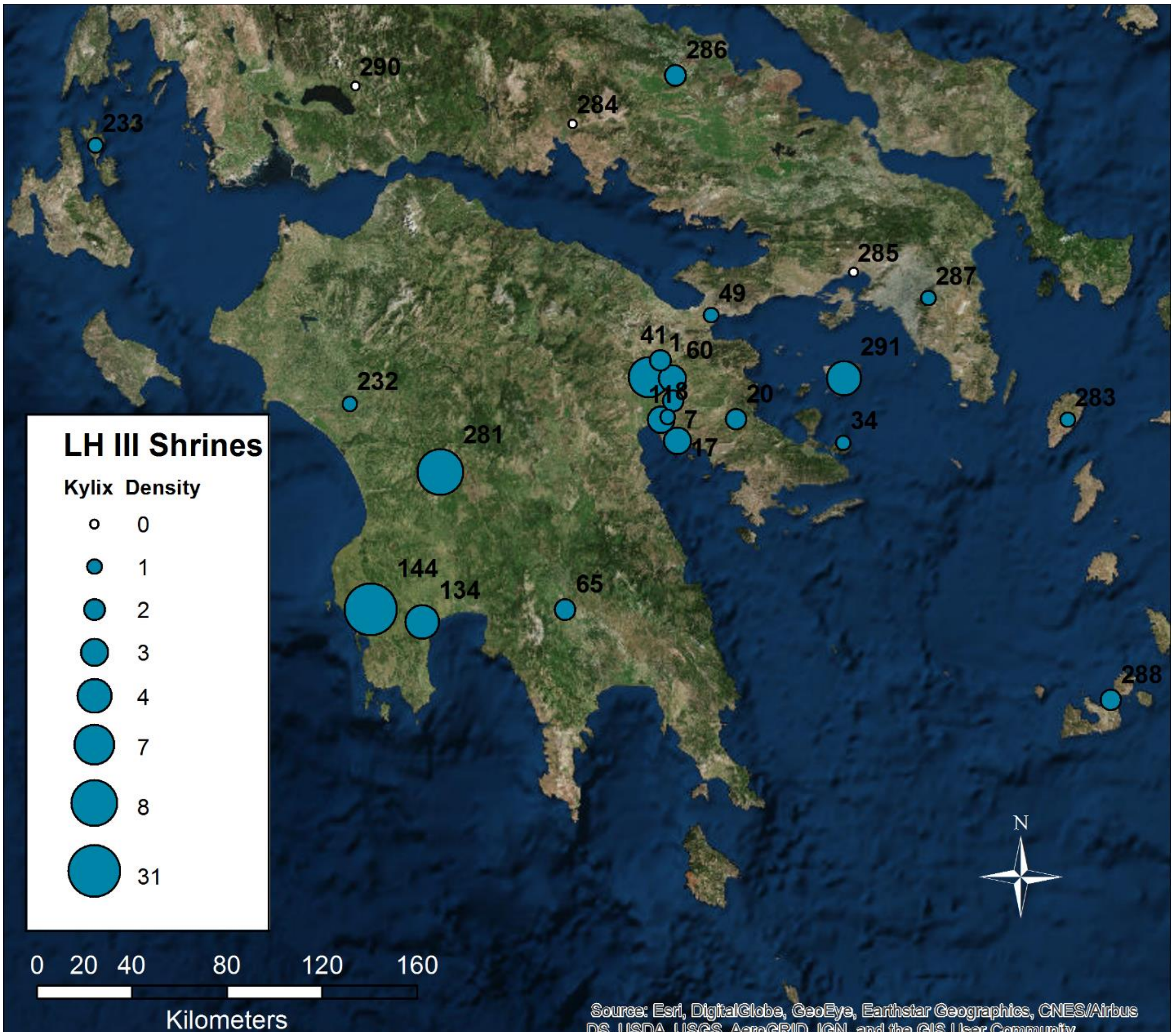

Figure 3.1 Map of LH III shrines, showing site numbers and kylix distribution density (Map by author).

[111] Marakas 2010, 27-28.

some may belong to the same vessel so the numbers may be deceptive. But, even so, within Arkadia there are only a handful of sites with kylikes attested to them. Of 57 known Mycenaean sites in Arkadia, apart from Mt. Lykaion, kylix fragments have been found in very limited quantities at 14 sites.[112]A number of interesting points can be made about the distribution and distribution densities of kylikes across Mycenaean shrines. That the distribution of kylikes is spread across most known shrines supports the suggestion that the vessel is useful in the identification of ritual activity. The distribution density also does not seem unimportant (to be discussed in the next chapter) as the overwhelming majority of sites where kylikes are found exhibit 10 sherds or fewer. So, that the density of the average Peloponnesian shrine is slightly higher is significant. Moreover, distribution density could be said to correlate with the frequency and intensity of ritual activity. So, sites with higher densities denote either greater participation in ritual or greater frequency of ritual practice. At some sites, like Pylos and Mycenae where the densities are markedly higher than other shrines, it could be both. The map allows for another conclusion to be drawn: Mt. Lykaion (Fig. 3.1; site no. 281)[113] has a higher density than one would probably expect, with a calculated value of 8. That fact may be indicative of the shrine's importance.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter Mt. Lykaion's ritual practice was qualified against an established framework and its place among other shrines quantified, by way of a distribution analysis. The next step is to settle the matter of whether or not assumptions about the site's cache of kylikes

[112] Howell 1970, 79-127; Hope Simpson 1965, 37-42; Σαλαβουρα 2015, 448-449, 696-697.

are warranted. This and more is addressed in the next chapter, with the goal of further clarifying Mt. Lykaion's shrine identification.

Chapter 4: Late Helladic Distribution Analysis and Site Ranker

4.1 Overview

In the final sections of the last chapter it was established that the kylix is found at nearly all Mycenaean shrines. But, Anne-Louise Schallin notes that the kylix is, in general, the most frequently found ceramic shape in LH III contexts.[114] While the kylix is widely distributed across sites, this chapter shows that it is only found in large quantities at a select few sites and its presence at those sites confirms its specialized role. This chapter deconstructs the popular view that the kylix was the Dixie cup of the Mycenaean world.[115] Instead, this chapter seeks to advance Galaty's view that the vessel was mass-produced not because it was common but because it was important. It will also be shown that assumptions about the kylix's ritual associations are well-founded.[116]

4.2 Methodology

In this chapter I show that the kylix's distribution at shrines is significant. To demonstrate this I compare the assemblage of kylikes at Mt. Lykaion and the assemblages from other shrines with those from non-sacred sites. In order to do so, I map kylix distribution across LH III sites as a basis for comparison for the vessel's distribution density across the same sites. Doing so allows us to highlight the distinction between sacred and non-sacred sites.

Ultimately, it should be possible to observe macro-patterns. The analysis outlined above will be addressed in several stages. In the first part, a select portion of LH III Greece is reconstructed and Mt. Lykaion placed in it. Secondly, the broad distribution of kylikes across the LH III Peloponnese and its neighboring islands is explored. Third, distribution density is taken

[114] Schallin 2002, 152.
[115] Galaty 2010, 236.
[116] Galaty 2010, 236.

into consideration to further isolate patterns that a simple distribution analysis might not highlight.

4.2.1 Site Selection

The chronological scope for this distribution analysis is built around the typological lifespan of the kylix. Use of the vessel extends from LH IIIA through LH IIIC, or from approximately the mid-15th c. BCE to the mid-11th c. BCE. As a result, LH IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC sites were singled out for inclusion.

I have taken fully into account two important books in compiling a comprehensive list of LH III Mycenaean sites. The greater part of the information presented in this analysis (for all regions besides Arkadia) is derived from Richard Hope Simspon's *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites* (1965). Ελενη Σαλαβουρα's book *Μυκηναικη Αρκαδια* (2010) was similarly indispensable as it represents the most thorough investigation of Mycenaean sites, settlements, and assemblages in Arkadia yet assembled. The extent to which I relied on the work of these two authors is apparent in the following pages.

All sites identified by the authors as having material evidence datable to LH III (general) or the specific period(s) of LH IIIA and/or LH IIIB were marked for inclusion. Sites that were founded in and/or only exhibited material evidence for LH IIIC have been, for the present, excluded from consideration. They were excluded on the grounds that their late start would disqualify them from being compared to Mt. Lykaion, which primarily has evidence for earlier activity. Sites that could only be narrowed down as broadly belonging to LH were similarly not considered – the assumption was that the kylix is a distinct enough vessel that its discovery would have permitted a more precise, secure date for context material beyond just LH. In total, 291 sites from LH III were selected.

4.2.2 Study area

Mt. Lykaion is situated in the SW portion of Arkadia, the middle region of the Peloponnese, which was geographically at the center of the Mycenaean world. As a result, sites from the Peloponnese were prioritized and comprise the majority of sites examined. Sites from the islands of Ithaka, Kythera, Hydra, and Poros were also included since Hope Simpson considered them in his gazetteer to be extensions of the Peloponnesian regions of Achaia, Lakonia, and the Argolid, respectively.

Other areas that Marakas considered for her study of shrines are similarly included. They include the following: Aigina, Melos, Keos, Boiotia, and Attica.

4.2.3 Distribution and Ranking

To ascertain the full extent of the kylix's distribution across the study area every lead that could be followed was pursued. In Hope Simpson's geographical index each Mycenaean site is paired with one or more bibliographic entries. If Hope Simpson did not explicitly mention a kylix and/or its quantity at a site the bibliographic entries were then referenced. If a bibliographic entry belonged to any of the following sources it was then thoroughly reviewed for further information:

- *AJA* — *The American Journal of Archaeology*
- *BCH* — *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*
- *Hesperia* — *The American School of Classical Studies in Athens*
- *JHS* — *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- *RE Suppl.* — *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- *AA* — *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
- *A. Delt.* — *Archaiologikon Deltion*
- *BSA* — *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- *Alin* — *Das Ende der Mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem GrieschischenFestland*
- *Desborough* — *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*
- *JHSArch* — *Journal of Hellenic Studies: Archaeological Reports*

Because the kylix is important enough that it is generally mentioned among pottery/ceramic finds by archaeologists, if a kylix was not mentioned specifically in an excavation report it was then determined to be 'not present' at that site.[117]

Once it was determined whether or not a kylix was present at a site there was the matter of quantifying its presence. It should be said that fragments were counted and quantified, and not whole vessels. Neither Hope Simpson 50 years ago nor the archaeologists 50 years before him, whose work he relied upon for his gazetteer, could have guessed the way in which their work would be used for this study and as such his profiles for sites, as well as their descriptions, are often plagued with imprecision.

A precise number of sherds could be ascertained for most sites. However, coding was necessary for some sites. For convenience and consistency's sake, a few principles were developed and strictly adhered to. If "several" kylix fragments were present at a site that was approximated to 4 fragments. If "some" kylix fragments were present at a site that was considered to be less than 10 fragments but more than 4. Then, if it was clear that kylix fragments were at a site but their quantity was left undefined then it was again taken to be less than 10 but more than 4. In my research few published sites had more than 10 catalogued fragments attached to them. So 10 seemed to be a fair cap for sites with an undefined quantity. The ranking system can be referenced in Table 4.1 (below).

[117] Hope Simpson 1965, 81-89; unfortunately two journals - *To Ergon tes Archaiologikes Etaireias* and *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias* - that Richard Hope Simpson used in his research, particularly for the regions of Elis and Achaia, were not accessible.

Ranking	No. of Fragments
0	0
1	1-4
2	4-10
3	10-50
4	50-100
6	200-300
7	300-400
8	400-500
31	2800-2900

Table 4.1 Site Ranker (Ranking by author).

4.3 LH III Mycenaean Greece and Topography

Sitting at 291 sites, the map is as complete a view as possible of LH III Mycenaean Greece (Fig. 4.1; please refer to Appendix A for more detailed site information). What follows is an overview of observable site distribution patterns, which will help facilitate discussion in the next two parts of this analysis.

Distribution patterns are explored here broadly and in sections. The same principles that Hope Simpson followed in his gazetteer are applied here.[118] Sections correspond to the relevant divisions of Greece during the later historical periods and the general geographic clustering of Mycenaean sites. While the sections are, in part, arbitrary, they are used here primarily for convenience. They do not reflect the way the Mycenaeans divided the land.[119]

The Argolid and Korinthia

The Argolid is a verdant and fertile area. The region's southern and western borders are defined by the foothills of Mt. Parnon as well as the ranges of Lyrkeion and Ktenios, which make for formidable natural barriers.[120] The Argolid's most important topographical feature is

[118] Hope Simpson 1965, 6.
[119] Hope Simpson 1965, 6.
[120] Mountjoy 1999, 60.

the Argive plain. Mycenaean occupation of the Argolid was dense in this area during LH III. The sites of Tiryns, Asine, and Lerna must have been chosen to exploit the lowland plain that was, and still is, well-suited for cultivation.[121] Occupation was densest in the Argive plain but settlements and shrines have been found in the surrounding hills as well. To the north, river valleys permitted access northward to the Korinthia.[122]

Mt. Kyllene defines the Korinthia's western border. The interior of the Korinthia is principally comprised of the plain of Korinth (in the north) as well as some narrow coastal plains in the eastern part of the region.[123] The Korinthia was not as densely populated as the Argolid and Mycenaean occupation primarily consisted of small, scattered settlements along the coast, in the low-lying foothills, and along the Isthmus in the north.[124]

Elis and Achaia

The region of Elis mainly consists of coastal plains that run down the west coast of the Peloponnese. The Erymanthos range in Elis' east, the Maenolon range, which penetrates into Arkadia, in the south-east, and the Minthi range in south are the region's borders.[125] The region has two large and prominent rivers, the Peneios and the Alpheios. They, in turn, have a number of important tributaries attached to them, notably the Erymanthos and the Ladon.[126] The sites that have been found in the region are either along the coast or in the eastern foothills. It is worth noting that occupation of this region was not as dense as the other regions considered – most of

[121] Hope Simpson 1965, 6.
[122] Mountjoy 1999, 60.
[123] Mountjoy 1999, 197.
[124] Mountjoy 1999, 399.
[125] Mountjoy 1999, 365.
[126] Mountjoy 1999, 365.

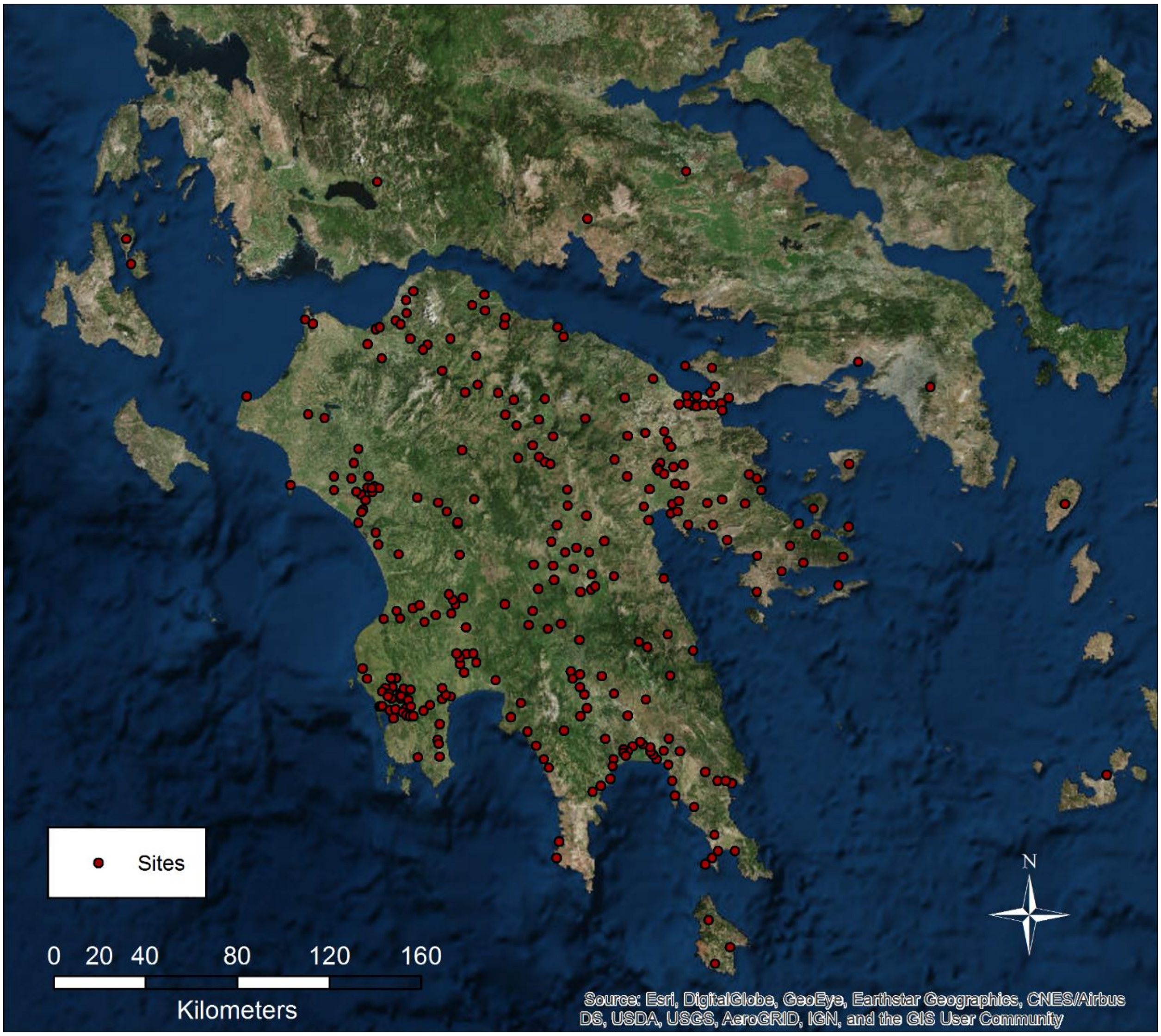

Figure 4.1 LH III Sites (Map by author).

the sites recorded for Elis from LH III are tombs. Hope Simpson states that while the large plain of Elis was probably fertile in the Late Bronze Age, it was unsuitable for "primitive agriculture (and to bronze ploughs, etc.)."[127]

Achaia is primarily a mountainous region. The Panachaikon and Chelmos ranges are formidable natural barriers that do not permit easy access inland.[128] The region has some plains, notably near the major Selinous and Vouraikos rivers which run down the north coast. The most

[127] Hope Simpson 1965, 7.
[128] Mountjoy 1999, 399.

fertile regions are near Aigion and Patras. Occupation was limited in Achaia and largely confined to the region's north coast and the small plains, river valleys in the Mt. Erymanthos range.[129]

Messenia

Messenia is a region with high fertility. The most important sites, mainly settlements, have been found clustered around the fertile plains of Osmanaga, as well as the Alpheios and Pamisos valleys.[130] Mycenaean occupation of Messenia during LH III was dense. Additionally, the region is ideally positioned to take advantage of the greater rainfall of the western Peloponnese. The Peloponnese can be separated, broadly, into wetter and drier halves with the Erymanthos/Taygetos watershed serving as the dividing line.[131] The Mycenaeans in Messenia benefited from the wetter conditions. For example, perennial springs are abound in Messenia, more so than in other regions, and evidence for many of the region's smaller sites/settlements have been found in these areas.

Arkadia

Arkadia is the mountainous region in the central Peloponnese. It is bounded on all sides by mountains. It is bordered on the north by Achaea and the Korinthia, on the west by Elis, on the east by Argolis, and in the south by Lakonia and Messenia. Arkadia's topography served to divide it from both the other Peloponnesian regions as well between subsidiary zones within its own borders. The dividing line between Arkadia and the regions of Achaia and the Korinthia are natural ones. The Erymanthos and Kyllene mountains are a formidable natural barrier between separating north from south. Internally, the topography of Arkadia dictates that it be divided into

[129] Mountjoy 1999, 399.
[130] Hope Simpson 1965, 7.
[131] Hope Simpson 1965, 7.

two subsidiary zones. The western half of the region is rugged and mountainous, making it ideal for pastoralism. Conversely, eastern Arkadia is marked by its high, arable plains. According to J.A.O. Larsen, the eastern half boasts the best land in the mountainous region.[132] Arkadia, as a whole, is plagued by erratic rainfall making it difficult to grow much there. There are no olive trees because of the region's high elevation and low temperatures.[133]Although the region was landlocked in antiquity the navigable Ladon, Alpheios, and Neda Rivers permitted access to the west coast of the Peloponnese.[134]

4.4 Kylix Distribution across LH III Greece

Site distribution patterns can be seen to broadly correlate well to fit the topography of each region. In the regions of Messenia, the Korinthia, the Argolid, Lakonia, most of Elis, and eastern Arkadia sites are clustered in and around their respective region's arable farmland. Sites in these areas penetrate into the foothills as well but are well removed from the sites on the plains. Only in Achaia is the picture markedly different as site distribution seems to be spread across the Panachaikon and Chelmos mountain ranges – this may be attributable to the region being largely devoid of suitable land for cultivation.

While the distribution of sites can, in most cases, be easily assessed, it was not clear what, if any, patterns would be gleaned from mapping the distribution of kylikes across the selected 291 sites. If distribution is related to function then one would reasonably expect to be able to observe macro-patterns in the kylix's distribution. Evidence for the kylix at each of the 291 sites was explored and a map illustrating its presence or absence created (Fig. 4.2; red

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[132] Larsen 1968, 180.
[133] Fields 2001, 110.
[134] Larsen 1968, 180.

indicates “present” at that site, blue indicates “absent”, and green denotes “not enough information”).

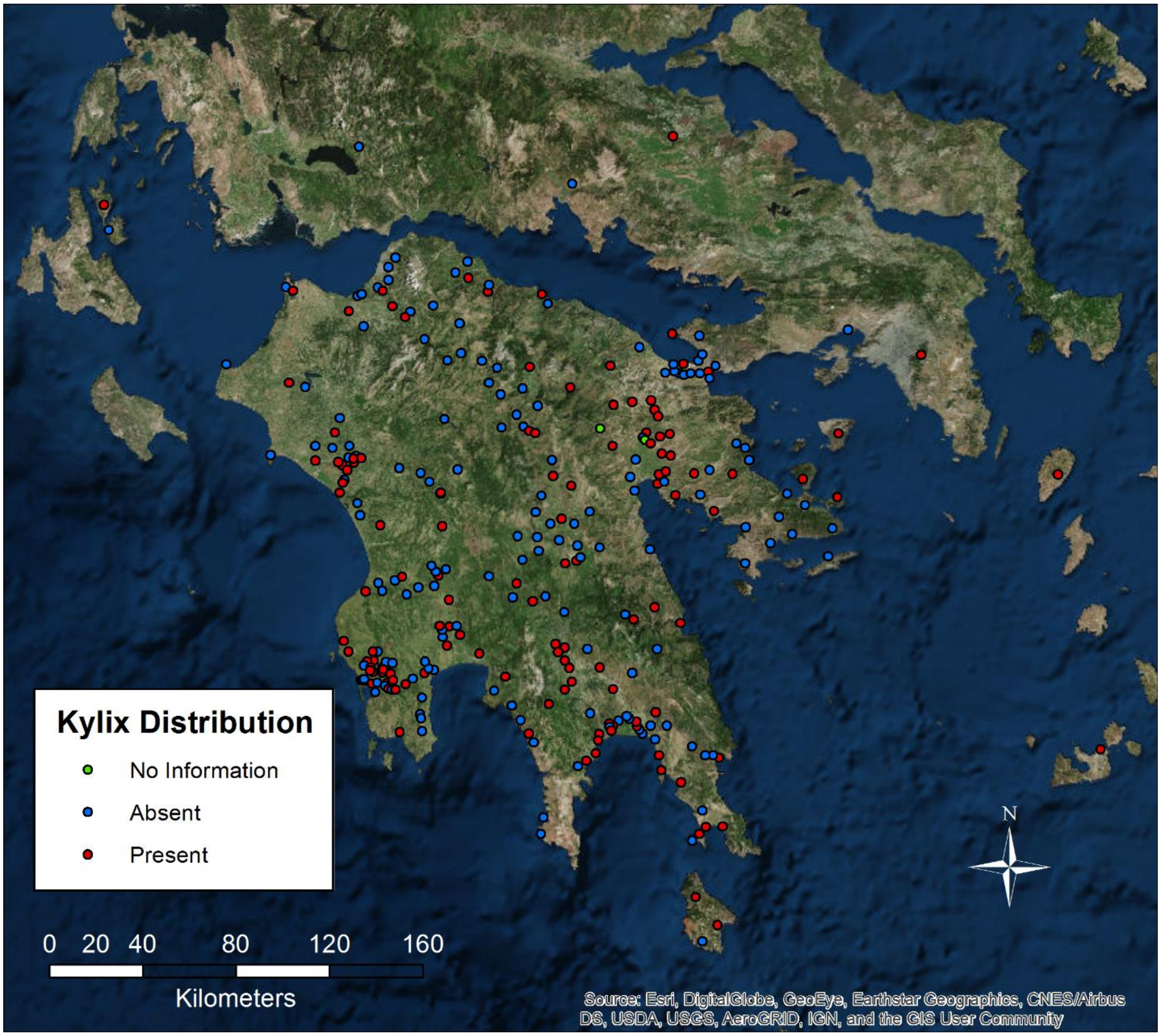

Figure 4.2 Kylix Distribution (Map by author).

Figure 4.2 highlights several distribution patterns. Perhaps the most important pattern that is discernible is that there are clear clusters of sites with kylikes, in close proximity to one another, in the most densely settled areas of the Peloponnese: the Argive plain, the coastal plain north of the Osmanaga lagoon and Messenian plains in Messenia, the Eurotas river valley, and southern Elis. Interestingly, but perhaps not all that surprising owing to their isolated locations, is that fragments do not seem to be found at sites in the most mountainous areas: while a good many sites are scattered across the Panachaikon and Chelmos ranges kylix fragments do not seem to be evidenced at the overwhelming majority. Also of note is the vessel's prevalence along some well-known routes; notably, sites leading from the heart of the Eurotas river valley across Mt. Taygetos and the Langada pass all seem to have fragments attested. Many of the patterns became more pronounced once the sites' densities were added.

4.5 Kylix Distribution Density across LH III Greece

Once the density ranking was factored in, clearer patterns emerged (Figure 4.3). A majority of sites with kylikes – 112 out of 124 - had 10 fragments or less attributed to them. Twelve sites had more than that and they are as follows: Tiryns, Kastraki (Asine), Zygouries, Korakou, Berbati, Tsoungiza, Ayios Stephanos, Nichoria, the Menelaion, Mycenae, Pylos, and Mt. Lykaion. In this section reasons for the high distribution densities observed at these sites are explored.

Excluding Mt. Lykaion (Arkadia) for the time being since it is an outlier, the remaining 10 sites belong to one of four regions: Messenia, the Argolid, the Korinthia, and Lakonia are represented on the list. A good deal is known about the ceramic systems of Messenia, the Argolid, and, to an extent, Lakonia permitting us to say a few things about kylix distribution in those regions.

Pylos and Messenia, at-large, owing to a veritable wealth of archaeological material and Linear B evidence, have been thoroughly studied and, as such, make for an ideal starting point.[135] Galaty's research has led him to several observable conclusions about the Messenian ceramic system: "pots were 1) manufactured and distributed at several different regional scales; 2) consumed in similar contexts; and 3) were variously important to political economies."[136]

[135] Galaty 2010, 240.
[136] Galaty 2010, 231.

There is not much evidence for domestic pottery production in Messenia during LH III. It seems to have been the case that several, large workshops were responsible for pottery production and distribution. Rather than make their own, Galaty argues that the average LH III Messenian must have preferred to buy or trade for their pottery.[137] Specific to our purposes, among the repertoire of vessel types, the kylix was the most mass-produced.[138]

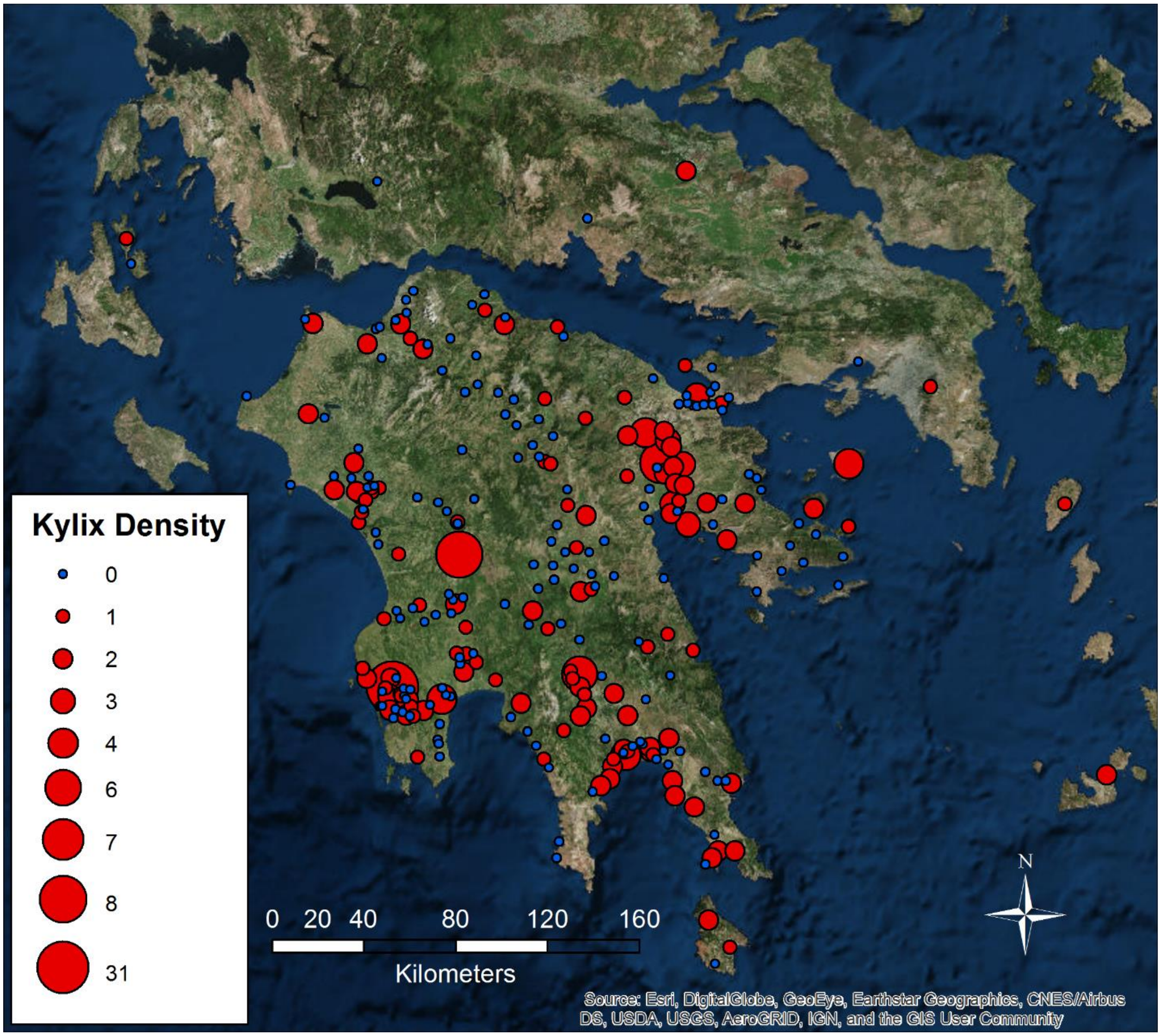

Figure 4.3 Kylix Distribution Density (Map by author).

[137] Galaty 2010: 236.
[138] Galaty 2010, 236; Hruby 2006, 208.

Galaty singles out the kylix as one of a select few vessel types marked as important for feasting by the palace at Pylos, which may have attempted to exercise control over the vessel's distribution.[139] He deduced that in Messenia and the Pylian state fine-ware, kaolinite kylikes were prestige goods, likely sought after by groups with aristocratic aspirations.[140] Kaolinite kylikes were the next best thing to precious metal kylikes, the ownership of which marked elite status.[141] These would have been used in palace-sponsored feasts – a fact evidenced by the vessel having been stored in rooms at Pylos by the hundreds (Fig. 4.3). At Pylos, several vessel forms like the goblet, angular bowl, krater, and, most notably, the kylix comprise the bulk of material associated with feasting, indicating an emphasis on drinking in feasts.[142] It is worth cursorily noting though that other evidence for feasting at Pylos survives in the form of burned animal bones. Beyond drinking vessels, the remains of domesticated animals that were slaughtered, prepared, dedicated and consumed at feasts represent the best direct evidence for the practice.[143] Feasting afforded the palace opportunities to craft useful relationships and alliances and, as such, admittance was an indication of power and status.[144]

Coarser, red kylikes made out illitic clays have been found in large quantities at nearby sites, like Nichoria, and seem to indicate, according to Galaty, feasting was sponsored on a smaller, less-grandiose level to cement community bonds.[145] There is Linear B evidence, like PY Un 718, to support the idea that feasting was practiced at other secondary and tertiary sites.[146] In the context of Pylos and Nichoria – the two sites from the region with the highest distribution

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[139] Galaty 2010, 232.
[140] Galaty 2010, 238.
[141] Galaty 2010, 238; Bendall 2004, 122-123.
[142] Wright 2004a, 170.
[143] Wright 2004a, 172.
[144] Wright 2004a, 136; Hayden 2001, 29-35.
[145] Galaty 2010, 237.
[146] Galaty 2010, 237.

densities – the vessel can be understood, with its strong association to feasting, to have connoted a specialized, political meaning.

Outside of Messenia, research suggests that the ceramic systems of other regions functioned in the same way.[147] Large workshops were responsible for production and distribution. Indeed, in the Argolid and the Korinthia (the valley of Cleonae specifically), two of the sites with high distribution densities –Berbati and Zygouries – are known to have been prominent ceramic production centers.[148] Among the other sites from the Argolid, the palaces have the highest distribution of kylikes. An explanation for the vessel's distribution at Mycenae and Tiryns can probably be inferred from the discussion of Pylos: they were reserved for feasting.[149] But, kylikes have also been observed in large quantities in the designated shrine spaces at the palaces. At Mycenae kylikes were recovered from the Room with the Fresco complex, the Temple, and the Tsountas House Shrine. The same can be observed at Midea and Tiryns.[150] The division of sacred and non-sacred space is clearer at these palaces, than at Pylos. The kylix being represented in large quantities in both spheres is strongly suggestive of multivalent functionality, ritual and political – a point also argued by Galaty.[151] Surveying the other sites from the Argolid with high distribution densities the other one that stands out is Tsoungiza. The situation at Tsoungiza might also be explained by way of a Messenian analog. There is direct-evidence for feasting at the site, which, like Nichoria, is a fitting explanation for the quantity of kylikes observed at the site.[152]

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[147] Galaty 2010, 240.
[148] Blegen 1928, 170-174; Schallin 2002, 141-155; Åkerström 1968, 48-53.
[149] Wright 2004a, 154; Galaty 2010, 240.
[150] Marakas 2010, 74-76.
[151] Galaty 2010, 237.
[152] Galaty 2010, 237; Dabney et al. 2004, 77.

Mycenaean Lakonia and the Korinthia have never enjoyed the same privileged place in scholarship as Messenia or the Argolid as information from these regions is, in general, more scant. But, if the examples of Nichoria and Tsoungiza are any guide then the assemblages of kylikes observed at the Menelaion, Ayios Stephanos, and Korakou probably are associated with public feasting.

High distribution density seems to correlate well with sites that are strongly associated with feasting and, in the case of palaces from the Argolid, shrines. The kylix's strong representation in palatial and sacred contexts would seem to further confirm Galaty's assertion that the kylix was important, insofar as it had multivalent functionality: it was an important vessel with clear ritual and political-economic purposes.[153]

Moreover, while the vessel is distributed across more than 100 of the sites considered, that fewer than 10 fragments are evidenced at most locations does not seem large enough a sample to indicate, to me, widespread domestic use. It seems most likely that the vessel had a specialized function at these sites as well. As an interesting note, Mt. Lykaion is the highest elevated site in the Peloponnese with a cache of kylikes attested to – the fact may further speak to its shrine character.

4.6 Conclusion

As it regards Mt. Lykaion, high kylix distribution density at sites strongly associated with feasting is not insignificant. In fact, it is tempting to say that in areas where kylikes are found in large quantities feasting should be taken as the primary reason for their distribution there. Returning to a point made last chapter, in considering "why" a site should be considered a shrine

[153] Galaty 2010, 236.

location and assemblage of material are of paramount purpose. This chapter further confirms the hypothesis that Mt. Lykaion’s assemblage of kylikes is indicative of ritual feasting.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Given the breadth of all that has been covered, it is prudent to consider how the information thus covered responds to the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. While the shrine character of the site has now been satisfactorily clarified, in the sections that follow I will categorically enumerate this thesis' findings for the two remaining main research questions:

- Can connections between Mt. Lykaion and another nearby site or sites be ascertained from the extant pottery evidence?
- Based on the high volume of Mycenaean pottery at Mt. Lykaion, what are the implications for its importance in LH III and its association with the wider region?

5.1 Connections between Mt. Lykaion and Other Sites

Some of the LH III pottery consumed at the ash altar at Mt. Lykaion was likely produced nearby.[154] Kordatzaki et al. found that clay belonging to some of the site's vessels could have been sourced from nearby lowlands, but they advocate for exercising extreme caution in assigning a provenance for the site's pottery.[155] The simple truth is that, owing to the information that is presently available, it is very difficult to ascertain a connection between Mt. Lykaion and another nearby site or sites. However, pottery evidence does, more broadly, allow for some inferences to be made about connections between Mt. Lykaion and nearby areas. Three kylix fragments from Mt. Lykaion suggest one such connection: C-Z-97-08, C-Z-58-03, C-Z-99-01 (Fig. 5.1). These monochrome sherds, belonging to angular kylikes, Furumark Shape (FS) 267, point to a Lakonian origin.

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[154] Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 529; while not produced at the site, among the kylikes from Mt. Lykaion a "local" category has been identified (Kordatzaki et al. 2016).
[155] Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 529.

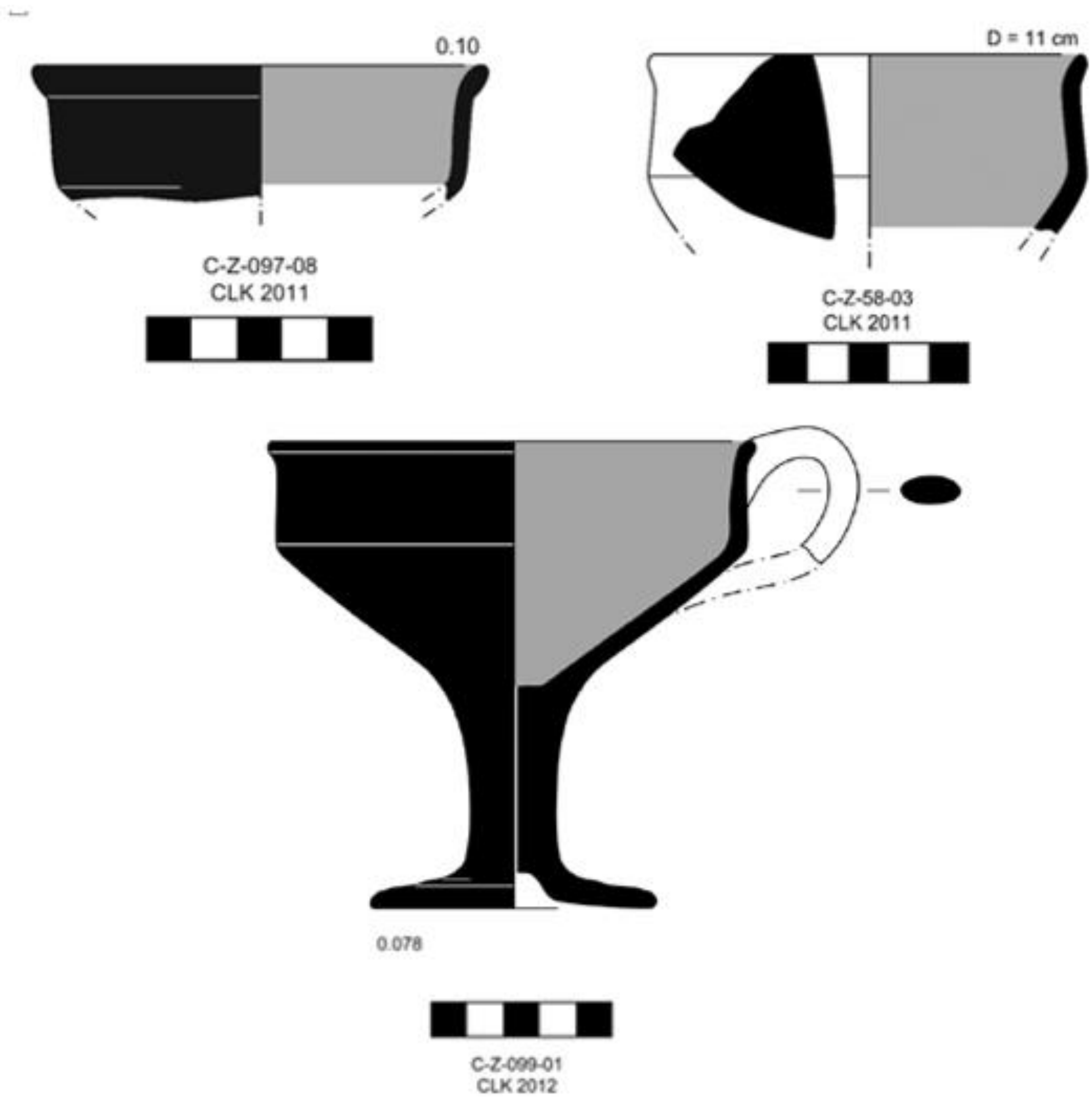


Figure 5.1 Monochrome Kylix Fragments from Mt. Lykaion (Credit: Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 599-600).

The angular kylix first appears at the end of LH IIB, becomes popular in LH IIIA, and ultimately winds up as one of the most common vessels in Mycenaean Greece by LH IIIB1.[156] Until the end of LH IIIB the angular kylix is generally unpainted.[157] After LH IIIB, linear and solidly painted examples do become more common in LH IIIC.[158] However, monochrome is the

[156] Thomas 2011, 297.
[157] Wardle 1969, 288.
[158] Thomas 2011, 297.

norm in Lakonia (orange-brown paint; brown to black paint) in all periods.[159] Up until recently, scant few notable monochrome examples have been found outside of Lakonia: a single fragment from Phylakopi, others from Achaia, and a few questionable fragments from Midea (they are either monochrome or just partly coated) comprise the body of notable examples outside the region.[160]

Compared to the paucity of distinctly Lakonian fragments from non-Lakonian sites the monochrome angular kylix is relatively well-represented at Mt. Lykaion.[161] Indeed two examples from Ayios Stephanos (Fig. 5.2; nos. 3143 and 3144) pair well with the fragments recovered from Mt. Lykaion.[162] Moreover, the fragments from Mt. Lykaion, selected for discussion here, are a fraction of approximately 25 cataloged from the site. Together, these fragments permit one of two assumptions to be drawn: either Mt. Lykaion's monochrome kylikes were brought from Lakonia to the site's ash altar or Arkadian potters were familiar with a distinctly Lakonian ceramic tradition and were copying it. Both assumptions bear the presupposition that there were clearly established lines of communication between Arkadia (SW Arkadia, at least) and Lakonia. This, of course, cannot simply be considered a foregone conclusion as just 50 years ago the general consensus was that Arkadia "would have been cut off to some extent from the main

[159] Mountjoy 2008, 316.
[160] Mountjoy 2008, 316; Vitale 2006, 184.
[161] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 590.
[162] Mountjoy 2008, 316.

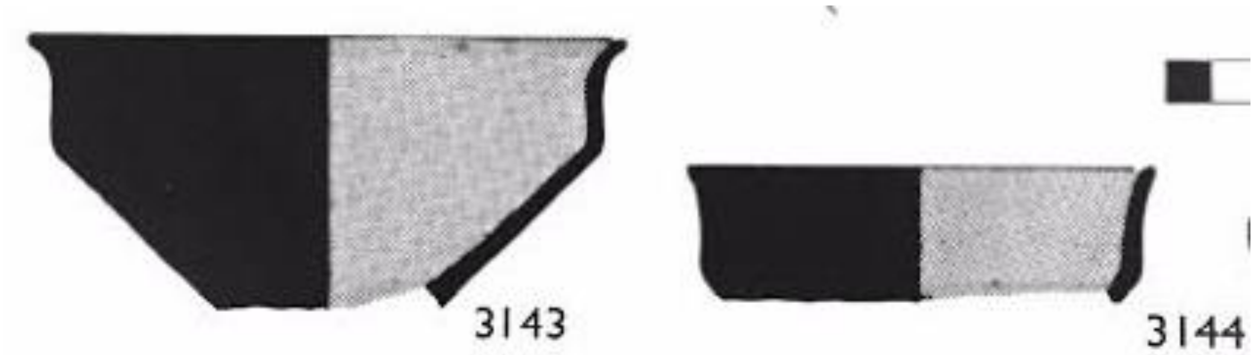


Figure 5.2 Monochrome Kylix Fragments from Ayios Stephanos (Credit: Mountjoy 2008, 316).

Mycenaean trade and prosperity."[163] The evidence is strongly indicative that there was an established line of communication running SE-NW (more to come in the next section).

It would seem appropriate, for the time being, to conclude that some connections can be discerned from the extant pottery evidence. But, given how typology and decoration have been key in discerning said-connections, it is important to note there are limitations to that kind of analysis. For instance, there is no kylix fragment from the site that can be judged, by decoration alone, as having come from Messenia, the Korinthia, or the Argolid.

5.2 Mt. Lykaion's Association with the Wider Region

As was shown in **Chapter 4** (Fig. 4.1), a majority of sites in the regions of Messenia, the Korinthia, the Argolid, Lakonia, most of Elis, and eastern Arkadia are clustered in and around arable farmland. But, little consideration has been given to sites located on the periphery. To that end, within a radius of 50 km from Mt. Lykaion and well-removed from good, arable land sit a number of sites: Kalyvia-Pellanes, Belmina, Kerbeni (Kato Melpia), Ayios Nikolaos (Agrilovouno), Ayios Yeoryios (Parapoungion), Loutses (Diavolitsi), Bardaki, Palaiokastro, Kakouraika, Loutra Heraias: Ayios Georgios. These sites can permit some insight into Mt. Lykaion's association with the wider region.

[163] Hope-Simpson 1965, 7.

Of particular note are two sites belonging to Lakonia, Kalyvia-Pellanes and Belmina (Fig 5.3; nos. 133 and 134, respectively). Kalyvia-Pellanes has some beehive-shaped chamber tombs and fine ware pottery attested to it while there is fragmentary evidence for an LH III settlement at Belmina.[164]Belmina, on the SW slopes of Mt. Parnon, is away from the Mycenaean Mycenaean settlements clustered in the Eurotas river valley. The location must have been hand-picked. The question is "why".

An explanation for Belmina's location can be provided though. In the absence of nearby arable land to cultivate, Belmina's position was probably secured through its exploitation of

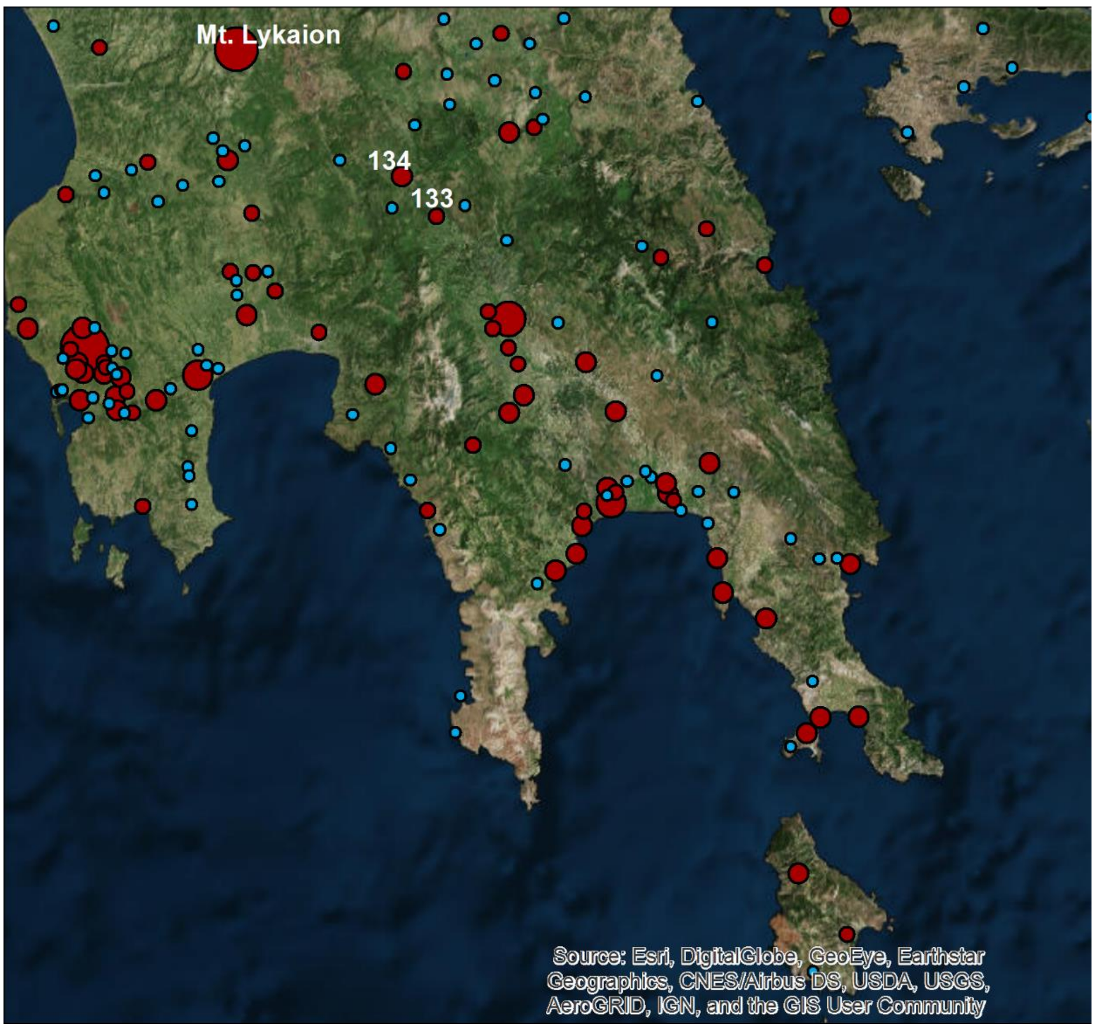


Figure 5.3 Map Showing the Location of Northern Lakonian Sites (Map by author).

[164] Hope Simpson 1965, 49-50.

trade and commerce passing along it by way of a road. The best evidence for Mycenaean road networks survives in the form of "highways", to borrow Simpson and Hagel's nomenclature, or more specifically "roads built for wheeled traffic."[165] And evidence for Mycenaean highways is principally derived from the Argolid and the Mycenae area network as well as a highway between Tiryns and Epidauros.[166] Mycenaean highways from the regions of the Korinthia, Messenia, and Boiotia have also been identified.[167] Beyond that scant little is known. But, Mycenaean roads certainly covered the Peloponnese. W.A. McDonald has gone as far as to argue:

> there are several considerations – political, economic, and military – which indicate that traffic overland was much better developed in the later second millennium B.C. than in the classical period.[168]

Evidence for these roads and highways is just scarce and, in part, because later roads were probably built over them. In that vein, Belmina sits right along what was in later periods a prominent mountain pass, between Mt. Taygetos and Mt. Parnon. This was the pass that, in later periods, the Spartans relied on to invade Arkadia. In the year immediately prior to Megalopolis' creation the Spartans twice in three years invaded SW Arkadia along the route (Pikoulas 1999, 248-319). The Spartans used these routes in 370 BCE for their invasion led by Agesilaos and then again in 368 BCE under the direction of Archidamos.[169] Yanis A. Pikoulas has traced ancient (post-6th c. BCE) Greek road-networks in the area and related them to a number of northern Lakonian settlements, including a Classical settlement by the named of Belemina, in the

[165] Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 144.
[166] Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 144.
[167] Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 144.
[168] McDonald 1964, 218; Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 146.
[169] Roy 1971, 569-599.

approximate location of the LH III settlement.[170] So there a strong basis for the idea that Mycenaean Belmina was positioned to exploit trade along a nearby road. Romano and Voyatzis are actively exploring this idea. They have argued for a route along the Alpheios and Eurotas rivers, running through SW Arkadia and the area of Mt. Lykaion.[171] And to that point, the sites of Bardaki, Palaiokastro, Kakouraika, and Loutra Heraias: Ayios Georgios – all situated along, or in close proximity, to the Alpheios river – lend credence to this idea.

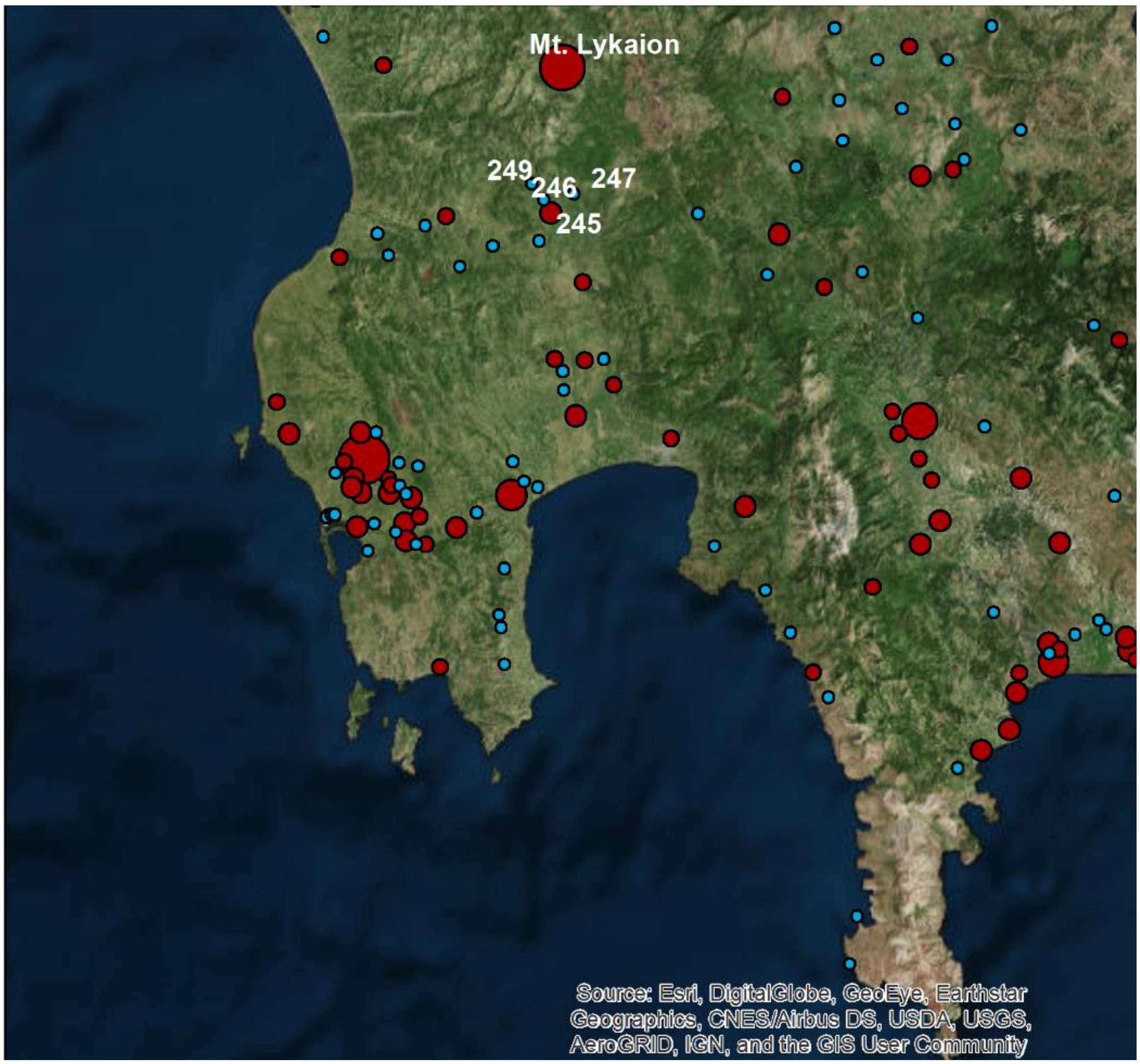


Figure 5.4 Map Showing the Location of Northern Messenian Sites (Map by author).

[170] Pikoulas 1999, 303.
[171] Romano and Voyatzis 2015.

An explanation for the settlement-patterns of the other sites, mentioned at the beginning of the section, would ostensibly be the same. On the border of Messenia, the sites of Krebeni (Kato Melpia), Ayios Nikolaos (Agrilovouno), Ayios Yeoryios (Parapoungion), and Loutses (Diavolitsi) are situated in the upper Pamisos valley (Fig. 5.4; nos. 249, 246, 247, and 245, respectively).[172] Hope Simpson describes Ayios Nikolaos and Krebeni as having probably been important settlements, and their position is along what was, once again, an important mountain pass between Messenia and Arkadia in later periods, the Derveni pass.[173]

5.3 Conclusion

Returning to Mt. Lykaion, the settlement-patterns of Belmina in northern Lakonia and Ayios Nikolaos as well as Krebeni in northern Messenia point to two conclusions. First, it is unlikely that worshippers going to and from Mt. Lykaion were the financial lifeline of these settlements. These settlements probably relied on trade passing by in the form of heavy goods, such as stone and timber.[174]That point segues into the second conclusion, the roads passing by these settlements let out in the same place in Arkadia: the Megalopolis Basin. The assemblage of kylikes from Mt. Lykaion, some of a distinctly Lakonian character, along with a trove of other Mycenaean material across LH IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC support the notion that ritual at the site occurred with some frequency and intensity. This, in turn, points to the significance of the shrine at Mt. Lykaion. What seems likely though, in consideration of settlement-patterns in the larger area, is that some of the significant attention paid to the shrine at Mt. Lykaion was a result of trade and commerce passing through the region and, specifically, the Megalopolis Basin.

[172] Hope Simpson 1965, 75. Hope Simpson elaborates more on the extent of northern Messenia in his newer 2014 book.
[173] Hop Simpson 1965, 74-75.
[174] Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 147.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Synopsis of Research

Romano and Voyatzis in reference to finds retrieved from the ash altar of Mt. Lykaion between 2007-2010 described the material as "consistent with the sort of materials found in Mycenaean cult centers, such as a Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Phylakopi, Maleatas, and Asine."[175] Prominent among these finds was a cache of 500+ kylix fragments, the discovery of which has served as the basis for this thesis.[176] This thesis has explored what the assemblage of kylikes can actually reveal about the character of Mt. Lykaion during the terminal phase of the Bronze Age, LH III. Of principal interest was whether or not the kylix could aid in confirming Mt. Lykaion's identification as a significant Mycenaean shrine. Several lines of inquiry were followed in pursuit of that aim.

To begin with, the primacy of location and assemblage of material in shrine identification was explored.[177] Using Marakas' framework for shrine identification, an open-air, isolated classification was proposed for Mt. Lykaion due to the site's location, removed from a settlement, on a mountaintop along with figurines and large amounts of pottery for ritual drinking.[178] After showing that Mt. Lykaion satisfied enough criteria to earn a positive identification as a shrine, I confirmed that identification through a distribution analysis of kylikes across LH III shrines. 20 shrines identified by Marakas were included in the analysis. Two factors were considered: kylix presence/absence and kylix quantity. The goal was to see high distribution and distribution density across LH III shrines, which, in turn, would permit us to discuss the vessel's specialized function. The results of the analysis showed that among LH III

[175] Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 582.
[176] Romano and Voyatzis, 590-591.
[177] Marakas 2010, 28.
[178] Marakas 2010, 8.

shrines kylikes, and other pottery for ritual drinking, were well-evidenced, appearing in no less than 80% of sites. Moreover, the average distribution density at shrines was shown to be slightly higher than non-shrine sites. But, it was clear that further qualification was needed in order really pinpoint the kylix's importance and, by extension, its utility as a marker for specialized, ritual activity. Thus, I broadened the analysis.

291 LH III sites were identified from a defined study area and plotted. Three products were produced: LH III site distribution, kylix distribution across these LH III sites, and kylix distribution density were all mapped. The results were noteworthy. The results of the distribution density analysis revealed that the quantity of kylikes evidenced at a site was of principal importance. Fewer than half of the sites considered yielded kylikes and among the 124 with evidence for kylikes only 13 sites, including Mt. Lykaion, were found to have more than 10 attested to them. While the finding is important and permits new insight into the character of the site, the results show that kylikes may not be the best indicator for ritual activity. Indeed, while the information presented does seem to allow for the identification of sites with major feasting, the matter of whether or not evidence for feasting is inextricably tied to ritual remains open to interpretation. However, referring back to the importance of location and assemblage of material in shrine identification, a preponderance of evidence strongly supports the conclusion that Mt. Lykaion was an important Mycenaean shrine. Its isolated location, mountaintop location combined with a lack of observable architecture and evidence for feasting (kylikes and calcined bone) is markedly similar to shrines like Amyklai and Aphaia.

Regardless, perhaps the most important result to come out of the suite of analyses conducted for this thesis was a positive identification of Mt. Lykaion as a major Mycenaean site. The assemblage of kylikes from Mt. Lykaion is as significant as any other assemblage of kylikes yet known. This is not an abstraction. The distribution density analysis quantified this connection. In terms of overall volume, Pylos, Mycenae, and Mt. Lykaion yielded the highest densities among all sites considered. This finding in particular is certainly significant. It proves that Mt. Lykaion was a major Mycenaean site.

In the last chapter Mt. Lykaion's association with the wider region was considered. Evidence for intra-regional communication, in the form of roads and settlement distribution, was examined and substantiated. To that end, I argued that SW Arkadia seems to not have been as isolated in the Late Bronze Age as has long been previously presumed. Indeed it seems to have been important, to a degree that further, intensive investigation of the area is warranted.

6.2 Future Work

This thesis has addressed and answered some pressing questions. But, one of the bigger takeaways from it has to be the need for further study. In particular, research in two select areas would be beneficial.

In view of the importance of the shrine at Mt. Lykaion and the settlement-patterns of sites in the broader region it is likely that there is a settlement in the area that has eluded discovery. Few sites discussed in this chapter are close enough to the mountain to permit easy travel in a day. Moreover, owing to the wealth of the material, it is not an analytical leap to conclude that the site was visited regularly. There must be sites in the area of Mt. Lykaion that could have facilitated the administration of this important shrine. Survey work could potentially shed light on this idea.

As Kordatzaki et al. conclude, there is a need for more chemical analyses to be conducted on pottery samples from Mt. Lykaion.[179] As I understand it, one of the difficulties associated

[179] Kordatzaki et al. 2016, 529.

with determining the provenance of clays is that there is not a comprehensive catalog of clay beds and clay-types for the region. Compiling such a catalog would certainly be very worthwhile.

Additionally, the data included in this thesis could go towards creating an interesting Digital Elevation Model (DEM). Numerous Achaian and northern Arkadian sites yielded no kylikes probably because of their remoteness high up in the mountains. Conversely, the kylix is clearly well evidenced at low-lying sites. It would be interesting to see if there was an artificial "tree line" that vessel distribution doesn't rise above. If so, then Mt. Lykaion would certainly be an outlier – it could allow for the site's shrine identification to be further confirmed.

6.3 Contributions and Implications for Greek Archaeology

Several items that were produced for this thesis need to be highlighted. The maps of LH III sites presented in **Chapter 4** (Fig. 4.1) and Appendix A are unique. Despite the considerable work that has gone into identifying Mycenaean sites in the last 50 years, beyond the map produced for Hope Simpson's gazetteer (1965), there is not, to my knowledge, a more complete view of the Mycenaean Peloponnese than the one provided in this thesis. These maps should lend themselves well to further study.

This thesis' deconstruction of the view of the kylix as the Dixie cup of the Mycenaean world is not an insignificant contribution.[180]The kylix can certainly be seen now as an important Mycenaean vessel. But, given that its distribution has been thoroughly mapped here further reconsideration of its function is warranted. It cannot and should not be sweepingly dismissed as an unimportant find at sites. Moreover, the data put forward in this thesis demands that the place

[180] Galaty 2010, 236.

of Mt. Lykaion in pre-history be more intensively scrutinized – it is clearly a site of major importance.

6.4 Mt. Lykaion as a Prototype for Panhellenic Sanctuaries

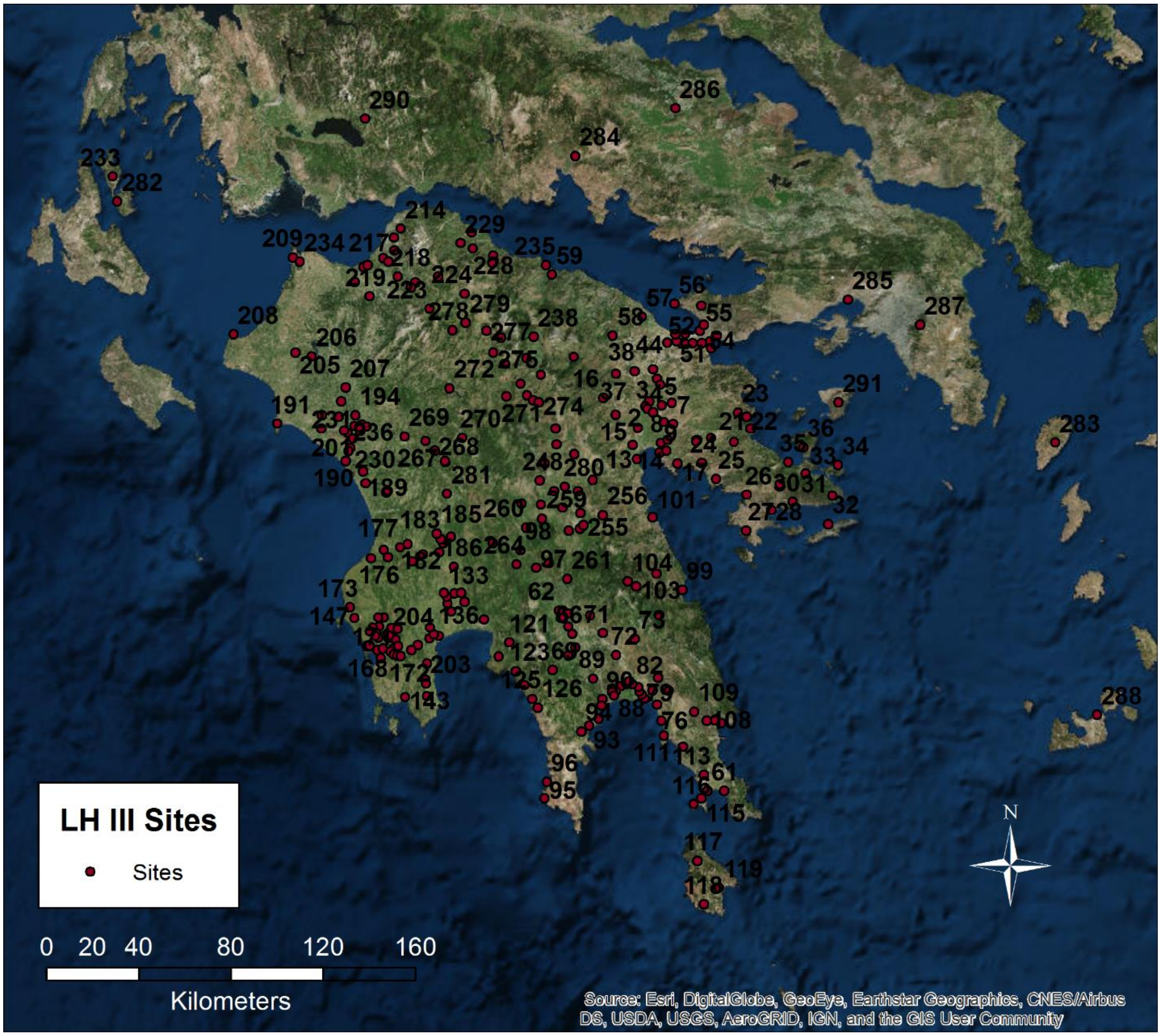
With regards to Mt. Lykaion, it is the stated opinion of this thesis that the assemblage of kylix fragments helps to confirm the site's identification as a Mycenaean shrine. But, it is worth considering whether or not this shrine can be considered a proto-Panhellenic sanctuary.

To that end, let us consider three points. First, the assemblage of kylikes from Mt. Lykaion is large enough that it invites comparison to the most prominent Mycenaean sites of its day, including the palaces. The volume of kylikes suggests that the site was visited regularly and by groups of worshippers. Second, some kylikes are of a distinctly regional style (e.g. Lakonian) suggesting further that worshippers were traveling long distances to feast or perform religious rites at the site. And when one considers that worshippers also had to ascend to the mountaintop, and an elevation of 1382 m, it speaks to a high level of commitment. Third, by looking at settlement and kylix distribution-patterns we established that there is compelling evidence for trade and commerce having passed through the Megalopolis basin, which would have directly impacted the shrine at Mt. Lykaion.

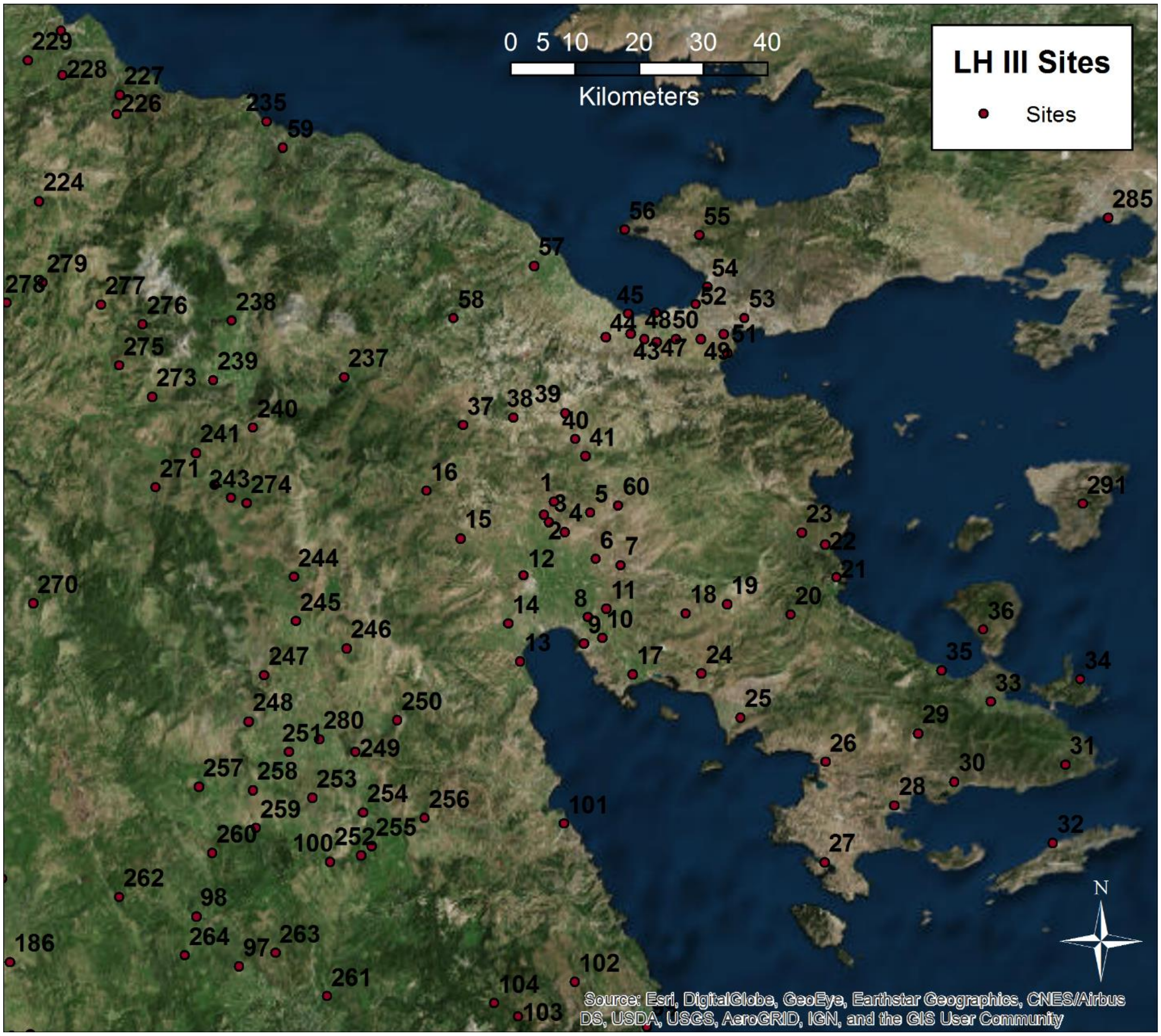
In conclusion, the ceramic evidence, primarily in the form of kylikes, indicates that Mt. Lykaion was a cult place that enjoyed a level of importance that has not been previously recognized. That importance is informed by the multi-regional character of the kylix evidence, its volume, and broader kylix distribution patterns. Together these pieces certainly speak to Mt. Lykaion having functioned as a prototype for Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries during LH III.

APPENDIX A: MAPS OF LH III SITES IN GREECE

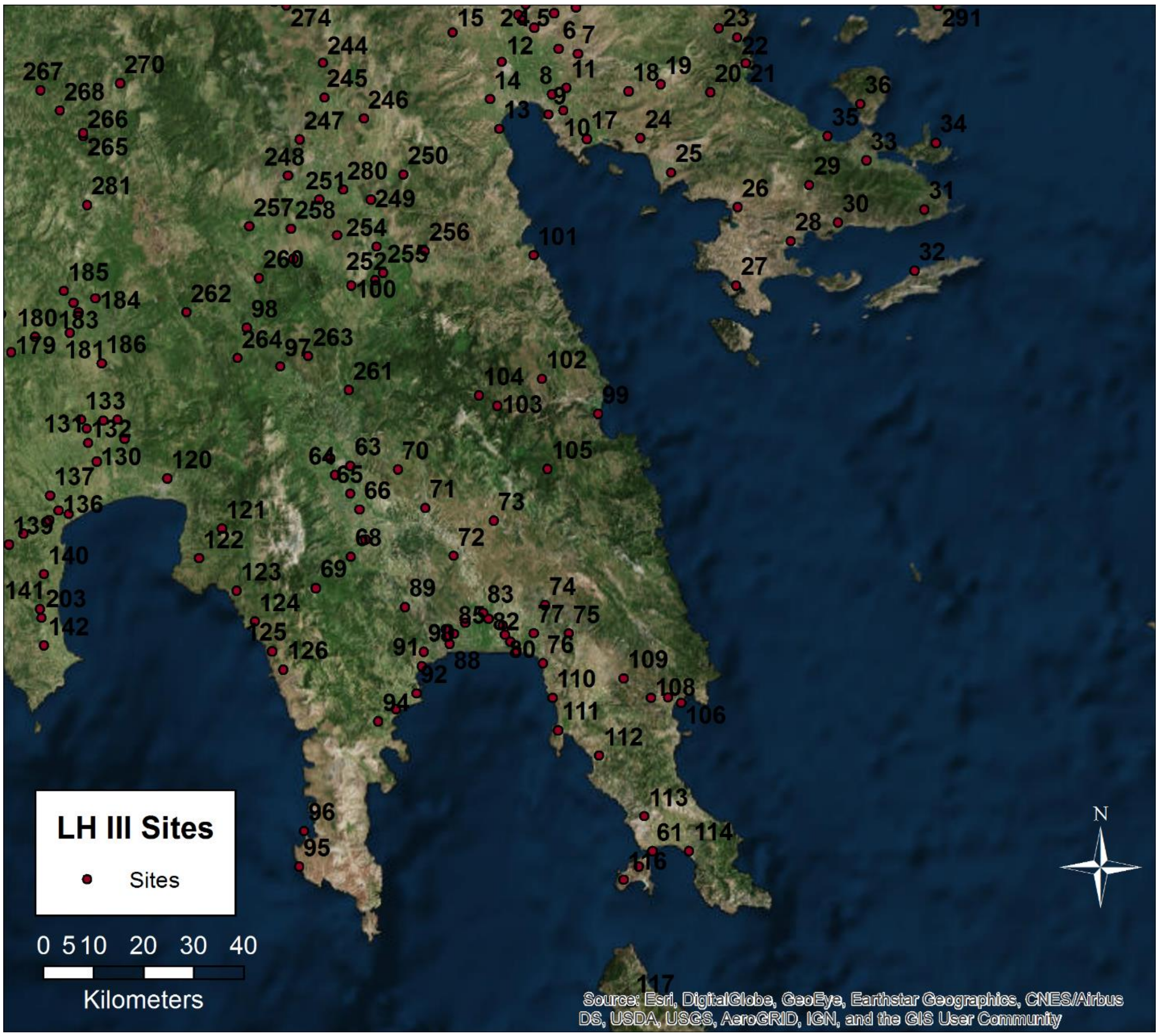
LH III Sites, with Site Numbers



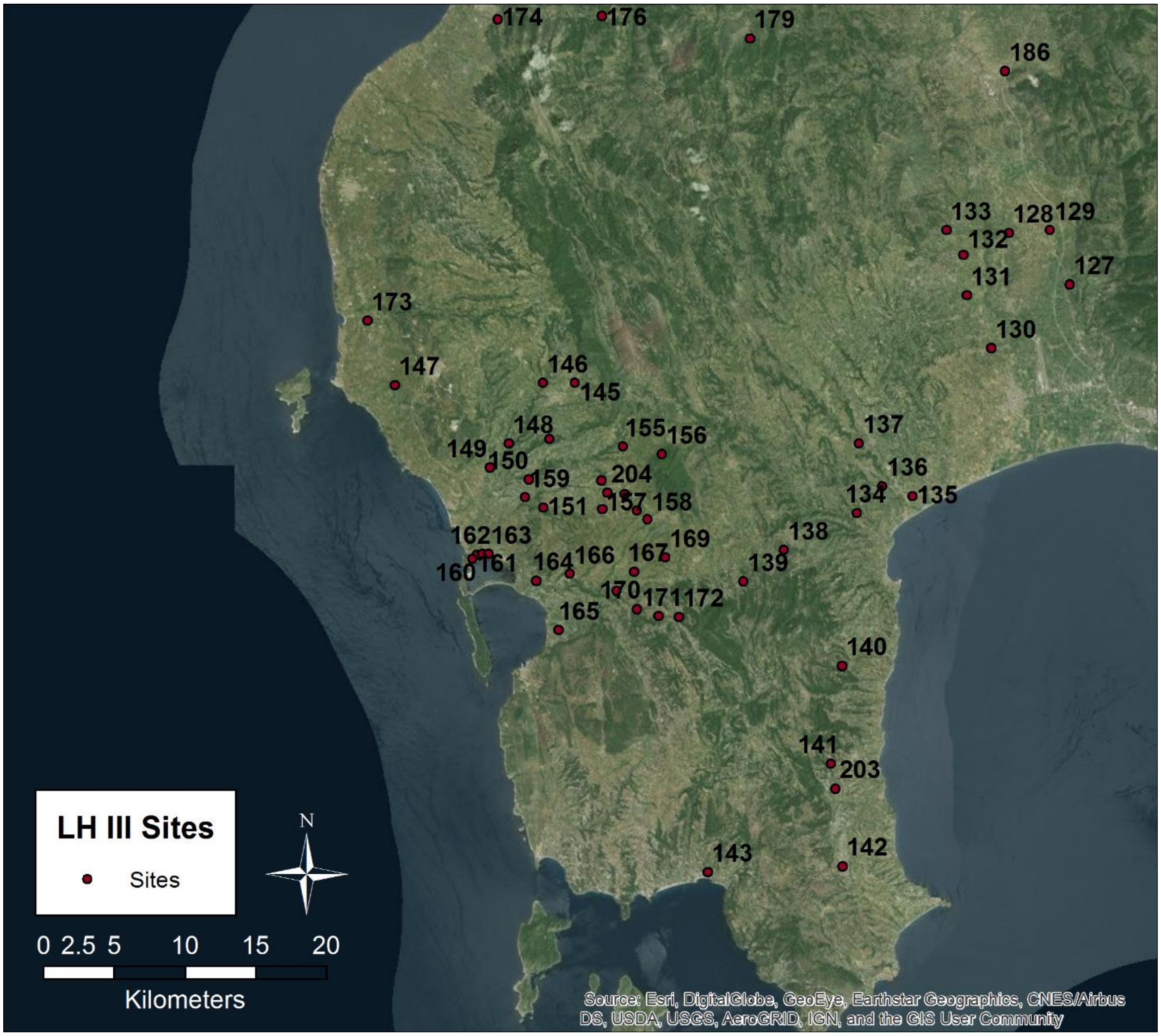
LH III Sites in the NE Peloponnese, with Site Numbers



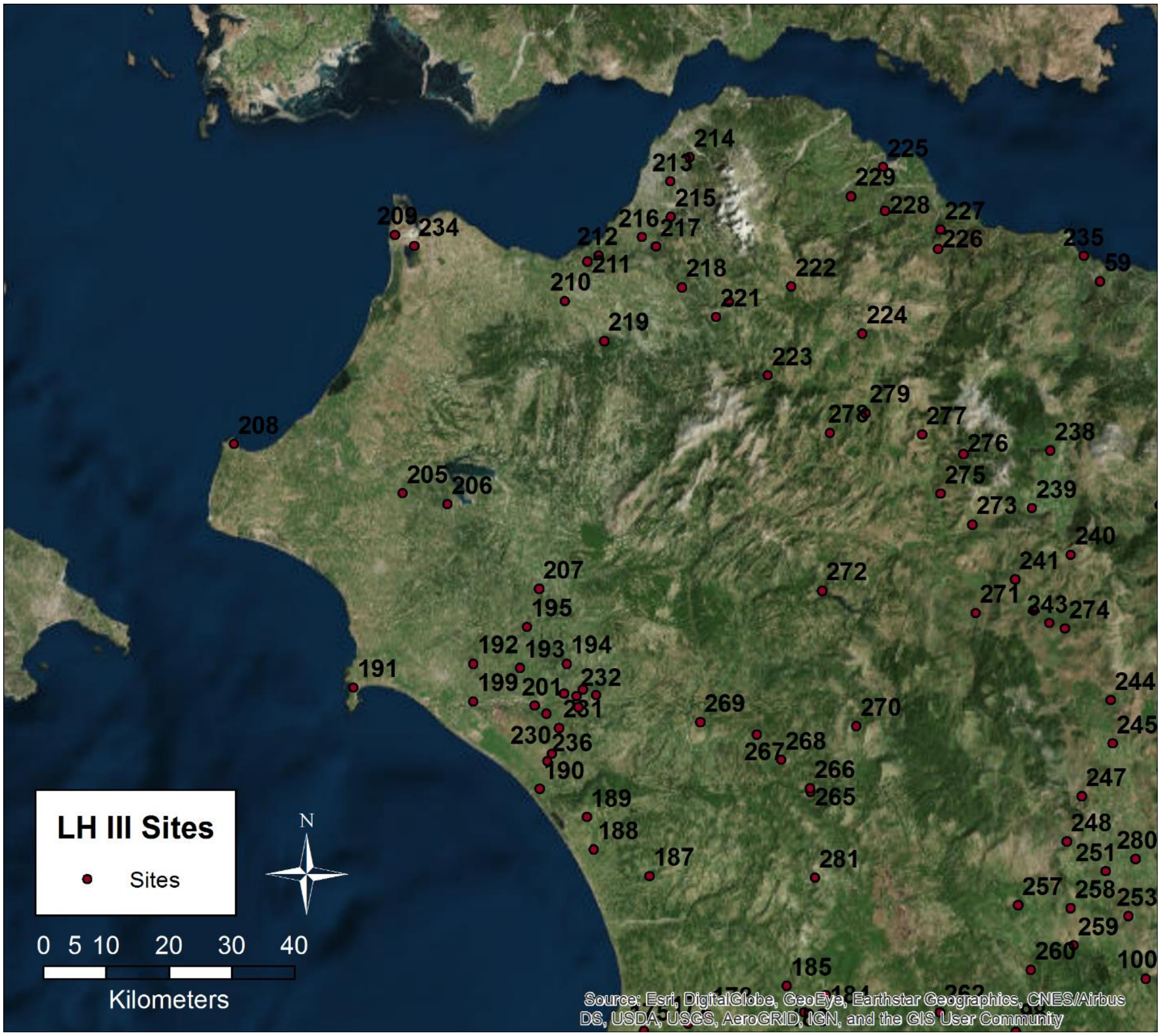
LH III Site in the SE Peloponnese, with Site Numbers



LH III Sites in the SW Peloponnese, with Site Numbers



LH III Sites in the NW Peloponnese, with Site Numbers



APPENDIX B: SITE CATALOG

Number	Simpson Concordance	Site Name	Present/Absent	Kylix Quant	Source
1	1	Mycenae (2 Shrines and Wardle Article)	1	7	Hope Simpson 1965,13; Wardle 1967, 261-297
2	2	Magoula (Priphtiani)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 13; Ålin 1962, 37
3	3	Vreserka			Hope Simpson 1965, 14
4	4	The Argive Heraion (Prosymna)	1	2	Mountjoy 1999, 128
5	5	Kastraki (near Berbati)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 14; Ålin 1962, 37; Desborough 1964, 77, 221
6	6	Dendra	1	2	Ålin 1962, 40 ff.; Astrom 1977, 87; Desborough 1964, 77
7	7	Palaiokastro (Ancient Midea)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 15; Ålin 1962, 41
8	8	Tiryns	1	3	French and Stockhammer 2009, 175-232
9	9	Nauplion	1	2	Hope and Simpson 1965, 16; Christos 2015, 241-259
10	10	Aria	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 16; BCH 1955, 244
11	11	Profitis Ilias (Ayios Adrianos)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 16; Daux 1963 , 748
12	12	Argos	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 65; Papadimitriou, Phillippa-Touchais, and Touchais 2015, 161-184.
13	13	Lerna (Myloi)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 17; Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990, 45-62.
14	15	Kephalari (Magoula)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 17
15	16	Melichi(Schoinochori)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 16; BCH 1920, 386 f.; Renaudin 1923, 209; JHS 22 1912 386
16	18	Kastro (Gymno)			Hope Simpson 1965, 18
17	19	Kastraki (Asine)	1	3	Hope Simpson 1965, 18-20; Mountjoy 1999, 186; etc.
18	20	Kasarma (Arkadiko)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 19; AJA 43 1939, 83; etc.

19	21	Ligourio	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 20
20	22	Apollo Maleatis (Epidauros)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 20; Ålin 1962, 51; Desborough 1964, 78; Marakas 2010
21	23	Palai Epidauros	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 20; Ålin 1962, 51
22	24	Palaiochori (Nea Epidauros)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 20
23	25	Vassa (Nea Epidauros)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 21; Ålin 1962, 52
24	26	Kastro (Kandia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 21; Dunbabin 1944, 82
25	28	Kastro Tou Kapentanou (Ano Iria)	1	2	Ålin 1962, 50f; Hope Simpson 1965, 22; Dunbabin 1944, 97
26	29	Ayios Ioannis (Koiladhia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 22; Ålin 1962, 52
27	30	Porto-Cheli	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 23; Daux 1963 , 756 ff.
28	31	Kastri (Hermione)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 23; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, 37
29	32	Eliokastro (Karakasi)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 23; Ålin 1962, 52; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, 35
30	33	Thermisi	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 23
31	34	Phourkaria	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 24; Ålin 1962, 52
32	35	Hydra	0	0	Simpson1965, 24; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, 38
33	37	Troizen	0	0	Simpson1965, 24; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, 33
34	38	Temple of Poseidon (Poros)	1	1	Simpson1965, 25; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911, 35
35	39	Ayios Yeoryios (Lessia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 25
36	40	Megalochorio (Methan)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 25; Konsolaki 1994, 31; Ålin 1962, 52; AM 1911, 37
37	44	Ayia Eirini (near modern Nemea)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 26

38	46	Tsoungiza (Heraklion)	1	4	Hope Simpson 1965, 27; Thomas 2005, 451-573; 2011, 171-228
39	47	Ancient Cleonae	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 27; AA 1913, 114
40	48	Zygouries	1	3	Hope Simpson 1965, 27; Blegen 1928, 170-174
41	49	Ayia Triadha (near Ayios Vasilios)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 28; AA 1913, 116
42	56	Old Corinth	0	0	Smith 1955, 142; Hope Simpson 1965, 32; Blegen 1920, 8
43	57	Mylos Cheliotou	0	0	Blegen 1920, 3; Shear 1930, 409; Blegen 1923, 159; Hope Simpson 1965, 30
44	58	Aietopetra	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 30; Blegen 1920, 3; Blegen 1923, 160
45	59	Ayios Gerasimos	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 31; Blegen 1920, ; Blegen 1923, 160; BCH 1954, 112
46	60	Korakou	1	3	Hope Simpson 1965, 31; Blegen 1921, 66, 129; Mountjoy 1999, 218
47	61	Arapiza	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 30; Shear 1930, 409; Blegen 1923, 159
48	62	Gonia	0	0	Blegen 1920, 6-7.; Simpson 1965, 31
49	63	Isthmia	1	1	Smith 1955, 142; Hope Simpson 1965, 32; Blegen 1920, 8
50	64	Perdikaria	0	0	Blegen 1920, 7; Blegen 1923, 160; Hope Simpson 1965, 32
51	65	Cenchreae	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 33; Gebauer 1939, 269
52	66	New Corinth	0	0	Vanderpool 1954, 232-241; BCH 1955,228; Furumark 1941, 646
53	67	Kalamaki	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 34; Darlas and Henry 2003, 640-645; Darlas and Henry 2004, 840-853.

54	70	Damari	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 34
55	73	Ayios Demetrios (Perachora)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 35; Gebauer 1939, 269 f.
56	75	Temple of Hera Akraia (Perachora)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 35; Desborough 1964, 86; Ålin 1962, 60
57	77	Vasiliko (near Ancient Sicyon)	0	0	Blegen 1920, 10; Simpson 1965, 35; Dunbabin 1948, 60
58	80	Ayios Tryphon (Gonoussa)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 36
59	82	Solos (Ancient Aigeira; near Derveni)	0	0	BCH 1958, 726; Hope Simpson 1965, 37
60		Berbati	1	3	Schallin 2002, 141-155
61		Pavlopetri	1	2	Harding, Cadogan, and Howell 1969, 113-142
62	94	Ancient Sparta	1	1	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 70; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164; Woodrow, Droop, and Lamb 1926-7, 38
63	95	The Menelaion	1	6	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 71; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
64	96	Kouphovouno	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 42; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 72,74; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164, 168, 169 n. 300, 170 n. 306
65	97	The Amyklaion (Ayia Kyriaki)	1	2	Marakas 2010; Hope Simpson 1965, 42; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 74; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
66	98	Palaipyrgi (Vaphio)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 43; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 78; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164, 168 ff.
67	99	Ayios Vasilios	1	2	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 81;

					Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
68	100	Analipsis (Antochorion)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 43; Daux 1963, 764
69	101	Arkines	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 43; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 128 ff., 166
70	102	Palaiokastro	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 43; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 82f.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
71	103	Laina (Goritsa)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 44; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 83 f.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
72	104	Vrondama	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 44; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 83, 85.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164
73	105	Geraki	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 44; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 85 f.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164, 168 ff.
74	106	Apidia	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 44; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 87; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 164, 168 f.
75	107	Gangania	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 44; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 138, 167 ff.
76	108	Kokkinia	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 45; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 138 f.
77	109	Ayios Ioannis (Vezani)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 45; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165

78	110	Ayios Strategos	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 45; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960 87 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165
79	111	Dragatsoula (Asteri)	0	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 45; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960 89; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165
80	112	Karaousi (Asteri)	1	2	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 89; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 173
81	113	Site North of Asteri	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 45; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 92; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 173 n. 316
82	114	Vlakhioti	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 46; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 92; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165
83	115	Tsasi	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 46; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 92 ff., 100 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165
84	116	Ayios Nikolaos (Skala)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 46; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 94 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165
85	117	Xeronisi	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 46; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 95, 104; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 168 f.
86	118	Panayiotis (Lekas)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 46; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 95 ff., 100 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope

					Simpson 1961, 165, 168 f.
87	119	Lekas, South	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 47; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 97, 104; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 168 ff.
88	120	Ayios Stephanos	1	4	Hope Simpson 1965, 47; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 97 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 168 ff.
89	121	Karneas (Krokeai)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 47; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 97 ff.; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 168 ff.
90	122	Lagio	1	1	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 105; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 166
91	123	Paizoulia	1	2	Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 105; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 165, 166
92	124	Cranae	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 48; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 114,165,170 f., 174
93	125	Mavrovouni	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 48; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 114 ff.,165, 168 ff.
94	127	Passava (Las)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 48; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 114 ff.,165, 168 ff.
95	130	Kipoula	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 49; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 123, 166
96	131	Tigani (Mezzapo)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 49; Waterhouse and Hope

					Simpson 1961, 122 f., 174
97	133	Kalyvia - Pellanes	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 49; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 125 ff., 166, 170 ff., 174
98	134	Belmina	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 50; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 125, 166
99	140	Plaka (Leonidhi)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 51; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 131, 166, 170 ff.
100	135	Analipsis (Vourvoura)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 50; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 130, 166, 169 ff.
101	138	Chersonisi (Astros)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 50; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 131, 166, 168 ff.
102	141	Kotroni (Vaskina)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 51; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 131 f., 166, 170 f.
103	142	Kotroni and Sykokis (Palaiochori)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 51; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 132 ff., 166, 170 f.
104	143	Lymbiada	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 135
105	144	Prophitis Elias (Kosmas)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 135
106	146	Epidaurus Limera	1	2	Marakas 2010; Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 136 f., 167 ff.
107	147	Ayios Ioannis	0	0	Marakas 2010; Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 137, 167 ff.

108	148	Kollyri (Angelona)	0	0	Marakas 2010; Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 138, 167 ff.
109	149	Anemomylo (Sikea)	0	0	Marakas 2010; Hope Simpson 1965, 52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 138, 167 ff.
110	150	Elea	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 53; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 139 f. 167 ff.
111	151	Goulas (Plitra)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 53; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 139 f. 167 ff.
112	152	Kastelli (Daimonia)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 53; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 141, 167 ff.
113	153	Stena	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 53-54; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 141, 167 ff.
114	154	Neapolis	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 54; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 142 ff., 167 ff.
115	157	Elaphonisi Village	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 54; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 147 f.
116	158	Panayia (Elaphonisi)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 54; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 147 f.
117	160	Vithoulas (near Ayia Pelayia, Kythera)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 55; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 149 f., 167 ff.
118	161	Lioni (near Khora, Kythera)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 55; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 149 f., 167 ff.
119	164	Kastri, Kythera	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 56; Waterhouse and Hope

					Simpson 1961, 151 ff., 167 ff., 174
120	166	Kastro (Kalamata)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 251; Hope Simpson 1965, 57
121	168	Kokkinochomata (Pigadhia)	1	2	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 57
122	169	Zarnata (Kambos)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 57
123	170	Kastro (Kardamyle)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 57
124	171	Leuctro (Stoupa)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 58
125	172	Vigla (Ayios Demetrios)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 237; Hope Simpson 1965, 58
126	173	Svina (Koutiphari)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 58
127	174	Ellenika (Ancient Thouria)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 250-251; Hope Simpson 1965, 58
128	175	Petroyephyra (Platy)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 236; Hope Simpson 1965, 59
129	176	Ayios Ioannis (Pidhima)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 59
130	178	Ayios Konstantinos (Karteroli)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 249; Hope Simpson 1965, 59
131	179	Nekrotapheion (Eva)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 59-60
132	180	Aristodhemion	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 60
133	181	Tourkokivouro (Lambaina)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 235-236; Hope Simpson 1965, 60
134	182	Nichoria (Rizomlo)	1	4	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 61

135	183	Skordhakis (Velika)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 61
136	184	Kokora Troupa (Velika)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 61
137	185	Viglitsa (Dara)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 61
138	189	Ayios Elias (Kalochori)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 62
139	190	Avisos (Romiri)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 62
140	191	Pirgaki (Mathia)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 62
141	193	Kaphrio (Longa)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 63
142	194	Charakopeio	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 63
143	195	Ayia Analipsis (Phoinikounta)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 247; Hope Simpson 1965, 63
144	197	Ano Englianos	1	31	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 64
145	201	Volimidhia (Chora)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 65
146	202	Lagou (Ambelofito)	1	2	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 65; McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 237
147	203	Kanalos (Gargalianoi)	1	2	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 65; McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 236
148	204	Voroulia (Tragana)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 239-240; Hope Simpson 1965, 65
149	205	Tragana (the tholos tombs)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 66
150	206	Portes (Koryphasion)	1	2	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 66,

					McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 242
151	208	Beyler Bey (Koryphasion)	1	2	Galaty 1999, 33-34; Hope Simpson 1965, 66
152	209	Lambropoulou Pighi (Platanos)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 232; Hope Simpson 1965, 67
153	210	Kretharetses (Platanos)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 241; Hope Simpson 1965, 67
154	211	Merzini (Platanos)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 232; Hope Simpson 1965, 67
155	212	Routsi (Myrsinochorion)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 67
156	213	Pappoulia	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 67
157	214	Traganes (Iklaina)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 241; Hope Simpson 1965, 68
158	216	Panayia (Iklaina)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 241; Hope Simpson 1965, 68
159	217	Palaiokastro (Ancient Koryphasion)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 243; Hope Simpson 1965, 68
160	218	Voidhokoilia	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 68
161	219	Osmanaga Lagoon	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 69
162	220	Osmanaga Lagoon	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 69
163	221	Osmanaga Lagoon	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 70
164	222	Palaiochori (Gialova)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 242; Hope Simpson 1965, 69
165	223	Vigla (Midhen)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 69

166	225	Kokkinia (Schoinolakka)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 70
167	226	Koukounara	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 244; Hope Simpson 1965, 70
168	227	Lezega (near Koukounara)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 70
169	228	Phourtsavrisi (Kremmidhia)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 233; Hope Simpson 1965, 70
170	229	Koumbe (Chandrinou)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 245
171	230	Platania (Chandrinou)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 71
172	231	Chilia Choria (Mesopotamos)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 245, Hope Simpson 1965, 71
173	233	Ordhines (Langouvardos)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 236; Hope Simpson 1965, 71
174	234	Kastro (Kyparissia)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 232; Hope Simpson 1965, 72
175	235	Peristeria (Moira)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 72
176	236	Elleniko (Mouriatadha)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 72
177	237	Akourthi (Kopanaki)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 73
178	238	Stylari (Koponaki)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 233; Hope Simpson 1965, 72
179	241	Drosopighi (Vidhisova)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 73
180	242	Malthi (Ancient Dorion)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 74

181	244	Ayios Taxiarchos (Polichni)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 74
182	245	Loutses (Diavolitsi)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 231; Hope Simpson 1965, 74
183	246	Ayios Nikolaos (Agrilovouno)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 75
184	247	Ayios Yeoryios (Parapoungion)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 75
185	249	Krebeni (Kato Melpia)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 75
186	253	Palaiochori (Siamou)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 231-232; Hope Simpson 1965, 76
187	254	Ayios Demetrios (Lepreon)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 231; Hope Simpson 1965, 76
188	255	Nestora (Kakovatos)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 76
189	256	Kaimena Alonia (Zacharo)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964; Hope Simpson 1965, 77
190	257	Klidhi (Derveni)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 230; Hope Simpson 1965, 77
191	258	Pontikokastro (Ayios Andreas)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 77
192	261	Vromeneri (Varvassaina)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 78
193	263	Strephi	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 78
194	264	Fengaraki (Kafkania)	0	0	Hop Simpson 1965, 78; BCH 1961, 722
195	265	Etia (Lantzoi)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 226; Hope Simpson 1965, 79
196	266	Drouva (Olympia)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 79

197	267	Altis (Olympia)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961; Hope Simpson 1965, 79
198	268	Oinomaos (Pisa)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 227; Hope Simpson 1965, 79
199	270	Ayios Yeoryios (Epitalion)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 227; Hope Simpson 1965, 80
200	272	Ayios Elias (Markrysia)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 229; Hope Simpson 1965, 80
201	273	Chania (Makrysia)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 229; Hope Simpson 1965, 80
202	274	Yerakovouno (Makrysia)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 229; Hope Simpson 1965, 80
203	275	Koutsocheira (Diasela)	0	0	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 229; Hope Simpson 1965, 80
204		Sodhiotissa (Ayios Ioannis)	1	1	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, 64
205		Papoulia Village (nearby tholos tombs)	1	2	McDonald and Hope Simpson 1964, 239
206	277	Ancient Elis	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 81; Desborough 1964, 92-93
207	278	Damiza (Amalia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 81
208	279	Kastro (Chlemoutsi)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 82; BCH 1961, 123; BCH 87 1963, 837
209	281	Glarentza (Kyllini)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 82; BCH 1961, 130 ff.
210	282	Kastro Tis Kalograias (Paralimni)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 82; Archaeology 15 1962; etc.
211	284	Fostaina	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 83; Ålin 1962, 67
212	285	Tsoukaleika	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 83; BCH 1954 , 124
213	286	Ayios Pandeleimon (Vrakhneika)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 83; BCH 1954 , 124; BCH 1956, 124
214	287	Aroe, Samakia, and Lopesi-Englukas	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 84; Åström 1965, 107

215	288	Agrapidhia (Ano Sikhainia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 84; BCH 1934, 249; BCH 1961, 682
216	289	Koukoura	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 84; Vermeule 1960, 1 ff.
217	290	Tsaplaneika	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 84; Åström 1965, 109; Alin EMF, 64
218	291	Kallithea	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 85; Vermeule 1960, 13 ff.; Desborough 1964, index; Alin EMF, 64
219	293	Chalandritsa	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 85; Åström 1965, 100
220	294	Mitopolis	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 85; JHS 50 1930, 241
221	297	Drakotrypa (Katarraktis)	1	2	Hope Simpson 1965, 86; Desborough 1964, 97
222	298	Ayios Athanasios (Katarraktis)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 85; Vermeule 1960, 16 ff.
223	299	Gourzoumisa (Leontion)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 87; Åström 1965, 102
224	301	Ayios Vlasios (near Kato Vlasia)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 87; Åström 1965, 100
225	303	Vrisarion (Kato Goumenitsa)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 88; Vermeule 1960, 4, 18
226		Aigion	1	2	Papadopoulos 1970, Plate 27j; Åström 1965, 99-100
227	305	Mamousi (near Derveni)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 88; Åström 1965, 105-106
228	306	Ayios Yeoryios (Kerinia)	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 88
229	307	Achouria (Achladies)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 89; Åström 1965, 96-97
230	308	Trapeza (Chadzi)	0	0	Hope Simpson 1965, 89; Åström 1965, 108
231		Makrysia	1	1	Mountjoy 1999, 385
232		Ancient Olympia	1	1	Mountjoy 1999, 385
233		Ithaka, Polis Cave	1	1	Mountjoy 1999, 386, 398
234		Teichos Dymaion	1	2	Mountjoy 1999, 398
235		Aegeira	1	1	Mountjoy 1999, 423, 439
236		Samikon	1	1	Mountjoy 1999, 423
237	1001	Kionia: Ancient Stymphalos	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 38; Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697

238	1002	Pheneos: Pyrgos/Ancient Pheneos	1	1	Hope Simpson 1965, 38; Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
239	1004	Pheneos: Tsouka-Bouga	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
240	1005	Mati: Lakkomata	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
241	1007	Khotoussa: Ayios Geogrios	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
242	1008	Vlacherna: Petra	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
243	1009	Vlacherna: Plessa	1	1	Howell 1970, 82
244	1013	Artemision: Profitis Elias	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
245	1014	Pikernis: Gortsouli/Ancient Polis	1	1	Howell 1970, 87
246	1016	Loukas: Ayios Georgios	1	2	Howell 1970, 88
247	1017	Merkovouni: Ayiolias	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
248	1019	Thanas: Stoyia/Megali Rachi	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
249	1021	Alea: the Temple of Athena Alea	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
250	1022	Stadio: Ayios Konstantinos	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
251	1023	Vouno	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
252		Vouvoura - Analipsis	1	1	Howell 1970, 95-96
253	1024	Manthyrea: Panayia	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
254	1025	Alea: Palaichori(a)	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
255	1026	Alea: Sarantapotamos	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
256	1027	Psili Vryssi Vationa	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
257	1029	Kato Asea: Paliokastro	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
258	1030	Doriza: Ayia Athanasios	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
259	1031	Manari: Ayios Nikolaos/Paliochoraki	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697

260	1032	Athenaion: Ayios Georgios	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
261	1033	Kollines: Rouss(a) Apidia	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
262	1034	Leondari/Ancient Leuktron	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
263	1037	Yiakoumaiika: Kanelaki	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
264	1038	Monastiriako	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
265	1041	Palaiokastro: Ayia Sotira/Kastro	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
266	1042	Palaiokastro: Palaiopyrgos	1	1	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 448-449, 696-697
267	1043	Kakouraiika: Ayios Athanasios and Matovouni	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
268	1044	Bardaki	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
269	1045	Loutra Heraias: Ayios Georgios	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
270	1046	Dimitsana/Ancient Teuthis	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
271	1047	Karvouni: Sfakovouni	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
272	1048	Dimitra: Troupes or Damari	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
273	1050	Tourlada: Palaiopyrgos	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
274	85	Orchomenos (Kalpakion)	1	1	Howell 1970, 83
275	1051	Kallithea: Filomati	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
276	1052	Kastria: Kastro	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
277	1053	Kastria: Spilaio Limnon	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
278	1056	Kertezi: Rachi Roumani/Panayia	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
279	1057	Ayia Lavra Monastery	0	0	Σαλαβουρα 2015, 696-697
280		Tegea	1	1	Voyatzis 2014, 467-539
281		Mt. Lykaion	1	8	Romano and Voyatzis 2014
282		Aetos- Ithaka	0	0	Marakas 2010, 122-123

283		Agia Irini- Keos	1	1	Marakas 2010, 122-124
284		Delphi	0	0	Marakas 2010, 122-125
285		Eleusis	0	0	Marakas 2010, 122-126
286		Kalapodi	1	2	Marakas 2010, 122-127
287		Mt. Hymettus	1	1	Marakas 2010, 122-129
288		Phylakopi	1	2	Marakas 2010, 122-130
289		Poseidi	0	0	Marakas 2010, 122-131
290		Thermon	0	0	Marakas 2010, 122-132
291		Aigina	1	4	Marakas 2010, 27-28; Pilafidis-Williams 1998

APPENDIX C: MT. LYKAION DIAGNOSTIC SHERDS

Sherd	Period (Broad)	Period (Narrow)	Shape	Source
C-Z-139-000026	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-57-000056	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-139-000014	IIIB	IIIB		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-148-000021	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-134-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-177-000003	IIIA	IIIA2 (early)	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000031	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-33-000020	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-139-000016	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000023	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-102-000012	IIIA	IIIA2 (early)	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-120-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-139-000028	IIIA	IIIA2 (late)	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-146-000024	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 258	Unpublished
C-Z-50-000012	IIIA-IIIB	IIIA2-IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-139-000020	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 601
C-Z-139-000025	IIIA	IIIA2-IIIB1		Unpublished
C-Z-59-000007	IIIC	IIIB-IIIC	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-58-000007	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-56-000005	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-931-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 594
C-Z-50-000013	IIIA	IIIA2-IIIB1		Unpublished
C-Z-97-000002	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-139-000035	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-86-000011	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 258	Unpublished
C-Z-77-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-142-000004	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 594
C-Z-72-000019	IIIC	IIIC (early)		Unpublished

C-Z-139-000005	IIIC	IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-134-000010	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 604
C-Z-58-000003	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-36-000004	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-30-000002	IIIC	IIIC (early)	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000032	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-58-000005	IIIC	IIIB-IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-139-000003	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 592
C-Z-73-000037	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-148-000016	IIIC	IIIC (early)		Romano and Voyatzis 2014
C-Z-148-000026	IIIB	IIIB		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-148-000019	IIIA	IIIA2-IIIB1		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-148-000027	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-59-000010	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-59-000011	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000006	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-29-000012	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-53-000009	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-139-000006	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 592
C-Z-93-000013	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-33-000021	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 604
C-Z-80-000002	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-148-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-14-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000050	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 605
C-Z-139-000033	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 605
C-Z-148-000009	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 596
C-Z-148-000004	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-36-000014	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished

C-Z-57-000029	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 596
C-Z-92-000008	IIIA	IIIA2-IIIB1		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-36-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 592
C-Z-79-000010	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000018	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 258A	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 606
C-Z-59-000006	IIIC	IIIC (early)	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-123-000016	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-139-000015	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 601
C-Z-77-000039	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000020	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 603
C-Z-29-000011	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-59-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000027	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-139-000023	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 594
C-Z-75-000001	IIIA	IIIA2 (early)	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-80-000001	IIIA	IIIA	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000035	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000002	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-139-000017	IIIB	IIIB1		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 601
C-Z-57-000030	IIIA-IIIB	IIIA2-IIIB		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-134-000009	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-36-000016	IIIA	IIIA2		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-93-000019	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-58-000004	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-134-000002	IIIB	IIIB	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-93-000017	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-139-000024	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000015	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished

C-Z-70-000002	IIIC	IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-33-000004	IIIC	IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-29-000010	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000004	IIIB	IIIB	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-36-000013	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 604
C-Z-36-000015	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000022	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-132-000002	IIIB	IIIB1	FS 258B	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000028	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 605
C-Z-57-000009	IIIA-IIIB	IIIA-IIIB	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-142-000001	IIIC	IIIC (early)	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 599
C-Z-86-000005	IIIA	IIIA		Unpublished
C-Z-58-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 257	Unpublished
C-Z-82-000004	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000025	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC (early)		Unpublished
C-Z-36-000002	IIIA-IIIB	IIIA-IIIB	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 597
C-Z-123-000002	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000017	IIIB	IIIB		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 602
C-Z-148-000029	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000049	IIIB	IIIB		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000038	IIIC	IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000002	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 264	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 592
C-Z-144-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-134-000004	IIIA	IIIA2	Bowl?	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000033	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-57-000036	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-43-000006	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-97-000008	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-77-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished

C-Z-57-000006	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-148-000003	IIIC	IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-33-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-149-000005	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-71-000003	IIIC	IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-139-000030	IIIA	IIIA2-IIIB		Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-99-000001	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 267	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 600
C-Z-97-000007	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 256/7	Unpublished
C-Z-148-000014	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-73-000008	IIIC	IIIC	FS 267	Unpublished
C-Z-57-000034	IIIB-IIIC	IIIB-IIIC		Unpublished
C-Z-137-000014	IIIA	IIIA2		Unpublished
C-Z-148-000017	IIIA	IIIA2	FS 257	Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 603

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