

HESPERIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME 85
2016



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HESPERIA

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A FOREIGN POTTER IN THE PYLIAN KINGDOM?

A REANALYSIS OF THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE OF ROOM 60 IN THE PALACE OF NESTOR AT PYLOS

ABSTRACT

This article offers a reanalysis of the ceramic assemblage from room 60, one of the pantries of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. The study is based on the original 1966 publication by Blegen and Rawson, excavation notebooks, archive photographs, and personal investigation of the pottery recovered from that room. It is argued that a particular manufacturing technique, characteristic of a group of shapes from room 60 but distinct from the standard Mycenaean potting tradition, betrays the activity of a foreign potter. This study also demonstrates that pottery from room 60 served at least two different functions—as paraphernalia used during funerary feasts and as utensils for manufacturing perfumed oil, a crucial commodity for the Pylian economy.

INTRODUCTION

After reviewing the scholarly literature on pottery from the Palace of Nestor that has appeared since its original publication,¹ one could rightly ask if there is much new that can be said about the great quantity of pottery stored in the palace at the moment of its final destruction.² Numerous scholars dealing with the pottery from Pylos have covered a variety of topics, ranging from chronology,³ through production and consumption,⁴

1. Blegen and Rawson 1966.

2. I would like to thank the University of Cincinnati, Department of Classics, and Sharon Stocker in particular, for permission to study the contents of room 60 and for granting access to archival photographs and notebooks. I owe Sharon Stocker special thanks for her constant support and facilitation of my study in every possible respect. My research in Greece would not have been possible without the support of the Polish Ministry of

Science and Higher Education within the framework of the National Program for the Development of Humanities (project no. 0180/FNiTP/H21/80/2011). All new pottery drawings are the work of Tina Ross, who also adapted drawings that were published previously. Katarzyna Kapiiec was responsible for the general plan of Pylos. Photos, except where indicated, were taken by the author. For the opportunity to consult thin-sections of pottery samples from room 60, as well

as fruitful discussions, I am grateful to Michael Galaty. Earlier drafts of this paper were read by John Papadopoulos, Catherine Pratt, Jeremy Rutter, and Trevor Van Damme. Their comments and suggestions, as well as those of the two *Hesperia* reviewers, are much appreciated. I am entirely responsible for all remaining errors and omissions.

3. Popham 1991; Mountjoy 1997; Carrington-Smith 1999; Thomas 2004; Vitale 2006.

4. Galaty 1999; Whitelaw 2001.

to feasting.⁵ Consequently, there would seem to be very little room for any new contributions, especially if based, as most of the previous studies have been, on the original publication. However, the restudy of the material from the main pottery pantries at Pylos by Hruby, one of the many positive outcomes of the Hora Apotheke Reorganization Project, produced a staggering amount of new data from the old material.⁶

Following this method of research, I investigated the assemblage of one of the pantries of the palace, room 60, which, in its 7.3 × 3.3 m, contained almost 800 vessels. In the process, I detected several unique features that set this assemblage apart from other Pylian pantries and inspired new ideas regarding the manufacture and function of pottery from the palace.⁷ A substantial part of the assemblage turned out to be manufactured in a technique very different from other vessels in the room and the rest of the palace. I ascribe this particular group to a potter trained in a non-Mycenaean tradition, perhaps an itinerant craftsmen from the region of Elis. In order to determine the possible function(s) of the ceramic assemblage found in room 60, I first compared the particular shapes stored in room 60 with parallels found both within the palace and elsewhere in the Mycenaean world, and then I reconstructed the room's original storage arrangement. As a result of this analysis, I have defined two functional groups. The first group was associated with perfumed oil production, an activity of pivotal importance for the palatial economy, well evidenced in Linear B tablets and discussed by numerous scholars. The second group bears witness to palatial involvement in funerary cult, perhaps around Tholos III, which was still in use during the final palatial period.

Room 60 of the palace at Pylos (Fig. 1) has never been the main focus of scholarly attention. However, because of its rich ceramic assemblage, it has been frequently mentioned in publications subsequent to the original work by Blegen and Rawson.⁸ Much of this discussion has been influenced by a few statements in the original publication referring to the appearance and the quality of the vessels stored in room 60. In their description of the room, Blegen and Rawson concluded, upon comparison with pantries 18–22 of the palace, that “the wares themselves differ conspicuously [from those of the other pantries] and [that] each group contains pots of a good many shapes that are not represented in the other. It seems logical therefore to conclude that the selection of the types of vessels themselves and the wares were intended for different purposes and users.”⁹ The same observations are repeated on page 352, this time with more attention paid to the quality of the vessels:

Here [in room 60], with few exceptions, the vases are dark and smoky-looking. This difference cannot be attributed solely to local effects of the fire that wrecked the palace; it is manifest at the outset that the clay itself is not of the same fine kind as that used for the pots stored in Pantries 18 to 22. It is coarser in texture possibly because of admixture of different tempering matter. . . . The utensils and the pots kept in Room 60 must surely have been made for other purposes and for other people than the types that were supplied from the five pantries in the Main Building.

5. Säflund 1980; Bendall 2004; Hruby 2006.

6. Hruby 2006; see Stocker and Davis 2014 for a useful review of the Hora Apotheke Reorganization Project.

7. Some of my initial ideas on the pottery from room 60 were included in an earlier article (Lis 2006), which dealt primarily with cooking pottery from the palace at Pylos. Here, following my personal examination of the material, these ideas are critically verified and elaborated.

8. Shelmerdine 1984; Wright 1984; Davis and Bennet 1999; Galaty 1999; Whitelaw 2001; Bendall 2004; Hruby 2006; Lis 2006.

9. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 240.

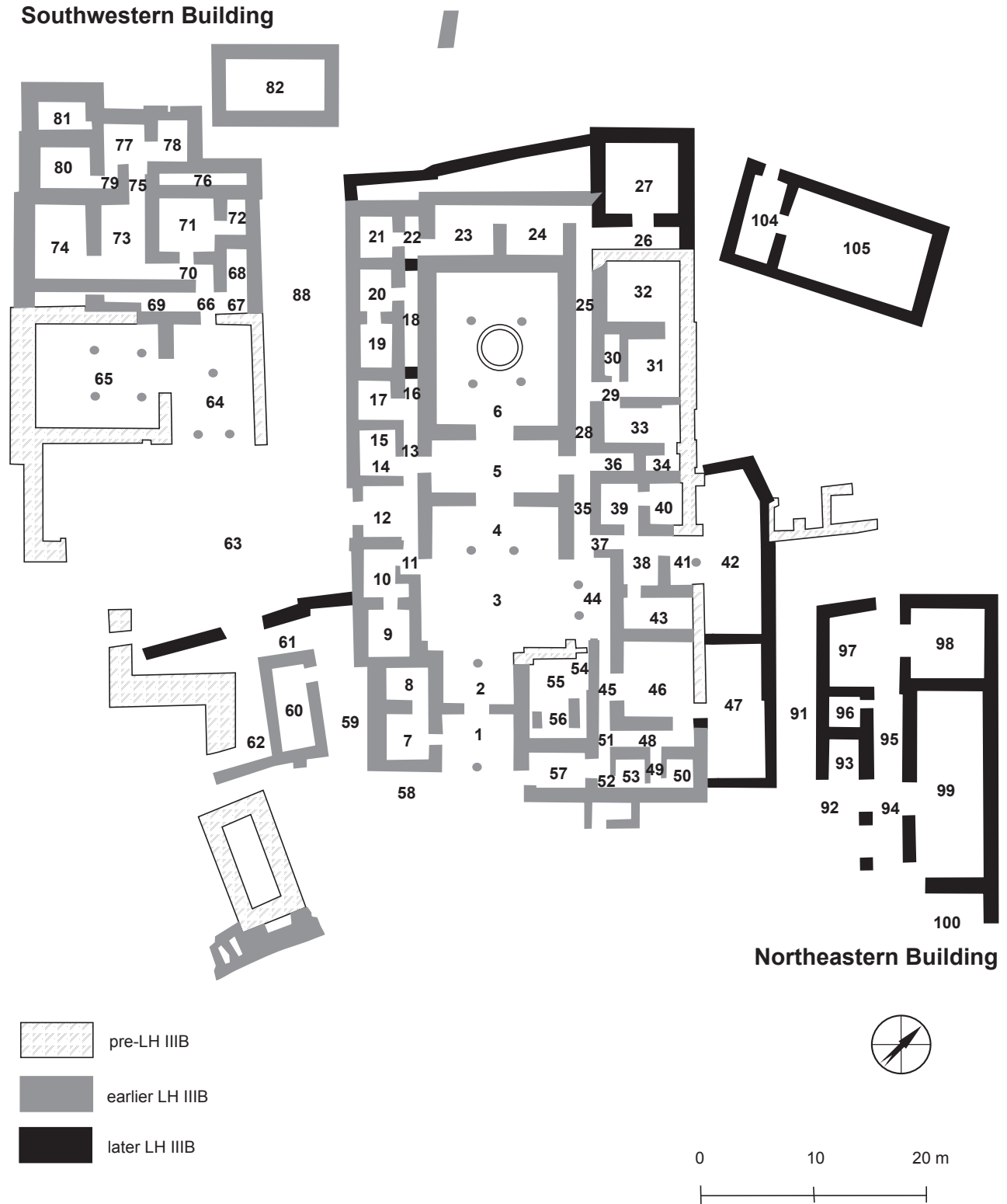


Figure 1. Plan of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. Drawing K. Kapiec, after Nelson 2001, figs. 82, 83

Thus they stressed two important features of this room's ceramic content—the presence of an unusual “ware” and that there was a different array of shapes than found elsewhere in the palace.

In later scholarship, Davis and Bennet were probably the first to associate the contents of room 60 with feasting activities.¹⁰ They proposed that the pottery stored in the room could have been used during ceremonial occasions that took place in the palace, particularly in court 63. Alternatively, Whitelaw considered room 60 to be complementary to pantries 67–68, which exclusively stored cooking pottery, and he proposed that together these rooms were “likely to have been in daily use in supporting the personnel within the palace.”¹¹ He further stressed that while the general types of pots stored in room 60 and pantries 18–22 roughly correspond to each other, the actual shapes do not.¹²

In a similar vein, Bendall claimed that vessels stored in room 60 formed the same kind of functional set as those pots piled in pantries 18–22 (if rooms 67–68, containing exclusively cooking pottery, are added to the latter group). Therefore, according to her analysis, the assemblage of room 60 was likewise used for feasting activities, but with an important distinction. The different fabric quality noted by Blegen and Rawson and its supposed inferiority led Bendall to claim that the events for which each set of pots were used were actually attended by different groups of people. In her view, the assemblage from room 60 was used to serve feasts held in the vicinity of the palace attended by those who were restricted from entering the palace proper. Bendall reconstructed a hierarchy of service sets used in feasting episodes in and around the palace, ranking pots from room 60 in the lowest tier.¹³

Hruby, referring to the coarser fabric of the vessels and also their less time-consuming manufacture, presented a hypothesis that vessels stored in room 60 were used to feed the palace's personnel on a daily basis;¹⁴ in this she basically followed the earlier interpretation by Whitelaw. Nevertheless, she also acknowledged that room 60 includes a large variety of highly specialized forms that occur nowhere else within the palace,¹⁵ and speculated that the assemblage may have served various specialized palace activities. She did not exclude the possibility that the vessels used for serving food could also have been used for feasts.¹⁶

This review of previous scholarship reveals that a number of hypotheses go back to the information provided by the original publication regarding the coarser, even inferior, nature of the fabric of the vessels stored in room 60. This description played a particularly important role in Bendall's assertion that three different tiers of quality of service vessels were present in the palace. The first critical step in my study, therefore, was a detailed review of the ceramic fabric(s) from room 60. Most of the previous studies, with the exception of Hruby's, concentrated on just a few shapes from room 60 that had counterparts in other pantries of the palace, and thus failed to explain the entire assemblage, including a number of unique vessel types. This created the need for a holistic approach to the deposit recovered from room 60.

10. Davis and Bennet 1999, p. 110.

11. Whitelaw 2001, p. 57.

12. Whitelaw 2001, p. 58, fig. 4.

13. Bendall 2004, pp. 120–123.

14. Hruby 2006, pp. 108–109.

15. Wright (1984, p. 23) also speaks

about “specialized shapes” in room 60.

16. Hruby 2006, pp. 108–109, n. 40.

Figure 2. Deep spouted bowl showing dark gray and red inclusions with smeared appearance and burnishing marks. Scale 1:1



RESULTS OF THE CURRENT STUDY

THE FABRIC

Macroscopic examination of the assemblage from room 60 reveals that the vast majority of vessels fall into the same fabric group, which varies in degree of coarseness from fine to medium coarse and in color from red (most frequent) to reddish yellow and reddish brown.¹⁷ The variety of coarseness within this fabric group is almost certainly a reflection of the different functional categories in the assemblage. In other words, for utilitarian shapes, some of which could have been put in contact with fire, a coarser version of the fabric was used, whereas the tablewares were executed in a finer version of the same fabric. This finer variant is by all means comparable in quality to the fabric of tablewares found in the other palatial pantries. The difference in color may be related to different firing temperatures. Vessels that display reddish-yellow color (comparable to Munsell 7.5YR 7/6–8), like examples of shape 59, appear also to be harder fired (presumably in higher temperatures) than the other vessels with more reddish color. Their fabric is otherwise indistinguishable from other pots found in room 60.

17. The surface colors have not been measured with the Munsell Soil Color Chart, mainly due to the substantial color variability often found even within the same vessel, and the impact of fire that destroyed the palace. Nevertheless, the range of surface colors represented in the material from room 60 corresponds to the following colors according to the Munsell charts: red (10YR 5/6–8, 4/6–8; 2.5YR 5/6–8, 4/6–8), reddish brown (2.5YR 5/3–4, 4/3–4; 5YR 5/3–4, 4/3–4), reddish yellow (5YR 6/6–8; 7.5YR 7/6–8, 6/6–8), and yellowish red (5YR 5/6–8, 4/6). The fabric of vessels stored in other pantries of the palace is usually pale greenish or pale yellowish and only rarely orange. See also Galaty 2010, p. 233.

18. All shape numbers in the text refer to the classification of Pylos pottery presented in Blegen and Rawson 1966.

19. See Hruby (2006, pp. 192–195; 2014), who discusses the vessels found in these rooms and provides a list of their faults.

In terms of nonplastic inclusions, those most typical for the red fabric of room 60 are dark gray and dark red soft, rounded inclusions. In places where the surface of the vessel was pared or burnished, they often have a smeared appearance (Fig. 2). These dark gray and red inclusions are accompanied by small semitransparent grains of either quartz or plagioclase, occasional calcareous grits, and silver mica, which is visible mostly on the surface.

This fabric should thus be described as *different* from what is typical of the main pantries (rooms 18–22). But its difference does not indicate that it was necessarily characterized by a certain level of *coarseness*, which clearly depended on the vessel's intended function, or, worse, that it was *inferior* to other Pylian assemblages. Equally important is the fact that many of the vessels are exceptionally well made, sometimes with very careful surface treatment (e.g., kylikes with high-swung handles, shape 30c¹⁸), implying a quality of manufacture and a degree of labor investment that exceeds that expended on much of the tableware stored in rooms 18–22.¹⁹ In fact, if one would like to apply quality judgments, many pots from room 60 are superior to those stored elsewhere. Their darker, reddish color should not be taken into consideration, as we do not have sufficient knowledge as to the aesthetic preferences of the inhabitants of the palace (or whoever the consumers of these pots were).

In the original publication of pottery from Pylos, the presence of silver mica was noted for one shape from room 60—shape 10 (the deep spouted bowl)—and it was remarked that mica is not present in any of the pots found in rooms 18–22 (i.e., the main pantries of the palace). Interestingly, according to Blegen and Rawson, micaceous clay is not indigenous to Messenia and so either mica itself, or clay containing it, must have been imported.²⁰

Much of the discussion of fabric, based on macroscopic observations, is either imprecise (e.g., in its definition of inclusions) or subjective. The only way to provide more objective data is through scientific analyses of pottery, either petrographic or chemical. I did not undertake such a program, yet previous studies by Carothers and Galaty did include fragments deriving from room 60.²¹ Even though they are not fully comparable with the ceramics examined in my study, as the fragments sampled can only tentatively be matched with the vessel types discussed here, they provide the only petrographic and chemical data on pottery from room 60.

For the purposes of her dissertation, Carothers sampled 16 fragments from room 60, which were subjected to petrographic analysis. The same fragments were later analyzed by Galaty, both petrographically and chemically, in the framework of his own thesis research on pottery production in Late Bronze Age Messenia.²² The method he initially used for chemical analysis was weak acid extraction followed by inductively coupled plasma spectroscopy (WAE/ICP). More recently, 34 fragments from the palace at Pylos (including 11 from room 60) and raw clay samples have been re-analyzed by Galaty using a more accurate and robust method—inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS).²³

The results of the chemical analyses indicate that sherds from room 60, which could be associated with some certainty with specific pottery shapes discussed here, belong to two related chemical groups, 1a and 1b. Two samples were identified as belonging to shape 59 (samples JC163 and JC169), two as kylikes (JC157 and JC167), and the other two probably belong to the partly handmade group (JC158 and JC162; for the definition of this group, see pp. 497–498, below).²⁴ The fabric of those sherds appears to be fairly similar. It contains mostly fine quartz, chert, plagioclase, and muscovite.²⁵ What distinguishes the samples in the first place is the quantity of argillaceous inclusions, which are most likely siltstones, as individual inclusions within these rock fragments (identical to those present in the matrix) cluster within the size group of silt. These rock inclusions range from subrounded to subangular, but do not appear to be deliberately added

20. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 353.

21. Carothers 1992; Galaty 1999; 2014, pp. 34–35, table 3:1.

22. Galaty 1999; pers. comm.

23. Galaty 2014.

24. The identification was based on the small remaining fragments of the sampled sherds. The initial selection by Carothers seems to have been more fo-

cused on wheelmade pottery and did not include a representative sample of the partly handmade group.

25. The presence of muscovite in the fabric could be responsible for the bits of “silver mica” visible mostly on the surface. Nothing in the results of the petrographic or chemical analyses of fragments from room 60 suggest a non-Messenian origin for the clay, and thus

the assumption concerning the foreignness of mica mentioned above should be rejected. Also, there is no trace of any volcanic rock fragments. Their presence in room 60 samples was suggested by Carothers (1992, p. 314), but her observations were not confirmed either by Galaty (1999, p. 55) or by my own examination.

crushed temper. The greatest frequency of such inclusions is evidenced in the sample JC162, which probably belongs to one of the vessels in the partly handmade group. The relative number of these inclusions constitutes the only readily detectable difference within these six samples, but their relative density is not characteristic of either of the chemical groups—1a or 1b—as sherds with both high and low numbers of such inclusions fall into both groups.

MANUFACTURING TECHNIQUE

Investigation of the ceramic assemblage of room 60 revealed that it is the manufacturing technique and not the fabric that constitutes the most intriguing aspect of this pottery. The manufacturing techniques used to produce the ceramics stored in room 60 were not uniform across the assemblage. Blegen and Rawson noted a difference in that they described shape 10—the vessel they called a “milk-bowl,” which I refer to as a deep spouted bowl—as handmade and polished.²⁶ This peculiar technique does not seem to have many parallels among the Late Helladic (LH) III pottery of the Mycenaean mainland. It is remarkable that this observation did not trigger any further interest or discussion in the literature.

In addition to the deep spouted bowls, there are other shapes in the assemblage of room 60 that share the same production technique: the shallow spouted bowls (shapes 7 and 8), the basin (shape 2), and the jug with a tubular spout and a basket handle (shape 41). I will start by discussing some features common to this group, which I will refer to as the “partly handmade group.” Only some of the pots are entirely handmade; the rest are either made with the help of the wheel, or subsequent surface treatment obliterated all the features to such an extent that secure identification is not possible. In fact, at some point during this research I was speculating whether there were any handmade pots in this group, or whether all were in fact wheelmade²⁷ and subsequently received surface treatment that obliterated traces of wheel use. This doubt was eliminated thanks to a discovery, within the assemblage of room 60, of a few half-finished examples of several of the shapes in question. These specimens, which for some reason did not receive the usual final surface treatment, confirmed the presence of fully handmade vessels, as can be seen on Figure 3:a and b. Other such half-finished pots showed clear signs of the wheel having been used in the manufacturing process (Fig. 4).

The most common surface treatment in the partly handmade group is burnishing. This treatment is applied almost without exception, usually in a cursory manner that leaves some parts of the surface untreated, but in some cases the quality can be quite high and the individual marks are hardly visible. The burnishing marks consist of rather narrow troughs, less than 5 mm wide (Fig. 2). Apart from burnishing, a lot of paring marks are visible, mostly on the exterior surfaces (Fig. 5:a). Such marks are particularly noticeable in places like the attachments of handles or spouts, while in the standard Mycenaean pottery this treatment is usually visible on the lower bodies. Finally, series of parallel, usually oblique ripples, which

26. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 352. The reasons for this choice of terminology are not clear to me. There is another common eastern Mediterranean form with this name, the Cypriot milk-bowl, but it is a completely different shape.

27. I use the term “wheelmade” to refer to any pot that was made with the help of the wheel, irrespective of the method used, in opposition to the term “wheel-thrown,” which indicates a vessel thrown on the wheel from one piece of clay.



Figure 3. Half-finished vessels with no signs of wheel manufacture: (a) basin, shape 2; (b) deep spouted bowl, shape 10. Scale (a) 1:2; (b) 1:3



Figure 4. Half-finished basin, shape 2, with clear signs of wheel use. Scale 1:3



Figure 5. (a) Basin, shape 2, with visible paring marks on exterior; (b) deep spouted bowl, shape 10, with a series of parallel, oblique ripples on exterior. Scale 1:3

will be discussed below, are visible on the exterior surfaces of some of the vessels (Fig. 5:b).

There are also a few common morphological traits in this group (see Fig. 6). All five shapes have very simple, flat bases, sometimes slightly convex. Spouts on shapes 7, 8, and 10 (Fig. 6:a–c) are of the bridged type, while all other spouted shapes found in the palace have troughed spouts. Rims are in most cases everted, but the variability in their execution is substantial.

In sum, the individual characteristics of the partly handmade group are not entirely foreign to Mycenaean pottery, but in combination they represent a unique phenomenon. I will now describe each member of the group in more detail, outlining the characteristics that are specific to particular shapes.

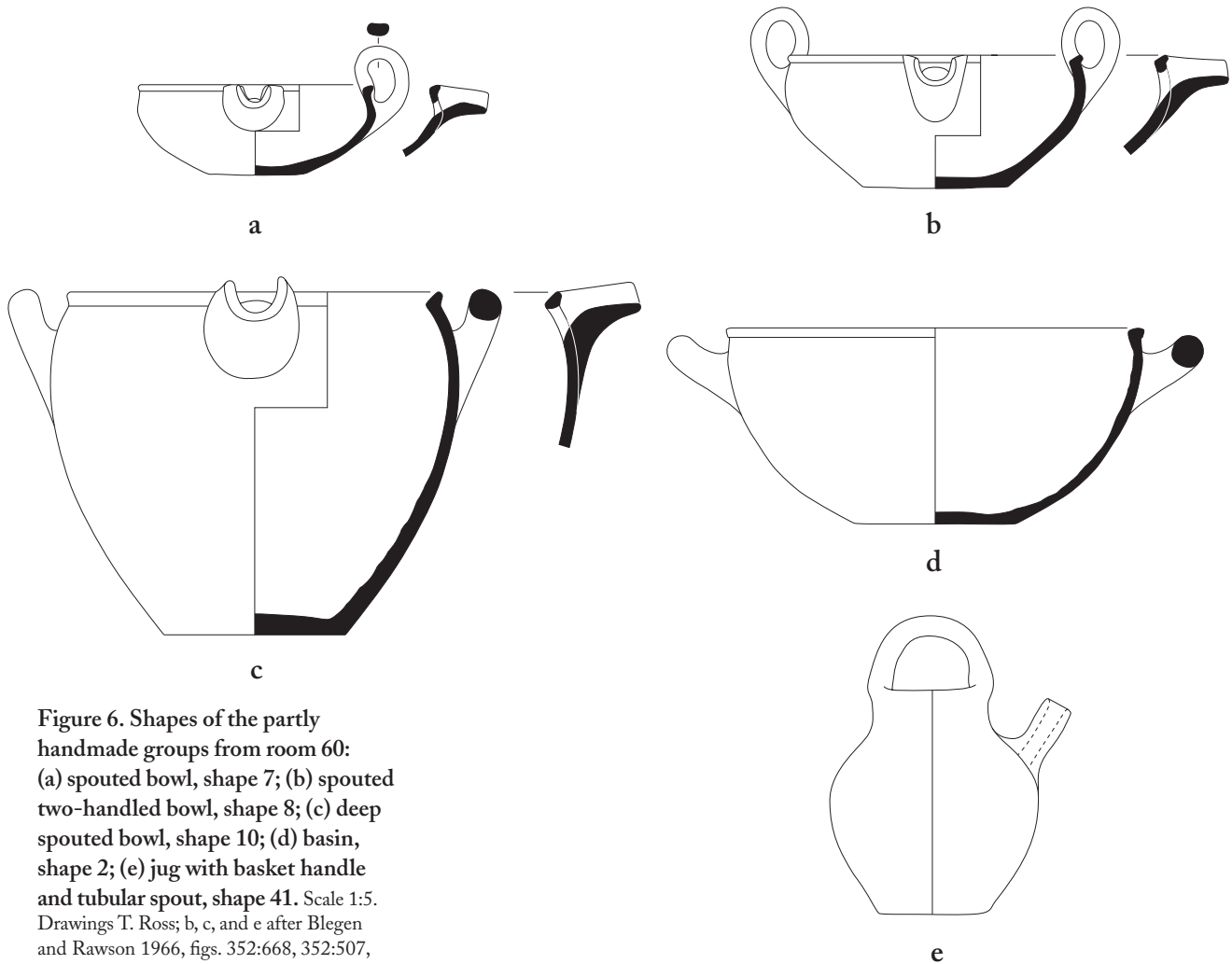


Figure 6. Shapes of the partly handmade groups from room 60: (a) spouted bowl, shape 7; (b) spouted two-handed bowl, shape 8; (c) deep spouted bowl, shape 10; (d) basin, shape 2; (e) jug with basket handle and tubular spout, shape 41. Scale 1:5. Drawings T. Ross; b, c, and e after Blegen and Rawson 1966, figs. 352:668, 352:507, 370:421, respectively

DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTLY HANDMADE GROUP FROM ROOM 60

There are two types of shallow spouted bowls, shapes 7 and 8 (Fig. 6:a, b), which are distinguished by their number of handles and size. I will treat these two types together because unambiguous examples of the two-handed shape 8 are extremely few, probably not more than two or three within the assemblage. This two-handed bowl appears to be larger than the largest recorded examples of its one-handed counterpart.²⁸

There are no good parallels for the two-handed version; for the one-handed shape 7, Blegen and Rawson mention an identical vessel that was found in Makryisia Chania, Elis.²⁹ Furthermore, there is one bridge-spouted bowl from Tomb 1 at Akona and one undecorated example from Prosymna.³⁰

28. There is a slight difference in size measurements compared to the original publication. This stems from the fact that the publication lists dimensions for “numbered” (i.e., inventoried) examples, whereas I also included uncatalogued material stored in boxes. For shape 7, the largest recorded rim is

19 cm (cf. 17.2 in Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 358) and the largest base is 9.0 cm (cf. 7.9 in Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 358). For shape 8, the only recorded example in Blegen and Rawson (1966, p. 358) has the following dimensions: diameter rim 20.5, base 9.0 cm.

29. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 358.

30. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 358; for Prosymna, see Blegen 1937, p. 53, fig. 235:1077; Shelton 1996, p. 91. The example from Prosymna is smaller than the examples from Pylos (diameter 10.1–10.5 cm), but it is executed in coarse red fabric.



Figure 7. Manufacturing traces on walls of various shallow spouted bowls, shape 7. Not to scale

The percentage of handmade specimens of these two shapes is by far the highest of any vessel found in room 60—in fact, there was not a single example for which the use of the wheel could be ascertained (Fig. 7). The handles of these bowls are a peculiar shape—they are flattened straps with a hollow in the middle (Fig. 6:a, visible also on Fig. 7). The rims have varied forms, but usually they are everted and quite often additionally thickened. Some of them are flattened on top. Spouts are always bridged, similar to the deep spouted bowls, discussed below. Below the rim on the exterior there is usually a broad, slightly hollow trough, most likely fashioned in this way to make the lip more prominent. Bases are flat, sometimes slightly convex.

The Pylian deep spouted bowl, shape 10, has an everted rim and two horizontal loop handles set just below the rim (Fig. 6:c). It is equipped with a bridged spout, and its base is invariably flat.³¹ The number of handmade specimens is relatively high (see Fig. 8 for traces of manufacturing techniques), including one half-finished example (Fig. 3:b), whose surface has not been burnished and clearly lacks any evidence of having been wheel-made. The description of the shape in the original publication mentions that “nothing really comparable [is] known to us from other sites.”³² Almost 50 years later, only three other sites have yielded vessels comparable to the deep spouted bowl from Pylos: Mycenae,³³ the Menelaion,³⁴ and Koukos.³⁵ The specimens from Mycenae and the Menelaion appear to be similar in terms of manufacture. The photograph of the bowl from Mycenae reveals clear paring marks;³⁶ furthermore, the clay is described as “red.” The only difference seems to be its size—the rim diameter is only 16.5 cm, while the smallest recorded rim diameter for such bowls at Pylos is 23.6 cm. The diameter of the bowl from the Menelaion (24 cm) matches Pylian examples; it is made of orange clay and, most importantly, paring marks are present on the underside of the spout. Generally, on the Mycenaean mainland the deep spouted bowl is rare during the palatial period, but by

31. Here, too, the size range seems to be slightly broader than is indicated in the original publication. Rim diameters of all measured examples range from 23.6 to 28 cm (Blegen and Rawson, p. 359: 23.6–26.4 cm), and base diameters range from 12 to 16.5 cm (Blegen and Rawson, p. 359: 13.5–13.8 cm).

32. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 359.

33. French and Taylour 2007, pp. 371–372, no. 66-1522.

34. Catling 2009, p. 226, fig. 263.

35. Carington-Smith 1999, fig. XIII:b–d.

36. I would like to thank Elizabeth French for making a high-resolution photograph of this bowl available to me.



Figure 8. Manufacturing traces on walls of various deep spouted bowls, shape 10. Not to scale

the LH IIIC period deep spouted bowls, referred to as spouted kraters, executed in coarser fabric become quite popular. Several examples derive from the site of Lefkandi.³⁷ Their dimensions are equally formidable, with some examples that are even larger than the deep spouted bowls from Pylos.

The next vessel type is shape 2 (Fig. 6:d), a large shallow basin with two horizontal handles set slightly below the rim, which in shape are similar to those on the deep spouted bowl. The handles are tilted upward from their points of attachment, occasionally reaching the height of the rim. Both handmade and wheelmade versions are attested, with the former being apparently more common (Fig. 9). There are two examples with unfinished surfaces—one is clearly wheelmade (Fig. 4) and the other handmade (Fig. 3:a). Within the group of partly handmade forms from room 60, they seem to be the most standardized vessels in terms of size.³⁸

Shape 41 is a basket-handled jug with a tubular spout (Fig. 6:e).³⁹ It is the only closed shape in this group, and seems to differ from the other four shapes in a number of ways. First, it is a rather well-known shape on the Mycenaean mainland. In addition, it is executed in a crude way not seen on any of the previous shapes, and its weight is particularly high, probably

37. E.g., Evely 2006, p. 196, no. 66/P112, fig. 2.25:4, pl. 22:5, with a diameter of 29.5 cm.

38. The range of diameters recorded in the material is only slightly different from that listed in Blegen and Rawson 1966. Rim diameters range from 28 to 33 cm (30–32.5 in

Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 356), bases from 11 to 14 cm (11.9–12.5 in Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 356). The coefficient of variation (a simple measure of standardization; see Hruby 2014) for measured rim diameters was the lowest of all the shapes within this group (5.77%). It must be stressed,

however, that coefficients of variation for rim diameters of two other shapes, 7 and 10, were very low as well (6.68% and 6.11%, respectively).

39. This particular shape is also referred to as the “teapot” or the “feeding bottle.”



Figure 9. Manufacturing traces on walls of various shallow basins, shape 2. Not to scale

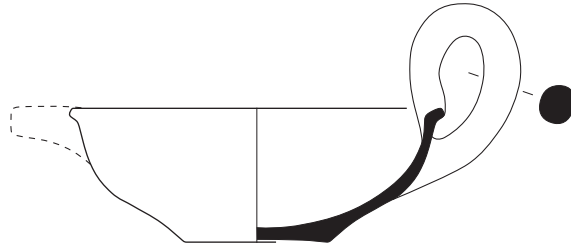


because of its wall thickness and coarse fabric. All examined examples were handmade. Paring on the neck is distinct (Fig. 10:a). The spouts, in contrast to ordinary Mycenaean jugs of this type, are simple hollow cylinders, neither tapering toward the end nor with a spreading rim. In order to attach them, the body of the jug was pierced and the tubular spout was simply inserted into the opening. Figure 10:b illustrates this method of manufacture, which is very different from that observed on other Mycenaean closed shapes, on which spouts are attached to the exterior surface and not pushed through the body.⁴⁰ The “tongues” of clay around the opening on the interior, visible on Figure 10:b, derive from punching a hole through the wall.

Figure 10. Basket-handled jug, shape 41: (a) showing paring marks on its shoulder; (b) showing the way in which the spout was attached. Scale 1:3

40. Leonard et al. 1993, pp. 116–117.

Figure 11. Room 60 variant of the spouted bowl, shape 6. Scale 1:3.
Drawing T. Ross



EXPLAINING THE PARTLY HANDMADE GROUP

What is the significance of this partly handmade group of pots that were stored together with other vessels that are typically Mycenaean in their manufacture? In order to explore this issue further, I will discuss the forms of the partly handmade pots from room 60 in more detail. On the one hand, they do not fit perfectly into the Mycenaean typology, on the other, however, they do not appear to be entirely out of place among the Mycenaean pots. This most likely accounts for the reason why they did not attract scholarly attention before, even though exact parallels for their forms either do not exist or are extremely rare (see Table 1). Neither were they included in the debate over the Handmade Burnished Ware,⁴¹ as they probably did not appear “alien” enough with respect to their form.

The key to understanding this partly handmade group of vessels lies in the presence of a few additional pots in room 60, which in their form and manufacture appear to bridge the gap between this group and the pottery executed in the Mycenaean tradition of the palatial period. Since they are usually single examples, I was able to identify them only after a thorough search through the entire corpus of material recovered from room 60.

The best example of such a “missing link” vessel is a form classified by Blegen and Rawson as shape 6. It is a spouted bowl, which typologically closely matches shape 7 (and, by extension, also shape 8; Fig. 6:a, b). There are, in fact, two variants of shape 6. One is illustrated by Blegen and Rawson and has quite a few examples (all from room 60; see Table 1) that have been restored and displayed in the Museum of Chora.⁴² But this variant differs from shape 7 in many respects, including the presence of a ring base, the angle at which the handle is attached to the rim, and the type of the spout, which is troughed and made by cutting in half a wheel-made cylinder. The other variant (Fig. 11), of which I could locate only two examples, is in some respects closer to shape 7, namely because of the flat (although slightly concave) base, and the orientation of the handle.⁴³ Some differences are present, such as the round section of the handle and the spreading walls, but they are less numerous than in the other variant. This variant has an interesting treatment of the exterior surface; the upper wall has been wiped, while the lower was clearly scraped, which adds to the similarities it has to shape 7.

For shape 10, the deep spouted bowl, the closest counterpart in room 60 is a vessel only partially preserved (Fig. 12:a), which has a bridged spout and a thickened rim very similar to large examples of shape 59 (see Fig. 16, below). The only difference from typical deep spouted bowls is the thinness of the walls and the lack of burnishing. There is also another singular vessel in room 60 that is clearly similar to shape 10 (Fig. 12:b). It has the

41. The phenomenon of the Handmade Burnished Ware was first described by Rutter (1975). For the most recent and comprehensive summaries, see Jung 2006; Kilian 2007; Strack 2007; Lis 2008.

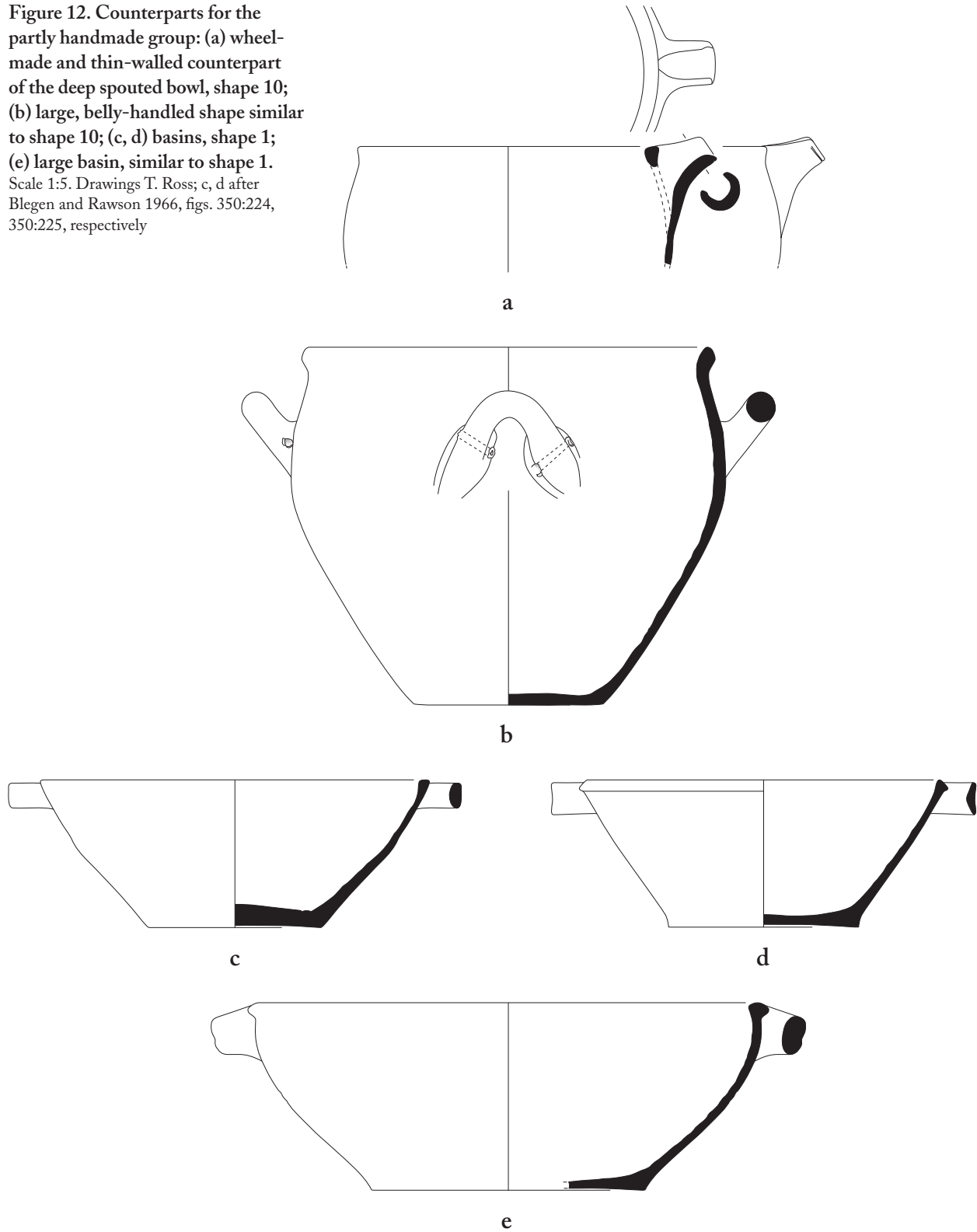
42. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 357, figs. 351, 352.

43. The presence of a spout on this variant could not be confirmed, but its similarity to shapes 6 and 7 suggests this. The vessel illustrated in Figure 11 was well preserved, but was missing exactly the part where a spout would have been attached.

TABLE 1. VARIOUS SHAPES FOUND IN ROOM 60 WITH THEIR DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PALACE AND BEYOND, AND SUGGESTED FUNCTION

<i>Shape</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Furumark Shape (FS)</i>	<i>No. of Examples</i>	<i>Other Rooms of the Palace</i>	<i>Presence in Greek Mainland, Type of Context</i>	<i>Function Suggested for Room 60</i>
2	basin	293	75	1 in court 47	generally popular, settlement	industrial
4	shallow angular bowl	295	51	many (room 21: 1,099 examples)	popular, settlement	funerary (feasting)
6	spouted one-handled bowl	253	9	none	rare in unpainted version	
7	spouted one-handled bowl	253	46	none	rare; Prosymna, Akona: tombs; another example reported from Makryisia Chania	industrial
8	spouted two-handled bowl	–	1	none	none	industrial
10	deep spouted bowl (milk-bowl)	–	33	none	3 known parallels, settlement	industrial
12	shallow cup	220	1	many (room 21: 1,024 examples)	popular, settlement	
15	cup with high handle (ashtray)	–	83	none	none	funerary/industrial
16	cup with rod handle	239a	2	none	rare; Thebes and Berbati, settlement	
17	bell-shaped cup	231	4	none	popular, settlement	
19	cup with high handles	241	3	room 18: 3 examples, probably all painted	rare, ritual	funerary (ritual)
26	diminutive kylix	–	82	many (doorway between rooms 18/20: 43 examples), but different size	rare, ritual	funerary (ritual)
27	angular kylix	267	3	many (room 20: 174 examples), without a spout	none with spouts; otherwise very popular	funerary
28	kylix with handles below rim	269	5	none	rare	funerary
30c	kylix with two high-swung handles	277	253	very few	present, tombs	funerary (feasting)
32	kylix with one high-swung handle	272:3	6	none	present, tombs	funerary
41	jug with basket handle and tubular spout	159–162	20	1 in room 105	present, mostly tombs	funerary/industrial?
52	piriform jar	48	1	few (6 more in three different rooms)	popular, both settlement and tombs	funerary/industrial
59	krater	288	31	none, except for a handmade version from the propylon; 30 examples from room 68 and single examples from rooms 23, 97, and 98 belong to a different type	rare; in quantity only at Zygoouries	industrial
64	alabastron	94	1	1 in room 32	popular, both settlement and tombs	funerary/industrial
65	stirrup jar	164	1	many	popular, both settlement and tombs	funerary/industrial
66	scoop (lamp)	311	39	1 in room 43	present, both settlement and tombs	funerary/industrial
71	incense burner	315	5	none	rare, tombs	funerary
72	lid for incense burner	335	6	none	rare, tombs	funerary

Figure 12. Counterparts for the partly handmade group: (a) wheel-made and thin-walled counterpart of the deep spouted bowl, shape 10; (b) large, belly-handled shape similar to shape 10; (c, d) basins, shape 1; (e) large basin, similar to shape 1. Scale 1:5. Drawings T. Ross; c, d after Blegen and Rawson 1966, figs. 350:224, 350:225, respectively



44. Almost 95% of the rim of this specimen is preserved, and it seems almost certain that it lacked a spout.

typical horizontal handles and a flat base, but it does not constitute an exact match, since it lacks the spout.⁴⁴ An interesting detail of this singleton is the perforation of the handle stumps, a feature not observed on any other vessels in room 60.

For the shallow basin, shape 2, the best candidate for a Mycenaean counterpart is another vessel type found in the palace—a larger strap-handled basin classified as shape 1, a typical example of Furumark shape 294 (Fig. 12:c, d). Although the original publication does not list any examples of the latter shape from room 60 (Table 1), one of the boxes contained a fairly complete specimen resembling both shapes 1 and 2 (Fig. 12:e). The difference between the illustrated example and shallow basins of shape 2 from room 60 lies mostly in the position and shape of the handles, as well as the overall size. Comparison between the specimen from room 60 (Fig. 12:e) and examples of shape 1 found elsewhere in the palace (Fig. 12:c, d) makes it clear that the example from room 60 has a more rounded outline to its wall, while the classic shape 1 has a straight wall (Fig. 12:c, d). The handle is also more rounded in section than the strap type typical of shape 1. At the same time these differences render it more similar to basins of shape 2 found in room 60; compare Figure 12:e with Figures 12:c, d and 6:d. Therefore, the large basin from room 60 (Fig. 12:e) can be considered another “missing link” between the regular Mycenaean repertoire and the group of partly handmade vessels found in room 60.

There was no obvious Mycenaean counterpart for the jug with the basket handle and tubular spout (shape 41; Fig. 6:e) found in room 60. Truly Mycenaean examples, however, are frequently found in tombs, including those at Pylos.⁴⁵ Interestingly, a crudely made jug found in chamber tomb K1 at Pylos appears to have been executed in the same technique as the examples of shape 41 from room 60.⁴⁶

In summary, there are numerous examples in room 60 of shapes executed in a particular technique that is not attested elsewhere in the palace,⁴⁷ as well as single examples of their fully Mycenaean counterparts. Because of this quantitative relation, I would like to suggest that the Mycenaean counterparts served as models, while the plentiful examples of shapes 2, 7, 8, and 10 are their copies. The reasons for the divergence between the copies and the models leads us to the much more intriguing problem of the identity of their producer.

IDENTIFYING A FOREIGN POTTER AT PYLOS

With regard to the manufacturing technique, surface treatment, and shape of the vessels classified as the “partly handmade group,” it seems that the potter who made them was not well acquainted with the Mycenaean potting tradition. Was he then a complete novice who was just starting to learn the craft and these are some of his early attempts? Although a reasonable assumption, I do not think this is the case. First of all, an apprentice would probably not have been given the opportunity to make his own pots, except for very small ones, at an early stage in the learning process. Ethnographic data shows that an apprentice has to practice every stage of the manufacturing process until he masters the techniques, which happens only gradually.⁴⁸ Even when the novice first attempts to reproduce the pots through observation and imitation,⁴⁹ those pots would be produced with techniques that would mirror those of the more experienced potters. In contrast, with

45. Mountjoy 1999, p. 328, fig. 109:41.

46. Blegen et al. 1973, p. 215, pl. 274:4.

47. There is only one example of the basin, shape 2, in room 47, and one example of shape 41 in room 105; Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 356, 379.

48. Roux and Corbetta 1989, pp. 10–29.

49. Crown 2002, p. 109.

the partly handmade group, many details of their morphology suggest that the potter responsible for these vessels had very clear but different ideas (or templates) that were reflected in his motor habits on how to make pottery and particular parts of the vessel. Also, the low values of the coefficients of variation for the rim diameters of those vessels⁵⁰ indicate a high level of skill.

This suggests that we are dealing with a trained potter, yet one who learned his craft in a particular pottery tradition that was simply different from what we would call the standard Mycenaean tradition common at Pylos. This is particularly clear in the way the spouts are made; they are invariably of the bridged type, while all other spouted shapes at Pylos have troughed spouts. Unless it is a functional distinction, this variation represents different ideas as to how spouts should be manufactured. Furthermore, the handles on shapes 7 and 8 have a very particular profile not seen on any contemporary Mycenaean shapes. Additionally, the bases are invariably flat and often slightly convex, which probably reflects the way they were manufactured. There is a lot of paring applied, particularly around handles and spouts, and this is a technique rarely used in these areas and to such an extent by Mycenaean potters.

The presence of parallel ripples on some of the walls, frequently with oblique orientation, is intriguing (Fig. 5:b). These surface features are usually interpreted as resulting from the paring of a pot when it was being rotated on the wheel. When the wheel (or pot) wobbles, a series of parallel ripples is created. However, for the pots of room 60, these marks are present on clearly handmade examples too, and are never accompanied by any traces of paring. In addition, ripples often run obliquely, which would not happen if they resulted from an activity executed when the pot was still on the wheel. Therefore, they must have been created by another set of actions.

A possible candidate would be the paddle and anvil technique, a traditional method used in making pottery⁵¹ but not practiced, at least to my knowledge, by Mycenaean potters. Further evidence for the non-Mycenaean tradition of the potter in question is provided by the execution of one particular feature with which the potter was apparently not familiar—the tubular spout on the jug with a basket handle (shape 41; see Fig. 10:b). The very crude way in which this feature was applied leaves no doubt that someone was trying to achieve a certain effect without having been properly trained as to how to do it.

The evidence thus points to the activity of at least one potter at Pylos who had been trained in a non-Mycenaean tradition. I would like to refer to him as “foreign.” The term as it is used here is not meant to be taken as an ethnic label, nor as an indication of a distant geographic origin, nor as a suggestion that the person came from outside of the Mycenaean world. This designation refers specifically to the particular potting tradition in which he was trained,⁵² which is clearly different from, and foreign to, the standard Mycenaean tradition in which all other pots from room 60 were executed. Most likely, these vessels and the way they were manufactured would appear as foreign to a Mycenaean potter. However, the concept of a potting tradition should not be confined merely to a particular set of actions, since technology is a socially embedded set of actions and choices, a product of knowledge, beliefs, and concepts that producers may be barely

50. See n. 38, above.

51. Rice 1987, p. 137; Wilson 1999, pp. 60–61, esp. fig. 43:6.

52. The same holds true for the term “Mycenaean.”

aware of. As Broodbank and Kiriati put it, “a certain technological tradition will often relate to specific social or cultural identities.”⁵³ More precisely, certain stages of the *chaîne opératoire*, the sequence of steps that lead to a finished product, especially those involving the fashioning of the vessel that result from motor habits internalized during the years of apprenticeship, are least prone to change and can thus reflect the most rooted aspects of social identity.⁵⁴ However, without the ability to localize the potter’s origin with more precision (see pp. 509–510, below), it is difficult to move beyond these general statements.

There is one inconsistency in the hypothesis of a foreign potter. As mentioned above, the manufacturing techniques for this group of pots are not homogenous, and range from fully handmade examples to those that bear evidence for the use of the wheel in their formation. The way to explain this is to assume that the foreign potter was working hand in hand with a Mycenaean one. There are a number of indications supporting this hypothesis. First, the Mycenaean counterparts that plausibly served as model pots for the partly handmade group are made in an entirely Mycenaean tradition. Second, the remaining assemblage of room 60, consisting of hundreds of typically Mycenaean vessels (see Table 1 for a list of all the vessels found in room 60), is generally executed in a finer version of the same fabric as the group of partly handmade vessels. While it cannot be automatically assumed that the same clay (and fabric) signifies the same workshop,⁵⁵ it should be considered a plausible scenario, given that vessels executed in this fabric are concentrated in room 60.

In accordance with this scenario, there are two possibilities. First, the use of the wheel in the manufacture of some of the pots (shapes 2 and 10) may suggest that the foreign potter was trying to learn a new craft. As mentioned above, internalized motor habits related to the forming techniques are least prone to change, but there exist ethnographic case studies that show that under certain circumstances this may happen.⁵⁶ In particular, this is possible when a potter moves to a new location, where techniques used by local potters are much different from the ones he was using before. In order to avoid being stigmatized, and to have a better chance of being accepted in the new society, he may be inclined to switch to new techniques. If this reconstruction is correct, then the varying number of wheelmade examples in relation to handmade ones may illustrate the potter’s progress in learning a new vase-building technique. Alternatively, the Mycenaean potter might have been wheel-finishing the roughouts prepared by the foreign potter in order to give them a more regular appearance. This combination of a hand-building technique with the use of rotative kinetic energy from the wheel is not unknown in Greek prehistory.⁵⁷

The very fine kylikes with high-swung handles (shape 30c) provide another possible example where two potters were cooperating. The surface treatment on some of these kylikes stands out for its resemblance to the rather crude burnishing of the partly handmade group. The appearance of burnishing troughs that run obliquely and do not cover the entire surface are quite different from the usual surface finish applied to the fine kylikes on the Greek mainland.⁵⁸ It thus seems plausible that the foreign potter was finishing some of the products of his Mycenaean counterpart.

53. Broodbank and Kiriati 2007, p. 247.

54. Gosselain 2000, p. 193, with bibliography.

55. Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery production on the island of Aigina may serve as a good example. The variety of potters’ marks plausibly reflect a number of family-based workshops operating simultaneously, which would not have been recognized without the potters’ marks because the fabric used for all of the pots is very similar; see Lindblom 2001; Gauss and Kiriati 2011.

56. Gelbert 2001; Gosselain 2008, pp. 169–171; 2010, pp. 199–200.

57. Knappett 1999; Choleva 2012; Berg 2013; Rückl and Jacob 2016. The methodology indispensable for recognizing various combinations of the two techniques was worked out by Courty and Roux (Courty and Roux 1995; Roux and Courty 1998).

58. The fine kylikes from elsewhere in the palace do not seem to have received a careful surface finish.

Finally, in this discussion of the people behind the pots, I would like to refer to the “smoky-looking” appearance of the pots from room 60 that was reported in the original publication. Blegen and Rawson did not think it could only be ascribed to the “local effects of the fire that wrecked the palace.”⁵⁹ I think this observation should receive proper attention. The clay used to manufacture the vessels in room 60 definitely fired darker and more reddish than the pale, sometimes greenish clay used for the remainder of the fine wares stored elsewhere in the palace.⁶⁰ Sometimes the vessels bear distinct fire clouds, in other cases they are completely blackened. Many of the kylikes with high-swung handles were almost totally black, and it was possible to mistake them, when fragmentary, for LH IIIC monochrome kylikes. The blackening could have been due to the fierce destruction by fire and the reducing atmosphere created in the collapsing room, but it is also possible that a different kind of firing method was employed for at least some of the pots—that is, they may not have been fired in a kiln at all, but rather in a bonfire. This type of firing is quite typical for household production, which usually also involves handmade techniques, and could be another sign of the activity, and the original tradition, of a foreign potter. It should be noted that the majority of large kraters of shape 59 found in room 60 (see pp. 515–516, below) are fired in a slightly paler reddish yellow color (comparable to Munsell 7.5YR 7/6–8), even though the clay seems to be the same. It is possible that these pots were fired at higher temperatures under better-controlled conditions, probably in a kiln.

The presence of half-finished specimens of particular shapes (Figs. 3, 4), which proved to be very useful in identifying various manufacturing techniques usually obliterated by subsequent burnishing, also calls for an explanation. The lack of the final surface treatment may suggest chaotic organization of the manufacturing process and haste. Otherwise such unfinished pots would have been noticed and not fired together with other fully finished vessels. The final surface treatment might have been irrelevant for the intended function of the vessel, yet the ubiquity of burnishing in that partly handmade group speaks in favor of its importance, if not for functional reasons, then at least in terms of potter’s preconceptions of how the pot should be made. It is important to mention that in the other pantries there is also evidence for hasty production resulting in flawed pots, followed by careless storage supervision that did not identify clearly useless vessels.⁶¹

If the potter was not only foreign with regard to his ceramic tradition, but also in a more fundamental way, what could be suggested as to his origin? Due to the scarcity of details that would betray his “technological signature,” which resulted from his shaping pots after a certain model, this is a very difficult question to answer; however, I would like to raise one intriguing possibility. Let us at least consider the possibility that his origin was not a remote area, such as the Balkans or Italy, as proposed for other kinds of handmade pottery,⁶² but rather more proximate, like some regions of the Peloponnese in which certain non-Mycenaean traditions survived longer than elsewhere. We do not have much evidence for traditional, handmade techniques surviving until a late stage of the Late Bronze Age in mainland Greece, but this may only be an artifact of excavation strategies, which focus on large important settlements located close to, or directly on, the

59. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 352.

60. This difference is due to the use of red-firing illites for the room 60 vessels as opposed to the paler-firing kaolinities that were used for the rest of the palatial fine wares; see Galaty 1999, p. 36, table 4:2.

61. Hruby 2006, pp. 192–195; 2014.

62. For a useful summary, see Jung 2006, pp. 22–39.

coast. The knowledge of the “interior” is very limited, and this is the region where perhaps these traditional modes of production were maintained.⁶³

Moreover, when we assume that all pottery in the LH IIIA–B period was wheelmade, we are not prepared to properly recognize and interpret the handmade vessels that turn up in layers of that date. The vessels analyzed in this article probably constitute the best example of this situation. We also tend to think about handmade pottery only through the perspective of the Handmade Burnished Ware, which can now be quite securely tied to population groups from southern Italy that entered Crete and the mainland from the end of the palatial period.⁶⁴ In addition to this kind of pottery, with its distinct typological features, there is also a heterogeneous group of handmade pottery that has a different origin, and is best explained as local household products.⁶⁵ Although it is characteristic of the postpalatial period, its first occurrences clearly predate the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces. For example, a round-bottom cooking pot from Mycenae was found in the destruction level of the palace, and should be roughly contemporary with pottery from Pylos.⁶⁶ At the other end of the chronological gap for handmade and burnished pottery, handmade pottery—some of it even tableware—was found among the LH IIIA2 Early material from Mitrou.⁶⁷ Throughout the LH III period there was also a distinct pottery tradition on the island of Aigina that produced handmade cooking pots,⁶⁸ while at Mitrou handmade cooking pots of non-Aiginetan provenience are also attested in the LH IIIB2 deposit.⁶⁹

Taking all of the above into account, I do not think that we need to look far to locate the origin of the foreign potter. I think it is likely that he came from a region within the Peloponnese, maybe even one that directly neighbored Messenia. Another possibility is that he was Messenian, and that his products represent a holdover of an earlier potting tradition that dates back to the Middle Helladic period; some of the pottery traits characteristic of room 60 find good parallels in this time period.⁷⁰ However, since Messenia, which is a relatively well-researched area, has not produced evidence thus far for the survival of Middle Helladic traditions as late as the final palatial period, I would consider such a hypothesis a less likely scenario.

In addition, it is possible that the potter behind the assemblage of room 60 does not have to remain entirely anonymous. Even though the references to pottery production in Linear B tablets are rather scarce, they do provide some interesting hints. Among these references, there are few potters mentioned in the tablets from Pylos itself—the most famous being the royal potter named *pi-ri-ta-wo*, who is listed in tablets PY En 467 and En 371+1160 as having a landholding.⁷¹ Personnel tablet An 207+360 lists two other potters of unknown status associated with the location of *re-ka-ta-ne*.⁷² The location of that placename is unknown, but it is not impossible that it was a place beyond the Pylian kingdom.⁷³ It is tempting to propose that the two potters mentioned on An 207+360 may be identified with those who produced the material found in room 60, although I recognize that such an association should be considered only tentative.

Of critical importance, however, is the question whether pottery stored in that room was locally made, or whether it was brought from an outside location. This question cannot be definitively answered, but chemical

63. Similarly Jung 2006, pp. 46–47.

64. Lis 2008, pp. 153–154.

65. Lis 2008, p. 156.

66. French 1989, p. 40, fig. 3.

67. S. Vitale (pers. comm.).

68. Lis 2012a, pp. 1203–1204.

69. Lis 2012b, pp. 89–92; see Vitale 2012 for general information about the deposit.

70. J. Gulizio (pers. comm.).

71. Palaima 1997; Hruba 2006, p. 199; 2013, p. 424.

72. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 182–183; Papadopoulos 1997, p. 459.

73. One of the placenames (*ko-ri-to*) on this tablet can be associated with Corinth (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 183), but see Palaima (1991, p. 304) for a different view; he locates *ko-ri-to* in the Further Province of Pylos.

analysis conducted by Galaty may point in a certain direction. The majority of analyzed fragments from room 60 fall into either group 1a (six out of 11 samples) or group 1b (three samples). The remaining two samples belong to group 2, which is associated with fine wares made of kaolinite clay. According to the current study, this latter group represents a minority of vessels stored in room 60. Both groups 1a and 1b are also present among material sampled from two other rooms, court 47 and room 20 (Fig. 1),⁷⁴ but the connection between room 60 and court 47 seems much stronger than that between either of these rooms with room 20. Group 1b was also attested among sherds found in the area surrounding the palace by the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project. It seems that group 1a appears to be most specific to room 60, yet this applies only to the sample initially selected, which, as stated above, included very few examples of the partly handmade group. Definitely, all fragments identified as belonging to kraters of shape 59 belong to group 1a. Two kylikes (samples JC157 and JC167) fall into two different groups, 1b and 1a, respectively. Finally, two possible examples of the partly handmade group (samples JC158 and JC162) belong to group 1b.

Of the raw clay samples tested by Galaty, there is one that seems closely associated with group 1a, and none that closely match group 1b. While it cannot be proven directly, the macroscopic, petrographic, and also typological (as far as it can be recognized) similarity of samples belonging to both chemical groups, as well as their close chemical relationship, suggest that members of group 1b have a similar origin. The clay source in question is located at Mouriadadha, in the northern part of Messenia, close to the region of Elis.⁷⁵ It is worth recalling that a parallel for shape 7, the one-handled bowl, came from Makryisia Chania in Elis. According to the publication, “[it] is identical with those from our palace in every respect: shape to the last detail, size, clay, finishing of surface, etc.”⁷⁶

It is thus possible that the region that could have been the original home of the potter whose products were stored in room 60 was Elis, which is also the possible location of *re-ka-ta-ne*. And it is possible that the place where the potter could have manufactured the pottery was somewhere in northern Messenia or in Elis itself. There is corroborative evidence showing that Pylos did have some kind of economic connections with Elis. A seal from Elis (*CMS XI*, no. 27) impressed a sealing found at Pylos (*CMS IS*, no. 180), apparently recording a shipment of female goats.⁷⁷ Hruby suggested that the various craftsmen listed on the tablet mentioning two potters from *re-ka-ta-ne* might have been itinerant, while Papadopoulos considers them to be relocating specialists.⁷⁸ This could well explain the presence of potter(s) trained in a non-Mycenaean tradition in the kingdom of Pylos, and add another dimension to the reconstruction of pottery production in Messenia during the Late Bronze Age.

74. An indirect result of Galaty's chemical analysis is that vessels made of clay similar to that from room 60 were found in other rooms of the palace. This is in line with my macroscopic observations discussed below.

75. For Mouriadadha, see Bennet 2002, p. 24; Galaty 2010, p. 234.

76. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 358.

77. Younger 2010, p. 334.

78. Hruby 2013, p. 424; Papadopoulos 1997, p. 459.

FUNCTION OF THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE FROM ROOM 60

The last issue to consider with regard to this peculiar set of vessels is its function. Before we embark on this topic, it is worth briefly describing the other vessels stored in room 60. As mentioned above, there are a number of shapes in that room that are unique within the palace, and some are also unique within the entire Mycenaean mainland. Even those shapes that seem similar to the types found in other rooms of the palace are in fact not precisely the same, as has been pointed out by Whitelaw.⁷⁹ For the diminutive kylix, the angular kylix, and the large example of shape 59, I illustrate these important differences with drawings of examples from room 60 (Figs. 14–16, below). Previously, the scarcity of such drawings in the original publication did not allow for the uniqueness of this assemblage to be properly recognized. In addition to the descriptions below, all the shapes recovered from room 60 are summarized in Table 1.

At Pylos, the one-handled spouted bowl (shape 6; Fig. 13:a) is a shape unique to room 60, with a new variant discovered in the sherd material (Fig. 11). Elsewhere, it is attested most frequently in tombs, but usually it is painted. An unpainted specimen comes from chamber tomb III at Prosymna.⁸⁰

The shallow cup with a straddle handle (shape 15; Fig. 13:b) was called an “ashtray” in the preliminary analysis of the material. It has a small capacity (between 0.1 and 0.13 liter) and is very shallow. The handle is attached to the interior of the bowl. It is one of the shapes that has no parallels elsewhere on the mainland. The shape appears quite frequently in room 60, with 83 examples.

The cup with a rod handle (shape 16; Fig. 13:c) is an uncommon type, otherwise known only from Thebes and Berbati.⁸¹ It is a small shape with a peculiar vertical handle that ends with a flattened knob. The shape is rare in room 60 (only two examples were counted).

The bell-shaped cup (shape 17; Fig. 13:d) is a shape known elsewhere, but its examples from room 60 are the only ones found within the palace.⁸² Only four examples were counted.

The cup with two high handles (shape 19; Fig. 13:e) is not unique in the palace (four examples were found in room 18), yet the unpainted version is found only in room 60 (Table 1).⁸³ The contexts in which unpainted cups of this kind came to light on the Mycenaean mainland suggest a ritual association for that particular form.⁸⁴ Three examples were found in the LH IIIB2 Temple at Mycenae,⁸⁵ one in the cult area of the Unterburg in Tiryns,⁸⁶ and another one in room A at Methana, which has been interpreted as a Mycenaean shrine; a further example from Mitrou derives from a context of ritual consumption.⁸⁷ Two specimens, dated to LH IIIA1–2, came from funerary contexts: tomb XVIII at Prosymna⁸⁸ and tomb 523 at Mycenae.⁸⁹ The only example from a domestic context comes from room 1 in the House of the Sphinxes at Mycenae.⁹⁰

The diminutive kylix (shape 26; Fig. 14:b) is another shape with high-swing handles, and its association with cult/ritual is undisputable.⁹¹ Shapes 19 and 26 are often found together, as, for example, at Mycenae, Tiryns, probably Methana, and Mitrou.⁹² Many examples of the diminutive kylix

Figure 13 (*opposite*). Various shapes from room 60: (a) spouted bowl, shape 6; (b) cup with high handle, shape 15; (c) cup with rod handle, shape 16; (d) bell-shaped cup, shape 17; (e) cup with high handles, shape 19; (f) kylix with handles below the rim, shape 28; (g) kylix with two high handles, shape 30c; (h) small variant of krater, shape 59; (i) scoop/lamp, shape 66; (j) incense burner with a lid, shapes 71 and 72. Scale 1:5. Drawings T. Ross, after Blegen and Rawson 1966, figs. 352:448 (a), 356:424 (b), 356:664 (c), 356:438 (d), 356:439 (e), 360:442 (f), 366:436 (g), 384:437 (h), 396:427 (i), 396:580, 582 (j)

79. Whitelaw 2001, p. 58.

80. Blegen 1937, p. 110, fig. 454:121; Shelton 1996, p. 11.

81. Symeonoglou 1973, pp. 27, 39, nos. K51–K55, figs. 51, 178, 179. The example from Berbati is unpublished, but is mentioned and illustrated by Symeonoglou (1973, p. 27, n. 129, fig. 179).

82. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 362.

83. A fairly similar unpainted cup, shape 18, was found exclusively in room 18; see Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 362–363. It is shallower than shape 19, and has differently shaped handles.

84. Vitale 2008, p. 232, n. 14.

85. Moore and Taylour 1999, p. 33, nos. 68-1410, 68-1413, 68-1426.

86. Podzuweit 1979, p. 422, fig. 41:2.

87. Methana: Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, p. 214; Mitrou: Vitale 2008, p. 233, pl. XLV:c.

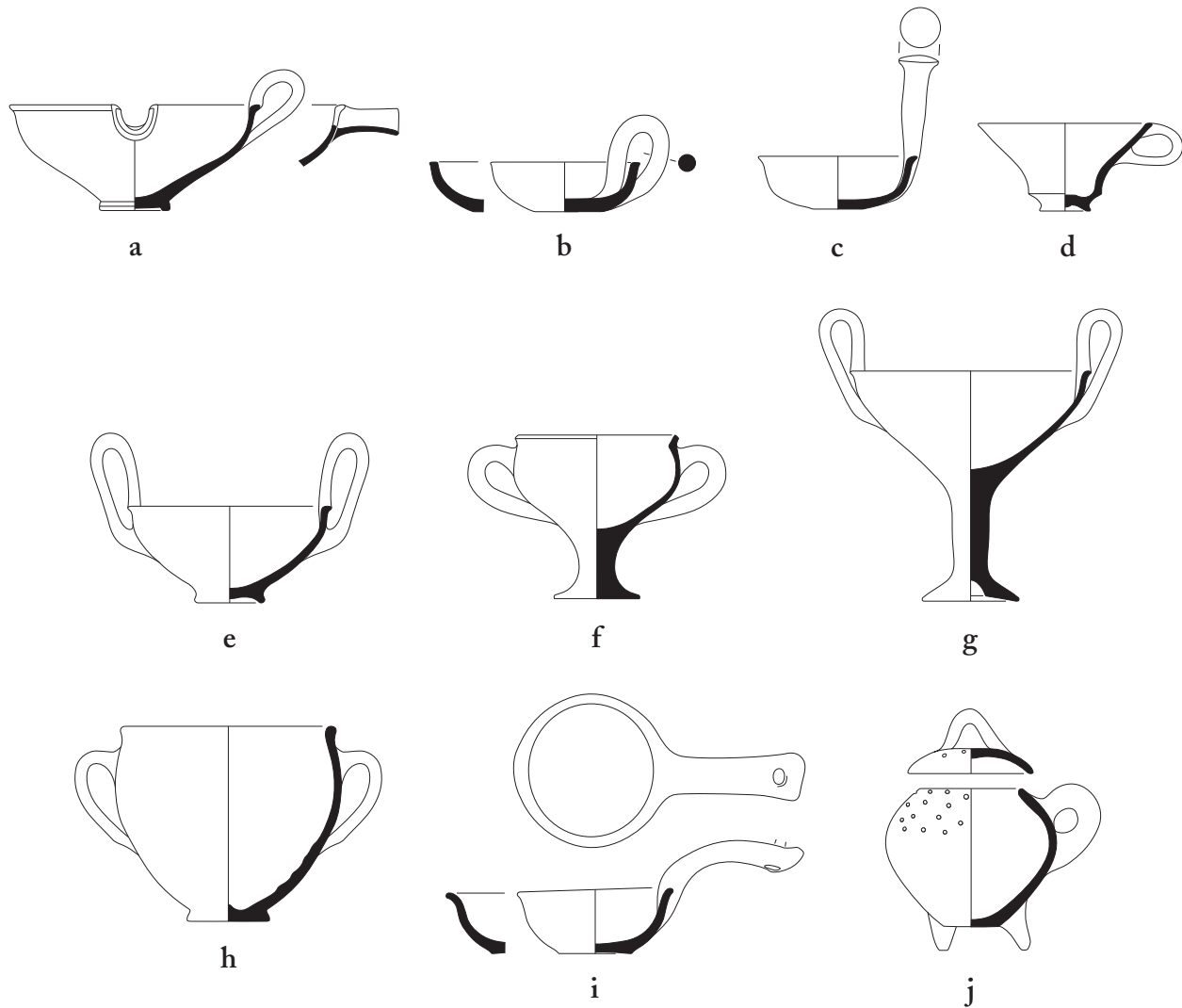
88. Wace 1932, p. 37, no. 7:a, pl. XX.

89. Blegen 1937, pp. 57–58, 434, no. 218, fig. 110.

90. Tournavitou 1995, p. 86.

91. Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004, pp. 210–211; Stocker and Davis 2004, pp. 190–191.

92. Vitale 2008, p. 233, n. 22, with further bibliography.



came from the main pantries, room 7, and the Megaron, but the biggest concentration was found in room 60 (82 examples; see Table 1). Upon closer inspection, kylikes from room 60 turn out to be much different from those found elsewhere in the palace. Figure 14 illustrates the difference between a typical example of such a kylix from room 60, which is much deeper and has a larger rim diameter (Fig. 14:a), and other kylikes of shape 26 from the palace (Fig. 14:b). In fact, every single diminutive kylix from room 60 exceeds the maximum dimensions for examples of that shape found elsewhere in the palace.⁹³ While the amount of liquid that can be held in the shallower and smaller versions is minimal (at most 0.035 liter, average 0.017), the capacity of the kylix depicted in Figure 14:a is almost three times larger (0.09). This makes kylikes from room 60 more functional vessels, rather than just votive ones, as is the case for other specimens of

93. Blegen and Rawson (1966, p. 366) list dimensions and capacities for diminutive kylikes mostly from rooms other than room 60, and only one inventoried from that room. The latter happens to be the largest one out

of those measured (no. 641: diameter rim 7.3 cm, base 4.5 cm). Rims of kylikes from room 60 that were not inventoried have diameters that range from 7.8 to 9 cm, while the maximum rim diameter for shape 26 from other

rooms is 6.2 cm (no. 309). This is the case with bases as well (3.9 cm is the maximum diameter for shape 26 from other rooms of the palace; 4.4–5.3 cm is the range recorded in room 60).

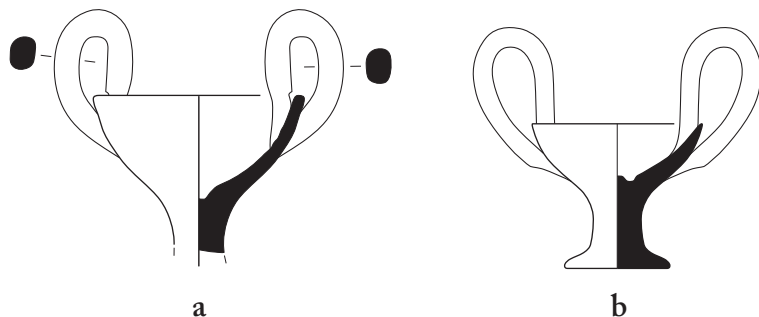


Figure 14. Diminutive kylikes, shape 26: (a) example from room 60; (b) example from doorway between rooms 18 and 20. Scale 1:3. Drawings T. Ross; (b) after Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 360:319

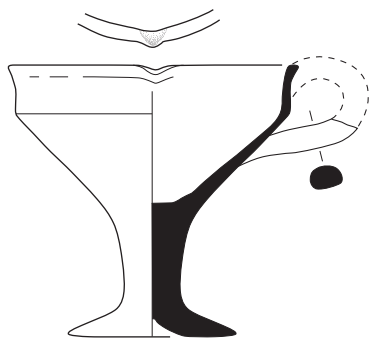


Figure 15. Angular kylix with a small spout, shape 27, from room 60. Scale 1:3. Drawing T. Ross

shape 26. At the same time, examples from room 60 are much closer in size to those found at Mitrou or Tsoungiza.⁹⁴

The angular kylix (shape 27; Fig. 15) is a rare form in room 60, but many more examples come from other rooms, in particular room 20 in the main cluster of pantries. Yet even here there is an important morphological, and probably also functional difference. All angular kylikes from room 60 (but from nowhere else in the palace) have small pinched-out spouts, which are mentioned by Blegen and Rawson.⁹⁵ The meaning of this small addition is unclear; nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting that some of the angular kylikes were used as lamps.⁹⁶ In the case of the examples found at Pylos, small spouts would hold the wick in place.

The kylix with handles below its rim (shape 28, Fig. 13:f) is again a shape unique to room 60. Parallels are known from other sites but are usually much earlier (LH IIIA), and sometimes solidly painted.⁹⁷

Kylikes with one or two high-swung handles (shape 30c; Fig. 13:g; shape 32) are not at all common in the rest of the palace, but very much so in room 60. Almost all standard-sized kylikes in room 60 have high-swung

94. Vitale 2008, p. 233, pl. XLV:c; Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004, pp. 210–211, fig. 6.

95. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 367.

96. Shelton (2008, p. 226) formulated such a possibility for angular kylikes found in tombs. The publication of the Mycenaean Fountain of the Athenian Acropolis by Broneer (1939, p. 377) likewise found carinated kylikes (without additional spouts) that were

plausibly used as lamps, including a complete in situ specimen on the fourth landing. On Crete, during the Late Minoan IIIA2 period, the champagne cup (Minoan equivalent of the angular kylix) was occasionally used for that purpose; Rutter 2013.

97. Mountjoy 1999, p. 332, fig. 112:59. The problem of an earlier (in stylistic terms) date also pertains to much of the unpainted and

painted pottery from the palace (see Thomas 2004, p. 214). No entirely satisfactory and widely accepted explanation for this situation has been offered. For this reason, and also because the partly handmade group is not closely datable, this issue will not be dealt with in this article. What seems indisputable, however, is that the entire assemblage of room 60 was destroyed at the same time as the main palace.

Figure 16. Large variant of shape 59 from room 60. Scale 1:5. Drawing T. Ross

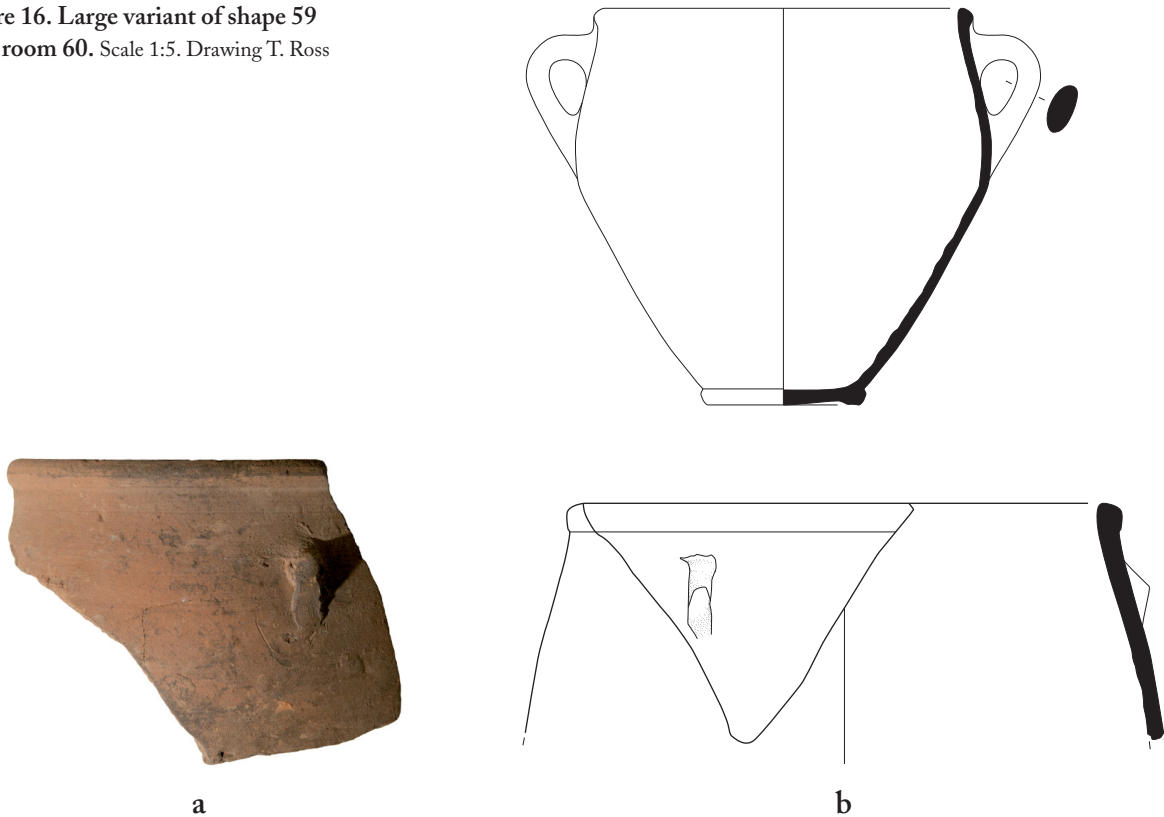


Figure 17. Kraters, shape 59, from room 60 with knobs: (a) on a small version of shape 59; (b) on a rim fragment of a larger version. Scale (a) 1:2; (b) 1:3. Drawing T. Ross

98. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 372.
 99. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 396.
 100. Lis 2006, pp. 10–11, table 3.
 101. Blegen and Rawson 1966, no. 437, fig. 384.
 102. Blegen and Rawson 1966, no. 672, fig. 383.
 103. The knob is not illustrated on Figure 16, as this vessel was not completely preserved. It is clearly visible on the publication photo (Blegen and Rawson 1966, no. 672, fig. 383).

handles. Only single examples of this shape (altogether six two-handled kylikes versus 256 from room 60) are known from other rooms, where standard kylikes (without high-swung handles) dominate. What does this difference indicate? High-swung handles, in general, constitute a rarity in settlement contexts of the developed Late Bronze Age. The only exception is the dipper, where a single handle of that type has a clear functional purpose. Kylikes with high-swung handles are particularly frequent in tombs. Parallels quoted by Blegen and Rawson all derive from chamber tomb cemeteries.⁹⁸ Since that publication, many more examples have come to light, the vast majority of which derive from tombs.

Apart from the 31 examples of the krater (shape 59; Figs. 13:h, 16) found in room 60, Blegen and Rawson list numerous examples of this shape in room 68.⁹⁹ A number of reasons exist to consider kraters from these two rooms as two different shapes, or at least two different variants of shape 59. These two morphological variants were thoroughly discussed in an earlier article, in which I suggested the variant from room 60 be referred to as shape 59a.¹⁰⁰ In addition, among kraters of shape 59a found in room 60, there are two distinct size variants. The smaller variant, with a capacity of ca. 1.6 liters, is illustrated by Blegen and Rawson both with a drawing (here redrawn as Fig. 13:h) and a photograph,¹⁰¹ whereas the larger variant, with ca. 9 liter capacity, is only shown on a photograph.¹⁰² To compensate for this, I illustrate the larger variant here (Fig. 16). One of the important differences between the examples of shape 59 from rooms 60 and 68 is that the kraters from room 60 have a knob placed on one of the sides between the two handles (Fig. 17:a, b).¹⁰³ The knob consists of a strip

of clay pressed to the body on both ends. The function of such knobs is not entirely clear, yet they might have been useful for handling the pot. In its room 60 form, the small krater is also found at other sites, usually in single examples;¹⁰⁴ only the Potter's Shop at Zygyouries yielded a large collection consisting of ca. 600 examples.¹⁰⁵ The larger version from room 60 (Fig. 16) does not have any parallels from the palace or elsewhere.

The ladle or scoop (shape 66; Fig. 13:i) is known from other sites on the mainland; in the palace it is concentrated in room 60 (with just one other example that was found in room 43; see Table 1). The original publication refers to Persson's interpretation of this shape as "scoop-lamps," and it seems this is the most plausible identification.¹⁰⁶ The shallow and broad spout opposite the handle would not work very well as a pouring device, but is well positioned to hold a wick, as the flame would be far away from the handle. The orientation of the handle would make ladling quite cumbersome, but it is suitable for holding it while keeping a distance from the heat of the flame. Examples from other sites where they were used and not merely stored show burning marks at the spout.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, in addition to the angular kylikes, there is a second shape in room 60 that could have served as a source of light.

The incense burner with a lid (shapes 71 and 72; Fig. 13:j) is only found in room 60 at the palace. Five complete sets, plus one additional lid, were found. The shape is known from sites on the mainland and beyond, and it is present exclusively in tombs. Thus the incense burner makes an obvious funerary utensil, and its storage within the palace is surprising. Interestingly, these incense burners are executed in a fabric (heavily tempered with pale soft inclusions) typical of pantries 67–68, which contain mostly cooking pottery, rather than of room 60. This is the only form in room 60 made of this type of fabric.

Five other shapes were found in room 60, but they are not unique to the room and are commonly found elsewhere on the mainland (see Table 1: stirrup jar, 1 example; alabastron, 1; shallow cup, 1; piriform jar, 1; shallow angular bowl, 51). In fact, the shallow angular bowl is the only shape common both in room 60 and elsewhere in the palace. There seems to be no difference, either in shape or fabric, between such bowls found in the different rooms of the palace.

The results of this review are shown in Table 1 and provide evidence that the function (or functions) of the room 60 assemblage was rather unique. It has already been suggested that the assemblage of this room is not homogenous with regard to its function, and can be divided into two groups.¹⁰⁸ After my reanalysis of the room's vessels and their fabrics, this division can be confirmed, with a few minor modifications.

104. Mycenae: Moore and Taylour 1999, p. 265, no. 69–510; Nichoria: Shelmerdine 1992, p. 547, no. P3871, fig. 9:70; the Menelaion: Catling 2009, p. 112, no. X7, fig. 142, pl. 78:b.

105. Blegen 1928, p. 157; Thomas 1992, pp. 328–329.

106. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 412.

107. For such an example found at Mycenae, see Danielidou 2008, p. 78, fig. 55, pl. 28:β.

108. Lis 2006, pp. 21–24.



Figure 18. Tinned kylix stem from room 60. Scale 2:3

THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE

The first group is clearly associated with the funerary sphere. This is suggested by the presence of types that are not found outside of cemeteries, in particular the incense burners. There are also shapes that are found overwhelmingly in tombs, and here the kylikes with high-swung handles serve as good examples. Following this line of thinking, I would be inclined to associate most of the shapes with high-swung handles with funerary use, i.e., the diminutive kylikes, the small bowls with one high handle, and the two-handled cups. For at least two of them, there is a well-established connection with ritual activities, which are common within funerary contexts as well. This is well illustrated by the diminutive kylix found in chamber tomb 6 of the Angelopoulos Group at Volimidia, now on display in the Chora Museum, which matches the kylikes from room 60 in fabric, form, and size. Furthermore, this same tomb produced a miniature bowl with a high handle attached to the interior of the bowl, which is a small copy of shape 15—found only in room 60 (Table 1). Chamber tomb 7 from the same cemetery produced a small “goblet/kylix” that is very similar to shape 28 from Pylos, which is another shape found only in room 60; this is also another vessel type that can be associated with the funerary sphere. Jugs with basket handles are also frequently found in tombs, and an example that seems to match the room 60 examples in manufacture derives from chamber tomb K1 at Pylos.¹⁰⁹ Lamps (shape 66 and possibly shape 27 with a small spout) are also often found in tombs at Pylos, and their usefulness in such contexts is clear. The presence of a single partially preserved tinned kylix (Fig. 18) further supports such an interpretation of part of the assemblage, as tinned vessels are found exclusively in tombs.¹¹⁰

It remains to address the question of what kind of activities were connected with this set of vessels. Were they simply deposited as grave goods? I think that the presence of diminutive kylikes and cups with two high-swung handles are indicative of certain funerary rituals (possibly libation) that could have been associated with new interments or the veneration of the ancestors. The presence of the many kylikes may point to funerary feasts taking place by the tombs, and this would also explain the high number of shallow angular bowls stored in room 60.

109. Blegen et al. 1973, p. 215, pl. 274:4.

110. Tinned vessels come from earlier contexts, as they are predominantly dated to the LH IIIA period; see Gillis 1997; Wright 2004, p. 145, with further references.

Therefore, scholars pointing to the possible use of the assemblage of room 60 for feasting were quite right; however, the kind of feasting event was different from what they envisioned. In this respect it is worth pointing out that room 60 is well positioned to supply paraphernalia for funerary rites in and around tombs that were still in use by the LH IIIB period.¹¹¹ These are the various chamber tombs and Tholos III, located to the southwest of the place, and not Tholos IV, located to the northeast, which was out of use by that period.

PERFUMED OIL PRODUCTION

The functional ascription just discussed does not, however, solve the problem of the most unique group of pots from room 60 that were discussed in the first part of this article, or of other shapes not associated with the funerary group. It seems that some kind of specialized, industrial use is the most likely possibility (Table 1). Spouts on several of the shapes indicate that a liquid commodity was involved. The rarity—or even complete lack—of close parallels for these vessels does not help when it comes to the identification of their possible function.

Nonetheless, of the existing parallels, the most intriguing are the counterparts for the small kraters (shape 59) found at the so-called Potter's Shop at Zygouries.¹¹² Not only is their number staggering (more than 600 examples were counted), but also the accompanying ceramic assemblage was entirely unusual, a situation not dissimilar to the group of vessels from room 60. Apart from several hundreds of small kraters, simply called cooking pots, in room 13 of the Potter's Shop, there were four conical lids, two one-handled cooking pots, 10 cooking ladles, five braziers, two amphoras, about 20 three-lugged globular jars, and more than 100 saucers with perforated bases. In room 33, there were eight jugs, 46 four-handled large kraters, 40 four-handled basins, four two-handled basins, one vat, and approximately 100 additional small kraters of the same type as those found in room 13. In the adjacent room 12, apart from copious kylikes of various types, there were three very large stirrup jars and 10 large ones.

Thomas, who restudied this assemblage for his dissertation, rightly concluded that, “the specialized nature of these vessels is a good indication that they were used for a particular manufacturing process or processes.”¹¹³ The presence of large stirrup jars in the nearby room led him to suggest that this highly unusual assemblage might have been used in the manufacture of perfumed oil. In order to test this hypothesis, he consulted the description of the process by two ancient authors, Theophrastos (*De odoribus* 14–60) and Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 1.42–63). It is worth summarizing his results here, since they can be used to verify one of the possible functions of the pottery found in room 60. The first stage, called *stypsis*, involved boiling weak aromatics (*stymmata*, στύμματα) in olive oil, in order to make the latter more receptive to the final scent. The oil was then strained to remove the *stymmata*, and afterwards the proper aromatics, *bedysmata* (ἡδύσματα) were steeped in the cold oil. After repeated additions of fresh *bedysmata*, the oil was carefully strained to remove any organic sediments. In his description of the recipe for rose perfume, Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 1.43) provides information on the vessels involved in the process.

111. I would like to thank Sharon Stocker for this suggestion. See also Murphy 2014, pp. 212–215.

112. Blegen 1928, p. 157; Thomas 1992, pp. 328–329.

113. Thomas 1992, p. 337.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON BETWEEN VESSEL TYPES USED FOR PERFUMED OIL PRODUCTION

<i>Zygouries Potter's Shop</i>		<i>Pylos Room 60</i>	
<i>Form</i>	<i>Capacity (liters)</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Capacity (liters)</i>
two-handled krater	3.0	two-handled krater, shape 59	1.6
shallow four-handled basin	7–12	shallow two-handled basin, shape 2	4.6–6.5
four-handled krater	35–45	deep spouted bowl, shape 10	9.5–13.4

The oil was heated in bronze cauldrons. The steeping was done in a shallow basin. The final stage took place in kraters, coated with honey, where the organic sediment was allowed to settle to the bottom. The oil was poured at least twice into different kraters.¹¹⁴

The assemblage from House B at Zygouries, found in the “Potter’s House,” fits very well into this description. The more than 600 cooking pots could have been used in the first stage, the boiling of weak aromatics. It is worth mentioning here that on the Linear B tablets the perfumers are called *a-re-pa-zo-o*, which literally means perfume-boilers.¹¹⁵ The four-handled basins would have been appropriate for the steeping stage, while the large four-handled kraters are obvious candidates for use in the settling of the organic sediments. The intriguing part of such a reconstruction is that the capacity of vessels used at each stage increases by three or four times (Table 2). This suggests that several batches of oil were combined at the end of each stage. Finally, the capacity of the four-handled kraters used at the last stage is similar to the capacity (between 43 and 48 liters) of the very large stirrup jars found in the same building.

Other vessel types from Zygouries could be explained with the perfumed oil hypothesis too. The intriguing pierced saucers were likely used in sets as a kind of press for extracting oil from the aromatics, such as rose petals. Thomas found that thanks to their variability in size, several such “saucers” can be placed one into another, while their holes remain perfectly centered.¹¹⁶ The three-lugged jars could have been used as a measuring device, as they show a substantial degree of standardization in terms of size; alternatively, they could have held ingredients used in the manufacturing process. Jugs and amphoras probably held wine and honey.¹¹⁷

The Zygouries Potter’s shop provides the most convincing case for a set of vessels used in the manufacture of perfumed oil. Can a similar function be suggested for part of the assemblage of room 60? It appears that the basic forms that could have been used in the three stages of perfumed oil manufacture are indeed present (see Table 2). As already mentioned, the most obvious relationship with the Zygouries assemblage is provided by the two-handled kraters, shape 59.¹¹⁸ The rarity of that type on the Mycenaean mainland is also meaningful, as it suggests their highly specialized function. The presence of two different size variants of shape 59 in room 60 at Pylos could imply that the amounts of oil used in the process were of two different quantities—one of 1.6 liters (small variant of shape 59), and the other of 9 liters (i.e., the capacity of the larger example of shape 59 illustrated in Fig. 16).

Just as in the case of Zygouries, the shallow basin of shape 2 is a good candidate for the steeping stage.¹¹⁹ Finally, substantial deep spouted bowls (shape 10) appear as perfectly suited for the last stage, in which

114. Shelmerdine 1985, pp. 45–46; Thomas 1992, pp. 287–289.

115. Shelmerdine 1985, p. 17, n. 26.

116. Thomas 1992, p. 299.

117. According to Dioscorides (1.53), wine or water is mixed with chopped *stymmata* before being boiled in oil in the first stage of the process.

118. Foster (1974, pp. 173–174) considered them candidates for the perfumed oil manufacture.

119. It is an interesting coincidence that in the third volume of Furumark’s work on Mycenaean pottery, which appeared after his death, the big shallow bowl with four handles (his type 293), a type which is found only at Zygouries, is illustrated with a photo of a two-handled basin of shape 2 from Pylos; Furumark 1992, pl. 161.

the scented oil is separated from the remains of any organic matter. Their bridged spouts make the bowls even more efficient for that purpose than the spoutless kraters from Zygouries. As indicated in Table 2, the capacity of vessels used in subsequent stages shows a steady increase, as they do at Zygouries. The capacity sizes actually differ, but it is possible that smaller batches were preferred by the perfumers at Pylos. This may be confirmed by the capacity of stirrup jars at Pylos. According to my own calculations,¹²⁰ the capacities of 12 out of 30 larger stirrup jars found at Pylos cluster between 6 and 9 liters, while the remainder are loosely distributed between 10 and 55 liters, without any clear concentrations. The only stirrup jar inventoried from room 60 (in the sherd material there is at least one more), has the capacity of ca. 10 liters. It is in line both with the size of the deep spouted bowls (Table 2), presumably used at the last stage, and with the larger examples of krater shape 59, which would have been used for boiling bigger batches of oil.

There is one additional vessel type in room 60 that was found in substantial quantities, and at least in terms of manufacture is clearly associated with other forms thought to have been part of the perfumed oil production set. It is the shallow spouted bowl (shape 7, and its two-handled variant, shape 8, which is represented by only one example). This form is not found at Zygouries. It has a small capacity of ca. 0.8 liters, which is only half the size of the small krater that was presumably used in the first stage of manufacture. Such bowls could have been used at Pylos in a specific part of the process that was either not part of perfumed oil manufacture at Zygouries, or that was carried out there with different utensils. I think such bowls could have been used to squeeze oil out of the aromatics, as the oil would have flowed out through the bridged spout. This would make them functional equivalents of the pierced saucers, a shape not known anywhere else on the Greek mainland (perhaps they were a regional peculiarity of the northeast Peloponnese). Alternatively, the shallow spouted bowl might have been used prior to the first stage of manufacture, in order to mix the chopped aromatics with the wine or water. The spouts would be useful for pouring such mixtures into the boiling oil in a controlled way.

Regarding other auxiliary shapes, one could mention the single example of a squat jar or alabastron, shape 64, and of a piriform jar, shape 52, which could have been used to store honey, which, according to ancient sources, was an indispensable substance in the process. In addition, the 20 jugs with tubular spouts and basket handles, even though I initially included them in the funerary group, could have been used in the perfume-making process as containers for water, wine, or any other fluid. Their spouts would allow for a controlled addition of liquid.

Apart from the kraters of shape 59, another similarity between room 60 and the Zygouries Potter's Shop is the presence of so-called scoops, here interpreted as lamps. They were associated with funerary activities, yet their presence at Zygouries suggests that they were useful in the perfumed oil industry too.

The analysis of the nonfunerary vessels from room 60 strongly suggests their involvement in perfumed oil production, which is not surprising

120. Calculations were based either on published drawings, or on outlines made from photographs taken in the Chora Museum in 2012. In order to avoid distortion, photographs were taken from a distance of ca. 7–10 m. As such, they are only approximations. For calculations, I used a web-based software designed by Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine, available at <http://capacity.ulb.ac.be/>. I would like to thank Agnieszka Kaliszewska for her assistance in this process.

for Pylos given the preoccupation of the palace administration with that commodity. Even though these elements of the room 60 assemblage have never been explicitly associated with this crucial industry and interpreted as a set, nonetheless, a number of these shapes, including the shallow spouted bowls, have been listed by Shelmerdine as possibly connected to the perfumed oil industry.¹²¹

RECONSTRUCTING THE STORAGE ARRANGEMENT IN ROOM 60

The study of the way vessels are stored in a particular space can provide clues concerning their patterns of use. While it is reasonable to expect that pots of the same shape will be stored together, the way these shapes are arranged in relation to one another is far from obvious and could provide hints as to their functional associations. Therefore, by reconstructing the storage arrangement in room 60, it will be possible to test the hypotheses presented above, namely that there were two functional groups within this ceramic assemblage.

The original publication is not particularly informative in this respect. It is only stated that vessels were arranged by type, and some were probably stored on shelves, as streaks of carbonized matter were found partly below the crashed pots. Further evidence for wooden shelving is that rows of small postholes were found along all four walls.¹²² Only the position of the deep spouted bowls, shape 10, is carefully noted. They were found in the eastern corner of the room, “stacked on the floor in rows one inside the other upside down.”¹²³ This pile of pots is visible on Figure 24, below, and on the only published archival photo showing room 60 still under excavation.¹²⁴

In order to remedy this dearth of information, I turned my attention to the original notebooks and archival photos, currently kept at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and at the Departments of Classics, University of Cincinnati. Combining this evidence, it was possible to reconstruct a rough plan of the arrangement of vessels in room 60 (Fig. 19). When the descriptions in the notebooks were not precise enough, the field inventory of vessels found in the course of excavation and Rawson’s pottery notebook, which contained inventory dates for particular vessels, proved to be very helpful.

Room 60, initially referred to as room 62, was excavated by Elizabeth Blegen (see Fig. 25, below) from June 8 to 19, 1954, and again from June 11 to 16, 1955. Piles of broken vessels were found along each of the four walls. Blegen opened a number of relatively small trenches, some of which were extended as more finds came to light. During the 1954 campaign, the entire northwest and southwest walls were exposed. In addition, part of the southeast wall close to the south corner, and a small part of the northeast wall around the entrance were cleared as well. Vessels stored along the northwest wall (Fig. 20) were the first to be exposed and removed. It is clearly discernible in the archival photo that two vessel types were found there: the so-called scoop (in fact, a lamp), shape 66; and the kylix with two high-swung handles, shape 30c (Fig. 19). This observation is confirmed by

121. Shelmerdine 1984, p. 85.

122. There were four holes along the northwest wall, seven along the southwest wall, two along the southeast wall, and eight along the northeast wall; see Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 238–239, pl. 189.

123. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 239.

124. Blegen 1956, pl. 42:5.

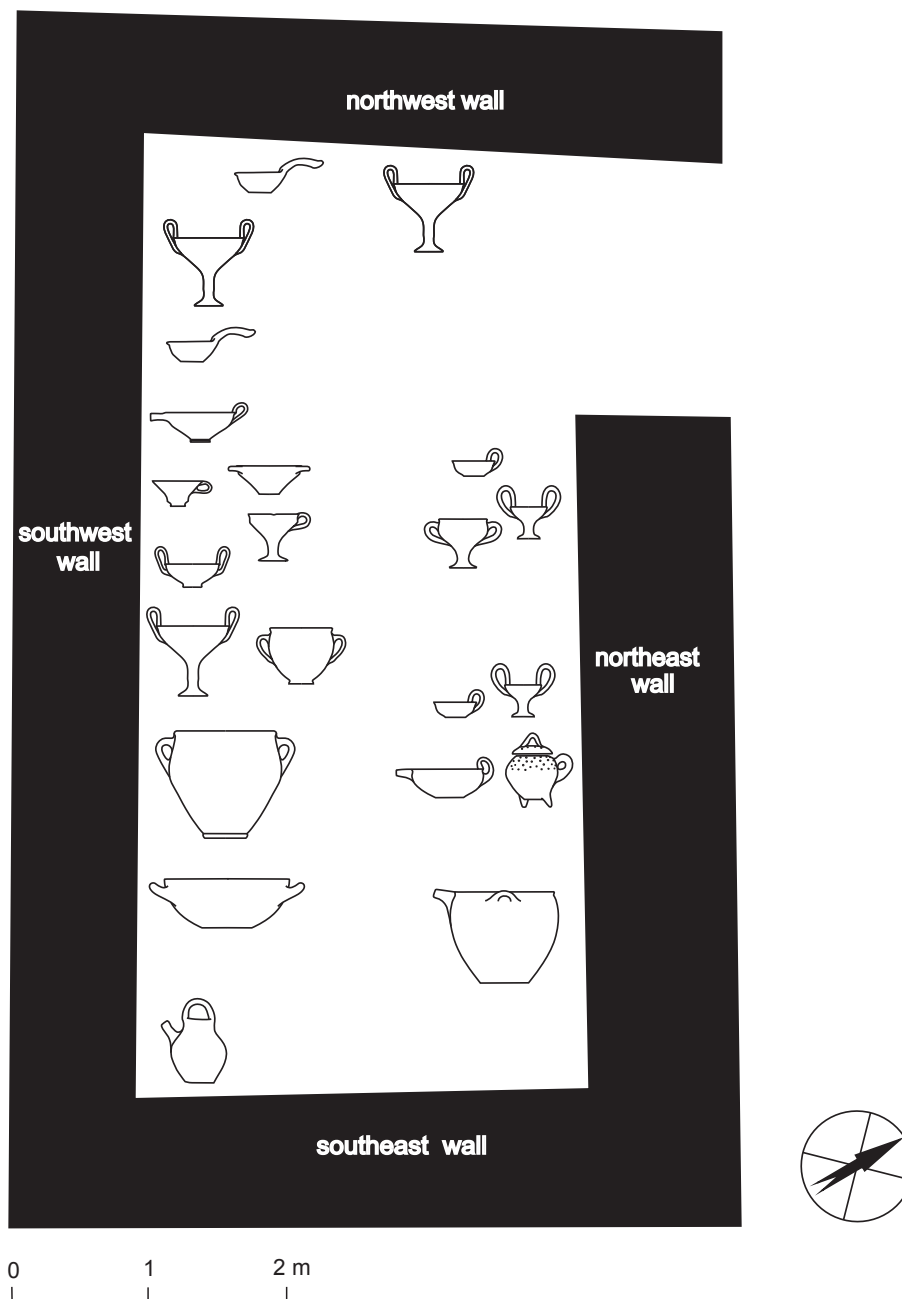


Figure 19. Reconstructed arrangement of vessels stored in room 60. Pottery not to scale

the description in the excavation notebook, and Rawson's pottery notebook, which lists three examples of shape 66 as having been inventoried on the very first day of excavation (June 8, 1954).

A large number of vessels were uncovered along the southwest wall, i.e., the long wall of the room uninterrupted by any entrances. However, no photos of this part of the room that would show vessels still in situ have been identified in the archives, and the description in the notebooks is not very detailed. Thus my reconstruction of the vessel types stored there and their position along the southwest wall is putative, and it is based mostly on the field inventories of the pottery. It appears that kylikes with high-swung



Figure 20. Broken vessels along the northwest wall of room 60. Scoops (shape 66) and kylikes with high-swung handles (shape 30c) are visible. Archival photo P.54.23. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

handles (shape 30c) extended around the west corner of the room. Probably close to, or together with them, were found several other shapes: scoops, shape 66 (similar to the northwest wall); shallow spouted bowls, shape 6; bell-shaped cups, shape 17; cups with high-swung handles, shape 19; shallow angular bowls, shape 4; and angular kylikes with a pour channel, shape 27. Some of these pots, notably shapes 4 and 19, were found stacked one inside another. According to inventory dates listed in the pottery notebook, several examples of shape 28 (the kylix with its handles set below the rim) must have been found in this broad group too.

On June 18, a heap of broken pots measuring 2 × 1 m was exposed and taken out. This heap must have been found along the southern part of the southwest wall. This deposit also contained some kylikes of shape 30c, but also both size-variants of the krater, shape 59. On the same date, six examples of shape 15, a shallow cup with its handle attached to the interior bowl, were documented in the pottery notebook. Moreover, two “heavy ware bowls, stacked one inside the other” were noted by the excavator. In all probability these should be identified as basins of shape 2. One of the reasons for this is because the inventory of pots found during the 1954 season as of June 19 lists 77 “heavy bowls.”¹²⁵ Upon comparison with the final publication, these pots could only have been the basins, as no other candidates for “heavy bowls” were found in comparable number (the final publication lists 75 basins; see Table 1). Furthermore, the two inventoried examples of the basin (probably the same ones as described in the notebook, nos. 441 and 446) were found during the 1954 season. The last pots taken out of room 60 in 1954 (June 19th) were 20 jugs with tubular spouts and basket handles, shape 41, some of them reported as

125. E. Blegen 1954, excavation notebook, p. 23. This notebook and the one cited in the following note are archived at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



having been in a “tangled mass.” They must have been found in the south corner of room 60.

The excavation in 1955 concentrated on the removal of deposits along the northeast wall and in the east corner of the room, where they uncovered three piles of broken pottery that can be seen on Figure 21. Each of the piles is usually described according to the vessel types it contained, and hence in this part of the room the reconstruction of the storage arrangement is straightforward. Furthermore, many vessel types can be discerned from archival photos (Figs. 22–24). The piles, as indicated by pottery inventory dates, must have been, at least partly, excavated simultaneously. Nevertheless, as can be seen on Figure 24, the third pile was the last one to be entirely cleared away.

The first pile of broken pottery (Fig. 22) contained mostly diminutive kylikes, shape 26 (only one example was inventoried, on June 15th), and the cups with a high handle, shape 15 (referred to as the “ashtrays” in the notebooks). In addition, there were a few examples of shape 28, the peculiar kylix with handles below the rim.

The second pile (Fig. 23) again contained diminutive kylikes and cups with a high handle, but also shallow spouted bowls, shape 7, and probably most, if not all, of the incense burners, which were found against the wall. It is possible that this pile also contained the two types of krater (shape 59). One of the pots described on June 14th is a large bowl with vertical handle(s), the other is a deep bowl with two handles, flaring rim, and small base.¹²⁶ Since they were not given inventory numbers, it is impossible to identify them beyond any doubt. If they are indeed examples of shape 59, the majority of which were stored against the southwest wall, they might have fallen over from their primary location. Another singleton in this pile of pots is a large basin of shape 2. It was found against the wall, together with the incense burners, and given its position it is rather improbable

Figure 21. Three piles of broken vessels along the northeast wall of room 60. Archival photo P.55.2.10.
Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

126. E. Blegen 1955, excavation notebook, p. 46.



Figure 22. Close-up of the first pile of broken vessels found along the northeast wall of room 60. Archival photo P.55.2.28. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati



Figure 23. Close-up of the second pile of broken vessels found along the northeast wall of room 60. Archival photo P.55.2.17. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

that it fell off the shelf along the southwest wall. Therefore, there is some evidence for a slight mixing of types on the shelves of room 60.

The last of the excavated piles (Fig. 24) contained only deep spouted bowls of shape 10 (inventoried on June 14th and 15th), which, as has been mentioned above, were found piled on the floor upside down. Some of them



were found intact, probably due to the way in which they had been stored, and one of them is held by Elizabeth Blegen herself in an archival photo (Fig. 25). The photo shows also the original state of the pottery recovered from room 60, which was frequently covered with white lime crust.

The reconstruction of the storage arrangement within room 60 (Fig. 19) provides important evidence that supports the proposal that there was a functional division of the vessels in this assemblage. Despite the fact that applying precise dividing lines between the masses of pottery recovered from the room would be arbitrary, it is obvious that vessels regarded as paraphernalia for funerary activities are not randomly mixed with the other part of the assemblage, but stored together on either side of the entrance and on the opposite wall. Even though some piles contained vessel types that belong to both functional groups (according to my division), this happened only in places where the two groups neighbored each other, i.e., in the middle sections of the northeast and the southwest walls. The only exception to this general division are the 20 jugs with tubular spouts and basket handles. Based on their presence in tombs, I assumed a funerary function for them. Their presence among the “industrial” group in the room, however, could suggest that they were used together with other partly handmade vessels for perfumed oil production. In fact, the assemblage recovered at Zygouries contained eight jugs, which could have been used as containers for wine or honey used in the manufacturing process.¹²⁷ If this was how the jugs from Pylos were used, then the foreign potter would only be responsible for the manufacture of vessels used in industrial activities, and not for funerary rites.

As the spatial division of pottery according to its function appears to be a credible hypothesis, it can be used to gain insights into the function of particular vessel types. For instance, the location of shallow angular bowls (shape 4) strengthens the conjecture that they were used during funerary

Figure 24. The third pile of broken vessels found along the northeast wall of room 60, under excavation. Archival photo P. 55.2.26. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

127. Thomas 1992, p. 298.

Figure 25. Elizabeth Blegen holding a complete deep spouted bowl, shape 10, recovered from room 60. Archival photo P.55.2.31. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati



feasts, together with the kylikes and other shapes generally associated with such ritual. The same can be claimed for the main variant of shape 6, a spouted bowl, found roughly in the same area of room 60 (Fig. 19). If we can group it with the funerary equipment, this would explain the existence of two variants of that shape; the second could be a model for shape 7 of the perfumed oil group.

Another interesting observation concerns the functional association of the cups with a high handle (shape 15). They were recovered from two discreet locations (Fig. 19). In one case, such cups were found together with the diminutive kylikes, shape 26. It is interesting to observe that the average capacity of these cups is 0.11 liter, which is only slightly larger than the capacity of the diminutive kylix illustrated in Figure 14:a (0.09 liter). It seems plausible that these two shapes were used as a set, with the cup acting as a dipper, which explains its high handle.¹²⁸ Together they constituted a small ritual drinking set. Nevertheless, a number of such cups were recovered most probably in a location adjacent to the kraters of shape 59 (Fig. 19). If this location was not accidental, then it can be speculated that such cups with a standardized capacity were also used in the production of perfumed oil, especially if a given portion of a substance had to be transferred between containers.

128. The miniature dippers found in the main pantries (rooms 18–22) of the palace, which could have been used with the smaller variant of the diminutive kylix found mostly in the main pantries and room 7, have an average capacity of 0.026 liters, again only slightly larger than the average capacity of the smaller variant of the diminutive kylix (0.017 liters). It should be remarked, however, that the kylikes recovered from room 7 were not accompanied by any dippers.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS

Even though the two functional groups may seem to be worlds apart at first sight, there is in fact much that they have in common. There are a number vessels in room 60 which could fit well in either of the two groups, such as the lamps, basket-handled jugs with spouts, and the single examples of the alabastron and the piriform jar. Analysis on a more general level reveals additional points of connection. If part of the assemblage from room 60

was indeed used as equipment for a perfumed oil workshop, we should consider the various uses of scented oil at Pylos. The lack of stirrup jars of Messenian provenance in other regions of mainland Greece and the eastern Mediterranean strongly suggests that, in contrast to the Argolid, perfumed olive oil was not being produced for trade. Furthermore, Whitelaw provides a number of observations regarding the distribution of stirrup jars in Messenia and suggests that olive oil was used predominantly in mortuary contexts—either as an offering, or to anoint the corpse.¹²⁹ Therefore, the final product of a workshop that used the equipment stored in room 60 would have been consumed in a context similar to the remainder of the vessels found in room 60. This is obviously an indirect connection between the two groups, but perhaps it was the organizing principle of this particular room.

A recent article by Lupack suggests another possible connection.¹³⁰ She proposes that the oil recorded on the Fr series being sent to the *wanax* was almost certainly a religious offering, not for a mortal ruler but for a full divinity, an “ancestral *wanax*.” In a subsequent article, Lupack claims that the rituals connected with the worship of the ancestral *wanax* were conducted at his burial place, hypothetical or real, and at the shrine, which she localized at the Sanctuary of Pakijane.¹³¹ The worship of the divine *wanax* would require a number of cultic paraphernalia, apart from olive oil, and room 60 with its funerary assemblage is a good candidate for where such paraphernalia could have been stored. In this respect it is important to note that Tholos III at Pylos, which could have been the burial place of the ancestral *wanax* and which was still in use during the LH IIIB period,¹³² contained three lamps of the same type as shape 66, which was found almost exclusively in room 60 (Table 1).¹³³

The Sanctuary of Pakijane, suggested as the possible location of the shrine of the ancestral *wanax*, has yet another connection with perfumed oil production. One of the perfumers mentioned on the Linear B tablets from Pylos, named Philaios (*pi-ra-jo* on PY Un 249), worked in the service of Potnia, a deity worshipped at the religious center of Pakijane. Shelmerdine concludes that “there must be a religious perfume workshop which is also supported and supplied (and thus in some sense ‘owned’) by the palace,” but she maintains, following the evidence of the tablets, that Philaios worked together with other perfumers at the palace.¹³⁴ It is not impossible that Philaios worked at both places, and his involvement in perfume production at the palace may be a sign of a growing centralization of this industry. Nevertheless, a recent study of tablet Vn 130 by Palaima¹³⁵ suggests that perfume boiling was carried out at nine localities in the Hither Province, including Pakijane. Thus, the perfumed workshop at the palace was clearly not the only one in operation, but it could have been the most important one during the final days of the kingdom.

129. Whitelaw 2001, p. 60.

130. Lupack 2014, pp. 169–171.

131. Lupack 2016 pp. 540–541.

132. Murphy 2014, p. 213.

133. Blegen et al. 1973, p. 93,
pl. 173:8–10.

134. Shelmerdine 1985, pp. 42–45.

135. Palaima 2014.

ROOM 60 AND ITS RELATION TO THE REST OF THE PALACE

Room 60 is located southeast of the Southwestern Building (see Fig. 1), separated from it by corridor 61 and court 63. Very little has been said about the implications of the position of room 60 within the entire building complex and its relationship to other rooms or the buildings. Hruby provides one of the few exceptions and notes that “room 60 is among the most accessible parts of the palace complex; it can be reached with relative ease from every building,” and she contrasts this with the position and limited connectivity of the pantries 18–22.¹³⁶ Many other authors indirectly referred to the relationship of room 60 and the rest of the palace by discussing possible uses of the pottery stored in room 60. Most frequently, the pottery of room 60 was associated with events that may have taken place in the adjacent court 63 and hall 64,¹³⁷ or with daily activities all over the palace.¹³⁸ Bendall rightly observed, however, that room 60 is in fact poorly placed to serve the Southwestern Building, as there are two major gateways on the way from that room to court 63.¹³⁹ Thus it appears unlikely that substantial numbers of vessels were carried from room 60 toward the Southwestern Building. Rather, the position of room 60 suggests that it served other parts of the palace, such as the Main Building and perhaps the Northeastern Building, and/or areas outside of the palace. This reconstruction is in agreement with the interpretation that part of the room 60 assemblage was used during funerary feasts, which most likely took place at or close to the tombs.

In discussing the position and relationship of room 60 with respect to the palace, it is worth reviewing the architectural history of the entire complex, as far as it can be understood from the available evidence. Room 60 was considered one of the latest additions to the original plan of the palace, together with courts 42 and 47.¹⁴⁰ Shelmerdine proposed a more detailed chronology of these alterations,¹⁴¹ yet it was not until Nelson’s dissertation on the architecture of the palace¹⁴² that a full and detailed sequence of buildings on the hilltop was convincingly reconstructed (Fig. 1).¹⁴³ It appears that room 60 was not, as previously thought, a late addition, but was constructed at the same time as the Main Building with its megaron unit at the beginning of the LH IIIB period. However, the walls running to the west of it, framing corridor 61, were not built at that time, but added at a later stage. The consequence of this observation is that initially room 60 was well connected to the Southwestern Building. It was only with the latest additions to the palace complex—the wall to the west and the creation of two doorways that had to be passed on the way from room 60 to the Southwestern Building—that the situation was changed dramatically. These additional constructions appear to be a deliberate attempt to separate room 60 from the Southwestern Building and to control the traffic that led to it, and at the same time they emphasized the connection between room 60 and other parts of the palace and its external areas. Due to the changing architectural relationships of room 60, it is necessary to interpret the vessels stored there when the palace was destroyed with reference to its

136. Hruby 2006, p. 108.

137. Davis and Bennet 1999, p. 110; Whitelaw 2001, p. 57.

138. Hruby 2006, pp. 108–109.

139. Bendall 2004, p. 120.

140. Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 417; Wright 1984, p. 22.

141. Shelmerdine 1987.

142. Nelson 2001.

143. For a useful summary, see Rutter 2005.

final architectural setting, as we have no evidence as to what kind of material was stored in room 60 in the earlier phase of its existence; its function during that earlier time may have been quite different.

Looking at the palace-wide distribution of vessel types characteristic of room 60 is another way of investigating the room's connections to the rest of the palace, and it can also help in verifying my functional interpretations of its ceramic assemblage. Table 1 indicates that the vessel types found in room 60 are rather unique within the palace, a fact already stressed on several occasions. This correlates well with the proposed functions for the ceramic assemblage of that room. If part of it was meant to be used for funerary rites, then it is hardly surprising that we do not find many of the vessel types stored in room 60 elsewhere in the palace. The only exceptions are vessels that are either used commonly (like the shallow angular bowls, shape 4), or that could have been used in a variety of ritual contexts (like the diminutive kylix, shape 26).

Likewise, the group of partly handmade vessels is almost absent from other areas of the palace, which could suggest that the production of perfumed oil took place outside of the palace. However, a single example of the shallow basin, shape 2, found in court 47, may be significant.¹⁴⁴ Personal examination of that particular specimen confirmed that it is of exactly the same type as the shallow basins stored in room 60.¹⁴⁵ Also, chemical analysis carried out by Galaty showed that examples belonging to group 1a, which is characteristic for room 60, were found in court 47 as well.¹⁴⁶ The only other kind of vessel found in court 47 was the stirrup jar, attested with 35 examples and thus making up the biggest collection of stirrup jars found in the palace. Their abundant presence in court 47 matches one of the proposed functions of the ceramic assemblage stored in room 60, perfumed oil production. Moreover, while studying the entirety of the evidence pertaining to the production of this important commodity at Pylos, Shelmerdine entertained a hypothesis that a perfumed oil workshop existed near the palace (i.e., close to the Main Building), at least during the latest stages of its existence. She proposed courts 42 and 47 as particularly suited for such an industry.¹⁴⁷ Even though stirrup jars constitute the only vessel type present in quantity in courts 42 and 47, the tiny bits of additional evidence seem to fit together well.

Apart from court 47, the excavators reported “a number of sherds in reddish-brown and red fabric with roughly polished surface like the pottery found in room 60” coming from room 38.¹⁴⁸ Its position in the palace is important (Fig. 1), as one has to cross this room in order to arrive at court 42, since the latter is entirely walled off from the exterior of the Main Building. If Shelmerdine is right in identifying a workshop in courts 42 and 47, then rooms like room 38 could have also been involved in the process; for example, it could have served as an additional storage room for the vessels required. Importantly, Linear B tablets referring to oil,¹⁴⁹ pieces of clay sealings for containers, and at least six stirrup jars were found in that room.¹⁵⁰

Finally, the exterior (outer) propylon (Fig. 1:1) yielded a unique vessel (Fig. 26), which is linked to the ceramic assemblage of room 60. It is clearly a handmade counterpart of the variant of shape 59 attested only in room 60. Apart from the general morphology, the similarity is proven by the addition of a knob on the wall between the two handles (cf. Fig. 17:a, b). Thus, one more vessel type associated with perfumed oil production has its

144. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 209, no. 700; cf. Shelmerdine 1984, p. 85.

145. A “deep spouted bowl” is mentioned in the description of court 47, it is not clear if it is indeed shape 10; Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 209.

146. Galaty 2014, p. 36, table 3:1, samples JC191 and JC192.

147. Shelmerdine 1984; 1985, pp. 59–61; a view corroborated by Wright 1984, p. 26.

148. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 173.

149. Wright 1984, p. 26.

150. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 172.



Figure 26. Handmade counterpart of shape 59 from the external Propylon

handmade version, the only difference being that in the case of shape 59, the handmade copy constitutes a singleton rather than a majority. The only other vessels found in the exterior propylon were 11 stirrup jars, six of which were restorable, resulting in a pattern similar to those found in court 47 and room 38. Even though the two areas are not adjacent to each other, one would have to pass through the propylon in order to approach court 47 or court 42 from the outside (or, for instance, from room 60).

The last room of the palace that contained a substantial number of stirrup jars was room 53. Altogether, at least 17 various stirrup jars were found there. No other pots were identified, but the location of this room is important, as it is on the way from the exterior propylon (and room 60) to court 47.

The spatial analysis of the location of room 60 and its connections to the other parts of the palace, coupled with the plotting of particular vessel types associated with that room, has produced interesting results. If the perfumed oil workshop was indeed moved into the building complex on top of Ano Englianos to courts 42 and 47, then room 60, in its final architectural setting, would have communicated conveniently with that part of the palace. Moreover, vessels that are either directly or indirectly related to the assemblage of room 60 are found in rooms that are located on the possible pathways leading from that room to both courts. The largest concentrations of stirrup jars are found between room 60 and courts 42 and 47, often in association with vessel types typical of room 60. Therefore it seems plausible that the entire southeast section of the Main Building may have functioned as a workshop and its supply rooms.

CONCLUSIONS

The detailed study of the ceramic contents of just one room of the palace resulted in a plethora of new data on the functioning of the palace during its last days prior to the event that caused its final destruction. These data fit well into the picture previously elaborated by several scholars that sees an increased concern on the part of the palatial administration with the control of various activities crucial to the ruling elite of the Pylian polity.¹⁵¹ One such activity must have been the production of perfumed oil. The most visible manifestation of its significance lies in the numerous storage vessels containing oil in rooms 23 and 24, directly behind the megaron. The production of this valuable commodity appears to have been

151. Wright 1984; Shelmerdine 1987.

moved to the palace during its final years, even though production of perfumed oil at other places did not stop.¹⁵² If Shelmerdine is right in placing the workshop in courts 42 and 47, then at least part of the last-minute architectural modifications of the palace plan must have been aimed at housing, and thus controlling, this part of the palatial economy. At an earlier stage, this kind of activity was probably performed outside of the palace. This is perhaps also indirectly suggested by the evidence of the Potter's Shop at Zygouries, which yielded vessels to be used in the production of perfumed oil, an industry that was probably controlled by Mycenae.¹⁵³ The Ivory Houses located outside of the citadel walls of Mycenae, which hosted an array of different economic activities, may provide another such example.¹⁵⁴ The modifications that separated room 60 from the Southwestern Building were probably contemporary with the architectural modifications that created walled courts 42 and 47, and can be seen as parts of the same program focused, at least in part, on strict control over perfumed oil production. Furthermore, the results of chemical analysis of pottery from room 60 may suggest that it originated from an area outside of the palace's vicinity; the closest match to one of the chemical groups is offered by a clay source at Mouriatadha. It could be that the vessels were brought from a place that at an earlier stage was the location of the perfumed oil workshop.

Another crucial activity for the Pylian state, discussed in full by Hruby,¹⁵⁵ was apparently large-scale feasting, as evidenced by masses of pottery piled in rooms 18–22 and the deposit of animal bones in room 7.¹⁵⁶ In this respect, vessel types stored in room 60 associated with funerary rituals and feasts deserve special attention. They are rarely found in settlement contexts, and never occur in large quantities. It thus seems that the circumstances that led to their storage in such quantity in the palace must have been unique. In light of the increased control over certain activities and the central storage of ceramics for feasting in rooms 18–22, it is worth considering that funerary feasts may have also belonged to the group of activities that were of primary importance to the palace, and which were therefore subjected to strict supervision. Just like the large-scale feasts documented by the deposit of bones from room 7, funerary feasts may also have had a particular sociopolitical significance. It is conceivable that such events, focused on the veneration of ancestors, and especially if one of them was as prominent as the *wanax*, provided opportunities for legitimization of power for the ruling elite, and as such may have played a key role in reinforcing its position during rather unstable times.¹⁵⁷

Regarding the new data recovered from the analysis of room 60's ceramic assemblage, no less important is the identification of a non-Mycenaean potter supplying palatial storerooms. Recognizing the people behind the pots is still in its infancy in Aegean studies, but here I was able to demonstrate that this can be achieved in favorable conditions, particularly when there are distinct differences between pottery traditions. Even though the exact origin of the potter cannot be established for certain, his products provide a more nuanced picture of pottery supply at the palace of Pylos. Moreover, the partly handmade group of vessels from room 60 is yet another peculiarity of the Pylian ceramic assemblage. One could reiterate here the minimal amount of decorated pottery, the small number of vessels

152. Wright 1984, p. 27; Palaima 2014.

153. Thomas 1992, p. 300.

154. Tournavitou 1995. For a different view, proposing the independence of the inhabitants of the Ivory Houses and their possible rivalry with the palace, see Burns 2007.

155. Hruby 2006.

156. Halstead and Isaakidou 2004; Stocker and Davis 2004.

157. Even though according to Murphy (2014), the mortuary sphere became much less important in the power strategies of the LH III B period, this does not mean that the dead were unimportant or that wealth was not invested in the funeral sphere. In fact, she claims that in LH III B attention shifted from multiple tholos tombs to a single one, Tholos III, suggesting some kind of concentration of efforts: "The heavier use in LH III B of Tholos III may indicate its role in an exclusionary power strategy taking the form of 'princely burial'"; Murphy 2014, p. 215. See also Murphy 2016.

recovered from rooms other than pantries, and the high number of vessels that are stylistically earlier¹⁵⁸ than the commonly accepted destruction date of the palace, i.e., around 1200 B.C. All these topics deserve further study that should involve personal investigation of ceramic assemblages.

Finally, by following in the footsteps of a number of studies that dealt with material excavated and published by Blegen's team resulting from the Hora Apotheke Reorganization Project,¹⁵⁹ this exercise in pottery analysis illustrates the value of restudying old material. Without undermining the value of the earlier research, such attempts shed new light on old finds and let their significance resurface in the scholarly discourse.

158. Mountjoy 1999, p. 343; Thomas 2004.

159. Stocker and Davis 2014.

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