The Social Dynamics of Early Helladic Sealing Practices: Seal Use and Social Change in Early Bronze Age Greece

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The Social Dynamics of Early Helladic Sealing Practices: Seal Use and Social Change in Early Bronze Age Greece

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of administrative sealing practices in the emergence of social complexity in Early Helladic (EH) period (ca. 3100-2000 BCE) Greece. Archaeologists associate emerging complexity in mainland Greece with key developments in the EH period, including sealing practices, long-distance exchanges, monumental architecture, and craft specialization. Seals and sealings are a particularly sensitive proxy for complexity because of their economic and political potential as administrative devices, a pre-literate form of record keeping. Although Mycenaean elites used seals to control resources in the palatial political economy in the Late Bronze Age, there is no evidence that incipient elites did the same in the EH period. Nevertheless, EH society is described in neo-evolutionary terms as a chiefdom, a phase of development intermediary between Neolithic egalitarianism and Mycenaean state-level society. This study re-investigates the role of sealing practices in the process of social change, and departs from previous elite-based approaches by integrating collective action theory to consider the communal context of sealing as a social practice. It is argued that sealing was a form of collective action that demonstrates the central role that cooperation and non-hierarchical social dynamics played in the emergence of complexity in the Aegean.

A contextual approach to the archaeological evidence for sealing is used to reconstruct depositional patterns for seals, clay sealings, and seal-pressed objects. The results of contextual analysis reveal regional and chronological variation that demonstrate the diverse historical trajectories of mainland communities and reflect the different ways that mainland communities adapted foreign influences locally. Contextual analysis further reveals that sealing and communal feasting were closely associated, and EH
sealing practices are identified as a cooperative strategy for small-scale communities to mutually monitor feast contributions to prevent free-riding on the benefits of feast participation. Feast contributions are described as neither public nor private goods, but rather as pooled resources (club/toll goods) that sealing transformed into a collective fund accessible to feast participants. From this perspective, seal designs were group emblems rather than the personal signatures of administrative elites. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of the social dynamics of emerging complexity in the Aegean by re-conceptualizing complexity beyond hierarchy.
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ABBREVIATIONS

Chronology:
EBA Early Bronze Age
MBA Middle Bronze Age
LBA Late Bronze Age
EH Early Helladic
MH Middle Helladic
LH Late Helladic
EM Early Minoan
MM Middle Minoan
LM Late Minoan
EC Early Cycladic
MC Middle Cycladic
LC Late Cycladic

Dimensions:
cm. centimeter
D. depth
Diam. diameter
H. height
km. kilometer
L. length
m. meter
W. width
WPerf. width of perforation

Publications:
AA Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA Athens Annals of Archaeology
Aegaeum Aegaeum: Annales d’archéologie égéenne de l’Université de Liège
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
Antiquity Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
AR Archaeological Reports
ArchDelt Archaiologikon Deltion
BICS Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA British School at Athens Annual
CAJ Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CMS Corpus der minoan und mykenischen Siegel
CurrAnthr Current Anthropology
Hesperia Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
JFA Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMA Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
OJA Oxford Journal of Archaeology
OpAth Opuscula Atheniensia
Prakt Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias
SIMA Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici


Museums (listed in catalogues in appendices):
Aegina Aegina Archaeological Museum
Amorgos The Archaeological Museum of Argos
Antalya Antalya Museum
Argos Archaeological Museum of Argos
Atalanti Archaeological Museum of Atalanti
Athens National Museum
Athens, ASCSA American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Athens, BSA British School at Athens
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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Research Problem

This dissertation examines the administrative sealing practices of the Early Helladic (ca. 3100-2000 BCE) period in mainland Greece and investigates their role in the process of emerging complexity in the Early Bronze Age (EBA) Aegean. In the literature on the EH Greece, seals and sealings are treated as a proxy for emerging social complexity. Clay sealings evidence administrative sealing practices through the use of seals to mark and control goods stored in containers, the openings of which were covered with wet clay and impressed with seal designs in an apparent effort to restrict access to its contents. Administrative sealing practices were thus a pre-literate recording device used to track the provisioning of resources, presumably by elite seal owners to track their property. Because they are interpreted by archaeologists as evidence for social complexity and hierarchy, administrative sealing practices are central to the established neo-evolutionary interpretive framework for EH Greece that describes it in terms of Mycenaean state formation. According to this model, mainland communities were chiefdoms, the phase of societal development intermediary between egalitarianism in the preceding Neolithic period and state-level society in the following Mycenaean period of the Late Bronze Age.

Although EH communities were complex, there is no secure evidence for the type of institutionalized social and political hierarchy needed to support the chiefdom model. Chiefdoms are defined by their political leader, the chief, whose power was exercised through control over the community’s resources within a redistributive political economy. During the EH II period (ca. 2650-2200 BCE), mainland communities developed practices that indicate complexity, including administrative sealing practices,
monumental architecture, craft specialization, and long-distance exchanges. Monumental corridor houses were found at a number of sites across the mainland, the best known being the House of the Tiles at Lerna. The function of corridor houses, however, is unclear, as they yielded no evidence that indicates they were elite residences or storage facilities, unlike Mycenaean palaces, and therefore do not provide evidence for chiefs and political hierarchy. Similarly, EH II sealing practices were not as complex as in the Mycenaean period, when sealing was practiced in the palaces alongside the use of administrative texts written in the Linear B script that describe a strict administrative hierarchy surmounted by the *wanax* (king). In addition, EH graves provide only limited evidence for social ranking, with only a few rich tombs that indicate unequal access to material resources. Although EH II communities were complex, the evidence for hierarchy is less convincing.

The complexity of the EH II period collapsed at the end of the period, however, when widespread destructions swept across the mainland. In the following EH III period, mainland communities were dramatically transformed. The corridor houses were all destroyed and administrative sealing practices all but disappear, replaced by apsidal houses and new ceramic styles. In contrast to decline on mainland Greece following the collapse of the corridor house system, in Crete Early Minoan (EM) elites continued to be buried in monumental communal tombs, hundreds of them with elaborately carved stone, ivory, and bone seals. These late Prepalatial elites constructed the first Minoan palaces in the following Protopalatial period, a period of relative decline in mainland Greece. The differences between mainland and Cretan sealing practices illustrate the different nature and pace of emerging complexity in the EBA Aegean.
Seals and sealings are an ideal dataset for investigating the diverse historical trajectories in the Aegean Bronze Age because sealing administration represents the intersection of social, economic, and political practices. In spite of the analytical weight that sealings practices carry in the study of emerging complexity in the Aegean Bronze Age, however, no comprehensive study of EH sealing practices has until now been undertaken.

1.2. Research Methodology

This study brings together the evidence for EH sealing practices in order to investigate what sealing reveals about the nature and pace of emerging complexity in EH Greece. Three lines of evidence are examined, including seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects. Seal-impressed objects are generally excluded from the literature on emerging complexity because they have been interpreted as decorative rather than administrative, a distinction between assumed functions which serves to privilege the economic and political potential of seals and sealings. This study integrates seal-impressed objects into the analysis of sealing practices in order to investigate rather than assume their function.

The primary method of analysis employed in this study is contextual analysis, which uses the archaeological context of artifacts and their associated assemblages to reconstruct patterns of use, re-use, and deposition. The contextual approach to the evidence for EH sealing practices employed in this study complements previous art historical approaches to the evidence, which emphasize Near Eastern influence on mainland seal designs and administrative sealing practices to attribute emerging
complexity to foreign influence. In focusing on archaeological context rather than style, this study highlights the varying responses to foreign influence among mainland communities that adapted sealing practices to assign greater causal force to local development in the process of social change. Formal analysis of seals and their designs is undertaken to re-evaluate previous interpretations of the social function of seal designs to build on insights gained from contextual analysis.

Contextual analysis is used to identity regional and chronological variation in the depositional patterns for seals, sealings, and seal-impressed objects, and to make a basic distinction between settlement and burial contexts. Regional patterns are defined in this study using a general distinction among southern, central, and northern regions of mainland Greece. Southern Greece is defined as the Peloponnese, while central Greece is defined as the areas between the Isthmus of Corinth and south of Thessaly, which demarcates the border between central and northern Greece. For the purposes of this analysis, Attica and the Saronic Gulf are defined as part of central rather than southern Greece because, in spite of their close proximity to the Argolid, contextual analysis of the evidence for sealing practices reveals differences between southern Greece and the rest of the mainland.

I.3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Variation in the depositional patterns of the evidence for sealing practices revealed by contextual analysis indicates that EH communities practiced sealing in diverse ways. It also reveals a close association among sealing, feasting, and storage practices. It is argued here that sealing, feasting, and storage practices together evidence social and
political strategies for resource provisioning within EH communities. The shifting social
dynamics of EH sealing practices are traced along two axes of variation: cooperation and
competition, and tradition and innovation.

Regional and chronological variation in sealing practices is reflected in the
distribution patterns of the different classes of artifacts across space and time. For
example, clay sealings and roller-impressed hearths and pithoi (large storage vessels)
were concentrated in southern Greece, while stamped vessels were concentrated in
central Greece. Further insights are gained from the depositional contexts of these
different lines of evidence because they reveal the different ways that sealing was used by
mainland communities. In addition, the wider archaeological context of the evidence for
sealing practices provides information about how they were employed, whether as more
coooperative or competitive, traditional or innovative social strategies.

In the Peloponnese in southern Greece, clay sealings and roller-impressed hearths
and pithoi were found in depositional contexts closely associated with evidence for
eating, drinking, and food storage at various scales, including large-scale feasting. In
Attica and Euboea in central Greece, stamped vessels such as frying pans and pyxides,
which had strong Cycladic associations and thus evidence foreign influence, were
deposited as grave goods in burial contexts. The use of clay sealings in the context of
communal feasting and food storage in southern Greece demonstrates that sealing
functioned as a mechanism for horizontal integration, while in central Greece stamped
objects were occasionally used as a means of differentiation in the funerary sphere. EH
sealing practices thus involved both cooperative and competitive social and political
strategies, and evidence both hierarchical and non-hierarchical social relations.
In addition to cooperation and competition, the differential adaptation of foreign influence revealed through contextual analysis establishes that sealing involved both tradition and innovation. Communities in southern Greece in EH II were seemingly less open to foreign influence than in Attica and Euboea, where Early Cycladic (EC) style stamped frying pans and pyxides were deposited as grave goods in cemeteries. Whereas exotic imports were a means of differentiation in central Greece, communal feasting and food storage using clay sealings and roller-impressed pithoi and hearths in southern Greece points to a less competitive social context for sealing in EH II. In the following EH III period, however, sealing practices all but disappear everywhere but southern Greece, where a few seals were found. The evidence for EH III feasting suggests that feasting, like sealing, continued at a much reduced scale, now involving Anatolian-inspired drinking sets that reflect social competition, in contrast to earlier large-scale communal feasting. These diachronic changes in sealing and feasting were paralleled by changes in storage practices, which shift from communal storage in built granaries or subterranean pits in EH II to household storage in bothroi in EH III.

This dissertation argues that in EH II, sealing practices were used to administer communal feasts. Clay sealings marked goods as contributions for communal feasting, the benefits of which were restricted to contributing feast participants, thereby preventing “free-riders” from taking more than their fair share. From this perspective, clay sealings were not a top-down control mechanisms used by elites to secure private property, but rather an administrative device to label shared goods. Administrative sealing practices were therefore a means of mutual monitoring cooperative resource provisioning, and so
evidence the role of cooperative and non-hierarchical social strategies in the process of emerging complexity in the EBA Aegean.

I.4. Chronological and Historical Context

The excavation and research history of the EH period on mainland Greece has informed the historical narrative developed in the scholarship for that period, which has focused on the well-studied regions of the Argolid and Corinthia in southern Greece as well as Attica and Euboea in central Greece (Figs. 1.1-2).

EH chronology was established by the sequence of occupation levels excavated at Lerna, which was adapted from Blegen’s tripartite sequence for EH I-III pottery from Korakou and Zygouries (Figs. 1.3-5). Caskey used Blegen’s periodization, which was used to describe Lerna’s continuous stratigraphic sequence, but divided the EH II period into two distinct phases (EH IIA and EH IIB) as outlined in Wiencke’s final publication of the Lerna III phase material (Fig. 1.5). The EH III period at Lerna was subsequently divided into three subphases (Lerna IV.1-3) by Rutter’s ceramic and Banks’ architectural sequences. Kilian’s excavations at Tiryns in the 1970s and 1980s revealed a continuous stratigraphic sequence in the Unterburg spanning the EH II-III periods that included a transitional EH II-III phase ("Übergangsphase") (Fig. 1.5). Because that phase was not observed at Lerna, Weißhaar proposed an occupational hiatus at Lerna, but Rutter argues instead that the Übergangsphase at Tiryns was a purely local phenomenon.

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1 Blegen 1921, 1928.
2 Caskey 1960; Wiencke 2000.
3 Rutter 1995; Banks 2013.
phases of the EH period were clarified by the continuous stratigraphic sequence revealed by Wright’s excavations at Tsoungiza in the 1980s.\(^6\) In central Greece, continuous sequences were revealed at Lefkandi by Popham and Sackett,\(^7\) at Kolonna on Aegina by Walter and Felten,\(^8\) and at Manika by Sampson (Fig. 1.5).\(^9\)

The relative chronology for the EH period worked out from these key excavated sequences is supported by Manning’s absolute chronology for the Aegean Bronze Age (Fig. 1.8).\(^10\) Wiencke modifies Manning’s dates slightly because of the results of radiocarbon dating of samples from Lerna III (Lerna IIIA-B).\(^11\) Pullen provides a secure date for the EH IIA period (EH II Initial) from recent radiocarbon samples from Tsoungiza.\(^12\) Cavanagh, Mee, and Renard propose a low chronology using radiocarbon samples from Kouphovouno in Laconia, down-dating and lengthening each subphase.\(^13\) Future work will further test and refine the absolute chronology for the Aegean EBA.

A simplified historical narrative of the EH period can be sketched from the archaeological record revealed through these excavations, which documents increased interregional integration from EH I-II with its floruit in EH IIB, followed by widespread destructions across the and a period of decline and increased regionalism in EH III. This developmental sequence is observable across a number of lines of archaeological evidence.

\(^6\) Wright 1982; Wright et al. 1990; Pullen 2011.
\(^7\) Popham and Sackett 1968.
\(^8\) Walter and Felten 1981; Berger and Gauss 2016.
\(^10\) Manning 1995: 171-73; summarized in Rutter 2011: 106, Table 2; updated in Manning 2010, Table 2.2.
\(^12\) Pullen 2011: 15-16, Fig. 1.7.
\(^13\) Cavanagh et al. 2016: 2, 6-8, Tables 2, 5.
The ceramic record for the EH I period is one of continuity from the preceding FN period, though this transition is not attested by a continuous stratigraphic sequence. In the EH II period, the ceramic evidence points to an increased role in external influence on pottery styles, highlighted by the EH IIB “Lefkandi I/Kastri Group” assemblage that is widely distributed across the Aegean in the central (but not southern) region of mainland Greece, the Cyclades, northeastern Aegean, and coastal western Anatolia. This period of close integration in EH IIB was followed by a period of relative regionalism in EH III that nevertheless is characterized by a shared preference for pattern-painted surface treatments.

The evidence for architecture supports the historical framework of EH I-II continuity and EH II-III transformation. Architecture is largely unknown for EH I, since most sites from this period are inferred only from limited primary or secondary deposits of material or surface scatter. Domestic architecture includes both rectangular and apsidal houses in EH IIA, and rectangular domestic architecture was translated into a monumental building type known as the corridor house. Corridor houses are interpreted alternatively as palaces, farm houses, elite residences, redistributive centers, trading posts for foreign or inter-site trading parties, multi-functional communal buildings, and ceremonial centers, but their function remains unclear as they have yielded few artifacts. During EH IIA, fortifications were also constructed at several sites. Monumental forms of architecture persisted into the EH IIB period, when more corridor houses appeared across the mainland. The following EH III period brought about architectural changes, including the abandonment of corridor houses and fortifications and a new preference for apsidal house plans, which were built in EH II but became the dominant architectural form in EH
III. At Lerna, the ruins of House of the Tiles were covered by a tumulus that stood at the site throughout the EH III period.

Burials in the EH period are characterized by overall diversity both in tomb types and in the disposition of the dead. The large, extramural cemeteries of the EH II period are given the most scholarly attention, though increasingly they are seen as a continuation of the use of cemeteries that began in EH I. The EH III period is not well represented by the burial evidence, which may suggest changes to burial practices during this period of transformation.

The survey data similarly supports the sequence of EH I-II integration and EH II-III regionalism. The EH I period saw an increase in the number and size of sites from the preceding FN I period, and a shift to occupation in lowland, coastal settings in southern Greece, which may have accompanied a shift from reliance on pastoral to agricultural subsistence strategies. In EH IIA the size and number of sites increased especially in the lowland areas with fortified coastal sites. This appears to signal an orientation towards maritime exchanges. At the same time, new sites were established in upland areas, perhaps facilitated by agricultural intensification. In the following EH IIB period, there is evidence for settlement nucleation at larger, coastal sites and the abandonment of some interior sites. The EH III period is similarly marked by settlement nucleation at the larger, coastal sites, which may have resulted from communities responding to environmental changes, such as soil erosion, landscape degradation, and a long-term period of droughts documented through isotope studies of climate at caves in the Peloponnese.14

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On present evidence, the contours of the historical narrative for EH Greece outline initial growth from EH I-II building towards intensive interregional integration and complexity in EH II, then its collapse, followed by transformation and regionalism in EH III. Rather than the seamless, linear progression of increasing complexity, the nature and pace of social change in EH Greece points to diverse local and regional dynamics that underlay the process of emerging complexity on the mainland.

I.5. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Sealing practices are linked to the emergence and decline of social complexity during the EBA. The theoretical framework for the study of EH sealing practices reflects wider developments in the study of mainland Greece. In general, work before the 1950s emphasized the role of foreign influence on the emergence of complexity, while scholars in the 1960s through the 1980s began to examine economic and political development using neo-evolutionary frameworks. More recent work focuses on the social dimensions of mainland development. Common themes throughout the literature on EH sealing and social complexity are the impact of foreign influence and the nature of social organization, with scholars emphasizing either tradition and innovation (in the case of foreign influence) or cooperation and competition (in the case of social organization).

Wace and Blegen attributed the evidence for widespread destructions at the end of the EH period to an invasion of Greek speakers who ruled the mainland beginning in the MH I period.\(^{15}\) Caskey modified this “Coming of the Greeks” hypothesis by re-dating the

hypothetical invasion to the EH II-III transition, citing the evidence for destructions, the appearance of new features (apsidal houses, tumuli, and terracotta anchors), and continuity between EH III-MH I. Forsén has disproven the invasion hypothesis in her systematic analysis of documented destructions at mainland sites at the end of the EH period, which demonstrates variation in the rates of their occurrences across the mainland, ruling out the possibility of a single event invasion. Furthermore, Forsén demonstrates that the features Caskey associated with newcomers in EH II, such as apsidal houses, had already appeared on the mainland at different times during the EH II-MH periods, and therefore represent local regional preferences rather than intrusive foreign elements. For example, she re-dates the tumulus constructed over the ruins of the House of the Tile at Lerna to the EH IIB rather than EH III period, and attributes its construction to locals commemorating the ruined corridor house rather than newcomers, arguing convincingly for EH II-III continuity rather than invasion.

The study of EH sealing practices began with Caskey’s discovery of a large deposit of clay sealings in the House of the Tiles at Lerna. Heath-Wiencke analyzed the clay sealings in Room XI of the House of the Tiles, as well as earlier groups from elsewhere at the site, and provided a typology for both the impressed seal designs and the types of objects sealed on the basis of impressions on their reverses. She subsequently studied and published fragments of roller-impressed hearths and pithoi from the destruction

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17 Forsén 1992
18 Forsén 1992: 234, 255.
19 Caskey 1955: 41.
20 Heath 1958; Wiencke 1969.
debris of the House of the Tiles. In her stylistic comparisons of seal designs from Lerna with other Aegean sites, Wiencke brought together scattered finds of seals from Asine, Zygouries, Poliochni, and seals from Crete. Her findings contributed to a larger analytical program to correlate the relative sequences of EH sites that characterized scholarship at the time. Although she pointed to Near Eastern origins for the use of rollers at Lerna, Wiencke consistently argues that seal designs were a local development at Lerna. She did not directly address issues of social organization in these initial publications of the Lerna material.

Renfrew explicitly linked seals and sealings to a central authority and social hierarchy as part of the process of emerging complexity in his seminal work, *The Emergence of Civilisation*. Renfrew fundamentally re-oriented the study the EBA Aegean to focus on local political and economic development, explicitly moving away from earlier diffusionist and invasionist models, in describing EH society in terms of Mycenaean state formation as a “chiefdom”. Chiefdoms are a societal type conceived within a general theory of progressive evolutionary social development developed from ethnographically-derived schemes, which position chiefdoms as the intermediary stage between egalitarian tribes and stratified states. Renfrew employed Service’s definition of chiefdom as “redistributive societies with a permanent central agency of

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21 Wiencke 1970.
24 Renfrew 1972.
coordination” in which chiefs arose to meet the community’s need for managerial oversight of agricultural surplus, thereby stimulating social and political complexity. Renfrew argued that agricultural intensification of the “Mediterranean polyculture” triad (wheat, olive, and grape) generated a surplus that necessitated managerial oversight by a redistributive chief. He modeled EBA Aegean societies as closed systems and attributed increasing complexity within them to the interactions of interrelated subsystems (population and settlement, subsistence, metallurgy, craft technology, social systems, projective systems, and trade/communication) that created a positive feedback loop, ultimately giving rise to increasing complexity through the “multiplier effect”.

Central to Renfrew’s argument for EH chiefdoms are monumental architecture and seal use, which he interpreted together as evidence for centralized organization because he links seal use to the notions of ownership and centralized redistribution out of the corridor houses.

“These large central buildings at Lerna, together with the fortification wall, would in any case indicate some degree of central authority. The sealings give the strong presumption that some kind of redistribution of goods was taking place, although there is no suggestion that the central organisation was supporting full-time specialists. The existence of some ruler or chief, on whose authority dues were collected, or under whose patronage exchanges were transacted, seems indicated.

The important central building of Troy II and the Rundbau of Tiryns, whatever their precise function, are likely indications of central organisation and probably of the rise of chiefdoms. We see, therefore, that the first palaces of Crete had precursors in several parts of the Aegean. And although the evidence is tenuous, the building remains preserved indicate, in Greece and the Troad, the emergence of a central organisation. The seals and sealings give an insight into the economic factors favouring this social and political development.”

29 Renfrew 1972: 489-494, Fig. 21.1.
Renfrew’s economic reading of EH sealings as administrative devices used by redistributive chiefs proved influential, even if his general model has been revised and critiqued in the intervening years since its publication.32

One of the first comprehensive critiques of Renfrew’s chiefdom model for EH society was put forth in Pullen’s dissertation, *Social Organization in Early Bronze Age Greece: A Multi-Dimensional Approach*.33 Pullen’s dissertation introduced a new approaches to the study of EH society in emphasizing the social dimensions that underlay emerging complexity, which served to balance Renfrew’s stress on political and economic contributing factors. Pullen objects to Renfrew’s system model because it relegates social organization to a mere subsystem, arguing that social organization is the larger framework within which each subsystem is interrelated.34 Like Renfrew, Pullen observes the evidence for social complexity in monumental architecture and craft specialization, but he rejects Renfrew’s reconstruction of a redistributive political economy centered on Mediterranean polyculture, and finds no convincing evidence that links EH seals and sealings with control over the provisioning of goods.35 Furthermore, Pullen sees no strong evidence for social differentiation from the burial record, and identifies instead the existence of previously unrecognized corporate groups in EH Greece.36 He therefore regards seal use as evidence for economic complexity, but declines to link the data to a redistributive chiefdom model.

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33 Pullen 1985.
35 Pullen 1985: 144-146.
36 Pullen 1985: 381.
In spite of his critique of Renfrew’s use of the chiefdom model in his dissertation, Pullen has operationalized chiefdoms in subsequent publications. For example, he explicitly links seals with chiefdoms in his publication of a lead seal from Tsoungiza (A35):37 “[S]eals and sealings in the EH II period can be modeled as one mechanism of control of the redistribution of goods to the elite in a chiefdom type of social organization.”38

Wiencke uses Renfrew’s chiefdom model to describe “Change In Early Helladic II” as the rise of a “high level of social and economic complexity”,39 and “governance by some kind of chiefdom system, with little or no social ranking at the start but with signs of gradually increasing social complexity by the earlier EBA II”.40 Unlike Renfrew, however, Wiencke identifies no evidence for the large-scale redistribution of agricultural goods, arguing instead that redistribution operated at a more restricted scale and in the context of communal feasting and the “ceremonial” duties of the chief in residence at the corridor houses.41 Furthermore, Wiencke argues that one cause for the emergence of social complexity was “a new people with Anatolian connections” marked by the appearance of the Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage at Lerna.42

Maran’s Kulturwandel auf dem griechischen Festland und den Kykladen im späten 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. marked another turning point in the study of EH social organization.43 His comparison of EH and Early Cycladic (EC) social development

38 Pullen 1994: 52.
41 Wiencke 1989: 504-505.
42 Wiencke 1989: 509, no. 90.
43 Maran 1998.
highlighted the complexity of EH social organization but drew attention to the problems of the chiefdom model for characterizing EH complexity. According to Maran, a settlement and administrative hierarchy were controlled by elites in residence at the corridor houses (and associated monumental structures, such as the Rundbau at Tiryns).\textsuperscript{44} Maran links administrative seal use with the corridor houses and argues that administrative sealing practices represents the western extension of a sealing system that originated in the Near East.\textsuperscript{45} He proposes, however, that Renfrew’s interpretation of seals as marks of ownership may be reductive ("vereinfachend"), pointing to the supposedly non-administrative seal use on impressed hearths and the possibilities of archaeologically undetectable stamping or rolling on soft media such as textiles, skin, or bread.\textsuperscript{46} Maran therefore argues that EH sealing practices cannot be definitively linked to elites, nor is it clear if seal owners were also the owners of the sealed goods, nor that they were administrative officials.\textsuperscript{47} Moreover, Maran points to the limited storage capacity at corridor houses, which contradicts Renfrew’s model of large-scale redistribution of agricultural goods, and cites Pullen’s suggestion that low-bulk goods, perhaps metals, were redistributed instead.\textsuperscript{48} Ultimately Maran concludes that it is premature to interpret EH society as a chiefdom (“Häuptlingstum”).\textsuperscript{49} This important insight has not attracted the attention it deserves because, although Maran questions the utility of the chiefdom

\textsuperscript{44} Maran 1998: 233. \\
\textsuperscript{45} Maran 1998: 233-236. \\
\textsuperscript{46} Maran 1998: 236. \\
\textsuperscript{47} Maran 1998: 237. \\
\textsuperscript{48} Pullen 1986. \\
\textsuperscript{49} Maran 1998: 239.
model, he nevertheless describes the corridor houses as elite residences and emphasizes hierarchical forms of social organization.

Weingarten centers Anatolian influence at Lerna in her analysis of the Room XI sealings, and argues for the wholesale importation of administrative sealing practices from Anatolia to Lerna. She interprets the House of the Tiles as a “communal trading post” and hospitality suite to receive Anatolian silver merchants, who brought administrative sealing practices to the site. Weingarten argues, however, that seal use at Lerna involved a communal storeroom used jointly by heads of household, and not control by “chief’s official, any kind of bureaucratic hierarchy”. She attributes the “high level of social and economic complexity” to the influence of “a new people with Anatolian connections”. Nevertheless, Weingarten details a “non-intensive” pattern of seal use that points to a decentralized, non-hierarchical, and non-bureaucratic system of sealing administration: “For what evidence is there of hierarchy, or of an elite, let alone a bureaucracy working for this elite?”

The discovery of hundreds of clay sealings in 1997 at the site of Geraki in Laconia marked the next major turning point in the study of EH sealing practices. Unlike Lerna, however, the remote site of Geraki has not disclosed a corridor house. Further sealings were also discovered in 2002, and Weingarten’s detailed studies of the material demonstrate that the sealing types conform to the Lerna material, even though they were found in deposits dated to a phase earlier in EH II than the sealings from the House of the

51 Weingarten 1997: 159-160.
52 Wiencke 1989: 495, 509, no. 90.
Tiles at Lerna (Lerna IIIC).\textsuperscript{55} Just as she saw the Lerna sealings as evidence for interregional exchanges with Anatolian silver traders, Weingarten argues that the Geraki sealings were involved in wider trading networks among Aegean and Anatolian sites, with goods reaching Laconia through down-the-line exchanges.\textsuperscript{56} In order to justify the reach of Anatolian influence to the inland site of Geraki, Weingarten points to its location on a trade route between the Eurotas river and the coast, and argues that the site represents a transit point in trade involving Lernaean and Anatolian traders whose interest in Geraki was the fine linen textiles found impressed on some clay sealings.\textsuperscript{57}

Similarly, the discovery of another significant deposit of clay sealings at the inland site of Petri between 1995-1996 underscored how widespread sealing practices were across the Peloponnese. Kostoula has published only summarily the hundreds of clay sealings and the few roller-impressed pithoi that were found at Petri.\textsuperscript{58} Kostoula compares the Petri sealings to Near Eastern administrative sealing practices and argues that sealing was, along with monumental corridor houses and fortifications, evidence for complexity.\textsuperscript{59} Final publication of the site should clarify how the excavator associates Near Eastern influence to developing complexity.

Scholarship since the discovery of the Geraki and Petri sealings increasingly recognizes the importance of a social approach to EH sealing practices, one that accounts for administrative sealing practices outside of monumental corridor houses and large coastal trading sites, such as the House of the Tiles at Lerna. Such an approach is taken

\textsuperscript{55} Weingarten et al. 1999; Weingarten et al. 2011.
\textsuperscript{56} Weingarten et al. 2011: 156-157.
\textsuperscript{57} Weingarten 2000: 328-329.
\textsuperscript{58} Kostoula 2000, 2004.
by Nilsson, Weiberg, and Peperaki, each of whom emphasize cooperative social
dynamics in the process of EH social change. Their collective work re-investigates
corridor houses and, in effect, re-conceptualizes complexity in the EH period as non-
hierarchical in structure.

Rather than elite residences, Nilsson interprets corridor houses as community-led
trade centers that hosted inter-site trade parties and were overseen by a council that, given
the small size of most EH sites, “could incorporate representatives of all households.”60
This interpretation reflects Weingarten’s earlier assertion that the House of the Tiles was
a “communal trading post” and hospitality suite to receive for Anatolian silver
merchants.61 Nilsson argues that community-level decision-making at corridor houses
was perhaps “founded on an egalitarian basis”, since no proper elites can be identified in
the archaeological record on the basis of the burial record.62 The individuals who hosted
traders at the corridor houses, however, may have been selected to oversee transactions
because of their prominence within the community, and Nilsson does not deny the
possibility that social ranking in the EH period was not expressed through
archaeologically recoverable social practices.63 Although seals are “generally seen as
evidence of an administrative system, and a well-organized community is often presumed
to be controlled by a single ruler or a ruling class”, like other prestige goods in EH
communities they were found only sporadically.64 Nilsson’s work highlights the fact that

60 Nilsson 2004: 205.
64 Nilsson 2004: 201.
seals and social ranking are evidenced only at some sites, and are an exceptional rather than a general feature of EH Greece.

Weiberg’s *Thinking the Bronze Age: Life and Death in Early Helladic Greece* re-approaches EH Greece by focusing on its people and practices using context-specific interpretations of EH settlements and burials that highlight the variation in EH architectural and burial practices.\(^{65}\) Like Nilsson, Weiberg re-interprets corridor houses as multifunctional communal structures rather than elite residence on the basis of reconstructed circulation patterns and the uses of space at the House of the Tiles at Lerna.\(^{66}\) She argues that that the EH II-III transition should be interpreted in terms of the intentional commemorative practices of locals rather than foreign invaders, and raises the possibility that the corridor houses were either deliberately or unintentionally destroyed by their inhabitants, not invaders.\(^{67}\) Weiberg further argues that the lack of finds from inside corridor houses supports the hypothesis that they were cleared out either before or after they were destroyed. She also describes the construction of the ritual tumulus at Lerna over the ruins of the House of the Tiles as an act of commemoration. In considering seals and sealings from Asine, Weiberg highlights regional variation and the “Peloponnesian particularity”\(^{68}\) of clay sealings, which were found almost exclusively in this region. She interprets the figural imagery on impressed seal designs from clay sealings discovered at sites like Lerna, Asine, and Tiryns as evidence for social display in settlements, since preserved sealings were found in the settlements. Weiberg contrasts the

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\(^{65}\) Weiberg 2007: 16-18, 381.
\(^{66}\) Weiberg 2007: 44-57.
\(^{68}\) Weiberg 2010: 186.
Peloponnesian practice of sealing in settlements as social display with practices in Attica and Euboea, where social display was practiced in the funerary sphere through the deposition of prestige goods in graves.\textsuperscript{69} In shifting the focus from sealing as economic administration to sealing as a social practice in EH Greece, Weiberg opens up new interpretive possibilities for investigating the social dynamics of emerging social complexity, given the central role that sealing practices play in its analysis.

Peperaki’s work on sealing and feasting at the House of the Tiles at Lerna also emphasizes social cooperation as a primary driving force in emerging complexity in EH Greece.\textsuperscript{70} The role of sealing practices at the House of the Tiles is the subject of her article, “The Value of Sharing: Seal Use, Food Politics, and the Negotiation of Labor in Early Bronze II Mainland Greece”, in which she challenges Renfrew’s suggestion that seals were used by rulers to exercise control over resources.\textsuperscript{71} Peperaki highlights the close association between the evidence for sealing (clay sealings) and feasting (stored ceramic drinking vessels) in Room XI in the House of the Tiles, and argues that sealing served to materialize social relationships by transforming “foodstuffs into a collective fund, one able to embody and negotiate social ties in ways that could not have been predicted by existing models of the period.”\textsuperscript{72} She argues that feasting and sealings were used to negotiate agricultural labor commitments,\textsuperscript{73} and that redistribution was not, as

\textsuperscript{69} Weiberg 2010: 213-214.
\textsuperscript{71} Peperaki 2016: 4.
\textsuperscript{72} Peperaki 2016: 14.
\textsuperscript{73} Peperaki 2016: 20.
Renfrew suggested, used to maintain an existing system but was exploited to create new “social realities”.  

In Pullen’s extensive work on EH feasting, he initially maintains Renfrew’s redistributive model in linking feasting in EH IIA Tsoungiza to “chiefdom-level social organization”. He describes the EH IIA community at Tsoungiza as a chiefdom type of society, citing the proto-corridor house (House A) and lead seal discovered there.

In “Before the Palaces: Redistribution and Chiefdoms on Mainland Greece”, Pullen interprets the evidence for feasting and sealing in EH Greece with “the mobilization of staple goods on a limited scale” and “small-scale control of nonstaple goods” by a central authority, the chief. He argues that feasting in EH Greece evidenced redistributive chiefdoms, with the chief’s power based either on staple or wealth finance. According to the economic model of staple v. wealth finance, a political leader’s power resided in his control over and redistribution of one or both types of resources, with staple finance having involved subsistence goods such as agricultural surplus or livestock, and wealth finance having involved specialized goods produced by attached craft specialists. A sub-set of the wealth finance system is the prestige goods economy model, in which chiefs gain political power by controlling access to prestige goods, defined as goods that signal special access to distant materials and knowledge as a source of power.

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74 Peperaki 2016: 21.
76 Pullen 2011a: 906.
77 Pullen 2011b.
78 Pullen 2011b: 115.
79 Pullen 2011b.
80 Earle and D’Altroy 1982: 266; D’Altroy and Earle 1985: 188.
81 D’Altroy and Earle 1985: 188.
points out, however, that “[w]e lack evidence for centralized control of craft production, centralized control of exotic raw materials (e.g. metal, stones), or centralized control of distribution of prestige items” \(^83\). Thus while there is evidence for complexity in EH Greece, and some central coordinating agency must have organized the labor force required to construct monumental corridor houses and fortifications, the nature of leadership and complexity during the EH period remains unclear.

Pullen, in his most recent work on EH feasting, moves away from the redistribution model introduced by Renfrew and suggests instead that reciprocal gift exchanges served to forge asymmetrical social obligations through gift debts, which led to the emergence of social complexity as aggrandizing individuals were able to manipulate the system to enhance their status. \(^84\) Such a reciprocity model better fits the evidence for the EH period because it moves away from the mobilization of resources by a top-down authority (chief) to consider exchanges that were more integrative and originated at a grass roots level.

In spite of this shift in the literature away from economic readings and toward more socially oriented theoretical approaches to EH society, seals and clay sealings are still interpreted by some scholars as administrative devices used for interregional exchanges. Administrative sealing practices are included in Rahmstorf’s work on EH stone spool-shaped weights, which he uses to propose that a standardized weight system was used to integrate and interregional trade network that spanned the Aegean and Anatolia. \(^85\)

“Emerging Economic Complexity in the Aegean and Western Anatolia during the Third

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\(^{83}\) Pullen 2011b: 115.
\(^{84}\) Pullen 2016: 54.
\(^{85}\) Rahmstorf 2016: 230-233, Figs. 10.1, 10.5.
Millennium BC”, Rahmstorf argues that sealing practices and standardized weight systems were used to control resource exchanges. Rahmstorf describes both weight and sealing systems as “administrative control systems” and interprets them as “signs of emerging complexity.”

Although there is growing interest in the social dimensions of EH sealing practices, seals and sealings are still widely understood as having an economic function. Such a narrow reading of sealing practices privileges their economic and political potential at the expense of their social function. In order to better understand social change in the EH period, a more nuanced approach to the evidence for sealing practices is needed.

I.6. A NEW APPROACH: SEALING AS COLLECTIVE ACTION

This study undertakes a comprehensive program of contextual analysis of seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects in order to reconstruct the social and historical context of EH sealing practices. Collective action theory is integrated into this analytical program to investigate the social dynamics of sealing practices and their role in the process of social change in EH Greece. This approach departs from previous scholarship on the EH period by emphasizing cooperation and non-hierarchical social relations, in contrast to previous top-down, elite-based approaches that describe the EH period as a chiefdom. As discussed above, since Renfrew scholars have explained emerging complexity in Bronze Age Greece using a neo-evolutionary theoretical framework for Mycenaean state formation, in which EH social organization is described as a chiefdom.

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Sealing practices are central to scholarship on the EH period, and are linked to emerging complexity along with the evidence for monumental architecture, craft-specialization (metallurgy), and long-distance exchanges. More recent studies, however, highlight the active roles that social practices played in the process of past social change in EH Greece. Nevertheless, the conceptualization of complexity in terms of hierarchical forms of economic and political complexity still persists in the study of EH Greece.

EH complexity is modeled as a chiefdom, a theoretical model in anthropological and archaeological theory that has been modified by sustained and vigorous critique in a robust literature spanning multiple decades. Archaeological research on chiefdoms since Service’s initial formulation has sought evidence for social ranking in the differential accumulation of wealth in burials, differences in domestic architecture, core/periphery relations in settlement hierarchy, and population density in graves and houses. Yet archaeologists have long struggled to reconcile the high variation of the archaeological record with the general chiefdom model. They have therefore identified a wide range of chiefdom subtypes, which can be grouped according to the analytical priority assigned to their political (simple, complex), economic (staple v. wealth finance, prestige goods commodities), or social dimensions (group-oriented v.

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90 Cf. Barker 2008 for a concise overview.  
individualizing chiefdoms). These groupings correspond to Earle’s three schemes of variation for scholarly approaches to chiefdoms: scale of development (political), basis of finance (economic), and structure (social).

The archaeological critique of the chiefdom model has contributed greatly to a broader understanding of past social change by identifying the dynamics of emerging social complexity. A crucial insight gained from archaeological investigations of chiefdoms concerns why chiefs rise to power, whether through consensus or coercion. This dynamic that can be traced back to Service and Fried’s original formulation of the chiefdom. For Service, chiefs rise to power to meet the needs of communities by managing centralized decision-making and the redistribution of agricultural resources within the territory he so controls. In Service’s managerial approach, redistribution is the chiefdom’s reason for being because it allows him to maintain social equilibrium at the regional level.

Earle and other archaeologists, however, argue that redistribution was not so central to the chiefdom type society. Following Fried, they see the chief rising to power by controlling access to resources in order to protect his own privilege rather than to benefit the wider community. From this perspective, managerial chiefs are aggrandizing elites who rise to power by mobilizing goods up the hierarchy they surmount in order to maintain their own power. This mobilization approach involved “staple finance” or

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95 Renfrew 1974.
96 Earle 1991: 3.
97 Pauketat 2007: 22.
“wealth finance” systems, depending on whether the chief commands tribute in the form of agricultural surplus or prestige goods.99

The fundamental distinction between the managerial and the mobilization model for chiefdoms is described elsewhere as integrative or conflictive, voluntaristic or exploitive, cooperative or conflictive, collaborative or coercive, collectivist or individualist, bottom-up or top-down.100 The mobilization/individualist/conflictive model has mostly replaced managerial/collectivist/cooperative model for the rise of social complexity in the archaeological literature. Social competition rather than cooperation is widely seen as the primary causal factor in the emergence of social complexity. According to these models, social change is driven by factional competition among aggrandizing elites,101 who compete for social prestige, which is conferred by access to goods such as exotica that reflect distant sources of knowledge and materials102 or the means of production for producing high-value goods.103

An influential approach that integrates both conflictive and cooperative approaches to past social change is the dual-processual theory of Blanton and colleagues.104 According to dual-processual theory, leaders employ two leadership strategies that balance individualist and collectivist concerns, termed “corporate strategies” and “network strategies”. Corporate strategies are collectivist and group-oriented, in which leaders emphasize group solidarity by mobilizing large-scale collective labor projects.

101 Clark and Blake 1994.
103 Hayden 1998.
104 Blanton et al. 1996.
Network strategies are exclusionary and individualist, and involve emerging elites manipulating long-distance exchange network as a source of social prestige. The two strategies are compatible rather than mutually exclusive, and their interplay characterizes leadership across a wide range of societies.

In *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*, Pauketat argues that dual-processual theory fails to account for why those leaders emerged, and so its value is limited to describing synchronic social organization rather than diachronic social change. Despite its efforts to balance individualist and collectivist approaches to social change by modeling corporate and network strategies, Pauketat argues, dual-processual theory is ultimately a top-down approach to social change that “tacitly relies on an elite-centric view of long-term change.” Evolutionary typologies generally, and the chiefdom model specifically, are deficient for understanding the past because they focus narrowly on aggrandizing elites as the prime movers of social change. Elite-based approaches define entire societies on the basis of those at the top, which fail to account for the multiple constituencies whose agencies and relations constituted the social institutions and organizations that together drove social change. In “Tragedy of the Commoners”, Pauketat argues that common people unintentionally contributed to their own domination by adhering to cultural traditions manipulated by aggrandizing elites. He takes as his case study monumental mound-building organized at the regional level by Mississippian elites, who dominated regions in North America by integrating their labor

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105 Pauketat 2007.
106 Pauketat 2007 84.
107 Pauketat 2000.
forces to construct mounds. Pauketat argues that common laborers literally built the symbols of their subjugation by consenting to the ideological authority of their chief.\textsuperscript{108}

Archaeologists increasingly recognize the deficiencies of elite-based approaches that fixate on competition as the primary driving force behind social change, and seek explanatory models beyond elites.\textsuperscript{109} Similarly, conceptualizations of complexity as strictly hierarchical are also being challenged beyond simply deploying the heuristic tool of heterarchy.\textsuperscript{110} Collective action theory is a relatively new development in archaeological theory that addresses both of these concerns.

In contributions to \textit{Cooperation and Collective Action: An Archaeological Perspective}, collective action theory is traced from its initial formulation in economic theory to its application by archaeological theorists to describe social change and the dynamics of social complexity.\textsuperscript{111} Archaeologists use collective action theory to attempt to reconcile how groups cooperated even though they were comprised of competitive individuals, or to bridge the divide between conflictive/individualist/mobilization and cooperative/collectivist/managerial approaches described in the chiefdom literature.

“Archaeologists have been investigating the developmental trajectories of cooperation and competition in past societies for decades, but have tended to emphasize the latter in seeking to explain those processes underlying cultural evolution. As a result, bottom-up possibilities for group cooperation (or ‘self organization’) have been undertheorized in favor of political models stressing top-down leadership, often invoking compliance through coercion. In the meantime, evidence from a range of disciplines has demonstrated humans effectively sustain cooperative undertakings through a number of social norms and institutions that are applicable to archaeology on multiple analytical scales, including reciprocal exchanges, monitoring the reputation of others, and the retribution or rewarding of transgression or compliance. This important axis of variability

\textsuperscript{108}Pauketat 2000: 122-123.
\textsuperscript{109}Kienlin 2012.
\textsuperscript{111}Carballo 2012a; Saitta 2012; Carballo, Roscoe, and Feinman 2014.
in the dynamics of past human societies has received scant attention in archaeological theory…”\(^{112}\)

This philosophical problem is articulated in the “tragedy of the commons”, in which the concept of economic rationality conflicts with the notion of common goods. The classic example is articulated by Hardin as herders putting more than their fair share of cattle to graze on common fields, resulting in overgrazing.\(^{113}\) Hardin’s work was taken up in Olson’s influential book, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups.*\(^{114}\) Collective action theory addresses problems social groups face in coordinating cooperative action to promote the common good (i.e., build fortification walls, pay taxes), since each individuals’ self-interest is best served by “free-riding” rather than by contributing, at least from the standpoint of economic rationality.\(^{115}\) Recent archaeological studies take up Olson, Gardner, and Walker’s collective action theory to describe group dynamics in the process of social change.\(^{116}\)

In order to address collective action problems such as over-exploitation (“tragedy of the commons”) and the free-rider problem, collective action theory examines why groups cooperate when cooperation to benefit the wider community can incur costs for individuals. Why do individuals in social groups cooperate when it defies economic rationality (prisoner’s dilemma)? How do groups prevent individuals from free-riding on group benefits without incurring individual costs? Collective action theory tackles these questions by examining and classifying different resource types. Olson, Gardner, and

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\(^{112}\) Carballo 2012b: 4.  
\(^{113}\) Hardin 1968.  
\(^{114}\) Olson 1965.  
\(^{115}\) Olson 1965: 126-127.  
\(^{116}\) Carballo 2012a; Carballo et al. 2014.
Walker classify goods along two axes of variability, excludability and subtractability, and distinguish among private, public, communal, and club/toll goods (Fig. 1.10).117

Excludability refers to how difficult or costly it is to withhold the benefits of goods from others, and involves both physical attributes (i.e., fencing and packaging) and “institutions used in particular jurisdiction”,118 or social practices that restrict access to certain goods (i.e., punishment, taboo). Excludability is central to EH sealing practices because the application of clay sealings to a container physically restricted access to its sealed contents, but because the seals were easily broken their security relied upon group consensus to leave seals intact.

Subtractability or rivalrousness refers to the degree to which the consumption or use of goods by one individual prevents another from doing so. EH sealed goods were highly rivalrous in the sense that the contents of sealed containers were finite, but the depositional contexts for clay sealings demonstrates that sealed goods were marked for communal storage and consumption.

The classification of goods according to excludability and subtractability within collective action theory can therefore shed light on some dimensions of EH sealing practices that are directly relevant to larger issues of social organization and social change.

The distinction among private, public, communal, and club/toll goods (Fig. 1.10) is useful for addressing collective action problems, such as the free-rider problem in which individuals benefit from resources without contributing, because it reveals that

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individuals can only free-ride if the resources are highly excludable (private goods, club/toll goods).¹¹⁹ Public goods are not easily excludable because they cannot be withheld from some members of a group, nor are they highly subtractable in that their consumption is not rivalrous. Private goods, by contrast, are both excludable and highly subtractable. Common-pool resources are nonexcludable but highly subtractable, like the common pastures vulnerable to over-grazing in the tragedy of the commons, while toll/club goods are excludable but non-subtractable. Nonexcludable public goods and common-pool resources (i.e., rain water, fisheries, grazing land) are freely available to and benefit the wider community regardless of each member’s participation and their exploitation is non-rivalrous, though social institutions can mediate access to them. Private goods and club/toll goods are easily excludable and rivalrous in the sense that their circulation is limited and can be controlled to withhold them (i.e., prestige goods, exotic imports).¹²⁰

These resource classifications are useful for archaeologists examining the role of cooperative social strategies in the process of social change because they provide a framework for theorizing collective action.¹²¹ Archaeologists examining cooperative social strategies, especially in pre-state or intermediate societies, benefit from collective action theory because it provides an alternative interpretive framework to top-down, hierarchical models such as the chiefdom. Moving beyond a binary distinction between hierarchical and heterarchical social relations, collective action theory allows archaeologists to examine social strategies in terms of cooperation and competition.

¹¹⁹ Olson 1965: 28.
consensus and coercion. The entire community, not just its leaders, are seen as shaping the social dynamics and institutions that drove past social change.

The more balanced interpretive framework for past social dynamics that collective action theory affords is particularly well suited to the evidence for EH sealing practices because of the apparent close association between sealing and feasting and their central role in the local Aegeanist literature on emerging social complexity. Distinguishing among public, private, club/toll, and common-pool resources is useful for re-evaluating the social dynamics of sealing practices because doing so addresses issues of ownership, personal property, and communal storage. Previous work on EH seals has argued that their designs were the personal signatures of elites, which would suggest that sealed goods were the personal property of seal owners. The prevailing chiefdom model for the EH period, however, implies that marked goods were redistributed by a chief. It is therefore unclear if sealed goods were private or public goods, particularly since sealing appears to have been undertaken in the context of communal feasting and storage.

Peperaki describes sealing at the House of the Tiles as “transform[ing] foodstuffs into a collective fund, one able to embody and negotiate social ties in ways that could not have been predicted by existing models of the period.”¹²² How did such a collective fund function in EH society, and what was the role of sealing practices in its creation and provisioning? Were sealed goods private goods, public goods, club/toll goods, or common-pool resources? What type of property transfer was involved in sealing and feasting, and what does it reveal about EH society? Were only seal owners allowed to participate in the feast? How formalized were the social institutions that sealing and

¹²² Peperaki 2016: 14.
feasting together comprised? Consideration of the scale of sealing and feasting operations inferred from the depositional contexts of the evidence are required to address these question and their wider implications.

This dissertation re-evaluates the archaeological evidence for EH sealing practices using a contextual approach that reveals a close association between sealing, feasting, and food storage. Formal analysis of seal designs reveals a marked homogeneity that unifies EH seal designs, which together with contextual analysis of seals and impressed objects demonstrates that seal designs were group emblems rather than the personal signatures of elite individuals. It is argued that sealed objects were contributions to communal feasts that sealing marked for communal storage and use. As a result of these findings, it is proposed that EH sealing practices, along with communal feasting and storage, constitute collective action, and that feasting, sealing, and storage together demonstrate the central role of non-hierarchical social relations in the process of EH social change.

In addressing what types of resources were sealed using analytical tools developed within collective action theory, the social dynamics of sealing practices can be more carefully considered than in previous models. Collective action theory reveals that cooperative and competitive dynamics underlay all social strategies, and should be seen as a spectrum rather than mutually exclusive categories. There is therefore a tension between cooperation and competition, and horizontal integration and vertical differentiation in EH sealing that is overlooked when attempting to fit the data into a chiefdom model that distinguishes between cooperative/collectivist/managerial approaches on the one hand and conflictive/individualist/mobilization on the other.

123 Carballo et al. 2014: 104.
Furthermore, a tension between tradition and innovation is revealed in the differential adaptations to foreign influence on sealing practices, which are reflected in seal shapes, designs, and impression techniques. Regional and chronological variation in EH II-III sealing practices is identified through contextual analysis, and analyzed using insights drawn from collective action theory to highlight the central role of cooperative social dynamics in the process of EH social change.

I.7. Structure of Study

This study presents and analyzes the evidence for EH sealing practices and then discusses their wider social implications in the process of social change. Each line of evidence is presented in a separate chapter that outlines the typology, distribution, and depositional contexts, organized by site, for the objects catalogued in the appendices. Chapter II (“Seals”) refers to the objects catalogued in Appendix A, Chapter III (“Clay Sealings”) refers to Appendix B, and Chapter IV (“Seal-Impressed Objects”) to Appendix C. Objects are referred to in the texts based on the number assigned to them in each appendix (e.g., seal A2, clay sealing B23, etc.). Chapter V (“Reconstructing EH Sealing Practices”) examines the depositional contexts for objects from secure deposits synthetically, examining first settlement and then burial contexts by site before discussing the function of each class of artifacts. Chapter VI (“Seal Use and Social Change”) examines regional and chronological variation and the role of foreign influence in sealing practices, and addresses the shifting social dynamics of cooperation and competition, tradition and innovation that underlay them.
II. SEALS

II.1. SEAL TYPOLOGY: SHAPES

Seals are one form of primary source evidence for seal use in EH Greece. EH seals form a stylistically homogenous group, as they were produced using only a few different types of material and in a restricted range of shapes. This chapter first presents the typology for seals, then analyzes the frequency of each subtype, followed by their regional distribution and depositional contexts.

A total of 79 published EH seals are catalogued in Appendix A (A1-79, Figs. 2.1-8). The 79 total EH seals catalogued in Appendix A are assigned to one of ten shapes: conoid, plate, cylinder, hemispherical, ring, pyramidal, rectangular block, foot-shaped, lentoid, and unknown (Table 1.1). The classification used here describes the profile of the body and handle type using terminology adapted from the Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel (CMS).124

II.1.1. Conoid seals (Figs. 2.1-2.2)

Conoid seals have straight or curved profiles that taper upwards from the engraved circular seal face. Conoids most often have pendant handles that are undifferentiated from the body of the seal in profile and horizontally perforated. Stone conoids with perforated pendant handles come from Raphina (A43, Fig. 2.6), Manika (A54, Fig. 2.2),

124 The CMS glossary includes English translations of German terms used in the database: http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/cms/seals/glossary.html (last accessed Oct. 15, 2017). Note: Seals that are described in the CMS and elsewhere as “button seals” are classified here as plate seals (A1, A56, A77), while those described as “bottle seals” are described here as conoids (A39, A53-A54).
and a third example is of unknown provenance (A78, Fig. 2.2). More common are clay conoids with perforated pendant handle, including those from Lerna (A4-A7, Fig. 2.1), Tiryns (A9, A12, Fig. 2.1), Corinth (A22, Fig. 2.1), Ayios Stephanos (A29, Fig. 2.1), Asea (A31, Fig. 2.1), Alimos (A40, Fig. 2.1), Kolonna (A46, Fig. 2.1), and Palamari on Skyros (A67, Fig. 2.1). Two clay conoids have pendant handles that are unperforated, including one from the Argolid Exploration Project (A20, Fig. 2.1) and another from Ayios Stephanos (A28, Fig. 2.1).

Pierce-grip handles of various shapes also occur in conoids. The single example of a stalk-handled seal is a clay example from Lerna (A2, Fig. 2.2). Hammer-head pierce-grip handles, more common in Crete, occur in three stone examples, one from Asine (A16, Fig. 2.2), one from Ayios Kosmas (A39, Fig. 2.2), and one from Thebes (A59, Fig. 2.2). The only example of a bone conoid was found in the Skotini Cave, and has an unusual tubular pierce-grip handle with a groove on top, which is differentiated from the seal body by an incurving and then outcurving profile (A53, Fig. 2.2). A similar groove on the top of the handle is found on another seal from the Skotini Cave, a pierce-grip handle of a clay conoid, which also has a curved profile (A52, Fig. 2.2).

Conoids can also have unperforated handles. The single metal example of a conoid from Tsoungiza has an unperforated knob handle (A25, Fig. 2.2), the only example of this handle type. A stone conoid from Asine has a deep horizontal line around the top that creates an unperforated notched handle, and a second line that distinguishes the seal face from the body, though not in profile (A15, Fig. 2.2).

Finally, the handles of three conoids are broken so that their type cannot be determined. These include a clay conoid from Koropi (A41, Fig. 2.1) and a stone conoid
of unknown provenance (A79, Fig. 2.2). Another stone example from Ayia Marina is reportedly conoid in shape, but is not illustrated (A64).

II.1.2. Plate seals (Figs. 2.3–2.4)

Plate seals have thin, flat bodies with a pierce-grip handle, usually well-differentiated, and a circular or square to rectangular seal face. Several plate seals have circular seal faces and closely resemble conoids, but the thin seal face is differentiated from the body of the seal by a ledge.

A stone plate seal with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and a circular seal face from Modi (A50, Fig. 2.3) resembles conoids with similar handles, but the flat body of the seal is differentiated from the handle. Other plates with circular faces and tongue-shaped pierce-grip handles include one from Manika (A56, Fig. 2.3), and one of unknown provenance with only a partially preserved handle (A77, Fig. 2.3). Stone plates with square seal faces and tongue-shaped pierce-grip handles include examples from Epidauros (A19, Fig. 2.3), Manika (A57–A58, Fig. 2.3), and another from Lerna with an asymmetrical and rounded square seal face (A, Fig. 2.31). A stone example with a square face reportedly from Aegina has a unique gable-shaped handle (A51, Fig. 2.3).

Examples of clay plate seals include one from Tiryns with a thick, horizontally perforated pierce-grip handle (A11, Fig. 2.3). A clay plate seal from Galani in Macedonia is unusual both in terms of its rectangular seal face and unperforated conical handle (A76, Fig. 2.3). The handles of a three clay plate seals, one from Livanates/Kynos (A63, Fig. 2.3), one from Pelikata (A69, Fig. 2.3), and one from Orchomenos (A62, Fig. 2.3), are broken so that it unclear if they were perforated or not.
Plate seals that are engraved on multiple sides tend to be square and are sometimes called stone amulets or pendants, but are catalogued here as seals because their engraved designs compare closely with seal designs. In addition, just as most seals were perforated and could have served as objects of personal adornment worn around the neck or wrist, square pendants or amulets may also have been multifunctional. One example from Asine is engraved on both square faces and three edges with a cylindrical handle on top (A13, Fig. 2.4), and a similar example from Midea is also square and engraved on multiple surfaces, but its handle has broken off (A18, Fig. 2.4). Another example from Geraki is engraved on five sides with a groove on the top, which is horizontally perforated just under the side with the groove (A27, Fig. 2.4), while another example is engraved on all sides except the top, where the seal was broken at the axial perforation (A48, Fig. 2.4). A similar plate seal from Methana is engraved on both rounded rectangular seal faces with a horizontal line around its edges (A49, Fig. 2.4).

Other plates seals that were engraved on multiple sides include three stone plate seals with rectangular and horizontally perforated pierce-grip handles. Both are from Thessaly, one from Philia with a rectangular seal face and engraved handle (A70, Fig. 2.4), and the other from Larissa with a square seal face but rectangular engraved handle (A71, Fig. 2.4). Finally, a square plate seal from Volos with an off-center and tubular pierce-grip handle (A73, Fig. 2.4).

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**II.1.3. Cylinder seals (Fig. 2.5)**

Cylinder seals have straight profiles that are generally engraved so that the impression is rolled out, except for two stamp cylinders that are engraved on the ends for stamping. Two cylinders are axially perforated, including the much discussed clay roller (A21, Fig. 2.5) reportedly from the Argolid, which resembles in its dimensions those rollers used to impress decorated hearths and pithoi. Another axially perforated clay cylinder from Mandalo has similar dimensions as the roller (A74, Fig. 2.5), but its pattern does not correspond to any preserved hearth or pithos impressions and may instead represent an object of Neolithic manufacture, since it was found a mixed context (see below, II.4.39).

An unperforated clay cylinder from Palamari that was engraved all around its circumference was also engraved on each short side (A67, Fig. 2.1), and therefore seems to have doubled as a stamp and cylinder seal. Similarly, the sole stone cylinder seal from Palamari was also a stamp cylinder, since it is engraved on its side and on one end, the other end having a horizontally perforated pierce-grip (A60, Fig. 2.5). Additionally, there are two examples of stamp cylinders engraved only on the ends and not the body of the seal. One from Tiryns is made from bone and engraved on both sides with a wide horizontal perforation (A10, Fig. 2.5). The other, from Asea, is clay and engraved on only one side, and in addition to being unperforated is lopsided or asymmetrical in profile (A33, Fig. 2.5).
II.1.4. Hemispherical seals (Fig. 2.6)

Hemispherical seals have a semi-hemispherical body and a circular seal face. Some have no distinct handle but are horizontally perforated, such as the clay example from Zygouries (A23, Fig. 2.6), stone examples from Asine (A14, Fig. 2.6) and Athens (A37, Fig. 2.6). Others have pierce-grip handles, including a clay example from Asea (A32, Fig. 2.6) and a stone example from Koropi (A42, Fig. 2.6).

II.1.5. Ring seals (Fig. 2.7)

Ring seals have circular or square seal faces and circular handles. A stone ring from Aigion is the largest and best preserved example, with a thick tubular ring band and deep seal body attached to a thin, plate-like seal face (A30, Fig. 2.7). A second stone ring from Tiryns has a circular face and a broken handle (A8, Fig. 2.7). A clay example from Athens is broken, but the width of the handle rising from the circular plate-shaped seal face is sufficiently preserved to suggest that it was a ring (A36, Fig. 2.7). From Lerna comes a clay ring with a broken handle but a square seal face (A3, Fig. 2.7). Finally, a copper ring from Manika has a square seal face that is not differentiated from the band of the ring on a separate bezel (A55, Fig. 2.7).

II.1.6. Pyramidal seals (Fig. 2.8)

Pyramidal seals have straight edges that taper upwards from a rectangular seal face and a horizontally perforated pendant handle. All four examples are stone. One from Kolonna has a wide rectangular face and tapers dramatically upwards, with drilled holes on its broad side (A45, Fig. 2.8), while the second example from Kolonna is thin and flat
and tapers only slightly towards the top (A47, Fig. 2.8). One seal reportedly from Sikyon is engraved on its sides with a cross and two horizontal lines, the one at the bottom delineating the face from the seal though not in profile (A26, Fig. 2.8). The example from Delphi tapers symmetrically in profile on the wide side of the rectangular, but is asymmetrical on the other (A65, Fig. 2.8).

**II.1.7. Rectangular block seals** (Fig. 2.9)

Rectangular block seals have rectangular faces and can be axially or horizontally perforated. All four examples are carved from stone. The one from Kolonna is axially perforated and has two deep horizontal grooves engraved on its sides (A44, Fig. 2.9). The example from Eutresis is engraved on only one face and horizontally perforated at one end (A61, Fig. 2.9). Additionally, two unillustrated examples from Ayiorytika are reportedly stone rectangular block seals with rectangular faces (A34-A35).

**II.1.8. Foot-shaped seals** (Fig. 2.10)

Foot-shaped seals are L-shaped and have a horizontally perforated pendant handle and an ovular seal face. Only two examples were found in EH contexts, both stone, one from Ayios Kosmas (A38, Fig. 2.10) and one from Zygouries (A24, Fig. 2.10).

**II.1.9. Lentoid seals** (Fig. 2.11)

Lentoid seals are biconvex and axially perforated with two circular seal faces. They are thickest along the length of the perforation and taper towards the edges. The sole example of a lentoid is carved from stone and from Argos (A17, Fig. 2.11).
II.1.10. Undetermined type seals (Fig. 2.12)

The irregularly shaped stone seal from Proskynas (A66, Fig. 2.11) is documented by a single photograph from which the shape of the seal cannot be clearly made out, and it is therefore classified as being of unknown shape. A single example of a clay seal of unknown type from Dikili Tash is published only as a photograph of the round seal face with no description or illustration of the seal shape (A75, Fig. 2.11).

II.2. Seal Typology: Materials

The materials of preserved seals are stone, clay, metal, and bone (Table 1.3). In addition to these preserved seal materials, it is likely that wooden seals were used but have not survived. Wiencke and Weiberg both suggest that the Lerna sealings were impressed by wooden stamps because of the lack of correspondence between the impressed designs and extant seals.\(^\text{126}\) Furthermore, both Branigan and Weingarten point to the sensitively carved and elaborate seal designs on the clay sealings at Lerna to suggest that they were carved from a soft material, more likely wood than bone.\(^\text{127}\) Similarly, Caskey interpreted the roller-impressed designs on the hearths and pithoi from Lerna as made by wooden rollers,\(^\text{128}\) and Weingarten points to the use of wooden cylinders for direct object sealing of vessels in the Near East in support of that argument.\(^\text{129}\)

\(^\text{128}\) Caskey 1959: 206.
Although the only extant roller seal is terracotta (A21, Fig. 2.5), given the ubiquity of rolled impressions but the dearth of preserved rollers, most scholars agree that wooden rollers were used. Roller seal A21 in fact seems to have been produced by impressing wet clay on a wooden roller to reproduce it. Dousougli-Zachos observes that the spiral patterns on clay roller A21 are rendered in the positive, and may therefore have been made by pressing the clay onto another, possibly wooden roller. She points to a similar case of reproducing wooden roller designs in clay on a vessel fragment from Tiryns (C2.51, Fig. 4.17), which is impressed with the same pattern on superimposed clay bands, one design being rendered in positive and the other in negative relief. Further examples of inverted impressions come from two hearths from Corinth (C1.53-C1.54, Fig. 4.4), which Lavezzi proposes were made using “seals of other materials”. Shedding some light on this process is the recent discovery of a bi-faced clay casting mold for a chisel and dagger blade at Petri in Room R 1 of House R, which was produced by pressing the objects directly into the clay matrix. The practice of reproduction through impression in wet clay was therefore not limited to seal designs, but extended also to tool production.

It is therefore hypothetically possible to reconstruct a seal’s material from its positive or negative impression. Seals with engraved seal designs leave positive impressions, since engraving is a reductive process and the area removed from the seal surface will be raised in the impression. When an impressed design is preserved in

132 Lavezzi 1979: 347, fn. 15.
133 Kostoula 2004: 1147.
positive relief, the material of the seal was likely stone, bone, ivory, wood, or clay. By contrast, negative impressions were created by a seal surface on which the design was raised. The design was therefore rendered on the surface of the seal from another material, such as clay applied directly to another seal.

Metal seals also leave negative impressions, since they were cast from molds into which the seal design was engraved or impressed. For example, a vessel sherd from Troy bearing a stamped spiral design is in negative relief and so was probably made from a metal seal, a feature that Aruz observes is also common in the Cyclades (e.g., hearth from Ayia Irini). As Aruz observes, very few EH seal impressions are negative. Therefore it seems likely that most EH seals were engraved, and so must have been made from stone, wood, bone, or clay, a hypothesis that finds support in the high frequency of preserved seals made from those materials (Table 1.1, Fig. 2.13). Nevertheless, Weingarten identifies the use of a metal seal on a clay sealing B145 (Fig. 3.24) from Geraki. Furthermore, the two preserved EH metal seals (A25, Fig. 2.2; A55, Fig. 2.7) indicate that more metal seals were in circulation than have been discovered. As Nakou observes, the low frequency of surviving EH metal relates to depositional patterns and recycling of metal objects, which was motivated by the apparently high social value of metal. Therefore while EBA metal seals have been found more often in the Cyclades, North Aegean, and Anatolia than in mainland Greece, as discussed in further detail below, the practice of metal seal use was not unknown to EH communities.

135 Aruz 1986: 165.
II.3. **Seal Typology: Summary**

Analysis of the frequency of seal shapes, materials, and sizes and their correlations are limited by the small sample size. Only 79 seals are available for analysis because of issues of preservation and depositional patterns discussed in the following chapter. Given the broad chronological span and geographical extent of EH Greece, this is hardly a representative sample. Nevertheless, co-occurrences of seal shapes and materials demonstrate an overwhelming preference for clay conoids and stone plates on the part of EH communities.

Conoids and plates together represent nearly three-quarters of the total number of preserved seal shapes (Fig. 2.14). Conoid seals represent the largest group of seal with 29 examples (37%), while plate seals are the next largest group with 21 examples (27%). The next largest group is cylinder seals with six examples (8%), while hemispherical and ring seals each have five examples (6%). Pyramidal and rectangular block seals each have four examples (5%), foot-shaped seals have two examples (3%), and there is only one example each of lentoid and unknown type seals (1%). As discussed above, the material of extant seals is predominately stone (56%) or clay (38%), with the remaining seals occurring in metal (3%) or bone (4%) (Fig. 2.13).

The co-occurrences of seal shapes and materials demonstrates that clay conoids and stone plate seals are the best represented types of EH seals in the corpus (Figs. 2.15-2.18). Both clay conoids and stone plates have 16 examples representing 21% of the total dataset (Figs. 2.17-2.18). The next largest group of seals is stone conoids, with eleven examples representing 14% of the dataset. These three shapes combined form more than half the extant corpus of preserved EH seals (43 examples, 55%). Fewer examples of clay
plates (5, 7%), clay cylinders (4, 5%), stone pyramidal seals (4, 5%), and stone rectangular blocks (4, 5%), as well as stone hemispherical seals (3, 4%), stone foot-shaped seals (2, 3%), clay hemispherical seals (2, 3%), and clay rings (2, 3%). Finally, only a single example (1%) is preserved for the following shapes: metal conoid, stone cylinder, bone cylinder, stone ring, metal ring, bone ring, stone lentoid, and a clay seal of unknown shape. The frequency of clay and stone conoids and stone plate seals indicates that they were the seal types preferred by EH seal users (Figs. 2.17-2.18).

Also revealing is comparison of seal size to seal type, in which size is defined by two variables, height and area of the seal face, and type is defined by shape and material. Seal dimensions are summarized in Table 1.1 and averaged by shape and material in Tables 1.2-1.4. In general, seals have an average height of 2.3 cm. and a seal face on average of 4.2 cm². Differences in average seal sizes are, however, observable according to seal type (Figs. 2.19-2.20). Comparison of the average height of seals shows that cylinders are the tallest of all seal types, presumably because of their method of impression, while stone seals are generally shorter than their clay counterparts, with the exception of stone cylinders (Fig. 2.19). Similarly, stone seals are on average smaller in height than clay seals of the same shape (Fig. 2.20), owing perhaps to the easier accessibility and workability of clay than stone, or the smaller and more precise designs that could be engraved in stone than clay. Metal seals are also much smaller in both

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138 Preserved seal height is used for seals that are complete or nearly so, but reconstructed heights are used whenever possible. Reconstructed heights were estimated for clay rings A3 and A36 because their handles were sufficiently preserved (A3: 2.1 cm. preserved height reconstructed to 3.1 cm.; A36: 1.2 cm. preserved height reconstructed to 2.5 cm.), but reconstructed heights could not be estimated for clay conoids A62, A63, or A69, nor for stone conoids A77 and A79, so their preserved heights are used in this analysis.
height and seal face than clay, stone, or bone seals, perhaps because of the scarcity of the material, or because they were able to retain more precise and clearer designs. Although only two examples of metal seals are available for comparison, the lead conoid from Tsoungiza (A25, Fig. 2.2) is a full 1.5 cm. shorter than the average height of 16 clay and 10 stone conoids, and the area of its seal face is smaller (Table 1.2).

II.4. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT

In order to examine seal use, their distribution and the evidence for different modes of deposition must be considered by examining the archaeological context for each seal. In the following discussion, the depositional context for each seal is analyzed by site, beginning with southern Greece, where seals were found in greater numbers than elsewhere on the mainland, and then moving north to seals from sites in central, western, and northern Greece.

II.4.1. Lerna (Argolid)

Lerna is situated in the southwest corner of the Argive plain on the western shore of the Bay of Argos. The site was located on the coastline in the third millennium BCE, which has since receded as a result of sedimentation.\(^{139}\) Excavations at Lerna were undertaken in the 1950s by Caskey under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA).\(^{140}\) Only approximately 1/7 of the site of Lerna (ca. 2400 m.\(^2\)) has been excavated at the top of the mound so that its full extent in the EH

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\(^{139}\) Zangger 1991.

period is unknown. Lerna’s stratigraphic sequence spans the Neolithic through MH periods, if discontinuously, and supplies the sequence for the EH period (Fig. 2.3). The EH phases at Lerna include Lerna III A-B (EH IIA), Lerna III C-D (EH IIB), and Lerna IV (EH III).  

The preservation of the evidence is uneven, as much of the later building activity has obscured earlier levels, so that phase IIIA is known primarily from fills, phase IIIB from fills and floor deposits, phases IIIC-D from floor deposits, and phase IV from both floor deposits and the numerous bothroi that characterize the site.

The EH I period at Lerna is known only from ceramics that nevertheless indicate continuous occupation at the site, and there is evidence for leveling and terracing of the site in EH IIA, or phase IIIA in stratigraphic terms. The earliest preserved architecture is early and mid-phase IIIB, with poorly preserved and discontinuous walls found mostly in the southeast area of the site. In late phase IIIB, multiple wall segments associated with a paved area indicate that a structure stood at the top of the mound, and paved areas and walls found to the south and a hearth to the west point to domestic activity around the mound as well. In mid-phase IIIC, the first corridor house (Building BG) stood at the top of the mound with fortifications below to the south (Fig. 6.1.8), and in IIID the House of the Tiles dominated the mound while the fortifications fell into ruins (Fig. 6.1.12). At the end of IIID, the House of the Tiles was destroyed and a tumulus was constructed over its ruins (Fig. 6.1.14). In the following EH III period in phase IV.1, the first of a series of EH III apsidal structures were built to the east of the tumulus, and until IV.3

142 Wiencke 2000, Plans 3, 9-12.
143 Wiencke 2000, Plans 4, 13-16.
several successive large apsidal buildings with smaller, satellite ones were built in roughly the same arrangement (Figs. 6.1.15-6, 6.1.18). Occupation at the site continued without interruption into the MH period, as well.

The only seal from Lerna that can be securely dated to the EH IIB period is A1 (Fig. 2.3), a stone plate seal with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and zigzags designs. Seal A1\textsuperscript{145} was found in a IIIC-D deposit on the street north of Room Q in the eastern fortifications. Banks describes it as a Neolithic “cast-up”,\textsuperscript{146} while Aruz proposes that it is a Cycladic import.\textsuperscript{147} An EH date for A1, however, is indicated by its close stylistic parallels with EH II stone seals from Manika (A\textsuperscript{54-56}, Figs. 2.2-2.3, 2.7), which are also square plate seals with tongue-shaped pierce grips, especially seal A51 (Fig. 2.3) with the same nested zigzag design. An EH IIB (Lerna IIIC-D) date for A1 therefore is accepted here.

The evidence for seal use in EH III at Lerna is limited to the six seals found in Lerna IV deposits. Seal A2\textsuperscript{148} (Fig. 2.2), a stone stalk-handled seal, was found in a IV.2 deposit outside building W-70 on the stone paved street under the apsidal extension represented by wall W-75 (Fig. 6.1.17). Building W-70 is a trapezoidal building dated to phase IV.2 by its floor deposit and located southeast of the tumulus constructed over the House of the Tiles.\textsuperscript{149} The apsidal appendage W-75 appears to be a later addition, since

\textsuperscript{145} A1: Argos L7.332; Lot G 271; Wiencke 2000: 126-127; Plans 24.
\textsuperscript{146} Banks 2013: 145, 213-214; Plan 20.
\textsuperscript{147} Aruz 2008: 274-275.
\textsuperscript{148} A2: Argos L5.378; Lot G 271; Banks 2013: 143; Plan 20.
\textsuperscript{149} Banks 2013: 141-143; Plan 16.
underneath it was found a patch of street with Lerna IV.2 sherds together with seal A2.\textsuperscript{150}

The presence of a hearth in this structure points to a domestic function for the structure.

Clay ring seal A3\textsuperscript{151} (Fig. 2.7) is another EH III seal that was found in Bothros B-174, which contained phase IV.3 pottery and is associated with building W-178, an apsidal structure located on top of the tumulus built over the ruins of the House of the Tiles (Fig. 6.1.19). Other finds from this bothros include a bone awl, a terracotta spindle whorl, obsidian, chert, and some bones and shell, but the high volume of fragmentary sherds and pebbles indicates that this bothros was used to dispose of debris when the area was cleared for new construction, perhaps at the beginning of Lerna V.\textsuperscript{152}

Four clay conoid seals (A4-A7, Fig. 2.1) were recovered from EH III deposits (Figs. 6.1.15-6.1.16, 6.1.18-61.1.20). These seals were published by Wiencke in 1969 and are not included in either of the final publications for Lerna III or IV.\textsuperscript{153} Seal A4\textsuperscript{154} (Fig. 2.1) was found in the destruction debris above the House of the Tiles in a Lerna IV deposit, while A5\textsuperscript{155} (Fig. 2.1) was reportedly found in the same area over the House of the Tiles but in the debris at a higher level. Seal A6\textsuperscript{156} (Fig. 2.1) comes from a phase IV “mixed context” found close to the surface, though no exact findspot is reported. Seal

\textsuperscript{150} Banks 2013: 143; Fig. 44.
\textsuperscript{152} Banks 2013: 286
\textsuperscript{153} Heath 1958: 82-83; Wiencke 1969: 509-511, nos. 196-200. In both publications. These publications refer to the old ceramic sequence and phasing for Lerna IV (Caskey 1968) that was revised by Rutter (1982, 1995) into the existing tripartite sequence.
\textsuperscript{154} A4: Argos L4.67; “NW part of square F7, Lerna IV, phase 3”; Wiencke 1969: 509.
\textsuperscript{155} A5: Argos L5.390; “Square F6-7, over NE part of the House of the Tiles, Lerna IV, phase 5”; Wiencke 1969: 509.
A7\textsuperscript{157} (Fig. 2.1) is a surface find and so unstratified, but is dated to EH III on the basis of its stylistic parallels with the other Lerna IV clay seals. None of the four EH III clay conoid seals from Lerna come from secure contexts. While it is possible that they may represent EH II cast-ups, the simple and carelessly rendered designs in no way resemble preserved IIIC and IIID seal impressions from Lerna, and an EH III date is therefore more appropriate.

\textbf{II.4.2. Tiryns (Argolid)}

Tiryns is located on an imposing limestone outcrop overlooking the Bay of Argos. Now located 2 km. away from the coastline, like Lerna the site was much closer to the water in antiquity.\textsuperscript{158} The site has been excavated continuously by German teams since Schliemann’s campaigns in the 19th century, which were taken over by Dörpfeld in the late 19th and into the early 20th centuries. Müller and then Karo continued work at the site into the 1920s, revealing the Oberburg (Upper Citadel), Mittelburg, Unterburg (Lower Town), and Unterstadt (Fig. 6.2.1). Work continued under Jantzen in the 1960’s and 70’s. Then between 1976 and 1983 Kilian led excavations in the Unterburg and between 1984 and 1985 in the area of the Rundbau in the Oberburg. Ongoing excavations at the site since 1997 are directed by Maran for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) in cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{157} A7: Argos L7.23; surface find; Wiencke 1969: 509.
\textsuperscript{158} Zannger 1991.
EH material was identified in several, discontinuous areas of the site so that the full extent of the EH settlement is unclear. Earlier excavations in the Unterburg uncovered a destruction horizon that Siedentopf dated to EH II because of the association of saucers and Urfinnis ware with ash and mudbrick. These were overlain by a deposit with EH III pattern-painted sherds. Kilian’s excavations and Weisshaar’s analysis of the pottery in the 1970s and 1980s revealed a continuous stratigraphic sequence in the Unterburg spanning the EH II-MH period with 13 distinct phases (Horizont) (Figs. 6.2.2-6.2.3). Weisshaar identified a transitional EH II-III Übergangsphase (Horizont 9) between Lerna III and IV, characterized by the survival of EH II ceramic elements (Urfinris and light-painted fine polished surface treatments, sauceboats, saucers) alongside the elements associated with EH III (solidly painted and burnished and fine gray burnished surface treatments, tankards, ouzo cups), but the absence of other diagnostic EH III elements (dark-on-light pattern painted surface treatments).

These ceramic subphases generally correspond to the architectural sequence in the Unterburg uncovered by Kilian. Houses in early EH II (stratum IX) were ca. 11 m. in length, multi-roomed with wide stone walls, and were oriented NW-SE, occasionally with herringbone masonry and tiled roofs. A destruction layer separates early from developed EH II (strata VIII-VII), when the settlement was remodeled with larger houses (ca. 20 x 40 m.), which were still oriented NW-SE but arranged in a different manner. These structures were destroyed by fire at the end of Horizont 8a, after which a multi-

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160 Siedentopf 1971.
161 Weisshaar 1981: 239-244. Cf. Weiberg and Lindblom 2014: 385-387, Fig. 1.
162 Kilian 1983: 86.
163 Kilian 1983: 313, Fig. 40:a.
roomed complex (R 142, 145-148) was built in Horizont 8b (strata VI-VII) (Fig. 6.2.3). The fire that destroyed this structure marked the end of EH II developed, followed by the EH II-III Übergangsphase of Horizont 9 (stratum V), when the structure was remodeled (R 142-144) (Fig. 6.2.3). In the following “Apsidenhorizont” of 10-13 (strata III-IV), a series of apsidal houses were constructed that were originally dated to the MH period, but which Kilian re-dated to EH III.164

The EH ceramic sequence at Tiryns differs from that at Lerna, resulting in the development of two different chronological sequences used to describe the Argolid during the EH period. Weisshaar suggested that the Übergangsphase at Tiryns was a distinct chronological phase, and therefore proposed an occupational gap at Lerna between EH II-III.165 Rutter, however, dismisses the notion of a Lerna gap as a result of his study of the Lerna IV ceramic sequence, and correlated Horizont 9 at Tiryns with the Lerna IV.1 late or Lerna IV.2 early, pointing to a similar mix of EH II and EH III material at Kolonna and Raphina.166 Rather than a distinct chronological phase, Rutter argues that the Übergangsphase assemblage is local to Tiryns and therefore represents regional rather than chronological variation. Weiberg and Lindblom also take this view of stratigraphic differences at the two sites, in spite of their proximity, and describe the start of EH III at Tiryns as a longer process involving a more conservative ceramic tradition with more holdover from EH II than at Lerna.167 Fire destruction at the end EH II-III (Horizont 9) was followed by a shift to apsidal constructions (Apsidenhorizont, horizons 10-13).168

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167 Weiberg and Lindblom 2014.
168 Kilian 1981: 186, Fig. 44a.
the Unterberg, as at Lerna, smaller apsidal houses were arranged near a larger one. This reorganization of the settlement in EH III is not, however, attended by significant changes in ceramic styles, as the EH II ceramic tradition persisted.\textsuperscript{169}

In 1984, Kilian excavated a small area under room XVI of the Mycenaean palace in the Oberburg that revealed a continuous sequence spanning the EH to MH period.\textsuperscript{170} EH II apsidal houses, earlier than those of the Apsidenhorizont, were found beneath the transitional EH II-III phase observed earlier in the Unterburg (Horizont 9, Übergangsphase) (Fig. 1.5). The most significant find from this was the monumental Rundbau, a unique circular building 28 m. in diameter with two concentric stone walls that supported a mudbrick superstructure and tiled roof (Figs. 6.2.4-6.2.5).\textsuperscript{171} Two concentric walls created a corridor that was divided by cross-walls into smaller compartments, and an open circular area in the middle 12.2 m. in diameter that was large enough for public gatherings (Fig. 6.2.5). According to Kilian, the Rundbau was destroyed at the end of EH II, but before the transitional EH II-III Übergangsphase, and was therefore contemporary with the destruction of the House of the Tiles at Lerna (Lerna IIID).\textsuperscript{172} In addition, the facade of the Rundbau, elaborated with horseshoe-shaped buttresses that resemble Tower B of the Lerna IIIC fortifications, were visible across the bay from Tiryns, which Maran argues deliberately alluded to the bastions on EH fortifications.\textsuperscript{173} Maran’s recent work at the site reveals two distinct building phases for the Rundbau, with the buttressed facade covered by a thick mudbrick wall in the second

\textsuperscript{169} Weiberg and Lindblom 2014: 402.
\textsuperscript{170} Kilian 1986: 68.
\textsuperscript{171} Müller 1913, 1930: 80-88; Kilian 1986; Maran 2016.
\textsuperscript{172} Kilian 1986: 68; Maran 1998: 162.
building phase. Additionally, he identifies a previously unrecognized tumulus constructed over the ruins of the Rundbau after its destruction, similar to and contemporary with the EH III Lerna tumulus.\(^\text{174}\)

The seals from Tiryns were found during Kilian’s excavations and are published by Weißhaar in the *CMS*.\(^\text{175}\) **A8**\(^\text{176}\) (Fig. 2.7) is a stone ring seal with a cross design that was found in an unstratified context in the area of the Mittelburg. Schliemann’s excavations in the Mittelburg uncovered part of an EH house at the bottom of the stairs that connected the Mittelburg to the Oberburg. It consisted of a burnt clay floor and two rubbles walls with a thick deposit of debris with ash and burnt red mudbrick.\(^\text{177}\) **A8** is dated to EH II on the basis of style.

Seal **A9**\(^\text{178}\) (Fig. 2.1) is a clay conoid with a cross design that was found in the Oberburg in Room XVI. Room XVI is a courtyard in the later Mycenaean palace where part of the Rundbau was discovered in 1912 along with curved wall 15 from a house located east of the Rundbau in which six storage vessels were found (Fig. 6.2.4).\(^\text{179}\) Kilian revisited this area in 1984 and excavated a small strip that was left untouched by earlier work, revealing a courtyard contemporary with and located beside the Rundbau and an EH II rectangular building, as well as two earlier EH II apsidal structures, one cut by the Rundbau’s basement.\(^\text{180}\) The destruction of these two apsidal structures occurred in a fire

\(\text{174}\) Maran 2016: 160-166, Figs. 6-7.
\(\text{175}\) CMS VS1B: 365-367.
\(\text{176}\) A8: Nauplion 28144 (13.50 [Ti Mb 1913]); Mittelburg, unstratified; CMS VS1B 367.
\(\text{177}\) Schliemann 1885: 451-2, Plan 1, S.
\(\text{178}\) A9: Nauplion 28143 (Ti OB R XVI); Oberburg, Room XVI; CMS VS1B 369.
\(\text{179}\) Müller 1930: 86, 100.
\(\text{180}\) Touchais 1985: 778.
that preceded the one that destroyed the Rundbau at the end of EH IIB.\textsuperscript{181} Maran’s more recent work in Room XVI identified a previously unnumbered curved wall, which they named “wall 3/1912” in 1997, built on top of the eastern edge of the Rundbau’s foundations.\textsuperscript{182} While previously this wall was associated with an EH III or MH apsidal or oval building on the analogy with “Kurvenmauer” 21 in Room XXX,\textsuperscript{183} Maran proposes a new function for this wall as a retaining wall for a previously unrecognized EH II-III tumulus constructed over the Rundbau, as was the tumulus at Lerna over the House of the Tiles.\textsuperscript{184} His reasoning is that if wall 3/1912 were associated with a house and floor, it would have disrupted the mudbrick superstructure of the Rundbau and its foundations, but there is no evidence for any such disruption.\textsuperscript{185} Because Weißhaar does not give an exact findspot for seal A\textsuperscript{9} in the CMS, it may have been associated with either the earlier EH II or the developed EH IIB structures in this area. Alternatively, in light of Maran’s recent identification of an EH III tumulus over the Rundbau, clay conoid A\textsuperscript{9} may be associated with the EH III tumulus, as were clay conoids A\textsuperscript{4} and A\textsuperscript{5} from the ruins of the House of the Tiles at Lerna. A\textsuperscript{9} is therefore assigned a general EH II-III date.

Seal A\textsuperscript{10} (Fig. 2.5) is a bone cylinder stamp with concentric circle designs on both ends. The exact findspot of A\textsuperscript{10} is unknown, and it is assigned an EH II date on the basis of style.

\textsuperscript{182} Maran 2016: 164, no. 59.
\textsuperscript{183} Müller 1930: 90-92, Pl. 6A.
\textsuperscript{184} Maran 2016: 164.
\textsuperscript{185} Maran 2016, Figs. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{186} A\textsuperscript{10}: Nauplion 1612; unknown context; CMS IS 018a-b
From the Unterburg come two seals that are assigned to either the early EH II (Horizont 1-4), developed EH II (Horizont 5-8b), or the Übergangsphase (Horizont 9), since they cannot be associated with any architecture (Fig. 6.2.3). A11 (Fig. 2.3) is a stone plate seal with a conical pierce-grip handle, while A12 (Fig. 2.1) is a clay conoid with a grid design. Both are assigned a general EH II date.

II.4.3. Asine (Argolid)

Asine is located on the Argolic Gulf on the Kastraki peninsula, which was an island during the EH-MH periods, set between the Gulf and the Argive Plain where larger, inland sites such as Argos were located. Excavations in 1922-1938 revealed EH levels at four discrete areas at the site, including the Pre-Mycenaean Terrace, Terrace III, the Polygonal Wall Terrace, and in a deep sounding in the Lower Town (Fig. 6.1.1). Each excavated area is restricted, discrete, and obscured by later building activities so that no overall view of the site plan for the EH period can be determined.

Asine was occupied throughout the EH period, but EH II material is the best represented. Because none of the EH contexts at Asine are continuous and the stratigraphy is disturbed, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the spatial

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187 Note: The bone “felid” object Kilian describes as a possible imported Near Eastern seal from Room 98 on the eastern side of the hill in the same EH IIB levels (Horizont 7a, 8a) is not included here, nor in the CMS, because the photograph is unclear (Kilian 1983: 318, Fig. 43).
188 A11: Nauplion 28144 (LXIII 45/7 a15.87 IV); Unterburg; CMS VS1B 368.
189 A12: Nauplion 28145 (TI LX 39/30 13.15 XVIa); Unterburg; CMS VS1B 370.
190 Weiberg 2010: 198-199.
191 Frödin and Persson 1938.
193 Weiberg 2010: 199.
distribution of the evidence for sealing practices across the site. Roof tiles were recovered in many EH deposits at the site, though no corridor house or structure of comparable size has been discovered. Asine was apparently a strategically located site of intermediate size in EH II that continued to be occupied into the EH III period, though parts of the site were destroyed by fire at the end of EH II. Although Frödin and Persson originally assigned the destruction at Asina to the end of EH III, Caskey re-dated the material from House R on Terrace III (Fig. 6.3.2) and a bothros on the Pre-Mycenaean Terrace (Fig. 6.3.3), as well as the roof tiles and sauceboat fragments found in Square G14 in the Lower Town, from a closed EH III deposit to a mixed EH II-III deposit (Fig. 6.3.4).

Asine is exceptional in that both seals and clay sealings were found together in the concentration of EH sherds near the eastern side of the Polygonal Wall Terrace. The seals are smaller in diameter than the preserved impressions on the clay sealings, however, so the preserved seals were not used to impress preserved sealings. Weiberg compares the size discrepancy between the preserved seals and impressions at Asine to the disparity at Lerna, where seals were both larger and later, being EH III in date, than the preserved impressions on clay sealings. Weiberg declines to date the Asine seals to EH III despite the fact that they come from mixed contexts because they were carved from the same decorative stones as other EH II seals, while most preserved EH III seals were clay. Further, she proposes an EH IIA date for the seals and sealings on the basis of stylistic parallels between the Asine material and Room DM (Lerna phase IIIC).

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194 Frödin and Persson 1928: 97, 233; Pullen 1986: 91, no. 14, Fig. 3.
material. An EH IIA date for the Asine material is further supported by the accumulation of EH sherds on the Polygonal Wall Terrace, which includes a dark-painted spoon and a dipper. She assigns an EH IIB date to House R on Terrace III.

Two seals were found on the eastern side of the Polygonal Wall Terrace (Fig. 6.3.1) in an “accumulation of Early Helladic sherds”. A15 (Fig. 2.2) is a stone conoid with a notched handle and a linear design. Also found in this deposit is A16 (Fig. 2.2), a stone conoid with a hammer-head pierce-grip that is not engraved. From the same context came two clay sealings (see below, III.3.5.).

A hemispherical stone seal with a linear design, A14 (Fig. 2.6), was found “near the Geometric House” (Fig. 6.3.1). A square plate-shaped seal or pendant engraved on five sides with spirals and curvilinear motifs, A13 (Fig. 2.4), was discovered in the largest of several bothroi on the Pre-Mycenaean Terrace on the acropolis along with some pottery (Fig. 6.3.3). Two roller-impressed hearth rim fragments were also found in this area (see below, IV.3.4).

II.4.4. Argos (Argolid)

Argos is located in the center of the Argive plain approximately 5 km. away from the Bay of Argos. The ancient settlement is located at the base of two acropoleis, the high

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198 Weiberg 2010: 196.
200 Frödin and Persson 1938: 43-5, Fig. 24.
201 A15: Nauplion 3356; Polygonal Wall Terrace; CMS V 524.
202 A16: Nauplion 3362; Polygonal Wall Terrace; CMS V 525.
203 A14: Nauplion unnumbered; “near the Geometric house”.
204 Frödin and Persson 1938: 234.
205 A13: Nauplion 3354; bothros on pre-Mycenaean terrace; CMS V 526a-e.
206 Frödin and Persson 1938: 41-43, Fig. 21:A.
Larissa and the lower Aspis, extending from the modern hospital to the southeast and south around the base of the Larissa. Between them is a saddle, the Deiras, that slopes east down to the present city. The Aspis is the center of the prehistoric settlement, where the earliest occupation began in the Neolithic period and continued into the LH, when an important Mycenaean settlement was established.

The EH settlement at Argos is poorly understood, limited to a single grave in the southern area of the base of the Larissa discovered in the 1950s and tumuli in the flat at the east and southeastern base of the Aspis in the modern town excavated in the late 1970s by Protonotariou-Deilaki, who dated them to EH III-MH.207 Rescue excavations were undertaken in 1980-1981 in the Lembetzis plot on the Parados Theatrou, located southeast of the ancient Agora (Fig. 6.4.1).208 This area yielded significant EH pottery, bothroi filled with animal bones, a substantial building with walls 0.7-0.9 m. thick, and the curved walls of an apsidal structure.209 The structure was greatly disturbed by later Roman building activity in the area, and no continuous EH settlement can be identified. Demokopoulou cautiously argues that the substantial EH II structure in the southern area of the city was a corridor house, and that the EH settlement at Argos was well-organized and well-connected, since an imported EM II bird-shaped vessel was recovered from this area.210 The pottery from this southern district does not provide evidence for EH III occupation at the site, though the residents may have moved to another area of the site.

207 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980.
210 Demokopoulou 1998: 64, Fig. 23.
Seal A17\textsuperscript{211} (Fig. 2.11) is a lentoid stone seal with a points design on both faces published in the CMS. It was found in Protonotariou-Deilaki’s excavations in the area of the city, but no precise findspot is given.

**II.4.5. Midea (Argolid)**

Midea is situated towards the center of the Argive plain on a large acropolis that rises above it. Initially excavated by Persson in 1939, work was resumed in 1983 by Åström, who discovered EH II-III sherds in the northern area of the acropolis, and Demakopoulou discovered architecture near the northeastern crown of the acropolis.\textsuperscript{212} No EH architectural remains were discovered during these excavations.

Seal A18\textsuperscript{213} (Fig. 2.4) is a stone plate seal engraved on five sides with zigzags, linear, and points designs, is a surface find from the area of the acropolis that is assigned an EH II date on the basis of style.

**II.4.6. Epidauros, Apollo Maleatas (Argolid)**

Epidauros is situated on the Argolid peninsula between the Saronic Gulf to the north and Bay of Argos to the south. The classical sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is located on the Kynorton mountain on a hill above the theater of the Sanctuary of Asclepios. Excavations at the site undertaken by Lambrinoudakis in 1970s revealed an EH building, and extensive EH remains were more recently discovered when work

\textsuperscript{211} A17: Argos unnumbered; “Stadt”; CMS V 031.
\textsuperscript{212} Åström 1983; Demokopoulou et al. 2008.
\textsuperscript{213} A18: Nauplion unnumbered; “Akropolis”; CMS V 527a-e.
resumed at the site in 1997-2004 by Theodorou-Mavrommatidi.\textsuperscript{214} The EH settlement is located on the southern hilltop above the sanctuary and was occupied from the FN into the MH period. Early occupation is indicated by the substantial EH I material recovered, as well as three EH I pit burials covered with stone slabs that contained numerous Cycladic imports.\textsuperscript{215} Three phases of EH II architecture are identified, including a large structure (Building A) and several apsidal ones.\textsuperscript{216} The EH III period is represented by material found in a large pit dug in the center of the EH settlement that contained EH-MH material, which Theodorou-Mavrommatidi interprets as serving a ceremonial function during the latter period.

Seal A19\textsuperscript{217} (Fig. 2.3) from the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas was found by Lambrinoudakis in the area of the classical altar among unstratified EH-MH material at the bottom of a pure ash deposit nearly on top of the bedrock.\textsuperscript{218} A19 is a stone plate seal with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and a figural design of an \textit{en face} bird.

\textbf{II.4.7. Argolid Exploration Project (Argolid)}

The southern Argolid was surveyed in a series of campaigns begun in 1972 and resumed between 1979-1983.\textsuperscript{219} One EH seal was identified through surface survey, the material from which was catalogued by Pullen.\textsuperscript{220}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{214} Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004.
\item \textsuperscript{215} Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004: 1170.
\item \textsuperscript{216} Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004, Pl. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{217} A19: Epidauros AE 76β/15; Apollo Maleatas altar; CMS VS1A 366.
\item \textsuperscript{218} Lambrinoudakis 1976: 202; Aruz 2008: 275.
\item \textsuperscript{219} Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994.
\item \textsuperscript{220} Pullen 1995: 37.
\end{itemize}
Seal A20\textsuperscript{221} (Fig. 2.1) is a clay conoid, not engraved except for three vertical grooves on the side, that was found at site F16, part of the “Fournoi Focus”, a cluster of sites centered on the largest, F32, where a concentration of EH II sherds was discovered.\textsuperscript{222}

II.4.8. Corinth (Corinthia)

Ancient Corinth is located approximately 3 km. south of the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, strategically placed for exchanges between southern, central, northern, and western Greece both overland and by sea. Extensive ongoing excavations at Corinth have been undertaken under the auspices of ASCSA since the late 19th century, and though discontinuous the evidence indicates that Corinth was the site of a substantial EH settlement. EH occupation has been detected especially on Temple Hill and at the southwest, south of Temple E (Fig. 6.6.1). To a lesser degree it has been found west of the museum, along the eastern side of the Lechaion Road, and near the Sacred Spring, with another concentration of EH material in the area of the Gymnasium and the northern area of Cheliotomylos Hill (Fig. 6.6.1).\textsuperscript{223} EH I-II material and a small amount of EH III material, concentrated mostly in the area of the Tile Works, was found at the site, but Lavezzi observes that most of it is early EH II in date and argues that the paucity of EH IIB material may signal abandonment of the site at the beginning rather than end of EH IIB (EH II late), as elsewhere on the mainland.\textsuperscript{224} His alternative and more likely

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{221} A20: 632; Site F16.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994, Fig. 4.12.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Lavezzi 2003; Alram-Stern 2004: 570-573; Kosmopoulos 1948; Waage 1949; Wiseman 1967.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Lavezzi 2003: 73.
\end{itemize}
suggestion that later EH inhabitants shifted their occupation eastward, outside the focus of ASCSA excavations, would also account for the lack of EH IIB material.

Excavations between 1965 and 1970 took place in the Gymnasium in the northern area of the site under the direction of Wiseman, who dubbed the area the “Keramidaki”. In the bedrock a cutting and sunken area were found filled with EH II sherds, some of which had incised and impressed designs and mat or leaf impressions on their bases. The stone socle of a wall 0.50 m. wide and possible rubble from its collapse were found with EH sherds above it. From the cutting in the bedrock came a marble cylinder and seal A22 (Fig. 2.1), a clay conoid with a linear design. This area, though not well preserved, seems to have been a house because the cutting in the bedrock was filled with sherds.

II.4.9. Zygouries (Corinthia)

Zygouries is an inland site located on a low mound in the Cleonae valley, midway between Corinth and Mycenae. Blegen’s excavations in 1921-1922 revealed an EH settlement with ten houses arranged on either side of intersecting streets in the central area of the mound (Fig. 6.7.1). The stratigraphic sequence at the site is not clear because the top of the mound was leveled, and, though Blegen originally dated the primary period of occupation to EH III, it has subsequently been re-dated to EH IIB.

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225 Wiseman 1967: 23-27, Fig. 8, Pls. 11a-b.
226 Wiseman 1965, Pl. 11a-b.
228 Blegen 1928
The houses were arranged roughly on either side of intersecting streets and have been dated to EH IIB on the basis of associated assemblages, though there is earlier material found in soundings beneath the House of the Snailshells and bothroi. There is evidence for destruction of the site in EH IIB and its subsequent abandonment in EH III, with occupation resumed in the MH period which continued through LH III.

In the main excavation area at the center of the mound, six EH structures were uncovered (Fig. 6.7.2). Two multi-room rectangular structures, Houses S and W, flank a narrow alley and may therefore represent a single architectural unit. House S consisted of three rooms, one large and square main room (Room 39) and two smaller ones, which yielded finds that included sauceboats and ladles, terracotta spindle whorls, and stone tools. Blegen interpreted the circular stone feature to the north of Room 39 as a hearth that was constructed partially in the alley, and Pullen suggests it may have functioned like a chimney. On the other side of the alley was House W, which consisted of small rooms arranged around a paved courtyard (Room 24). In the trapezoidal room west of the paved courtyard (Room 23), a pithos was found embedded in the clay floor to the south, around which were found numerous sherds including those from sauceboats, a bronze chisel, and terracotta stopper.

North of the House S and W complex and on the other side of a narrow street was another block of attached structures that included the House of the Snailshells, the House
of the Pithoi, House D, and House A. The House of the Snailshells is so-named for the numerous snail shells found in its two rooms (Rooms 19 and 20).\textsuperscript{237} Numerous vessels were also found in the building, including jars, saucers, sauceboats, ladles, a pithos fragment, and coarse vessel sherds. House D and the House of the Pithoi were constructed side by side, though each structure had individual walls rather than party walls. House D consisted of two rooms, one that opened onto the street to the south and the main room (Room 17), in which a row of pithoi were found set into the floor, along with a stand, a sauceboat, bronze wire pins, terracotta stoppers, a spool, and a cylinder, as well as two pieces of horn.\textsuperscript{238} House A was another two-roomed structure in which a small bird-shaped vessel, two spindle whorls, a conical object (“perhaps a primitive idol”), and a bronze wire were found.\textsuperscript{239}

The House of the Pithoi is the largest structure at Zygouries,\textsuperscript{240} with a large central room (Room 4), smaller rooms, and a courtyard. Room 4 was entered through a wide doorway in its western wall where pivot stones for a double wooden door were found, and four large pithoi were found along the eastern wall. The pithoi have raised bands decorated with incised designs.\textsuperscript{241} A sauceboat with a ram’s head spout and bowls were found on the floor, as well as a cooking vessel with a large “beef bone” inside of it. A hardened circular area has been interpreted as a hearth, and a quern was found embedded in the floor to the west of the hearth. Two pithoi were also found in the courtyard (Room

\textsuperscript{237} Blegen 1928: 15-16, Fig. 9.
\textsuperscript{238} Blegen 1928: 7-8, Fig. 5.
\textsuperscript{239} Blegen 1928: 8-9, Fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{240} Blegen 1928: 9-13, Fig. 9.
\textsuperscript{241} Blegen 1928: 11-12.
onto which Room 4 opened, and another pithos was found along with two sauceboats and a stone celt in the room north of Room 4 (Room 5).

Excavations to the north of the moun in Trench I uncovered another EH house, House L, named for its L-shaped plan with three rooms (Rooms 2, 4, and 5) arranged around a courtyard (Room 3). Six pithoi were found embedded into the floor of House L in Room 4, which indicates a storage function for the room. Other finds from the room include two terracotta spindle whorls, two querns, a stone pounder and whetstones, two bowls, an askos, and a stone bead, evidence of a domestic activity. In the adjacent Room 5 were found stone tools including a celt and whetstone, obsidian, as well as two sauceboats, a jar, and a cooking vessel. In the smaller Room 2 were found an askos and a ladle, and obsidian was found the courtyard (Room 3).

In a deep sounding south of the House of the Snailshells, Blegen found 189 roof tiles that Pullen argues belonged to a corridor house pre-dating the House of the Pithoi, which re-used its main room (Room 4).

Excavations in Trench XI on the southwestern edge of the slope uncovered two structures, House U and House Y, which were separated by a street and courtyard (Fig. 6.7.1). House Y was discovered just below the surface and was disturbed by modern plowing (Fig. 6.7.2). Blegen identified two occupational phases of the only partially preserved house. House Y’s Room 4 was large (4.20 x 4.25 m.) with a narrow (0.75 m. wide) corridor represented Room 7 to the south. The presence of the corridor and the

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242 Blegen 1928: 21, Fig. 18.
244 Blegen 1928: 24-28.
large size of the room may suggest that House Y was a corridor house, but its incomplete preservation makes this interpretation uncertain.\textsuperscript{245}

Seal A\textsuperscript{23}\textsuperscript{246} (Fig. 2.10), a clay hemispherical seal with a cross design, was found in Room 4 of House Y along with what Blegen described as the “usual quantity of potsherds” (Fig. 6.7.2).\textsuperscript{247} Further finds from House Y include a sauceboat,\textsuperscript{248} a stone palette,\textsuperscript{249} and a bronze wire pin.\textsuperscript{250} No information for exact findspots was given. The sauceboat dates the structure, and seal A\textsuperscript{23}, to EH II.

On the other side of a narrow road was House U, which had two rooms, the larger of which was Room 3, probably an unroofed space or courtyard where a stone-lined pit and patches of burnt clay were found along with a flint saw, three terracotta spindle whorls, a shallow bowl, and a spoon. Room 2 had thicker walls than Room 3 but no doorway was identified, and on its clay floor were found a bronze awl, terracotta plug or stopper, and obsidian chips.\textsuperscript{251} On the street southeast of House U was found a bronze dagger along with a bone spindle whorl and a bone implement, while between Houses U and Y were found jugs, shallow bowls, a sauceboat, a ladle, a shallow plate, and an askos.\textsuperscript{252}

While A\textsuperscript{23} was found in House Y, seal A\textsuperscript{24}\textsuperscript{253} (Fig. 2.10) was found in a grave on the east slope of the opposite hill. Excavations there revealed a cemetery with 53 graves

\textsuperscript{245} Pullen 1985: 200, no. 22.
\textsuperscript{246} A\textsuperscript{23}: Corinth unknown location; House Y; CMS V 502.
\textsuperscript{247} Blegen 1928: 25.
\textsuperscript{248} BZ-115, Blegen 1928: 90, Fig. 79; cited in Pullen 1985: 306, no. 22.
\textsuperscript{249} Blegen 1928: 195, no. 6; 196, Fig. 185, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{250} Blegen 1928: 184, no. 13.
\textsuperscript{251} Blegen 1928: 25-27.
\textsuperscript{252} Blegen 1928: 27.
\textsuperscript{253} A\textsuperscript{24}: unknown location; Tomb VII.
spanning the entire Bronze Age. Of the three (possibly four) EH graves, only Tomb VII yielded a seal among its grave goods (Fig. 6.7.4). A24 is a stone foot-shaped amulet with a design consisting of seven bored holes. It is impossible, however, to associate the seal with any particular individual because Tomb VII was a communal tomb used to inter 12-15 individuals whose badly decomposed remains were jumbled together in the oval pit (Fig. 6.7.4). Tomb VII contained few other grave goods apart from A24, a small number compared to the numerous individuals buried there. These include a gold ornament with an attached silver wire, a silver fragment, a silver disc, a fragmentary bronze pin, two cylindrical carnelian beads, a green stone bead, an obsidian blade, and a seashell. Additionally, several ceramic vessels were found in the grave: a sauceboat, a shallow bowl, an unpainted jar, and a miniature vessel. A24 is dated here to EH II because of its close comparison to foot-shaped seal A38 (Fig. 2.10) from Ayios Kosmas, which comes from a stratified EH II context (see below II.4.17).

II.4.10. Tsoungiza (Corinthia)

Tsoungiza is located on low ridge approximately 1 km. west of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. Initial excavations at the site were undertaken by Blegen and Harland under the auspices of ASCSA in 1924-1927, and work at the site resumed in 1981 with the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP) under the direction of James C.

254 Blegen 1928: 42.
255 Blegen 1928: 45.
256 Blegen 1928: 45.
257 Blegen 1928, Pl. XX, no. 7.
258 Blegen 1928, Fig. 176.
259 Blegen 1928, Pl. XX, nos. 2, 4.
260 Blegen 1928, Pl. XX, no. 6.
Wright. The EH settlement uncovered at Tsoungiza, important for its well-stratified early levels spanning FN-EH IIA, was recently published by Pullen.\(^{261}\) The EH III buildings Harland discovered at the top of the hill during the course of the 1926-1927 excavations had been largely plowed away by the time the NVAP team returned, but earlier EH I-II structures, pits, fills, and a cistern were re-explored or discovered in the area (EU 5, Harland’s Areas R and P; Fig. 6.9.2).\(^{262}\) Other areas with EH material were found in other areas of the site: in EH 10 to the north of the hill, EU 9 to the east, and to the south in EUs 2, 7, and 8. The stratigraphical sequence at Tsoungiza includes FN, EH I, EH II Initial, EH II Developed, and EH III levels that correspond to the Lerna sequence (Fig. 1.5): EH II Initial = Lerna III A early (EH IIA); EH II Developed Phase 1 = Lerna III A late - IIIIB early (EH IIA); EH II Developed Phase 2 = Lerna IIIIB late (EH IIA); EH II Developed Phase 3 = Lerna IIIIB late - IIIC early (EH IIA). Tsoungiza was abandoned at the end of EH IIA for a period spanning EH IIB, and was subsequently re-occupied in EH III.

In EU 5 on the hill’s summit, Harland found monumental House A, a large EH II Developed Phase 2 structure that he describes as a corridor house (Fig. 6.9.6).\(^{263}\) NVAP’s subsequent re-excavation of House A revealed a series of surfaces to the south and east (Central and Southeast Sectors) that spanned the EH I-EH II Developed phases and may be associated with it. Numerous pits were found in this area, including clay-lined Pit 56 that dates to EH II Developed Phase 1 (EH IIA), which contained an EH II ceramic

\(^{261}\) Pullen 2011a.

\(^{262}\) Pullen 2011a: 8-9, Figs. 1.5, 5.8.

\(^{263}\) Pullen 2011a, Figs. 5.2-5.4.
drinking assemblage, including one large bowl or basin, a small bowl, a large incurved rim bowl, inside of which was found a small bowl with a ladle nested inside of it.264

A lead conoid seal with an angle-filled cross design, A25265 (Fig. 2.2), was found in the area adjacent to House A and may therefore have been associated with it.266 The seal was found during Harland’s excavations in an unstratified deposit (SU 890) of topsoil or plowzone, though rather than backfill the NVAP team concludes that it may represent one of several unexcavated areas on the top of the hill (Fig. 6.9.6).267 An EH IIA date is therefore assigned to seal A25.

II.4.11. Geraki (Laconia)

Geraki is an inland site located in the modern village of Geronthai east of Sparta on an acropolis in the foothills of the Parnon Mountains overlooking the Eurotas valley. The site was explored briefly in 1905 by a British team, when EH occupation was already uncovered.268 Work at Geraki resumed in 1995 by the University of Amsterdam under the direction of Crouwel and Prent, beginning with intensive surface survey followed first by test trenches and then by systematic excavation.269 Geraki was occupied in FN, EH II, MH, and Protogeometric through Hellenistic periods, though discontinuously.270

Evidence for EH occupation was found during the course of intensive field survey in 1995-1996, and in several test trenches sunk across the acropolis during the 1997 field

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264 Pullen 2011a: 254, Fig. 5.12.
265 A25: Nemea BP 632; fill adjacent to House A; CMS VS1B 128.
267 Pullen 2011a: 684.
268 Wace and Hasluck 1904-1905.
269 Crouwel et al. 1997; Crouwel 2009.
270 Crouwel 2009: 72-73.
season (Fig. 6.10.1). The northern edge of the acropolis was delimited by substantial EH II fortifications, constructed of a double wall with rubble filling (Fig. 6.10.2).\textsuperscript{271} EH contexts were much disturbed by later building activity in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and by trenches dug during the Greek Civil War in the late 1940s. Nevertheless, evidence for an EH IIB destruction at the site was identified in several deposits, dated by the distinctive saucer types with parallels in Lerna IIIC deposits.\textsuperscript{272} The lack of any pure EH III ceramic assemblages indicates that Geraki was abandoned after the EH IIB destruction, but occupation resumed in the later MH period.

To the northeast and just inside the fortifications, a test trench was sunk in 1997. Trench 17/12-13r yielded the earliest architectural evidence for the EH period at the site (Fig. 6.10.1). A small stone wall dated to EH I or early EH II by the associated pottery was overlain to the south by a larger EH IIB wall, oriented E-W and constructed of larger stones.\textsuperscript{273} The size of the later wall, 0.80 m. thick and preserved to a length of 2.20 m., and the associated EH IIB destruction deposit piled against its northwestern face, permit the suggestion that a large EH IIB building stood in this area.\textsuperscript{274} The structure is not preserved to the south because of later Classical and Hellenistic building activity and erosion. The destruction deposit included 24 sherds, flint, an obsidian blade, as well as seal A27\textsuperscript{275} (Fig. 2.4), a plate-shaped seal engraved on five faces with spiral and linear designs.\textsuperscript{276}

\textsuperscript{271}Thorne and Prent 2009.
\textsuperscript{272}Weingarten et al. 1999: 362, Fig. 8.
\textsuperscript{273}Crouwel et al. 1997: 57-58.
\textsuperscript{274}Crouwel et al. 1997: 57-58; Crouwel 1999: 150, Pl. XXXI, 2009, Fig. 7.2.
\textsuperscript{275}A27: Sparta 1104/SF 3; test trench 17/13r.
\textsuperscript{276}Weingarten et al. 2011: 159-160.
II.4.12. Ayios Stephanos (Laconia)

Ayios Stephanos is located in the Helos Plain in southern Laconia, now 2 km. away from the coast but in antiquity closer to the water.\textsuperscript{277} Excavations at the site were undertaken between 1959 and 1977 by the British School at Athens (BSA) under the direction of Lord William Taylour.\textsuperscript{278} An extensive EH settlement and numerous burials were discovered during the course of excavations at the top of the hill.\textsuperscript{279} Although no complete structures were preserved, Taylour assigned the series of walls in Area A at the top of the hill to three different building phases spanning EH-MH because of the finds of mostly EH and some MH pottery.\textsuperscript{280}

Seal \textbf{A28}\textsuperscript{281} (Fig. 2.1), a clay conoid with a cross design, was found in Area A. While Taylour assigned a Byzantine date to \textbf{A28}, the EH II date assigned by the CMS is indicated by its association with EH material, and by stylistic parallels (conoid shape and cross design) with other EH II seals.

Area \(\Delta\) at the top of the hill also yielded discontinuous walls that spanned the EH to LH periods, though the finds suggest an occupation gap at the end of the MH period that did not resume until LH III.\textsuperscript{282} Included among the finds from Area \(\Delta\) is clay conoid seal \textbf{A29}\textsuperscript{283} (Fig. 2.1) with a design consisting of points. Taylour assigns a Bronze Age date to the seal, as it was found in a mixed EH-LH context. The conoid shape, points design, and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[277] Taylour and Janko 2008.
\item[278] Taylour 1972.
\item[279] Taylour 1972: 239, Fig. 1.
\item[280] Taylour 1972 240, Fig. 3.
\item[281] \textbf{A28}: Sparta 60-536; Area A; CMS VS1B 344.
\item[282] Taylour 1972: 244, Fig. 13.
\item[283] \textbf{A29}: Sparta 60-598; Area \(\Delta\); CMS VS1B 345.
\end{footnotes}
disposition of the points on the sides of A29 all have parallels in EH II seals. As with A28, an EH II date is assigned here following the CMS.

II.4.13. Aigion (Achaea)

Aigion is a coastal site located on a tall sea cliff overlooking the Gulf of Corinth. Rescue excavations in the northeastern part of the modern town were undertaken in 1984 under the direction of Papazoglou-Manioudakis.284 In the first excavated area, the Aristeidou Street plot, architectural remains were found on top of bedrock and two subphases of EH II material were identified. In the adjacent Dodekanisou Street plot a further EH II-III transitional phase was identified because of the decreasing frequency of sauceboat fragments. The lack of purely EH III levels may suggest that the site was abandoned in EH III prior to its reoccupation in MH. In the Dodakenisou Street plot, part of a curved wall from an aspidal building was discovered that was destroyed by two fires, which Forsén assigns to EH IIB and EH II-III.285

In the Aristeidou Street plot was discovered seal A30286 (Fig. 2.7), a stone ring-shaped seal with an angle-filled cross design. Papazoglou-Manioudakis dates the seal to EH IIB because the seal design’s parallel with the angle-filled cross impression on stamped jar C4.2 from Lerna (IIIC).287

286 A30: Patras BE 1117; Aristidoustraße 2, Plot V, Tsinouka; CMS VS1B 164.

Asea is a hilltop site located in southern Arcadia near Tripoli that was excavated in the 1930s by Holmberg. The stratigraphic sequence consisted of a mixed Neolithic and EH level overlain by an EH stratum, which were sealed below an ashy destruction level with EH and MH pottery from the levels above and below it. Holmberg dated the destruction level to the end of EH III, but this date is contested, as is the EH stratigraphic sequence at the site. A sauceboat found in situ in House A, which was destroyed by the fire event associated with the destruction level that overlay it, has been interpreted as evidence for an EH III date for the destruction level, and a Lerna IV.2 parallel, a finely incised and impressed flask, supports what Forsén described as an “EH III:2” date for the destruction.

Three clay seals from the site were described by Holmberg as dating to the MH period, but no specific find spots were given. Wiencke and Banks, however, both propose an EH III date for the seals. Banks describes the “confused stratigraphication” at the site and Wiencke points to the chronological implications of the EH II sauceboat from House A. These include A31 (Fig. 2.1), a clay conoid with a linear design; A32

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289 Holmberg 1944: 61-62.
290 Holmberg 1944, Fig. 89a; Caskey 1960: 301; Rutter 1982: 472, 480; Forsén 1992: 95-97.
291 Holmberg 1944: 117.
293 A31: Nauplion unnumbered; unknown context.
294 A32: Nauplion unnumbered; unknown context.
(Fig. 2.6), a clay hemispherical seal with a cross design; and A33\textsuperscript{295} (Fig. 2.5), a clay cylinder stamp seal with a linear design. All three are therefore dated to EH III.

**II.4.15. Ayioryitika (Arcadia)**

Ayiorytikia is situated on a low mound to the east of Tripolis in Arcadia. Blegen discovered the site while on an annual ASCSA trip in 1921, and returned to excavate it in 1928 under the auspices of the ASCSA.\textsuperscript{296} Blegen’s short report of this single season of excavation documented Neolithic and EH finds. There were stored in the Tegea museum before being transferred to Athens for study, but during German and Italian occupation of Greece in 1941-44 most of the material was lost before it could be published. Petrakis recently re-studied the notebooks and extant material and published the site.\textsuperscript{297} Her findings reveal that the mound at Ayiorytikia was occupied from the end of the EN through the EH II period, after which time it seems to have been largely abandoned until the Classical period, since only three LH sherds were recovered from the site.\textsuperscript{298}

A stone rectangular block seal with points design, A34\textsuperscript{299}, was found in an eastern extension of Trench B (Unit B10) that was dug to investigate a large, circular hearth.\textsuperscript{300} The pottery associated with the hearth was Neolithic, but the hearth was cut by a pit with EH material. Seal A34 may be associated with this pit, but it is now lost and was not illustrated. Its design was described as incised points and circles and a general Neolithic-
EH date is assigned, since the points and circles have EH parallels. A second stone rectangular block seal with points design, A35, was found in Unit D6 in level i, which contained half Neolithic and half EH pottery. Like A34, a general Neolithic-EH date is assigned because of the reported cross-hatching on the seal face that has a parallels in EH grid designs.

II.4.16. Athens (Attica)

Athens is ideally situated for both maritime and overland exchange with the wider Aegean: over the Isthmus down into southern Greece, across the Saronic Gulf to the Argolid, or west to Phokis and beyond, north to Boeotia and Thessaly, or east to Euboea, the Cyclades, and western Anatolia. The EH remains from Athens come primarily from the area of the acropolis, where continuous excavations have been underway since the 19th century. While no EH architecture has been discovered, EH pottery has been discovered in several places.

Two seals were found on the Athenian acropolis. Excavations on the northern slope of the acropolis in 1931-32 undertaken by Broneer uncovered Urfirnis ware and sauceboats. Gauss’ re-study of the material described the “chance find” of A36 (Fig. 2.7), a clay ring seal with a spirals design (1b), for which no exact findspot was recorded. Excavations on the south slope in 1914 undertaken by Kastriotis uncovered a

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301 A35: Tegea (missing); Unit D6: i.
303 Broneer 1933.
304 A36: Athens Agora AM 381; northern slope of Acropolis; CMS VS3 087.
stone hemispherical seal with an angle-filled cross design, A37\(^{306}\) (Fig. 2.6), in the area of the Odeion of Perikles, though no exact findspot was recorded.\(^ {307}\) Both are therefore assigned an EH II date.

II.4.17. Ayios Kosmas (Attica)

Ayios Kosmas is situated on a coastal promontory in western Attica southeast of Phaleron. The site was excavated in two campaigns, the first in 1930-1931 and the second in 1951, by Mylonas.\(^ {308}\) A substantial EH settlement was uncovered, represented by eight rectangular houses arranged in blocks and two intersecting streets (Fig. 6.14.1). In addition, two cemeteries were discovered, the North Cemetery and South Cemetery. Mylonas identified two EH building phases, the first (A) just a few walls and sherds underneath the second (B) more substantial remains that he dated to EH III, but which Caskey re-dated to EH II, assigning the destruction level to the end of EH II.\(^ {309}\)

The large House E has a typical house plan, oriented E-W with multiple rooms (Fig. 6.14.2). Room E1 is a paved court that opens onto the intersection of streets A and B, while the more private Room E2 was accessed through an off-set doorway with a well preserved doorjamb, and behind it was room E3. Both had multiple floors so that the numerous sherds and obsidian blades could not be associated with specific floors.\(^ {310}\) Room E3 is the largest in the house (4.5 x 3.1 m.) and below its floor were found earlier walls and two bothroi. A cup, askos, deep bowl, and skyphos were found there, along

\(^{306}\) A37: unknown location; Odeion of Perikles.  
\(^{307}\) Kastriotis 1914-1915: 95-96.  
\(^{308}\) Mylonas 1959.  
\(^{309}\) Caskey 1960: 300.  
\(^{310}\) Mylonas 1959: 26-30.
with stone tools (quern, pestle, grinder), obsidian blades and chips, and two seals. The first, \textbf{A38}\textsuperscript{311} (Fig. 2.10), is a stone foot-shaped seal with a points design that was found on the latest of the three floors in Room E3. The other seal, \textbf{A39}\textsuperscript{312} (Fig. 2.2), is a stone conoid with a hammer-head pierce-grip handle a spirals (1b) design, which was found in the packing of the first floor immediately above the opening of Bothros 2.\textsuperscript{313} The finds from the adjacent Room E2 show a similar range, with pottery including two sauceboats, two saucers, and a spouted jar, stone tools including two querns, a macehead, a palette, and obsidian blades and chips, as well as a terracotta spindle whorl, copper tweezers, and a stone figurine.

Two smaller houses at the site, Houses F and G, had a similar multi-room layout and the same east-west orientation as House E, while to the east was found House H, a similar house with a north-south orientation. The finds from these houses do not differ considerably from those in House E, as they include drinking and serving vessels, stone tools, and spindle whorls.\textsuperscript{314} House I was originally a room within House H but was separated from it in a later building phase within EH II. It had a long bench along its eastern wall and a pithos that was set into a depression on the floor, inside of which were found grape pips.\textsuperscript{315} The finds from House I included the familiar range of ceramic vessels and stone tools as well as a possible stone figurine and a terracotta zoomorphic stand.

\textsuperscript{311} \textbf{A38}: Ayios Kosmas 8991; House E, Room E3; CMS IS 052.
\textsuperscript{312} \textbf{A39}: Ayios Kosmas unknown; House E, Room E3.
\textsuperscript{313} Mylonas 1959: 152.
\textsuperscript{314} Mylonas 1959: 33-38.
\textsuperscript{315} Mylonas 1959: 38-41.
Structure J east of House H had very thick walls around a triangular space but no evidence for a door, features that Nilsson interprets as evidence for the structure’s function as a grain storage facility.\textsuperscript{316} Inside Structure J were found five andesite querns arranged in a semi-circle, reinforcing its link with grain storage and processing, as well as two sauceboats, a plate, and an obsidian blade and chips.\textsuperscript{317} North of House E on the other side of Street A was the large but only partially preserved House L, its two large rooms yielding a small but familiar domestic assemblage with three bowls, a sauceboat, a stone pestle, two terracotta and one bone spindle whorls, stone grinders, and obsidian blades and chips.\textsuperscript{318} Two lumps of a lead and a terracotta zoomorphic stand were also found in House L, and in Room L1 a grinding slab and mortar were found set into the floor, and a hearth was enclosed by a curved wall to the south.

II.4.18. Alimos (Attica)

Alimos is a coastal site situated on a low hill overlooking the Saronic Gulf. Excavations in 1987 led by Kaza revealed a Mycenaean settlement in the southwestern sector of the excavation, while excavations in this area in 1993 revealed two phases of EH occupation.\textsuperscript{319} The first phase of EH occupation at Alimos is represented by evidence for metallurgical activity, since it is comprised of irregular pits and impressions cut into the bedrock with associated with EH ceramics that are characterized as related to metallurgical activity.\textsuperscript{320} Further EBA metallurgical activity at the site was discovered in

\textsuperscript{316} Nilsson 2014: 231-232.  
\textsuperscript{317} Mylonas 1959: 42.  
\textsuperscript{318} Mylonas 1959: 45.  
\textsuperscript{319} Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993.  
\textsuperscript{320} Alram-Stern 2004: 541.
1997 in the area of the Geometric period house. The second EH building phase, uncovered in 1993, included two buildings (Π1 and Π2) situated on either side of a path running SW through the settlement. These structures were dated by ceramics and associated finds. The house to the south, Π2, was a multi-roomed structure built of unworked stone with a cobblestone courtyard (Fig. 6.16.1). In a sounding in Room Π2α was found an intact clay conoid with an angle-filled cross design, A40 \(^{321}\) (Fig. 2.1), dated to EH II on the basis of style.

**II.4.19. Koropi (Attica)**

Koropi is located in southeastern Attica at the foot of Mount Hymmetos on its eastern slope. Excavations led by Kakavogianni in 1985-87 revealed an EH settlement, a large ditch, five large subterranean chambers cut into the bedrock, three wells, and one pit (Fig. 6.18.1).\(^{322}\) Kakavogianni detected three building phases in the settlement that spanned EH II-III. The third and last phase belonging to EH III was disturbed by plowing. Belonging to the middle phase was a road 15 m. long flanked by houses on either side, which were preserved as stone foundations with herringbone masonry with fragments of roof tiles. A ditch 2.5 m. deep was found north of the settlement, and the chambers were located between the ditch and settlement. The chambers are generally oval in plan with curved roofs, the largest of which was 10 x 6.5 x 2.75 m. Inside and around the chambers were found burnt metal ore, mold fragments, and litharge, which prompted Kakavogianni to interpret the installation as a metallurgical workshop. The

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\(^{321}\) A40: Piraeus 8120; Room Π 2; CMS VS3 306.  
material from inside the chambers included bones, stone tools, and sherds dated to EH II, with no EH III activity indicated.

Two seals were found at the site. The first, A41\textsuperscript{323} (Fig. 2.1), is a clay conoid with a points design that was found in chamber IV-V in the $\beta$ level, which was disturbed by plowing. The other seal, A42\textsuperscript{324} (Fig. 2.6), is a stone hemispherical seal with a linear design that was found in chamber I in the $\delta$ level, a mixed deposit with various settlement phases represented. Neither seal can therefore be dated more precisely than EH II.

II.4.20. Raphina (Attica)

Raphina is located on a low hill on the east coast of Attica. Theochares excavated the site in 1951-1953, revealing a fortified EH settlement and a metalworking installation to the south by the water.\textsuperscript{325} The fortification wall formed the back walls of Houses $\Theta$, $\Delta$, and $\Gamma$, while Houses A and E were located across a narrow street. House $\Gamma$ is a single room structure that originally was connected to House D through a doorway, while trapezoidal House E was not well preserved (Fig. 6.19.1). Two fragments of roof tiles were found in the fill of House D. North of House E was House A, which had a smaller room entered from the street and a larger room, Room 2, inside of which was found a clay hearth in the middle of the room and a large pithos set into the floor to the south. Theochares dated the pottery from these houses to EH III, but Caskey re-dated it to EH II.\textsuperscript{326} Early EH III pottery was found in two bothroi, but it is not clear if the site was

\textsuperscript{323} A41: Brauron BE 2251; eastern side of chamber IV-V, $\beta$ layer; CMS VS3 099.
\textsuperscript{324} A42: Brauron BE 2233; chamber I, layer $\delta$; CMS VS3 098.
\textsuperscript{325} Theochares 1951, 1952, 1953.
\textsuperscript{326} Caskey 1960: 300.
occupied in the MH period. Metallurgical waste material, including funnels with traces of bronze in the interiors, was found in the two pits on the beach south of the settlement, and part of a small building was also uncovered there.\textsuperscript{327} Seal \textbf{A43}\textsuperscript{328} (Fig. 2.2) is a stone conoid with a points design that was found in the road between Houses \(\Gamma\) and E, and is dated stylistically to EH II.\textsuperscript{329}

**II.4.21. Kolonna and Aphaia Temple (Saronic Gulf)**

Kolonna on Aegina is situated on a flat mound on top of a promontory in the Saronic Gulf. The site has been excavated extensively since the late 19th century, and EH occupation has been identified in several areas of the site (Fig. 6.21.1). Campaigns led by Walter and Felten in 1972-1977 uncovered extensive occupation at the site that spanned the FN to MH periods.\textsuperscript{330} Walter and Felten devised a stratigraphic sequence for ten cities (“Stadts”), three of which spanned the EH period: Stadt II = EH IIB early (Lerna IIIC); Stadt III = EH IIB late (Lerna IIID); Stadts IV-VI = EH III (Lerna IV) (Fig. 1.5).\textsuperscript{331}

Two structures are associated with Stadt II (EH IIB early), the Haus am Felsrand, a corridor house with associated roof tiles, and the Herdhaus, a smaller structure with an ash-filled hearth.\textsuperscript{332} Another corridor house, the Weisses Haus, is associated with Stadt III (EH IIB late), as well as the Fäberhaus (so-named for its murex shells), and the Haus der Pithoi.\textsuperscript{333} Stadt IV (EH III) is characterized by the installation of a copper smelting area.

\textsuperscript{327} Theochares 1952, Fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{328} \textbf{A43}: Volos \(\Lambda\mu\) 890/66; southwest of Houses \(\Gamma\) and E; CMS VS3 427.
\textsuperscript{329} Theochares 1953: 117-118.
\textsuperscript{330} Walter and Felten 1981.
\textsuperscript{331} Pullen 1985: 221-223; Rutter 1983
\textsuperscript{333} Walter and Felten 1981: 14-22, 97-105, Plan 5.
over the ruins of the Weisses Haus and the Turmhaus.\textsuperscript{334} Stadt V (EH III) represents a reorganization of the site, with numerous rectilinear houses arranged in a well-organized town plan and a fortification wall.\textsuperscript{335} There is no evidence for fire destructions at the end of II-IV, but Stadt V was destroyed by fire, and a stronger fortification wall was constructed for Stadt VI on the foundations of Stadt V houses.\textsuperscript{336}

Earlier excavations in the area at the beginning of the 20th century led by Furtwängler at the nearby Aphaia Temple also discovered prehistoric material in the northeast corner of the area, in the southeast building, and in a depression in the East Terrace filled with material spanning the Mycenaean to Archaic periods.\textsuperscript{337} Furtwängler does not, however, provide detailed descriptions of the findspots for these objects. Included in his inventory of material found in the area of the Aphaia Temple are three seals: A44\textsuperscript{338} (Fig. 2.9), a stone rectangular block seal with a grid design on both sides; A45\textsuperscript{339} (Fig. 2.8), a stone pyramidal seal with a grid design; and A46\textsuperscript{340} (Fig. 2.1), a clay conoid with a spiral (1a) design. From the site of Kolonna but of unknown context is A47\textsuperscript{341} (Fig. 2.8), a stone pyramidal seal with a grid design, and stone plate A48\textsuperscript{342} (Fig. 2.4), which is engraved on five sides with an angle-filled cross and linear designs. Pini

\textsuperscript{336} Walter and Felten 1981: 41-42.  
\textsuperscript{337} Furtwängler 1906.  
\textsuperscript{338} A44: Aegina Si21; Aphaia Temple; CMS VS1A 002a-b.  
\textsuperscript{339} A45: Aegina Si3; Aphaia Temple; CMS VS1A 001.  
\textsuperscript{340} A46: Aegina unknown location; Aphaia Temple.  
\textsuperscript{341} A47: Aegina St 10 A 44; unknown context; CMS VS3 001.  
\textsuperscript{342} A48: Aegina unknown location; unknown context.
dated the seals from the Aphaia Temple to EH III-MH I on the basis of style, especially since A44 has parallels in contemporary Prepalatial seals from Crete.\(^{343}\)

**II.4.22. Methana (Saronic Gulf)**

The site of Methana is located on the east coast of the Methana Peninsula in the Saronic Gulf. The area was surveyed by the British School at Athens in 1983-87 under the direction of Mee and Forbes, who identified at least twenty EH II sites and one EH III site in the area.\(^{344}\) Most of the settlements were clustered near the coast. A stone plate seal with grid designs on both sides published in the *CMS*, A49\(^{345}\) (Fig. 2.4), was found in the area of the Ayios Konstantinos chapel northeast of the modern port, where a Mycenaean (LH IIIA-B) structure was uncovered. The discovery of a bench and votive deposit with numerous zoomorphic Mycenaean figurines in Room A by the southwest corner of the chapel is interpreted as evidence for a Mycenaean cult installation. Immediately to the south in Room D, interpreted as a workshop, was found A49, which is assigned a general EH II-III on the basis of style by the *CMS* editors. This date is supported by the identification of the site of Ayios Konstantinos (MS 13) as an EH site with some LH sherds.\(^{346}\)

\(^{343}\) Pini 1987: 414, 433.
\(^{344}\) Mee and Forbes 1997.
\(^{345}\) A49: Piraeus 5656; unknown context; CMS VS3 314a-b.
\(^{346}\) Mee and Forbes 1987-88: 22.
II.4.23. Modi (Saronic Gulf)

On the islet of Modi, located 1 km. off the coast of the island of Poros in the Saronic Gulf, an LH site was recently discovered.\textsuperscript{347} EH occupation at the site is indicated by surface finds of some ceramic sherds and a seal. \textbf{A50}\textsuperscript{348} (Fig. 2.3) is a stone plate seal with a pierce-grip handle and an angle-filled cross design. The style of the seal design is used to date the site to EH II.

II.4.24. Skotini Cave (Euboea)

Skotini Cave is located 3 km. away from the modern village of Tharrounia in central Euboea. The cave is situated 1 km. below a rocky plateau called Plataki, and opens to the north onto a deep ravine. Sampson’s excavations at the site revealed occupation spanning LN through the EH period.\textsuperscript{349} EH material found in the cave includes a ceramic hearth and seal \textbf{A52}\textsuperscript{350} (Fig. 2.2), a clay conoid with a pierce-grip handle and an angle-filled cross design. In LN layers outside the cave was found \textbf{A53}\textsuperscript{351} (Fig. 2.2), a bone conoid with a pierce-grip handle and an unusual abstract design. It is assigned a general Neolithic-EH date here, as in the CMS, on the basis of style.

II.4.25. Manika (Euboea)

Manika in Euboea is situated on a low promontory in the straits of Euripos ca. 5 km. north of Chalkis and near the fertile Lelantine Plain, and part of the coastal site is
now underwater because of changes to the ancient coastline. An EH cemetery was revealed during excavations in the early 20th century and a settlement in the 1950s by Theocharis, both of which were further investigated in the 1970s and 1980s by Sampson for the British School at Athens (settlement and cemetery) and by Sapouna-Sakellarakis (cemetery) for the Greek Archaeological Service. Sampson identifies three building phases spanning the EH period: Manika 2 = EH IIA; Manika 3 = EH IIB; Manika 4 = EH III (Fig. 1.5). The EH II-III transition was not marked by fire destruction but was apparently gradual, though the EH III settlement was smaller in scale than it was in EH II. Although it was excavated only in restricted and noncontiguous areas, the overall impression of the site is a dense and well organized settlement with numerous rectilinear houses with a similar orientation that were built on either side of narrow roads (Fig. 6.23.2). The houses were generally free-standing and varied in size, some with wide stone socles that supported mudbrick superstructures and possibly a second storey, and were integrated into blocks of houses.

Like the settlement, the extramural cemetery at Manika was dense and well organized with more than 127 tombs, 69 of which date to the EH period: 54 of which can be securely dated to EH IIA and 15 to EH IIB. In addition to the 50 rock-cut chamber tombs previously discovered, 25 additional tombs were discovered, several of which were re-used in the later occupational phases. The distribution of the few valuable

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grave goods such as metal and marble objects and Cycladic frying pans, identified as imports, is unequal and may permit the suggestion of social differentiation at the site being expressed in burial rites.\textsuperscript{357}

Five seals were found at Manika, three in the settlement (A\textsuperscript{55}, A\textsuperscript{57}, A\textsuperscript{58}) and two in graves (A\textsuperscript{54}, A\textsuperscript{56}). The seals from the settlement were found during rescue excavations undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Service.\textsuperscript{358}

Excavations in the Zousi plot in the northwest area of the site uncovered a well-organized and extensive settlement with densely packed, though discontinuous, plots, and larger areas were uncovered by subsequent excavations (Fig. 6.23.2).\textsuperscript{359} Blocks of houses of relatively uniform orientation arranged between narrow streets were generally two or three-room structures with stone socles (0.5-0.6 m. wide) that would have supported mudbrick superstructures, almost all of which Sapouna-Sakellarakis dates to the EH II period.\textsuperscript{360} A circular pit (0.75 m. wide) filled with ash, animal bones, and shell was discovered at the northern edge of the site. Sapouna-Sakellarakis argues that Building I in the northeast corner was a two-storey structure based on a large pile of stones that may have been from a superstructure that was not entirely mudbrick.\textsuperscript{361} The finds from Building I include pottery, obsidian, and seashells, which were scattered in a manner that indicates they fell from an upper storey.

Immediately west of Building I is area B, a narrow paved road, on the side of which was Building II, a multi-roomed structure that consisted of rooms Γ, Δ, E, ΣΤ, Z, H, Θ, ...

\textsuperscript{357} Sampson 1985, Tables 25-27.
\textsuperscript{358} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987 Fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{359} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986: 103.
\textsuperscript{360} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986: 101-102.
\textsuperscript{361} Sapouna-Sakellarkis 1986: 104-105, Figs. 3-4.
and outdoor space I, where a stone-lined well was discovered (Fig. 6.23.2). Building II may have been a two-storey structure, since the narrow space of Room Z could represent a corridor that functioned as a stair placement. Multiple building phases were detected that spanned EH IIB-III. Finds from Building II include sherds of fine-ware, obsidian, bronze and marble objects, and a copper ring, A55, which was found in room Δ. These finds all probably indicate that this house was an important structure. Room Δ was only partially excavated because the northern extent of the property was not purchased for excavation, but a clay floor was detected on which a large volume of ceramics (both fine and coarse fabrics) and obsidian was discovered. Sapouna-Sakellarakis interprets a layer of finds at a higher elevation as evidence for an upper storey collapse. Copper ring A55 was found in the northern area of room Δ in the upper levels, and so presumably fell from an upper storey (Fig. 6.23.3). Finds from the lower layer include a small figurine and tall bases that correspond to those found in the upper levels, which supports the synchronicity of the layers, as does the comparable distribution of obsidian and seashells that were found in both the upper and lower levels.

Further excavations in the area north of the Zousi plot revealed five new rooms (Ξ, O, Π, P, Σ), two of which (P, Σ) were apsidal structures constructed side-by-side, with a thick (1.0-1.5 m.) peribolos wall to the east (Fig. 6.23.2). The ceramic finds from these areas correspond to the EH II-III assemblages in Buildings I and II to the south, so this area was contemporary with them. Seal A58 (Fig. 2.3) is a stone tongue-shaped pierce-

363 A55: Chalkis 5963; Sousi Plot, Building II, Room Δ; CMS VS1A 100.
366 A58: Chalkis 6081; Zousi plot; CMS VS3 101.
grip handle with a swastika design that was found inside room Σ, one of the apsidal structures (Fig. 6.23.4).\textsuperscript{367} On the floor of Room Σ were found two intact jars\textsuperscript{368} and other scattered ceramic finds including a grinder. Another grinder was found in the other apsidal structure, room Ρ, along with “characteristic EH II pottery” (“χαρακτηριστική ΠΕ II κεραμική”).\textsuperscript{369} Other finds from the general area for which no exact findspot is indicated include seven obsidian blades, conical spindle whorls, a clay figurine foot, a frying pan fragment, shells, and clay beads.

Excavations in the Ellinikou plot in the northwestern area of the site in 1992-94 uncovered a large EH II house on Odos Perikoklades (Fig. 6.23.5).\textsuperscript{370} The walls were constructed with stone socles that supported a mudbrick superstructure, and the layout of the building included five rooms (two described as storerooms), a courtyard, and four wells. The pottery dates to EH II-III, with both a sauceboat and pattern-painted pyxis lid coming from within the house. Although exact findspots are not indicated, among the finds from the house was A57\textsuperscript{371} (Fig. 2.3), a stone plate seal with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and a zigzag design. Other finds from the house include two marble vessels, two schematic stone figurines, and a terracotta zoomorphic figurine. Sapouna-Sakellarakis interprets this house as one of the most important structures at the site because of the seal, and argues that it may have been a special function building because of the four wells.\textsuperscript{372}

\textsuperscript{367} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1990: 157, Pl. 75.
\textsuperscript{368} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1990, Fig. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{369} Sapouna-Sakellarkis 1990: 157.
\textsuperscript{371} A57: Chalkis 6128; Ellinikou plot; CMS VS3 100.
\textsuperscript{372} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1992: 194.
Two seals were also found in the cemetery at Manika. A54\textsuperscript{373} (Fig. 2.2) is a stone conoid with a spiral (1a) design that was found in Grave 131 on the Beligianni plot in 1986 (Fig. 6.23.6).\textsuperscript{374} Grave 131 is a rock-cut chamber tomb (Fig. 6.23.7) with a large round chamber (2.1 x 2.0 x 1.8 m.) that entered from the south through a door covered by a sandstone slab and approached through a short dromos (1.6 x 1.25 m.). A few bones were scattered at the northern end of the tomb chamber, among which was found seal A54.

The second seal from the cemetery, A56\textsuperscript{375} (Fig. 2.3), is a stone plate seal with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle with a nested angle design that was found in Grave V on the Georgiou plot (Fig. 6.23.8).\textsuperscript{376} Grave V is a trapezoidal rock-cut chamber tomb (1.75 x 2.03 m.) that was entered from the south through a door covered by a sandstone slab (Fig. 6.23.9). A few bones were found scattered along the northern side of the chamber. Seal A56 was found in the tomb, along with a frying pan,\textsuperscript{377} a marble disc,\textsuperscript{378} and fragmentary copper pin (not illustrated).\textsuperscript{379} Since metal is scarce at the cemetery, the presence of the copper pin, marble disc, and frying pan alongside A56 reveal that this grave may have belonged to a high ranking person at the site.

\textsuperscript{373} A54: Chalkis not numbered; Beligianni Plot, Grave 131; CMS VS1A 099.
\textsuperscript{374} Sampson 1988: 21, 27.
\textsuperscript{375} A56: Chalkis 5719; Georgiou Plot, Grave V; CMS VS1A 098.
\textsuperscript{376} Sampson 1985: 189.
\textsuperscript{377} Sampson 1985, Fig. 68a:67.
\textsuperscript{378} Sampson 1985, Pl. 120.
\textsuperscript{379} Sampson 1985: 189.
II.4.26. Thebes (Boeotia)

The modern city of Thebes sits on top of the ancient one on low hills on the Aonian plain. The site has been extensively excavated since the 19th century, revealing a large and important Mycenaean settlement on the acropolis, called the Kadmeia, that developed from substantial earlier EH and MH occupation evidenced at several discontinuous plots across the city. Rescue excavations were undertaken in 1995-1998 in the northwest area of the Kadmeia, where in section XXXVI of the museum extension an apsidal structure of late EH II date was discovered (Fig. 6.25.1). In the doorway of the apsidal house was discovered A59 (Fig. 2.2), a stone conoid seal with a hammer-head pierce-grip handle and a linear design.

II.4.27. Aliartos (Boeotia)

Aliartos in Boeotia is located along the eastern edge of the Kopais basin. Seal A60 (Fig. 2.5) is a stone stamp cylinder seal with a herringbone design on the sides and a linear design on the end. It was found in the area of Davlis, near the modern village of Aliartos. The seal was found in an MH settlement on the Kastraki Hill in section Q 17, but is dated to EH on the basis of style in the CMS presumably because its stamp cylinder shape and herringbone pattern have parallels among EH seals. It is assigned a general EH-MH date.

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380 Aravantinos 1986. Cf. Pullen 1985: 241, Fig. 76.
381 A59: Thebes 32402; Kadmeia, Museum extension, section XXXVI; CMS VS3 374.
382 A60: Thebes 32740; Megalo Kastraki Hill, section Q 17, b3; CMS VS3 380a-b.
II.4.28. Eutresis (Boeotia)

Eutresis is located on a hill that rises above the plain of Leuktra. The site was initially excavated in 1924-1927 by Goldman and subsequently sounded in 1958 by Caskey and Caskey. Their work unearthed an important EH settlement that provided an important stratigraphic sequence spanning EH I-III, which Caskey and Caskey subdivided into several ceramic phases or pottery groups (Fig. 6.26.1).

The only building dating to EH II (Caskey and Caskey’s pottery groups VI-VIII) is House L, which underwent extensive remodeling, as indicated by its two distinct floor levels, before it was destroyed at the end of EH II (Fig. 6.26.2). House L consisted of three axially arranged rooms, with Room I representing a small paved forecourt that provided access to the building from the street, with a pivot stone and bothros located next to the entrance. Room I opened into Room II, apparently the central living area of the house, because of its size and central location and associated finds of pithoi, sauceboats, and two hearths. Room III was perhaps a later addition, on the basis of its irregular shape and the angle of the southeast extent of the wall adjoining Rooms II and III, originally constructed as a single room but later divided by a thin clay crosswall that divided the room in half diagonally.

383 Goldman 1927, 1931; Caskey and Caskey 1960.
385 Neither were terracotta hearths. Goldman identified a hearth in the northeast corner of the room from the evidence for burning and accumulated ashes, but she did not associate with either the first or second floor level (Goldman 1931: 17-18). The Caskeys identified as a hearth a ring of stones surrounding a thick deposit of burnt matter in the northwest corner, which they associate with the second floor (Caskey and Caskey 1960: 152).
Seal A61\(^{386}\) (Fig. 2.9), a stone rectangular block seal with a grid design, was found “in the lower level of Early Helladic III in Pit I”,\(^ {387}\) located along the southern side of Room III in House L. Given its position in the lowest EH III level above EH II House L, it is possible that seal A61 is a cast-up. No exact findspot is given, but the wording of Goldman’s preliminary report is telling: “Perhaps the most interesting of the small objects turned up between the second and third Early Helladic levels was a three-sided soapstone seal…”\(^ {388}\) It is possible that seal A61 was an EH II cast-up, and is therefore assigned an EH II-III date here.

II.34.29. Orchomenos (Boeotia)

Orchomenos is on the eastern slope of Mount Akontion overlooking the Kephissos valley. An EH settlement was revealed during excavations in 1903-5 by Bulle and Furtwängler, and in 1929 by Kunze, who uncovered EH II-III structures including apsidal houses.\(^ {389}\) A clay plate seal with a pierce-grip handle and an angle-filled cross design, A62\(^ {390}\) (Fig. 2.3) is a surface find from the survey conducted by the DAI directed by Fittschen in the northwestern edge of the Kopais basin.\(^ {391}\)

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\(^{386}\) A61: unknown location; Pit I.
\(^{387}\) Goldman 1931: 199.
\(^{388}\) Goldman 1927: 38.
\(^{389}\) Kunze 1934.
\(^{390}\) A62: Thebes 32743; surface find; CMS VS3 385.
II.4.30. Livanates/Kynos (Phthiotis)

The site of Livanates (ancient Kynos) is situated on Pyrgos Hill. Excavations led by Dakaronia for the Greek Archaeological Service revealed a LH settlement. Earlier occupation at the site is indicated by the detection of EH and MH sherds. Clay plate seal A63 (Fig. 2.3) with an angle-filled cross design was discovered in an LH IIIC early level at the site, almost certainly a secondary context, and is assigned an EH II date on the basis of style.

II.4.31. Ayia Marina (Phokis)

Ayia Marina is on a mound north of the river Kephisos on the Phocian plan. The western area of the site was excavated by Sotiriades in 1911-12, who detected EH II-III material (what he termed “Kamares” ware), though no stratigraphic distinction was detected for the subphases, in a layer beneath one of Mycenaean occupation and above Neolithic material. In a trench to the southeast, Sotiriadis found seal A64, reportedly a stone conoid seal with a linear design. The seal was found in Neolithic levels but assigned an EH date on the basis of style.

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393 A63: Atalanti Δ 4038; Pyrgos Hill; CMS VS3 071.
395 Sotiriadis 1912.
396 A64: unknown location; southeast area of west slope.
397 Sotiriadis 1912: 276.
II.4.33. Delphi (Phokis)

Prehistoric occupation as early as the Neolithic period is detected at Delphi from sherds found in the Athena Pronaia Temple of the Marmaria. Demangel’s excavations in this area in 1922 uncovered Bronze Age and Neolithic material referred to as a “Mycenaean sanctuary” because of the discovery of 30 figurines found placed together on a large, slate stone. Seal A65 (Fig. 2.8) is a stone pyramidal seal with a points design that was reportedly found in a box in the Delphi museum but is not recorded in Demangel’s publication of excavations at the site, and so is of unknown provenance, according to the CMS editors. It is assigned a general EH date on the basis of style.

II.4.32. Proskynas (Lokris)

Proskynas is located on a low hill overlooking a valley three km. south of the Euboean Gulf in east Lokris. Rescue excavations undertaken in 2000-1 during construction of the highway from Athens to Thessaloniki revealed a prehistoric settlement. Continued excavations under the direction of Zahou have revealed five occupation phases spanning FN-LH. Following FN occupation comprised of seven burials and pits in the southeastern area of the site there was apparently a period of abandonment in EH I before occupation resumes in EH II after which it is again abandoned at the end of the EH II period. The EH II settlement was well organized, with large multi-room structures laid out in the same orientation around which were

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399 A65: Delphi unnumbered; Marmaria, “Mycenaean Sanctuary”; CMS VS3 164.
found paved areas, bothroi for domestic storage, hearths, and ceramic workshops (Fig. 6.27.1). The largest and best preserved building is Building A (22 m.²), the preserved stone walls of which supported a mudbrick superstructure, which had a typical EH house layout with three rooms. The finds from House A do not, however, differ significantly from the two smaller buildings (B and C).

Stone seal A66 (Fig. 2.12), which has an irregular shape and an unusual engraved design of concentric squares or diamonds, was found in Area B, a paved space in the eastern area of the site. Zahou interprets this as a place for communal gatherings and feasting because of the architectural features, open layout, and associated finds from this area. Architectural features from the eastern area of the site include five hearths ("thermal features"), a subterranean circular construction (round structure A), and an open paved area (Area B) (Fig. 6.27.2). Area B was on a stone platform that was delineated by a terrace wall to the west that underwent three construction phases, the first retaining wall (T 11) being twice remodeled when two successive walls (T 13 and T14) and associated clay floors were built over it. Thermal structure 1 was a horseshoe-shaped construction on the stone platform just west of Area B, which Zahou argues was used for communal cooking. Area B yielded the highest concentration of drinking and serving vessels at the site but not storage vessels, which demonstrates that this was an area for food

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403 A66: unknown location; Area B; Zahou 2004, Pl. 3.
405 Zahou 2009: 217-218, Figs. 5.4-5.5.
consumption. While no exact findspot is given for A66, it was found in Area B and assigned an EH II date.

Further evidence for feasting in the eastern area of the site comes from the hearths (thermal features), which were not attached to any particular structure and therefore might have been accessible to the wider community. Perhaps this area represents a permanent installation that formalized the repeated practice of communal feasting in this area. Near thermal structure 4, two pits were found to contain the bones of whole cows, strong evidence for the deposition of remains from large-scale communal feasts that took place in this area. Finally, structure A is elliptical in plan and carved into the bedrock with a stepped incline in the middle. Because round structure A contained a high frequency of vessels for food consumption, Zahou argues it was associated with communal feasting that took place on the nearby paved Area B, where a similar ceramic assemblage was found. Zahou highlights the fact that Urfirnis sauceboats were found in Area B while lightly slipped and burnished sauceboats were found in the round structure, and argues that the Urfirnis examples from Area B were highly visible during communal feasting and so served to distinguish the owner.

II.4.34. Palamari (Skyros)

Palamari is located on a promontory overlooking a natural harbor on the northern tip of Skyros in the Sporades, a coastal site ideally situated for maritime exchanges with...
Euboea, the Cyclades, and northeastern Aegean. A fortified EH-MH settlement was revealed during Parlama’s excavations during the 1980s and 1990s, which focused on two areas of the site, the center and northern side.\(^{412}\) Four occupation levels were detected spanning EH I-MH I: Palamari I = EH II; Palamari II = EH IIB (Lefkandi I phase); Palamari III = EH III; Palamari IV = MH I in Area B.\(^{413}\) Blocks of houses were found arranged on either side of a street, and a fortification wall was also detected. Evidence for a metallurgical workshop was recognized along the northern edge of the site, including copper slag and molds for an arrow and chisel.\(^{414}\)

Seal A\(^{67}\),\(^{415}\) a clay conoid seal with a concentric circles design, was found during the course of the 1981-1987 excavations, but its exact findspot is given.\(^{416}\) During Chatzipouliou’s excavations of 1995, a clay stamp cylinder with an all-over linear design, A\(^{68}\),\(^{417}\) was found on the embankment between Houses C and E.\(^{418}\)

II.4.35. Pelikata (Ionian Islands)

Pelikata is located in the northern part of Ithaka in the Ionian Islands in western Greece on a hill near Mount Exoge. Three bays are visible from the site, including Polis Bay to the west that early scholars believed to be the Ithaka of Homeric epic.\(^{419}\) A fortified EH II-III site occupied into the LH III period was discovered in Areas I-VI.\(^{420}\) In

\(^{412}\) Theocharis and Parlama 1986; Theocharis, Parlama and Hatzipouliou 1993, Fig. 2.  
\(^{413}\) Theocharis et al. 1993: 187.  
\(^{414}\) Chatzipouliou 1997: 359, Figs. 4-5.  
\(^{415}\) A\(^{67}\): unknown location; unknown context.  
\(^{416}\) Theochari et al. 1993: 192.  
\(^{417}\) A\(^{68}\): unknown location; Trench B, embankment between Houses C and E.  
\(^{418}\) Chatzipouliou 1997: 358.  
\(^{419}\) Heurtley 1934-1935, Fig. 1.  
\(^{420}\) Heurtley 1934-1935, Pl. 1.
Area I to the south of the site, a collapsed house was identified from large stone blocks were discovered apparently in situ. An irregular bothros was found in the center of the area that was partially lined with stones and large fragments of pithoi at the bottom. At the bottom of the pithos was found a bowl with horizontally pierced lugs, a boar’s tusk, a flint blade, and animal bones. The western half of Area I consisted of fill with sherds, pithos fragments, and animal bones on top of sterile soil.

In Area I, though without an exact findspot indicated, was found clay conoid A69 (Fig. 2.3) with a wavy lines design.

II.4.36. Philia (Thessaly)

Philia is located approximately 15 km. southeast of Karditsa in Thessaly. Rescue excavations were undertaken by Theocharis in 1963 in pits created by looters. He describes a layer of LH IIB material.

Theocharis discovered a stone plate seal, A70 (Fig. 2.4), which has a grid design on the seal face and concentric circles design on the pierce-grip handle, apparently in section Δ4/II-III.

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421 Heurtley 1934-1935, Fig. 5.
423 A69: Ithaka unnumbered; Area I; CMS VS1A 380.
424 Theocharis 1963.
425 A70: Volos Λμ 825/15; T. 1 Δ4/II-III; CMS VS3 426a-b.
426 Theocharis 1963: 135; Theocharis 1964: 244.
II.4.37. Larissa (Thessaly)

Larissa is located on the northeastern Thessalian plain near the Pineios river, and is today the largest urban center in Thessaly. Excavations by Gallis in 1971-1972 and 1980 revealed EH occupation on the western side of the Phrourion hill, where stratified EH-MH occupation levels were uncovered.\textsuperscript{427} EH walls were identified on the southern slope of the hill,\textsuperscript{428} and an EH destruction layer was identified on its eastern side.\textsuperscript{429}

Two seals reportedly from Larissa were among a number of prehistoric objects that were donated by private collectors to the Larissa Museum upon its opening in 1992, most of which were surface finds.\textsuperscript{430} Their provenance is therefore unknown, but they are assigned a general EH date on the basis of style. \textbf{A71}\textsuperscript{431} (Fig. 2.4) is a stone plate seal with an angle-filled cross design on the seal face and a grid design on the pierce-grip handle, and \textbf{A72}\textsuperscript{432} (Fig. 2.2) is a stone conoid with a linear design.

II.4.38. Volos (Thessaly)

Volos is the major port city for Thessaly on the Gulf of Volos within the Pagasetic Gulf. The city is located at the foot of Mount Pelion and is ideally located for exchanges with southern Greece, the Cyclades, and northern Aegean by sea and overland with northern Greece.

\textsuperscript{427} Gallis 1971.
\textsuperscript{428} Gallis 1972.
\textsuperscript{429} Gallis 1980.
\textsuperscript{430} Gallis 2004: 315.
\textsuperscript{431} \textbf{A71}: Larissa MΠ 8; near Krannon; CMS VS3 208a-b.
\textsuperscript{432} \textbf{A72}: Larissa ΘE 571; Sappio 3; ATAE 235; CMS VS3 207.
A73⁴³³ (Fig. 2.4) is a stone plate seal with a pierce-grip handle and concentric circles design on the seal surface and side. It was transferred to the Almyros museum from the Volos Museum in 1947, but its exact provenance is unknown.⁴³⁴ It is assigned a general EH date is assigned on the basis of style.

II.4.39. Mandalo (Macedonia)

Mandalo is a small tell site located on the Sistan Tepe hill 20 km. northwest of Pella in Macedonia. Excavations by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki were undertaken in 1981-88 following unauthorized digging at the site in 1981.⁴³⁵ Excavations revealed seven occupational phases, one of which spans the Neolithic and EBA, with Mandalo III (ca. 2950-2200 BCE) corresponding to the EH period in southern Greece (Fig. 1.6). Little architectural change is detected between the Neolithic and EBA, but ceramic styles change and intensive storage activity is detected in the presence of storage vessels and pits.

A clay cylinder (roller) seal, A74⁴³⁶ (Fig. 2.5), with spirals (1b) design was discovered in three fragments found at the top of the hill at different depths within a destruction horizon.⁴³⁷ Its findspot is therefore a secondary deposit, which complicates the dating of this object. Roller A74 may therefore represent an object of Neolithic manufacture that remained in circulation into the EBA.

⁴³³ A73: Volos M 2479; unknown context; CMS VS1B 449.
⁴³⁴ Malakassioti 1993: 428.
⁴³⁵ Pilali-Papasteriou 1995.
⁴³⁶ A74: Pella MAN B.51 + AK 190 + AK203; Sistan-Tepe, Touomba; CMS VS1B 184.
II.4.40. Dikili Tash (Macedonia)

Dikili Tash is a tell site located on the Drama Plain in eastern Macedonia directly east of Philippi. Excavations at the site directed by Deshayes and Theochares from 1961 to 1975 under the auspices of the French School at Athens and Archaeological Society at Athens uncovered lengthy but discontinuous prehistoric occupation on the mound. Four major stratigraphic phases (I-IV) were identified, with the LN period spanning I-II, EBA spanning phases IIIA-B, and phase IV representing the LBA.

On the eastern site of the plateau, scant EBA remains were identified that consist of posthole houses with pits and horseshoe-shaped hearth features. During the 1961 field season, the French team excavating at the top of the mound uncovered phase IIIA sherds and small finds, including a copper fragment, spindle whorls, obsidian blade, and A75 (Fig. 2.12), a clay seal of unknown type with a linear design, which was found in trench A. Although the findspot for A75 is not revealing, later excavations on the eastern flank of the mound disclosed more extensive EBA remains than were found at the top, including a large posthole house (12 m. long) that was rebuilt at least three times. Stone partitions walls and plaster were identified, as well as pits and horseshoe-shaped hearths. The last building phase was a stone house with a hearth in the southern part of the building, next to which were found two large pithoi, a copper needle, and a spindle.

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438 Deshayes 1968.
440 A75: unknown location; Trench A, level 11.
441 Deshayes 1968, Fig. 2.
442 Andreou et al. 2001: 310.
These finds, though not associated with A75, do point to EBA occupation that justifies the EBA II date assigned to this seal.

II.4.41. Galani/Megalo Nisi Galanis (Macedonia)

Galani (Megalo Nisi Galanis) is located in the southern area of the Ptolemais basin at the southern end of the Pelagonian plain in western Macedonia. The site was excavated in 1989-1991 by Fotiadis, who identified stratified remains spanning the LN to EBA.

During the 1989 season, clay plate seal A76 (Fig. 2.3), with a conical handle and nested angles design, was discovered. Most deposits from the site are secondary.

II.4.42. Unknown Location

Three EH seals are of unknown provenance because they form part of a private collection. A77 (Fig. 2.3), is a stone plate seal with an angle-filled cross, A78 (Fig. 2.2) is a stone conoid with an angle-filled cross design, and A79 (Fig. 2.2) is a conoid with a spiral (1b) design.

II.5. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT: SUMMARY

The regional distribution of seals, as with all lines of evidence for EH sealing practices, is heavily weighted towards southern and central Greece (Fig. 2.21). Almost

443 Alram-Stern 2004: 831.
444 A76: Kozani 3908; prehistoric settlement; CMS VS3 190.
446 A77: München 1217; unknown context; CMS XI 137.
447 A78: Tsolakidis collection 819; unknown context; CMS VS3 090.
448 A79: München 1217; unknown context; CMS XI 137.
half (47%) of all seals come from southern Greece, 36 of the 79 preserved example, while 33 (41%) come from central Greece (Figs. 2.22-2.27). Only one example (1%) comes from western Greece, and 7 (9%) from northern Greece, and 3 (4%) from unknown contexts. From southern Greece, most seals come from the Argolid (21 examples, 21%), primarily from Lerna (7), Tiryns (5), and Asine (4) (Fig. 2.25), a pattern that reflects intense exacation focused in these regions. Seals from central Greece are more evenly distributed among Attica (10%), the Saronic Gulf (10%), and Euboea (9%), together representing nearly a third of the total dataset, mostly from Kolonna (5) on Aegina and Manika (5) in Euboea (Fig. 2.26).

Both southern and central Greece have similar numbers of seals, and the frequency of different seal types is also similar for both regions (Fig. 2.23-2.24). Nearly every seal type is represented in both regions, though more conoids are found in southern Greece, however, and more plate seals in central Greece (Fig. 2.28-2.30).

The overall distribution of EH seals reveals that only one or two seals were found at any given EH site (Fig. 2.21). Notable exceptions to this general trend are the concentration of conoids at Lerna, specifically the five EH III clay conoids (A2, A4-A7, Figs. 2.1-2.2), and the three stone plate seals from Manika (A56-A58, Fig. 2.3).

Most revealing is the depositional context of seals (Figs. 2.31-2.36). The majority, 66% (53 examples), were found in settlement contexts (Fig. 2.34). Most seals from settlement contexts come from secondary deposits such as bothroi or fills, and only rarely from secure floor deposits. The second largest group of seals at 29% (23 examples) was found in uncertain contexts, surface finds or are objects without provenance (Fig. 2.36). Only three total seals, 4% of the total dataset, were found in burial contexts (Fig. 2.35).
Very few seals were found in secure settlement contexts. Those that were apparently formed part of a typical domestic assemblage for food storage and consumption, as well as other domestic activities such as weaving. One secure settlement context that yielded a seal is Ayios Kosmas, where stone foot-shaped seal A38 (Fig. 2.10) was found in House E in the largest room, Room E3, along with sherds and stone tools that comprised a typical domestic assemblage (see above, II.4.17). Another seal, stone conoid A39 (Fig. 2.2) with a hammer-head grip, was found in the packing fill of the floor in the same room. The depositional context of A38 in House E, and probably A39 even if it is in a secondary deposit, suggest that seals formed part of a domestic assemblage from a large, but not quite monumental, structure.

Two seals from Zygouries were found in secure deposits, both settlement and burial. The first is A23 (Fig. 2.6), a clay hemispherical seal found in Room 4 of House Y (see above, II.4.9). House Y is only partially preserved, but appears to have been a multi-room house with associated finds of a sauceboat, stone palette, and bronze wire pin. The finds from House Y are not revealing, but contemporary House U in the same yielded a domestic assemblage of sherds, spindle whorls, a bronze awl, and obsidian on its clay floor, as well as a small stone-lined bothros in Room 3, which was perhaps a paved courtyard. 449 Both House U and House Y therefore seem to be typical EH houses rather than monumental corridor houses, which at Zygouries was most likely the “House of the Pithoi” in the central area of the site. 450 Also from Zygouries is stone foot-shaped seal A24 (Fig. 2.10), which was found in Tomb VII, a pit grave in the cemetery on the eastern

450 Pullen 1986.
slope of the hill opposite the settlement in which the jumbled remains of 12-15 individuals were mixed with grave goods including a gold and silver ornament, silver fragment and disc, bronze pin, two carnelian and one green stone beads, as well as obsidian and potsherds (see above, II.4.9). While none of the finds in the grave can be securely associated with any individual burial, the burying group seems to have had high social standing because of the concentration of metal finds in the grave. The two seals from secure contexts at Zygouries therefore provide both a prosaic domestic context and rich burial context for EH seals, which demonstrates that seals were both deposited as grave goods and used for household activities.

A similar situation is found at Manika, where seals were found in secure settlement and burial contexts (see above, II.4.25). Three seals were found in settlement contexts, including stone plate A57 (Fig. 2.3) from a large, multi-room EH house on Odos Perikoklades in the Ellinikou plot, other finds from which include a sauceboat, obsidian, and a schematic stone figurine. Another stone plate, A58 (Fig. 2.3), was found in Building II in the Soussi plot in an EH IIB-III multi-room structure, along with bronze and marble objects, sherds and obsidian, and another seal, A55 (Fig. 2.7), a copper band-shaped ring. In addition, two seals were found in the nearby cemetery, including stone conoid A54 (Fig. 2.2) from Grave 131, which was the only grave good reported in the rock-cut chamber tomb, and stone plate A56 (Fig. 2.3) in Grave V, a rock-cut chamber tomb that contained the remains of several burials as well as an (unimpressed) frying pan, marble disc, and fragmentary copper pin. The evidence from Manika from the settlement and cemetery therefore provides more secure evidence for the depositional practices for
seals, which were both deposited presumably as prestige goods in graves and also occurred as part of a domestic assemblage.

To summarize, seals from secure settlement deposits include A38 (Fig. 2.10) from Ayios Kosmas, A23 (Fig. 2.6) from Zygouries, and A57, A58, and A55 (Fig. 2.3) from Manika. While House E at Ayios Kosmas and House Y at Zygouries appear to have been large but not rich houses, the EH house on Odos Perikoklades and Building II at Manika may have been inhabited by people of higher social status, an interpretation supported by not only the finds of metal and marble but also the large sizes of the buildings. The only three seals from graves, A24 (Fig. 2.10) from a rich grave in Zygouries, A54 (Fig. 2.2) from a grave without other finds at Manika, and A56 (Fig. 2.3) from a wealthy grave also at Manika may permit the suggestion that seals were deposited as grave goods on the mainland, but only very rarely.

The ambiguous and conflicting depositional contexts of those very few EH seals found in secure settlement and burial practices do not, therefore, support conclusively the interpretation that seals were used by elites. We have scant evidence for their use as grave goods in rich graves, and the houses in which the seals were found were not monumental structures like corridor houses that would suggest an extra-household function for the seals.
III. CLAY SEALINGS

III.1. CLAY SEALINGS TYPOLOGY

Clay sealings were used in a marking system that could be used for record keeping within a system of resource management. Clay sealings were used to secure the openings of various containers by attaching a piece of wet clay to a ceramic vessel, basket, box, or door knob and then impressing it with a seal design while the clay is still wet. The purpose of clay sealings was to secure the openings of containers and to restrict access to their contents. Preserved clay sealings bear impressed seal designs on their obverse and impressions of the object on their reverse, which allows the object to which the sealing was attached to to be reconstructed. Many clay sealings preserve impressions of ropes and string, textiles, and reeds used to cover the openings of ceramic vessels or secure pegs on wooden boxes and doors. When a seal owner impressed their seal design on a clay sealing, they marked the sealed object, presumably in order to the claim ownership of the contents secured inside of it.

Although clay sealings may have been functioned as receipts of transactions, most examples were preserved only accidentally by fire rather than intentionally as archival documents. It is unclear what stage of the administrative process EH clay sealings document. The low overall volume of preserved EH clay sealings may be attributed to issues of preservation, and their use may have been more widespread than is reflected in the archaeological record.

Wiencke developed a typology for the large deposit of EH clay sealings found in the House of the Tiles on the basis of the objects reconstructed from the reverse of the
sealings. Wiencke’s typology includes ceramic vessels (Types C and D), wooden containers such as boxes or chests (Types A and B), and baskets (Type E) (Figs. 3.1-3.5). Wiencke later expanded her initial typology of clay sealings to include the pithos and bothros sealings found elsewhere at the site. The Lerna typology is used to describe the two other main deposits of EH clay sealings from Geraki and Petri.

Given the limitations of the dataset for analysis because of the uneven preservation and publication of EH clay sealings, since the Petri material is only partially published in preliminary reports, in this study a modified classification for clay sealing is used that is defined by the material of the objects sealed. This more generalized typology is useful because it accounts for the possibility that Type A (pole) and Type B (peg) sealings were used to seal the same wooden objects, or that Type C (neck) and Type D (mouth) sealings were used on the same vessels or types of vessels. The material-based typology for EH clay sealings used in this study also allows the Petri material that has been published to be included in the analysis. The revised typology includes the following categories: ceramic vessels, wooden objects, basketry/matting, other materials (textile, leather), and unknown.

III.1.1. Ceramic vessel sealings (Figs. 3.1-3.2)

The different types of ceramic vessels sealed include large jars first identified at Lerna from jar neck (Wiencke’s Type C) (Fig. 3.1) and jar mouth (Wiencke’s Type D)

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(Fig. 3.2) sealings,\textsuperscript{455} which were also found at Geraki and reportedly at Petri. Other large ceramic vessels include pithoi, but smaller vessels such as pyxides and lids were also sealed, as well as some unknown vessel types. The bothros sealing from Lerna is included here because the bothros was clay-lined.

The large jars at Lerna are reconstructed from neck and mouth sealings and had varying profiles but were of relatively uniform size, measuring approximately 10.0-10.5 cm. in diameter, measured at the narrowest part of the neck, a size consistent with many published examples of EH jars.\textsuperscript{456} Jar neck sealings from Lerna (Type C) bear no preserved impressions from cords or cloth used to close the jar mouth, so it is not clear if the jars were closed or if the sealings were impressed to jar necks for marking purposes only. Catalogued examples of jar mouth sealings include fourteen examples from Lerna (\textit{B19, B28, B39, B49, B51, B58, B64; B91, B93, B96-8, B105-B106}, Figs. 3.8-3.10), two from Geraki (\textit{B206- B207}), and two from Asine (\textit{B123- B124}, Fig. 3.18).

By contrast, jar mouth sealings from Lerna have impressions from cords and cloths used to close the large jars, which have an average diameter of 10.0-10.5 cm., the same size as those closed by jar neck (Type C) sealings.\textsuperscript{457} Catalogued examples of jar neck sealings include nine examples from Lerna (\textit{B29, B34, B47, B56, B67, B76, B92, B100, B107}, Figs. 3.8-3.10) and one from Asine (\textit{B122}). It is unclear, however, if jar neck and mouth sealings should be related and whether they closed the same vessels because of the low number of examples recovered at Lerna (Figs. 3.38-3.39). Wiencke estimates that

\textsuperscript{455} Heath 1958: 95-96.
\textsuperscript{456} Heath 1958: 69.
\textsuperscript{457} Heath 1958: 97-98.
only approximately 5-6 jars were sealed by the fourteen jar neck sealings, while the eight jar mouth sealings impressed a similar number, perhaps even the same vessels.\footnote{Heath 1958: 95; Weingarten 1997: 150.}

Large jar sealings were also found at Geraki and Petri, though because they were not classified as jar or neck are described here more generally as jar sealings. Catalogued examples of large jar sealings include 77 examples from Geraki (B136-B199, B202-B203, B212-B216, B222, Fig. 3.24), and the ten published examples from Petri (B125-B134, Figs. 3.20, 3.22).

Pithos sealings are identified from impressions of the pithos rim as well as the reed covering used to close its mouth.\footnote{Wiencke 1969: 502, 508.} Catalogued examples of pithos sealings include nine from Lerna (B3, B5-B11, Fig. 3.6) and at least one from Geraki (B220). Weingarten emphasizes that many of the jar sealings from Geraki were large, perhaps as large as pithoi, and secured with a reed covering the same manner as pithoi.\footnote{I am grateful to Judith Weingarten for her clarification of the Geraki material.} The distinction between large storage jars and pithoi is therefore somewhat arbitrary.

Closely related to pithos sealings is the bothros sealing, only one of which is catalogued from Lerna (B1, Fig. 3.6). Fragments of a clay sealing from Bothros GB-4 in Room B of the fortifications were initially identified by Wiencke as a pithos sealing.\footnote{Wiencke 1969: 501.} In her final publication of Lerna III, however, Wiencke proposes that the clay-lined bothros, which had the same shape and size of a pithos, was itself sealed “in the manner of a pithos sealing”, its hardened clay rim was covered with reeds or a mat, which was then smeared with clay and stamped with a seal.\footnote{Wiencke 2000: 119.} Though not a ceramic vessel, the bothros...
sealing is included here because the clay-lined Bothros GB-4 seems to have served a similar function to pithoi and was covered with reeds and sealed in the same manner.

In addition to large storage vessels, small vessels were also secured by clay sealings. Two different types of small ceramic vessels were sealed at Geraki, one possible like (B169, Fig. 3.24) and five possible pyxides five from Geraki (B164-B165, Fig. 3.24).

Finally, unknown ceramic vessels were also sealed, the type of which cannot be determined because the preserved sealings bear impressions of non-diagnostic features such as handles and spouts. Two handle sealings were identified, one from Geraki (B201, Fig. 3.24) and one from Ayios Dhimitrios (B225). Two spout sealings were also identified, both from Geraki (B208-B209).

**III.1.2. Wooden object sealings** (Figs. 3.3-3.5)

Two different types of wooden objects were sealed, those with wooden poles (Fig. 3.3) and those with wooden pegs or pommels (Figs. 3.4-3.5), which Wiencke first identified because of the fine parallel lines impressed by the wood grain. The first type of wooden objects she identified (Type A) were chests or boxes made of poles tied together by cords, which left smooth, wide parallel grooves (on average 7.0 cm. in diameter) impressed on the reverse of sealings, across which ran impressions of cords (on average 0.4-0.5 cm. in diameter) that were sometimes knotted together (Type A).^463^  

Pole sealings are generally discs approximately 4.0 cm. thick and 11.0 cm. in diameter. Catalogued examples of wooden objects made from poles include twenty-one from Lerna (B13, B16, B23, B38, B43-B45, B68, B71, B77-B78, B80-B82, B88-B89,

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^463^ Heath 1958: 86.
B113, Figs. 3.8-3.10, 3.14), one from Tiryns (B119, Fig. 3.16), and one from Asine (B120).

Peg sealings (Type B), by contrast, have impressions of wooden pommels or pegs that protruded from flat wood surfaces and were wrapped with cords, perhaps closures to wooden boxes or chests. The pegs generally tapered toward the top but the ends of pegs are not preserved. Type B sealings are generally conical in shape, approximately 5.0 cm. high and 8.5 cm. in diameter, and they were impressed around the peg and onto the flat surface form which the peg protruded. Catalogued examples of wooden objects with pegs include twenty-five from Lerna (B14-B15, B24, B27, B31, B37, B40-B42, B54, B59-B63, B69, B79, B90, B104; B111-B112, Figs. 3.8-3.10, 3.14), two from Tiryns (B116-B117), and one from Geraki (B200).

There is some controversy, however, concerning whether pole (Type A) and peg (Type B) sealings were used on chests or doors. Wiencke argues that pole sealings were used either on wooden chests or boxes, but allows for the possibility that they were used as door sealings. Stewart proposes that pole and peg sealings were used on the same wooden boxes or chests, perhaps as few as ten, each of which was impressed with six seals. Aruz argues that pole sealings were used on wicker chests made from un-split reeds, an interpretation taken up by Weingarten and Pullen. In their careful re-study of the Lerna material, however, Maran and Kostoula argue that pole sealings impressed doors, since the diameter of impressed reeds never exceeds 3.0 cm. while wooden poles

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467 Aruz 1994: 212.
impressed on the reverses of pole sealings from Lerna reach up to 10 cm.\textsuperscript{469} They cite also the distribution of pole and peg sealing fragments in Room XI of the House of the Tiles, which were found near the only doorway to the room, and offer a reconstruction of the use of door sealings, including sealings on knotted cords run between wooden poles of doors as well as “door-stopper” sealings (Fig. 3.5).\textsuperscript{470} Similarly, Maran and Kostoula argue that peg sealings were used on the peg enclosures of wooden doors in the same manner as Egyptian chests and doors.\textsuperscript{471}

**III.1.3. Basketry/matting sealings**

A diverse group of sealings from Lerna bear impressions from basketry or matting (Wiencke’s Type E), perhaps containers onto which a reed covering was applied before sealing, as well as cords.\textsuperscript{472} Some had impressions of reeds on two faces of the sealing, which indicates that the object was bent. This type of sealings is generally 6.5 cm. in diameter. Catalogued examples of clay sealings of this type include twenty-five from Lerna (B21, B25-B26, B30, B33, B35-B36, B46, B55, B65-B66, B72-B74, B84-B87, B99, B101-B103, B108-B110, Figs. 3.8-3.10), one from Tiryns (B115, Fig. 3.16), and one from Akovitika (B224).

\textsuperscript{469} Maran and Kostoula 2014: 144, 146.
\textsuperscript{470} Maran and Kostoula 2014: 148, Figs. 17.6-17.7.
\textsuperscript{471} Maran and Kostoula 2014: 149, 151, nos. 29-31.
\textsuperscript{472} Heath 1958: 99.
III.1.4. Soft media sealings

Other soft media that were sealed is tentatively identified by Weinstein at Geraki, including two examples of bundles of textiles (B211, B217) and three leather sacks (B218-B219, B221).

III.1.5. Undetermined type sealings

Clay sealings of unknown type were also found at Lerna, for which the object could not be reconstructed from worn or unpreserved impressions on the sealing’s reverse. Catalogued examples of unknown type sealings include seventeen from Lerna (B4, B12, B17-B18, B20, B22, B32, B48, B50, B52-B53, B57, B70, B75, B83, B94-B95, B114, Figs. 3.6, 3.8-3.10, 3.14).

III.2. Clay Sealing Typology: Summary

A total of 255 individual clay sealings are catalogued in Appendix B (B1-B226). These are reconstructed from 379 fragments and stamped with 122 different seal types (S1-122) (Table 2, Figs. 3.34-3.39). The number of published clay sealings catalogued here is drawn from excavation reports and their subsequent re-study by the CMS team and others, with discrepancies sometimes arising between published examples and the total estimated number of individual clay sealings initially provided by the excavators. Calculating the exact numbers of clay sealings from hundreds of fragments is challenging because they survive only accidentally in destruction deposits when fires destroyed the structure in which they were found. The total number of catalogued clay sealings does not reflect the total number of reported seals, however, since the Petri material is
published only summarily. Kostoula publishes ten representative examples of the Petri sealings that are catalogued here, but reports 100+ clay sealings found at the site. The following analysis of clay sealings therefore uses a total number of 336 to account for the 90 reported but uncatalogued clay sealings from Petri.

Comparing the frequency of clay sealing types reveals that ceramic vessels far outnumber the other types, comprising 67% of the total dataset with 226 examples (Fig. 3.35). Large jars represent the ceramic vessel type most frequently sealed, as well as the most frequently occurring clay sealing type overall, with 205 recorded examples representing 90% of the ceramic vessels (Fig. 3.36). As discussed above, large jar sealings and pithos sealings from Geraki and Petri are closely related, as both were covered with reed mats or coverings prior to sealing. Because the ten examples of catalogued pithos sealings comprise 4% of all ceramic vessel sealings, 94% of all EH clay sealings were used on large storage vessels. Also related to large jar sealings is the bothros sealing from Lerna, because the hardened rim of a clay-lined bothros, the same size and shape of a pithos, was sealed in the same manner as a pithos with a reed mat covering. Small vessel sealings (lids and pyxides), however, comprise only 3% of the total dataset, and unknown vessel types (represented by vessel and spout sealings) only 2%.

Among soft media objects that were sealed, wooden objects represent the largest groups. Wooden object sealings (23 pole and 28 peg sealings) together represent only 15% of the total dataset (Fig. 3.37). Basketry/matting clay sealings comprise only 8% of the total dataset with 27 total examples. Other soft media (textiles of leather) are
represented by only five examples, or 2% of the total dataset. Finally, clay sealings of unknown type represent 8% of the dataset with 27 total examples.

III.3. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT: SITES

III.3.1. Lerna (Argolid) (Figs. 3.6-3.15)

Lerna’s stratification and layout are discussed above (II.4.1). Catalogued clay sealings from Lerna include a total of 122 clay sealings reconstructed from 251 fragments impressed with 79 different seal types (B1-B114, Figs. 3.6, 3.8-3.10, 3.14; S1-S75, Figs. 3.7, 311, 3.12, 3.13, 3.15).473 The sealings from Lerna comprise over a third (37%) of the total number of EH clay sealings (Fig. 3.38). In Wiencke’s publication of the clay sealings found in Room XI of the House of the Tiles,474 she estimates that the number of clay sealings from Lerna was 124 individual clay sealings reconstructed from 143 fragments, and in a subsequent publication, she details a further 15 clay sealings and 89 fragments from elsewhere in the House of the Tiles and in other deposits at Lerna.475 Detailed re-analysis of Wiencke’s publication and subsequent re-study of the material by the CMS team and others, however, yields more conservative estimates of 107 individual sealings and 162 fragments for the Room XI material.

Most of the sealings from Lerna come from Room XI in the House of the Tiles (B13-B110, Figs. 3.8-3.10), all of Lerna IIID date, including 19 Type A (18%), 23 Type

473 Wiencke proposes that the eight fragments of B79 comprised 2-4 clay sealings, so the upper limit of the range is used here.
B (22%), 14 Type C (13%), 9 Type D (8%), 25 Type E (23%), 17 unknown type (16%) (Fig. 3.38). Also found in the House of the Tiles is a Type B sealing from Room III (B111) and a Type A sealing from Room VI (B113, Fig. 3.14). In addition, clay sealings were found in earlier (Lerna IIC) deposits, including a bothros sealing used on Bothros GB-4 in Room B of the fortification (B1, Fig. 3.6), nine pithos sealings and one sealing of unknown type from Room DM (B2-B11, Fig. 3.6), and one sealing of unknown type from Room CA (B12, Fig. 3.6). One fragment was found in later (Lerna IV) secondary context in Bothros B-148 (B114, Fig. 3.14).

Bothros GB-4 (Figs. 3.6-3.7)

In Room B of the eastern fortifications comes bothros sealing B1 (Fig. 3.6), which was found in mid-phase IIC Bothros GB-4 in the southeast corner of the room (Fig. 6.1.6). Bothros GB-4 was a clay-lined bothros approximately the same size and shape as a pithos (Fig. 6.1.7).476 Its oval-shaped opening was sealed using a reed mat and clay in the same matter as pithoi in later periods. Several fragments of the bothros sealing (B1a-g) were impressed with a spiral design (S1) and thirteen unimpressed fragments (B1h) were found in the top layers inside the bothros with a mid-phase IIC deposit.477

Wiencke thinks that bothros GB-4 was used for food storage because of its dimensions, clay lining, and the hardened clay rim at the top that was covered with reeds before the clay sealings were applied.478 The pottery from the top of bothros GB-4

476 Wiencke 2000: 118-9, Section I. Bothros GB-4: H. 1.01 m., D. 0.30 m., Diam. 0.57 x 0.47 m.
477 B1a-h: L7.2-22; Lot A 429; CMS V 043; Wiencke 2000: 118-119, 425.
includes sauceboats, saucers, and a basin, all in good condition.\footnote{GB-4 assemblage: Lot A29; Wiencke 2000: 425-429, P715-P728, Figs. II.40-2.} These vessels appear to represent a closed assemblage of tableware that was stored on a shelf above the bothros, as one vessel was intact and so could not have fallen far, as Wiencke notes.\footnote{Wiencke 2000: 119.} This group includes two dark-painted sauceboats and two dark-painted saucers that were made by the same hand. Additional sherds were found within the bothros that include more saucers and basins, as well as bowls, jars, and jugs.

\textit{Room DM} (Figs. 3.6-3.7)

In late phase IIIC, Building BG was still standing, the fortifications were expanded with the addition of Tower A and wall W-70, and the area between the gateway to the fortifications and Building BG was paved (Fig. 6.1.8). This paved pathway was flanked by House CA and Room DM, which stood just inside the gateway through the fortifications. Room DM is a partially preserved structure, represented by walls W-102, W-103, W-104, and the floor in the northeast corner (Fig. 6.1.9).\footnote{Wiencke 2000: 139-144, Plan 26.} Its full extent is unknown, but a possible wall (DI) found west of Room DM may represent its western edge, leaving a corridor approximately 1.60 m. wide between House CA and Room DM.\footnote{Wiencke 2000: 140.} Few fragments of tile and schist were recovered, so the roof of Room DM was not tiled like Room CA. The evidence for sealing practices from Room DM includes several pithos sealings (\textbf{B2-B12}, Fig. 3.6) and roller-impressed pithoi (\textbf{C2.18, C2.30}, Figs. 4.13-4.14).
The assemblage from Room DM indicates that the space was used for the storage, preparation, and consumption of food (Fig 6.1.21).\textsuperscript{483} It includes many intact but inverted vessels that perhaps fell from shelves along the northern and western edges of the room, suggested by the presence of postholes there and the thick layer of ash across the floor. In the layer of debris in Room DM were found sherds of a cooking bowls, bowls, jugs, jars, an askos, and fragments of roller-impressed pithoi (\textbf{C2.18, C2.30}, Figs. 4.13-4.14). A mass of stones in the northwest corner of the room probably is the remains of a platform for shelving to store the numerous intact vessels found there. Among the vessel types were a jug, pedestaled bowls, sauceboat, pyxis with an animal head protome, saucers, basin, and fruitstand.\textsuperscript{484} A possible hearth north of the east pithos and carbonized lentils were also found in the room, along with deposits of millstones, grinding stones, bronze blades, obsidian blades, chert sickles, bone tools (including an awl), and a spindle whorl. Impressions of grape seeds were found on a vessel sherd and some sealing fragments, and impressions of barley and oats were also identified.\textsuperscript{485}

While tableware seems to have been stored along the northern wall, storage containers were found along the eastern wall. The nearly intact “east pithos”\textsuperscript{486} was found along the eastern wall set into the floor, while only the ring base of the nearby “west pithos”\textsuperscript{487} was preserved, also set into the floor. Neither pithos was roller-impressed. In and around the west pithos and under a basin to the north were found numerous

\textsuperscript{484} Wiencke 2000: 434-448.
\textsuperscript{485} Wiencke 2000: 142.
\textsuperscript{486} East pithos: L.752; Wiencke 2000: 448, P843, Fig. II.51, Pl. 15.
\textsuperscript{487} West pithos: L.1357; Wiencke 2000: 441, P811, Fig. II.51.
fragments of clay sealings (B2\textsuperscript{488} of unknown type, Fig. 3.6) with impressions from two seals, a rosette (S2, Fig. 3.7) and loop (S3, Fig. 3.7) design, with impressions of a pithos rim and reed mat secured by a cord on the sealing’s reverse. Immediately north of the west pithos was found a fragmentary jar with remains of unidentified grain and a pithos sealing B5\textsuperscript{489} (Fig. 3.6) impressed with a cross design (S6, Fig. 3.7). Fragments of pithos sealing B6\textsuperscript{490} (Fig. 3.6), which was impressed with a spiral design (S7, Fig. 3.7), were found around the east pithos. Fragments of other clay sealings were found throughout Room DM, including six pithos sealings: B3\textsuperscript{491} impressed with a spiral design (S4, Fig. 3.7), and B7\textsuperscript{492} (Fig. 3.6), B8\textsuperscript{493} (Fig. 3.6), B9,\textsuperscript{494} B10,\textsuperscript{495} and B11,\textsuperscript{496} all of which were impressed but the designs on which were not preserved. In addition a clay sealing of unknown type B4\textsuperscript{497} (Fig. 3.6) was impressed with a trefoil design (S5).

The evidence for sealing practices from Room DM is substantial. Eight different clay sealings, two roller-impressed pithoi (C2.18, C2.30, Figs. 4.13-4.14), and potter’s marks on several vessels from Room DM\textsuperscript{498} together point to food storage in the room, a


\textsuperscript{489} 5a-j: L5.719, L5.724, L5.727, L5.728, L5.729, L5.731, L5.744, L5.745, L5.910, L5.910; Lots G 141-145; CMS V 048; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{490} B6a-b: L5.738, L5.916; Lots G 141-145; CMS V 049; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{491} B3: L5.739; Lots G 141-145; CMS V 046; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{492} B7: L5.740; Lots G 141-5; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{493} B8: L5.741; Lots G 141-5; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{494} B9: L5.742; Lots G 141-5; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{495} B10: L5.913; Lots G 141-5; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{496} B11a-e: L5.733, L5.914, L5.915, L5.917, L5.909; Lots G 141-5; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{497} B4: L5.718. Lots G 141-145; CMS V 047; Wiencke 2000: 142.

\textsuperscript{498} These include a cross on pedestal bowl P835; a bident on pedestal bowl P834; a cross on basin P807; a cross on basin P808; parallel lines on cooking bowl P837.
hypothesis that finds support in the botanical evidence. While the assemblage is largely domestic, Wiencke argues that the sealing evidence met a “need for identification of some sort within the community”, and that Room DM was used by a group larger than a nuclear family.\[499\]

Destructions at the end of Lerna late phase IIIC destroyed House CA and Room DM and the fortifications, which were not rebuilt in the succeeding IIID phase but were apparently left in ruins while the House of the Tiles was in use. The House of the Tiles was not the only structure on the mound during IIID, however, as House 113 (built over the ruins of Building BG), House 117, House 119, and Wall W-133 were standing at this time.\[500\]

**Room CA (Figs. 3.6-3.7)**

House CA is located immediately east of the gate with its southern wall bonded to the fortification wall, from which three square-shaped, axially arranged rooms extended toward where Building BG stood at the top of the mount (Fig. 6.1.10). The presence of deposits of ash and carbonized botanical matter, as well as the frequency of schist tile fragments among the debris, indicate that House CA had a tiled roof and was destroyed by fire, like the nearby contemporary corridor house Building BG.\[501\]

The fire that destroyed House CA preserved an assemblage of both storage and dining vessels and botanical remains in Room CA, the largest and southernmost room that bonded to the fortifications, which suggest that the structure was used for food

\[499\] Wiencke 2000: 143.
\[500\] Wiencke 2000: 213, Plan 8.
storage, preparation, and consumption. In the southern area of Room CA was found a securely dated late IIIC floor deposit with several intact drinking and eating vessels. From the center of the room came a cluster of relatively intact pottery that included two stacked saucers, nearby to which was found a mass of carbon, perhaps the remnants of a burnt wood table or shelf or a basket, from which carbonized wheat, einkorn, and emmer seeds were recovered. Immediately to the west stood an oval-shaped construction built of stones and large pottery sherds, likely an oven or hearth. In the southwest corner were found three sauceboats and twelve saucers (five of which were stacked), a spoon, obsidian blades and scrapers, a mortar, and a spherical ground stone tool. Also from the southwest corner but in the upper debris at levels above the floor deposit, was found a fragment of B12 that had impressions of a reed mat on its reverse. From the eastern part of Room CA came seal-impressed “loomweight” C10.1 (Fig. 4.47), which was found along with a spouted jar, sauceboat, one large and one small jar, and a spouted bowl, a basin, a fruitstand, a stone pestle, stone pounder, obsidian blade, a pig’s tusk, a spindle whorl, a terracotta weight, and the carbonized remains of peas, lentils, and beans. Another substantial deposit of beans and peas was found in the northern part of the room.

The overall distribution of finds in Room CA demonstrates that pottery was stored along the southern wall, tableware in the southwest corner, with those vessels closest to

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503 B12: L4.320; Lot G 29; CMS V 050; Wiencke 2000: 137.
the wall found intact or nearly intact, perhaps sheltered by the walls themselves from the
roof collapse evidenced by piles of schist fragments found throughout the room.505

*House of the Tiles (Room XI) (Figs. 3.8-3.13)*

The House of the Tiles, the best preserved EH corridor house, was constructed in
phase IIID, or the late EH IIB period (Fig. 6.1.12).506 It faced the same paved courtyard
as did its predecessor, Building BG, above which it was built, though at a different
orientation (Fig. 6.1.13). Few artifacts were recovered from inside the House of the
Tiles,507 with the pottery representing mostly IIIC shapes.508 The House of the Tiles was
short lived before its catastrophic destruction by fire, given the low volume of material
recovered inside, and may have been cleared out after its destruction.509

The House of the Tiles was built of unbaked mudbrick atop a stone socle with a
timber framework that supported its namesake tiled roof. It is reconstructed as
rectangular in plan, measuring approximately 25 x 12 m., with two sets of axially
arranged rectangular rooms fronted by vestibules (Rooms VI & V, Rooms XII and XIII)
with two entrances on the eastern and western sides. These central rooms were divided by
a small room (Room VII) and flanked by long corridors (Rooms III, I, X, IX, and VIII)

507 Wiencke notes that only 45 bags of sherds were recovered from the House of the
Tiles, excluding the 29 vessels from Room XI, but 11 bags of sherds and 30 inventories
vessels were recovered from Room CA, which is one-tenth the size of the House of the
Tile in terms of floor space (4.5 m.² compared to 200 m.²) (Wiencke 2000: 302).
508 It is impossible to distinguish between late phase IIIC and phase IIID outside of this
structure (Wiencke 2000: 125, 213).
509 Wiencke 2000: 301. Caskey argued that the House of the Tiles was destroyed before
construction was finished (Caskey 1958: 129), while Pullen argues that it was under
renovation at the time of its destruction (Pullen 1985: 252).
that served as placements for stairways to the reconstructed upper storey.\textsuperscript{510} Its thick walls (up to a 1.00 m. in places) would have supported a second storey and the tiled roof evidenced by the masses of clay and schist roof tiles recovered from throughout the thick layers of destruction debris.\textsuperscript{511} The main entrance was located on the eastern side which opened into a vestibule (Room XIII) that communicated with the heart of the structure, Room XII. This room is interpreted as a reception hall or hearth room because it is the largest room, boasted a large circular or horseshoe-shaped hearth,\textsuperscript{512} had an entrance wider than the western entrance, faces onto the paved courtyard to the east, and is architecturally elaborated with combed plastered walls. Two small storage rooms (Rooms I and XI) were accessible only from the exterior of the building.

The evidence for sealing practices from the House of the Tiles comes from the largest and best preserved deposit of clay sealings attested in the EH period. Room XI is one of the small storage spaces accessed only from the exterior of the structure, located along the southern side of the building.\textsuperscript{513} Room XI had unplastered walls with visible mudbricks and stone courses, but the floor was yellow clay like the rest of the building. A thick layer of burnt debris extended across the room, and many clay sealings fragments were found in this debris. Rectangular postholes were found in all four corners of the room, ranging between approximately 0.30-0.50 m. in size and so substantial enough to have supported large wooden shelves.\textsuperscript{514} These shelves may have held the large volume

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\textsuperscript{510}Wiencke 2000, Figs. I.105-I.107a.
\textsuperscript{512}The hearth from Room XII in the House of the Tiles (P1006) was not roller-impressed or stamp-impressed, and so is not included in the catalogue. It measured approximately 0.74 m. in diameter (Wiencke 2000: 472, Fig. II.60).
\textsuperscript{514}Wiencke 2000: 234.
of complete vessels found in the room, including twenty-two saucers (though more were not inventoried), eight sauceboats, bowls, basins, ladle, jugs, jars, and a single pithos rim.\textsuperscript{515} Several vessels were found inverted on the floor, which Wiencke interprets as evidence that they fell from shelves above.\textsuperscript{516} Also from Room XI come 174 fragments of clay sealings (B13-111, Figs. 3.8-3.10)\textsuperscript{517} with impressions from 70 different seal designs

\textsuperscript{516} Wiencke 2000, Fig. I.69.
(S9-S73, Figs. 3.11-3.13) (Table 2).\textsuperscript{518} Most fragments from Room XI were impressed with loop designs (B13, S9; B14, S10; B18, S13; B19, S14; B20, S15; B26, S19; B27, S20; B28-B29, S21; B30, S22; B31-B32, S23; B33, S24; B36, S27; B37, S28; B39, S30; B40, S31; B41-B42, S32; B43-B45, S33; B47-B48, S35; B49, S36; B51, S38; B58, S44; B95, S73; Figs. 3.8-3.11, 3.13), including loops with swastikas (B15-B16, S11, Figs 3.8, 3.11), spiders (figural) (B17, S12, Fig. 3.8, 3.11), trefoils (B21, S16; B22, S17; B23-B25, S18; B35, S26; Figs. 3.8, 3.11), spirals (B34, S25; B38, S29; Figs 3.8, 3.11), and three-leafed motifs (B52-B53, S39; B54, S40; B55, S41; B56, S42; B57, S43; Figs. 3.9, 3.12).

Other fragments were impressed with trefoil designs (B71, S54; B72, S55; B73-B75, S56; B76, S57; B77, S58; B76-B79, S59; Figs. 3.9, 3.12-3.13), spirals (B68, S51; B69, S21; B70, S53; Figs. 3.9, 3.13), cross designs (B46, S34; B91, S70; Figs. 3.9-3.10, 3.12-3.13), swastikas (B52-B53, S50; Figs. 3.9, 3.12), circles (B83, S62; B84, S63; Figs. 3.10, 3.13), figural designs including instruments (B80, S60, Fig. 3.12) and spiders (B81, S61, S63, S64).

\textsuperscript{518} Wiencke 2000: 234-6; Heath 1958: 81-120.
Figs. 3.10, 3.13), linear designs (B89-B90, S69; B93, S71; Figs. 3.10, 3.13), and other designs (B50, S37; B85, S65; B86, S66; B87, S67; B88, S68; B92, S64; B94, S72; Figs. 3.9-3.11, 3.13). Some designs include motifs from both groups, such as swastikas and three-leafed motifs (B61-B66, S47; B67, S49; Figs. 3.9, 3.12), trefoils and three-leafed motifs (B59, S45; B61-B66, S48; Figs. 3.9, 3.12), trefoils and spirals (B60, S46, Figs. 3.9, 3.13), and vessel (figural) and trefoil motifs (B68, S59; Figs. 3.9, 3.12). In addition, there were several fragments without impressions (B101, B104-B111, Figs. 3.10) and fragments without preserved impressions (B96-B100, B102-B103, B114, Figs. 3.10, 3.14).

Wiencke lists several findspots for the sealings in the room according to the excavation notebooks (Field Notebook XI: 69-109), in which the precise findspots were not always indicated. Those noted include: in the debris above the floor, near and in the doorway, together with sherds and animal bones, on the floor between fallen bricks and the north wall, near the west wall near the floor, and in the northeast corner. Most were documented as coming from the layer of carbonized material that extended across the entire room rather than on the floor itself. Their distribution within the room and presence in the destruction debris demonstrates that they were greatly disturbed and mixed up in the fire that destroyed Room XI. Wiencke argues that some of the clay sealings may have been broken before the fire, since joining fragments have differential burning patterns. The sealings may have broken, however, during the destruction when they fell from the shelves along with vessels and sealed goods, and were then burnt after

519 Wiencke 2000: 234.
the fall. Weingarten argues that rather than wooden shelves, the wooden supports around the perimeter of Room XI were supports for a storeroom on the second story, a “strongroom” where silver was stored by the community for exchanges with the Anatolian traders, she surmises.\textsuperscript{522}

There is some disagreement about whether the clay sealings were attached to goods stored in Room XI or in the space above it. The fact that many of the clay sealings were found in the burnt debris rather than on the floor would support this claim. Yet Wiencke argues that sealed goods were stored in Room XI on the floor because of the presence of clay sealings on it, as well as on wooden shelves around the room, whose burnt remains contributed to the debris layers from which many of the sealings were recovered.\textsuperscript{523} She further argues that if the clay sealings had fallen from an upper storey they would have been more scattered. The fact that so many complete vessels were found, in one case fully intact, indicates that they did not fall far, perhaps only from shelves within the room. The clay sealings, and the containers they sealed, most likely originated in Room XI rather than a hypothetical storage space on the second storey above it.

Room XI thus seems to have been used for the storage of food, drinking and serving vessels, cooking vessels, and storage vessels. Wiencke identifies the hands of at least three different potters among the ceramic assemblage from Room XI. She proposes that the high volume of pottery and clay sealings indicate the use of this room by a group larger than a nuclear household.\textsuperscript{524} The storage capacity of Room XI, however, was

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{522}{Weingarten 1997: 159-160.}
\footnotetext{523}{Wiencke 2000: 234-235.}
\footnotetext{524}{Wiencke 2000: 236.}
\end{footnotes}
limited.\textsuperscript{525} Wiencke estimates that the floor space was only 6 m.\textsuperscript{2} if the room was lined with shelves. Nearly half (42\%) of all sealings from Room XI were affixed to wooden objects, and as few as ten chests or boxes may have contained manufactured goods such as textiles.\textsuperscript{526} Alternatively, they may have been door sealings,\textsuperscript{527} as Maran and Kostoula demonstrate in a detailed re-study of the wooden object sealings from Room XI.\textsuperscript{528} Wiencke proposes that only 5-6 individual vessels were sealed by the jar neck sealings, and a similar number of jar mouth sealings, each of which was only 10.0-10.5 cm. in diameter, and suggests also that jar neck and mouth sealings may have been applied to the same vessels.\textsuperscript{529} While the room would not have been large enough to accommodate numerous large-scale storage vessels, at least one pithos (P1136) and 5-12 sealed jars were stored in Room XI. Impressions of grape, einkorn, and emmer seeds on some of the sealings demonstrates that food storage took place there, as do the faunal remains of sheep/goat, pig, cattle, hare, and mollusks. Basket with clay sealings affixed to them may have been stored on the floor or also on the wooden shelves that lined the room.

Consideration of the storage possibilities in Room XI therefore makes the suggestion that the goods sealed by the clay sealings could not fit in the room, and thus the argument that the sealings were either an administrative archive or had fallen from a storeroom on the second storey, not convincing.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{525} Pullen 1994: 45; Wiencke 2000: 302.  
\textsuperscript{528} Maran and Kostoula 2014.  
\textsuperscript{529} Heath 1958: 97-98.}
House of the Tiles (Room III) (Fig. 3.14-3.15)

Another clay sealing from inside the House of the Tiles, B112 (Fig. 3.14) was a wooden object (peg) sealing impressed with a cross design (A74, Fig. 2.5). B112 was “unlike any from Room XI” and was found in Room III, a corridor and stair placement located on the northern side of the building, during cleaning of its floor. Little was recovered from Room III apart from isolated pottery sherds from “phase IIIC or earlier” that were not catalogued, a bone awl, an obsidian bladelet, some faunal remains, and a few burnt fragments of wood that probably are the remains of stair supports. Wiencke argues that it may represent a IIIC-D example because it was found associated with IIIC sherds.

House of the Tiles (Room VI) (Fig. 3.14-3.15)

Wooden object (pole) sealing B113 (Fig. 3.14), which was impressed with a loop design (S75, Fig. 2.12), was recovered from Room VI in the House of the Tiles, the western counterpart of the hearth room (Room VIII), which had the same kind of yellow clay floor and combed plaster walls. Room VI was apparently used for domestic purposes, including spinning and eating, but apparently had been cleared out at the time of the destruction. The thick deposit of ash and carbonized material, including large pieces of carbonized wood in the southeast corner, probably are the remains ceiling
beams. B113 (Fig. 3.14) was found near the stairway in the southeast corner of the room. No complete vessels were recovered from Room VI, but sherds of late phase IIIC-D types were found, along with a spindle whorl, arrow-shaft straightener, a possible clay figurine leg, obsidian bladelet, a millstone, a bone awl, and a bone fibula.

Bothros B-148

In addition, a clay sealing on unknown type without a legible impression, B114 (Fig. 3.14), was found in the area of Building W-153 in Bothros B-148 (Fig. 6.1.18). Though in an early phase IV.3 deposit, it is almost certainly an EH II “cast-up” from the IIIC or IIID phase. No other EH III clay sealings are known at the site, and this sealing closely resembles the hundreds of EH II clay sealings. Though of an undetermined type and illegible impressed seal design, its preserved impression diameter (3.6 cm.) compares closely to the upper range of seal impressions from Room XI (Table 2).

III.3.2. Tiryns (Argolid) (Figs. 3.16-3.17)

The stratification and layout of Tiryns are described above (II.4.2). Five clay sealings were found at Tiryns (B115-B119, Fig. 3.16), all from secondary settlement contexts. Most of the clay sealings from Tiryns were found during Kilian’s excavations in the Unterburg in 1976-1985, which uncovered several phases of EH occupation: EH IIA (early) (Horizont 1-4), EH IIB (late) (Horizont 7a-8a), EH II-III “Übergangshorizont” (Horizont 9), and EH III (Horizont 10-13) (Figs. 1.5, 6.2.2). The structures found are only

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534 Wiencke 2000: 225.
535 B114: L6.326; Lot BE 357; Banks 2013: 249, Plans 23, 33.
partially preserved and no finds can be assigned with any certainty to a particular structure. Publication of the clay sealings indicates that they come from EH II levels.

A wooden object (pole) sealing impressed with a spiral (triskelion) design (S78), B117, was found in the Unterburg during Kilian’s excavations in EH II levels in grid square LXII 38, either in Room 177 (Horizont 3-4) of EH IIA date or Rooms 180-185 (Horizont 7a-8a) of EH IIB date. Another clay sealing of undetermined type, B118, with a curvilinear (other) design (S79, Fig. 3.17) was recovered from LXII 38. B119 (Fig. 3.16) is a wooden object (pole) sealing with an impressed loop design (S80, Fig. 3.17) that was found in LXII 45, south of the EH architecture. From an EH III context but dated to EH II on the basis of style is B116 (Fig. 3.16), a wooden object (peg) sealing with a spider design (S77, Fig. 3.17) found in LXI 41 in Rooms 178-179 (“Zwinger angeschnittenen Hausresten des FH III”) (Fig. 6.2.3). B115 (Fig. 3.16) is a basketry/matting sealing with a figural (spider) design (S76, Fig. 3.17) that was found in an EH II fill west of the Agricultural Prison, with is located southeast of the site.

III.3.3. Asine (Argolid) (Figs. 3.18-3.19)

Asine’s stratigraphy and layout are discussed above (III.4.3). Six sealings were found at Asine (B120-B124, Fig. 3.18), all but one (B121, Fig. 3.18) of which were found in secondary settlement contexts.

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536 B117: LXII 38; CMS VS1B 372.
537 B118: LXII 38; CMS VS1B 372.
538 B119: LXII 45; CMS VS1B 374.
539 B116: Nauplion LXI 41; CMS VS1B 371.
541 B115: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS VS1B 087.
Two clay sealings were found in the accumulation of EH sherds near the eastern side of the Polygonal Wall Terrace on the acropolis, where stone conoid seals A15 (Fig. 2.2) and A16 (Fig. 2.2) were found (see above, II.4.3) (Fig. 6.3.1). Sealing B120 (Fig. 3.18) is a wooden object (pole) sealing with a figural (spider) design (S81, Fig. 3.19), and B122 is a jar (mouth) sealing with a spirals (triskelion) design (S83, Fig. 3.19).

Sealing B121 (Fig. 3.18) is a jar (neck) sealing with a spirals (triskelion) design (S82, Fig. 3.19) that was found in Room 1 of House R on Terrace III (Fig. 6.3.2). Two structures on Terrace III are dated to the EH period, Houses R and S. House R is apsidal in plan and measures approximately 15 x 6 m, and is dated to EH II-III because of the large number of vessels found in closed floor deposits, including numerous jars, beak-spouted jugs, plates, bowls, and pyxides, and bowls. The date of House R is controversial, since many of the vessels are dated to EH II, but four vessels, including a pattern-painted jug, were dated to EH III. Caskey proposes that these vessels were a later intrusion, but Weisshaar dates House R at Asine to early EH

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544 B120: Nauplion 3358; CMS V 519.
545 B122: Nauplion 3361; CMS V 521.
546 B121: Nauplion 8445; CMS V 520.
547 Whether or not House R was apsidal in plan is debated. Pullen observes that the curved wall of down not form a full apse (Pullen 1985: 188-189). Forsén, however, interprets the change in masonry style within the curve of the wall to larger, more carelessly arranged stones as later remodeling of the apse (Forsén 1992: 61-2).
549 Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 158, nos. 5-11, Fig. 159, nos. 1-6, Fig. 160, nos. 1-5.
550 Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 160, no. 5-8.
551 Pullen 1985: 189.
552 Caskey 1960: 301.
III (the “Überganghorizont”) at Tiryns. Pullen and Forsén conclude, on the basis a stratigraphic rather than stylistic analyses, that the EH III material is intrusive, owing to the later MH and LH graves found in and around House R. The EH II date is accepted here, following Pullen and Forsén, so that B121 is dated to EH II.

B123 (Fig. 3.18) is a jar (neck) sealing with a swastika design (S84, Fig. 3.19) that was found in the Lower City on Terrace III (Fig. 6.3.2), a context interpreted as Room 1 of House T. This context is dated to EH II-III, but was re-dated by Nordquist to EH II.

B124 (Fig. 3.18) is another jar (neck) sealing with a figural (scorpion) design (S85, Fig. 3.19) that was found under the southern stretch of Wall 39 in a mixed EH-MH level in the Lower Town (Fig. 6.3.4) with worn sherds and roof tiles and charcoal.

III.3.4. Petri (Corinthia) (Figs. 3.20-3.21)

Petri is located on a low mound in the Corinthia due west of the modern village of Nemea with a view of the surrounding Phlious plain and the passes that connected Corinthia and the Argolid. Rescue excavations at the site in 1995 brought to light an EH settlement that was partially excavated and then re-explored in a second campaign in 1996. The site was approximately 1 ha. in extent with a possible fortification wall, inferred from the numerous field cairns found at the site. Two areas were excavated that

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554 B123: Uppsala As 5163.
555 Weiberg 2010, No. 2, Fig. 4b.
556 Weiberg 2010: 188, no. 16.
557 B124: Uppsala As 3235.
558 Weiberg 2010: 187-8, no. 11.
revealed EH II occupation at the site and a substantial destruction horizon 0.3-0.5 m. deep and consisting of extensive burnt mudbrick, ash, charred wood, clay, and rubble.\textsuperscript{560} The destruction horizon overlay EH IIB structures, discussed in detail below, and was itself overlain by a layer of mostly EH II with some EH III pottery sherds. The destruction horizon is therefore dated to the end of EH IIB.\textsuperscript{561} EH III occupation is unclear, since it is known only from a pit with EH III (Lerna IIII.2) sherds in R 4 and scattered sherds.\textsuperscript{562}

The EH settlement at Petri, though only partially excavated, was small but well organized. The main excavation area is Area I, located 30 m. south of Area II, where EH II structures were found, including four rooms arranged around a small courtyard (Figs. 6.8.1-6.8.2).\textsuperscript{563} The buildings are represented by four rooms, three of which belong to the same structure, House R. House R had walls with stone foundations constructed using the herringbone masonry technique that supported a mudbrick superstructure with white clay plaster, some of which was preserved \textit{in situ}.\textsuperscript{564} Imprints of bundled reeds and timbers were found that may be from timber framing of a roof, since no roof tiles were discovered at the site.\textsuperscript{565} Rooms R 1 and R 3 were each approximately 15 x 25 m.\textsuperscript{2} but it is unclear if the fourth space belonged to the same or a separate structure.\textsuperscript{566} Both the path between R 1 and R 4 and the courtyard were paved with large and carefully arranged limestone slabs, which Kostoula compares with the well-organized settlement layouts at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{560} Kostoula 2000: 136, 2004: 1139.
\item \textsuperscript{561} Kostoula 2000: 137, 2004: 1140.
\item \textsuperscript{562} Kostoula 2004: 1145.
\item \textsuperscript{563} Kostoula 2000: 136, Fig. 1b; 2004: 1137, Pl. 1b.
\item \textsuperscript{564} The floor of R 1 was in places plastered with the same clay white as the walls.
\item \textsuperscript{565} Kostoula 2004: 1139, fn. 16.
\item \textsuperscript{566} Kostoula 2004: 1138. Room R 1 is referred to as Room A-1 in Kostoula 2000.
\end{itemize}
Lithares and Raphina on the mainland and Poliochni on Lemnos and tentatively proposes a communal ("gemeinschaftliche") rather than private function for the buildings. Any interpretation of House R, however, must await further excavation, since only R 1 was fully explored and deep plowing in the areas of R 2 and R 3 and part of R 1 seriously damaged those areas.  

Petri provides one of the most important deposits of evidence for sealing practices in the hundreds of clay sealings sealing fragments, which to date are published only summarily. Kostoula reports that the approximately 255 fragments of clay sealings recovered represent approximately 100 individual clay sealings (B126-B135, Fig. 3.20) that were impressed with 26 different seals (S87-S96, Fig. 3.21). The evidence of sealing practices at Petri come almost exclusively from R 1 in Area II (Fig. 6.8.2), which was sealed by the destruction layer and therefore represents a secure context. Approximately 250 of the clay sealing fragments were found inside R 1, two were collected as surface finds on the first day of excavation in the area, and two further fragments were found in the area immediately adjacent to Area I.

Within R 1, the distribution of the clay sealings is revealing. The largest concentration of 193 fragments was found in the southeast corner in the area of several vessels and at least two pithoi, and another concentration of fragments was found in the southwest corner. Among the fragments in the southwest corner were 49 fragments of vessel sealing B130 impressed with a rosette design (S91, Fig. 3.21). In addition are 27

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570 Kostoula 2000: 144.
571 B130: Nemea S18; R 1.
fragments of a vessel sealing, **B134**,\(^{572}\) which was impressed with a spiral design (\(\text{S95, Fig. 3.21}\)). Twelve fragments were found in the post hole of the inner door between several vessels, including a tube-handled amphora, and a further seven to nine fragments were found inside or immediately surrounding the two large pithoi. The remaining vessel sealings fragments (**B131**\(^{573}\) with a spiral designs [\(\text{S92}\)], **B132**\(^{574}\) with a loop designs [\(\text{S93, Fig. 3.21}\)], and **B133**\(^{575}\) (Fig. 3.20) with a concentric circles designs [\(\text{S94, Fig. 3.21}\)]), were found evenly distributed within the 20 cm. thick deposit of destruction debris. The destruction debris was characterized by frequent inclusions of ash and charcoal that stretched between the southeast and southwest corners of the room, which the excavators interpreted as the burnt remains of shelving that stood along the south wall.

Some of the clay sealings from inside R 1 were found associated with the vessels they sealed, such as the two amphorae from R 1 whose profiles correspond to two clay sealings found in the room.\(^{576}\) One rim sherd has layers of different types of clay that Kostoula argues resulted from successive sealing operations.\(^{577}\) Additionally, four fragments of the clay sealings had seal impressions on both the front and back, one side with negative impressions that may have resulted from fresh clay sealings being applied over older ones.\(^{578}\)

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\(^{572}\) **B134**: Nemea S7; R 1.

\(^{573}\) **B131**: Nemea S2; R 1.

\(^{574}\) **B132**: Nemea S3; R 1.

\(^{575}\) **B133**: Nemea S4; R 1.

\(^{576}\) Kostoula 2000: 139, Figs. 2a-b.

\(^{577}\) Kostoula 2000: 139.

The finds from R 1 suggest that it functioned partially as a storage facility, since it yielded a ceramic assemblage of various drinking and serving vessels with Lerna IIID parallels. Several sauceboat, bowls, pyxides, cups, and other pouring vessels were found in the destruction deposit along the southern wall of R 1 where the clay sealings were found, and so may have been stored on the shelves that stood along the southern wall.\textsuperscript{579}

In addition to liquid storage of oil or wine in pithoi, palaeobotanical evidence from imprints of barley and vine on the clay sealings evidence dry food storage was also practiced in association with sealing in R 1. The presence of numerous wicker and basketry impressions demonstrates the use of wooden containers and baskets to store dry goods.

Food consumption in R 1 is demonstrated by the presence of animals bones, both scattered and in small piles. Textile production is evidenced by spindle whorls, and woodworking by a copper saw found southwest of R 1. Further evidence for production comes from a clay casting mold for the blade of a knife or dagger found in the southeast corner of the room on the floor in front of a pithos, which is unusual in that that type of mold is usually stone with a single casting face while this clay example has two casting faces (stone examples only have one).\textsuperscript{580}

Only one clay sealing was found elsewhere at the site, sealing \textbf{B135}\textsuperscript{581} (Fig. 3.20) which was impressed with a figural design of a quadruped (S\textsuperscript{96}, Fig. 3.12), and was found in Area II 30 m. to the north (Fig. 6.8.2).\textsuperscript{582} A small test trench designated Area II

\textsuperscript{579} Kostoula 2000: 138, fns. 8-10, 2004: 1140-1143.
\textsuperscript{580} Kostoula 2004: 1147.
\textsuperscript{581} \textbf{B135}: Nemea S21; Area II.
\textsuperscript{582} Kostoula 2000: 138, 2004: 1148-1149, fn. 70.
was sunk in the eastern part of the settlement and revealed a series of walls, including a large (1.20 m. wide) double wall running N-S and an associated transverse wall.\textsuperscript{583} The extent and function of this structure, however, remain unknown since the room was not fully excavated and the floor level was not reached. Numerous sherds of EH II pottery were recovered from Area II along with sealing B135 (Fig. 3.20), a bull figurine, and a miniature vessel.

Clay sealing B135 from Area II is unique on the mainland for its impressed seal design, a figural motif of two quadrupeds and a tree or some form of vegetation. Kostoula compares this seal design to Near Eastern suckling scenes on seals.\textsuperscript{584} Although the function of this partially excavated and not well preserved structure remains unknown, the presents of a zoomorphic figuring and the only seal design with figural imagery may point to a special purpose for the building within the site.

Pending full publication of the clay sealings from Petri, it is not possible to provide a detailed analysis of the frequency of clay sealing types for the site. The incomplete publication of the clay sealings from Petri provides no description, dimensions, or typological classification. The others are either pithos or jar sealings. Catalogued examples of clay sealings from Petri are only those included in the publication as examples for describing the seal impressions. Kostoula, however, estimates a total of 100+ clay sealings from 255 fragments impressed with as many as 26 different seals, all of which found in or around Room R 1.\textsuperscript{585} Room R 1 is dated to EH IIB on the basis of ceramic finds, including sauceboats with Lerna IIIC parallels, and was destroyed by fire.

\textsuperscript{583} Kostoula 2000: 136, Fig. 1a, 2004: 1137, Pl. 1a.
\textsuperscript{584} Kostoula 2000: 146-147, 2004: 1150, fn. 88.
\textsuperscript{585} Kostoula 2000: 138.
at the end of the period that destroyed the structure associated with R 1 and preserved the clay sealings.\textsuperscript{586}

According to Kostoula, most sealings from Petri were pithos sealings with impressions of pithos rims and reed coverings on their reverses, with only a few examples of jar neck or mouth (Type C or D ) sealings, one of which is the unique B1\textsuperscript{35} with the quadruped design from Area II, and no examples of Type B sealings.\textsuperscript{587}

Catalogued material from Petri includes representative fragments with nine different seal types (B1\textsuperscript{26}-B1\textsuperscript{35}, Fig. 3.20). The final publication of the Petri material, however, is certain to expand this number.

**III.3.5. Cheliotomylos Hill, Corinth (Corintha) (Figs. 3.22-3.23)**

Cheliotomylos Hill is located west of Ancient Corinth, where ASCSA excavations directed by Shear in 1930 uncovered a deposit of EH II material (Fig. 6.6.1). B1\textsuperscript{25}\textsuperscript{588} (Fig. 3.22) is a clay sealing of undetermined type impressed with a spiral design (S86, Fig. 3.23) that was found at Cheliotomylos Hill in well 193-10 along with skulls, obsidian blades, and pottery.\textsuperscript{589}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{586} Kostoula 2004: 1141, Pl. 2a.
  \item \textsuperscript{587} Kostoula 2000: 138-139, Fig. 2a-b, 2004: 1148, no 70.
  \item \textsuperscript{588} B1\textsuperscript{25}: Corinth MF 13232; CMS VS1A 398.
  \item \textsuperscript{589} Waage 1949: 415, Pl. 63; Corinth Notebook NB 553: 97-98.
\end{itemize}
III.3.6. Geraki (Laconia) (Figs. 3.24-3.25)

Geraki’s stratification and layout are discussed above (see above, II.4.11).

Weingarten records a total of 98 clay sealings reconstructed from 259 fragments (B136-222, Fig. 3.24, 3.26) impressed with 21 different seal types (S97-118, Figs. 3.25-3.27). 590

Trench 17/11i (Storeroom) (Figs. 3.24-3.25)

Excavations at the site in 1997 uncovered part of a storeroom in Trench 17/11i in the northern area of the site (Fig. 6.10.2). Just south of the fortification wall a partially preserved room was revealed, consisting of a wall 0.50 m. wide and oriented N-S and a small, circular stone platform with a pisé stand to the west (Fig. 6.10.3). 591 The area of the storeroom had been leveled in the Classical or Hellenistic periods, but a deposit nearly a meter deep of undisturbed EH IIA material was preserved by the fire destruction. Beneath mudbrick collapse and burnt soil, the the bottom half of an in situ pithos containing the remains of burnt seeds was found set into the pisé structure. 592 In the burnt soil surrounding the pithos were found 179 fragments of clay sealings and 80 small pieces, 48 of which (B136-B171, Fig. 3.24) 593 were stamped with impressions from six

590 I am most grateful for Judith Weingarten’s assistance with the Geraki material.
591 Weingarten et al. 1999: 358.
592 Crouwel et al. 1997, Figs. 4-5, Pl. VI; Weingarten et al. 1999: 358, Fig. 4; Crouwel 2009, Fig. 70.
different seal types (S97-S102, Fig. 3.25). Impressed designs from the storeroom in Trench 17/11i include circles designs (B157-B163, S99, Fig. 3.25), cross designs (B147-B156, S98; B168-B170, S101; Figs. 3.24-3.25), swastikas (B136-B146, S97, Figs. 3.24), concentric circles (B171, S102, Figs. 3.24-3.25), and other designs (B164-B167, Fig. 3.24).

The bottom half of the pithos was well preserved (Fig. 6.10.3), as well as two nearly complete saucers with Lerna IIIC parallels, making this deposit of clay sealings earlier in EH IIB than those from the House of the Tiles at Lerna (IIID). The preservation of the ceramic assemblage supports the interpretation of the material not as a floor deposit, but rather as material that had fallen from above, probably from wooden shelves. This scenario is suggested especially by the preservation of one particular vessel, several burnt fragments of which were found inside the pithos while other unburnt fragments were found to the north. Sealings B152-B157 were not, however, used to seal the pithos found in the storeroom, but rather were used to seal at least five different pithoi that were not recovered. This evidence, when combined with the identification of a variety of seeds and pulses in and around the pithos, establishes that sealings B152-B157 were applied to vessels that had fallen from above. Rim profiles


595 Weingarten et al. 1999, Figs. 5-8.
596 Weingarten et al. 1999: 359.
597 152/SF1, a medium-sized coarse vessel.
598 Weingarten et al. 1999: 360-362.
of five different vessels were reconstructed from the sealing fragments in the storeroom, mostly medium-sized vessels that may have fallen from above.⁵⁹⁹ The sealings were formed from clay of a uniform semi-fine fabric with distinctive micaceous inclusions. One sealing, however, which sealed a vessel of undetermined type, was made of a different clay matrix and the excavators note that it may have been an import.⁶⁰⁰

A total of 102 of the 179 fragments had impressions from objects on their reverses that could be identified, all but four of which were ceramic vessels.⁶⁰¹ Five different vessels were reconstructed from the rim impressions on the sealings, each large storage jars or pithoi.⁶⁰² It is unclear, however, if the pithos found in the area was sealed because its rim was not preserved.⁶⁰³ Two sealings, B164-B165⁶⁰⁴ (Fig. 3.24), were applied to smaller, thin “lid-like” objects that Weingarten argues may have been pyxides, though none were found at the site. Both examples here were sealed with the same seal.⁶⁰⁵ Two joining fragments impressed by the same seal, B169⁶⁰⁶ (Fig. 3.24) may be a stamped lid rather than a clay sealing. They are catalogued here and by the excavator as a sealing despite the uncertainty.⁶⁰⁷ Another sealing, B217,⁶⁰⁸ may be a textile bundle sealing, since its reverse bears woven imprints. Although this sealing also bears imprints of the edge of a rectangular object such as a wooden box, there is no seal impression. Textile

⁵⁹⁹ Weingarten et al. 1999: 362, Fig. 9a-e.
⁶⁰⁰ This vessel is recorded as 162/1/1, a number that does not correspond to any of the published examples in Weinarten et al. 1999.
⁶⁰² Weingarten et al. 1999: 362, Fig. 9a-e.
⁶⁰³ Weingarten 2000: 320, no. 11.
⁶⁰⁴ B164: Sparta 704; CMS VS3 363. B164: Sparta 85/2; CMS VS3 363
⁶⁰⁵ Weingarten 2000: 321, Fig. 7.
⁶⁰⁶ B169: Sparta 83/4; CMS VS3 364.
⁶⁰⁸ B217: Sparta 81/17.
impressions on several fragments (B151, B171, Fig. 3.24) point to an industry for production of fine textiles tentatively identified as linen.\footnote{Weingarten et al. 1999: 371-374, Figs. 20a-b, 22, 2000: 322, Figs. 8-10.}

*Trench 17/13q (Casemate Room) (Figs. 3.24, 3.26)*

The first deposit comes from Trench 17/13q in the Casemate Room in the fortifications discovered in 2002-2003 in the space between E-W Wall 30 and N-S Wall 180 (Fig. 6.10.2).\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 133-135.} The Casemate Room is delimited by Wall 150 to the east and Wall 151 to the west, but its southern extent is unknown since it was cut by Hellenistic Wall 102 and its northern extent by MH Wall 170. The clay floor was mostly eroded, revealing the stone and gravel fill beneath, and the presence of fired mudbrick and stones beneath a layer of ash and burned organic material likely represents debris from roof collapse during the fire destruction of the building.\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 157.} The excavators interpret the various levels at which sherds and collapsed material found in the room as evidence that it gradually silted up, preserving the room’s contents post-destruction.

stamped with 15 different seal impressions (S103-S114, Fig. 3.26) that.  

Most of the fragments from the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q were vessel sealings impressed with circles designs (B172-B175, S103; B176-B177, S104; B178, S105; B179, S106; B180, S107; B181-B182, S108; B183, S109; B184, S110; B185, S111; Figs. 3.24, 3.26), loops (B186-B196, S112, Figs. 3.24, 3.26), angle-filled cross (B197-B198, S113, Fig. 3.26), or other designs (B199, S114, Fig. 3.26).

Like those discovered in 1997, the more recently discovered clay sealings from Geraki were used primarily on large sized storage vessels, perhaps as large as pithoi, the mouths of which were covered with a reed or mat cover before applying the wet clay.  

The profiles of six different such storage vessels were reconstructed from the clay sealing fragments, but no recovered vessels were found to correspond to the rim impressions. In addition to vessel sealings from storage vessels, several clay sealings from different objects were found, none of which bore seal impressions. These include two vessel sealings that impressed a jar neck similar to one impressed by Type C sealings at Lerna (B206 and B207), though the identification of the jar is not certain. Both were impressed with a circles design (S116). In addition, vessel sealings were found with impressions from spouts, B208 and B209, and a handle sealing, B201 (Fig. 3.24), all without seal impressions and all from vessels of unidentified types. Also found in the


614 Weingarten et al. 2011: 143.
615 Weingarten et al. 2011: 140-141.
616 Weingarten et al. 2011, Fig. 8a-f.
617 B206: Sparta 4280/SF4A. B207: Sparta 4280/SF4B.
618 B208: Sparta 4258/SF1.
620 B201: Sparta 1457/SF2.
Casemate Room was a clay sealing with no impressed designs that was applied on the edge of a small wooden box secured with cord or leather strips, B200⁶²¹ (Fig. 3.24), and another possible textile sealing, B211.⁶²²

The sealings were associated with three storage pithoi, one of which contained the charred remains of grass peas.⁶²³ The three pithoi were found in situ with their bases set into the floor, and an associated floor deposit included a fruitstand, two ring-base bowls, and four saucers, with two additional saucers found inside two of the pithoi.⁶²⁴ The rest of the pottery, including a duck askos, was found in collapse and so was apparently stored on wooden shelves. The pottery assemblage is EH IIB in date and includes a mix of coarse and fine ware identified as primarily local productions. The fruitstand was decorated with a distinctive local ridges tactile decoration.⁶²⁵ The excavators interpret the range of shapes as evidence for “storage and manipulation of dry goods or liquids” taking place in the Casemate Room.⁶²⁶

The distribution of the sealings in the Casemate Room of the fortifications is concentrated around the two large pithoi in the northern and western areas of the room (Fig. 6.10.4). The sealings were found to have closed mostly large storage vessels, the mouths of which were covered with a woven mat or textile before wet clay was smeared over them and then sealed.⁶²⁷ Vessel profiles from large jar sealings, however, do not match any of the preserved vessels found in the same room.

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⁶²¹ B200: Sparta 1744/SF3.
⁶²² B211: Sparta 3049/SF2.
⁶²³ Crouwel 2009:69.
⁶²⁵ Weingarten et al. 2011:137.
⁶²⁷ Weingarten et al. 2011: 140-141.
Trench 17/12p and Trench 17/12l (Figs. 3.24, 3.27)

More clay sealings were found in Field 17 in the same general area as the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q and the storeroom Trench 17/11i, but in less secure contexts in EH IIB structures in Trench 17/12p and Trench 17/12l.

In Trench 17/12p, located immediately west of the substantial EH IIB wall where seal A27 (Fig. 2.4) was found, a room with equally substantial walls was discovered (Fig. 6.10.1). This room is located only 2 m. southwest of the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q, but did not communicate directly with it. The room was destroyed in EH IIB and disturbed by later MH building activity, so the stratigraphic context of the sealings found there is difficult to identity. In this room but in a level above the floor were found two fragments of vessel sealings, B204 and B205, neither of which bore seal impressed but the first of which had preserved rope impressions on the reverse. The sealing fragments were found in a cobble layer with ashy soil and frequent animal bone inclusions that contained much MH pottery, and it is unclear of the sealings belong to the EH IIB collapse of the Casemate Room to the northeast or to MH activity in the area. Also from Trench 17/12p came vessel sealings B202 and B203, both of which were impressed with a loop design (S115, Fig. 3.27) and were found in the fill of the floor for a

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628 B204: Sparta 6318/SF1A.
629 B205: Sparta 6318/SF1B.
630 Another possible sealing fragment was found in the same context, but its identification is uncertain because it was not impressed with a seal nor did it bear rope impressions. Cf. Weingarten et al. 2011: 160, no. 38.
632 B202: Sparta 6290/SF2B.
633 B203: Sparta 6290/SF2A.
Classical or Hellenistic structure 0.60 m. above the EH II structure. The seal design on B202-3 was not found in the Casemate Room, however, so the excavators suggest that this sealing may have originated from elsewhere on the site.\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.}

Another room with substantial EH IIB walls was discovered in Trench 17/12l, located 25 m. west of the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q and 12 m. northeast of the storeroom in Trench 17/11i (Fig. 6.10.2). A deposit of EH IIB destruction debris was found in a thin layer on a floor abutting Wall 26 to the east, and the remains of an EH II room stood in this area to which an unimpressed sealing of undetermined type, B210,\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 160, no. 40.} may belong, since it “was found in the excavation dump from this area”.\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.} One or two fragments of B211,\footnote{B211: Sparta 3049/SF2.} another unstamped sealing with textile impressions, was found in a patch of rubble fill in Wall 30 of the fortifications, representing later (probably Archaic) repairs, along with the rim of an EH II pithos.\footnote{Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.}

\textit{Other Deposits}

Yet more clay sealings come from two clusters that were also found in the northwest area of Field 17 in less secure stratigraphic contexts than the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q or the storeroom in Trench 17/11i. The first cluster of clay sealings was found in the area of Trench 17/13g, where two unimpressed jar sealings, B212\footnote{B212: Sparta 4670/SF2.} and
B213,\(^{640}\) were found in plow zone near the surface.\(^{641}\) The excavators suggest that because these sealing fragments were better preserved than pottery from the plow zone, which is generally very worn, they were probably churned up during later activity in Field 17. Vessel sealing B216,\(^{642}\) the unusual impressed design of which is classified in the other design group (S118, Fig. 3.27), was found nearby in Trench 17/13h in a context that was much disturbed by a robbing trench of Hellenistic or perhaps later date.

The second cluster of sealings includes five sealing fragments that were found in “wash levels covering two Hellenistic rooms” in Trench 17/13i and Trench 17/12j.\(^{643}\) From Trench 17/13i come two unstamped vessel sealings, B214\(^{644}\) and B215,\(^{645}\) found north of Wall 10 of a Hellenistic house in a deposit characterized by a distinctive red clay soil matrix indicative of decayed mudbrick. Two non-joining fragments from a small jar sealing impressed with a circles design (S116), B206\(^{646}\) and unstamped fragment B207,\(^{647}\) were found in the same red deposit north of Wall 10 in Trench 17/12j, along with B208\(^{648}\) and B209,\(^{649}\) two unimpressed sealings from small jar spouts. The excavators suggest that this red deposit represents the eroded collapse of the EH II fortification walls or nearby structures.\(^{650}\)

\[^{640}\text{B213: Sparta 4461/SF1.}\]
\[^{641}\text{Weingarten et al. 2011: 161.}\]
\[^{642}\text{B216: Sparta 452/SF1.}\]
\[^{643}\text{Weingarten et al. 2011: 161.}\]
\[^{644}\text{B214: Sparta 4187/SF2.}\]
\[^{645}\text{B215: Sparta 4214/SF1.}\]
\[^{646}\text{B206: Sparta 4280/SF4A.}\]
\[^{647}\text{B207: Sparta 4280/SF4B.}\]
\[^{648}\text{B208: Sparta 4258/SF1.}\]
\[^{649}\text{B209: Sparta 1702/SF4.}\]
\[^{650}\text{Weingarten et al. 2011: 161.}\]
III.3.7. Bozas (Laconia) (Fig. 3.28)

Bozas is located on the small peninsula of Bozas north of the Xyli promontory on the western coast of the Malea peninsula in Laconia. The site was surveyed by Waterhouse and Hope in the 1950s and later by Banou in 1990-1994. Recent excavations at the site by Zavvou revealed a partially preserved EH II building where a fire destruction preserved storage jars and pithoi in situ. B223 (Fig. 3.28) a clay sealing of unknown type with a loop design (S119), was also preserved in conflagration. Other finds from the room include dark-painted saucers and jars with finger impressions as well as Geraki ware.

III.3.8. Akovitika (Messenia) (Figs. 3.31-3.32)

Akovitika is located approximately 4 km. northwest of Kalamata on the northern coast of the Messenian Gulf. Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service under Themelis and Karagioga in 1969-1971 uncovered two EH II corridor houses, Megaron A and Megaron B. These corridor houses closely resemble Building BG and the House of the Tiles at Lerna in their layout, and are date to EH IIB. Megaron A, however, did not have a tiled roof, so far as we know. Other monumental structures at the site include Building D to the north and Building E to the east, as well as a possible third corridor house in Area Γ to the south of Megaron B (Fig. 6.12.1).

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653 B223: Sparta 15774.
654 Zavvou 2012: 18-19, Fig. 19.
The building complex in Area Γ consists of Walls 1 (1.0 m. wide), Wall 2 (0.6 m. wide) with part of a limestone staircase preserved) and double Walls 3 (1.1 and 1.2 m. wide). The walls are not fully preserved, but their width, the partially preserved limestone staircase against Wall 2, and the narrow space between Walls 3 that resembles the corridors in Megara A and B together suggest that these walls are the ruins of another corridor house, but they cannot be closely dated.

**B224** (Fig. 3.29) is a basketry/matting sealing with a loop design (**S120**, Fig. 3.30) that was found in the south Area Γ between the stone of Wall II.**660**

**III.3.9. Ayios Dhimitrios (Elis) (Fig. 3.31)**

Ayios Dhimitrios overlooks the Tholon River valley. Zachos excavated the site in 1977-1978 and 1980-1983, revealing EH occupation phase IIa (EH I-II transitional) and IIb (EH IIB) (Fig. 6.13.1).**661**

House A is a large (11.60 m. long), multi-room structure with thick wall (0.65-0.75 m.) that was destroyed by fire at the end of belongs to Phase IIb (EH IIB) (Fig. 6.13.2). While no roof tiles were found inside or around House A, fragment of tiles found elsewhere at the site demonstrate that House A had a tiled roof.**662** In Room I of House A was found obsidian, millstones, and several sherds including an incised askos and a small

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**659** B224: Kalamata 43; CMS VS1A 381.  
**660** Karagiorga 1976: 126, 129.  
**661** Zachos 2008: 50.  
pyxis lid, while Room II yielded animal bones including a boar’s tusk, millstones, obsidian, and sherds including a pithos and sauceboat.  

Sealing B225, a vessel handle sealing with an indistinct design (S119, Fig. 3.31), was found in Room III of House A, only one wall of which (Wall 1a) is preserved. A circular hearth was found in the center of the room made of flat stones filled with burnt soil, in which were found sherds, animal bones, and a flint blade fragment, and a nozzle of a clay bellows was found in its northwest side. A millstone near the hearth was surrounded by sheep/goat bones, sea shells, and crab claws, which were found throughout the room but concentrated in this area. The whole room was covered in thick destruction debris and wall collapse. Some vessels were found upside down and may have fallen off the shelf, including pithoi, basins, jars, baking pans, jugs, fruitstands, bowls and saucers, sauceboats, and pyxides, though it is equally likely that they were stored that way. In the northeast of the room were found clay spindle whorls, two lead spools, and obsidian waste was scattered throughout the room. In the northwest part of the room were found an incised hearth rim and clay sealing B225.

III.3.10. Makronissos (Attica) (Figs. 3.32-3.33)

The small island of Makronissos is located opposite the site of Thorikos on the Attic coast. Excavations by the Belgian School directed by Spitaels in 1981 in collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Service revealed an EH settlement and

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663 Zachos 2008: 64.
664 B225: Olympia unnumbered; CMS VS1B 146.
666 Zachos 2008: 64.
cemetery on the small coastal promontory of Provatsa (Fig. 6.15.1). Three freestanding houses were discovered, only one of which, House B, was excavated (Fig. 6.15.2). Three occupation phases within EH II were identified. Inside the house were found several lead oxide fragments, evidence for metallurgical activity as found in the contemporary metallurgical workshops at Thorikos. Also in House B was B226 (Fig. 3.32), a clay sealing of unknown type with a zigzag design (S122, Fig. 3.33).

III.4. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT: SUMMARY

The distribution of clay sealings is limited almost exclusively to southern Greece (Figs. 3.38-3.39). The majority of EH clay sealings come from only three main deposits in southern Greece: Lerna in the Argolid, Geraki in Laconia, and Petri in the Corinthia. Smaller deposits were found elsewhere in southern Greece, including Tiryns and Asine in the Argolid, Corinth in the Corinthia, Bozas in Laconia, Akovitika in Messenia, Ayios Dhimitrios in Elis, as well as two examples from central Greece from Makronissos in Attica.

More than a third of the dataset (37%) comes from Lerna, with nearly equal numbers from both Geraki (29%) and Petri (30%) (Fig. 3.38). Full publication of the Petri material and the forthcoming publication of more Geraki sealings will, however, increase these numbers. A handful of clay sealings were found at other sites, including Tiryns and Asine (2% each), and a single example each at Bozas, Akovitika, Ayios Dhimitrios, and Corinth.

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668 B226: Lavrion MA 190; CMS VS1B 033.
669 Spitaels 1982: 158.
Dhimitrios, and Makronissos. Almost all clay sealings, fully 99% of the them, therefore come from southern Greece (Fig. 3.39). Most come from the Argolid (39%) because of the Lerna assemblage, Corinthia (30%) because of the Petri assemblage, and Laconia (30%) because of the Geraki assemblage, with two examples from Messenia and one each from Elis and Attica.

The depositional context of EH clay sealings shows that they all come from settlement contexts. Each of the three major assemblages (Lerna, Petri, Geraki) were found in rooms with associated assemblages for the storage, preparation, and serving of food.

Lerna provides the most robust evidence for EH sealing practices. Hundreds of clay sealings were found within Room XI of the House of the Tiles itself in EH IIB (Lerna IIID) deposit associated with a substantial ceramic assemblage of drinking and serving vessels, apparently stored in the room, as well as animal bones. It is unclear if the objects sealed were also stored in Room XI, however, since wooden object and basketry/matting sealings were found (see above, III.I). Earlier deposits of clay sealings from IIIC contexts, including a bothros sealing in Room B, a sealing of unknown type in Room CA, and pithos sealing in Room DM.

The second substantial deposit of clay sealings is from Geraki, where jar sealings were found in the Casemate Room in Trench 17/13q and the storeroom in Trench 17/11i, both of which were associated with food storage. Other sealings were found in poorly preserved rooms belonging to EH IIB buildings with substantial walls, but not in primary contexts with associated assemblages. The deposits of clay sealings are all dated to EH IIB. The fact that no sealing fragments were found in EH IIB destruction deposits in the
southern area of the site, not even in a storage area with nearly intact pithoi,\textsuperscript{671} prompted the excavators to argue that no sealing operations took place there.\textsuperscript{672}

The evidence for sealing from Geraki most closely parallels the earliest evidence for sealing at Lerna in Phase IIIC. The storeroom in Trench 17/11i is like Room CA at Lerna in that it is built up against the fortifications and was used for storage of agricultural products in pithoi and sealed vessels, and its assemblage recalls that of Room DM.\textsuperscript{673} While both Room CA and Room DM were Lerna IIIC in date, and therefore contemporary with the storeroom in Trench 17/11i at Geraki, since the two saucers found there most closely parallel those assigned to Lerna IIIC.\textsuperscript{674} Additionally, the manner of pithos sealing evidenced at Geraki closely parallels the use of woven (reed or wicker) mats for pithos sealing at Lerna.

In addition to reinforcing the association of seal use with food storage and preparation, the important finds of clay sealings from Petri demonstrate that the use of clay sealings was a widespread practice even in small, inland sites. The available evidence points to the use of clay sealings and roller-impressed pithoi in association with food storage and consumption in a structure that may have had public or communal functions because of its careful construction and associated paved courtyard and path of R 1. The final publication of the clay sealings and roller-impressed pithoi from Petri will undoubtedly provide valuable insights into EH sealing practices, as the available evidence points to a distinctive local sealing tradition at Petri.

\textsuperscript{671} Trench 19/2a: Crouwel et al. 1997: 54, Pl. II.
\textsuperscript{672} Weingarten et al. 2011: 159, 162.
\textsuperscript{673} Weingarten et al. 1999: 360-361.
\textsuperscript{674} Weingarten et al. 1999, Fig. 8.
In addition to Lerna, Geraki, and Petri, the depositional contexts for the clay sealings from Asine, Bozas and Ayios Dhimitrios were found associated with evidence for food storage and preparation. **B121** (Fig. 3.18) from Asine was found in House R, where a closed floor deposit of numerous jars, jugs, pyxides, and bowls was discovered, while **B223** (Fig. 3.28) from Bozas was found with *in situ* storage jars and pithoi. **B225** (Fig. 3.31) from Ayios Dhimitrios was found in House A, where numerous vessels were found inverted in Room III along with hearth and pithos fragments, millstones, and animal bones.

Clay sealings from uncertain or secondary settlement contexts include **B115-B119** from Tiryns, **B120, B122-B124** (Fig. 3.18) from Asine, and **B125** (Fig. 3.22) from the well at Cheliotomylos Hill, Corinth.

Clay sealings are sometimes associated with evidence for production. **B226** (Fig. 3.32) from Makronissos was found near a location of metallurgical production, as is suggested by the presence of lead oxide fragments. This production site appears to have been more specialized than widespread household production of textiles documented in many EH houses, as at Petri and House A at Ayios Dhimitrios. Because the sealings cannot be securely associated with the production sites, however, seal use cannot be confidently associated with administration and extra-household production of metal or stone objects.
IV. SEAL-IMPRESSED OBJECTS

IV.1. SEAL-IMPRESSED OBJECT TYPOLOGY

Preserved seal-impressed objects include ceramic hearths, pithoi, jars, bowls, pyxides, lids, fruitstands, frying pans, other vessels, and one loomweight (Table 3, Fig. 4.48). Two-thirds of all objects were roller-impressed and one-third stamped (Fig. 4.49).

IV.1.1. Hearths (Figs. 4.1-4.10)

Ceramic hearths are a frequent feature of EH material culture, and are the subject of a recent dissertation by Galligan.\textsuperscript{675} Almost all extant EH hearths studied (91\%) were decorated with impressed or incised designs.\textsuperscript{676} Hearths were wide and shallow, generally between 90-120 cm. in diameter with an average height of 5.6 cm. with a pan just under 2.5 cm. deep, the low rims just over 5.5 cm. wide and either roller-impressed or stamped (Table 3). The roughened undersides of numerous fragments may evidence production of large ceramic hearths by firing them \textit{in situ}.

Ceramic hearths were used for cooking, as is indicated by the presence of ash and animal bones preserved in several examples, including the ashes found in the depression of \textbf{C1.42} (Fig. 4.3) from Lerna, and the association of storage pithoi and serving vessel with hearths at a number of sites.\textsuperscript{677} Non-ceramic hearths, generally stone-lined pits filled with ash and animal bones, were used for the same purposes. The association of hearths with communal feasting is reinforced by the architectural context of large, fixed hearths

\textsuperscript{675} Galligan 2013.
\textsuperscript{676} Galligan 2013, Table 7.1.
\textsuperscript{677} Galligan 2013: 167-169.
in large, so-called hearth rooms\textsuperscript{678} presumably for group gatherings at the Weißes Haus at Kolonna and Megaron A at Berbati.\textsuperscript{679} At Lerna, hearth \textbf{C1.42} was found in a secondary context nearby the hearth room at Building BG, where it was used for some time before the building was cleared for the construction of the House of the Tiles.\textsuperscript{680} In the House of the Tiles, the large Room XII is the expected hearth room but no hearth was found \textit{in situ}, though it may have been moved from the clay-lined depression in the floor of that room.\textsuperscript{681} Galligan proposes that the removal of hearths and their periodic replacement may be related to their special function for specific occasions involving feasts, perhaps with a change in the group or individuals hosting the feasts.\textsuperscript{682}

A total of 71 hearths are catalogued (Table 3, Figs. 4.1-4.10), all but three of which are preserved as fragments from which hearths are reconstructed that were circular in shape, but other curvilinear shapes include oval, keyhole, figure-of-eight, and axe-shaped. Only three examples are complete, one circular example from Building BG at Lerna (\textbf{C1.42}, Fig. 4.3), a second circular example from Poros (\textbf{C1.65}), and a keyhole hearth from Askitario (\textbf{C1.64}, Fig. 4.5). Almost all of the hearth fragment were roller-impressed, though four examples were stamped, all of which were found in Attic and Euboea. These include a circular hearth from Poros (\textbf{C1.65}), two hearths of undetermined shape from Karystos (\textbf{C1.69-C1.70}, Fig. 4.5), and a hearth of undetermined shape from Rouf (\textbf{C1.63}).

\textsuperscript{678} Peperaki 2004a.
\textsuperscript{679} Galligan 2013: 162-171.
\textsuperscript{680} Wiencke 2000: 186-187.
\textsuperscript{681} Wiencke 2000: 241.
\textsuperscript{682} Galligan 2013: 170-1.
More than half of seal-impressed hearths (40 examples, 56%) are circular in shape (Table 3). Five are from Lerna (C1.1-C1.5, Fig. 4.1), one from Talioti (C1.7, Fig. 4.1), thirteen from Tiryns (C1.13-C1.33, Figs. 4.1-4.2), one from Asine (C1.39, Fig. 4.3), three from Berbati (C1.42-C1.44, Fig. 4.3), five from the Argolid Exploration Project (C1.46-C1.50, Fig. 4.3), two from Corinth (C1.52-C1.53, Fig. 4.4), one from Zygouries (C1.57, Fig. 4.4), five from Tsoungiza (C1.58-C1.62, Fig. 4.4), one from Poros (C1.65), one from Dokos (C1.67), and one from Eutresis (C1.71). A fragment of an oval-shaped hearth was found at Tiryns (C1.37, Fig. 4.2).

In addition to circular and oval-shaped hearths, other curvilinear shaped hearths are attested in EH assemblages. Fragments of hearth rims reconstructed as figure-of-eight in shape were found at Dokos (C1.68) and Asine (C1.40, Fig. 4.3). Keyhole shaped hearths, such as the complete example from Askitario (C1.64, Fig. 4.5), were identified among the hearth rim fragments found at Berbati-Limnes (C1.45) and Corinth (C1.54-C1.55, Fig. 4.4). Keyhole hearths are the most frequent type found at Ayia Irini in Kea, which are generally longer and taller than mainland examples.\textsuperscript{683} One fragment from Asine (C1.40, Fig. 4.3) may be figure-of-eight or keyhole in shape. The single example of an axe-shaped hearth is from Tiryns (C1.11, Fig. 4.1), though the complete circular hearth from Lerna (C1.4, Fig. 4.1) preserves an axe-shaped firing bowl.

Several examples of hearth rims of undetermined type have also been found, including one from Lerna (C1.6, Fig. 4.1), thirteen from Tiryns (C1.8-C1.10, C1.12, C1.14, C1.24-C1.30, C1.34-C1.36, C1.38, Figs. 4.1-4.3), one from Makrovouni-Kefalari

\textsuperscript{683} Wilson 1999: 49; Galligan 2013: 133-134.
(C1.41, Fig. 4.3), one from Corinth (C1.56, Fig. 4.4), two from Karystos (C1.69-C1.70, Fig. 4.5), one from Rouf (C1.63), and one from Poros (C1.66).

IV.1.2. Pithoi (Figs. 4.11-4.31)

Pithoi were first systematically studied by Wiencke at Lerna.684 These large ceramic storage vessels could have been used to store both wet goods such as oil or dry goods such as grain or dried legumes, though residue analysis has not, to my knowledge, been undertaken on any preserved examples. Pithoi are generally preserved in a fragmentary condition, but are reconstructed to an average height of 45.3 cm. and diameter of 23.81 cm. (Table 3.11). All of the pithos fragments from southern Greece were roller-impressed with a continuous impression on raised bands of clay on average 5 cm. wide that were applied around the body of the vessel. Those from central Greece, by contrast, were impressed with stamp seals on the rim with multiple impressions to fill the space.

A total of 126 pithoi are catalogued, including 30 from Lerna (C2.1-C2.30, Figs. 4.11-4.14), 74 from Tiryns (C2.31-C2.102, Figs. 4.14, 4.16-4.21), one from Corinth (C2.103), four from Zygouries (C2.104-C2.107, Fig. 4.21), two from Kolonna (C2.110-C2.111, Fig. 4.23), one from Kaloyerovrisi (C2.112, Fig. 4.23), and one from Gialtra (C2.113, Fig. 4.23). Two catalogued examples from Petri (C2.108, Fig. 4.22) are representative of the ten further examples of pithoi (C2.109) that Kostoula reports, though without illustration or description.685

684 Wiencke 1970.
685 Kostoula 2004: 1144-1145.
IV.1.3. Hearths/Pithoi (Figs. 4.32-3)

Six preserved fragments with roller-impressed bands were identified as either a hearth or pithos, including one from Lerna (C3.1, Fig. 4.32), two from Tiryns (C3.2-C2.3, Fig. 4.32), one from Corinth (C3.4, Fig. 4.32), one from Tsoungiza (C3.5, Fig. 4.32), and one from Lefkandi (C3.6, Fig. 4.32). Two fragments, one from Tsoungiza (C3.5) and the other from Lefkandi (C3.6), were stamped while the rest were roller-impressed.

IV.1.4. Jars (Figs. 4.34-4.35)

Eleven seal-impressed jars are preserved, including one from Lerna (C4.1-C4.2, Fig. 4.34), one from Asine (C4.3, Fig. 4.34), one from Zygouries (C4.4, Fig. 4.34), one from Anthochori (C4.5, Fig. 4.34), four from Ayios Kosmas (C4.6-C4.9, Fig. 4.34), one from Skotini Cave (C4.10, Fig. 4.34), and one from Eutresis (C4.11). Jars are storage vessels for a range of goods, the larger one perhaps for liquids such as water or oil and the smaller ones for cosmetics, as is suggested by the preservation of blue pigment inside the small conical jar from Ayios Kosmas (C4.6). All examples were stamped on the body of the vessel, usually more than once.

The fragments from Lerna (C4.1, Fig. 4.34) come from a jar with a low, spreading neck and a mouth 30 cm. in diameter, with three stamped impressions of the same loops design (S299, Fig. 4.35) preserved on the lower body of the vessel. The handle fragment from Lerna (C4.2, Fig. 4.34) is stamped just once with an angle-filled cross design (S300, Fig. 4.35). The globular jar from Asine (C4.3, Fig. 4.34) is almost complete, 67.0 cm. in
height and diameter with a low, flaring neck, with a row of 25 stamped impressions of a loops/swastika design (S301, Fig. 4.35) on the shoulder of the vessel. The neck and body fragment from Zygouries (C4.4, Fig. 4.34) has a single impression of concentric circles (S302). The fragment from Anthochori (C4.5, Fig. 4.34) has three stamped impressions of a grid (S303, Fig. 4.35) in a row just under the everted rim.

The jars from central Greece are all stamped with spirals that are combined with incised, impressed, and plastic elements. The complete conical jar from Ayios Kosmas (C4.6, Fig. 4.34) is small, 3.5 cm. in height and 1.7 cm. at the base, with a funnel-shaped neck 2.0 cm. in diameter and flaring rim, with a row of nine stamped impressions of a spiral design (S304) around the shoulder of the vessel. Blue pigments were preserved inside this vessel upon its discovery in a grave, which may point to cosmetic storage, but the pigments have not been analyzed. The impressions of a spiral design (S305) on the shoulder of two body and neck fragments of a spherical jar from Ayios Kosmas (C4.7a-b, Fig. 4.34) are connected by incised tangent lines, while the body fragment from another jar (C4.9) combines impressions of another spiral (S307, Fig. 4.35) with incised long and short lines that resemble vegetation. The body fragment from Ayios Kosmas (C4.8, Fig. 4.34) combines stamped spirals (S306) with a plastic horned or forked element with an integrated vertical lug that may represent a schematic face. A handle fragment from Skotini Cave (C4.10, Fig. 4.34) has a single impression of an angle-filled cross (S308, Fig. 4.35), a similar design and disposition as the stamped jar handle from Lerna (C4.2, Fig. 4.34). Finally, a body fragment of a large jar from Eutresis (C4.9, Fig. 4.34) also combines several impressions of a spiral (S306) with tangent lines.
IV.1.5. Bowls (Figs. 4.36-4.37)

Four seal-impressed bowls, all fragmentary and all stamped, are preserved. Catalogued examples include two from Tiryns (C5.1-C5.2, Fig. 4.36), one from Zygouries (C5.3, Fig. 4.36), and one from Tsoungiza (C5.4, Fig. 4.36). Only the Tsoungiza example provides dimensions, which is a base diameter of 5.5 cm. Bowls were therefore small vessels for individual consumption.

Both bowls from Tiryns are impressed with concentric circle stamps, one a handle fragment (C5.1, Fig. 4.36) with three impressions of concentric circles (S310, Fig. 4.37), and the other a base fragment (C5.2, Fig. 4.36) with a single impression of concentric circles (S311) near the base. The two other bowls are impressed with triangular shaped seals. One is a base fragment from Zygouries (C5.3, Fig. 4.36) with multiple impressions of nested angles (S312, Fig. 4.37) stamped in two rows around a central incised circle, each impression pointing in the same direction. The other is a base and body fragment from Tsoungiza (C5.4, Fig. 4.36) with multiple impressions of nested angles (S313) stamped in a single row, with the impressions facing in alternating directions.

IV.1.6. Pyxides (Figs. 4.38-4.39)

Six seal-impressed pyxides, are preserved. Catalogued examples include two from Tzoungiza (C6.1-C6.2, Fig. 4.38), one from Ayioryitika (C6.3, Fig. 4.38), one from Ayios Kosmas (C6.4, Fig. 4.38), and two from Eutresi (C6.5-C6.6, Fig. 4.38). Pyxides are small vessels, either globular or spool-shaped. Catalogued examples having an average diameter of 13.2 cm. and a height of 9.0 cm. Their small size made pyxides appropriate for storage of small amounts of materials. The globular pyxis from Ayios
Kosmas (C6.4) was found in a grave, and was filled with obsidian chips, blades, and cores. All examples are impressed with either spiral or concentric circle designs that are combined with incised and impressed designs, some lines white-filled in the manner of Cycladic surface decoration.

One fragment from Tsoungiza (C6.1, Fig. 4.38) is stamped with a spiral design (S314, Fig. 4.39) connected by incised tangent lines, while the complete globular pyxis (C6.2, Fig. 4.38) is stamped multiple times with concentric circles (S315, Fig. 4.39) in a horizontal row on the shoulder beneath a row of impressed triangles below rim. An almost complete cylindrical spool pyxis from Ayioryitika (C6.3, Fig. 4.38) has multiple impressions of concentric circles (S316, Fig. 4.39) arranged in concentric rings on the flat base. Another complete globular vase from Ayios Kosmas (C6.4, Fig. 4.38) has four impressions of concentric circles (S317), two above each horizontal lug, combined with incised lines. Two pyxides are from Eutresis, one fragment (C6.5, Fig. 4.38) stamped with concentric circles (S318), and the other a possible lid (C6.6, Fig. 4.38) stamped with a spiral design (S319), both with white-filled incised lines.

IV.1.7. Fruitstands (Figs. 4.40-4.41)

Five examples of seal-impressed fruitstands are preserved, one from Mylos Cheliotou, Corinth (C7.1, Fig. 4.40), two from Tsoungiza (C7.2-C7.3, Fig. 4.40), and two from Eutresis (C7.4-C7.5, Fig. 4.40). A display function for fruitstands is indicated by their elevation and conspicuous decoration, perhaps in the context of feasting. The diameter of preserved fruitstands impressed with seals is between 22-34 cm., though none are sufficiently preserved to reconstruct their height. All are impressed with either spiral
or concentric circle designs combined with incised and impressed designs, in some cases white-filled.

The body fragment from Mylos Cheliotou, Corinth (C7.1, Fig. 4.40) is impressed with a spiral (S320, Fig. 4.41) combined with incised zigzags and Kerbschnitt. Both fragments from Tsoungiza (C7.2-C7.3, Fig. 4.40) are rim fragments from the splayed pedestal with stamped impressions of a spiral (S321-S322, Fig. 4.41) combined with tangent incised lines and Kerbschnitt, one (C7.2, Fig. 4.40) with white-filled incised lines. Both examples from Eutresis (C7.4-C7.5, Fig. 4.40), by contrast, were impressed with triangular stamps with nested angles designs (S323-S324, Fig. 4.45) combined with rows of impressed points.

IV.1.8. Frying pans (Figs. 4.42-4.45)

So-called frying pans are associated with Cycladic material culture, but numerous examples have been found also on the mainland. Though shaped like frying pans, circular in shape with low cylindrical rims and handles, these low, flat vessels were almost certainly not used for food preparation since no burning or related forms of use-wear have so far been identified.

Frying pans were decorated on the base with impressed spirals or concentric circles white-filled incised lines and Kerbschnitt, often with figural designs of ships and fish and rosettes or astral symbols. The highly decorated surface treatments and depositional contexts in graves of frying pans points to their use as special function objects, perhaps

686 Coleman 1985; Pullen 2011: 82-85.
687 Coleman 1985: 203.
associated with ritual practices. Wiencke argues that they may have functioned as lids for other vessels, and are classified at Lerna as a type of lid (Type 1). 688

A total of 51 stamped frying pans from mainland contexts are preserved, which have an average diameter of 17.6 cm. and an average height of 3.6 cm. Catalogued examples include five from Lerna (C8.1-C8.5, Fig. 4.42), one from Asine (C8.6, Fig. 4.42), one from Berbati (C8.7, Fig. 4.42), four from Corinth (C8.8-C8.11, Fig. 4.42), three from Perachora (C8.12-C8.14), one from Zygouries (C8.15), four from Tsoungiza (C8.17-C8.19, Fig. 4.42), one from Anthochori (C8.20, Fig. 4.42), two from Asea (C8.21-C8.22), two from Athens (C8.23-C8.24, Fig. 4.42), ten from Ayios Kosmas (C8.25-C8.34, Figs. 4.43-4.44), two from Palaia Kokkinia (C8.35-C8.36, Fig. 4.44), six from Koropi (C8.37-C8.42, Fig. 4.44), one from Markopoulo (C8.43, Fig. 4.44), one from Raphina (C8.44), two from Tsepi (C8.45-C8.46, Fig. 4.44), one from Manika (C8.47, Fig. 4.44), two from Eutresis (C8.48-C8.49, Fig. 4.44), one from Pefkakia (C8.50, Fig. 4.44), and one from an unknown context (C8.51, Fig. 4.44).

All frying pans are stamped with either spiral (C8.4, C8.7-C8.12, C8.14-C8.15, C8.18, C8.20, C8.24-C8.34, C8.36-C8.43, C8.45-C8.46, C8.49-C8.51, Fig. 4.42, 4.44) or concentric circle (C8.1-C8.3, C8.5-C8.6, C8.12, C8.16-C8.17, C8.19, C8.21-C8.23, C8.35, C8.44, C8.47-C8.48, Fig. 4.42, 4.44) designs. The stamp impressions are generally combined with incised lines and Kerbshnitt or other impressed designs within large compositions of false running spirals (C8.2, C8.5, C8.9, C8.12, C8.22, C8.27-C8.28, C8.30-C8.34, C8.35, C8.38, C8.44, C8.47, C8.49, Fig. 4.42, 4.44) or spiral-net (C8.3, C8.8, C8.14-C8.45, C8.37, C8.40, C8.42, Fig. 4.42, 4.44), though some were

simply stamped in rows or networks of impressions (C8.1, C8.4, C8.6, C8.16, C8.23, C8.39, C8.41, C8.48, Fig. 4.42, 4.44) with or without other forms of incision or impression.

**IV.1.9. Undetermined type vessels** (Fig. 4.46)

Five seal-impressed fragments from vessels of undetermined type are catalogued. Two body sherds from Korakou (C9.1-C9.2, Fig. 4.46), one with a horizontal lug and both impressed with spiral designs S375-S376 to create a false running spiral compositions. A handle fragment from Ayios Dhimitrios (C9.3, Fig. 4.46) has a single impression of S377 (other). A body sherd from Likhas (C9.4, Fig. 4.46) has a single impression of S378 (grid). A body fragment from Eutresis (C9.5, Fig. 4.46) is impressed with S379 (spiral) with incised lines within a false running spiral composition.

**IV.1.10. Loomweight** (Fig. 4.47)

A square ceramic object 5.7 cm. in height from Lerna (C10.1, Fig. 4.47) is called a cuboid loomweight because it is square with two vertical perforations. It is impressed on three sides with a single impression of S380 (loops/spirals, Fig. 4.47).

**IV.2. SEAL-Impressed Objects Typology: Summary**

A total of 292 sealed objects are catalogued (Table 3, Figs. 4.48-4.49). The majority of seal-impressed objects are hearths (71, 24%) or pithoi (126, 43%), almost all of which were roller-impressed. The other objects, of which frying pans (57, 20%) are by far the
best represented, are invariably stamped, including jars (11, 4%), bowls (4, 1%), pyxides (6, 2%), fruitstands, (2%), undetermined type (5, 2%), and a single loomweight.

IV.3. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT: SITES

IV.3.1. Lerna (Argolid)

Lerna’s stratigraphy and layout are discussed above (II.4.1). Seal-impressed objects from Lerna include roller-impressed hearth and pithoi, seal-impressed vessels and a loomweight.

Lerna IIIB-IIIC Deposits

The earliest evidence for sealing practices at Lerna is a stamped frying pan from a mid-phase IIIB context. Very little mid-phase IIIB architecture survives apart from some short stretches of walls scattered across the site (Fig. 6.1.1). A fragment of frying pan (or lid in Wiencke’s terminology) C8.1 (Fig. 4.42) stamped with multiple, overlapping spirals (S324, Fig. 4.45), was found in a IIIB deposit south of Wall W-28, a narrow and curved wall in the eastern area of the site. Walls W-28 and W-29 were associated with successive IIIB floors associated with deposits of tableware and hearths, evidencing a domestic function for the structure. Wall W-28 was overlain by late IIIB Wall W-41, providing mid-phase IIIB date for C8.1.

690 Wiencke 2000: 52.
The following late IIIB phase is better preserved architecturally, with several structures and paved areas preserved at the top of the mound and to the south (Fig. 6.1.2). Frying pan (lid) fragment C8.2691 (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped and incised false running spiral design (S325, Fig. 4.45) was found in a late IIIB deposit associated with House 36 in the central area of the site. House 36 and House 33 stood at the top of the mound where later Building BG was constructed in mid-phase IIIC (Fig. 6.1.2). C8.2 was found in a IIIB deposit between Wall W-36 of House 36 (late IIIB) and the later Wall W-67 of House 67 (late IIIB or early IIIC).

In early phase IIIC, monumental House 67 on top of House 36 (late IIIB) and several non-monumental buildings also stood to the west, including Houses 73 and 115, and the first fortifications were constructed to the south (Rooms QR and ST, horseshoe-shaped Tower B, and the associated stairway) (Fig. 6.1.3). House 67 is likely the predecessor to Building BG, represented by Walls W-67 and W-68, located underneath the South Room of Building BG.692 The position of House 67 under Building BG and the thickness of its walls link the structure to a sequence of monumental architecture at the top of the mound (House 67, Building BG, House of the Tiles).693 Its early IIIC date is supplied by the underlying Wall W-50, which was incorporated into part of the late IIIB paving.694 A fragment of frying pan C8.4695 (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped spiral network

691 C8.2: L.1448; Lot HTN 138; Wiencke 2000: 61-62, 73, 77-78, 391, P490; Plans, 13, 17; Section 11, 23.
692 Wiencke 2000: 90-91, 198; Plan 5.
693 Wiencke 2000: 192.
694 Wiencke 2000, Plan 15, Section 27; Smith 2011: 104-105, 120-121.
695 C8.4: L.1443; Lot BE 564; Wiencke 2000: 90-91, 419, P674, Plans 5, 17, Section 11.
design (S327, Fig. 4.45) may be associated with House 67 because it was found in an early IIIC deposit in the North Room of Building BG at the same level as Wall 67.

Frying pan (lid) C8.3 (Fig. 4.42), with false spiral-net design (S326, Fig. 4.45) is unusual in that was produced in a matrix rather than stamped. It was found in mixed IIIB-C context west of wall W-76 of House 73 in the southwestern area of the site (Fig. 6.1.3). The results of petrographic analysis of a sample from this sherd (T565) show that its fabric belongs to a unique fabric group (Fabric 13), and is therefore a likely import. House 73 is a non-monumental late IIIB or early IIIC structure that was contemporary with House 67. The assemblage recovered from House 73 includes a bronze needle and a pedestaled bowl with a potter’s mark, and so while not from floor deposit C8.3 may have been associated with House 73 because of its special assemblage.

Building BG

Later in early IIIC, Building BG was constructed at the top of the mound over the ruins of monumental House 67 (Figs. 6.1.4-6.1.5). Its southwestern corner, represented by Walls W-61, W-62, and cross-wall W-66, was destroyed during construction of the House of the Tiles in IIID. Building BG is reconstructed as three axially-arranged rooms with a vestibule flanked by corridors, similar in plan and size to the later House of the Tiles. Numerous fragments of schist slabs suggest that Building BG had a tiled roof,

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700 Wiencke 2000: 185-186; Fig. I.102.
which would have been supported by its thick walls, and there is evidence for a paved outer courtyard.\textsuperscript{701} Building BG was demolished and leveled to its stone foundations during construction of the House of the Tiles, however, so the structure and its contents are not well preserved.\textsuperscript{702}

A significant find from Building BG is the large and mostly intact hearth \textbf{C1.4}\textsuperscript{703} (Fig. 4.1), which was roller-impressed with a zigzag design (\textbf{S126}, Fig. 4.6) and has a large, axe-shaped depression in its pan. That \textbf{C1.4} was in a secondary context is indicated by the fact that it is too large to fit in the narrow space where it was found between walls W-61 and W-62, which the excavators called the Hearth Corridor, as its diameter is 1.15 m. and the width of the Hearth Corridor was 0.80 m., as well as by the fact that part of Wall W-61 was dismantled to accommodate it (Fig. 6.1.4).\textsuperscript{704} The red clay packed around its perimeter and the layer of ash inside point to its use inside the Hearth Corridor, but its roughened and convex base was originally set into a depression in the floor rather than the flat surface prepared by removing Wall W-61.\textsuperscript{705} \textbf{C1.4} may have originally been located in South Room, a space similar to the Hearth Room (Room XI) at the House of the Tiles in terms of its thick walls, square floor plan, and associated vestibule.\textsuperscript{706} Wiencke notes that if the hearth was moved from the South Room to the Hearth Corridor, it would have been undertaken with as much difficulty as it was during its excavation in 1957, and it was damaged during the move. The most direct route for moving such a

\textsuperscript{701} Wiencke 2000: 195, 293-294.
\textsuperscript{702} Wiencke 2000: 185, 190-191.
\textsuperscript{703} \textbf{C1.4}: L.1556; Lot HTN 41; CMS V 149; Wiencke 2000: 193-196, 434-435, Figs. I.35, II.44, Pl. 13.
\textsuperscript{704} Wiencke 2000, Plan 31, Section 25.
heavy object would have been across Wall W-62 dividing the South Room from the Hearth Corridor. Pottery from the floor in the Hearth Corridor indicates a IIIC date for its movement and re-use, and its abandonment some time before the House of the Tiles was constructed in IID is signaled by its burial and remodeling of Wall W-62 to the east to add a double line of stones.\textsuperscript{707} Hearth C1.4 is therefore likely of early to mid-phase IIIC manufacture with re-use in late IIIC, and is therefore assigned an early IIIC date because of its conjectured original position in the South Room.

Fortifications (mid-IIIC)

Additional evidence for impressed seal use during mid-IIIC comes from the area of the fortifications to the south (Fig. 6.1.5). The eastern fortifications were remodeled and expanded in mid-phase IIIC, first in early mid-phase IIIC when Tower B was replaced with Tower A and Wall-83 was built to the west,\textsuperscript{708} then again in late mid-IIIC when Rooms P and A (the gateway) built and Rooms B-D were added to Wall-82 (Fig. 6.1.6).\textsuperscript{709} A fragment of seal-impressed jar C4.1\textsuperscript{710} (Fig. 4.34), which was stamped with a loop design (S298, Fig. 4.35) twice on its lower body, was mended from 35 sherds found in a mid-phase IIIC deposit south of Tower B.

In addition, three roller-impressed pithoi were found in mid-IIIC deposits in the area of the fortification (C2.8, C2.27, C2.49, Figs. 4.11, 4.14, 4.17). Two impressed

\textsuperscript{709} Wiencke 2000, Plan 21.
\textsuperscript{710} C4.1: L.1560; Lot A 414; CMS V 053; Wiencke 2000: 113, 425, P710, Plan 7, Section 15.
pithos fragments were found in the central fortifications in Room C, C2.8711 (Fig. 4.11) with a spirals design (S195, Fig. 4.24) and C2.27712 (Fig. 4.14) with a herringbone design (S213, Fig. 4.26). Both were both found in a mid-late IIIC deposit along with several vessels including three saucers, one with a potter’s mark, three askoi, and other fine polished pouring and drinking vessels. Three fragments of pithos C2.21713 (Fig. 4.13) were found in the eastern fortifications in Room QR, two in an early IIIC and one in late mid-phase IIIC deposit. This architectural sequence is reflected within Room QR by two successive floors and associated floor deposits. In early mid-phase IIIC, Room QR consisted of a floor associated with Walls W-70 and W-70, a hearth, a floor and floor deposit, and Bothros AG-1. Sherds from pithos C2.21714 with a roller-impressed zigzag design (S207, Fig. 4.25) were found inside Bothros AG-1, a large and irregularly shaped pit in the southwest corner of the room, along with a baking pan with a potter’s mark, two sauceboats, and two saucers, among others. A second fragment of C2.21 was also found in the early mid-phase IIIC floor deposit above Bothros AG-1,715 while a third fragment without impression was found in a late mid-phase IIIC deposit.716

711 C2.8: L.1572; Lot J 480; CMS V 125; Wiencke 2000: 124, 467, Plan 24.
712 C2.27: L.1591; Lot J480; CMS V 143; Wiencke 2000: 467, P971.
713 C2.21a-c: L.1572; CMS V 137; Wiencke 2000: 111; Plans 6, 20, Sections 16-17.
714 C2.21a: L.1586a; Lot A 400; Room QR, Bothros AG-1: 1.20 m. wide north-south, 1.40 m. wide to north, 1.10 m. wide to south; CMS V 137; Wiencke 2000: 111-112, 429-431, Figs. II.42-II.43, II.103, Pl. 12, Plan 20, Sections 16-17.
715 C2.21b: L.1586b; Lot A408; CMS V 137; Wiencke 2000: 112, 423, P704, Section 17.
716 C2.21c: L.1586c; Lot A 409; CMS V 137; Wiencke 2000: 115.
Room DM

In late phase IIIC, when Building BG and the fortifications were still standing, Houses CA and DM flanked the gateway through the fortifications (Fig. 6.1.8). In addition to the clay sealings from Room DM, which was used for the storage and preparation of food, several seal-impressed objects were also found (Fig. 6.1.9). Fragments of two roller-impressed pithoi were also found in Room DM, though none intact or in situ like the east and west pithos. Fragments of roller-impressed pithos C2.18717 (Fig. 4.13) with a nested angles design (S204, Fig. 4.25) were found in various deposits around Room DM,718 Sherds came from the late IIIC floor deposit, one sherd from the levels above the floor in a mixed III-IV deposit,719 one sherd from a IIIB-C deposit in the southeastern area near Wall W-21,720 one sherd reportedly from a IIIC-D deposit in Area B,721 and a final sherd from a IIIC-D deposit in nearby in Area DA.722

Fragments of a second roller-impressed pithos, C2.30723 (Fig. 4.14), with a zigzag design (S215, Fig. 4.26) were found around Room DM, including: in a IIIC deposit in the upper levels above the floor;724 in a IIIC-D deposit north of wall AZ;725 on the surface in

717 C2.18a: L.1582a-c; Lot G145; Room DM; CMS V 134; Wiencke 2000: 81.
719 C2.18b: L.1582c; Lot G 133; “DM Uncertified”.
720 C2.18c: L.1582c; Lot HTS 85 (16).
721 C2.18d: L.1582d; Lot “B 15 (?)”.
722 C2.18e: L.1583; Lot D 743.
723 C2.30a-e: L.1593-95; Lots G 143, G 141, G 91; CMS V 145; Wiencke 2000: 142-144, 448, P842.
724 C2.30a: L.1593a; Lot G 143 (“DM uncertified”).
725 C2.30b: L.1593b; Lot G 143.
the area of Room DM;\textsuperscript{726} in a IIIC-D deposit above the floor;\textsuperscript{727} and a final sherd in a Lerna IV deposit in the western area of Room DM in Trench GK.\textsuperscript{728}

\textit{Room CA}

Also used for food storage and preparation was Room CA, where, in addition to clay sealings, seal-impressed objects were found (Fig. 6.1.10). From the eastern part of Room CA came seal-impressed “loomweight” \textbf{C10.1}\textsuperscript{729} (Fig. 4.47), which was stamped with a spiral design (S379). The loomweight was found along with a spouted jar, sauceboat, one large and one small jar, and a spouted bowl, a basin, a fruitstand, a stone pestle, stone pounder, obsidian blade, pig’s tusk, a spindlewhorl, a terracotta weight, the carbonized remains of peas, lentils, and beans. Another substantial deposit of beans and peas was found in the northern part of the room.

\textit{Fortifications (late phase IIIC)}

Two fragments of roller-impressed hearths (were found in late IIIC deposits in the area of the fortifications south of the House of the Tiles (Fig. 6.1.8). From the eastern fortification in Room P is the unusual hearth \textbf{C1.5}\textsuperscript{730} high-rimmed with handles and roller-impressed with zigzags (S127, Fig. 4.6), that was found above but associated with the floor deposit. The late phase IIIC ceramic assemblage includes saucers, sauceboats, and baking pans, evidence for food storage and preparation took place in the area that

\begin{footnotes}
\item[726] \textbf{C2.30c}: L.1593c; surface find.
\item[727] \textbf{C2.30d}: L.1594; Lot G 141 (“DM uncertified”).
\item[728] \textbf{C2.30e}: L.1595; Lot G 91.
\item[729] \textbf{C10.1}: L.4.204; Lot G 29. CMS V 051; Wiencke 2000: 136, Plan 25.
\item[730] \textbf{C1.5}: L.406; Lot G 33; Wiencke 2000: 130-131, P934.
\end{footnotes}
probably involved the hearth as well. Hearth **C1.3**\(^{731}\) (Fig. 4.1) with a roller-impressed zigzag design (**S125**, Fig. 4.6) was found in the area north of the House of the Tiles and is assigned to late IIIC because it came from a deposit at the level of the top of wall 65, the northern cross wall of Building BG. In addition, a fragment of pithos **C2.23**\(^{732}\) (Fig. 4.13) with a roller-impressed wavy lines design (**S209**, Fig. 4.26) was mended from two sherds found in late IIIC deposits, one from Room A in the central fortifications and the other from the area of the eastern fortifications.

*Outside the House of the Tiles (IIIC-D)*

The destruction debris from the House of the Tiles is distinctive because it was burnt red and black with frequent tile inclusions. It extended across the site as a result of the reconfiguration of the site after its destruction. In the debris, IIID material is mixed with IIIC debris from earlier destructions, including that of House 67 and Building BG, with intrusive IV material introduced by EH III bothroi (Fig. 6.1.11).\(^{733}\) It is therefore not always possible to distinguish between IIIC and IIID material. Such is the case for the numerous roller-impressed hearth and pithos fragments found in the debris so that some fragments may have been associated with IIIC Building BG or Room DM and others with the House of the Tiles. No fragments were found inside the House of the Tiles, the contents of which were cleared some time before its demolition and burial under the tumulus, but it is reasonable to assume that the tradition of roller-

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\(^{731}\) **C1.3**: L.1598; Lot BE 563; CMS V 148; Wiencke 2000: 195-196, P935, Section 22.

\(^{732}\) **C2.23**: L.1588; Lots G 33, A 440; CMS V 139; Wiencke 2000: 130, 463, P943, Plan 24, Sections 15, 19.

\(^{733}\) Wiencke 2000: 283-291.
impressed heath and pithos use continued into IIID. Those presented here are dated to IIIC-D, as are examples from period IV deposits, since sherds from those deposits join with those in the Lerna IIIC-D deposit.

Three roller-impressed hearths were found in the debris. Hearth fragment C1.6 was found west of the House of the Tiles in a Lerna IV deposit in Area BC, an area that was not fully excavated, since the northwest area of the unit was not taken down to Lerna III levels and the walls of Houses 115-117 were only partially explored. For this reason, a IIIC-D date is more likely. Hearth fragment C1.1 (Fig. 4.1), with a roller-impressed spirals design (S123, Fig. 4.6), was found southwest of the House of the Tiles in a Lerna IV deposit in Area B. A fragment of roller-impressed hearth C1.2 (Fig. 4.1) with a herringbone design (S124, Fig. 4.6) found in the area of the eastern fortifications above the street levels in an area contaminated with Lerna IV material is also assigned to IIIC-D.

Twenty-two roller-impressed pithoi were also found in the destruction debris, several of which were mended from sherds found in different areas of the site, a testament to the extent of the destruction debris and intensity of subsequent EH III building activity at the site. Six roller-impressed pithos fragments were found in IIIC-D deposit of the destruction debris (C2.6, C2.9, C2.12, C2.19, C2.20, C2.26, Fig. 4.11-4.12, 4.14). A fragment of pithos C2.26 (Fig. 4.14) with a roller-impressed grid design

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734 Wiencke 2000: 288-289.
735 C1.6: Unnumbered; Lot BC 237; Wiencke 2000: 288, 501, P1231.
737 C1.2: L.1597; Lot A 447; CMS V 147; Wiencke 2000: 748, P1230
(S212, Fig. 4.26) was found in the same IIIC-D deposit as hearth C1.4 (Fig 4.1) in the area of the eastern fortifications north of Room Q during the removal of Wall W-86. Two fragments of pithos C2.19 (Fig. 4.13) with nested angles (S205, Fig. 4.25) were found in the IIIC-D deposits near the southeast and southwest corners of the House of the Tiles. Fragments of pithos C2.6 (Fig. 4.11) with roller-impressed spirals (S193, Fig. 4.24) were mended from sherds found in different areas of the site. One fragment was mended from four joining sherds: one from a IIIC-D deposit in Area BA northwest of the House of the Tiles, the second from a IIIC-D deposit in Area GP to the south, the third from a Lerna IV deposit in Area BD to the northwest, and the fourth from a IIIC-D deposit in Area B above the House of the Tiles. The second fragment was mended from two joining sherds from IIIC-D deposits in the areas north and west of the House the Tiles in Area BD and Area B. The third fragment was found in the same IIIC-D deposit in Area BD as one of the sherds from the second fragment. Similarly, three fragments of pithos C2.9 (Fig. 4.12) with spirals (S196, Fig. 4.24) were found west of the House of the Tiles in Area BC in IIIC-D destruction debris, south of the House of the Tiles in a IIIC-D deposit in Area J, one sherd from Classical well in Area BA, and another fragment.

739 C2.19: L.1584a-8; Lots HT SE, BC 207 X; CMS V 135; Wiencke 2000: 288, 502, P1242.
740 C2.6a-c: L.1570a-c; CMS V 123; Wiencke 2000: 493-494, P1163
741 C2.6a: L.1570a; Lots BA 219, GP 367, BD 359, B 1497; Wiencke 2000: 283-285, 290.
742 C2.6b: L.1570b; Lots BD 454 (BD 626, HT N), Trench B 13 N (HT W); Wiencke 2000: 289-290.
743 C2.6c: L.1570c; Lot BD 454 (BD 626, HT N); Wiencke 2000: 289-290.
744 C2.9a: L.1537a; Lot BC 207 X; CMS V 126; Wiencke 2000: 288, 502, P1237.
745 C2.9b: L.1573b; Lot J 95; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1237, Sections 5, 7.
746 C2.9c: L.1573c; Lot BA-1; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1237.
from the destruction debris north of the House of the Tiles in Area BA of the tumulus.\textsuperscript{747} Pithos fragment \textbf{C2.20}\textsuperscript{748} (Fig. 4.13) with roller-impressed zigzags (\textit{S206}, Fig. 4.25) was mended from several sherds found in a late IIIC deposit above Room CA, and IIIC-D deposits the southeast and southwest corners of the House of the Tiles, as well as a IIIC-D deposit to the north. Three non-joining sherds of pithos \textbf{C2.12}\textsuperscript{749} (Fig. 4.12), each impressed with a spirals design (\textit{S198}, Fig. 4.24), were found in the northern debris of House of the Tiles in Area BD in a IIIC-D deposit, while another fragment impressed by the same roller was found in a late IIIC deposit north of Room A of the fortifications associated with destruction debris from House CA and House DM.\textsuperscript{750}

Seven roller-impressed pithos fragments were found in mixed III-IV deposits of the destruction debris (\textbf{C2.3, C2.4, C2.7, C2.13, C2.14, C2.15, C2.17}, Figs. 4.11-4.13, 4.15). Fragment \textbf{C2.2}\textsuperscript{751} (Fig. 4.11) with spirals (\textit{S190}, Fig. 4.24) was mended from two sherds, the first a surface find and the second found in mixed Lerna III-IV levels in the area east of the House of the Tiles near Wall W-133. This area of the settlement is not well preserved and is contaminated by EH III material from bothroi.\textsuperscript{752} Only three very short wall segments (W-133-W-135) survived, but the thickness of the walls and frequency of tile inclusions represent the remains of a substantial structure once stood in this area.\textsuperscript{753}

\textsuperscript{747} \textbf{C2.9d}: L.1574; Lot BD 623; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1238.
\textsuperscript{748} \textbf{C2.20}: L.1585; Lots G 53, G 146 (HT SE), BD 443 (BD 620, HT N), BC 207 X; CMS V 136; Wiencke 2000: 287, 462, P936.
\textsuperscript{749} \textbf{C2.12a-c}: L.1576a-c; Lots BD 454, BD 455 (626 HT N), and A 35; CMS V 128; Wiencke 2000: 160, 289-290, 494, P1166, Plan 2.
\textsuperscript{750} \textbf{C2.12d}: L.1577; Lot G37; Wiencke 2000: 138-139, 462, P942.
\textsuperscript{751} \textbf{C2.2}: L.1565, L.1567; Lot A 26; CMS V 121; Wiencke 2000: 501, Plan 29.
\textsuperscript{752} “Contamination with EH III sherds is fairly common throughout the phase C deposits, probably from bothroi unrecognized at this early stage in the excavations” (Wiencke 2000: 160).
\textsuperscript{753} Wiencke 2000: 160, Plan 29.
Fragment **C2.4** (Fig. 2.11) with spirals (**S192**, Fig. 4.24) was joined from seven fragments: three fragments from the area east of the House of the Tiles near Wall W-133;\textsuperscript{754} two from the area south of the House of the Tiles in destruction debris dated to IIIC-D;\textsuperscript{755} one from the area south of the eastern fortifications by Tower B in mid-phase IIIC levels;\textsuperscript{756} and the last one from Area BC west of the House of the Tiles where Lerna III levels were much disturbed by Lerna IV bothroi, where a roller-impressed hearth **C1.6** was also found.\textsuperscript{757} Pithos **C2.7** (Fig. 4.11) with roller-impressed spirals (**S194**, Fig. 4.24) is represented by three non-joining fragments: one fragment is mended from five joining sherds and was found in the area of the eastern fortifications immediately north of the gateway on a late IIIC floor;\textsuperscript{758} another comes from IV levels in Area G by the House of the Tiles, but is listed in the late IIIC pottery catalogue;\textsuperscript{759} and the final fragment comes from the area of the eastern fortifications north of Room Q in late IIIC levels above the street.\textsuperscript{760} Fragment **C2.13**\textsuperscript{761} (Fig. 4.12) with spirals (**S199**, Fig. 4.25) was mended from several sherds found in various areas of the House of the Tiles destruction debris. These include: one sherd from Room C of the central fortifications in a mid- to late phase IIIC

\textsuperscript{754} **C2.4a-b, g**: L.1586a-b, g; Lots A 35 and A 34; CMS V 122; Wiencke 2000: 160, 500, Plan 29.

\textsuperscript{755} **C2.4c-d**: L.1586c-d; Lots J 476/HT SU and J 95; Wiencke 2000: 283-285, 500, Section 7. “There are many sherds in both the upper and the lower debris that belong to phase C rather than to phase D, and the whole collection should be described as a mixture of phases C and D, not as one characteristic primarily of the House of the Tiles” (Wiencke 2000: 283).

\textsuperscript{756} **C2.4e**: L.1568e; Lot A 418; Wiencke 2000: 113-114, 500, Plans 20-21, Section 15.

\textsuperscript{757} **C2.4f**: L.1586f; Lot BC 237; Wiencke 2000: 288-289, 500, Plan 32.

\textsuperscript{758} **C2.7a**: L.1571a; Lot A 440; CMS V 124; Wiencke 2000: 127, 176, 180, 463, Plan 24, Sections 15, 19.

\textsuperscript{759} **C2.7b**: L.1571b; Lot G 79; Wiencke 2000: 463.

\textsuperscript{760} **C2.7c**: L.1571c; Lot AG 4; Wiencke 2000: 127, Sections 15, 19.

\textsuperscript{761} **C2.13**: L.1578a-h; Lots J 480, G 33, G 40, J 95, G 32, D 617, D 806, A 436, D 781; CMS V 129; Wiencke 2000: 156, 467, P969.
deposit ("chiefly the latter") deposit representing the southern extent of the House of the Tiles destruction debris in Area J; one in Room A of the central fortifications in a late IIIC deposit above the floor deposit; two from IIIC-D deposits the south of the House of the Tiles in Area J; two further sherds from Room A, both with the mid- to late IIIC floor deposit, and three sherds from the eastern side of the mound in Area D, one from a mid-phase IIIC-D deposit, one from south of the eastern fortification in a mid-phase IIIC deposit in Area A; and two sherds reportedly from Lerna IV deposits.

Fragment C2.14 (Fig. 4.12) with a concentric circles + herringbone design (S200, Fig. 4.25) was found in the debris to the south in Area J, one sherd from IIIC-D deposits and one sherd from a Lerna IV deposit. Fragments of pithos C2.15 (Fig. 4.15) with spirals (S201, Fig. 4.25) were found south of the House of the Tiles in HT N in a IIIC-D and Lerna IV deposit. Two fragments of C2.17 (Fig. 4.13) with a concentric circles design (S203, Fig. 4.25) were also found in the area of the House of the Tiles, one in a IIIC-D deposit in Trench B and the other in a Lerna IV context to the north in Area BA.

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762 C2.13a: L.1578a; Lot J 480; Wiencke 2000: 124.
763 C2.13b: L.1578b; Lot G 33 and G 40.
765 C2.13d: L.1578d; Lot G 32; Wiencke 2000: 130, Plan 24, Section 18.
767 C2.13g: L.1578g; Lot A 436; Wiencke 2000: 114.
768 C2.13h: L.1578h, L.1578e; Lots D 781, D 617; CMS V 130; Wiencke 2000: 155.
769 C2.14a: L.1579a; Lot J 106 (HT SU), with one sherd from B 749 (Lerna IV debris above HT). C2.14b: L.1579b; Lot J 239 (J 480, mid- to late phase IIIC); Wiencke 2000: 284, 494, P1167.
770 C2.15: L.992; Lots B 1396, B 359, B 1524; CMS V 131; Wiencke 2000: 290, 494, P1165.
771 C2.17: L.1581a-b; Lots B 16N, BA 205; CMS V 133; Wiencke 2000: 161, 502, P1241.
Seven pithos fragments found in Lerna IV deposits are of IIIC-D manufacture, but may have been disturbed by EH III building or bothros-digging operations at the site (C2.1, C2.11, C2.16, C2.22, C2.25, C2.28, Fig. 4.11-4.14). This point is well illustrated by fragment C2.3\textsuperscript{772} (Fig. 4.11), roller-impressed with spirals (S190, Fig. 4.24), which was found in Lerna IV deposit in Area GL over the House of the Tiles and Room CA. It was impressed with the same roller used on C2.2 (Fig. 4.11) from a Lerna III-IV deposit. Pithos fragment C2.1 (Fig. 4.11) is noteworthy because it was roller-impressed with the same distinctive spirals with running quadrupeds design (S189, Fig. 4.24) as was pithos fragment C2.32 (Fig. 4.16) from Tiryns\textsuperscript{773} and C2.105 (Fig. 4.21) from Zygouries. Three different non-joining sherds of C2.1\textsuperscript{774} (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna were found in IV deposits in different areas of the fortifications: two above the central fortification walls of Rooms A and B in Trench GB and Area GQ in the eastern fortifications, and another in Area JA to the west. Several roller-impressed pithos fragments were found in IV deposits south and west of the House of the Tiles: C2.25\textsuperscript{775} (Fig. 4.13) with wavy lines (S211, Fig. 4.26) was found in Area B southwest of the House of the Tiles at the level in which tiles and destruction debris were first encountered in this area; C2.11\textsuperscript{776} (Fig. 4.12) with spirals (S197) was found to the south in Trench BL; C2.16\textsuperscript{777} (Fig. 4.13) with a concentric circles + herringbone design (S202, Fig. 4.25) was found in the southeast area of the site;

\textsuperscript{772} C2.3: L.1566; Lot G 91; CMS V 121; Wiencke 2000: 502.
\textsuperscript{773} Galligan includes this rim fragment in her catalogue of EH hearths (Galligan 2013: 90).
\textsuperscript{774} C2.1: L.1564a-c; Lots G 75, GQ 67, and J 229; CMS V 120; Wiencke 2000: 499, P1221.
\textsuperscript{775} C2.25: L.1589; Trench B, level 9; CMS V 141; Wiencke 2000: 283, 502, P1224
\textsuperscript{776} C2.11: L4.399; Lot B 755; CMS V 127; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1239.
\textsuperscript{777} C2.16: L.1580; Lots G 122, GQ 64, D 799; CMS V 132; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1240.
and C2.22\textsuperscript{778} (Fig. 4.13) with zigzags (S208) was found in Area BC come another pithos fragment. Pithos fragment C2.28\textsuperscript{779} (Fig. 4.14) with zigzags (S214, Fig. 4.26) was found in a Lerna IV deposit in the area of House M, an MH structure located east of the House of the Tiles in Area A. Finally, one pithos fragments (C2.24, Fig. 4.13) and a heath/pithos fragment (C3.1, Fig. 4.32) are unstratified surface finds that are associated with the IIIC-D examples on the basis of style. Fragment C2.24\textsuperscript{780} (Fig. 4.13) with zigzags (S210) was found northwest of the House of the Tiles. Fragment C3.1\textsuperscript{781} (Fig. 4.32) with roller-impressed concentric circles (S291) was an uninventoried surface find that is too poorly preserved to determine whether it is a pithos or hearth.

Roller-impressed hearths and pithoi were not the only evidence for seal use found in the IIIC-D destruction debris at Lerna. Frying pan (lid) C8.5\textsuperscript{782} (Fig. 4.42), stamped with concentric circles in a false running spiral design (S328), was found in the IIIC-D destruction debris outside the House of the Tiles in a deposit near Wall W-133 to the east, where hearth fragments C2.2 and C2.4 were recovered.

IV.3.2. Talioti (Argolid)

Several smaller EH sites were discovered in the Talioti valley during excavations at Tiryns by the DAI, including the site of Talioti, where EH I material was first discovered

\textsuperscript{778} C2.22: L.1587; Lot BC 84; CMS V 138; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1243.
\textsuperscript{779} C2.28: L.1592; Lot A 330; CMS V 144; Wiencke 2000: 502, P1246.
\textsuperscript{780} C2.24: L.735; CMS V 140; Wiencke 2000: 499, P1220.
\textsuperscript{781} C3.1: unnumbered; surface find. Wiencke 1970: 102, 267.
\textsuperscript{782} C8.5: L.23; Lot A 26; Wiencke 2000: 160, 497, P1114, Plan 29.
and after which its early phases are named. Finds include hearth rim C1.7 (Fig. 4.1), which was roller-impressed with a concentric circles design (S129, Fig. 4.6).

### IV.3.3. Tiryns (Argolid)

The stratification and layout of Tiryns are discussed above (II.4.2). Most seal-impressed objects from Tiryns are roller-impressed hearths and pithoi, almost none of which can be securely assigned to stratified contexts. The finds are therefore presented here based on the phase of excavation that recovered them.

Schliemann’s initial excavations uncovered pithos sherd C1.37 (Fig. 4.2) with concentric circles + herringbone design (S153, Fig. 4.8), which was found “at a depth of only 2 m.” presumably in the Oberburg, though no exact find spot is given.

Many of the roller-impressed hearths and pithoi from Tiryns were found during the Müller, Karo, Dragendorff phase of excavations in 1905-1916, which remain largely unpublished and from which the small finds can only rarely be assigned to a specific context with any certainty. During these campaigns, EH occupation was identified on the Oberburg under the Mycenaean palace, where the Rundbau was explored. Müller assigns the fragmentary walls found in this area to three different phases within the EH period: walls 18 and 27 to the first phase, walls 15, 28, 32, and 20 of the Rundbau to the second phase, and wall 19 to the third phase. No floor deposits could be associated with

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783 Dousougli 1988; Weisshaar 1990.
784 C1.7: unknown location; “Panagia”; Weisshaar 1990: 12.
785 C1.37: Schliemann 1886: 69, Fig. 9; CMS VIS 017.
786 Schliemann 1886: 69.
787 Rahmstorf 2008: 7-8, Table 2; Müller 1930; Pini et al. 1975: 413.
788 Dragendorff 1913: 334-336; Müller 1913: 84, 1930: 100.
the walls, however, and Müller’s publication of the finds does not provide their exact findspots. The possibility that roller-impressed pithoi come from the Oberburg is reinforced by the presence of an apsidal structure (Building 18) that pre-dates the Rundbau, located 4 m. east of it, which had six unimpressed pithoi set into its floor.\(^789\)

Similarly, the Unterburg was explored during the Müller, Karo, Dragendorff phase of excavations in 1905-1916, \(^790\) Müller’s publication of the pottery from the Unterburg did not indicate the architectural associations so that no object can be assigned to any specific findspot. The presence of the Rundbau on the Oberburg means that these areas, though contemporary, were functionally different. It is not possible, however, to assign any of the substantial number of EH roller-impressed hearths or pithoi from Tiryns published by Müller to either the Oberburg or the Unterburg.

Roller-impressed hearths published by Müller include those with spiral designs (design group 1): C1.9\(^791\) (Fig. 4.1) with a spiral design S131, C1.10\(^792\) (Fig. 4.1) with S132 (Fig. 4.6), C1.11\(^793\) (Fig. 4.1) with S133 (Fig. 4.6), C1.12\(^794\) (Fig. 4.1) with S134 (Fig. 4.6), C1.13\(^795\) (Fig. 4.1) with S135 (Fig. 4.6); loops designs (design group 3): C1.17\(^796\) (Fig. 4.2) with S139 (Fig. 4.7), C1.18\(^797\) (Fig. 4.2) with S139 (Fig. 4.7); zigzag designs (design group 4): C1.14\(^798\) (Fig. 4.1) with S136 (Fig. 4.6), C1.15\(^799\) (Fig. 4.1)

\(^789\) Müller 1913: 86, 1930: 92, Fig. 52.
\(^790\) Rahmstorf 2008: 7-8, Table 2; Müller 1930; Dragendorff 1913: 342.
\(^791\) C1.9: unknown location; CMS V 530.
\(^792\) C1.10: unknown location; CMS V 534.
\(^793\) C1.11: Nauplion 1835; CMS V 535.
\(^794\) C1.12: Nauplion 1497; CMS V 536.
\(^795\) C1.13: unknown location; CMS V 538.
\(^796\) C1.17: Nauplion 1277; CMS V 563a.
\(^797\) C1.18: unknown location; CMS V 563b.
\(^798\) C1.14: unknown location; CMS V 557.
\(^799\) C1.15: Nauplion 82; CMS V 559.
with S137 (Fig. 4.7); nested angles designs (design group 8): C1.19<sup>800</sup> (Fig. 4.2) with S140 (Fig. 4.7); wavy lines designs (design group 9): C1.16<sup>801</sup> (Fig. 4.2) with S138 (Fig. 4.7); and herringbone designs (design group 14): C1.20<sup>802</sup> (Fig. 4.2) with S141 (Fig. 4.6).

Roller-impressed pithoi from the 1905-1916 phase of excavation include those with spiral designs (design group 1): C2.33<sup>803</sup> (Fig. 4.13), with S216 (Fig. 4.26), C2.34<sup>804</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S217 (Fig. 4.26), C2.35<sup>805</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S218 (Fig. 4.26), C2.36<sup>806</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S219 (Fig. 4.26); concentric circles designs (design group 2): C2.31<sup>807</sup> (Fig. 4.16), with S215 (Fig. 4.26), C2.32<sup>808</sup> (Fig. 4.16), with S189 (Fig. 4.24), C2.37<sup>809</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S220 (Fig. 4.26), C2.38<sup>810</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S221 (Fig. 4.26), C2.39<sup>811</sup> and C2.40<sup>812</sup> (Fig. 4.14) with S222 (Fig. 4.27), C2.41<sup>813</sup> (Fig. 4.14), with S224 (Fig. 4.27), C2.42<sup>814</sup> and C2.43<sup>815</sup> (Fig. 4.14) with S225 (Fig. 4.27), C2.44<sup>816</sup> (Fig. 4.17) with S227 (Fig. 4.27), C2.45<sup>817</sup> and C2.46<sup>818</sup> (Fig. 4.17) with S228 (Fig. 4.27), C2.47<sup>819</sup> (Fig.

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<sup>800</sup>C1.19: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 564.  
<sup>801</sup>C1.16: unknown location; CMS V 562a.  
<sup>802</sup>C1.20: Nauplion 5185; CMS V 564.  
<sup>803</sup>C2.33: Nauplion 87 (lost); CMS V 531.  
<sup>804</sup>C2.34: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 532.  
<sup>805</sup>C2.35: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 533.  
<sup>806</sup>C2.36: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 537.  
<sup>807</sup>C2.31: Tiryns 1697.  
<sup>808</sup>C2.32: Nauplion 1535; CMS V 529.  
<sup>809</sup>C2.37: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 539.  
<sup>810</sup>C2.38: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 540.  
<sup>811</sup>C2.39: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 541.  
<sup>812</sup>C2.40: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 542.  
<sup>813</sup>C2.41: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 543.  
<sup>814</sup>C2.42: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 544.  
<sup>815</sup>C2.43: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 545.  
<sup>816</sup>C2.44: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 546.  
<sup>817</sup>C2.45: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 547.  
<sup>818</sup>C2.46: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 548.  
<sup>819</sup>C2.47: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 549.
4.17) with S230 (Fig. 4.27), C2.48820 (Fig. 4.17) with S231 (Fig. 4.27); zigzags designs (design group 4): C2.51821 (Fig. 4.17) with S234 (Fig. 4.27), C2.52822 and C2.54,823 (Fig. 4.17) with S235 (Fig. 4.27), C2.55824 (Fig. 4.18) with S238 (Fig. 4.28), C2.62825 (Fig. 4.18) with S244 (Fig. 4.28); grid designs (design group 7): C2.60826 (Fig. 4.18) with S242 (Fig. 4.28), C2.61827 (Fig. 4.18) with S243 (Fig. 4.28); nested angles designs (design group 8): C2.59828 (Fig. 4.18) with S241 (Fig. 4.28); wavy lines designs (design group 9): C2.53829 (Fig. 4.17) with S236 (Fig. 4.27), C2.56830 and C2.57,831 (Fig. 4.18) with S239 (Fig. 4.28), C2.63832 (Fig. 4.18) with S245; herringbone designs (design group 14): C2.58833 (Fig. 4.18) with S240 (Fig. 4.28) and other designs (design group 16): C2.49834 (Fig. 4.17) with S232 (Fig. 4.27), and C2.50835 (Fig. 4.17) with S233 (Fig. 4.27).

Excavations in the Unterburg were also undertaken by Verdelis in 1965, and yielded a number of EH II-III objects. Siedentopf notes in his publication of this material that exact findspots are not retrievable because of the sudden death of the excavation.

821 C2.51: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 553.
822 C2.52: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 554.
823 C2.54: Nauplion 5183; CMS V 556.
824 C2.55: Nauplion 5180; CMS V 560.
825 C2.62: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 570.
826 C2.60: Nauplion 5188; CMS V 568.
827 C2.61: Nauplion 86; CMS V 569.
828 C2.59: Nauplion 5184; CMS V 567.
829 C2.53: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 555.
830 C2.56: Nauplion 5178; CMS V 561.
831 C2.57: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 562b.
832 C2.63: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 571.
833 C2.58: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 565.
834 C2.49: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 551.
835 C2.50: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 552.
Among them was a fragment of a hearth C1.8 (Fig. 4.1) roller-impressed with a spirals design (S130).

Kilian’s excavations in the Unterburg from 1976 to 1985, discussed above (IV.4.2 and V.3.4), uncovered partially preserved structures in several phases of EH occupation: EH II early (Horizont 1-4), EH II late (Horizont 7a-8a), and the EH II-III Überganghorizont (Horizont 9) (Figs. 1.5, 6.2.2-6.2.3). The partial structures are represented by wall fragments and few finds are described as being associated with any particular structure. A large multi-roomed building represented by Rooms 180-185 was found in EH IIB levels (Horizont 7a and 8a) in grid square LX II 39 (Fig. 6.2.3). Room 185 in this structure included in its northern part an elevated area with signs of burning, interpreted by the excavators as a pile of straw perhaps as a sleeping place. The finds from this room included the usual range of EH pottery, including roller-impressed hearths and stands, as well as obsidian flakes and blanks in the western part of room 185 that may suggest it was worked there. Kilian cites hearth fragment C1.24 (Fig. 4.2) with a roller-impressed spirals design S143 (Fig. 4.7) as the sole example of finds from this area of the Unterburg.

Weißhaar published the majority of roller-impressed hearths and pithoi found during Kilian’s excavations in the CMS (without precise find spots). Weißhaar’s later synthetic publication of this material does indicate, however, that fragments with roller-
impressed spirals and concentric circles designs were particularly numerous in later EH II levels, while those with zigzag designs more numerous in early and middle EH II periods.\textsuperscript{842} The object numbers assigned to each hearth fragment or pithos sherd include the grid square, and nearly all are from LXI or LXII. The majority of roller-impressed hearths and pithoi from Kilian’s excavations in the Unterburg can therefore be assigned to the western area of the Unterburg. Although he does not specify which Fundhorizont, if by “frühen und mittleren Schichten” Weißhaar is referring to Horizont 1-4, then most fragments of hearths and pithoi sherds with roller-impressed zizags may be associated with Rooms 174-175 (Horizont 1) or Room 177 (Horizont 3-4) in LXI-LXII 38-39 (Fig. 6.2.2). By that rationale, hearths and pithoi with roller-impressed spirals and concentric circle designs from “späten Frühhelladisch II-Phase” may have been found in Horizont 5-8b, in which case they would be associated with either Rooms 180-185 (Horizont 7a-8a) in LXI-LXII 38-39 (Fig. 6.2.3). If, however, Weißhaar includes the Übergangsphase (Horizont 9 in “späten Frühhelladisch II-Phase”), then fragments of hearths and pithoi with spiral and concentric circle designs may also be associated with Rooms 142-144 in LXII 38-40 (Fig. 6.2.2).

Roller-impressed hearths published by Weißhaar include those with spirals designs (design group 1): C1.21\textsuperscript{843} and C1.22\textsuperscript{844} (Fig. 4.2), both impressed with the same design S142 (Fig. 4.7), C1.23\textsuperscript{845} (Fig. 4.2) with S133 (Fig. 4.6), C1.24\textsuperscript{846} (Fig. 4.2) with S143

\textsuperscript{842} Weißhaar 1989: 317.
\textsuperscript{843} C1.21: Tiryns LXII 39/0; CMS VS1B 381.
\textsuperscript{844} C1.22: Tiryns LXII 42/99 IX; CMS VS1B 381.
\textsuperscript{845} C1.23: Tiryns LIII 50.72.210; CMS VS1B 382; Müller 1938.
\textsuperscript{846} C1.24: Tiryns LIII 50.72.210; CMS VS1B 384; Kilian 1983: 316, Fig. 41b.
(Fig. 4.7); concentric circles designs (design group 2): C1.25\(^{847}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S144 (Fig. 4.7); loop designs (design group 3): C1.35\(^{848}\) and C1.36\(^{849}\) (Fig. 4.2) both impressed with S152 (Fig. 4.8); zigzag designs (design group 4): C1.28\(^{850}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S147 (Fig. 4.7), C1.29\(^{851}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S148 (Fig. 4.7), C1.30\(^{852}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S149 (Fig. 4.7), C1.31a-b,\(^{853}\) C1.32,\(^{854}\) and C1.33\(^{855}\) (Fig. 4.2), all impressed with S150 (Fig. 4.8), C1.34\(^{856}\) (S151 (Fig. 4.8); nested angles designs (design group 8): C1.27\(^{857}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S146 (Fig. 4.7); figural designs (design group 11): C1.38a-b\(^{858}\) (Fig. 4.3) with S154 (Fig. 4.8); and herringbone designs (design group 14): C1.26\(^{859}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S145 (Fig. 4.7), C1.37a-b\(^{860}\) (Fig. 4.2) with S153 (Fig. 4.8).

Hearth fragment C1.23 (Fig. 4.2) was found in LIII 50, which is located just west of the citadel at the bottom of the Western Staircase (Fig. 6.2.1). It is impressed with the same roller used on hearth C1.11 (Fig. 4.1) found in the earlier excavations published by Müller, however, so its find spot is most likely a secondary context. While no grid square is indicated for C1.35 (Fig. 4.2), it is impressed with the same roller as C1.36 (Fig. 4.2) from LX I 39.

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\(^{847}\) C1.25: Tiryns LXI 39/95 XIIIb; CMS VS1B 392.
\(^{848}\) C1.35: Tiryns 17102; CMS VS1B 421; Kilian 1983: 316, Fig. 41b.
\(^{849}\) C1.36: Tiryns LXII 39/48 XIc; CMS VS1B 421; Kilian 1983, Fig. 41b.
\(^{850}\) C1.28: Tiryns LXII 37/16 IV; CMS VS1B 411.
\(^{851}\) C1.29: LXII 38; CMS VS1B 413.
\(^{852}\) C1.30: Tiryns LXIII 40/90 III; CMS VS1B 414.
\(^{853}\) C1.31: Tiryns LXII 43/1 XVg (a), Ti O (b); CMS VS1B 415.
\(^{854}\) C1.32: Tiryns LXI 39/72 Va; CMS VS1B 415.
\(^{855}\) C1.33: Tiryns Ti 5177; CMS VS1B 417.
\(^{856}\) C1.34: Tiryns LXII 39/41 Ofl. XVII Nr. 23; CMS VS1B 418.
\(^{857}\) C1.27: Tiryns LXII 38/1 IVb; CMS VS1B 410.
\(^{858}\) C1.38: Tiryns LXI 41/22 IV (a), LXII 38/70 IIIb (b); CMS VS1B 425.
\(^{859}\) C1.26: Tiryns LXII 37, 5185; CMS VS1B 409.
\(^{860}\) C1.37: Tiryns LXII 38/94 IVc +V (a), LXII 39 14 V (b); CMS VS1B 424.
Roller-impressed pithoi from Kilian’s excavations published by Weißhaar include those with spiral designs (design group 1): C2.64861 (Fig. 4.18) with S246 (Fig. 4.28), C2.65a-s862 and C2.66863 (Fig. 4.18), both impressed with S247 (Fig. 4.28), C2.67a-b864 and C2.68865 (Fig. 4.18), both impressed with S248 (Fig. 4.29), C2.69a-c866 (Fig. 4.19) with S249 (Fig. 4.29), C2.70867 (Fig. 4.19) with S250 (Fig. 4.29), C2.71868 C2.95,869 and C2.96a-b870 (Fig. 4.19), all impressed with S275 (Fig. 4.31); concentric circles designs (design group 2): C2.72871 (Fig. 4.19) with S252 (Fig. 4.29), C2.73872 (Fig. 4.19) with S253 (Fig. 4.29), C2.74873 (Fig. 4.19) with S254 (Fig. 4.29), C2.75a-d874 (Fig. 4.19) with S255 (Fig. 4.29), C2.76875 (Fig. 4.19) with S256 (Fig. 4.29), C2.77a-c876 and C2.78877 (Figs. 4.19-4.20), both impressed with the same design (S257 (Fig. 4.29), C2.79a-c878 (Fig. 4.20) with S259, C2.80a-c879 (Fig. 4.20) with S260 (Fig. 4.30), C2.81a-r880 (Fig. 4.30).

861 C2.64a-d: Tiryns LXII 37 (a), LXII 39 (b), LXIV 37 (c), LXIV 38 (d); CMS VS1B 376.
862 C2.65a-s: Tiryns LXI 39 (a), LX II 38 (b-d), LX II 39 (e-k), LXIV 38 (l-q), LXV 38 (r), Ti O (s); CMS VS1B 377.
863 C2.66: Tiryns unnumbered; CMS VS1B 377.
864 C2.67: Tiryns LXII 39 (a-b); CMS VS1B 377.
865 C2.68: Tiryns Ti O. CMS VS1B 378.
866 C2.69: Tiryns LXII 39 (a-b), STR FD (c); CMS VS1B 379.
867 C2.70: Tiryns LXIV 39; CMS VS1B 380.
868 C2.71: Tiryns LXIV 38; CMS VS1B 383.
869 C2.95: Tiryns LXIV 38; CMS VS1B 408.
870 C2.96: Tiryns LXII 37 (a), LX II 38 (b); CMS VS1B 408.
871 C2.72: Tiryns LX 38; CMS VS1B 385.
872 C2.73: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 386.
873 C2.74: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 387.
874 C2.75: Tiryns LXI 39 (a), LXII 42/3 (b), LXIV 38 (c), Ti O (d); CMS VS1B 388.
875 C2.76: Tiryns LXIV 38; CMS VS1B 389.
876 C2.77: Tiryns LXI 40 (a), LXII 39 (b), Ti O (c); CMS VS1B 390.
877 C2.78: Tiryns LXII 38; CMS VS1B 390.
878 C2.79: Tiryns LXII 39 (a), LXII 39 (b), T57 KI-2 (c); CMS VS1B 391.
879 C2.80: Tiryns LXII 52 (a), LXV 38 (b), Ti O (c); CMS VS1B 393.
880 C2.81: Tiryns LXI 40 (a), LX II 38 (b-f), LXII 39 (g-m), LXII 40 (n), Ti 39 (o), Ti 563 (p), Ti LXI 39 (q), Ti LXII 39 (r); CMS VS1B 394.
4.20) with S261 (Fig. 4.30), C2.82a-b \(^{881}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S262, C2.83a-b \(^{882}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S263 (Fig. 4.30), C2.84 \(^{883}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S264 (Fig. 4.30), C2.85a-b \(^{884}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S265 (Fig. 4.30), C2.86 \(^{885}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S266 (Fig. 4.30), C2.87 \(^{886}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S267 (Fig. 4.30), C2.88 \(^{887}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S268 (Fig. 4.30), C2.89a-c \(^{888}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S269 (Fig. 4.30), C2.90 \(^{889}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S270 (Fig. 4.30), C2.91 \(^{890}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S271 (Fig. 4.30), C2.92 \(^{891}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S272 (Fig. 4.30), C2.93 \(^{892}\) (Fig. 4.20) with S273 (Fig. 4.30); zigzags designs (design group 4): C2.97a-d \(^{893}\) (Fig. 4.22) with S276 (Fig. 4.31), C2.98a-n \(^{894}\) (Fig. 4.22) with S277 (Fig. 4.31), C2.100 \(^{895}\) (Fig. 4.21) with S279 (Fig. 4.31); points designs (design group 12): C2.99 \(^{896}\) (Fig. 4.22) with S279; and other designs (design group 16): C2.94 \(^{897}\) (Fig. 4.21) with S274 (Fig. 4.31), C2.101 \(^{898}\) (Fig. 4.21) with S280 (Fig. 4.31), C2.102 \(^{899}\) (Fig. 4.21) with S281 (Fig. 4.31).

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881 C2.82: Tiryns LXII 41 (a), LXII 42 (b); CMS VS1B 395.
882 C2.83: Tiryns LXI 41 (a), Ti O (b); CMS VS1B 396.
883 C2.84: Tiryns LXI 36; CMS VS1B 397.
884 C2.85: Tiryns LXII 40 (a), LXV 38 (b); CMS VS1B 398.
885 C2.86: Tiryns LXi 38; CMS VS1B 399.
886 C2.87: Tiryns LXI 36; CMS VS1B 400.
887 C2.88: Tiryns LXII 41; CMS VS1B 401.
888 C2.89: Tiryns LXI 42 (a), LXII 39 (b), Ti O (c); CMS VS1B 402.
889 C2.90: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 403.
890 C2.91: Tiryns LXI 38; CMS VS1B 404.
891 C2.92: Tiryns LXIV 43; CMS VS1B 405.
892 C2.93: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 406.
893 C2.97: Tiryns LXII 38 (a-d). CMS VS1B 412.
894 C2.98: Tiryns LXII 39 (a-m), UB 1971 (n); CMS VS1B 416.
895 C2.100: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 420.
896 C2.99: Tiryns LXII 38; CMS VS1B 419.
897 C2.94: Tiryns LXIV 39; CMS VS1B 407.
898 C2.101: Tiryns LXII 39; CMS VS1B 422.
899 C2.102: Tiryns LXIV 37; CMS VS1B 423.
Two fragments of a hearth/pithos with roller-impressed zigzags, \textbf{C3.2}^{900} \text{(Fig. 4.32)} and a zigzag design \textbf{S292}, and \textbf{C3.3}^{901} \text{(Fig. 4.32)} with a loop design \textbf{S293} \text{(Fig. 4.33)}, were found during Müller’s excavations.

Weißhaar’s chronological observations assigning zigzag rolled designs to earlier and middle EH II (presumably Rooms 174-175 of Horizont 1 and Room 177 of Horizont 3-4) and spiral designs to later EH II (presumably Rooms 180-185 in Horizont 7a-8a and perhaps Rooms 142-144 in Horizont 9) can perhaps be extended to the finds from earlier excavation campaigns published by Müller (Fig. 1.5). For example, although no find spot is indicated for \textbf{C2.36}^{902} \text{(Fig. 4.14)} another fragment with spirals design \textbf{S219} \text{(Fig. 4.26)} that was found in later excavations not included in the \textit{CMS} but that appears to be impressed with the same roller with spirals designs, was found in the Unterburg in a IIB (Horizont 8) pit.\textsuperscript{903} The spirals design on this roller conforms to Weißhaar’s assignment of later sherds to the later EH II phase. Even following Weißhaar’s rough chronological scheme for roller-impressed hearths and pithoi, however, none can be securely assigned to any particular structure. These are all therefore considered to be from secondary settlement contexts.

In addition to roller-impressed objects, two stamped bowls were also found during Kilian’s excavations. \textbf{C5.1}^{904} \text{(Fig. 4.26)} is the handle of a bowl stamped twice with concentric circles \textbf{S309} \text{(Fig. 4.37)} that was found in an unstratified context in the

\textsuperscript{900} \textbf{C3.2}: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 558.
\textsuperscript{901} \textbf{C3.3}: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 563.
\textsuperscript{902} \textbf{C2.36}: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 537.
\textsuperscript{903} Voigtlander 1980: 104, Pl. 56.
\textsuperscript{904} \textbf{C5.1}: Tiryns Ti O; CMS VS1B 375.
Unterburg, and C5.2\textsuperscript{905} (Fig. 4.36) is a base fragment of a bowl that was stamped with a concentric circles design S310 (Fig. 4.37).

**IV.3.4. Asine (Argolid)**

Asine’s stratigraphy and layout are discussed above (II.4.3). The seal-impressed objects from Asine include two roller-impressed hearths (C1.39, C1.40), one jar (C4.3), and one frying pan (C8.6).

Roller-impressed hearth fragments C1.39\textsuperscript{906} (Fig. 4.3) with spirals design S155 and C1.40\textsuperscript{907} (Fig. 4.3) with S156 were found on the Pre-Mycenaean Terrace on the acropolis, dated to EH II (Fig. 6.3.1).\textsuperscript{908}

Stamped jar C4.3\textsuperscript{909} (Fig. 4.34), a nearly complete globular jar impressed with a swastika design S300 (Fig. 4.35), was found in Room III of House R on Terrace III (Fig. 6.3.2), the back room of the apsidal structure where clay sealing B121 (Fig. 3.18) was found (see above, III.3.3). In Room III of House R were found jars, jugs, dishes, cups, and a sauceboat.\textsuperscript{910} Jar C4.3 therefore dates to EH II and was one of a number of jars in the room.

Frying pan C8.6\textsuperscript{911} with concentric circles in a network design S329 was found in the Lower Town in Deep Trench G14 (Fig. 6.3.4).\textsuperscript{912}

\textsuperscript{905} C5.2: Tiryns Ti AS 109; CMS VS1B 426.
\textsuperscript{906} C1.39: Pre-Mycenaean Terrace; Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 169.3.
\textsuperscript{907} C1.40: Pre-Mycenaean Terrace; Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 169.4.
\textsuperscript{908} Frödin and Persson 1938: 231.
\textsuperscript{909} C4.3: Nauplion unnumbered; CMS V 522.
\textsuperscript{910} Frödin and Persson 1938: 216-9.
\textsuperscript{911} C8.6: Lower Town, G14; Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 171.
\textsuperscript{912} Frödin and Persson 1938: 230-231.
IV.3.5. Makrovouni-Kefalari (Argolid)

Makrovouni-Kefalari is located near 1.5 km. northwest of the Larissa of Argos on the Xerias river plain. Surface survey of the site was undertaken by the ephoria after the area was plowed, at which time EH material was collected and remains of walls documented. An extensive EH site is indicated the walls that were uncovered.\(^9^{13}\) Among the finds were a fragment of hearth **C1.41**\(^9^{14}\) impressed with nested angles design **S157**.

IV.3.6. Berbati (Argolid)

Berbati is located on an acropolis approximately 3 km. south of Mycenae in the Berbati Valley. Excavations were undertaken between 1937 by Säflund revealed three occupational phases spanning EH II-MH I.\(^9^{15}\) Most of the finds from the excavation were lost. An EH II settlement was revealed on the south slope of the acropolis, where three rectangular structures were discovered (Megaron A, House B, and House R) (Fig. 6.5.1).

Megaron A is large (7.1 x 5.6 m.) with thick (0.60 m.) walls constructed using herringbone masonry. Inside the large square room of Megaron A was found hearth **C1.42**\(^9^{16}\) (Fig. 4.3), nearly intact and roller-impressed with irregular wavy lines **S158** and *in situ*, set into a cutting in the bedrock with clay. **C1.42** has an oxhide or double-ax ingot-shaped depression in the center, like the one found on hearth **C1.4** (Fig. 4.1) from Building BG at Lerna. A bothros was located 0.3 km. northeast of the hearth, inside of

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\(^9^{13}\) Dousougli-Zachos 1987.

\(^9^{14}\) **C1.41**: Dousougli-Zachos 1987, No. 135, Fig. 24; Galligan 2013: 128.

\(^9^{15}\) Säflund 1965.

\(^9^{16}\) **C1.42**: Säflund 1965: 99-100, Figs. 80-3; Galligan 2013: 117-118, Berbati 1, Figs. 4.111-4.113.
which were found fragments of a sauceboat, a dark-glazed dipper, and many pithos fragments. The pottery from this room is reported as three bowls including one with a ring base, a pithos base, and a pyxis.\textsuperscript{917} Outside Megaron A was found a bench with pithos fragments on top and two paved areas.

Houses R and B, which may belong to the same structure, were found to the east of Megaron A on what Säflund described as an alley. House B is 3.5 m. wide but the area was only partially explored so that its northern extent is unknown (Fig. 6.5.2).\textsuperscript{918} A pithos was found beside Room B’s eastern wall, along with another large storage vessel, and the area northwest of the pithos was especially ashy. An adult skeleton was found partially beneath the pithos and between it and the eastern wall, its legs blackened by fire, next to which was found a bronze triangular dagger.\textsuperscript{919} Säflund describes the stratigraphy of Room B as the same as Megaron A, but specifies only a spoon found under the skeleton’s arm and hearth \textbf{C1.43}\textsuperscript{920} (Fig. 4.3), roller-impressed with a zigzags design \textbf{S159}. In the upper course of the western wall was found roller-impressed hearth fragment \textbf{C1.44}\textsuperscript{921} (Fig. 4.3), which was impressed with a zigzag design \textbf{S160}.

The area northwest of Room B, Area C, consists of a series of terrace walls and bothroi, to the west of which is Area D on a terrace with EH material in both the upper

\textsuperscript{917} Säflund 1965: 102.
\textsuperscript{918} Säflund 1965: 109-112.
\textsuperscript{919} Säflund 1965: 110-111.
\textsuperscript{920} \textbf{1.43}: Säflund 1965: 110, Fig. 83b; Galligan 2013: 118, Berbati 3.
\textsuperscript{921} \textbf{C1.44}: Säflund 1965: 111, Fig. 83a; Galligan 2013: 118, Berbati 2.
and lower fill.\textsuperscript{922} Frying pan \textbf{C8.7}\textsuperscript{923} (Fig. 4.42), stamped with concentric circles design \textbf{S330} and \emph{Kerbschnitt}, was found in Area D in Bothros 5.\textsuperscript{924}

\textbf{IV.3.7. Berbati-Limnes (Argolid)}

In the Berbati Valley area west of Prosymna in the Argolid, the Berbati-Limnes survey was conducted by the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1988-1990 under the direction of Wells.\textsuperscript{925} In addition to the known EH settlement at Mastos, 21 new EH I-II sites were identified during the course of the survey. Findspot 12 is one of two newly established EH II sites in the survey region, and is dated to EH IIB. Obsidian and flint cores were discovered at Findspot 12, as well as a fragment of keyhole-shaped hearth \textbf{C1.45},\textsuperscript{926} which was impressed with a zigzag design \textbf{S161}.

\textbf{IV.3.8. Argolid Exploration Project (Argolid)}

The AEP is discussed above (IV.4.7). Five roller-impressed hearth fragments were found at Site F32 (\textbf{C1.46, C1.47, C1.48, C1.49, C1.50}, Fig. 4.3), the largest site identified in the survey and the center of the “Fournoi Focus”, a cluster of sites that included F16 where seal \textbf{A20} (Fig. 2.1) was found. The hearths are all circular in shape and include those with zigzags, including \textbf{C1.46},\textsuperscript{927} with \textbf{S162} (Fig. 4.8), \textbf{C1.48}\textsuperscript{928} (Fig. \textsuperscript{922} Säflund 1965: 112. 
\textsuperscript{923} \textbf{C8.7}: Säflund 1965: 135-136, Pl. 4. 
\textsuperscript{924} Säflund 1965: 135-136. 
\textsuperscript{925} Forsén 1996. 
\textsuperscript{926} \textbf{C1.45}: 57/1; Forsén 1996: 105, No. 132, Fig. 23. 
\textsuperscript{927} \textbf{C1.46}: F32-N-273; Pullen 1995: 38-9, No. 650, Figs. 36, 123. 
\textsuperscript{928} \textbf{C1.48}: F32-S-207; Pullen 1995: 38-9, No. 652, Figs. 36, 123.
4.3) with S164 (Fig. 4.8), **C1.49** with S165 (Fig. 4.8), and **C1.50** (Fig. 4.3) with S162 (Fig. 4.8), as well as **C1.47** (Fig. 4.3) with concentric circles designs S163 (Fig. 4.8).

**IV.3.9. Corinth (Corinthia)**

Corinth’s layout and stratigraphy are discussed above (IV.4.8). Six roller-impressed hearths were found at Corinth (**C1.51-C1.56**, Fig. 4.4), most of which come from the Temple Hill (Figs. 6.6.1, 6.6.3). Elsewhere Weinberg’s excavations in 1938-1939 explored an area 28 x 12 m. to the west of the archaeological museum and in preparation for landscaping operations (Fig. 6.6.2). A prehistoric wall running east-west had been robbed out and re-filled in the Byzantine period. Just south of the wall was found a fragment of a keyhole-shaped hearth **C1.51** (Fig. 4.4) with a roller-impressed nested angle design S167, which was found associated with LN and EH pottery. Although it is poorly preserved because of later disturbances, the wall and floor on which the hearth was found may represent either the interior of a house or an exterior courtyard.

In the first season of excavations at Temple Hill (Fig. 6.6.1) by ASCSA in the late 19th century, EH rock-cut tombs were found, and EH sherds and obsidian were found in the area in subsequent campaigns. Weinberg’s excavations on Temple Hill in 1937

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929 **C1.49**: F32-N-275; Pullen 1995: 38-9, 186, No. 653, Figs. 36, 123.
930 **C1.50**: F32-S-206; Pullen 1995: 38-9, No. 651, Figs. 36, 123.
931 **C1.47**: F32-N-271; Pullen 1995: 38-9, No. 649, Fig. 36.
932 Lavezzi 1979.
933 Weinberg 1939: 595-596.
934 **C1.51**: Corinth MF 13160. Weinberg 1939: 595-596, Fig. 4.
935 Weinberg 1939: 596, 599.
uncovered prehistoric fill in the six trenches sunk on either side of the Temple of Apollo (Fig. 6.6.3), with mixed Neolithic and EH levels that underlay purely EH levels, and with no MH or LH material. The prehistoric fill in Temple Hill therefore appears to have been used as leveling fill for the construction of the earliest temple, which is reinforced by the very fragmentary preservation of the significant number of sherds found there. Little architecture was discovered, only a few stretches of EH stone walls in Trenches I and IV. Those in Trench IV being the most carefully constructed (0.5-0.6 m. wide), and no floors could be associated with them. In Trench I a few stretches of walls were found, as well as an oval pit 0.4 m. deep was carved into the bedrock, its sides smoothed and a channel running into it from outside the excavation area, but no pottery was found inside of it. Among the material recovered from Trench I was C1.52 (Fig. 4.4), a roller-impressed hearth with a wavy lines design S168 (Fig. 4.9). Although walls were found in Trench I, because no floors can be assigned to the floors the deposit is interpreted as fill. In Trench V, located to the west of Trench I, was found C1.53 (Fig. 4.4), another hearth with a roller-impressed wavy lines design S169 (Fig. 4.9), as was C1.55 (Fig. 4.4), a third hearth with a wavy lines design S171 (Fig. 4.9).

Neolithic and EH material was also found in the area of the Roman Forum during campaigns in 1968-1970, where fragmentary EH walls, sherds, and bothroi were discovered. Excavations in the southwestern area of the Forum were conducted in 1976

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937 Weinberg 1937: 491, Fig. 2.
938 C1.52: Corinth MF 13395; CMS V 508.
939 C1.53: Corinth MF 13396; CMS V 509.
940 C1.55a-b: Corinth MF 13397 (a), MF 13397 (b); CMS VS1A 402.
941 Lavezzi 1978: 410-7, Fig. 1.
under the direction of Williams,\(^{942}\) which uncovered in grid square 71-D hearth **C.154**\(^{943}\) (Fig. 4.4) a keyhole-shaped hearth, its pan and rim impressed with two different roller-impressed wavy lines designs. The impression on the rim of **S169** (Fig. 4.9) is combined with a tool-pressed zigzag line, and the one on the pan, **S170** (Fig. 4.9) with *Kerbschnitt*.

Hearth **C1.56**\(^{944}\) (Fig. 4.4) with a wavy lines design **S173** (Fig. 4.9) beneath a tool-pressed zigzag was found at Corinth, though its findspot is unknown. In addition to the roller-pressed hearth fragments, a sherd of roller-pressed pithos **C2.103**\(^{945}\) with a spirals design **S282** (Fig. 4.31), was published by Kosmopoulos, who published the Neolithic and EH material found in early excavations at the site.\(^{946}\) No findspot is given. Hearth/pithos fragment **C3.4**\(^{947}\) (Fig. 4.32) with roller-pressed zigzags **S294** (Fig. 4.33), was found in the western area of the Roman Forum in grid 73-D during Williams’ 1974 campaign.\(^{948}\)

Four stamped frying pans were also found at Corinth. **C8.8** (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped spiral-net pattern **S331**, **C8.9** (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped spiral design **S332**, and **C8.10** (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped spiral **S333**\(^{949}\) are frying pan fragments Weinberg reports as having been found at Temple Hill, but no exact find spot is indicated.\(^{950}\)

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\(^{942}\) Williams 1977; Lavezzi 1979: 347.
\(^{943}\) **C1.54a-b**: Corinth MF 13395 (a), MF 1976-66 (b); CMS V1A 400.
\(^{944}\) **C1.56**: Corinth MF 13610; CMS VS1A 403.
\(^{945}\) **C2.103**: unknown location; unknown context.
\(^{946}\) Kosmopoulos 1948: 7-10 for summary of excavation.
\(^{947}\) **C3.4**: Corinth MF-1974-71; CMS VS1A 399.
\(^{948}\) Lavezzi 1979: 342, 346.
\(^{949}\) **C8.8, C8.9, C8.10**: unknown location; unknown context.
\(^{950}\) Weinberg 1937: 516.
C8.11\textsuperscript{951} is an unpublished and unillustrated example that Coleman reports as have a stamped spiral design S334.\textsuperscript{952}

**IV.3.10. Cheliotomylos Hill (Corinthia)**

Cheliotomylos Hill is discussed above (V.3.5) (Fig. 6.6.1). Fruitstand C7.1\textsuperscript{953} (Fig. 4.40) was found in a fill during Hill’s excavations in 1931 when test trenches were sunk prior to construction of the new museum.\textsuperscript{954} It was stamped with two spirals from which incised lines grow, with incised nested angles on either side S319.

**IV.3.11. Korakou (Corinthia)**

Korakou is a coastal site located on a low mound approximately 2 km. west of Corinth. It was excavated by Blegen in 1915-1916, revealing an EH II-MH ceramic sequence.\textsuperscript{955} Beneath LH houses at the top of the mound were found MH and lower down EH strata. EH structures were concentrated to the east of the excavation area.\textsuperscript{956} Two vessels of undetermined type, C9.1\textsuperscript{957} and C9.2\textsuperscript{958} (Fig. 4.46), both stamped with spirals connected by incised tangent lines in a running spirals design S375 and S376, were found at the site, though no exact find spot is indicated. They are assigned an EH II date on the basis of style.

\textsuperscript{951} C8.11: Corinth C-68-359; unkown context.
\textsuperscript{952} Coleman 1985: 215.
\textsuperscript{953} C7.1: Corinth unnumbered; unkown context.
\textsuperscript{954} Kosmopoulos 1948: 29-30.
\textsuperscript{955} Blegen 1921.
\textsuperscript{956} Blegen 1921, Pl. 8.
\textsuperscript{957} C9.1: Corinth CP 3311; unkown context.
\textsuperscript{958} C9.2: Corinth 3310 unkown context.
IV.3.12. Zygouries (Corinthia)

The layout and phasing of Zygouries are discussed above (II.4.9). The seal-impressed objects from Zygouries include one roller-impressed hearth (C1.57, Fig. 4.4), four roller-impressed pithoi (C2.104-C2.107, Fig. 4.21), one stamped bowl (C5.3, Fig. 4.36), and one stamped frying pan (C8.15). The exact findspots of the roller-impressed objects are unknown. The fragment of hearth C1.57\textsuperscript{959} (Fig. 4.4) was published by Blegen, but its exact findspot is not given. It may have belonged to either the House of the Pithoi, which had a large room that may have corresponded to the hearth rooms of corridor houses.\textsuperscript{960} Also of unknown context is a roller-impressed pithos fragment C2.104\textsuperscript{961} (Fig. 4.21) with zigzag designs S283 that is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Similarly, pithos sherds C2.105-C2.107 were published by Blegen without a findspot. Pithos sherd C2.105\textsuperscript{962} (Fig. 4.21) was impressed with the same distinctive spirals and quadrupeds design S189 (Fig. 4.24) as C2.1 (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna and C2.32 (Fig. 4.16) from Tiryns. C2.106\textsuperscript{963} (Fig. 4.21) is impressed with zigzags S284 (Fig. 4.31), and C2.107\textsuperscript{964} (Fig. 4.21) with concentric circles designs S285 (Fig. 4.31).

\textsuperscript{959} C1.57: Corinth unnumbered; unknown context.
\textsuperscript{960} Galligan 2013: 122.
\textsuperscript{961} C2.104: New York 23.121.2; unknown context.
\textsuperscript{962} C2.105: Corinth unnumbered; CMS V 504.
\textsuperscript{963} C2.106: Corinth unnumbered; CMS V 505.
\textsuperscript{964} C2.107: Corinth unnumbered; CMS V 507.
Stamped objects include a sherd from bowl C5.3\(^{965}\) (Fig. 4.36), which was impressed numerous times with a triangular stamp with a nested angle design S311. It was found in the deep pits sunk into the eastern side of the hill, a secondary context.\(^{966}\)

C8.15\(^{967}\) is a frying pan sherd with a stamped spiral-net design S338 that Blegen included in his catalogue of hand polished ware he reports as most frequent in the lowest levels of the EH settlement, and is therefore assigned an EH II date.

**IV.3.13. Petri (Corinthia)**

The layout and stratification of Petri are discussed above (V.3.3). Two roller-impressed pithoi were found in R 1, the EH IIB storage area where clay sealings B126-B135 (Fig. 3.20) were found (see above, III.3.4). Further evidence for R 1’s storage function comes from the eight un-impressed and three roller-impressed pithoi from R 1 (Fig. 6.8.2).\(^{968}\) The two largest were the roller-impressed pithoi C2.108\(^{969}\) (Fig. 4.22) and C2.109,\(^{970}\) both found in the northeastern corner sunken 0.70 m. deep into the ground, though only the first of which was published and illustrated. The roller-impressed concentric circle + herringbone design S286 used to impress C2.108 was used on both large pithoi and a third smaller pithos from R 1, as well as two pithos fragments found at Tiryns (C2.90, C2.92, Fig. 4.20). One pithos from R 1 had traces of burning in its interior, possible evidence for the combustion of olive oil during the destruction of House

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\(^{965}\) C5.3: unknown location; “Deep pits.”

\(^{966}\) Blegen 1928: 116-7.

\(^{967}\) C8.15: unknown location; unknown context.

\(^{968}\) Kostoula 2004: 1143, 1146.

\(^{969}\) C2.108: Nemea unnumbered; Room R 1.

\(^{970}\) C2.109: Nemea unnumbered; Room R 1.
R, and the other had a spout above ground level, a feature that at Ayios Kosmas was associated with a vessel containing grape seeds.\textsuperscript{971} Ten further roller-impressed pithos fragments were found in the rubbish heap (“Abfallhaufen”) around R 1, which Kostoula reports were impressed with designs similar to those from Lerna and Tiryns.\textsuperscript{972}

**IV.3.14. Tsoungiza (Corinthia)**

Tsoungiza’s stratigraphy and layout are given above (IV.4.10). Seal-impressed objects from Tsoungiza include five roller-impressed hearths (C\textsuperscript{1.58-C1.62}, Fig. 4.4), one roller-impressed hearth/pithos fragments (C\textsuperscript{3.5}, Fig. 4.32) one stamped bowls, (C\textsuperscript{5.4}, Fig. 4.36), two stamped pyxides (C\textsuperscript{6.1-C6.2}, Fig. 4.36), two stamped fruitstands (C\textsuperscript{7.2-C7.3}, Fig. 4.40), and four stamped frying pans (C\textsuperscript{8.16-C8.19}, Fig. 4.42).

Hearth fragment C\textsuperscript{1.58}\textsuperscript{973} (Fig. 4.4) was impressed with zigzag designs S\textsuperscript{175} (Fig. 4.10) and was found in EU 5 in the fill south of curved Wall 38 in the southeastern sector, which belonged to a partially preserved structure (Fig. 6.9.3). The deposit is dated to EH II Initial (EH IIA early) but this hearth appears to be an EH II Developed (EH IIA-B early) intrusion, perhaps related to later building activity in the area, since Wall 38 is overlain by Wall 11.

Hearth fragment C\textsuperscript{1.59}\textsuperscript{974} (Fig. 4.4) with roller-impressed zigzags S\textsuperscript{176} (Fig. 4.10) was found in EU 5 in the Burnt Room, an EH II Developed Phase 2 (EH IIA late) structure named for the evidence for its destruction by fire (Fig. 6.9.7).\textsuperscript{975} The Burnt

\textsuperscript{971} Kostoula 2004: 1147, fn. 67.
\textsuperscript{972} Kostoula 2000: 137, 2004: 1144-1145.
\textsuperscript{973} C\textsuperscript{1.58}: Nemea 896-2-1; EU 5, Fill 8.
\textsuperscript{974} C\textsuperscript{1.59}: Nemea 748-2-1; EU 5, Burnt Room.
\textsuperscript{975} Pullen 2011a: 210.
Room is contemporary with and located to the east of House A, a structure comparable in size and layout to corridor houses that Pullen argues was used for large-scale feasting. The structure is difficult to define, since evidence of the roof (wood and bundled reed impressions in burnt clay) and the floor with whole vessels preserved in situ were preserved, but not its walls (Fig. 6.9.7). Pullen thinks that hearth fragment C1.59 may have been part of the building material for the Burnt Room. The ceramic assemblage from the Burnt Room included 16 small bowls, one medium bowl, one askos, a pyxis, two jars, and sauceboat. Also from this room comes a spindle whorl, pestle, two beads, chipped stone tools including flint and obsidian blades, millstones, a bone spatula, and a bone awl. Substantial botanical remains were also recovered, including figs, cereals, and lentils, though there is no evidence for storage and no hearth, and Pullen proposes that this is a specialized rather than domestic assemblage, perhaps related to beer production or some other beverage.

Hearth C1.60 (Fig. 4.4) with a roller-impressed zigzag design S177 (Fig. 4.10) was found in Fill 17 in Bench 1 in the north of the Burnt Room (Fig. 6.9.7), and so is dated to EH II Developed Phase 3 (EH IIA late). C1.61 (Fig. 4.4), also with zigzags design S178 (Fig. 4.10), was found in Fill 24, which overlay Walls 29, 32, and 33, yielded sherds of EH II Developed Phase 2 (EH IIA late) date (Fig. 6.9.7). Also in this fill were found a bronze pin, shell pendant, terracotta anchor, two stone pyxis lids and a

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976 Pullen 2011a: 199, 293, Table 5.6.
977 Pullen 2011a: 322-323, Fig. 5.58.
978 C1.60: Nemea 770-2-1; EU 5, Fill 17.
979 C1.61: Nemea 745-2-1; EU 5, Fill 24.
stone celt, as well as a bone tool.\textsuperscript{980} Hearth \textbf{C.1.62}\textsuperscript{981} (Fig. 4.4) with zigzags design \textbf{S179} (Fig. 4.10) was found in EU 2, located south of EU 5 and down the hill (Fig. 6.9.2). It was found in an MH fill but is dated on the basis of style to EH II Developed.

Hearth/pithos fragment \textbf{C.3.5}\textsuperscript{982} (Fig. 4.32), which is stamped with two different seals, one a circular seal with a grid design \textbf{S295} (Fig. 4.33) and the other a triangular seal with nested angles design \textbf{S296} (Fig. 4.33), was found in EU 7 in Pit 10 (Fig. 6.9.8). Along the southern edge of EU 7 were found Wall 29 and Pit 10, both dated to EH III, since the pottery is largely of EH III date with some later MH intrusions.\textsuperscript{983}

Stamped bowl \textbf{C.5.4}\textsuperscript{984} (Fig. 4.36) was stamped with a triangular seal with nested angles design \textbf{S312} (Fig. 4.37). It was found below the 1982 House A, an apsidal structure found on the southern slopes of the Tsoungiza Hill, in an an EH II Initial (EH IIA early) deposit (Fig. 6.9.5), along with pyxis \textbf{C.6.2} (Fig. 4.38).\textsuperscript{985}

Pyxis fragment \textbf{C.6.1}\textsuperscript{986} (Fig. 4.38) stamped with a spiral-net design \textbf{S313} (Fig. 4.39) was found in Pit 32 in EU 5 (Fig. 6.9.3), where hearth \textbf{C.1.58} (Fig. 4.4) was found, as well as frying pan \textbf{C.8.18} (Fig. 4.42), and is dated to EH I-II Initial (EH IIA early). Globular pyxis \textbf{C.6.2}\textsuperscript{987} (Fig. 4.38), the full profile of which was mended from 40 sherds and stamped with concentric circles \textbf{S314} (Fig. 4.39), was found below the floor of 1982

\textsuperscript{980} Pullen 2011a: 312.
\textsuperscript{981} C.1.62: Nemea 398-2-1; EU 2, MH Fill.
\textsuperscript{982} C.3.5: Nemea 1250-2-1; EU 7, Pit 10.
\textsuperscript{983} Pulln 2011a: 469-471.
\textsuperscript{984} C.5.4: 2172-2-2; EU 5, below floor of House A.
\textsuperscript{985} Pullen 2011a: 149-58.
\textsuperscript{986} C.6.1: NVAP 2012-2-1; EU 5, Pit 32.
\textsuperscript{987} C.6.2: NVAP 2177-2-1; EU 5, below floor of House A.
House A, along with stamped bowl C5.4 (Fig. 4.36) in an EH II Initial (EH IIA early) deposit. Pullen notes that the fabric of this pottery is non-local.

Fruitstand C7.2\textsuperscript{988} (Fig. 4.40) the base of which is stamped with spirals connected with incised tangent lines S320 (Fig. 4.41), was found in Pit 18 in EU 5 (Fig. 6.9.1). This pit was initially discovered by Harland in his excavations in this area, which he documented as Bothros 5, Trench P. The pottery from Pit 18 consisted of EH I shapes, including other fruitstands, a pedestal, jars, a bowl, and an askos.\textsuperscript{989} Fruitstand C7.3\textsuperscript{990} (Fig. 4.40) with a single stamped spiral S321 (Fig. 4.41) preserved was found in plowzone during the 1981 excavations, and is assigned a date of EH I.

Frying pan C8.16\textsuperscript{991} (Fig. 4.41) with concentric circles was found in Harland’s Trench P, which was re-explored in EU 5 (Fig. 6.9.2). Other finds from Harland’s excavation in this area include cup, tankard, bowl, jar, jug, a bone awl, terracotta anchor, several spindle whorls, and the context is dated to EH I-II. Frying pans C8.17\textsuperscript{992} (Fig. 4.42) with stamped concentric circles in a network pattern S339 (Fig. 4.45) and C8.18\textsuperscript{993} (Fig. 4.42) with a stamped concentric circle design S340 (Fig. 4.45) were found in Pit 32 in EU 5, located north of curved Wall 38 where hearth C1.58 (Fig. 4.4) and pyxis C6.1 (Fig. 4.38) were found (Fig. 6.9.3). The ceramic assemblage from this pit are dated to the EH I-EH II Initial periods (EH IIA early). Frying pan C8.19\textsuperscript{994} (Fig. 4.32) with stamped

\textsuperscript{988} C7.2: NVAP 100-2-8; EU 5, Pit 18.
\textsuperscript{989} Pullen 2011a: 108-10, Figs. 3.19-21.
\textsuperscript{990} C7.3: Nemea P 818 = TS 432; Plowzone.
\textsuperscript{991} C8.16: Nemea 91-2-2; EU 5, Trench P.
\textsuperscript{992} C8.17: NVAP 2013-3-2; EU 5, Pit 32.
\textsuperscript{993} C8.18: NVAP 2014-2-1; EU 5, Pit 32.
\textsuperscript{994} C8.19: NVAP 1958-2-1; EU 5, Fill 8.
concentric circles $\text{S342}$ (Fig. 4.42) was found in Fill 8 in EU 5, south of curved Wall 38 where hearth $\text{C1.58}$ was found, and thus is dated to EH II Initial (EH IIA early).

**IV.3.15. Perachora (Corinthia)**

Perachora is located across the Corinthian Gulf from Lake Vouliagmeni, 7 km. north of the modern village of Loutraki. The site was excavated in 1965 and 1972 by Fossey, who uncovered an EH settlement with three phases of occupation: phase X = EH I late; phase Y = EH I-II; phase Z = EH II early.\footnote{Fossey 1969, 1973.} A large building with at least two rooms and a corridor that was discovered in areas A and B was covered with a destruction layer.\footnote{Fossey 1973: 150-151, Pl. 135c.} A series of EH structures were found in the test trench sunk in 1969, where an early round Phase Y building was overlain by a larger rectilinear Phase Y building, which was overlain by a thick destruction deposit, and only one wall segment could be assigned to Phaze Z.\footnote{Fossey 1969: 54, Fig. 1.} Frying pan $\text{C8.12}$\footnote{C8.12: unknown location; Phase Z.} with stamped concentric circles $\text{S335}$ (Fig. 4.45) was found in the Phase Z of this trial trench, and thus assigned an EH IIA date, as was frying pan $\text{C8.14}$\footnote{C8.14: unknown location; Phase Z.} Frying pan $\text{C8.13}$\footnote{C8.13: unknown location; Phases Y-Z.} with stamped spirals design $\text{S336}$ (Fig. 4.45) in a spiral-net composition with *Kerbschnitt* was found in Phases Y-Z, and thus assigned an EH I-IIA date.
IV.3.16. Anthochori (Laconia)

Anthochori is located in the western part of the Eurotas river valley, southwest of the modern Xirokambi, where a rescue excavation revealed successive phases of EH occupation in the Katsoulakos plot, all of which were dated to EH IIA.\textsuperscript{1001} Within the limited (183 m\textsuperscript{2}) excavation area, a large building with four rooms and walls 0.70-0.75 m. wide was found in the lowest level in the northwest of the excavation area (Fig. 6.11.1).\textsuperscript{1002} Among the finds were jar \textbf{C4.5}\textsuperscript{1003} (Fig. 4.34), which was stamped with a grid design \textbf{S302} (Fig. 4.35), and frying pan \textbf{C8.20}\textsuperscript{1004} (Fig. 4.42), which was stamped with spirals design \textbf{S343}. No exact findspots were indicated.

IV.3.17. Asea (Arcadia)

The layout and stratigraphy of Asea are discussed above (IV.4.14). Two fragments frying pans stamped with concentric circles, \textbf{C8.21}\textsuperscript{1005} with \textbf{S344} (Fig. 4.45), and \textbf{C8.22}\textsuperscript{1006} with \textbf{S345} (Fig. 4.45), were found in mixed Neolithic and EH levels, though no exact find spots are indicates.\textsuperscript{1007}

\textsuperscript{1002} Zavvou 2012, Fig. 4.14-4.15.
\textsuperscript{1003} \textbf{C4.5}: unknown location; Katsoulakos plot.
\textsuperscript{1004} \textbf{C8.20}: unknown location; Katsoulakos plot.
\textsuperscript{1005} \textbf{C8.21}: unknown location; mixed Neolithic-EH layer.
\textsuperscript{1006} \textbf{C8.22}: unknown location; mixed Neolithic-EH layer.
\textsuperscript{1007} Holmberg 1944: 85-6; Coleman 1985: 214.
IV.3.18. Ayioryitika (Arcadia)

Ayioryitika’s stratigraphy and layout are given above (IV.4.15). Pyxis C6.3\textsuperscript{1008} is preserved nearly intact, its base stamped with a dense network of concentric circles S315 (Fig. 4.39). It was found in Unit BB at the center of the mound in an intrusive EH deposit along the western wall.\textsuperscript{1009}

IV.3.19. Ayios Dhimitrios (Elis)

The layout and phasing of Ayios Dhimitrios are discussed above (V.3.9). A handle fragment of vessel C9.3\textsuperscript{1010} (Fig. 4.46), a vessel of undetermined type stamped with S377, an unusual design classified here as other, was found in House B, located north of House A on the mound (Fig. 6.13.3).\textsuperscript{1011} House B was only partially preserved, represented only by two walls, as no floors were detected. C9.3 was found west of wall I toward the north. Other finds from this context include clay hearths, two theriomorphic terracotta figurines, a copper chisel fragment, and roof tile fragments. House B was assigned to Phase IIa, which is dated to EH I-II transitional, but is dated to EH II on the basis of style.

IV.3.20. Athens (Attica)

Athen’s EH occupation is discussed above (IV.4.16). From the area of the acropolis come two frying pans. C8.23\textsuperscript{1012} (Fig. 4.42) with stamped concentric circles

\textsuperscript{1008} C6.3: Tegea HAG P 175 unknown location; “B-8, cleaning floor of house.”
\textsuperscript{1009} Petrakis 2000: 20-21.
\textsuperscript{1010} C9.3: Olympia Π 3694; House B.
\textsuperscript{1011} Zachos 2008: 50.
\textsuperscript{1012} C8.23: unknown location; Acropolis.
S346 (Fig. 4.45) was reportedly found in the area of the Acropolis.\textsuperscript{1013} Bossert published another frying pan, C8.24\textsuperscript{1014} (Fig. 4.42), stamped with a spiral design S347. Several frying pans with incised rather than stamped concentric circles were also found on the north slope.\textsuperscript{1015}

**IV.3.21. Ayios Kosmas (Attica)**

The stratification and layout of Ayios Kosmas are given above (IV.4.17). The majority of seal-impressed objects from Ayios Kosmas are stamped vessels that were found in graves in the North Cemetery (Fig. 6.14.3).\textsuperscript{1016} Thirty-two graves were excavated in the North Cemetery, which were either cist graves or built graves with stones set into clay. The plans of which varies in shape from trapezoidal for cist to elliptical for the built graves, all with pebble and sand floors and roofed with stone slabs, and many had doors that were closed with stone slabs.\textsuperscript{1017} The ground above the grave was marked with stones. Most of the graves were oriented north-south, but the bodies were laid out in a variety of directions. A number of objects, including numerous vessels, were found around the graves. These may have been placed on the graves as kterismata or offerings by mourners inside the stone boundaries that marked the graves. Multiple burials and secondary burial practices, including the clearing of older burials and stacking of skulls, is evidenced at the North Cemetery.

\textsuperscript{1013} Graef 1909: 1.
\textsuperscript{1014} C8.24: unknown location; Acropolis.
\textsuperscript{1015} Hansen 1937, Fig. 4d; Gauss 2000, Figs. 1.10-1.12; Graef 1909, Fig. 1.2; Graef and Langlotz 1925: 1, Pl. 1.
\textsuperscript{1016} Mylonas 1959: 64.
\textsuperscript{1017} Mylonas 1959: 65.
Two sherds from a jar **C4.7** (Fig. 4.7) stamped with spirals design **S304** in a running spirals composition, were found in Grave 1 (Fig. 6.14.4).**1019** Grave 1 is a cist grave (1.5 x 1.2 m.) constructed of stone slabs, with a doorway in the southwestern corner that was added later when the slab was broken. Inside the grave an adult female skeleton was found on its right side facing north towards the sea, its skull on a flat stone and its legs flexed, and a teenage male skeleton was found on its left side in a contracted position behind the first skeleton. Additional skulls were found in the southeast corner. The only find reported from this grave is jar **C4.7**.**1020**

A complete spherical pyxis, **C6.4** (Fig. 4.38) stamped with concentric circles design **S316** (Fig. 4.39), was found outside Grave 3, inverted and filled with obsidian chips, blades, and cores.**1022** Grave 3 was located on the highest rocky outcrop overlooking the sea (Fig. 6.14.5).**1023** Grave 3 was a built grave (1.27 x 1.30 m.) with walls of unworked stone and circular in shape that incline slightly as is corbelled, with a partially preserved slab roof and stone slabs that covered its door, which had a lintel and threshold and faced the settlement to the south. The numerous bones were found packed against the northern side of the grave, among which at least six skulls were found, one identified as an adult male and two as adult females. A row of stones was found outside the doorway delimiting the grave area, to the southeast of which were found inverted vessels, mostly cups, jugs, and tankards, but also two stone pyxides, a marble Cycladic

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1018 **C4.7**: unknown location; Grave 1.
1019 Mylonas 1959: 71-73.
1020 Mylonas 1959: 145.
1021 **C6.4**: Athens 8955; Grave 3.
1022 Mylonas 1959: 76.
1023 Mylonas 1959: 71-73.
Among them was spherical jar C6.4 filled with obsidian, presumably as a grave offering.\(^{1025}\)

Jar C4.8\(^{1026}\) (Fig. 4.34), an unusual jar with a possible face with stamped spirals design S305 where the eyes and mouth should be and a large Y-shaped plastic attachment as eyebrows and nose, was found in Grave 4.\(^{1027}\) Grave 4 was a cist tomb nearly rectangular in shape (1.28 x 1.08 m.) located to the south of Grave 1 (Fig. 6.14.6).\(^{1028}\) Mylonas argues that it is contemporary with Grave 1 and earlier than Grave 3 because of its position and construction technique. Its doorway was located on the south side facing the settlement and was a later addition, when two stone walls were added to form a prothryon (entranceway). The grave was long lived, as is suggested by the stratification of the skeletal material, with four skulls in the lowest level, seven in the middle, and five in the upper levels. A total of at least 16 burials were made, and two male skulls were identified. No objects were found inside the grave, but rather were found outside the graves as with Grave 3. Jar C4.8 was among the offerings, which also included cups, a stone figurine, and numerous obsidian chips and blades.\(^{1029}\) Three frying pans were found associated with Grave 4, C8.27,\(^{1030}\) C8.28,\(^{1031}\) and C8.29\(^{1032}\) (Fig. 4.43).

\(^{1024}\) Mylonas 1959: 75-78.
\(^{1025}\) Mylonas 1959: 73-74.
\(^{1026}\) C4.8: unknown location; Grave 4.
\(^{1027}\) Mylonas 1959: 80.
\(^{1028}\) Mylonas 1959: 78-80.
\(^{1029}\) Mylonas 1959: 80.
\(^{1030}\) C8.27: unknown location; Grave 4.
\(^{1031}\) C8.28: unknown location; Grave 4.
\(^{1032}\) C8.29: unknown location; Grave 4.
C4.6\textsuperscript{1033} (Fig. 4.34) is complete conical jar stamped with spirals S303 (Fig. 4.35) all the way around on its shoulder that was found in Grave 7.\textsuperscript{1034} Grave 7 is the largest of the cist graves in the cemetery (1.76 x 1.40 m.), with its doorway to the south that was added later when the slab was broken and a prothryon was added (Fig. 6.14.7).\textsuperscript{1035} The roof slabs had collapsed and crushed the skeletons inside the tomb, but a nearly complete skeleton was found inside the prothryon, almost certainly the last burial made in the tomb. The skeleton was placed on its left side in a flexed position with its head resting on a slab. Vessels from inside the grave include two bowls, a small jar, two jars, and two frying pans, C8.25\textsuperscript{1036} (Fig. 4.42) with a single stamped spiral design S348 ringed by concentric short incised lines and C8.26\textsuperscript{1037} (Fig. 4.43) with a single central stamped spiral S349 ringed by concentric incised lines and Kerbschnitt. C8.25 was found inside the grave by the femur of the complete skeleton in the prothryon, and C8.26 below the top layer of bones.\textsuperscript{1038} Outside the graves were found two small pyxides and a bowl, as well as the head a marble figurine, two stone palettes and a stone pestle, a zoomorphic stand, obsidian chips and blades, and a sea shell.\textsuperscript{1039}

Another frying pan, C8.31\textsuperscript{1040} (Fig. 4.43) with stamped spirals S354 in a running spiral composition was found in Grave 12. Grave 12 is a cist grave of irregular rectangular shape (1.38 x 1.30 m.) that contained two piles of bones, each apparently

\textsuperscript{1033} C4.6: Athens unnumbered; Grave 7.
\textsuperscript{1034} Mylonas 1959: 86.
\textsuperscript{1035} Mylonas 1959: 84-87.
\textsuperscript{1036} C8.25: unknown location; Grave 7.
\textsuperscript{1037} C8.26: unknown location; Grave 7.
\textsuperscript{1038} Mylonas 1959: 85.
\textsuperscript{1039} Mylonas 1959: 85.
\textsuperscript{1040} C8.31: unknown location; Grave 12.
belonging to a different body, in the northwestern and northeastern corners (Fig. 6.14.8).\textsuperscript{1041} C8.31 was found in the southwest corner of the grave, leaning up against the wall. Outside of the grave were found a stone quern, stone pallete, and sherds from cups, bowls, and sauceboats.

Frying pan C8.32\textsuperscript{1042} (Fig. 4.43) with a stamped running spiral design S355 was found outside Grave 23,\textsuperscript{1043} Grave 23 (Fig. 6.14.9).\textsuperscript{1044} is a cist grave (1.0 x 0.8 m.) that may have been looted, since skeletal material, including three skulls, were found placed in the middle but no gave goods were found inside. Outside the tomb were found cups, bronze tweezers, obsidian chips and blades, a sea shell, as well as frying pan C8.32.

Frying pan C8.33\textsuperscript{1045} (Fig. 4.44) with stamped running spirals S356 was found in the area north of Graves 25 and 30,\textsuperscript{1046} and C8.34\textsuperscript{1047} with stamped spirals S357 in the areas north of Graves 25 and 30 (Fig. 6.14.10).\textsuperscript{1048} In this area were found a number of obsidian blades and cores, a paved area, and as many as 47 vessels, most of which were placed on their sides though some were inverted. Also in this area was found a grave with an extended skeleton, found with obsidian blades and cores tucked under and around it. The body was apparently laid in a trench rather than cist or built grave.\textsuperscript{1049} A number of sherds were found associated with the extended skeleton, including a sauceboat, cup, and frying pan C8.33.

\textsuperscript{1041} Mylonas 1959: 92-93.
\textsuperscript{1042} C8.32: unknown location; outside Grave 23.
\textsuperscript{1043} Mylonas 1959: 101.
\textsuperscript{1044} Mylonas 1959: 101-102.
\textsuperscript{1045} C8.33: unknown location; area north of Graves 25 and 30.
\textsuperscript{1046} Mylonas 1959: 111.
\textsuperscript{1047} C8.34: unknown location; areas between graves.
\textsuperscript{1048} Mylonas 1959: 105-12.
\textsuperscript{1049} Mylonas 1959: 107.
In addition to these burial contexts, two seal-impressed objects from Ayios Kosmas were found in a secondary settlement context. Jar **C4.9**\(^{1050}\) (Fig. 4.34), stamped with spirals design **S306** was found in House I in Bothros 5, where frying pan **C8.30** was also found. Bothros 5 is cone-shaped, unlined, 0.45 m. deep, and yielded only a few sherds that Mylonas assigns to an earlier phase of EH occupation.\(^{1051}\) A sherd of frying pan **C8.30**\(^{1052}\) with stamped spirals design **S353** was also found in Bothros 5.\(^{1053}\)

**IV.3.22. Rouf (Attica)**

Construction work in Rouf in Athens in 1981 revealed a Roman site, beneath which Petrikaki excavated an EH settlement.\(^{1054}\) Petrikaki identified three different subphases spanning the EH II period, with horseshoe-shaped structures characterizing Phase A, and rectilinear buildings in Phases B and C. The settlement was abandoned at the end of the EH II period, possible because of flooding by the nearby Kefissos river.\(^{1055}\) Forsén assigns the date of this destruction to Lerna IIIC (EH IIB).\(^{1056}\)

In Phase B, a structure with a hearth and stone paved floor was preserved, and numerous tiles were discovered. This structure continued to be used in Phase C. In Phase B, the settlement consists of rectangular buildings. The remains of the walls, remains of a soil with traces of a hearth and stone pavement floors were preserved. A total of 59 earthen tiles were preserved, a roof tile had a black coating. Stone slabs were probably

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\(^{1050}\) **C4.9**: unknown location; House I, Bothros 5.

\(^{1051}\) Mylonas 1959: 18, Drawing 4, No. 5.

\(^{1052}\) **C8.30**: unknown location; House I, Bothros 5.

\(^{1053}\) Mylonas 1959: 18, Drawing 4, No. 5.

\(^{1054}\) Petrikaki 1986.


\(^{1056}\) Forsén 1992: 110.
also used for roofing. For phase 0, however, the fragmentary construction is the same as for previous periods. Three hearth rim fragments were found, two tool-impressed and the third, C1.63\textsuperscript{1057} Petrikaki reports as being roller-impressed with a loop design S152\textsuperscript{1058} (Fig. 4.8). Because it is unclear if the hearth should be assigned to Phase B or Phase C, it is assigned an early EH IIB date.

IV.3.23. Askitario (Attica)

Askitario is located on a promontory on the eastern coast of Attica. Excavation at the site in 1954-1955 by Theochares revealed an EH II-III settlement that consisted of a fortification wall, several rectangular houses, and one apsidal structure (Fig. 6.17.1).\textsuperscript{1059} A fully intact keyhole hearth, C1.64\textsuperscript{1060} (Fig. 4.5) with a roller-impressed zigzag design S181 on its rim, was discovered in House E, a large, apparently free-standing structure with two rooms and forecourt in the megaron layout. Theochares does not indicate which room it was found in, but the didactic panel in the National Museum indicates that it was found on a beaten earth floor with signs of burning in the interior.

IV.3.24. Palaia Kokkinia (Attica)

Excavations by Theochares at Palaia Kokkinia is located in the Piraeus in western Attica near Athens uncovered an EH I site.\textsuperscript{1061} Among the finds were two frying pan

\textsuperscript{1057} C1.63: unknown location.
\textsuperscript{1058} Petrikaki 1981: 167.
\textsuperscript{1059} Theochares 1953-1954.
\textsuperscript{1060} C1.64: Athens 8903; House E.
\textsuperscript{1061} Theochares 1951.
sherds, C8.35\textsuperscript{1062} (Fig. 4.44) stamped with concentric circle design S358 arranged around the edge of the base in a false running spiral composition, and C8.36\textsuperscript{1063} with a single, presumably central, spiral design S359 stamp surrounded by incised radial lines like a star.

**IV.3.25. Koropi (Attica)**

Koropi’s layout and phasing are discussed above (IV.4.19). Six stamped frying pan fragments were found at Koropi, C8.37-C8.42 (Fig. 4.44),\textsuperscript{1064} all of which were stamped spirals, some in a spiral-net pattern (C8.37, S360, C8.40, S363, C8.42, S365, Fig. 4.44), running spirals (C8.38, S361, Fig. 4.44), and a network pattern with Kerbschnitt (C8.39, S362, C8.41, S364, Fig. 4.44). Kakavgianni publishes these all together and describes them as Cycladic imports.\textsuperscript{1065} A Cycladic marble figurine was also found in the upper levels of the chambers at Koropi that contained metallurgical material.\textsuperscript{1066}

**IV.3.26. Markopoulo (Attica)**

Markopoulo is located in eastern Attica. Frying pan C8.43\textsuperscript{1067} (Fig. 4.44) is stamped spirals design S366 and was found in Grave 1 of the cemetery of Kovatzi, which

\textsuperscript{1062} C8.35: unknown location.
\textsuperscript{1063} C8.36: unknown location.
\textsuperscript{1065} Kakogianni 1993: 167.
\textsuperscript{1066} Kakavoyanni 1986: 38.
\textsuperscript{1067} C8.43: unknown location; unknown context.
was excavated by Papadimitriou and published by Theochares in 1955. It is dated to EH I on the basis of stylistic similarities to the Pelos and Kampos groups of the EC I.

IV.3.27. Raphina (Attica)

Raphina’s layout and phasing are discussed above (IV.4.20). Frying pan C8.44 is stamped concentric circles design S367 (Fig. 4.45) in a false running spiral composition that is combined with Kerbschnitt. It is reportedly from the EH settlement, but no exact findspot is indicated.

IV.3.28. Tsepi (Attica)

Tsepi is an extensive EH I-II cemetery site located on the Marathon Bay at the foothill of Kotroni hill at the edge of the Vrana valley in eastern Attica. Following the accidental discovery of a grave, the site was excavated in 1970–1973 by Marinatos, and subsequently between 1997-2001 by Pantelidou, with ongoing excavations resumed in 2005 by the Greek Archaeological Service. As many as 70 tombs have been uncovered in the large cemetery, all of which are pit graves, most rectangular in shape but some rounded, and lined with upright stone slabs or boulders with stone slab roofs. The graves are arranged in two rows with the same orientation, and the entrance of each faces southeast, and each is surrounded by a single row of stones arranged in a rectangle at the ground level (Fig. 6.20.1). Tombs contain multiple inhumations, between two and

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1068 Alram-Stern 2004: 556.
1069 C8.44: unknown location; settlement.
1070 Theochares 1951: 93.
1071 Marinatos 1970; Pantelidou 2005.
27 individuals, adults and children of both sexes. Most tombs are dated to the EH I period but some EH II dates were also identified.

Two frying pans were found in the cemetery. The first, **C8.45** (Fig. 4.44) with a stamped central spiral design **S368** ringed by concentric rows of incised lines, was found intact in Tomb 13 (Fig. 6.20.2), a pit tomb seventeen burials were found, as well as a bronze wire, wide-mouthed jug, and an obsidian blade. The second, **C8.46** (Fig. 4.44) with a central stamped concentric circle surrounded by a false running spirals design **S369**, was found intact in Tomb 9, a pit grave that contained the remains of at least four individuals (Fig. 6.20.3).

**IV.3.29. Kolonna (Saronic Gulf)**

The layout and stratigraphy of the EH settlement are given above (IV.4.21). Two stamped pithoi were found at Kolonna, both in secondary contexts. In Stadt V (EH III) in the fill over House 22 was found pithos **C2.110**, which was stamped with a figural (vessel) design **S287** (Fig. 4.31) on an elliptical seal face, but is dated to EH II on stylistic grounds. Pithos **C2.111** (Fig. 4.23) is stamped with a nested angles design **S288** (Fig. 4.31), also with an elliptical seal face.

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1072 **C8.45**: Marathon K58.9302; Tomb 13.
1073 Marinatos 1970, Pl. 34γ; Pantelidou 2005: 71-75.
1074 **C8.46**: Marathon K36.9264; Tomb 9.
1076 **C2.110**: Aegina unnumbered; fill over House 22, City V; CMS VS1A 033.
1078 **C2.111**: Aegina St 18 A 139; stray find; CMS VS3 003.
IV.3.30. Poros (Saronic Gulf)

Two EH sites were recently discovered on the island of Poros in the Saronic Gulf, one on a hill near the Variarnia bay. An EH settlement consisting of multiple buildings surrounded by a circuit wall was discovered (Fig. 6.22.1). The evidence for sealing from this site includes one seal-impressed hearth (C1.65) and a second, possible impressed hearth (C1.66).  

In Building Γ, a megaron structure with a shallow porch and off-set entrance into a square room and a smaller rectangular room in the back (Fig. 6.22.1), was found hearth C1.65, a circular hearth with stamped concentric circle designs S182. C1.65 was found in situ in the main square room, inside of which were observed traces of burning and ash, as well as bones from the head of a pig. No finds from the hearth room are described in the site report, though in the back room were discovered several vessels, including two large pithoi, six small shallow bowls, amphorae, and stone plaques that appear to have served as stoppers or lids for the smaller vessels. This assemblage demonstrates that food storage and preparation took place inside Building Γ.

In Building B, another megaron structure, C1.66, a horseshoe-shaped hearth reportedly with a roller-impressed zigzag design S183, was also found in situ in the main

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1079 The photographs of both hearths show them in situ and are not sufficiently clear for the designs to be discerned.
1080 C1.65: unknown location; Building Γ.
1081 Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2011: 264.
1082 Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2011: 264.
1083 Galligan 2013: 126-127.
1084 C1.66: unknown location.
room. The excavator records that this hearth was not impressed, but Galligan catalogues this hearth as bearing a roller-impressed zigzag design.

**IV.3.31. Dokos (Saronic Gulf)**

An EH II shipwreck was found off the island of Dokos in the Saronic Gulf south of the Argolid. Among the finds reported are two roller-impressed hearths with zigzag designs, C1.67 with S184 and C1.68 with S185.

**IV.3.32. Skotini Cave (Euboea)**

The layout and phasing of the Skotini Cave are discussed above (II.4.24). In the upper layers of section B of the cave, jar handle C4.10 (Fig. 4.10), which was stamped with an angle-filled cross design S307 (Fig. 4.35), was found. This deposit was mixed with Mycenaean pottery, but C4.10 is dated to EH II on the basis of style.

**IV.3.33. Manika (Euboea)**

The stratification and layout of Manika are given above (IV.4.25). On the Beligianni plot of the cemetery, in one of the eight rock-cut chamber tombs Sapouna-Sakellaris exavated in 1982-1993, frying pans C8.47 (Fig. 4.44), stamped with

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1085 Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2011, Fig. 5.
1086 Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2011: 264; Galligan 2013: 126.
1088 C.167: unknown location.
1089 C1.68: unknown location.
1090 C4.10: Tharrounia unnumbered; Section B.
1092 Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987, Figs. 3, 5.
1093 C8.47: Inv. 5654; Tomb 7.
concentric circles design S370 (Fig. 4.45) in a false running spiral composition was found. Tomb 7 has an almost circular chamber and contained the decayed bones including two femurs and the bones and teeth of a small child. C8.47 was found in the north side along with other sherds, and a bronze chisel was found in the northeast corner.1094

**IV.3.34. Ayios Giorgos/Karystos (Euboea)**

In the Karystia region on the eastern side of Euboea opposite the island of Skyros, the EH settlement of Ayios Giorgos was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in the early 1990s.1095 The excavation notebooks have been misplaced so that no stratigraphic information is available, but Tankosic publishes the material housed in the Karystos museum in his dissertation on the Karystia. He dates much of the material to EH II on stylistic grounds.1096 Among the material are two roller-impressed hearth fragments. C1.691097 (Fig. 4.5) is stamped with concentric circles design S186 that are combined with *Kerbschnitt*, as is C1.701098 (Fig. 4.5) with S187.

**IV.3.35. Kaloyerovrisi (Euboea)**

Kaloyerovrisi is a mountain site at Phylia, located 15 km. east of Chalkis in central Euboea. The site was excavated by Sampson between 1984 and 1990, who found a

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1095 Tankosic 2011: 178.
1097 C1.69: Karystos unnumbered; unknown context.
1098 C1.70: Karystos unnumbered; unknown context.
settlement occupied from EH I-MH. A fragment of hearth C2.112 (Fig. 4.23) with a roller-impressed spiral design S289 was found in Section II on the northern part of the hill, where two EH II buildings and part of a large boundary wall were found (Fig. 6.24.1). The hearth was found in Section E in the area of the boundary wall to the north.

**IV.3.36. Gialtra (Euboea)**

Gialtra in Euboea is located 10 km. east of Likhas on an acropolis rising sharply above a narrow valley overlooking the sea. Prehistoric sherds were discovered at the top of the hill, including one from C2.113 (Fig. 4.23), a stamped pithos with an unusual cross design S290 (Fig. 4.31) on a serrated seal face reportedly a stray find from the site.

**IV.3.37. Lefkandi (Euboea)**

The site Lefkandi is situated on a narrow plateau on the eastern edge of the Lelantine plain in Euboea. Excavations by Popham and Sackett in 1964-1966 and 1968-1970 revealed three phases of EH occupation: Phase 1 = EH II, Phase II = EH II-III; Phase 3 = EH III (Fig. 1.5). In section CC, three EH III building phases were

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1099 Sampson 1993.
1100 C2.112: unknown location; Section II.
1101 Sampson 1993: 152.
1102 Sampson 1993: 24-25.
1103 C2.113: BSA unnumbered; unknown context.
1105 Popham and Sackett 1968.
distinguished, the lowest of which included sauceboat and frying pan fragments but overlay bedrock, prompting Popham to suggest it was a mixed EH II-III phase.

Hearth/pithos fragment C3.6\textsuperscript{1106} (Fig. 4.32), which was stamped with a cross design S297 (Fig. 4.33), was found in an EH III-MH level (layer 118), but is dated to EH II on the basis of style.

**IV.3.38. Likhas (Euboea)**

Likhas is located on the south coast of Cape Vasilenas in Euboea. C9.4\textsuperscript{1107} (Fig. 4.46) is a sherd from a vessel of undetermined type stamped with a grid design S378, reportedly a stray find from the site of Likhas in Euboea.\textsuperscript{1108}

**IV.3.39. Eutresis (Boeotia)**

The layout and stratigraphy of Eutresis are discussed above (IV.4.28). The only building dating to EH II (Caskey and Caskey’s pottery groups VI-VIII) is House L, which underwent extensive remodeling, as evidenced by its two distinct floor levels, before it was destroyed at the end of EH II (Fig. 6.26.2).\textsuperscript{1109} House L consisted of three axially arranged rooms in the megaron layout. Room I was a small paved forecourt that providing access to the building from the street, with a pivot stone and bothros located next to the entrance. Room I opened into Room II, the central living area of the house, because of its size and central location and associated finds of pithoi, sauceboats, and two

\textsuperscript{1106} C3.6: Eretria LK/69/7; Section CC; CMS V 423.  
\textsuperscript{1107} C9.4: BSA unnumbered; stray find.  
\textsuperscript{1108} Sackett et al. 1966: 37, no. 22.  
hearts were found. Room III was a later addition, as indicated by its irregular shape and the angle of the southeast extent of the wall adjoining Rooms II and III, originally constructed as a single room but later divided by a thin clay crosswall that divided the room in half diagonally.

Several distinctive features of Room III can be associated with the first floor levels, including a hearth in the southwestern corner, among the ashes of which were found a perforated vessel and stacked bowls, a large stone platform or bench, next to which was found a cow or bull rhyton, a large roller-impressed hearth, C1.71, set into the floor of the room, and a bothros filled with broken pottery (mostly small bowls). C1.71 was reportedly impressed with a zigzags design S188, had signs of burning preserved, and was found with fragments of animal bones on top of it. The association of animal bones with the roller-decorated hearth, the stone bench and associated zoomorphic rhyton, and the large size of Room III (6.40-7.70 x 5.10-5.30 m.) together prompted Goldman to interpret this room as having a religious function.

The earliest types of houses at Eutresis were huts or pit houses with their floors cut into virgin soil. Hut Z, roughly elliptical in plan, was detected at the bottom of Pit Z because of its hard-packed yellow floor above virgin soil (Fig. 6.26.3). No hearth was

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1110 Neither were terracotta hearths. Goldman identified a hearth in the northeast corner of the room from the evidence for burning and accumulated ashes, but she did not associate with either the first or second floor level (Goldman 1931: 17-18). The Caskeys identified a hearth in the northwest corner from a ring of stones surrounding a thick deposit of burnt matter, which they associate with the second floor (Caskey and Caskey 1960: 152).
1111 Goldman 1931, Figs. 125, 140).
1112 The stone bench measures 1.4 x 0.60 m. and is indicated on the plan of House L by the letter A (Goldman 1931: 17, Fig. 13).
1113 Goldman 1931: 19, Plate VII.
1114 C1.71: unknown location; House L, Room III.
1115 Goldman 1931: 19.
found but much burned soil was, and the fact that no walls survived suggest that they were unbaked mudbrick or wattle-and-daub constructed.\textsuperscript{1116} Few sherds were recovered from Hut Z, among them a sherd of a spherical jar, \textbf{C4.11},\textsuperscript{1117} which was stamped with spirals joined by incised tangent lines in a spiral-net composition \textbf{S308} (Fig. 4.35). The hut and with it \textbf{C4.11} are dated to EH I. Two sherds stamped with spirals, pyxis \textbf{C6.5}\textsuperscript{1118} (Fig. 4.38) with running spiral design \textbf{S317} and frying pan \textbf{C6.6}\textsuperscript{1119} (Fig. 4.38) with stamped spiral design \textbf{S318}, were reportedly found in EH I deposits at the bottom of pits, and Goldman describes them as Cycladic imports.\textsuperscript{1120}

In addition, Goldman includes in her catalogue of EH II pottery two fragments of fruitstands, \textbf{C7.4}\textsuperscript{1121} and \textbf{C7.5}\textsuperscript{1122} (Fig. 4.38), which were both stamped with triangular seals with nested angle designs \textbf{S322} and \textbf{S323} combined with rows of incised points, though no find spots were indicated.\textsuperscript{1123} Included in the catalogue of EH I pottery is \textbf{C9.5}\textsuperscript{1124} (Fig. 4.46), a vessel of undetermined type stamped with spirals with tangent incised lines in a running spiral composition \textbf{S379}.

\textbf{IV.3.40. Pefkakia (Thessaly)}

Pefkakia Magoula is situated on a rocky promontory in the Gulf of Volos in Thessaly. Excavations led by Theochares in the 1950s and Miloj\'c\'ic in 1967-1977

\textsuperscript{1116} Goldman 1930: 10-1.
\textsuperscript{1117} \textbf{C4.11}: unknown location; Hut Z.
\textsuperscript{1118} \textbf{C6.5}: unknown location; unknown context.
\textsuperscript{1119} \textbf{C6.6}: unknown location.
\textsuperscript{1120} Goldman 1930: 81-2.
\textsuperscript{1121} \textbf{C7.4}: unknown location; unknown context.
\textsuperscript{1122} \textbf{C7.5}: unknown location; unknown context.
\textsuperscript{1123} Goldman 1931: 100.
\textsuperscript{1124} \textbf{C9.5}: unknown location; unknown context.
revealed a significant Neolithic-EBA settlement, with seven occupation phases spanning the EBA: EBA 1-5 = EB IIA; EBA 6-7 = EB IIB; MBA 1-3 = EH III. In Thessaly the FN period is called the Rachmani phase, and it extends into the EH II phase of southern Greece. At Pefkakia, imported EH II sauceboats from southern Greek and “Urfirnis” fragments are found in later Rachmani deposits. Significant architectural remains dated to the EBA were found at the site, including a fortified site with a megaron in phase 7 (EB IIB).

A fragment of frying pan C8.50\(^{1126}\) (Fig. 4.40) with stamped spirals S373 was found in EBA (Rachmani) levels in a trench sunk on the eastern part of the hill during excavations in 1976 under the direction of Hüttel for the University of Heidelberg.\(^{1127}\)

### IV.4. DISTRIBUTION AND DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT: SUMMARY

The geographic distribution of sealed objects reveals regional variation in both the types of objects sealed and the method of impression.

Hearths and pithoi, nearly all roller-impressed, are predominately from southern Greece (Figs. 4.50, 4.53), especially the Argolid (Fig. 4.51). Most hearths come from Tiryns (31, 44%) or Lerna (6, 9%), and are circular and roller-impressed (Table 3, Figs. 4.49, 4.53). Fewer examples are found in the Corinthia, though those from Petri (12, 9%) suggest that roller-impressed pithoi were not exclusive to the Argolid. The only stamped hearth fragments were found in central Greece (C1.63 from Rouf in Attica, C1.65 from Poros in the Saronic Gulf, and C1.68-C1.69 in Karystos in Euboea, Fig. 4.5), though

\(^{1125}\)Andreou et al. 2001: 268-270.  
\(^{1126}\)C8.50: unknown location.  
\(^{1127}\)Touchais 1977: 590.
roller-impressed examples were also found in Attica (C1.64 from Askitario, Fig. 4.5), the Saronic Gulf (C1.66-C1.68 from Poros), and Boeotia (C1.71 from Eutresis).

Pithoi are also predominately from southern Greece (Figs. 4.50, 4.54) and in particular the Argolid (Fig. 4.51) because of the high number of roller-impressed sherds from Tiryns (74, 59%) and Lerna (30, 24%). As with hearths, the only stamped examples of pithoi come from central Greece, including the Saronic Gulf (C2.110-C2.111 from Kolonna, Fig. 4.23) and Euboea (C2.112 from Kaloyerovrisi and C2.113 from Gialtra, Fig. 4.23). One sherd of a hearth/pithos from Tsoungiza (C3.5, Fig. 4.32), however, is a southern Greek example that parallels the stamped hearth/pithos sherd from Lefkandi in Euboea (C3.6, Fig. 4.32). The other hearth/pithos fragments are roller-impressed and from the Argolid (C3.1 from Lerna and C3.2-C3.3 from Tiryns, Fig. 4.32) or Corinthia (C3.4 from Corinth, Fig. 4.32).

While roller-impressed hearths and pithoi were concentrated in southern Greece, stamped objects were found equally in both southern and central Greece (Figs. 4.50, 4.55). The distribution within each region, however, and the types of objects stamped, differed from roller-impressed objects. As discussed above, stamped hearths and pithoi come almost exclusively from central Greece, and are concentrated in Attica and Euboea (Fig. 4.51-4.52). Stamped jars, however, were found nearly equally in southern Greece in the Argolid (C4.1-C4.2 from Lerna and C4.3 from Asine, Fig. 4.34), Corinthia (C4.4 from Zygouries, Fig. 4.34), and Laconia (C4.4 from Anthochori, Fig. 4.34) and central Greece in Attica (C4.6-C4.8 from Ayios Kosmas, Fig. 4.34), Euboea (C4.10 from Skotini Cave, Fig. 4.34), and Boeotia (C4.11 from Eutresis). All stamped bowls come from southern Greece in the Argolid (C5.1-C5.2 from Tiryns, Fig. 4.36), Corinthia (C5.3 from Corinth, Fig. 4.36).
from Zygouries and **C5.4** from Tsoungiza, Fig. 4.36). Stamped pyxides come equally from southern Greece in the Corinthia (**C6.1-C6.2** from Tsoungiza, Fig. 4.38) and Arcadia (**C6.3** from Ayioryitika), and from central Greece in Attica (**C6.4** from Ayios Kosmas, Fig. 4.38) and Boeotia (**C6.5-C6.6** from Eutresis, Fig. 4.38). Fruitstands with stamped impressions are also equally split between southern and central Greece, with three from Corinthia (**C7.1** from Corinth and **C7.2-C7.3** from Tsoungiza, Fig. 4.40) and two from Boeotia (**C7.4-C7.5** from Eutresis, Fig. 4.40).

The distribution of frying pans is significant because this group of sealed objects is the third largest overall. While split nearly equally between southern and central Greece, the majority of frying pan fragments were found in Attica (Fig. 4.56). One frying pan from Lerna (**C8.3**, Fig. 4.42) is noteworthy because it was produced using a matrix rather than by stamping.

The depositional contexts of sealed objects show that stamped and roller-impressed objects were mostly found in settlement contexts rather than in graves. The vast majority of sealed objects, 259 examples representing 90% of the total dataset, were found in settlement contexts or uncertain contexts (Fig. 4.57). Only 17 examples (6%) were found in burial contexts, and 13 (4%) in uncertain contexts.

Sealed objects found in burial contexts are invariably stamped rather than roller-impressed (Table 3). Most of these stamped objects were found at the Ayios Kosmas cemetery in Attica. Three stamped jar sherds were found at Ayios Kosmas were found associated with graves (**C4.6-C4.8**, Fig. 4.34), while was found in a secondary settlement context (**C4.9**, Fig. 4.34). A complete pyxis, **C6.4** (Fig. 4.38), was found associated with a grave. Ten frying pans were found at Ayios Kosmas, all of which were stamped with
spirals. Ten frying pans or sherds were found, nine of which (C8.25-C8.29, C8.31-C8.34, Fig. 4.43) were found associated with burials, and one (C8.30, Fig. 4.43) in a secondary settlement context. Only three of the frying pans were found inside graves (C8.25 and C8.26 in Grave 7 and C8.31 in Grave 12, Fig. 4.42-4.43), while the rest were placed outside the graves with other offerings. Further frying pans from burials were found within Attica at Markopoulo (C8.43, Fig. 4.44) and Tsepi (C8.45-C8.46, Fig. 4.44), as well as at Manika in Euboea (C8.47, Fig. 4.44).

The distribution of seal-impressed objects reveals that stamped vessels were deposited in or around graves as part of burial rites. The majority of seal-impressed objects, however, come from secondary settlement contexts in fills of pits. There were therefore multiple uses for seal-impressed objects, which evidence non-administrative sealing practices that were nevertheless not merely decorative.
V. SEAL DESIGNS

V.1. DESIGN GROUP CLASSIFICATION

This section undertakes formal analysis of EH seal designs by classifying and analyzing the frequency, distribution, and correlations among seal designs. Individual elements of design (motifs) and principles of composition are examined for both stamped and rolled seal designs. The elements of design for EH seals are the shapes and motifs that were arranged in various ways according to the principles of composition. Distinguishing between the elements of design and principles of composition allows us to detect patterns from their various combinations among stamped and rolled impressions.

The analysis of EH seal designs undertaken here describes impressed designs rather than those engraved or incised on seals because seal designs were meant to be seen in impression. That seals were meant to be impressed can be deduced from the preservation of significant numbers of impressions as well as the mechanical properties of the seals. Stamp seals had flat, engraved surfaces and handles for stamping, while cylinder seals were engraved around the circumference of the surface, which created a continuous design frieze when rolled out with the palm of the hand. The technique of seal impression, whether stamping or rolling, mechanically reproduced the design engraved on the seal onto another medium.

The design groups identified here are defined by the dominant motifs (elements of style) and their spatial arrangement within the seal design (principles of composition). The seal design typology presented here uses Wiencke’s definitive classification of the seal designs from the large and well-preserved deposit of clay sealings and cylinder-
impressed hearths and pithoi from the House of the Tiles at Lerna. Wiencke’s vocabulary is retained and expanded to account for the more recently discovered significant deposits of clay sealings from Geraki and Petri. The vocabulary used to describe EH seal designs in the CMS (in translation from German into English) is also integrated into the following discussion.

The elements of design include both the shapes engraved into the seals and the unengraved spaces. For seal impressions, motifs are the shapes engraved on the seal surface that are raised in relief in impression because they were the focal point of seal designs. The texture of the relief creates a play on shadow and light (chiaroscuro) that makes the engraved shapes stand out from the unengraved background spaces. Additionally, whether seal impressions are negative or positive provides information about the seal material (see above, II.2).

EH seal-cutters employed different principles of composition to arrange motifs within the seal design, limiting designs to a restricted range of motifs through various means. These include contrasting scale with larger motifs dominating the composition, highlighting through centering the motif within the design, and repetition of motifs. Stamp seals were generally engraved with designs characterized by radial or rotational

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1129 Wiencke’s publication of the sealings from Lerna included an illustrated catalogue of seal types (Heath 1958: 104-113). The catalogue is arranged into design groups defined by the dominant motifs in each design: ellipses; double loop design (pairs of loops, continuous single and triple loops, continuous single loop, continuous double and single loop, continuous triple loop, single loop design); interlocking T design; design of two- and three-leafed elements; trefoil design; spiral design; hook spiral design; triskelion and T design; woven design; cross design (hatched quadrant); triangular design; continuous triangle design; spider design; design of scallops and filling motifs; ring design; interlocking T pattern or of another double loop design.
symmetry, with the dominant motif occupying the center of the circular seal face with other motifs and designs arranged around it. By contrast, roller impressions were unified designs when rolled out as a continuous impression because motifs were repeated, giving the design overall balance, unity, and continuity.

The design groups used here includes: 1) spirals, 2) concentric circles, 3) loops, 4) zigzags, 5) cross, 6) linear, 7) grid, 8) nested angles, 9) wavy lines, 10) circles, 11) figural, 12) points, 13) swastikas, 14) herringbone, 15) trefoil, and 16) other.

V.2. DESIGN GROUPS: TYPOLOGY

V.2.1. Spirals

The spirals design group consists of designs for which spirals, both discrete and linked, are the dominant element of design. Different types of spirals are attested: single spirals formed from a single coiled line; double or triple spirals formed from two or more coiled lines emanating from the center; C-spirals formed from a single line ending in two spirals that face the same direction (opposed); and S-spirals formed from a single line ending in two spirals that face opposite directions (counterposed).

Subgroups within the spirals design group are defined by the arrangement of the spiral motif within the composition rather than the spiral type. Spiral design subgroups include: 1a) single spiral, 1b) multiple discrete spirals (network), and 1c) interlocking spirals (running spirals, spiral-net). The principles of design for individual spiral motifs are rotational symmetry and repetition, since spirals are formed by a continuous line creating seeming concentric circles from a central point. In the case of interlocking
spirals frequently found on rolled designs, however, overall balance is created through continuity and unity of design.

Spiral seal designs are found on both stamp and roller designs on seals, clay sealings, and sealed objects (Figs. 5.3-5.5).

V.2.1a. Single spiral

This subgroup includes only stamped designs that consist of a single spiral. The range of objects impressed with this design includes seals and several stamped objects such as a hearth, jars, pyxides, fruitstands, and numerous frying pans. No clay sealings belong to this design subgroup.

Stamped single spirals are combined on sealed objects with other forms of impressed and incised designs to create larger compositions. These include rows or networks of multiple stamp impressions, running spiral designs created by linking stamped impressions with tangent lines, and spiral-net designs created by linking several incised lines.

Two seals were engraved with single spirals that dominates the entire circular face of the seal. Both were from central Greece, including a clay conoid A46 (Fig. 2.1) from Kolonna on Aegina (Fig. 4.1) and stone conoid A54 (Fig. 2.2) from a grave at Manika (Fig. 4.2).

Sealed objects in this subgroup come mostly from central Greece (Figs. 5.22-5.28). These include a stamped hearth C1.63 from Rouf in Attica, three jars from Ayios Kosmas (conical jar C4.6, spherical jar C4.7, and the unusual jar C4.8 with an unusual anthropomorphic design, Fig. 4.34), along with a spherical jar C4.11 from Eutresis.
Conical jar C4.6 (Fig. 4.34) is stamped with a row of spirals design S303 (Fig. 4.35) beneath a row of impressed points, while spherical jar C4.7 (Fig. 4.34) has a running spiral design S304 (Fig. 4.35). The stamped spirals on jar C4.8 (Fig. 4.34) belong to an apparently human face design created using a plastic attachment for the eyebrows and nose and two stamped spirals S305 (Fig. 4.35) for eyes. Spherical jar C4.11 integrates stamped spirals S308 (Fig. 4.35) within a spiral-net design. Two pyxides belong to this subgroup, C6.1 (Fig. 4.38) from Tsoungiza with spiral design S313 (Fig. 4.38) in a spiral-net, and globular pyxis C6.5 (Fig. 4.38) from Eutresis with S317 stamped in a running spiral composition. Three fruitstands also belong to this group, C7.1 (Fig. 4.40) from Corinth with S319 (Fig. 4.40) creating a spiral-net, and C7.2 and C7.3 (Fig. 4.40) from Tsoungiza with S320-S321 (Fig. 4.41) in a running spiral composition.

Frying pans form the largest group of stamped objects that belong to this group, with thirty-eight examples from both southern and central Greece (Fig. 4.48). There are only two examples from the Argolid, C8.4 (Fig. 4.42) from Lerna stamped with S327 (Fig. 4.45) to create a network design, and C8.7 (Fig. 4.42) from Berbati stamped with S330 (Fig. 4.42) in a row combined with Kerbschnitt. Eight frying pans from this subgroup come from the Corinthia, including C8.8-C8.11 (Fig. 4.42) from Corinth, C8.12 and C8.14 from Perachora, C8.15 from Zygouries, and C8.18 (Fig. 4.42) from Tsoungiza. Frying pan C8.18 from Tsoungiza has a running spiral design created with S341 (Fig. 4.45), while spiral-nets were created on C8.8 from Corinth with S331 (Fig. 4.42), on C8.12 and C8.14 from Perachora with S333 and S337 (Fig. 4.45), and on C8.15 from Zygouries with S338. Seven fragments of frying pans C8.20 (Fig. 4.42) from
Anthochori were stamped with S343 (Fig. 4.42), but are not sufficiently preserved to determine the design within which the stamps were integrated.

Most frying pans from central Greece come from Attica, including C8.24 (Fig. 4.42) from Athens, C8.25-C8.34 (Fig. 4.42-4.44) from Ayios Kosmas, C8.36 (Fig. 4.44) from Palaia Kokkinia, C8.37-C8.41 (Fig. 4.44) from Koropi, C8.43 (Fig. 4.44) from Markopoulo, and C8.45-C8.46 (Fig. 4.44) from Tsepi. Running spiral compositions were made on C8.27-C8.28, C8.31-C8.33 (Fig. 4.44) from Ayios Kosmas using spiral designs S350-S351, S354-S356 (Fig. 4.43), while C8.25-C8.26 (Fig. 4.42) from the same site have a single stamped spiral design in the center made with S348-S349 (Fig. 4.42-4.43), which are ringed by concentric rows of incised lines. Frying pan fragment C8.36 (Fig. 4.44) from Palaia Kokkinia has a running spiral design made with S359 (Fig. 4.44), as does C8.38 (Fig. 4.44) from Koropi made with S361 (Fig. 4.44), while C8.37, C8.40, C8.42 (Fig. 4.44) from the same site have spiral-nets made with S360, S363, S365 (Fig. 4.44), and C8.39 and C8.41 (Fig. 4.44) combine rows of stamped spiral designs S362 and S364 (Fig. 4.44) with Kerbschnitt.

In addition to the frying pans from Attica, are C8.49 (Fig. 4.44) from Boeotia with running spirals made with S372 (Fig. 4.44) and C8.50 (Fig. 4.44) from Pefkakia with S373 (Fig. 4.44), which combines stamped spirals with Kerbschnitt. Frying pan C8.51 (Fig. 4.41) is of unknown provenance and stamped with S374. Finally, three vessels of undetermined type belong to this group, C9.1-C9.2 (Fig. 4.46) from Korakou stamped with S375-S376 and C9.5 (Fig. 4.46) from Eutresis S379, each with running spiral composition.
V.2.1b. Spirals (multiple)

This subgroup consists of both stamped and rolled designs that include multiple spirals. Objects that belong to this subgroup include seals, clay sealings, roller-impressed hearths and pithoi, and a stamped loomweight.

Seven seals belong to this subgroup: clay conoid A11 (Fig. 2.3) from Tiryns, A13 (Fig. 2.4) stone square plate seal from Asine, stone square plate seal A27a (Fig. 2.4) from Geraki with one side engraved with four individual spirals in each corner of the seal face, clay ring seal A36 (Fig. 2.7) from Athens, stone conoid A39 (Fig. 2.2) from Ayios Kosmas, cylinder or roller seal A73 (Fig. 2.4) from Mandalo, and stone conoid A78 (Fig. 2.2) of unknown provenance. The designs on the stone stamps are characterized by radial or bilateral symmetry on the round and square seal faces, while the cylinder or roller seal is characterized by repetition and continuity. Clay conoid A11 is composed of two S-spirals crossed at the middle that create a sense of torsion or rotational symmetry (Fig. 4.3), which is also created by the three S-spirals arranged around a central circle on clay ring A35, as well as the single spirals on stone conoid A39. Bilateral symmetry governs the two back-to-back C-spirals on stone conoid A78 and the two side-by-side S-spirals on stone plate A13.

Nine clay sealings belong to the spirals design subgroup, all from the Argolid or Corinthia in southern Greece. Five sealings are from Lerna, including bothros sealing B1 (Fig. 3.6) from Room B of the IIC mid-phase fortifications with an S-spiral and part of another spiral design, S1 (Fig. 3.7). Three pithos sealings come from Room DM, including: B2 (Fig. 3.6) stamped with S3 (Fig. 3.7), a tripartite design of interlocking double spirals arranged around a central triangle; B3 (Fig. 3.6) stamped with S4 (Fig.
3.7), a cross having two opposing arms that branch into spirals; and B6 (Fig. 3.6) stamped with S7 (Fig. 3.7), a row of running hook spirals around the edge of the seal. Also from Lerna is sealing B70 (Fig. 3.9) of undetermined type from Room XI in the House of the Tiles, stamped with S53 (Fig. 3.12), which has five spirals emanating from a border line arranged around a central point, as well as wooden object (peg) sealing B69 (Fig. 3.9) from Room XI, stamped with S52 (Fig. 3.12), which has three spirals connected at the midpoint of the seal face (triskelion) with triangle filler motifs. Wooden object (peg) sealing B117 from Tiryns is stamped with S78 (Fig. 3.17), which has a triskelion (three spirals connected at the midpoint) with triangles between each spiral, a design closely paralleled on sealing B121 (Fig. 3.18) of undetermined type from Asine stamped with S82 (Fig. 3.19), which has a triskelion with two triangles and one set of nested curved angles between each spiral. Sealing B125 (Fig. 3.22) of undetermined type from Corinth is stamped with S87 (Fig. 3.23), which has four preserved (originally six) spirals emanating from a circle around a central point, a design that closely resembles sealing B70 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna. Jar sealing B214 from Geraki has at least one preserved S-spiral (originally more) around the perimeter of the seal face alongside a three-leafed motif/anchor. Finally, two jar sealing come from Petri: B134 is stamped with S95 (Fig. 3.21), which has a triskelion rendered with a double line within a circle and a border made from multiple parallel curved lines, while B131 is stamped with S92 (Fig. 3.21), which has four running hook spirals that closely resemble those on pithos sealing B6 (Fig. 3.6) from Room DM at Lerna.

Seventeen sealed objects belong to this design subgroup, including seven hearths and ten pithoi, all roller-impressed and all from the Argolid, and one stamped
loomweight. Circular hearth C1.1 (Fig. 4.1) from Lerna is stamped with S123 (Fig. 4.6), which has two rows of S-spirals divided by double vertical lines. The rest of the hearths come from Tiryns: including C1.10 (Fig. 4.1) stamped with S132 (Fig. 4.6) with rows of vertical S-spirals with linear filler motifs; C1.11 (Fig. 4.1) with S133 (Fig. 4.6), which has S-spirals with curvilinear filler motifs; C1.12 (Fig. 4.1) with S134 (Fig. 4.6), which three rows of interlocking S-spirals; circular hearth C1.13 (Fig. 4.1) stamped with S135 (Fig. 4.6), which has a row of individual spirals with curvilinear motifs; circular hearth C1.23 (Fig. 4.2) stamped with S133 (Fig. 4.6), the same seal used on hearth C1.10 (Fig. 4.1); and hearth C1.24 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns, stamped with S143 (Fig. 4.7) with two opposing C-spirals.

Six of the ten roller-impressed pithoi come from Lerna, including: C2.6 (Fig. 4.11) impressed with S193 (Fig. 4.24), which has two rows of double spirals with nested curved lines; C2.9-C2.10 (Fig. 4.12) with S196 (Fig. 4.24), which has individual spirals and nested angles separated by vertical lines; C2.11 (Fig. 4.12) with S197 (Fig. 4.24), two rows of spirals emanating from a horizontal line; C2.12 (Fig. 4.12) with S198 (Fig. 4.24), two single and one S-spiral emanating from a horizontal line with nested parallel lines and curvilinear motifs; C2.13 (Fig. 4.12) with S199 (Fig. 4.25), two rows of spirals emanating from a horizontal line divided by vertical lines; and C2.15 (Fig. 4.15) with S201 (Fig. 4.25), S-spirals and individual spirals among nested angles and parallel lines. From Tiryns come three pithoi: C2.36 (Fig. 4.14) stamped with S219 (Fig. 4.26), which has two rows of individual S-spirals; C2.64 (Fig. 4.18) with S246 (Fig. 4.28), two rows of spirals separated by curvilinear motifs; and C2.69 (Fig. 4.19) with S250 (Fig. 4.29), several rows of nested individual S-spirals and points.
Finally, the sole example of stamped loomweight C10.1 (Fig. 4.47) belongs to this group, stamped with S380 (Fig. 4.47), which has two opposing C-spirals that interlock with two curved angles between them.

V.2.1c. Interlocking spirals

This subgroup consists of both stamped and rolled designs that include interlocking spirals, running spiral, and spiral-net designs. Objects that belong to this subgroup are clay sealings and roller-impressed hearths and pithoi.

Only two clay sealings belong to this group, both from Lerna. Wooden object (poles) sealing B68 (Fig. 3.9) is stamped with S51 (Fig. 3.12), which has four interlocking C-spirals that meet in the middle in a quadruple spiral, with each C-spiral end interlocking with one of four interlocking S-spirals, with four discrete S-spirals as filler motifs. A second wooden object (peg) sealing from Lerna, B69 (Fig. 3.9), is impressed with S52 (Fig. 3.12), which has four interlocking S-spirals arranged around a central square with triangle filler motifs.

Sealed objects that belong to the interlocking spirals design subgroup include six roller-impressed hearths and seventeen roller-impressed pithoi. Four hearths are from Tiryns: C1.9 (Fig. 4.1) stamped with S131 (Fig. 4.1), with three rows of interlocking S-spirals; an axe-shaped example, C1.11 (Fig. 4.1), with S133 (Fig. 4.6), a row of interlocking C-spirals arranged in alternating directions; and circular hearths C1.21-C1.22 (Fig. 4.2) with S142-S143 (Fig. 4.7), three rows of interlocking S-spirals with nested angles. Circular hearth C1.39 (Fig. 4.3) from Asine is impressed with S155 (Fig. 4.3), which has three rows of running spirals, while keyhole hearth C1.54b from Corinth
has a complex design of interlocking S-spirals and linear motifs surrounded by two strips of impressed Kerbschnitt created with S169 (Fig. 4.9).

Seventeen roller-impressed pithoi belong to this design subgroup, all but two from either Lerna or Tiryns. Five pithoi are from Lerna, all from the destruction debris of the House of the Tiles. C2.1 (Fig. 4.11) is stamped with S189 (Fig. 4.24), which has two rows of interlocking running spirals with two quadrupeds and points between the rows, a design found also on a pithos C2.32 (Fig. 4.16) from Tiryns and pithos C2.105 (Fig. 4.21) from Zygouries. The other four examples include C2.2-C2.3 (Fig. 4.11) impressed with S190-S191 (Fig. 4.24), four rows of running spirals created with, C2.7 (Fig. 4.11) with S194 (Fig. 4.24), three configurations of S-spirals separated by vertical lines, including individual and interlocking S-spirals with an angle, point, and curvilinear motifs, as well as C2.8 (Fig. 4.11) with S195 (Fig. 4.24), two rows of interlocking running spirals between a row of zigzags with a cross and three-leafed motif and a row of nested angles. Ten pithoi are from Tiryns: C2.32 (Fig. 4.16), impressed with S189 (Fig. 4.26), two rows of interlocking running spirals with two quadrupeds and points between the rows, which is the same roller seal as pithos C2.1 (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna and pithos C2.105 (Fig. 4.21) from Zygouries; C2.33 (Fig. 4.14) with S216 (Fig. 4.26), three rows of running spirals; C2.34 (Fig. 4.14) with S217 (Fig. 4.26), two rows of running spirals with cross, three-leafed motif, and curvilinear motifs between them; C2.35 (Fig. 4.14) with S218 (Fig. 4.26), two rows of running spirals separated by a stepped horizontal line; C2.65 (Fig. 4.18) and C2.66 (Fig. 4.18) with S247 (Fig. 4.28), two rows of running spirals separated by an irregular horizontal line; C2.67-C2.68 (Fig. 4.18-4.19), each with S248-249 (Fig. 4.29), three rows of running spirals with cross, three-leafed, and other
curvilinear motifs between them; **C2.70** (Fig. 4.19) with **S251** (Fig. 4.29), three rows of running spirals, some oriented vertically; **C2.71** (Fig. 4.19) with **S252** (Fig. 4.29), running spiral above a row of zigzags; and **C2.103** with **S282** (Fig. 4.31), four rows of interlocking S-spirals in a spiral-net pattern. Only two examples of roller-impressed pithoi from this design subgroup. The first example is from Zygouries, **C2.105** (Fig. 4.21), is impressed with **S189** (Fig. 4.24), which, as mentioned above, is the same roller seal as pithos **C2.1** (Fig. 4.1) from Lerna and pithos **C2.32** (Fig. 4.16) from Tiryns, and had a distinctive design consisting of two rows of interlocking running spirals with two quadrupeds and points between the rows. The second is pithos **C2.112** (Fig. 4.23) from Kaloyerovrisi, which is stamped with **S289** (Fig. 4.23), a design of running spirals.

**V.2.1d. Other spirals**

This subgroup includes three objects, two roller-impressed hearths and one roller-impressed pithos, each of which has a spiral design that does not belong to any of the other three spiral subgroups. These include one small fragment of a hearth from Tiryns, **C1.8** (Fig. 4.1), on which only part of one spiral design **S130** (Fig. 4.1) is preserved, and another small fragment of a figure-eight/keyhole hearth **C1.40** (Fig. 4.3) from Asine on which one spiral design **S156** (Fig. 4.3) is preserved. Pithos **C2.96** (Fig. 4.20) from Tiryns is impressed with **S275** (Fig. 4.31), which has a panel with interlocking S-spirals next to a panel with herringbone, a design that closely parallels Design Group 2c.

Spirals are also subsidiary motifs on several seal designs. These include clay sealing **B38** (Fig. 3.8) from Lerna, with a loop design **S29** (Fig. 3.11) that forms a triskelion, clay sealing **B122** from Asine with a loop design **S82** (Fig. 3.19) that forms an
elaborate triskelion, and clay sealings B60 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna with S46 (Fig. 3.12), a trefoil design with triskelion filler motifs.

V.2.2. Concentric Circles

The concentric circle design group includes seal designs for which concentric circles, nested circles of various sizes, are the dominant element of design. The principles of design are radial symmetry and repetition, since concentric circles are formed by discrete circles of increasing diameters arranged around a central point. This design group is closely related to the spirals design group in terms of both their elements and principles of design.

Variations within this design group are organized into different subgroups defined by how concentric circles were combined with other motifs. Subgroups include: 2a) concentric circles, 2b) concentric circles + herringbone, 2c) concentric circles + angles. Concentric circle seal designs are found on both stamp and roller seal designs on seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects (Figs. 5.3-5.5).

V.2.2a. Concentric circles

The concentric circle motif occurs alone or is combined with points and other indistinct linear or curvilinear motifs. There is some variation within this design group between stamped and rolled designs, since continuous roller impressions repeat the concentric circle motif within the composition while stamped designs are more often a single motif.
Five seals belong to this design group, four stamp seals and the only surviving roller seal. Surviving seals in this design group all have repeated rather than a single concentric circle motif. The design on bone stamp cylinder A10 (Fig. 2.5) from Tiryns includes two concentric circle motifs (Fig. 4.5), two circles around a central point, arranged above parallel horizontal lines. The partially preserved design on the face of clay stamp cylinder A66 (Fig. 2.12) from Palamari consists of at least five concentric circle motifs (Fig. 4.16), a single circle around a central point, arranged around another central motif. On a stone plate seal A69b (Fig. 2.2) from Philia, two concentric circle motifs, two circles around a central point, were engraved on the upper surface of the plate and on the top of the unpierced grip handle (Fig. 4.3), while the face of plate seal A69a (Fig. 2.3) was engraved with a grid design (Fig. 4.3). Similarly, concentric circles, two circles around a central point, were engraved on the upper surface of plate seal A72 (Fig. 2.2) from Volos (Fig. 4.2), while the surface was engraved with five motifs, four motifs with two circles around a central point arranged around a central motif with a single circle around a central point. Finally, the only preserved roller seal, A21 (Fig. 2.5) from Argos, bore a design of 4-5 concentric circles with curvilinear motifs in the interstices (Fig. 4.5).

Two clay sealings belong to this design subgroup. The first is B133 (Fig. 3.20) from Petri, stamped with S94 (Fig. 3.20), which has two superimposed concentric circles surrounded by nested curved angles. The second is B171 (Fig. 3.24) from Geraki, stamped with S102 (Fig. 3.25), which appears to have been a single motif design that was repeatedly impressed with multiple and overlapping impressions.
Several sealed objects belong to this design group, both roller-impressed and stamped (Figs. 5.3-5.5). Three roller-impressed examples include C1.7 (Fig. 4.1) from Talioti stamped with S129 (Fig. 4.6), C1.25 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns stamped with S144 (Fig. 4.7), and C.47 (Fig. 4.3) from the Argolid Exploration Project stamped with S163 (Fig. 4.8). Each of the rolled hearth designs consists of repeated motifs with no filler motifs within a network composition.

Several roller-impressed pithoi also belong to this group, including C2.4-C2.5 (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna stamped with S192-S193 (Fig. 4.24), C2.37-C2.48, C2.72-C2.85 (Figs. 4.14, 4.19), and C2.93 (Fig. 4.20) from Tiryns stamped with S220-S231, S253-S265, S273 (Figs. 4.26-4.27, 4.29-4.30), and C2.107 (Fig. 4.21) from Zygouries stamped with S285 (Fig. 4.31). Each of the rolled pithos designs consists of repeated concentric circles that sometimes combined with filler motifs, which include: crosses on C2.37, C2.39, C2.77-C2.78, C2.80-C2.81 (Figs. 4.14, 4.19-4.20) from Tiryns stamped with S220, S222, S258-S259, S261-S262 (Figs. 4.26-4.27, 4.30); points on C2.72-C2.75, C2.93 (Figs. 4.19-4.20) from Tiryns stamped with S253-S256, S273 (Figs. 4.29-4.30); zigzags on C2.79 (Fig. 4.20) from Tiryns with S260 (Fig. 4.30); and other (curvi-)linear motifs on C2.4-C2.5 (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna with S192-S193 (Fig. 4.24), C2.40-C2.41, C2.48, and C2.84-C2.85 (Figs. 4.14, 4.20) from Tiryns with S223-S224, S231, S264-S265 (Figs. 4.27, 4.30), as well as the hearth/pithos fragment C3.1 (Fig. 4.32) from Lerna with S291.

Stamped designs, by contrast, generally consist of single concentric circle motifs. Yet the stamped motifs are frequently combined with other incised and impressed designs that make the larger composition to which the stamped designs belong similar to roller-impressed examples from this design group. For example, two stamped hearth rims from
Karystos, C1.69-C1.70 (Fig. 4.5), combine a row of stamped concentric circles made with S186-S187 (Fig. 4.5) with a row of Kerbschnitt. Stamped hearths are found more frequently in the Cyclades, especially at Ayia Irini (see below, VII.2).

Stamped vessels with concentric circles include two jars, C4.4 (Fig. 4.34) from Zygouries with a single impression of S301 (Fig. 4.35) on the neck, and C4.9 (Fig. 4.34) from Ayios Kosmas, on which S306 (Fig. 4.34) is combined with an incised floral or vegetal design. Two bowls from Tiryns are stamped with concentric circles S309 (Fig. 4.37), C5.1 (Fig. 4.36) on the handle between parallel incised lines and the other, C5.2 (Fig. 4.36), along on the base. Four stamped pyxides also belong to this design group, including globular pyxis C6.2 (Fig. 4.38) from Tsoungiza with S314 (Fig. 4.39) combined impressed Kerbschnitt, spool pyxis C6.3 (Fig. 4.38) from Ayioryitika with S315 (Fig. 4.39) impressed repeatedly on its base, globular pyxis C6.4 (Fig. 4.38) from Ayios Kosmas with S316 (Fig. 4.9) combined with incised parallel line designs, and pyxis lid sherd C6.6 (Fig. 4.38) from Eutresis with S318 (Fig. 4.39) combined with an incised border design. These combinations find close parallels in the Cycladic material (see below, VII.2).

Sixteen stamped frying pan (or lid) fragments are also stamped with single concentric circle designs, eleven from southern Greece and five from central Greece (Figs. 5.22-5.28). Numerous examples of frying pans from the Cyclades include the use of multiple stamped concentric circles, often combined with impressed Kerbschnitt and incised geometric or figural designs such as fish or ships (see below, VII.2). The frying pans from southern Greece include C8.1-C8.3, C8.5 (Fig. 4.42) from Lerna, C8.6 (Fig. 4.42) from Asine, C8.13 from Perachora, and C8.16-C8.17, C8.19 (Fig. 4.42) from
Tsoungiza, and **C8.21-C8.22** from Asea. Those from central Greece include **C8.23** (Fig. 4.42) from Athens, **C8.35** (Fig. 4.44) from Palaia Kokkinia, and **C8.44** from Raphina, as well **C8.47** (Fig. 4.44) from Manika, and **C8.48** (Fig. 4.44) from Eutresis. On frying pans, stamped concentric circle motifs are combined with other impressed and incised designs within larger compositions. Several examples link stamped concentric circles with tangent lines in false running spiral designs, including: **C8.2** and **C8.5** (Fig. 4.42) from Lerna with **S325** and **S328** (Fig. 4.45); **C8.6** from Asine with **S329** (Fig. 4.42); **C8.22** from Asea with **S345** (Fig. 4.45); **C8.35** from Palaia Kokkinia with **S358** (Fig. 4.44); and **C8.47** from Manika with **S370** (Fig. 4.45), which also includes tool-impressed zigzag designs. One frying pan, **C8.3** (Fig. 4.42) from Lerna, has stamped concentric circles **S325** (Fig. 4.45) linked together with several tangent lines within a false spiral-net composition. Some frying pans are stamped repeatedly to create a network composition, with or without additional incised designs, including **C8.1** (Fig. 4.42) from Lerna with **S324** (Fig. 4.45), **C8.16** from Tsoungiza with **S339** (Fig. 4.45), and **C8.23** from Athens with **S346** (Fig. 4.45). Finally, stamped concentric circles are combined with extensive tool-impressed Kerbschnitt designs on **C8.44** from Raphina with **S367** (Fig. 4.45).

**V.2.2b. Concentric circles + herringbone**

The concentric circle motif is combined with herringbone on eleven pithoi from southern Greece. These include ten from ten from the Argolid (**C2.14-C2.16, C2.31** from Lerna and **C2.44, C2.47, C2.87-C2.90, C2.92** from Tiryns, Figs. 4.12, 4.14, 4.17, 4.20) and one from the Corinthia (**C2.108** from Petri, Fig. 4.22).
V.2.2c. Concentric circles + nested angles

The concentric circle motif is combined with nested angles on roller-impressed pithoi from southern Greece, all from the Argolid, including C2.17 (Fig. 4.13) from Lerna and C2.43-C2.44, and C2.91 (Figs. 4.14, 4.20) from Tiryns.

V.2.3. Loops

The loops design group includes designs for which loops, continuous lines that fold back onto themselves as defined by Wiencke, are the dominant element of design. Loops generally emanate from the center of the seal face, where a central motif is sometimes located, with other motifs filling the spaces between each loop. Loop designs can be bipartite, tripartite, or quadripartite depending on how many loops divide the seal face. Loops are generally single loops but are sometimes doubled. The dominant principles of composition are radial or rotational symmetry, since the loops face the same direction and create a sense of torsion. Subgroups within the loop design group are defined by the division of the seal face into a 3a) bipartite, 3b) tripartite, 3c) quadripartite, 3d) quinquepartite, 3e) other loop designs. Subsidiary motifs within loop designs include swastikas, spiders, three-leafed motifs, among others. Loops seal designs are found primarily on stamp designs on clay sealings and sealed objects (Figs. 5.3-5.5).

V.2.3a. Bipartite loop designs

Bipartite loop designs are characterized by bilateral symmetry and have two loops set side-by-side for both stamped and rolled compositions. The objects that belong to this subgroup include clay sealings, roller-impressed hearths, a roller-impressed hearth/pithos.
Stamped examples of the bipartite loop design on clay sealings were found in Lerna, Petri, and Geraki. The two clay sealings, jar (mouth) sealing B47 (Fig. 3.9) and B48 (Fig. 3.9) of undetermined type, are both from Lerna and stamped with S35 (Fig. 3.11), which has two loops on either side of a central diamond with a central cross motif. Jar sealing B126 (Fig. 3.20) from Petri is impressed with S87 (Fig. 3.21), with two opposing loops and a framing line. Ten jar sealings from Geraki, B187-B197 (Fig. 3.24), were stamped with S112 (Fig. 3.26), two opposing double loops alternating with a Y-shaped motif growing from a framing line, with a triangle space in the middle.

Rolled examples of the bipartite loop design include: roller-impressed circular hearths C1.17-C1.18 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with S139 (Fig. 4.7), a row of opposing loops set back-to-back; roller-impressed hearths C1.35-C1.36 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with S152 (Fig. 4.8), a row of opposing loops set back-to-back beneath a row of diamonds with central points; and roller-impressed hearth/pithos C3.3 (Fig. 4.32) from Tiryns with S293 (Fig. 4.33), a row of opposing double loops set back-to-back.

V.2.3b. Tripartite loop designs

Tripartite loop designs are characterized by radial symmetry with three loops emanating from the center of the seal face, where a central motif is located. The only class of artifacts in this design subgroup are clay sealings, all but three of which are from Lerna. Central motifs include the spider on S12 (Fig. 3.11) used to stamp B17 (Fig. 3.8), three-leafed motifs on S14, S16, S42-S43 (Figs. 3.11-3.12) used to stamp B19, B21, B56-B57 (Figs. 3.8-3.9), and trefoils on S16-S18, S75, S89 (Figs. 3.11, 3.15, 3.21) used to stamp B21-B25, B113, B128, among others, though some designs have no central motif.
From Room CA at Lerna comes clay sealing **B12** (Fig. 3.6) of undetermined type impressed with **S8** (Fig. 3.7), which has three single loops surrounding a central circle surrounded by a framing line. The rest of the Lerna clay sealings in this design subgroup comes from Room XI in the House of the Tiles. These include several wooden object sealings: peg sealings **B15-B16** (Fig. 3.8) with **S11** (Fig. 3.11), three double loops arranged around the perimeter of the seal face, leaving a triangular space in the center with a swastika motif; pole sealings **B23-B25** (Fig. 3.8) with **S18** (Fig. 3.11), three wide loops filled with diagonal lines and surrounding a central trefoil motif; pole sealing **B38** (Fig. 3.8) with **S29** (Fig. 3.11), three loops growing from a hook spiral triskelion; and pole sealing **B113** (Fig. 3.14) with **S75** (Fig. 3.17), three double loops and central trefoil motif. Also belonging to this group are several jar sealings: neck sealing **B19** (Fig. 3.8) with **S14** (Fig. 3.11), three loops and an indistinct central motif and three-leafed motifs in the spaces between each loop; jar neck sealing **B49** (Fig. 3.9) with **S36** (Fig. 3.11), three loops emanating from a central circle, with three Y-shaped motifs emanating inward from a framing line; and jar mouth sealing **B56** (Fig. 3.9) with **S42** (Fig. 3.12), three three-leafed motifs growing from a framing line, creating three loops in the spaces between. Basketry/matting sealings include **B21** (Fig. 3.8) with **S16** (Fig. 3.11), three loops and trefoil motifs in the spaces between each loop, and **B30** (Fig. 3.8) with **S22** (Fig. 3.11), three double loops. Clay sealings of undetermined type from Lerna that belong to this design subgroup include: **B17** (Fig. 3.8) with **S12** (Fig. 3.11), three loops and a central spider motif; **B18** (Fig. 3.8) with **S13** (Fig. 3.11), three loops and an indistinct central motif, possible figural; **B22** (Fig. 3.8) with **S17** (Fig. 3.11), three loops surrounding a
central trefoil motif with three points in the spaces between each loop; and B57 (Fig. 3.9) with S43 (Fig. 3.12), three loops alternating with three-leafed motifs.

From Asine comes jar (mouth) sealing B122 with S82 (Fig. 3.19), three double loops meeting in a central triple spiral, while two jar sealings from Petri include B128 with S89 (Fig. 3.21), a central trefoil motif, and B132 with S93 (Fig. 3.20), three loops preserved.

V.2.3c. Quadripartite loop designs

Quadripartite loop designs are characterized by radial symmetry and have four loops emanating from the center of the seal face, where a central motif is sometimes located. These include points (B26, Fig. 3.8), quatrefoils (B27, Fig. 3.8), concentric circles (B43-B45, Fig. 3.8), and three-leafed motifs (B54-B55, Fig. 3.9), among others, though some designs have no central motif. Objects from this subgroup include clay sealings, all but two of which are from Lerna, and stamped jars from Lerna and Asine.

Most clay sealings come from the Room XI in the House of the Tiles at Lerna. These include wooden objects sealings: peg sealing B27 (Fig. 3.8) with S20 (Fig. 3.11) loops surrounding a central quatrefoil motif; peg sealing B40 (Fig. 3.8) with S31 (Fig. 3.11), four irregular loops each with another loop between them; peg sealings B41-B42 (Fig. 3.8) with S32 (Fig. 3.11), four loops and a central L-shaped motif; pole sealings B43-B45 (Figs. 3.8-3.9) with S33 (Fig. 3.20), four loops, each with another loop between them, surrounding a central concentric circle and point; peg sealing B54 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna with S40 (Fig. 3.12), each cross arm terminating in T-shaped motifs, each quadrant with a three-leafed motif growing inward from the framing line. Jar sealings include a
mouth sealings, **B34** (Fig. 3.8), with **S25** (Fig. 3.11), four double loops creating with two continuous lines; neck sealing **B39** (Fig. 3.8) with **S30** (Fig. 3.11), four loops, each with a small loop growing from one side that fills the space between each loop; neck sealing **B58** (Fig. 3.9) with **S44** (Fig. 3.12), two preserved (originally four) loops; and another neck sealing **B51** (Fig. 3.9) with **S38** (Fig. 3.12), four loops growing from a central square with a central motif of one large and four smaller attached points.

Basketry/matting sealings include **B26** (Fig. 3.8) with **S19** (Fig. 3.11), four loops surrounding four central points, and **B55** (Fig. 3.9) with **S41** (Fig. 3.12), four three-leafed motifs oriented inward from the edge of the seal face with rectilinear designs in the spaces between them. From Petri come two jar sealings, **B129** with **S90** (Fig. 3.21), four loops with bent lines in the center, and a sealing of undetermined type, **B131**, with **S92** (Fig. 3.21), two preserved (originally four) loops.

Sealed objects from this design subgroup include a stamped jar **C4.1** (Fig. 4.32) from Lerna with **S298** (Fig. 4.35), four loops around straight lines arranged around a central circle, and stamped jar **C4.3** from Asine with **S300** (Fig. 4.35), four loops forming a swastika motif.

**V.2.3d. Quinquepartite loop designs**

Quinquepartite loops designs divide the seal face into five sections and are characterized by radial symmetry. Only three objects belong to this subgroup, both from Lerna. These include a jar (neck) sealing from Room XI in the House of the Tiles (**B28**, Fig. 3.8) with five loops surrounding a central circle motif, and two wooden object (peg) sealings (**B52-B53**, Fig. 3.9) with five T-shaped motifs surrounded by rectilinear loops.
growing from the framing line, with lines that terminate in three-leafed motifs between each loop that also grow from the framing line.

V.2.3e. Other loop designs

Other loop designs are found on seals and clay sealings from southern Greece. An EH III clay conoid A6 (Fig. 2.1) from Lerna with two double loops emanating from a central circle, a bipartite composition created with a single, continuous line (Fig. 4.3). Also from Lerna are several clay sealings with loop designs, including six wooden object sealings: pole sealing B13 (Fig. 3.8) from Room XI of the House of the Tiles with S9 (Fig. 3.11), three loops surrounding T-shaped motifs emanating inward from a framing line and creating a triangular space in the center; peg sealing B14 (Fig. 3.8) with S10 (Fig. 3.11), three loops surrounding T-shaped motifs emanating inward from a framing line and creating a triangular space in the center; peg sealing B31 and B32 (Fig. 3.8), a sealing of undetermined type, both with S23 (Fig. 3.11), two opposing, paratactic loops; peg sealing B37 (Fig. 3.8) with S27 (Fig. 3.11, four clusters of loops rendered with a single continuous line growing from the edge of the seal face toward the center of the seal face, a design that closely resembles B36 (Fig. 3.8) (tripartite); and pole sealing B89 (Fig. 3.10) stamped with two different seals, one with S69 (Fig. 3.13), three loops surrounding T-shaped motifs growing from a framing line inward towards the center of the seal. Also from Lerna comes two basketry/matting sealing, B33 (Fig. 3.8) with S24 (Fig. 3.11), two opposing, paratactic loops, a design almost identical to B31-B32 (Fig. 3.8), and B36 (Fig. 3.8) with three clusters of loops rendered with S27 (Fig. 3.11), a single continuous line growing from the framing line inward toward the center of the seal face. A sealing of
undetermined type from Lerna, B95 (Fig. 3.10), preserves only part of a spiral from S73 (Fig. 3.10), but the overall composition cannot be reconstructed.

Another partially preserved design with just a single loop is found on jar sealings B203-B204 from Geraki with S115 (Fig. 3.27). Finally, B224 (Fig. 3.29) from Akovitika is a basketry/matting sealing with S120 (Fig. 3.30), four loops with irregular lines in the spaces between them.

V.2.4. Zigzags

The zigzags design group includes stacked or nested zigzag lines and are characterized by repetition and continuity that creates overall balance. Objects from this group include seals, clay sealings, and roller-impressed hearths and pithoi. Most, though not all, examples come from southern Greece.

Three seals belong to this group, all square stone plate seals. A1 (Fig. 2.3) is an irregular square with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip from Lerna with triangles nested within the zigzags at the edge of the seal (Fig. 4.3). A57 (Fig. 2.3) from Manika closely resembles A1 from Lerna in both shape and design, with a tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and small triangles at the edge of the seal face (Fig. 4.3). A18a (Fig. 2.4), flat stone plate from Midea, has on one side nested zigzags arranged on either side of a vertical line with two points on either side at one edge of the seal face (Fig. 4.4).

A single clay sealings belongs to this group, B226 (Fig. 3.32) of undetermined type from Makronissos, stamped with S122 (Fig. 3.33).

Roller-impressed hearths with zigzag designs come from both southern and central Greece. Nineteen examples come from the Argolid: C1.3-C1.6 (Fig. 4.1) from Lerna
with S125-S126 (Fig. 4.6), C1.15 (Fig 4.1) with S137 (Fig. 4.7) and two incised framing lines; C1.28-C1.34 from Tiryns with S147-S151 (Figs. 4.7-4.8), C1.14 (Fig 4.1) with two overlapping impressions of S136 (Fig. 4.6); C1.43-C1.44 (Fig 4.3) from Berbati with S159-S160 (Fig. 4.3); C1.45 (Fig 4.3) from Berbati-Limnes with S161 (Fig. 4.8); and hearths C1.46, C1.48-C1.50 (Fig 4.3) from the Argolid Exploration Project with S162, S164-S166 (Fig. 4.8), one of which, C1.48 (Fig 4.3), has two rows of zigzags on either side of a row of nested diamonds. Six hearths are from the Corinthia, including and C1.55b (Fig 4.4) from Corinth with S1716 (Fig. 4.9), C1.57 (Fig 4.4) from Zygouries with S174 (Fig. 4.9), and C1.58-C1.62 (Fig 4.4) from Tsoungiza with S175-S179 (Fig. 4.10). From central Greece, C1.64 (Fig 4.5) is a complete keyhole hearth from Askitario with S179 (Fig. 4.5), C1.66 from Poros with S183, C1.67-C1.68 from Dokos with S184-S185, and C1.71 from Eutresis with S188.

Roller-impressed pithoi with zigzag designs are also mostly from the Argolid, including seven pithoi from Lerna, C2.20-C2.22, C2.24, C2.28-C2.30 (Fig. 4.13) with S206-S208, S210, S214-S216 (Fig. 4.6). C2.28 differs from the others in that its irregular zigzag line combined with angles, points, and other linear motifs. Of the eight pithoi from Tiryns, C2.51-C2.52, C2.54-C2.55, C2.62, C2.97-C2.98, C2.100 (Figs. 4.17-4.18, 4.21) with S234-S235, S237-S238, S244, S276-277, S279 (Figs. 4.27-4.28, 4.31), only two have different designs: C2.62 has two rows of zigzags above and below horizontal lines, inside of which is a row of concentric diamonds, and C2.100 has two rows of zigzags with points on either side of a row of vertical lines separated by horizontal lines. On pithos C2.98 from Tiryns, the roller-impressed applied band is overlapped by a circular plastic attachment that is also roller-impressed. In addition, two pithoi from Zygouries

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with roller-impressed zigzags, \textbf{C2.104} and \textbf{C2.106} (Fig. 4.21), were stamped with \textbf{S283-S284} (Figs. 4.21, 4.31).

Finally, two fragments of a hearth/pithos were impressed with zigzags, \textbf{C3.2} (Fig. 4.32) from Tiryns and \textbf{C3.4} (Fig. 4.32) from Corinth were impressed with \textbf{S294} and \textbf{S294} (Fig. 4.32-4.33), respectively.

\textbf{V.2.5. Cross}

The cross group includes designs for which the cross is the dominant motif, usually stamp seals with a cross dividing the seal face into quadrants that are filled with motifs. The quadripatite composition so created gives a sense of radial symmetry. Subgroups are defined by the motifs that fill each quadrant: 5a) angle-filled cross, 5b) cross/linear, 5c) cross/points, 5d) other. Only stamped designs belong to this group, including seals, clay sealings, and stamped vessels.

\textbf{V.2.5a. Angle-filled cross}

The angle-filled cross design is part of an earlier Neolithic stamping tradition that spanned western Anatolia, the Aegean, and Balkans (see below, VII.2.4). Objects in this design subgroup have a central cross that divides the seal face into four quadrants, each of which is filled with nested angles.

Ten seals belong to this design subgroup, both stone and clay seals, two of which are from southern Greece, six from central Greece, and two from northern Greece. The examples from southern Greece include lead conoid \textbf{A25} (Fig. 2.2) from Tsoungiza, and stone ring seal \textbf{A30} (Fig. 2.7) from Aigion, which has a border line encircling the design.
Two seals are from Attica, stone hemispherical seal A37 (Fig. 2.6) from Athens, and clay ring seal A40 (Fig. 2.1) from Alimos, which has a border line like A30. Three stone plate seals are from the Saronic Gulf, A48 (Fig. 2.4) from Kolonna, A50 (Fig. 4.3) from Modi, and A51 (Fig. 2.3) with gabled handle reportedly from Aegina. Clay conoid A52 (Fig. 2.2) from Skotini Cave has a slightly variation on the angle-filled-cross design, as two adjacent quadrants herringbone rather than nested angles. The only example from Boeotia is A62 (Fig. 2.3), a clay plate seal from Orchomenos with an irregular, curvilinear angle-filled cross design, and A63 (Fig. 2.3), another clay plate seal from Livanates/Kynos. From Thessaly comes A71 (Fig. 2.4), a stone square plate seal from Larissa on which part of a border line are preserved. The angle-filled cross design is also found on two stone seals of unknown provenance, plate seal A76 (Fig. 43) and conoid A77 (Fig. 4.3).

Two jar sealings from Geraki, B198-B199, are also impressed with angle-filled-crosses. S113-S114 (Fig. 4.3)

V.2.5b. Cross/linear

The designs with a central cross with linear designs in each of the four quadrants. Three of the EH III clay conoids from Lerna belong to this group, A2 (Fig. 2.2), A5 (Fig. 2.1) and A7 (Fig. 4.1). Stone ring seal A8 (Fig. 2.7) from Tiryns is engraved with a complex design in which the branched arms of the cross terminate in L-shaped and T-shaped motifs, and an anchor-shaped motif is in each of the four quadrants. On clay hemispherical seal A23 (Fig. 2.6) from Zygouries, the arms of the cross terminating in curved T-shaped motif with linear motifs filling each quadrant, and the whole
composition is encircled by a framing line. A42 (Fig. 2.6), a stone conoid from Koropi, has a cross inside a square and vertical lines in each quadrant.

Four clay sealings from Lerna belong to this group. One is a pithos sealing B5 (Fig. 3.6) from Lerna stamped with S6 (Fig. 3.7), a design in which each quadrant filled with parallel lines in alternating horizontal and vertical arrangement that create rotational symmetry. The other vessel sealing is a jar sealing (neck) B91 (Fig. 3.10) from Lerna stamped with S70 (Fig. 3.13), a complex pattern of nested angles and crosses emanating from a central cross motif. On basketry/matting sealing B46 (Fig. 3.9) stamped with S34 (Fig. 3.11), each quadrant of the seal face filled with curvilinear, labyrinthine designs, while on wooden object (peg) sealing B112 (Fig. 3.14) from Lerna, the cross arms on S74 (Fig. 3.15) terminate in T-shaped motifs with linear design in each quadrant. Three jar sealing from Geraki, B168-B170 (Fig. 3.24), are impressed with S101 (Fig. 3.25), a cross rendered in double lines emanating from a central point surrounded by a circle, with triangles and three-leafed motifs/anchors in each quadrant.

Sealed objects in this design subgroup are all stamped. These include two stamped jar handles, C4.2 (Fig. 4.34) from Lerna on which S299 (Fig. 4.35) is combined a framing line, and a jar handle C4.10 (Fig. 4.34) from Skotini Cave with S307 (Fig. 4.35). A fragment of a stamped pithos from Gialtra, C2.113 (Fig. 4.23), was impressed with S290 (Fig. 4.31), an unusual rosette-shaped seal face with a cross inside. Also from Euboea is hearth/pithos C3.6 (Fig. 4.32) from Lefkandi stamped with S297 (Fig. 4.33), which has a framing line from which four bent lines and a single straight line grow into each quadrant.
V.2.5c. Cross/points

The designs in this subgroup have points in each of the four quadrants of the seal face created by the cross. Objects include three seals and nine sealings. Clay conoid A9 (Fig. 4.1) from Tiryns has two quadrants with one point and two quadrants with three points, while clay conoid A28 (Fig. 2.1) from Ayios Stephanos has one point in each quadrant. Stone rectangular pyramidal seal A65 (Fig. 2.8) from Delphi has three quadrants with a single point and one quadrant with two points, each point being connected to the edge of the seal face with small incised lines. Jar sealings B147-B156 from Geraki are impressed with the same seal design, S98 (Fig. 3.25), which has three points in each quadrant, the points closest to the center of the connected to the border line with short lines and those to the sides connected to each arm of the cross with short lines.

V.2.5d. Other

Other designs with angles include a single cross incised on clay hemispherical seal A32 (Fig. 2.6) from Asea. A wooden object (peg) sealing B112 (Fig. 3.14) from Lerna is stamped with S74 (Fig. 3.15, which has a cross terminating in T-shaped motifs with short diagonal lines in each quadrant and a border line), while jar sealing B127 from Petri is stamped with S88 (Fig. 3.21), which has a three-leafed motif in each quadrant that grows from the border line towards the center of the cross.
V.2.6. Linear

The linear design group includes various and diverse combinations of linear and curvilinear motifs. Objects from this group include seals, clay sealings, and a stamped hearth/pithos and jar.

Eleven seals belong to this design group, six from southern Greece, four from central Greece, and two from northern Greece. Two are from Asine, stone hemispherical seal A14 (Fig. 2.6) with a complex linear pattern, and stone conoid A15 (Fig. 2.2) with linear motif, possible a schematic figural design of a quadruped. Also from the Argolid is stone square plate seal A18d (Fig. 2.4) from Midea, one of the narrow sides of which has a long vertical line intersected by several short horizontal lines. Clay conoid A22 (Fig. 2.1) from Corinth has irregular lines arranged across the seal face, a second clay conoid from Asea, A31 (Fig. 2.1), in Arcadia has five short vertical lines growing from a central vertical line, and clay stamp cylinder A33 (Fig. 2.5) also from Asea has irregular straight lines across the seal face. Stone conoid with a hammer-head pierce-grip seal A59 (Fig. 2.2) from Thebes has several horizontal lines intersecting a single vertical line, and stone conoid A64 from Ayia Marina reportedly has a linear seal design resembling two side-by-side H’s. Stone stamp cylinder A60b (Fig. 2.5) from Aliartos has irregular lines and a framing line, while clay stamp cylinder A67 (Fig. 2.1) from Palamari on Skyros has irregular lines and points across the entire surface of the seal. Stone conoid A71 (Fig. 2.4) from Larissa has numerous very short lines around the perimeter of the seal surrounding an unengraved central area, and clay seal A74 (Fig. 2.5) of unknown type from Dikili Tash has with irregular straight lines across the seal face.
Two clay sealings belong to this group. Wooden object (pole) sealing B89 (Fig. 3.10) from Lerna stamped with S69 (Fig. 3.13), a complex linear design of overlapping rectangles and curved lines rendered with double lines. Jar (rim) sealing B93 (Fig. 3.10) from Lerna was stamped with S71 (Fig. 3.13), the design of which resembles a looped or running spiral design but with straight, zigzagged lines surrounding a central point.

Two sealed objects are stamped with linear designs, including stamped hearth/pithos C3.5 (Fig. 4.32) from Tsoungiza with S295 (Fig. 4.32), a triangle beneath nested angles, and stamped jar C4.5 (Fig. 4.34) from Anthochori with S302 (Fig. 4.34), an unusual impressed shaped like an oval with one curved end, the design consisting of a single horizontal line intersected by several short vertical lines.

V.2.7. Grid

The grid design group includes seals with regularly spaced parallel lines that create a repeated and continuous design across the seal face. Ten seals and five clay sealings belong to this group.

Seals from southern Greece include clay conoid A12 (Fig. 4.1) from Tiryns, stone square plate seal A13b (Fig. 2.4) from Asine with back-to-back triangles in each grid square, and stone rectangular block seal A35 from Ayiorytika in Arcadia. Three seals are from Kolonna, stone rectangular block A44a-b (Fig. 2.9), which is engraved on both sides, and two further stone rectangular pyramidal seals, A45 (Fig. 4.8) and A47 (Fig. 4.8). Also from the Saronic Gulf is A49a-b (Fig. 2.4), a stone plate seal with an oval face from Methana that is engraved on both sides. Stone rectangular block A61 (Fig. 2.3) from Eutresis also belongs to this group. Two seals are from Thessaly, stone plate seal A70
(Fig. 2.4) from Philia that is engraved with a grid on the seal face (A70a), and concentric circles on the flat, pierce-grip handle (A70b). The other a stone plate seal A71 (Fig. 2.4) from Larissa, which is engraved with a grid on the flat, pierce-grip handle (A71b) and an angle-filled cross on the seal face (A71a).

Sealed objects from this group are both stamped and roller-impressed. The roller-impressed objects include pithos C2.26 (Fig. 4.14) from Lerna with S212 (Fig. 4.26), and two pithoi from Tiryns, C2.60 (Fig. 4.18) with S242 (Fig. 4.28), an irregular grid in which each space filled with a point, and C2.61 (Fig. 4.18) with S243 (Fig. 4.28) on two roller-impressed bands. Stamped objects include hearth/pithos C3.5 (Fig. 4.32) from Tsoungiza stamped with S296 (Fig. 4.33), and stamped vessel C9.4 (Fig. 4.46) of undetermined type from Likhas stamped with S378 (Fig. 4.46).

V.2.8. Nested Angles

The nested angles design group includes designs with multiple angles stacked into one another on both stamped and roller-impressed designs. Two seals and thirteen sealed objects belong to this design group.

The seals include stone conoid A56 (Fig. 2.3) from Manika with nested angles above a single point, and clay rectangular plate seal A75 (Fig. 2.12) with a conical handle from Galani with a seal design of irregular nested angles in alternating directions.

Roller-impressed objects include hearth C1.19 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with S140 (Fig. 4.7), two rows of nested angles facing in opposite directions and separated by a horizontal line, C1.27 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with S146 (Fig. 4.7), C1.41 from Makrovouni-Kefalari with S157 (Fig. 4.3), and C1.51 (Fig. 4.4) from Corinth with S167
(Fig. 44). Also belonging to this group are roller-impressed pithos from Lerna, C2.18 (Fig. 4.13), with S204 (Fig. 4.25), a row of nested angles above a row of two-leafed motifs with upper and lower framing lines belongs to this group, and C2.19 (Fig. 4.13) from Lerna with S205 (Fig. 4.25), which has vertical lines of nested angles between rows of points, semi-circles, and other curvilinear motifs, and pithos C2.59 (Fig. 4.18) from Tiryns with S241 (Fig. 4.28), a row of nested angles above two rows of vertical and diagonal lines separated by horizontal lines.

Stamped objects include pithos C2.11 (Fig. 4.12) from kolonna with S197 (Fig. 4.24), an oval impression of a zigzag and nested angles, and hearth/pithos C3.5 (Fig. 4.32) from Tsoungiza with S296 (Fig. 4.33), a triangle beneath nested angles. Two bowls are stamped with nested angles, including C5.3 (Fig. 4.36) from Zygouries with S311 (Fig. 4.36), two lines of stamped nested angles facing the same direction, and C5.4 (Fig. 4.36) from Tsoungiza with S312 (Fig. 4.37), a row of stamped nested angles facing the opposite direction. Two fruitstands from Eutresis were also stamped with this design, C7.4 (Fig. 4.40) with S322 (Fig. 4.40), a row of nested angles with curved nested lines of points above and below, and C7.5 (Fig. 4.40) with S323 (Fig. 4.40), a row of nested angles with a curved nested lines of points below.

V.2.9. Wavy Lines

The wavy lines design group includes those designs with a series of nested wavy lines, which are closely related to zigzags in that the composition is characterized by repetition and continuity, but wavy line motifs are more irregular and curvilinear than zigzag motifs. Two seals and thirteen sealed objects belong to this design group.
The seals engraved with wavy line designs include A4 (Fig. 2.1), an EH III clay conoid from Lerna, and clay plate seal A69 (Fig. 2.3) from Pelikata in the Ionian islands of western Greece.

Each of the sealed objects that belong to this design group is roller-impressed. These include seven circular hearths: C1.16 (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with S138 (Fig. 4.7), C1.42 (Fig. 4.3) from Berbati with S158 (Fig. 4.3), and C1.52-C1.56 (Fig. 4.4) from Corinth with S168-S173 (Fig. 4.9), among which C1.54a and C1.56 have a zigzag line at edge. Six pithoi also belong to this design group, C2.23 (Fig. 4.13) and C2.25 (Fig. 4.13) from Lerna impressed with S209 and S211 (Fig. 4.26), respectively, and C2.53, C2.56-C2.57, C2.63 (Figs. 4.17-4.18) from Tiryns with S236, S239-S144, S244 (Figs. 4.27-4.28). C2.57 has a band of three nested wavy lines is arranged between two rows of nested angles in opposite directions on either side of two horizontal framing lines.

V.2.10. Circles

The circle design group includes designs in which circles are the primary motif. Twenty-five clay sealings belong to this group.

Two clay sealings are from Lerna. B83 (Fig. 3.10) of unknown type was stamped with S62 (Fig. 3.13), which has circles, a cross, a semi-circle, and other curvilinear motifs inside a border line from which semi-circles grow. B84 (Fig. 3.10) was stamped with S63 (Fig. 3.13), a radial design with eleven lines emanating from the center and terminating in circles of slightly different sizes. The designs on clay sealings from Geraki are all very similar in that they each have a central circle surrounded by smaller circles. Seven jar sealings from Geraki, B157-B163, are impressed with the same design, S99 (Fig. 3.25), a
central cross surrounded by a circle with five preserved (eight reconstructed) circles arranged around and a point between each circle. Jar sealings B172-B175 from Geraki are impressed with a similar design, S103 (Fig. 3.26), a central cross surrounded by a circle, around which are arranged smaller circles (five preserved). Two further two jar sealings, B176-B177, are impressed with a design that is only partially preserved S104 (Fig. 3.26). The central cross of S105 (Fig. 3.26) is preserved on jar sealings B178, while only the peripheral circles of S106-S107 (Fig. 3.26) are preserved on the designs found on B179, B180. Both the central cross and slightly larger and irregular peripheral circles of S108 (Fig. 3.26) are preserved on two other jar sealing, B181-B182, though the central circle surrounding the cross is not. The design on jar sealing B183, S109 (Fig. 3.26), differs in that the partially preserved design has a central circle with an indistinct curvilinear motif surrounded by three semi-circles with a central line that somewhat resemble linear three-leafed motifs. The partially preserved design of S110 (Fig. 3.26) on jar sealing B184 has smaller and more closely spaced circles than the other designs. Only a circle surrounding a “pellet” is preserved on jar sealing B186 S112 (Fig. 3.26). Finally, design S116 preserved on jar (neck) sealings B207-B208 consists of a single circle and one partially preserved circle.

V.2.11. Figural

The figural design group includes motifs of real objects such as animals, musical instruments, and vessels. Objects in this group include one sealing, ten clay sealings, and five sealed objects.
Stone plate seal **A19** (Fig. 2.3) from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros has a bird, rendered frontally or *en face* but with its head turned to the side.

Five clay sealings come from Lerna, including the same distinctive seal design, **S59** (Fig. 3.12), which has three beaked jugs alternating with three trefoil motifs. This seal impressed three different wooden object sealings, pole sealings **B68** (Fig. 3.9) and **B78**, on which it was cross-sealed with angle-filled cross design **S51** (Fig. 3.12) and peg sealings **B79** (Fig. 3.9). Another wooden object (pole) sealing, **B80**, was stamped with **S60** (Fig. 3.12), which has two musical instruments (lyres) and one triskelion alternating with three T-shaped motifs. From Lerna, wooden object (pole) sealing **B81** (Fig. 3.10) was impressed with **S61** (Fig. 3.12), in which a central spider motif surrounded by a wavy line. From Tiryns, two sealings have figural designs, including basketry/matting sealing **B115** (Fig. 3.16) with **S76** (Fig. 3.17), a central spider motif and a framing line, and wooden object (peg) sealing **B116** (Fig. 3.16) with **S77** (Fig. 3.17), which also had a central spider motif. Still another spider motif is found on a wooden object (pole) sealing from Asine, **B120** (Fig. 3.18) impressed with **S81** (Fig. 3.19), in which the spider is surrounded by a framing line of irregular loops. Also from Asine is jar (neck) sealing **B124** (Fig. 3.18) stamped with **S85** (Fig. 3.19), which has a central scorpion motif. Jar sealing **B135** (Fig. 3.20) from Petri has a unique design, **S96** (Fig. 3.25), with one larger and one smaller horned quadrupeds and a plant or tree motif.

Horned quadrupeds are also found on roller-impressed objects. These include roller-impressed hearth **C1.38** (Fig. 4.3) from Tiryns with **S154** (Fig. 4.8), which has two horned quadrupeds with a grid design. In addition, already assigned to the spiral group but including figural motifs is **S189** (Fig. 4.24), the roller that was used to impressed
three pithoi from three different sites, C2.1 (Fig. 4.11) from Lerna, C2.32 (Fig. 4.16) from Tiryns, and C2.105 (Fig. 4.21) from Zygouries, the design of which includes two quadrupeds between running spirals. Finally, pithos C2.110 from Kolonna was stamped with S287 (Fig. 4.31), a design with a two-handled cup with curvilinear motifs on either side.

V.2.12. Points

Points or dots are the primary or only motif on several seals and one sealed object, all of which were found in southern or central Greece.

Points are the sole motifs on two stone foot-shaped seals, A24 (Fig. 2.10) from Zygouries with seven points arranged in two rows on the ovular seal face, and A38 (Fig. 2.10) from Ayios Kosmas (with ten preserved (originally perhaps twelve) points arranged in two rows on the ovular seal face. Points are the sole motif also on clay conoid A29 (Fig. 2.1) from Ayios Stephanos, on which they continue up the body and handle of the seal. Points are combined with lines on stone lentoid seal A17 (Fig. 2.11) from Argos has two points on either side of a vertical line and several irregular lines, flat stone square plate seal A18b (Fig. 2.4) from Midea with several points and faint lines on one side, and clay conoid A41 (Fig. 2.1) from Koropi with three vertical lines separating four horizontal rows of points, only partially preserved, surrounded by a framing line. Points are combined with circles on stone rectangular block seal A34 found at Ayiorytika, now missing but reportedly with three groups of points and circles, as well as stone conoid A43 (Fig. 2.2) from Raphina with two points and three irregular circles or rounded squares. The design on a stone rectangular pyramidal seal A26 (Fig. 2.2) reportedly from
Sikyon has four points surrounded by irregular curved lines, possibly a schematic spider or other insect.

In addition to these stamp seals, pithos C2.99 (Fig. 4.21) from Tiryns was roller-pressed with S278 (Fig. 4.21), a design consisting of row of points and diagonal lines in alternating directions belongs to this design group.

V.2.13. Swastikas

The swastika design is a cross with four bent arms that face the same direction, creating a sense of radial symmetry.

Apart from stone plate seal A58 (Fig. 2.3) from Manika with an elaborated variation of the swastika, the swastika occurs only on clay sealings from southern Greece.

Each of the clay sealings from Lerna have swastikas as the central motif, making it the focal point, which is surrounded by two- and three-leafed motifs as subsidiary motifs. This includes wooden object (peg) sealing B61-B63 (Fig. 3.9), which were impressed with the same design, S48 (Fig. 3.12), a central swastika with four two- and our two-leafed motifs all rendered in outline, the same seal used to impress on basketry/matting sealings B65-B66. Jar (mouth) sealing B67 (Fig. 3.9) was stamped with S49 (Fig. 3.12), which has a central swastika motif surrounded by four swastikas and four three-leafed motifs, while sealing B52 (Fig. 3.9) of undetermined type was impressed with S50 (Fig. 3.12) central swastika motif surrounded by five three-leafed motifs. On jar sealing B123 (Fig. 3.18) from Asine, each quadrant of the swastika on S41 (Fig. 3.19) is filled with nested lines. Seventeen jar sealing from Geraki, B136-B146 (Fig. 3.24), were impressed
with the same design, **S97** (Fig. 3.25), consisting of a central swastika motif within a linear design of crosses, squares, and angles within a framing line.

Swastikas are also the subsidiary motif on two seal designs with loops, including wooden object (peg and pole) sealing **B15-B16** (Fig. 3.8) from Lerna stamped with **S11** (Fig. 3.11), in the loops design group has a central swastika motif between three loops, and stamped jar **C4.3** from Asine with **S300** (Fig. 4.35), four loops in a swastika formation.

**V.2.14. Herringbone**

The herringbone design is nested angles separated by vertical lines. Two seals belong to this design group, including stone square plate seal **A13d** (Fig. 2.4) from Asine and stone cylinder seal **A60a** (Fig. 2.5) from Aliartos.

Three roller-impressed hearths were impressed with continuous herringbone designs, including **C1.2** (Fig. 4.1) from Lerna with **S124** (Fig. 4.6), and **C1.20** (Fig. 4.2) and **C1.26** (Fig. 4.2) from Tiryns with **S141** and **S145** (Figs. 4.6-4.7). Also from Tiryns is oval/circular roller-impressed hearth **C1.37a** (Fig. 4.2) with **S153** (Fig. 4.8) Two roller-impressed pithoi, **C2.27** (Fig. 4.14) from Lerna with **S213** (Fig. 4.26), and **C2.58** (Fig. 4.18) from Tiryns with **S240** (Fig. 4.28), also belong to this design group.

In addition, herringbone is a subsidiary motif in the concentric circles design group (see above, V.2.2b).
V.2.15. Trefoil

Trefoils are tripartite motifs with three lines emanating from a midpoint, and occur as the primary motif only on fourteen clay sealings from Lerna.

B4 (Fig. 3.6) is a sealing of undetermined type from Room DM at Lerna, which was stamped with S5 (Fig. 3.7), a design consisting of a central trefoil motif surrounded by three-leafed and other curvilinear motifs. The rest are from the House of the Tiles, including several wooden objects: peg sealing B59 (Fig. 3.9) with S45 (Fig. 3.12), a central trefoil motif in outline and three three-leafed motifs in the interstices; peg sealing B60 (Fig. 3.9) with S746 (Fig. 3.12), a central trefoil motif and three triskelia enclosed by a framing line; five peg sealings impressed with the same seal, B61-B66 (Fig. 3.9), with S47-S48 (Fig. 3.12), which includes a central trefoil and three two- and three-leafed motifs; pole sealing B71 (Fig. 3.9) with the five trefoils that comprise S54 (Fig. 3.12); and another pole sealing, B77 (Fig. 3.9), with the thirteen trefoils of S58 (Fig. 3.12). Also from Lerna are three basketry/matting sealings, B72 (Fig. 3.9) with S55 (Fig. 3.12), five trefoils and a framing line, and B73-B74 with S56 (Fig. 3.12), seven trefoils, the same seal used on B75, a sealing of undetermined type. Finally, jar (mouth) sealing B76 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna was stamped with S57 (Fig. 3.12), which has seven trefoils and four points enclosed by a framing line.

Trefoils are also subsidiary motifs on several designs, including B60 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna in the spirals design group stamped with S46 (Fig. 3.12), which has trefoil filler motifs; five from the loop design group with trefoils as the central motif, including B21-B25 (Fig. 3.8) with S16 (Fig. 3.11) and B113 (Fig. 3.14) from Lerna with S75 (Fig. 3.15), and B128 from Asine with S89 (Fig. 3.21), and wooden object sealings B68 (Fig. 3.9),
B78, and B79 (Fig. 3.9) from Lerna, which were all stamped with S59 (Fig. 3.12), three beaked jugs alternating with three trefoil motifs.

V.2.16. Other

The other design group is comprised of a diverse variety of seal designs that fall outside the groups described above. Six seals, fourteen sealings, and six sealed objects belong to this group.

Seals in this group include clay ring seal A3 (Fig. 2.7) from Lerna with two side-by-side nested linear motifs, copper band ring seal A55 (Fig. 2.7) from Manika with bipartite linear motif and framing line rendered in double lines, and bone conoid A53 (Fig. 2.2) from Skotini Cave with a linear motif that resembles bucrania and points. Three square stone plate seals carved multiple sides belong to this group, namely the short sides of A13c,e (Fig. 2.4) from Asine with triangles and semi-circles, A18c,e (Fig. 2.4) from Midea with triangles, and A27b-d (Fig. 2.4) from Geraki with triangles and semi-circles.

Clay sealings that belong to this design group include eight from Lerna. One is wooden object (pole) sealing B88 (Fig. 3.10) with S68 (Fig. 3.11), which has two spirals, a curved triangle, nested lines, and other curvilinear motifs. Two are jar sealings, neck sealing B28 (Fig. 3.8) and mouth sealing B92 (Fig. 3.10), were both impressed with designs of a partially preserved rectilinear motifs, S259 and S258 (Fig. 3.11). Three are basketry/matting sealings: B85 (Fig. 3.10) with S65 (Fig. 3.13), various partially preserved curvilinear motifs; B86 (Fig. 3.10) with S66 (Fig. 3.13), two spirals branching from a line, a triangle, nested angles, various partially preserved curvilinear motifs; and B87 (Fig. 3.10) with S67 (Fig. 3.13), which has two points, one spiral, six interlocking
three-leafed motifs, and various curvilinear motifs rendered with a single continuous line. The final two Lerna sealings are of undetermined type, **B94** (Fig. 3.10) with the partially preserved linear design **S72** (Fig. 3.13), and **B50** (Fig. 3.9) with **S37** (Fig. 3.11), which includes T-shaped and other linear motifs. Another clay sealing of undetermined type, **B118** from Tiryns, was stamped with **S79** (Fig. 3.17), which has one spiral and other curvilinear motifs. Jar sealings **B164-B167** (Fig. 3.24) from Geraki were impressed with **S100** (Fig. 3.25), the same design of a sextapartite notched framing line and a central concentric circle around a point, and **B183, B199, B216** (Fig. 3.24) with the various curvilinear motifs that comprise designs **S109, S114, S118** (Fig. 3.26-3.27).

Sealed objects from this group include five roller-impressed pithoi from Tiryns: **C2.49** (Fig. 4.17) with the various curvilinear motifs of **S232** (Fig. 4.27); **C2.50** (Fig. 4.17) with **S233** (Fig. 4.27), a row of angles between two horizontal lines and various curvilinear motifs above; **C2.94** (Fig. 4.20) with **S274** (Fig. 4.30), which has various curvilinear motifs, including a possible “anchor”; **C2.101** (Fig. 4.21) with **S280** (Fig. 4.31), various partially preserved curvilinear motifs; and **C2.102** (Fig. 4.21) with **S281** (Fig. 4.31), which has a concentric circle, a semi-circle, various partially curvilinear motifs above a row of vertical lines. Finally, one stamped vessel of undetermined type belongs to this group, **C9.4** (Fig. 4.46) from Ayios Dhimitrios, which was impressed with **S378** (Fig. 4.46), a design with a central irregular circle surrounded by six irregular shapes within a framing line.
V.3. DISTRIBUTION AND FREQUENCY OF DESIGN GROUPS

Designs are fairly homogenous across stamped and rolled designs, with most design groups represented in both classes or artifacts. The frequency of the design groups within both classes of impression technique, however, differs, as does the type of object engraved or impressed with the design (Figs. 5.1-5.5).

V.3.1. Impression Technique

Spiral and concentric circle designs, the two largest design groups, are similar in their frequency of impression types and objects sealed. The spiral design group is the largest among both stamped and rolled designs, representing 21% of stamped and 25% of all rolled designs (Figs. 5.1, 5.3-5.5). The largest group of spiral designs are stamped single spirals (group 1a) found on frying pans, representing 35% of all spiral designs (Fig. 5.6). Roller-impressed continuous individual (group 1b) and interlocking (group 1c) spiral designs on hearths and pithoi represent 12% and 26% of all spiral designs, respectively. Only one example of a hearth stamped with a single spiral (group 1a) is known, which is from Attica (C1.63).

Concentric circles are the next largest design group, but are better represented on rolled (26%) than stamped (11%) impressions (Figs. 5.1, 5.3-5.5). In addition, the sole example of a matrix-made impression on a frying pan (C8.5, Fig. 4.42) belongs to the concentric circle design group. Over half, 53%, of all concentric circle designs are continuous patterns on roller-impressed pithoi, whether concentric circles along (group 2a), or with herringbone (group 2b) or nested angles (group 2c) (Fig. 5.7). The second largest subgroup is single stamped concentric circles on frying pans, which make up 19%
of all concentric circle designs. Far more pithoi than hearths have roller-impressed concentric circles, all of which are from the Argolid (Figs. 5.22-5.28). Only a few examples of hearths stamped with concentric circles are extant, all from the Saronic Gulf (C1.65) or Euboea (C1.69-C1.70, Fig. 4.5).

Unlike spiral or concentric circle designs, the next largest group, loop designs, are found almost exclusively (90%) as stamped impressions on clay sealings (Figs. 5.1, 5.4-5.5). Most are from Lerna and tripartite or quadripartite in design (Figs. 5.8, 5.22). Only quadripartite loops (group 3c) are found on stamped objects, two jars (C4.1, C4.3, Fig. 4.34), and a single seal, an EH III clay conoid from Lerna (A6, Fig. 2.1) is engraved with an unusual bipartite loop design. Rolled loop designs are also bipartite and found on hearths and a hearth/pithos from Tiryns (C1.17-C1.18, C1.35-C1.36, C3.3, Figs. 4.2, 4.32).

By contrast, zigzags are almost entirely roller-impressed hearths (56%) or pithoi (31%) (Figs. 5.4, 5.9) from Tiryns or Lerna (Fig. 5.22), as are wavy lines (Fig. 5.14). Wavy lines surround a central circle on only two clay conoid seals, one an EH III example from Lerna (A4, Fig. 2.1) and the other from Pelikata (A68, Fig. 2.5), the only evidence for sealing practices from western Greece. Nested angle designs are found almost equally as stamped and rolled designs (Figs. 5.3, 5.13). Figural designs occur primarily on stamped designs, since spider designs occur on clay sealings of mostly wooden objects, both pole and peg varieties (Figs. 5.16, 5.23). Quadrupeds are both rolled (as subsidiary designs within the spirals group) and stamped.

Several design groups are restricted to stamped designs, including cross, linear, circles, points, swastikas, and trefoil design groups (Fig. 5.5). Cross designs occur
primarily as seals (46%) and clay sealings (46%) (Fig. 5.10). The angle-filled cross (group 5a) design is found primarily on seals and only rarely as stamped impressions on clay sealings or jars, while the cross/linear (group 5b) design was stamped on a hearth and hearth/pithos rather than rolled. Linear designs are found primarily on seals (75%) (Fig. 5.11), as are grid designs, though the grid is also found stamped on pithoi and hearths/pithoi (Fig. 5.12). Circle designs are found only on clay sealings, all but two of which are vessel sealings from Geraki (Fig. 5.15). Points are found almost exclusively on seals (Fig. 5.17). Swastikas occur almost exclusively on clay sealings, those from Lerna occur on every type of clay sealing while those from Geraki and Asine on vessel sealings, as well as one seal from Manika (Fig. 5.18). Similarly, trefoil designs on clay sealings from Lerna occur on different types of clay sealings (Fig. 5.20).

Differences between rolled and stamped object designs result from the disparity in sample sizes, since there is a large number of rolled impressions (71 hearths, 114 pithoi) but a low number of stamped impressions (4 hearths, 4 pithoi; Figs. 5.3-5.5). While roller-impressed hearths stamped hearths are impressed with a variety of designs, including zigzags (45%), spirals (23%), wavy lines (10%), and herringbone (6%), the four stamped hearths are impressed only with concentric circles and spirals (Fig. 5.4). Similarly, rolled designs on pithoi are predominately concentric circle (39%), spirals (28%), zigzags (15%), and wavy lines (5%), but the four stamped pithoi only spirals, cross, and nested angle designs (Fig. 5.4). Among stamped vessels, the eleven jars have the most diverse impressed designs, including spirals, concentric circles, loops, cross, and linear designs (Fig. 5.5). The four bowls are impressed with concentric circles and nested angles (Figs. 5.7, 5.13), while the five fruitstands are stamped with spirals and nested
angles (Figs. 5.6, 5.13). Pyxides and frying pans are impressed exclusively with spirals and concentric circles (Figs. 5.6-5.7).

The high diversity of rolled impressions and uniformity of stamped designs should therefore be attributed to the higher number of the former relative to the latter.

V.3.2. Seal-Impressed Object Type

A similar diversity of designs across object types can be observed. There seems to be no correlation among designs and seal, clay sealing, or sealed object types.

One interesting pattern that emerges from analysis of the frequency of design groups across object types is the discrepancy between designs engraved on seals and impressed designs. Among extant seals, rectilinear geometric designs generally predominate, while both rolled and stamped impressions exhibit a greater diversity of design types that trend towards curvilinear. On seals, the cross design group accounts for more than one-quarter of all designs (26%), with fewer examples with linear (13%), grid (11%), spirals (10%), points (10%), and concentric circles (6%) (Fig. 5.2). Figural and loop designs each account for only 1% of designs engraved on seals. Stamped clay sealings, by contrast, are impressed with curvilinear designs, including loop (35%), swastikas (12%), and figural (7%), as well as cross designs (11%) (Figs. 5.2, 5.29).

Within rolled designs, different ratios of design groups can be observed between hearths and pithoi. Although more pithoi than hearth fragments are preserved (114 versus 71), pithoi have far more curvilinear spiral and concentric circle design impressions than do hearths, which have more rectilinear zigzag and herringbone designs (Fig. 5.4).
There does not seem to be any consistent correlation between seal design and clay sealing type. Some design groups do not occur at all on clay sealings (grid, nested angles, wavy lines, points, and herringbone; Fig. 29). Other designs occur across multiple clay sealing types. Loop designs, the largest design group among clay sealings, are found on each type of clay sealing (wooden object, ceramic vessel, and basketry/matting sealings), and each design subgroup (bipartite, tripartite, etc.) is represented. Trefoils are also found across each sealing type, as well as cross and swastika designs, though in smaller numbers.

Still other designs are found only on some types of clay sealings. For example, spiral (multiple and interlocking) designs were used to impress wooden objects and ceramic vessels (including the single bothros sealing), but are not found on basketry/matting sealings. Just one example of the concentric circles design is found on a jar sealing from Geraki (B171, Fig. 3.24), and one example of the zigzags design on a sealing of undetermined type from Makronissos in Attica (B226, Fig. 3.32).

One potentially revealing correspondence, however, is observable between figural designs and wooden object sealings (Fig. 5.29). Vessels, instruments, and spiders in particular occur on wooden object sealings from Lerna (B81-B82, Fig. 3.10), Tiryns (B116, Fig. 3.16), and Asine (B120, Fig. 3.18). Maran and Kostoula suggest that the Lerna wooden pole and peg sealings secured doors constructed from split poles and planks, and link the spider design to systems of “control and vigilance”. Spiders also occur on a basketry/matting sealing from Tiryns (B115, Fig. 3.16), and so were not exclusively associated with door sealings.

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V.3.3. Distribution and Depositional Context

The geographic distribution of this design subgroup is weighted towards southern Greece as a result of the high frequency of examples from Tiryns and Lerna (Figs. 5.22-5.28).

Stamped spirals are concentrated in Attica and Euboea and appear to reflect the Cycladic influence in those regions. The depositional contexts of the single spiral design group (1a) include thirteen examples of stamped objects found in burials, all on sealed objects and all from Ayios Kosmas. These include a row of stamped spirals on a conical jar (C4.6, Fig. 4.34), running spirals on a spherical jar (C4.7, Fig. 4.34), stamped spirals as eyes on a jar with an anthropomorphic design (C4.8, Fig. 4.34), and ten frying pans, some with running spirals (C8.27-C8.28, C8.31-C8.33, Fig. 4.43), and two with a single stamp as a central motif (C8.25-C8.26, Fig. 4.42). While half of all spiral stamped frying pans are from Attica and more come from Corinthia and Laconia than the Argolid (Fig. 5.22-5.28), all examples of roller-impressed spirals on hearths and pithoi were found in the Argolid (Fig. 5.22), and only two examples of stamped spirals are found on hearths and pithoi from Attica and Euboea.

The higher frequency of single spirals designs in central Greece, particularly Attica and Euboea, reflects the influence of Cycladic material culture in the region, which is discussed further below. By contrast, the depositional context of objects in the spirals (1b) and interlocking spirals (1c) design groups belong exclusively to settlement contexts.

The intensive and near complete excavations at Ayios Kosmas may skew the distribution patterns for stamped objects, just as the well-published material for Lerna
skews distribution patterns for roller-impressed objects. Yet even accounting for overrepresentation at these two sites, the spiral-impressed objects from both sites illustrate broader regional differences. The preference for stamping sprials on spherical jars and frying pans at Ayios Kosmas reflects Cycladic influence and the orientation of coastal sites in Attica and Euboea towards the islands. By contrast, although Lerna is a coastal site the preference for roller-impressing spirals on hearths and pithoi from the site reflects less of an outward orientation, and thus a distinct regional sealing tradition.

Most examples of roller-impressed hearths and pithoi with both spirals and concentric circles (2b-c) are from secondary contexts such as fills and bothroi at Lerna, specifically the destruction debris from the House of the Tiles, and at Tiryns. Stamped concentric circles are more widely distributed, with some examples from northern and especially central Greece, where stamped concentric circles (2a) are abundant in Attica and Euboea on hearths and may reflect the influence of Cycladic hearth stamping at Ayia Irini. Roller-impressed concentric circles are more restricted to southern Greece.

Stamped loop designs are found almost exclusively on clay sealings and are found in southern Greece, as are the two rolled examples. Zigzags are more evenly distributed between southern and central Greece, though roller-impressed examples are predictably limited to southern Greece. The angle-filled cross design (5a) is found on stamped objects as well as clay sealings, and is nearly ubiquitous, found in southern, central, and northern Greece, where the design had a deep Neolithic ancestry. Other cross designs, including cross/linear (5b) and cross/points (5c), are mostly restricted to southern and occasionally central Greece because they are found on clay sealings. Linear designs (6) are widespread, found in northern as well as southern and central Greece, as are grid designs
(7). Nested angles (8) are limited to southern and central Greece, as are wavy lines (9) with the exception of the single example from western Greece (A68, Fig. 2.5).

Triangular shaped stamps with nested angle designs include bowl C5.3 (Fig. 4.36) from Zygouries (EH II), hearth/pithos C3.5 (Fig. 4.32) from Tsoungiza (EH IIA) and bowl C5.4 (Fig. 4.36) from Tsoungiza (EH IIA), and fruistands C7.4 and C7.5 (Fig. 4.40) from Eutresis (EH II).

Some design groups appear to be local or regional phenomena. The circles design group (10) is found almost exclusively at Geraki on clay sealings, and may therefore represent a distinct local style (“circle around central circle”). Figural designs of dogs and quadrupeds but also spiders are found most often in the Argolid, especially the spider motifs on clay sealings from Lerna, Tiryns, and Asine, which Weiberg attributes to a regional design. The same is true of the swastika group (13), which are found almost exclusively on clay sealings from Lerna, Asine, and Geraki. The trefoil group (15) is also found only on clay sealings, but is restricted to Lerna and Asine.

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VI. RECONSTRUCTING EH SEALING PRACTICES

VI.1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters presented the different classes of evidence for EH seal use, including the typology, frequency, distribution, and depositional contexts for seals (II), clay sealings (III), seal-impressed objects (IV), and seal designs (V). This chapter brings together the various lines of evidence to reconstruct EH sealing practices in their local social contexts, focusing on the evidence from secure settlement and burial contexts. Regional variation in sealing practices is then examined and related to the divergent historical trajectories on the Greek mainland.

A contextual approach to sealing practices departs from previous approaches, which have focused either on seal designs as evidence for interregional exchanges or on the use of clay sealings as administrative devices. The approach used here places sealing practices in their broader social and historical context, and investigates the role of sealing in the process of social change in the EH period.

VI.2. EVIDENCE FOR SEALING PRACTICES FROM SETTLEMENT CONTEXTS

VI.2.1. EH Settlement Contexts

The depositional contexts for seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects presented in previous chapters demonstrate that most were found in settlement contexts. EH settlements are generally poorly understood because of issues of preservation and limited excavations. Scholars have traditionally focused on corridor houses and organized
settlements to describe an EH “proto-urban” stage of mainland development, but EH architectural tradition was diverse. In addition to monumental corridor houses, fortifications, granaries, workshops, and houses both rectangular and apsidal in plan and of varying sizes were constructed.

EH architecture can be broadly classified as non-monumental or domestic, monumental, or special function structures. These categories are defined on the basis of layout and scale, since architectural techniques and associated assemblages overlap considerably, but special function structures (workshops, granaries) are distinguished by their layouts and associated assemblages. This tripartite classification for EH settlement architecture is used to contextualize seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects found in them in order to address issues of function and scale in sealing practices.

**Non-Monumental and Domestic Structures**

Non-monumental architecture includes houses that were diverse in size and layout (rectangular, apsidal, agglomerative) and reflect a flexible regional architectural tradition. Shared features include stone socles to support mudbrick walls with timber frameworks, plastered or beaten earth floors, off-axis doorways, and an axial arrangement of two or more rooms. Rectangular houses with three axially arranged rooms are described as a “megaron” type house and are found at several sites. Apsidal houses were also occasionally constructed in EH II period, though they were previously associated

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1135 Pullen 1985: 254-255.
exclusively with the EH III period.\textsuperscript{1136} In addition to free-standing rectangular and apsidal houses, Harrison identifies a “courtyard-complex” architectural type created by agglomerative building with multiple building sharing party walls arranged around a central courtyard that may have served a defensive function.\textsuperscript{1137}

Not only the layout but also the sizes of EH houses varied.\textsuperscript{1138} Pullen’s study of house sizes identifies bimodal distributions, with one group clustering around 11-12 m.\textsuperscript{2} occupied by 7.1-7.4 people, and the other around 30 m.\textsuperscript{2} occupied by 10 people, with a 25 m.\textsuperscript{2} average house size.\textsuperscript{1139} Using another formulate to estimate the number of house occupants,\textsuperscript{1140} however, Harrison estimates generally larger EH household that fall into two groups, one occupied by 3-5 people and the other by 7-9 people.\textsuperscript{1141} Whereas Pullen sees EH houses occupied by nuclear families or a limited number of other individuals, Harrison attributes the discrepancy of house sizes to occupation by smaller nuclear or larger extended families because, as Pullen demonstrates, differences in size cannot be associated with differences in the social ranking on the basis of finds from inside the houses.

EH domestic assemblages generally include pottery for cooking, drinking and eating, serving, and storing pottery, as well as groundstone tools (querns, grinders, pestles), chipped stone tools (flint and obsidian blades), bone tools (awls and pins), and

\textsuperscript{1136} Forsén 1992: 197-203. \\
\textsuperscript{1137} Harrison 1995. \\
\textsuperscript{1138} Cosmopoulos 1991: 22, Table 2.1. \\
\textsuperscript{1139} Pullen 1985: 26-263. \\
\textsuperscript{1140} Pullen uses Cook and Heizer’s formula of 2.32 m.\textsuperscript{2} per person, while Harrison uses Narol formula of 10 m.\textsuperscript{2} person \\
\textsuperscript{1141} Harrison 1995: 39-39.
more rarely bronze tools (awls, pins, blades). Evidence for textile production includes spindle whorls and loomweights. Domestic assemblages evidence food preparation, storage, and consumption as well as production of various kinds taking place in EH houses both large and small.

**Monumental Structures**

Corridor houses are the primary example of monumental architecture and are distinguished from EH houses on the basis of scale. Cosmopoulous estimates that corridor houses were on average 247 m.$^2$, five to seven times the size of the average EH house. Construction techniques and architectural features for both houses and corridor houses were the same, however, as was their basic architectural layout with axially arranged rectangular rooms. The namesake corridors that flanked the central rooms of the monumental structures served as stairwell placements to a second storey that was supported by the thicker walls (up to 1.0 m.) of corridor houses, another indicator of their large size.

Corridor houses were uniform neither in layout nor architectural elaboration, however, and so, like domestic architecture, the monumental architectural tradition was flexible. Pullen defines corridor houses broadly as structures with a large, central space surrounded by narrow corridors, which allows the circular Rundbau at Tiryns to be included in this group. Other corridor houses include Building BG and the House of the

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1143 Siennicka 2012.
1144 Cosmopoulous 1991: 24, Table 2.3; Pullen 2011a, Table. 5.6.
Tiles at Lerna, the House of the Pithoi at Zygouries, Megaron A and B at Akovitika, the Haus am Felsrand and Weisses Haus at Kolonna, and the Fortified Building at Thebes, among others.\textsuperscript{1146} Corridor houses generally have a large, central room entered through a wide doorway where a hearth stood, all features that suggest those rooms were reception halls.\textsuperscript{1147} Smith, however, points out that hearths were only rarely found \textit{in situ} in these rooms, and that the size of the rooms was variable.\textsuperscript{1148} Furthermore, not all corridor houses had tiled roofs or a second storey, and their sizes varied as did their floor plans.\textsuperscript{1149}

Although their monumentality signals their importance within mainland communities, the function of corridor houses remains disputed because of their often incomplete preservation and limited associated assemblages. Most EH corridor houses were found largely empty, but Nilsson provides an overview of the few finds from corridor houses.\textsuperscript{1150} She lists bone tools such as awls and pins (Building BG, House of the Tiles at Lerna), bronze tools such as knives, needles, nails and pins (House of the Tiles), lead fragments and clamps for mending pottery (Haus am Felsrand), and stone tools such as querns (House of the Tiles, Megaron A), pounders (House of the Tiles, Haus am Felsrand, Weisses Haus). Terracotta and stone discs, perhaps used as polishers, were also found, as well as obsidian (Weisses Haus, Megaron A, Building BG, House of the Tiles). A few scattered terracotta spindle whorls were also found (Building BG, House of the Tiles at Lerna, the House of the Pithoi at Zygouries, Megaron A and B at Akovitika, the Haus am Felsrand and Weisses Haus at Kolonna, and the Fortified Building at Thebes, among others).\textsuperscript{1146} Corridor houses generally have a large, central room entered through a wide doorway where a hearth stood, all features that suggest those rooms were reception halls.\textsuperscript{1147} Smith, however, points out that hearths were only rarely found \textit{in situ} in these rooms, and that the size of the rooms was variable.\textsuperscript{1148} Furthermore, not all corridor houses had tiled roofs or a second storey, and their sizes varied as did their floor plans.\textsuperscript{1149}

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\textsuperscript{1146} Cf. Nilsson 2004: 75-136, Pullen 2011a: 289-297, and Smith 2011: 101-176 for the most up-to-date and comprehensive discussions of EH corridor houses.\textsuperscript{1147} Pullen 1985: 264-267; Wiencke 1989: 505; Peperaki 2010: 251-253.\textsuperscript{1148} Smith 2011: 166, Table 3.2; see also Pullen 2011a, Table 5.6.\textsuperscript{1149} Pullen 2011a, Table. 5.6.\textsuperscript{1150} Nilsson 2004: 139-142.
Tiles, Weisses Haus), and clay weights (Haus am Felsrand, Weisses Haus).\textsuperscript{1151} Overall, the finds from the corridor houses closely resemble domestic assemblages found in other EH houses, since implements for textile production, stone tools, and obsidian indicate domestic use.

The special function of corridor houses suggested by their scale is indicated by special finds. Nilsson notes that the jewelry found in corridor buildings—horn and shell pendants (Building BG), shell and quartz beads (House of the Tiles), and stone objects (Weisses Haus)—were not prestige goods, but nevertheless would have required craft specialists to produce them.\textsuperscript{1152} Still, the evidence does not suggest that craft specialization was restricted to or controlled by the corridor houses, a point well illustrated by the case of the traveling roller seal used to impress pithoi at Lerna (C2.1), Tiryns (C2.32), and Zygouries (C2.105). Thus, the finds from the monumental corridor houses demonstrate that they served as residences and as production places, but that production was not strictly controlled by whomever resided there.

Ceramic assemblages from corridor houses are more instructive for interpreting their function, as they were comprised primarily of drinking and serving vessels. These include the numerous saucers and jars from Room XI of the House of the Tiles, as well as the amphorae, three sauceboats, and jug from the Haus am Felsrand. A pithos, two amphorae, saucers, sauceboats, and bowls were found in the Weisses Haus, and numerous saucers and storage vessels were reportedly found in Megaron A. These assemblages evidence drinking by large groups and communal feasting.\textsuperscript{1153}

\textsuperscript{1151} Nilsson 2004: 140-141.
\textsuperscript{1152} Nilsson 2004: 141.
\textsuperscript{1153} Pullen 2011b.
Pullen and Peperaki identify evidence for feasting at corridor houses also in the paved areas outside the House of the Tiles, and Peperaki argues that feasting also took place inside the House of the Tiles in the large hearth room, a space designed to receive groups of people with its large size, fixed hearth set into the plastered floor, and wide doorway that opened onto the paved area.\footnote{Pullen 2011b, 2013; Peperaki 2010; Peperaki 2004.}

The most recent scholarship on corridor houses emphasizes their public function as community centers. Nilsson argues that corridor houses were community-led trade centers that housed trading parties, and thus were constructed for and by the community.\footnote{Nilsson 2004: 211.} In addition, corridor houses were previously seen as the physical and administrative centers of EH settlements, but Smith’s re-analysis of their spatial positioning within settlements in the northeastern Peloponnese indicates that they were neither centrally located nor formally distinguished from other buildings at the site.\footnote{Smith 2011: 99-166.} Nilsson and Smith both further argue that the labor forces that constructed the corridor houses need not have been organized hierarchically, meaning centrally coordinated by an elite authority, and raise the possibility that the labor investment in their construction was a collective effort.\footnote{Nilsson 2004: 201; Smith 2011: 100.}

Special Function Structures

Special function structures are distinguished from monumental structures on the basis of scale and from non-monumental or domestic structures because of their
assemblages. These include fortification walls, cairns, and casements, defensive structures that were advantageous to the entire community. Courtyard complexes may also have served for protection by presenting a uniform facade.

Other special function structures include those used for communal storage, presumably of agricultural products. Nilsson identifies EH II circular structures as communal granaries, arguing that the curved walls of circular buildings would have supported grain like silos. She points to several examples, including the Rundbau at Tiryns, several circular structures at Orchomenos, the round building at Voïdokoilia, and Wall 38 at Tsoungiza, as well as Structure J at Ayios Kosmas and Structures H and Z at Raphina (Figs. 6.2.5, 6.9.3, 6.14.1, 6.19.1). She points also to a similar communal storage function for the subterranean chambers at Koropi, the pit at Zagani, the “Chasm” at Eutresis, a pit at Kastraki, and two pits at Zygouries, and argues that they were used for communal storage in EH II (Figs. 6.18.1, 6.26.4).

It is significant that these communal storage structures were found outside of the corridor houses because of the limited storage capacity of corridor houses. Although numerous pithoi were found associated with the ruins of the House of the Tiles, they were likely set up on the paved areas surrounding the structure rather than inside of it, given its limited floor space. Thus large-scale storage of agricultural products was not controlled by the residents of the corridor houses. Storage inside the House of the Tiles in Room XI was limited and used to store sealed containers and vessels for communal feasting, but bulk storage of agricultural products took place in communal granaries or pits in EH II.

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1158 Smith 2011: 176-199.
Paved spaces are another special function architectural feature, including those around the House of the Tiles. They would have served as a venue for communal feasting.\textsuperscript{1161} Formalized feasting spaces were not limited to monumental structures, however, as Zahou demonstrates in her identification of paved Area B at Proskynas as a communal feasting area (see above, II.4.32).

VI.2.2. Seals from Settlement Contexts

Seals were found in settlement contexts at Zygouries, Ayios Kosmas, Manika, and Proskynas. The spatial arrangements of these sites are discussed above, but are examined in detail in this section to further contextualize seals found in settlements.

At Zygouries (see above, II.4.9), seal \textbf{A23} (Fig. 2.6), a clay hemispherical seal with an elaborate cross design, was found in House Y, one of two EH houses found on the southwestern edge of mound (Trench XI) (Fig. 6.7.1). House Y was a possible corridor house given its size and the thickness of the walls and the presence of a narrow corridor-like space (Room 7) adjacent to a central square room (Room 4) (Fig. 6.7.3).\textsuperscript{1162} Seal \textbf{A23} was found in Room 4 along with a bronze wire pin and a stone palette, and was therefore only one of a small number of objects from inside House Y. Better preserved is nearby House U, a smaller house that consisted of one small room (Room 2) and an unroofed courtyard (Room 3), but its walls that were not as thick as those of House Y.\textsuperscript{1163} Objects found inside the house include a bronze awl, terracotta spool, and obsidian, and in the

\textsuperscript{1161} Pullen 2011b: 221, 2011c: 192; Weiberg 2007: 46, Fig. 12.
\textsuperscript{1162} Pullen 1985: 200, no. 22, 2011a, Table 5.6. House Y size (Room 4): 4.20 x 4.25 m., 17.85 m.\textsuperscript{2}; wall width: 1.0 m.
\textsuperscript{1163} House U size: 20 m.\textsuperscript{2}; wall width: 0.50-0.60 m.
courtyard a flint saw, spindle whorls, a bowl, a spoon, a possible hearth, and a stone-lined pit, while outside on the street southeast were a bronze dagger, a bone spindle whorl, and a bone implement.

House Y was not, however, the only monumental structure or potential corridor house at the site, since a securely identified corridor house, the House of the Pithoi, was found at the center of the mound (Fig. 6.7.1). The House of the Pithoi was one structure in a block that included the House of the Snailshells and Houses D and A, which Harrison re-interprets together as a courtyard-complex. Both the large size and architectural layout of the House of the Pithoi support the interpretation of the structure as a monumental corridor house. Room 4 in the House of the Pithoi was large with a wide doorway that opened onto a paved courtyard (Room 3), and four pithoi stood against the eastern wall. Pullen argues that a deposit of 189 roof tiles found in a deep sounding to the south were the ruins of a predecessor corridor houses stood there, the main room of which was re-used as Room 4 when the House of the Pithoi was constructed. The assemblage from inside the House of the Pithoi does not differ greatly from other houses at the site: in Room 4 was found a cooking vessel with a bone inside, a sauceboat with a ram’s head spout, and bowl, and in Room 5 to the north two sauceboats and a celt. The assemblages from the houses also include drinking and serving vessels, stone tools, evidence for textile production, and pithoi with incised raised bands (four from Room 4, two from the courtyard). However, six pithoi were also found in

1166 House of the Pithoi size: 5.60 x 5.55 m., 31.80 m²; wall width: 0.90 m.; doorway width: 2.10 m.
House L, a large (26 m.²) L-shaped house in the northern area of the mound (Fig. 6.7.1), along with spindle whorls, querns and other stone tools, and a stone bead. Large-scale storage of agricultural products was not, therefore, restricted to the corridor house at Zygouries.

Furthermore, rich finds were found more often in houses than in monumental buildings. While seal A23 and a wire pin were found in monumental House Y and a single chalcedony bead came from the House of the Pithoi, special finds were found more often in houses at Zygouries: a stone bead from House L, a bronze wire pin and a horn from House D, a bronze wire and possible terracotta idol from House A, a bronze chisel from House W, and the bronze dagger from outside House U. Seal A23 from House Y at Zygouries is the only EH seal so far recovered from a monumental structure, but it does not provide secure evidence for a central elite authority at the site.

At Ayios Kosmas (IV.4.17), seal A38 (Fig. 2.10), a stone foot-shaped seal with a points design, was found in House E, one of eight buildings found arranged in two blocks on either side of two intersecting streets, many sharing party walls (Harrison’s courtyard-complex) (Fig. 6.14.1). House E was one of the larger non-monumental EH houses, a rectangular building with three axially-arranged rooms, the largest of which was E3 (Fig. 6.14.2) where A38 was discovered along with a stone pestle, querns and grinders, obsidian chips and blades and one arrowhead, a spindle whorl, and a ceramic assemblage that included a cup, askos, and two bowls. Another stone seal, A39 (Fig. 2.2), was found in

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1168 Blegen 1928: 21, Fig. 18.
1171 House E size: 42 m.². Cosmopoulos 1992, Table 2.1.
a secondary context in the packing of the first floor of room E3. Other finds from House E include copper tweezers, a stone figurine, a stone macehead and palette, two querns, obsidian chips and blades, a spindle whorl, fragments of a bone tube, as well as two saucers, two sauceboats, and a spouted jar, all found in room E2 adjacent to E3.\textsuperscript{1173} Finds from the monumental structure House E therefore represent a domestic assemblage with only a few special finds.

Other structures at Ayios Kosmas (Houses F, H, I, and L) yielded similar domestic assemblages of drinking and serving vessels, stone tools, and spindle whorls. Notable finds including the lumps of lead from House L, stone figurines from House I, and terracotta zoomorphic stands from Houses I and L. While no monumental structures are identified, House L was significantly larger than House E, and the finds from inside it included not only two lumps of lead but also a hearth enclosed by a curved wall and a grinding slab and mortar were set into the floor. Special function structures include House I, an unusual single room structure that once was part of House H, inside of which was found a pithos with grape pips inside was found set into a depression in the floor. Another special function structure was Structure J, which Nilsson identifies as a communal granary because of its very thick walls and lack of a doorway, evidence that the structure was accessed from the roof and so may have stored grain vertically. Five andesite grinders were found arranged in a semi-circle inside Structure J, as well as two sauceboats, a plate, and obsidian.\textsuperscript{1174}

\textsuperscript{1173} Mylonas 1959: 28-29.  
\textsuperscript{1174} Mylonas 1959: 42.
The evidence therefore demonstrates that at Ayios Kosmas, as at Zygouries, seals from secure settlement contexts were not restricted to monumental structures, nor even the largest structures at those sites.

From the large and well-organized settlement at Manika (see above, II.4.25), three seals (A55, A57, A58, Figs. 2.3, 2.7) were found in secure settlement contexts (Fig. 6.23.1). Diverse building types were constructed at Manika, including large, free-standing houses, blocks of houses (courtyard-complexes), apsidal houses, and special function buildings. There is no evidence that a corridor house stood at the site. Seals found in the settlement at Manika, however, were found in houses that were both small and monumental in scale.

For examples, A57 (Fig. 2.3), a stone plate seal with a zigzag design, was found in a large EH II house on Odos Perikoklades the Ellinikou plot (Fig. 6.23.5). Sapouna-Sakellaris proposes that this building was a special function structure because of its large size, multiple rooms, and the four wells. The finds from the house, however, were a typical domestic assemblage including coarseware and dark-painted saucers, but a number of prestige goods were also found, including seal A57, two marble vessels, two schematic stone figurines, and a terracotta zoomorphic figurines. By contrast, A58 (Fig. 2.2), a stone plate seal with an elaborate swastika design, was found in Room Σ on the Zousi plot (Fig. 6.23.4), a small, single-roomed structure that shared a party wall with Room P, a similarly sized apsidal structure, to the north and Room K to the west. Apart from A58, the only finds from Room Σ were two intact jars found on the floor and a

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1175 Odos Perikoklades house size: 22.35 m.² (calculated from size plan). Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1992: 194.
1176 Size of Room Σ: approximately 12.4 m.² (calculated from site plan).
grinder, and another grinder and “χαρακτηριστική ΠΕ ΙΙ κεραμική” were found in the other apsidal structure (Room Ρ).\textsuperscript{1177} Scattered finds from the area, for which no exact findspots are indicated, include conical spindle whorls, a fragment of a clay figurines, a frying pan, clay beads, and obsidian. The function of Room Σ is unclear, but based on nearby finds may have served a domestic function.

Larger than the house on Odos Perikoklades is Building II in the Zousi plot (Fig. 6.23.2), a large and possible two-storey structure where seal A55 (Fig. 2.7), a cooper ring with a linear design, was found in Room Δ (Fig. 6.23.3).\textsuperscript{1178} In addition to seal A55, objects of bronze, metal, and obsidian as well as a ceramic assemblage consisting of both fine and coarseware were found. Similar assemblages of ceramics, shells, and obsidian were found in the other rooms of the house (room Γ, Ε), as well as a stone vessel. In addition, a stone platform was found along the southern wall of room ΣΤ, while a semi-circular hearth was also found in the southeastern corner of room Γ. Sapouna-Sakellarakis argues that the large size and special finds from Building II, including copper ring A55, are evidence of the structure’s importance at the site,\textsuperscript{1179} and links the presence of prestige goods in Building II to the deposition of prestige goods in the associated cemetery at Manika to propose the rise of an elite.\textsuperscript{1180}

Sapouna-Sakellarakis highlights the role of foreign trade within the community at Manika because of the presence of imports in the cemetery, and argues that the architecture, urban planning, and artifacts from the Manika all indicate the presence of a

\textsuperscript{1177} Sapouna-Sakellaris 1990: 157.
\textsuperscript{1178} Building II size: 29.12 m.\textsuperscript{2}. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986: 107-110, Figs. 3, 4, 8.
\textsuperscript{1179} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986: 123, 131-133.
\textsuperscript{1180} Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986: 132, 135.
central authority and social hierarchy, with Building II perhaps representing the political or religious center of the settlement in EH IIB. Furthermore, she points to the diversity of architectural types—the houses free-standing or in blocks, rectangular to trapezoidal or apsidal in shape—at Manika as evidence for specialization by different households, and proposes that a central authority would have overseen and organized both production and interregional exchanges with Cycladic traders.

The context of the seals from the settlement at Manika support Sapouna-Sakellarakis’ argument, since stone conoid A57 and copper ring A55 were both found in large, multi-roomed houses from which other rich goods were found. In addition, stone plate seal A58 was found in a small apsidal room that formed a large block of rooms east of Building II, which should probably be interpreted after Harrison as a courtyard-complex, such as the Zygouries complex that included the House of the Pithoi that was constructed by incorporating an earlier corridor house. Seals and other rich finds from the settlement at Manika, especially Cycladic style objects such as marble vessels and figurines, frying pans, and obsidian, were distributed unequally among the houses. Taken together, the evidence for unequal access to these resources and differences in the sizes and layouts of the houses evidence social differentiation at the site. As Sapouna-Sakellarakis suggest, Cycladic style objects may have been a source of prestige within the community at Manika, and trade may therefore have been a source of power for the inhabitants of the larger houses such as Building II and the house on Odos Perikoklades, where the seals were found.

Seal A66 (Fig. 2.12), a stone seal with a concentric squares design, was found at Proskynas in Lokris (see above, II.4.32) (Fig. 6.27.1). Proskynas was a well-organized settlement with several structures, including three houses (Buildings A, B, and C), special function structures including ceramic workshops evidenced by kilns and bins, a number of outdoor hearths (thermal structures), and circular structures (circular constructions A and B). A66 was found in Area B, a paved space in the eastern area of the site. Proskynas associates with communal feasting because of its architectural layout, associated finds, and accessibility within the site. Area B consisted of a stone platform associated with a terrace wall to the west, and a horseshoe-shaped hearth (thermal structure 1), features which formalized the space for communal cooking (Fig. 6.27.2). In addition to the seal, a large ceramic assemblage including Urfirnis sauceboats were found in significant numbers, which Proskynas relates to social display and competition within the context of communal feasting.

The special function structures at Proskynas are structures that should be added to Nilsson’s list of circular structures that she believes may have served as communal granaries. Circular construction A was located in the eastern area of the site where probable feasting activities took place in area B, to which belongs circular construction B to the north. Circular construction A (4.5 x 3.9 m.) had thick walls (0.35-0.50 m.) and was carved into the bedrock, with a stepped incline in the middle.

1184 Zahou 2009: 164-165, Fig. 5.5, Table 5.7.
1185 Zahou 2009: 45-46, Fig. 2.25.
1186 Zahou 2009: 45-46, Fig. 2.25.
1187 Zahou 2009: 47-49, Fig. 2.26.
1188 Zahou 2009: 49-52, Fig. 2.27.
1189 Zahou 2009: 47-49, Fig. 2.26.
A high number of consumption vessels were found associated with circular structure A, which links the structure to communal feasting, perhaps the same commensal events that took place in the nearby paved Area B.\textsuperscript{1190}

Evidence for feasting at Proskynas was also found in two pits near thermal structure 4 in which the bones of whole cows were found, clearly a single depositional event and likely associated with a feasting episode.\textsuperscript{1191} Furthermore, the eastern area of the site where feasting took place was previously the site of FN funerary feasting. After an apparent break in occupation in EH I, the EH settlement was constructed just north of and at the same orientation as the FN features (Fig. 6.27.3). Zahou and Psimogiannou point to the continuity of social practices at Proskynas from FN to EH period, since in the EH II period the community intentionally re-used the area of the FN burials for communal gatherings.\textsuperscript{1192} Evidence for FN feasting was found in pits near the burials that were filled with burnt sherds of coarse vessels, obsidian, flint, animal bones and shells, and some were clay-lined and sealed with stones.\textsuperscript{1193} Psimogiannou proposes that the presence of larger vessels, not only tablewares, means that these were structured deposits comprised of the remnants of funerary feasts associated with the burials.\textsuperscript{1194}

According to Zahou, the special function structures at Proskynas that were features associated with feasting, such as area B where seal \textbf{A66} was found, represent a collective investment in the space (“συλλογικής επένδυσης σε χώρο”) to formalize group gatherings in a communal space (“κοινοτικός χώρος”) in which repeated collective action, likely

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1190} Zahou 2009: 163-164, Fig. 5.5, Table 5.7.}\n\textsuperscript{1191} Zahou 2009, Figs. 2.33-2.34.\n\textsuperscript{1192} Zahou and Psimogiannou 2012; Psimogiannou 2012.\n\textsuperscript{1193} Psimogiannou 2012: 188, Figs. 4a-b.\n\textsuperscript{1194} Psimogiannou 2012: 193-194.}
communal feasting, reaffirmed social relations within the community ("διαμορφώνονταν και επιβεβαιώνονταν συνεχώς οι συλλογικοί δεσμοί των μελών της κοινότητας"). 1195

Zahou emphasizes that the construction of feasting facilities in the eastern area of the site would have required a significant labor investment, but that it was undertaken as a collective effort involving community-led decision-making. 1196 At the same time, Zahou emphasizes competitive feasting practices through the display of Urfirnis ware, especially in Area B where it was concentrated, and argues that feasting was a venue for highly competitive social practices. 1197 Evidence from Proskynas for social differentiation is found both in the ceramic workshops, which speaks to economic specialization, and the use of Urfirnis ware for social display and competition during feasting. The houses yield little evidence for differentiation apart from size, however, since the largest house (Building A, 22 m.²) had a similar assemblage as the smaller ones (B and C).

In summary, seals from settlement contexts were found in buildings both large and small, and with associated finds of both domestic and special function. The depositional patterns for seals from settlement contexts therefore do not support the hypothesis that EH seals belonged exclusively to elites.

VI.2.3. Clay Sealings from Settlement Contexts

Clay sealings were found exclusively in settlement contexts, from large deposits from Lerna, Petri, and Geraki to the scattered finds from Asine, Ayios Dhimitrios, Bozas,

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1197 I am grateful for Eleni Zahou for her clarification on this point. Zahou 2018, pers. comm.
and Akovitika. The following section examines the depositional contexts for clay sealings in greater detail than in previous discussions (see above, II.3) for comparative purposes, and determines that EH clay sealings were found in a variety of contexts, from small buildings to monumental corridor houses.

Lerna (see above, II.3.1) is the site most often associated with EH sealing practices because of the well-known deposit found in the House of the Tiles, but earlier deposits from elsewhere at the site were also found. Clay sealing B1 (Fig. 3.6) is a fragmentary bothros seal that was found inside Bothros GB-4 in Room B of the mid-phase IIIC fortifications (Fig. 6.1.6). Room B is one of several casemate rooms in the fortifications and was located just east of Room A, the gateway through which this area of the site was entered. Room B was small (10.8 m.$^2$), and Bothros GB-4 was located in the southeast corner of the room. It was lined with clay with a thickened rim, and it was sealed like a pithos by laying a reed mat over its open mouth before smearing clay over it and then impressing it with a seal (Fig. 6.1.7). Wiencke argues that the bothros was constructed for food-storage, as it was clay-lined and had roughly the same dimensions as a storage pithos.$^{1198}$ The sauceboats, saucers, and a basin were all found in good condition (one vessel intact) in the top layers of Bothros GB-4, apparently a closed assemblage of tableware that fell into the bothros from shelves in the room. Sherds of cooking and storage vessels were found scattered in the room. Room B therefore seems to have served a domestic function rather than just for storage,$^{1199}$ as were Rooms C, P, ST, and QR in the fortifications.$^{1200}$

$^{1198}$ Wiencke 2000: 119.
$^{1199}$ Wiencke 2000: 126.
$^{1200}$ Wiencke 2000: 647.
Deposits of clay sealings were also found in two late-IIIC structures that stood just inside the gateway of the fortifications on either side of a path that led to corridor house Building BG, House CA and Room DM (Fig. 6.1.8). Both structures appear to have functioned for food storage, preparation, and consumption that exceeded the level of a single household, and may therefore be special function structures rather than or in addition to houses.

Room DM was a partially preserved room of moderate size, the full extent of which is unknown because the southern and western limits did not survive. On the floor were found many intact and inverted vessels that presumably fell from shelves supported by postholes found along the western wall (Fig. 6.1.9). From the thick layer of ashy debris across the room was recovered a ceramic assemblage that indicates food storage, preparation, and consumption taking place in Room DM, including vessels for drinking and eating, cooking, and storage, including fragments from two roller-impressed pithoi (C2.18 and C2.30, Fig. 4.14). Food preparation in Room DM is evidenced by stone tools including millstones, grinders, chert sickles, as well the impressions of grape seeds, barley, and oats found on the clay sealing fragments. Two unimpressed storage pithoi were set up along the eastern wall, and in around the west pithos were found numerous fragments of clay sealing B2, a sealing of unknown type that was impressed with two different seals (rosette and loop design). Pithos sealing B5 (Fig. 3.6) was found north of the west pithos along with a jar with remains of grain inside of it, and pithos sealing B6 (Fig. 3.6) was found around the east pithos. Fragments of pithos sealings B3 (Fig. 3.6)

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1201 Room DM size: 5.58 m.\(^2\). Wiencke 2000: 139-140.
and B7-B11 (Fig. 3.6), as well as B4 (Fig. 3.6) of unknown type were found scattered throughout Room DM. Production is evidenced by a bone awl and spindle whorl. An extra-household function for Room DM is suggested by the large ceramic assemblage of 71 intact and fragmentary vessels recovered from it (Fig. 6.1.21).

Wiencke interprets the finds from Room DM, including sealings, vessels with potter’s marks, and saucers made by many by different hands, as evidence for use of the building by more than a single household or nuclear family for the storage, preparation, and consumption of food. According to Wiencke, it is not likely “that there would be a need within a simple family group to secure the grain (or other) supplies with sealings,” and that they more likely “represent a kind of recording system useful to a larger social organization.”

The clay sealings from Room DM were therefore associated with communal feasting.

In the nearby contemporary House CA, a large house with three axially-arranged rooms (megaron layout) that bonded to the fortifications to the south (Fig. 6.1.10),

1203 Wiencke 2000: 143-144, 434-448, Figs. II.44-51, 103, Pls. 13-15. Room DM assemblage: three askoi (two light-painted fine polished, one dark-painted); eight sauceboats (two light-painted fine polished, one dark-painted patterned, four dark-painted, one unpainted); fourteen saucers (one light-painted fine polished, three light-painted, five dark-painted, four unpainted, one unpainted miniature); ten bowls (one light-painted collared, one light-painted collared and spouted, one unpainted ring-base, three coarse pedestal, four coarse ring-base); eleven jars (seven dark-painted, three unpainted, one dark-painted coarse); four jugs (one unpainted spouted, two unpainted beaked, one unpainted); one lid or saucer (unpainted); six pithoi (five coarse, one dark-painted coarse and necked); seven basins (one light-painted, one dark-painted, one unpainted, three light-painted coarse, one dark-painted coarse); four baking pans (coarse); one fruitstand (light-painted coarse); one stand (coarse, type uncertain); and one pyxis (dark-painted).

1204 Potter’s marks were found on several vessels from Room DM, including one unpainted basin (P807), one unpainted bowl (P808), and three coarse bowls (P834, P835, P837)

1205 Wiencke 2000: 143.

1206 House CA size: 70 m.2 (calculated from Wiencke’s estimated length of 11.50 m.). Wiencke 2000: 132.
was found clay sealing B12 (Fig. 3.6). House CA had a tiled roof like the contemporary corridor house Building BG to the north, as evidenced by the numerous tile and schist fragments recovered from its ashy destruction debris. In Room CA, a floor deposit was found with several intact drinking and eating vessels was found in the southern area of the room (Fig. 6.1.10), while in the center of the room another deposit of intact pottery associated with carbonized wheat, einkorn, and emmer seeds, was found next to an oval-shaped hearth. In the southwest corner of Room CA, three sauceboats, twelve saucers, a spoon, obsidian blades, a mortar, and a grinder were found. Above the floor and in the southwest corner of Room CA was found pithos sealing B12, and in the eastern corner was found further drinking and serving vessels (spouted jar, sauceboat, jars, bowl, basin, fruitstand) and stone tools (pestle, pounder, obsidian blades), a spindle whorl, terracotta weight, a seal-impressed loomweight (C10.1, Fig. 4.47).

Evidence for food storage, preparation, and perhaps consumption in Room CA was found in the carbonized plant remains, including peas, lentils, and beans found in the eastern corner, and a further, substantial deposit of carbonized beans and peas in the northern part of the room. The finds from Room CA demonstrate a general domestic function for the structure that involved storage of food and pottery. The ceramic assemblage from Room CA is smaller than that of Room DM, but includes sherds from 48 vessels (Fig. 6.1.22). The overall assemblage is otherwise typical of domestic

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1208 Wiencke 2000: 135.
1209 Wiencke 2000: 136, 448-458, Figs. II.52-52, Pls. 14-17. Room CA assemblage: three askoi (one light-painted fine polished, two dark-on-light patterned); six sauceboats (two light-painted fine polished, one dark-on-light, three dark-painted); twenty-two saucers (one light-painted fine polished, one light-painted fine polished and pedestaled, four-
activity, but the high number of saucers (twenty-two), the typical drinking and eating vessel, seem to exceed the requirements of a single household. In addition, Wiencke notes that although Room CA is one-tenth the size of the House of the Tiles in terms of floor space (4.5 m.\(^2\) compared to 200 m.\(^2\)), 11 bags of sherds were recovered from Room CA and only 45 bags from the House of the Tiles.\(^{1210}\) The large size of Room CA’s ceramic assemblage may therefore evidence extra-household food storage and consumption, if not community-wide then perhaps between for two or more households. If so, the high number of vessels with painted surface treatments in Room CA may have been used for social display during commensal events, as in Room DM. The clay sealings from Room CA were therefore associated with food storage and consumption at the household level and perhaps beyond.

While the clay sealings from Rooms DM and CA indicate food storage and sharing at an extra-household level, the scale is much smaller than the later (Lerna IIID) deposit of sealings from the House of the Tiles. The well-known deposit of clay sealings from the House of the Tiles comes from Room XI, a small exterior space that was accessible only from the outside (Fig. 6.1.12-13).\(^{1211}\) The walls of Room XI were unplastered but the floor was the same yellow clay as the rest of the building, and postholes in the corners of the rooms supported wooden shelves. The House of the Tiles was destroyed by fire at the

light-painted, one dark-painted patterned, eleven dark-painted, one dark-painted and miniature, three unpainted); two basins (light-painted); three bowls (one light-painted pedestal, one light-painted spouted, one dark-painted on unburnished burnished and collared); five jars (four dark-painted, one dark-painted and spouted, one unpainted); one jug (dark-painted); one spoon (dark-painted); one lid (light-painted); one fruitstand or basin (unpainted burnished); one baking pan (coarse); one hearth (coarse); and one pithos (coarse).

\(^{1210}\) Wiencke 2000: 302.
end of the EH IIB period (Lerna IIID), which preserved a thick destruction debris inside Room XI in which hundreds of clay sealings (B13-B111) with impressions from 70 different seals were preserved.

The clay sealings were found in several findspots in the room, including in the debris above the floor, near and in the doorway, together with sherds and animal bones, on the floor between fallen bricks and the north wall, near the west wall near the floor, and in the northeast corner.  

Most were found in the layer of carbonized material extending across the room rather than on the floor. Wiencke argues that the uneven firing of the clay sealings resulted from their breakage prior to the fire, but they may also have broken during the destruction when the shelves collapsed and their contents fell to the ground. Wiencke argues that the clay sealings were located inside Room XI at the time of its destruction rather than in a space on the second storey because they were not evenly scattered across the room, and because the inverted vessels on the floor may have fallen from wooden shelves.

Among the intact vessels that formed the floor deposit of Room XI were twenty-two saucers and eight sauceboats. The total reconstructed ceramic assemblage from Room XI in the House of the Tiles includes 88 vessels, including 65 saucers and nine sauceboats.  

The finds from Room XI demonstrate that it functioned primarily for

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1212 Wiencke 2000: 234.
1214 Wiencke 2000: 236, 477-490, Figs. II.63-66, 103, Pls. 20-22. Room XI assemblage: one askos (light-painted fine polished); nine sauceboats (two light-painted fine polished, two dark-painted, five unpainted); 65 saucers (one light-painted fine polished, four dark-painted, three unpainted burnished, 54 unpainted, two miniature unpainted); one jar (dark-painted); four basins (one light-painted fine polished, one unpainted burnished, two unpainted); two bowls (one unpainted pedestaled bowl, one coarse); one basin or bowl (unpainted); two jugs (one spouted unpainted, one unpainted); one ladle (unpainted); one
large-scale storage of pottery, specifically eating, drinking, and serving vessels. Only one pithos sherd was found in the room, and the small space (Wiencke estimates 6 m.$^2$ of floor space factoring in the shelves) would not have been able to accommodate large-scale storage of agricultural products.\footnote{1215}

Clay sealings from Room XI sealed mostly non-ceramic objects (Fig. 3.38). Slightly more basketry/matting sealing types were found (25 examples, 23\%) than ceramic vessel types (23 examples, 22\%). But wooden objects were the most frequent clay sealing type found in Room XI, representing 41\% of the total, with 24 examples of peg sealing (Wiencke Type B) and 20 examples of pole sealing (Wiencke’s Type A). The large number of clay sealing fragments in Room XI represents the sealing of a limited number of vessels. Wiencke and Fiandra propose that jar neck and mouth vessels were used on the same ten vessels, wooden pole and peg sealings on the same ten boxes, and basketry/mattering sealings on perhaps only four baskets.\footnote{1216} It is therefore possible that the sealed objects were stored Room XI, and not just the discarded clay sealings, especially if these two sealing types were used on different parts of the same vessels. Furthermore, if wooden object sealings with impressions from poles were door sealings rather than wooden box or chest sealing, as Aruz and more recently Maran and Kostoula recently have argued,\footnote{1217} then even fewer sealed wooden boxes and chests were stored inside Room XI.

\footnote{1215} Wiencke 2000: 303; Pullen 1994: 45.

\footnote{1216} Heath 1958: 86-95, 97; Wiencke 2000: 303-304.

\footnote{1217} Maran and Kostoula 2014.
Although there is no correspondence between preserved jars and clay sealings from Room XI, it is unlikely that the room functioned as a temporary administrative archive, as first suggested by Wiencke and argued more forcefully by Fiandra and most recently by Maran and Kostoula.\textsuperscript{1218} Weingarten argues \textit{contra} Fiandra that Room XI was not an administrative archive since the small number of jars sealed may have been removed from Room XI after its destruction along with most of the finds from the House of the Tiles, since they were medium-sized jars rather than fixed pithoi.\textsuperscript{1219} Maran and Kostoula argue Room XI was an administrative archive because access to it was tightly controlled using door sealings, which they argue are represented by the numerous wooden pole sealings. Door sealings, they propose, were a control mechanism to restrict and record when and by whom the contents of Room XI were accessed, and broken sealings of all types were stored inside the room as a temporary administrative archive.\textsuperscript{1220} As Weingarten observes, however, too high a number of individual seals are represented on the wooden object sealings to suggest that door-sealing was an exclusive activity.\textsuperscript{1221}

Weingarten convincingly argues that a pattern of non-intensive seal use is evidenced at Room XI, since a wide variety of objects were sealed by a large number of individuals.\textsuperscript{1222} She proposes that Room XI was “a communal strongroom, where the community stored silver destined for export, and where the heads of household (the owners of the 70 seals?) sealed their share of the goods received in exchange for this

\textsuperscript{1218} Heath 1969: 514; Fiandra 1994: 238; Maran and Kostoula 2014: 151.
\textsuperscript{1219} Weingarten 1997: 160, no. 27; 2000: 304.
\textsuperscript{1220} Maran and Kostoula 2014: 154.
\textsuperscript{1221} Weingarten 1997: 152.
\textsuperscript{1222} Weingarten 1997: 150-151.
silver.” While there is no evidence for silver trade specifically at Lerna, nor any to support her conclusion that Lerna was an Anatolian trading post, Weingarten’s keen observations are revealing. The non-intensive pattern of seal use that took place in Room XI permits that seal use was not a practice that was restricted to elites, while the high number of individual seals represented on the clay sealings indicates that seal use was open to the wider community.

More recent work on the clay sealings from the House of the Tiles expand upon Weingarten’s observations. Nilsson interprets the House of the Tiles and corridor houses more generally as communal trade centers built by local communities to host foreign trade parties, Peperaki and Pullen detail the evidence for communal feasting in and around the House of the Tiles, and Wiencke’s most recent consideration of the Lerna material links seal use to ceremonial feasting events that took place at the House of the Tiles and that may have involved the exchange of goods.

The best evidence for feasting at the House of the Tiles is the large ceramic assemblage from Room XI. Peperaki compares the number of seals represented on the clay sealings (70) to the number of saucers (62) stored in Room XI to propose that seal users were feast participants. Wiencke argues that the Room XI pottery was a special, purpose-made assemblage, and identifies groups of vessels made by only three potters. As Pullen observes, the Room XI ceramic assemblage differs from those of

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1224 Nilsson 2004: 205, 213; see above, III.2.5.
1226 Wiencke 2011: 352.
Rooms CA and DM in terms of shapes and surface treatments.\textsuperscript{1229} The Room XI pottery is comprised primarily of drinking and pouring vessels that are plain and unpainted (Fig. 6.1.23) in contrast to the Rooms CA and DM assemblages, which evidence a greater variety of shapes, including storage and cooking vessels, and surface treatments, such as light- and dark-painted (Fig. 6.1.21-6.1.22).

Peperaki points to the uniformity of size and the plain, undifferentiated surface treatments of the saucers from Room XI to argue that feasting at the House of the Tiles did not involve social competition though display of drinking and eating vessels.\textsuperscript{1230} Pullen expands upon Peperaki’s observations to argue that differentiation during feasting at the House of the Tiles was expressed through where diner ate, and he points to the paved areas south and east the building.\textsuperscript{1231} Pullen suggests the benches along the southern exterior wall of the House of the Tiles, which were adjacent to an open area onto which Room XI opened, may have been one location for feasting. Weiberg labeled the paved area to the east Area C and to the south Area D, a space that was also open in the preceding IIIC phase between Building CA and Building BG.\textsuperscript{1232} Area D was one of four exterior areas surrounding the House of the Tiles that were paved with a distinctive yellow clay, like the clay for the interior’s floors, which Weiberg interprets as evidence for a more open rather than restrictive use of the building as a communal structure.\textsuperscript{1233}

The picture that emerges of Room XI in the House of the Tiles at Lerna is of a storage space lined with wooden shelves, on which were stored some 88 preserved

\textsuperscript{1229} Pullen 2011b: 223.
\textsuperscript{1230} Peperaki 2004: 223.
\textsuperscript{1231} Pullen 2011b: 224-225.
\textsuperscript{1232} Weiberg 2007: 51, Fig. 12.
\textsuperscript{1233} Weiberg 2007: 54.
vessels and at least ten sealed jars, as well as at least four baskets and perhaps 10 wooden boxes or chests. The room was accessible only from the outside through a wooden door that was re-sealed perhaps each time it was opened and closed again, presumably for whatever ceremonial event(s) occasioned a feast. The architectural formalization of the spaces for feasting and storage of feast equipment in Room XI suggest that feasting was a recurring social institution at the House of the Tiles, and that sealing and feasting were closely associated.

Furthermore, the large number of seal impressions represented on the clay sealings, their rough correspondence to the number of saucers, and the relatively low number of sealed objects demonstrate that seal use was not an exclusive practice. Weingarten highlights this non-intensive pattern of seal use to propose that it was not bureaucratic, meaning not controlled by a top-down authority. The evidence from the House of the Tiles therefore show that seal use was not restricted to administrative elites who controlled the political economy, but rather was more widely practiced by members of the community, perhaps heads of individual households as suggested by Pullen,\textsuperscript{1234} in the context of communal feasting.

Unlike the large deposits of clay sealings found at Lerna, at Asine (see above, II.4.3, II.3.3) only a few scattered clay sealings were found. One jar (neck) sealing, B121, was found in House R, a large EH II-III apsidal building (Figs. 6.3.1-6.3.2).\textsuperscript{1235} House R was one of two structures on Terrace III in the Lower Town, the other, House S, was smaller, almost half the size, but yielded few finds. Although House R was disturbed later

\textsuperscript{1234} Pullen 2011b: 225.
building activity, resulting in some controversy regarding its date as either EH II or EH II, numerous vessels from floor deposits were found there, including numerous jars, beak-spouted jugs, plates, bowls, and pyxides, and bowls.\textsuperscript{1236} Sealing \textbf{B121} (Fig. 3.18) was found in Room 1, the apsidal room of the structure, along with eight vessels including a glazed, seal-impressed globular jar \textbf{C4.3} (Fig. 4.34) and other shapes.\textsuperscript{1237} Thus in spite of its large size, the finds from House R associated with \textbf{B121} appear to represent a typical domestic assemblage rather than an elite residence. Although roof tiles found at the site indicate that one or more structures had a tiled roof, no corridor houses or other monumental structures were identified at the site.\textsuperscript{1238} Weiberg emphasizes that it is unclear if a storeroom with vessels sealed with clay sealings stood at Asine, such as were found at Lerna and Geraki, but that the use of clay sealings was practiced there, as evidenced by the clay sealings found there (\textbf{B120-B124}, Fig. 3.18).\textsuperscript{1239} The clay sealing from House R at Asine therefore demonstrates that sealings were used in association with food storage and consumption at the household level.

As at Lerna, another large deposit of clay sealings was found in a secure settlement context at Petri (see above, III.3.4). The site is only partially excavated and summarily published.\textsuperscript{1240} Kostoula reports that approximately 255 fragments representing at least 100 individual clay sealings (\textbf{B126-B135}, Fig. 3.20) impressed with 26 different seal types, though only ten designs are so far published. All of the published clay sealings from Petri are vessel sealings, most of which Kostoula describes as pithos sealings, of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Frödin and Persson 1938: 213-218, Figs. 158-160.
\item Frödin and Persson 1938: 216-217, Figs. 159 nos. 2, 4-6, 160 nos. 1-6.
\item Frödin and Persson 1928: 97, 233; Pullen 1986: 91, no. 14, Fig. 3.
\item Weiberg 2010: 199-200.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
which she records only a few examples of jar neck and mouth (Type C and D) types.\textsuperscript{1241} All but one of the clay sealings from Petri were found inside House R, one of four EH II structures arranged around a courtyard in Area I at the site (Fig. 6.8.1). House R was a large, multi-room structure, parts of which preserved a white plastered mudbrick superstructure were preserved.\textsuperscript{1242} A courtyard was paved with large stones and a path was identified between rooms R1 and R 4, a room which may have belonged to another structure. This small area exposed by excavation therefore hints at a well-organized settlement at Petri. Kostoula argues that House R may have served a public or communal ("gemeinschaftliche") function because of its paved courtyard.\textsuperscript{1243} House R was destroyed at the end of EH II, and the clay sealings and other finds from the house were sealed by a thick (20 cm.), ashy layer of destruction debris that stretched across the southern area of the room.

Within R 1, the distribution of the clay sealings shows that they were concentrated in the southeast corner of the room, where several vessels and at least two large pithoi stood.\textsuperscript{1244} Fragments of B130 and B135 (Fig. 3.20) were found both on the floor in the southwest corner, in the posthole of the inner door, inside and around two large pithoi, and also evenly distributed throughout the layer of destruction debris that stretched from the southeast to southwest corner of the room, which likely represents the burnt remains of wooden shelves that stood against the southern wall. Kostoula reports that some of the clay sealings could be matched to vessels recovered from the room. One vessel rim sherd

\textsuperscript{1241} Kostoula 2000: 138-39, Fig. 2a-b, 2004: 1148, no 70.
\textsuperscript{1242} Size of House R: 15-25 m.\textsuperscript{2}.
\textsuperscript{1243} Kostoula 2004: 1138-1139.
\textsuperscript{1244} Kostoula 2000: 144.
had layers of different types of clay, remnants of successive sealing events, and some sealing fragments bore seal impressions on the observe and reverse from applying new sealings over older ones.\textsuperscript{1245}

The other finds from R 1 demonstrate that it was a storage facility for drinking and serving vessels, including sauceboats, bowls, pyxides, saucers, and other pouring vessels, which must have been stored on the shelves that once lined the southern wall of the room.\textsuperscript{1246} The two large pithoi in R 1 indicate that it also functioned as a food storage facility, and the impressions of barley and vine on some of the clay sealings support this hypothesis. Kostoula reports that some of the sealings had impressions of wicker and basketry, and perhaps dry goods were also stored in the room. Food consumption in R 1 is signaled by the presence of animal bones in the room, some found in small piles. Other domestic functions for R 1 include textile production evidenced by spindle whorls, woodworking evidenced by a copper saw found in the southwest corner, and a clay casting mold for a blade or dagger found in the southeast corner of the room.\textsuperscript{1247}

A further clay sealing, B141 (Fig. 3.24), was found in Area II to the north of House R, where a series of walls was revealed.\textsuperscript{1248} Although no floors were reached and the layout of the walls is unknown because of the restricted excavation area, a number of EH II sherds were found associated with clay sealing B141, as well as a bull figurine, and miniature vessel. B141 is a vessel sealing and is unique because of its figural design of two quadrupeds and a plant, a composition that Kostoula compares to suckling scenes on

\textsuperscript{1245} Kostoula 2000: 139, 2004: 1149.
\textsuperscript{1246} Kostoula 2000: 138, nos. 8-10; 2004: 1140-1143.
\textsuperscript{1247} Kostoula 2004: 1147.
\textsuperscript{1248} Kostoula 2000: 138; 2004: 1148-49, fn. 70.
Near Eastern seals.\textsuperscript{1249} This is the only example of a jar sealing, rather than a pithos sealing, so far published from Petri. There may have been functional differences between the structures partially revealed in Area I and House R in Area II, but because of their incomplete excavation and publication this remains speculation.

The clay sealings from House R at Petri are associated with evidence for food storage and consumption that Kostoula argues were communal. Full publication of the clay sealings, ceramic assemblage, and architecture from Petri is necessary in order to gain further important insight into the use of clay sealings in the EH period.

At Ayios Dhimitrios (see above, III.3.9), a ceramic vessel handle sealing (B226) was found in a monumental EH IIB structure, House A (Fig. 6.13.2), a large, multi-roomed structure with thick walls that may have had a tile roof, based on the finds of roof tiles elsewhere at the site.\textsuperscript{1250} The finds from House A include typical domestic assemblages, including millstones, obsidian, askos, and pithos sherds from Room 1, and from Room II millstones, obsidian, animal bones, and sherds from sauceboats and a pithos.\textsuperscript{1251} B226 (Fig. 3.32), a vessel handle sealing, was found in Room III, where a circular hearth constructed of flat stones with burnt soil was found in the center of the room. Other finds from Room III include a millstone located near the hearth, which was surrounded by animal ones (sheep/goat), shells, and craw claws. The entire room was covered by a thick layer of destruction debris from when House A was destroyed at the end of EH IIB (Phase IIb), and some vessels were found inverted on the floor as if having fallen from shelves. The ceramic assemblage includes drinking and serving, storage, and

\textsuperscript{1250} House A size: 11.60 m.\textsuperscript{2}; width of walls: 0.65-0.75 m. Zachos 2008: 65.
\textsuperscript{1251} Zachos 2008: 64.
cooking vessels: pithoi, basins, jars, baking pans, jugs, fruitstands, bowls and saucers, sauceboats, and pyxides. In addition to food production, storage, and consumption, evidence for textile production and obsidian working was found in Room III, including spindle whorls, lead spools, and obsidian debitage. Sealing B226 was found in the northwest area of the room associated along with an incised hearth rim.\(^{1252}\)

Another large deposit of clay sealings was found at the EH IIB settlement at Geraki (see above II.4.11, III.3.6). Weingarten publishes 259 fragments from 98 individual clay sealings (\(B136-B223\), Figs. 3.24, 3.28) impressed with twenty-one different seal types from the site.\(^{1253}\) Both deposits of sealings were found in structures that are interpreted as storerooms.

The first deposit from Geraki of 179 fragments of clay sealings impressed with six different seal designs (\(B136-B171, B218-B223\), Fig. 3.24, 3.28) was found in Trench 17/11i in the northern area of the site, where a part of an EH IIB room was uncovered (Fig. 6.10.4). The partially preserved room was located just south of the fortification wall and consisted of a N-S wall that was re-used as a foundation for a later Classical–Hellenistic wall, a circular stone platform, and a deposit of undisturbed EH material that was sealed by a layer of destruction with burnt soil and collapsed mudbrick.\(^{1254}\) The full extent of this room and the building to which it belonged are unknown, but the thickness of the wall (0.50 m.) is not sufficient to interpret the structure as monumental, since they were nearly half the average thickness of corridor house walls.\(^{1255}\) The room in Trench

\(^{1252}\) Zachos 2008: 65.
\(^{1254}\) Crouwel et al. 1997: 60; Weingarten et al. 1999: 358.
\(^{1255}\) Pullen 2011a, Table 5.6.
17/11i functioned as a storeroom, as the lower half of a pithos of a type with Lerna IIIC parallels was preserved in situ with burnt seeds inside, and around it were found clay sealings B152-B157.\(^{1256}\) The ceramic assemblage from this room included drinking and serving vessels found in destruction debris rather than as a floor deposit, and so may have been stored on shelves that collapsed when the room was destroyed.\(^{1257}\) Weingarten argues that as many as five different pithoi were sealed, but none were preserved in situ. Most of the clay sealings from Trench 17/11i were jar sealings of large vessels, perhaps as large as pithoi,\(^{1258}\) from which five different vessels could be reconstructed.\(^{1259}\) Other sealing types represented in the Trench 17/11i material include two sealings that impressed “lid-like” objects, both of which were impressed with the same seal (B164-B165, Fig. 3.24), another lid (B169, Fig. 3.24), and a possible textile bundle sealing (B218). The sealings from the storeroom in Trench 17/11i Geraki are therefore evidence of the use of clay sealings in association with food storage, though whether it was for more than a single household is unclear.

Another significant deposit of clay sealings from Geraki was found in Trench 17/13q in a casemate room of the fortifications (Fig. 6.10.4).\(^{1260}\) The casemate room is partially preserved, represented by its eastern and western walls and part of its eroded clay floor and a thick layer of burnt destruction debris from its destruction by fire at the end of EH IIB. The small size of the casemate room and its associated finds suggest that it was used as a storage space rather than for domestic activities, unlike the domestic

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\(^{1256}\) Weingarten et al. 1999, Figs. 5-8.
\(^{1257}\) Weingarten et al. 1999: 359, Figs. 5-8.
\(^{1258}\) Weingarten 2017, pers. comm.
\(^{1259}\) Weingarten et al. 1999: 362, Fig. 9a-e.
\(^{1260}\) Weingarten et al. 2011: 133-135.
occupation in the larger rooms of the fortifications at Lerna. More than 80 clay sealing fragments (B172-B202, Fig. 3.24) impressed by 15 different seals were found in the casemate room. Most were vessel fragments from storage vessels perhaps as large as pithoi, the profiles of six of which could be reconstructed from the impressed reverses of the sealings. None of the vessels found in this room, however, correspond to any of the clay sealings found there. The sealings from the casemate room were recovered from the near three pithoi found in situ with their bases set into the floor. The associated floor deposit included two ring-base bowls, a fruitstand, and four saucers, with two addition saucers found inside the pithoi. The pithoi were used to store agricultural products, as evidence by the discovered of charred grass peas found inside one of them. Other drinking and pouring vessels, including an askos, were found in the destruction debris and must have fallen from wooden shelves set up in the room. Weingarten observes that the range of the shapes from the casemate room points to the “storage and manipulation of dry goods or liquids” there.

The clay sealings from Geraki were found in contexts associated with food storage, the scale of which is unclear. The sealings from Trench 17/11i were found in a partially preserved storeroom, the full extent of which is not known, where vessels were stored on shelves. Although corresponding vessels were not recovered, the sealings closed at least five different vessels that may have been stored on shelves in the room, and the

1261 Size of casemate room: 2.30 x 3.60 m. Crouwel 2009: 69; Weingarten et al. 2011: 139.
1262 Weingarten et al. 2011: 143.
1263 Weingarten et al. 2011, Fig. 8a-f.
1265 Crouwel 2009:69.
associated ceramic assemblage was small and may therefore represent storage for a single household. The sealings from the casemate room of the fortification in Trench 17/13q may be associated with storage beyond the household level, since three pithoi were found in situ and impressions of fifteen different seal designs were identified, but the ceramic assemblage was not large.

At the site of Bozas (see above, III.3.7), a clay sealing of unknown type, B224 (Fig. 3.29), was found in the partially preserved remains of an EH II building, the size of which is uncertain.1267 Beneath a layer of destruction debris in the room were found storage jars and pithoi still in situ, as well as fragments of three dark-painted saucers and at least three jars.1268 Though the house at Bozas where the clay sealing was found is only partially preserved, its context points to seal use associated with household level food storage and consumption.

Another site that yielded a single seal is Akovitika (see above, III.3.8), where a basketry/matting sealing, B225, was found in Area Γ associated with two partially preserved walls that may represent the ruins of a corridor house.1269 Two EH IIB corridor houses, Megara A and B, were also found at the site, as well as two further monumental structures, Buildings D and E to the east (Fig. 6.12.1). Smith argues that the building complex in Area Γ to the south where B225 was found was a third corridor house because of the width (1.1-1.2 m.) of the preserved three walls, the narrow space between them, and the evidence for a staircase.1270 While the Akovitika evidence is not an entirely

secure context, the association of B225 with a monumental structure is noteworthy. The only architectural evidence from Akovitika is monumental, however, including the two corridor houses, only one of which (Megaron B) had a tiled roof, and the two monumental buildings (Buildings D and E). No secure floor deposits can be associated with any of these structures, though pottery recovered from the area includes drinking and serving vessels such as bowls and sauceboats as well as storage vessels including jars and pithoi. It is therefore unclear what the relationship of these structures was the rest of the settlement.

To summarize, clay sealings from secure settlement contexts were found in buildings both large and small, but always associated with evidence for food storage, preparation, and communal feasting at varying scales. Issues of preservation may distort the archaeological record, since EH clay sealings were preserved only accidentally when the structure where they were stored burned down, as at Lerna, Geraki, and Petri. Thus scattered examples of clay sealings from Asine, Ayios Dhimitrios, Bozas, and Akovitika hint at larger sealing operations associated with food storage and feasting.

VI.2.4. Seal-Impressed Objects from Settlement Contexts

Seal-impressed objects were found in settlement contexts at Lerna, Asine, Berbati, Petri, Poros, and Eutresis. Like seals and clay sealings, seal-impressed objects were found in structures both large and small.

The vast majority of seal-impressed objects from Lerna (see above, IV.4.1) are roller-impressed hearth (C1.1, C1.2, C1.6, Fig. 4.1) and pithos (C2.6-C2.28, Figs. 4.11-4.15) fragments that were found in the destruction debris above the House of the Tiles,
and therefore come from secondary contexts. A few of examples, however, were found in more secure deposits. The large and mostly intact roller-impressed hearth from the early IIIC corridor house Building BG, C1.4 (Fig. 4.1), was found in a narrow space referred to as the Hearth Corridor between walls W-61 and W-62 (Figs. 6.1.4-6.1.5).\textsuperscript{1271} The hearth may have been used in its findspot, but it is clearly a secondary context since part of Wall W-61 had to be dismantled in order to accommodate the large hearth. Wiencke suggests that it was originally located in the South Room, a large room comparable in layout and dimensions to the Hearth Room (Room XI) of the later House of the Tiles.\textsuperscript{1272} In addition, a stamped loomweight C10.1 (Fig. 4.47) was found in the eastern part of House CA, a late IIIC structure where clay sealing B12 (Fig. 3.6) was found, as well as a domestic assemblage including numerous drinking and pouring vessels and evidence for food storage (carbonized beans and peas) and preparation (stone tools) (Fig. 6.1.10). It is unclear if this stamped “loomweight” was actually used in textile production or was rather a label for a large object, though a spindle whorls and terracotta weight were also found in Room CA.

At Asine (see above, IV.4.3), stamped jar C4.3 (Fig. 4.34) was found in the same context as clay sealing B121 (Fig. 3.18) in Room III of House R, a large apsidal structure on Terrace III (Fig. 6.3.2). As discussed above, the finds from House R are a typical domestic assemblage apart from the stamped jar and clay sealings.

A roller-impressed hearth, C1.42 (fig. 1.42), was found inside Megaron A at Berbati (see above, V1.3.6), one of two corridor houses identified at the site (Fig. 6.5.1).


Hearth C1.42 was found inside the large, square room at the heart of the building and had an axe-shaped depression in the center, like hearth C1.4 (Fig. 4.1) from Building BG at Lerna.

At Petri (see above, VI.3.13), two roller-impressed pithoi, C2.108 (Fig. 4.22) and C2.109, were found in R 1, the EH II storeroom where clay sealings B125-B126 (Figs. 3.20, 3.22) were also found (Fig. 6.8.1). Both pithoi were found sunk into the floor in the northeast corner of the room. Other finds from the room suggest a domestic function for R1, including food consumption, storage, and preparation, which is reinforced by pithoi C2.108 and C2.109. In addition, evidence for production includes spindle whorls, a copper saw, a casting mold for a knife of dagger.

Two roller-impressed hearths were found at the EH site on a hill overlooking Variarnia bay at Poros (see above, VI.3.29). Both were found in situ in what Konsolaki-Giannopoulou describes as megaron-type buildings. Circular hearth C1.65 was found in the main room in Building Γ with traces of ash and burning as well as bones from the head of a pig preserved inside, and horseshoe-shaped hearth C1.66 was found in Building B. Other finds from Building Γ include drinking and storage vessels, among them six shallow bowls and two pithoi, which suggests that the structure functioned in part for food storage.

A roller-impressed hearth and stamped objects were found at Eutresis (see above IV.4.28). In Hut Z, an elliptical EH I structure (Fig. 6.26.3), sherds from stamped spherical jar C4.11, pyxis C6.5 (Fig. 4.38), and lid fragment C6.6 (Fig. 4.38) were

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1273 Kostoula 2000: 136, Fig. 1b, 2004: 1137, Pl. 1b.
The function of Hut Z is unclear because of its incomplete preservation, since only a yellow clay floor but no walls were preserved. Roller-impressed hearth C1.71 was found set into the floor of Room III in House L, an EH II house with three rooms arranged axially in the megaron layout (Fig. 6.26.2). C1.71 preserved signs of burning and animal bones were found on top of it. Goldman argues that Room III has a special, possible ritual function because of its large size, the stone bench where a zoomorphic rhyton was found, and the roller-impressed hearth with associated animal bones. A bothros filled sherds from small bowls reinforced a communal function for House L.

In summary, most seal-impressed objects from settlement contexts are roller-impressed hearth and pithoi, and were found in buildings both large and small associated along with other evidence for food storage, preparation, and consumption at varying scales. Depositional practices for seal-impressed objects from settlements therefore do not indicate that ownership of this class of artifacts was restricted to elites.

### VI.3. Evidence for Sealing Practices from Burial Contexts

#### VI.3.1. EH Burials

Seals deposited in burials are interpreted as grave goods that reflect the social status of the deceased, since they were prestige goods made from stone or metal. Because of the close association of seals with their owners as objects of personal adornment, seal designs are interpreted as the personal signatures of seal owners. The deposition of seals as grave

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1275 Goldman 1930: 81-82.
goods in burials is seen as a sensitive indicator of social status because graves, and the burial practices that structure them, provide crucial information about the social and political organization of the burying group. Burial is a social practice that the living undertake on behalf of the dead, and so grave goods could equally be the personal possessions of the dead or grave gifts offered by the burying group. Adornment of the corpse with clothes and jewelry (including seals) therefore represents a reading of the deceased’s social identity by the living, and for this reason archaeologists must be cautious in their interpretations of grave goods.

Similarly, ceramic vessels and other food containers placed in graves could represent food for the deceased in the afterlife offered by the living, the personal possession of the dead, or the remains of funerary feasting by the living to honor the dead. Rather than a representation of the dead’s social status, then, grave goods should be interpreted as reflecting the social identity of the dead as constructed by the living. The few examples of EH seals deposited in graves cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence for elite seal owners in the absence of sufficient comparative evidence to contextualize EH burial practices.

EH burials are poorly understood because of their uneven preservation across the mainland, resulting in a scholarly focus on the large, extramural cemeteries in Attica and Euboea while the scarcity of burials in the Argolid and Corinthia and elsewhere in the Peloponnese remains a problem for assessing mortuary practice there. The evidence

1277 Parker Pearson 1999: 8-10.
1278 Parker Pearson 1999: 10-12.
for EH burials in southern Greece is sparse compared to central Greece, where large, extramural cemeteries were identified in Attica and Euboea (Ayios Kosmas, Manika, Tsepi, etc.). Weiberg attributes the uneven distribution of EH graves across the mainland to the low visibility of EH graves in southern Greece, which may have resulted from landscape changes and the tendency for EH cemeteries to be single-phase. She further emphasizes the scholarly focus on large, extramural cemeteries necessitated by the low visibility of isolated and individual EH graves found accidentally through rescue excavations, which are not always adequately published. For example, cist tombs constructed from slabs in Attica are more easily detected than isolated chamber tombs in the northeastern Peloponnese.\textsuperscript{1280} This shows that more EH graves remain to be discovered in southern Greece, and that visibility is the key limiting factor. In spite of the fact that the Peloponnese is the most extensively investigated region on the mainland, however, relatively few burials have been discovered there, which may reflect regional variation in burial practices during the EH period.\textsuperscript{1281} Even fewer EH burials have been identified in areas of northern Greece such as Macedonia.\textsuperscript{1282} Further work is needed, however, to gain a fuller understanding of EH burial practices.

The evidence for EH burials–sparse as it is– is heavily weighted toward the EH II period because even fewer EH I and EH III graves were preserved.\textsuperscript{1283} Recent discoveries of EH I burials (Tsepi, Thebes, Kato Achaea, Kalyvia, Apollo Maleatas) and down-dating of other graves (Askitario, Ayios Kosmas, Tsepi, Manika) are clarifying the development

\textsuperscript{1280} Weiberg 2011: 785.
\textsuperscript{1281} Weiberg 2011: 781.
\textsuperscript{1282} Triantaphyliou 1998: 151.
of burial practices at the beginning of the EH period in Attica especially, but that is also largely an artifact of the adaptation or similarity to Cycladic practices. In spite of these problems the EH II period remains the best represented from the burial evidence.\cite{1284}

EH tomb types were diverse, but some general observations can be made.\cite{1285} Most common were cist tombs, more common in central than southern Greece, and rock-cut pit-tombs, though sparsely scattered throughout central and southern Greece. Multiple inhumations and secondary burials were the norm, practiced in EH II extramural cemeteries cluster in Attica and Euboea (Ayios Kosmas, Manika, Tsepi), and clusters of communal chamber tombs have been found in Corinthia (Corinth, Zygouries, Perachora-Vouliagmeni) than elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Single inhumations were made in pit graves (Ayios Stephanos, Kouphovouno, Strephi), cist graves (Ayios Stephanos, Argos), built graves (Delpriza), and chamber tomb (Gourzoumisi).\cite{1286} Child burials were also found (Zygouries, Kouphovouno, Sparta), some in cist graves (Argos) or chamber tombs (Pavlopetri). Pithos graves were also found (Steno, Strephi, Pelikata), and intramural burials (Ayios Stephanos, Tiryns, Asine, Askitario), though these were less common in the EH period.\cite{1287}

EH III burials are rarer, known mostly from intramural child burials (Lerna, Kolonna) or pithos child burials (Olympia, Berbati). Caskey interpreted the intramural child burials at Lerna as “intrusive” elements that indicated a foreign invasion,\cite{1288} a claim

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1285} Pullen 1985: 140-146; Weiberg 2007: 193, Fig. 14.
\bibitem{1288} Caskey 1960: 299.
\end{thebibliography}
that Forsén has since refuted on the grounds that intramural burial was practiced at a number of mainland sites in the EH II period (Asine, Tsoungiza, Ayios Stephanos, Koupovouno, Askario, Thebes, Kirrha, possibly Tiryns Strephi, Eutresis), and so cannot be linked to the Indo-European invasion hypothesis.\textsuperscript{1289}

The study of EH skeletal material is very limited to non-existent and so provides little demographic information, but the presence of men, women, and children in the burial record evidences king-based burying groups.\textsuperscript{1290}

Few burials in extramural cemeteries can be associated with contemporary settlements, as at Corinth, Perachora-Vouliagmeni, Zygories, Lithares, Askario, Ayios Kosmas, and Manika. Nevertheless, scholars link the appearance of extramural cemeteries with cist graves and chambers tombs in the EH I-II period in southern and central Greece to a number of social changes these regions underwent, including the articulation of settlement space and emphasis on land ownership associated with agricultural intensification.\textsuperscript{1291} Pullen links the formalization of functionally distinct cemeteries at Tsepi, Ayios Kosmas, and Manika, as well as the presence of child burials with adult burials at those cemeteries, with the presence of kin-based corporate groups in EH Greece.\textsuperscript{1292}

Differences in grave goods in both frequency and type might be used to confirm social ranking. No overall patterns emerge, however, to suggest that mortuary sphere was a venue for elite social competition during the EH period. Where preserved, the practice

\textsuperscript{1289} Forsén 1992: 237-240, Fig. 17.
\textsuperscript{1290} Pullen 1985: 144-145.
\textsuperscript{1291} Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Pullen 1986; Weiberg 2007: 193.
\textsuperscript{1292} Pullen 1985: 145; Saxe 1970.
of secondary burial disturbed graves so that rarely can grave goods be assigned to any particularly individual, which would provide evidence for the accumulation of wealth. Most grave goods were ceramic vessels, though rare stone vessels, palettes, figurines, and metal objects such as gold jewelry or copper tweezers were also deposited.\textsuperscript{1293} The evidence for differential distribution of wealth among the graves is not sufficient, however, to suggest that any resources were controlled by a corporate group within a social and political hierarchy.\textsuperscript{1294}

Thus the limited number of prestige goods found in EH tombs is not indicative of permanent and institutionalized forms of social inequality in the EH period. This is a point reinforced by Smith’s analysis of burials from the northeastern Peloponnese, in which he concludes that apparent differences in individual rank could rather be attributed to regional or chronological variation in burial practices.\textsuperscript{1295}

VI.3.2. Seals from Burial Contexts

Seals from burials are exceedingly rare, and were found only at Zygouries and Manika. Among the four pit tombs dated to EH II found in the cemetery at Zygouries (see above, IV.4.9), Tomb VII yielded seal A\textsuperscript{24} (Fig. 2.10), a stone foot-shaped amulet. The seal cannot be securely associated with any of the badly decomposed remains of the 12-15 individuals found in tomb (Fig. 6.7.4) because of their preservation, nor can the other grave goods found in Tomb VII, which include objects of gold, silver, bronze, stone, and shell. Similar grave goods were found in other EH tombs at Zygouries,

\textsuperscript{1293} Weiberg 2007: 289-294, Fig. 6, 2011: 76-77.
\textsuperscript{1294} Pullen 1985: 145-146.
\textsuperscript{1295} Smith 2011: 98.
including the bronze pin found with the remains of three individuals in Tomb XVI, and objects of gold, silver, bronze, stone, and bone found in Tomb XX among the remains of fifteen individual. The tomb that yielded a seal at Zygouries was therefore neither the only nor the richest in the cemetery.

Two seals were found in the cemetery at Manika (see above, IV.4.25). The first, A54 (Fig. 2.2), is a stone conoid with a spiral design that was found in Grave 131 on the Beligianni plot in 1986 (Fig. 6.23.6), a rock-cut chamber tomb where a few scattered bones and the seal were found. A56 (Fig. 2.3) is a stone plate seal with a nested angle design that was found Grave V on the Georgiou plot (Fig. 6.23.8), a rock-cut chamber tomb where a fragmentary copper pin, marble disc, and an incised frying pan were also found. Although numerous other rich tombs were found at Manika with similar grave goods, the fact that seals were buried with the dead in only two graves indicates that the practice was not common.

The overall scarcity of seals found in graves and the fact that not all rich graves yielded seals together caution against interpreting EH seals found in graves as evidence for elite seal owners.

VI.3.3. Stamped Vessels from Burial Contexts

The only type of seal-impressed objects found in burial contexts were stamped vessels such as jars and frying pans. Stamped vessels were found in EH burials at Ayios

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1296 Blegen 1928: 47-48, Fig. 11.
1297 Blegen 1928: 48-53, Fig. 12.
1298 Sampson 1988: 21, 27.
1299 Sampson 1985: 189.
Kosmas, Tsepi, and Manika, each of which were large cemeteries that reflect Cycladic burial practices in terms of tomb architecture, cemetery organization, and depositional patterns for grave goods. Stamped objects from EH graves therefore reflect Cycladic influence on the mainland in the regions of Attica and Euboea.

In the North Cemetery at Ayios Kosmas (see above, IV.4.17), several graves contained seal-impressed vessels, including stamps jars and frying pans (Fig. 6.14.3). The depositional patterns for stamped vessels in the North Cemetery at Ayios Kosmas indicate that they were placed inside graves along with the dead and outside graves, and may therefore represent either grave goods deposited with the dead as personal possessions or grave gifts offered by the living. For example, sherds of stamped jar **C4.7** (Fig. 4.7) were the only grave goods found in Grave 1, a cist grave the contained two adult skeletons (male and female) and additional skulls in the southeast corner. By contrast, spherical jar **C6.4** (Fig. 4.38) was found intact, inverted, and filled with obsidian outside Grave 3, a built grave that contained numerous burials represented by six skulls and others scattered bones (Fig. 6.14.5). The area outside Grave 3 where **C6.4** was found was delimited by a row of stones and apparently designated as a space for grave offerings, since other inverted vessels, two stone pyxides, a marble Cycladic figurine, and copper tweezers were also found there. Stamped jar **C4.8** (Fig. 4.34), unique because of its anthropomorphic appearance, was found outside Grave 4, a cist tomb that contained at least 16 burials (Fig. 6.14.6), along with cups, a stone figurine, and numerous

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1300 Mylonas 1959: 64.
1301 Mylonas 1959: 145.
1302 Mylonas 1959: 71-73.
1303 Mylonas 1959: 75-78.
1304 Mylonas 1959: 78-80.
obsidian chips, as well as three frying pans: C8.27, C8.28, and C8.29 (Fig. 4.3), all of which were apparently grave gifts or offerings to the dead because of their placement outside the tomb.\footnote{Mylonas 1959: 80.} A complete conical jar, C4.6 (Fig. 4.34), was found in Grave 7, the largest of the cist graves in the cemetery (Fig. 6.14.7),\footnote{Mylonas 1959: 86.} along with several skeletons inside the tomb that were crushed when the slab roof collapsed, but an intact skeleton was located inside the prothyron. In addition to jar C4.6, two frying pans were also found in Grave 7, C8.25 (Fig. 4.42) by a complete skeleton and C8.26 (Fig. 4.43) among layers of disturbed bones.

Like stamped jars, frying pans were found both inside and outside of tombs in the North Cemetery at Ayios Kosmas. Frying pan C8.31 (Fig. 4.43) was found leaning against the wall of Grave 12 beside one of two piles of bones (Fig. 6.14.8),\footnote{Mylonas 1959: 92-93.} but further grave offerings were found outside the tomb, including a stone tools and pottery. Frying pan C8.32 (Fig. 4.43) was found outside of Grave 23, a cist grave with three skulls inside, along with objects of bronze and obsidian (Fig. 6.14.9).\footnote{Mylonas 1959: 101-102.} In addition, two frying pans found in the North Cemetery that cannot be associated with any burial, including C8.33 (Fig. 4.44) in the area between Graves 25 and 30, where a trench with a skeleton was found with a sauceboat and cup, and C8.34 (Fig. 4.44) in the areas to the north of the same graves, where obsidian cores and 47 vessels, some inverted, were found on a paved area where they were apparently placed there as grave offerings.\footnote{Mylonas 1959: 105-112.}
In the large and well organized cemetery at Tsepi (see above, VI.3.28), two stamped frying pans (C8.45 and C8.46, Fig. 4.44) were discovered (Fig. 6.20.1),\(^{1310}\) C8.45 in Tomb 13, a pit tomb that contained the remains of seventeen individuals and objects of bronze and obsidian blade (Fig. 6.20.2),\(^{1311}\) and C8.46 in Tomb 9, which contained the remains of four individuals and several necked jars (Fig. 6.20.3).\(^{1312}\) Because so few graves yielded stamped vessels at Tsepi, the practice of offering frying pans was not common.

Similarly, at Manika (see above, IV.4.25), stamped frying pan C8.46 was found in Tomb 7, a cist grave with an almost circular tomb chamber that contained the decayed remains of at least two burials (two femurs and the bones and teeth of a child) as well as a bronze chisel.\(^{1313}\) Given the frequency of burials in the cemetery at Manika, the fact that only one stamped vessels was found in a grave highlights the rarity of the practice.

Like seals, seal-impressed objects found in graves are exceedingly rare, found in only a few graves in the large cemeteries of Attica and Euboea. The stamped vessels types are restricted to jars and frying pans, shapes associated with the Cyclades because they were frequent features in the rich graves in cemeteries on the islands. Whereas in the Cyclades frying pans were found exclusively in graves, in mainland Greece they were found in settlement contexts as much as burials. Thus the frying pans found in EH burials discussed above may reflect Cycladic burial practices and not just material styles.

\(^{1310}\) Marinatos 1970, Pl. 34γ.


\(^{1312}\) Marinatos 1970, Pl. 34γ; Pantelidou 2005: 71-75.

\(^{1313}\) Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987: 239-240.
VI.4. FUNCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

VI.4.1. Seals as Prestige Goods

The depositional contexts of extant EH seals permit the interpretation of some seals as prestige goods, namely those that were associated with other special objects in stone and metal in houses and burials. However, most seals were found in secondary settlement contexts rather than primary floor deposits or burials. The extremely low number of seals that can be confidently interpreted as prestige goods because of their depositional contexts therefore suggests that although seals might have been were prestige goods, they should not be taken as evidence for pervasive inequality, much less permanent and institutionalized forms of social hierarchy.

Seal styles and materials nevertheless reflect foreign influence and suggest their value as prestige goods was based in part on their exotic associations. Previous work on EH seals emphasizes foreign influence through formal analysis, most comprehensible in Aruz’s study of interconnections between the Aegean and “orient”.\textsuperscript{1314} Aruz takes as a theoretical starting point Helms’ work on the high social value attached to exotic materials and ideas and the ability to acquire distant knowledge as a source of power in antiquity.\textsuperscript{1315} This analysis is appropriate for the hundreds of Prepalatial seals deposited in communal built tombs in Crete (Fig. 4.31) because they were both imports and local imitations of Egyptian zoomorphic seals in hippopotamus ivory, soft stone, bone, or “white pieces” (imitation faience).\textsuperscript{1316} Aruz focuses on the style of seals and seal designs

\textsuperscript{1314} Aruz 1999, 2008.
\textsuperscript{1315} Helms 1993.
\textsuperscript{1316} Kryzskowska 1988, 2005; Sbonias 1999, 2011.
rather than sealing practices, however, neglects the social and historical context of sealing practice and different ways that Aegean communities adapted them to suit local needs.

The depositional patterns for Prepalatial seals does demontate their high value, since they were deposited in tombs alongside prestige goods made from gold, bronze, and stone objects. As prestige goods and objects of personal adornment (since they were perforated for suspension), Prepalatial seals were closely associated with their owners, and so provide strong evidence for incipient elites before the rise of the first Minoan palaces. As discussed above (IV.5), however, the depositional contexts for mainland seals differs markedly from those on Crete, since EH seals were found primarily (67%) in secondary settlement contexts such as bothroi or fills, with only five from floor deposits in settlement contexts (A38 from Ayios Kosmas, A23 from Zygouries, A58 and A55 from Manika) and three from burials (A24 from Zygouries, A54 and A56 from Manika) (Fig. 4.34). Unlike Prepalatial seals, EH seals were not consistently deposited in rich graves nor found in settlement contexts that can be confidently associated with emerging elites.

EH seals from secure settlement contexts also fail to support the hypothesis that seals were the private property of elites because they were not consistently found in elite buildings identified either by their size or associated assemblages. For example, House E at Ayios Kosmas where the stone foot-shaped seal A38 was found in a floor deposit in Room E3 (and stone conoid A38 in its floor packing), yielded a typical domestic assemblage with no finds that indicate House E was a special function structure (see above, IV.4.17). At Manika, the EH house on Odos Perikoklades may have been a special function building because of the four wells found associated with it, but the finds are
unremarkable apart from a schematic stone figurine and stone plate seal A57. Building II at Manika yielded more special finds, in addition to stone plate A58 and copper ring seal A55 bronze and marble objects were also found. The seals from the settlement at Manika therefore can be more confidently interpreted as prestige goods because of the finds from Building II.

In addition, seals from the associated large, extramural cemetery at Manika yielded prestige goods that were unevenly distributed among the graves, and so evidence of social differentiation. Stone conoid A56 (Fig. 2.3) from Grave V was in a communal rock-cut chamber tomb along with a marble disc, frying pan, and a copper pin, though stone conoid A54 (Fig. 2.2) was the only find in another rock-cut chamber tomb, Grave 131. Sampson demonstrates that Cycladic imports and prestige goods made from metal and stone were unevenly distributed within the cemetery, which he interprets as evidence for social ranking and competition took place at least in the funerary arena. The evidence from Manika therefore supports the interpretation of seals as prestige goods used by emerging elites.

As at Manika, at Zygouries seals were found in both the settlement and burial contexts, though the associated cemetery was by no means as large or formalized as at Manika. Stone foot-shaped seal A24 (Fig. 2.10) was found in Tomb VII, a communal pit grave with associated finds of a gold and silver ornament, a silver fragment, a silver disc, a bronze pin, two carnelian beads, and one stone bead. The finds from this grave suggest that the burying group that used it had access to prestige goods and was therefore of high social rank. House Y at Zygouries where clay hemispherical seal A23 (Fig. 2.6) was

\[1317\] Sampson 1988.
found, though a monumental structure, yielded a typical domestic assemblage apart from a single bronze wire pin (see above, IV.4.9). Furthermore, no seals were found in the House of the Pithoi, the corridor house that stood at the center of the mound.\footnote{Pullen 1986.}

It is important to highlight the fact that no preserved EH seals were found in secure corridor house contexts. This is surprising, given the fact that corridor houses are widely regarded as the administrative center of the site, whether they were occupied by a redistributive chief per Renfrew, Pullen, Wiencke, and others, Anatolians silver traders per Weingarten, or members of the community tasked with the collective undertakings of the corridor houses per Nilsson, Weiberg, and Peperaki (see above, VI.2.1). But because corridor house assemblages compare closely to those from non-monumental and domestic structures,\footnote{Pullen 1986: 81; Nilsson 2004: 139-142.} they cannot definitively be interpreted as the residences of administrative elites. If corridor houses were administrative centers where resource exchanges took place, seal owners whose goods were marked and exchanged did not leave their seals behind. The fact that seals were found in houses rather than corridor houses suggests that seal owners brought goods in sealed containers to corridor houses to be exchanged, but that those exchanges were not controlled by whomever resided there. Because not all the houses where seals were found were monumental, it seems likely that sealing was practiced by the larger community and not just its elites.

Another line of evidence for EH trade that has been used to argue for the presence of EH administrative elites alongside seals is stone and lead spools found at numerous sites in the Aegean. These Rahmstorf interprets as weights used as control devices to
standardize and regulate trade. Rahmstorf’s careful consideration of the weights from mainland Greece and their correspondence to the weight of those from Poliochni on Lemnos in the north Aegean and Troy in western Anatolia (9.4 g.) argues for a standardized weight system that spanned the Aegean and Anatolian. Rahmstorf argues that the weight system imported into the Aegean from the Near East alongside sealing practices as closely related administrative control devices used by elites in the context of emerging political and economic complexity in the middle of the third millennium BCE. Most spool-shaped weights, however, were found in settlement contexts that do not provide much insight into complex site formation processes, as Rahmstorf points out. For example, one secure context for spool-shaped weights comes from Tiryns, the small-finds from which Rahmstorf published. A dozen were found together in the Unterburg at Tiryns in Room 198, a structure in an EH IIB (Horizont 8b) level. This structure was only partially preserved, its western extent unknown, but yielded EH II material including two beaked jugs, a frying pan, storage jars, and a pithoi, and a millstone to the south. Other examples were found in secondary contexts in the Unterburg, and another is reported from EH levels in the Oberburg but could not be associated with the Rundbau because of its findspot. In fact, overall, few spool-shaped weights were found in corridor houses. Nilsson lists six from inside in the Haus am

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1320 Rahmstorf 2003, 2008. Cf. Rahmstorf 2003, Pl. LXa for catalogue, 2016, Fig. 10.5 for distribution.
1322 Rahmstorf 2016: 243.
1323 Kilian 1983: 315, Fig. 45 (isometric reconstruction).
1325 Rahmstorf 2003: 294.
Felsrand and three in the Weisses Haus, where other cylindrical weights were also found. 1326 though some cuboid stone weights were found in the House of the Tiles.

The depositional contexts of EH stone weights, like seals, therefore demonstrate that they were not restricted to corridor houses nor found often in burials, which would otherwise suggest that they were the personal property of administrative elites. Even if EH stone weights were part of a widespread, standardized system of pan-Aegean measurements, their use does not provide evidence for administrative elites tightly controlling systems of exchange from the corridor houses. In other words, EH administration involving seals and stone weights may have been decentralized, for while the evidence for administration points to economic complexity, it does not provide secure evidence for institutionalized forms of social hierarchy. Seals that can be confidently identified as prestige goods, namely those deposited in graves at Manika and Zygouries, were used for social differentiation by their owners, but there is no evidence that seal owners exercised any measure of control over the administration of resources. 1327

VI.4.2. Clay Sealing as Administrative Devices

Administrative seal use is defined as the use of clay sealings to mark and presumably secure the contents of sealed containers, and along with the use of stone weights is interpreted as evidence for the emergence of social complexity on the mainland for a number of reasons. Clay sealings distinguish EH sealing practices from the earlier Neolithic stamping tradition, since no seal impressions or sealings are known

1326 Nilsson 2004: 140.
1327 Pullen 1985: 145-146.
from that period (see below, VII.2.4). Administrative sealing practices therefore mark the transition from earlier egalitarian forms of social relations and political organization to a form of economic complexity that anticipates, but hardly predicts, the state-level society of Minoan or later Mycenaean palaces.\footnote{Aruz 2008: 11-14.}

Some scholars interpret preserved deposits of clay sealings as administrative archives, which would suggest a centralized and tightly controlled form of political and economic organization overseen be administrative elites. The appearance of clay sealings in EH communities, from this perspective, is interpreted as evidence of foreign influence from more complex societies in the Near East. But it is accompanied by virtually no other evidence, unless one counts the small amount of gold jewelry found in the Aegean (from Troy and Lemnos and Lesbos to Crete) as evidence of transmission.

Wiencke interprets the Room XI deposit of clay sealings from the House of the Tiles at Lerna as an administrative archive used for record keeping. She initially suggested that the sealings were attached to objects stored in the room above Room XI that had collapsed when the building was destroyed at the end of EH IIB because fragments were found throughout the destruction debris in the room, and because the room was too small to store all the sealed goods.\footnote{Heath 1958: 81, 83.} She later modified this position in interpreting Room XI as an “office for the reception of goods or the issuance of rations, or perhaps a market center for barter, where the sealings on the containers were official broken, the items inspect and handed over to their new owners, and the sealing fragments...
shelved as a record” because the room was too small to store the containers sealed there.\textsuperscript{1330}

Weingarten, by contrast, argues that the sealings from the House of the Tiles were not an administrative archive, identifying a non-intensive pattern of sealing at Lerna, in which seal-owners impressed a variety of different seal types and within which scant evidence for a “bureaucratic hierarchy” could be identified.\textsuperscript{1331} She further argues that the clay sealings fell from a communal storeroom originally located above Room XI, the extra weight of which was supported by the wooden structures around the room that Wiencke interprets as shelving.\textsuperscript{1332}

The small size of Room XI, however, does not preclude its function as a storeroom for the sealed objects. Vertical storage is suggested by postholes in the corners that would have supported wooden shelves lining the room on which the ceramic assemblage of vessels were stored, leaving 6 m.\textsuperscript{2} of floor space to accommodate the rest of the sealed objects.\textsuperscript{1333} The largest objects that would have been stored in the room were wooden boxes or chests, as many as ten, but Maran and Kostoula demonstrate that the wooden object sealings, representing nearly half (42\%) of all sealings from Room XI, were door sealings.\textsuperscript{1334} The remaining sealed objects would have included at least one pithos found in the room, 5-12 sealed jars that were each about 10 cm. in diameter, and baskets that may have been stacked on shelves or the floor.

\textsuperscript{1330} Wiencke 1969: 514.
\textsuperscript{1331} Weingarten 1998: 149-153.
\textsuperscript{1332} Weingarten 1997: 160-161.
\textsuperscript{1333} Wiencke 2000: 302.
\textsuperscript{1334} Maran and Kostoula 2014: 146-147.
The suggestion that the clay sealings from Room XI represent an administrative archive, or that they fell from a storeroom above, is therefore not convincing. A more likely scenario is that the sealings were accidentally preserved in the fire that destroyed the House the Tiles at the end of EH IIB, and the objects they sealed were either destroyed (in the case of wooden objects or baskets) or removed, since the building was very likely cleared out before construction of the tumulus.

Kostoula interprets the Petri sealings as a temporary administrative archive, comparing the deposit from R 1 to Fiandra and Ferioli’s description of the administrative sealing archive at Arslantepe. In the multi-phase process outlined by Ferioli and Fiandra, containers were both sealed and opened in storerooms, and the broken sealings were retained in the storeroom for record-keeping purposes. Aruz also uses Ferioli and Fiandra’s model to interpret the House of the Tiles sealings as an administrative archive. She most forcefully relates the “social impact” of eastern imports and imitation in the Aegean evidence to emerging complexity by citing the use of clay sealings, citing the Fiandra and Ferioli’s comparative work on Near Eastern and Aegean clay sealings as administrative devices. Rahmstorf similarly emphasizes the adoption of clay sealings in the EH period as resulting from interregional exchanges, while Maran and Kostoula aptly describe the adoption of clay sealings as the “active reinterpretation of elements received from the outside.”

\[1337\] Aruz 2008: 15, 18-48, esp. 30.
\[1338\] Aruz 2008: 15.
\[1339\] Rahmstorf 2011.
\[1340\] Maran and Kostoula 2014: 141.
re-study of the Lerna material focused on the use of door sealings in Room XI as evidence for tightly controlled access to the storeroom and the sealed goods. Clay sealings from Lerna are therefore interpreted as evidence for social hierarchy as technological transfer of administrative sealing practices from the Near East, but this interpretation is not sufficient to demonstrate that EH administrative sealing practices were used in the same way, by the same people, or to the same ends.

Although administrative seal use involving clay sealings was likely influenced by Near Eastern practices, the role of EH clay sealings in interregional exchanges is unclear, and the routes of transmission were at best indirect. Wiencke argued that at Lerna sealed goods may have been imports that were sealed locally because of the homogeneity of the fabric of the sealings as well as the seal designs (see below, VI.4.4).\textsuperscript{1341} A similar argument for the use of clay sealings in local exchanges is advanced by Weingarten at Geraki\textsuperscript{1342} and Weiberg from the clay sealings at Asine,\textsuperscript{1343} Weingarten suggests that the House of the Tiles sealings were involved in silver exchanges with Anatolian traders,\textsuperscript{1344} but the sealed goods have not survived to confirm this hypothesis. There is no evidence that silver or wool were the driving commodities of the EH political economy as they were in the much later, state-level Old Assyrian trading colonies such as Kültepe Kanesh. Weingarten’s analogy for EH sealing practices, though anachronistic, is a useful framework, but her suggestions that silver was the commodity stored and exchanged is not born out by the archaeological record. Because the evidence demonstrates that clay

\textsuperscript{1341} Heath 1958: 120; Wiencke 1969: 520.
\textsuperscript{1342} Weingarten et al. 1999: 369.
\textsuperscript{1343} Weiberg 2010: 198.
\textsuperscript{1344} Weingarten 1997: 161.
sealings were applied locally, administrative sealing practices should be seen as local and insufficiently developed economically. There is no evidence for the level of surplus and the existence of secondary product production that is in any way equivalent to the Near East.

The local contexts of sealing gains primary interpretive importance for understanding administrative sealing practices because of the close association of clay sealings with feasting. As discussed above (VI.2.3, VI.2.7, VI.2.11), the depositional contexts of clay sealings from secure settlement contexts links them with food storage and feasting in both small-scale domestic contexts and larger-scale communal feasting in a monumental context at the House of the Tiles. In light of the fact that most clay sealings secured vessels, administrative practices were employed to oversee local feasting rather than to oversee a redistributive political economy and control agricultural surplus or interregional exchanges.

From this perspective, sealings were used to mark feast contributions, an interpretation advanced by both Peperaki and Pullen and strongly supported by this study.1345 Because wooden objects and other containers were also sealed (see above, V.1), however, the possibility that goods other than food were involved in feasting cannot be ruled out. Pullen argues that not only staple goods such as agricultural surplus but also prestige goods were mobilized by elites during EH feasts.1346 Most recently, however, he moves away from a redistribution model to propose the possibility of reciprocal gift exchanges during feasts, in which the sponsor distributed gifts to participants.1347

1346 Pullen 2011 b: 189-190; 2011c: 221.
1347 Pullen 2016: 54.
either model, non-agricultural goods may have been sealed and stored for use at feasts even if they were not goods meant for interregional trade (i.e., hypothetical Anatolian silver traders).

Clay sealings were therefore administrative devices, but do not provide secure evidence for a centralized and tightly controlled political economy. They were used rather to mark goods as feast contributions for communal consumption, the social implications of which is discussed in detail below.

VI.4.3. Seal-impressed Objects as Decorated Vessels

Previous studies of EH seal-impressed objects distinguish them functionally from seals and clay sealings, which are interpreted as evidence for administrative sealing practices while stamped and roller-impressed hearths and vessels are interpreted as having a decorative function. The depositional contexts of seal-impressed objects reveal that they were both feasting equipment and prestige goods (see above, VI.2.5, VI.2.9, VI.3.3), observations which provide a social context for their decorative function.

Not merely decorative, the impressed seal designs on hearths and pithoi marked them as feasting equipment for use during communal feasts. The functional categories of feasting equipment and prestige goods were not mutually exclusive, as vessels used for feasting could have been prestige goods. Social display of vessels in the context of competitive feasting is evidenced for the EH II period by two gold sauceboats said to have been found in a grave in Arcadia and an emossed gold bowl reportedly from

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1348 Bossert 1960: 10; Wiencke 1970: 104; Pullen 1994: 51; Aruz 2008: 20; Rahmstorf 2016: 258; Ferioli and Fiandra 1989 (by omission); Aruz 1999.
Euboea, and Zahou argues that the Urfirnis sauceboats found with seal A66 (Fig. 2.12) in Area B at Proskynas functioned as both feasting equipment and objects for social display within competitive feasting context.

Roller-impressed pithoi were used for large-scale food storage, and roller-impressed hearths may have been used for cooking, heat, or light from the fire. The same designs were used to impress both pithoi and hearths, which indicates that their use was closely associated, a hypothesis that finds support in the depositional context of sherds and intact examples. Roller-impressed pithoi were found in situ at Petri and roller-impressed hearths were found in secure domestic contexts at Poros (Building Γ) and Eutresis (House L) (see above, VI.2.5), while two relatively intact hearths were found in monumental structures at Lerna (Building BG) and at Berbati (Megaron A) (see above, VI.2.9). Although the hearth from Building BG was found in a secondary context in a hallway, it was probably moved from the large square room in the building, as was the in situ hearth from Megaron A at Berbati.

These secure contexts suggest that the roller-impressed hearths and pithoi fragments and sherds found in secondary deposits in the ruins of the House of the Tiles at Lerna (see above, V1.3.1) and the Rundbau at Tiryns (see above, V1.3.3) originally stood in those structures.

Peperaki and Pullen both include roller-impressed hearths and pithoi from the destruction debris in their arguments for communal feasting in the House of the Tiles at Lerna (see above, VI.2.8). The wide doorway, large size, and plastered walls of Room

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1349 Childe 1924; Weinberg 1969; Fotopoulos and Delivorria 1997, no. 55.
1350 Zahou 2009: 45-46.
XII all suggest that it was a reception hall, where Peperaki proposes a large hearth originally stood. Both hearths and pithoi were likely set up on the paved areas outside the building to the east and south of the building (Weiberg’s Area C and D), given the limited storage space available inside the structure. In addition, a hearth would have been set up in Room XII, the floor of which was coated with the same distinctive yellow clay as the paved outer court, which Weiberg argues joined the spaces. Feast participants eating inside Room XI would have been spatially differentiated from those eating outside on the paved areas south and east of the building. It is possible that diacritical feasting at the House the Tiles was enacted through the spatial arrangement of participants, and perhaps the order in which they were served, rather than social display of eating and dining vessels, which were uniform and plainly decorated. But there are many different occasions for feasting, from religious festivals to weddings and labor feasts, and so they were not necessarily, or at least not always, a venue for social competition. Thus beyond a surface decoration, roller-impressed surfaces of hearth and pithoi at Lerna marked them as feasting equipment meant for communal use.

Stamped objects were also found in settlement contexts, where they formed part of a domestic assemblages. These include a loomweight from Lerna (House CA), at Asine (House R), and a jar, pyxis, and lid fragment were found at Eutresis (Hut Z) (see above, VI.2.5). Numerous other examples were found in secondary settlement contexts, including stamped hearth (Karystos); pithoi (Kolonna, Kaloyerovrisi, Gialtra);

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1352 Peperaki 2010.
1353 Weiberg 2007: 54.
1355 Peperaki 2004: 223.
hearth/pithos (Tsoungiza, Lefkandi); jars (Lerna, Asine, Zygouries, Anthochori, Skotini Cave); bowls (Tiryns, Zygouries, Tsoungiza); pyxides (Tsoungiza, Ayioryitika, Eutresis); fruitstands (Cheliotomylos, Tsoungiza, Eutresis); frying pans from Lerna, Asine, Berbati, Corinth, Perachora, Zygouries, Tsoungiza, Anthochori, Asea, Athens, Palaia Kokkinia, Koropi, Raphina, Eutresis, Pefkakia); and vessels of undetermined type (Korakou, Ayios Dhimitrios, Likhas, Eutresis). The depositional contexts of stamped objects from domestic contexts are therefore do not reveal how they were used.

The depositional contexts of stamped vessels from burials contexts, however, indicates that they functioned as high value grave goods that may have conferred prestige upon their owner or the burial group (see above, VI.3.3). Stamped jars and frying pans were deposited in burials along with prestige goods made from valuable materials such as stone or metal, many of which have Cycladic associations (i.e., marble figurines, marble vessels, obsidian). These vessels were not drinking or pouring vessels, which would suggest they were involved in funerary feasting or libation rituals, but rather they were frying pans (of unknown function) and small jars. Stamped vessels of this type were found more often in Attica (Fig. 5.25) than the Argolid or Corinthia (Figs. 5.22-5.23). Stamped jars and frying pans were deposited inside tombs at Ayios Kosmas (Graves 7, 12), Tsepi (Tomb 13), Markopoulo (Grave 1), and Manika (Tomb 7), and were placed outside tombs at Ayios Kosmas (Graves 3, 12, 23). Because the EH tombs where stamped vessels were found were communal tombs in large, extramural cemeteries, it is unclear if the stamped vessels were deposited as grave goods that were the personal property of the deceased or were purpose-made grave offerings.
In either scenario, stamped vessels were prestige goods with exotic (Cycladic) associations that were used as a means of social differentiation. Thus while roller-impressed hearths and pithoi demonstrate sealing as a mechanism of horizontal social integration in the context of communal feasting, stamped objects deposited as grave goods were used for vertical differentiation.

VI.4.4. Seal Designs as Group Emblems

Seal designs are widely interpreted as the personal signatures of individual seal-owners used to mark personal property with clay sealing, an interpretation that arose from stylistic analysis comparing EH seal designs to Near Eastern examples, as well as the fact that seals were made from valuable materials and were used for social display as objects of personal adornment.1356 The depositional contexts of seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects do not provide secure evidence that seals were closely associated with their individual owners. In addition, there is a lack of correspondence between designs on extant seals and those impressed designs on clay sealings. Designs on stone seals rather correspond more closely to those on stamped objects previously interpreted as decorative. Furthermore, the marked homogeneity of EH seal designs, both stamped and rolled, would have made individual seal designs difficult to distinguish, as a concerted effort to highlight similarity rather than difference underlies the design elements and compositions.1357 EH seals designs are more convincingly interpreted as group emblems

used to mark feast contributions than individual signatures used to secure personal property.

The depositional contexts of seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects does not demonstrate a close link between seals and their individual owners, but rather associates seals with food storage at the household and communal level. Extant seals overwhelmingly come from secondary settlement contexts and only very rarely burials, since they were apparently discarded more often than intentionally deposited with their owners as grave goods. The three EH seals found in burial contexts were deposited in communal tombs and so cannot be confidently associated with their owners. The same holds for seal-impressed objects such as stamped jars and frying pans that were deposited in burials. The fact that some stamped jars and frying pans were placed outside tombs apparently as grave offerings also complicates the association of grave goods with individual owners, as it is unclear if they were personal property or purpose-made grave offerings. The few secure settlement deposits where seals were found suggest that they formed part of domestic assemblages from structures that yielded other prestige goods, as did the seal from a monumental structure at Zygouries. The only seal from a special function context, a paved court at Proskynas used for communal feasting, provides the best evidence for seal use within the settlements for food sharing.

The depositional contexts of seal designs reveal a close association between seals from settlements with food storage on the one hand, and seals from burials with Cycladic-style seal-impressed objects on the other. Some general trends in the distribution of seal designs are relevant to the consideration of seal designs on seal seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects (see above, VII.3.3; Figs. 5.1-5.2). Seals from
settlement contexts were engraved with cross, linear, spiral, and points designs, while clay sealings from secure settlement contexts were impressed with a variety of design groups, most often loop, cross, circles, figural, swastika, and trefoil designs. Seal-impressed objects were overwhelmingly roller-impressed with spirals, concentric circles, zigzag or wavy lines designs, or stamped with spirals, concentric circles, or nested angles designs.

The designs on seals from burials include points (A24 from Zygouries, Fig. 2.10), a single spiral (A54 from Manika, Fig. 2.2), and nested angles (A56 from Manika, Fig. 2.3). Both the single spirals and nested angle designs groups were found most often on seal-impressed objects (Figs. 5.1-5.2). The points design group is found almost exclusively on foot-shaped seals, which Branigan described as Minoan amulets but which were also a feature of Neolithic mainland Greece, the Balkans, and Anatolia (see below, VII.2.4). The designs on seals from burials therefore correspond more to seal-impressed objects—namely stamped pyxides, jars, and frying pans—than to clay sealings.

Designs on seals from domestic contexts include points (A38 from Ayios Kosmas, Fig. 2.10), zigzags (A57 from Manika, Fig. 2.3), an elaborate swastika (A58 from Manika, Fig. 2.3), and a linear design (A55 from Manika, Fig. 2.7), while the seal from a monumental context had an elaborate cross design (A23 from Zygouries, Fig. 2.6), and the seal from a special function structure concentric squares (A66 from Proskynas, Fig. 2.12). The zigzag design group is found most often on roller-impressed hearths and pithoi, but the swastika and cross design groups were associated with clay sealings.

The depositional contexts of clay sealings associate them with food storage (see above, V.4). The designs on seals deposited in graves at Manika correspond most closely
to stamped jars and frying pans, both classes of artifacts that were prestige goods with a
distribution concentrated in central Greece (Figs. 522-5.25). At Manika if not elsewhere
on the mainland, seals were prestige goods that were associated with their owners and
may have been used to stamp jars and frying pans. It is unclear, however, if seal owners
were the potters themselves, if their seal was used during the production process, and
whether that impression marked the vessel as the personal property of the seal owner.
Only one seal (A56 from Manika, Fig. 2.3) was found in a grave along with a frying pan
(Grave V on the Georgiou plot), but that frying pan was incised rather than impressed.1358

Craft specialization might be inferred from the use of the same roller on multiple
objects, especially those from different sites. For example, one distinctive figural roller
seal design with two quadrupeds shown between running spirals was used to impress
three different pithoi from three different sites, Lerna (C2.1, Fig. 4.11), Tiryns (C2.32,
Fig. 4.16), Zygouries (C2.105, Fig. 4.21). Other examples of the same roller seal was
used to impress different objects include: hearths at Tiryns (C1.11 + C1.23; C1.21 +
C1.22; C1.17 + C1.18 [reversed impression], Figs. 4.1-4.2; C1.31 + C1.32 + C1.33;
C1.35 + C1.36, Fig. 4.2); a hearth and pithos from Tiryns (C1.16 + C2.57, Fig. 4.2,
4.18); hearths from Corinth (C1.53 + C1.54, Fig. 4.4); pithoi from Lerna (C2.1a-c +
C2.32 + C2.105, Figs. 4.11, 4.13, 4.21; C2.4a-f + C2.5; C2.2 + C2.3a-b; C2.9a-c +
C2.10, Fig. 4.11; C2.29 + C2.30a-d, Fig. 4.14); pithoi from Tiryns (C2.65a-s + C2.66,
Fig. 4.18; C2.67a-b + C2.68; C2.95 + C2.96a-b, Figs. 4.18, 4.20).1359 Because the roller
traveled with the potter and was used to impress large pithoi, roller seals might have

1358 Sampson 1985: 189.
1359 Cf. Galligan 2013, Table 7.4 for hearths.
belonged to itinerant craft specialists who traveled freely between EH sites. The evidence therefore suggests that EH craft specialists, or at least the potters who used roller seals to produce hearths and pithoi at different sites on the mainland, were not controlled by any central authority but rather produced their wares at different sites on the mainland. Costin describes this situation as unattached craft specialization, in which specialists are effectively free agents and not beholden to elites. The evidence for roller seals demonstrates that EH sealing practices were not a means for elites to control resources within a centralized political economy, and therefore indicates complexity, but not necessarily hierarchy, in EH society.

The homogeneity of EH seal designs on both stamps and rollers demonstrates an emphasis on similarity rather than difference. As discussed above (see above, VII.1), seal designs were created using restricted range of design elements that were organized according to a limited number of compositions. The same geometric motifs (spirals, circles, loops, zigzags, crosses, grids, angles, wavy lines, points, etc.) were used on both stamped and rolled out impressed designs. On stamps, the same motifs were arranged according to radial or rotational symmetry and on stamps using overall or continuous symmetry (Figs. 5.3-5.5). The strong homogeneity of EH seal designs would have made the identification of individual designs from impressions on clay sealings or vessels difficult, if not impossible.

Seal-cutters made a concerted effort to create designs that highlighted similarities rather than differences because seal owners wished to advertise group membership rather than individual identities. Relaki observes that seal designs on Prepalatial tombs were

also strongly homogenous to the point of being indistinguishable from one another, and concludes that seal designs were group emblems rather than being associated with a particular individual. Unlike Cretan seals, which were carved in a variety of shapes from stone, ivory, and bone, however, EH seal styles were also strongly homogenous, dominated by simple conoid and plate forms (see above, VII.3; Fig. 2.14) and extremely similar in terms of their shapes and materials (Fig. 2.15). The seals themselves also evidence an emphasis on horizontal integration rather than vertical differentiation in EH sealing practices.

The depositional contexts of seals provide no secure evidence for institutionalized social hierarchy surmounted by chiefs, however, but only sporadic evidence for differentiation. Furthermore, because the depositional contexts of clay sealings reveal a close association between sealing and feasting, then it follows that goods in sealed containers were contributions to communal feasts. From this perspective, stamped seal designs on clay sealings and roller-impressed designs on hearths and pithoi alike were group emblems, not the personal signatures or administrators working on behalf of a redistributive chief.

The evidence supports the interpretation of EH seal designs as group emblems rather than individual signatures of seal owners. The re-interpretation of seal designs as group emblems rather than personal signatures given here results from a contextual approach to the evidence that informs formal analysis of seal designs, and so expands upon established art historical approaches to the issue. If seal designs were not personal signatures but group emblems instead, then their impressions on clay sealings did not

mark sealed goods as personal property. Given the close association of clay sealings with food storage and feasting, the homogeneity of seal designs on clay sealings and roller-impressed hearths and pithoi are explicable if the designs were used to mark goods as feast contributions, as communal or public rather than private property.

VI.5. SUMMARY

The secure depositional contexts of EH II seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed hearths and vessels demonstrates a close association of sealing with feasting and food storage at various scales. Seals were found in non-monumental buildings, monumental buildings, and special function areas where they were associated with evidence for food storage, preparation, and consumption. The three seals from burial contexts that were deposited as grave goods along with other special finds were likely prestige goods. Clay sealings evidence that food storage and commensality took place as a variety of scales, ranging from individual households in non-monumental and domestic settings to large-scale communal storage and feasting in the monumental House of the Tiles. Seal-impressed objects include stamped and roller-impressed hearths and vessels associated with food storage and feasting, as well as stamped frying pans and jars deposited in graves as prestige goods.

Seals were found in secure deposits in domestic structures at Ayios Kosmas (A38 from House E, Fig. 2.10) and Manika (A55 from Building II, Fig. 27; A58 from Room Σ on the Zousi plot, Fig. 2.3; A57 from the EH II house on Odos Perikoklades on the Ellinikou plot, Fig. 2.3). All but one of which were found in large, free-standing rectangular houses where other prestige goods were found among otherwise typical
domestic assemblages with evidence for food storage, preparation, and consumption, and
for textile production. One seal from Manika (A58) was found in an aspidal structure that
formed part of a block of houses. Only one seal was found in monumental structures at
Zygouries (A23 from House Y). House Y at Zygouries was a partially preserved
monumental structure that may have been a corridor house from which other prestige
goods were found, but it was not the only corridor house at the site as the House of the
Pithoi and its predecessor stood at the center of the mound.

Clay sealings from secure domestic structures were found at Lerna (B1 from
Building B, B2-B11 from Room DM, B12 from House CA, Fig. 3.6), Asine (B121 from
House R, Fig. 3.18), Geraki (B136-B171, B218-B223 from Trench 11/17i, B172-B202
from the casemate room, Figs. 3.24, 3.28), Bozas (B223 from the EH house, Fig. 3.28),
and Petri (B126-B135 from House R, Fig. 3.20). The sealings from House CA at Lerna
and House R at Asine were found free-standing houses, neither of which yielded prestige
goods. The full extent of Room DM at Lerna, the room in Trench 11/17i at Geraki, the
EH II building at Bozas, and House R at Petri are unknown. Clay sealings were found in
casemate rooms in fortification that were used for domestic occupation at Lerna in Room
B and at Geraki in the casemate room. In each case, clay sealings were found associated
with evidence for food storage and consumption that in some cases (Rooms CA and DM
at Lerna, casemate room at Geraki) may have exceeded the needs of a single household
and thus represented communal feasting. Clay sealings were found in monumental
structures at Lerna (B13-B111 from Room XI in the House of the Tiles, Figs. 3.6, 3.8-
3.10), Akovitika (B225 from Area Γ), and Ayios Dhimitrios (B226 from House A, Fig.
3.32). The House of the Tiles was the sole corridor house at Lerna in phase IIID, as was
House A at Ayios Dhimitrios in IIIB, but the building in Area Γ at Akovitika is one of several monumental structures, as two corridor houses (Megara A and B) and other monumental structures (Buildings D and E) also stood at the site. In each case, the sealings were found associated with evidence for food storage and consumption, at Lerna on a scale sufficiently large to be considered evidence for communal feasting.

Seal-impressed objects from domestic deposits were found at Lerna (stamped loomweight C10.1 from House CA, Fig. 4.47), Asine (stamped jar C4.3 from House R, Fig. 4.34), Petri (roller-impressed pithoi C2.108-C2.109 from House R, Fig. 4.22), Poros (roller-impressed hearths C1.65-C1.66 from Building Γ), and Eutresis (stamped jar C4.11 and pyxis C6.5 from Hut Z, Fig. 4.38; roller-impressed hearth C1.71 from House L). House CA at Lerna, House R at Asine, the building at Poros, and House L at Eutresis were free-standing, multi-room houses in the megaron layout, but Hut Z at Eutresis was a single room structure of wattle-and-daub construction, and the full extent of House R at Petri is unknown. In each case, seal-impressed objects were found associated with evidence for food storage and consumption. Seal-impressed objects from monumental structures were found at Lerna (roller-impressed hearth C1.4 from Building BG, Fig. 4.1) and Berbati (roller-impressed hearth C1.42 from Megaron A, Fig. 4.3). While Building BG was the only corridor house that stood at Lerna phase IIIC, Megaron A was one of two at Berbati, and during Lerna IIIC clay sealings were found not in Building BG but in House CA and Room DM.

The only objects from a special function building is from Proskynas (seal A66 from Area B, Fig. 2.12) and its function strongly supports the conclusions of this study. Area B at Proskynas was a paved area with an associated hearth used for communal feasting,
which can be inferred from the numerous drinking and serving vessels were recovered from the area. A large volume of serving vessels were also found in a nearby special function building, circular construction A, which may have functioned as a storage area for feasting activities that took place in Area B.

Seals were only very rarely deposited in graves, the only examples coming from Zygouries (A24 from Tomb VII, Fig. 2.10) and Manika (A54 from Grave 131 and A56 from Grave V, Figs. 2.2-2.3). The seals were found with other prestige goods, including gold and silver at Zygouries and copper at Manika in Grave V.

Seal-impressed objects were also only rarely deposited in burials and were limited to stamped jars and frying pans, with examples from Ayios Kosmas (C4.7 from Grave 1, Fig. 4.34; C6.4 from Grave 3, Fig. 4.38; C4.8 from Grave 4, Fig. 4.34; frying pans C8.25 from Grave 7, Fig. 4.42; C8.27, C8.28, and C8.29 from Grave 4, Fig. 4.43; C8.31 from Grave 12, C8.32 from Grave 23, and C8.33 in a trench north of Graves 25 and 30, Fig. 4.44), Tsepi (frying pans C8.45 from Tomb 13, C8.46 from Tomb 9, Fig. 4.44), and Manika (frying pan C8.46 from Tomb 7, Fig. 4.44). In some cases, seal-impressed objects were found outside of the tombs (jar C6.4 from Grave 3 at Ayios Kosmas, frying pan C8.32 from Grave 23 at Ayios Kosmas) rather inside of them. Some seal-impressed objects therefore were presumably purpose-made offerings rather than the personal property of the deceased. Others, however, were deposited inside graves, and some frying pans were found in mainland settlements, though no stamped examples were found in secure contexts that would provide information about their use.

Although only four EH tombs were discovered at Zygouries, in contrast to the large cemetery at Manika, at both sites prestige goods were rare and unevenly distributed.
among the graves. Burying groups at both sites may therefore have had unequal access to prestige goods such as stone seals. Seals from graves were associated with Cycladic imports and imitations, including obsidian in Tomb VII at Zygouries and an incised frying pan and marble disc in Grave V at Manika. Similarly, seal-impressed objects from EH graves were all jars and pyxides with parallels in the Cyclades. Cycladic material may have been assigned a high social value not only because of the scarcity of the imported stone and metal but also because it was exotic, and that seals and stamped jars and frying pans likewise belonged to this regime of value.

In summary, each of the secure settlement contexts from which seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects were recovered demonstrates a close association between sealing, feasting, and storage. The evidence from domestic structures points to household-level food storage and consumption, and in some cases on a scale beyond that of a single household, while large-scale food storage and communal feasting is evidenced in monumental and special function structures. Each of the secure burial contexts from which seals and seal-impressed objects were recovered (no clay sealings were found in burials) demonstrates that seals and stamped vessels were prestige goods that were considered to be appropriate grave goods.

As prestige goods that were unevenly distributed, seals and stamped objects provide evidence for social differentiation in the EH period. The evidence for social differentiation from seals and seal-impressed objects, however, is too sporadic and limited to suggest institutionalized inequality. Furthermore, the close association of seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects with communal feasting can be interpreted as
evidence that seals and sealings were involved in strategies for horizontal integration more so than for vertical differentiation.
VII. SEAL USE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

VII.1. THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF SEALING

As the foregoing chapters demonstrate, regional and chronological variation in EH sealing practices is evident in the differential distribution of seals, sealings, and seal-impressed objects across the mainland, which are revealed through contextual analysis of the various lines of evidence. Differences are especially pronounced between southern and central Greece both within EH II and across the EH II-III transition.

The following discussion relates regional and chronological variation to different local responses to foreign influence by mainland communities in order to move beyond a prior emphasis on the role of foreign influence in previous work on the subject. Two axes of variation are identified in the evidence for sealing, feasting, and storage practice between EH II-III: tradition and innovation, and cooperation and competition. Tradition and innovation are reflected in local or foreign elements of sealing practices, while cooperation and competition are reflected in the different social strategies that involved sealing.

It is argued that regional and diachronic variation in the evidence for EH II-III sealing, feasting, and storage practices, as well as the shifting dynamics of cooperation/competition and tradition/innovation, reflect the diverse ways that mainland communities adapted foreign influences. The social dynamics of EH sealings practices therefore provide important insights into the differential historical trajectories in mainland Greece, and demonstrates the central role of collective action in the process of emerging complexity in Aegean prehistory.
VII.I.1. Cooperation and Competition: Sealing as Collective Action

As outlined in the previous chapter, a contextual approach to the evidence for EH sealing practices reveals that seals were often used to mark goods for sharing during commensal events. Seals were used to impress clay sealings attached to containers or were used for direct object sealing of seal-impressed containers. The homogeneity of seal designs may be related to the fact that their impressions marked goods for sharing as group emblems.

If sealed goods were not private property of seal owners, were they public property shared by the wider community, or was there some other form of ownership? Collective action theory provides a useful analytical framework for addressing issues of ownership and the classification of sealed goods. If sealed goods were feast contributions and seal designs group emblems rather than personal signatures, were sealed feast contribution private or public goods? Did the act of sealing mark a transfer of property form one type of ownership to the other (i.e., private to public)?

Although the evidence for sealing does not reveal the presence of leaders or social hierarchy, EH communities undoubtedly had leaders who may or may not have inhabited the monumental corridor houses. The absence of evidence for hierarchy and leadership in EH sealing and feasting does not definitely prove that those things did not exist on the mainland, but rather that differentiation was downplayed and integration emphasized. This is the patterning of the archaeological evidence Renfrew describes for a “group-oriented” chiefdom, in which the chief is not materially distinguished from commoners.
and in which collective investments are emphasized. But this is an old concept neither fully developed in subsequent research nor focused upon in scholarship on the ethnography of inequality and the rise of leaders. In the terminology of dual network theory, EH leaders may have employed corporate rather than more exclusive network strategies of leadership. Just as corporate and network strategies were not mutually exclusive, neither were the hierarchical and heterarchical social relations. As Blanton et al. point out, a more robust social theory that is not ruler-centered is needed to investigate corporate strategies. Collective action theory provides a useful framework to offset ruler-centered and elite-based approaches to investigations of social organization and social change.

Collective action theory balances such top-down approaches by highlighting the dynamics of cooperation, and in particular why groups cooperate more effectively by collaboration than coercion (see above, I.6). Initially formulated within economic theory, collective action theory addresses the problems groups face in coordinating cooperative efforts that benefit an entire community, since theoretically the individual interests of group members are better served by free-riding than by cooperating. Archaeologists have recently begun to draw from insights from collective action theory to examine the dynamics of cooperation and competition in past societies and their role in the process of social change. In theorizing the role of cooperation, archaeologists are

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1363 Blanton et al. 1996: 5-6, Table 2.
1364 Crumley 1995: 3-4.
1367 Olson 1965; Hardin 1968; Olson et al. 1994.
1368 Carballo 2012b: 4; Carballo et al. 2014.
able to move away from top-down, elite-based models for social change that center the political machinations of aggrandizing elites as the prime movers of social change. Collective action and cooperation, or more generally a form of horizontal integration, are assigned greater causality in the process of social change than is recognized in neo-evolutionary theories of state development.

Well suited to address the question of ownership of sealed goods is the matrix of resource types developed within collective action theory because it distinguishes among private, public, common pool, and club/toll goods along axes of excludability and subtractability (Fig. 1.10). Excludability refers to how well access to resources can be controlled or withheld from members of a given group, while subtractability refers to how rivalrous goods are, or if their consumption by one member of the group precludes consumption by other members.\textsuperscript{1369} Private and club/toll goods are highly excludable while public goods and common-pool resources are non-excludable, though social institutions can mediate access to them.\textsuperscript{1370} The distinction between private and public goods, and whether ownership is transferred from one category to another upon sealing goods as feast contributions, can therefore be addressed using the theoretical tools provided by collective action theory.

It is argued here that sealed feast contributions were club/toll goods, the benefits of which were restricted to feast participants. But who participated in feasts, only seal owners who made contributions or the wider community? These questions can be

\textsuperscript{1370} Olson et al. 1994: 6-8.
addressed through contextual analysis of clay sealings, which are the most revealing class of artifacts.

VII.I.2. EH II Sealing and Feasting

The large House of the Tiles deposit of clay sealings is evidence of large-scale communal feasting and provides a useful point of comparison for smaller, less completely preserved deposits. The architectural plan of the House of the Tiles provided for sealed goods in a small room (Room XI) accessible only from the exterior, which may permit the suggestion that a concerted effort was made to emphasize access by the wider community rather than control by the building’s inhabitants.

Whether corridor houses were occupied by leaders such as chiefs or some other form of head or some form of community-led decision-making remains an open question, but the evidence for sealing practices provides no evidence for the first option. Rather, the close association of sealing with feasting especially in Room XI points to a formalization of communal practices that depended upon horizontal integration. Sealed feast contributions therefore were not likely the private property of the inhabitants of the House of the Tiles, but rather club/toll goods, access to which was mediated by sealing of feast contributions.

Feasting was a primary form of ritual practice that served to promote group cooperation in past societies, especially when feasting took place in architecturally formalized spaces to accommodate large groups who collectively invested in those events.\footnote{Stanish 2012: 84-85; Carballo 2012: 258, 260.} Hayden outlines the practical benefits of feasting, which include labor
mobilization, cooperative relationship creation, surplus investment and extraction, alliance attraction, political power creation, favor solicitation, and transgression compensation. Work feasts were one means to organization collective labor by rewarding workers with food and drink and thereby negotiating labor obligations, whether the feasting was ceremonial or secular.

Communal food storage was another index of cooperation that relates to “a community’s ethos of sharing” because it advertised the resources of a given household or group. Food sharing or “social storage” was one way for small-scale communities to cope with crop failure and other forms of instability or resource shorages.

While feasts serve to structure and reinforce horizontal social relations through cooperation, they simultaneously provided a venue for social competition through diacritical feasting, in which social differentiation was expressed through different cuisines and consumption practices, such as drinking rituals that involved displays of sumptuary goods. Feasts were one way that aggrandizing elites were able to acquire prestige, enhance their status, and create asymmetrical social relations. Feasts therefore played a central role in the emergence of social complexity as social inequality was institutionalized, but involved both competitive and cooperative social dynamics.

Mycenaean feasts, for examples, were a venue for elites to display their wealth to advertise and reinforce their social rank, which is well illustrated by depictions of

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1372 Hayden 2001: 28-42.
1374 Carballo 2012: 256-257.
ceremonies in representational art such as frescoes.\textsuperscript{1377} The central role of drinking and eating rituals in the formation of elite Mycenaean identity is evident in the deposition of precious metal drinking cups in wealthy graves, such as the gold and silver cups deposited in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae beginning in MH III-LH I.\textsuperscript{1378} Bendall identifies diacritical feasting at Pylos based on the spatial distribution of the finds, namely the concentration of metal vessels in the palace’s central receptional hall (Room 6) that indicate elite drinking ceremonies took place inside the palace,\textsuperscript{1379} which contrast with the feasting practices evidenced in the southwest area by the concentration of ceramic kylikes in the courtyard (Room 63) and in adjacent storage rooms or pantries (Rooms 18-19, 59-60).\textsuperscript{1380} The hundreds of plain drinking vessels stored in these pantries were apparently provisions for feasting events taking place in the southwest area, since the storage rooms were inaccessible from inside the palace, a situation that parallels Room XI at the House of the Tiles. Mycenaean feasting therefore served also to promote collective group identity.

The cooperative and competitive social dynamics of Mycenaean feasting indicated by the archaeological evidence is confirmed by the textual evidence in the form of Linear B administrative archives.\textsuperscript{1381} Linear B evidence for feasting practices include lists of sacrificial animals and other food, lists of furniture and other equipment, and ration lists for workers and participants at religious festivals.\textsuperscript{1382} Mycenaean feasts were periodically

\textsuperscript{1378} Wright 2004c: 17-28, Tables 4-6, 2004d.
\textsuperscript{1379} Bendal 2004: 112-124.
\textsuperscript{1380} Bendal 2004: 117, Figs. 6.1-6.2.
\textsuperscript{1381} Killen 1994, 1998; Palaima 2004.
\textsuperscript{1382} Bendal 2004: 105.
hosted by palatial elites and attended by high-status individuals, whose titles and feast contributions were documented on Linear B tablets found in the palaces. The Ta series of Linear B tablets from Pylos record an audit of feasting equipment, including drinking and cooking vessels, furniture, sacrificial knives, and sacrificial animals, in preparation for a feast which Killen argues marked the appointment of a high-ranking official. Yet Linear B texts from Knossos record feast contributions made by lower status members of society such as dependants or slaves, and so Mycenaean feasts therefore served to promote egalitarian social relations among elites while still allowing competition through displays of wealth. Crucially, Mycenaean feasts reinforced a hierarchical distinction between elite and non-elite.

The evidence for Mycenaean feasting contrasts sharply with that for the EH period. Nevertheless, both Peperaki and Pullen describe the creation of asymmetrical social relations through the obligations and expectations of reciprocity created through EH feasting and sealing, and relate them to the emergence and institutionalization of social inequality. They identify diacritical feasting at the House of the Tiles in a hypothetical spatial arrangement of participants, whether inside the structure or outside in the paved areas, which they interpret as evidence for differentiation in EH IIB at Lerna. Unlike at Mycenaean Pylos, however, where the distribution patterns for finds clearly attested different types of drinking ceremonies inside and outside of the central area of the palace, the dearth of finds from inside the House of the Tiles recommends caution in drawing

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1383 Bendall 2004: 105-111.
1386 Wright 2003: 16.
inferences about EH social hierarchy from the limited evidence for diacritical feasting at Lerna. Furthermore, Pullen and Peperaki draw attention to the lack of evidence for a strict hierarchy and prominence of collective or cooperative social logic that underlay EH II feasting, such as the undifferentiated surface treatment and standardization of saucers stored in Room XI in the House of the Tiles.\textsuperscript{1388} Like the many plain vessels found stored in the pantries (Rooms 18-21) at Pylos discussed above, the vessels stored in Room XI were equipment for communal events that promoted horizontal integration and group solidarity for the local community.

Both EH and Mycenaean feasting practices were therefore simultaneously cooperative and competitive, but the social dynamics, power differentials, and economic dependencies were differently configured in each historical period.

Peperaki argues that the House of the Tiles feast were work feasts occasioned by cooperative agricultural labor projects, with sealing functioning to convert feast contributions into a “collective fund”.\textsuperscript{1389} Furthermore, she argues that sealed goods were converted into a common fund as feast contributions upon sealing at the House of the Tiles, and that roller-impresed pithoi set up around the House of the Tiles and perhaps even inside the hearth room displayed made the communal fund visible.\textsuperscript{1390} She describes the roller-impresed pithoi as reflecting an “emphasis on the collective consumption of an explicitly and conspicuously stored and safeguarded produce”\textsuperscript{1391} that served to create what Halstead describes as the “social obligation to share”\textsuperscript{1392} and that Carballo describes

\textsuperscript{1388} Peperaki 2004: 222-223; Pullen 2016: 54.
\textsuperscript{1389} Peperaki 2016: 14, 20.
\textsuperscript{1390} Peperaki 2010: 255.
\textsuperscript{1391} Peperaki 2010: 254, 257.
\textsuperscript{1392} Halstead 1995: 16.
as the “ethos of sharing”. The highly visible roller-impressed pithoi at the House of the Tiles thus reminded the community of their obligation to contribute to the communal feasts during which their contents were consumed.

Presumably roller-impressed hearths had a similar function, especially if they were used for cooking. Peperaki’s suggestion that sealed goods, both clay sealings and seal-impressed vessels, were contributions to communal feasts at the House of the Tiles finds support in the wider body of evidence of EH sealing practices because of the findings of contextual analysis undertaken in this study. But Peperaki’s insistence that all sealed goods were agricultural products, even those in perishable containers such as baskets, is not necessary, nor is her classification of all feasts as labor feasts. It is not productive to limit interpretation of EH feasting to any particular type of feast, since many different types of events may have occasioned feasts.

Pullen argues that both agricultural surplus and prestige goods were mobilized for redistribution during feasts by EH leaders (staple and wealth finance). Pullen’s extensive work on the topic of EH feasting provides valuable insights into social and political strategies involving sealing. In his most recent work, Pullen highlights the centrality of reciprocity in feasting of all types, citing Hayden and Dietler’s identification of different occasions for feasting (mobilize labor, forge alliances between social groups, solicit favors, display group success, assert political control, mobilize and/or redistribute surplus, etc.), He argues that the focus on redistribution in the study of Aegean

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1393 Carballo 2012: 256-257.  
1394 Peperaki 2016: 14.  
feasting results from a disciplinary focus on progressive political complexity from the EH to Mycenaean periods.\textsuperscript{1398} Nevertheless, the degree to which the EH political economy was redistributive, if at all, remains on open question.

Pullen relates the role of reciprocal exchanges within the context of EH feasting to the formation of institutionalized and hierarchical social relations. He outlines the different types of reciprocal exchanges that Sahlins identifies within a continuum of reciprocity: 1) generalized reciprocity, in which gift-debts are incurred without the expectation of the return of one of equal value; 2) balanced reciprocity, in which no debt is incurred because the return is of equal value, which is commodity exchange; and 3) negative reciprocity, in which no return is involved and one “attempts to get something for nothing”.\textsuperscript{1399} Pullen points out that Sahlin’s negative reciprocity has been modified by Roller to describe “hostile reciprocity”, or asymmetrical exchanges that benefit only one party,\textsuperscript{1400} and points to forms of competitive generosity in the context of feasting such as the potlatch institution in North America. Pullen argues that EH feasting involving these different forms of reciprocity played a major role in institutionalizing social hierarchy as individuals manipulated systems of exchanges to create asymmetrical social relations through one-sided exchanges.\textsuperscript{1401} In emphasizing reciprocity in EH feasting, Pullen reformulates his interpretation of sealed goods as feast contributions to suggest that the sealed goods in Room XI in the House of the Tiles were “mobilized by the sponsor of the feasting from the community”.\textsuperscript{1402} 

\textsuperscript{1398} Pullen 2017: 56. 
\textsuperscript{1400} Roller 2002: 133. 
\textsuperscript{1401} Pullen 2017: 57. 
\textsuperscript{1402} Pullen 2017: 54.
Whether redistribution or reciprocal gift exchanges, Pullen and Peperaki adhere to a mobilization model in which feasts were sponsored by a chief who coordinated the receipt and provisioning of goods. This is very similar to Dietler’s patron-role feasts, which he postulated as a result of ethnographic observation.\(^{1403}\) There is no evidence, however, for a resident seal-owner or centralized authority controlling the receipt of goods that would support the mobilization model. On the contrary, and as Weingarten demonstrates, the clay sealings from the House of the Tiles at Lerna (the best candidate for such evidence) reveal a non-intensive pattern of seal use in which many seal users impressed a few containers of goods only once or twice, rather than an intensive pattern in which a few resident seal-owners repeatedly impressed a large number of goods.\(^{1404}\) Clay sealings were therefore impressed by seal-owners making contributions and not by resident seal-owners authorizing receipt of goods by marking them with their personal signature before redistributing them. In other words, sealing did not mark the transfer of private property from one individual to another.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence for differentiation within the House of the Tiles material. One seal was used more often than the rest (Weingarten’s “seal leader”), the design of which consisted of alternating beaked jar and triskelia, which impressed wooden pole sealings that were cross-sealed with a seal design with interlocking S-spirals (B68, B78, B79, Fig. 3.9).\(^{1405}\) Weingarten argues that the repeated use of these seals is the only evidence for hierarchy among the clay sealings, but as only three examples of sealings are preserved the repetition is a low number. In addition, there is no way to infer

\(^{1403}\) Dietler 1990, 2001: 82-85.
\(^{1404}\) Weingarten 1997: 149-150, Table 2.
\(^{1405}\) Weingarten 1997: 155, Fig. 4.
higher rank between the two seal owners, who rather might seem to be of equal rank.\textsuperscript{1406}

Similarly, a group of four seals with swastika designs were used to impress wooden pole (\textit{B16}, Fig. 3.8) and peg sealings (\textit{B15}, \textit{B52}, \textit{B61}, \textit{B62}, \textit{B63}, Figs. 3.8-3.9), basketry/matting sealings (\textit{B65}, \textit{B66}), and ceramic vessel mouth sealings (\textit{B67}, Fig. 3.9). Weingarten proposes that the wooden peg sealings were door sealings that were cross-sealed by two seals with swastika designs, which may be taken as evidence for a “family” group of seal-owners of equal rank rather than a resident seal-owner authorizing receipt of a contribution.\textsuperscript{1407}

The evidence for differentiation within a wider pattern of non-intensive seal use at Lerna suggests that sealing, feasting, and communal storage served to mask or suppress vertical differentiation while emphasizing horizontal integration. Thus although there was undoubtedly some ranking within EH communities, the evidence for sealing practices at Lerna does not supply secure evidence for social hierarchy because they were more plausibly part of a collective social strategy. Given the non-intensive pattern of seal use at Lerna, cross-sealing can also be interpreted as evidence for multiple or shared contribution of goods to a communal feast. Feast contributions could therefore already be shared property upon transfer to a collective fund.\textsuperscript{1408} The transfer of goods from personal to shared property that was literally marked by sealing the goods was therefore not a straightforward transaction from private to public goods.

\textsuperscript{1406} Weingarten 1997: 155.
\textsuperscript{1407} Weingarten 1997: 155, Fig. 4.
\textsuperscript{1408} Peperaki 2016: 14.
VII.I.3. Sealed Feast Contributions as Private or Public Goods?

The issue of scale is directly relevant to the collective action problems in EH communities that sealing was used to address, namely how to restrict the benefits of club/toll goods contributed to a feast. The level of participation in feasting that involved sealing relates to population size as well as the exclusivity of the social practices, and also to the architectural setting and associated assemblages (see above, VI.2). The question of how many people participated in communal feasts requires consideration of population sizes, which are not always straightforward for the EH period. Population estimates for EH Lerna are complicated by the incomplete excavation of the site, the lack of an associated cemetery, and different formulas used for estimating household sizes and the number of occupants. Wiencke estimates that the EH IIB settlement at Lerna was 1.2 hectares, only 10% of which is excavated. Using Renfrew’s estimate of ca. 300 people per hectare, Pullen proposes a population for EH IIB Lerna at 119-360 people and 30-100 households. Pullen argues that the number of individual seal designs from the House of the Tiles represents the number of households at Lerna, so that seal designs were used by the head of household.

The timing of clay sealing deposits, both when they took place and how long their deposition took, are relevant to estimates. The uniformity of the saucers from Room XI supports the interpretation of the room’s contents as an “occasion-specific” assemblage, in which case the 70 seal impressions represent a feast involving a large

\(^{1410}\) Wiencke 2000: 3.
\(^{1411}\) Pullen 2003: 31.
\(^{1412}\) Peperaki 2004: 223.
number of people. If, on the other hand, the deposit is the accumulation of more than one
consecutive events, then each feast would have involved fewer people. In any case, the
number of participants may have represented only a subset of the total population at
Lerna, either the heads of every household or only select households, or the entire
community.

The correspondence between the number of saucers and seal designs supports the
interpretation of a single-event deposit, and the saucers and whatever drinking
ceremonies were associated with them was restricted to seal owners who made feast
contributions, though it is possible that the rest of the community participated in the
feasts if not the drinking ceremonies specifically. The intriguing possibility that feasting
at Lerna involved people from neighboring communities cannot be determined until
an intensive survey is conducted in the area surrounding the site to clarify its relationship
to the wider region. Sealing and feasting at Lerna, on present evidence, were probably
local events that functioned to integrate the community.

Smaller-scale commensal events at Lerna are evidenced by clay sealings from
earlier periods of occupation, e.g. Lerna IIIC, and the smaller scale of these events would
have made sealed goods even more easily excludable than large-scale communal feasting
at the House of the Tiles in IIID. The architectural setting of bothros sealing B1 (Fig. 3.6)
in Room B is especially interesting because fortifications were public goods that
benefited the wider community, but it is unclear if the resources stored in sealed Bothros
GB-4 benefited a single household or a larger group. Slightly later than the bothros
sealing are the late phase IIIC pithos sealings from Room DM and House CA (B2, B3,

Pullen 2003: 31, no. 11.
**B5, B7-B11** from Room DM, **B12** from House CA, Fig. 3.6). Because no clay sealings were found in Building BG, it is possible that sealing operations took place only in non-monumental contexts in IIIC. The House of the Tiles deposit is exceptional, since other sealings from monumental structures are singletons (basketry/matting sealing **B225** from Area Γ’ at Akovitika, vessel handle sealing **B226** (Fig. 3.32) from House A at Ayios Dhimitrios; see above, VI.4.2).

Further evidence for smaller scale commensal events in non-monumental structures are found at Geraki in a casemate room in the fortification, which was contemporary with IIIC Room B at Lerna but used as a storeroom rather than a domestic space. If this deposit at Geraki of sealings (**B172-B202**, Fig. 3.24) represents a single event, then the fifteen seal owners (and their groups) participated in feasting involving the pithoi and drinking vessels found there. Another deposit of sealings (**B152-B157**) was found in a storeroom at Geraki in Trench 17/11i, where six seal owners may have participated in feasting involving the vessel and possible textile sealings. At Petri, the substantial deposit of sealings shows that at least 26 individuals (and their groups) were involved in feasting in R 1 that involved the vessel sealings (**B126-B135**, Fig. 3.20), a matter that likely would be clarified when this material is published.

Although clay sealings are most useful for addressing issues of scale in feasting that involved sealed contributions, one seal from Proskynas (**A66**, Fig. 2.12) was found in a context associated with communal feasting. It was found in Area B, a paved area in the eastern part of the site associated with a hearth (thermal structure 1) and a high volume of Urfirnis sauceboats. Further evidence for feasting comes from two nearby pits in which the remains of whole cows were found, which the excavators interpret as evidence for a
single feasting event.\textsuperscript{1414} Also in the eastern area of the site was circular structure A, where a large assemblage of drinking vessels was also found, further evidence for the formalization of this part of the site for communal feasting.\textsuperscript{1415}

The different scales of sealing and feasting operations in EH Greece demonstrate that food storage was practiced by social groups of various sizes, so sealing and feasting were relatively exclusive but not tightly controlled. Because EH II sealing and feasting were practiced at a variety of scales, how excludable feast contributions is relevant. Consideration of the excludability and subtractability of sealed goods according to the matrix of resource types used to address collective actions problems (Fig. 1.10) shows that sealed goods were club/toll goods because they can be classified as easily excludable and have a low subtractability. Sealed feast contributions were easily excluded because clay sealings secured the openings of containers, and their subtractability was low because they were marked for sharing in a communal context. Once the clay sealing was applied to a container, its contents became excludable as access was restricted. The restriction was not physical, since anyone could easily break a clay sealing, but rather according to a social contract among members of a group, which also could be monitored (e.g. the pole sealings argued for sealing a closed door). The subtractability of sealed goods must be defined in terms of their social context as goods intended for shared consumption, whether at the household level or at a larger scale for communal feasting. Although there was a finite amount of sealed goods, they were transformed by sealing


\textsuperscript{1415} Zahou 2009: 45-46.
into non-rivalrous goods meant to be consumed equitably, and their subtractability was therefore low.

This is a point well illustrated by the door sealings from the Room XI in the House of the Tiles, which show that the door to the storage room for feast contributions was secured by ropes tied around a peg with an applied clay sealing (Figs. 3.4-3.5). The door sealings were not a fail-safe security system, since they could have been breached easily by anyone within or from outside the community. More than a physical barrier, clay sealings represented a material manifestation of the taboo associated with breaking the seal. That door sealings at Lerna were respected because of cooperation and mutual monitoring, an agreement that the door would only be opened at a socially sanctioned time, presumably on the occasion of a feast. If, however, that social contract was broken along with the door sealing, sealed goods would be more difficult to make excludable.

From this perspective, sealing transformed private goods into toll/club goods by marking them for shared consumption. In spite of their shared consumption context, however, sealed goods cannot be classified as purely public goods or common-pool resources because the act of sealing made them excludable.

Sealing, feasting, and storage therefore together constitute a social institution that mediated the excludability of resources that were pooled for communal consumption as feast contributions in EH Greece. Sealing played an important role in this because it was a marking system that transformed resources into toll or club goods for consumption by other contributing participants in the feast. The homogeneity of seal designs and their function as group emblems is explicable in the context of the transformative practice of
sealing, which served to assign a value to sealed goods as toll or club goods as a feast contribution meant to be shared among certifiable participating members of the group.

The non-intensive pattern of seal use at Lerna and elsewhere demonstrates that there is no strong evidence for a top-down authority controlling receipt and provisioning of feast contributions. Rather, collective cooperation in the circulations of resources within the community is suggested by the high number of seal designs on the clay sealings and the correspondence of the number of seals represented to the number of saucers stored in Room XI of the House of the Tiles.

To summarize, EH sealing practices served a practical function by resolving the collective action problem of free-riders at feasts. Sealing transformed feast contributions into club/toll goods, the benefits of which were restricted to feast participants. If only seal owners and their groups who contributed to feasts had access to them, then sealing can be seen as a mutual monitoring of resources provisioning within EH communities. In addition to functioning as a social mechanism for horizontal integration in which group membership was affirmed, sealing therefore served as the means by which community-led decision making in resource provisioning was implemented. EH sealing was administrative but its organization was non-bureaucratic and non-hierarchical.

VII.I.4. EH III Sealing and Feasting

There is evidence that sealing continued into the EH III period. In EH III, the mainland was transformed by settlement abandonment and depopulation following destruction by fire at several sites, architectural changes including the decline of corridor
houses, an increasing number apsidal structures, the continuing or accelerated introduction of new ceramic styles, and a marked increase in the number of bothroi within settlements. Once thought to be radical transformations marking a violent invasion of the island, the EH II-III transition is now seen as more gradual. In addition, regional variation is observed in the EH II-III transition, since not all sites were destroyed, such as Kolonna on Aegina. Differences can be observed even within a single region, as in the Argolid where more abrupt changes are evident than at Tiryns in terms of ceramic styles (hence the Übergangsphase), or where some settlements were abandoned (Zygouries at the end of EH II, Tsoungiza early in EH III, etc).

It is generally assumed that sealing practices disappeared with corridor houses at the end of the EH IIB period. But evidence for continued seal use across the EH II-III transition comes from Lerna, where seals were found in EH III deposits or mixed EH II-III contexts. Three clay conoid seals (A2, A4-A5, Figs. 2.1-2.2), and a clay ring seal (A3, Fig. 2.7) were found in EH III (phase IV) contexts. In addition, clay conoids from EH II-III contexts were found at Lerna (A6, Fig. 2.1), Tiryns (A9, Fig. 2.1), and Pelikata (A69, Fig. 2.3). Stylistically similar clay conoids were found in unstratified contexts also at Lerna (A7, Fig. 2.1), Asea (A31-A32, Figs. 2.1, 2.6), Orchomenos (A62, Fig. 2.9), Ayia Marina (A64). In addition, a stone rectangular block seal (A61, Fig. 2.9) was found in EH III levels at Eutresis, which has stylistic parallels at Kolonna (A44-A45, A47-A48, Fig. 2.1, 2.4, 2.8-2.9), Methana (A49, Fig. 2.4), Aegina (A51, Fig. 2.3), and Philia (A70, Fig. 2.4).

1416 Weiberg and Lindblom 2014; Maran 2016.
The seals from EH III contexts form a relatively homogenous stylistic group in terms of their simple and seemingly hastily executed seal designs. Because they were found in secondary contexts, however, it is difficult to determine whether they were of EH II manufacture and remained in use into EH III, or were produced in the later period instead. The one stamped jar (C4.2, Fig. 4.34) was found in an EH III (Lerna IV) context but is assigned an EH II date of manufacture on the basis of style. The fact that seals and a stamped jar were in circulation in EH III at Lerna and other sites indicates continuity of sealing practices. The lack of secure EH III contexts, however, limits the interpretation of how seals were used.

Although no EH III seals were found in secure deposits that associate them with feasting and storage, the preservations of a few seals evidences the continuity of sealing practices. Better evidence for the EH III period is found for feasting and storage practices. The best evidence for EH III feasting is found at Lerna, where Rutter identifies an Anatolian-inspired drinking set comprised of giant narrow-necked jars and shoulder-handled tankards.\(^{1417}\) The vessels in the drinking set were highly decorated with pattern-painted designs and relief bands in Lerna IV.1-2, but in IV.3 had only one or the other surface treatment. The shapes of the drinking cups have predecessors in western Anatolia and the northeastern Aegean, while the surface treatment with plastic bands on the large vessels was found among the “Kastri group” pottery of the Cyclades.\(^{1418}\) Rutter proposes that the large, elaborately decorated vessels formed Anatolian drinking sets used for small-scale drinking ceremonies involving only one or two people.

\(^{1418}\) Rutter 2008: 467.
The special function of EH III drinking sets is indicated by their depositional contexts at Lerna. Two giant vessels, one elaborately decorated, three-spouted jar (“The Hydra”) and a plain tankard (Fig. 6.1.24), were found in building W-52, a trapezoidal structure located immediately east of the tumulus built over the House of the Tiles (Fig. 6.1.16).\textsuperscript{1419} Destruction debris sealed the first of two floors identified in Building W-52, a white clay floor on which a closed deposit of nineteen vessels was found, which included the large three-spouted jar and tankard, pairs of drinking vessels, and other storage and cooking vessels (askoi, pyxides, small narrow-necked jars and tankards).\textsuperscript{1420} Rutter identifies the floor deposit and a pit associated with the white clay floor as a “use deposit”, and proposes a link between the twinned vessels and two slabs found on either side of the pit. The context of the drinking set in building W-52 therefore links small-scale drinking practices with bothros storage.

An example of an EH III drinking set was found at Lerna in W-84, a D-shaped structure in the northeastern area of the tumulus dated to slightly later in phase 2 (Fig. 6.1.16).\textsuperscript{1421} Building W-84 was also destroyed by fire, preserving an assemblage of eleven vessels found around the perimeter of the room that were likely stored on shelves, among them four giant narrow-necked jars and one giant tankard, all elaborately painted. Two pairs of giant narrow-necked jars were found along with small drinking vessels, four per large jar, including ouzo and rim-handled cups, which points to small-scale drinking ceremonies. Storage pithoi were found in W-84 but no cooking vessels, so the building

\textsuperscript{1419} Rutter 2008, Figs. 2, 4; Banks 2013: 114-122.
\textsuperscript{1420} Rutter 2008: 464, no. 14.
\textsuperscript{1421} Rutter 2008: 464-465, Fig. 3, 5, 14; Banks 2013: 154-158.
was not a domestic structure, but rather a special function structure. The D-shape of building W-84 resembles House E (House of the Querns) at Tsoungiza, a D-shaped building of EH III date that Nilsson proposes was a specialized workshop for processing grain because of the large number of querns and pithoi found there (Fig. 6.9.3).\footnote{Rutter 2008: 467, no. 28; Pullen 2017: 59.}

Rutter interprets the Building W-84 assemblage as a storage facility for liquids in pithoi, but it is unclear what was stored in the pithoi and drunk because no archaeobotanical evidence was found in W-84.\footnote{Pullen 2011a: 241-336; Nilsson 2014: 234-235.} Banks proposes a fermented barley drink rather than wine because of the barley found on the floor of W-52 and lack of evidence for grape until Lerna IV.3.\footnote{Rutter 2008: 468.} Mellink suggested that beer was drunk from the Hydra because of its close comparison to a four-spouted vessel from Karataş in Lycia, also found in a special function storage structure, which she compared to banqueting scenes on Early Dynastic (ED) Mesopotamian seals showing figures drinking from a single vessel through straws that strained the beer.\footnote{Banks 2013:120.} Rutter finds beer an unlikely candidate, however, because beer is not well suited to long-term storage in pithoi, and because no strainers were found. He proposes instead a more potent fermented alcoholic beverage appropriate for consumption in small drinking cups. Without residue analysis, however, what substances were drunk remains unknown. What is important to underline is the role of drinking parties in the process of social change, since they functioned in much the same way as feasting.\footnote{Mellink 1969: 75; Rutter 2008: 467. Dietler 1990, 2006.}

\footnote{Dietler 1990, 2006.}
The restricted scale of EH III feasting is illustrated by the small size of the drinking sets, including only 2-4 cups, as well as the three-necked vessel, which was purpose-made for use by a restricted number of people, only three. Rutter proposes that perhaps only two people, host and guest, were involved in drinking ceremonies that involved EH III drinking sets, and Pullen follows Rutter in defining feasting as both large-scale and small-scale commensal events, which may have involved both eating and drinking or only one or the other, to include the evidence for feasting in EH III.\textsuperscript{1428} Pullen prefers the terms “hospitality” to describe EH III small-scale drinking ceremonies, in contrast to the large-scale of communal feasting evidenced for EH II, and proposes that each of the uniquely decorated vessels were gifted to guests, forming reciprocal gift exchange relations.\textsuperscript{1429}

EH III Anatolian drinking sets were found in southern Greece at Lerna, Kolonna, and Olympia, but not in central or northern Greece. The elaborately decorated, Anatolian-inspired drinking sets and possibly new substances consumed using them evidence EH III regional variation in the adaptation of foreign practices. The appearance of the Anatolian drinking set at Lerna in EH III is significant because, unlike sites in central Greece, the Anatolian inspired Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage was not adopted in southern Greece in the preceding EH IIB period.\textsuperscript{1430}

It is significant, then, that the only examples of vessels from the Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage (loop-handled tankards and bell-shaped cups) found in the

\textsuperscript{1428} Pullen 2017: 51.
\textsuperscript{1429} Pullen 2017: 62.
\textsuperscript{1430} Rutter 2008: 466, no. 23.
Peloponnese was from Lerna Building W-84.\textsuperscript{1431} Regional variation in the distribution of the EH IIB Anatolian-derived Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage and EH III Anatolian drinking sets therefore points to the differential adaptation of foreign influence on the mainland.

\textbf{VII.I.5. EH III Storage Practices}

Storage practices for agricultural resources were radically transformed between EH II-III. Nilsson’s work on the subject points to dramatic differences between the two periods, evidenced by a shift from communal storage in EH II to household storage in bothroi in EH III.\textsuperscript{1432}

The well-known proliferation of bothroi in EH III is seen at a number of sites across the mainland in the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, and Euboea.\textsuperscript{1433} Most are simple, round pits widely interpreted as rubbish pits found filled with rubbish, though occasionally clearly originally used for storage. Their contents included pottery, bones, and in some cases entire vessels such as the large, pattern-painted jars discussed above. More than 200 examples were found in Lerna IV, which were 0.75-1.0 m. in diameter and 0.60-1.30 m. deep, some with projecting slabs or rings of stones at top and some lined with clay.\textsuperscript{1434} The pervasiveness of EH III bothroi relative to earlier periods demonstrates household storage practiced by communities in the final phases of the EH period following the disappearance of the EH IIB corridor houses. But because corridor

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{1431} Rutter 2008: 465.
\textsuperscript{1433} Strasser 1999: 813-814.
\textsuperscript{1434} Banks 2013: 20-22.
\end{footnotesize}
houses lacked sufficient storage space for large-scale storage of agricultural products, some other method of storage must have been practiced during EH II and earlier.

Nilsson convincingly argues that EH III bothroi replaced EH I-II communal storage in built communal granaries and subterranean pits, marking a dramatic shift in storage practices from collective and cooperative to individualizing and competitive in nature. She identifies as communal granaries circular structures at a number of sites, including the monumental Rundbau at Tiryns, the seven, smaller so-called Rundbauten at Orchomenos, the circular structure at Voïdokoilia, and Structure J at Ayios Kosmas, and curved Wall 38 at Tzoungiza. The circular layout of these buildings distinguished them architecturally from other structures at the site, and the curved walls would have acted as silos to withstand the pressure of a high volume of stored grain. She sees a similar social and practical function for EH I-II subterranean pits at Koropi, Zagani, Raphina, Eutresis, Zygouries, and Tsoungiza. To Nilsson’s list of built communal granaries should be added the circular structures from Proskynas, including circular structure A in the eastern area of the site where, like the nearby paved Area B where seal A66 (Fig. 2.12) was found, numerous drinking vessels were found (see above, VI.2.2).

At Lerna, there is no evidence for a built communal granary in EH IIB, though this may reflect the limited area that has so far been excavated. Rather, roller-impressed pithoi sherds found in the destruction debris of the House of the Tiles may have been used to store agricultural products in phase IIID, but would have been set up around and not inside the structure giving its limited storage capacity. In phase IIIC, the evidence for

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storage comes not from the monumental Building BG but rather from sealed bothros GB-4 in Room B, a casemate room in fortifications, as well as House CA and Room DM, but since only a few pithoi were found in these small structures large-scale storage is not attested in early EH IIB at Lerna. It is possible, however, that some of the impressed pithos sherds were of IIIC manufacture and stood around Building BG. The presence of a large number of pithoi does not exclude the possibility that a communal granary at Lerna has not been discovered, since only a small part of the site has been excavated. At Tiryns, for example, the Rundbau may have been a communal granary but hundreds of roller-impressed pithos sherds were also found at the site.

According to Nilsson, communal storage granaries are evidence for communal management of agricultural resources in EH II, an organization mode she describes as complex but not hierarchical. Insights from collective action theory support and expand upon this observation. Sealing may have been used to close communal granaries to prevent free-riding on the benefits of food stored in communal granaries in EH II. This is suggested by the two seals (A41, A42, Figs. 2.1, 2.6) recovered from the subterranean chambers at Koropi (see above, II.4.19) that Nilsson interprets as subterranean pits used as communal granaries. Although these seals are in secondary contexts, their association with communal storage deserves mention. Earlier evidence for the association of sealing with communal granaries is found in the bothros sealing (B1, Fig. 3.6) from clay-lined Bothros GB-4 in Room B of the IIC fortifications at Lerna, which upon being sealed transformed its contents to excludable club/toll goods, though it is unclear if storage

\footnote{Nilsson 2014: 237.}
exceeded the household level because of the small size of the ceramic assemblage (see above, II.3.1).

The close association between communal feasting and communal storage in EH II is well illustrated at Tsoungiza. An EH IIA (EH II Developed Phase 1) drinking set was found at the top of mound on the flat surface southeast of House A, the monumental “proto-corridor house”. The mostly intact ceramic assemblage of mostly intact consisting of a solidly dark-painted basin, ladle, and two small bowls, and one plain bowl and cooking pot (Fig. 6.9.10) was found in Pit 56 (Fig. 6.9.4). Pullen argues that this drinking set was intentionally deposited in the pit after it became damaged, since it was approximately two-thirds preserved and the ladle was found inside the basin, evidence for a structured deposit. Pit 56 was clay-lined and probably originally used for storage of agricultural products, and apart from the drinking set yielded few finds apart from some sherds and only a small amount of botanical and faunal remains.

Pit 56 was located within curved Wall 38, which Nilsson identifies a circular communal granary that stood in an earlier phase of the EH IIA period (EH II Initial Phase 1) (Fig. 6.9.3). Whether the structure represented by Wall 38 was circular or apsidal is unclear because only a short stretch of the wall was preserved, but its reconstructed inner diameter of 2.5 m. means that the structure was too small for occupation but comparable to other circular buildings Nilsson argues functioned as silos for large-scale grain storage. In the area southeast of monumental House A where Wall 38 and later Pit 56

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1441 Pullen 2011a: 254.
1442 Pullen 2011a: 144-145, Fig. 4.6.
were located was therefore associated with communal feasting and storage. In addition, lead seal A25 was also found southwest of House A, and though in a secondary context (see above, IV.4.10), it may have been associated with House A and the surface to the south into which Pit 56 was cut (Surface 1).

These associations suggest that the top of the mound at Tsoungiza was used for communal storage early in EH II (EH II Initial Phase 1), and with feasting and sealing later in the same phase (EH II Developed Phase 1).

VII.I.6. Shifting Dynamics

Because of their close association with food storage and feasting, containers with applied clay sealings are interpreted as feast contributions, and the act of sealing may be though to have marked them as shared resources. Sealing was an administrative device used by EH communities to collectively organize the provisioning of resources as feast contributions by ensuring that they benefited only participants who contributed to the collective fund. Sealing transformed resources into club/toll goods for sharing that were easily excluded from free-riders (non-contributors).

Sealing thus functioned as a means of mutual monitoring of resource within a non-hierarchical system of administration. From a contextual approach to the evidence, the homogeneity of seal designs across both stamps and rollers reflects efforts to advertise group membership, with seal designs functioning as group emblems marking club/toll goods to be shared by feast participants. A contextual approach to the evidence for sealing practices and its re-conceptualization as collective action therefore clarifies the evidence for complexity, but lack of evidence for hierarchy, in the EH period.
Taken together, the differences between EH II and EH III sealing, feasting, and storage practices point to a dramatic reconfiguration of mainland communities in the latter period. The changes are consistent with other lines of evidence for EH III, including the destruction and abandonment of corridor houses and shift from mostly rectangular to mostly apsidal house layouts and new ceramic styles. Sealing practices all but disappear in EH III, evidenced by only a few seals found in secondary contexts that reveal little about their function. This dramatic shift from widespread to nearly non-existent sealing practices at the end of the EH period can be understood as part of wider transformations in the storage and provisioning of food and other resources that are evidenced by changing feasting and storage practices.

Changing storage practices demonstrate a shift from communal storage of agricultural resources in granaries in EH II to household storage in bothroi in EH III. Communal storage of club/toll goods as feast contributions, which were not necessarily only foodstuffs, in corridor houses as the House the Tiles also came to an end when corridor houses across the mainland were destroyed and abandoned. On present evidence, EH III feasting practices appear to have been reduced in scale and more competitive than the communal feasting in EH II, as demonstrated by the three-necked Hydra from Lerna, which displayed large and elaborately decorated pattern-painted drinking sets of Anatolian inspiration.
VII.2. INTERREGIONAL INTERACTIONS AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

VII.2.1. Foreign Influence as Tradition and Innovation

The focus of this study is reconstructing sealing practices by undertaking contextual analysis of the evidence to examine how seals were used at the local level within EH communities. The contextual approach used in this study balances previous work on the subject, which has focused on stylistic analysis and seals and their designs. Most scholars highlight the distinctly local character of EH seals and their designs. Nevertheless, focus on style necessarily relies upon comparative analysis that tends to overemphasize foreign influence on EH sealing practices.

Aruz’s systematic study of Near Eastern influence on Aegean seals details stylistic parallels for the EH material among seal shapes, designs, and seal-impressed objects from Mesopotamia, the Levant, Anatolia, Egypt, Crete, the northern Aegean, and the Cyclades. Like Wiencke before her, Aruz observes in the clay sealings from Lerna certain stylistic parallels in design elements (loops, C-spirals, spiders, swastikas, etc.) with parallels from Prepalatial (Platanos, Myrtos Fournou Koriphi, Archanes) and later Protopalatial (Phaistos) Crete, the Cyclades (Chalandriani, Ayia Irini, Amorgos). She argues that the use of cylinders or rollers to impress hearths and pithoi “suggests a strong Near Eastern stimulus” because no earlier Aegean examples can be found, and identifies

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1446 Aruz 2008: 18-33.
EBA parallels from Mesopotamia (Hamrin region), the Levant (Byblos, Ebla, Hama), and Anatolia (Tarsus). For stamped pottery, Aruz points to examples from EBA Syro-Levantine (Byblos, Ebla, Tell el-Fara, Tell Beit Mirsim), but finds closer parallels in the Cyclades (Chalandriani, Ayia Irini) and western Anatolia (Troy), where the seal designs (angle-filled cross, spirals, etc.).

In addition to seal style, administrative sealing practices are seen as a reflection of foreign influence on the mainland. Stylistic parallels between Near Eastern and Aegean seals are interpreted as evidence for the foreign inspiration of seal-cutting and administrative seal use. Maran and Kostoula see the adoption of administrative clay sealings as evidence for foreign influence, but follow Wiencke, Krzyszkowska, and Weiberg in emphasizing the distinctly local character of seal designs. Aruz, by contrast, places great emphasis on the eastern influence evident in EH seal designs, and Weingarten proposes a “diffusion” of Anatolian sealing practices to the mainland.

Moving beyond issues of style are more recent studies that interpret parallels in administrative practices as evidence for widespread interregional integration across the Aegean and Anatolia in the late third millennium BCE. Rahmstorf reconstructs a transregional system of economic exchange united by a standardized system of weights.

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1449 Aruz 2008: 21-22.
and measures that spanned the Aegean, Anatolia, and Syro-Levant, and Mesopotamia during the third millennium BCE.\textsuperscript{1455} He describes seals and clay sealings “control mechanisms as a basis of social power” and relates them to emerging economic and political complexity during the third millennium BCE.\textsuperscript{1456} This echoes Bachhuber’s conclusion that EBA Anatolian elites used long-distance exchanges to legitimize their social status even while their real power resides in their control over a redistributive agricultural political economy.\textsuperscript{1457}

Massa’s recent dissertation on EBA social development in western and central Anatolia provides the most recent and comprehensive study of EBA Anatolians' sealing practices to date.\textsuperscript{1458} Like Bachhuber and Rahmstorf, Massa links administrative seal use evidenced by clay sealings and standardized weights (metrology) to formalized interregional exchanges involving the movement of metals. Massa, however, employs a contextual approach to the data and concludes that clay conoid, the bulk of the EBA Anatolian dataset, were not administrative in function but rather were used as stamps in textile production.\textsuperscript{1459} Her findings reveal strong parallels between mainland and Anatolian seals, clay sealings, seal-impressed objects, and designs, and her contextual analysis reveals similarities in sealing practices across the two regions.\textsuperscript{1460}

\textsuperscript{1455} Rahmstorf 2003, 2010.
\textsuperscript{1456} Rahmstorf 2012, 2016.
\textsuperscript{1457} Bachhuber 2015.
\textsuperscript{1458} Massa 2016.
\textsuperscript{1459} Massa 2016: 130, 133–134.
\textsuperscript{1460} Massa 2016: 123-155.
VII.2.2. Anatolian Sealing Practices

Far more EBA Anatolian seals are preserved than EH seals: 179 stamps (91 from western Anatolia, 70 from central Anatolia, and 17 from Cilicia),\(^{1461}\) predominately made from clay (122 examples, 68%), stone (33, 18%), or metal (18, 10%),\(^{1462}\) though some from bone (4, 2%), horn (1, 0.05%), or shell (1, 0.05%). For the metal seals, sixteen are copper and two are lead, but the number of metal seals is likely underrepresented because of depositional and recycling practices,\(^{1463}\) as has been noted for EBA Aegean seals.\(^{1464}\)

The shapes of EBA Anatolian stamps also compare closely to EH examples:\(^{1465}\) most are conoid (53 examples, 30%), all are clay except for one stone example,\(^{1466}\) and a similar trend is observed among the eight truncated conoid (“tronco-conoid”).\(^{1467}\) Stalk-handled seals represent the second most frequent shape for EBA Anatolian stamps (54 examples, 30%), and occur in mostly in stone but also clay, copper, and bone.\(^{1468}\) The remaining

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\(^{1461}\) Massa 2016, Fig. 5.12. Massa notes further examples of EBA Anatolian that were not sufficiently published to include in her analysis, including 100 examples from Bademeağacı and 20-30 from Gavurtepe, Keçiçayırm, Karaoğlan Höyük, and Kalınıkaya (Massa 2016: 131).

\(^{1462}\) Massa 2016, Figs. 5.8, 5.12, 5.16).

\(^{1463}\) Massa 2016: 132.


\(^{1465}\) Massa 2016, Fig. 5.12.

\(^{1466}\) EBA Anatolian clay conoids: eleven from Ahlatlıbel, nine from Karataş, nine from Eti Yokuşu, four from Troy, four from Bademeağacı, four from Koçumbeli, three from Küllüoba, two from Tarsus, and one from Alacahöyük, Alişar Höyük, Çayıyolu Höyük, Kaklık Mevkii, Karahisar Höyük, Kusura, and Maşat Höyük. Stone conoids: one from Alişar Höyük.

\(^{1467}\) EBA Anatolian clay truncated conoids: 3 from Ahlatlıbel, 2 from Karataş, and 1 each from Troy, Eti Yokuşu. Stone truncated conoids: 1 from Tarsus.

\(^{1468}\) EBA Anatolian stalk-handled seals: 21 stone examples (8 from Alişar Höyük, 4 from Tarsus, 3 from Alacahöyük, 2 from Beycesultan, 1 from Ahlatlıbel, 1 from Bademeağacı, 1 from Çayıyolu Höyük, 1 from Kusura); 16 clay examples (2 from Ahlatlıbel, 3 from Karataş, 2 from Troy, 2 from Kusura, and 1 each from Alacahöyük, Aphrodisias, Ayasuluk, 1Bademeağacı, Eti Yokuşu, Hacilar B.Höyük, Koçumbeli); 13 copper examples (6 from Alişar Höyük, 5 from Tarsus, and 1 each from Aphrodisias, Kültepe), 2 bone
seal shapes include: foot-shaped, \(^{1469}\) gabled, \(^{1470}\) loop-handled, \(^{1471}\) pyramidal, \(^{1472}\) bell-shaped, \(^{1473}\) hourglass, \(^{1474}\) bird-shaped, \(^{1475}\) irregular, \(^{1476}\) and several were of undetermined shape. \(^{1477}\) In terms of size, EBA Anatolian clay stamps are on average slightly larger than stone, bone, or metal seals, since 2.2-3.3 cm. is the average for clay seals, while 1.3-2.1 cm. is the average size for stone, metal, and bone seals. \(^{1478}\) Nearly all (97%) Anatolian stamps had seal surfaces that were circular or ovular in shape.

In addition to the EBA Anatolian stamps, ten cylinders are preserved, \(^{1479}\) which are likely imports, since preserved examples are stylistically non-Anatolian in terms of motifs and morphology, and since no cylinders appear in Anatolian contexts earlier than 2400-2300 BCE. \(^{1480}\) The material of the cylinders also supports the interpretation that

\(^{1469}\) EBA Anatolian foot-shaped seals: five clay from Küllüoba, Bademağaci, Alacahöyük, Mercimektepe, Tarsus; three stone from Küllüoba, Konya- Karahöyük, Tarsus.

\(^{1470}\) EBA Anatolian clay gabled seals: two clay examples from Karataş, one each from Küllüoba, Kumyer Mevkii, Kültepe, one stone example from Karataş.

\(^{1471}\) EBA Anatolian loop-handled seals: two lead examples from Karataş and Bademağaci, one copper from Alişar Höyük, one stone and one clay from Hacılar B. Höyük.

\(^{1472}\) EBA Anatolian pyramidal seals: one bone example from Bademağaci.

\(^{1473}\) EBA Anatolian bell-shaped seals: one stone example from Limantepe.

\(^{1474}\) EBA Anatolian hourglass seals: two clay examples from Troy.

\(^{1475}\) EBA Anatolian bird-shaped seals: one bone example from Bakla Tepe.

\(^{1476}\) EBA Anatolian irregular seals: one clay example from Troy.

\(^{1477}\) EBA Anatolian seals of undetermined shape (‘N/A’): clay: nine from Karataş, seven from Troy, 4 from Ahlatlıbel, two from Aphrodisias, two from Küllüoba, two from Kuşluca, one each from Bademağaci, Hacılar B. Höyük, Kusura, Mercimektepe, Seyitömer Höyük, Tarsus; stone: one each from Bademağaci, Eti Yokuşu, Karataş, Kuşluca; copper: one each from Alişar Höyük, Küllüoba.

\(^{1478}\) Massa 2016:133.

\(^{1479}\) EBA Anatolian cylinders: faience: two from Seyitömer Höyük, two faience from Tarsus; stone: four lapis lazuli from Kültepe, one lapiz lazuli from Troy, one red jasper from Alacahöyük, one diorite from Alişar Höyük; bone: one from Troy; clay: three from Troy.Massa 2016, Fig. 5.13.

\(^{1480}\) Massa 2016: 135.
they are imports (faience, lapis lazuli, diorite, red jasper), since those materials are scarce in the region. The three clay cylinders from Troy may be local products, however, given their material and larger size (average Diam. 3.6 cm., compared to 2.2 cm.), as well as their motifs. The bone stamp cylinder from Troy compares in terms of shape to the bone stamp cylinder from Tiryns (A10, Fig. 2.5), but Massa proposes that it “might be a local adaptation”.  

Seal designs on EBA Anatolian stamps are comparable to Aegean examples. The most common seal design for EBA Anatolian seals is the angle-filled cross, representing 26% of catalogued seal designs. Most seals with the angle-filled cross are conoids (15 clay, 1 stone) or stalked-handled (7 stone, 4 copper, 4 clay, 1 bone). Other common designs include grid motif (8%), hatched cross (6%), and concentric circles with radial lines (6%). Unlike Aegean seal designs, however, 88% of catalogued Anatolian designs are simple geometric designs comprised of angular motifs, in contrast to the preference for curvilinear motifs such as circles or spirals in Aegean examples of abstract seal designs. Additionally, EBA Anatolian stamp designs are conspicuously lacking in figural designs, whereas figural designs form a small but distinctive subset of EH seal designs.

Beyond seals, twenty clay sealing fragments from EBA Anatolian contexts are also preserved. The objects sealed can only be reconstructed for 11 examples, including one that sealed a basket from Karataş, nine that sealed jars or jugs from Gözlükule, one

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1481 Massa 2016: 135, Cat No. Cy005.  
1482 Massa 2016: 133.  
1483 Weiberg 2010.  
1484 Massa 2016: 137-138, Figs. 5.14, 5.22.
possible door sealings from Bademağacı, and a single clay bullae that was attached to
two strings rather than applied directly to the containers from Demircihöyük. The average
diameter or max. width of the seven preserved impressions is 2.14 cm. Clay sealings
appeared for the first time in Anatolia in the third millennium BCE from Mesopotamia,
where they’d been in use already for millennia, and from Cilicia, where they appeared
roughly 1500 years earlier.1485 Supporting the foreign inspiration of the use of clay
sealings in EBA Anatolia is the fact that many were impressed with cylinders rather than
stamps (10, 45%), three with figural designs. Additionally, of the eight preserved
stamped impressions, 4 were circular with designs Massa describes as “Aegean” (from
Karataş, Troy). Nevertheless, most (13, 59%) were impressed with geometric or
“Anatolian” designs with strong parallels to other seals.1486 Anatolian communities in the
EBA adapted the use of clay sealings was adapted to local purposes.

The archaeological context of clay sealings, when available, is from elite areas of
the site or storage areas: “Citadel” at Alişar Höyük, “Palace” at Kültepe, Central
Complex at Karataş; Multi-Roomed Building 2 at Bademağacı, Room 30 at Gözlükule
room 30, where jug or jar stopper sealings were found associated with numerous large
storage jars).1487 By contrast, the only clay bullae was found in the central courtyard of a
building at Demircihöyük. The earliest EBA Anatolian clay sealings appear at
Demircihöyük in phase F2, levels that pre-date the earliest EH clay sealings at Lerna in
IIIC levels and contemporary levels at Geraki (Table 2, Fig. 1.5). Roughly contemporary
with the appearance of clay sealings are the earliest metal seals (Karataş V:1/2, Poliochni

1485 Rahmstorf 2011.
Red, Alişar Höyük level 13M), which is significant because the impressions on Anatolian seals appear to have been made with metal seals.\textsuperscript{1488} The evidence for EBA Anatolian clay sealings, unlike most of the stamps, therefore points to administrative seal use.

Sixteen extant seal-impressed vessels were found in EBA Anatolian contexts: three pitchers, three bowls, one vessel, and one cup from Tarsus; one jar and two pithoi from Troy; 2 vessels from Yumuktepe; one vessel from Methymna; one jar from Karataş.\textsuperscript{1489} EBA Anatolian seal-impressed vessels include both stamped with circular or ovular impressions (9) and cylinder-impressed examples (6). The average diam. of preserved stamped impressions on vessels is 2.5 cm., and so comparable in size to stamped impression on clay sealings (2.14 cm.). Like clay sealings, seal-impressed vessels are found in Mesopotamia and the Levant at much earlier dates than they are in Anatolia. Those vessels with cylinder impressions and bearing stamped designs with Aegean parallels highlight the foreign inspiration for seal-impressed vessels in EBA Anatolia. Most impressed sherds appear to be local manufactures so that local pots were produced using imported or foreign-inspired seals.\textsuperscript{1490} Massa argues that EBA Anatolian and Aegean stamped vessels were contemporary, since the examples from Poliochni (Green level) and Gözlükule (EB II levels) were contemporary with Lerna IIIC material.

As with the EH evidence, preserved EBA Anatolian seal designs do not correspond to impressions on sealings or stamped vessels, since most preserved stamps are clay while most impressions were made by stone or metal stamps because of “the neatness of

\textsuperscript{1488} Massa 2016: 138.
\textsuperscript{1489} Massa 2016: 139-140, Figs. 5.15, 5.23.
\textsuperscript{1490} Massa 2016: 140.
the motif impressed, the size, and their shapes”.\textsuperscript{1491} EBA motifs demonstrate considerably continuity with earlier Neolithic and Chalcolithic designs, though as on the mainland a lack of clay sealings in the earlier period precludes the possibly that administrative sealing was practiced, and like mainland Neolithic “pintaderas” they were probably used for decorating textiles. Traces of white and yellow pigment on two stamps, one from Aphrodisias and the other Kusura, support this hypothesis.\textsuperscript{1492}

In addition, contextual analysis of EBA Anatolian clay stamps demonstrates a non-administrative function. Most stamps come from settlement contexts, almost all from within small settlements such as Bademağaci, a highland site only 2 ha. in size in Cilicia that yielded 120 stamps representing 64\% of the total dataset, rather than from public buildings at large sites that could be considered administrative centers. Thus most seals were found in non-monumental structures, as were EH seals on the mainland.

As on the mainland, extremely few EBA Anatolian seals were found in burial contexts, only 1.5\% of the total dataset. At least one seal is a prestige goods, a bone bird-shaped seal from Bakla Tepe that was likely imported from Crete, where bone and ivory zoomorphic seals were popular in the EM period.\textsuperscript{1493} None of the preserved stamps, however, were found in the elite graves at large sites like Alacahöyük. Rather, EBA Anatolian stamps were found most often in contexts associated with textile production, such brushes, spindle whorls, and loomweights, and may therefore have been used to stamp patterns on textiles.

\textsuperscript{1491} Massa 2016: 134.
\textsuperscript{1492} Massa 2016: 134, Cat. Nos. St035, St048.
\textsuperscript{1493} CMS II 438.
More secure evidence for the use of Anatolian seals as prestige goods comes from the cylinders, which differed from stamps insofar as they were imports, were made from exotic materials, and were found in demonstrably elite-associated areas of the settlement.\textsuperscript{1494} For example, the ivory cylinder from Poliochni was found in megaron 605 in the yellow stratum, and two cylinders from Troy, one lapis lazuli and the other bone, were found in the Troy IIg “citadel”. These objects were apparently heirlooms of earlier manufactures that were kept in circulation at the site for several centuries, which reinforces the high social value assigned to imported cylinder seals as prestige goods with exotic associations. A similar value may have been assigned to several imported stone stamps, including seven gables (6 stone, 1 bone), one glazed steatite button, and one steatite “tabloid” seal.\textsuperscript{1495}

Like EH sealing practices, the evidence for EBA Anatolian sealing practices is accepted largely uncritically as evidence for emerging complexity, but contextual analysis of the evidence reveals the diverse social function of sealing practices that were not necessarily restricted to social hierarchy. The multifunctional, non-administrative use of clay stamps points to the striking similarity of the designs to argue that EBA Anatolian stamps expressed “personal identity and/or affiliation to a group that used similar motifs”.\textsuperscript{1496} Massa argues for a largely non-administrative use for preserved Anatolian stamps, possibly for textile decoration, but interprets stone stamps and cylinders as

\textsuperscript{1494} Massa 2016: 136.
\textsuperscript{1495} Massa 2016, Fig. 5.13.
\textsuperscript{1496} Massa 2016: 134.
VII.2.3. Cycladic Burial Practices and Stamped Objects

Although it is clear that EH sealing practices belonged to a distinctive local tradition, analysis of the depositional contexts for the evidence undertaken in this study reveals differential adaptations to foreign influence. For example, in Attica and Euboea, seals and stamped frying pans and jars were deposited in burials so that Cycladic influence is observed in both the style of material culture and the social practices associated with them.

Scholars highlight the influence of Cycladic culture on mainland communities in Attica and Euboea at the beginning of the EBA especially in burial practices, since in both regions were found large extramural cemeteries with clusters or graves containing multiple burials, with the dead initially laid out in a contracted position. Cycladic type grave goods were found at several sites, including marble figurines and vessels, frying pans, and other pottery. The high social value of Cycladic material is reflected in its scarcity and uneven distribution within the cemeteries, and so its exotic associations were likely used as a means of social differentiation in the funerary sphere. By contrast, the evidence from southern Greece demonstrates that communities in the Argolid and

\[^{1497}\text{Massa 2016: 130, 133–134.}\]
\[^{1498}\text{Sampson 2016: 115.}\]
\[^{1499}\text{Sampson 2016: 116-117, Table 1.}\]
Corinthia were less invested in Cycladic interactions or less interested in using imported material as a means of social differentiation.¹⁵⁰⁰

Some scholars interpret the Cycladic parallels in central Greece as evidence for Cycladic colonies in EH/EC I. Both Mylonas and Doumas describe Ayios Kosmas as a Cycladic colony,¹⁵⁰¹ defined as the transfer of a broad cultural model rather than just a few objects, and Marinatos referred to Tsepi as such in an initial report on the findings, citing the frying pan C8.48 (Fig. 4.44) as an example.¹⁵⁰² Sampson, however, points to the mixture of mainland, Cycladic, and Anatolian objects at the cemetery at Tsepi and Manika to argue that Cycladic influence at Manika has been over-emphasized in colonization models.¹⁵⁰³ He draws attention to the local manufacture of Cycladic style objects such as the frying pans from Manika, Ayios Kosmas, and Tsepi.¹⁵⁰⁴ Similarly, Pantelidou emphasizes the local character of the finds from Tsepi.¹⁵⁰⁵ Therefore the social dynamics that underlay Cycladic influence on the mainland at the beginning of the EBA were more complex social and material engagements than the term colonization can embrace.¹⁵⁰⁶

Although frying pans had strong Cycladic associations, Bossert identifies a distinct mainland tradition of frying pan production and proposed that mainland examples pre-dated “Kampos group” EC I-II frying pans, an interpretation supported by Renfrew and

¹⁵⁰⁰ Weiberg 2010: 208.
¹⁵⁰³ Sampson 2016: 113-114.
¹⁵⁰⁴ Sampson 2016: 113-114, 117.
¹⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Dietler 2010 on archaeologies of colonialism as social and material “entanglements”.
Coleman initially only tentatively suggested that the mainland was the place of origin for frying pans, but more recently highlights the influence of incised “Bratislava lids” from Doliana and joins Zachos and Dousougli and Maran in proposing a Balkan origin for the type. Coleman points out that the incised spirals and other designs found on Bratislava lids are found also on shallow bowls from both Tsepi and Petromagoula-Doliana. While the stamped and incised decorative technique found on Cycladic frying pans may have originated on the mainland in Greece and in the Balkans, Mellink proposed an Anatolian origin for their distinctive shape.

Cycladic influence was most strongly felt in the earlier phases of the period. Broodbank describes different phases of interregional interactions involving Cycladic long-range journeys (the first in EB I-II, the second in early EB II, and the third in the late EB II period), and outlines different, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, scenarios in which mainlanders import Cycladic objects and imitate them locally or Cycladic immigrants bring imports and imitate them locally. Kouka describes a “Cyclado-Helladic” koine that began in EH but was felt most strongly in EH IIB, the period for which Renfrew described the “international spirit” of the material culture of Aegean communities. In EH IIB, Anatolian influence is evidenced by the appearance of the Lefkandi I-Kastri group assemblage at a number of sites across the Cyclades, islands

1508 Coleman 1985: 203.
1509 Zachos and Dousougli in press: 8; Maran 1998: 345, 348-349.
1512 Mellink 1956: 70.
of the north Aegean, and on the mainland at coastal sites in Thessaly, Boeotia, Euboea, Attica, and the Argolid. The EH III period is characterized by a breakdown of this interregional integration across the Aegean and marked regionalism of mainland communities.

The evidence for EH sealing practices reflects these broader patterns of interregional influence, especially the material from the large, extramural cemeteries in central Greece. At Ayios Kosmas, EH I graves yielded stamped globular pyxides (C6.4, Fig. 4.38), stamped conical jars (C4.6, C4.7, Fig. 4.34), and frying pans (C8.25, C8.26, C8.27, C8.28, C8.29, C8.31, C8.32, C8.33, C8.34, Figs. 4.42-4.44). At Tsepi, two frying pans (C8.45 and C8.46, Fig. 4.44) and marble figurines also attest to the first phase of interregional interaction between Cycladic and mainland communities. At Manika, where both the cemetery and settlement flourished in EH II, frying pan C8.47 (Fig. 4.44) was found in the same tomb as seal A56 (Fig. 2.3), Grave V on the Georgiou plot, and had incised rather than impressed decoration that reflects Cycladic influence at the site of Manika.

The fact that only a few graves at Tsepi and Manika contained such objects speaks to their scarcity and uneven distribution among burying groups, and so to social differentiation whereby differential access to such goods reflects a mark of high social rank. It against this backdrop that the deposition of two stone seals (A54, A56, Figs. 2.2-2.3) in graves at Manika should be understood, as well as the two stone seals found in the settlement (A55, A57, A58, Figs. 2.3, 2.7). Differentiation at Manika is also evidenced in the settlement by the presence of obsidian workshops, which speak to craft specialization

\footnote{Kouka 2008: 318, Fig. 27.4.}
using imported Melian obsidian. Differentiation is also observable in the different sizes of houses and unequal distribution of valuable metal and stone goods among them. Cycladic material must have been ascribed a high social value, resulting in its local imitation in the form of stamped vessels, the limited circulation of those objects, and their occasional deposition as grave goods alongside other rare metal and stone objects at Ayios Kosmas, Tsepi, and Manika.

The seals from the cemetery at Manika were also assigned a high social value because of their foreign associations, especially if they were associated with the stamped vessels of Cycladic inspiration. Seal A54 from Manika is engraved with the same single spiral design (1a) used to stamp many frying pans, pyxides, and jars on the mainland. However, the sole example of a stamped frying pan from Manika (C8.47) was stamped with a concentric circle design (2a), and so was not stamped by seal A54. It is therefore unclear whether A54 was used to stamp pottery, and like all other extant EH stone seals no corresponding impressions are known. Apart from their administrative potential, extant EH seals were made from stone, a rarely employed material, and were perforated for suspension presumably to be worn as objects of personal adornment. Although most seals were found in secondary settlement contexts, the seals found in burials at Manika and Zygouries demonstrates that at least some communities regarded stone seals as appropriate grave goods, either because of their high social value or close association with the dead.

The fact that so few seals were found in EH burials may suggest that they were not as closely associated with their individual owners as they were on Crete, where in the Mesara valley region hundreds of seals were deposited in communal circular tombs. The
scarcity of seals in graves is explicable also in terms of wider burial practices, since grave goods generally are very rare in EH burials. At Ayios Kosmas, numerous grave goods were found outside the tombs, including spherical jar C6.4, and so were likely grave offerings made by the burying group to the dead rather than personal objects buried with their owners. The presence of inverted vessels at Ayios Kosmas also indicates that the objects found outside the tombs were used in funerary rituals such as toasts or libations to the dead by the living community. Objects associated with EH graves, including seals and seal-impressed objects, may therefore have been purpose-made for funerary rituals rather than the property of the dead.

In addition to stamped frying pans, jars, and pyxides deposited in graves, stamped hearths with spirals and concentric circles on hearths found in settlements in Attica and Euboea may reflect Cycladic influence, as numerous examples of stamped hearths were found at Ayia Irini in the Cyclades.\textsuperscript{1517}

Cycladic influence is also reflected in seal designs. For example, a hearth from Rouf (C1.63) is stamped with a spiral design (1a) and hearths from Poros (C1.65) and Karystos (C1.69-C1.70, Fig. 4.5) with a concentric circles design (2a) found on Cycladic frying pans and stamped vessels. In addition, one hearth from Ayia Iriniis stamped with a figural design of a spider that is paralleled on stamped impressions on clay sealings from Lerna (B17, B81-B82, Figs. 3.8, 3.10), Tiryns (B115-B116, Fig. 3.16), and Asine (B120, Fig. 3.18).\textsuperscript{1518} Finally, a pithos from Kolonna (C2.111, Fig. 4.23) was impressed with a

\textsuperscript{1517} CMS V 451-478, 480-482, 486-487.
\textsuperscript{1518} CMS V 464.
nested angles design that closely resembles one found on the rim of an MBA hearth from Ayia Irini.\textsuperscript{1519}

In summary, Cycladic influence on EH sealing practices is felt most strongly in central Greece than in southern Greece and is reflected especially in burial practices involving the deposition of seals and seal-impressed objects in graves as prestige goods as a means of social differentiation. These practices are attested more often in Attica and Euboea than in the Argolid and Corinthia, and therefore evidence different responses to foreign influence by communities in central and southern Greece in EH I-II.

VII.2.4. Local Tradition: Neolithic Antecedents

The distinctive local character of the EH sealing is widely recognized,\textsuperscript{1520} but is regarded as an EBA innovation stimulated by foreign influence rather than continuity of the earlier Neolithic stamping tradition evidenced by the numerous clay pintaderas from mainland sites.\textsuperscript{1521} Although stylistically similar, Neolithic stamps are not associated with administrative seal use because no contemporary clay sealings survive, so pintaderas are interpreted as decorative stamps for imprinting textiles, leather, or other soft media, though there is no direct evidence for this on the mainland.\textsuperscript{1522} In addition, the findspots of Neolithic pintaderas distinguish them from EH seals both geographically and temporally, since most date to EN or MN phases and come from Thessaly or Macedonia, while most EH seals date to the much later EH II phase and come from the southern or

\textsuperscript{1519} CMS V 480.
\textsuperscript{1520} Heath 1958: 120; Wiencke 1969: 520; Weiberg 2010: 198.
\textsuperscript{1521} Aruz 2008: 11-14, no. 7.
central Greece. Nevertheless, strong stylistic parallels in mainland Neolithic stamps and EH seals suggest that the earlier local stamping tradition influenced later administrative sealing. Future work is needed to clarify the transition from FN to the EBA in southern Greece.

The most common types of EH seal shapes and designs are all represented in the Neolithic corpus, including conoids, plates, cylinders, foot-shaped seals, angle-filled cross, concentric circle, and other geometric designs (Figs. 2.14, 2.18). A clay conoid from Sesklo with a horizontally perforated handle dates to the MN period, and is engraved with a concentric circle seal design. The diameter of the seal face of this conoid is 2.1 cm., which is consistent with EH examples (Fig. 2.20). Another MN clay conoid from Sesklo with a perforated pendant handle has a design consisting of dots within a circular framing line closely parallels EH II clay conoid A9 (Fig. 2.1) from Tiryns and EH clay conoid A28 (Fig. 2.1) from Ayios Stephanos. Another clay conoid from Sesklo of the same date (CMS I 003) has a pierce-grip handle and the angle and cross seal design. Finally, three clay conoids from Nea Nikomedea, all of MN date, each with unperforated pendant handles, were engraved with a spiral design on their circular seal face.

Many Neolithic plate seals have irregularly shaped seal faces that conform to the labyrinthine geometric patterns, and the unusual shapes of these seals may have been used to create continuous and interlocking designs through repeated stamping in carefully

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1523 Aruz 2008: 13.
1524 CMS V 715; Makkay 1984: 52, no. 225, Fig. XII.
1525 Makkay 1984: 51 no. 218, Fig. XIII.
1526 Makkay 1984: 51, no. 220, Fig. XIII.
1527 CMS V 695-697; Makkay 1984: 38, nos. 154-156, Fig. XIX.
Examples include EN clay stamps from Nea Nikomedea with meander-like seal faces and engraved designs,\textsuperscript{1529} the clay stamps with cruciform faces and designs of unknown Greek provenance assigned a general Neolithic date,\textsuperscript{1530} and the LN clay stamp from Eutresis with an octagonal body and two side-by-side engraved squares.\textsuperscript{1531} Neolithic plate seals with irregular seal faces also occur in stone. Examples include an MN stone stamp from Achilleion in Thessaly with a labyrinthine pattern and a perforated pendant handle,\textsuperscript{1532} a stone stamp with a serrated square seal face and interlocking zigzag design from Zerelia in Thessaly assigned a general Neolithic date,\textsuperscript{1533} an EN stone stamp with a quadrangular base engraved with a meander pattern from Pyrasos in Thessaly,\textsuperscript{1534} and similar stone EN seal from Nessonis in Thessaly.\textsuperscript{1535} Some Neolithic plates, however, more closely resemble EH examples. A clay plate with a rectangular seal face, pierce-grip handle, and herringbone seal design from Sesklo is assigned a general Neolithic date. Although it more closely resembles EH square to rectangular plate seals, it is much larger with a seal face of 8.0 cm. in length.\textsuperscript{1536} A similar clay plate seal also from Sesklo and of MN date with an unperforated tongue-shaped grip handle has a labyrinthine seal design and is also larger than EH examples, with a seal face 11.0 cm. in length.\textsuperscript{1537}

\textsuperscript{1528} CMS V 514; Makkay 1984: 41, no. 174, Fig. III.
\textsuperscript{1529} CMS V 691-694; Makkay 1984: 38, nos. 150-153, Fig. VI.
\textsuperscript{1530} Makkay 1984: 25, nos. 81-83, Fig. XII.
\textsuperscript{1531} CMS V 001; Makkay 1984, no. 64, Fig. XIII.
\textsuperscript{1532} Makkay 1984: 9, no. 1, Pl. XIII.
\textsuperscript{1533} Makkay 1984: 66, no. 288, Fig. XII.
\textsuperscript{1534} Makkay 1984: 47, no. 199, Fig. III.
\textsuperscript{1535} Makkay 1984: 41, no. 174, Fig. III.
\textsuperscript{1536} CMS V 499; Makkay 1984, no. 48, Fig. XII.
\textsuperscript{1537} CMS I 002; Makkay 1984: 51, no. 219, Fig. XIII.
In addition to conoids and plates, cylinders are also represented among the Neolithic seals. The EH IIB unperforated clay cylinder A67 from Palamari on Skyros has close parallels in the unperforated clay cylinders from Sitagroi of MN date engraved with zigzags, linear, and curvilinear motifs. Three of the Sitagroi cylinders were smaller than A67 (3.6-2.9 cm, compared to 5.5 cm.), but one example is larger (6.0 cm.). Finally, foot-shaped seals are another feature of Neolithic seals that continue into the EH period. Examples from mainland Greece include an EN clay foot-shaped stamp with a herringbone design from Nessonis, and an EN (?) foot-shaped stone stamp from Sesklo with long parallel incised lines.

Beyond seal shapes and seal designs, other aspects of Neolithic stamps are found among later EH seals that may suggest the earlier tradition influenced the latter. The design of numerous drilled holes found on three EN clay conoids from Nea Nikomedeia is found also on EH stone foot-shaped seal A24 (Fig. 2.10) from Zygouries, the EH II stone foot-shaped seal A38 (Fig. 2.10) from Ayios Kosmas, clay conoid A29 (Fig. 2.1) from Ayios Stephanos, and EH II-MH I stone pyramidal seal A45 (Fig. 2.8) from Kolonna. In addition, a green stone button seal from Nemea dated to EN-MN was incised with a checkerboard pattern on one side and dotted triangle on the other, which though not illustrated must have resembled the grid patterns on clay conoid A12 (Fig. 2.1) from Tiryns, stone plate A44 (Fig. 2.9) and stone pyramidal seals A45 (Fig. 2.1) and A47 (Fig. 2.8) from Kolonna, stone plate A49 (Fig. 2.4) from

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1538 CMS V 635-636; Makkay 1984: no 230-231, Fig. XXV.
1539 Makkay 1984: 41, no. 173, Fig. VIII.
1540 CMS V 716; Makkay 1984: 52, no. 226, Fig. X.
1541 CMS V 698-700; Makkay 1984: 39, nos. 157-159, Fig. X.
1542 Blegen 1975: 272, Pl. 69.4; Makkay 1984: 41, no. 172, not illustrated.
Methana, stone rectangular block seal A61 (Fig. 2.9) from Eutresis, and stone plates A69 (Fig. 2.3) from Philia and A70 (Fig. 2.4) from Larissa. Another feature of EH seal designs found in the Neolithic corpus is the engraving or drilling of designs on the sides of the seal in addition to the seal face. EH clay conoid from Ayios Stephanos A29, EH II-MH I stone pyramidal seal A45 from Kolonna, and three EBA II-III stone plate seals from Thessaly: A69 from Philia, A70 from Larissa, and A72 (Fig. 2.2) from Volos.

Not only stylistic parallels but also the depositional contexts of Neolithic stamps link them to the later EH tradition. Late Neolithic examples help to close the chronological gap, including an LN clay plate seal from Eutresis, the late date of which and the findspot in central Greece bridges the divine between EN-MN stamping in northern Greece with the EH sealing practices in central and southern Greece.1543 The clay stamp has an octagonal face incised with two slightly irregular concentric squares and pierce-grip handle, and its large size, reconstructed as 5.2-5.5 cm. in length, and irregularly shaped seal face distinguish it from EH seals. Similarly, the LN-EBA clay plate seal A75 (Fig. 2.12) with an unperforated conical handle from Galani in Macedonia bridges the chronological and stylistic divide between Neolithic and EBA stamping traditions. A75 is likely Neolithic manufacture, since its conical handle and elongated oval seal face are frequent features in the Neolithic corpus, well-illustrated by three EN clay stamp from Nea Nikomedeia with conical handles and oval faces, two engraved with zigzags and the other with nested angled.1544 In addition, the recovery of A75 from a deposit of LN-EBA date suggests that it may have remained in use into the third

1543 CMS V 001; Makkay 1984: 21-22, no. 64, Fig. XIII.
1544 CMS V 706; Makkay 1984: 40, nos. 165-167, Fig. IV.
millennium BCE, surviving perhaps as an heirloom still in use in the later period. While no examples of EH I seals are identified, the LN seals from Eutresis and Galani suggest a measure of continuity between the earlier and later stamping traditions than has previously been acknowledged, as do several seals were found in mixed Neolithic/EH contexts: clay plate seal A76 from Galani, Fig. 2.3; clay cylinder A74 from Mandalo, Fig. 2.5; stone rectangular block seals A34-A35 from Ayioryitika; bone conoid A53 from Skotini Cave, Fig. 2.2. Furthermore, several stamped vessels, especially frying pans, were found in EH I or EH I-II contexts: from Tsoungiza, fruitstands C7.2-C7.3; from Corinth, frying pan C8.11; from Eutresis, jar C4.11, pyxides C6.5-C6.6 (Fig. 4.38), frying pans C8.48-C8.49 (Fig. 4.44), and vessel C9.5 (Fig. 4.46); from Palaia Kokkinia, frying pans C8.35-C8.36 (Fig. 4.44). Finally, stamped vessels were also found in EH I-II mixed contexts: from Corinth, frying pans C8.16-C8.18 (Fig. 4.42); pyxis C6.1 (Fig. 4.38); from Perachora, frying pans C8.12, C8.14).

To summarize, numerous parallels between Neolithic and EH seals and the late date (LN-FN) of some of the Neolithic examples may evidence the transformation of a local stamping tradition to suit the needs of a new EBA social and political context. Although EN-MN and EH stamps are greatly separated in space and time, LN-FN examples demonstrate continuity of a mainland stamping tradition that was perhaps transmitted from Thessalian sites down into southern Greece, but more work is needed to shed light on the matter. The beginning of the EH period is marked by intensive interregional interactions reflected in the construction of large, extramural cemeteries in Attica and Boeotia and the local production of frying pans that exhibit strong associations with both Cycladic and Balkan (Bratislava lids) communities. Sealing practices were employed in
this new social and political landscape in ways that depart from Neolithic stamping, but continuity of seal style suggest that foreign influence was not the only or even the primary factor in the development of EH sealing practices.

VII.2.5. Summary: Regional and Chronological Variation and Foreign Influence

Just as a contextual approach to the evidence for sealing practices centers the role of local EH communities in mainland Greece, so does a comparative (and equally contextual) approach to EH and Neolithic seal styles. As the foregoing discussion demonstrates, while foreign parallels for EH seal styles and sealings practices can be identified in Anatolian and Cycladic material, there are at the same time numerous parallels with mainland Neolithic stamps that suggest continuity of a local stamping tradition. Perhaps the continuity was only stylistic and not functional, since clay sealings or seal-impressed objects were an EBA innovation.

One possible explanation for the similarities between mainland Neolithic and EH seals is multiple periods or episodes of increased interregional interactions with Anatolia communities. Makkay proposes that within the Neolithic period, stamps were introduced to southern Europe from western Anatolia in EN and then again in LN along with cylinders, and in both phases of contact mainland communities “adopted the manufacture of these artifacts and adapted them to their own heritage and needs”.1545 Because numerous Neolithic Balkan stamps share stylistic traits with Anatolian and Greece examples, rather than privileging external influence in the analysis of mainland stamping traditions, it is perhaps more productive to view them in terms of an “Balkan-Aegean-

1545 Makkay 1984: 100.
Anatolian glyptic koine\textsuperscript{*1546} that arose from reciprocal and long-term interregional interactions throughout the Neolithic and EH periods.

Similarly, different episodes of interregional interactions are attested on the mainland during the EH period, culminating in what Renfrew describes as the international spirit of the late EH II period. As discussed above (see above, VII.2.3), Cycladic influence is felt most strongly in central Greece and appears to be an earlier rather than later phenomenon, because of the earlier dates of some of the burials in the extramural cemeteries. In addition, the differential adaptation of Anatolian influence on the mainland is evidenced by the restricted distribution of the EH IIB Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage, which was limited to central Greece and coastal Thessaly and conspicuously absent in southern Greece, where Anatolian-inspired drinking assemblages were not adapted until EH III.

The evidence therefore demonstrates regional and chronological variation in foreign influence and the differential adaptation of external stimuli by local mainland communities. The exact mechanisms of interregional interactions remain unknown, whether direct migration in single or multiple events, direct exchanges or down-the-line trade, itinerant craftsmen, intermarrying, or other social contexts for interregional influence. More likely the process of social change involved was long-terms and involved periods of gradual and rapid movements and mixing of people and practices. On present evidence, EH seals and sealings do not appear to have been used to control interregional exchanges, but rather were used at the local level. Clay sealings and roller-impressed objects were involved in resource provisioning in the context of communal feasting for

\textsuperscript{1546} Younger 1987.
club/toll goods as a mechanism for horizontal social integration, but also seals and stamped objects were prestige goods that were deposited as grave goods as a mechanism for vertical differentiation.

The role of sealing practices in the process of mainland social change, both the “emergence” of social complexity in EH II and its “decline” in EH III, therefore was not dependent upon foreign influence, and is not evidence for a *lux ex oriente* followed by a dark age. Sealing practices were one of many social strategies employed by mainland communities that were variable across space and time, and so contributed to the complex social dynamics of social change within the EH period.

**VII.3. Discussion: Divergent Historical Trajectories**

Because contextual analysis of the evidence for EH sealing practices undertaken in this study demonstrates a close association between sealing, feasting, and storage, a diachronic approach to regional variation between EH II and III forms of those practices reveals the divergent historical trajectories on the mainland.

The shifting dynamics of tradition and innovation on the one hand and cooperation and competition on the other are evident in the differential adaptation of foreign influence. This point is well illustrated by the decorative choices made for EH II-III feasting equipment. At Lerna in EH IIB, large-scale communal feasting involved highly decorated, roller-impressed storage pithoi and hearths, emphasizing cooperation and the group, while the individual drinking vessels in Room XI were plain and uniform. By contrast, EH III feasting at Lerna was small-scale with highly decorated, pattern-painted storage and drinking vessels that were more individualized and meant for social display, a
form of social competition. EH IIB feasting at Lerna was therefore more traditional, since the Anatolian Lefkandi I/Kastri group drinking assemblage was intentionally rejected in favor of the highly localized roller-impressed large-scale feasting equipment, and the adoption of an Anatolian pattern-painted drinking set in EH III was an innovation.

Regional variation in the evidence for sealing practices on the mainland points to two distinct historical trajectories between communities in southern and central Greece. Whitelaw describes such “alternative pathways to complexity” in Prepalatial Crete by relating regional variation in the archaeological evidence for central and northeastern Crete to differing sociopolitical strategies, one centered on agriculture and the other on trade. His model is instructive because it investigates regional variation in the role of Cycladic imports on Crete, revealing that Cycladic imports were more highly valued at Prepalatial Mochlos and other communities along the northern coast of eastern Crete because control over off-island trade was the basis of power, whereas control over agricultural surplus was the basis of power in the fertile areas of central Crete. Whitelaw points out that previous work on emerging complexity in the EBA Aegean conflated these two strategies. According to Whitelaw, the “prestige goods elite model being seen as ancestral to the emergence of the Minoan state,” but the “relatively small scale and inherent instability of the prestige-goods, trade-based, coastal communities of the mid-third millennium do not appear to provide adequate antecedents for the later urban-centered place states.” Ultimately, early coastal trade communities were “eclipsed” by communities in which power resided in the control over agricultural production.

1548 Whitelaw 2004: 244
Recognition of two different strategies to power in EBA Crete, one focused on trade in prestige goods and the other on agricultural surplus, is instructive for examining EH sealing practices on the mainland. Cycladic influence on burial practices in Attica and Euboea, like northeastern coastal Crete, resulted in regional differences between central and southern Greece. The large, extramural cemeteries at Ayios Kosmas, Tsepi, and Manika reflect strong Cycladic influence especially in EC/EH I but extending back into the FN period. By contrast, burials in the Peloponnese are rare, less richly furnished, and only occasionally in formalized cemeteries, all of which points to regional differences in burial practices between central and southern Greece whereby the “mortuary sphere was differently constructed in these regions.”

Regional variation in burial practices between central and southern Greece points to differential adaptations of foreign influence. This is reflected also in the choice of grave goods and practice of their deposition in graves at Tsepi and Manika, including Cycladic style objects such as marble figurines and seal-impressed jars and frying pans. The deposition of seals in some of the graves at Manika should be understood as a function of interregional influence from the Cyclades. The seal from the cemetery at Zygouries evidence Cycladic influence on burial practices was not restricted to central Greece, though overall the evidence show that it was more readily accepted by communities in Attica and Euboea than in the Peloponnese.

Seals and impressed objects were therefore used for social differentiation under Cycladic influence in central Greece in EH I-II, where they were deposited as prestige goods in extramural cemeteries along with Cycladic style vessels such as stamped frying pans.

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pans and jars. But seals were not a means of social differentiation in all mainland communities. In southern Greece, administrative sealing practices were a means of addressing collective action problems in the provisioning of resources by using clay sealings to mark feast contributions as club/toll goods, the benefits of which were restricted to other feast participants and contributors. Thus rather than social differentiation, seal ownership was a strategy for horizontal social integration in the context of communal feasts in the Peloponnesian. In addition, rollers were used to mark feasting equipment, hearths and pithoi. The close association of clay sealings with communal storage and feasting in southern Greece in EH II therefore reflects a greater emphasis on cooperation than competition. EH sealings practices were therefore regionally diverse, and reflect two different strategies to power, one focused on trade in prestige goods (burial practices in central Greece) and the other agricultural products (communal feasting in southern Greece).

These broad trends suggest that in central Greece mainland communities were more open to innovation in their adoption and adaptations of Cycladic material and practices, communities in southern Greece were more traditional. This is reflected in their resistance to foreign influence in the EH IIIB Lefkandi I/Kastri group assemblage, which was distributed through central Greece (Attica, Aegina, Euboea, Boeotia) and coastal Thessaly but conspicuously absent in the Peloponnesian. Anatolian influence on drinking practice is not documented until the following EH III period, when new, elaborately decorated drinking sets arrive southern Greece that reflect a fusion of Anatolian and central Greek ceramic styles. At Lerna, the EH III drinking sets point to smaller-scale and more competitive feasting than in the previous EH II period. This point is well illustrated
by the Hydra, a triple-necked jar purpose-made for an exclusive drinking ceremony involving only three individuals. Differences between EH II and EH III feasting parallel differences in storage practices, which shift from large-scale communal storage in built granaries or subterranean pits to smaller-scale, household storage in bothroi. Sealing in EH III all but disappears, evidenced by only a few clay seals at Lerna.

Two different social arenas for sealing practices are suggested by the close association of sealing with feasting in southern Greece on the one hand, and with burial practices in central Greece on the other. Whereas sealing practices in southern Greece in EH II were cooperative, involving clay sealings stamped as feast contributions and roller-impressed hearth and pithoi as communal feasting provisions, in central Greece seals and stamped vessels were used for social competition as grave goods. Although it is unclear how seals were used in EH III at Lerna, feasting practices reflect a more competitive social logic in that individual drinking and serving vessels were elaborately decorated for display, rather than large-scale storage vessels and hearths for communal feasting. Lerna’s traditional feasting practices were therefore transformed from cooperative to competitive through innovation in adopting Anatolian-inspired drinking sets and practices in EH III.

Both chronological and regional variation in sealing practices can be linked to differential adaptations to foreign influence, and reflect tensions between tradition and innovation, as well as cooperation and competition. Sealing and related feasting and storage practices, as well as burial practices, were sociopolitical strategies employed in different ways by mainland communities that actively structured social change on the mainland. Rather than the passive recipients of foreign influence, mainland communities
intentionally adopted, adapted, or rejected external ideas and material in diverse ways. EH II communities in southern Greece used sealing as an administrative device to address collective action problems for resource provisioning, while communities in central Greece used sealing for social display and differentiation in ways that are not attested in the Peloponnese.

Such intraregional variation in social relations and political strategies reveals the diverse historical trajectories within the mainland and the different ways that sealing practices actively shaped the social institutions that drove social change during the EH period. The issue of emerging complexity in the EH period becomes not one of when, but one of how and where.

The implications of the regional and diachronic changes in associated sealing, feasting, and storage practices outlined in this chapter are critical for understanding the nature and pace of social change on the mainland from EH II-III. The shifting social dynamics of cooperation and competition, tradition and innovation evidenced by regional and chronological variation in sealing practices reflect the diverse social and political strategies on the mainland in the EBA that are relevant to the question of why state-level society did not develop in the following MH I period as it did on Crete. Future comparative research that employs a contextual approach to the evidence for sealing practices throughout the Aegean region has the potential to address this question more directly.
VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Seals and sealings are central to the literature of the archaeology of EH Greece because they are traditionally associated with emerging social complexity stimulated by interregional exchanges and foreign influence. The focus of previous studies has been clay sealings as evidence for administrative sealing practices because of their presumed political and economic implications, as well as on seal designs and their stylistic parallels in the Near East, with the result that sealing practices are implicitly understood to have been used to control interregional exchanges. Extant seals are seen as prestige goods owned by elites in spite of the fact that their engraved designs do not correspond to impressed figural designs on clay sealings, but rather more closely resemble geometric designs on stamped vessels. The depositional contexts of the few surviving EH seals, which were found almost entirely in secondary settlement contexts, contrasts sharply with the hundreds of elaborate stone and ivory seals found in rich graves in Crete, which highlights regional differences in the historical trajectories of EBA Aegean communities.

The objective of this dissertation has been to re-evaluate several key assumptions about EH seals and sealing practices and their role in the process of social change during the third millennium BCE. This study undertakes systematic analysis of the depositional contexts for EH seals, clay sealings, and seal-impressed objects, which were previously excluded from discussion of administrative sealing practices because of their assumed decorative function. This contextual approach complements stylistic approaches that emphasize foreign influence in EH sealing practices and social change by focusing on the local social dynamics of sealing.
Contextual analysis of EH seals reveals that most seals (66%) were found in settlement context, almost all of which were found in secondary contexts such as bothroi or fills. Only five seals were found in relatively secure settlement contexts: A38 (Fig. 2.10) from House E at Ayios Kosmas, A23 (Fig. 2.6) from House Y at Zygouries, A57 (Fig. 2.3) from the house on Odos Perikoklades in the Ellinikou plot, as well as A58 (Fig. 2.2) and A55 (Fig. 2.7) from Building II in the Soussi plot at Manika, and A66 (Fig. 2.3) from Area B at Proskynas. The large size of these buildings and assemblages recovered from them suggests that they were large houses, though not monumental in scale like corridor houses.

Associated finds from EH houses where seals were found parallel typical domestic assemblages in their inclusion of open shapes for eating and drinking vessels combined with closed shapes for storage, stone tools (querns, grinders, and chipped stone tools) for food preparation, spindle whorls and loomweights for textile production, and obsidian chips and cores for blade production. Some houses, however, yielded special objects that were probably prestige goods, such as objects of metal (copper tweezers from House E at Ayios Kosmas; bronze pin from inside and bronze dagger from outside Houses Y and U at Zygouries) and stone (figurine, macehead, and palette from House E at Ayios Kosmas; palette from House Y at Zygouries; vessel from Building II and figurines from the building on Odos Perikoklades at Manika). The stone seals (A38 from Ayios Kosmas, A23 from Zygouries, A55 and A58 from Manika) and single copper ring (A55 from Manika) that were found in secure settlement deposits may be considered prestige goods, since their distribution indicates that they were used primarily by residents in large houses where special finds were found. The exception is the stone seal from Proskynas
(A66) because it was found on a paved, open air area (Area B) associated with communal feasting.

None of the seals from secure settlement contexts, however, was found in a corridor house. A possible exception is A23 from Zygouries because House Y may be a corridor house, if the narrow space (Room 7) is in fact a corridor, though this identification is uncertain because of the incomplete preservation of the structure and is cast into doubt by the evidence for a corridor house on the center of the site. Unlike clay sealings, extant EH seals therefore cannot be associated with corridor houses and the activities that took place inside them. Seals from secure settlement contexts were rather found associated with domestic assemblages. Because feasting is one practice associated with corridor houses, A66 from Proskynas is important because it was found in a paved area interpreted as a venue for communal feasting. While clay sealings were found associated with food storage and preparation, and roller-impressed hearths and pithoi can be associated with communal feasting on functional if not contextual grounds, Proskynas is the only site to provide a direct link between EH seals and feasting.

EH clay sealings were found in settlement context, almost all of which were secure floor deposits (see above, V.4). The majority of clay sealings (37%) were found at Lerna and most of those in the House of the Tiles, but nearly equal numbers were found at Geraki (29%) and Petri (30%) in non-monumental structures. Clay sealings were found associated with food storage, preparation, and consumption at both the household and community-wide level. Evidence for both household and communal storage is found at Lerna. Sealing B1 (Fig. 3.6) sealed a clay-lined bothros (Bothros GB-14) in Room B of the mid-phase IIIC fortification, a feature that originally was used for food storage within
a space that served an apparently domestic function. The vessel sealings from late-IIIC Rooms DM (B2-B11, Fig. 3.6) and CA (B12, fig. 3.6) were associated with evidence for food consumption (open vessels for eating and drinking), storage (closed shapes and pithoi), and production (stone querns and grinders, chipped tools including chert sickles), as well as carbonized botanical remains. The large number of vessels from the partial structure of Room DM (eight sauceboats, fourteen saucers, ten bowls, and eleven jars) show that the building served an extra-household, possibly communal function. The assemblage from Room CA, the main room in a megaron-type building where roof tiles were found, is smaller than Room DM, but the high number of saucers (twenty-two, the same number found in the House of the Tiles) seems to exceed the needs of a single household. Hundreds of sealings from Room XI in the House of the Tiles (B13-B111, Figs. 3.8-3.10) were found associated with large-scale storage of drinking and eating vessels used for communal feasts. Food storage did not take place in Room XI, given its small size and lack of storage vessels (only one pithos sherd was found), and the sherds of roller-impressed pithoi found in the destruction debris from the House of the Tiles may have stood outside the structure. Clay sealings from Lerna were therefore associated with household food storage in the earlier IIIC period, and with storage of equipment for communal feasting IIID.

Similarly, EH clay sealings were associated with both household and somewhat larger scale food storage at Geraki. Clay sealings were found associated with two houses, one in a partially uncovered house in Trench 17/11i (B136-B171, Fig. 3.24) where pithoi and vessels with Lerna IIIC parallels were discovered, and the other the casemate room in the fortifications (B172-B217, Fig. 3.24) that functioned as a domestic space, like the
contemporary Room B in the fortifications at Lerna. While the house in Trench 17/11i is only partially uncovered and its full extent and contents unknown, the Casemate Room was designed for extra-household storage, if not at the community-wide level than perhaps among two or more households, since three pithoi were discovered inside. Impressions from at least 15 individual seals were found on the sealings from the Casemate room, and from only six seals in the partial structure in Trench 17/11i. In addition, the preliminary publication of the Petri sealings (B126-B135 from House R, Fig. 3.24) indicates that they were associated with communal storage, which should be clarified in their final publication. Smaller deposits of clay sealings were associated with household-level food storage is found at Bozas (B223, Fig. 3.28), Asine (B121 from House R, Fig. 3.18), and Makronissos (B226 House B, where possible metallurgical activity is suggested by the presence of several lead oxide fragments, Fig. 3.32), and single examples of clay sealings were found in monumental buildings at Ayios Dhimitrios (B225 from House A) and a possible monumental structure at Akovitika (B224 from Area Γ, Fig. 3.29).

Although the vast majority of seal-impressed objects were found in secure settlement contexts (90%), a handful of examples come from secure contexts. Roller-impressed hearths were found in situ at Lerna (C1.4 in Building BG, Fig. 4.1), Berbati (C1.42 in Megaron A, Fig. 4.3), and sherds of portable hearths were found at Petri (B125-B126 in House R, Fig. 3.20, 3.22) and Poros (C1.65 and C1.66 in Building Γ). In addition, a stamped jar was found at Asine (C4.3 in House R, Fig. 4.34) and a stamped loomweight was also found at Lerna (C10.1 in Room CA, Fig. 4.47). Seal-impressed objects from burials include stamped jars (C4.6, C4.7, C4.8, C6.4, from Ayios Kosmas,
Fig. 4.34, 4.38) and frying pans (\textbf{C8.25-C8.29, C8.31-C8.34} from Ayios Kosmas, Figs. 4.43-4.44; \textbf{C8.45-C8.46} from Tsepi, Fig. 4.44; \textbf{C8.47} from Manika, Fig. 4.44). Roller-impressed hearths were therefore found in large structures, two of them corridor houses, and stamped vessels from rich graves in tombs in large, extramural cemeteries.

In general, seals from secure settlement contexts were associated with large houses in which domestic activities took place, and which sometimes also contained other special finds in stone or metal. Seals from graves are also very rare examples of the few stone and metal objects used as grave goods in the EH period. In general seals were not found in monumental building such as corridor houses, nor were clay sealings generally, since the well-known deposit of clay sealings from the House of the Tiles represents an exception rather than the rule. Deposits of clay sealings were more often found in large structures where food storage was practiced, sometimes at the household level and in other cases on a larger scale, if not community-wide than among two or more households. Seal-impressed objects were found in both settlement contexts and burials, with roller-impressed hearths found in monumental and public structures and stamped objects that reflect Cycladic influence (frying pans and globular jars) in rich tombs.

The depositional contexts of the evidence for sealing practices from secure contexts therefore shows that in previous studies an over-reliance upon the House of the Tiles clay sealings deposit to generalize about EH sealing practices has obscured variation and the complex social dynamics of sealing. Drawing from insights gained from a systematic re-study of depositional patterns for the evidence, EH sealing practices are reconstructed here as a dynamic social strategy involving both horizontal integration in the context of communal feasting and vertical integration in the context of prestige good display, both
of which were practiced in each community but emphasized to a greater or lesser extent depending on local preference.

The results of contextual analysis reveal greater regional and chronological variation in EH sealing practices than was previously recognized. Especially pronounced are regional differences between central and southern Greece in EH II, in which sealing was employed in the Peloponnese more often in cooperative social context of communal feasting, but in a competitive context as prestige goods deposited as grave goods in Attica and Euboea. Communities in central Greece were more open to foreign influence, as is reflected in their use of Cycladic style material culture such as stamped frying pans and jars as well as burial practices, but also the use of Anatolian style ceramic assemblages, the EH IIB Lefkandi I/Kastri group drinking sets. By contrast, in southern Greece burial practices rarely involved extramural cemeteries and the Lefkandi I/Kastri group drinking sets were intentionally rejected in favor of local varieties of feasting equipment, namely the large roller-impressed hearths and pithoi that were concentrated in southern Greece, along with clay sealings. Regional variation in EH sealing practices therefore involved the differential adaptation of foreign influence and more or less cooperative or competitive social contexts of sealing. These social dynamics of EH sealing revealed through contextual analysis of the evidence are described here in terms of two axes of variation: cooperation and competition, and tradition and innovation.

In addition to a different methodological approach that centers contextual analysis, this study developed a new theoretical approach for EH sealing practices that moved beyond the traditional chiefdom model. Where previously administrative sealing practices were linked with a redistributive political economy in which a chief mobilized
and controlled the provisioning of agricultural resources and prestige goods using sealing practices, in this study administrative sealing practices are linked to cooperative forms of resource provisioning involving mutual monitoring. Sealing practices are interpreted as a mechanism to address collective action problems such as free-riders, with clay sealings used to mark feast contributions for communal consumption. From this perspective, seal designs functioned as group emblems rather than personal signatures, an interpretation that accounts for the marked homogeneity of EH seal designs across both stamped and rolled impressions. By marking sealed feast contributions with group emblems, the goods inside sealed containers were transformed into excludable goods, the benefits of which were necessarily limited to feast participants because they were finite (subtractable). Rather than private goods marked by personal signatures or public goods or common-pool resources available to the entire community, the use of clay sealings marked feast contributions as club/toll goods available to feast participants. In this way, sealing was an administrative practice that was used to prevent individuals from taking more than they contributed, but rather than a top-down control device they were used for mutual monitoring of resources by the feasting community.

The social logic of communal food sharing and storage involving sealing practices in EH II may have served to mask or suppress social hierarchy by preventing incipient elites, whether real or aspirational, from gaining control of resources. The more cooperative social context of sealing in EH II contrasts with the more competitive context in EH III, when sealing and feasting were dramatically transformed and reduced in scale, attended by a shift in storage practices from communal to household-level storage. Nevertheless, continuity of sealing and feasting across the EH II-III transition suggests
that mainland communities adapted to their new social and political realities using familiar practices.

The evidence for EH sealing practices demonstrates that social complexity must be re-conceptualized as dynamic and variable across space and time, resulting from social practices that involved the interplay of cooperation and competition on the one hand, and tradition and innovation on the other. The results of this study of EH sealing practices suggests that EH social complexity was neither uniform nor strictly hierarchical, and future research to investigate this variation may shed light on the divergent historical trajectories within the Aegean to address why the first palaces rose on Crete rather than mainland Greece at the beginning of the second millennium BCE.
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### TABLES

#### Table 1.1. Seals.

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Table 1.2. Seal average dimensions by shape and material (cm).

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<td>0.97</td>
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<td>foot-shaped</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>stone</td>
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<td>1.89</td>
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Table 1.3. Seal average dimensions by shape (cm).

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<td>foot-shaped</td>
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Table 1.4. Seal average dimensions by material (cm).

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Table 2. Clay sealings.

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<th>L.</th>
<th>W.</th>
<th>H.</th>
<th>Diam.</th>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Design Group</th>
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<td>bothros</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>spirals</td>
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<td>Room DM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>vessel (pithos)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S2 + S3</td>
<td>rosette</td>
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<td>Lerna</td>
<td>Room DM</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>vessel (pithos)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 2</td>
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<td>8.2 5.2</td>
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<td>Lerna</td>
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<td>8.3</td>
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<td>9.2</td>
<td>loops</td>
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<td>Lerna</td>
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<td>wooden object (pole)</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>loops</td>
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<td>basketry / matting</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<td>vessel (large jar mouth)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
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<td>vessel (large jar neck)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<td>wooden object (peg)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>loops</td>
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<td>basketry / matting</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<td>10.9</td>
<td>loops / three-leafed</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<td>S43</td>
<td>loops</td>
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<td>loops</td>
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<td>trefoil / spirals (trefoil)</td>
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<td>7.4</td>
<td>S47</td>
<td>swastika / three-leafed</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
<td>S48</td>
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<td>4.9</td>
<td>S47</td>
<td>swastika / three-leafed</td>
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<td>S49</td>
<td>swastika / three-leafed</td>
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<td>7.5</td>
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<td>4.6</td>
<td>S56</td>
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<td>basketry / matting</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>S56</td>
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<td>S57</td>
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<td>S59</td>
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<td>4.7</td>
<td>S59</td>
<td>figural (vessels) / trefoil</td>
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<td>S61</td>
<td>figural (spider)</td>
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<td>S61</td>
<td>figural (spider)</td>
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<td>9.1</td>
<td>S69</td>
<td>other</td>
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<td>5.9</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
<td>unpres.</td>
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B146 swastika
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**AVERAGE:** 70.5 9.5 7.5 5.6 5.2 5.6 3.1 2.6 5.5

Table 3.2. Seal-impressed pithoi.
<p>| C2.18a-e | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 0.7 | 4.0 | roller | S204 |
| C2.19a-b | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 4.3 | 0.9 | roller | S205 |
| C2.20 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 7.3 | roller | S206 |
| C2.21a-c | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.3 | 5.0 | roller | S207 |
| C2.22 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.8 | 4.9 | roller | S208 |
| C2.23 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 4.4 | roller | S209 |
| C2.24 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.0 | 5.0 | roller | S210 |
| C2.25 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 3.5 | roller | S211 |
| C2.26 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.3 | 4.5 | roller | S212 |
| C2.27 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.4 | 2.7 | roller | S213 |
| C2.28 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.5 | 4.2 | roller | S214 |
| C2.29 | Lerna | EH IIB | | | roller | S215 |
| C2.30a-d | Lerna | EH IIB | | | 1.2 | 4.2 | roller | S216 |
| C2.31 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 1.6 | 27.0 | 22.0 | roller | S216 |
| C2.32 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 60.0 | 7.2 | roller | S216 |
| C2.33 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 5.3 | roller | S191 |
| C2.34 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 5.3 | roller | S217 |
| C2.35 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 3.7 | roller | S218 |
| C2.36 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 4.1 | roller | S219 |
| C2.37 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 5.0 | roller | S220 |
| C2.38 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S221 |
| C2.39 | Tiryns | EH | | | roller | S222 |
| C2.40 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 3.4 | roller | S223 |
| C2.41 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 4.5 | roller | S224 |
| C2.42 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S225 |
| C2.43 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S226 |
| C2.44 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S227 |
| C2.45 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S228 |
| C2.46 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S229 |
| C2.47 | Tiryns | EH II | | | 5.5 | roller | S230 |
| C2.48 | Tiryns | EH II | | | roller | S231 |</p>
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**AVERAGE:** 8.0 6.8 3.2 5.9 3.2 5.4

Table 3.4. Seal-impressed jars.

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**Table 3.5. Seal-impressed bowls.**

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<td>stamp</td>
<td>S311</td>
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<tr>
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**Table 3.6. Seal-impressed pyxides.**

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<th>H.</th>
<th>Imp. Type</th>
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**Table 3.7. Seal-impressed fruitstands.**

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482
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Table 3.8. Seal-impressed frying pans.
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### Table 3.9. Seal-impressed vessels of undetermined type.

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**AVERAGE:** 17.3 3.6

### Table 3.10. Seal-impressed loomweight.

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### Table 3.11. Seal-impressed objects, average dimensions.

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<th>W.</th>
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<th>Pan Th.</th>
<th>Rim H.</th>
<th>Rim W.</th>
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APPENDIX A: SEALS

A1. Fig. 2.3.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L7.332.
Purple-brown steatite plate seal with tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and irregular square face. H. 1.0, L. 1.8, W. 1.8. Intact with slightly scratched surface.
Three nested zigzags fill the irregularly shaped face of the seal, with four triangles filling space between the zigzags and edge of the seal face.
CMS V 35; Banks 1967: 221, No. 428, Pl. 9; Aruz 2008: 274-275, No. 118, Fig. 54; Banks 2015: 214, No. 149, Fig. 55, Pl. 67; Wiencke 1975: 36, No. 35; Wiencke 2000: 126-127.

A2. Fig. 2.2.
Lerna, EH III. Argos L5.378.
Gray soft stone conoid seal with horizontally perforated stalk handle and circular and slightly oval face. Diam. 2.4, H. 6.
A cross divides the oval seal face into quadrants, each filled with a diagonal line radiating from roughly the center point.
CMS V 37; Banks 1967: 221, No. 429, Pl. 9; Wiencke 1969: 509, No. 196, Pl. 130; Aruz 2008: 303, No. 213, Fig. 76; Aruz 1999: 10; Banks 2013: 143, 145.

A3. Fig. 2.7.
Lerna, EH III. Argos L4.218.
Ceramic ring seal with square face. L. 3.1, W. 2.6. Buff clay with black glaze. Ring handle is broken in half, and both handle and seal face have chipped surfaces.
Two rounded rectangles arranged vertically and side-by-side, each filled with a center line that connects to one side of the rectangle (one from the top, the other from the bottom). Each is surrounded by a framing line, though one only on three sides, and another framing line surrounds the entire square face of the seal.

A4. Fig. 2.1.
Lerna, EH III. Argos L4.67.
Ceramic conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.7, H. 2.5. Fine tan to mottled gray clay, polished. Edges of seal surface abraded.
A large central point with a concentric circle surrounded by an irregular wavy line fill the circular seal which, which is then encircled by a framing line.

A5. Fig. 2.1
Lerna, EH III. Argos L5.390.
Ceramic conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.9, H. 3.4. Fine, buff clay.
An irregular cross divides the circular seal face into four quadrants. One quadrant is filled with a three-leafed motif, two with irregular loops, and one with a single line.

A6. Fig. 2.1
Lerna, EH III. Argos L7.318.
Ceramic conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.9, H. 1.9. Light brown clay with yellow coating. Handle chipped at top.
From a central circle two lines create loops that emanate outward to fill the circular seal face. Wiencke (1969: 509) describes this as a “crude spiral effect”.
CMS V 41; Wiencke 1969: 509, No. 200, Pl. 130; Aruz 2008: 301, No. 206.

A7. Fig. 2.1
Lerna, EH II-III. Argos L7.23.
Ceramic conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.8, H. 1.8. Coarse, gray to brown clay.
A star design created by two crosses fills the circular seal face.


A8. Fig. 2.7.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns 28144 (Gr.Nr. 13.50 [Ti Mb 1913]).
Stone ring seal with circular face. Diam. 1.7-1.9, inner diam. ring 1.6. Gray-green stone, with only half the ring preserved and some abrasions.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants. Each arm of the cross terminates in a T-shaped motif on one site and an L-shaped motif on the other. Both arms of the cross have a short line halfway through. Each quadrant is filled with a T-shaped motif with a curved line that resembles terracotta “anchors”.

CMS VS1B 367.

A9. Fig. 2.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns 28143 (Gr.Nr. Ti OB R XVI).
Clay conoid seal with horizontally perforated handle and circular face. Diam. 2.8, H. 3.3, WPerf. 0.5. Light brown, well fired clay.
A central cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants. The two upper quadrants are filled with one point each, while the two lower quadrants are filled with three points each. A framing line encircles the seal face.
CMS VS1B 369.

A10. Fig. 2.5.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns 1612.
Bone cylinder stamp seal, ovular in section and horizontally perforated. Engraved designs on both ovular faces. Diam. 1.33, H. 1.91, WPerf. 0.9. Some abrasions on seal body and surface.
Three horizontal lines fill the bottom half of the ovular seal face, with two concentric circles around a central point fill the upper area.
CMS IS 18a; Dörpfeld 1907: 111; Karo 1908: 127; Karo 1909, 121; Müller 1913: 86; Dragendorff 1913: 334; Karo 1913: 110; Karo 1927: 366; Karo 1930: 112; Müller 1930: 78, 80, 87, 92, 113, 201; Müller 1938.

A11. Fig. 2.3.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns 28144 (Gr.Nr. LXIII 45/7 a15.87 IV).
Clay plate seal with pierce-grip handle and circular face. Diam. 3.9, H. 2.2, WPerf. 0.6. Light beige clay with some chips and abrasions on seal face.
A central cross divides the circular seal fact into quadrants, each of its arms terminating in spirals that fill each quadrant.
 CMS VS1B 368.

A12. Fig. 2.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns 28145 (Gr. Nr. TI LX 39/30 13.15 XVIa).
Light reddish-brown to light grayish-yellow clay, baked hard. Conoid stamp seals with through hole below the tip. H. 2.6. Diam. seal plate 2.0-2.1. Diam. of perforation 0.4-0.9.
An irregular grid pattern fills the circular face of the seal.
CMS VS1B 370.

A13. Fig. 2.4.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 3354.
Black steatite plate seal with cylindrical handle and square face. Carved on the two square and three rectangular faces, leaving only the side with the handle unengraved. L. 3.2, W. 3.2, H. 1.0. Slightly chipped at the edges.
Four interlocking S-spirals arranged around the perimeter of the square seal face, creating a central diamond shaped area and 8 triangular spaces at the edges of the seal face.
CMS V 526a; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234, 239-240, Fig. 173; Caskey 1960: 258; Boardman 1970: 22, 23, Fig. 12.

A14. Fig. 2.6.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Purple/red steatite hemispherical seal with pendant, horizontally-pierced handle and circular face. Diam. 1.9, H. 1. Well worn seal body and face. Several linear designs fill the circular face of the seal.
Frödin and Persson 1938: 235, Fig. 172.1; Aruz 2008: 265, No. 90, Fig. 1.

A15. Fig. 2.2.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 3356.
Gray-brown serpentine conoid seal with notched handle and circular face. Diam. 1.6-1.8, H. 2.4. Chipped at edges.
A linear motif, perhaps a schematic quadruped or ship, dominates the circular seal face.
CMS V 524; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234, 236, Fig. 172.3; Caskey 1960: 258; Heath 1958: 117; Aruz 2008: 288-289, No. 168, Fig. 3.

A16. Fig. 2.2.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 3362.
Dark gray serpentine conoid seal with hammer-head pierce-grip handle and circular face. Diam. 2.3, H. 2.7. Chipped on body and face.
Unengraved
CMS V 525; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234 ff, 235, 236, Fig. 172.4; Caskey 1960: 258; Heath 1958: 117.

A17. Fig. 2.11.
Argos, EH II. Argos unnumbered.
Green steatite lentoid seal with pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 1.5-1.6, D. 0.85. Chipped surfaces and edges.
An irregular design consisting of a central vertical line that divides the circular seal face in half, with irregular curvilinear motifs on either side. The CMS suggests that these motifs may be schematic bucraia.
CMS V 31.

A18. Fig. 2.4.
Midea, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Black steatite plate seal with square face and slightly rounded corners. L. 2.1-2.3, W. 2.25, H. 1.0-1.5. Carved on all sides except top, where a handle has broken off. Surface slightly abraded.
A vertical line divides the square seal face in half, each with a vertically arranged zigzag line with nested angles and triangles on either side. Two points are at the bottom on either side of the central line.
CMS V 527a; BCH 88, 1964: 729, Fig. 2; Astrom 1972: 45; Frödin and Persson 1938: 240, Fig. 174.

A19. Fig. 2.3.
Epidauros, EH-MH. Epidauros AE 76_/15.
Green serpentine plate seal with tongue-shaped pierce-grip handle and square face. L. 3.43, W. 3.19, D. plate 0.87-0.93, H. 1.86. Handle broken and seal face slightly chipped.
A frontally represented bird dominates the square seal face, its head in profile with curved beak and its wings and tail represented by a series of horizontal lines.
CMS VS1A 366; Lambrinoudakis 1976: 202, 207, Pl. 143; Younger 1987: 69; Younger 1985: 282, 289, Pls. 52b, d, f; Aruz 1999: 8; Aruz 2008: 275, No. 119, Fig. 78.

A20. Fig. 2.1.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II.
Possible seal or plug. Clay conoid with unpierced pendant handle and three vertical grooves. Diam. 2.5, H. 3.3. Seal face is rounded and worn. No preserved design.
Pullen 1995: 37, No. 632, Figs. 35, 122.

A21. Fig. 2.5.
Argolid (?), EH II. Nauplion 5148.
Clay roller. Diam. 5.3-5.4, H. 5.4, Th. walls 0.4-0.5, H. relief 0.10-0.15. Fine light yellowish-brown clay.
Two back-to-back concentric circles, each with five concentric circles arranged around a central point. In the space between the two concentric circles are a leaf-shaped motif at the top, and a tear-shaped motif at the bottom.
CMS VS1B 104; Dousougli-Zachos 1989, Figs. 1-3.

A22. Fig. 2.1. Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 12216. Clay conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.7-2.8, H. 2.7, WPerf. 0.4. Grayish-yellow clay, fired. A network of short, irregular lines arranged in a roughly radial fashion fill the circular seal face. One small cross towards the center.
CMS V 501; Wiseman 1967: 41, Pl. 11d; Wiencke 1969: 512, No. 23; Aruz 2008: 301, No. 205, Fig. 41.

A23. Fig. 2.6. Zygouries, EH II. Corinth unknown. Clay hemispherical seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 3.3, H. 2.65, WPerf. 0.4. Brownish in color, with signs of toolmarks that suggest it was trimmed and not well smoothed, but was perhaps polished. A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants. Each arm of the cross terminates in a C-spiral. T-shaped and other linear motifs fill each quadrant. A framing line encircles the design.
CMS V 502; Blegen 1928: 25, 107, 121, 189, 214, No. 12, Fig. 178, Pl. 21.4; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke 1969: 512, No. 23.

A24. Fig. 2.10. Zygouries, EH. Unknown. Stone foot-shaped seal with pendant handle and elliptical face. H. 2, L. 3. Seven points arranged in two rows fill the elliptical seal face.
Blegen 1928: 47, 197, 212, Pl. 20.3, Fig. 38; Aruz 1999: 8, Pl. I d; Aruz 2008: 275, No. 120.

A25. Fig. 2.2. Tsoungiza, EH IIA. Nemea BP 632. Lead conoid seal with knob-shaped pierce-grip handle and circular face. Diam. 1.69-.1.82, H. 1.38. Sintering on surface, with some erosion on seal handle and face. A central cross dividing the circular seal face into quadrants, each with two nested angle and a single triangle.
CMS VS1B 128; Wright 1982: 375; Pullen 1994: 38, Figs. 1-3; Aruz 2008: 298, No. 198, Fig. 39; Pullen 2011: 634-635, No. 864.

A26. Fig. 2.8. Sikyon (?), EBA-MBA. München 1153. Stone pyramoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and rectangular face. H. 2.4, L. 1.17, W. 1.02, WPerf. 0.3. Seal face articulated from rest of body with a deep groove around the base. Each of the four sizes with rounded edges and incised X-shaped motifs between the perforation on the handle and an incised framing lines towards the grooved base. Green steatite with chip at tip. Irregular linear design filling the square seal face consists of two superimposed points surrounded by curved and straight lines, with two triangles on either side of the composition.
CMS XI 136.

A27. Fig. 2.4. Geraki, EH II. Stone plate seal with pendant handle and square face. Dimensions unknown. Design engraved on both square faces and three sides, with the fourth top side engraved with a single groove. Approximately 2/3 preserved, broken in antiquity. Superimposed spirals fill the partially preserved square face of the seal, which probably originally had four spirals in each corner.
Crouwel et al. 1997: 57-58, No. G/1104/SF3, 4; Crouwel 1999, Pl. XXXIIa; Crouwel 2009: 71, No. 1104/SF 3, Fig. 7.8.

A28. Fig. 2.1. Ayios Stephanos, EH II. Sparta 60-536. Clay conoid seal with with unperforated knob handle and circular face. Diam.
3.5-3.65, H. 3.0. Both seal body and face are irregularly shaped.
A square in the center of the circular seal face is filled with a cross that divides the square into quadrants, each with a central point.
CMS VS1B 344; Taylor 1972: 205, 239, 243, No. HS 261, Pl. 51e-f.

A29. Fig. 2.1.
Ayios Stephanos, EH II. Sparta 60-598.
Clay conoid with perforated pendant handle and circular seal face. Seal face and surface incised with evenly distributed holes. H. 2.85, Diam. 2.9-3.0. Nearly intact with some chips on seal surface.
A series of points arranged roughly radially across the circular seal face.
CMS VS1B 345; Taylor 1972: 205, 239, 244, 247, No. HS 278, Pls. 51h.

A30. Fig. 2.7.
Aigion, EH II. Patras BE 1117.
Bone or antler ring-shaped seal with hoop handle and circular, slightly oval face. Diam. 3.29-3.86, H. 4.41. Dark brown material, possibly bone or antler. Nearly intact with some chips and abrasions and visible tool marks.
A central cross dividing the circular seal face into quadrants, each with four nested angle and a single triangle.
CMS VS1B 164; Papazoglou-Manioudakis 1984: 94.

A31. Fig. 2.1.
Asea, EH III. Nauplion unnumbered.
Clay conoid seal with pendant handle and irregular circular face. Diam. 1.8, H. 2.3.
A vertical line divides the circular seal face in half, with four horizontal lines running from the center line to the edge of the seal on each side.
Holmberg 1944: 118, Fig. 112.2; Aruz 2008: 302, No. 210; Banks 1967: 654.

A32. Fig. 2.6.
Asea, EH III. Nauplion unnumbered.
Clay hemispherical seal with perforated pendant handle and circular seal face.

Diam. 3.5, H. 4.0. Some chips and abrasions.
A single cross.
Holmberg 1944: 118, Fig. 112.1; Banks 1967: 654.

A33. Fig. 2.5.
Asea, EH III. Nauplion unnumbered.
Asymmetrical clay cylinder with a flattened, circular seal face with incised lines. Parallel and diagonal straight lines.
Holmberg 1944: 118, Fig. 112.3; Banks 1967: 654.

A34.
Ayioryitika, Neolithic-EH. Tegea missing.
Stone rectangular block button or seal with square face. Dimensions not recorded. Broken.
Reported design consists of three groups of points with circles.

A35.
Ayioryitika, Neolithic-EH. Tegea missing.
Stone rectangular block button or seal with square face. L. 2, W. 2.
Reported design consists of cross-hatching.

A36. Fig. 2.7.
Athens, EBA II. Athens, Agora AM 381.
Clay ring seal with circular face. Diam. 3.2, H. 1.2. Fine, light brown, well-fired clay with handle nearly entirely broken off in antiquity.
Three S-spiral arranged radially around a central circle on the circular seal face.
CMS VS3 87; Gauss 2000: 168-169, Fig. 1.5, 1.6.

A37. Fig. 2.6.
Athens, EH. Unknown.
Stone hemispherical seal with horizontally perforated handle and circular face. Diam. 3.0. Greenish steatite.
A central cross dividing the circular seal face into quadrants, each with three nested angels.
Kastriotis 1914: 95-96, Fig. 12.1.
A38. Fig. 2.10.
Ayios Kosmas, EH II. Ayios Kosmas 8991.
Stone foot-shaped seal with horizontally pierced pendant handle and elliptical face. H. 2.55, L. 2.5, W. 0.98, WPerf. 0.35. Green slate with broken tip and abrasions on body and edges of face. Twelve points arranged in two horizontal rows fill the elliptical seal face. CMS IS 52; Mylonas 1959: 28, 143, 152, 159, No. 14, Fig. 166; Branigan 1970: 77; Aruz 2008: 275, No. 12; Aruz 1999: 8, No. 12.

A39. Fig. 2.2.
Ayios Kosmas, EH II.
Stone conoid seal with hammer-head pierce-grip handle and circular face. Diam. 1.8, H. 3.6. Serpentine, perforation worked from both sides with a cylindrical drill. Three spirals fill the circular face of the seal. Mylonas 1959: 29-30, No. 13, Fig. 166.

A40. Fig. 2.1.
Alimos, EH II. Piraeus 8120.
Fine, light brown clay, dark brown in places and blotchy. Tent-shaped conoid seal with horizontal string hole and a flat, round base. H. 2.19. Diam. 2.76. Diam. of perforation ca. 0.69. Edge chipped. A central cross dividing the circular seal face into quadrants, each with three nested angle that connect to the framing line encircling the design. CMS VS3 306; Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993: 66, Pl. 26; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006: 16-151.

A41. Fig. 2.1.
Koropi, EH II. Brauron BE 2251.

A42. Fig. 2.6.
Koropi, EH II. Brauron BE 2233.
Stone hemispherical seal with pierce-grip handle and square face. H. 2.58, L. 1.87, W. 1.97, WPerf. 0.72. Olive green steatite, with some visible tool marks. A cross divides the square seal face into quadrants, which are all filled with a series of long vertical lines. The overall effect is an irregular grid pattern. A framing line surrounds the design. CMS VS3 98; Alram-Stern 2004: 544-546.

A43. Fig. 2.2.
Raphina, EH II-III. Volos Δµ 890/66
Stone conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 1.69-1.83, H. 1.73, WPerf. 0.50-0.62. Reddish-brown steatite, chipped on body and face. Three irregular circles and two points arranged radially around the circular seal face. CMS VS3 427; Theochares 1953: 105, Fig. 15.

A44. Fig. 2.9.
Stone plate seal with longitudinal perforation and rectangular face. H. 0.63, L. 1.65, W. 0.97, WPerf. 0.2. Dark gray steatite, with two parallel grooves insides on long sides. A regular grid fills the rectangular face of the seal. CMS VS1A 2a; Pini 1987: 414, No. 2; Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 117, No. Si 21.

A45. Fig. 2.8.
Kolonna, EBA II/III - MBA I. Aegina Si3.
Stone pyramidal seal with pendant handle and rectangular face. H. 1.9, L. 2.24, W. 1.37, WPerf. 0.24. Dark grayish-green steatite. Each of the four sides drilled points three points arranged vertically beneath the perforation at the tip and horizontal row of points along the base, four on both long sides and three on both short sides. A regular grid fills the rectangular face of the seal.
A46. Fig. 2.1. Kolonna, EH II-III. Aegina. Clay conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.3, H. 1.8. A single spiral fills the circular seal face. Furtwängler 1906: 385, No. 124, Pl. 119.67; Aruz 2008: 302-303, No. 211.

A47. Fig. 2.8. Kolonna, EBA II. Aegina Gr.Nr. St 10 A 44. Stone plate seal with pendant handle and rectangular face. H. 1.22, L. 2.34, W. 0.73, WPerf. 0.3. Dark green steatite, broken in antiquity on seal face with some scratches and fractures. An irregular grid pattern fills the rectangular seal face. CMS VS3 1.

A48. Fig. 2.4. Kolonna, EH II. Aegina. Square plate seal of dark blue stone, pierced horizontally at the top, where the surface is reportedly chipped at the drill hole. Furtwängler 1906: 431, No. 19, Pl. 119.29.

A49. Fig. 2.4. Methana, EBA II. Piraeus 5656. Stone plate seal, horizontally perforated with ovoid face. L. 2.58, W. 1.83, D. 0.75. Groove running around edges of plate. Dark red steatite, chipped and scratched on faces. An irregular grid pattern, created by filling the quadrants of an asymmetrical cross with horizontal and vertical lines, fills the ovoid seal face. CMS VS3 314a.

A50. Fig. 2.3. Modi, EH II. Stone plate seal with pierce-grip handle and circular face. Serpentine. Intact with slightly chipped seal surface. A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with an angle nested angle.

Konsolaki-Giannooupoulou 2011: 272, Fig. 18-a-b.

A51. Fig. 2.3. Aegina (?), EH. München 1219. Stone plate seal with gable-shaped pierce-grip handle and rectangular face. H. 1.31, L. 2.17, W. 2.49, WPerf. 0.3. Light gray serpentine (?), with some splintering on the seal body and chipping on face. A central cross dividing the square seal face into quadrants, each with two nested angles and a triangle. CMS XI 139.

A52. Fig. 2.2. Skotini Cave (Tharrounia), EH II. Tharrounia unnumbered. Clay bottle seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.44-2.82, H. 4.53, WPerf. 0.4. Grayish-brown, coarse clay. Chipped handle and face. A cross with a large central point divides the circular seal face into quadrants. One side has two nested angles in each quadrant, while the other side has diagonal lines branching from the arm of the cross to create a herringbone pattern. CMS VS1B 350.

A53. Fig. 2.2. Skotini Cave (Tharrounia), FN. Tharrounia unnumbered. Bone bottle seal with horizontally perforated pierce-grip handle and ovoid face. H. 2.63, L. 0.93, W. 0.74, WPerf. 0.26. Handle with a groove along its length, and distinguished from body by wide groove. An abstract curvilinear motif fills the ovoid seal face, with a tripartite motif (perhaps an animal head represented en face) superimposed above three drop-shaped motifs. CMS VS1B 349.

A54. Fig. 2.2. Manika, EH II. Chalkis unnumbered.
Stone bottle seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and circular face. H. 1.95, L. 1.46, W. 1.43. Black steatite, some chips and abrasions on face and body.

Two irregular spirals interlock at the center and unwind radially outward on the circular seal face.

CMS VS1A 99; Sampson 1988: 27, 72, Pls. 86, 87.

A55. Fig. 2.7.
Manika, EH IIB-III A. Chalkis 5963.
Copper band-shaped ring seal with square face. Diam. of ring 0.11, L. 0.96, W. 0.8. Made from a single sheed of metal, well preserved with minimal oxidation.

The central linear motif consists of two irregular shapes arranged vertically and splaying upwards from a horizontal rectangle. The square seal face is framed on the bottom and two sides by a double framing line.

CMS VS1A 100; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1993: 224-226, No. 425, Fig. 82.

A56. Fig. 2.3.
Manika, EH II. Chalkis 5719.
Stone plate with tongue-shaped, pierce-grip handle and circular face. H. 1.49, L. 2.51, W. 2.13, WPerf. 0.45. Dark green steatite, with deep grooves demarcating the tongue-shaped handle from the flat, circular body of the seal. Strongly sintered and chipped on the face and body.

A series of nested angles of decreasing sizes arranged vertically on the circular seal face, a single large point filling the space between the last angle and the edge of the seal.


A57. Fig. 2.3.
Manika, EH II. Chalkis 6128.
Stone with tongue-shaped, pierce-grip handle and square face. H. 1.34, L. 2.63, W. 2.41, WPerf. 0.48. Dark grayish-green soft slate. Surface chipped and abraded.

A pattern consisting of a swastika and other linear motifs fills the square seal face.

CMS VS3 101; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992: 176; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1993: 194; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995: 66, Fig. 32.

A58. Fig. 2.3.
Manika, EH II. Chalkis 6081.
Stone with tongue-shaped, pierce-grip handle and square face. H. 1.94, L. 3.18, W. 3.21, WPerf. 0.35. Brownish-green soft slate, with a horizontal perforation where the handle meets the plate. The handle has a groove along its length.

CMS VS3 100; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992: 176; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1993: 194; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995: 66, Fig. 32.

A59. Fig. 2.2.
Thebes, EH II. Thebes 32402.
White sepiolite. Conoid with horizontal pierced, hammer-shaped grip. Diam. 1.34-1.66, H. 2.64. Diam. of perforation about 0.3. Cut marks on the surface.

A simplified grid pattern fills the oval seal face, consisting of five vertical and one horizontal lines.

CMS VS3 374.

A60. Fig. 2.5.
Aliartos, EBA II. Thebes 32740.
Stone cylinder seal with pierce-grip handle. Diam. 1.84-2.15, H. 5.4. Grayish-green serpentine or slate, chipped at base.

A series of vertical lines are filled with diagonal lines to create an irregular herringbone design.

CMS VS3 380a; Aravantinos 1970: 237.

A61. Fig. 2.9.
Eutresis, EH II-III. Unknown.
Stone rectangular block seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and rectangular face. L. 2.9. Soapstone, perforated at one long end.
A simple grid pattern fills the rectangular seal face.
Goldman 1931: 15-20, 199, Pl. 20.2.

A62. Fig. 2.3.
Orchomenos, EBA II. Thebes 32743.
Clay plate seal with circular face. Diam. 5.0, H. 3. Fine, reddish-yellow clay. Mended from three fragments, with handle broken and edges chipped in antiquity.
A vertical line, forked at each end with a triangle between the tines, divides the circular seal face in half. On either side of the central line are two curved lines, each with two forks that are filled with nested angles or triangles. The overall effect is a variation of the angle-filled cross design.

A63. Fig. 2.3.
Livanates / Kynos, EBA II. Atalanti _ 4038.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with two nested angles.
CMS VS 3 71; Dakoronia 1987: 55.

A64.
Ayia Marina, EBA. Unknown.
Stone conoid seal. Measurements unknown, unillustrated except for design.
A simple linear design comprised of a single horizontal line intersected by three vertical lines.
Sotiriadis 1912: 276.

A65. Fig. 2.8.
Delphi, EBA II. Delphi unnumbered.
Stone three-sided pyramoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and rectangular face. H. 2.22, L. 1.3, W. 0.95, WPerf. 0.15. Black steatite, with a deep groove on one flattened side demarcating the handle. Toolmarks visible in the groove. Some abrasions on face.
A cross divides the rectangular seal face into quadrants, three of which are filled with a single point with short lines emanating out toward the seal edge. One quadrant has two point separated by a short horizontal line, each with a single line emanating to the edge of the seal.
CMS VS 3 164; BCH 46, 1922: 506.

A66. Fig. 2.12.
Proskynas, EH II. Unknown location.
Stone (steatite) seal of unknown, apparently irregular shape. Seal face is chipped. H. 1.1, L. 2.2, D. 3.2.
Five concentric squares.

A67. Fig. 2.1.
Palamari, EH II. Unknown location.
Clay conoid seal (recorded as pyramidal) with pendant handle, engraved on surface and seal face. Broken at the top at perforation. Diam. 3.0, H. 3.27.
Several groups of single concentric circles around single points, arranged radially around a concentric circle and point on the circular seal face.
Theochares, Parlama, and Chatzipouliou 1993: 192, Fig. 36.

A68. Fig. 2.5.
Palamari, EH II. Unknown location.
Clay cylinder perforated longitudinally with engraved design covering entire seal surface. Fully intact. Diam. 2.57, H. 5.5.
A network of points, linear, and curvilinear motifs cover the entire face of the cylinder.
Chatzipouliou 1997: 358, Fig. 1.

A69. Fig. 2.3.
Pelikata, EH II-III. Ithaka unnumbered.
Clay conoid seal with circular face. Diam. 1.92-1.98, H. 0.88. Light brown clay, handle broken in antiquity.
A central circle encircled by an irregular wavy line, with points filling the space between the wavy line and the edge of the circular seal face.
A70. Fig. 2.4.
Philia, EBA II-III. Volos ΜΠ 825/15
Stone plate seal with rectangular pierce-grip handle and rectangular face. L. 2.8, W. 1.83, D. 1.5, 0.27. Gray steatite. Horizontal perforation where handle meets body. Top of handle engraved, making it a double-sided seal. Top of plate with shallow engraved concentric circles. Cracked with chipped edges. Two concentric circles around a central point in the middle of the rectangular seal face.

CMS VS3 426b; Theochares 1963: 135; 1964: 244.

A71. Fig. 2.4.
Larissa, EBA II-III. Larissa Μ3Π 8.
Stone plate seal with rectangular pierce-grip handle. H. 1.5, L. 2.8, W. 3.0. Handle with two deep parallel grooves and a horizontal perforation where the handle meets the body. The top of the handle is engraved, making this a double-sided seal. Black steatite, with chipped face. A cross divides the square seal face into quadrants, each filled with two sets of nested short diagonal lines, which would be angles if they met at the center, and a triangle. A framing line is preserved on one edge of the seal.

CMS VS3 208a.

A72. Fig. 2.2.
Larissa, EB II-III. Larissa ΘΕ 571.
Stone conoid seal with pendant handle and circular face. Diam. 2.0, H. 2.26. Handle broken in antiquity, with some chips and abrasions on body and face. An irregular series of short curved lines, some nested, are arranged around the perimeter of the round seal face, leaving an empty central area.

CMS VS3 207.

A73. Fig. 2.4.
Almyros, EB II-III. Volos.

Five concentric circles arranged on the square seal face, the central concentric circle consisting of a single point and circle with the four in the corners consisting of a single point and two circles.

CMS VS1B 449.

A74. Fig. 2.5.
Mandalo, Neolithic-EB. Pella MAN B.51 + AK 190 + AK203.
Clay cylinder seal, longitudinally perforated. Diam. 5.05-5.15, H. 6.4. Coarse pale red clay with bone or lime temper. Mended from three fragments. Deeply incised decoration. Two registers of spirals divided by horizontal double lines in the middle and one edge of the cylinder. One register with interlocking C-spirals, the other with independent spirals.

CMS VS1B 184; Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou and Pilali-Papasteriou 1987: 177, 180, Fig. 6; Pilali-Papasteriou 1995, Fig. 1.1.

A75. Fig. 2.12.
Dikili Tash, EBA.
Clay seal of unknown shape with circular face. Dimensions unknown, only face illustrated. Design consists of oblique lines that fill the circular seal face.

Deshayes 1968: 1064, Fig. 3; Makkay 1984: 19, No. 51.

A76. Fig. 2.3.
Galani (Megalo Nisi Galanis), LN-EB. Kosani 3908.
Clay rectangular block seal with unperforated conical handle and rounded rectangular face. H. 2.85, L. 1.59, W. 4.48. Edges abraded, and tip highly sintered. Alternating triangles filled with irregular angles and lines fill the elliptical seal face.

CMS VS3 190; Siota et al. 1990: 93.

A77. Fig. 2.3.
Unknown, EH II. München 1218.
A central cross dividing the circular seal face into quadrants, each with two nested angle and a single triangle.
CMS XI 138.

A78. Fig. 2.2.
Unknown, EH. Athens, G. Tsolakidis collection 819.
Stone conoid seal with horizontally perforated pendant handle and ovular face. H. 2.34, L. 2.82, W. 3.46, 0.28.
Grayish-brown and green soft stone. Slightly irregular shape, with handle bent to one side, and some abrasions on edges of face and body.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with three nested angle.
CMS VS3 90; Tsolosidis 1998, No. 24.

A79. Fig. 2.2.
Unknown, EM/EH. München 1217.
Slightly tapered at the top, with handle broken off in antiquity and chipping on edges of face and body.
A vertical line divides the round seal face in half that branches at the top and bottom into four spirals.
CMS XI 137.
APPENDIX B: CLAY SEALINGS

B1a-h. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L7.2 (a), L7.3 (b), L7.4 (c), L7.5 (d), L7.6 (e), L7.7 (f), L7.8 (g), L7.9-L7.22 (h).
Twenty-one fragments of a bothros sealing.
L: 2.8-10.2 (a: 7.2, b: 8.9, c-d, f-g: 2.8-4.6, e: 3.1, h: 3.8-10.2).
Impressed with S1 (a-g). No complete impressions. Oval seal face. Pres. L. 6.5, W. 5.5. Fourteen unimpressed fragments (h).

B2a-ab. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.722 (a), L5.725 (b), L5.730 (c), L5.734 (d), L5.736 (e), L5.737 (f), L5.743 (g), L5.746 (h), L5.751 (i), L5.752 (j), L5.754 (k), L5.759 (l), L5.764 (m), L5.907 (n), L5.721 (o), L5.732 (p), L5.747 (q), L5.748 (r), L5.749 (s), L5.755 (t), L5.756 (u), L5.760 (v), L5.761 (w), L5.762 (x), L5.912 (y), L5.906 (z), L5.757 (aa), L5.908 (ab).
Thirty-four fragments of a single pithos sealing with rim, reed, cord, and neck impression (a-b, f, o: rim and reed, e, g, y: rim impression, d: neck, b, i, k, m-n, p-z, ab, l: reed impression, j: reed and cord, h: cord, aa: no impression). Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 3.5-12.8 (c: 7.2, a, t-x: 5.2-6.2, e: 4.7, h: 9.9, i-j, m-n: 4.3-5.9, k: 12.0, l: 4.4, o: 11.4, p: 3.5, y: 4.5, z: 12.8). W. 2.9-11.0 (a: 5.0, b: 3.8, d: 10.05, f: 3.3, q-r: 2.9, s: 11.0, aa: 3.5).
Impressed with S2 and S3 (d-g, n: S2, p-y: S3, a-c, h-m, o: S2 and S3).
CMS V 048; Caskey 1956: 168-169, Pl. 44f; Wiencke 1969: 507, No. 172, Pl. 127.

B3. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.739.
Fragment of a pithos sealing with rim and reed impression. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 8.6.

B4. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.718.
Fragment of a pithos sealing with rim and reed impression. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 6.6.
One incomplete impression of S5.
CMS V 047; Wiencke 1969: 507, No. 171, Pl. 127.

B5a-j. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.719 (a), L5.724 (b), L5.727 (c), L5.728 (d), L5.729 (e), L5.731 (f), L5.744 (g), L5.745 (h), L5.910 (i), L5.911 (j).
Impressed with S6 (b-i). Several complete and incomplete impressions. With mat impressions (b, i) and reed impressions (a, c-h, j). No seal impression (a, j).
CMS V 048; Caskey 1956: 168-169, Pl. 44f; Wiencke 1969: 507, No. 172, Pl. 127.

B6a-b. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.738 (a), L5.916 (b).
Two fragments of a pithos sealing with rim and reed impression (a: reed, b: rim and reed). Fragment b is associated with a here following Wiencke. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 4.0-4.1 (a: 4.1, b: 4.0).
Incomplete impression of S7.
CMS V 049; Wiencke 1969: 507, No. 182, Pl. 128.

B7. Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.740.
Fragment of a clay pithos sealing with matting impression. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 3.4.
Incomplete impression of unpreserved seal design.

**B8.** Fig. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.741.
Incomplete impression of unpreserved seal design.

**B9.**
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.742.
Two fragments of a pithos sealing with matting impressions. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 6.0.
Incomplete impression of unpreserved seal design.

**B10.**
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.913.
Fragment of a pithos sealing with rim and reed impressions. Clay is reddish and burnt. L. 7.6.
Incomplete impression of unpreserved seal design.

**B11a-e.**
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.733 (a), L5.914 (b), L5.915 (c), L5.917 (d), L5.909 (e).
Incomplete impression of unpreserved seal design (a) and unimpressed fragments (b-e).
Wiencke 1969: 507, No. 185, Pl. 128.

**B12.** Figs. 3.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.320 (a), L4.401 (b), L4.402 (c), L4.403 (d), L4.404 (e), L4.405 (f), L4.406 (g).
Fragment of a clay pithos sealing with woven reed mat. Coarse red black, “partly black”. L. 8.3.
One complete and three incomplete impressions of S8.
CMS V 050; Wiencke 1969: 508, No. 190, Pl. 128; Caskey 1956: 128, Fig. 1; Caskey 1955: 45 Wiencke 2000: 137.

**B13a-f.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.401.
Nine fragments of two wooden object (pole) sealings with pole and cord impressions (c with frayed end impression). Parallel lines from wood impressions “along the grooves”. One-third preserved. Clay fine red burnt with some stone inclusions, and partly gray (a-b) to dark gray (c-f). L. 4.8-6.8 (a: 6.2, b: 6.8, d: 5.3, c: 5.3, f: 4.8). W. 5.0 (c). Diam. of pole (a: 6.0, b: 6.0-7.0).
Impressed with S9. Several complete and incomplete impressions (a, b), nearly complete (d, f), and incomplete (a: 2, b: 3, c: 1, d: 1, e: 3, f: 1).

**B14.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.419.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of three overlapping cords and bottom half of peg. Clay is mostly dark gray, fine red and burnt. W. 5.5, Diam. of pole 2.4.
Five incomplete impressions from S10.

**B15a-b.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.409 (a), L4.411 (b).
Two fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords encircling the base of a peg. Some parallel lines from wood grain impressions. Clay is fine red and burnt
with one gray spot. W. 4.1-6.6. (a: 6.6, b: 4.1). Peg Diam. 2.3 (top), 3.5 (base).
Two complete and four incomplete impressions of S11.

B16a-c. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.408 (a), L4.410 (b), L4.412 (e).
Three fragments of a clay sealing of unknown type. The reverse of a is rough and worn with two smooth, likely handmade hollows, while the reverse of b is slightly curved with fingerprints. Fragment a is nearly complete with chipped edges, while b is triangular in shape and half preserved. Clay is white to dark gray (a) and partly gray (c). L. 11.6 (a). W. 6.5-8.7 (b-c). Note: Initially classified as an unknown type sealing, but subsequent study by Fiandra (1968: 392, no. 2) and Maran and Kostoula (2014: 149, no. 22, Fig. 17.4), and found this fragment to join with L4.410.
Two complete (a) and two nearly complete (b) impressions from S11.
CMS V 056; Heath 1958: 90, 102, 104, Nos. 35, 123-124, Pl. 25; Aruz 2008: 306, No. 221; Maran and Kostoula 2014: 149, No. 22, Fig. 17.4.

B17. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.350.
Clay sealing fragment of unknown type with badly worn reverse. Clay is hard with a powdery white surface. L. 5.9.
One complete and four incomplete impressions of S12.
CMS V 057; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22g; Heath 1958: 103, No. 137, Pl. 25.

B18. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.417.
Fragment of clay sealing of unknown type with worn reverse, one curved smooth patch. Clay is dark gray. L. 3.8.
One complete and one incomplete impression of S13.

CMS V 058; Heath 1958: 102, 104, No. 125, Pl. 25.

B19. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.422.
Fragment of a jar (neck) sealing with jar neck impressions that are cylindrical and slightly flaring. Clay is light to dark gray. W. 4.0.
One complete and one incomplete impression of S14.
CMS V 059; Heath 1958: 104, No. 73, Pl. 25.

B20. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.407.
Clay sealing fragment of unknown type with no preserved impression on reverse, flat and circular in shape. Clay is partly gray. L. 6.4.
One incomplete impression of S15.
CMS V 061; Heath 1958: 102, 105, No. 128, Pl. 25.

B21a-b. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.420 (a), L4.421 (b).
Two fragments of basketry / matting clay sealing, one fragment with no impressions preserved on the reverse (a) and the other with deep reed impression and a possible cord impression. L. 4.8-5.3 (a: 5.3, b: 4.8).
One complete and two incomplete impressions of S16.

B22. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.418.
Fragment of clay sealing of unknown type with impressions of parallel lines and a straight edge from wood and two crossed cords, one with a frayed edge, on the reverse. One-quarter preserved. Clay is dark gray. L. 5.6.
One complete and one incomplete impression of S17.
B23. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.413.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two cords on reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 7.3.
One complete, two nearly complete, and two incomplete impressions of S18.

B24. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.414.
Fragment of wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords above a peg base and parallel marks from wood grain impressions. Clay is partly gray. W. 3.2.
One nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S18.

B25. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.415.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with reed impressions and the impression of two cords perpendicular to and at an angle from the reed impressions, indicating a bent sealed objects. Clay is gray with dark gray patches. L. 4.2
Two incomplete impressions of S18.

B26a-b. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.431 (a), L4.432 (b).
Three fragments of basketry / matting clay sealing, one with impressions of reeds bound by two crossed cords that is one-third preserved (a). The other two fragments (b) with impressions of reed crossed diagonally by a cord. Clay is light to dark gray (a) and dark gray (b). L. 4.9-6.5 (a: 6.5, b: 4.9)
One fragment with one complete and two incomplete impressions of S19 (a), the others with one complete and one nearly complete impression (b).

B27. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.433.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with part of a flat surface with parallel lines from wood impression with one cord impression on reverse. Clay is partly gray. W. 3.8.
One nearly complete and three incomplete impressions of S20.
CMS V 066; Heath 1958: 95, 105, No. 71, Pl. 25.

B28a-b. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.461 (a), L4.463 (b).
Four fragments of a jar (neck) sealing.
Three fragments comprising half the preserved sealing with flared jar neck impression (a), the other fragment with flared jar neck impressions representing one-eighth of the sealing. Clay is partly light gray (b). W. 7.5-16.1 (a: 16.1, b: 7.5). Diam. of neck 9.7.
Three fragment with one complete and three incomplete impressions of S21 and one complete and two incomplete impressions of S64 (b), and one fragment with two incomplete impressions of S21 (a).

B29. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.462.
Fragment of jar (mouth) sealing with smooth impression on reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is buff to dark gray. L. 7.8.
Two incomplete impressions of S21.

B30. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.464.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with faint reed impressions on the reverse. Clay is white to gray. L. 4.2.
Two incomplete impressions from S22.

**B31a-b.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.398 (a), L4.400 (b).
Two fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing, one with two cord impressions (a) and one with cord impressions and parallel marks from wood grain (b). W. 3.2-4.9 (a: 3.2, b: 4.9).
Two incomplete impressions from **S23**.

**B32.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.397.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with impression of two cords on the reverse. Clay is partly gray in sections. L. 7.8.
Two complete and two incomplete impressions from **S23**.

**B33.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.399.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impression of reeds with two cords crossing them on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. L. 4.1.
One incomplete impression of **S24**.

**B34a-b.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.392 (a), L4.393 (b).
Two fragments of a jar (mouth) sealing, one with smooth impressions on the reverse perhaps from inserting the sealing into the mouth of the jar, the other with a worn reverse. Clay is powdery and partly buff and gray (a) and pink (b). L. 5.0-6.5 (a: 6.5, b: 5.0).
Four incomplete (a) and two incomplete impressions (b) of **S25**.

**B35a-b.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.424 (a), L4.425 (b).
Two fragments of a basketry / matting clay sealing, one with reed impressions crossed by a cord (a), the other with matting impressions with a cord crossing it (b) on the reverse. Over one-third preserved. Clay is dark gray (a-b). L. 4.7-5.1 (a: 4.7, b: 5.1).
One fragment with a complete and three incomplete impressions (a), the other with three incomplete impressions (b) of **S26**.

**B36.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.470.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with reed crossed with two cord impressions on the reverse. One-quarter preserved. Clay is dark gray. L. 3.5.
One incomplete impression of **S27**.

**B37.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.444.
Two fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing with three cords at peg base with a frayed end on the reverse, and parallel marks from wood grain impressions. Clay is gray with a buff streak (a) and dark gray (b). Two-thirds preserved. W. 8.2. H. 5.2. Diam. of peg 5.0 (upper), 3.5 (lower).
Four nearly complete and four incomplete impressions of **S28**.

**B38.** Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.416.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with two knotted cord and one perpendicular cord impression on the reverse and a worn grooved side. Two-thirds preserved. Clay is gray. W. 7.0.
One complete and one incomplete impression of **S29**.
B39. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.438.
One nearly complete and one incomplete impression of S30.
CMS V 076; Heath 1958: 96, 107, No. 76, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B40. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.437.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of four cords encircling a peg base and parallel lines on flat surface from wood grain impressions on reverse. One-eighth preserved. Clay is partly gray. H. 4.2. Diam of peg 2.0 (upper), 3.5 (lower).
One nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S31, and one nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S32.
CMS V 077; Heath 1958: 92, 107, No. 44, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B41a-c. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.434 (a), L4.435 (b), L4.436 (c).
Five fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing, two with impressions of three cords crossed diagonally encircling a peg above its base on reverse (a), one with two cords encircling peg base (b), one with two cords (c). Clay is dark gray and red (a), gray (b). W. 5.7-8.3 (a: 8.3, c: 5.7). H. 3.4-4.9 (a: 4.9, b: 3.4). Diam. of peg 2.0 (upper), 4.7 (lower).
Two fragment with six nearly complete and eight complete (a), the third with one nearly complete and two incomplete impressions (b), and the fourth with one nearly complete and two complete impressions, all of S32.
CMS V 078; Heath 1958: 82, 92, 107, Nos. 45-47, Pl. 23; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 306, No. 222.

B42. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L5.1.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with five cords and a flat surface with parallel lines and a peg impression on the reverse. One-eighth preserved. Clay partly buff with a dark gray surface. H. 4.3.
One complete and four incomplete impressions of S32.
CMS V 079; Caskey 1956: 41, Pls. 22d-f; Heath 1958: 88, 107, No. 13, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B43. Fig. 3.8.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.345.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with two crossed and knotted cords and a second groove on the reverse. Intact but chipped at edges. Clay is mostly gray. L. 9.2. Diam. of pole 7.5.
Eight complete and two incomplete impressions of S33.
CMS V 079; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl 22d-f; Heath 1958: 88, 107, No. 13, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B44. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.347.
Seven complete two nearly complete, and one incomplete impressions of S33.
CMS V 079; Caskey 1956: 41, Pls. 22d-f; Heath 1958: 88, 107, No. 13, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B45a-g.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.362 (a), L4.363 (b), L4.364 (c), L4.365 (d), L4.366 (e), L4.367 (f), L4.368 (g).
Seven fragments of at least three wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of one (a), two (d-g), or three (b-c), some
knotted (b, e, g), and with fine parallel
grooves from wood grain impressions
on pole impressions (a-f) on the reverse.
Clay is gray (a-d, f-g) to pink (b). Some
fragments are preserved to a significant
extent: three-quarters (b), two-thirds (f),
one-third (a, d-e) one-quarter (c). L. 5.6-
86 (a: 5.6, b: 8.6, c: 7.1, d: 5.9, f: 7.5).
W. 4.6-7.3 (c: 7.3, g: 4.6). Diam. of
poles 5.0-8.0 (a-c: 8.0, d: 7.0, f: 5.0-6.0).
Impressed with S33: five complete
impressions (a:1, b:3, f:1); thirteen
nearly complete (a: 1, b: 2, c: 3, d: 3, e: 4), and ten incomplete impressions (b: 3,
c: 3, d: 2, e: 1, f: 1).
CMS V 079; Caskey 1956: 41, Pls. 22d-f;
Heath 1958: 88, 107, Nos. 14-20, Pl. 26;
Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B46. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.440.
Two fragments of a basketry / matting clay
sealing with matting with one or two
knotted cords crossing it on the reverse.
Clay is dark gray. L. 4.9.
Two nearly complete and two incomplete
impressions of S34.
118, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig.
7.7.

B47. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.396.
Fragment of a jar (mouth) sealing with
impressions from part of a jar rim and a
straight-sided object inserted into the jar
on the reverse. One-sixth preserved.
Clay is soft and yellow-buff. L. 5.0.
Two incomplete impressions of S35.
CMS V 081; Heath 1958: 98, 102, 107, No.
91, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B48. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.395.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown
type with impressions of fine parallel
lines from wood grain and a possible
cord on the reverse. One-fifth preserved.
Clay is gray. L. 5.5.
One complete and one incomplete
impressions of S35.
CMS V 081; Heath 1958: 98, 102, 107, No.
130, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig.
7.7.

B49. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.428.
Fragment of a jar (neck) sealing with
impressions of a flaring jar neck on the
reverse. Clay is partly dark but mostly
light gray. H. 4.0.
One incomplete impression of S36.
CMS V 082; Heath 1958: 96, 108, No. 77,
Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B50. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.467.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown
type, flat and circular in shape, with a
flat smooth surface crossed by a cord on
the reverse. Clays dark gray. L. 3.5.
One incomplete impression of S37.
131, Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig.
7.7.

B51. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.441.
Fragment of a jar (neck) sealing with
distorted impression of the straight rim
on the reverse. Clay is gray. W. 4.7.
One is nearly complete and for incomplete
impressions of S38.
CMS V 085; Heath 1958: 97, 108, No. 87,
Pl. 26; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B52a-c. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.458 (a), L4.457
(b), L4.460 (c).
Two fragments of a clay sealing of
unknown type with worn reverse. Clay
is party gray (a) to gray (b). L. 6.8 (b).
W. 5.4-6.8 (a: 5.4, b: 6.8).
Impressed with S39 and S50. One complete
(a), one nearly complete (b), and four
incomplete impressions (a: 2, b: 1, c: 1)
of S39. One nearly complete (a) and one
incomplete (b) impressions of S50.
CMS V 086; CMS V 095; Heath 1958: 92,
103, 109, Nos. 138, 50, 67, Pl. 27;
Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008:
305, no. 219.
**B53a-b.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.458 (a), L4.459 (b).

Two fragments of a clay sealing of unknown type with worn underside. Clay is partly gray. L. 6.8 (b).

One incomplete impression of **S39.** on each fragment.

CMS V 086; Heath 1958: 92, 95, 103, 108, No. 138, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B54.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.442.

Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions from three cords encircling a peg and parallel marks from wood grain on a flat surface on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. W. 3.6.

Diam. of peg 2.5 (upper), 2.0 (base).

One nearly complete impression of **S40.**

CMS V 087; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22a; Heath 1958: 93, 108, No. 51, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B55.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.443.

Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of reeds crossed by cords on the reverse. One-quarter preserved. Clay is partly gray. L. 4.8.

One incomplete impressions of **S41.**

CMS V 088; Heath 1958: 100, 108, No. 106, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B56.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.423.

Two fragments of a jar (mouth) sealing with impression of a jar neck into which a square plug was fitted prior to sealing on the reverse. Intact with chipped edges. Clay is dark gray. Diam. 10.9.

Diam. of jar rim 10.2.

Two complete, seven nearly complete, and six incomplete impressions of **S42.**

CMS V 089; Heath 1958: 98, 108, No. 92, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B57.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.426.

Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type, flat and circular in shape, with impressions of a straight edge on the reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is dark gray. L. 4.9.

One nearly complete, one incomplete impressions of **S43.**

CMS V 090; Heath 1958: 103, 109, No. 132, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B58a-b.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.468 (a), L4.469 (b).

Two fragments of jar (neck) sealing with impression of cylindrical, straight jar neck, one fragment with rim impression (b) on the reverse. One-sixth preserved (a). Clay is buff-red (a) and partly gray (b). H: 3.6-4.8 (a: 4.8, b: 3.6).

One incomplete (a) and one incomplete (b) impression of **S44.**

CMS V 118; Heath 1958: 96, 97, 113, Nos. 80-81, Pl. 29.

**B59.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.429.

Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords and part of a peg on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. W. 4.4.

Two nearly complete and one incomplete impressions of **S45.**

CMS V 091; Heath 1958: 95, 109, No. 72, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

**B60.** Fig. 3.9. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.430.

Fragment of wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords encircling a peg above the base on the reverse. One-fifth preserved. Clay is dark gray. H. 5.5. Diam. of peg 2.0 (upper), 5.0 (base).

One nearly complete and four incomplete impressions of **S46.**

CMS V 092; Heath 1958: 93, 109, No. 52, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.
B61. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.352.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of four cords encircling the base of a peg, with parallel marks on the flat surface from wood grain on the reverse. Clay is partly gray. W. 7.4
Impressed by S47 and S48. One nearly complete impressions and one incomplete of S47, and one nearly complete and one incomplete impression of S48.
CMS V 093; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 100, 109, No. 53, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 305, no. 218.

B62.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.354.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of three cords on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. H. 3.9.
Impressed with S47 and S48, one incomplete impression of each.
CMS V 093; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 100, 109, No. 54, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 305, no. 218.

B63a-b.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.355 (a), L4.356 (b).
Three fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords encircling a peg just above its base (a-b) with parallel marks on the flat surface and on the peg impression from wood grain (b) on the reverse. Clay is partly gray (b). H: 4.2 (a), W. 5.6 (b), Diam. of peg 2.2-2.4 (upper, a: 2.2, b: 2.4), 3.7 (lower, b).
Impressions by S47 and S48. One nearly complete of S48 and two incomplete impressions of S47.
CMS V 093; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 100, 109, Nos. 55-56, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 305, No. 218.

B64.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.357.
One nearly complete and one incomplete impression of S48.
CMS V 094; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 96, 100, 109, No. 78, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B65.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.349.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of four cords and reeds at an angle and perpendicular to the cords on the reverse. Nearly complete with broken edge. Clay is partly gray. L. 6.1. W. 4.9.
Impressed with S47 and S48. One nearly complete and one incomplete impression of S47, and two nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S48.
CMS V 093; Caskey 1956: 41, S39, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 100, 109, No. 107, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 305, No. 218.

B66.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.353.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing, cylindrical in shape, with impressions of reeds and three cords on the reverse. One-half preserved. Clay is gray in spots. L. 5.1.
Impressed with S47 and S48. One incomplete impression of S47, and two complete impressions of S48.
CMS V 093; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22i; Heath 1958: 93, 100, 109, No. 108, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 305, No. 218.

B67. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.452.
Two fragments of jar (mouth) sealing with impression jar rim impressions and corn impression that crossed the jar mouth.
One-quarter preserved. Clay is buff to dark gray and brittle. L. 8.4
Four nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S49.
CMS V 096; Heath 1958: 98, 109, No. 93, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7; Aruz 2008: 306, No. 220, Fig. 23.

B68. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.346.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two knotted cords and fine parallel lines along the groove of the pole impression from wood grain on the reverse. Two-thirds preserved. Clay is dark gray. L. 6.5. W. 7.5. Diam. of poles 6.0-7.0.
Impressed with S51 and S59, both with two complete and two nearly complete impressions.
CMS V 100; Caskey 1955: 41, Pl. 22h; Heath 1958: 89, 110, No. 21, Pl. 28.

B69. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.439.
Fragment of wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of four cords encircling the peg just above the base of the peg on the reverse. One-quarter preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 6.4.
Two nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S52.
CMS V 101; Heath 1958: 93, 110, No. 57, Pl. 28.

B70. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.454.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type, thick and circular in shape and reconstructed from numerous fragments with plaster, without impressions on the reverse. One-half preserved. Clay is gray with a buff and friable core. Diam. 9.3.
Three complete, two nearly complete, and two incomplete impressions of S53.
CMS V 102; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22b; Heath 1958: 103, 110, No. 133, Pl. 28.

B71a-b. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.384 (a), L4.385 (b).

Two fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of one cord and one groove from a pole (a-b) on the reverse. One-quarter preserved. Clay is dark gray and "fairly hard" (a-b). L. 4.0-5.1 (a: 4.0, b: 5.1).
One incomplete (a) and two incomplete impressions of S54.
CMS V 105; Heath 1958: 89, 111, Nos. 25-26, Pl. 28.

B72. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.380.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of reeds on the reverse. Clay is gray in spots. L. 6.7.
Three incomplete impressions of S55.

B73.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.382.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of reeds on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. L. 4.6.
Two incomplete impressions of S56.
CMS V 104; Heath 1958: 100, 103, 110, No. 111, Pl. 28.

B74.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.383.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing, triangular in section, one side with reed impressions, the second with a smooth rim or edge “perhaps of a box”, and the third seal-impressed. One-half preserved. Clay is partly gray. W. 4.8.
One nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S56.

B75. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.381.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with impressions of knotted cords on the worn reverse. Nearly complete. Clay is dark gray. L. 7.0.
Three nearly complete and four incomplete impressions of S56.
CMS V 104; Heath 1958: 100, 103, 110, No. 134, Pl. 28.

B76. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.379.
Fragment of a jar (mouth) sealing with cord impression across the mouth of the jar on the reverse. One-fifth preserved. Clay is gray in spots. L. 8.1. Diam. of rim 15.0.
Two nearly complete and three incomplete impressions of S57.

B77. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.386.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with two cord impressions on the reverse. One-third preserved. W. 6.1.
One complete, one nearly complete, and one incomplete impressions of S58.
CMS V 108; Heath 1958: 89, 111, No. 27, Pl. 28.

B78.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.370.
Two fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two cords (a-b), on one fragment at right angles to each other (b), and part of the groove from one pole on the reverse. Clay is dark gray (b) to partly gray (a). L. 4.4 (b). W. 4.6 (b).
Two incomplete impressions (a), one nearly complete (b), and three incomplete impressions (c) of S59.

B79a-j. Fig. 3.9.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.371 (a), L4.369 (b), L4.373 (c), L4.374 (d), L4.375 (e), L4.376 (f), L4.377 (g), L4.378 (h), L4.480 (i), L4.466 (j).
Ten fragments of 2-4 wooden object (peg) sealings with impressions of two cords encircling a peg above the base on the reserve (a-b) and parallel marks on the flat surface and peg from wood grain (a-d, h), some with three (f) or five (e) cords. Clay is dark gray (a, e-f, h), gray (i), mostly gray (c, g), dark brown (d). L. 3.7 (i). W. 3.7-6.3 (a: 6.1, b: 5.1, c: 6.0, d: 4.8, e: 5.6, f: 6.3, h: 3.7). H. 3.4-4.7. (a: 4.7, g: 4.4, j: 3.4). Diam. of pole: 2.0 upper (a, g: 2.0), 4.4-4.5 above base (a: 4.5, g:4.4), 2.4-3.0 lower (a: 2.6, b-c: 3.0, g: 2.4). Note: Kostoula found joins between L4.466 (i), previously classified as an unknown type, as well as L4.480 (Maran and Kostoula 2014: 149, Fig. 17.2).
Two complete (a: 1, c: 1), ten nearly complete (a: 2, b: 1, c: 2, d: 1, e: 1, g: 2, h: 1), and sixteen incomplete (a: 1, b: 1, c: 2, d: 2, e: 2, f: 4, g: 3, h: 1) impressions of S59. Impression unpreserved (i) and one fragment unimpressed (j).

B80.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.387.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impression of slightly flaring jar neck on the reverse. One-eighth preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 5.9.
One incomplete impression of S60.
CMS V 110; Heath 1958; 89, 111, No. 30, Pl. 28.

B81a-b. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.445 (a), L4.446 (b).
Two fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two cords, on one fragment knotted (a), and fine parallel marks along the groove of the pole impression on the reverse (a-b). Nearly intact, with one fragment one-half (a) and the other one-third (b) preserved. Clay is partly gray (a-b). W. 7.6-6.9 (a: 6.9, b: 7.6). Diam. of pole 7.0.
Three complete (a: 2, b: 1), one nearly complete (b), and four incomplete (a: 2, b: 2) impressions of S61.
B82a-b.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.448 (a), L4.447 (b).
Two fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two crossed cords (a-b) and fine parallel lines along the groove of the pole impressions on the reverse. One fragment is one-third (a) and the other one-quarter (b) preserved. Clay is partly gray (a) to dark gray (b). L. 5.7-7.6 (a: 7.6, b: 5.7).
Diam. of pole 7.5.
Two complete (a), three nearly complete (a: 2, b: 1), and one incomplete (a) impressions from S61.
CMS V 115; Heath 1958: 90, 112, Nos. 33-34.

B83. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.450.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with worn reverse and possible cord impressions on the reverse. Nearly complete. Clay is dark gray. L. 7.0.
Two nearly complete and one incomplete impressions of S62.

B84. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.449.
Fragment of basketry / matting clay sealing with two cord impressions on the reverse. Clay is partly gray. L. 5.1.
One nearly complete and two incomplete impressions of S63.

B85. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.453.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of parallel reeds, some at an angle on reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is partly gray. W. 4.0.
One incomplete impression of S65.

B86. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.394.
Fragment of basketry / matting clay sealing with reed impressions on reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is partly gray. W. 4.5.
One incomplete impression of S66.
CMS V 099; Heath 1958: 100, 110, No. 110, Pl. 28.

B87. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.351.
Nearly complete basketry / matting clay sealing with matting impressions on worn reverse. Clay is buff on top and gray and soft on reverse. L. 13.8.
Two complete, two nearly complete, and five incomplete impressions of S67.
CMS V 097; Heath 1958: 101, 109, No. 119, Pl. 27; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B88a-c. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.389 (a), L4.390 (b), L4.391 (c).
Three fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two or three knotted cords (a-c) and fine parallel marks along the groove of the pole impression on the reverse (a-b). Two-third preserved. Clay is dark gray, one fragment with a lighter spot (b). W: 4.6-6.0 (a: 6.9, b: 4.6, c: 6.0).
One complete (a), one nearly complete (5), and five incomplete (a) impressions of S68.
CMS V 103; Heath 1958: 89, 110, Nos. 22-24, Pl. 28.

B89a-c. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.360 (a), L4.358 (b), L4.359 (c).
Three fragments of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two cords (a-c), including one frayed end (a), some straw (a), and fine parallel marks along the groove of the pole impression from wood grain on the underside. One-half
preserved (b). W: 3.3-6.2 (a: 5.2, b: 6.2, c: 3.3).
Impressed with S9 and S69. Two incomplete impressions of S9 (a: 1, b: 1), two nearly complete (a: 1, b:1) and one incomplete (b) impressions of S69.
CMS V 111; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22c;
Heath 1958: 87, 94, 111, Nos. 7-9, Pl. 25.

B90.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.348.
Two fragments of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of four cords above a peg base and fine parallel marks on the flat surface from wood grain on the reverse. One-half preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 9.1.
Two complete, two nearly complete, and seven incomplete impressions of S69.
CMS V 111; Caskey 1956: 41, Pl. 22c;
Heath 1958: 87, 94-95, 111, No. 66, Pl. 28.

B91. Fig. 3.10.
One nearly complete and four incomplete impressions of S70.

B92. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.462.
Fragment of a jar (mouth) sealing with smooth impression on reverse attributed to a possible jar. One-third preserved. Clay is buff to dark gray. L. 7.8.
Impressed with S191 and S258. Four incomplete impressions of S191, and two incomplete impressions of S258.

B93. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.427.
Two fragments of a jar (neck) sealing with distorted impressions on the back of an incurving vessel neck and possible handle, possibly a cup, on the reverse. One-fifth preserved. Clay is soft and dark gray. W. 7.3. Diam. of neck 10.0.
Three nearly complete and one incomplete impressions of S71.

B94. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.455.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with indistinct impressions on the reverse. Clay is light gray. L. 3.7.
One incomplete impression of S72.

B95. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.472.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type, thick, will small sections of smooth impressions on the reverse. Clay is partly gray. L. 3.0.
One incomplete and indistinct impression of S73.

B96. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.465.
Fragment of a jar (neck) sealing with impressions of a slightly flaring jar neck on the reverse. One-eighth preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 5.9.
One incomplete impression of an indistinct seal design.
Heath 1958: 113, No. 82, S65, Pl. 29.

B97.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.484.
One incomplete impression of an indistinct seal design.
Heath 1958: 97, 108, No. 84, Pl. 26;
Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B98.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.482.
Fragment of a jar (neck) sealing with impression of join between jar neck and shoulder on the reverse. Clay is dark gray. W. 5.2.
Two incomplete impressions of an indistinct seal design.
Heath 1958: 97, No. 88; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B99. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.473.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of irregular matting on two faces of the reverse. Clay is dark gray. W. 3.8.
One incomplete impression of an indistinct seal design.
Heath 1958: 101, 113, No. 120, Pl. 29.

B100.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.475.
Fragment of a jar (mouth) sealing. One-third preserved. Clay is mostly dark gray. L. 11.4.
Three incomplete impressions of an indistinct seal design.
Heath 1958: 101, 113, No. 120, Pl. 29.

B101. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.487.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of basketry within two broad parallel grooves on the reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is dark gray. L. 5.5.
No seal impression.
Heath 1958: 101, No. 121.

B102. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.471.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of reeds crossed by two cords on the reverse. Clay is buff. One-quarter preserved. L. 3.3.
One incomplete impression of an indistinct seal design.

B103. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.481.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing, triangular in section, with reed and cord impressions on one side, smooth on the second side, and seal-impressed on the third. Clay is mostly dark. W. 6.1.
Three incomplete impressions of an indistinct seal design.

B104.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.478.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of two cords encircling a peg diagonally and just above its base with some parallel marks from wood grain on the worn flat surface and peg on the reverse. One-eighth preserved. Clay is dark gray. W. 4.0. Diam. of peg 2.5.
No seal impression.
Heath 1958: 95, No. 68.

B105. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.483.
No seal impression.
Heath 1958: 97, No. 83; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B106.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.485.
No seal impression.
Heath 1958: 97, No. 85; Renfrew 1972: 113, Fig. 7.7.

B107. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.474.
Fragment of a jar (mouth) sealing with smooth reverse. One-third preserved. Clay is buff to dark gray. L. 9.2. Diam. of rim 12.0.
B108. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.488.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of irregular matting crossed by cord on the reverse.
One-quarter preserved. L. 4.7.
No seal impression.

B109. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.477.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing with impressions of a reed or twig and its cleanly cut end on one side and the other side rough on the reverse.
No seal impression.

B110. Fig. 3.10.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.476.
Fragment of a basketry / matting clay sealing, triangular in section, with impressions of a groove on one face, a smooth surface on the second, and a rough surface on the third. L. 3.0
No seal impression.

B111. Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.479.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of cords above the peg base and a few parallel marks on the flat surface from wood grain on the reverse.
No seal impression.
Heath 1958: 95, No. 69.

B112. Fig. 3.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L7.1.
Fragment of a wooden object (peg) sealing. H. 2.3.
One incomplete impression of S74.
CMS V 084; Wiencke 1969: 501, No. 144, Pl. 125; Caskey 1956: 166, Fig. 5.

B113. Fig. 3.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L3.10.
Fragment of a wooden object (pole) sealing with impressions of two parallel grooves from the poles, one encircled by a cord, with textiles impressions laid over them.
One complete and five incomplete impressions of S75.
CMS V 060; Caskey 1956: 24, Pl. 10c; Heath 1958: 90, 105, No. 36, Pl. 25; Wiencke 2000: 224-228, 474-476, Fig. II.62, Pl. 20.

B114. Fig. 3.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L6.326.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with impressions of matting on the reverse. Clay is buff to gray and "fairly micaceous". L. 10.6.
One incomplete impression of an indistinct seal design.

B115. Fig. 3.16.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
One complete and five incomplete impressions of S76.

B116. Fig. 3.16.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 41/4 XVI.
Fragment of a possible wooden object (peg) sealing with impressions of a flat surface, possibly a square box, on the reverse. Clay is light brownish-red and burnt. Dimensions not recorded.
One complete and two incomplete impressions of S77.
CMS VS1B 371; Kilian 1982: 424, Fig. 47.

B117.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38/42 XVI.
Fragment of a possible wooden object (peg) sealing with impression of a flat surface on reverse. Clay is brownish to beige and well fired. No dimensions recorded.
Incomplete impressions of S78.
CMS VS1B 372.

B118.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/18 Xlc.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with slightly convex reverse. Clay is reddish-beige and burnt. No dimensions recorded.
Two incomplete impressions of S79.
CMS VS1B 373.

B119. Fig. 3.16.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 45/30 Va.
Fragment of clay sealing of unknown type with impressions of two grooves from poles with cords on the reverse. Clay is grayish brown and coarse with burning. L. 4.8. W. 4.0. Diam. of poles 4.0 and 2.5.
Two incomplete impressions of S80.
CMS VS1B 374.

B120. Fig. 3.18.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 3358.
Fragment of clay sealing of unknown type with impressions of two perpendicular wooden slats, “probably parts of a bolt” according to the excavator, on the reverse. Clay is light red. No dimensions recorded.
One complete and three incomplete impressions of S81.
CMS V 519; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234 ff, 236, Nos. 1, 4, 172.5; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke 1969: 512, No. 23.

B121. Fig. 3.18.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 8445.
Two fragments of clay sealing of unknown type. No dimensions recorded.

B122.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion 3361.
Fragment of a possible jar (mouth) sealing with impression of jar mouth closed with a wooden plug inserted on the reverse. Clay is fine and reddish-brown. No dimensions recorded.
One nearly complete and one incomplete impressions of S82.
CMS V 520; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234 ff, 238, No. 6, 172.7; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke 1969: 512, No. 23.

B123. Fig. 3.18.
Asine, EH II. Uppsala As 5163: 1.
Two incomplete impressions of S83.
Weiberg 2010: 190-191, No. 2, Fig. 4b.

B124. Fig. 3.18.
Asine, EH II. Uppsala As 3235.
Two incomplete impressions of S84.
Weiberg 2010: 190-191, No. a, Fig. 4a.

B125. Fig. 3.22.
Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 13232.
Fragment of a clay sealing of unknown type with an indistinct, irregular ridge impression on the reverse. Clay is light brown, fine, and porous. L 4.84. W. 2.85. D. 2.01.
Two incomplete and overlapping impressions of S86. CMS VS1A 398; Waage 1949: 415, 421, Pl. 63; Lavezzi 1979: 342; Wiencke 1981: 256, Fig. 9.

B126. Fig. 3.20. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S1. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S87. Negative impressions on the reverse, apparently due to successive sealing of the same vessel. Kostoula 2000, Figs. 3a-b, 4a; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B127. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S10. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S88. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 5b; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B128. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S13. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S89. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 5c; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B129. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S16. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S90. Kostoula 2000no. Fig. 5d; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B130. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S18. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S91. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 5e; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B131. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S2. 27 fragments of vessel sealings. Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S92. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 4b; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B132. Fig. 3.20. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S3. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S93. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 4c; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B133. Fig. 3.20. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S4. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S94. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 4d; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B134. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S7. Fragment(s) of vessel sealing(s). Preservation, type, and dimensions not recorded. Impressed with S95. Kostoula 2000, Fig. 5a; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153.

B135. Fig. 3.20. Petri, EH IIB. Nemea S21. Fragment of a jar (neck) or D sealing with impressions from a jar neck on the reverse. Clay is finely mixed. Dimensions not recorded. One complete and three incomplete impressions of S96. Kostoula 2000: 145, Fig. 6a-b; Kostoula 2004: 1150-1153; Aruz 2008: 289, No. 169, Fig. 5.
B136-B146. Fig. 3.24.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 76/1 (B136), 76/2 (B137), 81/13/3 (B138), 81/8/1 (B139), 81/8/3 (B140), 83/9 (B141), 86/10/1 (B142), 86/16/2 (B143), 86/2/1 (B144), 86/21 (B145), 87/6 (B146).
Seventeen fragment of vessel sealings.
Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions.
No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S97, which may be two look-alike originals.
CMS VS3 360; Weingarten et al. 1999: 365, Fig. 10; Weingarten 2000: 317, 320, 323, Figs. 4, 11a, 12a; Aruz 2008: 306, No. 223, Fig. 24.

B147-B156.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 76/10 (B147), 76/4/2 (B148), 76/7/1 (B149), 76/8 (B150), 83/11/2 (B151), 86/25 (B152), 87/4 (B153), 87/5 (B154), 88/3 (B155), 88/8 (B156).
Eleven fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions. Fragment B151 with a textile impression. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S98.
CMS VS3 361; Weingarten et al. 1999: 366, Fig. 11; Weingarten 2000: 317, 323, Figs. 11b, 12b.

B157-B163.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 75/2 (B157), 76/1/1 (B158), 81/1/1 (B159), 81/9/4 (B160), 81/13 (B161), 86/10 (B162), 87/9 (B163).
Eight fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S99.
CMS VS3 362; Weingarten et al. 1999: 366, Fig. 12; Weingarten 2000: 317, 323, Figs. 11c, 12c.

B164-B167. Fig. 3.24.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 70/1 (B164), 85/2 (B165), 76/4/1 (B166), 86/8 (B167).
Five fragments of vessel sealings.
Fragments B170-B171 with impressed from a possible pyxis on the reverse.
Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions.
No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S100.
CMS VS3 363; Crouwel 1999: 149; Weingarten et al. 1999: 357, Fig. 13; Weingarten 2000: 317, 325, Figs. 7, 11d, 12d.

B168-B170. Fig. 3.24
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 81/12/1a-b (B168), 83/4 (B169), 83/6 (B170).
Five fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions. Fragment B171 may be lid for a small jar rather than a sealing, but this identification is uncertain. Fragment B172 with textile imprint on reverse. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S101.
CMS VS3 364; Crouwel 1999: 149; Weingarten et al. 1999: 357.

B171. Fig. 3.24
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 83/3.
Two fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is reddish-brown and hard-burnt, semi-fine with mica-schist inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S102.
CMS VS3 365; Crouwel 1999: 149; Weingarten et al. 1999: 357, Fig. 15; Weingarten 2000: 317, 326, Figs. 11f, 12f.

B172-B175.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1699/SF4 (B172), 1699/SF8 (B173), 1730/SF7 (B174), 1730/SF13 (B175).
Fragment of vessel sealings. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S103.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 143, Fig. 11a.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1699/SF15 (B176), 1699/SF2 (B177).
Two fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S104, which may be identical to S103, but preservation makes identification uncertain.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 143, Fig. 11b.

B178. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1751/SF6B.
Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S105.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 11c.

B179. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1744/SF1A.
Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S106.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 11d.

B180. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1917/SF5.
Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S107.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 11e.

Two fragments of a vessel sealings. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S108.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 11f.

B182. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1751/SF9A.
Impressed with S108.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 11f.

Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S109.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 13a.

B184. Fig. 3.26. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1694/SF7.
Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S110.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 145, Fig. 13b.

B185. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1730/SF15A.
Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S111.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 144, Fig. 13c.

B186-B196. Fig. 3.24. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1694/SF1 (B186), 1699/SF10D (B187), 1699/SF3 (B188), 1699/SF5 (B189), 1720/SF2A (B190), 1730/SF5 (B191), 1744/SF1 (B192), 1744/SF1B (B193), 1749/SF1A (B194), 1751/SF5A (B195), 1917/SF2 (B196).
At least ten fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S112. The impression in negative, indicative of a metal seal.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 146-149, Figs. 14, 15a-d.

B197-B198. Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1730/SF14 (B197), 1730/SF15B (B198).
Two fragments of vessel sealings. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S113.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 150, Fig. 16.

Fragment of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S114.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 150, Fig. 18.

B200. Fig. 3.24
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1744/SF3.
Fragment of a rectangular “tab” clay sealing, possibly from a small wooden box, with impressions of a cord or leather strips on the reverse. Clay is poorly fired. Dimensions of impressed object: L. 1.7. W. 1.0.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 142, Fig. 10b.

B201. Fig. 3.24
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1457/SF2.
Fragment of a vessel clay sealing with impressions from a handle with a cord wrapped around it on the reverse. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 141, Fig. 10a.

B203-B203.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 6290/SF2B (B202), 6290/SF2A (B203).
Two fragments of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S115.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 150, Fig. 17.

B204.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 6318/SF1A.
Fragment of a sealing of unknown type with rope impression on reverse. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.

B205.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 6318/SF1B.
Fragment of a sealing of unknown type. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.

B206-B207.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4280/SF4A (B206), 4280/SF4B (B207).
Fragments of vessel clay sealing from a small jar. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions and badly burnt. No dimensions recorded.
Incomplete impressions S116, which may be the same seal as S108.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 141, No. G-12?, Fig. 9a-b.

B208.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4258/SF1.
Fragment of a vessel sealing with impression of a spout on the reverse. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 141.

B209.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 1702/SF4.
Fragment of a vessel sealing with impression of a spout with impressions from a textile wrapped around the spout on the reverse. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 141.

B210.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 7200/2.
Fragment of a sealing of unknown type. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 160.

B211.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 3049/SF2.
Fragment (“irregular lump”) of a clay sealing with impression of a textile “of moderate fineness” on reverse. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression

B212.
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4670/SF2.
Fragments of a vessel sealing. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.

**B213.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4461/SF1.
Fragments of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressions with S117.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 150, No. G-20, Fig. 19.

**B214.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4187/SF2.
Fragments of a vessel sealing. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.

**B215.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 4214/SF1.
Fragments of a vessel sealing. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.

**B216.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 452/SF1.
Fragments of a vessel sealing. Clay is semi-fine with micaceous inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with S118.
Weingarten et al. 2011: 150, Fig. 20.

**B217.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 81/17.
Fragment of a sealing with impression of the edge of a rectangular box or wooden slat and textile: "it is likely, but not certain, that the textile was itself the objects sealed" (Weingarten 2000: 321).
No seal impression.
Weingarten 2000: 321, Fig. 8.

**B218.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 81/6/2.
Fragment of a sealing with impression of a possible leather sack on the reverse.
No seal impression.


**B219.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 83/7/1.
Fragment of a sealing with impression of a possible leather sack on the reverse.
No seal impression.

**B220.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 156/1/4.
Fragment of a vessel (pithos) sealing with impressions of a pithos rim on the reverse and an obsidian blade embedded in the clay matrix. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.

**B221.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 86/12/4.
Fragment of a sealing with impression of a possible leather sack on the reverse.
No seal impression.

**B222.**
Geraki, EH IIB. Sparta 162/1/1.
Fragment of a sealing with impression of a vessel of indeterminate type on the reverse. Clay is orange in color and differs from other Geraki sealings in its lack of mica-schist inclusions. No dimensions recorded.
No seal impression.

**B223.**
Fig. 3.28.
Bozas, EH II. Sparta 15774.
Fragment of a sealing of unknown type, round in shape. L. 5.3. W. 4.0.
One incomplete impressions of S119.
Zavvou 2012: 18-19, Fig. 19; Zavvou 2007: 418-421, Fig. 15; Cavanagh 2011: 21; Weingarten et al. 2011: 155.

**B224.**
Fig. 3.29.
Akovitika, EH II. Kalamata 43.
Fragment of basketry / matting clay sealing with three parallel wicker or reed impressions on the reverse that are
slightly curved and may therefore represent a basket. Large fragment. Clay is fine, grayish yellow, and well fired. L. 3.26. W. 4.69.
One incomplete impression of S120.

B225.
Ayios Dhimitrios / Lepreon, EH IIB.
Olympia unnumbered.

One complete but poorly preserved impression of S121.
CMS VS1B 146; Zachos 1987: 165, 216, No. 7, Fig. 68; Hågg and Konsola 1986: 32.

B226. Fig. 3.32.
Makronissos, EH. Lavrion MA 190.
Fragment of a sealing of unknown type with impression of a thick cord on the reverse. Almost completely preserved.
Clay is red and burnt gray on the reverse. L. 6.7. W. 5.6.
Three to four nearly complete impressions of S122.
CMS VS1B 033; Spitaels 1982: 154-158, Fig. 4; Pini 1990: 36 No. 14; Hutchinson 1939/40: 49, No. 37, Fig. 38; Touchais 1985: 769; Alram-Stern 2004: 544-546.
APPENDIX C: SEAL-IMPRESSED OBJECTS

C1.1. Fig. 4.1.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1596.
Impressed with S123. Roller impression on rim is shallow and irregular.
CMS V 146; Wiencke 1970: 102, No. 266, Pl. 25; Wiencke 2000: 501, No. P1229, Fig. II.70; Galligan 2013: 65.

C1.2. Fig. 4.1.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1597.
Rim and base fragment of a circular hearth with a low, narrow flattened rim. Traces of burning in interior. Possible string marks on exterior at bottom. Bottom is rough. H. of rim 4.4, W. of rim 4.0, D. of pan 2.5, Th. of pan 1.6, L. of impression 13.9.
Impressed with S124. Roller impression on rim.
CMS V 147; Wiencke 1970: 102, No. 268, Pl. 26; Wiencke 2000: 501, No. P1230, Fig. II.70; Galligan 2013: 62, Fig. 4.12.

C1.3. Fig. 4.1.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1598.
Rim and pan fragment of a high-rimmed, circular hearth. Traces of red paint on interior. Possible string marks on exterior at bottom. Bottom is rough, with straw impressions. H. 8.6, W. of rim 4.3, W. of band 4.2, D. of pan 6.5, Th. of pan 2.8, L. of impression 8.5.
Impressed with S125. Roller impression on rim.
CMS V 148; Wiencke 1970: 102, 105, No. 269, Pl. 26; Wiencke 2000: 195-196, 462, No. P935, Fig. II.58; Galligan 2013: 61, Fig. 4.8.

C1.4. Fig. 4.1.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1556.
Circular hearth with low, broad flattened rim. Nearly halfway preserved, restored from 56 rim and pan fragments. Large, axe-shaped depression in center of pan (L. 60.0, W. 35.0, D. 13.0) that is outlined with a tool-impressed zigzag design. Smoothed surface. Signs of burning in interior and in depression. Bottom is rough and convex. Diam. 1.15 m, H. 4.5, W. of band 10.0, D. of pan 3.0, Th. of pan 4.5, W. of rim 9.0-11.0, L. of impression 10.6-11.1, Diam. of seal 3.5.
Impressed with S126. Roller impression on rim has traced of white fill. Interior edge of pan has a tool-impressed zigzag line.
CMS V 149; Wiencke 1970: 102-103, No. 270, Pl. 26; Caskey 1956: 130, Pls. 32c-d; Caskey 1958, Pl. 4c; Caskey 1959, Pls. 42a-b; Wiencke 2000: 193-194, 434, No. P772, Fig. II.84, Pl. 13; Galligan 2013: 59-60, Fig. 4.7.

C1.5.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.406.
Joining rim, bottom, and handle fragments of a high-rimmed, circular hearth with a narrow rim. Dark gray paint is preserved at the top. The handle and high rim of this hearth make it unique. Diam. 60.0, H. of rim 14.6.
Impressed with S127. Roller impression on rim.
Wiencke 2000: 130, 458, 462, No. P934, Fig. II.58, Pl. 17; Galligan 2013: 60-61.

C1.6.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos unnumbered.
Impressed with S128. Roller impression on rim.
Wiencke 2000: 501, No. P1231, Fig. II.70; Galligan 2013: 65, Fig. 4.19.

C1.7. Fig. 4.1.
Talioti, EH II. Location unknown.
Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth. Yellow-brown, coarse clay with eroded surface.
Impressed with S129. Roller impression on rim.
C1.8. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Rim and pan fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined).
Impressed with S130. Roller impression on rim.
Siedentopf 1973: 12, No. 89, Pl. 4; Galligan 2013: 93.

C1.9. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). W. of rim 5.6, H. of rim 2.9, L. of impression 5.2.
Impressed with S131. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS V 530; Müller 1930: 40, 43, Pl. 17.4; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 91, Fig. 4.63.

C1.10. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion.
Impressed with S132. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS V 534; Müller 1930: 40, 43, Pl. 18.2; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 91, Fig. 4.64.

C1.11. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 1835.
Rim fragment of a hearth of undetermined type, but because this fragment is a corner with a curved pan edge that suggests it may be axe-shaped. While no other axe-shaped hearths survive, the large hearth from Building BG at Lerna (C1.4) had an axe-shaped impression. W. of rim 3.5-5.0.
Impressed with S133. Roller impression on rim. Same seal as C1.23.
CMS V 555; Müller 1930: 40, 41, Pl. 15.4; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 91.

C1.12. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 1497.
Rim and pan fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined) with a low, narrow rim. L. of impression 9.8, W. of impression 1.7.
Impressed with S134. Roller impression on rim is shallow and uneven.
CMS V 536; Müller 1930: 40, 43, Pl. 18.8; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 91.

C1.13. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. H. of rim 4.0, D. of pan 1.8, L. of impression 5.8, W. of impression 4.7.
Impressed with S135. Roller impression on rim. Rim width is narrower than height of roller.
CMS V 538; Müller 1930: 40, Pl. 18.8; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 92, Fig. 4.65.

C1.14. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S136. Roller impression on rim is doubled, since first the flat broad area and then the curving rim were impression with the same roller.
CMS V 557; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.5; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke: 28; Galligan 2013: 92, Fig. 4.66.

C1.15. Fig. 4.1.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 82.
Impressed with S137. Roller impression on rim is outlined with single incised lines at the top and bottom. Possible traces of white filling in impressed design.
CMS V 559; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258; Siedentopf 1973: 12, Pl. 3.82; Galligan 2013: 93, Figs. 4.68-4.69.

C1.16. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Two joining rim fragments of a circular hearth. Bottom is rough. H. of rim 4.0, W. of rim 5.2, D. of pan 2.5, L. of impression 16.6, W. of impression 4.6, W. of impression 5.6. Impressed with S138. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. CMS V 562a; Müller 1930: 40, 42, No. 2, Pls. 16.2, 18.4; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 93-94, Fig. 4.70.

C1.17. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 1277.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Bottom is rough. Smoothed on rim exterior. H. of rim 5.0, W. of rim 5.4, D. of pan 2.4, L. of impression 28.0, W. of impression 4.3. Impressed with S139. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Same seal as C1.18 but the design is reversed. CMS V 563a; Müller 1930: 40, 41, 43, Pls. 18.5, 18.7; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 94, Fig. 4.72.

C1.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Bottom is rough. L. of impression 13.5, W. of impression 3.9. Impressed with S139. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Same seal as C1.17 but the design is reversed. CMS V 563b; Müller 1930: 40, 41, 43, Pls. 18.5, 18.7; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 94.

C1.19. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Seven joining rim and pan fragments from a circular hearth with a low, narrow rim. H. of rim 4.0, W. of rim 3.3-3.5, D. of pan 2.3, W. of impression 3.2. Impressed with S140. Roller impression on rim is two superimposed impressions from the same seal but made in opposite directions.

C1.20. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5185.
Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth. L. of impression 9.9, W. of impression 6.4. Impressed with S141. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. CMS V 566; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.8; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 95-96.

C1.21. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/0.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. L. of impression 9.0, W. of impression 6.0. Impressed with S142. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Same seal as C1.22. CMS VS1B 381; Galligan 2013: 96.

C1.22.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 42/99 IX.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. L. of impression 9.0, W. of impression 6.0. Impressed with S142. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Same seal as C1.21. CMS VS1B 381; Galligan 2013: 96, Fig. 4.76.

C1.23. Fig. 4.2.
Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth. H. of rim 9.8, L. of impression 10.8, W. of impression 5.5. Impressed with S133. Two superimposed roller impressions. Width of rim is wider than seal height. Same seal as C1.11. CMS VS1B 382; Müller 1930: 41, Pl. 15.4; Galligan 2013: 96.

C1.24. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/87 XII.
Impressed with S143. Roller impression on rim is only preserved.
CMS VS1B 384; Kilian 1983: 316, Fig. 41b; Weißhaar 1989: 318, Fig. 6a; Galligan 2013: 96-97, Fig. 4.77.

C1.25. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 39/95 XIIIb.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 9.5, W. of impression 6.5.
Impressed with S144. Roller impression on rim is shallow and smeared.
CMS VS1B 392; Galligan 2013: 97, Fig. 4.78.

C1.26. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 37, 5185.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 10.4, W. of impression 3.5.
Impressed with S145. Roller impression on rim is shallow and uneven.
CMS VS1B 409; Galligan 2013: 97.

C1.27. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38/1 IVb.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 5.0, W. of impression 2.6.
Impressed with S146. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 410; Galligan 2013: 97, Fig. 4.79.

C1.28. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 37/16 IV.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 7.9, W. of impression 3.5.
Impressed with S147. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 411; Galligan 2013: 97.

C1.29. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 38/30 XVII.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 5.4, W. of impression 4.0.
Impressed with S148. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 413; Galligan 2013: 97.

C1.30. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIII 40/90 III.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 5.3, W. of impression 4.0.
Impressed with S149. One row of triangles along the broken edge is at a slightly different orientation of the rest of the design and may represent a double impression of the same seal or a separate seal. It is catalogued here as the same seal.
CMS VS1B 414; Galligan 2013: 98.

C1.31a-b. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 43/1 XVg (a), Ti O (b).
Rim fragment of a circular hearth from two joining sherds. Clay is burnt. L. of impression 16.0, W. of impression 5.7.
Impressed with S150. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Small lines interrupting the design probably represent damage to the seal.
CMS VS1B 415; Galligan 2013: 98, Fig. 4.80.
design probably represent damage to the seal. Same seal as C1.31 and C1.33.
CMS VS1B 415; Galligan 2013: 98, Tiryns 28, Fig. 4.80.

C1.33. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine Ti 5177.
Rim and pan fragment of a circular (?) hearth. L. of impression 12.7, W. of impression 3.5.
Impressed with S381. Roller impression on rim is uneven. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 417; Galligan 2013: 98.

C1.34. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/41 Of. XVII Nr. 23.
Impressed with S151. Roller impression on rim is crooked. Width of rim is wider than seal height.
S381; Galligan 2013: 98.

C1.35. Fig. 4.3.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine 17102.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 9.8, W. of impression 7.7.
Impressed with S152. Roller impression on rim. Same seal as C1.36 but reversed in orientation.
CMS VS1B 421; Kilian 1983: 316, Fig. 41b; Weiβhaar 1989: 318, Fig. 6b; Galligan 2013: 98-99, Fig. 4.81.

C1.36. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/48 Xlc.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). L. of impression 9.8, W. of impression 7.7.
Impressed with S152. Roller impression on rim. Same seal as C1.35 but reversed in orientation.
CMS VS1B 421; Kilian 1983: 316, Fig. 41b2; Weiβhaar 1989: 318, Fig. 6b.

C1.37a-b. Fig. 4.2.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38/94 IVc +V (a), LXII 39 14 V (b).
Two joining curved rim and pan fragments of an oval or keyhole hearth. L. of impression 13.5, W. of impression 2.5.
Impressed with S153. Roller impression on rim is uneven ('the clay was too moist'). Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 424; Weiβhaar 1989: 318, Fig. 5; Galligan 2013: 99, Fig. 4.82.

C1.38a-b. Fig. 4.3.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 41/22 IV (a), LXII 38/70 IIIb (b).
Impressed with S154. Width of rim is slightly narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 425; Weiβhaar 1989: 321, Fig. 11a-b; Galligan 2013: 99, No. Tiryns 34, Fig. 4.83.

C1.39. Fig. 4.3.
Asine, EH II.
Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth. Impressed with S155. Roller impression on rim is shallow.
Frödin and Persson 1938: 231, Fig. 169.3; Galligan 2013: 116, Fig. 4.109.

C1.40. Fig. 4.3.
Asine, EH II.
Two joining rim and pan fragments of a figure-eight / keyhole (?) hearth. Impressed with S156. Roller impression on rim is partially preserved.
Frödin and Persson 1938: 231, Fig. 169.4; Galligan 2013: 116.

C1.41. Fig. 4.3.
Makrovouni-Kefalari, EH.
Dousougli-Zachos 1987: No. 135, Fig. 24; Galligan 2013: 128.

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C1.42. Fig. 4.3.
Berbati, EH II.
Nearly complete circular hearth.
  Rectangular shaped depression (L. 49, W. 22-29 with signs of burning.
  Unevenly fired. Diam. 93.0, Th. of pan 5.0.
Impressed with **S158**. Roller impression on rim is shallow.

C1.43. Fig. 4.3.
Berbati, EH II.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Glazed at the top.
Impressed with **S159**. Roller impression on rim.
Säflund 1965: 111, Fig. 83a; Galligan 2013: 118.

C1.44. Fig. 4.3.
Berbati, EH II.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Signs of burning.
Impressed with **S160**. Roller impression on rim.
Säflund 1965: 110, Fig. 83b; Galligan 2013: 118.

C1.45.
Berbati-Limnes, EH II Late, 57/1.
Impressed with **S161**. Roller impression on rim shows overlapping impressions at different orientations.
Forsén 1996: 105, No. 132, Fig. 23; Galligan 2013: 120, Fig. 4.116.

C1.46. Fig. 4.3.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II. F32-N-273.
Impressed with **S162**. Roller impression on rim is uneven. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
Pullen 1995: 38-39, No. 649, Fig. 36; Galligan 2013: 104, Fig. 4.86.

C1.47. Fig. 4.3.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II. F32-N-271.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Profile curves inward toward base. L. 7.0.
Impressed with **S163**. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 1995: 38-39, No. 650, Figs. 36, 123; Galligan 2013: 104, Fig. 4.87.

C1.48. Fig. 4.3.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II. F32-S-207.
Impressed with **S164**. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 1995: 38-39, No. 651, Fig. 123; Galligan 2013: 104-105, Fig. 4.88.

C1.49.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II. F32-N-275.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Profile slants inward toward base. L. 6.0.
Impressed with **S165**. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 1995: 38-39, No. 652, Fig. 123; Galligan 2013: 105, Fig. 4.89.

C1.50. Fig. 4.3.
Argolid Exploration Project, EH II. F32-S-206.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Profile is slightly convex. Unevenly fired. L. 7.0.
Impressed with **S166**. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 1995: 38-39, 186, No. 653, Fig. 123; Galligan 2013: 105, Fig. 4.90.

C1.51. Fig. 4.4.
Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 13160.
Rim fragment of a circular or horseshoe (?) hearth. With thin slip on rim. Profile preserves an everted and flattened rim that resembles the lip of a pithos. The bottom is uneven with impressions from straw and matting. Diam. 1.00+ m (if round), L. 9.7, Th. of pan 2.2.
Impressed with S167. Roller impression on rim is shallow. Weinberg 1939: 595-596, No. 6, Fig. 4; Lavezzi 1979: 346, Fig. 1, Pl. 87; Galligan 2013: 71-73, Figs. 4.34-4.35.

C1.52. Fig. 4.4. Corinth, EH II (?). Corinth MF 13395. Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth with reddish slip. Broken at outer edge. Bottom is flat and rough. L. 10.8, W. 5.7, W. of rim 4.7-4.88, H. of rim 5.4, L. of impression 7.9, H. of impression 4.2. Impressed with S168. Roller impression on rim. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. CMS V 508; Blegen 1928: 107, 121, 189, 214; Caskey 1960: 258; Lavezzi 1979: 346, No. 7, Pl. 88; Galligan 2013: 75, Fig. 4.36.

C1.53. Fig. 4.4. Corinth, EH II (?). Corinth MF 13396. Rim fragment of a circular (?) hearth, but Lavezzi suggests asymmetrical because the thickness and width of the rim increase. Bottom is roughened. Traces of burning on surface. Diam. 1.20+ m (if round), L. 13.0, W. 8.6, D. of pan 1.3, W. of rim 6.5, H. of rim 4.7, L. of impression 12.0, W. of impression 5.7. Impressed with S169. With thin slip on rim is not flush with the edge. Width of rim is narrower than seal height. Seal is same as C1.54.
CMS V 509; Lavezzi 1979: 347, No. 9, Pl. 88; Galligan 2013: 76, Fig. 4.39.

C1.54a-b. Fig. 4.4. Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 1976-66 (a-b). Rim (a) and pan (b) fragment of a keyhole (?) hearth from two joining sherds. Bottom is rough and uneven. Rim profile slopes downward to center. With thin slip on rim is not flush with the edge. L. 13.5, W. 12.2, Th. 4.5, D. of pan 1.16, W. of rim 7.1, Th. of pan 2.8-3.1, H. of rim 4.14, L. of impression 12.5, W. of impression 5.8. Impressed with S169 and S170. Different seals used to impress rim and pan: rim with S169 (a), pan with S170 (b). Roller impression on rim (a) with same seal as C1.53, seal is wider than rim width. Roller impression on pan (b) is a partially preserved (3.0 x 3.0), consisting of the corner of a roller-impressed.
CMS VS1A 400; Waage 1949, 415; Lavezzi 1979: 342, 347, No. 10, Fig. 1, Pl. 88; Galligan 2013: 77, Figs. 4.40-4.41.

C1.55a-b. Fig. 4.4. Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 13397 (a-b). Rim fragment of a keyhole (?) hearth. Traces of burning at top of rim. Bottom is rough. L. 6.6, W. 10.4, Th. 4.1, H. of rim 4.0, Th. of pan 3.0, L. of impression 5.85, W. of impression 5.4. Impressed with S171 and S172. Different seals used to impress rim and interior: rim (a) with S172, pan (b) with S173. Roller impression on rim (a) is wider than rim width. Pan (b) with roller impressions bordered by a zigzag line that may be part of the roller impression or tool-impressed.
CMS VS1A 402; Waage 1949: 415; Lavezzi 1979: 342, 347, No. 8, Pl. 88; Galligan 2013: 76, Figs. 4.37-4.38.

C1.56. Fig. 4.4. Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF 13610. Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). Diam. 4.2, L. of impression 9.4, W. i of impression 9.0. Impressed with S173. Roller impression. Possible tool-impressed zigzag line at the edge of the rim, but this may be part of the rolled design. Width of rim is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1A 403; Waage 1949: 415; Lavezzi 1979: 342; Galligan 2013: 77, Fig. 4.42.

C1.57. Fig. 4.4. Zygouries, EH II. Corinth unnumbered. Rim and pan fragment of a circular (?) hearth. Bottom is rough. Exterior profile at bottom has a small ridge 2.0 cm above the base may have been placed into a depression in a floor. W. of rim
Impressed with rim fragment of circular hearth. Traces of Tsoungiza C1.61. Pullen 2011: 285; Galligan 2013: 122-123, Fig. 4.118.

C1.58. Fig. 4.4.
Impressed with S175. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 623, Fig. 5.117; Galligan 2013: 84-85, Fig. 4.51.

C1.59. Fig. 4.4.
Tsoungiza, EH II. Nemea 748-2-1. Rim fragment of a circular hearth. Bottom is roughened. L 11.0, W. 8.0, H. 6.0, H. of rim 5.4-5.9, C of seal 8.5.
Impressed with S176. Roller impression on rim.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 624, Fig. 5.117; Galligan 2013: 85, Fig. 4.52.

C1.60. Fig. 4.4.
Impressed with S177. Roller impression on rim with a straight line at the preserved edge that my be an incised line or part of the impressed design.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 625, Fig. 5.117; Galligan 2013: 85, Fig. 4.53.

C1.61. Fig. 4.5.
Impressed with S178. Roller impression on rim with irregular lines bordering the impression at the top and bottom, which may be incised or part of the irregularly cut seal design.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 626, Fig. 5.117; Galligan 2013: 85-86, Figs. 4.54-4.55.

C1.62. Fig. 4.5.
Impressed with S179. Roller impression on rim with a groove along one side of the impression, which may be part of the seal or an incised line.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 630, Fig. 5.118; Galligan 2013: 87, Fig. 4.59.

C1.63.
Rouf, EH IIB.
Rim fragment of a hearth with flat rim (shape undetermined).
Impressed with S180. Roller impression on rim.

C1.64. Fig. 4.5.
Impressed with S181. Roller impression on rim.
Theochares, 1953-54: 73-74, Fig. 25.

C1.65.
Poros.
Complete circular hearth. Dimensions not given.
Impressed with S182. Stamped impressions on rim.
Konsolaki-Gianopoulou 2011: 264, Fig. 6; Galligan 2013: 126.

C1.66.
Poros, EH.
Rim fragment of a hearth (shape undetermined). Dimensions not given.
Impressed with **S183**. Roller impression on rim.
Konsolaki-Gianopoulou 2011: 259-260, Fig. 5; Galligan 2013: 126.

**C1.67.**
Dokos, EH II.
Rim fragment of a circular hearth.
Impressed with **S184**. Roller impression on rim.
Tankosic 2011: 123-124, Fig. 3.29E.

**C1.68.**
Dokos, EH II.
Rim fragment of a figure-eight hearth. H. of rim 9.6.
Impressed with **S185**. Roller impression on rim.

**C1.69.** Fig. 4.5.
Ayios Giorgos (Karystos), EH II. Karystos.
Impressed with **S186**. Stamped impression on rim bordered on one side by tool-impressed *Kerbschnitt*.
Tankosic 2011: 123-124, Fig. 3.29E.

**C1.70.** Fig. 4.5.
Ayios Giorgos (Karystos), EH II. Karystos.
Rim fragment of a hearth of undetermined type. L.7.2, W. 4.2.
Impressed with **S187**. Stamped impression on rim bordered on one side by tool-impressed *Kerbschnitt*.
Tankosic 2011: 123-124, Fig. 3.29G.

**C1.71.**
Eutresis, EH II.
Nearly complete circular hearth with low, broad rim and shallow pan. Diam. 1.2 m.
Impressed with **S188**. Roller impression on rim was initially reported by excavator as 'incised'.
Goldman 1931: 16, 18-19, Fig. 16; Caskey 1990: 17-18; Galligan 2013: 113, Fig. 4.107.

**C2.1a-c.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1564a-c.
Impressed with **S189**. Roller impression on raised band. Seal is same as hearths C2.32 and C2.105.

**C2.2.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos. L.1565.
Body fragment of a pithos. W. of band 7.1, L of impression 10.0.
Impressed with **S190**. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as **C2.3.**

**C2.3a-b.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1566 (a), L.1567 (b).
Body fragment of a pithos from two joining sherds. W. of band 7.1, L of impression 10.0.
Impressed with **S190**. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as **C2.2.**

**C2.4a-f.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1568a-f.
Impressed with **S192**. Roller impressions from same seal on two superimposed raised bands of two different widths.
Joins with **C2.5.** Same seal as **C2.5.**

**C2.5.** Fig. 4.11.

Impressed with **S192**. Roller impression on raised band. Joins with **C2.4**. Same seal as **C2.4**.


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**C2.6a-c.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1570a-c.


Impressed with **S193**. Roller impression on raised band are uneven.


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**C2.7a-c.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1571a-c.

Body fragment of a pithos from five sherds. Th. 1.3, W. of band 6.0, Diam. of seal 4.6, L. of impression 14.5.

Impressed with **S194**. Roller impression of same seal on raised band and on pithos surface below.


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**C2.8.** Fig. 4.11.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1572.

Body fragment of a pithos. Th. 1.3, W. of band 7.0, L. of impression 8.9, H. of impression 5.6.

Impressed with **S195**. Roller impression on raised band. Band width is wider than the seal.


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**C2.9a-c.** Fig. 4.12.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1573a-c.

Body fragment of a pithos from three non-joining sherds. Th. 1.0, W. of band 4.1, L. of impression 19.2.

Impressed with **S196**. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as **C2.9**.


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**C2.10.**
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1574.


Impressed with **S196**. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as **C2.9**.


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**C2.11.** Fig. 4.12.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1575.

Body fragment of a pithos. Th. 1.5, W. of band 3.7, L. of impression 11.5.

Impressed with **S197**. Roller impression on raised band is uneven and crooked.


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**C2.12a-d.** Fig. 4.12.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1576a-c, L.1577.


Impressed with **S198**. Roller impression on raised band.


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**C2.13a-h.** Fig. 4.12.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1578a-h.

Handle and body fragments of a pithos. Two handle fragments from a pithos. Handle is upturned and located near the neck of the vessel. Dark gray paint. Th. 1.0-1.2, W. of band 3.2-4.0, Diam.
Impressed with S199. Roller impression on raised band is uneven.

C2.14a-b. Fig. 4.12.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1579a-b.
Rim and body fragment of a pithos. Surface smoothed Diam. 40.0, Th. 1.0, W. of band 4.7, Diam. of seal 5.4, C. of seal 17.0, L. of impression 17.0, H. of seal 4.7.
Impressed with S200. Roller impression on raised band, above which is plastic rope decoration.
CMS V 130; Wiencke 1970: 100, nos. 238-239, Pls. 22, 23; Wiencke 2000: 494, No. P1167, Fig. II.68.

C2.15. Fig. 4.15.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.991.
Rim, body, and handle fragments of a pithos with a straight, flaring neck from seventeen sherds. Diam. 34.0, H. 45.3, W. of band 6.2, Diam. of seal 3.3, C. of seal 10.5, L. of impression 10.5, H. of impression 5.7.
Impressed with S201. Roller impression on two superimposed unraised bands on pithos wall, one below the neck at the level of the handles and the other lower on the body.
CMS V 131; Wiencke 1970: 100, No. 240, Pl. 23; Wiencke 2000: 494, No. P1165, Fig. II.68.

C2.16. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1580.
Body fragment of a pithos from six sherds. Th. 1.0-1.3, W. of band 4.0, Diam. of seal 5.4, C. of seal 17.0, L. of impression 17.0.
Impressed with S202. Roller impression on raised band.

C2.17a-b. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1581a-b.
Body fragment of a pithos from two non-joining sherds. Th. 1.2-1.5, W. of band 3.2, L. of impression 12.0.
Impressed with S203. Roller impression on raised band.

C2.18a-e. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1582a-d, L.1583.
Rim and body fragments of a pithos from several sherds. Th. 0.7-11, W. of band 4.0-4.7, Diam. of seal 3.3, C. of seal 10.3-10.5, H. of impression 4.0.
Impressed with S204. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS V 134; Wiencke 1970: 100, Nos. 244-248, Pl. 24; Wiencke 2000: 445, No. P841, Fig. II.51.

C2.19a-b. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1584a-b.
Body fragment of a pithos. Th. 0.9, W. of band 4.3-4.4, Diam. of seal 3.8, C. of seal 11.9, L. of impression 11.9 H. of impression 4.3.
Impressed with S205. Roller impression on irregular raised band is uneven.

C2.20. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1585.
Impressed with S206. Roller impression on raised band is shallow.

C2.21a-c. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH II B. Argos L.1586a-c.
Body fragment of a pithos from three non-joining sherds. Th. 1.3, W. of band 5.0-5.2, Diam. of seal 3.4-3.8, C. of seal
Impressed with S207. Roller impression on raised band is uneven. Line along lower edge of band may be incised or part of rolled design.

C2.22. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1587.
Handle fragment of a pithos with a heavy strap handle. Traces of black paint. W. of handle 5.5, Th. 1.8, W. of band 4.9, L. of impression 15.5
Impressed with S208. Roller impression on surface of handle.

C2.23. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1588.
Body fragment of a pithos from two non-joining sherds. W. of band 4.4, L. of impression 7.7 W. of impression 4.0.
Impressed with S209. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is wider than seal height.

C2.24. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.735.
Body fragment of a pithos. Traces of this red to gray paint above and below the raised band. Th. 1.0, W. of band 5.0, L. of impression 15.2, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S210. Roller impression on raised band is careful and deep.

C2.25. Fig. 4.13.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1589.
Impressed with S211. Roller impression on raised band is careless, overlapping unevenly. Width of band is wider than seal height.

C2.26. Fig. 4.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1590.
Impressed with S212. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.

C2.27. Fig. 4.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1591.
Body and handle fragment of a pithos. Th. 1.4, Th. of handle 3.2, W. of band 2.7, L. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S213. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is narrower than seal height.

C2.28. Fig. 4.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1592.
Body fragment of a pithos. Th. 1.5, W. of band 4.2, L. of impression 11.2.
Impressed with S214. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is narrower than seal height.

C2.29. Fig. 4.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1595.
Body fragment of a pithos from two non-joining sherds.
Impressed with S215. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as C2.30.

C2.30a-d. Fig. 4.14.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1593a-c, L.1594.
Body fragment of a pithos from three non-joining sherds. Th. 1.2, W. of band 4.2-4.8, L. of impression 12.3.
Impressed with S215. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as C2.29.

**C2.31.** Fig. 4.16.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage 1697.
Body fragment of a pithos. Diam. 1.64 m, L. 27.0, W. 22.0, W of impression 2.58.
Impressed with S382. Roller impressions from the same seal on two superimposed bands on pithos wall.
CMS IS 017; Schliemann 1886: 69, No. 9.

**C2.32.** Fig. 4.16.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 1535.
Impressed with S189. Roller impression on raised band. Seal is same as C2.1 and C2.105.
CMS V 529; Müller 1930: 40, 44-45, Pls. 19.1-2, 18.6; Caskey 1960: 258; Caskey 1959: 206, Pls. 42c-e; Renfrew 1972: 344, Pl. 23 1a.

**C2.33.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 87 - LOST.
Impressed with S216. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 531; Müller 1930: 40, Pl. 17.4 (?); Caskey 1960: 258; Siedentopf in Tiryns VI, 1973: 12, Pl. 4.87.

**C2.34.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion -unnumbered.
Body fragment of a pithos. W. of band 5.3, L. of impression 10.3
Impressed with S217. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 532; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.35.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion -unnumbered.
Impressed with S218. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 533; Müller 1930: 40, Pl. 17.15; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.36.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S219. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is narrower than seal height.
CMS V 537; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.2; Voigtlander 1980: 104, Pl. 56; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.37.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. W. of band 5.0, L. of impression 12.5.
Impressed with S220. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 539; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.8; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.38.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S221. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 540; Müller 1930:40, 42, Pl. 17.9; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.39.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S222. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 541; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.3; Caskey 1960: 258, 353; Wiencke 1969: 28.

**C2.40.** Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.6, W. of impression 3.4.
Impressed with S223. Roller impression on raised band is smeared. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 542; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.12; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.41. Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S224. Roller impression on raised band is indistinct. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 543; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.42. Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.1, W. of impression 4.2.
Impressed with S225. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 544; Müller 1930: 40, 97, Pl. 17.14; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.43. Fig. 4.14.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S226. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 545; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.44. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S227. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 546; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.6; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.45. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.

Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.5, W. of impression 3.9.
Impressed with S228. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 547; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.46. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S229. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 548; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.47. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S230. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 549; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 17.7; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.48. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S231. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 550; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.49. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 10.0, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S232. Roller impression on raised band is uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 551; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258; Gerke-Hiesel, Tiryns V, Pl. 14.1 right.

C2.50. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.6, W. of impression 4.0.
Impressed with S233. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 552; Müller 1930: 40, 43, Pl. 17.5; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.51. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 10.3, W. of impression 1.3.
Impressed with S234. Roller impression on two superimposed narrow bands separated by a band of plastic (finger impressed?) decoration. The same design is impressed twice, once in positive and the other in negative relief.
CMS V 553; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.3; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.52. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S235. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 554; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.53. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 6.3, W. of impression 2.3.
Impressed with S236. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 555; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.54. Fig. 4.17.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5183.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 6.5, W. of impression 3.2.
Impressed with S237. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 556; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.1; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.55. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5180.
Impressed with S238. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 560; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.11; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.56. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5178.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 13.9, W. of impression 5.4.
Impressed with S239. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 561; Müller 1930: 42, Pl 17.10; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.57. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Impressed with S144. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height. Same seal as C1.16.
CMS V 562b; Müller 1930: 40, 42, No. 2, Pl. 16.2; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.58. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 20.0, W. of impression 3.4.
Impressed with S240. Roller impression on raised band is uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 565; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.12; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.59. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5184.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 6.4, W. of impression 5.2.
Impressed with S241. Roller impression on raised band is crooked and overlapping.
Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 567; Müller 1930: 40, Pl. 16.4; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.60. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 5188.
Impressed with S242. Roller impression on raised band is uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 568; Müller 1930: 40; Pl. 17.16; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.61. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion 86.
Impressed with S243. Roller impression from same seal on two superimposed raised band, both uneven impressions on irregular bands.
CMS V 569; Müller 1930: 40; Caskey 1960: 258; Siedentopf 1973: 12, Pl. 3.86.

C2.62. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. W. of impression 5.2.
Diam. of roller 3.8, Circum. of roller 11.8.
Impressed with S244. Roller impression on raised band is uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 570; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pl. 16.9; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.63. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 8.0, W. of impression 6.0.
Impressed with S245. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS V 571; Müller 1930: 40, 43, Pl. 17.1; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.64a-d. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 37/61 V (a), LXII 39/Dr (b), LXIV 37/72 II (c), LXIV 38/17 VII (d).

Four body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 8.3, W. of impression 4.3.
Impressed with S246. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 376.

C2.65a-s. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 39/24-34 Xc R89 (9), LXII 38/65 VIIa R (b), LXII 38/86 Vla (c), LXII 38/89 IV G10 (d), LXII 39/3 V R (e), LXII 39/4 V (f), LXII 39/47 IV (g), LXII 39/63 OfI IX Nr. 18 (h), LXII 39/71 VII (i), LXII 39/71 VIII (j), LXII 39/89 Vlla grau (k), LXIV 38/17 VII (l), LXIV 38/26 Xla (m), LXIV 38/26 Xle (n), LXIV 38/36 Xia (o), LXIV 38/37 Xla (p), LXIV 38/46 Via (q), LXV 38/52 VIIa (r), Ti O (s).
Impressed with S247. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is narrower than seal height. Same seal as C2.66.
CMS VS1B 377.

C2.66. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine.
Impressed with S247. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as C2.66.
CMS VS1B 377.

C2.67a-b. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/72 XV (a), LXII 39/8 VI (b).
Two body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 15.4, W. of impression 4.3.
Impressed with S248. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height. Same seal as C2.68.
CMS VS1B 378; Müller 1930, Pl. 17.15.

C2.68. Fig. 4.18.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine Ti O.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 15.4, W. of impression 4.3.
Impressed with S248. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.
Width of band narrower than seal height. Same seal as C2.67.
CMS VS1B 378; Müller 1930, Pls. 17.15.

C2.69a-c. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39 Dr (a), LXII 39/71 VII (b), STR FD.O. 88 (c).
Impressed with S249. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 379.

C2.70. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 39/47 III.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 8.9, W. of impression 4.7.
Impressed with S250. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 380.

C2.71. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 38/57 V.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.7, W. of impression 5.5.
Impressed with S251. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 383.

C2.72. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LX 38/90 IX.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.2, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S252. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 385.

C2.73. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/89 VIII.

Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 5.3, W. of impression 6.3.
Impressed with S253. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 386.

C2.74. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/41 Ofl. XVII Nr. 23.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 13.4, W. of impression 5.5.
Impressed with S254. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.
CMS VS1B 387.

C2.75a-d. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 39/52 Illb G2 (a), LXII 42/3 VI G3 (b), LXIV 38/81-91 (c), Ti O (d).
Four body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 11.9, W. of impression 5.8.
Diam. of roller 3.8.
Impressed with S255. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 388.

C2.76. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 38/64 a VIIa.
Impressed with S256. Two overlapping roller impression on raised band. Width of band narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 389.

C2.77a-c. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 40/41-51 VI G1 (a), LXII 39/31 (b), Ti O (c).
Diam. of roller 4.6.
Impressed with S257. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven. Width of band narrower than seal height. Joins with C2.78. Same seal as C2.78.
CMS VS1B 390; Müller 1930: 42, Pls. 17.9.

C2.78. Fig. 4.19.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38.

Impressed with S257. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.
Width of band matches height of seal.
Joins with C2.77. Same seal as C2.77.
CMS VS1B 390; Müller 1930: 42, Pls. 17.9.

C2.79a-c. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/61 V (a), LXII 39/61 XIV (b), T57 KI-2 (c).
Three body sherds of a pithos. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S259. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is wider than seal height.
CMS VS1B 391.

C2.80a-c. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIII 52/9 IV R (a), LXV 38/12 VI (b), Ti O (c).
Impressed with S260. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is slightly narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 393; Müller 1930: 42, Pl. 17.3.

C2.81a-r. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 40/92 XIII grau (a), LXII 38/65 Vla uG2d (b), LXII 38/86 Via (c), LXII 38/87 IIib (d), LXII 38/94 IVc (e), LXII 38/94 V (f), LXII 39/4 IIIc (g), LXII 39/4 IV (h), LXII 39/4 IVc (i), LXII 39/4 V (j), LXII 39/4 VI R (k), LXII 39/4 Vla gelb (l), LXII 39/6 V R (m), LXII 40/100 Iva R102 (n), Ti 39/0 (o), Ti 563 (p), Ti LXI 39 (q), Ti LXII 39 (r).

Impressed with S261. Roller impression on raised band is uneven.
CMS VS1B 394; Voigländler 1980, Pl. 54.8.

C2.82a-b. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 41/8 IIIa (a), LXII 42/14 IXb R130 (b).
Two body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 8.2, W. of impression 5.3.
Impressed with S262. Roller impression on raised band. Width of band is narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 395.

C2.83a-b. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 41/8 IIIa (a), LXII 42/14 IXb R130 (b).
Two body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 6.6, W. of impression 4.7.
Impressed with S263. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.
CMS VS1B 396.

C2.84. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 36/17 III.

Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 8.0, W. of impression 2.8.
Impressed with S264. Partially preserved (lower half only) roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 397.

C2.85a-b. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 40/90 IIId (a), LXV 38/64 VIIa (b).
Two body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 10.7, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S265. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and uneven.
Width of band is slightly narrower than seal height.
CMS VS1B 398.

C2.86. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXV 38/32 VI.

Impressed with S266. Roller impression on raised band is shallow and smeared.
Width of band is narrower than seal height.

CMS VS1B 399.

C2.87. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 36/73 X Nr. 3.
Impressed with S267. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 400.

C2.88. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 41 Dr.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 8.9, W. of impression 3.9.
Impressed with S268. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 401.

C2.89a-c. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 42/29 VIII (a), LXII 39/41 Ofl. XVII Nr. 23 (b), Ti O (c).
Three body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 13.0, W. of impression 5.5.
Impressed with S269. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 402.

C2.90. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/61 VII.
Impressed with S270. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 403.

C2.91. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXI 38/75 IXc R10.
Impressed with S271. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 404.

C2.92. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 43/89 Ia.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 4.9, W. of impression 2.4.
Impressed with S272. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 405.

C2.93. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/29 IIIa.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 3.6, W. of impression 2.6.
Impressed with S273. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 406.

C2.94. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 39.
Impressed with S274. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 407.

C2.95. Fig. 4.20.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 38/29 Va R152.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 11.7, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S275. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as C2.96.
CMS VS1B 408.

C2.96a-b. Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 37/98 IIa (a), LXII 38/36 V1 (b).
Two body sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 11.7, W. of impression 5.0.
Impressed with S275. Roller impression on raised band. Same seal as C2.95.
CMS VS1B 408.

C2.97a-d. Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38/82 XIII (a), LXII 38/93 V uR (b), LXII 38/93 Va (c), LXII 38/VI uR (d).
Four rim and neck sherds of a pithos. L. of impression 8.5, W. of impression 2.6.
Impressed with **S276**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 412; Weiβhaar 1981: 244, Fig. 87.1; Weiβhaar 1989: 317, Figs. 2a-b.

**C2.98a-n.** Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/3 VII (a), LXII 39/33 VII (b), LXII 39/51 VII (c), LXII 39/52 Nr. 18 (d), LXII 39/61 IX (e), LXII 39/61 VII (f), LXII 39/62 IX (g), LXII 39/63 OfL Ix Nr. 18 (h), LXII 39/71 OfL VIII (i), LXII 39/71 VII (j), LXII 39/71 XII (k), LXII 39/72 IX (l), LXII 39/72 VIII (m), UB 1971 I2IV2 (n).

Fourteen body sherds of a pithos. W. of impression 6.3.
Impressed with **S277**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 416; Voigtländer 1980, Pl. 56.12; Weiβhaar 1989: 315, Fig. 1; Müller 1930, Pl. 16.10.

**C2.99.** Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 38/52 XIII.
Impressed with **S278**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 419.

**C2.100.** Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39.
Impressed with **S279**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 420.

**C2.101.** Fig. 4.21.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXII 39/81 XI.
Impressed with **S280**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 422.

**C2.102.** Fig. 4.21.

Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine LXIV 37/81 V.
Impressed with **S281**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS VS1B 423.

**C2.103.**
Corinth. Corinth.
Body fragment of a pithos. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S282**. Roller impression on raised band.
Kosmopoulos 1948: 55-56, Fig. 36.

**C2.104.** Fig. 4.21.
Zygouries, EH III. New York 23.121.2.
Body sherd of a pithos. L. 6.8, W. 4.5.
Impressed with **S283**. Roller impression on raised band.

**C2.105.** Fig. 4.21.
Zygouries, EH II. Corinth unnumbered.
Impressed with **S189**. Roller impression on raised band. Seal is same as C2.1 and C2.32.
CMS V 504; Blegen 1928: 107, 121, 189, 214, No. 6, Fig. 114; Caskey 1960: 285, 293; Caskey 1959: 206.

**C2.106.** Fig. 4.21.
Zygouries, EH II. Corinth.
Body sherd of a pithos. W. 3.3. L. of impression 5.5.
Impressed with **S284**. Roller impression on raised band.
CMS V 505; Blegen 1928: 107, 121, 189, 214, No. S 122, Fig. 114; Caskey 1960: 258.

**C2.107.** Fig. 4.21.
Zygouries, EH II. Corinth.
Impressed with S285. Roller impression on raised band.  
CMS V 507; Blegen 1928: 107, 121, 189, 214, No. S 122, Fig. 114; Caskey 1960: 258.

C2.108. Fig. 4.22.  
Petri, EH II. Nemea.  
Body sherd of a pithos. Dimensions not recorded.  
Impressed with S286. Roller impression on body sherd.  
Kostoula 2000: 137; Kostoula 2004: 1144, Pl. 3b.

C2.109.  
Petri, EH IIB. Nemea.  
Ten body sherds of a pithos. Dimensions not recorded.  
Impressed designs not reported.  

C2.110.  
Kolonna, EH II. Aegina unnumbered.  
Rim sherd of a pithos. L. of impression 2.05, W. of impression 1.2.  
Impressed with S287. Multiple stamped impressions on rim.  

C2.111. Fig. 4.23.  
Kolonna, EH II. Aegina St 18 A 139.  
Rim sherd of a pithos. L. 17.0, W. 6.0. L. of impression 1.85, W. of impression 0.9.  
Impressed with S288. Multiple stamped impressions on rim.  
CMS VS3 002.

C2.112. Fig. 4.23.  
Kaloyerovrisi, EH II.  
Rim sherd of a pithos. Dimensions not recorded.  
Impressed with S289. Multiple stamped impressions on rim.  
Sampson 1993, Fig. 52.

C2.113. Fig. 4.23.  
Gialtra, EH II (?). Athens, BSA unnumbered.  
Body sherd of a pithos. Diam. of impression 1.6.  
Impressed with S290. Multiple stamped impressions on rim.  
CMS V 202; Sackett et al. 1966: 38, No. 24, Pl. 9d; Aruz 1998: 302, Pl. XXXI b;  
Aruz 1999: 10.

C3.1. Fig. 4.32.  
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos unnumbered.  
Impressed with S291. Roller impression on rim / raised band. Traced of black paint preserved on surface.  
Wiencke 1970: 102, No. 267, Pl. 25.

C3.2. Fig. 4.32.  
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.  
Impressed with S292. Roller impression on rim / raised band.  
CMS V 558; Müller 1930: 40, 42, Pls. 18.1, 18.7; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 92, Fig. 4.67.

C3.3. Fig. 4.32.  
Tiryns, EH II. Nauplion.  
Impressed with S293. Roller impression on rim.  
CMS V 563c; Müller 1930: 40, 41, 43, Pls. 18.5, 18.7; Caskey 1960: 258; Galligan 2013: 94-95, Fig. 4.73.

C3.4. Fig. 4.32.  
Corinth, EH II. Corinth MF-1974-71.  
Fragment of a hearth / pithos. L. 10.7, W. 9.6, W. of rim 6.0, H. of rim 2.9, W. of band 5.5.  
Impressed with S294. Roller impression on rim / raised band.
CMS VS1A 399; Waage 1949, 415; Lavezzi 1979: 342, 346, No. 5, Pl. 87; Galligan 2013: 76, Figs. 4.32-4.33.

**C3.5.** Fig. 4.32.
Tsoungiza, EH II. Nemea 1250-2-1.
Rim fragment of hearth / pithos. L. 8.0, W. 7.0.
Impressed with **S295** once and **S296**. One partial impression of **S295** and one complete and one partial impression of **S296**.
Pullen 2011: 433, No. 631, Fig. 5.118; Galligan 2013: 87-88, Fig. 4.60; Pullen 1994: 40-41, Figs. 4-5.

**C3.6.** Fig. 4.32.
Lefkandi, EH II. Eretria LK/69/7.
Impressed with **S297**. Impressed on ri CMS V 423; Popham and Sackett 1968; Galligan 2013: 129.

**C4.1.** Fig. 4.34.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1560.
Neck and handle fragment of a jar with a low, spreading neck. D. of mouth 30.0.
Impressed with **S298**. Three impressions on lower body of vessel.
CMS V 053; Wiencke 1969: 509, No. 193, Pls. 125, 129; Wiencke 2000: 425, No. P710, Fig. II.40.

**C4.2.** Fig. 4.34.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1316.
Handle and body fragment of a large jar.
Clay is fine, burnt gray and yellow, with stripes of black glaze painted around edges of neck and handle, with a single incised horizontal line around belly at level of handle. H. 38.0 (pres.).
Impressed with **S299**. One complete impression on handle.
CMS V 052; Caskey 1956: 169, Pl. 44d; Wiencke 1969: 508, No. 192, Pl. 129; Wiencke 2000: 497, No. P1191, Fig. II.69.

**C4.3.** Fig. 4.34.
Asine, EH II. Nauplion unnumbered.

Almost complete globular jar mended from fragments. H. 67.0. Diam. 67.0.
Impressed with **S300**. 25 impressions in a row along the shoulder.
CMS V 522; Frödin and Persson 1938: 91, 214, 216, 217, 234, No. 15, Fig. 160.1, 160.2; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke 1969: 511, Nos. 22, 23.

**C4.4.** Fig. 4.34.
Zygouries, EH II. Corinth Z 246 (now lost). Body and neck fragment of a jar. Diam. 2.0-2.8.
Impressed with **S301**. One nearly complete impression.
CMS V 503; Blegen 1928: 107, 121, Fig. 91.1; Caskey 1960: 258; Wiencke 1969: 511, Nos. 22, 23.

**C4.5.** Fig. 4.34.
Anthochori, EH II Early.
Rim sherd of a 'large, open coarse ware vessel'. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with **S302**. One complete and two incomplete impression in a row just under the rim.
Zavvou 2012: 8-9, Fig. 5.

**C4.6.** Fig. 4.34.
Ayios Kosmas. Athens.
Complete conical vessel with a funnel-shaped neck. Clay is brownish-red with brown-black slip. Blue pigments were preserved inside the vessel, which suggests it was used to store cosmetics. H. 3.5 cm. Diam. at base 1.7 cm, mouth 2.0 cm.
Impressed with **S303**. Row of nine stamped impressions around shoulder of vessel beneath a row of incised points.
Mylonas 1959: 86, No. 193, Fig. 141, Ill. 64.

**C4.7a-b.** Fig. 4.34.
Ayios Kosmas.
Two body and neck fragments of a spherical jar with a vertical neck and vertically perforated lugs. Clay is fine and reddish, red slipped and polished. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S304**. Impressed in a row on shoulder of vessel with incised tangent lines.
Mylonas 1959: Nos. 2-3, Fig. 145.

**C4.8.** Fig. 4.34.
Ayios Kosmas.
Body fragment of a large, deep jar. Clay with a thin, reddish-brown slip. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with **S305**. Four complete impressions. Stamps are placed above and below a forked, curvilinear plastic decoration that integrates a vertical lug, possibly schematic horns but which together resembles eyebrows and a nose with two stamps at the eyes.
Mylonas 1959: 80, No. 501, Fig. 145.

**C4.9.** Fig. 4.34.
Ayios Kosmas, EH II.
Body fragments of a jar. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with **S306**. One incomplete stamp combined with incised double lines with shorter lines at an angle that resemble vegetation.
Mylonas 1959: No. 1, Fig. 145.

**C4.10.** Fig. 4.34.
Skotini Cave (Tharrounia), EH II.
Tharrounia unnumbered.
Impressed with **S307**. Four complete and two incomplete impressions.
CMS VS1B 351; Sampson 1988: 72.

**C4.11.**
Eutresis, EH I.
Shoulder of a large, squat spherical jar.
Broken at the rim. Clay is red with a gray core. Traces of white pigment preserved in the incised and impressed design. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with **S308**. Four complete and two incomplete stamped impressions combined with incised tangent lines in a spiral-net composition, with horizontal lines with shallow, oval impressions in bands above and below.
Goldman 1931: 82, Pl. 3.2; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.17.

**C5.1.** Fig. 4.36.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine Ti O.
Handle fragment of a 'Minyan notched-bordered bowl'. Clay is brownish and well smoothed. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S309**. Two impressions, one complete and one incomplete, on the handle combined with incised double lines.
CMS VS1B 375.

**C5.2.** Fig. 4.36.
Tiryns, EH II. Tiryns storage magazine Ti AS 109.
Base fragment of a small bowl. Reddish brown varnish on the exterior, dark on the interior. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S310**. One complete impressions at the base.
CMS VS1B 426.

**C5.3.** Fig. 4.36.
Zygouries, EH II.
Base fragment of a bowl. Clay is coarse and pinkish-gray and coated with a black glaze. No dimensions recorded.
Impressed with **S311**. Multiple stamps in horizontal rows, each impression pointing in the same direction, arrange around a central incised circle.
Blegen 1928: 116-117, Fig. 109.7.

**C5.4.** Fig. 4.36.
Tsoungiza, EH II Initial. Nemea NVAP Inv. 2172-2-2; TS lot 66:22.
Base and body fragment of a bowl. Clay is fine with red paint on interior, exterior, and bottom. Diam. of base 5.5 cm.
Impressed with **S312**. Multiple impressions in a row in alternating directions.
Pullen 2011: 207, No. 222, Fig. 4.26.

**C6.1.** Fig. 4.38.

Body fragment of a pyxis mended from three sherds. Clay is course and yellowish-gray, with poorly preserved black slip and burnishing. Max W. 8.5.

Impressed with S313. Multiple impressions in two horizontal rows connected by incised tangent and horizontal lines, with grooves and dots on the shoulder.

Pullen 2011: 137, No. 197, Fig. 3.40.

C6.2. Fig. 4.38.


Complete globular pyxis with a hollow base. Clay is fine and yellowish-red, red-slipped and possible burnished. Diam. 12.5, dim 6.5, base 4.5. H. 8.0.

Impressed with S314. Multiple stamped impressions around the shoulder beneath impressed triangles around the neck.

Pullen 2011: 219, No. 280, Fig. 4.35.

C6.3.

Ayiorityka, EH II. Tegea HAG P 175.

Almost complete cylindrical spool pyxis with flat circular base. Clay is pale brown with traces of light red slip on the exterior, with an unslipped interior. Diam. 12.0. H. 3.9. Th. 0.5.

Impressed with S315. Multiple impressions on flat base arranged in concentric rings.

Petrakis 2002: 49, No. 152, Fig. 35.

C6.4. Fig. 4.38.

Ayios Kosmas. Athens 8955.

Complete globular pyxis with two horizontal lugs on the shoulder. Clay is buff and sandy, and coated with a polished slip that is reddish at the bottom and black at the top of the vessel. H. 15.0. Diam. mouth 10.0, base 5.0.

Impressed with S316. Two impressions above each of the two horizontal lugs on the shoulder, with a horizontal incised line around the shoulder, and incised zigzag and parallel slanting lines.

Mylonas 1959: 76, No. 164, Fig. 141, Ill. 64.

C6.5. Fig. 4.38.

Eutresis, EH I.

Body fragment of a possible globular pyxis. Clay is gray-black, unslipped but burnished. Preserved white filling is preserved in the incised surface treatment. Dimensions not recorded.

Impressed with S317. Stamped impression combined with incised tangent line in a false running spiral composition.

Goldman 1931: 80-81, Fig. 97.1.

C6.6. Fig. 4.38.

Eutresis, EH I.

Fragment of a flat pyxis lid. Clay is buff and polished. Incised lines with preserved white-filling. Dimensions not recorded.

Impressed with S318. One partially preserved impression with incised tangent lines.

Goldman 1931: 82, Fig. 97.3; Coleman 1985: 215, No. 102.

C7.1. Fig. 4.40.

Corinth, Cheliotomylos Hill, EH III. Corinth.

Body fragment of a fruitstand. Dimensions not recorded.

Impressed with S319. Two complete impressions with incised tangent lines in a spiral-net composition between incised zigzags and Kerbschnitt.

Kosmopoulos 1948: 31, Fig. 7; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.1.

C7.2. Fig. 4.40.

Tsoungiza, EH I. Nemea NVAP Inv. 100-2-8.

Rim fragment of a fruitstand pedestal. Clay is medium and red slipped and burnished. Incised lines are white-filled. Diam. of base 22.0.

Impressed with S320. One complete and one incomplete impressions in a row with incised tangent lines in a false running spiral composition. Three rows of Kerbschnitt at base.

Pullen 2011: 108, No. 66, Fig. 3.19.

C7.3. Fig. 4.40.

Tsoungiza, EH I. Nemea P 818 = TS 432(NVAP Inv. 2150-2-3).
Rim fragment of a splayed fruitstand pedestal.
Clay is medium and brown. Red slipped and burnished. Diam. of base 34.0. W. max 5.1. Th. 0.9.
Impressed with S321. One incomplete impression with a tangent incised line in a false running spiral composition.
Pullen 2011: 124, No. 138, Fig. 3.30.

Impressed with S325. One complete impressions on the base with incised tangent lines in false running spiral composition, with incised parallel lines around the edge.
Wiencke 2000: 391, No. P490, Fig. II.71, Pl. 51; Caskey 1958, Pl. 35f; Coleman 1985: 215, No. 110; Bossert 1960, Fig. 10.5.

C7.4. Fig. 4.40.
Eutresis, EH II.
Body fragment of a fruitstand. Surface with black glaze. H. 2.5.
Impressed with S322. Two complete impressions in a horizontal row, each impression facing the same way, with curved parallel lines of incised dots above and below.
Goldman 1931: 110, Fig. 145.1.

C7.5. Fig. 4.40.
Eutresis, EH II.
Body fragment of a fruitstand. Surface with red glaze. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S323. Three incomplete impressions in a horizontal row, each impression facing the same way, with curved parallel lines of incised points above and below.
Goldman 1931: 110, Fig. 145.2.

C8.1. Fig. 4.42.
Lerna, EH IIA. Argos L.1537.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan. Reddish brown surface, likely painted. Diam. 18.0.
Impressed with S327. Multiple incomplete stamped impression in network composition.
Wiencke 2000: 419, No. P674, Fig. II.71, Pl. 51; Caskey 1958, Pl. 35e; Coleman 1985: 217, No. 132.

C8.2. Fig. 4.42.
Lerna, EH IIA. Argos L.1448.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Polished dark gray paint on the base and burnished in the interior. Diam. at top 16.0-18.0.

C8.3. Fig. 4.42.
Lerna, EH IIA-B. Argos.
Base sherd of a frying pan. White interior surface and dark gray painted exterior. Min. Th. 0.6.
Impressed with S326. Produced in a matrix so that entire spiral-net design of concentric circles with tangent lines was impressed.
Wiencke 2000: 396, 576-7, No. P531, Fig. II.71, Pls. 8, 51; Caskey 1958, Pl. 35e; Coleman 1985: 217, No. 132.

C8.4. Fig. 4.42.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.1443.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Reddish brown surface, likely painted. Diam. 18.0.
Impressed with S327. Multiple incomplete stamped impression in network composition.
Wiencke 2000: 419, No. P674, Fig. II.71, Pl. 51; Caskey 1958, Pl. 35e; Coleman 1985: 215, No. 111; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.4.

C8.5. Fig. 4.42.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L.23.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Surface painted dark brown. Diam. 13.8.
Impressed with S328. Multiple impressions combined with incised tangent lines in false running spiral composition.
Wiencke 2000: 497, No. P1194, Fig. II.71, Pl. 51; Caskey 1960, Pl. 69e; Dousoughil-Zachos 1989; Bossert 1960, Figs. 10.1, 10.17.

C8.6. Fig. 4.42.
Asine, EH II.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Black polished surface. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S329. Multiple stamped impressions in a network composition.
Frödin and Persson 1938: 234, Fig. 171; Coleman 1985: 214, No. 95.

C8.7. Fig. 4.42.
Berbati, EH II.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Black polished surface. Diam. 20.0, H. 3.0.
Impressed with S330. Two complete and two incomplete impressions around edge. In middle, Kerbschnitt within framing line.
Säflund 1965: 135-136, Pl. 4, Fig. 106h; Coleman 1985: 214-215, No. 96.

C8.8. Fig. 4.42.
Corinth, EH.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S331. Multiple incomplete stamped impression combined with incised lines in a spiral-net composition.
Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34c.

C8.9. Fig. 4.42.
Corinth, EH.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S332. One incomplete impression.
Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34f.

C8.10. Fig. 4.42.
Corinth, EH.
Body sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S333. One incomplete impression.
Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34g.

C8.11.
Corinth, EH I. Corinth C-68-359.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S334. Two rows of impressions.

C8.12.
Perachora, EH I-II Early.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S335. Two complete impressions with incised lines in spiral-net composition. Kerbschnitt around edge and along incised lines.
Coleman 1985: 216, No. 118; Fossey 1969: 66, Fig. 6, lower right, No 2.

C8.13.
Perachora, EH IIA.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S336. One incomplete impression. Bands of short incised lines on vessel wall.
Coleman 1985: 216, No. 119; Fossey 1969: 66, Fig. 7, right.

C8.14.
Perachora, EH I-IIA.
Base sherd of vessel described as a frying pan by excavator. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S337. Two complete and one incomplete impressions linked by tangent lines and spiral-net composition below band of Kerbschnitt.
Coleman 1985: 216; Fossey 1969: 66, Fig. 6, lower right, No 1.

C8.15.
Zygouries, EH.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Polished surface.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S338. One incomplete impression with incised lines in spiral-net composition.
Blegen 1928: 76, Pl. IV.9; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.11.

C8.16. Fig. 4.42.
Tsoungiza, EH I-II. Nemea 91-2-2.
Rim, base, and handle sherd of a frying pan. Brownish black paint on surface and burnished interior. Diam. 17.0, H. 2.5.
Impressed with S339. Multiple slightly overlapping impressions in a row, possible second row.
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Pullen 2011: 130, No. 161, Fig. 3.34.

C8.17. Fig. 4.42.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Surface highly burnished. H. 2.9.
Impressed with S340. One incomplete impression.
Pullen 2011: 137, No. 161, Fig. 3.34.

C8.18. Fig. 4.42.
Impressed with S341. Multiple impressions in two rows on either side of a horizontal groove, with incised lines around the edge of the pyxis.
Pullen 2011: 137, No. 198, Fig. 3.40.

C8.19. Fig. 4.42.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Slipped and burnished. H. 5.5.
Impressed with S342. One incomplete impression.
Pullen 2011: 206, No. 221, Fig. 4.26.

C8.20. Fig. 4.42.
Anthochori, EH II Early.
Base sherds of at least seven frying pans.
Objects are not described individually.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S343. Incomplete impressions.
Zavvou 2009: 8-9, Fig. 4.30; Cavanagh 2011, Fig. 22.

C8.21. Asea, Neolithic-EH.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S344. One incomplete impression with vertical and diagonal incised lines.
Holmberg 1944: 85, Fig. 87a; Coleman 1985: 214, No. 90, Ill. 2.

C8.22. Asea, LN-EH.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S345. Two incomplete impressions link tangent line in false running spiral composition.
Holmberg 1944: 86, Fig. 87c; Coleman 1985: 214, No. 92.

C8.23. Fig. 4.42.
Athens.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S346. Multiple complete and incomplete impressions arranged and network composition.
Graef 1909, Pl. 1.3.

C8.24. Fig. 4.42.
Athens.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S347. Two incomplete impressions.
Bossert 1960: 1-16, Fig. 9.3.

C8.25. Fig. 4.42.
Ayios Kosmas. Athens.
Nearly complete frying pan with handle intact. Reddish-brown slip preserved on surface. Diam. 17.0, H. 4.0.
Impressed with S348. One complete central impression surrounded by concentric bands of short incised lines.
Mylonas 1959: 85-86, No. 190, Fig. 146; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 77.

C8.26. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas. Athens.
Nearly complete frying pan with handle mostly intact. Bright red, unevenly fired slip preserved on surface. Diam. 15.6, H. 4.51.
Impressed with S349. One complete central impression with incised lines radiating from the edge toward a framing line. Alternating concentric bands of short incised lines and Kerbschnitt.
Mylonas 1959: 86, No. 195, Fig. 145; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 78; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.7.

C8.27. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan. Brownish-black slip on surface.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S350. One complete impression with incised tangent line in running spiral composition. Short incised lines around edge of base and exterior vessel walls.
Mylonas 1959: 80, No. 4, Fig. 145.

C8.28. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Brownish-black slip on surface. White-filled incised lines.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S351. One complete impressions with incised tangent lines in false running spiral composition between bands of short incised lines.
Mylonas 1959: 80, No. 6, Fig. 145.

C8.29. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan. Brownish-black slip on surface. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S352. One incomplete impression. Short incised lines around edges of base and vessel walls.
Mylonas 1959: 80, No. 7, Fig. 145.

C8.30. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas, EH II.
Base and body sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S353. One incomplete impression with incised tangent line in false running spiral composition. Bands of short incised lines around edge of base and vessel walls.
Mylonas 1959: 18, No. 8, Fig. 145.

C8.31. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas, EH.

Complete frying pan with handle intact.
Surface and handle coated with reddish-brown, unevenly fired slip. Diam. 17.4., H. 4.1.
Impressed with S354. One complete central impression from which incised lines radiate, which is surrounded by a row of impressions connected by incised tangent lines in false running spiral composition with framing lines above and below. Incised diagonal lines around the edge of base.
Mylonas 1959: 92, No. 210, Fig. 148; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 79, Pl. 37, Fig. 29, Ill. 2; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.14.

C8.32. Fig. 4.43.
Ayios Kosmas, EH.
Impressed with S355. Multiple impressions linked by curved lines in running spiral composition between concentric bands of short incised lines above and below. Central area is not preserved.
Mylonas 1959: 101, no. 227, Fig. 148; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 80; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.16.

C8.33. Fig. 4.44.
Ayios Kosmas, EH.
Base and body sherds of at least one frying pan. Surface coated with bright and well polished red slip. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S356. Three complete impressions lines by tangent lines to create a row of running spirals. Band of short incised lines around edge of base. Central area not preserved, but part of framing line with very short incised lines.
Mylonas 1959: 111, No. 300, Fig. 159.

C8.34. Fig. 4.44.
Ayios Kosmas, EH.
Base and body sherds of at least one frying pan. Coated with polished slip.
Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S357. Incomplete impressions combined with Kerbschnitt and incised lines.
Mylonas 1959: 113, No. 313, Fig. 160.

C8.35. Fig. 4.44.
Palaia Kokkinia (Piraeus), EH I (?) Base sherd of a frying pan. Nearly half preserved. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S358. Three complete and one incomplete impressions joined by tangent lines in false running spirals. Short incised lines around edge of base.
Coleman 1985: 214, No. 84; Theochares 1951: 92-127, Fig. 26.

C8.36. Fig. 4.44.
Palaia Kokkinia (Piraeus), EH I (?) Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S359. One incomplete impressions with incised lines radiating from its edge.
Coleman 1985: 215, No. 85; Theochares 1951: 92-127, Fig. 26; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.5.

C8.37. Fig. 4.44.
Koropi, EH I-II. Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S360. Multiple complete and incomplete impressions joined by incised lines in spiral-net composition.

C8.38. Fig. 4.44.
Koropi, EH I-II. Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S361. One complete and one incomplete impression joined by tangent incised line in running spiral.

C8.39. Fig. 4.44.
Impressed with S362. Multiple incomplete impressions in a row ringed by a framing line and Kerbschnitt band around the rim.
Kakavogianni 1993, Pl. 18b (top right); Zervos 1957, Pls. 197-198, 200-201, 203-204, 218; Alram-Stern 2004: 544-546.

C8.40. Fig. 4.44.
Koropi, EH I-II. Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S363. Multiple complete and incomplete impressions joined by incised lines in spiral-net composition.
Kakavogianni 1993, Pl. 18b (middle left); Zervos 1957, Pls. 197-198, 200-201, 203-204, 218; Alram-Stern 2004: 544-546.

C8.41. Fig. 4.44.
Koropi, EH I-II. Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S364. Four complete impressions in a row.

C8.42. Fig. 4.44.
Koropi, EH I-II. Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S365. Multiple complete and incomplete impressions arranged in three superimposed rows and connected by lines in a spiral-net composition.
Framing line and band of Kerbschnitt around the edge of base.
Kakavogianni 1993, Pl. 18b (bottom left); Zervos 1957, Pls. 197-198, 200-201, 203-204, 218; Alram-Stern 2004: 544-546.
**C8.43.** Fig. 4.44.
Markopoulo, EH I (?).
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S366**. Central impressions with incised lines radiating towards a framing line. Row of multiple impressions linked by tangent lines in a running spiral alternating with bands of short incised lines.
Papachristodoulou 1971, Fig. 5; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 81; Theocharis 1955: 283-290; Alram-Stern 2004: 556.

**C8.44.**
Raphina, EH II.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S367**. One partial impression, reconstructed as a row of false running spirals below four bands of Kerbschnitt.
Coleman 1985: 214, No. 86; Theocharis 1951: 93-127, Fig. 14.

**C8.45.** Fig. 4.44.
Tsepi, EH II. Marathon K58.9302.
Complete frying pan with intact handle.
Diam. 17.0, H. 3.5.
Impressed with **S368**. One intact central impression from which incised lines radiate towards a framing line, with alternating bands of short incised lines and Kerbschnitt.
Marinatos 1970: 349-366, Fig. 4; Coleman 1985: 213, No. 82; Alram-Stern 2004: 550-554; Pantelidou 2005: 71-75, No. 9.1, Pl. 9.

**C8.46.** Fig. 4.44.
Tsepi, EH II. Marathon K36.9264.
Complete frying pan with intact handle.
Diam. 18.5, H. 4.2.
Impressed with **S369**. Central impression with short incised lines radiating from its edges towards a framing line, with a concentric ring of Kerbschnitt with a top framing line, surrounded by a row of multiple impressions linked by tangent incised lines in a false running spiral, with a band of short incised lines around the edges.

**C8.47.** Fig. 4.44.
Manika, EH II. 5654.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Fragment but nearly half is preserved. Diam. 21.0, H. 3.4.
Impressed with **S370**. Four complete impressions linked by incised tangent lines in false running spiral in center, surrounded by three rows of zigzags, with four further complete impressions around the edge.
Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987: 242, No. 20, Fig. 7, Pl. 39c-d.

**C8.48.** Fig. 4.44.
Eutresis, EH I.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S371**. Two complete impressions in a row between incised framing lines at edge of sherd, which surround diagonal lines beneath a framing line.
Goldman 1931: 80-81, Fig. 97.6; Coleman 1985: 215, No. 104.

**C8.49.** Fig. 4.44.
Eutresis, EH I.
Base sherd of a frying pan. White filling preserved in incised and impressed designs. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with **S372**. Two incomplete impressions connected by an incised tangent line in a false running spiral composition. Beneath row of running spirals is an incised line from which numerous short incised lines grow.
Goldman 1931: 80-81, Fig. 97.7; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.10; Coleman 1985: 215, No. 101.

**C8.50.** Fig. 4.44.
Pefkakia, EH II.
Base sherd of a frying pan. Nearly one-third preserved. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S373. Multiple impressions with central stamp ringed by three concentric double rows of impressions alternating with bands of Kerbschnitt.
Toucheas 1977: 593, Fig. 182; Coleman 1985: 216, No. 115.

C8.51.
Base sherd of a frying pan. L. 1.9.
Impressed with S374. One incomplete impression.
Vase fragment, EH. Anonymous Gift, 1930.

C9.1. Fig. 4.46.
Korakou, EH. Corinth CP 3311.
Body and lug fragment of a vessel of undetermined type. Clay is reddish orange and hand polished. H. (pres.) 5.0.
Impressed with S375. Two nearly complete impressions arranged in a row at the level of the lug and connected with tangent lines in a false running spiral composition, with a horizontal band of incised parallel vertical lines below.
Blegen 1921: 5, Fig. 3.5; CP 3311.
corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/object/cp%203311. Accessed 13 March 2018; Bossert 1960, No. 3, Fig. 9.2.

C9.2. Fig. 4.46.
Korakou, EH. Corinth CP 3310.
Body fragment of a vessel of undetermined type. Clay is reddish orange with a gray core. H. (pres.) 2.5.
Impressed with S376. Three nearly complete impressions arranged in a horizontal row and connected with incised tangent lines in a false running spiral composition.
Blegen 1921: 5, Fig. 3.5; CP 3310,
corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/object/cp%203310. Accessed 13 March 2018; Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.6.

C9.3. Fig. 4.46.
Ayios Dhimitrios / Lepreon, EH II. Olympia 3694.
Handle fragment, oval in section. Clay is coarse, light beige to reddish orange, and highly fired. L. (pres.) 7.4.
Impressed with S377. One complete impression.
CMS VS1B 145; Zachos 1987: 159, 161, No. 7, Pl. 53, 3754.

C9.4. Fig. 4.46.
Likhas, EH II (?). Athens, BSA unnumbered.
Body fragment from a vessel of undetermined type. Clay is yellowish brown to gray. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S378. One complete impression below incised parallel horizontal lines.
CMS V 203; Sackett 1966: 37, No. S 89, Pls. 9 b middle right.

C9.5. Fig. 4.46.
Eutresis, EH I.
Body fragment of a vessel of undetermined type. Dimensions not recorded.
Impressed with S379. One nearly complete impression with an incised tangent line within a false running spiral composition, with an incised pattern of horizontal and diagonal incised below.
Goldman 1931: 80-81, Fig. 97.2.

C10.1. Fig. 4.47.
Lerna, EH IIB. Argos L4.204.
Complete “loomweight” with two vertical perforations. Clay is fine and buff. H. 5.7.
Impressed with S380. Single impression of S381 (loops / spirals) on three sides.
APPENDIX D: IMPRESSED SEAL DESIGNS

S1 (B1a-g). Fig. 3.7.
An S-spiral and an independent spiral. The extent of the design is not preserved.
CMS V 043; Wiencke 1969, S72, Pl. 125.

S2 (B2a-o). Fig. 3.7.
An eight-petalled rosette fills the entire face of the seal.
CMS V 044; Wiencke 1969, S73, Pl. 125.

S3 (B2p-aa). Fig. 3.7.
Two sets of interlocking C-spirals divide the seal face into three sections, with a central triangle formed by the inner C-spirals.
CMS V 044; Wiencke 1969, S74, Pl. 125.

S4 (B3). Fig. 3.7.
A cross with a small circle at its center divides the circular seal face into quadrants. Two opposed arms of the cross fork into two short arms, while the other two arms of the cross branch into two spirals that fill each of the quadrants.
CMS V 046; Wiencke 1969, S75, Pl. 125.

S5 (B4). Fig. 3.7.
Three central points surrounded by three-leaf motifs and other partially preserved curvilinear motifs fill the circular seal face.
CMS V 047; Wiencke 1969, S76, Pl. 125.

S6 (B5b-B5i). Fig. 3.7.
A central cross divides the seal face into quadrants, each filled with five parallel lines in alternating horizontal and vertical arrangements.
CMS V 048; Wiencke 1969, S77, Pl. 125.

S7 (B6a-b). Fig. 3.7.
A continuous line around the circular face of the seal created five running spirals around an indistinct central motif.
CMS V 050; Heath 1958, S83.

S8 (B12). Fig. 3.7.
A central circle surrounded by a continuous line forming three loops, with a framing line around the circular face of the seal.
CMS V 049; Wiencke 1969, S80.

S9 (B13a-f, B89a-c). Fig. 3.11.
Three ellipses arranged in a triangle and opening onto a framing line, with each ellipse containing a T-shaped motifs inside each ellipse.
CMS V 054; Heath 1958, S1, Pl. 20.

S10 (B14). Fig. 3.11.
Three T-shaped motifs grow out of the framing line encircling the seal face, each surrounded by a double loop arranged facing inward so that a triangular space is created in the center of the circular seal face.
CMS V 055; Heath 1958, S2, Pl. 20.

S11 (B15a-b, B16a-c). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a swastika motif.
CMS V 056; Heath 1958, S3, Pl. 20.

S12 (B17). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a spider motif.
CMS V 057; Heath 1958, S4, Pl. 20.

S13 (B18). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with an indistinct motif.
CMS V 058; Heath 1958, S5, Pl. 20.

S14 (B19). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, with three-leafed motifs between them, creating a central triangle with an indistinct motif.
CMS V 059; Heath 1958, S6, Pl. 20.
S15 (B20). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous double line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a trefoil motif.
CMS V 061; Heath 1958, S8, Pl. 20.

S16 (B21a-b). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a trefoil motif. In the spaces between each double loop are three points. A framing line encircles the seal face.
CMS V 062; Heath 1958, S9, Pl. 20.

S17 (B22). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a trefoil motif. In the spaces between each double loop are three points. A framing line encircles the entire composition.
CMS V 063; Heath 1958, S10, Pl. 20.

S18 (B23-B25). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a trefoil motif. In the spaces between each double loop are three points. A framing line encircles the entire composition.
CMS V 064; Heath 1958, S11, Pl. 20.

S19 (B26a-b). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created four double loops arranged around the circular seal face in the shape of a cross, with a quatrefoil motif or four points in the center.
CMS V 065; Heath 1958, S12, Pl. 20.

S20 (B27). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created four double loops arranged around the circular seal face in the shape of a cross, with a quatrefoil motif in the center.
CMS V 066; Heath 1958, S13, Pl. 20.

S21 (B28a, B29). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created four double loops arranged around the circular seal face in the shape of a cross, creating a quadrangular space in the middle with a circle around a central motif, reconstructed as a swastika but not well preserved. A framing line encircles the entire composition.
CMS V 067; Heath 1958, S14, Pl. 20.

S22 (B30). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous double line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a triangular space in the middle.
CMS V 068; Heath 1958, S15.

S23 (B31a-b, B32). Fig. 3.11.
Two interlocking double loops with a third “stem” arranged opposite each other on the circular seal face.
CMS V 069; Heath 1958, S16, Pl. 20.

S24 (B33). Fig. 3.11.
Two interlocking double loops with a third “stem” arranged opposite each other on the circular seal face.
CMS V 070; Heath 1958, S17, Pl. 20.

S25 (B34a-b). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous double line creates several loops that create a swastika-like motif.
CMS V 071; Heath 1958, S18, Pl. 20.

S26 (B35a-b). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created three double loops in the center of the seal face, with three trefoil motifs in the space between the loops and the border of the seal face.
CMS V 072; Heath 1958, S19, Pl. 20.

S27 (B36). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates three triple loops that create three-leafed motifs arranged around the outside of the circular seal face, each connected by single loop. A framing line encircles the entire composition.
CMS V 073; Heath 1958, S20, Pl. 20.

S28 (B37). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates four triple loops that create three-leafed motifs arranged...
around the outside of the circular seal face, each connected by single loop.
CMS V 074; Heath 1958, S21, Pl. 20.

S29 (B38). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates three single loops arranged around the edge of the circular seal face, each with an angle in the center.
CMS V 075; Heath 1958, S22, Pl. 20.

S30 (B39). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates four double loops arranged around the circular seal face in the shape of a cross, each with a projection on the cross of the arm.

S31 (B40). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates four shallow double loops and four single loops arranged around the circular seal face.
CMS V 077; CMS V 078; Heath 1958, S24, Pl. 21.

S32 (B41a-d, B42). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates four single loops arranged around the circular seal face, with an L-shaped motif in the center.
CMS V 077; CMS V 078; Heath 1958, S24, Pl. 21.

S33 (B43-B45a-g). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates eight single loops arranged around the circular seal face that resembles a doubled swastika, with a circle and central point in the center.
CMS V 079; Heath 1958, S26, Pl. 21.

S34 (B46). Fig. 3.11.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with a single loop growing from the top of each cross arm that interlock with a single short line growing from the center of the next cross arm.
CMS V 080; Heath 1958, S27, Pl. 21.

S35 (B47-B48). Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line creates two double loops connected by a diamond with a central four-leafed motif in the middle of the circular seal face. Two forked motifs fill the space between the double loops and the sides of the diamond. A framing line encircles the composition.
CMS V 081; Heath 1958, S28, Pl. 21.

S36 (B49). Fig. 3.11.
Three Y-shaped motifs emanating from the frame line, alternating with three T-shaped motifs emanating from an unclear central motif
CMS V 082; Heath 1958, S29, Pl. 21.

S37 (B50). Fig. 3.11.
Two T-shaped motifs emanating from an indistinct central circle motif, with two short horizontal lines between them.
CMS V 083; Heath 1958, S30, Pl. 21.

S38 (B51). Fig. 3.12.
Central four-leafed motif inside a rhombus, which has four T-shaped motifs coming out from the center of each of its sides. The spaces between each T-shaped motif are Y-shaped motifs emanating from a framing line
CMS V 085; Heath 1958, S31, Pl. 21.

S39 (B52b-b, B53a-b). Fig. 3.12.
Alternating T-shaped motifs and lines terminating in three-leaf motifs emanate from the framing line; T-shaped motifs interlock with trapezoidal motifs; spaces between three-leaf motifs filled with five small triangles; in the center, a dot
CMS V 086; Heath 1958, S41, Pl. 21.

S40 (B54). Fig. 3.12.
Cross with arms that terminate in four T-shaped motifs that alternate with four three-leaf designs that stem from the framing line.
CMS V 087; Heath 1958, S33, Pl. 21.

S41 (B55). Fig. 3.12.
A continuous line forms four three-leaf motifs in the center of the design, the stems of which radiate toward the edge of the seal surface and form pairs of squared loops
CMS V 088; Heath 1958, S34, Pl. 21.

S42 (B56). Fig. 3.12.
Three three-leaf motifs emanating from a framing line, the spaced between which form T-shaped motifs; small diamonds also fill the spaces between the three-leaf motifs. (The negative form of this design corresponds to the positive from CMS V 090, except for the central diamonds).


S43 (B57). Fig. 3.12.
Continuous line forms three double loops interconnected by three three-leaf motifs. (The negative form of this design corresponds to the positive from CMS V 089, except for the central diamonds).

CMS V 090; Heath 1958, S36, Pl. 21.

S44 (B58a-b). Fig. 3.12.
Design partially preserved. Reconstructed as interlinking T-shaped motifs.

CMS V 118; Heath 1958, S64.

S45 (B59). Fig. 3.1.
A large, central trefoil motif outlined by a framing line, the spaces between filled by three smaller three-leaf motifs.

CMS V 091; Heath 1958, S37, Pl. 21.

S46 (B60). Fig. 3.12.
Large central trefoil motif, the spaces between filled with 3 squarish triskels; framing line.

CMS V 092; Heath 1958, S38, Pl. 21.

S47 (B61-B63a, B65-B66). Fig. 3.1.
Central swastika motif rendered in outline surrounded by four three-leaf and four two-leaf motifs, also rendered in outline.

CMS V 093; Heath 1958, S39, Pl. 21.

S48 (B63b, B64). Fig. 3.12.
Three three-leaf motifs alternating with three two-leaf motifs around the edge of seal face, with a trefoil motif in the middle.

CMS V 093; Heath 1958, S40, Pl. 21.

S49 (B67). Fig. 3.12.
Central swastika with three three-leaf motifs alternating with 4 swastikas around border of seal face.

CMS V 096; Heath 1958, S42, Pl. 21.

S50 (B52a). Fig. 3.12.
Five three-leaf motifs arranged around a central swastika motif.

CMS V 086; Heath 1958, S41, Pl. 21.

S51 (B68). Fig. 3.12.
Four interlocking S-spirals; in the spiral heads are hung four C-spirals, which are in turn interlocked in the center of the sealing surface. In the border spaces are four small S-spirals.

CMS V 100; Heath 1958, S46, Pl. 22.

S52 (B69). Fig. 3.12.
A continuous line forms 4 interlocking S-spirals. Rhombus in center, triangles in spaces between S-spirals.

CMS V 101; Heath 1958, S47, Pl. 22.

S53 (B70). Fig. 3.12.
Five continuous spiral hooks arranged around a central point. One spiral hook emanates from a framing line.

CMS V 102; Heath 1958, S48, Pl. 22.

S54 (B71a-b). Fig. 3.12.
Five trefoil motifs in a circular arrangement.

CMS V 105; Heath 1958, S51, Pl. 22.

S55 (B72). Fig. 3.12.
Five trefoil motifs in a circular arrangement, with a framing line.

CMS V 106; Heath 1958, S52, Pl. 22.

S56 (B73-B75). Fig. 3.12.
Six trefoil motifs grouped tightly around a central seventh trefoil motif.

CMS V 104; Heath 1958, S50, Pl. 22.

S57 (B76). Fig. 3.12.
Six trefoil motifs arranged around a seventh central trefoil motif: Four dots in the spaces between three of the outer trefoils, with a simple framing line.
S58 (B77). Fig. 3.12.
Six trefoil motifs arranged around a seventh central trefoil motif, with six partial trefoils in the space around them that are cut off by the edge of the seal face.
CMS V 108; Heath 1958, S54, Pl. 22.

S59 (B68, B78-B79a-h). Fig. 3.12.
Four trefoil motifs in a circular arrangement alternating with four beaked vessels.
CMS V 109; Heath 1958, S55, Pl. 22.

S60 (B80). Fig. 3.12.
Four T-shaped motifs in a cruciform arrangement, alternating with two triskels and two four-stringed musical instruments.
CMS V 110; Heath 1958, S56, Pl. 22.

S61 (B81a-B82b). Fig. 3.12.
Central spider motif surrounded by an irregular wavy line.
CMS V 115; Heath 1958, S61, Pl. 22.

S62 (B83). Fig. 3.13.
Design is partially preserved. Reconstructed as a framing line with attached semi-circles enclosing semi-circles, circles, crosses, and lines.
CMS V 116; Heath 1958, S62, Pl. 22.

S63 (B84). Fig. 3.13.
Eleven lines terminating in circles radiating from the center of the seal surface like spokes. Both the circles and lines are irregular in size.
CMS V 117; Heath 1958, S59, Pl. 22.

S64 (B28b). Fig. 3.13.
Preserved design unable to be reconstructed with certainty. Two nested angles and a stepped motif are preserved. Individual lines do not run into each other.
CMS V 109; Heath 1958, S14, Pl. 20.

S65 (B85). Fig. 3.13.
Two opposing three-leaf motifs rendered in outline, between which is another leaf-shaped motif. A curved line in the spaces between and an unclear motif in the center.
CMS V 098; Heath 1958, S44, Pl. 22.

S66 (B86). Fig. 3.13.
Motif only partially preserved. From an indistinct central motif grows a central line from which two opposing spirals grow, with a triangle between them. The rest of the preserved seal face is filled with a curvilinear T-shaped motif, with three crescent motifs between the two main motifs.
CMS V 099; Heath 1958, S45, Pl. 22.

S67 (B87). Fig. 3.13.
Six three-leaf motifs rendered as two groups of three interlocking motifs formed by a continuous line, with both groups flank three central motifs. Two points in the very center, a spiral motif above, and an L- or foot-shaped motif below.
CMS V 097; Heath 1958, S43, Pl. 22.

S68 (B88a-c). Fig. 3.13.
In the upper half of the seal face two opposing spirals that branch from the center line to right or left, a triangle in the space above. In the lower half a series of nested curved lines with triangles to either side.
CMS V 103; Heath 1958, S49, Pl. 22.

S69 (B89a-c, B90). Fig. 3.13.
Two identical designs intertwined to form a single motif consisting of angled and curved double lines crating overlapping diamonds with pretzel-shaped loops.
CMS V 111; Heath 1958, S57, Pl. 22.

S70 (B91). Fig. 3.13.
Cross motif comprised of horizontal and vertical bands with nested angles, with a cross at an angle in the middle. The spaces around edges of the seal face are filled with nested angles and short lines, which are preserved in only some angles but restored in all of them in the drawing.
CMS V 112; Heath 1958, S58, Pl. 22.
S71 (B93). Fig. 3.13.
A continuous line forms three symmetrically arranged groups of triangles around a central point.
CMS V 114; Heath 1958, S60, Pl. 22.

S72 (B94). Fig. 3.13.
Design partially preserved. Reconstructed as zigzags or nested angles.
CMS V 119; Heath 1958, S69, Pl. 22.

S73 (B95).
Seal impression not well preserved. Only part of a loop is visible.
Heath 1958, S70, Pl. 29.

S74 (B112). Fig. 3.15.
Cross with arms that terminate in T-shaped motif, with the space between each cross arm filled by short strokes emanating from the framing line.
CMS V 084; Heath 1958, S71.

S75 (B113). Fig. 3.15.
A continuous double line created three double loops arranged around the circular seal face, creating a central triangle with a trefoil motif.
CMS V 060; Heath 1958, S7, Pl. 20.

S76 (B115). Fig. 3.17.
Central spider motif surrounded by a framing line.
CMS VS1B 087.

S77 (B116). Fig. 3.17.
Central spider motif.
CMS VS1B 371.

S78 (B117). Fig. 3.17.
Trefoil motif consisting of three connected in the center spiral hook. In the edge spaces filler triangle motifs.
CMS VS1B 372.

S79 (B118). Fig. 3.17.
Two interlocking hung spiral hooks and an 8-motif irregular.
CMS VS1B 373.

S80 (B119). Fig. 3.17.
Three volute motifs clamped together by C-hooks.
CMS VS1B 374.

S81 (B120). Fig. 3.19.
Spider in a framing line consisting of continuous but irregular single loops.
CMS V 519.

S82 (B121). Fig. 3.19.
Spiral trefoil whose volutes curl in a counter-clockwise from the middle. In the spaces at the edges are two solid triangles and two curved nested triangles.
CMS V 520.

S83 (B122). Fig. 3.19.
Central trefoil motif surrounded by continuous lines that create a triskleion spiral pattern terminating in three single loops.
CMS V 521.

S84 (B123). Fig. 3.19.
A swastika divides the seal face into four quadrants, each filled with nest linear motifs.
Weiberg 2010, Fig. 4b.

S85 (B124). Fig. 3.19.
Central scorpion with partial circle and curvilinear motifs around edges, possibly a partially preserved border.
Weiberg 2010, Fig. 4a.

S86 (B125). Fig. 3.23.
Central point surrounded by a circle, from which grow six spirals that terminate in thickened lines resembling points.
CMS VS1A 398.

S87 (B126). Fig. 3.21.
Two opposing double loops with a diamond in the middle encircled by a framing line.
Kostoula 2000, S1, Fig. 4a.

S88 (B127). Fig. 3.21.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with a three-leafed motif growing from the framing line. Kostoula 2000, S10, Fig. 5b.

**S89 (B128).** Fig. 3.21.
Central trefoil motif surrounded by three double loops rendered in a continuous line. Kostoula 2000, S13, Fig. 5c.

**S90 (B129).** Fig. 3.21.
Four double loops rendered in a continuous line that creates a central cross with each arm creating a diamond shaped space below each double loop. Kostoula 2000, S16, Fig. 5d.

**S91 (B130).** Fig. 3.21.
Central quatrefoil rendered in double line with a central triangle, with the space between each arm filled with ellipses rendered in double lines with a central ellipse. Kostoula 2000, S18, Fig. 5e.

**S92 (B131).** Fig. 3.21.
Partially preserved design consisting of four radially arranged hooks rendered in double lines. Kostoula 2000, S2, Fig. 4b.

**S93 (B132).**
Partially preserved and indistinct design consisting of double loops. Kostoula 2000, S3.

**S94 (B133).**
Two superimposed circles with central points surrounded nested curvilinear lines to create a figure-of-eight motif. Kostoula 2000, S4.

**S95 (B134).** Fig. 3.21.
A central triskellion is surrounded by three angles and framed by a circle, outside of which are numerous small arcs that create a border around the design on the circular seal face. Kostoula 2000, S7, Fig. 5a.

**S96 (B135).** Fig. 3.21.
A large horned quadruped faces a tree or plant, while a smaller quadruped beneath faces the opposite direction. Kostoula 2000, S21, Fig. 6b.

**S97 (B136-B146).** Fig. 3.25.
Central swastika motif surrounded by a series of lines that create a complex pattern consisting of squares and triangles as well as linear motifs that resemble three-leafed motifs, of surrounded by a framing line. CMS VS3 360; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-1.

**S98 (B147-B156).** Fig. 3.25.
An irregular cross divides the seal face into quadrants, each of which is filled with two lines terminating in points that branch from each arm of the cross as well as short lines terminating in points that emanate from the framing line, which connects with the cross. CMS VS3 361; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-2.

**S99 (B157-B163).** Fig. 3.25.
Central cross surrounded by a circle, with five preserved (eight reconstructed) circles arranged around and a point between each circle. CMS VS3 362; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-3.

**S100 (B164-B167).** Fig. 3.25.
Central point surrounded by a circle, with a rectilinear wavy line around the edge that is surrounded by a framing line from which short lines emanate to fill the space between each lobe of the wavy line. CMS VS3 363; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-4.

**S101 (B168-B170).** Fig. 3.25.
Central point surrounded by a circle from which grow two parallel lines, with the triangular spaces between them filled with small triangles and a curvilinear motif resembling the three-leafed motif but rendered in a linear fashion. CMS VS3 364; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-5.

**S102 (B171).** Fig. 3.25.
Five concentric circles arranged around a central point.
CMS VS3 365; Weingarten et al. 2011, G-6.

S103 (B172-B175). Fig. 3.26.
Central cross surrounded by a circle, around which are arranged smaller circles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-7, Fig. 11a.

S104 (B176-B177). Fig. 3.26.
Indistinct central motif surrounded by a circle, around which are arranged smaller circles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-8, Fig. 11b.

S105 (B178). Fig. 3.26.
A partially preserved central cross surrounded by a circle, with smaller circles arranged around it.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-9, Fig. 11c.

S106 (B179). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved and consists of a central circle surrounded by smaller circles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-10, Fig. 11d.

S107 (B180). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved and consists of a central circle surrounded by smaller circles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-11, Fig. 11e.

S108 (B181-B182). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved and consists of curvilinear motifs, including a central cross and a circle.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-12, Fig. 11f.

S109 (B183). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved at the border and consists of a circle surrounding an indistinct central motif, with three semi-circles or curvilinear motifs resembling a linear three-leaved motif around the edges.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-13, Fig. 13a.

S110 (B184). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved at the border and consists of circles.

S111 (B185). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved at the border, where a central point is surrounded by a circle.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-15, Fig. 13c.

S112 (B186-B196). Fig. 3.26.
Two double loops rendered in double line, with a central diamond and two Y-shaped design created in the spaces between the double loops and diamond.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-16, Fig. 14.

S113 (B197-B198). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved and consists of nested angles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-17, Fig. 16.

S114 (B199). Fig. 3.26.
Design is partially preserved at the border and consists of a curvilinear motif.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-18, Fig. 10b.

S115 (B202-B203). Fig. 3.27.
Design is partially preserved and consists of curvilinear designs, including a possible double loop.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-19, Fig. 17.

S116 (B206-B207).
Partially preserved design consists of one complete and one partial circle.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-12?.

S117 (B213). Fig. 3.27.
Design is partially preserved at the border, where an S-spiral, a three-leaved, a circle, and two points are preserved.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-21, Fig. 19.

S118 (B216). Fig. 3.27.
Design is partially preserved and consists of curvilinear motifs and circles.
Weingarten et al. 2011, G-22, Fig. 20.

S119 (B223).
Partially preserved design consists of double loops and nested lines.
Zavvou 2012, Fig. 19
S120 (B224). Fig. 3.30.
Four T-shaped motifs arranged around the seal face that resemble double loops, which are rendered in a continuous line creating curvilinear motifs in the spaces between each T-shaped motif.
CMS VS1A 381.

S121 (B225). Fig. 3.31.
Seal impression not well preserved. Design indistinct.
CMS VS1B 146.

S122 (B226). Fig. 3.33.
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags
CMS VS1B 033.

S123 (C1.1). Fig. 4.6.
Vertical lines divide the roller face into two fields, both containing superimposed S-spirals. A framing line is preserved at the top.
CMS V 146; Wiencke 1970, S114, Pl. 29.

S124 (C1.2). Fig. 4.6.
Continuous herringbone.
CMS V 147; Wiencke 1970, S116, Pl. 29.

S125 (C1.3). Fig. 4.6.
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags

S126 (C1.4). Fig. 4.6.
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags
CMS V 149; Wiencke 1970, S118, Pl. 30.

S127 (C1.5). Fig. 4.6.
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags
Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.58.

S128 (C1.6). Fig. 4.6.
Nested angles, perhaps part of a partially preserved zigzag.
Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.70.

S129 (C1.7). Fig. 4.6.
Two superimposed rows of partially preserved concentric circles.
Weißhaar 1990, Fig. 34.1; Weißhaar 1990, Fig. 19.1.

S130 (C1.8).
Partial spirals preserved.
Siedentopf 1973, Pl. 4.

S131 (C1.9).
Three rows of interlocking S-spirals.
CMS V 530.

S132 (C1.10). Fig. 4.6.
S-spirals arranged vertically in a row with linear motif between them.
CMS V 534; Müller 1930, Pl. 18.2.

S133 (C1.11, C1.23). Fig. 4.6.
S-spirals with diamond and curvilinear motifs between them.
CMS V 535; CMS VS1B 382; Müller 1930, Pl. 15.4

S134 (C1.12). Fig. 4.6.
Four interlocking C-spirals that create a row of T-shape motifs in alternating directions.
CMS V 536; Müller 1930, Pl. 18.8.

S135 (C1.13). Fig. 4.6.
A row of discrete spirals with curvilinear motifs above and below.
CMS V 538; Müller 1930, Pl. 18.8.

S136 (C1.14). Fig. 4.6.
Superimposed rows of nested zigzags.
CMS V 557; Müller 1930, Pl. 16.5.

S137 (C1.15). Fig. 4.7.
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags
CMS V 559; Siedentopf 1973, Pl. 3.82.

S138 (C1.16). Fig. 4.7.
Row of double wavy lines separated by horizontal single lines from nested angles running in opposite directions.
CMS V 562a; Siedentopf 1973, Pls. 16.2, 18.4.

S139 (C1.17-C1.18, C3.3). Fig. 4.7.
Back-to-back loops rendered with double lines.
CMS V 563a; Müller 1930, Pls. 18.5, 18.7.
S140 (C1.19). Fig. 4.7.  
Two superimposed rows of nested angles running in opposite directions separated by a single horizontal line.  
CMS V 564; Müller 1930, Pl. 18.10.

S141 (C1.20). Fig. 4.6.  
Continuous herringbone.  
CMS V 566; Müller 1930, Pl. 16.8.

S142 (C1.21-C1.22). Fig. 4.7.  
Three rows of running spirals with nested angles.  
CMS VS1B 381.

S143 (C1.24). Fig. 4.7.  
Two tightly coiled C-spirals arranged side-by-side and facing each other with a diamond-shaped space between them.  
CMS VS1B 384; Weißhaar 1989, Fig. 6a.

S144 (C1.25, C2.57). Fig. 4.28.  
Three superimposed rows of concentric circles with Y-shaped motifs in the interstices.  
CMS VS1B 392; CMS V 562b.

S145 (C1.26). Fig. 4.7.  
Continuous herringbone.  
CMS VS1B 409.

S146 (C1.27). Fig. 4.7.  
Single row of nested angles.  
CMS VS1B 410.

S147 (C1.28). Fig. 4.7.  
Nested zigzags.  
CMS VS1B 411.

S148 (C1.29). Fig. 4.7.  
Nested zigzags.  
CMS VS1B 413.

S149 (C1.30). Fig. 4.7.  
Nested zigzags.  
CMS VS1B 414.

S150 (C1.31a-b, C1.32). Fig. 4.8.  
Nested zigzags.  
CMS VS1B 415.

S151 (C1.34). Fig. 4.8.  
Horizontal rows of nested zigzags with points along the top and bottom.  
CMS VS1B 418.

S152 (C1.35-C1.36). Fig. 4.8.  
Horizontal row of back-to-back loops rendered with double lines with a row of diamonds with central points at the top.  
CMS VS1B 421; Weißhaar 1989, Fig. 6b.

S153 (C1.37a-b). Fig. 4.8.  
Continuous herringbone.  
CMS VS1B 424; Weißhaar 1989, Fig. 5.

S154 (C1.38a-b). Fig. 4.8.  
Two quadrupeds, one larger and one smaller, facing each other with curvilinear motifs (grid?).  
CMS VS1B 425; Weißhaar 1989, Fig. 11a-b.

S155 (C1.39).  
Three superimposed rows of running spirals.  
Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 169.3.

S156 (C1.40).  
Two partial spirals preserved. Galligan identified the design as a concentric circle motif, but the photograph shows spirals (Galligan 2012: 116).  
Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 169.4.

S157 (C1.41).  
Nested angles.  
Dousougli-Zachos 1987, Fig. 24.

S158 (C1.42).  
Irregular wavy lines.  
Säflund 1965, Fig. 83c.

S159 (C1.43).  
Nested zigzags.  
Säflund 1965, Fig. 83a.

S160 (C1.44).  
Nested zigzags.  
Säflund 1965, Fig. 83b.

S161 (C1.45). Fig. 4.8.  
Nested zigzags.
Forsén 1996, Fig. 23.

**S162 (C1.46).** Fig. 4.8.
Irregular nested zigzags.
Pullen 1995, Fig. 36.

**S163 (C1.47).** Fig. 4.8.
Concentric circles or spirals. Preservations makes identification uncertain.
Pullen 1995, Fig. 123; Pullen 1995, Fig. 36.

**S164 (C1.48).** Fig. 4.8.
Two rows of zigzags on either side of a row of nested diamonds.
Pullen 1995, Fig. 123; Pullen 1995, Fig. 36.

**S165 (C1.49).** Fig. 4.8.
Zigzags or nested angles. Preservation makes identification uncertain.
Pullen 1995, Fig. 123.

**S166 (C1.50).**
Zigzags with diamonds nested between zigzag and hearth edge.
Pullen 1995, Fig. 123; Pullen 1995, Fig. 36.

**S167 (C1.51).** Fig. 4.9.
Nested angles.
Weinberg 1939, Fig. 4.

**S168 (C1.52).** Fig. 4.9.
Three horizontal bands of four wavy lines.
CMS V 508.

**S169 (C1.53-C1.54a).** Fig. 4.9.
Horizontal bands of wavy lines.
CMS V 509.

**S170 (C1.54b).** Fig. 4.9.
Complex design of interlocking S-spirals with linear motifs. Two strips of zigzags, possibly tool-impressed.
CMS VS1A 400.

**S171 (C1.55a).** Fig. 4.9.
Horizontal bands of six wavy lines.
CMS VS1A 402.

**S172 (C1.55b).** Fig. 4.9.
Nested zigzags.
CMS VS1A 402.

**S173 (C1.56).** Fig. 4.9.
Three horizontal bands of three wavy lines.
CMS VS1A 403.

**S174 (C1.57).** Fig. 4.9.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 506.

**S175 (C1.58).** Fig. 4.10.
Nested zigzags.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.117.

**S176 (C1.59).** Fig. 4.10.
Nested zigzags.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.117.

**S177 (C1.60).** Fig. 4.10.
Nested zigzags inside a framing line.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.117.

**S178 (C1.61).** Fig. 4.10.
Nested zigzags inside a framing line.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.117.

**S179 (C1.62).** Fig. 4.10.
Nested zigzags inside a framing line.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.117.

**S180 (C1.63).**
Spirals.
Petrikaki 1986, Pl. 42.

**S181 (C1.64).**
Single row of zigzags.
Photo by author.

**S182 (C1.65).**
Concentric circles.
Konsolaki-Gianopoulou 2011, Fig. 6.

**S183 (C1.66).**
Zigzags.
Konsolaki-Gianopoulou 2011, Fig. 5.

**S184 (C1.67).**
Zigzags.
Papathanasopoulos et al. 1995, Pl. IVd.

**S185 (C1.68).**
Nested rows of zigzags.
Papathanasopoulos et al. 1995, Pl. IVd.

**S186 (C1.69).**
Row of paratactic concentric circles.
Tankosic 2011, Fig. 3.29E.

**S187 (C1.70).**
Concentric circles.
Tankosic 2011, Fig. 3.29G.

**S188 (C1.71).**
Nested zigzags.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 16.

**S189 (C2.1a-c, C2.32, C2.105).** Fig. 4.24.
Two superimposed rows of running spirals.
In the space between the two rows are two animals (identified as a dog and quadruped) and two points.
CMS V 120; CMS V 529; CMS V 504; Wiencke 1970, S87, Pl. 27.

**S190 (C2.2, C2.3a-b).** Fig. 4.24.
Four superimposed rows of running spirals.
CMS V 121; Wiencke 1970, S88, Pl. 27.

**S191 (B92).** Fig. 3.11.
A continuous line created four double loops arranged around the circular seal face in the shape of a cross, with a quadskelion motif in the center.

**S192 (C2.4a-f).** Fig. 4.24.
Two superimposed rows of concentric circles around points.
CMS V 122; Wiencke 1970, S89, Pl. 27.

**S193 (C2.5, C2.6a-c).** Fig. 4.24.
Two superimposed rows of concentric circles around points.
CMS V 123; Wiencke 1970, S90, Pl. 27.

**S194 (C2.7a-c).** Fig. 4.24.
Four vertical lines create three zones of design, each filled with curvilinear motifs including S-spirals and wavy lines.
CMS V 124; Wiencke 1970, S91, Pl. 27.

**S195 (C2.8).** Fig. 4.24.

Four horizontal bands of superimposed motifs: at the top, a zigzag; beneath is an interlocking S-spirals, with a cross and three-leaf motif between the zigzag and S-spirals; beneath is a row of nesting angles; at the bottom is a row of running spirals.
CMS V 125; Wiencke 1970, S92, Pl. 28.

**S196 (C2.9a-c, C2.10).** Fig. 4.24.
Vertical lines create different zones of decoration, each filled with curvilinear motifs, including spirals, arcs, and nested angles.
CMS V 126; Wiencke 1970, S93, Pl. 27.

**S197 (C2.11).** Fig. 4.24.
Groups of spirals emanating from horizontal lines.
CMS V 127; Wiencke 1970, S95, Pl. 28.

**S198 (C2.12a-d).** Fig. 4.24.
A network of nested horizontal lines and spirals, including an S-spiral.
CMS V 128; Wiencke 1970, S96, Pl. 28.

**S199 (C2.13a-h).** Fig. 4.25.
Horizontal and vertical lines create a grid that divide the roller face into decorative zones, each containing a spiral.
CMS V 129.

**S200 (C2.14a-b).** Fig. 4.25.
Vertical lines divide the face of the roller into five unequally sized fields, one filled with a concentric circle and the other with parallel horizontal and oblique lines that create a herringbone pattern.
CMS V 130; Wiencke 1970, S98, Pl. 28.

**S201 (C2.15).** Fig. 4.25.
Three superimposed pairs of spirals divided by nested angles and horizontal lines. One pair of spirals is an S-spiral that connects vertically. The other two pairs are comprised of one independent spiral and one end of a horizontally connected S-spiral. Framing lines contain the design.
CMS V 131.
**S202 (C2.16).** Fig. 4.25.
Two concentric circles and a herringbone pattern.
CMS V 132; Wiencke 1970, S100, Pl. 28.

**S203 (C2.17a-b).** Fig. 4.25.
Vertical lines divide the roller face into four unequal fields. Two fields have concentric circles, the others nested angles arranged in opposite directions.
CMS V 133; Wiencke 1970, S101, Pl. 28.

**S204 (C2.18a-e).** Fig. 4.25.
Two horizontal rows of motifs, one nested angles and the other leaf-shaped motifs with a single point, with horizontal framing lines.
CMS V 134; Wiencke 1970, S102, Pl. 29.

**S205 (C2.19a-b).** Fig. 4.25.
Vertically arranged curvilinear motifs, including: nested angles, points, circles, and arcs.
CMS V 135; Wiencke 1970, S103, Pl. 29.

**S206 (C2.20).** Fig. 4.25.
Zigzags.
CMS V 136; Wiencke 1970, S104, Pl. 29.

**S207 (C2.21a-c).** Fig. 4.25.
Irregular zigzags with circles between the zigzags and the top edge and angles along the bottom edge. Framing line contains the design.
CMS V 137; Wiencke 1970, S105, Pl. 29.

**S208 (C2.22).** Fig. 4.25.
Nested zigzags.

**S209 (C2.23).** Fig. 4.26.
Nested wavy lines.
CMS V 139; Wiencke 1970, S107, Pl. 30.

**S210 (C2.24).** Fig. 4.25.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 140; Wiencke 1970, S108, Pl. 29.

**S211 (C2.25).** Fig. 4.26.
Horizontal lines divide the roller face into two horizontal zones, each with a wavy line.
CMS V 141; Wiencke 1970, S109, Pl. 30.

**S212 (C2.26).** Fig. 4.26.
An irregular grid pattern.
CMS V 142; Wiencke 1970, S110, Pl. 30.

**S213 (C2.27).** Fig. 4.26.
A vertical line with oblique lines on either side.
CMS V 143.

**S214 (C2.28).** Fig. 4.26.
A vertical line divides the design into different zones of curvilinear motifs, including angles, points, circles, and zigzags.
CMS V 144; Wiencke 1970, S112, Pl. 30.

**S215 (C2.29, C2.30a-d).** Fig. 4.26.
Nested zigzags.

**S216 (C2.33).** Fig. 4.26.
Four superimposed rows of running spirals.
CMS V 145; Wiencke 1970, S114, Pl. 30.

**S217 (C2.34).** Fig. 4.26.
Single row of running spirals with cross, three-leafed, and linear motifs above and below.
CMS V 532.

**S218 (C2.35).** Fig. 4.26.
Two rows of running spirals separated by a horizontal stepped line.
CMS V 533.

**S219 (C2.36).** Fig. 4.26.
Two superimosed rows of S-spirals.
CMS V 537.

**S220 (C2.37).** Fig. 4.26.
Three rows of concentric circles joined by tangent lines with points in the interstices.
CMS V 539.

**S221 (C2.38).** Fig. 4.26.
Network of concentric circles with central points.
CMS V 540.

S222 (C2.39). Fig. 4.27.
Row of concentric circles between double line and circles with crosses joined by a single horizontal line.
CMS V 541.

S223 (C2.40). Fig. 4.27.
Two rows of concentric circles with curvilinear motifs in the interstices.
CMS V 542.

S224 (C2.41). Fig. 4.27.
At least two rows of concentric circles with central points.
CMS V 543.

S225 (C2.42). Fig. 4.27.
A regular concentric circles with large central points.
CMS V 544.

S226 (C2.43). Fig. 4.27.
Row of concentric circles with central points.
CMS V 545.

S227 (C2.44). Fig. 4.27.
Concentric circles with central points alternating with herringbone.
CMS V 546.

S228 (C2.45). Fig. 4.27.
Concentric circles with central points.
CMS V 547.

S229 (C2.46). Fig. 4.27.
Concentric circles with central point.
CMS V 548.

S230 (C2.47). Fig. 4.27.
Concentric circles with central points alternating with herringbone.
CMS V 549.

S231 (C2.48). Fig. 4.27.
Concentric circles for central point and curvilinear motifs.

CMS V 550.

S232 (C2.49). Fig. 4.27.
Various spirals, angles, and curvilinear motifs.
CMS V 551.

S233 (C2.50). Fig. 4.27.
Row of vertical angles below a single horizontal line, above which are various curvilinear motifs including one concentric circles central point.
CMS V 552.

S234 (C2.51). Fig. 4.27.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 553.

S235 (C2.52). Fig. 4.27.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 554.

S236 (C2.53). Fig. 4.28.
Nested wavy lines.
CMS V 555.

S237 (C2.54). Fig. 4.27.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 556.

S238 (C2.55). Fig. 4.28.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 556.

S239 (C2.56). Fig. 4.27.
Three rows of single wavy lines.
CMS V 561.

S240 (C2.58). Fig. 4.28.
Continuous herringbone.
CMS V 565.

S241 (C2.59). Fig. 4.28.
Row of nested angles above row of vertical lines, below which is a row of diagonal slashes, possibly another row of nested angles running in the opposite direction.
CMS V 567.

S242 (C2.60). Fig. 4.28.
Irregular grid with central points.
CMS V 568.

S243 (C2.61). Fig. 4.28. Irregular grid of diagonal lines. CMS V 569.

S244 (C2.62). Fig. 4.28. Two rows of single zigzags between single horizontal lines with a row of vertical concentric diamonds. CMS V 570.

S245 (C2.63). Fig. 4.28. Two bands of or wavy lines with a regular zigzag along bottom. CMS V 571.

S246 (C2.64a-d). Fig. 4.28. Two rows of interconnected spirals. CMS VS1B 376.

S247 (C2.65a-s, C2.66). Fig. 4.28. Two rows of running spirals separated by an irregular horizontal line. CMS VS1B 377.

S248 (C2.67a-b, C2.68). Fig. 4.29. Pattern of three superimposed rows of running spirals with a cross, a 'Tannenzweig' motif, a lying P-shaped motif, a motif Triskeles and an irregular wavy line as filler motifs in the spaces between the spiral rows. CMS VS1B 378.

S249 (C2.69a-c). Fig. 4.29. Pattern of paratactically arranged S-spirals and points as filler motifs. CMS VS1B 379.

S250 (C2.70). Fig. 4.29. Three superimposed rows of interlocking S-spirals. CMS VS1B 380.

S251 (C2.71). Fig. 4.29. Pattern of running spiral above a zigzag line. CMS VS1B 383.

S252 (C2.72). Fig. 4.29. A regular concentric circles with large central point. CMS VS1B 385.

S253 (C2.73). Fig. 4.29. Superimposed concentric circles with central points. CMS VS1B 386.

S254 (C2.74). Fig. 4.29. Two rows of concentric circles with central points with some points between the rows. CMS VS1B 387.

S255 (C2.75a-d). Fig. 4.29. Three rows of concentric circles with central points. Angle, dot and single circle with center point as filler motif. CMS VS1B 388.

S256 (C2.76). Fig. 4.29. Concentric circles of various sizes with central points and curvilinear motifs. CMS VS1B 389.

S257 (C2.77a-c, C2.78). Fig. 4.29. Concentric circles with central points arrange between diagonal lines in irregular grid with points and other curvilinear motifs. CMS VS1B 390.

S258 (B92). Fig. 3.12. Tripartite design with nested, rectilinear lines fills circular seal face. Heath 1958, Pl. 26; Heath 1958, S59, Pl. 26.

S259 (C2.79a-c). Fig. 4.30. Concentric circles with central points between two rows of irregular nested zigzags. CMS VS1B 391.

S260 (C2.80a-c). Fig. 4.30. Two superimposed rows concentric circles divided by a single horizontal line with circles with crosses into framing lines. CMS VS1B 393.

S261 (C2.81a-r). Fig. 4.30.
Two superimposed rows of concentric circles with crosses and points in the interstices.
CMS VS1B 394.

S262 (C2.82a-b). Fig. 4.30.
Two rows of irregular concentric circles.
CMS VS1B 395.

S263 (C2.83a-b). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1B 396.

S264 (C2.84). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles come only partially preserved, with curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1B 397.

S265 (C2.85a-b). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1B 398.

S266 (C2.86). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and nested angles, points, and curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1B 399.

S267 (C2.87). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles with central point and herringbone.
CMS VS1B 400.

S268 (C2.88). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and herringbone.
CMS VS1B 401.

S269 (C2.89a-c). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles with central point and herringbone.
CMS VS1B 402.

S270 (C2.90). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and herringbone.
CMS VS1B 403.

S271 (C2.91). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles with two rows of vertical nested angles, with further circles and curvilinear motifs preserved at edge of design.
CMS VS1B 404.

S272 (C2.92). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles and herringbone.
CMS VS1B 405.

S273 (C2.93). Fig. 4.30.
Concentric circles with rows of points.
CMS VS1B 406.

S274 (C2.94). Fig. 4.30.
Curvilinear motifs, including an anchor motif.
CMS VS1B 408.

S275 (C2.95, C2.96a-b). Fig. 4.31.
Interlocking S-spirals in a panel next to a panel with herringbone.
CMS VS1B 412.

S276 (C2.97a-d). Fig. 4.31.
Nested zigzags.
CMS VS1B 416.

S277 (C2.98a-n). Fig. 4.21.
Nested zigzags.
CMS VS1B 419.

CMS VS1B 419.

S279 (C2.99-C2.100). Fig. 4.31.
Points between irregular diagonal lines.
CMS VS1B 420.

S280 (C2.101). Fig. 4.31.
Various curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1B 422.

S281 (C2.102). Fig. 4.31.
Various curvilinear motifs including a concentric circle and row of vertical lines.
CMS VS1B 423.

S282 (C2.103). Fig. 4.31.
Interlocking S-spirals in a spiral-net pattern.
Kosmopoulos 1948, Fig. 36

S283 (C2.104). Fig. 4.21.
Nested zigzags.
S284 (C2.106). Fig. 4.31.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 505.

S285 (C2.107). Fig. 4.31.
Single row of concentric semi-circles.
CMS V 507.

S286 (C2.108). Fig. 4.2.
Vertical lines divide the roller face into fields containing herringbone patterns and concentric circles.
Kostoula 2004: 1144, Pl. 3b.

S287 (C2.110). Fig. 4.31.
Two-handled cup between nested curvilinear motifs.
CMS VS1A 033.

S288 (C2.111). Fig. 4.31.
Single row nested angles with irregular points at edge of seal surface.
CMS VS3 002.

S289 (C2.112). Fig. 4.23.
Rows of running spirals.
Sampson 1993, Fig. 52.

S290 (C2.113). Fig. 4.31.
Two crosses arranged in a eight-point star on a serrated seal face.
CMS V 202.

S291 (C3.1). Fig. 4.32.
Concentric circles (false spirals)
Wiencke 1970, Pl. 25.

S292 (C3.2). Fig. 4.32.
Nested zigzags.
CMS V 558.

S293 (=S139) (C3.3). Fig. 4.7.
Back-to-back loops rendered with double lines.
CMS V 563c.

S294 (C3.4). Fig. 4.33.
Nested zigzags.

CMS VS1A 399.

S295 (C3.5). Fig. 4.33.
A regular grid pattern fills the circular seal surface.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.118.

S296 (C3.5). Fig. 4.33.
Nested angles with a triangle.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.118; Pullen 1994, Figs. 4-5.

S297 (C3.6). Fig. 4.33.
Cross with notches at ends of each arm with linear motifs between each arm.
CMS V 423.

S298 (C4.1). Fig. 4.35.
Four double loops, each containing a single line, are arranged radially around a central circle on the circular seal face.
CMS V 053.

S299 (C4.2). Fig. 4.35.
A cross divides the circular seal face into quadrants, each filled with five nested angles. A framing line encircles the design.
CMS V 052.

S300 (C4.3). Fig. 4.35.
A swastika rendered in a double line dominates the circular seal face.
CMS V 522.

S301 (C4.4). Fig. 4.35.
Five concentric circles around a center point. The first and the third circle from the outside are joined together at two closely spaced points by bars, the second is only a three-quarter circle (from fin to fin), the third is likewise interrupted; here extends from the fourth circle outgoing a T-shaped extension inside.
CMS V 503.

S302 (C4.5).
A regular grid pattern fills the irregularly-shaped seal surface.
Zavvou 2012, Fig. 5.
S303 (C4.6). Fig. 4.35.
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 141.

S304 (C4.7a-b).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S305 (C4.8).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S306 (C4.9).
Concentric circles.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S307 (C4.10). Fig. 4.35.
Angle-filled cross with triangles.
CMS VS1B 351.

S308 (C4.11). Fig. 4.35.
Single spiral.
Goldman 1931, Pl. 3.2.

S309 (C5.1). Fig. 4.37.
Concentric circles.
CMS VS1B 375.

S310 (C5.2). Fig. 4.37.
Concentric circles.
CMS VS1B 426.

S311 (C5.3).
Nested angles on triangular seal face.
Blegen 1928, Fig. 109.7.

S312 (C5.4). Fig. 4.37.
Nested angles on triangular seal face.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.26.

S313 (C6.1). Fig. 4.39.
Single spiral.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.40.

S314 (C6.2). Fig. 4.39.
Concentric circles.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.35.

S315 (C6.3). Fig. 4.39.
Numerous concentric circles arranged radially around the circular face of the pyxis.
Petrakis 2002, Fig. 35.

S316 (C6.4). Fig. 4.39.
Concentric circles.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 141, Ill. 64.

S317 (C6.5).
Concentric circles.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 97.1.

S318 (C6.6).
Single spiral.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 97.3.

S319 (C7.1).
Concentric circles.
Kosmopoulos 1948, Fig. 7.

S320 (C7.2). Fig. 4.41.
Single spiral.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.19.

S321 (C7.3). Fig. 4.41.
Single spiral.
Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.30.

S322 (C7.4).
Nested angles on triangular seal face.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 145.1.

S323 (C7.5).
Nested angles on triangular seal face.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 145.2.

S324 (C8.1). Fig. 4.45.
Concentric circles.
Wiencke 2000, Pl. 51; Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.71.

S325 (C8.2). Fig. 4.45.
Concentric circles.
Wiencke 2000, Pl. 51; Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.71.

S326 (C8.3). Fig. 4.45.
Concentric circles.
Wiencke 2000, Pls. 8, 51; Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.71.
S327 (C8.4). Fig. 4.45. Single spiral. Wiencke 2000, Pl. 51; Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.71.

S328 (C8.5). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Wiencke 2000, Pl. 51; Wiencke 2000, Fig. II.71.

S329 (C8.6). Concentric circles. Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 171.

S330 (C8.7). Single spiral. Säflund 1965, Fig. 106h, Pl. 4.

S331 (C8.8). Single spiral. Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34c.

S332 (C8.9). Single spiral. Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34f.

S333 (C8.10). Single spiral. Weinberg 1937, Fig. 34g.

S334 (C8.11). Unillustrated.

S335 (C8.12). Fig. 4.45. Single spiral. Fossey 1969, Fig. 6.

S336 (C8.13). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Fossey 1969, Fig. 7.

S337 (C8.14). Single spiral. Fossey 1969, Fig. 6.


S339 (C8.16). Fig. 4.45.

S340 (C8.17). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.34.

S341 (C8.18). Fig. 4.45. Single spiral. Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.40.

S342 (C8.19). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.26.

S343 (C8.20). Single spiral. Zavvou 2009, Fig. 4.30.

S344 (C8.21). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Holmberg 1944, Fig. 87a.

S345 (C8.22). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Holmberg 1944, Fig. 87c.

S346 (C8.23). Fig. 4.45. Concentric circles. Graef 1909, Pl. 1.3.

S347 (C8.24). Single spiral. Bossert 1960, Fig. 9.3.

S348 (C8.25). Single spiral. Mylonas 1959, Fig. 146.

S349 (C8.26). Single spiral. Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S350 (C8.27). Single spiral. Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S351 (C8.28). Single spiral. Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.
S352 (C8.29).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S353 (C8.30).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 145.

S354 (C8.31).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 148.

S355 (C8.32).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 148.

S356 (C8.33).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 159.

S357 (C8.34).
Single spiral.
Mylonas 1959, Fig. 160.

S358 (C8.35).
Concentric circles
Theocharis 1951, Fig. 26.

S359 (C8.36).
Single spiral.
Theocharis 1951, Fig. 26.

S360 (C8.37).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S361 (C8.38).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S362 (C8.39).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S363 (C8.40).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S364 (C8.41).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S365 (C8.42).
Single spiral.
Kakavoglou 1993, Pl. 18b.

S366 (C8.43).
Single spiral.
Papachristodoulou 1971, Fig. 5.

S367 (C8.44).
Fig. 4.45.
Concentric circles
Theocharis 1951, Fig. 14.

S368 (C8.45).
Single spiral.
Pantelidou 2005, Pl. 9.

S369 (C8.46).
Single spiral.
Pantelidou 2005, Pl. 16.

S370 (C8.47).
Fig. 4.45.
Concentric circles
Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987, Fig 7, Pl. 39e-d.

S371 (C8.48).
Concentric circles
Goldman 1931, Fig. 97.6.

S372 (C8.49).
Single spiral.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 97.7.

S373 (C8.50).
Single spiral.
Touchais 1977, Fig. 182.

S374 (C8.51).
Single spiral.
Metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/253306.

S375 (C9.1).
Single spiral.
Corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/object/cp%203311.

S376 (C9.2).
Single spiral.
Corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/object/cp%203310.
**S377 (C9.3).**
Central irregular circle surrounded by six further irregular circles.
CMS VS1B 145.

**S378 (C9.4).**
A regular grid pattern fills the circular seal surface.
CMS V 203.

**S379 (C9.5).**
Single spiral.
Goldman 1931, Fig. 97.2.

**S380 (C10.1).** Fig. 4.47.
Two opposing C-spirals join with opposing double loops fill the circular seal face.
CMS V 051.

**S381 (C1.33).** Fig. 4.8.
Nested zigzags
CMS VS1B 417.

**S382 (C2.31).** Fig. 4.26.
Vertical lines divide the roller face into unequal fields, one with concentric circles and the others with oblique lines creating a herringbone pattern.
CMS IS 017.
FIGURES

Fig. 1.1. Map of Aegean Bronze Age.
Fig. 1.2. Early Bronze Age Aegean sites mentioned in text.
Fig. 1.3. Aegean Bronze Age relative chronology (after Manning 2010, Table 2.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAINLAND GREECE</th>
<th>CYCLADES</th>
<th>CRETE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EB 1</td>
<td>EH I</td>
<td>Eutresis / Talioti</td>
<td>EC I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB 2</td>
<td>EH IIA</td>
<td>Korakou</td>
<td>EC II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EH IIB</td>
<td>Lefkandi I</td>
<td>EC II late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB 3</td>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>Tiryns</td>
<td>EC III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1.4. Relative chronology of EBA Aegean (after Manning 2010, Table 2.1; Renfrew 1972).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAINLAND GREECE</th>
<th>CYCLADES</th>
<th>CRETE</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EB 1</td>
<td>EH I</td>
<td>Eutresis / Talioti</td>
<td>EC I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB 2</td>
<td>EH IIA</td>
<td>Korakou</td>
<td>EC II early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EH IIB</td>
<td>Lefkandi I</td>
<td>EC II late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB 3</td>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>Tiryns</td>
<td>EC III</td>
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Fig. 1.5. Comparative stratigraphic sequences for southern and central Greece (after Maran 1998, Pl. 83; Alram-Stern 2004, Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LERNA</th>
<th>TIRYNS</th>
<th>TSOUNGIZA</th>
<th>KOLONNA</th>
<th>EUTRESIS</th>
<th>MANIKA</th>
<th>LEFKANDI</th>
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<tr>
<td>EH I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EH I</td>
<td>Stadt I</td>
<td>II-IV</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>EH IIA</td>
<td>IIA-B</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>EH II Initial</td>
<td>Stadt II</td>
<td>VI-VII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH IIB</td>
<td>IIIC-D</td>
<td>5-8b</td>
<td>EH II Developed</td>
<td>Stadt II-III</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>10-13</td>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>Stadt IV</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-3</td>
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Fig. 1.6. Comparative stratigraphic sequences for northern Greece (after Maran 1998, Pl. 80; Alram-Stern 2004, Tables 5-6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIKILI TASH</th>
<th>SITAGROI</th>
<th>ARGISSA</th>
<th>PEVKAKIA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EB I</td>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Stufe I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB IIA</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stufe II</td>
<td>EBA 1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB IIB</td>
<td>IIIB</td>
<td>Vb</td>
<td>Stufe III</td>
<td>EBA 6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB III</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bh.</td>
<td>MBA 1-3</td>
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</table>

Fig. 1.7. Comparative stratigraphic sequences for North Aegean (after Alram-Stern 2004, Tables 2, 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TROY</th>
<th>LIMAN TEPE</th>
<th>TARSUS</th>
<th>POLIOCHNI</th>
<th>THERMI</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EB I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>EB I</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>I-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB IIA</td>
<td>II early</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>EB II</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB IIB</td>
<td>II late-III</td>
<td></td>
<td>EB IIIA</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>EB IIIB</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1.8. Absolute chronology of EBA Aegean (after Manning 2010, Table 2.2).

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<th>CRETE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>start</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH I</td>
<td>3100 / 3000</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH IIA</td>
<td>2650</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH IIB</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH III</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>2100 / 2050</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Fig. 1.9. Lefkandi I/Kastri Group ceramic assemblage: a) tankard, b) bell-shaped cup, c) depas cup; d) lentoid jug with cutaway spout, e) plate or shallow bowl (after Lefkandi I-Kastri Group - Pullen 2013 Fig. 1, modified from Rutter 2012, Fig. 8.2).

Fig. 1.10. Collective action theory resource type matrix (after Olson et al. 1994, Fig. 1.1).
Fig. 2.1. Conoid seals.
Fig. 2.2. Conoid seals.
Fig. 2.3. Plate seals.
Fig. 2.4. Plate seals.
Fig. 2.5. Cylinder seals.
Fig. 2.6. Hemispherical seals.

Fig. 2.7. Ring seals.
Fig. 2.8. Pyramidal seals.

Fig. 2.11. Lentoid seals.

Fig. 2.9. Rectangular block seals.

Fig. 2.12. Unknown type seals.

Fig. 2.10. Foot-shaped seals.
Fig. 2.13. Seal frequency by material.
Fig. 2.14. Seal frequency by shape.

Seals by Shape (n = 79)

- conoid: 29
- plate: 21
- cylinder: 6
- hemispherical: 5
- ring: 5
- pyramidal: 4
- rectangular block: 4
- foot-shaped: 2
- lentoid: 1
- unknown: 2

Seal by Shapes (n = 79)

- conoid 37%
- plate 27%
- cylinder 8%
- hemispherical 6%
- pyramidal 5%
- rectangular block 5%
- foot-shaped 2%
- lentoid 1%
- unknown 3%
Fig. 2.15. Seal frequency by material and shape.
Fig. 2.16. Seal frequency by material and shape.
Fig. 2.17. Seal type frequency (material and shape).

Seal Types by Material & Shape (n = 79)

- clay conoid
- stone conoid
- metal conoid
- bone conoid
- stone plate
- clay plate
- clay cylinder
- stone cylinder
- bone cylinder
- stone hemispherical
- clay hemispherical
- stone ring
- metal ring
- bone ring
- stone pyramidal
- stone rectangular block
- stone foot-shaped
- stone lentoid
- stone unknown
- clay unknown

0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18
Fig. 2.18. Seal type frequency (material and shape).
Fig. 2.19. Average seal height by type.

![Average Seal Height by Type](chart1.png)

Fig. 2.20. Average area of seal face by type.

![Average Area of Seal Face by Type](chart2.png)
Fig. 2.21. Distribution and frequency of seals by region.
Fig. 2.22. Distribution and frequency of seals by material.
Fig. 2.23. Distribution and frequency of seals by shape.
Fig. 2.24. Distribution and frequency of seals by depositional context.
Fig. 2.25. Seal frequency by region.
Fig. 2.26. Seal frequency by region and subregion.

Seals by Region and Subregion (n = 79)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Subregion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Greece</td>
<td>Argolid</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corinthia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laconia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Messenia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Achaea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Attica</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saronic Gulf</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Euboea</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boeotia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phthiotis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phokis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lokris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skyros</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Ionian Islands</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Thessaly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 2.27. Seal frequency by region and subregion.
Fig. 2.28. Seal frequency from southern Greece by subregion.
Fig. 2.29. Seal frequency from central Greece by subregion.
Fig. 2.30. Seal frequency from western and northern Greece by subregion.
Fig. 2.31. Seal frequency by region and shape.

Seals by Region and Shape (n = 79)

- Southern Greece
- Central Greece
- Western Greece
- Northern Greece
- Unknown

Legend:
- conoid
- plate
- cylinder
- ring
- pyramidal
- hemispherical
- lentoid
- unknown
- rectangular block
- foot-shaped
Fig. 2.32. Seal frequency by shape and region.
Fig. 2.33. Seal frequency by depositional context.

Seals by Depositional Context (n = 79)

- settlement 67%
- burial 4%
- uncertain 29%

Seals by Depositional Context and Material (n = 79)

- settlement:
  - clay: 20 on the graph
  - stone: 15 on the graph
  - bone: 2 on the graph

- burial:
  - stone: 6 on the graph

- uncertain:
  - bone: 1 on the graph
  - metal: 1 on the graph
Fig. 2.34. Seal frequency by depositional context and type.
Fig. 2.35. Seal frequency by depositional context: settlement.
Fig. 2.36. Seal frequency by depositional context: burial.

![Seals by Depositional Context: Burial (n = 3)](image)

Zygouries 33%
Manika 67%

Fig. 2.37. Seal frequency by depositional context: uncertain.

![Seals: Uncertain Contexts by Site (n = 27)](image)

Unknown 13%
Lerna 5%
Tiryns 5%
Asine 5%
Argolid (?) 4%
Sikyon (?) 4%
Volos 4%
Larissa 9%
Philia 4%
Delphi 4%
Aegina (?) 4%
Modi 4%
Kolonna 13%
Asea 13%
Athens 9%
Fig. 3.1. Reconstruction of ceramic vessel (jar neck) sealing (after Heath 1958, Pl. 19, center; Weingarten et al. 1999, Fig. 9 c-e).

Fig. 3.2. Reconstruction of ceramic vessel (jar mouth) sealing (after Heath 1958, Pl. 19, center, bottom left).

Fig. 3.3. Reconstruction of wooden object (pole) sealing (after Heath 1958, Pl. 19, center, top right).
Fig. 3.4. Reconstruction of wooden object (peg) sealing (after Heath 1958, Pl. 19, center right, left).

Fig. 3.5. Reconstructions of wooden object (peg and pole) sealings as door sealings (after Maran and Kostoula 2014, Fig. 17.17 a, c).
Fig. 3.6. Clay sealings from Lerna (Room B, Room DM, Room CA).

Fig. 3.7. Clay sealing impressions from Lerna (Room B, Room DM, Room CA).
Fig. 3.8. Clay sealings from Lerna (Room XI).
Fig. 3.9. Clay sealings from Lerna (Room XI).
Fig. 3.10. Clay sealings from Lerna (Room XI).
Fig. 3.11. Clay sealing impressions from Lerna (Room XI).
Fig. 3.12. Clay sealing impressions from Lerna (Room XI).
Fig. 3.13. Clay sealing impressions from Lerna (Room XI).

Fig. 3.14. Clay sealings from Lerna (Room III, Room VI).

Fig. 3.15. Clay sealing impressions from Lerna (Room III, Room VI).
Fig. 3.16. Clay sealings from Tiryns.

Fig. 3.17. Clay sealing impressions from Tiryns.

Fig. 3.18. Clay sealings from Asine.
Fig. 3.19. Clay sealing impressions from Asine.

Fig. 3.20. Clay sealings from Petri.

Fig. 3.21. Clay sealing impressions from Petri.
Fig. 3.22. Clay sealing from Corinth.

Fig. 3.23. Clay sealing impression from Corinth.

Fig. 3.24. Clay sealings from Geraki.

Fig. 3.25. Clay sealing impressions from Geraki (Trench 17/11i, Storeroom).
Fig. 3.26. Clay sealings from Geraki (Trench 17/13q, Casemate Room).
Fig. 3.27. Clay sealings from Geraki (Trench 17/12p, Trench 17/12l).

Fig. 3.28. Clay sealing from Bozas.

Fig. 3.29. Clay sealing from Akovitika.

Fig. 3.30. Clay sealing impression from Akovitika.

Fig. 3.31. Clay sealing impression from Ayios Dhimitrios.
Fig. 3.32. Clay sealing from Makronissos.

Fig. 3.33. Clay sealing impression from Makronissos.
Fig. 3.34. Clay sealings frequency by type.
Fig. 3.35. Clay sealings frequency by type and subtype.

**Clay Sealings by Type and Subtype**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Large Jar</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pithos</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small (Pyxis, Lid)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown (Spout, Handle)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bothros</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>Pole</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peg</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Basketry / Matting</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leather</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clay Sealings by Type and Subtype (n = 226)**

- Ceramic vessel (large) 61%
- Ceramic vessel (small) 2%
- Ceramic vessel (unknown) 1%
- Ceramic vessel (pithos) 3%
- Wooden object (pole) 7%
- Wooden object (peg) 8%
- Basketry / matting 8%
- Leather 1%
- Textile 1%
- Unknown 8%
Fig. 3.36. Ceramic vessel sealings frequency by subtype.

Clay Sealings: Ceramic Vessels (n = 177)

- large jar: 177
- large jar (neck): 18
- large jar (mouth): 10
- pithos: 10
- small (pyxis): 5
- unknown (handle): 2
- unknown (spout): 2
- small (lid): 1
- bothros: 1

large jar 78%
bothros 1%
small (lid) 1%
unknown (spout) 1%
unknown (handle) 1%
small (pyxis) 2%
pithos 4%
large jar (mouth) 4%
large jar (neck) 8%
Fig. 3.37. Soft media sealings frequency by subtype.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay Sealings: Soft Media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wooden object (pole)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden object (peg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basketry/matting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>textile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clay Sealings: Soft media ($n = 111$)

- unknown 24%
- wooden object (pole) 21%
- textile 3%
- leather 3%
- basketry/matting 24%
Fig. 3.38. Clay sealings frequency by site and type.
Fig. 3.39. Distribution and frequency of clay sealings by type.
Fig. 4.1. Seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.2. Seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.3. Seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.4. Seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.5. Seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.6. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.7. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.8. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.9. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.10. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearths.
Fig. 4.11. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.12. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.13. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.14. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.15. Seal-impressed pithos.

Fig. 4.16. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.17. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.18. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.19. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.20. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.21. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.22. Seal-impressed pithos.

Fig. 4.23. Seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.24. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.25. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.26. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.27. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.28. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.29. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.30. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.31. Seal designs from seal-impressed pithoi.
Fig. 4.32. Seal-impressed hearth / pithos fragments.

Fig. 4.33. Seal designs from seal-impressed hearth / pithos fragments.
Fig. 4.34. Seal-impressed jars.
Fig. 4.35. Seal designs from seal-impressed jars.

Fig. 4.36. Seal-impressed bowls.

Fig. 4.37. Seal designs from seal-impressed bowls.
Fig. 4.38. Seal-impressed pyxides.

Fig. 4.39. Seal designs from seal-impressed pyxides.
Fig. 4.40. Seal-impressed fruitstands.
Fig. 4.41. Seal designs from seal-impressed fruitstands.
Fig. 4.42. Seal-impressed frying pans.
Fig. 4.43. Seal-impressed frying pans.
Fig. 4.44. Seal-impressed frying pans.
Fig. 4.45. Seal designs from seal-impressed frying pans.
Fig. 4.46. Seal-impressed vessels of unknown type.

Fig. 4.47. Seal-impressed loomweight and seal design.
Fig. 4.48. Seal-impressed object frequency by type.
Fig. 4.49. Seal-impressed object frequency by impression type.

Seal-Impressed Objects by Impression Type (n = 292)

- Roller-impressed: 66%
- Stamped: 34%
- Matrix: 0%

Seal-Impressed Objects by Impression Type (n = 292)

- Pithos: 42%
- Hearth/pithos: 2%
- Hearth: 2%
- Pithos: 1%
- Hearth/pithos: 1%
- Jar: 4%
- Bowl: 1%
- Pyxis: 2%
- Frying pan: 19%
- Fruitstand: 1%
- Loomweight: 0%
- Undetermined: 2%
- Frying pan: 0%
- Fruitstand: 0%
Fig. 4.50. Seal-impressed object frequency by type and region.
Fig. 4.51. Seal-impressed object frequency by type and subregion.
Fig. 4.52. Seal-impressed object frequency by sub-region and type.
Fig. 4.53. Frequency and distribution of hearths by impression type.
Fig. 4.54. Frequency and distribution of pithoi by impression type.
Fig. 4.55. Frequency and distribution of seal-impressed (stamped) objects.
Fig. 4.56. Frequency and distribution of frying pans by depositional context.
Fig. 4.57. Frequency and distribution of frying pans by depositional context.
Fig. 5.1. Frequency of seal design group frequency by object type.
Fig. 5.2. Frequency of seal design group frequency by object type.
Fig. 5.3. Seal design group frequency by impression type.

**Design Groups by Impression Type (n = 471)**

- spirals
- concentric circles
- loops
- zigzags
- cross
- linear
- grid
- nested angles
- wavy lines
- circles
- figural
- points
- swastikas
- herringbone
- trefoil
- other

Legend:  
- **red** stamped  
- **green** rolled  
- **blue** matrix
Fig. 5.4. Roller-impressed seal design group frequency.

Rolled Designs by Design Group (n = 175)

- Spirals, 43, 25%
- Concentric circles, 46, 26%
- Zigzags, 48, 27%
- Wavy lines, 12, 7%
- Grid, 3, 2%
- Nested angles, 7, 4%
- Figural, 1, 1%
- Herringbone, 6, 3%
- Other, 5, 3%
- Points, 1, 1%
Fig. 5.5. Stamped seal design group frequency.
Fig. 5.6. Spiral design group frequency by shape.

Fig. 5.7. Concentric circle design group frequency by shape.
Fig. 5.8. Loop design group frequency by shape.

![Loop Designs by Shape (n = 77)](image)

Fig. 5.9. Zigzag design group frequency by shape.

![Zigzag Designs by Shape (n = 55)](image)
Fig. 5.10. Cross design group frequency by shape.

![Cross Designs by Shape (n = 50)](image)

Fig. 5.11. Linear design group frequency by shape.

![Linear Designs by Shape (n = 16)](image)
Fig. 5.12. Grid design group frequency by shape.

![Grid Designs by Shape (n = 15)](image)

Fig. 5.13. Nested angles design group frequency by shape.

![Nested Angle Designs by Shape (n = 15)](image)

Fig. 5.14. Wavy lines design group frequency by shape.

![Wavy Lines Designs by Shape (n = 15)](image)
Fig. 5.15. Circles design group frequency by shape.

Circles Designs by Shape (n = 25)

Fig. 5.16. Figural design group frequency by shape.

Figural Designs by Shape (n = 17)

Fig. 5.17. Points design group frequency by shape.

Points Designs by Shape (n = 10)
Fig. 5.18. Swastika design group frequency by shape.

Fig. 5.19. Herringbone design group frequency by shape.

Fig. 5.20. Trefoil design group frequency by shape.
Fig. 5.21. Other design group frequency by shape.

![Bar chart showing Other Designs by Shape (n = 26)]

- seals
- sealings
- hearth
- pithos
- hearth / pithos
- jar
- bowl
- pyxides
- fruitstand
- frying pan
- undet. vessel
- loomweight

Fig. 5.22. Design frequency by type: Argolid.

![Bar chart showing Argolid: Seal Designs by Object Type (n = 311)]

- spirals
- concentric circles
- loops
- zigzags
- cross
- linear
- grid
- nested angles
- wavy lines
- circles
- figural
- points
- swastikas
- herringbone
- trefoil
- other
Fig. 5.23. Design frequency by type: Corinthia.
Fig. 5.24. Design frequency by type: Laconia.
Fig. 5.25. Design frequency by type: Attica.
Fig. 5.26. Design frequency by type: Saronic Gulf.
Fig. 5.27. Design frequency by type: Euboea.

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Fig. 5.29. Clay sealing frequency by type and design group.
Fig. 6.1.1. Lerna mid-phase IIIB site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 3).

Fig. 6.1.2. Lerna late phase IIIB site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 4).
Fig. 6.1.3. Lerna early phase IIIC site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 5).

Fig. 6.1.4. Lerna, Building BG plan, early phase IIIC (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 31).
Fig. 6.1.5. Lerna mid-phase IIIC site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 6).

Fig. 6.1.6. Lerna mid-phase IIIC site plan, east (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 21).
Fig. 6.1.7. Lerna, Bothros GB-4 section (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 20).

Fig. 6.1.8. Lerna late phase IIIC site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 7).
Fig. 6.1.9. Lerna, Room DM plan, late phase IIIC plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 26).

Fig. 6.1.10. Lerna, Room CA plan, late phase IIIC plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 25).
Fig. 6.1.11. Lerna, late phase IIIC site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 29).

Fig. 6.1.12. Lerna, late phase IIID site plan (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 8).
Fig. 6.1.13. Lerna, House of the Tiles, IIID (after Wiencke 2000, Plan 32).

Fig. 6.1.14. Lerna tumulus, end of IIID (after Banks 2013, Plan 3).
Fig. 6.1.15. Lerna phase IV.1 site plan (after Banks 2013, Plan 4).

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Fig. 6.1.17. Lerna, Building W-70, phase IV.2. site plan (after Banks 2013, Plan 20).

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Fig. 6.1.21. Lerna, Room DM pottery.

Fig. 6.1.22. Lerna, Room CA pottery.
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Fig. 6.2.1. Tiryns site plan (after Rahmstorf 2008, Pl. 99).
Fig. 6.2.2. Tiryns, Unterburg phases 1-4 (after Kilian 198, Figs. 40a-c).

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Fig. 6.2.4. Tiryns, Oberburg (after Maran 2016, Fig. 1).

Fig. 6.2.5. Tiryns, Rundbau (after Maran 2016, Fig. 3).
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Fig. 6.3.2. Asine, Terrace III (after Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 69).
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Fig. 6.5.1. Berbati, EH settlement (after Säflund 1965, Fig. 78).

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Fig. 6.6.1. Corinth, areas of EH occupation (after Lavezzi 2003, Plans 4.5-4.6).

**Plan 4.5. Early Helladic**

Significant concentrations:
1. in the area of the museum;
2. on Temple Hill;
3. south of Temple E;
4. along the east side of the Lechaion Road;
5. in the areas around the Captives Facade and the Sacred Spring.

(3) and (2) are most significant for EH II in particular.

**Plan 4.6. Early Helladic—outlying areas**

An EH II well was excavated low on the north flank of Cheliotomilos, and a significant concentration in the Gymnasium area. A small pocket of EH III was excavated in the Tile Works.

Fig. 6.6.2. Corinth, Museum West excavations of 1937 (after Weinberg 1939, Fig. 4).
Fig. 6.63. Corinth, Temple Hill excavations of 1937 (after Weinberg 1939, Fig. 1).

Fig. 6.7.1. Zygouries, site plan (after Blegen 1928, Pl. 1).
Fig. 6.7.2. Zygouries, central area of site (after Blegen 1928 Pl. 11).

Fig. 6.7.3. Zygouries, House Y (after Blegen 1928, Fig. 21).
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Fig. 6.8.1. Petri, Area I (after Kostoula 2000, Fig. 1b).
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Fig. 6.9.1. Tsoungiza site plan, EH I Initial (after Pullen 2011, Fig. 3.1).
Fig. 6.9.2. Tsoungiza site plan, EH II Initial (after Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.1).

Fig. 6.9.3 Tsoungiza, EU 5 II Initial plan (Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.5).
Fig. 6.9.4. Tsoungiza, EU 5 II Initial plan of south sector (Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.3).

Fig. 6.9.5. Tsoungiza, 1982 House A (after Pullen 2011, Fig. 4.8).
Fig. 6.9.6. Tsoungiza, EU 5 EH II Developed Phase 2 plan (after Pullen 2011, Fig. 5.4).

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Fig. 6.10.2. Geraki site plan (after Weingarten et al. 2011 Fig. 3).
Fig. 6.10.3. Geraki, Trench 11i, Storeroom (after Weingarten et al. 1997, Fig. 5).

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Fig. 6.11.1. Anthochori site plan (after Zavvou 2012, Fig. 4.12).
Fig. 6.12.1. Akovitika site plan (after Smith 2011, Fig. 3.11, adapted from Hägg and Konsola 1986, Fig. 14).

Fig. 6.13.1. Ayios Dhimitrios site plan (after Zachos 2008, Fig. 1).
Fig. 6.13.2 Ayios Dhimitrios, House A (after Zachos 2008, Fig. 3).

Fig. 6.13.3. Ayios Dhimitrios, House B (after Zachos 2008, Fig. 2).
Fig. 6.14.1. Ayios Kosmas site plan (after Mylonas 1959, Fig. 1).
Fig. 6.14.2. Ayios Kosmas, House E (after Mylonas 1959, Fig. 7).

Fig. 6.14.3. Ayios Kosmas, North Cemetery (after Mylonas 1959, Drawing 48).

Fig. 6.14.4. Ayios Kosmas, Grave 1 (after Mylonas 1959, Fig. 47).
Fig. 6.14.5. Ayios Kosmas, Grave 3 (after Mylonas 1959, Drawing 21).

Fig. 6.14.6. Ayios Kosmas, Grave 4 (after Mylonas 1959, Drawing 22).
Fig. 6.14.7. Ayios Kosmas, Grave 7 (after Mylonas 1959, Figs. 61-66, Drawing 24).

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Fig. 6.14.9. Ayios Kosmas, Grave 23 (after Mylonas 1959, Drawings 39).
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Fig. 6.15.2. Makronissos, House B (after Spitaels 1982, Fig. 3).
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Fig. 6.17.1. Askitario site plan (after Theochares 1954, Fig. 4).
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Fig. 6.19.1. Raphina site plan (after Hägg and Konsola 1986, Fig. 50).
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Fig. 6.20.2. Tsepi, Tomb 13 (after Pantelidou Gofas 2005, Fig. 95).
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Fig. 6.21.1. Kolonna site plan (after Berger and Gauss 2016, Fig. 1).
Fig. 6.22.1. Poros site plan (after Konsolaki-Giannaoupou 2011 Fig. 2).

Fig. 6.23.1. Manika site plan (after Sampson 1993, Fig. 1).
Fig. 6.23.2. Manika, Zousi plot (after Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986, Fig. 4).

Fig. 6.23.3. Manika, Zousi plot, Building II (after Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986, Fig. 88).
Fig. 6.23.4. Manika, Zousi plot, Room Σ (after Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986, Fig. 76).

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Fig. 6.26.2. Eutresis, House L (after Goldman 1931, Fig. 13).
Fig. 6.26.3. Eutresis, Hut Z (after Goldman 1931, Figs. 5-6).

Fig. 6.26.4. Eutresis, Building B ("Chasm") (after Caskey and Caskey 1960, Fig. 6).
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Fig. 6.27.2. Proskynas, Area B (after Zahou 2009, Fig. 2.18).
Fig. 6.27.3. Proskynas site plan, FN-EH (after Psimagiannou 2012 Fig. 3).
CONCORDANCES

A. Seals

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### B. Clay Sealings

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