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# VASES MARKED FOR EXCHANGE: THE NOT-SO-SPECIAL CASE OF PICTORIAL POTTERY

NICOLLE HIRSCHFELD

## *Abstract*

Large, bold marks are painted or incised on the handles or bases of thirty-seven pictorial vases. These same kinds of marks and same patterns of marking are found on non-pictorial Mycenaean pottery. In general, marks on Mycenaean pottery are rare and the circumstances of their use are not yet fully understood. It is clear that they are associated with Cyprus, and it is most likely that they are associated with Cypriot traders. The marks do indicate that pictorial vases were handled through the same channels and documented in the same manner as the trade in linear and pattern-decorated Mycenaean pottery.\*

It is the decorated panels of the pictorial vases which catch the modern eye, and one presumes that this was true also in antiquity. Modern studies have tended to set vases with pictorial decoration apart, treating them as a special and separate class of pottery. Was it the same in the Late Bronze Age? To what extent were pictorial representations the defining elements of their vases? Was a jug with painted bulls on its shoulders first and foremost one of “those illustrated vases” in the same way that the cup in grandma’s cupboard was first a piece of Wedgewood, and second a container for tea? Or was the jug with painted bulls simply “the fancy jug”, i.e. primarily a container, albeit a fancy one? How special were these pictorial vases? And were they the same kind of special at their place of manufacture and their place of ultimate use, hence discovery?

Attempts to answer such questions have traditionally centered on iconography as indication of how these vases were viewed in antiquity.<sup>1</sup> To a large extent, iconography has seduced the vases’ modern examiners away from the consideration of pictorial vases within the general context of Mycenaean pottery production and distribution. But we do need to know to what extent and in what ways—beyond iconography—pictorial vases were the same or different from their plainer counterparts. Do any vase shapes carry exclusively pictorial decoration? What is the relative frequency of pictorial decoration on certain shapes? In what kinds of contexts have pictorial vases been found in and outside of mainland Greece?<sup>2</sup>

This paper begins to explore the wider context of pictorial vases by examining one feature common to pictorial and non-pictorial Mycenaean vases: marks boldly painted

and incised under the bases and into the handles of decorated Mycenaean pottery.

## MARKS ON MYCENAEAN VASES

Of the thousand-plus extant Mycenaean pictorial vases, thirty-seven are marked.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-five vases carry painted marks, eleven bear incised marks, and one<sup>4</sup> vase has both. Their dates range from LH IIIA1 to the LH IIIB/C transition; most (thirty) are dated, on stylistic grounds, to LH IIIB.<sup>5</sup> A single example comes from mainland Greece, four were found in the region of Ugarit, and all the rest were excavated in Cyprus. Marked pictorial vases include a range of shapes—especially kraters, but also jugs, piriform jars, a stirrup jar, and even a kylix. The marks, composed of one or two signs, cannot be read and thus interpretation of their function depends on observing the patterns of their occurrence.

Thirty-seven marked vases from the entire corpus of pic-

\* Note: This paper discusses all marked pictorial vases known as of December 1999.

<sup>1</sup> A classic example is Karageorghis 1958b. A more comprehensive approach can be seen in Steel 1998, where iconography is only one element of several factors (vessel type, repairs, depositional context, local pottery types) considered in assessing the use of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus.

Two further publications that deal comprehensively with the use of imported pictorial pottery have appeared since the submission of this paper: van Wijngaarden 2001 [*non vidi*] and Steel 1999; Steel’s arguments provide a thought-provoking counterpart and her conclusions fundamentally disagree with the main thesis of this paper. A third paper is of larger compass, but includes a rebuttal to Steel’s arguments: Sherratt 1999, 163–205, esp. 188 n. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See Steel 1998 and 1999; van Wijngaarden 1999b and 2001.

<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of marked Mycenaean pottery at the end of this article includes all known examples. All numbers in this text refer to that list.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps two, if there really are traces of a painted mark under the base of no. 29.

<sup>5</sup> IIIA1 – 2 vases; IIIA2 – 2; IIIA2/B – 1; IIIB1 – 16; IIIB2 – 7; IIIB – 6; IIIB/C – 2; no date – 1.

torial vases discovered is a very small percentage. This is not unusual. Mycenaean vases in general are very rarely marked. Of the several tens of thousands of Mycenaean vases and vase fragments which have been recorded, fewer than five hundred marks are known: approximately 270 incised marks, 200 painted marks. The point to be made here is that, for whatever reasons Mycenaean vases were sometimes marked, pictorial vases were no different: they were only infrequently marked.

## INCISED VS. PAINTED MARKS

The division between painted and incised marks is more than a technical differentiation. It corresponds, also, to different applications within the corpus of Mycenaean pottery. Incised marks almost always are found on handles, and those handles almost always belong to large transport or storage jars: coarse-ware stirrup jars, large fine-ware stirrup jars, and the larger varieties of piriform jars. The marks are large in scale and immediately visible on a standing vase. Painted marks, on the other hand, are usually found under bases, occasionally on the lower body or inside a vase. They are not visible on a vessel set at stance, and most must have been made with the vase held upside down or lying on its side. Painted marks occur on a wide range of shapes: small decorated varieties of stirrup jars and piriform jars, alabastra, a tremendous variety of open vases, and even conical and zoomorphic rhyta, but *not* on storage/transport jars. Painted and incised marks are almost (but not quite) mutually exclusive both in terms of the kinds of Mycenaean vases on which they appear, and their placement on those vases.

## MARKED PICTORIAL UN-EXCEPTIONAL

Exceptions are rare. Only about two dozen (of almost five hundred) marked Mycenaean vases carry the “wrong” kind of mark or have a mark put in the “wrong” place, and perhaps six vases carry both kinds of marks. Several of the unusually marked vases are pictorial.

Exceptions are ultimately a fascinating study, for in showing how rules can be “bent”, they tell us something about the rules themselves. The question relevant to this paper is whether there is any significant correlation between pictorial decoration and vases whose marks do not fit the usual patterns (of type and/or placement on the vase). A positive answer might suggest that pictorial vases were treated somehow specially, and further study of the reasons for marking could illuminate in what way the vases were special. Conversely, a negative answer would simply tell us that the same reasons governed the marking of pictorial and non-pictorial vases.

The single most exceptionally marked pictorial vase is the krater decorated with stags from Enkomi (no. 1; cf. catalogue below). This krater bears a painted mark under its base, and a different mark incised on its handle. The indi-

vidual marks are not unusual in type or position on the vase, but the combination of these two kinds of marks on the same vase is found on only three, possibly five, other vases:

(a) Torus base (amphoroid? open? krater) from Ras Shamra, upper body not preserved; two marks under the base, one painted and one incised.<sup>6</sup> The marks overlap (it cannot be clearly determined which was made first) and may be repetitions of the same sign.

(b) Fragment of a vertical strap handle (from a krater?), from Enkomi; one incised mark, one painted mark.<sup>7</sup>

(c) Piriform jar with scale decoration from Tiryns; an incised mark on one handle, a painted mark on another.<sup>8</sup>

(d) Amphoroid krater with pictorial decoration (bulls), from Enkomi (no. 29); incised marks on base and handle, *perhaps* a painted mark under the base.

(e) Open krater (FS 7) with curve-stemmed spirals from Cyprus; incised mark on one handle, *perhaps* a painted mark under the base.<sup>9</sup>

These few Mycenaean vases with double markings have nothing else in common. Certainly there is no basis for suggesting that the pictorial decoration of no. 1 is reason for its special marking.

Other pictorial vases are unusual in the placement of the mark *or* the type of vase marked. But examination will show that no link can be made between irregularities in marking and the pictorial decoration of the vases.

*Table 1* illustrates all twenty-six extant painted marks on Mycenaean pictorial pottery. It can be seen that painted marks and their placement on pictorial vases mostly follow the standard practice. The marks are found on the usual range of vases, i.e. there are non-pictorial comparanda with painted marks for each of these shapes. The marks are found in the usual places: under bases of twenty vases, on the lower bodies of two amphoroid kraters, and in the interior of two other amphoroid kraters. In addition to the stag krater (no. 1), whose painted mark is not odd in and of itself, two pictorial vases with painted marks are unusual: One would expect the large stirrup jar from Klavdhia (no. 21) to carry an incised rather than a painted mark. And the reported occurrence of a painted mark on the handle, repeating the mark painted under the base, of a chariot krater from Ras ibn Hani (no. 4) is without parallel. These two marks are unusual, and I can provide no satisfactory explanation. But twenty-four (of twenty-six) pictorial vases with painted marks conform to the marking patterns of non-pictorial Mycenaean vases, and on this basis one can postulate that the same reasons governed the marking of pictorial and non-pictorial vases with large painted signs.

The situation is not so straightforward in the case of the incised marks. *Table 2* illustrates all known (twelve) pictorial vases with incised marks. Only the two piriform jars

<sup>6</sup> Louvre 80 AO 241/300: Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000, (no. 2) 75, 186–187, 189.

<sup>7</sup> Catling 1988, 326, no. 5, 327 fig. 1:5, pl. XLIV:5.

<sup>8</sup> Tiryns 27985: Olivier 1988, (nos. 9–10) 255, 257, fig. 4.

<sup>9</sup> CM A 1548: *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, pl. 16:1–2 (Cyprus 1, pl. 16).

with incised handles fit the expected patterns of marking. The other incised marks appear either in the wrong places (bases) or on the wrong shapes (jugs and kraters). This would at first glance seem to indicate that the usual reasons for incising marks did not apply to pictorial vases, i.e. the pictorial vases were somehow special.

A single circumstance, unrelated to the pictorial nature of the vases, accounts for the incised marks on five vases: the two jugs (nos. 31 and 32), two ring-based kraters (nos. 34 and 35), and the amphoroid krater no. 29. All these vases come from a single tomb (Enkomi tomb 18, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus expedition). They also all carry one of two sets of marks that appear with some regularity on sixteen pictorial and non-pictorial vases found in this context. The purpose of the marks remains uncertain.<sup>10</sup> But two observations make it clear that that purpose operated regardless of pictorial decoration. First, each of the two groups of pottery identified by a recurring sign group is not limited to pictorial vases, but also includes non-pictorial pots. Second, unmarked pictorial vases were also found in this same tomb deposit. Thus, marks were neither limited to nor inclusive of all the pictorial pottery. The common context possibly holds a clue to the unusually-incised pictorial vases from Swedish tomb 18. Their pictorial decoration does not.

Excluding the two piriform jars whose incised marks follow convention and the five vases from Enkomi tomb 18, we are left with five vases whose incised marks do not fit the general patterns of markings on Mycenaean vases: three amphoroid kraters (nos. 27, 28, and 30) and two ring-based kraters (no. 1, with incised handle and painted base, and no. 33). We would expect all these non-storage, non-transport vases to be marked only by means of paint under their bases. Indeed, as documented in *Table 1*, kraters comprise the majority of the corpus of pictorial vases with painted marks. The question is whether the five kraters with incised marks are simply deviations of the standard marking process, or whether they show that pictorial kraters—unlike all other Mycenaean vessel types—were subject to both (painted and incised) marking processes. Are the incised and painted marks evidence that the pictorial kraters were different and special?

The answer is a qualified yes. The qualification is that it is not the *pictorial* nature of the kraters that made them special, but the *vase type*.<sup>11</sup> Fifty-eight marked kraters are known: many pictorial, eight non-pictorial, and the rest too fragmentary to determine the decorative scheme. The eight non-pictorial marked kraters, although few in number, also exhibit a mixture of mark types (*Table a*).

Kraters do not neatly fit into any marking category. These large, fancy vases, whether pictorial or not, were different from all other vase types in that they alone were not consistently segregated into the separate procedures or circulation patterns which resulted in *either* painted *or* incised marks. It is not the pictorial kraters which were unique. It was the krater vase type which was special.

The kraters, by virtue of their shape—not their manner of decoration—crossed the boundaries of marking norms. But otherwise pictorial vases were marked according to the marking practices usually associated with their respective

Table a.

Marked kraters: FS 7–8, 53–55, 281–282	Painted marks	Incised marks	Painted & Totals* incised	
Pictorial	19 + 1?	7	1 (+1?)	27 + ?
Non-pictorial	5	3	(1?)	8
Decoration not preserved	11	7	2	20
All marked kraters	35 + 1?	17	3 (+ 2?)	55 + 1?

\* Numbers in parentheses represent a vase already recorded in a different column.

shapes. Pictorial vases were not marked any differently than their non-pictorial counterparts. So the question becomes a matter of defining not in what ways pictorial vases were exceptional but rather what the marks tell us about the ways in which pictorial vases were quite ordinary.

## CYPRIOT SIGNS

Thirty-two (of the thirty-seven) marked pictorial vases were found on Cyprus, the one region in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean other than Egypt where vases were regularly marked. Among the entire corpus of painted and incised marks appearing on Mycenaean and Late Minoan vases, many are too simple in form to be exclusively identified with any script. Of the complex marks, many are not identifiable as characters of any known contemporary script. But those which can be *certainly* so identified bear signs that are exclusively Cypro-Minoan, the Late Bronze Age script of Cyprus. Examples of Cypro-Minoan signs on pictorial pottery are those painted on the ring-based krater from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (no. 24) and a jug from Enkomi (no. 18), and the incised marks on the handles of the piriform jar from Hala Sultan Tekke (no. 26). I have argued elsewhere that the distribution of marked vases, the “marking environment” present on Cyprus, and the correlation of some signs with characters of the Cypro-Minoan syllabary indicate that incising handles and painting bases were Cypriot marking habits, and that the appearance of such a mark on a Late Bronze Age Aegean vase indicates that the vase passed through Cyprus or through the hands of someone familiar with Cypriot marking systems.<sup>12</sup> The concentration of marked pictorial vases on Cyprus is a reflection of Cypriot practice.

<sup>10</sup> This is not the venue to reiterate the complex debate about whether the two sets of marks found in this multiple-burial tomb refer to two occupants of the tomb or whether there is some other explanation. Persson 1937, 613 argues that the incised marks are the abbreviated names of two individuals buried in the tomb. My reservations are argued in Hirschfeld 1999, 97–105.

<sup>11</sup> I have included several Furumark shapes (FS 7–8 “Form 3: deep krater with two vertical handles”, 53–55 “Form 8: amphoroid krater”, 281–282 “Form 80: deep rounded bowl with horizontal handles”) together under the rubric “krater” because their open shape, large size, and often shared decorative motives suggest fundamental commonalities.

<sup>12</sup> Hirschfeld 1992, 1993. Since the marks are incised or painted *after* firing, they do not provide evidence, positive or negative, for the production of pictorial vases on Cyprus.

Only five marked pictorial vases have been found outside Cyprus. Four of these were found in Ugarit, which had very close connections to Cyprus. The Cypriot marked vases at Ugarit are easily explained as having arrived there via Cyprus or via Cypriot merchants.

A single marked pictorial vase has been found west of Cyprus: a piriform jar with bulls on its shoulders and the same sign incised on its two preserved handles, found at the end of the 19th century in a tomb at Pronoia, near Nauplion in the Argolid (no. 25). The marks on the handles in every way conform to the Cypriot marking system. This is not the only Cypriot-marked Mycenaean vase found on the mainland, though there are not many others. Eighteen have been found at Tiryns and a handful scattered at other sites within the Argolid.<sup>13</sup> They are all large closed vases, mostly large fine-ware stirrup jars with simple linear decoration. How do we explain the appearance of these Cypriot marks in mainland contexts? Were they incised on the mainland in preparation for shipment to Cyprus, or had they been cut in Cyprus on vases which were eventually refilled (remember, we are dealing with large closed vases) and re-shipped back to the Argolid? The choice of scenario is important, for the implication of the first is that persons acquainted with Cypriot marking habits were present on the mainland. The pictorial vase found at Pronoia may provide evidence to tip the scales of argument in this direction. For the Pronoia vase, with its fancy pictorial decoration, is not likely to have been re-used as a shipping container. More plausible is that this elaborate vase had been selected and marked for shipment to Cyprus or shipment by Cypriots, but for some reason was side-tracked before being loaded on shipboard, and ended up buried in a tomb on the coast of the Argolid.

The handles of the Pronoia vase and the other inscribed vases found in the Argolid may have been incised by traveling or resident Cypriots. Or they may have been cut by someone knowledgeable about and, therefore, capable of employing Cypriot methods of keeping track of vases. Traces of the Cypriot marking system are extremely rare in the Aegean, though they are widespread in Cyprus and the shores of the Levant. This suggests that, regardless of who cut the marks, they were most likely made for use beyond Greece's shores. This is interesting because it suggests the existence of directed trade: items, at their point of production, designated either for specific markets abroad or for distribution by specified traders. Furthermore, the Cypriot-marked vases found on the mainland may provide indirect support for theories that certain Mycenaean vases, including some pictorial types, were produced specifically for foreign markets.<sup>14</sup>

## INCISED MARKS: TRADERS' MARKS

Granted that the marks are evidence of a Cypriot connection, is it possible to identify more specifically who was making the marks, and why? Since the marks, usually single signs, cannot be "read",<sup>15</sup> it is necessary to rely on patterns of occurrence as indications of what those marks might

have meant. The different applications of the painted and incised marking systems suggest different purposes, so each will be considered separately. In considering possible functions of the marking systems, the marks on all Mycenaean pottery—not just those on pictorial vases—will be considered.

I have discussed the possible functions of incised marks elsewhere and so will only briefly summarize the arguments here.<sup>16</sup> There is no correlation between marks and the sites where the marked vases might have originated or where they were eventually found. Thus, there is no evidence to suggest that the marks refer to the vases' places of origin or ultimate destination. Most tomb contexts display a variety of marks and so the signs do not appear to refer to the (final) owner.<sup>17</sup> The marks are too varied to represent numerals and so cannot refer to price or batch number. Their variety and brevity also argue against their use to designate contents, and the appearance of incised marks on open shapes confirms this. The marks were incised after firing and were placed so as to be readily visible. They appear primarily on decorated transport containers. The one explanation I can find to fit all the features and distribution patterns connected with the incised vases is that the marks were used to keep track of the vases during the exchange process, and most likely they had significance for the trader managing the exchange. If this is true, then the trade in pictorial amphoroid kraters and the contents of transport stirrup jars were being managed together and by the same people. Olive oil and pretty pots in the same lot. Pictorial pottery was not specially handled.

Furthermore, the aesthetic value of these pictorial vases was either not important enough or was not considered to be marred by the large-sized traders' marks deeply scratched and immediately and obviously visible on the handles.

## PAINTED MARKS: WORKSHOP CONNECTIONS?

For the same reasons as given for the incised marks, it is clear that the painted marks are also Cypriot. The two ways of marking Mycenaean vases thus shared a Cypriot connection. But there are significant differences. We have already seen that the different kinds of marks were characteristically applied to different repertoires of shapes. Furthermore, the painted marks appear in places which were not visible and therefore did not mar the appearance of a standing vase. These different applications suggest difference(s) in the functions or users of the painted and incised marks.

Schaeffer was the first to direct attention to the painted marks in his 1933 preliminary publication of the rich funer-

<sup>13</sup> Hirschfeld 1999, 50–77.

<sup>14</sup> Åkerström 1987, 119.

<sup>15</sup> Also a moot point for those specimens bearing multiple marks, hence possible inscriptions, because Cypro-Minoan is an undeciphered script.

<sup>16</sup> Hirschfeld 1992, 1993, 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Enkomi Swedish tomb 18 is unusual.

any assemblages uncovered during his first years of excavation at the port of Minet el-Beidha in the kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>18</sup> Four years later, he published an extensive discussion of the pictorial decoration and painted mark appearing on an amphoroid krater (no. 5) found at Ras Shamra.<sup>19</sup> In that article and in an appendix in *Missions en Chypre*, Schaeffer hypothesized that the painted signs were potters' marks, made in the workshop.<sup>20</sup> He identified the signs as Cypriot and therefore as proof that vases bearing these marks—including the pictorial vases such as no. 5—were the products of Cypriot workshops. He further suggested that the marks could be used to identify the products of individual painters or workshops. Schaeffer's ideas were in great part responsible for shaping the following decades of discussion concerning the regional production of certain Mycenaean vessel types, including those decorated in a pictorial style. So, for example, in the 1950's Stubbings followed up on Schaeffer's initial studies, re-examined the corpus of vases with painted marks, and concluded that such marks did indeed signal "the existence of a local Cypriot fabric of Mycenaean pottery."<sup>21</sup>

Schaeffer's identification of the painted marks as potters' marks was to a great extent based on his supposition that the painted marks were applied before firing and therefore necessarily in the workshop. I do not accept that supposition. My assessment is based on the following observations: The paint of the marks is always obviously different in hue, luster, and density from the paint used to decorate the vases. There are a few vases where the painted mark and the painted decoration overlap; in these cases, it is apparent that the mark extends over the decoration. This at least shows that the mark was painted after the decoration had dried, and that the two did not meld, as might be expected if the pot had been fired after the mark was applied. Finally, the painted signs are generally faint or even fugitive—as if the paint had never truly "fixed" and was therefore relatively easily rubbed off. These observations suggest to me that marks painted on the Mycenaean vases exported to Ugarit were painted after firing, though it must be admitted that until one or more of the painted marks can be scientifically analyzed, the important question of whether the painted marks were applied before or after firing cannot be answered definitively. At present, it is my working hypothesis that the characteristically wide-brushed, matte, ochre-based, washy marks painted on the bases, lower bodies, or sometimes interior of Mycenaean vases were made after firing. Thus, the marks cannot be assumed to have been made in the workshop.

The pictorial vases provide the means to test the second part of Schaeffer's theory, namely that a mark was the sign of a particular painter or workshop. Immerwahr, Stubbings, Benson, Vermeule and Karageorghis, Rystedt, and Güntner have endeavored to identify the products of individual painters (or sometimes workshops), primarily on the basis of stylistic analysis of iconographic or painterly details.<sup>22</sup> Table 3 displays the marked vases grouped according to proposed painter attributions. The table includes only the attributions where preservation of handles and bases makes it possible to evaluate how often or in what manner a painter's

products were marked. The chart shows clearly that there is no consistency in the manner in which a particular painter's products are marked.

Not all of a painter's products were marked.<sup>23</sup> Within a painter's output there is, furthermore, no predictable pattern of which products were marked. There is no clear indication that marks within a painter's repertoire were confined to any specific shape or motif.

In no case is there enough preserved evidence to demonstrate a painter's exclusive use of a particular type of mark, painted or incised. Missing handles or bases or an insufficient number of examples do not allow such a conclusion. But there is good evidence to the contrary. The five chariot kraters attributed to Painter 30 ("Neck Bulge Painter") include one with an incised mark on a handle, one with a painted mark under the base, one with two marks painted on the lower body, and two unmarked vases. And the stag krater (no. 1) illustrates the appearance of both kinds of marks—incised and painted—on a single vase!

There is also no correlation between a specific sign and a painter. With one doubtful exception, there is no instance of repetition of signs within a painter's group.<sup>24</sup> Painter 30 ("Neck Bulge Painter"), whose marks we have already noted as including both painted and incised examples, also displays a diversity of mark forms. Also, among painters whose products display only one type of mark, for example Painter 21 (painted marks only) and Painter 16 (incised marks only), there is a variety in the mark forms.

In other words, there is absolutely no reason to identify an individual painter with a specific mark, a manner of marking, or even a consistent use of marks. A corollary to this conclusion is that marks should not be considered criteria in the identification of a particular hand or workshop.<sup>25</sup>

## PAINTED MARKS: TRADERS, TOO

The painted marks are not signs of workshop. The patterns of distribution of the painted marks, their variety, and their brevity argue against theories that they might indicate desti-

<sup>18</sup> Schaeffer 1933, 101.

<sup>19</sup> Schaeffer 1936–1937.

<sup>20</sup> Schaeffer 1936.

<sup>21</sup> Stubbings 1951a, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Immerwahr 1945 & 1965; Stubbings 1951b; Benson 1961; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 173–177; Rystedt 1988b, 1990, 1992; Güntner 2000. This is only the basic bibliography. For critiques of such studies, see, for example, Cherry 1992 and Morris 1993; also Morris this volume.

<sup>23</sup> Painter 15, Painter 21, Painter 30, Stubbings Group V, Painter of the Baggy Hooves.

<sup>24</sup> The one possible example of repetition of mark within a painter's output is the sign on the two jars in Stubbings' Group V. But *nb* (a) the identification of the mark forms as identical is not assured, (cf. catalogue remarks re: no. 1) and (b) the attribution of both vases to the same painter is not assured (cf. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 176, where no. 18 is attributed to a Painter 15, but no. 1 is not).

<sup>25</sup> *Contra*, Schaeffer 1936 & 1936–1937 (in which he suggests that marks may identify workshops, but not individual painters), Stubbings 1951b, 174 (in which he also admits reservations about using marks as a basis for attribution).

nation, ownership, or some numerical value. The same reasoning which led me to propose that the incised marks were the marks of traders also leads me to suggest that the painted marks were the designations of people who handled vases in the processes of exchange. Both the incised and the painted marks were made by traders practiced in Cypriot systems of marking. The difference in the manner of marking could be explained with reference to the kinds of vases which received painted marks—fancy vases exported either due to their intrinsic value or as decorative containers carrying small amounts of high-value goods. In contrast to the transport containers, these vases were meant to be displayed and so the marks needed to keep track of them were usually hidden. That they were painted rather than incised might be explained by the delicate thin walls of many of these fancy vases, which could not have withstood the force of incising. It is not so surprising, then, that most of the pictorial vases received painted marks, as we would expect these vases to have been grouped among the fancy exports. What is interesting is precisely the fact that the export/import of pictorial vases was handled through the same channels and documented in the same manner as the trade in standard varieties of export Mycenaean pottery.

## LATEST MARKS

The latest pictorial vase with any mark is the ring-based krater with chariot decoration found by Dikaios at Pyla-Kokkinolimos and dated by Vassos Karageorghis to the latest moment of IIIB (no. 24; on this krater, see also Iacovou's contribution in this volume, with fig. 1). The reasons for marking Mycenaean pottery must have been closely tied to the import of the real thing, for the local products of the IIIC period were not so marked. So, too, the rich array of pictorial pottery produced and consumed on the Greek mainland during LH IIIC is entirely devoid of marks.

## CONCLUSIONS

Pictorial vases were marked in the same manner as other Mycenaean vases. The distribution—topographical and chronological—of the marked pictorial vases, the kinds of vases marked, and forms of the marks upon them followed the same patterns as those observed for the linear and pattern-decorated Mycenaean vases of the late IIIA and IIIB periods. The painted and incised marks served to keep track of containers and vases in the process of exchange between mainland Greece and Cyprus, and in this respect vases with pictorial decoration were treated just like any other ceramic product of the Greek mainland.

## CATALOGUE OF MARKED PICTORIAL POTTERY

The catalogue which follows lists all known occurrences of pictorial pottery with incised and/or painted marks. The

vases all date to the Late Helladic period and, with three exceptions, their pictorial decoration completely fills the handle or shoulder zone.

The catalogue is subdivided by type of mark, and entries within these subdivisions are arranged first according to Furmark shape (FS), second according to placement of mark, and third by (ancient) provenience. Three marked vases whose pictorial elements are subsidiary decoration are listed last.

Each entry is organized as follows: (a) Type of mark and placement, vase shape. Vases can be assumed to have their base and handle(s) preserved unless otherwise noted. (b) Pictorial motif. (c) Findspot. (d) Date, based on stylistic criteria unless otherwise noted.<sup>26</sup> (e) Painter attribution, if applicable; unless explicitly noted otherwise, these attributions follow the suggestions of Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982.<sup>27</sup> (f) Museum inventory number. (g) Main publication(s).<sup>28</sup>

### *Painted & incised marks*

1. Single mark incised on one handle, and a single mark painted<sup>29</sup> under the base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Stags. Enkomi, British tomb 82. Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style); LC IIC–III (context).<sup>30</sup> Stubbings' Group V.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The stylistic terminology (Ripe Pictorial, etc.) is that used in Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982. Correlations to Late Helladic (LH) chronological designations accord with Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 3. LC = Late Cypriot.

<sup>27</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 173–177.

<sup>28</sup> The references provided are not intended as a complete bibliographic listing, but only the most significant discussions of vase and/or mark.

<sup>29</sup> Three different versions of the painted mark have been published: (1) by Schaeffer (Schaeffer 1936, fig. 50:V); this drawing then copied by Casson (S. Casson 1937, 102, no. 26e) and Daniel (1954, 281 class III:1a); (2) by Stubbings, who makes a point of noting that Schaeffer's rendering is incorrect; and (3) by Karageorghis in *CVA Cyprus Museum 1* (Cyprus 1), fig. 3:2, with no comment as to the difference between his version and the previous ones. Due to the fact that this vase is on exhibit in such a manner as to make it difficult to obtain access, I was unable to examine the vase or its marks closely. The three renditions of the mark are all so different that it does not seem that factors such as deterioration or poor preservation of the mark could explain the three drawings as partial or fuller renderings of the same sign. It is almost as if the three authors were looking at different vases. But accompanying illustrations leave no doubt that Stubbings and Karageorghis were looking at the very same vase, and Schaeffer was looking at a vase of the same shape and with the same decorative pattern, i.e. most probably the identical piece. Stubbings' publication implies that he looked at the mark very carefully: he explicitly stated that previous renditions were incorrect, and his own rendering of the mark was his basis for discussing broader issues of style and production (Stubbings 1951, 174). In most cases which I could verify, Stubbings' drawings of marks have proved to be accurate. But occasionally (e.g. BM C 583) my observations do differ from his and thus his rendering of the mark on the base of the stag krater cannot be assumed to be accurate. Only direct verification will settle this confusion. Here, I illustrate all three marks proposed by Schaeffer, Stubbings, and Karageorghis.

<sup>30</sup> Keswani 1989b, 662.

<sup>31</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 173–177 do not acknowledge Stubbings' Group V as the output of a single painter, and they do not attribute this vase to any of their painters.

Cyprus Museum A 1546 [*non vidi*].

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 55) 49, 203; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, fig. 3:2, 3:16, pl. 10:1–3 (Cyprus 1, pl. 10); Stubbings 1951a, 46 (A2), pl. X:1; Stubbings 1951b, 173–174 (Group V), pl. 19:f; Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:V, 121 fig. 51:VIII.

### Painted marks

2. Mark painted under base of a krater (FS 7). Chariots, women in “windows”.

Kourion, British Museum Old Tomb 102, or possibly 53 (= New Tomb 17, or 17A).<sup>32</sup>

Early Pictorial II = LH IIIA1 Early (style); LH IIIA2 Early (shape);<sup>33</sup> LC IIA–IIIB (context).<sup>34</sup>

Painter 1.

Cyprus Museum 1971/XII–6/1 (= British Museum C 391).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (III 12) 18–19, 175 (Painter 1), 196; Stubbings 1951a, 47 (A18); Furumark 1972, 443–445 (no. 2), 586 (7:10); Persson 1937, 607; Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:XVI, 120, 121 fig. 51:VIII; Walters 1912, 78 fig. 132; A.S. Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 73, fig. 127.

3. Single mark<sup>35</sup> painted under the base of a krater (FS 8); handles not preserved. Birds. Klavdhia, tomb.

Ripe Pictorial I = IIIB1 (style); LH IIIA2 Late (shape).<sup>36</sup>

British Museum 98 10–20 12 (= C 412).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 62) 204; Stubbings 1951a, 47 (A12); Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:XXII, 120, 121 fig. 51:VIII; Walters 1912, 84.

4. Mark painted (before firing[?]) under base and on one handle[?] of an amphoroid krater.<sup>37</sup> Chariot.

Ras ibn Hani, tomb.

LH IIIB (presumably on the basis of style).

[*non vidi*]

Toueir 1975, 68, 69 fig. 1.

5. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater. Chariots, large bird, flowers.

Ras Shamra, Ville basse ouest, residence of a silver/goldsmith.<sup>38</sup>

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.

Painter 12 (“Bamboula Painter”).<sup>39</sup>

Louvre AO 20376.

Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000, (cat. no. 35) 82, 186–187, 189; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 8) 38, 175 (Painter 12), 200–201; Benson 1961, 344, pl. 109:45, 46; Karageorghis 1958b, 384–385, pl. 101:10; Stubbings 1951a, 48 (B4); Schaeffer 1949, 214–217, figs. 89–90:3–4, pl. XXXV; Schaeffer 1936–1937, 212–235, figs. 1–3, esp. 233–234 and fig. 37.

6. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater. Chariot and flowers.

Ras Shamra, perhaps from Ville Basse Ouest, tomb LVII.

Early Pictorial III = LH IIIA1 Late.

Louvre 83 AO 541/550.

Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000, (cat. no. 36) 42, 82, 186–187, 189.

7. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater.<sup>40</sup> Male figure between horses and fish; also a goat.

Ras Shamra, Palais Sud, salle 219.

Transitional-Late LH IIIB–C (c. 1200).<sup>41</sup>

Painter 37.

Lattakiya RS 27.319.

Langdon 1989, 187–190, figs. 3–4; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (XIII 28) 170–171, 177 (Painter 37), 229; Courtois 1978, 346, figs. 54, 54A, B, C; Courtois 1973, 156–158, figs. 8, 9, pl. XXI:4; Schaeffer 1968, 765–766, pls. III–VII.

8. Single? mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 54). Side A: two sphinxes; side B: procession of four men—two archers and the other two with left fists clenched (boxers?)—among flow-

ers. Running dog under one handle.

Enkomi, quartier 5W, British tomb 45.

Ripe Pictorial I = IIIB1 (style); LH IIIA2 Late (shape);<sup>42</sup> LC I–II (context).<sup>43</sup>

British Museum C 333 = 45. 97 4–1 928.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 28) 43–44, 202; Stubbings 1951a, 48 (A24); Walters 1912, 64.

9. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 55). Chariot and big fish. Enkomi, Swedish tomb 11.

Ripe Pictorial I = IIIB1 (style); LC IIC (context).<sup>44</sup>

Medelhavsmuseet E.11:33.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 18) 40–41, 201; Schaeffer 1936–1937, 222.

10. Single? mark painted<sup>45</sup> under base of an amphoroid krater. Men drinking.

Enkomi, French tomb 7.

End Middle Pictorial/ beginning Ripe Pictorial = LH IIIA2 Late.<sup>46</sup>

“Painter of the Baggy Hooves”.<sup>47</sup>

Cyprus Museum, Schaeffer T.7/ 4790.

Rystedt 1992, 308, 313 fig. 1; Rystedt 1990, 170–172, fig. 2e; Karageorghis 1983a, 164–167, pl. XXV:2,3.

11. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 55). Chariot and “goddess”.

Ayia Paraskevi (Nicosia).

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style).

Painter 30.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola collection 74.51.966.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 2) 36, 88, 177 (Painter 30), 200; Stubbings 1951a, 47 (A14); Immerwahr 1945, 545 figs. 11–12, 549–553.

12. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 55). Confronted bulls, flowers; birds under handles.

From Cyprus.

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.

Cyprus Museum A 1647.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 41) 46, 203; Benson 1961,

<sup>32</sup> Benson 1972, 20–21.

<sup>33</sup> Furumark 1972, 586 (7).

<sup>34</sup> Benson 1972, 20–21.

<sup>35</sup> The mark is basically an “X”. It is difficult to determine if the other traces of paint are deliberate (i.e. the mark is more complex) or if these are accidental “runs” of the paint, having flowed along the wheelmarks.

<sup>36</sup> Furumark 1972, 586 (8).

<sup>37</sup> I wonder if this report is correct? The appearance of a painted mark on a handle is unique. For reasons discussed in the text, I believe that painted marks were made after firing. Until the criteria for identifying this mark as painted before firing have been made explicit, I suggest that its identification as pre-firing should be considered questionable.

<sup>38</sup> Schaeffer 1936–1937, 212.

<sup>39</sup> Benson 1961, 344; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 175.

<sup>40</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 171 and Langdon 1989, 188 both suggest that this krater was made outside mainland Greece, perhaps at Ugarit or in the Cos/Miletus region.

<sup>41</sup> Langdon 1989, 187 n. 10; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 170.

<sup>42</sup> Furumark 1972, 593 (54).

<sup>43</sup> Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 45 (“... date du Chypriote Récent II.”); Keswani 1989b, 661 (LC I–II).

<sup>44</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 524–525.

<sup>45</sup> Only “traces of purple paint” (Karageorghis 1983a, 166; also seen by this author) remain; it is not possible to determine the form of the mark.

<sup>46</sup> Based on shape and style, Karageorghis 1983a, 164, 166.

<sup>47</sup> Rystedt 1990, 170–172.



340, pl. 103:15; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, fig. 3:1, pl. 5:1–2 (Cyprus 1, pl. 5); Stubbings 1951a, pl. XI:2.

13. Single mark painted under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 53–55). Flying birds (very unusual rendering) and parallel chevrons. From a Cypriot tomb?

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.

Fitzwilliam GR.132A–1908.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 72) 51, 204; *CVA Cambridge, Fitzwilliam* 2, pl. VI:8a–b (Great Britain 11, pl. 485).

14. Four? signs painted on lower body of an amphoroid krater (FS 55). Chariot.

Enkomi, British tomb 68.

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style);<sup>48</sup> LC II? (context).<sup>49</sup>

"The Filled-Circle Painter".<sup>50</sup>

Famagusta Museum A 1646 [*non vidī*].

Rystedt 1990, 172–173, fig. 4a; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 5) 37, 200; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, fig. 3:13, pl. 8.1–4 (Cyprus 1, pl. 8); Karageorghis & Masson 1956, 21–26, 31–33.

15. Same? mark painted twice<sup>51</sup> on lower body of an amphoroid krater (FS 55). Chariot.

From Cyprus, probably from Enkomi.

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.

Painter 30 ("Neck Bulge Painter").<sup>52</sup>

Rochester 51.204 [*non vidī*].

Rystedt 1988b, 21–32 *passim*, fig. 8; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 1) 36, 177 (Painter 30), 200; Karageorghis 1969, 162–164, 168–173, figs. 1, 6–9.

16. Single mark painted in interior belly of an amphoroid krater (FS 53–55). Chariot. Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, tomb 21.

Larnaca Regional Museum, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2360 [*non vidī*].

Unpublished.<sup>53</sup>

17. Partially preserved mark, painted in interior body of an amphoroid krater (FS 53–55). Chariot.

Kourion?

Middle Pictorial II = LH IIIA2 Late.

Cyprus Museum A 2025a.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (IV 2) 29, 197; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, pl. 6:2, 4 (Cyprus 1, pl. 6).

18. Single mark painted under base of a jug (FS 110). Birds.

Enkomi, quartier 4W, British tomb 91.

Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style); LC II (context).<sup>54</sup>

Stubbings' Group V or Painter 15.<sup>55</sup>

British Museum 91 97 4–1 1270 (= C 583).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 68) 51, 176 (Painter 15), 204; Benson 1961, 340 (3), pl. 104:18; Immerwahr 1956, 141, pl. 55:15; Stubbings 1951a, 46 (A5), pl. XIII:6; Stubbings 1951b, 173–174 (Group V), pl. 19d; Persson 1937, 609; Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:XXI, 120, 121 fig. 51:V; Walters 1912, 113 fig. 203; A.S. Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 42 fig. 70, no. 1270.

19. Single mark painted under base of a trefoil-mouthed jug (FS 139). Bull protomes.

Hala Sultan Tekke, Walters' tomb IV.

Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2 (style); LC IIB (context).<sup>56</sup>

Painter 21 ("Protome Painter A").

British Museum 98 12–1 211 (= C 575).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 82) 176 (Painter 21), 204; Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 11, 133, fig. 125:15, pls. V, VI; Karageorghis 1971; Benson 1961, 338–339 (3), pls. 101:3, 102:7; Masson 1957, 28; Immerwahr 1956, 139, pl. 54:10–11; Stubbings 1951a, 47 (A10), pl. XIII:10; Stubbings 1951b, 170 (Group I); Walters 1912, 112 fig. 198.

20. Single mark painted under base of a trefoil-mouthed jug (FS 139). Bull protomes.

Hala Sultan Tekke, tomb.<sup>57</sup>

Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2.

Painter 21 ("Protome Painter A").

British Museum 98 12–1 227 (= C 576).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 83) 176 (Painter 21), 204; Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 13, pl. XII; Karageorghis 1971; Åström 1967, (no. 6) 9–10, fig. 8; Benson 1961, 339 (4), pl. 102:10; Masson 1957, 28; Immerwahr 1956, 139, pl. 54:12; Stubbings 1951a, 41, pl. XIII:9; Stubbings 1951b, 170 (Group I); Walters 1912, 112.

21. Single mark painted under the base of a stirrup jar (FS 167). Bull protomes flanking narrow central panel.

Klavdhia (Larnaca), tomb 19.

Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2.

Painter 21 ("Protome Painter A").

British Museum 99 12–29 117 (= C 514).

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 89), 176 (Painter 21), 205; Immerwahr 1956, 137–138, pl. 52:1–2; Stubbings 1951a, 47 (A15); Stubbings 1951b, 171 (Group II), pl. 18d; Persson 1937, 607; Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:XVIII, 120, 121 fig. 51:III; Walters 1912, 102 figs. 179a–b.

22. Single mark painted under base of a kylix (FS 258). Bull.

Kition, tomb 9, no. 66.

LH IIIB.

Larnaca Regional Museum, Kition tomb 9: 66.

Karageorghis 1974, 49, 146, 147 fig. 1:m, pls. L, XCIII, CXXI.

23. Single mark painted under base of a ring-based krater (FS 281–282). Big and little fish. From Cyprus.

Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2.

Cyprus Museum A 1543.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 128) 57, 206; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, fig. 3:3, pl. 12:1–3 (Cyprus 1, pl. 12); Stubbings 1951a, (A6), pl. X:2; Schaeffer 1936, 119 fig. 50:VI, 121 fig. 51:VIII.

<sup>48</sup> *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, 8 (Cyprus 1, 8); also, Karageorghis & Masson 1956, 24–25.

<sup>49</sup> Keswani 1989b, 662.

<sup>50</sup> Rystedt 1990, 173–174, fig. 4a.

<sup>51</sup> I am grateful to Candace J. Adelson, Curator of European Art, Rochester Memorial Art Gallery, for the painstaking notes and helpful comments which she kindly offered in response to my queries about this vase. Karageorghis (1969, 169–172) suggests that there is space for a third sign in the area restored by plaster, and Masson takes this as a given. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982 simply state that this vase "has three Cypriote signs painted on the lower body (36)." But Adelson's observations belie this: "I also dotted in the shard that was referred to in the article as a repair and an area above the right mark that is very highly restored. It is not certain that the dotted shard is a new insertion, but it has a different surface quality from the parts where the marks are and may have been heavily cleaned or resurfaced before being replaced into the vase. In any case, there is not enough room on it for another mark the same size to have been painted there and there are no indications of the edges of such a mark on the surrounding shards which do have much of their original surface left." [personal correspondence, 14 August 1997]

<sup>52</sup> Rystedt 1988b, 24–30.

<sup>53</sup> Mentioned by kindness of Alison South. See also South in this volume.

<sup>54</sup> Courtis, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 44 (LC IIC); Keswani 1989b, 662 (LC II).

<sup>55</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 173–177 do not acknowledge Stubbings' Group V as the output of a single painter. They attribute this vase, with five others, to Painter 15.

<sup>56</sup> Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 29.

<sup>57</sup> Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 13–14, discounts the suggestion that this vase comes from Walters' Tomb IV.

24. Two marks painted under base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Chariot.  
 Pyla-Kokkinokremos, room 5 "well" and room 9.  
 Late LH IIIB (style);<sup>58</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>59</sup>  
 Larnaca Regional Museum, Pyla-Kokkinokremos 12.  
 Karageorghis & Demas 1984, (no. 12) 76, 78 fig. 7, pls. XVIII, XXXIII; Karageorghis 1982.

### Incised marks

25. A single sign cut into each of the two preserved handles of large piriform jar (FS 36). Large and small bulls.  
 Pronoia (Argolid), tomb.  
 Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB.  
 Painter 16.<sup>60</sup>  
 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3887.  
 Sakellarakis 1992, (no. 83) 57, 128; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (IX 45) 97–98, 213.

26. A single sign cut into each of the two preserved handles of large piriform jar (FS 36). Birds.  
 Hala Sultan Tekke, Walters' tomb IV?<sup>61</sup>  
 Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.  
 Painter 16.  
 British Museum 98 12–1 223 (= C 434).  
 Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 69), 176 (Painter 16), 204; Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 12, 131, 134 fig. 125:4a–b, pls. Ih, IX; Masson 1957, 28, 29 figs. 19, 20; Stubbings 1951b, 175–176 (Group VII), fig. 4; Walters 1912, 89–90.

27. Same single mark incised on each handle of an amphoroid krater. Chariot.  
 Bought in Egypt, likely found in Cyprus.  
 Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1.  
 Allard Pierson Stichting Museum no. 1856 (Collection Scheurleer) [*non vidi*].  
 Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 17) 39–40, 181–187 (*passim*), 201; Crouwel 1972b, 24–30, figs. 14–20; Karageorghis 1958a, 38–42, figs. 1–3.

28. A single mark incised<sup>62</sup> into the one preserved handle of an amphoroid krater. Chariot. Enkomi, Swedish tomb 3, no. 1.  
 LH IIIA Late–IIIB (style);<sup>63</sup> LC IB–IIC (context).<sup>64</sup>  
 Painter 30 ("Neck Bulge Painter").<sup>65</sup>  
 Medelhavsmuseet E. 3: I.  
 Rystedt 1988b, 21–32; Karageorghis 1960a, 143, pl. VI:1–2; Persson 1937, 603 (16), 613.

29. A single mark incised into each handle of an amphoroid krater (FS 55); these same two marks are also cut into the ring base.<sup>66</sup> Bulls, small bulls, and birds.  
 Enkomi, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.  
 Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style); LH IIIB (shape);<sup>67</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>68</sup>  
 Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 6.  
 Rystedt 2003, 91–92 (no. 98); Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 40) 46, 202–203; Karageorghis, Styrenius & Winbladh 1977, 31, pl. VIII, no. 1, color pl. 1b; Persson 1937, 602 (3), 613, 614 fig. 319.

30. Single mark incised under base of an amphoroid krater (FS 54). Chariot.  
 Enkomi, Swedish tomb 3, no. 272.  
 Ripe Pictorial I = LH IIIB1 (style); LH IIIA2 Late (shape);<sup>69</sup> LC IB–IIC (context).<sup>70</sup>  
 Medelhavsmuseet E. T.3, no. 272.  
 Rystedt 2003, 96–97 (no. 102); Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 11) 201; Rystedt 1986, 104–116, fig. 1–3; Karageorghis 1960a, 139–140, pl. II; Persson 1937, 603 (15), 613 [incorrectly stated to have come from T.18 side-chamber], 615 fig. 321.

31. Two marks incised on handle of a jug (FS 110), one at the top

and one at the base.<sup>71</sup> Bulls.  
 Enkomi, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.  
 Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2 (style); LH IIIB (shape);<sup>72</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>73</sup>  
 Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 74.  
 Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 99) 205; Persson 1937, 602 (11), 603 (13), 613, 615 fig. 320, 616.

32. Two marks incised on handle of a jug (FS 110), one at the top and one at the base, slightly skewed from longitudinal axis. Bulls.  
 Enkomi, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.  
 Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2 (style); LH IIIB;<sup>74</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>75</sup>  
 Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 5.  
 Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 100) 205; Karageorghis, Styrenius & Winbladh 1977, 32, pl. IX, no. 2; Persson 1937, 602 (8), 613.

33. Two marks incised under base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Bulls and bull protomes.  
 From Cyprus.  
 Ripe Pictorial II = LH IIIB2.  
 Painter 21 ("Protome Painter A").  
 Cyprus Museum 1943/II–20/1.  
 Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 80) 53, 176 (Painter 21), 204; Karageorghis 1971; *CVA Cyprus Museum* 1, fig. 3:17, pl. 11:1–3 (Cyprus 1, pl. 11); Immerwahr 1956, 139, pl. 53:6–7.

34. Two<sup>76</sup> marks incised under the ring base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Water birds. Enkomi, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.

<sup>58</sup> Karageorghis 1982, 81; but see Iacovou in this volume.

<sup>59</sup> Karageorghis 1982, 81.

<sup>60</sup> Sakellarakis 1992, 57; but not attributed in Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982.

<sup>61</sup> Åström, Bailey & Karageorghis 1976, 12.

<sup>62</sup> Rystedt 1988b, 30 n. 5 suggests that this mark was cut before firing, but the differently-colored core clearly visible in the incisions indicates that the cuts were made after firing.

<sup>63</sup> Rystedt 1988b, 30.

<sup>64</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 485; Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 48; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>65</sup> Rystedt 1988b, 24–30.

<sup>66</sup> Possibly also a painted sign on the base? Traces of washy paint, but not possible to discern form.

<sup>67</sup> Furumark 1972, 593 (55).

<sup>68</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>69</sup> Furumark 1972, 593 (54).

<sup>70</sup> Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 45 ("... date du Chypriote Récent II."); Keswani 1989b, 661 (LC I–II).

<sup>71</sup> Persson (1937) lists two (different) sets of signs, one set on the handle (602, no. 11) and one set on the base (603, no. 13). But the marks on the base do not exhibit the deliberate, deeply scratched lines characteristic of the other incised potmarks. One of the marks on this base, the "X", is definitely unintentional, being composed of a random wiggly scratch and a crease along a wheelmark. The other is probably also accidental, perhaps scratched by a spade.

<sup>72</sup> Furumark 1972, 602 (110).

<sup>73</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>74</sup> Furumark 1972, 602 (110).

<sup>75</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>76</sup> According to Persson 1937, 602 (12a), there is a four-character inscription ("pa-ta-si-na", in Persson's translation) on the rim of the base, and another ("i") in the central concavity. Only some of these can be discerned in the published photograph (Persson 1937, 614 fig. 318): the "pa" and "na" on the edge and the "i" in the center. There is perhaps one other sign just barely visible on the edge; it bears no resemblance to either Persson's "ta" or "si", but rather looks as if it might be CM 27 or some variant thereof. Since that photograph, the base has suffered wear, and the marks are even less visible. The cross-strokes of "na" are much shallower, those of the

Ripe Pictorial I = IIIB1 (style); LH IIIB (shape);<sup>77</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>78</sup>

Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 47.

Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, (V 67) 51, 204; Karageorghis, Styrenius & Winbladh 1977, 32, pl. IX, no. 3; Persson 1937, 602 (12a-b), 613, 614 fig. 318.

### *Subsidiary pictorial*

35. A single mark incised into each handle of a ring-based krater (FS 281).<sup>79</sup> Panel decoration of U-shaped ornaments framed by vertical, fringed lines; small bull below each handle.

Enkomi, tomb 18 side-chamber.

"Ripe Cypro-Mycenaean pictorial style";<sup>80</sup> LH IIIB (shape);<sup>81</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>82</sup>

Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 48.

Karageorghis 1972, 4, figs. 3–5; Persson 1937, 602 (5).

36. Mark painted<sup>83</sup> under base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Fish flank central checkerboard panel.

Enkomi, quartier 5W, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.

LH IIIB (shape);<sup>84</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>85</sup>

Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 45.

Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 556, pl. XC top row, second from left.

37. Mark? painted<sup>86</sup> under base of a ring-based krater (FS 281). Heraldic goats? frame checkerboard panel (alternate squares with diagonal cross-hatching).

Enkomi, quartier 5W, Swedish tomb 18 side-chamber.

LH IIIB (shape);<sup>87</sup> LC IIC (context).<sup>88</sup>

Medelhavsmuseet E. 18 s.c. no. 43.

Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 556, pl. XC top row, first on left.

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"pa" are no longer apparent, and "pa's" neighbor—whether "ta" or CM 27—has disappeared completely. Only the "i", protected in the concavity of the base, remains as it was in the 1930's.

It is difficult to evaluate Persson's reading of the "inscription" on the ring base. Neither his photograph nor the vase in its present state verify his transcription. The only other instance of a marked ring base is Enkomi Swedish tomb 18, no. 6; here, the two signs on the ring-base duplicate the two signs scratched into the handle of the vase. I prefer to err on the side of conservatism and assign Persson's four-sign inscription to the category of "dubious", though I accept two signs ("pa" and "na") as verified.

The extreme shallowness of the "mark" in the protected concavity of the base cannot be explained by wear, and the tentative curling lines have no parallel in known potmarks on Mycenaean or Cypriot vases; it is likely that this mark is not deliberate and I do not include it in the corpus of potmarks.

<sup>77</sup> Furumark 1972, 633 (281).

<sup>78</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>79</sup> The marks are the same as those found on the handles and base of no. 29.

<sup>80</sup> Karageorghis 1972, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Furumark 1972, 633 (281).

<sup>82</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>83</sup> Definite traces of a mark on base, but form of mark and color/quality of paint cannot be determined.

<sup>84</sup> Furumark 1972, 633 (281).

<sup>85</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

<sup>86</sup> Possible traces of a painted mark under base. Form of mark and color/quality of paint cannot be determined.

<sup>87</sup> Furumark 1972, 633 (281).

<sup>88</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 557; Keswani 1989b, 663.

Table 1. Painted marks on Mycenaean pictorial pottery.

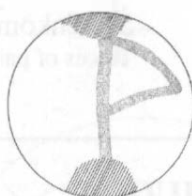
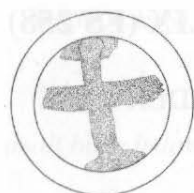
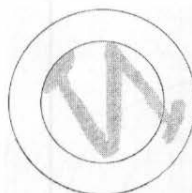
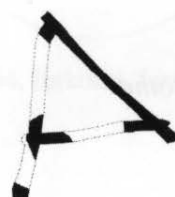
**OPEN KRATER (FS 7-8) UNDER BASE****2.** Kourion-Bamboula, *chariot & women***3.** Klavdhia, *birds***AMPHOROID KRATER (FS 53-55) UNDER BASE****4.** Ras ibn Hani (Syria), *chariot*  
Same mark also painted on handle!**5.** Ras Shamra (Syria), *chariot***6.** Ras Shamra (Syria), *chariot***7.** Ras Shamra (Syria), *man, horses, fish***8.** Enkomi, *sphinxes & men***9.** Enkomi, *chariot***10.** Enkomi, *men drinking*  
Traces of painted mark.**11.** Ayia Paraskevi, *chariot***12.** Cyprus, *bulls***13.** Cyprus, *birds***LOWER BODY****14.** Enkomi, *chariot***15.** Cyprus, *chariot***INTERIOR****16.** Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, *chariot***17.** Kourion, *chariot*

Table 1 (cont.). Painted marks on Mycenaean pictorial pottery.

**RING-BASED KRATER (FS 281-282)****UNDER BASE**

- 1. Enkomi, stags**  
A different mark **incised** on handle



- 23. Cyprus, fish**



- 24. Pyla-Kokkinokremos, chariot (Pastoral Style)**

- 36. Enkomi, fish (subsidiary)**  
Traces of painted mark.

- 37. Enkomi, heraldic goats (subsidiary)**  
Traces of painted mark.

**JUG****Jug (FS 110), UNDER BASE**

- 18. Enkomi, birds**



- 19. Hala Sultan Tekke, bulls**



- 20. Hala Sultan Tekke, bulls**

**STIRRUP JAR (FS 167)****UNDER BASE**

- 21. Klavdhia, Bull Protome**

**KYLIX (FS 258)****UNDER BASE**

- 22. Kition, bull**

Table 2. Incised marks on pictorial vases.

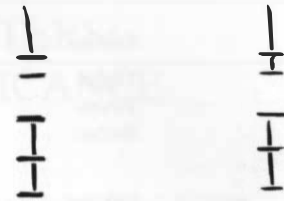
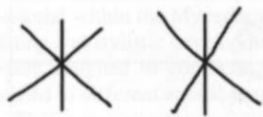
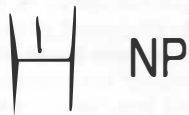
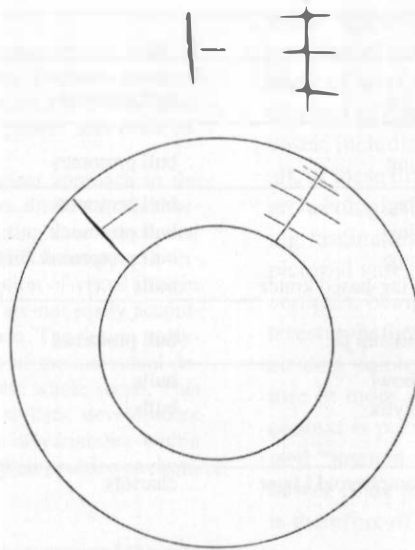
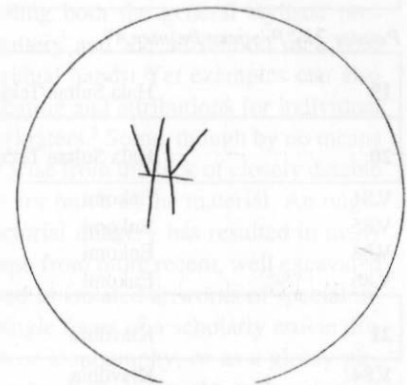
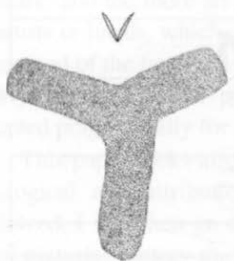
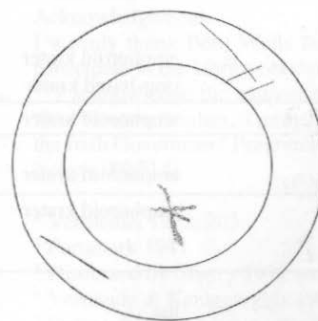
**PIRIFORM JAR (FS 36)****HANDLES**25. Pronoia (Greece), *bulls*26. Hala Sultan Tekke, *birds***JUG (FS 110) HANDLE**31. Enkomi, *bulls*32. Enkomi, *bulls***AMPHOROID KRATER (FS 53-55)****HANDLES**27. Cyprus (?), *chariot*28. Enkomi, *chariot***HANDLES & UNDER BASE**29. Enkomi, *bulls & birds***UNDER BASE**30. Enkomi, *chariot***RING-BASED KRATER (FS 281)****HANDLE(S)**35. Enkomi, *small bulls below handles (subsidiary)*1. Enkomi, *stags*  
A different mark painted under base**UNDER BASE**34. Enkomi, *birds*33. Cyprus, *bulls & bull protomes*

Table 3. Mycenaean pictorial vases: painters & marks.<sup>1</sup>*Painter 15*

V.45	Kition district?	ring-based krater	birds & bulls	
V.44	Enkomi	ring-based krater	birds & bulls	
<b>18</b>	Enkomi	jug	birds	P base
IX.23	Tiryas	jug (frg)	bull	no base, no handles
IX.20	Tiryas	krater (frg)	bull & bird	no base, no handles
IX.19	Berati	ring-based krater (frg?)	bulls	partial base?

*Painter 16*

V.38	Enkomi	amphoroid krater	ship & men	
<b>26</b>	Hala Sultan Tekke	three-handled jar	birds	1 handles  NP
<b>25</b>	Pronoia	three-handled jar (frg)	bulls	no base
				NP

*Painter 21 "Protome Painter A"*

<b>19</b>	Hala Sultan Tekke	jug	bull protomes	P base
<b>20</b>	Hala Sultan Tekke	jug	bull protomes	P base
V.81	Enkomi	jug	bull protomes	no base, no handle
V.85	Enkomi	jug	bull protomes	no handle
V.88	Enkomi	jug	bull protome & bird	
V.86	Enkomi	ring-based krater	bulls	no base, no handles
<b>21</b>	Klavdhia	stirrup jar	bull protomes	P base
V.84	Klavdhia	bowl	bulls	
V.87	Kition	kylix	bulls	no handle

*Painter 30 "Neck Bulge Painter"*

<b>15</b>	Cyprus	amphoroid krater	chariots	P lower body
				no base
<b>28</b>	Enkomi	amphoroid krater	chariot	one handle, 1  NP
IX.1.1	Nauplion	amphoroid krater	chariots	
<b>?11</b>	Ayia Paraskevi	amphoroid krater	chariots	P base
?IX.1	Corinth	amphoroid krater	chariots	no base

*"Painter of the Baggy Hooves"*

Lund LA 438	Enkomi	amphoroid krater	chariot	
V.58	Enkomi	ring-based krater	stags	
<b>10</b>	Enkomi	amphoroid krater	men toasting	P base
<b>?9</b>	Enkomi	amphoroid krater	chariot, fish	P base
?Syria 80-5216	Ugarit	amphoroid krater	chariot	"fragmentary"

*Stubbings' Group V*

<b>18</b>	Enkomi	jug	birds	P base
V.54	Enkomi	ring-based krater	stags	
<b>1</b>	Enkomi	ring-based krater	stags	1 handle
				P base

<sup>1</sup> See Catalogue for specific references to attributions. Marked vases are identified according to the numbers in the catalogue at the end of this article; whenever possible, other vases are identified by using the designations in Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982. The designations "no base", "no handles", and "one handle" in the final column refer to the preservation of the vase; no inferences can be made about (absence of) marks on these parts of the vase. Remarks are limited to bases and handles because these are the usual locations for marks. Abbreviations: "P" = painted, "I" = inscribed, "?" = tentative attribution, "NP" = not preserved.