

*To the memory of Nicolas Coldstream,  
as a token of my gratitude*

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THE LATE BRONZE AGE / EARLY IRON AGE TRANSITION  
IN WESTERN GREECE: SUBMYCENAEAN STUDIES

The chronological classification of pottery is a notoriously difficult exercise, when it comes to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (LBA/EIA) transition in Western Greece. In the present context I use the term Western Greece to refer to the regions Aitolo-Acarnania, Achaea, Elis, Messenia and Lakonia on the western Greek Mainland, and the Ionian Islands located at the entrance of the Gulf of Patras. Here, the pottery sequence from LH III C to Geometric has not been well defined on the basis of stratified deposits and closed archaeological contexts. The lack of a series of data makes it difficult to establish a firm chronological framework for the period in question (cf. EDER 2001, 2–7, 54. – EDER 2006, 193–196).

This applies to the stratigraphies of settlement sites which cover the LH III C to Proto-geometric periods and thus enable the study of the sequences of pottery styles. There are only a few sites in the region which have been excavated at all, and among those there is not a single location which offers the relevant data of an undisturbed stratigraphy through the LBA/EIA transition.

Nichoria in Messenia, which was an important settlement within the Mycenaean polity of Pylos in LH III A–B, was abandoned by the end of the palatial period and reoccupied only in the EIA (LH III B end of occupation: MCDONALD – WILKIE 1992, 459, 767. – DICKINSON – MARTIN – SHELMEARDINE 1992, 512, 519). LH III C material is in fact missing, and the suggested date of the earliest phase of EIA habitation has not been universally accepted (see COULSON 1983, 61. – MCDONALD – COULSON 1983, 318–319. – Cf. reviews by SNODGRASS 1984, 152. – DICKINSON 1989, 480–481). In fact, the first EIA occupation phase, labelled Dark Age I (DA I), was not associated with architectural remains, and pottery of this phase was isolated only by stylistic evaluation and not on the basis of stratigraphy (COULSON 1983, 6. – MCDONALD – COULSON 1983, 318–319).

Excavations in the Apollo Hyakinthus sanctuary at Amyklai in Lakonia revealed the material remains of a LBA and EIA sanctuary. Most of the LH III C pottery and votive figurines and statues were found on the surface of the hill without context, and when they were found together with Protogeometric pottery of a very local Lakonian style they came from a mixed deposit discarded just below the classical temenos walls (BUSCHOR – VON MASSOW 1927, 32–33, 38. – CARTLEDGE 2002, 70–71. – DEMAKOPOULOU 1982, 34–35. – COULSON 1985, 30, 63–65). The information contained in the stratigraphy of successive occupation layers is thus missing, and the chronological relation between the LH III C and Lakonian Protogeometric pottery remains dubious. The archaeological basis to propose the continuous practice of cult at the site is therefore not entirely watertight (cf. EDER 1998, 97–111).

Lakonian PG has also turned up in more recent excavations in the sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea/Arcadia. Here, a bothros provides us with eight successive layers of which the earliest contains Lakonian PG together with late PG pottery with Argive and Attic affinities and provides a date in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century for the occurrence of the style at the latest (see most

recently VOYATZIS 2004, 189, 201 fig. 2. – VOYATZIS 2005, 469–471, 479 fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> More evidence for the local development of Lakonian Protogeometric comes from recent rescue excavations at Lakonian sites, and the current work of the local Ephorate will help to lighten up the Lakonian Dark Ages. More specifically, the discovery of burial goods in Protogeometric and Early Geometric tombs in the area of Sparta and Amyklai, and in Peristeri Skalas, has promoted further study of the pottery in question (cf. DEMAKOPOULOU this volume). E. Zavvou has pointed out the existence of monochrome painted pottery fragments of skyphoi, which occasionally carry reserved zones with wavy lines and seem to conform to a rather typical Submycenaean tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Olympia in Elis is a post-Bronze Age sanctuary site where the EIA pottery comes from the mixed deposit of a 7<sup>th</sup> century levelling fill and thus offers no stratigraphical information on the development of local EIA pottery (see now KYRIELEIS 2006, 27–36. – EDER 2006, 193–199).

Older and more recent excavations at Aetos on Ithaca have produced wealthy ceramic evidence for the EIA; and although PG material is abundant, it frequently comes from mixed deposits, and we also miss here the qualities of fine stratigraphical contexts. The same is true for the LH III C to Geometric deposits which were excavated in the Polis Cave located in the north-west of Ithaca (Ithaca general: SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 102–117. – Polis-Cave: BENTON 1934/35. – BENTON 1938/39. – Aetos: HEURTLEY – LORIMER 1932/33. – BENTON 1953. – WAMSER SYMEONOGLOU 2002, 10–50).

Aigeira is the only settlement site in Achaëa where we possess published stratigraphical evidence from the so-called acropolis plateau for the early and the successive phases of the LH III C period. However, the upper levels were disturbed, and LH III C Late as well as EIA pottery fragments have no stratigraphical context (ALRAM-STERN 2003. – DEGER-JALKOTZY – ALRAM-STERN 1985. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 1991. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2003). New excavations on a lower plateau of the same site and the assessment of the material from the so-called lower saddle promise new data which may help to bridge the gap in the LBA/EIA stratigraphy (cf. GAUSS this volume).

Apart from this lack of settlement data the evidence from LBA/EIA tombs is also quite limited. This concerns sizeable groups of burial assemblages which can be studied by individual contexts and their relative stratigraphical position. There is nothing comparable to the sterling quality of publications such as the Kerameikos or the Lefkandi volumes which have made it possible to establish contextual data and which, in turn, allow an assessment of the stylistic development of pottery styles in Attica and Euboea (e.g. KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939. – KÜBLER 1943. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007. – POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80). This does not imply the complete absence of archaeological investigation and research on the western Greek mainland and the Ionian Islands. One major obstacle lies in the unsatisfactory documentation of the old finds from pre-World War II excavations and their contexts, another in the numerous unpublished burial contexts which have in fact been excavated in recent years. Our hope rests in future publications, and the work of Lazaros Kolonas, Ioannis Moschos, Kostas Paschalidis and Olympia Vikatou on the LBA material from cemeteries in Achaëa and northern Elis is especially promising in this respect (cf. MOSCHOS this volume). Ioulia Christakopoulou's work on the EIA burials from Stamna will provide us with the data from a large EIA

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of Lakonian PG has traditionally been a matter of guesswork and stylistic assessment (cf. DESBOROUGH 1952, 287. – DESBOROUGH 1972, 242–243. – COULSON 1985, 63–65). The context of the Tegean bothros provides a chronological framework for Lakonian PG between the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (VOYATZIS 2005, 471) and supplies a *terminus ante quem* for the development of the style.

<sup>2</sup> E. ZAVVOU, New Finds of Lakonian Protogeometric Style. Paper presented at the one-day conference presenting new work on Early Iron Age Pottery in memory of the late Nicolas Coldstream, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 2008, The British School at Athens. – For recent finds of Lakonian PG: ZAVVOU 2001, 130, pl. 45α–β. – EVSTATHIOU 2005, 174 fig. 21. – Cf. below n. 5.

necropolis in Akarnania, which will shed light on the development of the local west-Greek Protogeometric (cf. CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2001 on a sequence of EIA burials in a built tomb at Stamna).

I shall continue my paper showing the little evidence which is in fact available at present. I shall address questions of whether and how we can isolate Submycenaean pottery groups from those of LH III C Late and Protogeometric respectively. How adequate does the usage of a terminology which was developed to describe pottery styles on the eastern mainland appear? What pottery style was in use in western Greece contemporary with Attic and Argive Submycenaean?

Scholars like Vincent Desborough, Anthony Snodgrass and Thanassis Papadopoulos have suggested that the LH III C style of pottery present in the cemeteries of Achaea and the Ionian Islands might have continued into the late 11<sup>th</sup> and even into the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and were thus partly contemporary with Submycenaean or even Protogeometric in the eastern regions of the mainland (SNODGRASS 1971, 84–86, 242–245, 399. – DESBOROUGH 1972, 88–946. – DICKINSON 1989. – Cf. PAPAPOPOULOS 1978/79, 184–185). However, none of them has ever presented strong material evidence in support of this idea.

In contrast to the traditional classification of the material in question as “Submycenaean” or “Protogeometric” two alternative terminologies have been suggested: Fritz Schachermeyr introduced the “Zwischenware” which he characterised as the style current in western Greece “between” LH III C and Protogeometric and/or Geometric. He explained that this was a style of wheelmade pottery which was developed in Aetolia and spread from there to the Ionian Islands, to Achaea, Elis and Messenia and further east on the mainland. In contrast to Attic Protogeometric with its hallmark of concentric circles, the “Zwischenware” incorporated LH III C as well as MH traditions of patterns and motifs. Unfortunately, Schachermeyr never offered a consistent definition of his “Zwischenware” let alone a safe chronological framework (SCHACHERMEYR 1980, 190, 249–254, 301–303, 397–402, 450 and *passim*). His idea that Aetolia was the origin of the “Zwischenware” has been rightly criticised on a chronological basis as well as on typological grounds (OTTO 1987). 1. The Early Iron Age pottery from Aetolia, which Schachermeyr refers to, has no archaeological contexts to show that it is contemporary with Submycenaean pottery elsewhere. Instead, a (rather Late) Protogeometric chronology has generally been attributed to the vessels in question (cf. VOKOTOPOULOU 1971. – STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 1986. – DEKOULAKOU 1984). 2. Technology, shape and decoration of the relevant material display the Late Mycenaean background which is innate to wheelmade decorated pottery of the Greek Early Iron Age, and do not justify introducing the idea of a new pottery class. Schachermeyr’s terminology has never become widely accepted, and Vincent Desborough as well as Nicolas Coldstream have always rather applied the term West Greek Protogeometric to classify many of the examples Schachermeyr attributes to his “Zwischenware” (cf. DESBOROUGH 1952, 271–290. – COLDSTREAM 1968, 221–223).<sup>3</sup> In fact, the concept of the “Zwischenware” has nothing to offer which could rival the traditional Submycenaean/Protogeometric classification system.

Based on his stratigraphical evaluation of the Early Iron Age pottery from Nichoria William Coulson suggested quite a different terminology (COULSON 1983, 61. – MCDONALD – COULSON 1983, 318–319. – Cf. review by SNODGRASS 1984, 152). It reads Dark Age I, II, III with a transitional DA II/III, and these phases are suggested to cover the period between ca. 1075 and 750. Although stratigraphy is claimed to form the basis of the chronological sequence at Nichoria, the habitation phase DA I was isolated only on the basis of stylistic features of the pottery, and no architectural remains could be associated with it. Only comparative ceramic

<sup>3</sup> SCHACHERMEYR 1980, 302: “Die bisherige Forschung hat das leider noch nicht erkannt, und diese Ware einfach als ‘Protogeometrisch’ bezeichnet.”

evidence from other sites supports the absolute dates of this Dark Age I-phase (1075–975), and this reference material makes clear that DAI at Nichoria comprises the traditional Submycenaean and Early Protoegeometric periods, although Coulson did not refer to EIA material from Attica or the Argolid in particular. This terminology may be suitable for a site like Nichoria and the local situation where it is difficult to distinguish stylistically between Submycenaean and Early Protoegeometric. However, the pottery sequence at Nichoria is neither particularly rich in shapes and patterns nor well preserved nor stratified in compact and well distinguished layers in order to form the basis of a new classification system for EIA pottery on the western Greek mainland and the Ionian Islands. The re-evaluation of pottery from Ithaca, Laconia and Messenia in terms of the Nichoria sequence is therefore of limited value and should be tested against new data when they become available (COULSON 1985. – COULSON 1986. – COULSON 1991).

I still find it useful to keep to the traditional terms Submycenaean and Protoegeometric, because EIA pottery from the western regions in fact offers points of correlation with the eastern part of the mainland. As a consequence of my study of the Submycenaean and Protoegeometric burials at the site of Ancient Elis this body of material will be my starting point (EDER 2001): A few individual tomb contexts offer the possibility to study Submycenaean pottery and to compare it with the LH III C material from the chamber tomb cemeteries of the region.

Tomb 1961:7 belongs to the earliest burials at the site (Fig. 1:2–4. – EDER 2001, 19–21). The body of the deceased was buried in a contracted position: A pair of nail headed bronze pins with spherical globes towards their ends was placed on the shoulders of the skeleton (Fig. 1:2). This type of pin is well known from several Early Iron Age cemeteries of Greece and according to the typology of Kilian-Dirlmeier limited to the Submycenaean and Protoegeometric periods of the later 11<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 69–70, 74–75, pl. 7 nos. 196–197. – Cf. EDER 2001, 87). Dress pins in pairs appeared only in post-Mycenaean times and have therefore been considered to indicate a new type of dress.

A more conservative character is displayed by the adjoining vases which are reminiscent of pottery shapes and decorative patterns current in the north-western Peloponnese during the latest Mycenaean period of LH III C. The amphora shows clear relations to the big belly handled examples known from the regions of Achaia and Elis of the LH III C Late period (Fig. 1:3. – EDER 2001, 57–59 pls. 2c:1, 10a:a–b with references. – Cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, I: 68–71; II: 31 fig. 52 – 41 fig. 65; 167 fig. 191 – 176 fig. 200. – *RMDP*, 424–426 fig. 149 Achaia nos. 85–87, 430–431 fig. 152 Achaia nos. 102–104 for examples from Achaia). A significant element consists of a decorative zone on the shoulder with a plastic knob in the middle. Reserved zones on the shoulder and between the handles break up the otherwise monochrome body and carry simple decorative patterns in the form of concentric arches and a wavy band. Neither in shape nor in decoration does the amphora find exact parallels in the numerous examples which have been found in the Late Mycenaean cemeteries of Achaia and Elis. The amphora from Ancient Elis exhibits a less globular profile than the Mycenaean prototypes and its greatest diameter is placed rather low at mid-belly, so that I would argue for a late date in the series. Its shape recalls that of an amphora which was discovered in the so-called Kokevi tholos tomb near the palace of Pylos in Messenia and which belongs to the Protoegeometric period (TAYLOUR 1973, 241–242 fig. 298 no. 14). For stylistic reasons I would suggest that the amphora from Ancient Elis takes an intermediate position.

The best parallel for the decoration of the amphora comes from a Final Bronze Age 2 context from Punta Meliso at the tip of southern Italy, where a settlement of the Italian LBA was excavated (see Fig. 2:1. – BENZI – GRAZIADIO 1996, 97–98 fig. 2 cat. no. PM 1, 106–108. – Cf. JUNG 2006, 171–172, pl. 13:6). R. Jung has most recently studied the synchronisms between Italy and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age and has equated the Italian Final BA 2 with the Aegean phases of LH III C Late to Submycenaean (JUNG 2006, 214–216). Another, most likely Submycenaean amphora from the Deiras necropolis of Argos has a similar two-tiered decora-

tion with crosshatched triangles in the upper and a tight wavy line in the lower zone (Fig. 1:1. – Cf. *RMDP*, 190–191 fig. 59 Argolid no. 452. – *EDER* 2001, 58 n. 46 with references. – *JUNG* 2006, 172 n. 1205). I wonder, whether these vases offer some stylistic criteria to distinguish between the LH III C and the EIA series in the western Peloponnese.

At Ancient Elis a small lekythos with a narrow neck and a ring base was found together with the amphora in tomb 1961:7 (Fig. 1:4. – *EDER* 2001, 68–69, pls. 2c:2, 12b:a–b). Its decoration consists of stacked triangles with fringes on the shoulder and recalls patterns found on LH III C stirrup jars from Achaia. The biconical shape with sloping shoulders and the vertical zig-zag-line near the handle are in accordance with a Submycenaean date. No exact parallel can be found among the published examples from the LH III C corpus of Elis and Achaia. While these stylistic criteria support a Submycenaean chronology of this group of two vases, it is confirmed by the accompanying pair of bronze dress pins (see above).

A jug which comes from an otherwise undocumented tomb context at Lasteika close to Pyrgos in the wider neighbourhood of Olympia carries a decorative zone with fringed semi-circles, the LH III C background of which is out of the question (Fig. 2:3. – *EDER* 2001, 44, pls. 9:1a–d, 12a:a–b). The irregular composition of the motif, however, may suggest a post LH III C date. Its biconical shape and high ring foot display general similarities with the lekythos from Ancient Elis, and therefore I have tentatively suggested a Submycenaean date for this jug. It has a rather high neck when compared to LH III C jugs of similar shape from LH III C tomb assemblages from Kefallonia (cf. Fig. 2:5–6. – *RMDP*, 456–457 fig. 164 Kephallonia nos. 46–47 with references. – Cf. also *MARINATOS* 1934, pl. 8 no. 126), and I also take this to support a post-LH III C chronology. A juglet from the Pelopion excavations displays a similar biconical profile and a high ring-foot, and its linear decoration may be compared to that of other Submycenaean vases from the region (Fig. 2:4. – *EDER* 2006, 187, 242–243 no. 337 pls. 71, 80). The context of the black stratum provides a firm post-LH III C chronology (see below). In comparison, Proto-geometric jugs like the one from Gryllos (in the Alpheios valley) show a more elongated profile, and a low conical foot has taken the place of the ring foot (Fig. 2:7. – *KOKKOTAKI – CHATZI* 1990. – Cf. *EDER* 2001, 45, 68).

My stylistic assessment gains important support through external evidence: In recent years excavations at the south Italian site of Rocavecchia in Apulia have revealed settlement phases of the Italian Middle and Late Bronze Age. The final destruction horizon of the settlement, which dates to the end of the Italian FBA 2, contained a group of Mycenaean style vases, some of which show clear relations with the pottery production of the north-western Peloponnese (*GUGLIELMINO* 1996. – *GUGLIELMINO* 2005). In his study of Aegean-Italian synchronisms Reinhard Jung has dated it to the Submycenaean period (*JUNG* 2006, 153–165). This date is provided by an amphoriskos on the one hand and by skyphoi, which are either monochrome or decorated with vertical wavy bands and are supported by high ring feet, on the other hand. Jung further pointed out that there are important similarities between the decorated fragment of a closed vessel from Rocavecchia and the complete jug from Lasteika (Fig. 2:2–3). The fragment from Rocavecchia preserves part of the decoration above mid-belly, which consists of a set of concentric arches with outside fringes and the edge of a likewise fringed panel (Fig. 2:2. – *GUGLIELMINO* 1996, 270 fig. 15, 271 fig. 16:5 no. 12. – *GUGLIELMINO* 2005, pl. CLXVIId. – *JUNG* 2006, 161 pl. 12:5).

Due to the lack of stratified deposits of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age on the western Greek mainland and in the Ionian Islands the evidence from Rocavecchia is of utmost importance. It gives us the first reliable contextual data from a settlement phase which can be related to the Submycenaean tomb material from the western Peloponnese.

Two kylikes from the votive deposit of the “black stratum” around the Pelopion at Olympia show decorative features which consist of a row of concentric semi-circles and a horizontal zig-zag just above them (Fig. 3:1. – *EDER* 2006, 147–150, 215–216 nos. 5–6 pls. 52, 76). This pattern is similar to that on the jug from Lasteika and thus compatible with a Submycenaean date of

the kylikes. Again, I have not found exact counterparts to these kylikes in the LBA cemeteries of Kefallenia, where kylikes of LH III C Late date are present. I have illustrated examples here from the chamber tomb cemeteries of Lakkithra and Metaxata on Kefallenia (Fig. 3:2–4. – Cf. *RMDP*, 463–464 fig. 168 Kephallonia nos. 81–83 with references). While the horizontal structure of their decoration may be comparable, the Olympia kylikes are different as they display deep inturned lips and in this respect resemble more the Protogeometric version of the kylix.<sup>4</sup> Also ribbed stems of kylikes are quite common in the Pelopion deposit at Olympia (EDER 2006 151–153, 216–217 nos. 12–22 pls. 53, 77), while they are very rare in the cemeteries of Kefallenia, where straight or slightly bulbous stems appear to be the rule.

The Olympia deposit does in fact support my proposed chronology by contextual data. The votive layer of the so-called black stratum at Olympia does not contain any ceramic material which could suggest a beginning of the assemblage in LH III C. Feet of small open vessels are particularly abundant and thus offer representative information. They consist of high ring feet or low to medium high conical ones, if we leave aside the Geometric flat based ones (Fig. 4:1. – EDER 2006, 174–175, 229–235 nos. 162–254 pls. 63–65). The low ring feet which are characteristic of LH III C skyphoi are entirely missing. I have therefore suggested that the earliest material from the votive dump at Olympia should be dated Submycenaean (EDER 2006, 194–196).

Low conical feet are also characteristic of skyphoi within the DA I material of the settlement of Nichoria and the nearby cemetery at Karpophora (Fig. 4:2–3. – COULSON 1983, 65, 119 fig. 3-3, 127 fig. 3-11, 256 P1578, P1579. – CHOREMIS 1973, 48 nos. 723, 724 pls. 18ς, 19ε – *RMDP*, 362–363 Messenia no. 147–148). Reserved zones with wavy lines between the handles frequently break up the otherwise monochrome decoration of these skyphoi and seem to conform to a supra-regional trend (COULSON 1983, 67, 124–126 figs. 3-8 – 3-10).<sup>5</sup> Together with a bronze dress pin from the settlement (Fig. 4:4. – CATLING – CARRINGTON SMITH – HUGHES BROCK 1983, 276–277, 300 fig. 5-5, 305 no. 5. – KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 66 pl. 6 no. 178), which finds very good parallels in a pair from the Submycenaean tomb Γ 31 from Mycenae (Fig. 6:5. – KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 66–67 pl. 6 nos. 184–185. – DESBOROUGH 1973, 95 no. 9 pl. 34e–d), they provide good evidence to date the phase of the reoccupation of the settlement of Nichoria after the LBA to the Submycenaean period.

A review of a few vases from tomb contexts at Ancient Elis illustrates that at least some of the material from these tombs is quite well comparable with other Submycenaean pottery from the Greek mainland.

The jug from tomb 1961:6 was found together with two twisted arched fibulae (Fig. 5:1–2. – EDER 2001, 66 pl. 2b:1, 11c:e). Its shape as well as the monochrome decoration with a reserved zone on the shoulder finds quite a compatible counterpart in the rich Submycenaean burial context of tomb Γ 31 from Mycenae in the Argolid (Fig. 6:9. – DESBOROUGH 1973, 95–97 no. 2 pl. 35c. – *RMDP*, 190–191 fig. 59 Argolid no. 453). D-shaped symmetrical bow fibulae with twisted wire only became frequent in Submycenaean contexts on the southern Greek mainland and confirm the suggested Submycenaean chronology of the jug from Elis (EDER 2001, 89–90. – JUNG 2006, 190–191).

<sup>4</sup> Kylikes with ribbed stems from Ithaka, Polis: BENTON 1938/39, 13–14 pl. 8 nos. 62–68, 16 pl. 9a. – COULSON 1991, 48 fig. 2, 54 fig. 5. – SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 109–111, pls. 26–28, 34. – *RMDP*, 475–477 fig. 174 Ithaka nos. 20–24. Aetos: HEURTLEY – LORIMER 1932/33, 38–39. – SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 111, pl. 34a–d. – Cf. EDER 2006, 151–153 for further comparanda.

<sup>5</sup> Similar skyphoi with reserved zones and wavy lines between the handles come from the Argolid where A. Papadimitriou has published some examples from Submycenaean layers (FEZ I) at Tiryns: PAPANIMITRIOU 1988, 228–230 fig. 1. – Cf. *RMDP*, 57 generally on the diffusion of Submycenaean pottery, 195 fig. 61, 196 on Submycenaean deep bowls from the Argolid. – See also JUNG 2006, 159–160 on Submycenaean skyphoi with wavy bands.

The burial context of tomb Γ 31 from Mycenae also contains four lekythoi (Fig. 6:6–7,10–11. – DESBOROUGH 1973, 95–96 pls. 35a–b nos. 4–7. – *RMDP*, 191–192 fig. 59 Argolid nos. 457–458), which offer quite good parallels for another lekythos from Ancient Elis (Fig. 5:3. – EDER 2001, 69–70 pls. 1b:2, 12b:c). The latter was discovered in tomb 1961:4 together with a pair of bronze dress pins and a neck-handled amphora (Fig. 5:4–5). These lekythoi are similar in respect to their rather globular profile and funnel-shaped mouth, and two of the four vessels from Mycenae have their handles attached to the rim like the lekythos from Elis. Another comparable lekythos with linear decoration comes from Tiryns tomb XIIIa (Fig. 6:1. – VERDELIS 1963, 6–7 no. 2 pl. 3. – *RMDP*, 191–192 fig. 59 Argolid no. 456), which is otherwise dated to the Submycenaean period by the presence of a twisted bow fibula.

While it is difficult to point out close parallels for the amphora from Elis tomb 1961:4 (Fig. 5:4), the two bronze dress pins (Fig. 5:5. – EDER 2001, 86–87 pl. 13c:a–b) correspond to types current in the Submycenaean period. The type with an oblong swelling with groups of thinly moulded ribs above and below conform to the type of pin from the Nichoria settlement and the pair from tomb Γ 31 at Mycenae (See above. – Cf. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 66–69 nos. 177–191). The other one corresponds to a rather rare type with ring-mouldings instead of the head, which occurs *mutatis mutandis* in similar shape in the cemeteries of Nichoria at Karpophora and Diakata on Kefallenia (see below).

Apart from providing confirmative evidence for the Submycenaean chronology of the Elean pottery, the tomb contexts from Mycenae and Tiryns illustrate the circulation of ideas in matters of pottery production as well as in bronze technology. Similar types of bronzes, such as long dress pins and arched fibulae, are found all over Greece in these formative stages of the EIA.

To cut a longer story short: My assessment of EIA pottery groups from the western Peloponnese leads to the impression that there is a stylistic distinctive Submycenaean phase different from the preceding LH III C Late and a later Protogeometric one. LH III C pottery has been mainly located in the chamber tomb cemeteries of the region, while Submycenaean material comes mainly from single tombs, which are also frequently located at a spatial distance to the LBA cemeteries. Supportive evidence comes from bronze dress accessories in the shape of long dress pins and arched fibulae, which are confined to the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. In fact, the presence of such bronze artefacts may help to identify a few Submycenaean vases in the cemeteries of western Greece.

Three long dress pins come from tomb Z at Diakata (Fig. 4:5. – KYPARISSIS 1922, 117 fig. 32. – KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 58, 67–68, pl. 116 D. – SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 81 pl. 20: A 948, A 949. – Cf. DESBOROUGH 1972, 91). While it is impossible to isolate single burials with their accompanying vases and bronzes, the types of two pins suggest that at least one burial was placed here in the Submycenaean period. One is of the familiar type with a bulbous swelling towards the upper end and with a nail-shaped head. The other pin belongs to a rare type which ends in a moulded head: More or less close parallels come from the Submycenaean tomb 1961:4 from Ancient Elis (Fig. 5:5. – EDER 2001, 16–17, 86–87 no. 3. – See above) and from the EIA cemetery at Karpophora next to Nichoria in Messenia (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 78 pl. 12 no. 294. – CHOREMIS 1973, 73 pl. 38β M44).

Apart from these pins the same grave shaft contained a group of vases, among which I would like to point out one stirrup jar (Fig. 4:6. – KYPARISSIS 1922, 108 fig. 24:3: tomb ζ). It is rather tall with a monochrome lower body; the upper body carries a series of vertical bands in a style which is familiar from stirrup jars from Achaea. The same is true for the shoulder decoration which consists, as far as I can tell, of fringed triangles. A tall cone sits on top of the high false neck and the high spout appears rather broad. Unfortunately, the rather hazy photograph in the 1919 [1922] excavation report is the only documentation of this stirrup jar available.

P. Mountjoy's monumental collection of regional Mycenaean decorated pottery offers the drawing of a Submycenaean stirrup jar from chamber tomb 6 at Tiryns (Fig. 4:7. – *RMDP*, 193–

194 fig. 60 Argolid no. 460 with references). The vase is probably an import from Achaëa, and I consider it as a good stylistic parallel for the vase from Diakata. The vase from Diakata can thus be identified with a Submycenaean use of the tomb, which the two dress pins seem to confirm. If this is the case, we have an indication that Submycenaean style vases actually do exist in the LBA cemeteries of the western Greek mainland. More examples come from chamber tombs at Voudeni near Patras in Achaëa (MOSCHOS this volume, his phase 6b: primary burial B in chamber tomb 25). They may, however, be compared with other Submycenaean stirrup jars from the rest of the mainland. While the decoration follows LH III C Achaean traditions, the large ovoid shape, the tall cone on the high false neck as well as the broad spout are features, which are familiar from Submycenaean stirrup jars and are particularly well known from the Attic series (cf. e.g. *RMDP*, 631–633 figs. 242–243 nos. 640, 642, 646, 647, with references<sup>6</sup>).

Submycenaean stylistic features apparently travelled beyond regional limits, and thus suggest communication and dispersal of ideas. The Submycenaean stirrup jars from Tiryns and Diakata illustrate this point in question: Probably exported from Achaëa these Submycenaean vessels travelled along the Corinthian Gulf to the west and to the east, and make it thus likely that Submycenaean was a much more communicative period than we tend to believe.

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<sup>6</sup> These comparanda belong to F. Ruppenstein's stylistic group 4, which imply a rather late date within the Submycenaean sequence: RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 85–87, 90 tab. 3.



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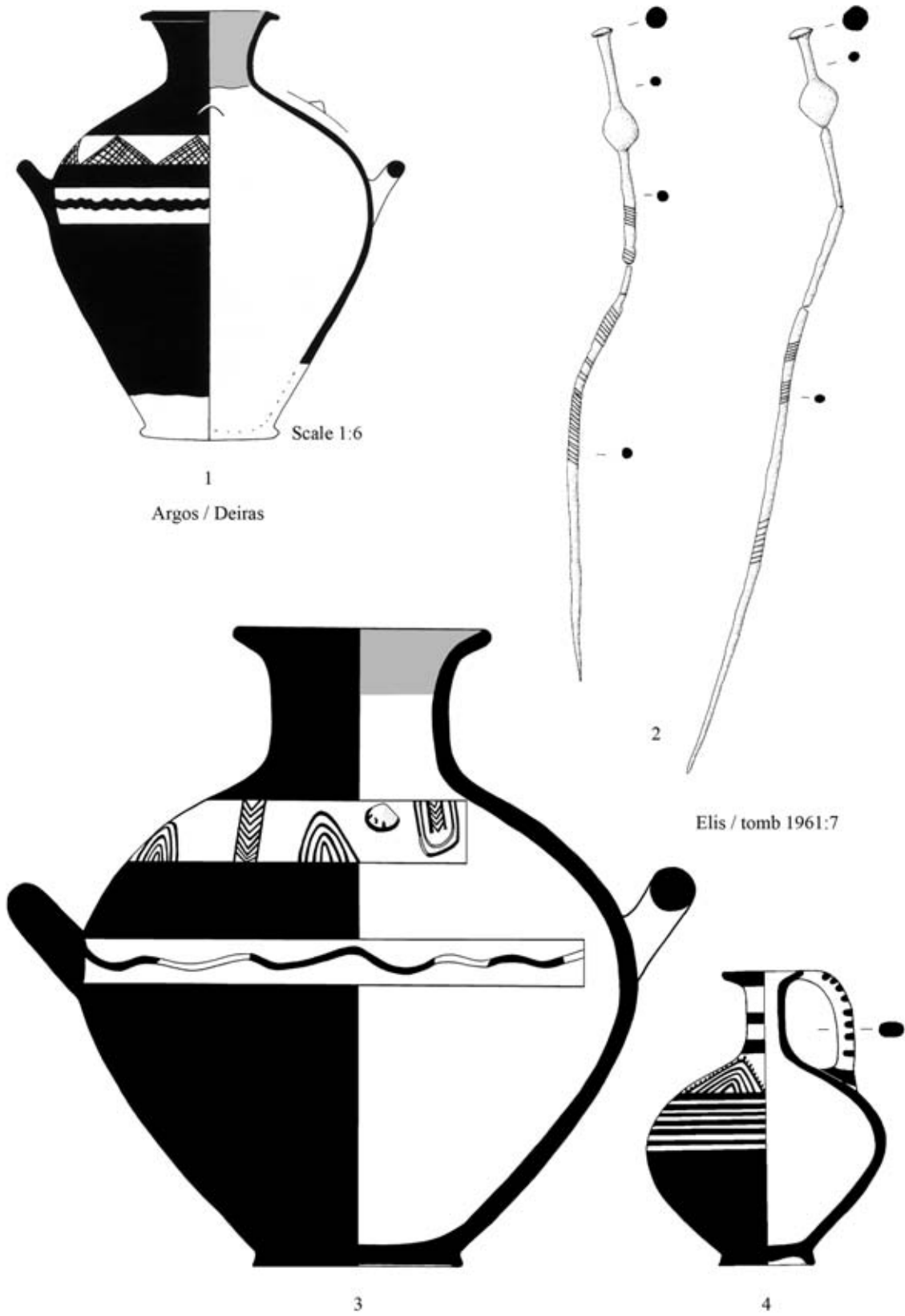


Fig. 1

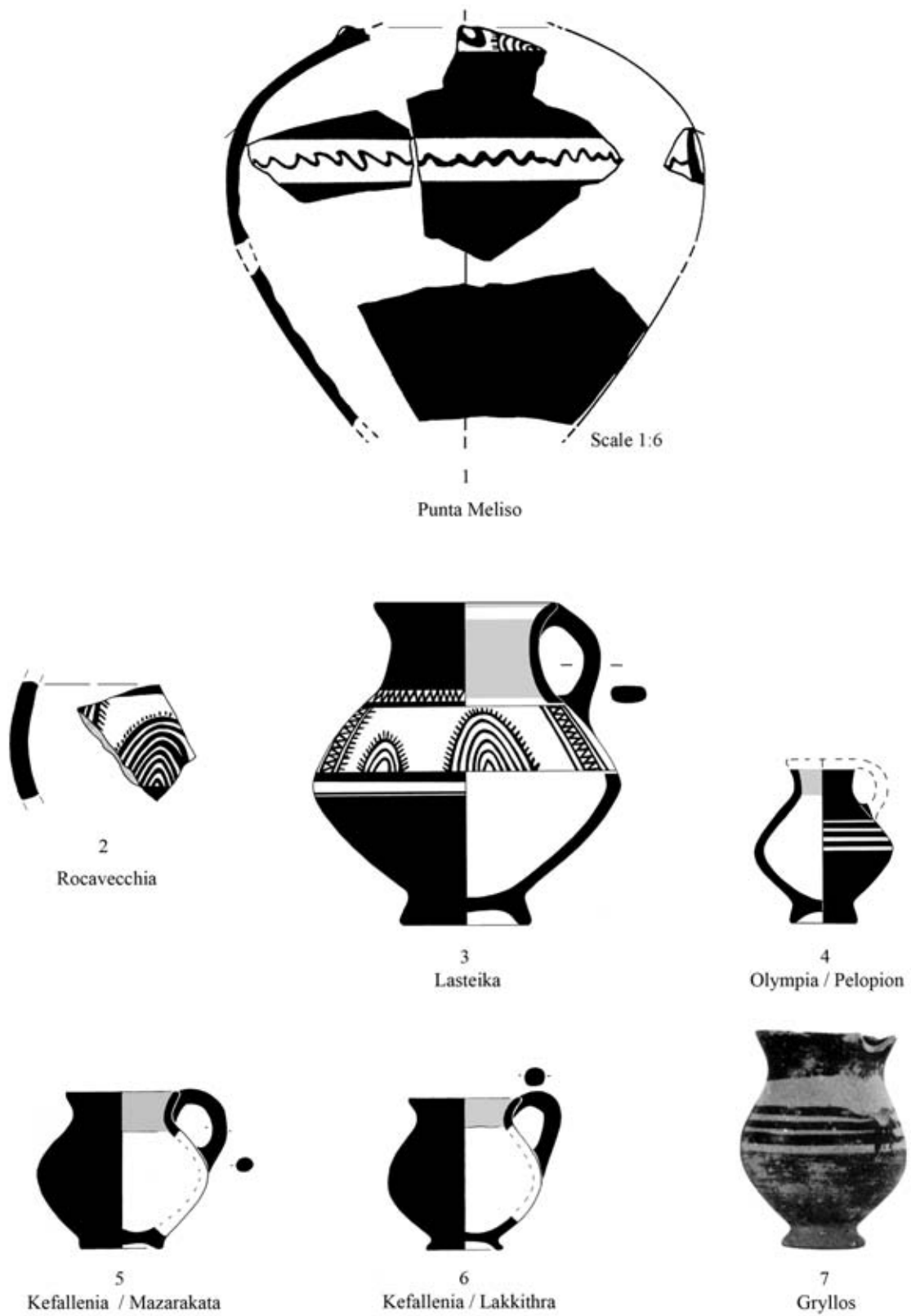
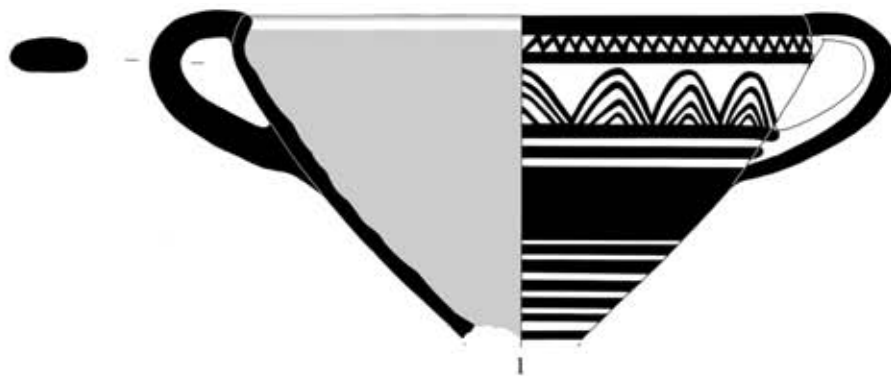


Fig. 2



Olympia / Pelopion



2



3

Kefallenia / Lakkithra



4

Kefallenia / Metaxata

Fig. 3

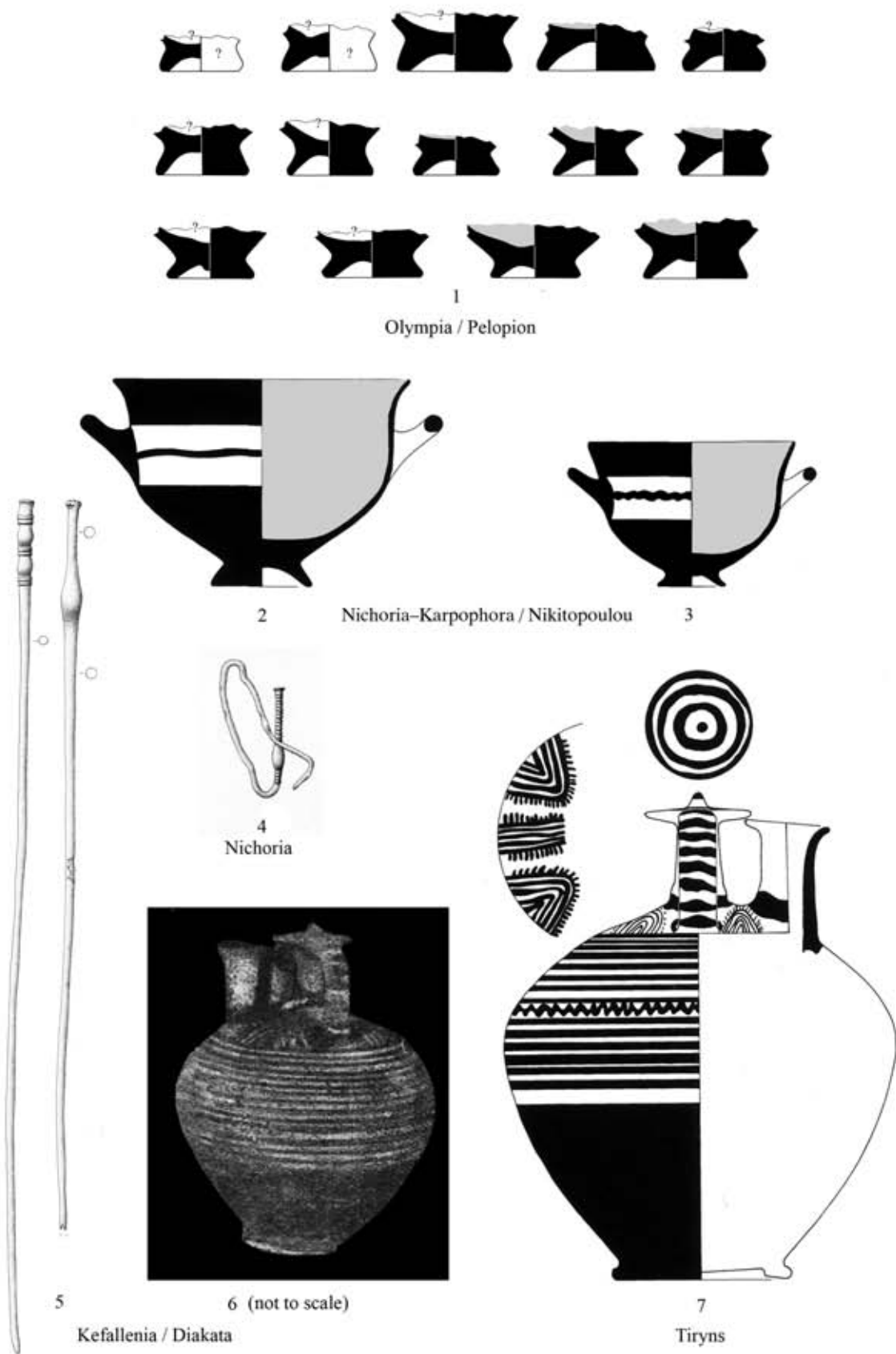


Fig. 4

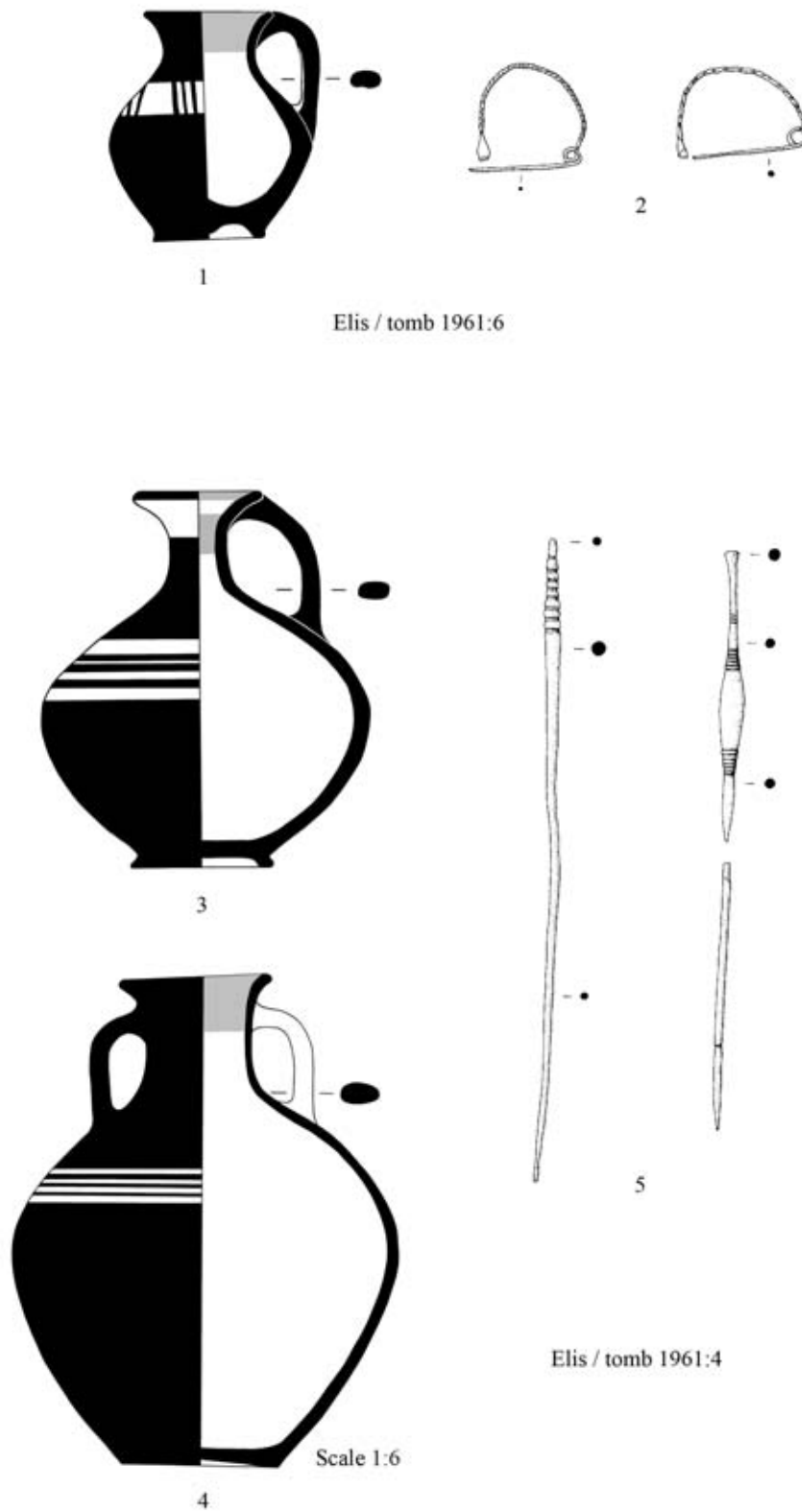


Fig. 5



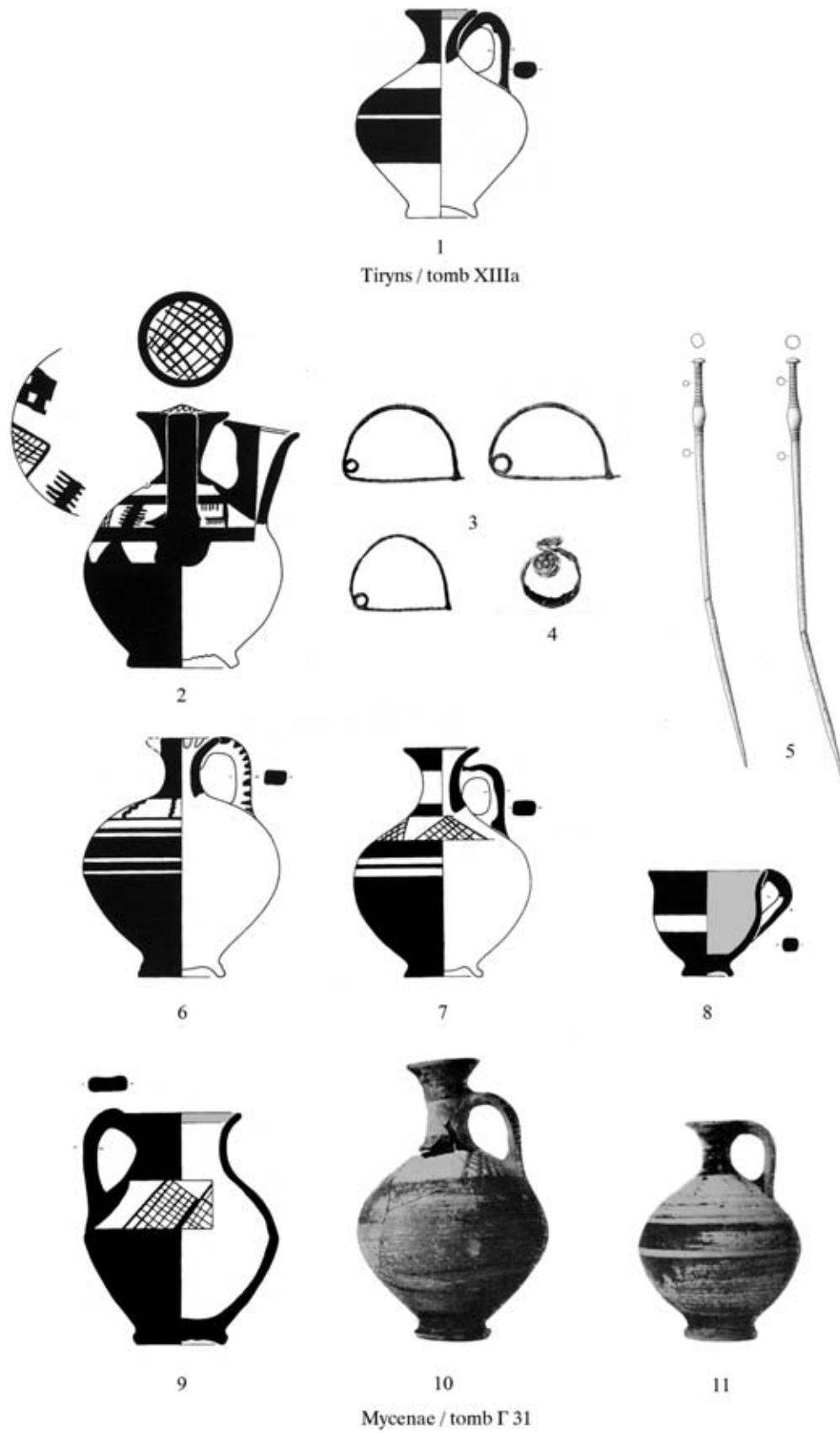


Fig. 6

