

BARTŁOMIEJ LIS

THE SEQUENCE OF LATE BRONZE / EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY
FROM CENTRAL GREEK SETTLEMENTS – A FRESH LOOK AT OLD
AND NEW EVIDENCE*

INTRODUCTION¹

The definition of Submycenaean settlement pottery has always been a difficult task for archaeologists. The results of the excavations at Volos, where absence of clearly Submycenaean material was noticed, initially led Theocharis (THEOCHARIS 1961, 126–127) to conclude that this was either accidental or that this phase was absent at the site. Yet, later (THEOCHARIS 1964, 51) he remarked that it is impossible to differentiate between Late Bronze or Early Iron Age fragments of monochrome cups and deep bowls. Jeremy Rutter, in his work on pottery at Corinth, when searching for criteria to distinguish between LH III C Late and Submycenaean settlement pottery, came to the conclusion that the latter term (Submycenaean) should be abandoned as Submycenaean grave assemblages, used to define this period's pottery, are contemporary with settlement deposits with LH III C Late pottery (RUTTER 1978). Since then only two settlements in southern Greece have been claimed to have produced possible Submycenaean strata with distinctive, that is, diagnostic, pottery: Tiryns and Asine. Ironically, the publishers of both corpora avoided the controversial term, calling their material *Frühe Eisenzeit I* (Early Iron Age I) and Final Mycenaean respectively (PAPADIMITRIOU 1988. – SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986).

The period immediately following Submycenaean in the generally accepted chronological sequence is Early Protogeometric. A clear ceramic definition of EPG should be crucial for defining Submycenaean settlement pottery, yet the scarcity of EPG evidence is even more dramatic than is that of Submycenaean – in southern Greece only Asine has provided published evidence for uninterrupted continuity between Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. However, the phase immediately following Final Mycenaean is called PG I by the publisher, B. Wells (WELLS 1983), and there is controversy over how this phase should be synchronized with the Attic chronological sequence, not to mention the problems of stratigraphic interpretation (LEMONS 2002, 5).

In such circumstances the archaeological evidence from the eastern part of Central Greece might be helpful, for some of the sites there were apparently in use without any detectable

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¹ Central Greece, as used here, does not include the region of Attica.

interruption at least from final stages of the Bronze Age into the Protogeometric period. These are the settlements of Kynos and Mitrou and the sanctuary of Kalapodi (Fig. 1).² Among them, Kalapodi stands out by virtue of having yielded a final publication of the relevant pottery and its well-documented stratigraphical sequence (FELSCH 1996). Therefore, this site constitutes an excellent starting point for the analysis of the pottery sequence at the transition to the Early Iron Age in this part of Greece.

KALAPODI

The LH III C and EPG pottery has been presented by M. Jacob-Felsch in two preliminary reports (JACOB-FELSCH 1987a. – JACOB-FELSCH 1987b), which were followed by her final publication (JACOB-FELSCH 1996) and a slight, yet important, modification of terminology by the excavator, R. Felsch (FELSCH 2001, 193, n. 3 and FELSCH 2007b). It is very interesting and instructive to follow how the chronological attribution of pottery from the 23 layers “Schichten” spanning the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition has changed over the years (Tab. 1).

It is evident that the chronology has been significantly modified, especially with regard to the latest part of the sequence (i.e. the uppermost of the analysed layers). The duration of the EPG phase has constantly increased at the expense of the Submycenaean phase. The most recent revision of the Kalapodi chronology in 2007 established that the EPG phase encompasses Layers 16 to 23. This expansion of the EPG phase has reduced the Submycenaean phase to a meager three layers, 13 to 15. It would have become even shorter if it had not been for the LH III C Late phase that was shifted from the single Layer 13 down (stratigraphically) to Layers 11–12. This shift was appropriate, for the wavy band krater (Fig. 2:264) shows links with Lefkandi phase 2b and 3 and the LH III C Late East Mainland–Aegean Koine (MOUNTJOY this volume). Incomprehensible, however, is the reassignment of Layer 13 to the Submycenaean phase. Even in the final publication Jacob-Felsch (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 100) maintains that Layer 13 is to be equated with Lefkandi Phase 3, invariably dated to LH III C Late. Moreover, P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 39 table II) has recently synchronized this phase of Lefkandi with the middle and not the end of the LH III C Late period. There are even more controversies concerning another Submycenaean layer, Layer 15. Part of this layer in the area K25 N could not be well separated from underlying layers (4 and possibly also 7); a fact which seriously undermines the reliability and thus chronological utility of some 30% of the pottery from Layer 15 (404 out of 1395 sherds found in this layer came from area K25 N). Moreover, Layer 15 has been interpreted as a levelling fill, therefore it cannot be treated in the same way as other strata that represent rather short-time accumulations of debris; this up to 30 cm thick fill may contain a considerably higher amount of earlier sherds. Finally, in the closing discussion of the Kalapodi sequence, Jacob-Felsch calls Layers 13–15 not Submycenaean but “a transitional phase between symptoms of deterioration of the LH III C Late phase and the first impulses of the new era, the so-called Submycenaean phase” (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 99). If the following layers (16–17) were already assigned to the transition to EPG phase (and after modification in FELSCH 2001 to EPG proper, Tab. 1), an important question arises – where is the Submycenaean phase at Kalapodi? To conclude this review of the Kalapodi stratigraphy, I would like to propose conflating Layers 11–12 and 13–15 into a single horizon characterized by pottery with

² The settlement of Volos Nea Ionia, published by M. Sipsie-Eschbach (SIPSIE-ESCHBACH 1991), is not included in the main discussion because of its complicated stratigraphy and a number of apparently mixed deposits. M. Jacob-Felsch in her review of this publication invested a lot of effort into re-interpreting the stratigraphy and associated finds (JACOB-FELSCH 1994), but the result, although undoubtedly successful, is not relevant to the specific concerns of the following study. Low number and decorative austerity of pottery fragments remaining in a meaningful stratigraphical relation does not allow pottery sequence to be discussed in a comparable degree of precision offered by other sites.

LH III C Late features.³ This should not be interpreted as another plea for the abandonment of the term Submycenaean, but I think it is a reasonable strategy not to use this term without providing a set of diagnostic criteria for it. Layers 13–15 contain virtually no ceramic criteria that would permit a differentiation of Submycenaean from the preceding LH III C Late phase. The only detectable changes include a growing proportion of handmade Kitchenware with an increased number of imitations of small Mycenaean forms and the first appearance of the lekythos. The Kitchenware “Küchengeschirr”, pottery class both wheel- and handmade and executed in rather coarse pale clay (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 78–80), should, in my opinion, be considered a similar phenomenon as the White Ware further south. The White Ware, although present, is indeed very rare at Kalapodi (only 10 sherds) and cannot be seen as a kind of widely available (possibly cheaper) alternative for local fine pottery. If such an interpretation of Kitchenware is correct, its increase in Layers 13–15 would constitute a link with Lefkandi Phase 3 (later stage), where White Ware reaches a 40–50% share in the whole assemblage also including deep bowls and other small shapes in its repertoire (POPHAM – SCHOFIELD – SHERRATT 2006, 175). The appearance of the lekythos cannot be considered a valid criterion, since it is a form that elsewhere already begins in LH III C Early (*MDP*, 143). The continuation of decorative and morphological simplification in addition to the technological deterioration of the pottery, first noticeable in Layers 11–12, cannot be viewed as a genuinely useful marker for a new phase. From a new phase defined in ceramic terms one should expect more precise criteria, especially such of wider, inter-site applicability. Therefore, it is more reasonable to view the changes at Kalapodi as simply the intensification of trends observable within one and the same phase.⁴

Following the latest Kalapodi chronology equating Layers 16–23 with EPG period, I would like to suggest combining the two Horizons 8 and 9 into one and calling it, in an already presented manner, Horizon 8/9. Some differences between the two horizons are discernible, yet the number of sherds in Layers 18–23 is too low (less than 300 per layer) to support a robust chronological distinction between them.⁵

The results of the revision are shown in Tab. 2, which also presents Jacob-Felsch’s original attributions of layers to horizons, along with the total number of sherds for each layer and each pottery class defined by fabric and mode of manufacture.⁶ Now we can discuss the criteria for distinguishing LH III C Late and EPG phases at Kalapodi.

Layers 11 to 15 contained only a small number of distinctively decorated sherds, hence it is difficult to present a substantial list of diagnostic criteria for local LH III C Late pottery. However, this seems to be true of LH III C Late pottery assemblages everywhere, which are defined more by what is missing than by what is new (RUTTER 1977, 4. – PODZUWEIT 1988, 222).

³ In order to avoid multiplication of terminologies I would call Layers 11–15 Horizon 6/7.

⁴ I would refrain from including two lower layers, i.e. 9 and 10, into this LH III C Late horizon. Decisive is the presence of a large warrior krater in Layer 10. Such an elaborate example of Pictorial Style is more at home in the LH III C Middle phase. Frequency of White Ware, which may be taken as a criterion, should not apply to Kalapodi, since only 10 out of 14719 (Layers 1–15) sherds belong to this class. The dating of Layers 9–10 in the LH III C Middle period is still in accordance with their synchronisation with Lefkandi Phase 2b, since the beginning of this Lefkandi phase is set in LH III C Middle Advanced (*RMDP*, 39 table II). The rest of that phase of the Lefkandi Xeropolis settlement is to be synchronized with Layers 11–12 (Krater no. 264 [Fig. 2] from Layer 11 is said to be close to kraters popular in Lefkandi Phase 2b; *RMDP*, 815).

⁵ Fine pottery represents only 36% of the total sherd number from Layers 18–23. The rest consists of usually non-diagnostic handmade cooking pottery, Kitchenware and pithoi.

⁶ This and the following Tab. 3 constitute chronological extensions of tables 1 and 2 compiled by J. Rutter for the LH III C Middle workshop (RUTTER 2007). The only difference between my Tab. 2 and Rutter’s table 3 is that I have combined numbers for areas K 25 and K 25N. In Tab. 3, I have also included closed shapes and reduced the number of open shapes. Accordingly, their relative frequencies are counted against the total fine painted sherds and not, as in Rutter’s table 2, against the total identified open shapes.

Accordingly, the marker of Horizon 6/7 pottery is the impoverishment of the repertoire of shapes and motifs (Fig. 2). The most popular among open shapes are monochrome and linear deep bowls and cups. Kraters are also present and are decorated with a double wavy band, a panelled pattern or spirals; large closed shapes (mostly fragments of amphoras, hydrias and jugs) are adorned with bands and tassels. Trays, lekythoi, kylikes, a single trefoil-mouthed jug and stirrup jars are also attested (Tab. 3).

The pottery from Layers 16–23 at Kalapodi (Fig. 3, Tab. 3), assigned to the EPG period, may be characterized as follows:

- the assemblage consists mainly of cups and deep bowls and large closed shapes (amphoras/hydrias/jugs). In addition, there are a few kylikes, kraters, small jugs and amphoriskoi;
- first use of compass-drawn decoration on the shoulder of large closed vessels; particular attention has been accorded to the renowned prototype amphora (Fig. 3:391), yet it is worth stressing that the same Layer 16 contained sherds coming from amphoras decorated in a more standard way typical of PG amphoras, i.e. with sets of concentric circles on the shoulder (Fig. 3:392);
- appearance of the neck-handled amphora (Tab. 3);
- popularity of monochrome deep bowls: their share in the fine painted class rose from 7% in Layers 11–15 to 14% in Layers 16–23;
- presence of deep bowls decorated with a dense version of a horizontal wavy band in the reserved handle zone (Fig. 3:418)⁷, the wavy band is also used to decorate cups (Fig. 3:411);
- appearance of the so-called salami⁸ deep bowl (Fig. 3:406);
- continuation of use of the medium-band cups;
- use of high ring bases and very low conical feet for open shapes (Fig. 3:407,410,377);
- application of simple decorative motifs on closed shapes – tassel, scroll, wavy band or zigzag;
- presence of some vessels that find their best parallels among vases found in graves referred to as Submycenaean (Fig. 3:411,418,423 and JACOB-FELSCH 1996, Taf. 44:395).

An objection, as regards the EPG date of this phase, could be raised. Since Layers 16–23 contain so much pottery of Mycenaean character, including some that might be actually called Submycenaean, why cannot we call these layers – Submycenaean? First of all, the attribution to EPG has been proposed by R. Felsch after the analysis of other, non-ceramic finds (FELSCH 2001, 193, n. 3). In purely pottery terms, the most important feature is the appearance of compass-drawn decoration applied to amphoras with an already ovoid profile, typical of the PG period.⁹ It is important to stress that in this case we are dealing not only with a new ornament but also with the introduction of a completely new device for its application. The place where this invention first occurred has been a matter of an intense scientific debate (VERDELIS 1958. – JACOB-FELSCH 1988. – CATLING 1998. – PAPADOPOULOS – VEDDER – SCHREIBER 1998) and is decisive in the discussion of chronology and synchronization of Central Greek settle-

⁷ The first example of a deep bowl decorated with a wavy band comes from Layer 10 (Kalapodi no. 230) yet that particular wavy band is very wide. The dense version of that motif, which may also be called a zigzag, shows up first in Layer 15 but is most frequent in Layers 18–19 constituting some 3% of all painted sherds. In order to define wavy band as dense, the distance between two neighbouring apexes of the band has to be similar or even smaller than the breadth of the band.

⁸ This particular decoration also has another ‘charcuterie’ label – the ugly sausage motif (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 442).

⁹ The discussion of the pottery types with Submycenaean affinities will be carried out under the heading “Synchronisms with Southern Greece – Argolid and Corinthia”.

ments with other regions, especially Attica. This debate is still inconclusive, yet it seems that the hypothesis that compass-drawn decoration was first developed in Attica is still the most plausible one. Three tombs in Athens, including two newly discovered and one previously unpublished, provide important hints. Grave 126 (Fig. 5; Metrostation Syntagma; PARLAMA – STAMPOLIDIS 2000, 163) contained a cup on an apparently conical foot decorated with a very thin and stretched wavy band and an oinochoe decorated with two motifs hanging from the neck-shoulder transition. One is a hand-drawn spiral, while the other consists of a set of four concentric circles executed with the help of the compass. The number of concentric circles in the set is low. Usually, even EPG Athenian vases feature five or more well-executed concentric circles in a set, in contrast with early Central Greek amphoras decorated with only 3 to 5, sometimes poorly-drawn, circles (CATLING 1998). Not knowing this particular oinochoe one could gain an impression that this kind of decoration was already introduced to Athens in a very developed form, without any formative stage. Plausibly the oinochoe represents not only one of the first attempts with the use of the compass device for decoration¹⁰ but also an expression of potter's pride in his/her skills. These skills were very quickly improved in Athens, as is attested by grave 146 from Kerameikos, dated to the Transitional SM/PG phase (RUPPENSTEIN this volume). One of the vases found there is a circle skyphos¹¹ decorated with no less than nine concentric circles. Grave 57, also dated to this Transitional SM/PG phase, provides further evidence for an early introduction of compass-drawn circles (Fig. 6; Metrostation Akropolis; PARLAMA – STAMPOLIDIS 2000, 44–45; dating: RUPPENSTEIN 2007, tab. 40a). Two lekythoi were found there – one decorated with hand-drawn, the other one with compass-drawn semi-circles. It seems that in the early stage of the PG period both techniques were used simultaneously, plausibly by one and the same potter.

If one accepts the hypothesis of Athenian precedence, at least in terms of the compass use, the amphoras from Kalapodi and other sites in central and northern Greece (and also Troy) cannot be earlier than the Attic Transitional SM/PG (“Stufe IV” as defined by RUPPENSTEIN 2007). The evidence from chamber tombs of Elateia (Fig. 1) is in favour of this hypothesis and the terminology proposed for Kalapodi: in Elateia tombs the amphoras with sets of concentric circles are stratigraphically no earlier than the beginning of the Protogeometric period (DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 199). The high frequency of pottery of Mycenaean character attested in Kalapodi Horizon 8/9 and the belated adoption or even rejection of some novelties should not come as a surprise, but rather expected in the face of ceramic regionalism and conservatism. The more remote a site is from the centers of development, the more longevity of certain shapes and decorative motifs should be awaited. One of the most prominent examples of this phenomenon is the settlement of Kastanas in Macedonia. Monochrome deep bowls and carinated cups appear there very late. In Layer 11, dated to the Middle Protogeometric period, there is no trace of conical feet and some earlier motifs, such as tassels or antithetical streamers, are still in use (JUNG 2002. – JUNG 2003). Kastanas is an extreme example, yet similar developments on a smaller scale may be expected at Kalapodi. In such cases layers should be

¹⁰ In the recent study by F. Ruppenstein (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, tab. 40a) Grave 126 was dated to “Stufe III”, representing the late stage of Submycenaean, prior to the Transitional Submycenaean/EPG phase. However, this dating has been based on Ruppenstein's observation that the concentric circles were hand-drawn. Even with the different assumption, this tomb would not have been dated much later because of the style of the accompanying cup and the overall decoration and shape of the oinochoe. Judging by the photo itself, there is no difference between this set of concentric circles and the sets on EPG amphoras from Mitrou examined by the author. The solidly painted centre might have obscured the hole from the compass foot. Moreover, this hole is not always discernible on the EPG amphoras.

¹¹ The term *skyphos* will be used here referring to a shape of a deep bowl with clear Protogeometric character (high conical foot or decoration consisting of concentric circles, enclosed zigzag or double or triple bands on reserved lower body).

dated by the stylistically latest vases.¹² For Kalapodi this remark gains even more importance due to the nature of the layers. These are not closed destruction deposits but they rather represent a ritual refuse that accumulated in layers of ash over some time (FELSCH 2007b, 7).

Layers 24–27 at Kalapodi, following EPG Horizon 8/9, were dated by A. Nitsche (NITSCHKE 1987, 40) to the MPG period, whereas Layer 28 was set at the transition to the Late Proto-geometric (LPG) period. However, most of the vases published find their best parallels in the EPG period or even earlier (Fig. 4). Interestingly, this view was also shared by A. Nitsche. The skyphos with two zigzags enclosed between bands (Fig. 4:1), a successor of the deep bowl with dense wavy band, is chronologically firmly fixed by a close parallel from Weinberg's House at Corinth (Fig. 13:2). The deep bowl with dense wavy band (Fig. 4:2) is a link with the preceding EPG horizon (Fig. 3:418), attesting to the longevity of that type. The shallow bowl with handles placed on the rim (Fig. 4:3) cannot, according to the Lefkandi evidence (DESBOROUGH 1979/80, 303), be later than EPG. Another very interesting and equally important feature of Layers 24–28 is the presence of both open and closed shapes decorated with simple sets of only two or three concentric circles (Fig. 4:4,5). Their best parallels are to be found in PG I Asine (Fig. 7:3,4),¹³ particularly because the sets on Asine skyphoi are sometimes enclosed by two bands as are the zigzags on contemporary skyphoi. Similarly decorated vases, both open (Mycenaean kylix) and closed, were found in Thessalian Phiki (Fig. 7:1,2), yet they cannot be precisely dated. However, the shape of the kylix suggests a date early in the PG period. P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 856) has even considered them to be Submycenaean. An important feature of the neck-handled amphora (Fig. 4:5) is the ring base; whereas the amphora from Layer 16 (Fig. 3:391) still has a flat and raised base. The conical feet of open shapes are already higher (Fig. 4:6), yet the true high conical ones, so abundant at MPG Toumba Building (CATLING – LEMOS 1990, pl. 51), are totally absent.¹⁴ There are three vases for which an MPG date was suggested. The small closed shape with its two enclosed zigzags (Fig. 4:7) finds no good parallel in either of the PG phases, yet the decoration itself is very common in the EPG phase as can be seen on the skyphos Fig. 4:1 and Fig. 13:2. The circle skyphos (Fig. 4:8), found on the upper edge of Layer 27, is indeed of the type well attested in the Lefkandi Toumba fill, yet this type is present as early as Transitional SM/PG phase (Kerameikos Grave 146, see above), which does not exclude an EPG date for the Kalapodi vessel. The skyphos with two bands on the lower body (Fig. 4:9), again common in the Toumba fill, was found in the "Oberkante" of Layer 28 (OK 28) at Kalapodi and is said to be the latest vessel in this layer (NITSCHKE 1987, 40). Both observations suggest that it might be an intrusion from the following Layer 29, a substantial fill indicative of reorganization of the sanctuary.¹⁵ Nevertheless, one does not need to question the attribution of the skyphos – the assemblage of Tomb 101 from Torone (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 172–177, fig. 156–157) shows that a similar skyphos¹⁶ was associated with another skyphos datable to the EPG period, decorated with enclosed zigzags. Moreover, skyphoi from the Toumba

¹² This approach seems to be generally valid. However, an example of another dating strategy sensibly applied to closed deposits is provided by S. Vitale (VITALE 2006).

¹³ A single skyphos of that type was found in the PG III phase (WELLS 1983, fig. 184:641). On problems with interpretation of Asine stratigraphy see chapter "Introduction".

¹⁴ This feature of Kalapodi Layers 24–28 is referred to as accidental (NITSCHKE 1987, 38 n. 97). Such an approach is symptomatic for the scholar's conviction that the layers date to MPG period.

¹⁵ In fact, true high conical feet that, based on the Lefkandi evidence, one would associate with this type of skyphos are to be found in Layer 29 (Fig. 4:10).

¹⁶ The decoration of the skyphos 101.7 from Torone (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, fig. 157:g) is quite sophisticated. The main decoration consists of a motif that J. Papadopoulos terms a 'single sausage'. It is visible in the handle zone, where the reserved underside is extended following the line of the decoration of the upper handle part. Below this motif, a thick band is applied, again discernible only in the handle zone and elsewhere merging with the single sausage motif. Further below there are two thin bands. This is definitely not an exact parallel for the Kalapodi skyphos, yet influence coming from the North cannot be excluded.

fill tend to have three or even four and not two bands on the reserved lower body, which may not be without chronological significance.¹⁷ However, even if one is willing to synchronize the burnt Layer 28 with the Toumba fill, this still contradicts Nitsche's dating (transition to LPG). Moreover, his own chronological assumptions seem to be contradictory in their own terms – Layer 28 is dated to the transition to LPG, yet all preceding layers are illustrated mostly with EPG vases, whereas no obvious gap in stratigraphy was noticed (NITSCHKE 1987, 38). The reason for this internal inconsistency is not difficult to trace. Nitsche's evaluation of Kalapodi material took place before the final publication of the material from Lefkandi Toumba building (CATLING – LEMOS 1990). He assumed that material from that building represented a stage of MPG, when, under Attic influence, the transition to LPG was taking place (NITSCHKE 1987, 38, n. 98). Since the circle skyphos (upper edge of Layer 27, Fig. 4:8) was equated with the vase from the floor deposit of Toumba building, Layer 28 was dated to the transition to LPG. However, this skyphos does not have to be that late, nor is it agreed that the Toumba Building represents such a late stage in the MPG period. These reconsiderations lead me to a suggestion that at least Layers 24–27 do not represent MPG, but a more advanced (in relation to Horizon 8/9) stage of the EPG period. Burnt Layer 28 may be contemporary with the Toumba Building in Lefkandi, but, as has been shown, does not have to be. Following the terminology used for earlier strata, Layers 24–28 are termed Horizon 10. One should refrain from any ultimate statements about the dates of these layers until the final publication of relevant material. What can be claimed with confidence, however, is that in Horizon 10 the Mycenaean elements, so dominant in Layers 16–23, are no longer prevailing. Conspicuously, the amphoras decorated with concentric circles on the shoulder, are missing in Layers 24–28 after their initial appearance in Layers 16–18.

After the revision of Kalapodi's stratigraphical sequence I would like to turn towards two settlement sites, Mitrou and Kynos, that are crucial for our understanding of the Late Bronze – Early Iron Age transition in East Lokris, also in ceramic terms.

MITROU

The evidence for the phase at Mitrou that could be synchronized with Kalapodi Layers 11–15 is rather scarce and might be termed as unusual. A highly intriguing deposit of miniature vases and a wheelmade cooking pot recovered in Building C should be included in this discussion (Fig. 8:1–8). The vessels and their architectural context have already been presented by A. Van de Moortel (VAN DE MOORTELT this volume, p. 362, fig. 6). The assemblage is not particularly helpful for establishing the ceramic sequence but provides invaluable insight into less profane activities of Mitrou inhabitants. The dating of this deposit is very difficult in ceramic terms: I know of no good, chronologically related parallels for such crude miniatures, apart from a single vase from Asine (whose context is not precisely datable, Fig. 8:9), a miniature tray from a disturbed context at Kalapodi (Fig. 8:11) and a shallow handleless bowl (Fig. 8:10) serving as a lamp from Layer 13 at the same site. The Mitrou miniatures imitate, but seldom very closely, Mycenaean shapes whose period of use was often very long, insufficient for narrowing down the deposit's chronology. Only the one-handled conical bowl (FS 242, Fig. 8:2), the tray (FS 322, Fig. 8:6) and the possible kalathos (FS 291, Fig. 8:8) provide a terminus ante quem non of LH III C Middle date. The presence of the tray's imitations may narrow down this terminus to the advanced phase of the LH III C Middle period (POPHAM – SCHOFIELD – SHERRATT 2006, 160. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 87–88). Cooking pots are not as precisely datable, but the closest parallels for the vase of this kind from Mitrou (Fig. 8:5) come from Lefkandi Phases 1b and 2a.

¹⁷ There is only one secure example of a skyphos (no. 105) with two bands on the reserved lower body (POPHAM – CATLING – LEMOS 1990, 101, pl. 8).

However, also the vast majority of complete examples derive from these two phases; in deposits of Phase 2b there were no complete one-handed cooking pots and the following phase yielded only one such example. In the fill below the floor of Building C, on which the deposit has rested, there were no traces of compass-drawn decoration and only a few fragments executed in micaceous fabric (see n. 21). These observations were reinforced by the stratigraphy¹⁸ and lead me to infer a LH III C Late date for the deposit. It would therefore be contemporary with Kalapodi Layers 11–15. Based on some features connecting the deposit with Lefkandi Phase 2a and an advanced stage of LH III C Middle, its date may be suggested to fall in the earlier part of the LH III C Late period (Tab. 4).

Another find that I would like to discuss under the LH III C Late heading comes, surprisingly, from a funerary context. A linear cup (Fig. 9:1) from Cist 5 displays an elegant and well-executed globular profile with slightly S-curved upper body, thin walls and an only slightly modified ring base. The decoration consists of a rimband, two thin bands at the height of the lower handle attachment, solidly painted foot and handle. The interior is entirely coated. Very similar decoration (apart from the reserved band on the interior) but a different, spreading profile is to be seen on a cup (Fig. 9:2) found at Lefkandi in Phase 2a–b context, still belonging therefore to the LH III C Middle period. Taller, yet still somewhat spreading cups with similar banding were found predominantly in Submycenaean contexts (Fig. 9:4–8; Fig. 5:1).¹⁹ However, they all feature a single or even double wavy band in the central decorative zone. In terms of the profile, an almost exact parallel for the cup from Mitrou is the medium band cup (Fig. 9:3) found in Lefkandi Phase 2b context, datable either to the end of the LH III C Middle or already to the LH III C Late period. Stylistically I would therefore place the Mitrou linear cup between the two Lefkandiot cups of Fig. 9:2–3 (LH III C Middle/Late) and the five later cups 9:4–8 (LH III C Late/Submycenaean) and date it to the LH III C Late period.

A deposit postdating the miniatures from Building C was unearthed in 2005 in Trench LN782 (Fig. 10). It is an extensive fill composed of very worn and fragmented pottery. It is conceivable, but by no means certain, that the pottery forming the LN782 deposit accumulated over the abandoned Building B and was dumped at its final place during the construction of Building A (for a discussion of Mitrou building history see VAN DE MOORTELE this volume). This material, comprising over 3000 sherds, includes in the first place at least 28 fragments belonging to probably different amphoras decorated with compass-drawn sets of concentric circles and semicircles (Fig. 10:1). Among them, there is one piece that represents the type with concentric circles flanking a panel of vertical wavy lines, known from many sites in the central and northern Aegean and classified by CATLING 1998 as a member of his Group I. Monochrome decorated deep bowls are frequent (19% of the total painted sherds) and the type with a dense wavy band in the reserved handle zone (Fig. 10:3) is attested by 20 fragments.²⁰ The bases of open shapes are either of a ring type or can be described as low conical feet. Closed shapes are decorated with horizontal wavy lines, zigzags and scrolls. Open shapes include cups, often decorated with a rim band on the exterior, linear kraters (Fig. 10:4) and basins (Fig. 10:2). Two possible kalathos rims were also detected, as well as a spout from a single stirrup jar. A particular feature of the LN782 deposit is the extensive use of a distinct fabric for

¹⁸ The floor on which the deposit of miniatures was placed is located above the level of the upper floor of Building B dated to the LH III C Middle to Late period (VAN DE MOORTELE this volume).

¹⁹ Only cup Fig. 9:4 comes from a secure LH III C Late context (Phase 2b/3 at Lefkandi). Cup Fig. 9:5 comes from Kerameikos cemetery and has been redated by P. Mountjoy to LH III C Late based on stylistic reassignment of associated vases (MOUNTJOY – HANKEY 1988). This cup is thus to be dated at least to the later part of the LH III C Late period, if not to the Submycenaean period.

²⁰ The difference in the frequency of two types of deep bowl (monochrome vs wavy band type) may seem to be large, yet part of this difference is due to the state of material preservation. Many of the fragments classified as monochrome deep bowls (rims, lower body fragments) may in fact belong to the other type.

large closed (including most of the Group I amphoras) and, less frequently, open shapes. The fabric is characterized by many glimmering particles on the pale reddish-yellow surface.²¹ Dull, dark red and thickly applied paint is usually used in combination with this fabric. Apart from a few minor differences (lack of kylikes, even less variety in decoration), the pottery is closely comparable to what has been found at Kalapodi in Layers 16–23. However, it must be emphasized that due to the unclear nature of that fill and the general character of pottery in the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, it cannot be ruled out that part of the pottery overlaps chronologically with LH III C Late and Kalapodi Layers 11–15 (Tab. 4). In addition, the deposit's proximity to the surface renders the presence of some later sherds almost inevitable.

Evidence for a phase following the creation of LN782 deposit is very limited and is connected mainly with the apsidal Building A. There is a stratigraphical indication betraying the existence of an earlier phase of Building A use. The later and main phase (providing thus the terminus ante quem for the construction and initial use of the building), of which demise is represented by a floor deposit of many mendable vases, has been initially dated to the MPG period (VAN DE MOORTELT – ZAHOU 2006, 45). However, since the pottery of Building A is currently under intensive study, any final statements on its date would be too preliminary. A terminus post quem for the construction of Building A is plausibly provided by the LN782 deposit. The chronological framework is therefore set, yet the ceramic evidence is very scarce due to a considerable disturbance of Building's A interior. Nevertheless, among many pottery fragments contemporary with the main use of Building A recovered from the sounding in its apse,²² there were some vases that might be selected on stylistic grounds as earlier than the majority of the assemblage and, moreover, these types were not attested in the fill in Trench LN782. Additional support for this procedure is provided by the fact that the combination of 'micaceous' fabric and dull dark-red paint, attested for some of these fragments, is not present in the Building's A floor deposit anymore.²³ Following these criteria a few vessels were selected (Fig. 11). A belly-handled closed shape decorated with sets of only three concentric circles (Fig. 11:2) is paralleled in decoration in Layers 24–28 at Kalapodi (Fig. 4:5) and the amphora from Phiki (Fig. 7:1). The presence of an amphora with plausibly two sets of concentric circles divided by a vertical panel of straight lines (Fig. 11:1) may suggest that this is a successor of a type with wiggly lines in the panel. A closed shape decorated with a simple triangular motif (Fig. 11:3) shows degeneration of the tassel that, in its ordinary form, was still in use in the previous phase represented by the LN782 deposit. An everted, hollowed and barred rim (Fig. 11:4) from a closed shape supplements the pieces identified so far.

KYNOS

The LBA and EIA stratigraphy and findings from the settlement of Kynos were presented during the first conference on LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms at Vienna (DAKORONIA 2003). The current conference provides us with a detailed report on the transition to EIA on

²¹ In our potshed terminology this fabric has been termed *micaceous*. However, visiting geologist Rick Bullard has pointed out that this glimmering effect is not due to mica platelets but small particles of quartz. This observation is of great importance since most of the early amphoras decorated with concentric circles found at Mitrou are executed in a similar 'micaceous' fabric. This might be also true for many other similar amphoras found all over the central and northern Aegean (cf. CATLING 1998).

²² This connection was ascertained by plentiful joins between pottery from the sounding and the disturbed floor deposit of Building A.

²³ A single exception may be represented by a large closed shape, preserved only up to the shoulders, executed in such a fabric. Interestingly, its banding system differs from that attested on ordinary examples of Group I amphoras.

that site (DAKORONIA – KOUNOUKLAS this volume) together with the phasing of the settlement. In my short review I will refer both to the levels of 2003 publication and phases of the current division.

Pottery from Phase 6 at Kynos (Level 4) is in line with the evidence from Layers 11–15 (Horizon 6/7) at Kalapodi. Bands, wavy lines and tassels adorn closed shapes, whereas monochrome deep bowls and linear cups are popular among open shapes. There are only a few instances of other shapes – kylikes, kraters, stirrup jars, carinated cups and collar-necked jars. There are no examples of compass-drawn decoration. The only strong point of divergence between the two sites is the lack of handmade burnished domestic pottery at Kynos (DAKORONIA 2003, 47). It should not be considered very odd, as such pottery exhibits quite different histories even at nearby sites (LIS 2009).

Phase 5 (Level 3) witnessed the appearance of compass-drawn decoration together with handmade and burnished domestic pottery. Apart from amphoras with compass-drawn decoration, including the standard type with vertical panel of wavy bands, two vessels deserve special attention. One krater and one amphora (DAKORONIA – KOUNOUKLAS this volume) feature decoration of a very Mycenaean character, yet executed with the help of a compass and multiple brush. By this virtue they are very similar to the prototype amphora (Fig. 3:391) from Kalapodi, offering possible synchronism. Apart from these new traits, pottery does not seem to differ substantially from that of the preceding phase. Tassels as well as enclosed zigzags are attested on closed shapes. Among the open shapes, monochrome deep bowls and medium-band cups are still common. It may be concluded that the pottery is very consistent with the evidence from Kalapodi Layers 16–23. First experiments with compass-drawn decoration put this phase of Kynos closer to the earlier part of Kalapodi Horizon 8/9, i.e. Layers 16–17 (Tab. 4).

The following Phase 4 (Level 2; DAKORONIA 2003, 42, figs. 2–9) is difficult to put precisely in the local sequence. It is very striking that wavy band deep bowls seem to make their initial appearance (a possible link with Kalapodi Layers 18–19; DAKORONIA 2003, 42 fig. 6: first fragment in the second row). Nevertheless, the later type with zigzag enclosed by two bands is also present. The circle skyphos is attested and so are closed shapes decorated with concentric semi- and full circles, showing much better technique – as much as seven concentric semicircles can be seen. Therefore links can be seen with Kalapodi Horizons 8/9 and 10 as well as with the Lefkandi Toumba fill. This may suggest that Phase 4 was a very long one (Tab. 4). Once again, this is just a preliminary estimation, the final publication of relevant contexts is indispensable to draw more secure conclusions.²⁴

CENTRAL GREECE – SUMMARY AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

The result of these considerations can be summarized in a table synchronizing the sequences from Kalapodi, Mitrou and Kynos, three important non-funerary sites of East-Central Greece (left part of Tab. 4). The table includes both the last Lefkandi LH III C settlement phases and the Toumba fill that were included in the discussion. Two major conclusions are worth stressing once more:

Above all, the three discussed sites provide an apparently uninterrupted sequence during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age attesting to a certain degree of continuity during these unstable times.

²⁴ Small-scale excavation conducted in 2007 revealed another phase (numbered Phase 3) of Kynos settlement, stratified above the remains of Phase 4 (DAKORONIA – KOUNOUKLAS this volume). As the author possesses no knowledge of Phase 3 pottery, it is not placed in Tab. 4.

A pottery assemblage that could unambiguously represent a distinct Submycenaean phase in these settlements is, so far, not distinguishable in that region (for Elateia cemetery cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY this volume).

The second conclusion, although controversial, may have a very simple explanation. As convincingly argued by R. Jung and B. Weninger (WENINGER – JUNG this volume) the Submycenaean period, despite considerable importance ascribed to it, may have been relatively very short-lived compared to both preceding and following periods. Short duration combined with a low number of diagnostic settlement pottery types²⁵ renders such a period almost untraceable in settlement material unless some favourable conditions took place. These might include the destruction of a very short settlement phase or popularity of a novel vessel type like the wavy band deep bowl in the case of the Argolid. However, lack of settlement pottery assemblages identifiable as Submycenaean does not undermine the validity of Submycenaean as a chronological phase. The pottery is only one aspect of material culture that defines and substantiates our arbitrary divisions – the chronological phases.²⁶ And, as far as Submycenaean is concerned, there are some other important aspects of material culture that undergo substantial modifications in this phase.²⁷ In my opinion, one should quit two extreme approaches – both the pleas for abandonment of that term and the desperate search for Submycenaean pottery in settlements.

SYNCHRONISMS WITH SOUTHERN GREECE – THE ARGOLID AND CORINTHIA

The suggested correlation of the uninterrupted stratigraphical sequences at three Central Greek settlements has to be tied into the stratigraphical sequences at southern Greek sites. It is a difficult task, given the scarcity of settlement evidence there; nevertheless an attempt should be made. Asine, Tiryns (both located in the Argolid) and Corinth (Corinthia) are three settlements in southern Greece that will be used in this analysis. Asine and Corinth were already named as sources of parallels for the material from Central Greek settlements. The deposits from settlements of Asine, Tiryns and Corinth will be discussed together in chronological order.

There is no need to repeat the discussion on LH III C Late finds from these or other southern Greek sites since they are all well known, published and thoroughly analysed in terms of chronology and mutual synchronisms. Kalapodi Layers 11–15 and contemporary deposits from Mitrou and Kynos (cf. Tab. 4), can be synchronized with the LH III C Late southern Greek settlements according to the comparison with the sequence of Lefkandi. The settlement of Lefkandi functions as a keystone between southern centers and Central Greek sites. The Terrace Wall deposit from Corinth may serve here as a good example – it has been paralleled with Lefkandi Phase 3 (RUTTER 1979, 383), which is in turn synchronized with Layer 13 at Kalapodi (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 100). The end of the Lefkandi Bronze Age sequence is exactly the point at which the difficulties with synchronisms appear.

²⁵ The situation may be parallel to that of the LH III C Late pottery, which is better defined by what is missing in the assemblage in comparison to the previous phase.

²⁶ Although EPG settlement pottery is also very scarce, it would be unreasonable to claim that this is not a valid chronological phase.

²⁷ It is not the place to summarize the rich scholarly debate over the Submycenaean period and culture. It suffices to mention that these aspects of material culture include change in burial rites (single cist graves, more frequent appearance of cremation), settlement pattern (abandonment of well established settlements, e.g. last occupation phase on Tiryns Lower Citadel), domestic pottery (proliferation of handmade and burnished pottery) and metallurgy (iron weapons and jewellery).

As already stated at the beginning of this paper, Submycenaean²⁸ strata containing distinct pottery were excavated at Tiryns (Fig. 12; PAPADIMITRIOU 1988) and Asine (SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986).²⁹ The most striking feature of pottery from these layers at both sites is the affluence of deep bowls decorated with a dense wavy band in the reserved handle zone. Quite often such deep bowls are additionally characterized by straight walls and slight carination at the transition to the lower body (Fig. 12:1–3). In addition, at Asine there are interesting cups with zigzag decoration on the rim (SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986, fig. 19:157–159) and kraters with panel decoration and sloping rims (SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986, figs. 10; 16:135; 21:183). Neck-handled amphoras dominate the closed shapes; their decoration is confined to wavy bands, tassels and necklaces. In Tiryns some more examples of stirrup jars were found, which, according to A. Papadimitriou (PAPADIMITRIOU 1988, 232), are different from the LH III C Late examples. Their decoration consists mainly of stacked triangles and concentric hand-drawn semicircles, very often fringed with dots (Fig. 12:5,6). A horizontal wavy band is also attested on large open vessels (Fig. 12:8, wide version) as well as in the belly zone (Fig. 12:7) and on the neck of closed shapes. The comparative discussion should concentrate upon the ubiquitous wavy band deep bowls, the most distinct feature of the two assemblages. This vessel type also seems to be popular at Corinth and in the Skoubris cemetery at Lefkandi (three examples from tombs dated to the Submycenaean period). However, such deep bowls are apparently very rare in West Attic Submycenaean cemeteries – the only example from Kerameikos (Grave 1)³⁰ might in fact be an Argive import (SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986, 78–79, fig. 62). Strikingly, the wavy band deep bowls are well attested at Central Greek sites, but at Kalapodi and possibly also at two other sites they appear in quantity only after the introduction of compass-drawn decoration. In the material from Kalapodi Layers 16–23 more parallels with the Submycenaean strata of Tiryns and Asine might be found. The amphoriskos no. 423 (Fig. 3) has a similar decoration to the Tiryns example (Fig. 12:7), and the krater no. 379 (Fig. 3) is, both in profile and decoration, close to the krater from Tiryns (Fig. 12:8). General scarcity of decoration motifs and low number of shapes should not be seen as another link, as it is also characteristic of the preceding Horizon 6/7 at Kalapodi. Nevertheless, there is some inconsistency if synchronization between the Submycenaean strata of Tiryns and Asine, and the earlier part of Kalapodi Horizon 8/9 is to be accepted. This inconsistency obviously lies in the presence of compass-drawn decoration at Kalapodi. It has already been stated that it seems less probable that this mode of decoration was invented anywhere north of Attica and therefore another explanation should be given. It is by all means conceivable that the pace of change in pottery style was different in the Argolid and Attica. While in Attica the adoption of a new compass-drawn technique and possibly also the whole PG style was very quick, the Argolid remained quite reluctant and conservative (for opposite view, cf. WELLS 1983, 124). The compass-drawn decoration appears in the Argolid EPG tombs only very rarely. The manufacture of wavy band deep bowls may have followed this conservative trend and therefore it might have extended over a longer period of time, covering the beginnings of EPG in Attica. In fact, one of the EPG Tombs from Tiryns contained a deep bowl decorated with a dense wavy band (LEMOS 2002, 13). An Athenian grave hS 76 (SCHLÖRB-VIERNEISEL 1966, 6) shows another wavy band deep bowl together with an

²⁸ Although names different than Submycenaean have been assigned to these strata (Final Mycenaean for Asine and “Frühe Eisenzeit I” for Tiryns), in terms of both stratigraphy and pottery they represent a stage following LH III C Late and preceding PG, that is, a stage usually referred to as Submycenaean.

²⁹ Symptomatic for this site, there are some controversies concerning the stratigraphy and interpretation of finds – for a concise critical discussion see PODZUWEIT 2007, 234–235. However, the close affinities of the Asine material to that coming from the stratigraphically more secure Tiryns layer allows us to include this material in the discussion.

³⁰ The deep bowl from Kerameikos Grave 10 is not counted here as it still has a very broad wavy band in a very wide reserved zone.

amphora decorated with two sets of concentric semicircles. At the same time this grave assemblage provides unquestionable evidence that these two vessel types existed simultaneously even south of the three Central Greek settlements discussed at the beginning. It may be suggested that the beginning of Attic PG would be the time when influence from both Attica and the Argolid reached Central Greece. The first appearance of dense wavy band on deep bowls at Kalapodi is connected with Layer 15, thus just before the first examples of amphoras with compass-drawn circles occurred. Therefore I would suggest equating the Submycenaean layers of Tiryns and Asine with the first layers of Kalapodi Horizon 8–9 and possibly with the very end of Horizon 6–7 (Tab. 4).

Although no settlement material datable to the transition to the Early Iron Age has so far been published from Athens, the apparent unpopularity of the wavy band deep bowl may cause severe problems in recognizing a distinct Submycenaean settlement assemblage there. The regrettably unfinished study of Athenian well deposits spanning the transition from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age by E. Smithson yielded two interesting preliminary suggestions. First, she believed that three deposits predating the earliest PG wells represented the latest phase of Athenian LH III C and the application of the name Submycenaean to them was redundant (SMITHSON 1977). Secondly, the mix of LH III C and PG features in the Klepsydra channel did not, in her opinion, need to represent a mixed deposit. Vessels exhibiting these features might have been in concurrent use, attesting to a quite sudden eruption of the PG style (SMITHSON 1982, 153). If this happened at the end of a short-lived Submycenaean phase, it is hardly surprising that Athens has so far failed to yield settlement deposits which would include a distinctive Submycenaean pottery assemblage.

At Corinth, the deposit from the so called Weinberg's House (Fig. 13), i.e. a small hut with a hearth west of the museum at Ancient Corinth (WEINBERG 1943, 3–5), has been believed by J. Rutter (RUTTER 1979, 383) to represent a phase datable to the transitional Submycenaean – Protogeometric, immediately following the Terrace Wall in the Demeter Sanctuary (dated to his Phase 5, equated with LH III C Late). However, some scholars (PFAFF 1999, 63. – LEMOS 2002, 14) dated the Weinberg's House deposit to the EPG period and I would support such an interpretation. Out of four restorable deep bowls/skyphoi in the deposit, only one (Fig. 13:1) represents the type common in the Submycenaean layers of Tiryns and Asine. Two other skyphoi (Fig. 13:2,3) are also decorated with dense wavy bands (or zigzags). However, the composition of the decoration is already different, plausibly attesting to a later development. The fourth deep bowl/skyphos with a monochrome decoration (Fig. 13:4) is decisive for a date later than Submycenaean. It already has a high and truly conical reserved foot.³¹ The decoration scheme – reserved foot and reserved band on the lower body below the handles – resembles EPG or even MPG cups from the Skoubris cemetery (DESBOROUGH 1979/80, 294).³² It seems that an EPG date for this deposit is secure; based on the monochrome deep bowl (Fig. 13:4), I would argue that the deposit does not represent the very beginning of PG, but its slightly later stage. Such dating raises an important question – is there a gap in a sequence from Corinth between LH III C Late Terrace Wall and EPG Weinberg's House or do these two deposits chronologically follow each other? I would opt for the first solution. At least one important observation supports this hypothesis. It is apparent that the rarity of wavy band deep bowls in Attica is not reproduced at Corinth, probably due to the geographic proximity to the Argolid. One example from Weinberg's House has already been mentioned, and there are more of such

³¹ P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 242) also considers this foot, as well as the framed wavy band on Fig. 13:2 and Fig. 13:3, a Protogeometric feature.

³² A very similar deep bowl has been found in Tomb 127 at Torone (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 233–234, fig. 183, pl. 315:a–c). According to chemical analysis, it might be an Euboean import. Another similar vessel, yet with reserved lower body, was found in Tomb 94 and is thought to be of local manufacture (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 165–166, fig. 150, pl. 314).

deep bowls in the mixed deposits of the South Stoa (BRONEER 1951, pl. 89b. – *RMDP*, 241, fig. 80). Weinberg's House deposit also makes clear that this type of deep bowl was not foreign in the assemblage as it was locally developed in the direction different from the one followed in the Argolid. There, the PG skyphoi featured a single zigzag enclosed by two bands (cf. Asine Phase I, WELLS 1983). As the wavy band deep bowl was not attested in the Terrace Wall deposit and in the Weinberg's House assemblage more developed types already predominate, I would argue that there is a gap in the local sequence. A phase that would be characterized by abundance of wavy band deep bowls, comparable to the Submycenaean assemblages from Asine and Tiryns, is plausibly missing.

In order to sum up this lengthy, yet necessary, discussion of the Corinth sequence, I would like to present its relevance for the synchronization with settlement sequences in Central Greece. The Submycenaean layers of Tiryns and Asine have already been paralleled with the Kalapodi Horizon 8/9 (first layers). According to the local Kalapodi sequence, the Weinberg's House deposit should be placed later than the early part of Horizon 8/9, i.e. in Horizon 10, possibly also including last layers of Horizon 8/9 (Tab. 4).³³ A quick look at the pottery and the discussion of the Kalapodi sequence above clearly confirms such synchronization. Both the wavy band deep bowl and the skyphoi with double enclosed zigzag (which is how the Corinthian example is to be restored)³⁴ are present (Fig. 4:1,2). The same decoration scheme of two enclosed zigzags is employed on one of the closed shapes from Kalapodi (Fig 4:7). Compass-drawn decoration is not present in the Weinberg's House deposit, which might be either due to local conservatism, comparable to that of the Argolid, or simply due to the small size of the deposit.

The post-Submycenaean settlement material from Tiryns (or post-EIA I, according to the terminology applied for that site) is present, but has not been published yet (LEMOS 2002, 5). Asine, with apparently uninterrupted habitation, provides us with a published PG sequence divided into four phases (WELLS 1983). Phase I immediately follows Final Mycenaean and should, in theory, offer good synchronisms with Central Greek sites. However, it has already been remarked that the interpretation of the site's complicated stratigraphy and evaluation of pottery were questioned and important objections were raised (LEMOS 2002, 6). Without going into detailed discussion, it may be suggested that these controversies undermine the usefulness of the Asine sequence. However, some important observations have already been made in the discussion of pottery from Kalapodi and Mitrou. Both sites have yielded vases decorated with small sets of concentric circles consisting of only two or three elements (Figs. 4:4,5; 11:2), which can be compared to the decoration on skyphoi from Asine (Fig. 7:3,4). Moreover, the skyphos from Kalapodi (Fig. 4:4) finds an almost exact parallel in PG I at Asine (Fig. 7:3). This observation combined with conclusions concerning the previous Final Mycenaean phase allows us to cautiously synchronize part of Asine PG I phase with Kalapodi Horizon 10 (Tab. 4).

CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this paper the desire was expressed that settlements in the eastern part of Central Greece, continuously occupied throughout the LBA–EIA transition, might provide firm evidence for a Submycenaean phase. After the analysis of pottery from Kalapodi, Mitrou and Kynos this desire had to be abandoned – no distinct Submycenaean pottery assemblage could be identified. Three important factors contributed to this situation. The first was the character of settlement material that quite often does not represent closed deposits and does not allow the recognition of short-lived chronological phases. The second was the conservatism

³³ Layers 20–23 are hardly interpretable as they contain some 600 sherds.

³⁴ On the photo in the original publication (WEINBERG 1943, pl. 1:4) the second zigzag is clearly discernible.

of local pottery manufacture resulting in a very slow pace of change. Finally, the third was the interaction of influences coming from different regions (such as the Argolid and Attica) that also displayed strong pottery idiosyncrasies at the LBA–EIA transition.

Although identifying a Submycenaean ceramic assemblage in Central Greek settlements proved impossible, it was feasible to synchronize the stratified ceramic sequences both with each other and with scarce settlement evidence from the Argolid and Corinthia. Simultaneously, a re-evaluation of some of the settlement deposits in question (Kalapodi Layers 24–28, Weinberg’s House at Corinth) proved desirable. Further attempts at synchronization should undoubtedly be carried out both by restudying material already published and by the publication of new evidence. It must be remembered, however, that the bulk of the pottery known so far from the Submycenaean and following periods derives from tombs. It is therefore an even more important task to correlate very detailed phasing of extensive and long-lived cemeteries with the sequences known from the settlements. This task goes far beyond the limits of this paper, although certain tomb assemblages were used in this study and proved very helpful in confirming or providing dates for some important settlement finds.

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³⁵ The height of the cells is not an approximation of the phase duration.

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Schichten	JACOB-FELSCH 1987a	JACOB-FELSCH 1987b	JACOB-FELSCH 1996	FELSCH 2001/2007	Schichten
4	?				4
5	?				5
6	?				6
7					7
8					8
9					9
10					10
11					11
12					12
13					13
14					14
15					15
16					16
17					17
18					18
19					19
20					20
21					21
22					22
23					23

Periods
LH III C Developed
LH III C Advanced
LH III C Late
Submycenaean
Transition to PG
EPG

Tab. 1 Changing chronological attribution of Layers 4–23 at Kalapodi

Horizon	Layer (Schicht)	Total sherds	Catalogue Numbers in Felsch 1996	Fine Wheelmade (No./%)	Wheelmade Cooking Pots (No./%)	Handmade Cooking Pots (No./%)	Wheelmade Kitchen Ware (No./%)	Handmade Kitchen Ware (No./%)	Pithoi (No./%)	Pre-Myc. and Unidentifiable (No./%)
9	23	70	#446-449	33 47,14%	1 1,43%	14 20,00%	0 0,00%	8 11,43%	14 20,00%	0 0,00%
9	22	75	#443-445	24 32,00%	0 0,00%	15 20,00%	0 0,00%	19 25,33%	15 20,00%	2 2,67%
9	21	251	#439-442	98 39,04%	2 0,80%	46 18,33%	0 0,00%	61 24,30%	40 15,94%	4 1,59%
9	20	241	#339-340; #435-438	101 41,91%	9 3,73%	47 19,50%	0 0,00%	42 17,43%	39 16,18%	3 1,24%
9	19	618	#428-434	209 33,82%	9 1,46%	130 21,04%	0 0,00%	120 19,42%	139 22,49%	11 1,78%
9	18	458	#337-338; #417-427	160 34,93%	9 1,97%	99 21,62%	1 0,22%	81 17,69%	100 21,83%	8 1,75%
Horizon 9 EPG		1713		625 36,49%	30 1,75%	351 20,49%	1 0,06%	331 19,32%	347 20,26%	28 1,63%
8	17	2678	#316-336; #401-416; #453	1067 39,84%	50 1,87%	729 27,22%	22 0,82%	348 12,99%	437 16,32%	25 0,93%
8	16	1557	#309-315; #372-400; #459	622 39,95%	83 5,33%	316 20,30%	1 0,06%	188 12,07%	336 21,58%	11 0,71%
Horizon 8 Transitional to EPG		4235		1689 39,88%	133 3,14%	1045 24,68%	23 0,54%	536 12,66%	773 18,25%	36 0,85%
Horizon 8/9 EPG		5948		2314 38,90%	163 2,74%	1396 23,47%	24 0,40%	867 14,58%	1120 18,83%	64 1,08%
7	15	1395	#292-308; #357-371; #451-2; #454-6	695 49,82%	62 4,44%	212 15,20%	0 0,00%	227 16,27%	181 12,97%	18 1,29%
7	14	558	#289-291	243 43,55%	7 1,25%	128 22,94%	1 0,18%	101 18,10%	74 13,26%	4 0,72%
7	13	625	#276-288	264 42,24%	22 3,52%	143 22,88%	0 0,00%	85 13,60%	102 16,32%	9 1,44%
Horizon 7 Submycenaean		2578		1202 46,63%	91 3,53%	483 18,74%	1 0,04%	413 16,02%	357 13,85%	31 1,20%
6	12	394	#269-275	199 50,51%	24 6,09%	67 17,01%	0 0,00%	26 6,60%	73 18,53%	5 1,27%
6	11	138	#264-268	82 59,42%	8 5,80%	23 16,67%	0 0,00%	10 7,25%	15 10,87%	0 0,00%
Horizon 6 LH III C Late		532		281 52,82%	32 6,02%	90 16,92%	0 0,00%	36 6,77%	88 16,54%	5 0,94%
Horizon 6/7 LH III C Late		3110		1483 47,68%	123 3,95%	573 18,42%	1 0,03%	449 14,44%	445 14,31%	36 1,16%

Tab. 2 Kalapodi Layers 9–23 (Horizons 6–9): ceramic assemblage characterization by fabric and mode of manufacture

	Horizon 6 (No./%)	Horizon 7 (No./%)	Horizon 6/7 (No./%)	Horizon 8 (No./%)	Horizon 9 (No./%)	Horizon 8/9 (No./%)
Total sherds	532	2578	3110	4235	1713	5948
Fine painted sherds	208	848	1056	893	280	1173
Painted/Total	39,10%	32,89%	33,95%	21,09%	16,35%	19,72%
Semiglobular Cup FS 215 (Share in Fine Painted)	3 1,44%	13 1,53%	16 1,52%	11 1,23%	1 0,36%	12 1,02%
FS 215 Semiglobular Cup or FS 284 Deep Bowl	13 6,25%	21 2,48%	34 3,22%	21 2,35%	9 3,21%	30 2,56%
Deep Bowl FS 284, linear or patterned	2 0,96%	2 0,24%	4 0,38%	2 0,22%	0 0,00%	2 0,17%
Deep Bowl FS 284, monochrome painted	16 7,69%	61 7,19%	77 7,29%	108 12,09%	54 19,29%	162 13,81%
TOTAL FS 215 and FS 284	34 16,35%	97 11,44%	131 12,41%	142 15,90%	64 22,86%	206 17,56%
Conical Kylix FS 275	2 0,96%	7 0,83%	9 0,85%	8 0,90%	3 1,07%	11 0,94%
Krater FS 282	3 1,44%	13 1,53%	16 1,52%	11 1,23%	1 0,36%	12 1,02%
Tray FS 322	2 0,96%	2 0,24%	4 0,38%	2 0,22%	2 0,71%	4 0,34%
Stemmed Bowl FS 305/306	1 0,48%	2 0,24%	3 0,28%	6 0,67%	0 0,00%	6 0,51%
Amphora FS 69, Hydria FS 128, Jug FS 106/107	13 6,25%	61 7,19%	74 7,01%	49 5,49%	13 4,64%	62 5,29%
Stirrup Jar FS 175	2 0,96%	3 0,35%	5 0,47%	3 0,34%	0 0,00%	3 0,26%
Neck-handled Amphora FS 70	0 0,00%	0 0,00%	0 0,00%	21 2,35%	6 2,14%	27 2,30%
Small Jug FS 115	0 0,00%	2 0,24%	2 0,19%	5 0,56%	7 2,50%	12 1,02%

Tab. 3 Kalapodi Horizons 6–9: frequencies of fine painted shapes

Ceramic Phases for Central Greece	Kalapodi	Mitrou	Kynos	Lefkandi	Tiryns	Asine	Corinth	Mainland Greek Relative Chronology
LH III C Late	Horizon 6/7 Layers 11-15	Building C	Phase 6 (2003 ~ Level 4)	Xeropolis Phase 2b and 3	LH III C Late	LH III C Late (House H)	LH III C Late (Terrace Wall)	LH III C Late
	Horizon 8/9 Layers 16-23	LN782 Deposit	Phase 5 (2003 ~ Level 3)		Frühe Eisenzeit I	Final Mycenaean	Weinberg's House	Submycenaean
EPG	Horizon 10 Layers 24-28		Phase 4 (2003 ~ Level 2)					
	?	?	?	?	MPG			
MPG		Building A floor deposit		Toumba fill				MPG

Tab. 4 Synchronisation table for settlements of Central Greece, Argolid and Corinthia (The height of the cells is not an approximation of the phase duration)

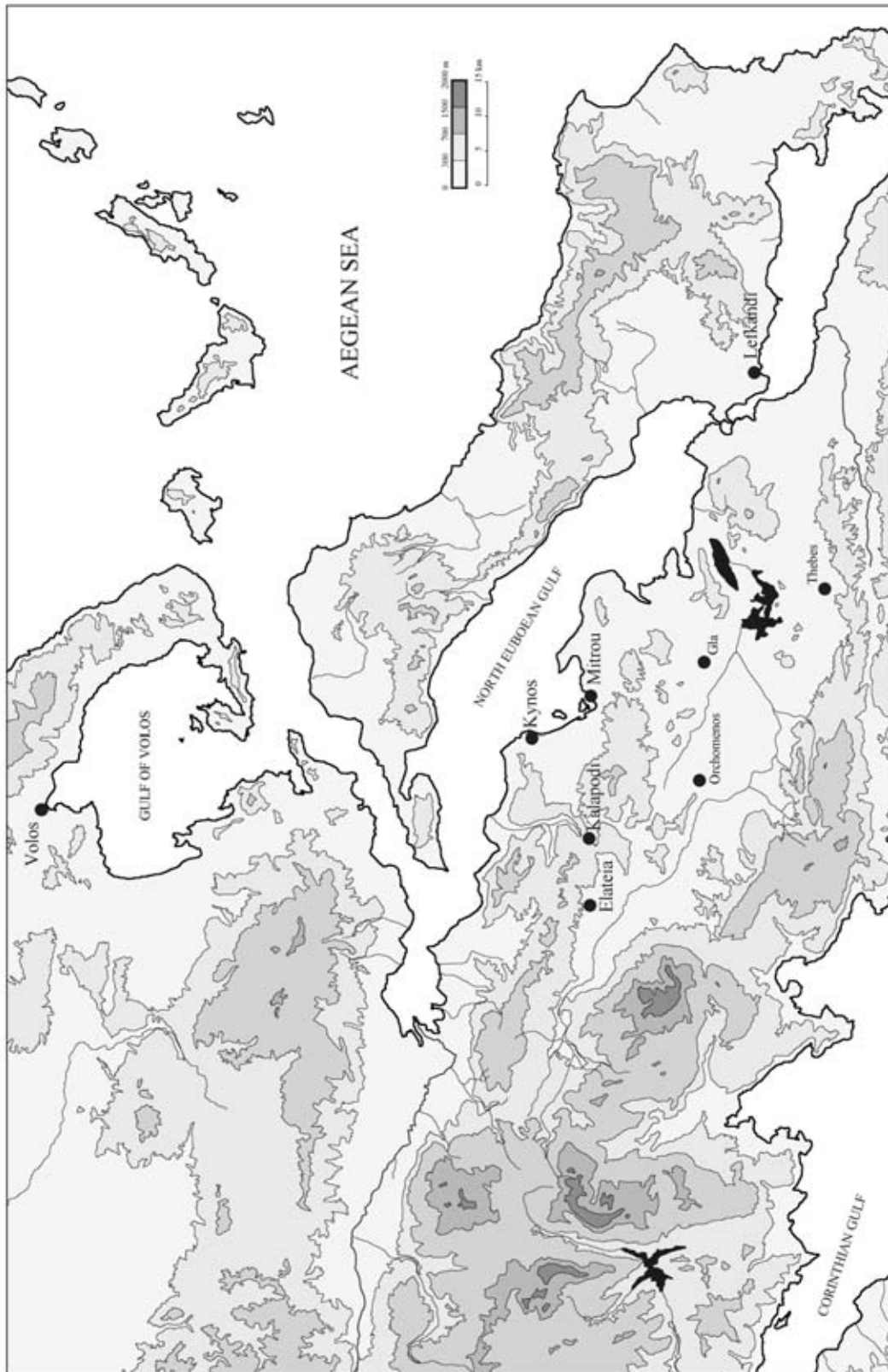


Fig. 1 Map of eastern part of Central Greece showing location of the discussed sites

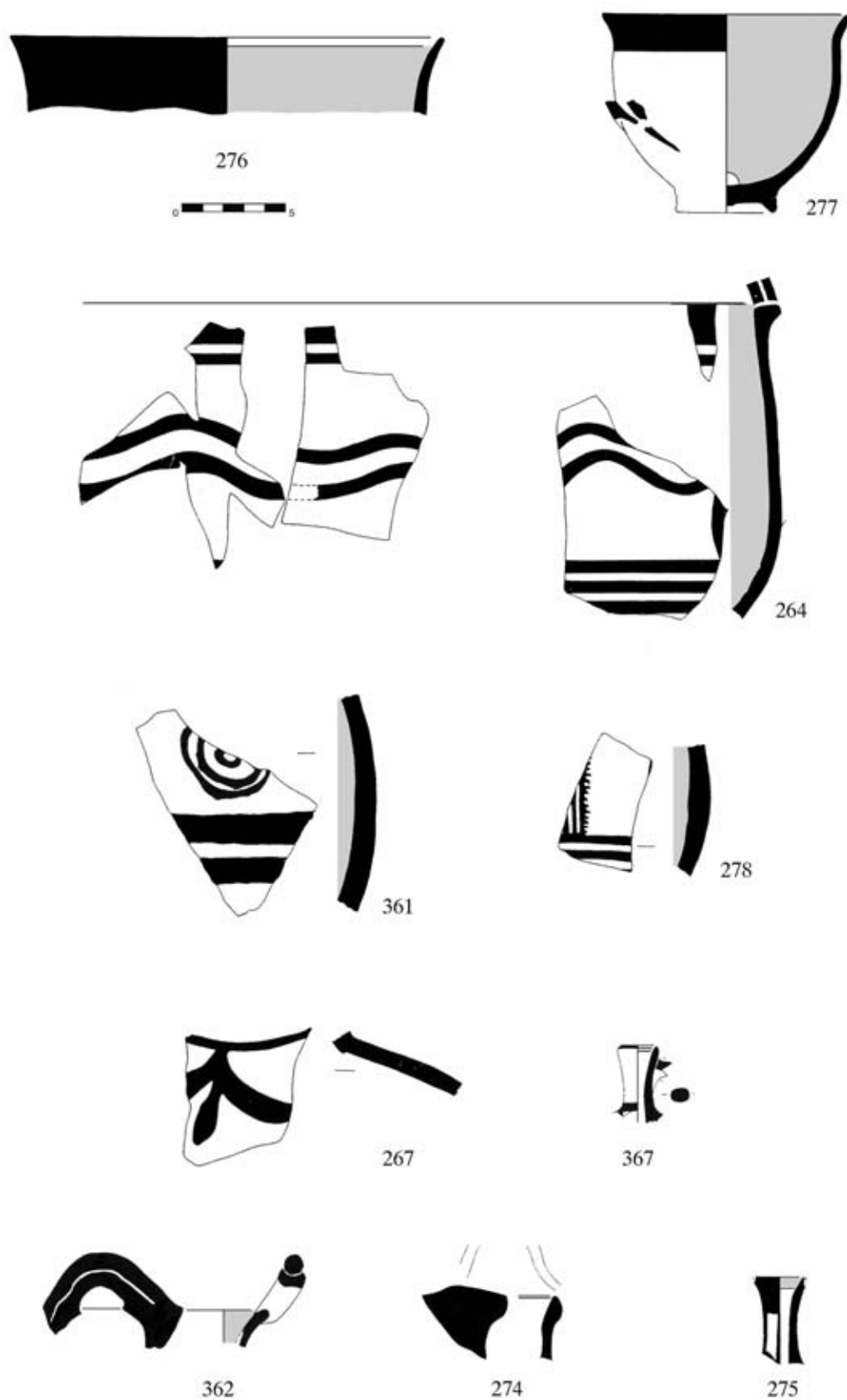


Fig. 2 Pottery from Kalapodi Layers 11–15 (Horizon 6/7). The original catalogue numbers are kept for reader's convenience

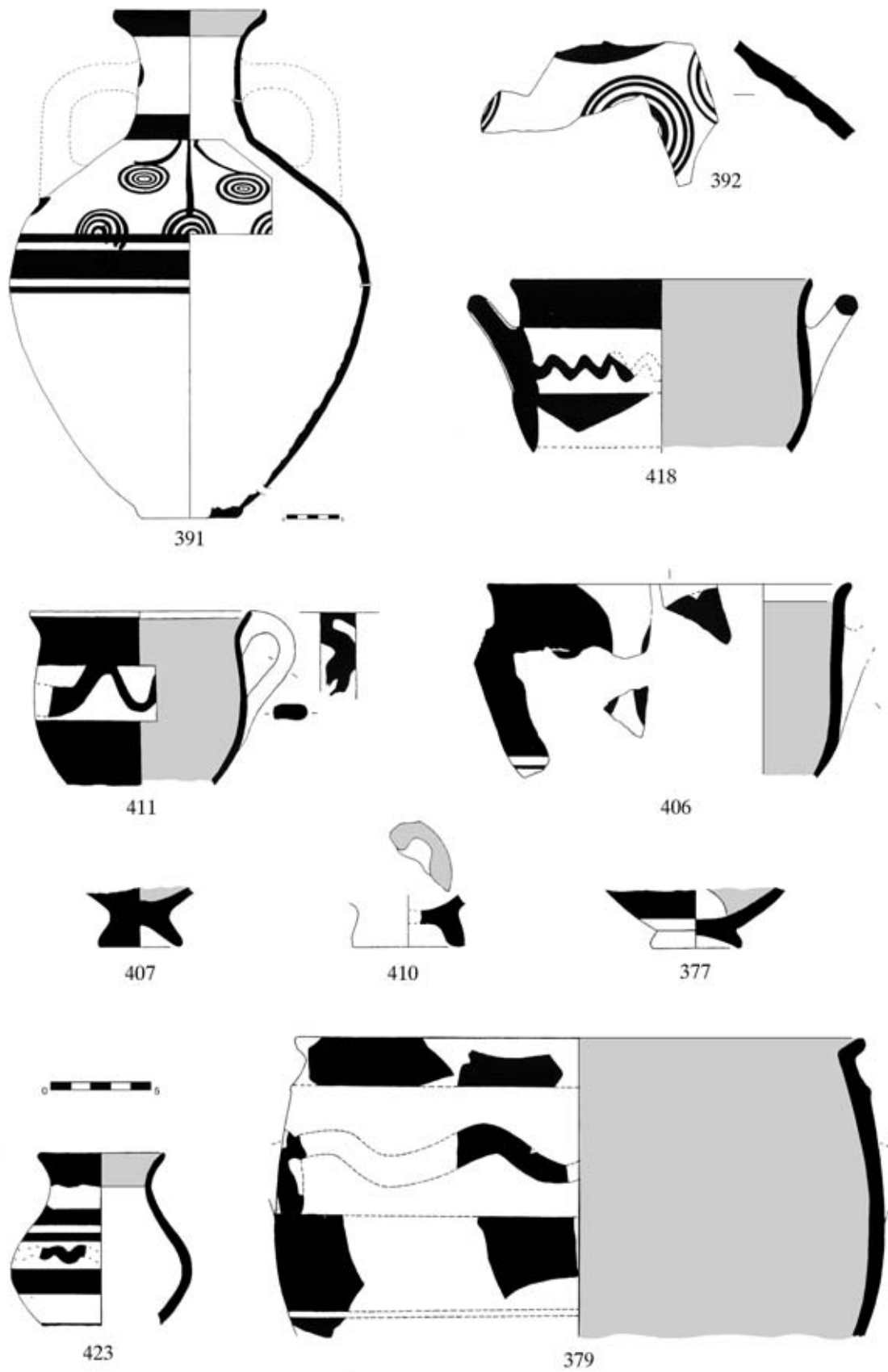


Fig. 3 Pottery from Kalapodi Layers 16–23 (Horizon 8/9)

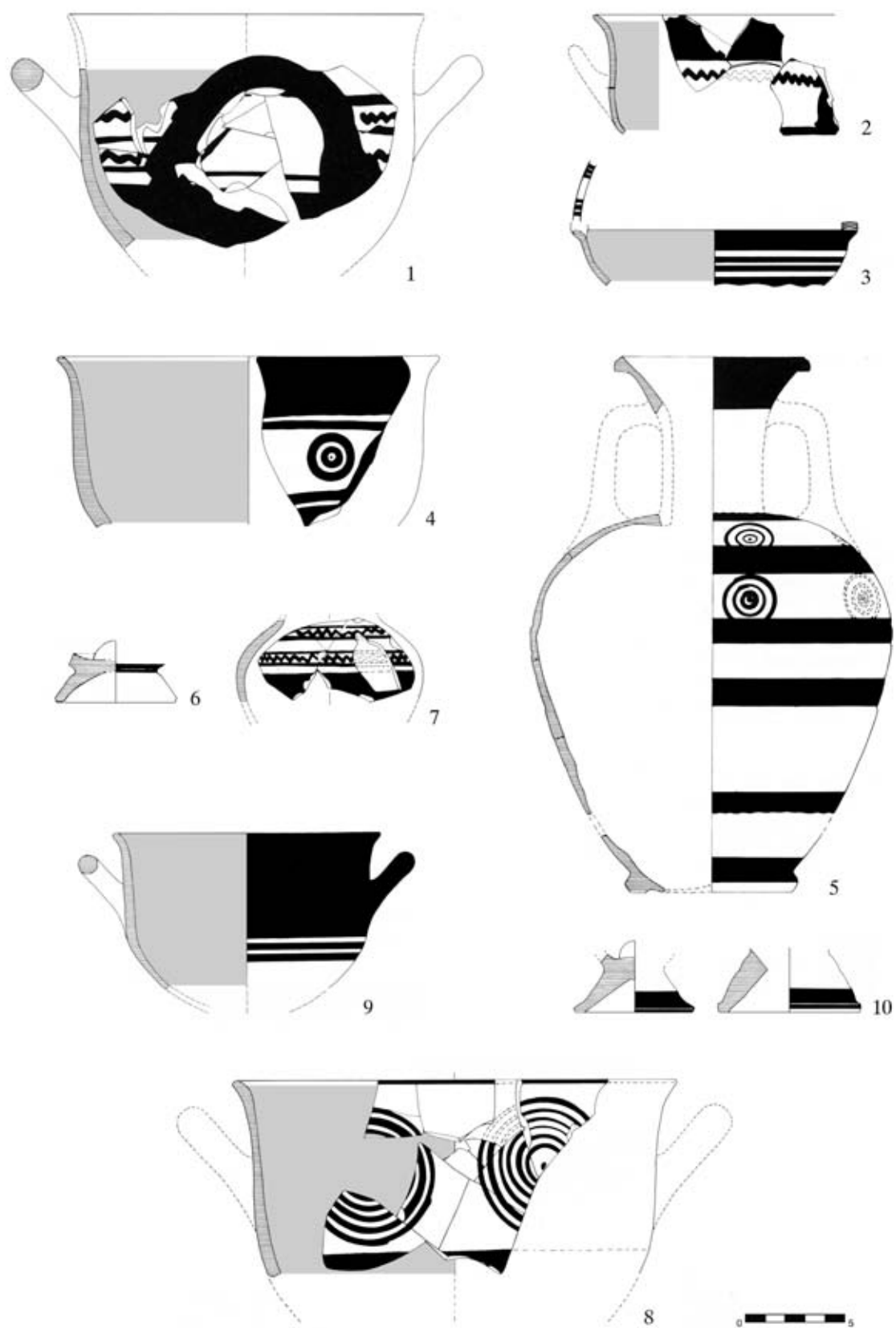


Fig. 4 Pottery from Kalapodi Layers 24-28 (Horizon 10)



Fig. 5 Pottery from Grave 126, Metrostation Syntagma

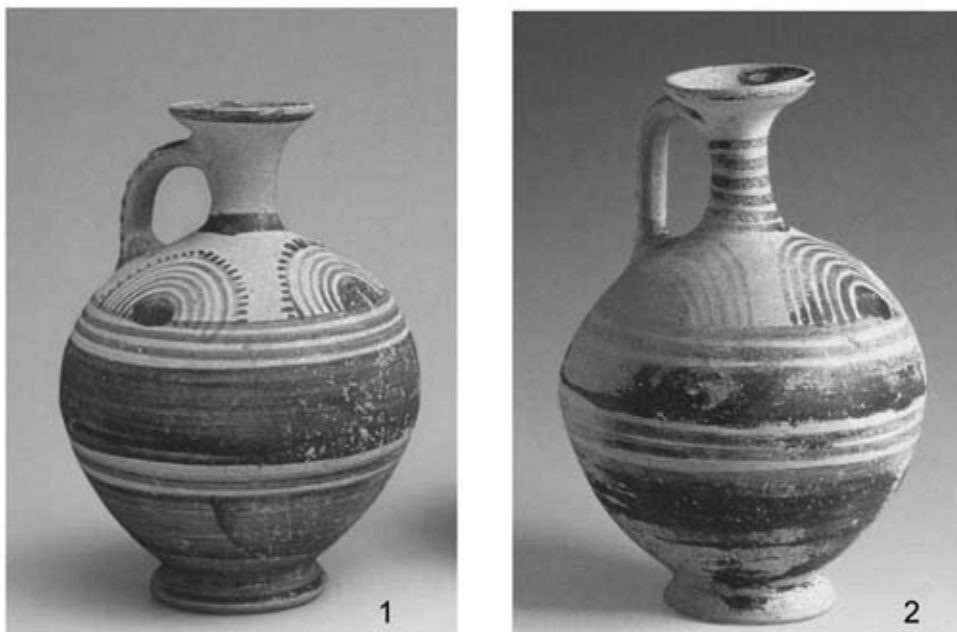


Fig. 6 Pottery from Grave 57, Metrostation Akropolis

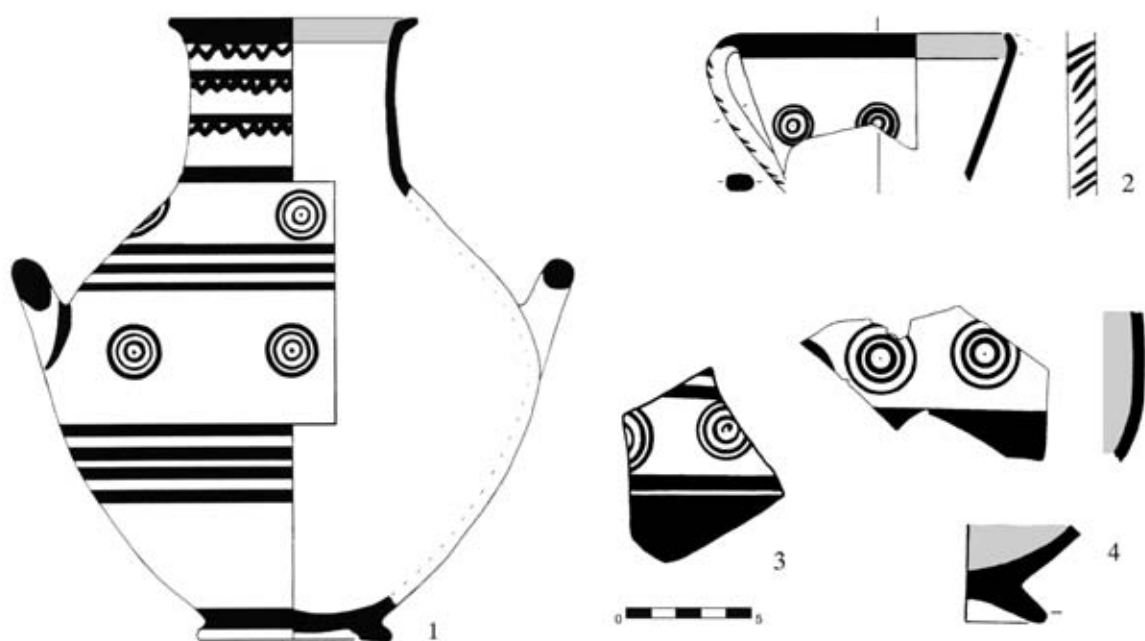


Fig. 7 Vessels from Phiki (1-2) and Asine (3-4) decorated with simple sets of concentric circles

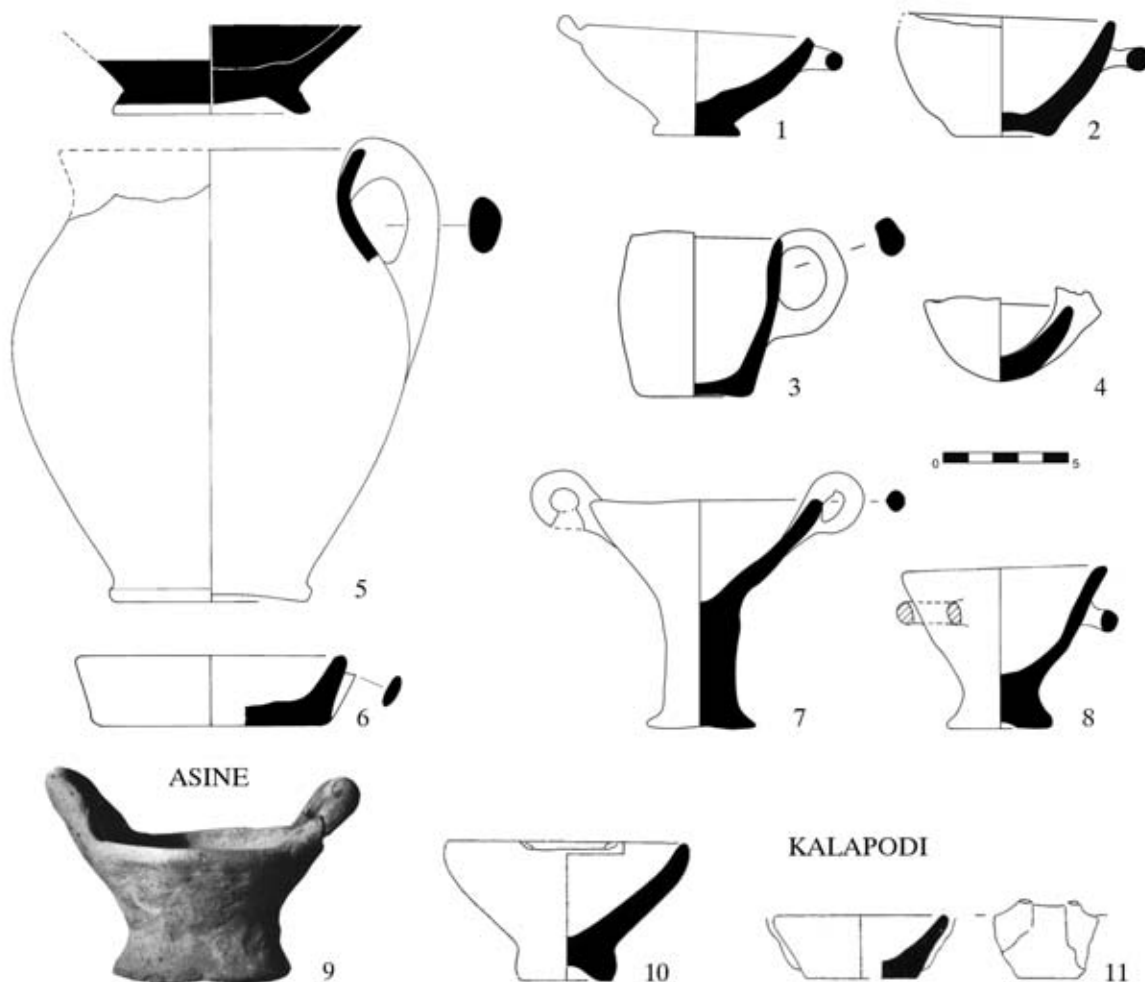


Fig. 8 Shapes represented among the miniatures from Building C at Mitrou (1-4, 6-8) together with the cooking pot covered with krater base (5) and parallels from Asine (9) and Kalapodi (10-11)

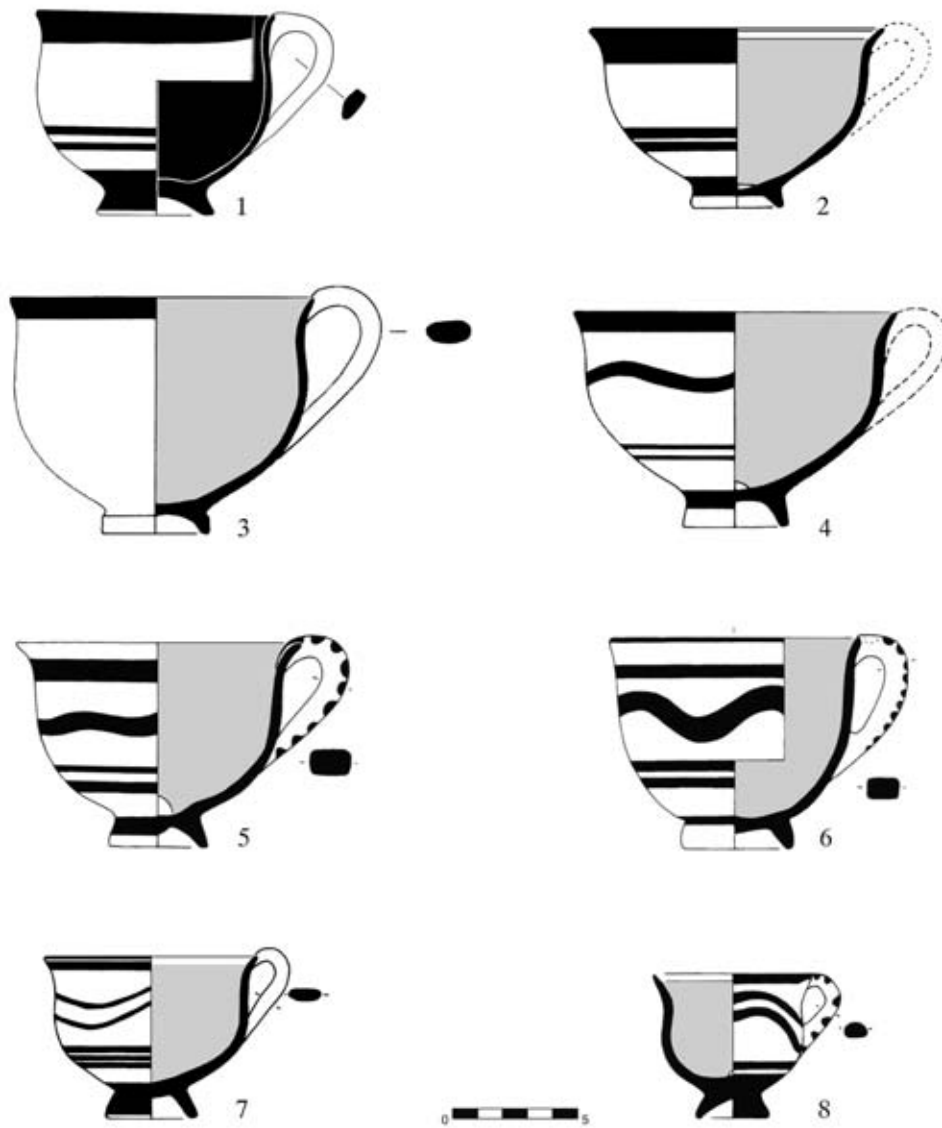


Fig. 9 Cup from Mitrou Cist 5 (1) and discussed parallels from Lefkandi: Xeropolis settlement (2–4), Skoubris cemetery (7), Salamis (6) and Athens (5, 8)

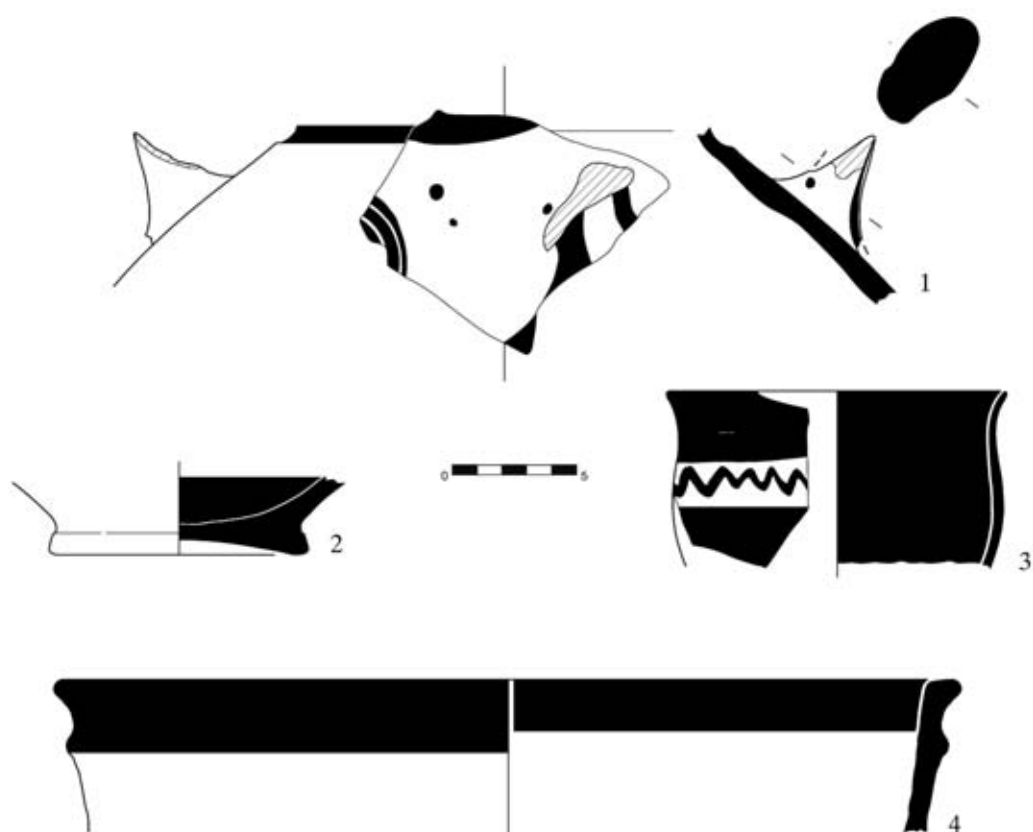


Fig. 10 Pottery from the LN782 deposit at Mitrou: 1) LN782-008-013; 2) LN782-009-012; 3) LN782-008-015; 4) LN782-019-012

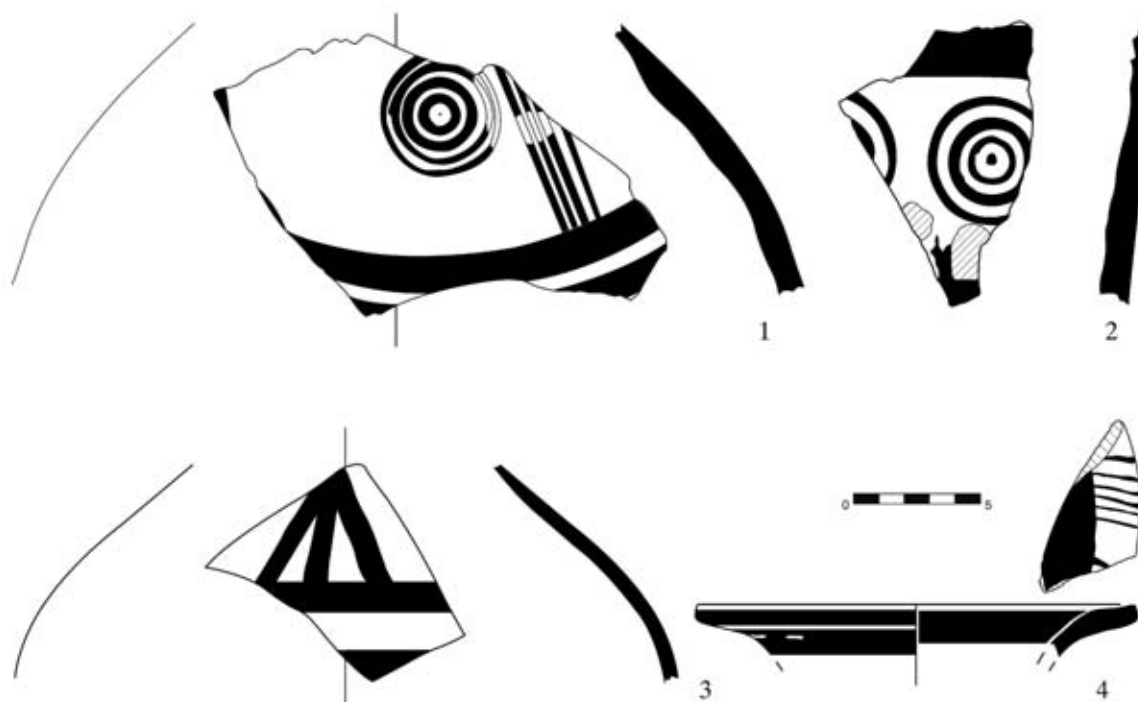


Fig. 11 Possible Early Protogeometric pottery from the sounding in the apse of Building A at Mitrou: 1) LN783-034-014; 2) LN783-054-015; 3) LN783-047-011; 4) LN783-028-012

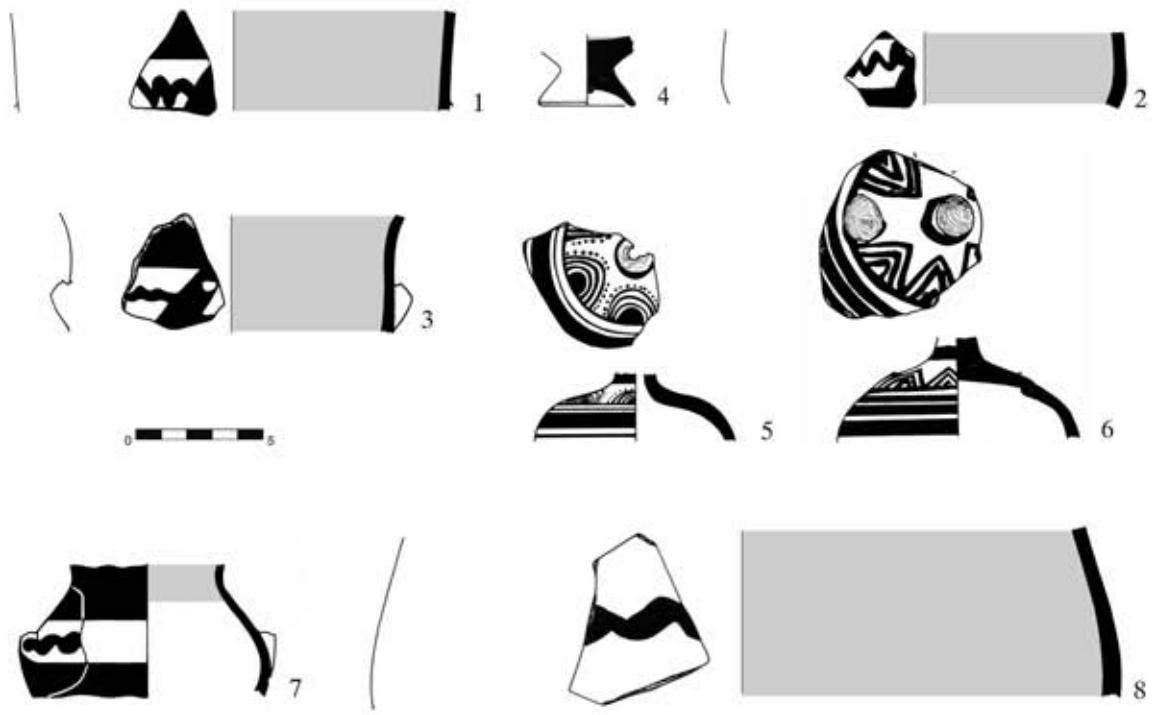


Fig. 12 Early Iron Age I (Frühe Eisenzeit I) pottery from Tiryns

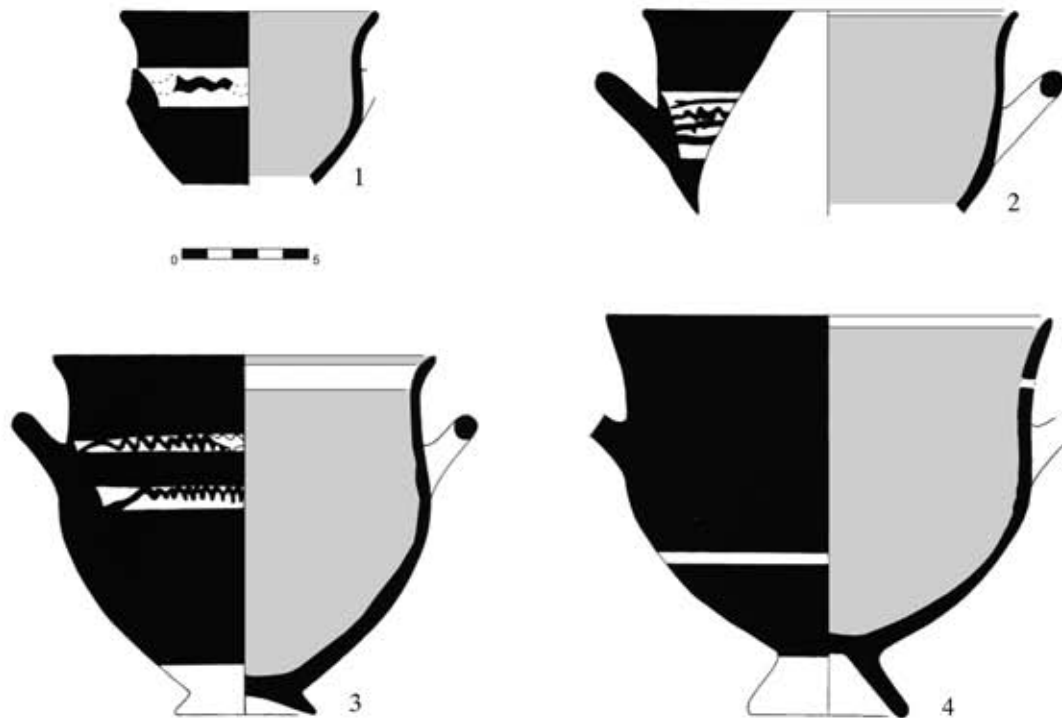


Fig. 13 Deep bowls from Weinberg's House at Corinth

