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WESTERN ACHAEA DURING THE SUCCEEDING LH III C LATE
PERIOD – THE FINAL MYCENAEAN PHASE AND THE
SUBMYCENAEAN PERIOD*

Very little, practically nothing has been written about the Submycenaean period in Western Achaea, a fact reflecting the belief that this stage was not particularly developed or that it had nothing significant to offer.¹ Moreover, in the few reports the word “Submycenaean” defines objects that do not fall stylistically into the Mycenaean period and, at the same time, cannot be classified as EPG, without taking into consideration their cultural environment, as usually happens elsewhere.² The simple definition “probably Submycenaean” is the most common in these cases and it refers exclusively to objects, so that the phase is merely being insinuated, without the slightest effort to place these objects in a general cultural frame, if there should be one. It seems that the existence of this hypothesis does not leave room for further analysis and for thorough examination so that the subject is finally overlooked and not discussed.

This situation is due to objective difficulties related to the region, but also to the numerous and often different and contradictive views which are still pertinent to the use of the term Submycenaean.³ This fact gives the impression that there are only few and isolated objects, mostly pottery, in Achaea that probably belong to the Submycenaean Style, which is either rare or confused with the local LH III C Late/Mature Achaean pottery Style.⁴ As a result this particular phase, stage, period or whatever it is, is practically considered to be non-existent. However, this perspective is not exclusively related to pottery but it partly includes bronze items as well. If the classification of bronze or other objects in the Submycenaean period is correct, and given that the Submycenaean is not exclusively associated with a certain pottery style only, then the presence of other features, which so far have been overlooked or regarded as insignificant, must be expected. Below we are going to propose that in Achaea there is not only a particular or local Submycenaean style but features which define a Submycenaean Period. These features are beyond changes in the settlement but also beyond fashion in dressing, like the appearance of new bronze accessories, as we shall see below.

* I would like to thank Prof. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy for her invitation to join this workshop and for the encouragement to finish this paper. My warmest thanks go to Dr. Lazaros Kolonas. He gave me the permission to see the material from his precious excavations at Voúdeni and supplied me with valuable information and photos from unpublished vessels. Without his help this paper could not have been written. I also express my gratitude to my colleague and friend Dr. Joulika Christakopoulou for information concerning the extensive cemetery of Stamná, Aetolia. Both of them as also Dr. Reinhard Jung spent a good deal of their time for discussion and offered valuable suggestions to the text. A note of thanks is also due to Anna Bächle for her help and to Nicola and Georg Nightingale for reviewing the English text.

¹ DESBOROUGH 1964, 100–101. – PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 183. – *RMDP*, 56, 405, 441. – GADLOU 2008, 282–284. – DICKINSON 2006, 15.

² MORGAN 1990, 235.

³ For a brief summary of these views see *RMDP*, 55–56. – WHITLEY 1991, 5–7. – LEMOS 2002, 26. – DICKINSON 2006, 14–23. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 4–8.

⁴ For this style see MOSCHOS 2002, 24–25. – ID. in press. – KOLONAS forthcoming.

In order to raise the question as intended, the actual problem in Achaea is primarily connected with the definition of what is and what follows the LH III C Late period, i.e. not only what is Submycenaean or EPG in this region but also what is actually LH III C Late. The answer to the question of what can be considered as Submycenaean has yet to be provided and so the approach has a purely subjective character. The question on pottery is also crucial, namely, if what we consider to be the Submycenaean style in Achaea also corresponds to what we consider as the Submycenaean style in other regions. This issue is of great importance: as we know about the local Mature Style in the region, we have to assume that the pottery is different.

With regards to the iron objects there is a relatively general agreement that as these items almost exclusively come from Mycenaean chamber tombs⁵ they should be related to the “Submycenaean” in Achaea. The presence of iron objects in burials of chamber tombs does not, in anyway, connect these burials with the Mycenaean or Submycenaean use of these tombs, since even tholos tombs in the wider region were used after the end of the Bronze Age for the disposition of primary burials, as we shall see below. However, iron was not known in Mycenaean Achaea, it was not even used in jewelry despite the attested relations with Anatolia, as early as the LH III A and in spite of the fact that rich and prestigious burials⁶ cover almost the entire LH III C period. Iron had not reached Western Achaea even by LH III C Late, a period in which commercial sea contacts had increased, especially with Cyprus, although this view should not be considered as final.⁷ The appearance of iron after the LH III C period is related to the arrival of iron-bearing people in the wider region and it is not associated with the succeeding LH III C Late in Achaea, which is still a Bronze Age period. It seems more reasonable to connect it to the EPG period⁸ – but not to its early stage,⁹ than to the Submycenaean or Submycenaean/EPG, as is usually suggested. As a conclusion, taking into consideration the data available, iron in Achaea is not connected with the Mycenaean period or even with the succeeding prehistoric phases.¹⁰

Therefore, iron is not the decisive issue in determining the Submycenaean period in Achaea. What is difficult for us to understand and what causes confusion is the survival of many LH III C features into the Submycenaean period, features which are not only related with pottery. This is not a solely Achaean characteristic, since neighboring Cephaloniá presents a similar weakness¹¹ and to a certain extent we are confronted with the same problems in Elis¹² and Northwestern Arcadiá¹³ and also in Aetoliá¹⁴ and Akarnaniá.¹⁵ Despite the ambiguous

⁵ Two iron knives have been found at ChT 4 at Vrysáron, see PAPAZOGLOU–MANIOUDAKI 1989, 150. – ID. 1999, 269. – In Eastern Achaea three iron spearheads come from the ChT cemetery at Trapezá near Aígon, see PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 163–164.

⁶ For elite burials in Achaea during the LH III C period see MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

⁷ Iron knives have been reported in Teíchos Dymaíon. They are related to Cypriot contacts or have been considered of Cypriot origin, see PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 156, 158. – ID. 1985, 145–146. – EDER 2006, 559. Anyway, the excavation data is not sufficient in order to suggest with certainty that they belong to the Mycenaean period (cf. MOSCHOS in press).

⁸ GADLOU 2008, 282.

⁹ The presence of iron in reused Mycenaean tombs in Achaea should not be regarded as contemporary with the appearance of the first characteristics of the EPG period in Aetoliá (Stamná) since we observe a “bronze phase” at its beginning there, where iron was an extremely rare material. For the extensive cemetery at Stamná see CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2001. – ID. 2006, 511–516, figs. 1–5. – ID. in press.

¹⁰ It is important to note that the first appearance of EPG elements in Achaea is connected with iron tools and weapons. However, with regard of other objects made either of bronze or of iron (jewellery or dressing accessories) the EPG phase is not attested in tombs. Such a phase might be present in the upland temple at Rakíta, although this cannot be proved by stratified evidence; see infra note 39.

¹¹ “There is also the possibility that some of the material could be Submycenaean.” See *RMDP*, 446.

¹² As for example from Pheía: “The jug from Pheia has the heavy panelled decoration found in this phase (i.e. LH III C Late), but its biconical shape and wide neck might suggest a Submycenaean date.” See *RMDP*, 395, fig. 138:91.

¹³ SPYROPOULOS – SPYROPOULOS 1996, 28.

importance of iron, the rest of the material is usually categorized as LH III C Late. Pottery is considered to be Submycenaean more often than other items. This is usually done arbitrarily and with reservation. The reason is that confirmation of a date like this is sought outside Achaea, a tendency that, as will be shown, is not always correct. This approach to the material actually deals with relations and contacts with other regions over a very short and troubled period of time. Furthermore, at the same time little attention is paid to the local production, the study of which should form a fundamental topic. Our approach involves a kind of “imperialism”, if we take for granted that the elements known of a Submycenaean culture in one place have to be the same in another. And if they are absent, it means that people did not exist. If we were to deal with the Submycenaean elements in Western Greece and then try to apply them in Eastern Greece, the presence of a Submycenaean culture would be problematic.

The wrong approach to the Submycenaean period in Western Achaea is mainly caused by three factors. The first one is that part of the available data covering the period in question has come to light sporadically, mostly from excavations in Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries, usually many decades ago. In most of those cases, sufficient excavation reports are lacking. The second factor is related to the misdating of most of the pottery which, due to its local features, should be likewise categorized to different local dating conventions, usually stylistic ones. The absence of such an approach means that even most of the unpublished recent material tends to be dated to LH III C Late and not to Submycenaean. This fact causes an inherent weakness of this paper, since an unknown proportion of the material has not been accounted for in preliminary reports, which, for years, were our only source of information in Achaea, while awaiting the final publications. The third and most basic factor is that, so far, there is not one cemetery or settlement in Western Achaea that was first organized during the Submycenaean period. In the case of chamber tomb cemeteries, their use is continued in a few cases even to EPG,¹⁶ while some tholos tombs in the wider region were reused in the EPG period, too.

The continuation of the use of the same settlements and cemeteries is a constant fact which forces to seek a different approach to the Submycenaean period. Primarily, we should pay attention to the LH III C period itself¹⁷ and particularly to LH III C Late, so as to verify the changes that took place there. This is the only way to deal with the selective continuation of certain settlements and at the same time an advantage for our approach. It is also the only way to minimize the lack of individual Submycenaean sites, which could have solved the problem immediately if they had existed.

The Mycenaean presence in Achaea does not end with the abrupt interruption of the thriving LH III C Late, a fact otherwise difficult to explain, since there is no evidence of a general destruction or of other determining events, such as the establishment of the EPG culture. It lasts longer, with the existence of a special period which has chronological boundaries, a beginning and an end, but not prosperity. It is an unambiguous period with distinctive local features, which are not solely related to a special pottery style. These features have been evolved during this very period, following similar rhythms of evolution to those verified in the region from LH III B Final onwards. It is a vivid period which does not fall short of greatness in comparison

¹⁴ CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press.

¹⁵ STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2008a.

¹⁶ The recent reservation of O. Dickinson (DICKINSON 2006, 15) in relation to the continuation in the use of tombs in Achaea and Cephaloniá during the 11th and 10th centuries, which was based upon the study of P. Mountjoy on pottery, is groundless. P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 55–56) had not reached a decision as she reported that “On Kephallonia pottery in the LH III C Late style may well continue into this phase [= Submycenaean], as also in Achaea”, due to the fact that her approach to the material in these regions was solely stylistic and not supplied by excavation data because of the lack of published material with contexts.

¹⁷ The consideration of this period’s characteristics is not relevant to this paper. For a recent approach see MOSCHOS in press.

with previous parts of the post-palatial period in Achaea. This period is long and could be divided into two phases, as we are going to see right below.

If we would like to summarize the features characterizing the switch from the Mycenaean period to the Iron Age in Western Achaea, at first, we would say that the transition from the LH III C Late was, in our case, a very smooth continuation (Tab. 1), as there were no decisive outside factors to lead to general troubles; although serious internal changes can be detected, mostly in political and social structures. Differences can also be detected, mainly but not solely, after close examination of the pottery and particularly from the study of the evolution of the LH III C Late Mature Achaean Style, which survived into the Submycenaean phase and constituted a link to the EPG pottery in Western Greece. This smooth transition shortens the time limits of the LH III C period. Clear-cut, separate pottery characteristics appear towards the end of the LH III C Late period, opening a new horizon and outlining a time range that overlaps the Submycenaean. This phase can be seen either as a protracted continuation of LH III C Late or as the beginning of the Submycenaean (Tab. 1, Phase 6a).¹⁸ Apart from the pottery style, other important factors related to social, political and economical evolutions,¹⁹ make us consider this transitional phase as *Early Submycenaean* rather than as an expanded LH III C Late. The term *Final Mycenaean* can be alternatively used, in order to avoid any misunderstanding which might be caused by the term Submycenaean, since the term usually has a more narrower meaning, however, in this paper it has an additional meaning.

LHIIIB2	LH IIIC Early	LH IIIC Developed	LH IIIC Advanced	LH IIIC Late	SM EPG
T r a n s i s i o n a l				P H A S E	P H A S E
PHASE 1	PHASE 2	PHASE 3	4	PHASE 5	6a PHASE 6b

Tab. 1 The Achaean Phases 1–6, according to local pottery styles and their development (MOSCHOS in press)

¹⁸ In order to avoid any misunderstanding I will name the largest part of the LH III C Late period Phase 5 and the two ensuing Phases, 6a (= Early Submycenaean/Final Mycenaean phase) and 6b (= Submycenaean phase), exactly as it has already appeared in recent publications (MOSCHOS in press. – PASCHALIDIS – MCGEORGE in press). Both phases (6a and 6b) constitute a separate period which together form a period that we can call Submycenaean in Achaea. The publication of the characteristics of all the proposed phases (Phases 1 to 6) is the topic of another paper and contains accounts of the significant primary burials in each phase, a list of pottery shapes and motifs, a representative picture of the local bronze production as well as the changes or developments that took place from one phase to the other, on a socio-economic level and on political account.

¹⁹ See MOSCHOS in press.

Phase 6a/Final Mycenaean defines a declining phase of LH III C Late, which was a particularly flourishing one. It is a precursor of Submycenaean proper and is not used to define what follows LH III C Late up to EPG.²⁰ It is still a Mycenaean one but also has features of what can be considered to be Submycenaean. It is not necessary to pay special attention to the pottery style, although we came across specific characteristics, but what deserves particular attention is the course of the political and social changes and the related economic transformations which are related to primary production and to a different approach in land use.

This short transitional phase is not merely an Achaean characteristic. A remarkable part of what V. Desborough thought to be Submycenaean actually belongs to this early phase.²¹ V. Desborough and A. Snodgrass²² were partly right when they synchronized West Attic Submycenaean with a part of Argive LH III C Late. The opposing view of J. Deshayes²³ and C.-G. Styrenius²⁴ is also partially correct, as Argive LH III C Late and Submycenaean are not contemporary with anything else, if they are to be seen together as a common phase. P. Mountjoy tried to approach both views at the revision of the Kerameikós Pompeion Cemetery.²⁵ What she classified as LH III C Late, in terms of style, corresponds partly to the end of this phase but also extends beyond its chronological limits, thus it falls into the suggested Final Mycenaean. The same has already been proposed for the Eláteia-Alonáki cemetery by S. Deger-Jalkotzy.²⁶ This early phase can also be recognized outside Greece, for example in Rocavecchia, Apulia. It even has an impact in local Italo-Mycenaean production.²⁷ This widespread uniformity can be explained in Achaia by the unbroken continuity in external relations and contacts during Phase 6a, even with the Italian peninsula.²⁸ However, the most crucial point might have been the Achaean refugees, as we shall see below, which were integrated into these societies and dominated to some extent and for a while the pottery production. Therefore Achaean presence abroad can also be seen as a kind of “colonization” or migration in existing societies.

What comes next is another phase, which is not very short and which does not seem to be as smooth as the previous one (Tab. 1, Phase 6b). This stage can be identified as a clear Submycenaean phase. It is not easy to confirm its end, though evidence is available to assume that it overlaps the beginning of the EPG period in neighboring areas, namely in Aetolia and to a lesser degree in Ancient Elis. Most sites used during the previous phase (i.e. Early Submycenaean/Final Mycenaean) were abandoned, while others, such as Voúdeni, flourished. Those that did survive fade away along with the whole phase without the appearance of clear and imported EPG elements, or transformations within the local pottery style, although this hides and incorporates such elements. It can be concluded with confidence that the local Mature Style kept, in general, its own characteristics, even at this late time, thus it is always clear in Western Achaia what is Submycenaean and what is EPG. However, its development can be seen as a precursor of the latter. In terms of the progress of the local pottery style we now encounter clear elements of the Western EPG pottery. It is hard to believe that they depended solely on a course of internal development. It is not accidental that the latest Mature Style has, as its closest relative, the Western EPG style.

Both phases, i.e. the Final Mycenaean Phase 6a and the Submycenaean Phase 6b constitute the Submycenaean Period in Achaia.

²⁰ The term was introduced by SANTILLO FRIZELL 1986 as an alternative to “Submycenaean”.

²¹ DESBOROUGH 1964, 17–20. – ID. 1972, 29–111.

²² SNODGRASS 1971, 28–34. Nevertheless, the West Attic Submycenaean did not overlap with Argive LH III C Late or with LH III C Late elsewhere.

²³ DESHAYES 1966, 247, 251.

²⁴ STYRENIUS 1967, 127–128.

²⁵ MOUNTJOY 1988.

²⁶ “(...) LH III C Late to Submycenaean”, see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 145.

²⁷ PAGLIARA – GUGLIELMINO 2005, 309, II.197. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press.

²⁸ See MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

The use of the term “Submycenaean” for a period is valuable in the case of Achaea, since in these phases important changes were established which can be compared with those following the crisis years. The general frame is no longer the typical Mycenaean that we encounter during the LH III C Late period and partly during the Final Mycenaean as well. The extensive abandonment of settlements and cemeteries, that determines the beginning of the Submycenaean phase (Phase 6b), does not mean the definite abandonment of Achaea nor the end of the Late Bronze Age. The new frame is now related to the dramatic shrinkage of settlements, which probably already began in the Final Mycenaean phase, and the possible migrations to other areas which is implied in the continuation of the use of certain cemeteries, especially those of Voúdeni. The same situation is recognized at Eláteia-Alonáki in Phocís.

The isolated but extremely rare examples of individual Submycenaean cemeteries in Western Greece such as in Ancient Elis and Karavómylos near Sámi signify, in all probability, the establishment of new settlements and the emigration of those who had abandoned their homes there. These few new sites were probably small and represented a political scenario that was not applied to a great extent and was not successful in saving the Submycenaean people either. A clear case is attested at Stamná, Aetolía, where minimal traces of a newly founded Final Mycenaean/Submycenaean settlement have been found,²⁹ providing evidence concerning this alternative political scenario in the region. It was established, beyond any doubt, before the settlement of the population was related to the EPG period. This small village ceased to exist or was abandoned before or during the arrival of these EPG people, i.e. at least as late as the early Phase 6b. A different development is attested in the case of Ancient Elis, where people managed to survive in the EPG period, although the evidence comes from the cemetery only and not from a settlement. Nevertheless, I think that the EPG period started earlier there, at a time that is roughly contemporary with the first EPG at Stamná and whilst the Submycenaean period in Western Achaea was still going on.

As it stands, the entire issue is related to the new conditions that began to take shape in the wider region and as far as we know, secured the establishment of the EPG period. As this development was accomplished during a long period of time, it was known to those living in the Final Mycenaean phase and especially for those in the Submycenaean phase. It was obviously possible to avoid, and it is to be expected that measures were adopted on a political level. The reaction had already been manifested by the Final Mycenaean phase, i.e. at about the same time that an establishment of new people on the Aetolian mountains around Thérmos took place, as we shall see below. This response is explicitly related to a new political plan and in particular to a new social structure. The latter probably resulted in the development of a great migration wave for the first time in Achaea that had already started, to a lesser degree, during the Final Mycenaean phase.³⁰ The continuous contacts with Cyprus and Southern Italy,³¹ which had been developed at least since LH III C Middle, constitute evidence for the settlement of Achaean refugees there. Those that had been involved in commerce at an elite level now had lost their privileges at a local level and were able to leave for the places of their partners and friends. Attica, the Corinthía and Árgos and also eastern Central Greece are probable places which Achaeans reached and stayed at. Eastern Cephaloniá is also included in this migration, at least during Phase 6b, but probably for different reasons.³² In the case of Cyprus, this is

²⁹ In the locality “Palaiostamná”. For a brief report see STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2008b, 377. – Cf. CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press.

³⁰ This could have resulted in political changes due to the removal of the regional rank levels that probably caused the escape or the departure of entire families. The change in the political arena at an upper social and administrative level is the most probable reason for the sudden absence of rich burials that could be correlated with an elite during Phase 6a but also Phase 6b.

³¹ MOSCHOS in press.

³² It might be connected with the control of the sea route through the channel between Cephaloniá, Ithaca and Akarnanía.

corroborated by memories preserved in the form of the myth of the settlement of the Achaeans in this very period.³³ What strikes us as important is that the myth comprises the migration from the Dýme region to Cyprus, a vast plain and also one of great strategic importance, which appears to have been deserted during the Submycenaean phase (6b), as we shall see later on.

The organized EPG establishment in Western Achaia can be seen through the separate cemeteries³⁴ and also in reused Mycenaean tombs, but we must say that this picture is dated right after the final abandonment of the Submycenaean sites or cemeteries in the region, although we lack clear evidence from the Mycenaean and the EPG settlements. The EPG establishment in Western Achaia has to be dated later than the EPG establishment in Stamná, Aetolía, as there is unpublished data to be considered, partly synchronizing Submycenaean Achaia and EPG Aetolía, at least from the time of abandonment of settlements and cemeteries in Achaia, that is during early Phase 6b. The same picture of synchronization is attested on Cephaloniá and Ithaca. The use of some chamber tombs or tholos tombs beyond and right after the Submycenaean period shows that the sites were abandoned but habitation in Achaia continued.

Thus, in Western Achaia there seems to be no time gap between the periods and the abrupt switch to the new era apparently started in the area within the limits of the Submycenaean period.³⁵ The second phase is characterized by an odd, but in any case, selective isolation that secured the survival of the people. This state of affairs was applied to the whole Western Mainland Koine, in which small geographical areas had already been obtained and controlled by the established EPG culture. As a result, the synchronized EPG establishment in Western Greece became, in its earliest phase, partly isolated and entrenched. This is why it exhibits local peculiarities that are without a parallel in Eastern Greece.³⁶ Another reason is also its early appearance,³⁷ which is made earlier here than at Lefkandí and at the Kerameikós. The emerging smooth, as well as internal development from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Achaia but also the special and particular “contact” of the two different cultures and worlds might be the decisive elements which have caused all this great confusion with regards to the transition from one era to the other. This phenomenon offers a very good explanation for the presence of clear traces of the local Submycenaean style in the Western EPG pottery production but it also explains how certain Submycenaean bronze types in the region, such as arched and twisted fibulae, long dress pins (in pairs) and Mycenaean type weapons (swords, spear-heads, shield bosses), survived into EPG bronze production at Stamná,³⁸ Aetolía and Rakíta,³⁹ Achaia, namely during the “bronze phase” of the EPG period. The influence of the Submycenaean civilization is in itself a sufficient element which points to its importance and significance, thus seeking to understand it is something of a challenge. Nevertheless, the epics and what they preserved are proof of the Mycenaean influence in IA societies. The Submycenaean period serves as a link to the past, or as the transformed knowledge of the past.

³³ See MOSCHOS in press with references. – The direct contacts between Western Greece and Cyprus continued during the EIA, see EDER 2006, 568–579 with bibliography.

³⁴ For the topic see GADLOU 2008, 73–76, pls. 2, 3.

³⁵ Although no evidence has been published so far, it may be assumed that during the period in question iron objects were demanded on elite level.

³⁶ LEMOS 2002, 193–195. – DICKINSON 2006, 18. – GADLOU 2008, 287–290 with bibliography.

³⁷ In contrast to the *communis opinio* see LEMOS 2002, 195.

³⁸ A bronze Naue II type sword is the most distinctive item in this group. I have to express my warmest thanks to L. Kolonas for this important information and also to J. Christakopoulou. For bronze spear-heads and a shield boss at Stamná see CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2001, 158, 161, 163, figs. 12–14, 20. – ID. in press.

³⁹ A twisted type fibula and a bronze wheel are reported; see PETROPOULOS 1987–88, 91, note 33, fig. 13. Of great significance is a violin-bow fibula with incised decoration; see GADLOU 2008, 207, fig. 160:101. Among other material of Submycenaean origin or inspiration are some fibulae, several typical pins and many rings with spiral ends. I am grateful to Dr. M. Petropoulos who gladly gave me permission to see the bronze material of this important excavation.

THE SETTLEMENTS

We know nothing about domestic architecture, nor is any stratigraphic evidence available so far. A noteworthy exception is expected to be Aghía Kyriakí at Áno Sychainá, near Patras (Fig. 1). This settlement is connected to the ChT cemetery at Voúdeni. The on-going rescue excavation has revealed Submycenaean pottery of Phase 6b but at present, its connection with floor levels and architectural remains is not certain.

The material from the older excavations at Teíchos Dymaíon remains unpublished⁴⁰ (Fig. 2), but even when it is published, the approach can only be stylistic, since any relation of pottery to architectural remains is no longer feasible. What we do know, however, is that, until today, it has not received proper attention. The settlement was destroyed by fire towards the end of the LH III C Late.⁴¹ This second destruction has recently been confirmed by data that have come to light during the ongoing restoration work.⁴² Final Mycenaean pottery shows the survival of the site after the destruction; for the moment it is unclear whether the destruction was caused by a violent incident or whether it was the result of a random incident. In my view, this last destruction might be related to troubles concerning local authority on a regional level and to an effort to control this strategic and fortified site by people housed in another area within Western Achaea who had grown stronger, although this cannot be proven at the moment. Judging by the evidence known, I suppose that this is a good explanation for this isolated destruction in Western Achaea. Furthermore, the continuous use of the site immediately after the destruction might imply that it was about who had the control of the site. What followed this destruction is connected directly with the beginning of the Final Mycenaean phase (6a), as the small amount of published pottery⁴³ from Teíchos Dymaíon indicates this (Figs. 28–30). Up to today this domestic pottery is the only one published in Western Achaea which corresponds with Phase 6a pottery from cemeteries.

Habitation at Teíchos Dymaíon continued into the Protogeometric period,⁴⁴ although a gap is attested in Phase 6b, when we look at the preliminary reports.⁴⁵ The strange abandonment of this fortified site during the Submycenaean phase shows that the suggested reasons for the destruction had no further meaning or the issue had already been solved at that time. It also shows the different orientation in settlement in Western Achaea and points out that under new political conditions an alternative site or alternative sites were preferred in order to manage the sea routes in the Ionian Sea and the Corinthian Gulf, which is probably situated in the Patras region. The continuing relations and contacts of Achaeans with Cephaloniá and probably with the South Italian peninsula during Phase 6b confirm the control of the sea routes, an issue that must have been faced by other means from another place.

As Teíchos Dymaíon becomes marginal for the Mycenaean and probably insecure for the people in the vast plain of Dýme, the region of Patras becomes more prominent during the Submycenaean phase, a fact also reflected in the excavations. Such is the state which presupposes that the real problems for Achaea and also the base to solve them were centered deeper in the Corinthian Gulf. The EPG presence in Ithaca⁴⁶ shows how these problems appeared later on far away from Achaea, in the heart of the Ionian Sea. This small island, mostly from

⁴⁰ For references see MOSCHOS 2002, 20, note 12 (D1). – Cf. ID. 2007b, 25–27, fig. 19. – KOLONAS 2008a. – MOSCHOS in press.

⁴¹ MASTROKOSTAS 1967, 121.

⁴² KOLONAS 2006, 219–221, figs. 7–12.

⁴³ See MASTROKOSTAS 1966, pl. 64a. – ID. 1967, pl. 176a.

⁴⁴ GADLOU 2008, 71–72 with references. The iron finds, which might have been confused in Mycenaean strata, could have been connected to this settlement's period; see *supra* note 7.

⁴⁵ I recently had the opportunity to see the greatest amount of the Mycenaean material from Teíchos Dymaíon, thanks to L. Kolonas. There is not a sherd of Phase 6b.

⁴⁶ See in general SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 108–117, 142–143. – *RMDP*, 477–478, fig. 175.

Phase 6a onwards, and in particular on Cephaloniá, survived during the entire Phase 6b⁴⁷ and served as a key factor to secure the sea routes of the Submycenaean and their counterparts, who traveled through the channel to the Italian peninsula. The EPG presence in Aetoliá, synchronized with Phase 6b, reflects the problems in the vicinity of Achaea as early as the early Phase 6b and reflects the new situation along the northern coasts of the Corinthian Gulf, which became a common sea. It might be safe to conclude that the Achaean fleet was the first and the most important answer to these problems on a local scale and was capable of ensuring, for a while, the survival of the region in the new era, which is described here as the Achaean Phase 6b. Furthermore, Achaea, Ithaca and Cephaloniá had the same purposes and their roles were complementary during this phase.⁴⁸

The material from the Mycenaean settlement of Stavrós, Chalandrítsa remains unpublished.⁴⁹ The site hardly survived into the Submycenaean Phase 6b and no destruction by fire has been documented before Phase 6a – as was the case at Teíchos Dymaíon – or even later. Additions of new houses during the period in question cannot be distinguished from the pre-existing constructions (Fig. 3), since we are not familiar with the excavation material and its relation to the site. Perhaps, some of those constructions altered the original site plan, blocking older roads and open spaces, a fact that cannot be confirmed with certainty before the final publication. Anyway, there are no different habitation horizons and the new additions were constructed when neighboring houses were used. Having in mind the situation at the nearby Ághios Vasílios chamber tomb cemetery, it might be correct to suppose the continuity of the settlement during the Final Mycenaean phase and the abandonment of the site very early in the Submycenaean phase.⁵⁰ This would account for the lack of a clear Submycenaean level in the settlement but also gives a good indication for the short duration of Phase 6a, which simply follows Phase 5. It also gives us some grounds for supposing the abandonment of major sites in Western Achaea during early Phase 6b.

There are no reports of Final Mycenaean and Submycenaean pottery for the settlement of Pagóna in Patras⁵¹ (Fig. 4), but I suppose this should be attributed to the brief excavation accounts that focus on the presentation of the most characteristic pottery in clear strata. I believe that a future study of the material will undoubtedly display the existence of the Submycenaean period as well, at least the first phase.

None of the three sites with attested Final Mycenaean/Submycenaean presence was first established during or after the LH III C Late period (Phase 5), but they were connected with the continuation of pre-existing Mycenaean settlements. We have made reference to almost all little-known excavated Mycenaean sites in Western Achaea, including the Pagóna settlement. We have reached the conclusion that the settlements continue in three of the cases and most probably in the fourth one, too. The evidence available, which is however limited, appears to be related to Phase 6a; the only exception is Aghía Kyriakí. At a first glance it seems that the major part of Mycenaean settlements was abandoned very early in Phase 6b or even during 6a. At the same time, some large and influential cemeteries continued to be in an extremely limited use during Phase 6b. In conclusion, very few settlements survived under the new circumstances, and in any case, they were considerably reduced in size and they were very soon abandoned, as early as the early Phase 6b, with the unique exception of Voúdeni and its settlement at Aghía Kyriakí.

⁴⁷ MOSCHOS 2007a, 281, pl. VII.

⁴⁸ MOSCHOS 2007a, 289.

⁴⁹ For references see MOSCHOS 2002, 17, note 7 (P28). – Cf. ID. 2007b, 32–33, figs. 28, 30. – KOLONAS 2008c, 7–13, figs. 3–12.

⁵⁰ For a Phase 6a stirrup jar from Ághios Vasílios see PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, fig. 112a,b. For a stirrup jar of Phase 6b from the same cemetery see IBID., figs. 113g, 201e.

⁵¹ STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2001. – For references see MOSCHOS 2002, 17, note 7 (P8). – Cf. ID. 2007b, 21, 23, fig. 11.

THE TOMBS

The use of the Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries continued during the Final Mycenaean Phase 6a. This tends to be the pattern in Western Achaea, with only a few exceptions, which might be due to short preliminary reports or due to the lack of completed excavations. Nevertheless, we can assume that Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries were, in general, the only available place for burial during the Final Mycenaean phase, and their use did not cease at all.⁵² Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory evidence to assume that new chamber tombs were cut during Phase 6a. In other words, no new cemetery was organized in Achaea during this phase, a fact that could be useful in a number of ways, if we want to assess the picture of Western Achaea during the succeeding Submycenaean Phase 6b.

Furthermore, recent excavations in conjunction with a reassessment of the old material have illustrated the use of some chamber tombs during Phase 6b (see Appendix) but have also demonstrated the tendency to abandon the cemeteries, in accordance with one of the settlements. Among them stands Voúdeni,⁵³ where a specific and quite extensive part of the cemetery was chosen to be used throughout the entire Phase 6b, demonstrating the general prosperity of the site. The huge number of already existing chamber tombs was the reason for the absence of new constructions at this site during the Submycenaean period, in contrast to the numerous new rock-cut tombs in the advanced use of the cemetery at Eláteia-Alonáki.⁵⁴ It might be useful to argue that in most other cases it was not the cemetery that was used but merely some chamber tombs, in a manner to allow the hypothesis that some people insisted to be buried in their family tombs during Phase 6b, along with their relatives and ancestors. Such a situation can be seen as a clear reuse of chamber tombs of otherwise abandoned cemeteries as early as Submycenaean Phase 6b and not only as late as EPG or even later, as is commonly believed. The exclusive use and reuse of chamber tombs could be a good explanation for the absence of organized cemeteries with personal graves but it also demonstrates the survival of Mycenaean people and the continuity of their burial habits. This remark is perhaps most significant because the burial customs and their perpetuation show the homogeneity of the population.

The aversion to the adoption of individual graves, despite some isolated instances of such graves within the boundaries of the Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries in Achaea throughout the LH III period,⁵⁵ should probably be correlated with an aversion towards EPG civilization. As already suggested, the establishment of the EPG in Aetolia should be synchronized with almost the entire Achaean Phase 6b. Furthermore, the relocation or the migration to certain and already existing settlements, where organized cemeteries of chamber tombs were in use, guaranteed the continued use of the Mycenaean tombs and of the continuation of the related burial customs. In the course of time the abandoned cemeteries seem to become a kind of “sacred” place⁵⁶ or seem to be held in people’s mind as places with a special honorary meaning. These places, where their ancestors were buried, were the proof of their roots, in contrast to EPG people whose ancestors were not buried in their new lands. Furthermore, the troubled Submycenaean society had a strong need for heroes of the past. They were a support for carry on living and at the same time they could be used as archetypes. The reuse of chamber tombs in the EPG period for burials and also in historic times for sacrifices has its roots in this Sub-

⁵² Fourteen burials have been placed in this phase at the Klauss cemetery instead of thirteen of Phase 5; see PASCHALIDIS – MCGEORGE in press.

⁵³ KOLONAS forthcoming. – For references see MOSCHOS 2002, 17–18, note 7 (P4, P5). – Cf. ID. 2007b, 19, 21, figs. 1, 10–11.

⁵⁴ DEGER-JALKOTZY – DAKORONIA 1991. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999 with bibliography. – DIMAKI 2003.

⁵⁵ Quite clear is the case of the Pórtēs cemetery; see KOLONAS 2008c, 34–35, 39, 40, 44, 47, figs. 52, 62, 65.

⁵⁶ Cult in abandoned tombs might have already been started during the Submycenaean phase. The tholos tomb at Kazárma was reused, but according to P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 56) this activity was related “...to cult rather than burial”. – For tomb cult in historic times see KORRES 1981/82. – Cf. GADLOU 2008, 251–253 with bibliography.

mycenaean idiosyncrasy. The appearance of heirlooms in EPG tombs⁵⁷ demonstrates the ideal of the Mycenaean era and has its origin in the above philosophy, which was first formed in the Submycenaean era.

A feature of special value is the reuse of some Achaean chamber tombs contemporary with or immediately after Phase 6b. This reuse is testified by the presence of iron implements and weapons. However, in the region of Patras the only published case is that of Kríni: Zoitáda, which can be seen as a testimony for the presence of a foreign people in Western Achaea. The excavation's preliminary report makes clear that chamber tomb 3 was considered poor and insignificant compared to the wealth of the two neighboring excavated tombs. The chamber's floor had been carefully cleared of the old artifacts, with the exception of the skeletal remains of three secondary burials, along with sherds of a handmade vase. "At the rear of the chamber have been revealed remains of a destroyed, built, slab covered pit, 1.56 m long, constructed of thin slabs."⁵⁸ Unfortunately, no photographs or plans or the sherds of the handmade vase could be traced. This burial custom was quite uncommon in Western Achaea⁵⁹ and it could be paralleled with examples from Stamná and Tzannáta tholos tombs, which will be examined further down. Its date, although problematic, would be either Phase 6b or immediately after it.

At Vrysáron the use of one chamber tomb continues immediately after Phase 6b;⁶⁰ a handmade jug and two iron knives accompanied the last burial in tomb 4, which have to be placed in the EPG period. Some iron weapons found in a chamber tomb in the Aígion region,⁶¹ have to be dated to the same period. Accordingly, the cremation in a chamber tomb at Palaiókastro Arcadíá,⁶² with an iron Naue II type sword, belongs to the EPG period and proves the reuse of some chamber tombs in the wider region. Some other few reused chamber tombs during the EPG period in the area of Patras are yet to be published. An EPG burial use is also attested at the dromos of chamber tomb 6 at Elleniká, Messeniá.⁶³

Signs of reuse during Phase 6b and even later have also been found in tholos tombs, which were actually reused by "new owners". The philosophy of this preference might be the same as in the case of isolated chamber tombs with Phase 6b burials. The tholos tomb at Kallithéa (Laganidiá)⁶⁴ had already been plundered and abandoned by the LH III C period, a fact confirmed by the pottery. Two burials without gravegoods could be associated with later use or reuse, one by the tomb's entrance⁶⁵ and the other in a pit within the tholos' deposits.⁶⁶ An EPG reuse is also apparent, although the burial purposes are not clear in preliminary reports. In this case the tholos tomb was within the limits of a chamber tomb cemetery, so the fact that it was known is not strange at all, as some chambers in its close environment had been used during the Final Mycenaean phase. The forthcoming publication of the cemetery will surely provide a complete diachronic picture of the site.⁶⁷ For the time being, we may suppose that this EPG reuse was based on the same philosophy as of the chamber tombs in the region. Furthermore, we are dealing with a contemporary reuse of tholos tombs and chamber tombs, which has to be

⁵⁷ For the topic see MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

⁵⁸ CHRYSAFI 1999, 235.

⁵⁹ A known exception is a cist tomb in the dromos of chamber tomb Σ at Kallithéa (Spénzes). The excavator provides a date within LH III C Late; see PAPADOPOULOS 1999a, 124, pl. 70β.

⁶⁰ Evidence of Phase 6b or of the contemporary EPG "bronze phase" has not been observed in this cemetery; however, only a few tombs have been excavated. As a result, Phase 6b is used here and in the following cases as a chronological borderline. The published evidence does not support continuity at these sites.

⁶¹ For these iron implements and weapons see supra note 5.

⁶² BLACKMAN 1997, 33.

⁶³ CHATZI-SPILOPOULOU 2001, 293, pl. 28:3.

⁶⁴ PAPADOPOULOS 1988. – ID. 1991.

⁶⁵ PAPADOPOULOS 1991, 70, pl. 59β.

⁶⁶ PAPADOPOULOS 1991, 71, pl. 61β.

⁶⁷ For a research of the preliminary reports see MOSCHOS 2002, 18, note 7 (P 21).

placed after the “bronze phase”/earliest stage of EPG period at Stamná and which has to be synchronized with a developed stage of EPG period.⁶⁸

Published material from Ancient Elis does not allow us to be more extensive here.⁶⁹ The only thing to be mentioned is that Phase 6a is present at the cemetery, but the following Phase 6b was very soon replaced by an early stage of EPG⁷⁰ which is contemporary with the first appearance of the EPG culture at Stamná and also with Phase 6b in Western Achaea.

At Stamná, in Aetolia a huge cemetery of cist graves and pithoi burials have come to light⁷¹ (Fig. 5). The graves were grouped in clusters, dispersed over a large area; about twenty of them have been excavated so far. Very few included a small number of graves with pottery comparable to the Achaean Submycenaean Phase 6b.⁷² However, the well known Achaean Submycenaean Style was not clearly formed here and this can be explained by the precocity of the existing features. Interestingly enough, the early local EPG pottery style includes shapes and decoration patterns of the Submycenaean Phase 6b repertoire: even stirrup jars are incorporated.⁷³ Beyond any doubt, the Mature Style has been replaced by the Western EPG pottery style; in fact, it probably constitutes its earliest appearance. Phase 6a is also present at the cemetery, with the same characteristics that occur at Ancient Elis. Although it is extremely rare at Stamná, nevertheless it is quite certain. A reused tholos tomb has recently come to light at Stamná,⁷⁴ where an early EPG cist grave had been built within the vault. This tholos tomb was abandoned during the LH III C period, but the meagre Final Mycenaean and Submycenaean presence in this region might have served as a link.⁷⁵ In my opinion, this reuse is contemporary either with Phase 6b in Achaea or with the EPG reuse of the tombs there.

The monumental tholos tomb at Tzannáta,⁷⁶ Póros in Cephalonia continued to be in use at least during the Final Mycenaean phase, as is also the case with the tholos tomb at Mavráta⁷⁷ – with even later reuse, the two tholos tombs in Akarnanía, at Loutráki⁷⁸ and Kechrinia,⁷⁹ and probably the tholos tomb 2 at Marathiá, Aetolia.⁸⁰ A later reuse at Tzannáta included, in one case, the construction of a small cist grave with a burial without gravegoods and in another one the insertion of a large burial pithos⁸¹ with a trefoil-mouthed jug and a pair of long bronze dress pins, which can be placed in an early stage of the EPG period, that of the “bronze phase”. The cist burial is earlier than the pithos burial and could be dated to the Submycenaean Phase 6b, which at this site was very soon replaced by the EPG period that somehow came later than at Ancient Elis. The pithos burial is the only known evidence for such a suggestion. It is roughly

⁶⁸ That is what is contemporary or follows stage IV of Kerameikós; see RUPPENSTEIN 2007.

⁶⁹ EDER 2001. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

⁷⁰ The same situation is attested in the cemetery at Néa Ionía (Vólos); see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1999. Phase 6a is the earliest of the cemetery (IBID., 118–120, figs. 3–10 – Tombs 56, 57), while Phase 6b is nonexistent. Phase 6a is directly followed by a very early stage of EPG (IBID., 120–122, figs. 11–14, Tomb 197). The shape of the bow of a twisted fibula (IBID., fig. 13) is not Submycenaean but EPG. Furthermore, the bronze long dress pins (IBID., fig. 12) are of the same type, which is once more an EPG feature (see LEMOS 2002, 108 with bibliography).

⁷¹ See supra note 9.

⁷² CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press.

⁷³ I would like to express my gratitude to L. Kolonas and J. Christakopoulou for this information.

⁷⁴ PETROPOULOS – SARANTI – CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2004, 231. – STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2008b, 377.

⁷⁵ CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2006, 512.

⁷⁶ See MOSCHOS 2007a, 264–266 (no. 51α,β) with bibliography.

⁷⁷ MOSCHOS 2007a, 259–260 (no. 41).

⁷⁸ See for example the small kalathos with very concave sides in KOLONAS 1997a, 74, fig. 28a. – Cf. KOLONAS 2008b, fig. 12.

⁷⁹ STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2008b, 375. – I would like to express my gratitude to the director of the 36th EPCA M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi that gave me permission to see the material of her recent excavation and to use this information.

⁸⁰ A basin probably belongs to this phase (*RMDP*, 805, fig. 321:39), which could hardly be compared to some sherds from Chalkís, Aetolia (DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 57, 59, pl. 1:1).

⁸¹ KOLONAS 1997b, 155, plan 12. – ID. 1998, pl. 50a. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 265.

contemporary with the EPG establishment at Stamná and it is earlier than the EPG presence at Ithaca.

Burial architecture in Cephaloniá presents a combination of elements used in Achaea and Aetolía. On the one hand we have chamber tomb cemeteries that continued their use or were reused during Phase 6b, such as the ones at Diakáta,⁸² Metaxáta⁸³ and Lakkíthra,⁸⁴ where large pits in the chamber floors already existed. On the other hand, the cist grave and the pithos burial insertion at Tzannáta are extremely rare indications of adopting diverse burial practices, which we have already compared with the early stage of the EPG culture at Stamná, Aetolía and the posterior sequence of the EPG tombs at Ancient Elis, where the adoption of EPG burial architecture is apparent, but not to a stage to use burial pithoi. Nevertheless, the Tzannáta pithos burial has to be placed during the EPG period and it is probably synchronized with the burials at the Diakáta chamber tombs of Phase 6b, from which a pair of bronze long pins is known.⁸⁵ A. Sotiriou has recently found a cist grave at Karavómylos near Sámi,⁸⁶ far away from any organized Mycenaean cemetery. It contained a handmade jug and Submycenaean pottery that could easily have been mistaken for Achaeal Phase 6b, even though this option cannot be excluded. It is more than certain that the EPG pithos burial at Tzannáta chronologically corresponds to the Phase 6b pottery at Karavómylos.

An independent presence of EPG on the island of Cephaloniá is probably attested in a natural rock cavity at Mavráta: Chaeráta.⁸⁷ This place has been identified as an ossuary. Four handmade necked jars with plastic and incised decoration found together with human bones may probably be related with the EPG period. The handmade pottery had a long tradition during the LH III period on Cephaloniá, but comparable shapes with similar decoration have been found at Polis Cave and Tris Langádes on Ithaca, as well as in chamber tombs at Metaxáta, Lakkíthra and Mazarákata.⁸⁸ In these last cases an EPG reuse of chamber tombs is apparent. Having in mind the continuing use, or even reuse until Phase 6b at these cemeteries, this phenomenon can be placed during the EPG period and synchronized with an analogous use in Achaea, Aetolía, Elis and Arcadía. A comparable reuse is attested at the tholos tomb at Mavráta, too.

As a conclusion, the use of family tombs in Achaea during the Submycenaean period reflects the survival of Mycenaean burial customs on a similar scale. Double and triple Phase 6b burials at Voúdeni's chamber tombs confirm all the above. It is also true to conclude that Submycenaean burial architecture in Achaea almost does not exist simply because Mycenaean chamber tombs continue to be in use. Anyway, it does not break from the LH III C tradition, apart from a few contemporary constructions in the adjacent regions, as the small cist grave inside the tholos tombs at Tzannáta, the cist grave at Karavómylos, the graves of Phase 6a at Ancient Elis and Stamná and a unique cist grave in Achaea, found in the floor of the Kríni's chamber tomb, which is either later than Phase 6b or contemporary with this phase, the latter with certain reservations due to the lack of clear evidence. This cist grave has a LH III C Late parallel in the dromos of chamber tomb Σ at Kallithéa: Spénzes.⁸⁹ The transition to the use of individual graves did not occur during the Submycenaean period in Achaea. The diffusion of cist or pit graves or even tumuli mounds had not reached this part, despite the fact that in the

⁸² SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 38–39. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 238–239 (no. 15α,β).

⁸³ SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 42–43. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 250–251 (no. 21α,β).

⁸⁴ SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, pl. 4:A 1313,A 1275. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 244–246 (no. 19).

⁸⁵ SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 81, pl. 20:A 948,A 949.

⁸⁶ A recent unpublished rescue excavation. I wish to thank my colleague for sharing this information with me. An essay about the tomb is prepared for publication. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 269 (no. 59). – ID. in press.

⁸⁷ SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 45 (no. 40), pl. 62:c. – Cf. MOSCHOS 2007a, 260 (no. 42).

⁸⁸ SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 75–76, 107, pls. 62:c, 68:g,f with references. The suggested date is LH III C.

⁸⁹ See supra note 59.

aforementioned neighboring regions and even in the Argolid, with which Western Achaea had relations during Phase 6a,⁹⁰ such graves had been used in organized cemeteries all along.

THE BURIAL CUSTOMS

The burial mounds in the Argolid included pits and cists, even with cremations,⁹¹ which are extremely rare in Western Achaea, since inhumation was the rule during the LH III C period and its succeeding phases, with the exception of at least one clear case, as will be seen below. This custom continues unabated during the Protogeometric and Geometric period in Achaea.⁹² The Homeric custom of cremation was probably known in Mycenaean Achaea during the LH III C period. More than five cases have been reported in preliminary accounts and considered as cremations. If so, this is a considerable number for Western Greece. Possible cremations are one at a chamber tomb in Kallithéa: Spénzes,⁹³ one or two in Klaus⁹⁴ and two at the warriors' tomb in Spaliaréika.⁹⁵ A four-handled jar had been used in one of the suggested cases at Spaliaréika, closed with a kylix base as a lid.⁹⁶ A further possible case is the one at the tholos tomb of Kallithéa: Laganidiá,⁹⁷ while three pyres in the tholos tomb at Petrotó have been identified as purification ones.⁹⁸ These examples have to be published first in order to be certain that the rite was followed, i.e. that the corpses were indeed cremated. For the time being, we cannot exclude that the bones were not burned inside the chamber under different circumstances, not those of a cremation.

The only apparent cremation in Western Achaea comes from the cemetery of Voúdeni and is clearly connected to Phase 6.⁹⁹ The "cremation" with the violin bow fibula at Kallithéa: Spénzes, in my opinion, can be dated according to the pottery which was present in the chamber, either to Phase 5 or 6a. Awaiting the final publications to confirm the fact that some of the LH III C cases are indeed cremations, we can propose that this custom was known in Western Achaea at least during Phase 6, but it is extremely rare as a practice in Western Greece, in which an example from Agrapidochóri in Elis¹⁰⁰ is the only one known.

Inhumation remained the rule. Regarding the burial customs, it is quite safe to say that there is an uninterrupted continuity from the LH III C Late period to the Submycenaean. It is true that there is no real differentiation and any novelty can be considered as a mere improvement. In a few cases these novelties are hardly attested already in LH III C and they become more intense during the period in question, otherwise some continued elements are slightly differentiated.

⁹⁰ Quite evident are one stirrup jar and two lekythoi from a cist grave at Árgos; see KANTA 1975, 265–266, figs. 11–12. They are local imitations of Achaean Phase 6a style, if the stirrup jar is not an import from Achaea, as P. Mountjoy (*RMDP*, 179, 183, fig. 56:413) has suggested. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press.

⁹¹ HÄGG 1987, 211, note 32. – PITEROS 2001. – EDER – JUNG 2005, 492–493. – JUNG 2007, 226–229 with bibliography.

⁹² GADLOU 2008, 247.

⁹³ PAPADOPOULOS 1981, 30, fig. 58. – ID. 1982, 108, pl. 93a.

⁹⁴ PAPADOPOULOS 1993, 26. – ID. 1995, 57.

⁹⁵ PETROPOULOS 2000, 68, 75.

⁹⁶ PETROPOULOS 2000, figs. 5–6.

⁹⁷ PAPADOPOULOS 1991, 71.

⁹⁸ PAPAZOGLU–MANIOUDAKI 2003, 434. – A similar case has been reported for ChT 4 at Voúdeni; see KOLONAS 2008b, 16–17.

⁹⁹ I express my warmest thanks to L. Kolonas for this precious information.

¹⁰⁰ A vase from the pyre belongs to Phase 6a; see PARLAMA 1972, 54, 56–57, fig. ΑΓ,ε,ζ.

At the cemeteries of Voúdeni,¹⁰¹ Mitópolis¹⁰² and Kallithéa: Laganidiá¹⁰³ some of the latest burials in the chambers had no offerings at all, as was also the case of the small cist grave at Tzannáta; it would not be safe, however, to relate them with the period in question. We can be certain that offerings were still put alongside the corpses; in fact some burials were accompanied by a great number of vases and other artifacts. A noteworthy differentiation is the way vases were arranged around the corpse, though this is not a rule and all the known cases are exceptions. In the case of a Phase 6a burial at Pórtēs,¹⁰⁴ the vases had been arranged along the burial's long sides (Fig. 6), in a fashion reminiscent of the EPG custom, known from Stamná (Fig. 5). A similar arrangement had been made in a LH III C Late (Phase 5) primary burial at Kríni: Zoitáda¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 7). Generally speaking, such an arrangement of the offerings reflects a need to define the limits of the deceased inside the chamber and brings to mind the built construction or the burial pithos in the tholos of Tzannáta, the cist grave inside the tholos at Stamná and the cist inside the chamber tomb at Kríni: Zoitáda. Furthermore, it reflects the new idea of defining burial space in a discernible way, such as a cist, although local people were reluctant to adopt these constructions. This mere custom seems ideally adapted to the pre-existing burial architecture, without a need for a pit or a cist construction.

At Voúdeni¹⁰⁶ (Figs. 34–36), Kríni: Zoitáda¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 7) and Kallithéa: Spénzes¹⁰⁸ there are four cases of large jars closed by a small stirrup jar. In a further instance at Kallithéa: Spénzes a small jug was used as a lid¹⁰⁹ and, in another one, a straight-sided alabastron was preferred.¹¹⁰ Although it is attested at Palaiókastro, Arcadia¹¹¹ already by Phase 4 (Tab. 1), this is a common Submycenaean and PG – G custom, also associated with cremations, not unknown in Attica, Eastern Pelopónnesus, Thessaly, Crete and elsewhere.¹¹² Some of the above mentioned cases in Western Achaia could be related to Phase 5 too, because their date is not clear in preliminary reports and in most cases they appear in general photos only, which makes the confirmation very difficult. The aforementioned custom in Western Greece is not related to cremations and it could alternatively be seen as a development of using vase bases as lids.¹¹³ Reference has to be made to the doubtful case at Spaliaréika, where a four-handled jar of Phase 3 (Tab. 1) with a base lid is supposed to contain a cremation.

The use of pits inside chamber tombs continued during this period, although this custom is not widespread in Western Achaia.¹¹⁴ So far there is no published evidence to determine whether some of the pits used were dug during Phase 6a or 6b. The only case known to me comes from the floor of chamber tomb 5 at Pórtēs, where a pit was opened and used during Phase 6a. In this case, the pit was preferred to solve a problem related to the use of the tomb

¹⁰¹ KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹⁰² CHRISTAKOPOULOU forthcoming.

¹⁰³ PAPADOPOULOS 1995, 58, pl. 18b.

¹⁰⁴ Connected with this primary burial were the vessels on Figs. 12–15, 19–25.

¹⁰⁵ CHRYSAFI 1999, 235, pl. 73γ.

¹⁰⁶ Unpublished. They are dated to Phase 6b. – For further cases see KOLONAS 2008b, 31, fig. 58.

¹⁰⁷ CHRYSAFI 1999, 235.

¹⁰⁸ PAPADOPOULOS 1978a, fig. 58. – ID. 1978b, 185, pl. 113b.

¹⁰⁹ PAPADOPOULOS 1982, pl. 92b.

¹¹⁰ PAPADOPOULOS 1999b, fig. 30. – ID. 2000, 86, pl. 35 (nos. 7 and 8).

¹¹¹ SPYROPOULOS 1996, 16.

¹¹² A vase had been used as a lid on an urn, inside a pit grave in Athens; see ALEXANDRI 1968, 93, pl. 85γ. – It is not unknown at Kerameikós; see for example RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 29, 30, pl. 16:Gr. 145, Gr. 146. – In the burial mound in Argos, see PITEROS 2001, 104, note 19, figs. 9, 10. – In the pit tomb Γ 23 at Mycenae and probably in the cist tomb Γ 31, see DESBOROUGH 1973, 92, fig. 2B. – In an Early Geometric tomb at Faestós; see HATZIVALLIANOU 1987, 284, pl. 193.

¹¹³ This practice, i.e. the use of vase bases as lids, is a common custom of the Dýme area and Elis but it is quite uncommon in the Patras region where whole vessels were preferred from Phase 5 onwards.

¹¹⁴ PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 55–56. – KOLONAS forthcoming with recent bibliography.

and is not connected with an attempt to define a special place for the deceased; it was probably an attempt to protect the body from a collapse of the chamber roof.¹¹⁵ The use of pits in the floor of the tombs went on during this period and those cut for the first time do not alter the picture that we already have of the burial customs of the region during the LH III C period.

The widespread use of burial beds, biers or coffins in Western Achaea¹¹⁶ during the LH III period lives on in Phase 6, even in Phase 6b,¹¹⁷ although primary burials, placed directly on the floor are also attested and are numerous, as in previous phases. It is quite safe to suggest that there is no gap towards the switch to the Protogeometric period, when the utilization of burial beds is common, as shown in depicted scenes. The depiction of a *próthesis* on a burial bed on a krater from Aghía Triádha in Elis,¹¹⁸ should in my opinion, be dated either to Phase 5 or, most likely, Phase 6a and not to the LH III C Middle as proposed.¹¹⁹ The main reason for such a late date is the concrete appearance of the Silhouette Style. This style was actually developed during Phase 5 and primarily Phase 6a at Achaea and Elis and was not developed first on Cyprus as is believed.¹²⁰ In fact it is another element connecting Northwestern Pelopónnesus and Cephaloniá with Cyprus during the Submycenaean period.¹²¹ It was encountered at Pórtēs (Fig. 13), in a well-dated assemblage of Phase 6a and more recently at Voúdeni,¹²² as a smooth development of the local pictorial style of the LH III C Late period, in which elements of the Silhouette Style already existed.

Lately, O. Vikatou has found a very important depiction of an *ekphorá* near Kladéos.¹²³ These depictions are related to analogous Protogeometric ones¹²⁴ and reflect the adoption or the survival of Mycenaean customs, but only as far as the burial preparations are concerned. The Mycenaean scenes represent the social significance of the *próthesis* and *ekphorá* and they prove the presence of these objects, apart from their traces in tombs. It is exactly this social significance that is depicted on the Aghía Triádha and Kladéos vases, as well as the similar decoration themes of the large Protogeometric and Geometric vases. In other words, compared to the LH III C period, the burial ritual remains unchanged in the Submycenaean period, not only in the continuous use of such objects but also in the social display of the dead and in social meanings through funerary customs.

THE COMING OF THE NORTHERNERS

Maybe it sounds odd when we put forward the view that two different cultures, the one of the remote prehistory and the other of the Early Protogeometric, coexisted for a certain period of time. Someone could contradict this argument using diverse statements: that the delay of cultures is not feasible and it is impossible that the Mycenaean culture survived in a region in which the EPG culture had already prevailed, since the arrival of the iron bearing people has been correlated with the eclipse of the Mycenaean civilization. Or one can continue to argue that if they were truly contemporary we should have had tangible evidence, for instance, an EPG vessel in a closed Submycenaean context. Such a case has not yet been found and is probably not expected in Western Achaea, nonetheless it is already known at Kerameikós, Lefkandí and Mycenae.

¹¹⁵ MOSCHOS 2002, 28.

¹¹⁶ MOSCHOS 2002, 28 with references. – KOLONAS 2008b, 13. – KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹¹⁷ There are some burials at Voúdeni; see KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹¹⁸ SCHINAS 1999. – VIKATOY 2001. – HILLER 2006, 185, fig. 5.

¹¹⁹ Cf. CROUWEL 2006, 16, 19, fig. 6, where he includes the krater in his LH III C Middle discussion.

¹²⁰ KARAGEORGHIS 1997, 79. – IACOVOU 1997. – For the topic see MOSCHOS in press.

¹²¹ PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 180. – MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

¹²² My thanks for this information go to L. Kolonas.

¹²³ VIKATOY 2004, 231.

¹²⁴ For a brief review see HILLER 2006.

However, the co-existence of the Mycenaean culture with another one is not a fact without precedents in the region. At about the end of LH III C Late, new people arrived from the mountains and settled in Thérmos, Aetolia, i.e. after the fire destruction of the site, vaguely dated to the LH III B/C period.¹²⁵ Their first appearance can be placed a little earlier or around the second destruction of Teíchos Dymaíon, that is at least Phase 6a or as early as Phase 5. These newcomers used matt-painted ware, referred to as “local Geometric” due to its local features and its supposed EPG and G date.¹²⁶ Despite that, it was found stratified in a Mycenaean deposit in Aetolian Chalkís¹²⁷ and is synchronized at least with the Final Mycenaean phase. Traces of Phase 6b are extremely scanty in Chalkís,¹²⁸ but the abandonment of the site during the early Phase 6b, as was probably the case with the settlements in Achaea, cannot be excluded.

The matt-painted ware is a branch of the North – Northwestern pottery and constitutes a common group with that from Vítsa in Epirus, Pámphio, Chalkís, Kalydón, Pleurón, Stamná and the settlement at Ághios Ilías in Aetolia, as well as pottery from Aghía Paraskeví and Kýnos in Phthiótis.¹²⁹ Its classification as “South matt-painted ware” has already been proposed.¹³⁰ At Stamná, Kalydón and Pleurón it was found inside cist graves among EPG pottery, so as to make clear that these people remained in their home lands during the EIA and had contacts with different cultures on the Aetolian coasts as early as Final Mycenaean Phase 6a and as late as EPG period. Furthermore, the arrival of the EPG culture does not seem to have affected this cultural group to an extent which led to their disappearance. At the same time not a single sherd of EPG pottery has been published from Thérmos and if we look into this settlement, it is isolated during the EPG period. Although the presence of the matt-painted pottery at Chalkís and on the Aetolian coast could be used as a strong element for the synchronization of Phase 6b with the early stage of EPG in the region, unfortunately the insufficient or doubtful remains of the Submycenaean Phase 6b at Chalkís do not allow safe conclusions. Furthermore, the duration of this cultural group using matt-painted pottery has not yet been confirmed with certainty.¹³¹

These mountainous people trespassed into Mycenaean territories and maintained friendly relations with the Mycenaean population of the Aetolian coasts, which probably provided them with Mycenaean pottery from Western Achaea, including a pictorial krater with warriors¹³² from the workshop of Voúdeni. Even so, matt-painted pottery of this cultural group has not yet been found in Achaea, but it would be wrong to assume that Achaeans ignored its existence. Its emergence is probably related to the excellent trade relations and to the Mycenaean presence in Epirus and Macedonia. Those people settled in an already destroyed Mycenaean site, in an area that had become marginal for the Mycenaean. Its presence in the mountainous landscape had been accepted by the Mycenaean people. I think that this approval does not exclude the

¹²⁵ PAPAPOSTOULOU 2003, 137–138.

¹²⁶ ROMAIOU 1916, 263–265. – WARDLE 1972, 80–83. – WARDLE – WARDLE 2003, 150–151.

¹²⁷ DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 59–61. – DIETZ 2007, 87–89. – MOSCHOS in press.

¹²⁸ See DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 57, fig. 18:210 and compare with SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, pl. 4:A 1313 and Fig. 39 in this paper.

¹²⁹ See MOSCHOS in press with bibliography. – CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press. – Cf. DIETZ 2007, 87–89, fig. 2:8. – GADOLU 2008, 308–309. – A few sherds from Ághios Ilías settlement could be of MH date; see WARDLE 1972, 103, 367, fig. 86:427–429. – Pottery of the specific type was recently found at Pámphio, near Thérmos, by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi whom I devoutly thank for the tip. I also want to thank F. Dakoronia and P. Kounouklas for their kind information on the existence of a similar stratified matt-painted ware at Kýnos.

¹³⁰ DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 59.

¹³¹ WARDLE – WARDLE 2003, 151.

¹³² WARDLE – WARDLE 2003, 150, fig. 3. – MOSCHOS in press. – KOLONAS forthcoming. The date of the krater should be LH III C Late/Final Mycenaean (DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 60). This is not only according to the very long tongue of the handgrip (Allerona class), which extends beyond the “fish-tail” of the preserved depiction of the Naue II type sword; this date also fits perfectly with the first appearance of matt-painted ware at Thérmos.

possibility to find this matt-painted ware civilization even in mountainous Achaea or even Elis. Indeed, if we consider these populations as the precursor tribes of the EPG civilization, a probable settlement of them in the uplands of Northwestern Pelopónnesus could be the bridgehead for the EPG culture. It would also clarify the existence of the Final Mycenaean and EPG cemetery at Ancient Elis, which is early and almost isolated for this era and area. Because the most important feature of these mountainous tribes is that with their continuous presence they break and cross the boundaries of the presumed Dark Ages. Since they appeared during the Mycenaean era and they were involved into the EPG period, the pit and cist cemetery at Ancient Elis is exactly contemporary with their presence, although the aforementioned cases cannot be related, at least for now.

The most common decorative patterns and shapes (storage jar, krater) found in the matt-painted ware have parallels in the Mature Achaean Style,¹³³ in LH III C Middle to Late down to the Submycenaean period, so that we can argue for the existence of a close relationship and interaction between the two civilizations, maybe even before they settled in the region.¹³⁴ This liaison continues during the end of the Submycenaean period, with two documented cases of the presence of new inhabitants in the Patras region, in the cemeteries of Voúdeni and Kríni. Their existence is not only discernible in the pottery, but also in the diverse burial customs.

At tomb 1 of Kríni: Zoitáda a broken but complete jug with cutaway neck and narrow flat base was found beside the entrance,¹³⁵ made on a slow speed potter's wheel and by a potter unfamiliar with the Mycenaean typology (Fig. 8). It is undoubtedly related to the last access to the chamber and can be associated with a primary burial without gravegoods at the chamber's center, close to another Phase 6a primary burial. A similar vase, once again broken but complete, was found in the dromos deposits of chamber tomb 19 in Voúdeni¹³⁶ (Fig. 9). The chamber had been meticulously cleared, apart from an old and forgotten primary burial with a single LH III A1 vase that had been covered by deposits which had fallen from the roof. Almost directly above this assemblage a primary crouched burial without gravegoods was placed that is apparently connected to the jug found outside the chamber. Another vase, similar to the ones found in Voúdeni and Kríni, comes from a shallow pit beside the entrance of the tholos tomb at Mavráta¹³⁷ and another one is published by S. Marinatos from the cemetery at Metaxáta.¹³⁸ The wrong restoration made this item appear as a small Mycenaean jug in the publication. The recent restoration shows the real shape and a completely different vase, a cutaway neck jug with a narrow base.

The shape's origin can be traced back to the local pottery of Thérmos, Aetolia¹³⁹ (Fig. 10) and according to the bibliography, its date is contemporary with EPG. Thus, it is at least clear that the use of some chamber tombs at Kríni: Zoitáda, Voúdeni and on Cephaloniá and the tholos tomb at Mavráta continued after the Submycenaean Phase 6b, although local pottery production at Thérmos, including local matt-painted ware, had already started at least during

¹³³ PAPADOPOULOU 2004, 42. – MOSCHOS in press.

¹³⁴ Compare e.g. the decoration of a double vase from Gerokomeíon, near Patras; see MASTROKOSTAS 1968, fig. 153β (Patras M. 876). – Cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, figs. 172f,g, 262e.

¹³⁵ CHRYSAFI 1999, 234. – Cf. DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 60. – MOSCHOS in press.

¹³⁶ KOLONAS forthcoming. – Cf. DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 60. – MOSCHOS in press.

¹³⁷ WARDLE 1972, 149. – Argostóli Museum inv. no. 1689. The exact find spot is recorded in the Catalogue of the Argostóli Museum. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press with reference to a similar vase from Skaphidáki at the entrance of the Ambrakian Gulf.

¹³⁸ From ChT B, pit 4. Argostóli Museum inv. no. 1508. – MARINATOS 1935, fig. 32:B4. – Cf. DIETZ – MOSCHOS 2006, 60 (erroneously referred to as AM 1689). – MOSCHOS in press.

¹³⁹ WARDLE 1972, fig. 58:213, 214, 215. – A further link to the local pottery of Thérmos might be represented by an amphora from Metaxáta (Argostóli Museum inv. no. 1476); see MARINATOS 1935, 83–84, fig. 29 (B. Δάπεδον). Its horned horizontal handles can be paralleled by a few handmade vessels from Thérmos with knobs at the highest point of the horizontal handles (WARDLE 1972, 81, 348, 350, figs. 79:311, 81:334).

Phase 6a, as has been stated above. Admittedly, the jugs could be dated within the limits of Phase 6. The carefully cleared chamber floors and the removal of all Mycenaean vases demonstrate the advent of new habits, outside the older or contemporary Mycenaean practices. This picture is in contrast to the usual image of chambers filled with bones and offerings in Western Achaean cemeteries of the LH III C Late period and even in tombs used during the Submycenaean phase. The new custom of placing a burial without grave gifts in a chamber and a jug in the dromos is remarkable. Unfortunately, there is nothing known about tombs and burial customs at Thérmos, to compare it with.

THE POLITICAL FRAME AND SITUATION

The absence of rich burials that could be connected with the elite is considerable in Achaea during Phase 6. This picture is in contrast to the great number of burials that date back to Phases 3 to 5 (Tab. 1) and which were accompanied by Naue II type swords.¹⁴⁰ For the time being, there are no published swords of this type that can be dated to Phase 6. This is a verified phenomenon that has been analyzed elsewhere.¹⁴¹ It should also be mentioned that the number of primary burials in Phase 6a was – more or less – the same as that of Phase 5,¹⁴² so that the absence of Naue II type swords is not a matter of chance, given the fact that, statistically, they should have already been located. What is more, the burials of Phase 6 are usually primary and undisturbed, as they are the last in the chambers. Therefore, we come to the conclusion that from Phase 6a onwards, Naue II type swords have ceased to be placed in the tombs, with a reservation that should be expressed: Naue II type swords are no longer usual items in the chamber tombs as they used to be in the previous phases; even if Phase 6 has not yet provided an example, there is no evidence for their scarcity in society.

This absence does not mean that new techniques of war were adopted in Achaea and that the Naue II type sword was abandoned, or that it was not used as much as it was used since its appearance during Phase 3 and onwards. Furthermore, pictorial scenes on vases from Voúdeni present warriors with Naue II type swords, a repertoire that only ceased during Phase 6b.¹⁴³ The general prosperity of Achaea during Phase 6a does not leave much space for an explanation related to the scarcity of copper. So, it does not look intentional to assume that, due to general poverty, the swords were bequeathed and not placed in the graves. I have already proposed an interpretation for this phenomenon; in my opinion, it should be viewed as a result of political developments on a local level in which the number of people involved in the authorities and in the military hierarchy was dramatically reduced.¹⁴⁴ The more credible explanation is that the sword exclusively accompanied the deceased of a higher rank, so that in this case we reach a conclusion, that a transformed authority was in a position to impose this; its detection in Phase 6a is important. A similar exclusion is encountered a bit later at Stamná, where the custom of cremation was restricted to a few members of the society.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, the Naue II type sword is bound to be discovered in Achaea during Phase 6 and they must especially be expected with rather rich burials, like the one found recently in Kouvarás, Akarnanía.¹⁴⁶ They

¹⁴⁰ There are 17 swords from Achaea, a number remarkably great in comparison with the one from the rest of Greece; see MOSCHOS in press with recent bibliography.

¹⁴¹ MOSCHOS in press.

¹⁴² See PASCHALIDIS – MCGEORGE in press.

¹⁴³ KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹⁴⁴ MOSCHOS in press. – New practices in burial customs might reflect a new social status; see VOUTSAKI 1998, 44. – Cf. PRESTON 1999, 134.

¹⁴⁵ CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press. – It was probably related to certain families, as is evident in an apsidal tomb; see CHRISTAKOPOULOU 2001.

¹⁴⁶ STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2008a. – MORGAN 2008, 47.

have not yet been uncovered only because it was a small circle of individuals that had this privilege. The cemetery of Voúdeni is the most likely place for such a discovery in Western Achaea.

The extensive abandonment of the settlements during the early Phase 6b and the simultaneous reinforcement of a few, like that of Voúdeni's demonstrates the rejection of the model of dispersed habitation. The numerous neighboring settlements in every region representing the administrative and military system during the LH III C period and which survived to a high degree during the Final Mycenaean phase, were now definitely abandoned. Their area of jurisdiction was controlled by a strengthened settlement. Each local authority was removed and gave way to a centralized form of administration, the features of which we still do not know. A vast un-inhabited area that extends around the powerful settlement is vital for the inhabitants. This area has now the expanse of a geographical region that is governed by the settlement. I have already correlated politically this entire region with the term *dāmos* and its ruling class with the term *oikos*.¹⁴⁷

On the basis of the excavation evidence, it can be suggested with sufficient confidence that after the end of the administrative structures which had prevailed during Phase 5 the dispersed habitation continued for a while during Phase 6a. After that it obviously changed completely in the successive Phase 6b. Perhaps the view seems appealing that a certain few of the settlements had acquired increased power and significance already during the Final Mycenaean phase or even earlier, so that the selection and survival of some of them throughout the Submycenaean phase constitutes a normal development, in a sense that there was already a kind of collective pre-formed conscience towards this direction. As far as the administration of the surviving settlements in Phase 6b is concerned, the model must already have been in force from Phase 6a onwards or otherwise the controlling power and authority of the elite members of the dispersed settlements would have been considerably too limited, in order to assume that some individuals had acquired great authority and had already been able to impose it since the Final Mycenaean phase. A related wave of immigrants during Phases 6a and early 6b has already been proposed.

THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND CONTACTS

I have recently considered this issue.¹⁴⁸ During Phase 6a there is no confirmation of an interruption in the relations of Achaea with neighboring regions, namely Cephaloniá,¹⁴⁹ Ithaca,¹⁵⁰ Aetoliá¹⁵¹ and Akarnaniá,¹⁵² Elis,¹⁵³ Corinthiá,¹⁵⁴ Argolid¹⁵⁵ and the regions south of the Corin-

¹⁴⁷ MOSCHOS in press.

¹⁴⁸ MOSCHOS in press.

¹⁴⁹ The dispersion of Achaean pottery on the island is limited during Phase 6a. A large stirrup jar from Lakkíthra (*RMDP*, 457, 459, fig. 165:54) could be an import from mountainous Dýme and not from Ithaca. Its date to Phase 6a is not certain, as in Achaea such huge stirrup jars are not frequent in tombs during this phase. For a Phase 6b Achaean stirrup jar from Diakáta see KYPARISSIS 1922, 107–108, fig. 24:3. Also note the pottery from Karavómylos, near Sámi.

¹⁵⁰ An Achaean stirrup jar FT 175 comes from Polis Cave; see *RMDP*, 473, fig. 172:4. It could be from Phase 5, but the pointed fringed triangles are among the Phase 6a features. A lekythos FT 122 with biconical body (*RMDP*, 472, fig. 172:3) and a depressed globular stirrup jar FT 175 (*IBID.*, 473, fig. 472:5) are of Phase 6a style; the possibility to be imported from Achaea cannot be excluded. The mountainous Dýme region near the border to modern Elis is the most likely place of origin.

¹⁵¹ A jar from Achaea at Stamná, see CHRISTAKOPOULOU in press. The warriors' krater at Thérmos is probably of Phase 6a date.

¹⁵² A few unpublished sherds from closed shapes at Loutráki, Katoúna.

¹⁵³ A lekythos FT 122 at Goúmero is an import from Achaea; see *RMDP*, 395, fig. 139:94. A stirrup jar FT 175 from Agrapidochóri (*IBID.*, 397, fig. 139:95) is a product of a workshop from Dýme region. Few unpublished stirrup jars at Pórtēs are imported from Voúdeni (see Fig. 19 in this paper).

¹⁵⁴ For a hydria from Korákou see RUTTER 1974, 363, fig. 141.

¹⁵⁵ See supra note 90. – MOSCHOS in press with bibliography.

thian Gulf.¹⁵⁶ These relations are the result of the local trade that was still developing or was formatted on a new base during the post-palatial period, in other words, the continuation of the activity is now being substantiated. Aside from the importance of every aspect of these relations, they synchronize the Final Mycenaean phase of Achaia with the adjacent areas, also enabling the classification of the particular local features of pottery production of these regions.

The long distance sea trade from Cyprus to Southern Italy was carried on without interruption and Western Achaia continued to be a strategic partner. The fact is important that the selective destruction of Teíchos Dymaíon before Phase 6a was not able to restrict the trade activity in Achaia. This reality is also demonstrated from the continuance of the habitation in the fort during Phase 6a, in order to ensure the control of the sea routes. The political changes, however, that have been identified during this period at a local level demonstrate perhaps the effect of this destruction. The efforts for re-organization are visible in practice. In this new climate, commerce does not seem to have been influenced in a negative way, on the contrary, it preserved the significance it had held since the LH III C period. Land commerce – in a lesser degree – and long distance sea trade continued on probably the same scale as in the past.

THE POTTERY PRODUCTION

Phase 6a is an illustrious addition to the prehistory of Western Achaia and we can comprehend better not only the Submycenaean period, but the switch to the EPG too, and its formative stages, mainly during Phase 6b. I think, however, that the two phases in pottery style are not only valid for Achaia but also for the wider region of the Western Mainland Koine. The study of local pottery preferences and peculiarities in other regions contributes to the pottery overview of this period.

Those phases do not have a solely stylistic character but a chronological one, too. It is not certain that they will be stratigraphically verified in any settlement context. What we are looking for is not a general dramatic historical event that has left its traces on the two phases. We merely hope to find habitation floor levels with no signs of discontinuity or abandonment between the two phases. Up to now, Phase 6a comes after the fire destruction at Teíchos Dymaíon and also constitutes the last prehistoric horizon at Ancient Chalkís, Aetolía, in which matt-painted ware of Thérmos was incorporated in every day activities of the inhabitants. At Ancient Chalkís, the use of Phase 5 structures continued without interruption. Both sites were abandoned at the end of the Final Mycenaean phase or in the very early Phase 6b, so the Submycenaean phase is not traced. Phase 6b is so far not connected with settlements, although pottery of this phase has been found unstratified at Aghía Kyriakí, near Áno Sychainá, Patras.

Nevertheless, it is clear that in a cemetery context we are now able to distinguish to which of the two phases one vase belongs. Both are characterized by the continuation of the Mature Style or otherwise by the survival of LH III C workshops. This fact reveals once more the continuity from the LH III C Late to the end of the Submycenaean period and partly justifies our inability to identify the features of the Submycenaean period.

The repertoire of shapes in the two phases is poor, being but a reflection of the burial customs that are far from representative of the ceramic production. It is certain that every day activities involved more shapes. Thus, a presentation of this range actually reflects the pottery preferred in the burial customs of the two phases.

The stirrup jar is among the most common shapes, reaching 60% of the available material, but their frequency of appearance increased during Phase 6b. Two and four-handled jars, lekythoi and small jugs follow suit. This is in fact the same repertoire of shapes found in the

¹⁵⁶ A stirrup jar from Eláteia-Alonáki; see DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 142 (T. LXII/23ζ), fig. 6a (on top). – Cf. MOSCHOS in press with further references.

burial customs of Phase 5. Other shapes are not as common, such as neck-handled jars, deep bowls with vertical handles (*kantharoi*), duck-askoi, ring vases, square-sided alabastra or pyxides, kylikes, kalathoi, spouted kalathoi and kraters.

Below, only the general frame of the styles is given, since the issue is a part of another study.¹⁵⁷

THE PHASE 6a STYLE

This phase could be transitional between the LH III C Late and the Submycenaean phase. Pottery features, even in a close assemblage, can be confusing as they can be considered either LH III C Late or Submycenaean, since they do not differ considerably compared to the previous Phase 5, and the new elements that appeared were rapidly transformed to the Submycenaean style. The workshops continued their work without interruption and artisans have been recognized for having been involved in both phases, i.e. Phase 5 and 6a. This is an additional element to prove the brevity of Phase 6a.

Apart from few belly-handled amphorae, four-handled jars, kalathoi and a few medium sized stirrup jars, the small vessels are more frequent and preferred in tombs. This could be a sign of poverty and might be related to problems in primary production. Such a development reflects general troubles in society. As a result, the belly-handled amphora FT 58 is sometimes minimized in size (Figs. 11, 12), so as to acquire the height of an amphoriskos FT 59.¹⁵⁸ There are also miniature kalathoi FT 291 (Fig. 13) in contrast to the large vessels known from the region.¹⁵⁹

Stirrup-jars FT 175 are generally of small size, some of them are indeed extremely small (Fig. 14). Stirrup jar FT 177 (Fig. 15) appears for the first time and it can also be miniature like FT 175. Nonetheless, the shape is extremely rare. It has a high cone on the disk, found only rarely on FT 175. Stirrup jar FT 184 (Fig. 16) survives from Phase 5.¹⁶⁰ It is not so common but it has its place among the repertoire of certain workshops, even in the Kalávryta region.¹⁶¹ Stirrup jar FT 175 has a great variety in shape, and the most common is the depressed globular shape (Fig. 17). This shape is also found in Phase 5, although it is extremely rare. Another common variety has an almost conical body with a sliding straight shoulder (Figs. 14, 18). It derives from the frequent globular shape of Phase 5;¹⁶² some vessels still exhibit this shape, although the greater diameter is now found lower on the body (Figs. 19–21). Among the repertoire of shapes of this phase is the straight-sided alabastron FT 96 (Fig. 22), the jug FT 115 (Fig. 23), the narrow-necked jug FT 118 (Fig. 24), the lekythos FT 122 (Fig. 25), the ring vase FT 196 (Fig. 26), the duck askos (Fig. 27), the conical kylix FT 275 (Fig. 28) and the *kantharos*.¹⁶³ Locally made bottle-shaped vases appear from this phase onwards.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ See supra note 18.

¹⁵⁸ Two small vessels from Klauss and Kangádhí are of this phase and not of LH III C Middle and Late as has been suggested; see *RMDP*, figs. 149:87, 152:105.

¹⁵⁹ *RMDP*, 440. – KOLONAS 2008b, 19, fig. 23. – KOLONAS forthcoming. – For an even more miniature kalathos at Loutráki, Akarnanía see supra note 78.

¹⁶⁰ For a three-legged example from Voúdeni see KOLONAS 2008b, 25, fig. 40.

¹⁶¹ Two cylindrical stirrup jars have been recently published from Leóntion: Vrayiánika; see GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 129, 132, 152, pls. 65:6,7, 67:6,7.

¹⁶² See for example *RMDP*, fig. 155:124.

¹⁶³ See, for example, two vases from Teíchos Dymaíon and Kanghádi (PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, figs. 178c,d, 267c). – Also from Voúdeni; see KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹⁶⁴ An unpublished vase comes from Pórtēs ChT 8a. – See also DESBOROUGH 1972, 54, pl. 2 for comments; the shape is not “characteristic of the Cypriot style” as proposed, but it became characteristic of that style. Its mainland origin seems apparent and probably constitutes a development of the horned bottle. A locally made horned bottle from Kladáos, Elis, has been considered of Cypriot inspiration (VIKATOU – KARAGEORGHIS 2006). However, its date is not LH III C Late, as proposed (IBID., 160, 162), but quite earlier (LH III C Middle or LH III C Middle to Late, i.e. Phases 3, 4). Therefore it is prior than any known Cypriot example of the Proto-White

Apart from some linear vessels (Figs. 12, 23) a variety of decoration patterns is attested. Concentric semi-circles are either fringed (Fig. 19) or plain (Fig. 21) but the space in-between the lines in each motif is now wider (Figs. 22, 27). The same is attested in the elaborate triangle, which has a form of chevrons (Figs. 25, 27). These features are characteristics of Phase 3 and have now been revived.¹⁶⁵ Elaborate semi-circles or triangles filled with a fringed bivalve (Fig. 20) survived from Phase 3 but they are extremely rare during Phase 6b. Open hatched triangles derive from Phase 5 but are quite unusual, as also during Phase 6b (Fig. 32). Dot-filled triangles are a typical characteristic of Phase 6a¹⁶⁶ (Figs. 26, 29), as are the fringed bars (Figs. 16–18) and the fish bones with high fringes¹⁶⁷ (Figs. 17, 18, 30), which are hardly found even in Phase 5. Cross-hatched triangles now begin to become pointed and have high fringes (Fig. 11), which is also a common feature in other fringed motifs.¹⁶⁸ Among the other decorative patterns is the vertical (Fig. 20) and horizontal wavy line (Fig. 16), panelled pattern (Fig. 25), triglyph, lozenge, net-filled square patterns,¹⁶⁹ barred fringes (Fig. 13), rosette, concentric circles and isolated or running spiral with high fringes (Fig. 11).

The disk of stirrup jars is sometimes decorated with semicircles (Figs. 14, 15). Otherwise, spirals (Fig. 16) or circles with a central dot (Fig. 21) are preferred. The handles are usually barred but there is a variety of choices, since there are monochrome handles and other motifs as well (Fig. 20). The decoration on the lower body has a great range, so this is not among the typical features of pottery and therefore does not define the phase. It seems that certain workshops have their own preference in this sector. There are also impressive survivals of fine line groups flanked by a broad band,¹⁷⁰ but this element has not come from a local development.

The *Silhouette Style* appears at Voúdeni, Pórtēs, Kangádhi and Elis. At Voúdeni a four-handled jar with drawings of human figures consists of lines and there are several scenes on kraters.¹⁷¹ One depicts a hunting scene with wild animals and dogs. At Pórtēs an FT 291 kalathos has depictions of birds and quadrupeds with their keeper¹⁷² (Fig. 13). A similar scene is also found on a duck-askos at Kangádhi (Fig. 27) and on a four-handled jar at Elis.¹⁷³ I have already mentioned the funerary scenes from Aghía Triádha and Kladéos.

In bronze production some new types appear for the first time which can serve as a good indication to consider their context as Submycenaean, either 6a or 6b. Shield rings made their first appearance in Western Achaea during Phase 6a, at Spaliaréika¹⁷⁴ and Pórtēs. A pair of long dress pins is known from Ancient Elis, already in Phase 6a, although in Western Achaea

Painted Ware. It derives from the *Minoan Mainland Workshop* and it is of Philistine inspiration, not unknown in other products of this workshop; see MOSCHOS in press. – For a Phase 6b vase at Metaxáta, Cephaloniá see MARINATOS 1935, 88, fig. 33:B 9.

¹⁶⁵ See for example the semi-circles on a stirrup jar from Chalandrítsa (*RMDP*, fig. 150:99) and the triangle on an alabastron from Klauss (*IBID.*, fig. 149:93).

¹⁶⁶ The dot-filled rosette, too, occurs; see PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, figs. 106b, 211a.

¹⁶⁷ See also the decorative pattern of a legged straight-sided alabastron from Archáni, Lamía; DAKORONIA 1990, 41, 43, fig. 3.

¹⁶⁸ For rosettes on a stirrup jar FT 175 from Klauss see *RMDP*, fig. 157:129. – Note the fish bone motif and rosettes in PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, fig. 210e. – Compare also the rosettes on a fragmentary stirrup jar from Mítrou; see RUTTER 2007, 295, fig. 10.

¹⁶⁹ PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, fig. 109e. – *RMDP*, fig. 157:129.

¹⁷⁰ Few unpublished vessels from Voúdeni; see KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹⁷¹ KOLONAS forthcoming. – The pictorial decoration of Phase 5 at Voúdeni exhibits the *Silhouette Style* with added white details; see *RMDP*, 55. – KOLONAS 2008b, fig. 18. – KOLONAS forthcoming. – This type of decoration survived in this specific workshop during Phase 6a (see WARDLE – WARDLE 2003, 150, fig. 3. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press), although added white was no longer the rule.

¹⁷² KOLONAS 2008c, fig. 47. – A similar scene and also the closest parallel on shape and decoration comes from Cyprus, Koúklia-Xerolími, IACOVOU 1997, 63, 67, pls. XIVb, XV.

¹⁷³ ARAPOGIANNI 1997, 118, pl. 37σ. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press with bibliography and parallels.

¹⁷⁴ PETROPOULOS 2000, figs. 17–20.

we come across this element during Phase 6b at Voúdeni.¹⁷⁵ The pair from the Tzannáta pithos burial, dated to EPG, is contemporary. Twisted arched fibulae appear in Western Achaea during Phase 6a as do double spiral finger rings.¹⁷⁶

- Fig. 11** Belly-handled amphora FT 58. Brown fabric with buff slip; dark orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.136,¹⁷⁷ diam. rim 0.086, diam. max. 0.148, diam. base 0.073. FM 43, fringed compressed and high semi-circles; FM 52, isolated fringed spiral; FM 61A, fringed cross-hatched triangle; FM 73, hatched lozenge; fringed circles recall those of EPG examples, although they are not compass drawn. Voúdeni, ChT 75, exc. no. 75/38. Unpublished.
- Fig. 12** Belly-handled amphora FT 58. Buff fabric; lustrous orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.154, diam. rim 0.081, diam. max. 0.153, diam. base 0.064. Linear. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-29. Unpublished.
- Fig. 13** Kalathos FT 291. Brown-buff fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.122, diam. rim 0.228, diam. base 0.117. Pictorial decoration in Silhouette Style: birds and quadrupeds with their keeper. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-46. KOLONAS 2008c, fig. 47.
- Fig. 14** Stirrup jar FT 175. Brown fabric; black-brown paint. Ht. 0.092, diam. rim 0.026, diam. max. 0.084, diam. base 0.043. Semi-circles on false mouth with a cross on the cone. FM 61A, stacked triangles; FM 43, semi-circles on shoulder. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-30. Unpublished.
- Fig. 15** Stirrup jar FT 177. Brown-buff fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.082, diam. rim 0.018, diam. max. 0.061, diam. base 0.032. Semi-circles on false mouth; FM 61A, cross-hatched triangle and stacked triangle; FM 43, semi-circles and fringed semi-circles on shoulder. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-24. Unpublished.
- Fig. 16** Stirrup jar FT 184. Buff fabric; lustrous orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.08, diam. rim 0.021, diam. max. 0.088, diam. base 0.08. Fringed bars with FM 55, diagonal pattern on shoulder, wavy lines and a row of dots on belly. Voúdeni, ChT 59, exc. no. 59/30. Unpublished.
- Fig. 17** Stirrup jar FT 175. Brown-buff fabric; black-brown paint. Ht. 0.118, diam. rim 0.023, diam. max. 0.113, diam. base 0.047. Fringed bars, fish bone with high fringes. Pórtēs, ChT 9, exc. no. 9-01. Patras M. 15855. Unpublished.
- Fig. 18** Stirrup jar FT 175. Light brown-buff fabric; brown paint. Ht. 0.12, diam. rim 0.037, diam. max. 0.119, diam. base 0.057. Fringed bars, fish bone with high fringes. Pórtēs, ChT 5, primary burial 5-Z, exc. no. 5-31. Patras Museum 15811. Unpublished.
- Fig. 19** Stirrup jar FT 175. Pinkish-brown fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.093, diam. rim 0.02, diam. max. 0.092, diam. base 0.039. FM 43, fringed semi-circles, ring round the base of neck and the base of spout. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-39. Imported from Voúdeni. Unpublished.
- Fig. 20** Stirrup jar FT 175. Buff fabric; dull orange-red paint. Ht. 0.111, diam. rim 0.029, diam. max. 0.112, diam. base 0.049. FM 61A, triangle with fill of fringed bivalve and FM 53, vertical wavy line; wavy line down handles. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-26. Unpublished.
- Fig. 21** Stirrup jar FT 175. Buff fabric; brown-black paint. Ht. 0.11, diam. rim 0.026, diam. max. 0.15, diam. base 0.048. FM 43, semi-circles, ring round the base of neck and the base of spout. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-23. Unpublished.
- Fig. 22** Alabastron FT 96. Buff fabric; orange paint. Ht. 0.062, diam. rim 0.045, diam. max. 0.067, diam. base 0.058. FM 43, semi-circles. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-28. Unpublished.
- Fig. 23** Jug FT 115. Brown fabric; black-brown paint. Ht. 0.074, diam. rim 0.032, diam. max. 0.068, diam. base 0.029. Linear. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-38. Unpublished.
- Fig. 24** Narrow-necked jug FT 118. Buff fabric; red-brown paint. Ht. 0.081, diam. rim 0.03, diam. max. 0.073, diam. base 0.032. FM 43, semi-circles and FM 61A, stacked triangle. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-27. Unpublished.
- Fig. 25** Lekythos FT 122. Buff-brown fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.093, diam. rim 0.036, diam. max. 0.086, diam. base 0.04. FM 75, panelled with FM 43, semi-circles and FM 61A, stacked triangle. Pórtēs, ChT 21, primary burial 21-Γ, exc. no. 21-33. Unpublished.

¹⁷⁵ L. Kolonas personal communication. A pair has recently been published from ChT 75; see KOLONAS 2008b, 29, fig. 53. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press.

¹⁷⁶ MOSCHOS in press with bibliography. – KOLONAS forthcoming.

¹⁷⁷ All measures in m.

- Fig. 26** Ring vase FT 196. Buff fabric; orange paint. Ht. 0.086, diam. rim 0.028, diam. max. 0.115. FM 61A, dot-filled triangle. Pórtēs, ChT 2, exc. no 2-32. Unpublished.
- Fig. 27** Duck askos. Ht. pr. 0.116, diam. rim -, L. max. 0.207. FM 75 panelled with concentric arcs; FM 53, wavy line. Pictorial decoration in Silhouette Style: quadrupeds. Patras M. 541. Kangádhi. PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, fig. 256b,c.
- Fig. 28** Kylix FT 275. Dull-brown fabric; Dark black-brown paint. Ht. pr. 0.185, Ht. after restoration 0.191, diam. rim 0.165. Monochrome with reserved decorative zone. Patras M. 790. Teíchos Dymaíon. MASTROKOSTAS 1967, pl. 175γ.
- Fig. 29** Stirrup jar FT 175. Fragmentary. Brown fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. pr. 0.029, diam. pr. 0.075. FM 61A, dot fringed triangle with dot fill. Patras M. BE 278. Teíchos Dymaíon. MASTROKOSTAS 1967, pl. 176α.
- Fig. 30** Stirrup jar FT 175. Fragmentary. Brown-buff fabric; black-brown paint. Ht. pr. 0.048, diam. pr. 0.083. Fringed bars, fish bone with high fringes. Patras M. BE 144. Teíchos Dymaíon. MASTROKOSTAS 1966, pl. 64α.

THE PHASE 6b STYLE

This is the last Mycenaean style that can be recognized in the cemeteries of Western Achaia, but it does not correspond to the last phase of their use, as primary burials come even after the prehistoric era. Voúdeni becomes one of the most important sites of this phase and finally the last stronghold of the Mycenaean in the wider area.

The pottery is now typically Submycenaean. The ovoid shape of FT 177 stirrup-jars is diagnostic for Phase 6b (Figs. 31–33). An extremely rare example with an air hole comes from Voúdeni (Fig. 34). The conical stirrup-jar with flat shoulder FT 175 appears from the previous Phase 6a but it is extremely rare. The four-handled jar is among the largest shapes of the phase (Figs. 35–36), followed by the belly-handled amphora FT 58. They have a globular body and a wide base; the latter, however, maintains the knobs on the shoulder. Another large shape is the kalathos FT 291 (Fig. 37). It has a cylindrical lower body; the upper is concave and flaring. Among other shapes are the lekythos FT 124 (Fig. 38) and the amphoriskos FT 60 (Fig. 39), the latter appears in this phase. It is striking that until now not a single kantharos of this phase has been found, although the shape was known in Achaia during Phase 6a.

The favorite decoration patterns of Phase 6b appear on Fig. 40. Simple or elaborate pointed and fringed triangles are commonly used for the decoration on the shoulder (Fig. 40a). There are incredible combinations of their appearance. One typical decorative motif of this phase is the elaborate fringed circle, a development of the simple circle or rosette of Phase 6a (Fig. 40b). At Pórtēs we encounter it in the previous phase on stirrup jar disks as a system of concentric semicircles (Figs. 14, 15). Fringed motifs are almost a rule. They comprise spirals (very popular on Cephaloniá), diaper net, chevrons, which had been widespread in Phase 6a, and panelled patterns with wavy or zigzag lines (Fig. 40c,d). Single, double or triple wavy bands are also used on the belly zone (Fig. 40e). The lower body is sometimes decorated with the multiple banding system of the Late Achaean style, but in an advanced, tighter way, a fact that proves the uninterrupted survival of the pottery workshops into the Submycenaean phase. Otherwise, there is a variety of decoration of the lower body, so that it is wrong to conclude on that this element was decisive for the definition of chronological phases in Achaia.

The *Silhouette Style* continues at Voúdeni and there are scenes with birds. These themes now have a central character on the vases they decorate, even on stirrup jars shoulders. The pictorial motifs are clearly larger than those from Phase 6a and they demonstrate the clear establishment of the Style. This particular ware is another link to mainland Protogeometric ware. The silhouette technique is found in Late Cypriote III B Proto White Painted ware,¹⁷⁸ which leads to Cypro-Geometric I. The vases used there are of LH III C origin: belly handled amphora, amphoriskos, krater, pyxis and kalathos, shapes that have also survived into the

¹⁷⁸ IACOVOU 1997, 61–71, pls. XII–XV.

Submycenaean phase and they have been used in the mainland Silhouette Style. These are additional reasons to believe that this style has a mainland origin.

- Fig.31** Stirrup jar FT 177. Dull pinkish fabric; black paint. Ht. 0.135, diam. rim 0.028, diam. max. 0.105, diam. base 0.049. FM 61A, fringed cross-hatched triangle with FM 53, vertical wavy line. Voúdeni, ChT 65, exc. no. 65/8α. It was used as a lid of the four-handled jar on fig. 36. Unpublished.
- Fig.32** Stirrup jar FT 177. Buff fabric; brown-black paint. Ht. 0.12, diam. rim 0.026, diam. max. 0.107, diam. base 0.049. FM 61A, open hatched triangle with three vertical rows of dots. Pórtēs, ChT 2, exc. no. 2-19. Unpublished.
- Fig.33** Stirrup jar FT 177. Buff fabric; dull black paint. Ht. 0.126, diam. rim 0.033, diam. max. 0.104, diam. base 0.052. FM 61A, fringed stacked triangle with a vertical row of dashes. Pórtēs, ChT 29, primary burial 29-E, exc. no. 29-12. Unpublished.
- Fig.34** Stirrup jar FT 177. Pinkish-brown fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.138, diam. rim 0.028, diam. max. 0.111, diam. base 0.053. Air hole opposite spout. FM 61A, fringed cross-hatched triangle and fringed stacked triangle. Voúdeni, ChT 75, exc. no. 75/34. Unpublished.
- Fig.35a** Four-handled jar. Light brown fabric; black paint. Ht. 0.403, diam. rim 0.154, diam. max. 0.352, diam. base 0.16. FM 75, panelled with FM 61A, fringed cross-hatched triangle and fringed stacked triangle. Voúdeni, ChT 48, exc. no. 48/8. Unpublished.
- Fig.35b** Stirrup jar FT 177. Buff fabric; black paint. Ht. 0.128, diam. rim -, diam. max. 0.096, diam. base 0.038. FM 61A, fringed stacked triangle with FM 53, vertical wavy line and FM 27, rosette. Voúdeni, ChT 48, exc. no. 48/8α. Unpublished.
- Fig.36** Four-handled jar. Pinkish-brown fabric; black paint. Ht. 0.396, diam. rim 0.168, diam. max. 0.351, diam. base 0.188. FM 61A, fringed elaborate triangle with FM 27, rosette. Voúdeni, ChT 65, exc. no. 65/8. Unpublished.
- Fig.37** Kalathos FT 291. Pinkish-brown fabric; orange-brown paint. Ht. 0.172–0.186, diam. rim 0.267–0.281, diam. base 0.15–0.152. FM 75 panelled with FM 43, fringed compressed and high semi-circles; FM 53, wavy line between bands on body. Voúdeni, ChT 59, exc. no. 59/10. Unpublished.
- Fig.38** Lekythos FT 124. Pinkish-brown fabric; black-brown paint. Ht. 0.115, diam. rim 0.035, diam. max. 0.086, diam. base 0.044. FM 61A, fringed stacked triangle and fringed elaborate triangle. Voúdeni, ChT 75, exc. no. 75/97. Unpublished.
- Fig.39** Amphoriskos FT 60. Brown fabric; black paint. Ht. 0.11, diam. rim 0.074, diam. max. 0.10, diam. base 0.053. FM 61, zigzag. Voúdeni, ChT 65, exc. no. 65/50. Unpublished.

CONCLUSIONS

THE SUBMYCENAEAN PERIOD AND THE EPG SYNCHRONISMS

The Final Mycenaean/Early Submycenaean Phase 6a has been detected in almost all the chamber tomb cemeteries of Western Achaea and the settlements of Teíchos Dymaíon and Stavrós, Chalandrítsa, too. The phase is attested at Palaiókastro, Arcadía and in chamber tomb cemeteries at Elis. The cemetery of Ancient Elis was organized for the first time during this phase. The cist graves in Árgos contained Achaeans pots or imitations of the Phase 6a pottery, while certain primary burials in the chamber tomb cemetery at Deirás are also contemporary to the aforementioned. On Cephaloniá the use of chamber tomb cemeteries continued in the same way as in Achaea. What is without a parallel in Achaea is that the tholos tombs at Tzannáta and especially the one at Mavráta were used for primary burials. Ithaca seems to experience a revival during Phase 6a and becomes very important during Phase 6b. Phase 6a in Aetolía has been identified in the last prehistoric level of Ancient Chalkís and at the same time a small settlement was founded at Stamná. This phase has also been detected in the area of the EPG cemetery. Some tholos tombs in the region continue to be used, like the tholos tombs in Akarnanía (Loutráki, Kechriniá), a feature not unknown on Cephaloniá. The settlements at Thérmos and Pámphio, where matt-painted ware was used, were partly synchronized with the Phase 6a, and we should suppose the same for Kýnos and Aghía Paraskevί in Phocís. The cemetery at Eláteia-Alonáki was used without interruption all this time. In the Skoubrís cemetery at Lef-

kandí, there is no burial contemporary to Phase 6a and, beyond doubt, the use of the area as a cemetery starts after this very period. The Phase I of Kerameikós corresponds chronologically to Phase 6a, as some burials of Salamís do. A stirrup jar from Asíne exhibits the Achaean Phase 6a characteristics.¹⁷⁹ A Phase 6a or even early 6b large stirrup jar from Tiryns, Proífítis Ilías is probably imported from Achaea,¹⁸⁰ showing that the net of land contacts with the East, known also from Phase 6a at Trípolis Street at Árgos¹⁸¹ and Korákou, Corinthía,¹⁸² was still in use. Nonetheless, I am not sure if there are still trade routes or if they turn to refugee and immigrant routes during the switch from Phase 6a to 6b.

The Submycenaean Phase 6b is the only existing one in Western Achaea immediately after Phase 6a and presents considerable uniformity. In most cases, however, the Phase 6a settlements and cemeteries were abandoned, apart from the Phase 6b reuse of a few chamber tombs and probably the tholos tomb at Kallithéa-Laganidiá. Habitation continued at Voúdeni, probably in a new political framework that was applied to the whole territory. Among the new political actions and subsequent effects the abandonment of sites seems to be the most tangible. But most significant was the survival of the people during a span of time which is called here Submycenaean Phase 6b. Its duration in Western Achaea might have been longer than in Mainland Greece.

The EPG “bronze phase” cannot be traced in Western Achaea except for the remote site of Rakíta, although this is not ascertained by stratified evidence. Nonetheless, even at this site the EPG “bronze phase” does not seem to follow Phase 6a, which is not present among the finds. An EPG reuse is known at chamber tombs at Vrysáron and in the region of Aígion, but this reuse came after a gap. The same gap is attested at Teíchos Dymaíon between Phase 6a and the EPG, which is filled at Voúdeni by Phase 6b. This gap at the Teíchos is contemporary with either Phase 6b or with the EPG “bronze phase”. Both are partly contemporary but, as a matter of fact, Phase 6b and the EPG “bronze phase” are independent and distinct phenomena of the Northwestern Pelopónnesus development. In certain places they can be traced in succession. The time of this succession generally varies from place to place, and there are no rules. When Phase 6b is succeeded in one place by the EPG “bronze phase”, as in the case of Ancient Elis, a cultural change is attested. In such cases, the Submycenaean Phase becomes either of shorter duration than in Western Achaea (i.e. on Ithaca), or very short (as at Ancient Elis and Tzannáta), or even minimum determinable (as at Stamná). The extensive survival or the long duration of Phase 6b means that whenever a succession occurs, it concerns a developed stage of EPG.

The simultaneous presence of Submycenaean and EPG features is not known in Western Achaea. In my view, it will never be, at least for the Patras region. Even if it happens that Submycenaean and EPG features are detected at the same spot in the future, they should be dated to the end of Phase 6b and not to the end of Phase 6a. Such a development would precisely define the vast extremities of the territory of Submycenaean Voúdeni and it could be a decisive factor for ascertaining the beginning of the end of the Submycenaean phase in Western Achaea. According to the available evidence the appearance of EPG in Western Achaea occurred at an advanced stage of EPG and after the end of Phase 6b. The two cultures were never at home together and synchronous in the land of Western Achaea, even at different sites.

¹⁷⁹ *RMDP*, 194, fig. 60:463.

¹⁸⁰ *RMDP*, 192, 194, fig. 60:460. It might be imported from Voúdeni.

¹⁸¹ See supra note 90.

¹⁸² See supra note 154. – Earlier contacts with Northwestern Pelopónnesus can be seen in a stirrup jar FT 175 from the same site (*RMDP*, fig. 73:178). Its date is LH III C Middle and not Early as it is proposed (*IBID.*, 228). Both fabric and decoration are among the characteristics of the *Minoan Mainland Workshop*, situated in Elis, probably at Olympía-Kladéos. For this Workshop see MOSCHOS in press. – For another stirrup jar of this Workshop at Eláteia-Alonáki see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 131–132, figs. 1:7, 2:5. – Cf. MOSCHOS in press.

Certainly, we can always verify with absolute accuracy what is the Submycenaean Style and what is EPG. This means that we have two different worlds. Between them stood an approved boundary facing both sides, beyond whatever interaction detected. Therefore, the attempt to date objects, mostly pottery, to a Submycenaean/EPG stage does not correspond to reality but is also incorrect. A phase like Phase IV of Kerameikós,¹⁸³ or the EPG dated primary burials at the Skoubrís cemetery in Lefkandí that come with Phase 6b Submycenaean pottery,¹⁸⁴ can only be artificial. In these cases, the use of the term “transitional” has to be used in a local sense and it cannot be related, in any way, to the EPG period in general. If there was a “transitional” period, we should be looking for it at the end of Phase 6a and not at 6b, because EPG civilization had already been established in Greece. So, a “transitional” phase may be searched for in Ancient Elis, at Árgos and at Stamná, or even in Néa Ionía, Vólos,¹⁸⁵ but this is not in an advanced stage, which on the one hand is related to the disappearance of the Submycenaean culture and on the other to the expansion and consolidation of EPG civilization, that had already existed and now simply continued. We may consider that certain regions had a chronologically different “transitional” phase, but this consideration could cause trouble with the classification and date of the earlier EPG settlements and cemeteries. Neither can the Submycenaean period as a whole be regarded as “transitional”, because it has its own distinct features, different from the ones of EPG culture, and even more, the Submycenaean Phase 6b is not a global phenomenon as the Final Mycenaean Phase 6a probably is.

This phenomenon, i.e. a “transitional” phase which followed after Phase 6a between the Mycenaean period and EPG, is quite clear in a burial pit at Árgos, where a Phase 6a stirrup jar was placed together with an EPG amphora,¹⁸⁶ so as to assume that the Submycenaean Phase 6b had never really existed at Árgos and Phase 6a was directly succeeded by the EPG period. Phase 6b is also absent at the Árgos burial mound and a trefoil-mouthed jar points to the following stage of burial use right after Phase 6a, that is EPG.¹⁸⁷ Later on, an EPG cist grave with a child burial was added to the mound.¹⁸⁸ The Trípolis Street graves at Árgos have some pots of Phase 6a that are related to Achaea.¹⁸⁹ The Submycenaean phase is present according to the bibliography,¹⁹⁰ although this is not clear from the evidence. The jug E 694 with “thin, matt, black paint” is among the earliest pots of the subsequent Phase 6a material and it is clearly of EPG date.¹⁹¹ It might represent an intermediate stage between the matt-paint decoration and the lustrous paint. The jug E 691 is clearly of EPG date, judging by the wide mouth, the tall neck, the ovoid body and the tall conical foot.¹⁹² Furthermore, the necklace motif arranged on clusters is indeed a peculiar decoration pattern in matt-painted ware at Thérmos.¹⁹³ The paint is described as “shaded black to red, matt paint”¹⁹⁴ but it could be “possibly once lustrous”.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸³ RUPPENSTEIN 2007. – Cf. LEMOS 2002, 9 for other sites in Attica. – For the topic see also STYRENIUS 1967, 51–59.

¹⁸⁴ POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1979/80, 110 (S. 4, S. Pyre 1A), 112–113 (S. 10), 114–115 (S. 16), 120 (S. 32), pls. 92, 94–95, 101.

¹⁸⁵ See supra note 70.

¹⁸⁶ PITEROS 2004, 114, pl. 64β,γ.

¹⁸⁷ PITEROS 2001, 113, fig. 38. The incised decoration on rim and neck is clearly an early feature of the EPG period and not a Mycenaean, as is implied in the publication.

¹⁸⁸ PITEROS 2001, 103, figs. 4, 5.

¹⁸⁹ KANTA 1975, figs. 11, 12, 19, 20.

¹⁹⁰ STYRENIUS 1967, 132–133. – KANTA 1975. – *RMDP*, 79.

¹⁹¹ KANTA 1975, 263–264, 268–269, figs. 2, 22.

¹⁹² KANTA 1975, 263, 272, figs. 2, 23. – Cf. *RMDP*, 190, 192, fig. 59:454.

¹⁹³ WARDLE – WARDLE 2003, figs. 4:1,3, 5:2.

¹⁹⁴ KANTA 1975, 263.

¹⁹⁵ *RMDP*, 192.

The cup E 702 is of the same fabric and these vases are contemporary.¹⁹⁶ The slight angle of the handle is an EPG feature and the whole shape can be seen as a precursor of the kantharos.¹⁹⁷

Accordingly, the cup from the cist tomb Γ 31 at Mycenae, South House is of EPG date.¹⁹⁸ Among the remaining material of the tomb there is a small stirrup jar with a proposed Submycenaean date.¹⁹⁹ The feature of decorating the disk with other motifs rather than the circles or the spiral, as in the aforementioned example, is among the characteristics of Achaean Phase 6a that hardly survived throughout Phase 6b (Figs. 14, 15). The shape exhibits the depressed body found commonly during Phase 6a in Achaia, but which hardly survived in Phase 6b. V. R. Desborough states “that although the group is stylistically Submycenaean, it might yet belong to the earliest phase of the Protogeometric period as current in Athens”.²⁰⁰ This is partly correct. The cist grave Γ 31 at Mycenae has Final Mycenaean phase or at least early Phase 6b pottery along with EPG, so Phase 6b is not clearly developed there. The similarities to Athens have to be searched for at Kerameikós stage I or at least II and not to stage IV. At the chamber tomb cemetery at Árgos-Deirás the use continued into Phase 6a,²⁰¹ as in Achaia. Very few burials of EPG date²⁰² are connected with the reuse of the tombs.

The DA I phase at Nichória depends on “uncertain stratigraphic contexts” and the presented material is mixed, since there are elements dating from the expanded LH III C Late period down to Submycenaean and even to EPG;²⁰³ however, the published pottery shows that there is a Submycenaean phase at Nichória which is contemporary with Achaean Phase 6b. The appearance of EPG at this site is not synchronous with that of Ancient Elis but it corresponds to the appearance of EPG on Ithaca.

As a result, the presence of the Submycenaean phase (6b) in a region and for as long as its duration lasted, strongly suggests the absence of EPG settlements in the territory under Submycenaean control. Accordingly, the presence of EPG culture in a region signifies the lack of Submycenaean settlements and culture. When inside the Submycenaean territory and particularly towards the end of the period, evident and complete EPG characteristics appear, this means that the Submycenaean world was drained and so now the EPG culture was extended to their home lands. Obviously, it is a posterior stage that took place with delay; its time is dependent on the duration of Phase 6b in every region. The Protogeometric civilization in Greece was first established after the end of the Final Mycenaean Phase 6a and completed its expansion after the end of the Submycenaean Phase 6b. Nonetheless, the study of the EPG Style in Western Greece proves that the characteristics of the Submycenaean workshops of Voúdeni and Patras were stronger than the people that had created them and finally these features managed to leave their mark in history. Maybe it would be fair to suggest that in Achaia there was continuity between the two periods, not a transition.

¹⁹⁶ KANTA 1975, 264–265, 272, figs. 2, 10.

¹⁹⁷ See for example EDER 2001, pl. 8:3.

¹⁹⁸ DESBOROUGH 1973, 95 (64-473), 97, pl. 35c. – Cf. *RMDP*, 194, fig. 60:465.

¹⁹⁹ DESBOROUGH 1973, 95 (64-475), 96, pl. 35c,d. – Cf. *RMDP*, 192, 194, fig. 60:462.

²⁰⁰ DESBOROUGH 1973, 97.

²⁰¹ See DESHAYES 1966, pl. LXIV:5,7. – Some stirrup jars discussed by STYRENIUS 1967, 130 are either of Phase 5 (for example *IBID.*, fig. 41) or Phase 6a (*IBID.*, fig. 47) and none could be assigned to the Submycenaean phase. A belly-handled amphora (*IBID.*, fig. 49) is probably of early Phase 6b, if not 6a (compare the different 6b shapes on Figs. 35, 36).

²⁰² See for example DESHAYES 1966, pls. LII.

²⁰³ McDONALD – COULSON – ROSSER 1983, 61–63, 319. – Cf. LEMOS 2002, 193. – DICKINSON 2006, 17–18.

APPENDIX
GAZETTEER OF PHASES 6a AND 6b SITES IN WESTERN ACHAEA

So far, twenty sites have been identified to be in continuous use during the period in question.

1 Voúdeni: Amygdaliá

KOLONAS 2008b, 8, 29, 31, figs. 53, 31. KOLONAS forthcoming

ChT 16, Primary burial A (unpublished)

ChT 19, Primary burial A (unpublished, without offerings)

ChT 22, Primary burial Δ (unpublished)

ChT 22, Primary burial E (unpublished, without offerings)

ChT 22, Primary burial ΣΤ (unpublished, without offerings)

ChT 25, Primary burial B (unpublished)

ChT 25, Primary burial H (unpublished)

ChT 26, Primary burial B (unpublished)

ChT 42, Primary burial A (unpublished)

ChT 75

ChT 77

Over recent years excavations in Voúdeni cemetery have yielded the richest pottery assemblage belonging to both phases. They come from primary burials in chamber tombs, mainly covering the western part of the cemetery. The study by L. Kolonas (due to be published in 2009) includes only a few of those tombs, some of them with more than one primary Submycenaean burial. In other cases some plain burials, the last to be made in the chambers, were probably from the same period. The second excavation period focused on the western-southwestern part of the cemetery, which hosted a significant number of Submycenaean burials of Phase 6b, in fact more than any other known cemetery in Western Greece. The publication of Voúdeni's first 45 chamber tombs is eagerly awaited, but even more so is the publication of the latter part of the cemetery that will follow. The new material provides the solution to the final chronology in Mycenaean Achaea and confirms the division of the Submycenaean period into two stylistic and chronological phases. ChT 75 offered a pair of long bronze dress pins of a different type, dated to Submycenaean Phase 6b.²⁰⁴ – Tomb 19 was probably even used after Phase 6b.

2 Aghía Kyriakí (Áno Sychainá, Patras)

Unpublished

Recent rescue excavations reveal different habitation horizons from EH period onwards. The Mycenaean settlement is related to Voúdeni cemetery. Submycenaean pottery of Phase 6b is not presently connected with foundations or floor levels.

3 Pagóna

No references

Settlement

The small amount of pottery that has been published does not provide any indication of the two phases. Nevertheless, the extent and the significance of the settlement makes the presence of a Submycenaean phase very probable.

4 Aróe-Samakíá

PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 26.

ChT cemetery

Submycenaean use of chamber tombs is reported.

²⁰⁴ KOLONAS 2008b, fig. 53.

5 *Klauss*

PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 27. – ID. 1992b, 53–57, 59. – PASCHALIDIS – MCGEORGE in press.

ChT A?

ChT M1?

ChT M2?

ChT N?

Th. Papadopoulos has proposed that some of the tombs he had excavated might have been used during the Submycenaean period. His brief report includes no account of the data, or of the tombs that might have been so used. K. Paschalidis, who is currently studying the cemetery, has kindly informed me that Phase 6a is indeed present in the cemetery. Older excavations by N. Kyparissis have confirmed the continuation of the cemetery's use in Phase 6b.

6 *Krini: Ághios Konstantínos (site B)*

Unpublished

ChT 1 or 3

A single cylindrical stirrup jar dating to Phase 6a has come from this cemetery after illicit excavation.

7 *Krini: Zoitáda*

CHRYSAFI 1999, 234–236, pl. 73α–γ.

ChT 1, Primary burial A

ChT 1, Primary burial B? (without offerings)

ChT 2, Primary burial IΔ

ChT 3, Primary burial B?

Primary burial A in tomb 1 was accompanied, among other artifacts, by a neck-handled amphora, known from Voúdeni to have first appeared in tombs in Phase 6a. Plain burial B, the last one in this chamber relates to a cutaway-neck jug with mastoid bottom found by the tomb's entrance. It dates either to Phase 6 or more probably right after Phase 6b. – Primary burial IΔ in tomb 2 was accompanied by vases placed along one side of the chamber. It belongs to Phase 6a. – Primary burial B in a cist grave within chamber 3 probably dates just after Phase 6b.

8 *Kallithéa: Laganidiá*

PAPADOPOULOS 1995, 57–59.

Tholos tomb

ChT VIII, primary burial A (?)

ChT VIII, primary burial B (?)

ChT IX, primary burial A (?)

General reports mention the use of the tholos tomb during the Submycenaean period; the monument's use in the EPG period is certain.

In the chamber tomb cemetery at the same site, the burials in tomb VIII had no offerings and apparently they were the last ones in the chamber. We cannot be certain that they belong to the Submycenaean period, in anticipation of the final publication. Tomb IX contained a burial without offerings and no other sign of use. The excavator has proposed that the chamber had been cleared in preparation for a new burial that was never made, perhaps due to the chamber's collapse. This case, however, is reminiscent of the similar one in Krini: Zoitáda and of tomb 19 in Voúdeni. The excavator vaguely dates the tomb to the Submycenaean period.

9 *Kallithéa: Spénzes*

PAPADOPOULOS 1978a, fig. 58. – ID. 1978b, 185, pl. 113. – ID. 1982, 107–108, pl. 92b. – ID. 1998a, fig. 30. – ID. 1998b, 86, pl. 35.

ChT Θ, Primary burial B (?)

ChT O, Primary burial J

ChT X, Primary burial ΣT

Primary burial B in tomb Θ was accompanied, among others, by a four-handled amphora with a small stirrup jar used as a lid. Although we should await the publication to know the tomb's contents, it is probable that it dates to Phase 6a. – Burial J in tomb O was accompanied by two bronze rings with spiral endings. A large belly-handled amphora FT 58 with a small jug as a lid and a small kantharos with vertical handles were also added to this burial. They all date to Phase 6a. A bronze leaf-shaped spearhead can perhaps be associated with the chamber's final burial (Phase 6a). – Primary burial ΣT in tomb X was placed in a crouched position and went with a group of vases next to the skull. Among the offerings was a four-handled jar covered by a straight-sided alabastron and a kantharos with vertical handles. The burial dates to Phase 6a.

10 *Chalandrítsa: Ághios Vasílios*

PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 29. – STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 1998, 123.

ChT cemetery

Pottery from older excavations by N. Kyparissis belongs to Phase 6a. There is probably more material from the more recent rescue excavations.

11 *Chalandrítsa: Stavrós*

KOLONAS 1990, 136–138, plan 23. – ID. 2006, 225. – KOLONAS – GAZIS 2006.

Settlement

Unpublished pottery of Phase 6a.

12 *Teíchos Dymaíon*

PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, 24. – MOSCHOS 2002, 20, note 12 (D1).

Fortified settlement

Destruction by fire towards the end of LH III C Late. Habitation continues into Phase 6a, right after the destruction. The stratigraphy is not known nor can particular house remains be associated with this phase. Only a very small part of the pottery has been illustrated in E. Mastrokosta's preliminary reports. Human presence continues in the Protogeometric period, after a short period of abandonment during the Submycenaean Phase 6b/EPG "bronze phase".

13 *Spaliaréika*

Petropoulos 2000, 73, figs. 13–20. – Giannopoulos 2008, 100–101, pls. 5, 12, 14, 15.

ChT 1, Primary burial I

A primary burial of the upper phase on the floor of chamber 1, in crouched position was accompanied by a stirrup jar close to the skull, beads of various shapes, made of glass, carnelian and sea-shell, two shield-rings²⁰⁵ and two orthogonal seals with circle and pendent motifs respectively. The burial dates to Phase 6a.

14 *Kalamáki*

No references

ChT cemetery

Recent excavations by A. Vasilogamvrou have confirmed the existence of at least Phase 6a.

15 *Mitópolis*

Kolonas 2008c, 22, fig. 27. – Christakopoulou forthcoming.

ChT 1, Primary burial E (unpublished)

ChT 3?

One stirrup jar of the early phase, found misplaced, not by human action. It should be associated with a crouched burial with no offerings that was the last one in chamber 1. ChT 3 yielded two primary burials without offerings, but their date is not certain.

²⁰⁵ Snodgrass considers them Submycenaean, see SNODGRASS 1971, 319–320. P. Mountjoy is hesitant when dating the rings from the Kerameikós and uses the example of a stratified LH III C Late ring from Kalapódi, see MOUNTJOY 1988, 23. Phase 6a combines both dates.

16 Kangádhī: Sotiróula or Mýlos

Papadopoulos 1978/79, 25.

ChT cemeteries

Sporadic excavations of chamber tombs and pottery confiscations without clear excavation data. A duck-askos with pictorial decoration in the Silhouette Style belongs to Phase 6a. An undecorated deep bowl with vertical handles belongs to the same phase, if not to Phase 6b.

17 Pórtēs

MOSCHOS in press.

ChT cemetery

In the chamber tomb cemetery Phase 6a has been confirmed, while Phase 6b remains are still scanty. Phase 6 is present in 25% of the excavated tombs, which is representative of the phase in Western Achaia. The majority of the material came from primary burials.

18 Vrysáριon

PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 1989, 150. – ID. 1999, 269.

ChT 4, primary burial A

A hand made jug and two iron knives accompanied the last primary burial of the chamber. The burial should be dated right after Phase 6b and is didactic in relation to the use of chamber tombs beyond the Mycenaean period.

19 Mánesi: Vromonéri

Papadopoulos 1978/79, 32.

ChT cemetery

Some vases from the old N. Kyparissis excavations are known. Phase 6a is possibly present.

20 Drosiá

Papadopoulos 1978/79, 33.

ChT cemetery

Vague reports point to an attestation of the period.

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Fig. 1 The Mycenaean settlement at Aghía Kyriakí, near Patras (unpublished, photo by V. Argyropoulos)



Fig. 2 Teichos Dymaion (© L. Kolonas)



Fig. 3 The Mycenaean settlement at Chalandritsa: Stavros (after KOLONAS 1990, plan 23)

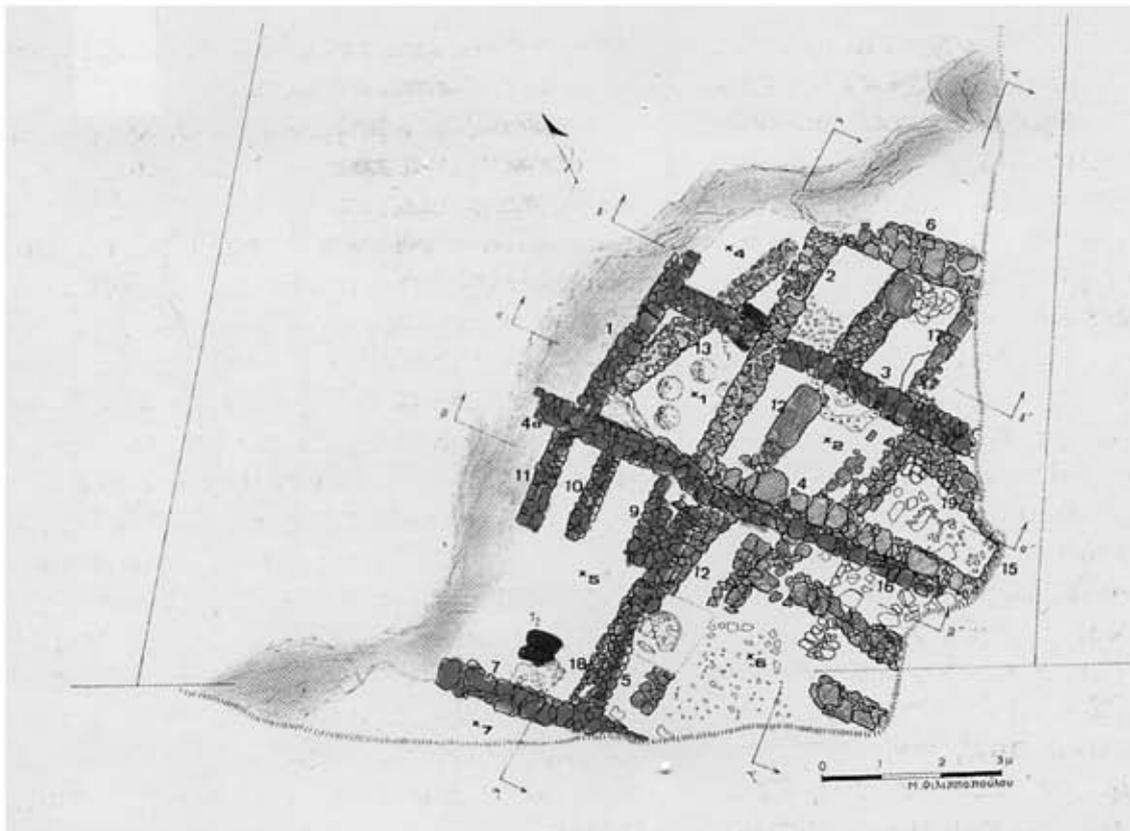


Fig. 4 The Mycenaean settlement at Pagóna. Plan of the excavation at Chrisovitsiou str. (after STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2001, fig. 2)

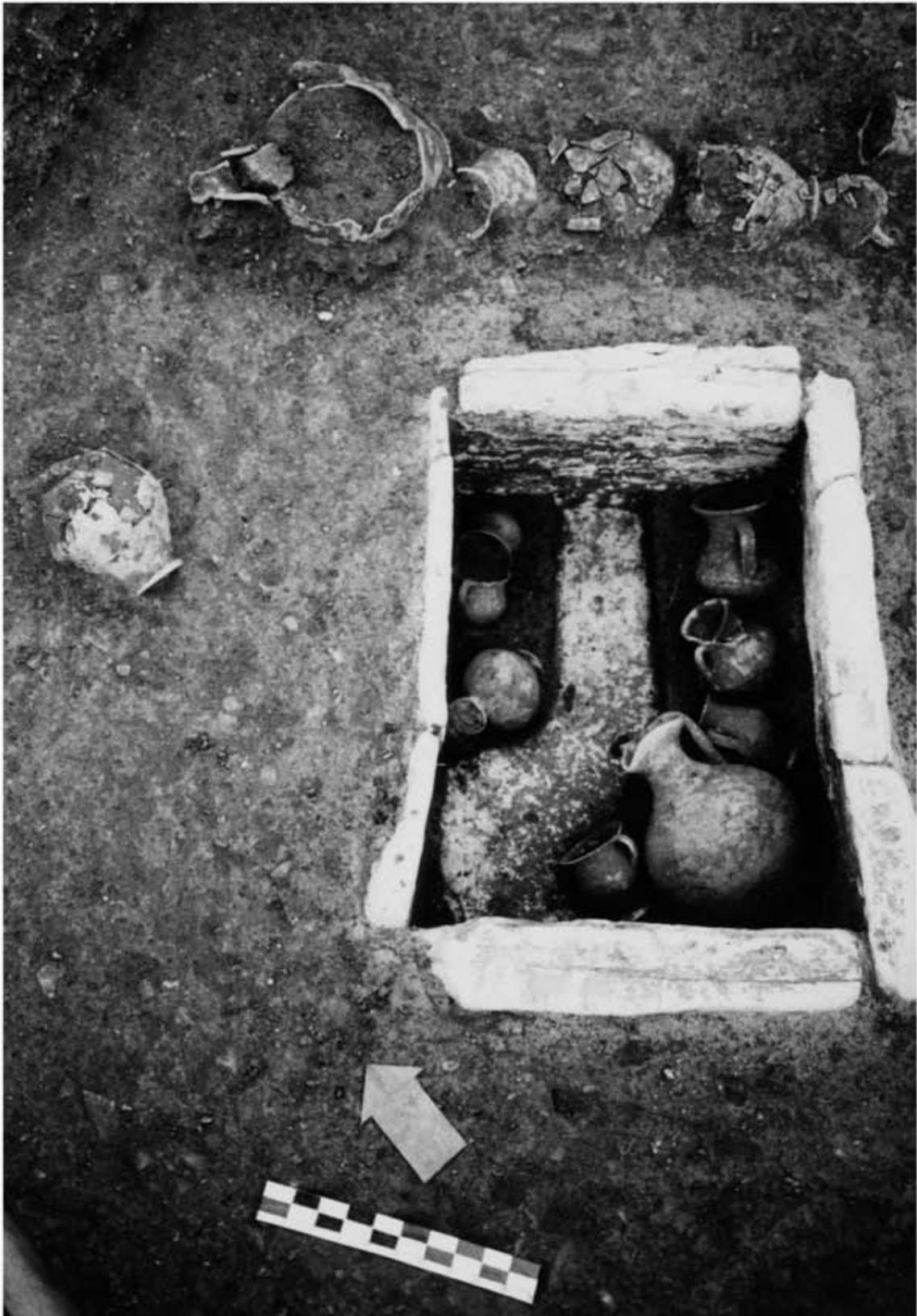


Fig. 5 Offerings arranged in a line, outside and inside an EPG cist tomb at Stamná, Aetolia (unpublished, photo by J. Christakopoulou)



Fig. 6 Pórtēs, ChT 21-Γ. Phase 6a. Primary burial with offerings arranged along the long sides of the dead (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 7 Four-handed jar with a small stirrup jar as a lid from Kríni: Zoitáda, ChT 2 (unpublished, refs: CHRYSAFI 1999). Offerings have been arranged along the long side of the burial



Fig. 8 Cut-away neck jug with ovoid body and narrow flat base from Kríni: Zoitáda (unpublished, photo by the author). Phase 6b (alternatively EPG 'Bronze phase') or EPG



Fig. 9 Cut-away neck jug with ovoid body and pointed base from Voúdeni, ChT 19 (after KOLONAS, forthcoming). Phase 6b (alternatively EPG 'Bronze phase') or EPG

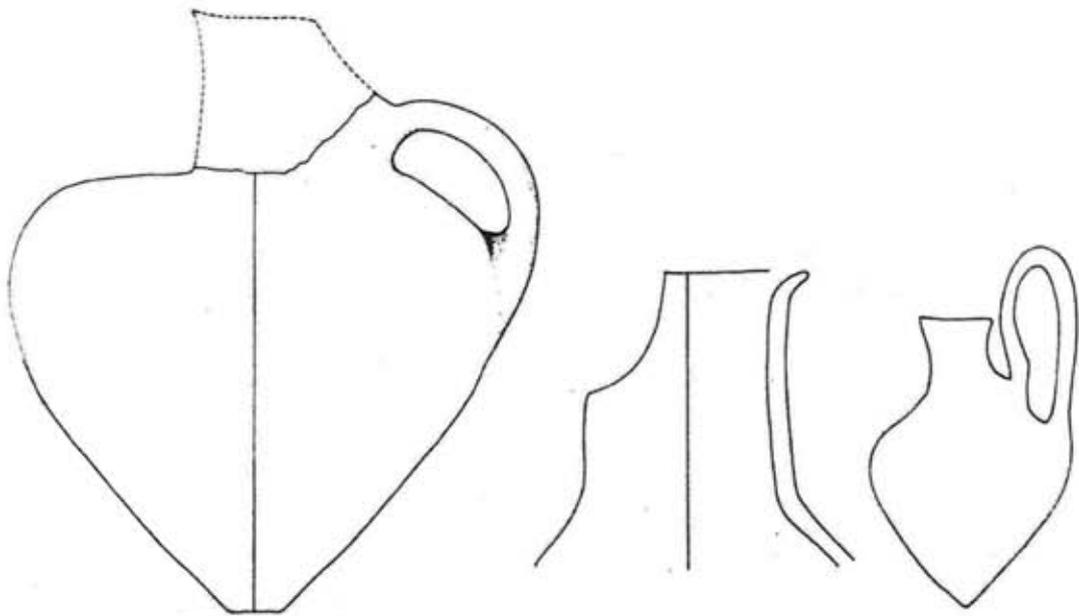


Fig. 10 Cut-away neck jugs with ovoid body and narrow flat or pointed base from Thérmos, Aetolia (after WARDLE 1972, fig. 58). Referred to as 'Local Geometric', they are synchronized either with Phase 6b or EPG



Fig. 11 Phase 6a. Vouдени. Miniature belly-handled amphora FT 58 and detail of decoration. Note the pointed triangles and the high fringes (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 12 Phase 6a. Pórtēs. Miniature belly-handled amphora FT 58 (unpublished, photo by the author)

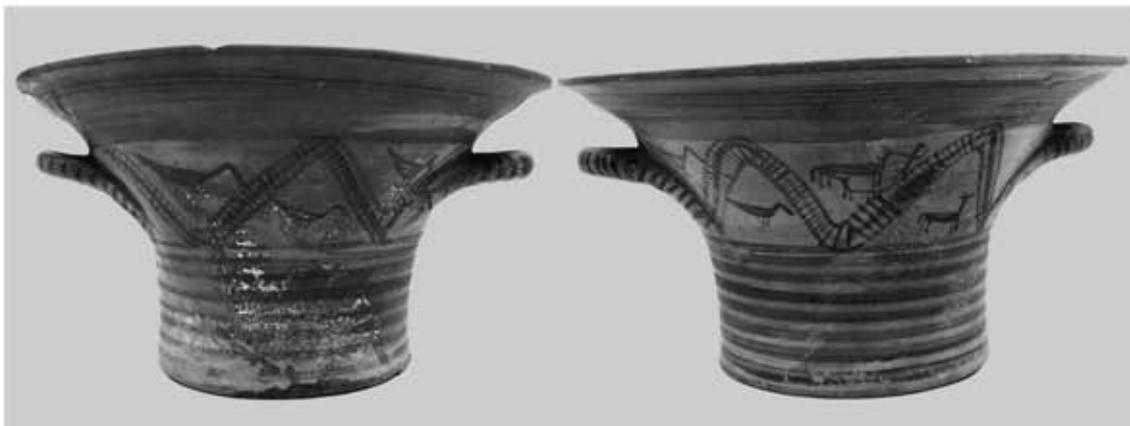


Fig. 13 Phase 6a. Pórtēs. Small kalathos FT 291 decorated in Silhouette Style (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 14 Phase 6a. Pórtes. Stirrup jar FT 175 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 15 Phase 6a. Pórtes. Miniature stirrup jar FT 177 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 16 Phase 6a. Voúdeni. Stirrup jar FT 184 (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Figs. 17 and 18 Phase 6a. Pórtēs. Stirrup jar FT 175 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 19 Phase 6a. Pórtēs. Stirrup jar FT 175, imported from Voúdeni. Note the cone on the false disk and the high fringes on semi-circles (unpublished, photo by the author)

Fig. 20 Phase 6a. Pórtēs. Stirrup jar FT 175 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 21 Phase 6a. Pórtos. Stirrup jar FT 175 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 22 Phase 6a. Pórtos. Alabastron, straight-sided FT 96 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 23 Phase 6a. Pórtos. Jug FT 115 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 24 Phase 6a. Pórtos. Narrow-necked jug FT 118 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 25 Phase 6a. Pórtes. Lekythos FT 122 (unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 26 Phase 6a. Pórtes. Ring vase FT 196 (unpublished, photo by the author)

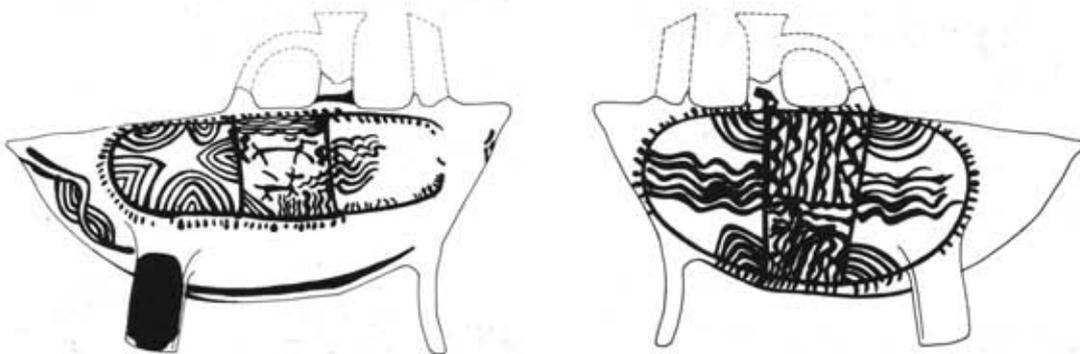


Fig. 27 Phase 6a. Kangáthi. Duck askos decorated in Silhouette Style (after PAPADOPOULOS 1978/79, fig. 256b,c)



Fig. 28 Phase 6a. Teíchos Dymaíon. Conical kylix FT 275
(after MASTROKOSTAS 1967, pl. 175γ).



Fig. 29 Phase 6a. Teíchos Dymaíon. Stirrup jar
FT 175 (after MASTROKOSTAS 1967, pl. 176α)



Fig. 30 Phase 6a. Teíchos Dymaíon. Stirrup jar
FT 175 (after MASTROKOSTAS 1966, pl. 64α)



Fig. 31 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Stirrup jar FT 177 (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 32 Phase 6b. Pórtes. Stirrup jar FT 177
(unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 33 Phase 6b. Pórtes. Stirrup jar FT 177
(unpublished, photo by the author)



Fig. 34 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Stirrup jar FT 177 with an air hole (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 35 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Four-handled jar and a stirrup jar FT 177 as a lid (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 36 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Four-handled jar (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 37 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Kalathos FT 291 (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 38 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Lekythos FT 124 (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)



Fig. 39 Phase 6b. Voúdeni. Amphoriskos FT 60 (unpublished, photo by L. Kolonas)

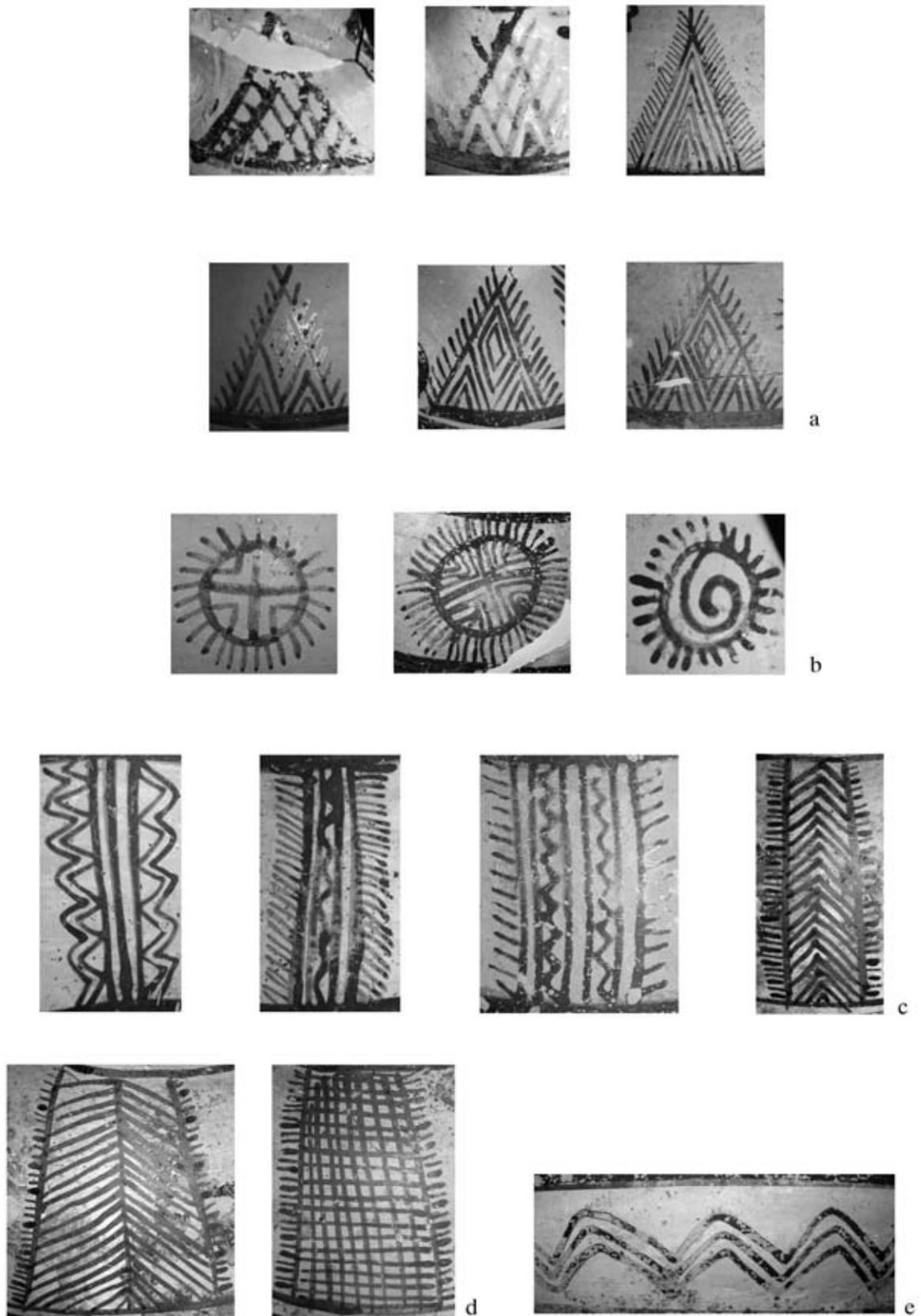


Fig. 40 Phase 6b motifs: (a) high fringed elaborate triangles, (b) fringed rosette or wheel and fringed spiral, (c) panelled patterns, (d) fringed fish bone and net, (e) belly zone decoration: wavy lines