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**AEGAEUM 41**

**Annales liégeoises et PASpiennes d'archéologie égéenne**

# **ΕΣΠΕΡΟΣ / HESPEROS**

## **THE AEGEAN SEEN FROM THE WEST**

**Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference,  
University of Ioannina,  
Department of History and Archaeology,  
Unit of Archaeology and Art History,  
18-21 May 2016**

Edited by Michael FOTIADIS, Robert LAFFINEUR, Yannis LOLOS,  
and Andreas VLACHOPOULOS

PEETERS  
LEUVEN - LIÈGE  
2017

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## TEICHOS DYMAION, ACHAEA. AN ACROPOLIS-HARBOUR OF THE IONIAN SEA LOOKING WESTWARDS

Every sailor, Bronze Age or modern, it makes no difference, should know that the best route to any destination is the one that combines safety and shortness, in other words, avoiding the open sea and navigating from one familiar landmark to the next. So, a ship sailing across the Adriatic and the Ionian and approaching the Greek mainland from the west, toward the north-western coast of the Peloponnese will find the first available landfall on the promontory known today as cape Araxos. This is exactly the location of Teichos Dymaion, on the southeastern tip of the so-called Mavra Vouna (black mountains), on a low rocky hill, roughly 60m a.s.l.<sup>1</sup>

The strategic position between the two lagoons (Pappas and Prokopos) facilitated the exploitation of the area's ample resources, a combination of the terrestrial and the marine element, at the intersection of which is Teichos Dymaion (Pl. CLXXXVIa-b). In this paper I will briefly outline the available archaeological data, which demonstrate interactions with westward areas, mainly with southern Italy, as well as some geographical and geological facts in order to substantiate that the key role of Teichos Dymaion on a local and a regional scale was that of a naval gateway to the west. Furthermore, new evidence will be presented, which makes us believe that this function probably goes back several centuries before the Late Helladic period, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.

### The Late Helladic Period

The Italian connection of Teichos Dymaion during the LH III period has been well documented by numerous scholars.<sup>2</sup> The main and more noticeable evidence was published by Mastrokostas in his reports of the first excavations at the site during the mid- 1960's.<sup>3</sup> It is an assemblage of metal artefacts of Italian typology, typical of the so-called *Umfeld bronzes*, including a bronze Pertosa type dagger,<sup>4</sup> a bronze

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<sup>1</sup> Th. J. PAPADOPOULOS, *Mycenaean Achaea* (1978) 24, R. HOPE SIMPSON and O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, vol. I: The Mainland and the Islands* (1979) 196-197, N. PAPACHATZIS, *Πανσάνιου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις, Αχαϊκά* (1980) 66-68, K. TRIANTAFYLLOU, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν των Πατρών. Ιστορία της πόλεως και επαρχίας Πατρών από της αρχαιότητος έως σήμερον κατά αλφαβητικὴν εἰδολογικὴν κατάταξιν* (1980) 382.

<sup>2</sup> For a synopsis of the available data and bibliography see M. GAZIS, “Η προϊστορική ακρόπολη του Τείχους Δυμαίων. Σε αναζήτηση ταυτότητας”, in N. MEROUSIS, L. STEFANI, M. NIKOLAIDOU (eds), *IPLS, μελέτες στη μνήμη της Αγγ. Πιλάλη από τους μαθητές της* (2010) 237-255.

<sup>3</sup> a) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ανασκαφαί του Τείχους Δυμαίων”, *ΠΑΕ* 1962, 127-133, b) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ανασκαφαί του Τείχους Δυμαίων”, *ΠΑΕ* 1963, 93-98, c) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ανασκαφή του Τείχους Δυμαίων”, *ΠΑΕ* 1964, 60-67, d) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ανασκαφή του Τείχους Δυμαίων”, *ΠΑΕ* 1965, 128-136, e) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Αχαΐα. Τείχος Δυμαίων”, *Έργον* 1966, 156-165, f) E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ειδήσεις εξ Αχαΐας”, *ΑΑΑ* 1968, 136-138.

<sup>4</sup> E. MASTROKOSTAS, “Ανασκαφή του Τείχους Δυμαίων”, *PraktArchEol* 1965, 104, fig. 130, Th. J. PAPADOPOULOS, *The Late Bronze Age Daggers of the Aegean I. The Greek Mainland* (1998) 29 no. 136, pl. 22, 136, Th. J. PAPADOPOULOS and L. KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU, “Four Late Bronze Age Italian Imports in Achaea”, in P. ÅSTRÖM and D. SÜRENHAGEN (eds), *PERIPLUS, Festschrift für Hans-Günter Buchholz zu seinem 80. Geburtstag am 24. Dezember 1999* (2000) 144-145, pl. 36:1-2, R. JUNG, *Χρονολογία Comparata. Vergleichende Chronologie von Südgriechenland und Süditalien von ca. 1700/1600 bis 1000 v. u. Z.* (2006) 204, pl. 18:1, S. OIKONOMIDIS, “Ευρήματα της Εποχής του Χαλκού ιταλικής προέλευσης στην Αχαΐα,” *ΑΑΑ* 39 (2006) 139-150, 146-148, fig. 5, R. JUNG, “I ‘bronzi internazionali’ ed il loro contesto sociale fra Adriatico, Penisola balcanica e coste levantine”, in E. BORGNA and P. CASSOLA GUIDA (eds), *Dall’ Egeo all’ Adriatico: organizzazioni sociali, modi di scambio e internazionale in età post-palaziale (XII-XI sec. a. C.). Seminario Internazionale, 1-2 Dicembre 2006* (2009) 137, fig. 4.

violin-bow fibula<sup>5</sup> and a lead six-spoke wheel-shaped artefact of uncertain use, possibly a pin head or a spindle.<sup>6</sup> Jung and Mehofer, based on chemical and lead isotope analyses,<sup>7</sup> have shown that the dagger and fibula were made with Cypriot copper and were produced locally, as their chemical composition coincides with the majority of the bronzes from Greece. Conversely, a lead wheel from Punta di Zambrone<sup>8</sup> similar to the one from Teichos Dymaion has recently been interpreted as being of Aegean origin and is considered to be an import to the Calabrian site. The first two items show that bronze artefacts unfamiliar to the Mycenaean traditions and with exact parallels in Italy were produced at least since the beginning of the Post-palatial period in the Peloponnese.<sup>9</sup> Since there is no evidence in Teichos Dymaion of any kind of metallurgical activity, at least so far, the term local should be approached in its wider sense, in our case local should be seen as meaning Achaean.<sup>10</sup>

The other archaeological assemblage from Teichos Dymaion with a south-Italian correlation is HBW (*Handmade Burnished Ware*) pottery. At the time of the first excavations this class of pottery had yet to be identified, so Mastrokostas categorised most of the handmade sherds as EH. Soon afterwards it became apparent that, in fact, many of these sherds belonged to what we now have come to refer to as HBW.<sup>11</sup> The more recent excavations, carried out between 2000 and 2007 have brought to light a significant number of such sherds (Pl. CLXXXVIIa-h). Although no complete pot has been found, most examples belong to open shapes, usually pithoi or buckets. Plastic band decoration appears to be quite common, while the fabric colour and preservation of the burnish vary considerably. On the whole, this picture bears close resemblance with pottery from other mainland Greek sites, namely Tiryns,<sup>12</sup> and Dimini.<sup>13</sup> Of particular interest are three sherds of carinated cups (FS 240); two wheel made ones in the tradition of the wheel-thrown grey ware (Pl. CLXXXVIIIa-b) and one HBW, all found in the same context with HBW

<sup>5</sup> PAPADOPOULOS and KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU (*supra* n. 3) 143, pl. 35:1-2, JUNG (*supra* n. 4), OIKONOMIDIS (*supra* n. 4) 145-146, fig. 4. It belongs to variety VI A according to K. KILIAN, *Violinbogenfibeln und Blattbügelfibeln des griechischen Festlandes aus mykenischer Zeit* (1985) 150 fig. 3, VIA3; 153; 166 f. For the Italian parallels and the date to RBA 2 and LH IIIC Early, see also JUNG (*supra* n. 4) 115, pl. 5:5/ Broglio di Trebisacce. Exactly the same shape in JUNG (*supra* n. 4) pl. 10:3/ Cavallo Morto.

<sup>6</sup> PAPADOPOULOS and KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU (*supra* n. 3) 144, JUNG (*supra* n. 4), OIKONOMIDIS (*supra* n. 4) 143-145, fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> R. JUNG and M. MEHOFER, "Mycenaean Greece and Bronze Age Italy: cooperation, trade or war?", *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 43 (2013) 179, fig. 5, 180, fig. 6.

<sup>8</sup> R. JUNG, M. PACCIARELLI, B. ZACH, M. KLEE, U. THANHEISER, "Punta di Zambrone (Calabria) – a Bronze Age Harbour Site. First Preliminary Report on the Recent Bronze Age (2011-2012 Campaigns)", *Archaeologia Austriaca* 99 (2015) 80, fig 17.

<sup>9</sup> JUNG and MEHOFER (*supra* n. 7) 182.

<sup>10</sup> For useful insights regarding Achaean Late Bronze Age metalworking see K. SOURA, "Mycenaean Achaia towards the West: imported artefacts or technological know-how? The case of a casting mould from Stavros, Chalandritsa" (this volume).

<sup>11</sup> K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1981. Bericht zu den Grabungen", *AA* 1983, 295, K. KILIAN, "Civiltà micenea in Grecia. Nuovi aspetti storici ed interculturali", in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (ed.), *Magna Grecia e mondo miceneo. Atti del ventiduesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1982* (1983) 90, M. BETTELLI, *Italia Meridionale e Mondo Miceneo: Ricerche su Dinamiche di Acculturazione e Aspetti Archeologici, con Particolare Riferimento ai Versanti Adriatico e Ionico della Penisola Italiana* (2002) 122. A characteristic "horn handle" (pl. II.i) was identified by Mastrokostas as an animal figurine, but Kilian had already recognized it as belonging to the HBW pottery of undoubted south Italian origin (K. KILIAN, with T. MUHLENBRUCH, "Die handgemachte geglattete Keramik mykenischer Zeitstellung", *Tiryns* XV [2007] 59). For parallels see P. BOCCUCCIA, G. RECCHIA, "Livelli superficiali e sporadici", in A. CINQUEPALMI and F. RADINA, *Documenti dell'età del bronzo. Ricerche lungo il versante adriatico pugliese* (1998) (Coppa Nevigata), F. TRUCCO and L. VAGNETTI (eds), *Torre Mordillo 1987-1990: le relazioni egee di una comunità protostorica della Sibaritide* (2001) fig. 32:3, 36:17 fig. 35:11 (Torre Mordillo).

<sup>12</sup> KILIAN, *supra* n. 11.

<sup>13</sup> V. ADRYMI-SISMANI, "Η γκρίζα ψευδομινύεια και η στιλβωμένη χειροποίητη κεραμική από τον μυκηναϊκό οικισμό Διμηνίου", in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 1. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Βόλος 27.2-2.3.2003* (2006) 106, fig. 7.

sherds in LH IIIC-early strata (Pl. CLXXXVIIIc). Monochrome carinated cups have been considered to be an adaptation of a HBW type into the Mycenaean repertoire,<sup>14</sup> so the finding of those sherds can be seen as an indication of the co-existence of the two pottery styles at Teichos Dymaion, apparently displaying a degree of assimilation of Italian populations in the local social structure.<sup>15</sup>

The frequent association in the archaeological record of HBW pottery with the so-called *Umfeld bronzes* (which comprise Naue II swords, daggers and fibulae) has given rise to theories as to the exact role of the newcomers or “intruders” to the Mycenaean sites.<sup>16</sup> The Italian populations related with those two classes of artefact have been interpreted as mercenaries, traders, slaves or, in most cases, as craftsmen associated with the production of such bronze objects.<sup>17</sup> The first appearance of HBW pottery before the collapse of the palatial system, synchronous with the *Umfeld bronzes*, seems to support the latter approach. The new technologies were introduced as a climax of long and well-established interactions between the Aegean and the Italian peninsula, which in turn was part of a wider central/eastern Mediterranean system of networks. Teichos Dymaion was clearly part of the network, thanks to its strategic location on the east-west maritime routes.<sup>18</sup>

On the other side of the Ionian Sea, an Achaean connection has been verified in a number of sites of southern Italy. The most notable find-spots of Achaean-type pottery are Rocavecchia<sup>19</sup> and Punta Meliso<sup>20</sup> at the southernmost end of Apulia. Although that pottery dates mostly to the second half of the

<sup>14</sup> S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, “Die carinierte Tasse FS 240 - Ein ‘Leitfossil’ der mykenischen Chronologie und seine Geschichte”, in *Pro arte antiqua, Festschrift für H. Kenner*, 1 (1982) 54, BETTELLI (*supra* n. 11) 124, F. IACONO, “Westernizing Aegean of LH IIIC”, in M.E. ALBERTI and S. SABATINI, *Exchange Networks and Local Transformations. Interaction and local change in Europe and the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age* (2013) 68.

<sup>15</sup> For parallels of HBW carinated cups see KILIAN, with T. MUHLENBRUCH (*supra* n. 11) taf. 24:309 (Tiryns), TRUCCO and VAGNETTI (EDS) (*supra* n. 11) fig. 35:11 (Torre Mordillo). For gray ware carinated bowls of related typology see BETTELLI (*supra* n. 11) fig. 101:13, fig. 102:21, C. BELARDELLI, M.A. CASTAGNA, I. DAMIANI, A. DE GUIO, A. DI RENZONI, S.T. LEVI, R. PERONI, A. SCHIAPPELLI and A. VANZETTI, “L’impatto miceneo sulle coste dello Jonio e dell’Adriatico e l’‘alta congiuntura’ del Bronzo recente italiano”, in R. LAFFINEUR and E. GRECO (eds), *EMPORIA. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14-18 April 2004* (2005) 507-513, pl. CXII D-left (Broglia di Trebisacce), ADRYMI-SISMANI (*supra* n. 13) (Dimini). I wish to thank prof. Alessandro Vanzetti for pointing to me a direct parallel from Broglia di Trebisacce.

<sup>16</sup> J.B. RUTTER, “Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic IIIC Period”, *AJA* 79 (1975) 17-32.

<sup>17</sup> BETTELLI, (*supra* n. 11) 258, S. STRACK, *Regional Dynamics and Social Change in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age: A Study of Handmade Pottery from Southern and Central Greece*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (2007), JUNG (*supra* n. 4) 147, C.L. ROMANOS, *Handmade Burnished Ware in Late Bronze Age Greece and its makers*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham (2011), A.L. D’AGATA, M.-C. BOILEAU and S. DE ANGELIS, “Handmade Burnished Ware from the island of Crete: A view from the inside”, *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* LXII (2012) 295-330, JUNG and MEHOFER (*supra* n. 7) *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> A more adventurous approach to the role of Teichos Dymaion during the post-palatial period can be based on the line of thought dealing with the phenomenon of piracy. See for example V. SAMARAS, “Piracy in the Aegean during the Postpalatial Period and the Early Iron Age”, in A. BABBI, F. BUBENHEIMER-ERHART, B. MARNN-AGUILERA and S. MÖHL (eds), *The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B. C. International Post-doc and Young Researcher Conference, Heidelberg, 6th-8th October 2012* (2015) 191-192, where the author lists a number of prerequisites according to which a site can qualify as a ‘pirate base’. Even though there is no ‘hard’ archaeological evidence to support that Teichos Dymaion was indeed such a base, there are a number of, mainly geographical and topographical, features that can be seen as intriguing.

<sup>19</sup> R. GUGLIELMINO, “Rocavecchia: nuove testimonianze di relazioni con l’Egeo e il Mediterraneo orientale nell’età del Bronzo”, in LAFFINEUR and GRECO (eds) (*supra* n. 15) 637-651.

<sup>20</sup> M. BENZI and G. GRAZIADIO, “The last Mycenaeans in Italy? Late LH IIIC Pottery from Punta Meliso, Leuca”, *SMEA* 38 (1996) 95-138, M. BENZI, “The LH IIIC Late Mycenaean Refugees at Punta Meliso, Apulia”, in V. KARAGEORGHIS and C.E. MORRIS (eds), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 B.C., Proceedings of an International Workshop Held at Trinity College, Dublin, 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> May*

12<sup>th</sup> century BC, this does not exclude the possibility that Achaeon pottery was imported in southern Italy even earlier. A possible such example is Punta di Zambrone, on the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria where similarities, though not exact parallels, with LH IIIC Early pottery from Teichos Dymaion have been observed by the excavators.<sup>21</sup>

### The Early Helladic Period

Early Helladic habitation has been documented by the excavations of E. Mastrokostas.<sup>22</sup> The more recent excavations have provided new data, namely architectural remains of the EH II<sup>23</sup> and some very interesting new pottery finds. Regarding the latter, of particular interest is a small group of sherds with gray to almost black surface decorated with incised lines and impressed geometric triangles (Pl. CLXXXIXa-f). The sherds are very fragmented, so in most cases the attribution to specific vase shapes is problematic. Nevertheless, characteristics relating to the Dalmatian “Cetina cultural tradition” can be recognized. Similarly, a group of fine grey burnished sherds with incised and impressed decoration belongs to a recurring pottery type in northwestern Peloponnese during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (Pl. CXCa-e).<sup>24</sup> Pottery of that type was already known from Teichos Dymaion,<sup>25</sup> but we now have more examples that were found in association with EH III pottery in domestic contexts excavated outside the fortification. The pottery indicates an obvious connection with the pottery from Olympia<sup>26</sup> (Pelopio, Altis and New Museum) and Andravida-Lechaina.<sup>27</sup>

Although the sample is very small (less than 15 sherds so far), it is a very interesting new element, which can be seen as an indication that Teichos Dymaion was integrated in a broader cultural episode of the final stages of the EH III period. The geographical vicinity with Olympia and Andravida/Lechaina that have been recognized as the major focal point of Cetina intrusion in the Greek mainland indicates that the entire NW corner of the Peloponnese must have been the “hot spot” of the Cetina phenomenon

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1999 (2001) 233-240, G. GRAZIADIO and G. GUGLIELMINO, “The Aegean and Cypriot Imports to Italy as Evidence for Direct and Indirect Trade in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC”, in K. DUISTERMAAT and I. REGULSKI (eds), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean, Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th to 29th October 2008* (2011) 309-327.

<sup>21</sup> JUNG *et al.* (*supra* n. 8) 99, no. 36. For comparable fabrics from Teichos Dymaion, 99-100, nos. 1-7.

<sup>22</sup> MASTROKOSTAS (*supra* n. 3-d) 126-128, pl. 147, MASTROKOSTAS (*supra* n. 3-f) 159, pl. 189.

<sup>23</sup> M. GAZIS, “Νέα στοιχεία για την ΠΕ κατοίκηση στο Τείχος Δυμείων”, in *Πρακτικά 1<sup>ου</sup> Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για το Αρχαιολογικό έργο στην Πελοπόννησο (1<sup>ο</sup> ΑΕΠΕΑ - Τρίπολη 7-11/11/2012)* (forthcoming).

<sup>24</sup> Forsén relates the incised decorated pottery of the NW Peloponnese with the Cetina-type pottery (J. FORSÉN, *The Twilight of the Early Helladics: A Study of the Disturbances in East-Central and Southern Greece Towards the End of the Early Bronze Age* [1992] 219); J. MARAN, “Kulturbeziehungen zwischen dem nordwestlichen Balkan und Südgriechenland am Übergang vom späten Äneolithikum zur frühen Bronzezeit (Reinecke A1)”, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 17 (1987) 77-85.

<sup>25</sup> MASTROKOSTAS (*supra* n. 3-d) pl. 160, J. MARAN, *Kulturwandel auf dem griechischen Festland und den Kykladen im späten 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Studien zu den kulturellen Verhältnissen in Südosteuropa und dem zentralen sowie östlichen Mittelmeerraum in der späten Kupfer- und frühen Bronzezeit* (1998) 166.

<sup>26</sup> M. KOUMOUZELIS, *The Early and Middle Helladic Periods in Elis*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss. Brandeis University (1980), J. RAMBACH, “Olympia im ausgehenden 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Bindeglied zwischen zentralem und östlichem Mittelmeerraum”, in E. ALRAM-STERN, *Die Ägäische Frühzeit. 2. Serie: Forschungsbericht 1975-2002. 2. Band: Die Frühbronzezeit in Griechenland mit Ausnahme von Kreta* (2004) 1199-1242.

<sup>27</sup> J. RAMBACH, “Olympia and Andravida-Lechaina: Two Bronze Age sites in the northwest Peloponnese with far-reaching overseas cultural connections”, in I. GALANAKI, H. TOMAS, Y. GALANAKIS and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas: Prehistory across Borders. Proceedings of the International Conference Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb 11-14 April 2005* (2007) 81-95, J. RAMBACH, “Πρόσφατες έρευνες σε μεσοελλαδικές θέσεις της Δυτικής Πελοποννήσου”, in A. PHILIPPA-TOUCHAIS, G. TOUCHAIS, S. VOUTSAKI and J. WRIGHT (eds), *Mesohelladika. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen, BCH Suppl.* 52 (2010) 107-119.

in the Aegean world. Pottery related to the Cetina culture, although much less in quantity, is known from several sites of the Argolid /Corinthia,<sup>28</sup> Messenia,<sup>29</sup> central Greece<sup>30</sup> and Aegina.<sup>31</sup>

The “Cetina phenomenon” spread along both sides of Adriatic,<sup>32</sup> Malta<sup>33</sup> and parts of the Peloponnese,<sup>34</sup> reflecting widespread contacts, both direct and indirect, arguably including population movements.<sup>35</sup> The term “Argonauts of the Western Balkans” that Maran<sup>36</sup> attaches to these people – bearers of the Cetina culture – demonstrates the nature of population movements and related cultural interactions. In Maran’s view<sup>37</sup> the collapse of the EH II culture resulted in the creation of a power vacuum which gave the opportunity to populations from the Western Balkans which were already established in Lefkas from the mid 3rd millennium BC to reach southern Greece a few centuries later.

Various theories have been put forward regarding the appearance of the Cetina pottery in the Aegean. A central one is that the motivation for peoples of western Balkan origin to establish trading posts in the north-western Peloponnese was the trade of metal objects.<sup>38</sup> Their characteristic pottery, or perhaps its content, was probably the object of a “pottery for metals” deal with the Aegean populations.

<sup>28</sup> Lerna, see J.B. RUTTER, “A Group of distinctive pattern-decorated Early Helladic III pottery from Lerna and its implications”, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 461-470, J.B. RUTTER, *Lerna, A preclassical site in the Argolid. Vol III. The pottery of Lerna IV* (1995) 627-639, J. MARAN (*supra* n. 25) Band II, taf. 32:8; Mycenae, see A.J.B. WACE, “Excavations at Mycenae. VII.7: The Grave Circle,” *BSA* 25 (1921-23) 114, fig. 26:f; Korakou and Zygouries, see J.B. RUTTER (*supra* 1982), 470-471, Berbati, Tiryns, see J.B. RUTTER, “Fine gray-burnished pottery of the Early Helladic III period and the ancestry of gray Minyan”, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 337, table 3; Prosymna, see C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna, The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum* (1937) 378, fig. 638:7; Tsoungiza, see J. WRIGHT, J. CHERRY, J. DAVIS., E. MANTZOURANI, S. SUTTON, and R. SUTTON, “The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project. A Preliminary Report”, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 629, pl. 94:g, D. PULLEN, *The Early Bronze Age village on Tsoungiza Hill* (2011).

<sup>29</sup> Nichoria, see W. MCDONALD and N.C. WILKIE, *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwestern Greece, Volume II. The Bronze Age occupation* (1992) 792-P2088, J. RAMBACH, “Bemerkungen zur Zeitstellung der Apsidenhäuser in der Altis von Olumpia”, in R.M. BOEHMER and J. MARAN (eds), *Lux Orientis, Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (2001) 333.

<sup>30</sup> Argissa, see E. HANSCHMANN and V. MILOJČIĆ, *Die Deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Argissa-Magula in Thessalien III. Die frühe und beginnende Mittlere Bronzezeit* (1976) 41-42, taf 2, taf X,1,2,4.

<sup>31</sup> H. WALTER and F. FELTEN, *Alt-Agina III, i, Die vorgeschichtliche Stadt. Befestigungen, Häuser, Befunde* (1981) 117, 124-126, nos. 393-395, RUTTER (*supra* n. 28 1983) 337, table 3.

<sup>32</sup> B. GOVEDARICA, *Rano bronzano doba na području istocnog Jadrana* (1989), B. TERZAN, “The Western Balkans in the Bronze Age”, in H. FOKKENS and A. HARDING, *The Oxford handbook of the European Bronze Age* (2013) 845.

<sup>33</sup> For the Tarxien cemetery culture and the Maltese Early Bronze Age relations with the Adriatic and the Aegean see J.D. EVANS, *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands: A Survey* (1971) 149-166, 224-225, J. MARAN (*supra* n. 25) 394-410, RAMBACH (*supra* n. 26) 1211-12, A. CAZZELLA, A. PACE and G. RECCHIA, “Cultural contacts and mobility between the south central Mediterranean and the Aegean during the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C.”, in S. ANTONIADOU and A. PACE (eds), *Mediterranean Crossroads* (2007), Th.G. GIANNOPOULOS, “Πόθεν και πότε οι Έλληνες;” *Οι υπεύθυνες απαντήσεις της επιστήμης και η παρούσα κατάσταση της έρευνας για την πρώτη αρχή του ελληνικού πολιτισμού* (2012) 235-236.

<sup>34</sup> J. MARAN, “Sea borne Contacts between the Aegean, the Balkans and the Central Mediterranean in the 3rd Millennium B.C. – The Unfolding of the Mediterranean World”, in GALANAKI *et al.* (eds) (*supra* n. 27) 16.

<sup>35</sup> MARAN (*supra* n. 34) 18.

<sup>36</sup> MARAN (*supra* n. 34) 16.

<sup>37</sup> MARAN (*supra* n. 34) 19.

<sup>38</sup> M.L. GALATY, H. TOMAS, and W.A. PARKINSON, “Bronze Age European Elites: From the Aegean to the Adriatic and Back Again”, in A.B. KNAPP and P. VAN DOMMELEN (eds), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean* (2015) 168.

Consequently, the decorative scheme of the Dalmatian vases was reproduced in a new local pottery development of the EH III.<sup>39</sup>

The exact role of Teichos Dymaion within this framework cannot be assessed at the moment. It seems very plausible that the maritime advantages of the location had been appreciated, thus making Teichos Dymaion part of a network that connected sites and people during the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>40</sup>

## Discussion

Having outlined the archaeological data that illustrate the contribution of Teichos Dymaion in the westward interactions during the Early and late Bronze Age we will now present a few thoughts regarding its function.

A crucial point for the interpretation of the site's role is the construction of the cyclopean fortification. The key word here is not fortification, but cyclopean. It is the scale and monumentality of the construction that gives rise to a series of questions. The archaeological record supports the view that the location had long been appreciated for its strategic advantages. But the turning point from an evolutionary point of view was the construction of the cyclopean wall here, apparently in the LH IIIB.<sup>41</sup> Although admittedly rather modest by Argolic or Boeotian standards,<sup>42</sup> it is true that such a project required substantial investment in labor and resources,<sup>43</sup> such that could only have been mustered by some sort of a local elite, that comprised officials related to some degree to a palatial centre. But how does the existence of such an elite relate to Teichos Dymaion and where was their residence?

Regarding the latter question, an intuitive response would be to suppose that this elite surely must have resided within the enclosure. However, on the basis of the available evidence, this is most likely not the case.<sup>44</sup> So far, there is no sign of a monumental or central building, no evidence for large-scale storage facilities or workshops and most strikingly, no burial monument that could relate to elite practices. In fact no cemetery of any sort has been located in the vicinity of the site so far. In addition to the above, the small size of the fortified area, 1.2 ha., does not seem adequate for anything more ambitious than a primarily defensive installation or a powerful commanding post.<sup>45</sup> At the moment the issue of where was the Achaean administrative centre remains open; a likely location could be the one of Patras' castle,<sup>46</sup> but

<sup>39</sup> H. TOMAS, "The world beyond the Northern margin: The Bronze Age Aegean and the East Adriatic coast", in W.A. PARKINSON and M.L. GALATY (eds), *Archaic State Interaction. The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age* (2010) 194.

<sup>40</sup> A very recent addition to the list of sites with Cetina-like pottery along the coast of the northern Peloponnese is Keryneia. See E. KOLIA, "Αιγιάλεια", in A. VLACHOPOULOS (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία – Πελοπόννησος* (2012) 324-331, E. KOLIA and A. SPYROULIAS, this volume.

<sup>41</sup> Mastrokostas dates the construction of the cyclopean wall to the LH IIIA period, on the basis of a spiral-decorated skyphos (MII 916) found in the "filling next to the wall" (MASTROKOSTAS [*supra* n. 3-f] 156-157, pl. 183). However, the skyphos cannot be dated earlier than the LH IIIB. See also PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1) 24, N.C. LOADER, *Building in Cyclopean Masonry with Special Reference to the Mycenaean Fortifications on Mainland Greece* (1998) 25, R. HOPE SIMPSON and D. K. HAGEL, *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals* (2006) 63 fig. 1c, fig. 2, pl. 13a-b

<sup>42</sup> As compared with the analogous cases of Midea (K. DEMAPOPOULOU and N. DIVARI-VALAKOU "The Fortifications of the Mycenaean Acropolis of Midea", in R. LAFFINEUR [ed.], *POLEMOS, Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Liège, 14-17 Avril 1998* [1999] 205-215) and Gla (Σ.Ε. ΙΑΚΩΒΙΔΗΣ, *Γλας I. Η ανασκαφή 1955-1961* [1989], S. ΙΑΚΩΒΙΔΗΣ, *Γλας II. Η ανασκαφή 1955-1961* [1998]).

<sup>43</sup> For a concise outline of the particularities of such an undertaking see A. BRYSSBAERT, "Set in stone? Socio-Economic Reflections on human and Animal Resources in Monumental architecture of Late Bronze Age Tiryns in the Argos plain, Greece", *Arctos* 47 (2013) 49-96.

<sup>44</sup> GAZIS (*supra* n. 2) 243-244.

<sup>45</sup> Iakovidis lists Teichos Dymaion as a fort, see S. ΙΑΚΩΒΙΔΗΣ, "Late Helladic Fortifications", in LAFFINEUR ed. (*supra* n. 42) 199.

<sup>46</sup> PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1) 28, L. PAPAZOGLU-MANIOUDAKI, "Εισηγμένη κεραμική στους

since any Mycenaean strata lie deep beneath the massive medieval fortification, it is highly unlikely that we will ever be able to verify this assumption.

Turning to the first question, namely who were the members of that elite, we will have to consider to the socio-economic conditions in western Achaea during the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>47</sup> This is the period when interactions with southern Italy reach their climax. The renewed local autonomy enjoyed by the Achaean rulers after the decline of the palaces was a driving factor for that increase of contacts between the two sides of the Ionian Sea.<sup>48</sup> The most eloquent manifestation of this fact is the great number of bronze artefacts, especially Naue II swords found in a series of so-called “warrior tombs”.<sup>49</sup> The phenomenon reflects the appreciation and increasing demand for this particular class of artefacts within the circle of the Achaean elite. It is generally regarded that especially Naue II swords were the *insignia dignitatis*, of the local ruling class, emblems of its military prowess.<sup>50</sup> In that sense, control of the supply network was crucial for the receiving end of the line. This is where Teichos Dymaion comes in the picture. The site was a hub of seaborne routes running along the coast of northern and western Peloponnese, towards the Ionian and the Adriatic, as well as overland routes, leading towards the Achaean hinterland and beyond.

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Μυκηναϊκούς τάφους της Πάτρας”, in C. ZERNER, P. ZERNER and J. WINDER (eds), *Wace and Blegen. Pottery as evidence for trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939-1989* (1993) 1, M. PETROPOULOS, “Η Αρχαία Πάτρα”, in T.E. SKLAVENITIS and K.S. STAIKOS (eds), *Πάτρα. Από την Αρχαιότητα έως Σήμερα*, (2005) 6, M. PETROPOULOS, “Πάτρα”, in VLACHOPOULOS (*supra* n. 38) 340, K. PASCHALIDIS, *Το Μυκηναϊκό Νεκροταφείο του Κλάους Πατρών*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ioannina (2014) 19, 30. *Contra*, see L. KOLONAS, “Νεώτερη Μυκηναϊκή τοπογραφία της Αχαιΐας”, in *Πρακτικά Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών (Αργος-Ναύπλιο 6-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995)* τ. Β' (1998) 479-480; Kolonas suggests that the site of the castle would be suitable for only a small hamlet and favors the neighboring hill at Pagona as a likely site for a major settlement.

<sup>47</sup> I. MOSCHOS, “Evidence of Social Re-organization and Re-construction at LH III C Achaea and Modes of Contacts and Exchanges via the Ionian and Adriatic Sea”, in BORGNA and CASSOLA GUIDA (eds) (*supra* n. 4) 345-414, R. JUNG, I. MOSCHOS and M. MEHOFER, “Φονεύοντας με τον ίδιο τρόπο. Ειρηνικές επαφές για τον πόλεμο μεταξύ δυτικής Ελλάδας και Ιταλίας κατά τη διάρκεια των όψιμων Μυκηναϊκών χρόνων”, in S.A. PAIPETIS and Ch. GIANNOPOULOU (eds), *Πολιτισμική αλληλογονιμοποίηση Νότιας Ιταλίας και Δυτικής Ελλάδας μέσα από την ιστορία* (2008) 85-107.

<sup>48</sup> See *supra* n. 3, 9, 12, 15, 16 and 41. Further references in E. GRECO (ed.), *Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Paestum 23-25 Febbraio 2001* (2002), R.E. JONES, L. VAGNETTI, S. LEVI, J. WILLIAMS, D. JENKINS and A. DE GUIO, “Mycenaean Pottery from Northern Italy. Archaeological and Archaeometric Studies”, *SMEA* 44 (2002) 221-261, E. BORGNA and P. CASSOLA GUIDA, “Some Observations on the Nature and Modes of Exchange between Italy and the Aegean in the Late Mycenaean Period”, in LAFFINEUR and GRECO (eds) (*supra* n. 15) 497-505, B. EDER and R. JUNG, “On the Character of Social Relations between Greece and Italy in the 12<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> C. B.C.”, in LAFFINEUR and GRECO (eds) (*supra* n. 15) 485-495, IACONO (*supra* n. 14) 60-79, R. JONES, S.T. LEVI, M. BETTELLI, L. VAGNETTI, *Italo-Mycenaean Pottery: the Archaeological and Archaeometric Dimensions* (2014).

<sup>49</sup> L. PAPAZOGLU-MANIOUDAKI, “A Mycenaean Warrior's Tomb at Krini near Patras”, *BSA* 89 (1994) 177-179, S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, “Late Mycenaean Warrior Tombs”, in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY and I. LEMOS (eds), *Ancient Greece: from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (2006) 151-179, T.G. GIANNOPOULOS, *Die letzte Elite der mykenischen Welt: Achaea in mykenische Zeit und das Phänomen der Kriegerbestattungen in 12.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2008).

<sup>50</sup> S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, “Military Prowess and Social Status in Mycenaean Greece”, in LAFFINEUR (ed.) (*supra* n. 42) 130; B. EDER, “Patterns of Contact and Communication between the Regions South and North of the Corinthian Gulf in LH IIIC”, in N. KYPARISSI-APOSTOLIKA, M. PAPAKONSTANTINOU, *2nd International Interdisciplinary Colloquium, The Periphery of the Mycenaean World, 26-30 September, Lamia 1999* (2003) 39; A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, “The Archaeology of *basileis*”, in DEGER-JALKOTZY and LEMOS (eds) (*supra* n. 49) 181-212.

An approach that lends itself well to the clarification of its role has been put forward by Earle et al. in a recent article.<sup>51</sup> In their analysis of the Bronze Age metal trade in Europe the authors have used the term *bottleneck*, i.e. “constriction points in commodity chains, which offer the opportunity to limit access by creating ownership over resources, technologies, or knowledge”.<sup>52</sup> Using the notion more freely one can see Teichos Dymaion as exactly such a bottleneck in the interaction between Achaea and southern Italy. The location and organization of the site ensured a number of prerequisites, as described by Earle et al. among others these were: “a port of call near a prominent headland, ... a restriction point at a well-placed location for gathering traders and trans-shipping goods, ...and a site of transport technology implementation”.<sup>53</sup> In other words a naval facility that provided anchorage and possibly also shipbuilding capabilities.

Regarding the last two points we can say that the available geological and geomorphological data<sup>54</sup> indicate that **the sea was much closer to the site than it is today**. The reconstructed picture of the **Pappas lagoon to the north**<sup>55</sup> shows a bay easily accessible both by sea and by land, well protected from all sides, thus becoming **an ideal anchorage**. Moreover, the possibility that its southern limit was much closer to Teichos Dymaion is highly likely. The same is true for **Prokopos lagoon to the south**, although an open bay here would be much less protected and the shores probably too rocky to offer safe anchorage. In any case, even rather shallow waters were sufficient for the boats of the Bronze Age seafarers. On the matter of shipbuilding, the suggestion that local timber was used to that end is indeed tempting. At the moment an archaeological confirmation of such an idea is elusive, but it is of some significance to point out that the oak tree forest covering Mavra Vouna was systematically exploited by the Venetians around 1690 for exactly that purpose.<sup>56</sup>

The physical expression of the *bottleneck* at Teichos Dymaion is the cyclopean fortification. It may still not be quite clear who built it or when exactly, but it is much more understandable why it was built. Its construction should be seen as an attempt to strengthen the threatened power of the local elites and their assets.<sup>57</sup> It was an effort to deter a threat that appears to have endangered them. Deterrence operated at two levels. The most obvious was the practical one: the construction of the fortification ensured the improvement of the defensive capabilities and protected the surrounding population. Equally, if not more important was the level of symbolism. We should not lose sight of the fact that large-scale fortifications provide a strong deterrent message,<sup>58</sup> not only after their completion, but also during their construction.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>51</sup> T. EARLE, J. LING, C. UHNER, Z. STOS-GALE and L. MELHEIM, “The Political Economy and Metal Trade in Bronze Age Europe: Understanding Regional Variability in Terms of Comparative Advantages and Articulations”, *European Journal of Archaeology* 18 4 (2015) 633-657.

<sup>52</sup> EARLE et al. (*supra* n. 51) 639, 640-fig.3.

<sup>53</sup> EARLE et al. (*supra* n. 51) *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> P. AVRAMIDIS, “Acoustic floor classification and sediment transport pathways of a shallow coastal lagoon: Pappas lagoon, NW Peloponnesus, Greece”, *International Journal of Sediment Research*, D. BOUZOS and N. KONTOPOULOS, “Sedimentary observations in the lagoon of Pappa (NW Peloponnese)”, *Bulletin of Geological Society of Greece* XXXII/2 (1998) 247-258.

<sup>55</sup> C. DONADIO and L. STAMATOPOULOS, “Genesis and evolution of some lagoons in Greece and Italy: preliminary data for a key to geomorphological model interpretation”, *IWA 14 e-Proceedings* (2014) 283-296. See also E. HAENSSLER, I. UNKEL, W. DÖRFLER, M.-J. NADEAU, “Driving mechanisms of Holocene lagoon development and barrier accretion in Northern Elis, Peloponnese, inferred from the sedimentary record of the Kotychi Lagoon”, *E&G Quaternary Science Journal* 63 1 (2014) 60-77 for an outline of lagoon creation processes in the NW Peloponnese.

<sup>56</sup> TRIANTAFYLLOU (*supra* n. 1) 232.

<sup>57</sup> GAZIS (*supra* n. 2), 245.

<sup>58</sup> C.D. FORTENBERRY, *Elements of Mycenaean Warfare* (1998) 284, J. DRIESSEN, “The Archaeology of Aegean Warfare”, in LAFFINEUR (ed.) (*supra* n. 42), 16, GAZIS (*supra* n. 2) 245.

<sup>59</sup> A. BRYSBART, “Set in stone? Constructed symbolism viewed through an architectural energetics’ lens at Bronze Age Tiryns, Greece”, *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 45 (2015) 91.

Fortified citadels and fortresses operated largely as instruments of intimidation and symbols of power,<sup>60</sup> often hosting the bearers of that power.<sup>61</sup> It is, however, doubtful that they ever had to prove their defensive purpose in practice.

Summing up, we can say that the ample natural resources of the region were the prime factor for the earliest settlement of the site, but it was the defensive attributes of the location that gave Teichos Dymaion its form and function during the Bronze Age and long after that.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, it was geography that dictated its westward orientation in cultural terms within the system of Mediterranean Bronze Age exchange networks.

Michalis GAZIS

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<sup>60</sup> J. MARAN, “Mycenaean Citadels as Performing Space”, in J. MARAN, C. JUWIG, H. SCHWENGEL and U. THALER (eds), *Constructing Power. Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice* (2009) 79.

<sup>61</sup> DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 58) 16.

<sup>62</sup> The presence of several classes of archaic-majolica and majolica sherds (12<sup>th</sup> cent A.D. onwards [MASTROKOSTAS (*supra* n. 3-c) 66, pl. 67b]) attests to the diachronic significance of Teichos Dymaion in the westward contacts.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

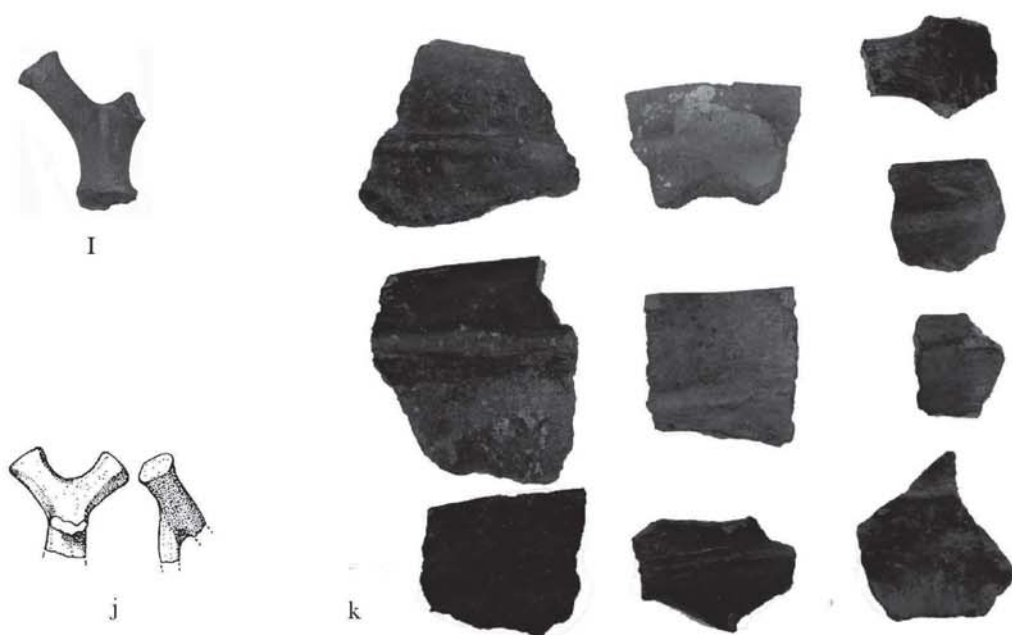
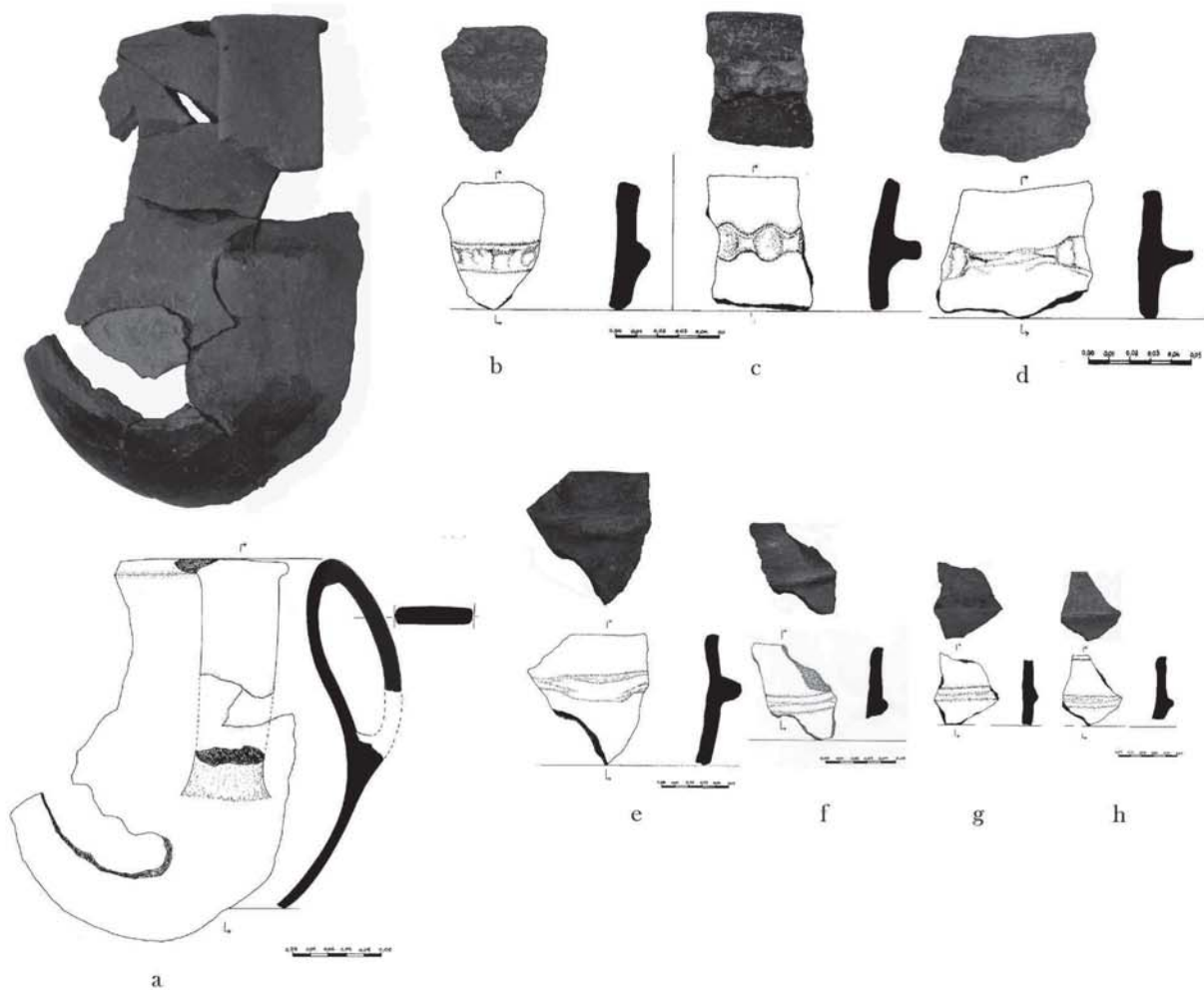
- Pl. CLXXXVIa Map with sites mentioned in the text.
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- Pl. CLXXXVII Handmade Burnished Ware pottery from Teichos Dymaion:  
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 i-j. 1960's excavations (Patras' Archaeological Museum).  
 k. Coppa Nevigata (P. BOCCUCCIA, G. RECCHIA, "Livelli superficiali e sporadici", in A. CINQUEPALMI, F. RADINA, *Documenti dell'età del bronzo. Ricerche lungo il versante adriatico pugliese* [1998]).
- Pl. CLXXXVIII Carinated cups:  
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 d-e. Broglio di Trebisacce (BETTELLI [*supra* n. 11] fig. 101:13, fig. 102:21).  
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 a-e. Teichos Dymaion (a-c, see also MASTROKOSTAS [*supra* n. 3-d] pl. 160).  
 f. Olympia (Museum exhibition).

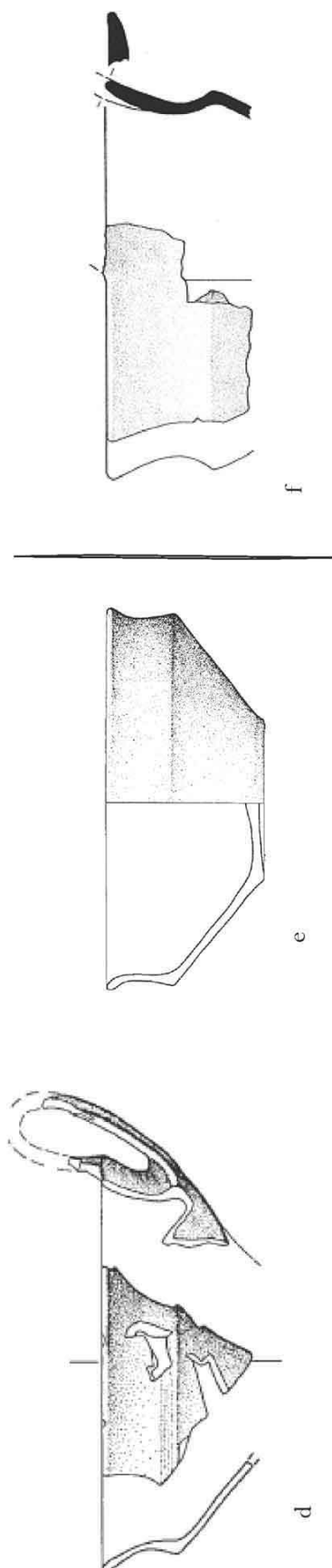
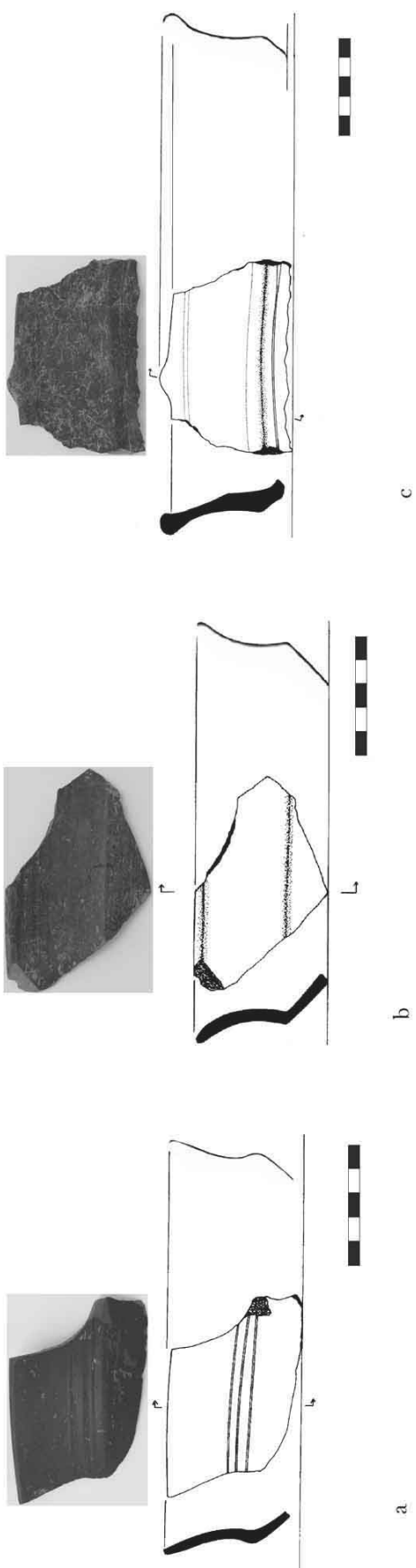


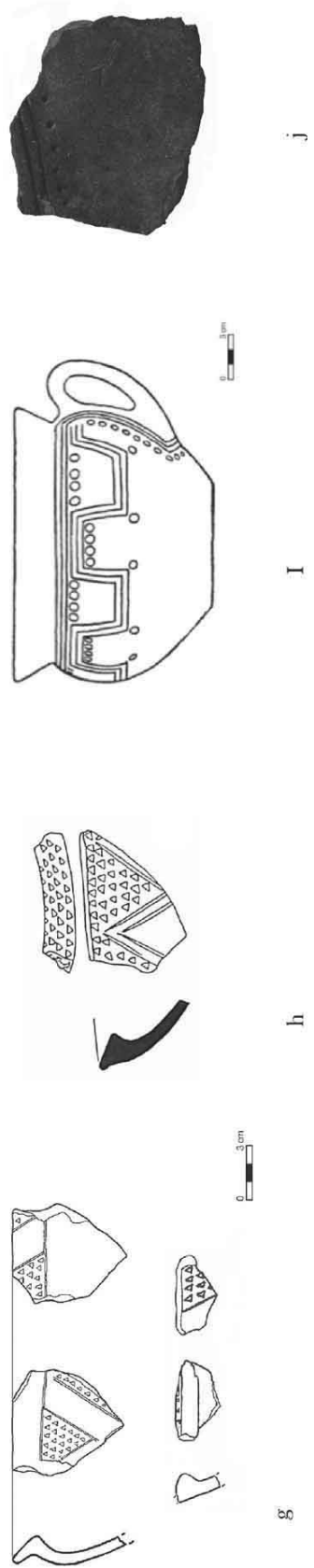
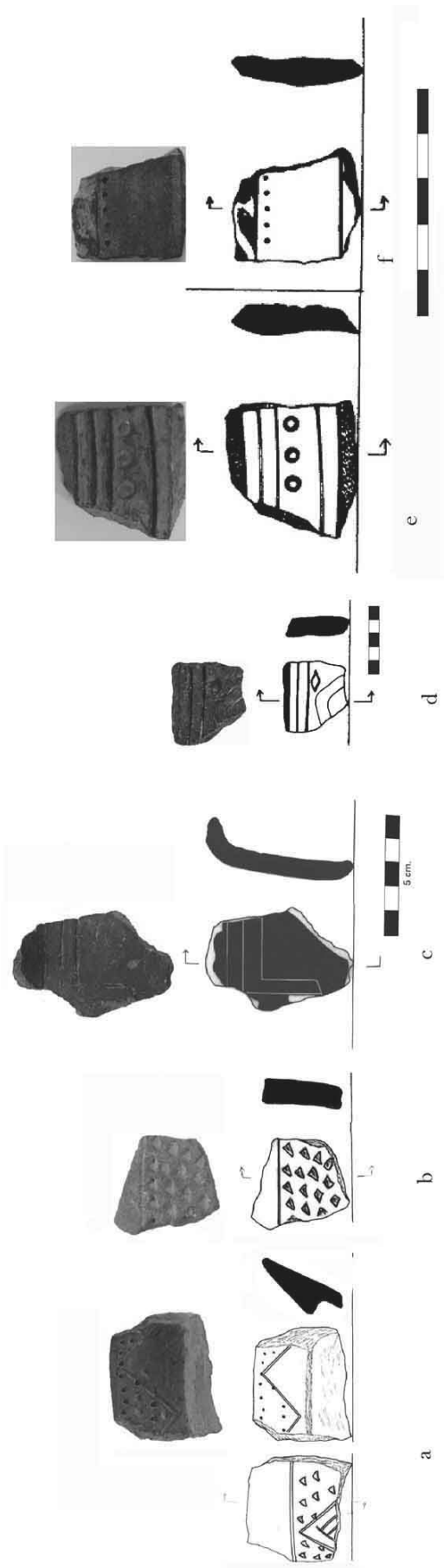
a 1 Teichos Dymaion, 2 Andravida-Lechaina, 3 Olympia, 4 Tiryns, 5 Dimini, 6 Punta Meliso, 7 Roccavecchia, 8 Coppa Navigata, 9 Broglio di Trebisacce, 10 Torre Mordillo, 11 Punta di Zambrone

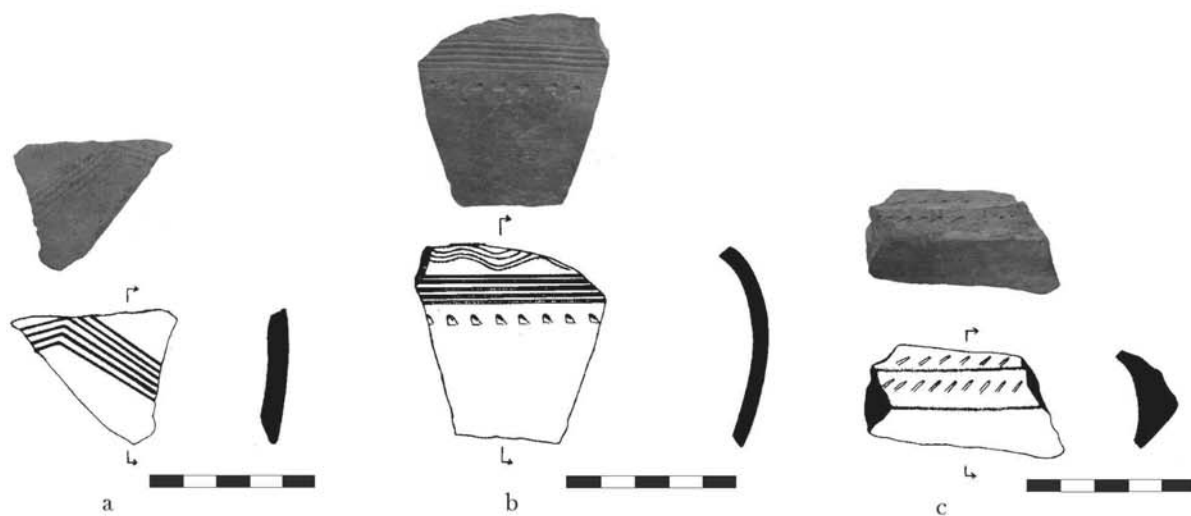


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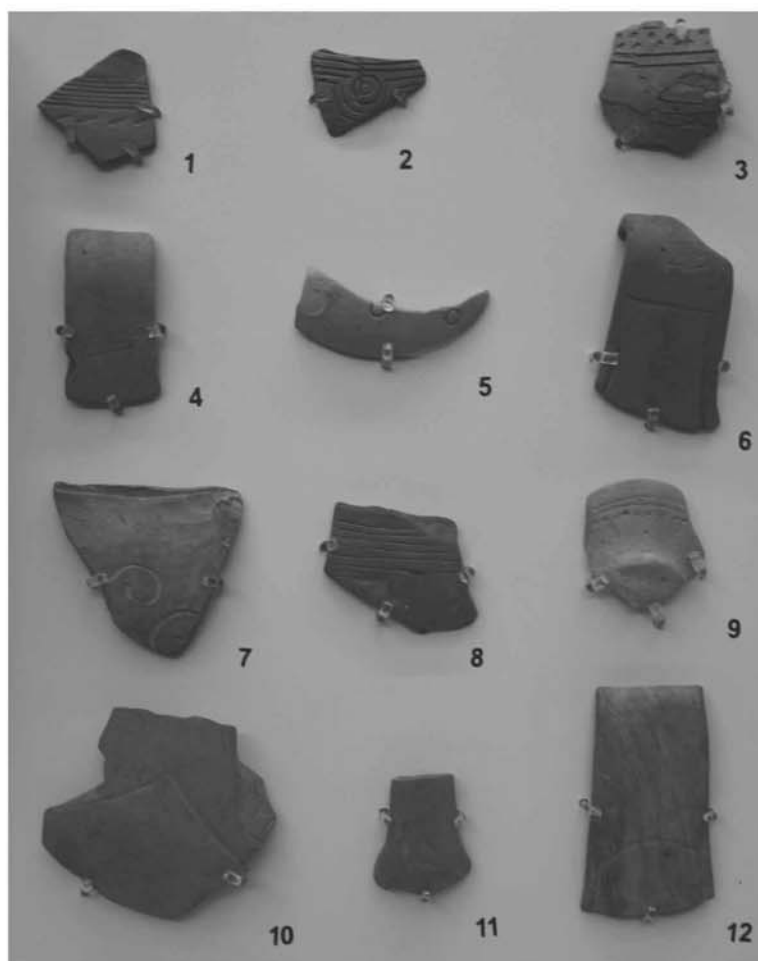




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