

A CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTHEAST AEGEAN FROM THE
LATE HELLADIC IIIB TO THE LATE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIODS

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Doctor of Philosophy

by
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

A Cultural Geography of the Southeast Aegean from the Late Helladic IIIB
to the Late Protogeometric Periods

presented by John Tristan Barnes,

a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Kathleen Slane
Professor Marcus Rautman
Professor Anatole Mori

For my family: my parents, my daughter Noor, and my loving wife Reema without whom
I could not have done this. Thank you for everything.

... Many times I've gazed along the open road.

Many times I've lied and many times I've listened,
Many times I've wondered how much there is to know...

... Many is the word that only leaves you guessing,
Guessing 'bout a thing you really ought to know.

- Jimmy Page and Robert Plant

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The southeast Aegean occupies a strategic geographic position in the Aegean. Routes of trade and communication within the eastern half of the Mediterranean passed through the region heading east and west between the Aegean and the Near East, as well as north and south along the western Anatolian littoral. Culturally, the region's inhabitants were positioned between Crete, the Cyclades, and western Anatolia in local terms, and the Mycenaean mainland, Hittite Anatolia, and Egypt and the Levantine coast in wider regional terms. Fieldwork has been carried out since the middle of the 19th century under the auspices of the Greek and Turkish governments, as well as by Italian, Danish, German, French, British, American, and Canadian missions and foreign schools. In spite of this long history of investigation, however, remarkably little is known about the communities that inhabited the region during the Late Bronze III and Early Iron Ages.

To a large extent, lacunae in the archaeological record of the southeast Aegean are the direct result of the history of fieldwork in the region. Intensive fieldwork began with Alfred Biliotti's excavations at Ialysos in 1870, and continued through the end of the 19th century with sporadic investigations, often centered on sites of later historic importance on larger islands and the Carian coast.¹ Danish expeditions to Rhodes were led by Karl Friedrich Kinch during the early 20th century prior to the outbreak of World War I; investigations of Lindos with Christian Blinkenberg continued and were published after

¹ See, for example, Patton (1887a; 1887b), Patton and Myres (1896), Smith (1887), Torr 2005, Walters (1897), Wiegand and Schrader (1904), and Winter (1887).

the war, while Søren Dietz published Kinch's notebooks in 1984.² Regional political instabilities during the early 20th century, during which Italy gained possession of most of the Dodecanese in 1912, should probably be connected to the absence of large-scale investigations along the Carian littoral until well after the Second World War. The Italian occupation and annexation of the Dodecanese had the antiquarian benefit of the establishment of a permanent archaeological mission, which did much to fill in the picture of the islands' ancient populations. It was under the auspices of this Italian mission that prehistoric sites such as at Trianda-Ialysos, Kameiros, Kalavarda, and Kos town were first explored and excavated, and the first systematic attempt to map the position of all known prehistoric sites on Rhodes was executed by Raffaele Inglieri in 1936.³ Much of this work involved excavating sites as they were identified or discovered by local populations, and many of the sites had been disturbed before excavations began. Moreover, disturbances and the loss of material and records during battles for the Dodecanese during World War II greatly hindered later investigation of the region.

Since the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949, work has continued at previously excavated sites, but the majority of new work has been conducted as small-scale rescue excavations. Investigations at Vonies and Pigadia on Karpathos, at Aspropilia (at Pylona) and Archangelos on Rhodes, at Myloi on Samos, and at Pilavtepe, Çömlekçi, Dirmil and Müskebi in Caria all came to light through agricultural work or construction

² Kinch 1914; Blinkenberg 1931; Dietz 1984.

³ See, for example, Jacopi (1929; 1930-1931; 1931; 1932-1933), Inglieri (1936), Laurenzi (1936; 1938), Maiuri (1915; 1923-1924; 1928), Monaco (1938; 1941), Morricone (1950, 1965-1966; 1972-1973; 1978), and Porro (1915). Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970, 62-63) reproduce coordinates taken from a similar map of Kos made in 1927 that included all (then) known prehistoric sites on that island.

projects, and only Aspropilia, Çömlekçi, and Müskebi produced more than isolated chamber tombs.⁴ These projects illustrate a feature of the region that distinguishes island investigations from those on the mainland—because of the topography of the Dodecanese and southern Caria, ancient and modern human activity has tended to cluster in the same locations. This means that many sites cannot be investigated in their entirety due to the location of modern towns, or that later (ancient and medieval) activity has obscured prehistoric remains. Perhaps as a result, regional examinations of the natures and activities of the region's societies have been relatively rare, and have often focused on individual islands or left the region divided by modern political boundaries; a notable exception to this trend was Christopher Mee's dissertation in 1975, which included both the Dodecanese and the adjacent coast.⁵ Regional studies have also tended to focus primarily, if not exclusively, on pottery, which has often created the impression of a broad homogeneity of the region's inhabitants as defined by ceramic stylistic criteria. This ceramic focus and cultural homogeneity (whether assumed or unintentionally implied) has obscured societal divisions within the region.

Only recently have scholars begun to investigate the societies of the southeast Aegean through their practices and idiosyncratic habits. Renewed attention to local power structures and political organizations within the region have been sparked by Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier's excavations of prehistoric Miletus, and by Penelope Mountjoy's identification of an East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface with its socio-

⁴ See, for example, Bass (1963), Benter (2010), Boysal (1969a; 1969b), Charitonides (1961-1962; 1963), Karantzali (2001), Zachariadou (1978), and Zapheiroopoulos (1960).

⁵ See Benson (1963), Benzi (1992), Melas (1985), Mee (1975; 1978; 1982), Mountjoy (1998), and Özgünel (1979; 1996).

political implications.⁶ Such discussions have helped cast regional societies and commerce in an independent light, rather than as a by-product of better-studied population centers to the west and east. Funerary practices and beliefs have been examined based on the modern excavations of the cemetery at Aspropilia at Pylona by Efi Karantzali in 2001, and the rituals have been examined subsequently in a regional setting by Mercourios Georgiadis and Jacob Eerbeek.⁷ Georgiadis also sought to identify the relationship between local funerary rites and the landscape, and detected a correlation between the orientation of cemeteries and the location of bodies of water—specifically, that cemetery clusters would collectively face either local revmata or the sea, rather than face a certain cardinal direction or an accompanying settlement. This focus on the local landscape and its importance for human activity, usually the provenance of archaeological surveys, is rare in the southeast Aegean. Bean and Cook investigated the Carian coast in the 1950s, and Hope Simpson and Lazenby conducted extensive surveys of the Dodecanese between 1960 and 1970 looking for prehistoric sites with specific reference to their topography and local resources.⁸ More recently, Hans Lohmann conducted an extensive survey of the Milesian peninsula in the 1990s, and Georgia

⁶ The bibliography on the new excavations at Miletus is vast; see, for example, Niemeier (1998; 2005a; 2005b), and Niemeier and Niemeier (1997). On the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface, see Mountjoy 1998. The SELAP project on Kos also seeks to advance understanding of the region by reexamining material from Morricone's original excavations; see Vitale (2005; 2009), Vitale and Hancock Vitale (2010), and Vitale and Treçarichi (2015).

⁷ Karantzali 2001; Georgiadis 2003; Eerbeek 2014. An LH IIIC/SM cist tomb cemetery has recently been discovered at Agia Agathi in eastern Rhodes that contains dozens of individual tombs; see Zervaki 2011. The investigation of this important cemetery is ongoing, and unfortunately it is not included in this study.

⁸ See Bean and Cook (1952; 1955; 1957) and Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962; 1970; 1973).

Kokkorou-Alevra conducted an intensive survey of the area around the ancient polis of Halasarna on southern Kos.⁹

This recent activity illustrates a practical problem for studies of the prehistoric southeast Aegean. Only one cemetery, at Aspropilia with the relatively small number of six tombs, has been excavated and published with modern scientific analyses of human and material remains, while excavation of prehistoric settlements (excluding Miletus) has only been conducted as small-scale rescue work in modern towns. Moreover, only one intensive survey has been conducted, and that in an area that demonstrates more intensive human activity in later periods than those considered here. These are not academic considerations. Modern understanding of LBA Mycenaean and Cretan society is inseparable from the data provided by intensive surveys, careful excavations of settlements, and scientific analyses of material and skeletal remains, the methodologies of which have been refined significantly since the 1970s. The scarcity of these activities and the resultant data from the southeast Aegean have undoubtedly contributed to the general picture of the region as a peripheral zone caught between larger societal influences. The absence of local social agencies and authorities in scholarly discourse, or the restriction of these agencies to the populations at Trianda and Kos town, should be recognized as a factor that has been heavily influenced by the reduced pace of fieldwork in the southeast Aegean compared to “core areas” of the Mycenaean world. To counter this trend, renewed research of new sites in the southeast Aegean, especially surveys and excavations of plausible settlements, is required; however, so is a more nuanced appreciation of the prehistoric societies of the region based on existing information. This

⁹ See, for example, Lohmann (1997; 1999) and Georgiadis (2009a) respectively.

study will address this lacuna by examining the human landscape of the southeast Aegean for local social agencies, how they were organized and distributed, and how they interacted with the outside world. The goal is to produce a picture of the region that is sensitive to the social diversity of a geography that spans an area roughly equivalent to the Peloponnese, Attica, and Boeotia combined, and that will allow future investigations to be more accurately contextualized.

Approach

Mortuary Analysis

Since the majority of material evidence in the region comes from chamber tombs, it is important first to situate that evidence within what is currently known of Mycenaean culture. Because of the number of Mycenaean burials spread throughout central and southern Greece, many of the rites can be reconstructed and their relevance to larger social structures and organizations hypothesized.

The nature of Mycenaean funerary customs. Any discussion of Mycenaean funerary rites must first acknowledge the high degree of variability evident across different regions and even within the same site.¹⁰ Throughout the LH III period there was no single type of grave or tomb that was “standard” throughout central and southern Greece, as tholoi, chamber tombs, and cists all appear in different relative concentrations in different areas. The origin and development of different tomb types is often

¹⁰ See Lewartowski 2000, 53-55.

controversial, but cists and tholoi were constructed during the Middle Helladic period, with chamber tombs developing during the LH I period.¹¹ It should be noted that the differences between the rites represented in tholoi and those represented in chamber tombs are small differences of degree rather than of type.¹² Similarly, variations in the construction of chamber tombs are not consistent with regard either to geography or to grave goods, and the only general trend that distinguishes the architecture is the slight lengthening and narrowing of dromoi into the LH III period.¹³

The rites themselves probably commenced with some form of cleansing of the body, followed by shrouding and/or adorning the individual with clothing, jewelry, and cosmetics.¹⁴ Adornment and shrouding were probably not standard parts of the ritual, as evidenced by a variable material record, and likely depended on personal preferences and traditions. Additionally, it is not clear whether the dress and adornment of the deceased reflected real or ideal forms, nor can it be known what belonged to the living members of the deceased's social group or what was acquired specifically for the purposes of burial. The Tanagra larnakes and a krater from Elis attest a form of *prothesis* that is generally assumed to be similar to the procession known from later Geometric to Classical period vase paintings.¹⁵ The body (already washed and prepared) was laid out in the house

¹¹ Lewartowski 2000,13; Georgiadis 2003, 59. The introduction of tholoi in particular has been the subject of great controversy, although the debate is not directly relevant to the discussion at hand; see Georgiadis (2003, 59) for introductory bibliography.

¹² Mylonas 1966, 120, 133; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 121; Georgiadis 2003, 63.

¹³ See Georgiadis (2003, 59) for bibliography on the architecture of the tomb type.

¹⁴ See Vasilikou 1995, 336-7; Cavanagh 1998, 104-106; Lewartowski 2000, 56.

¹⁵ Immerwahr 1995, 110-117; Vasilikou 1995, 320-343; Lewartowski 2000, 57; Georgiadis 2003, 61-62. See also Garland 1985, 23-31. Comparisons to later rites have largely informed modern understanding of LBA practices, which is not without methodological problems, especially since the Tanagra larnakes can only

together with oil or unguent containers, represented by stirrup jars and alabastra during this period, which gave the community an opportunity to gather for communal mourning. The body was conveyed to the tomb during a subsequent *ekphora* along with the goods that would be deposited in the grave (including those ceramic vessels used for cleansing and/or perfuming the body and cosmetic implements), all of which was accompanied by mourners and those within the deceased's social group.¹⁶ Such a procession is generally accepted as the method by which provisions for the dead—liquid/oil containers, cups and bowls, metal tools and weapons, etc.—were transported to the burial site. The interment of horses with some Mycenaean burials has been interpreted as evidence of their importance during this procession, and scant evidence of wooden biers is known from a small number of tombs. The size and nature of this procession probably varied considerably depending on the location and distance of the burial space from the *prothesis*, as well as the status of the deceased and the surviving social group.

The act of placing the body in the tomb must have carried some importance, but there do not appear to have been consistent rules for how a body was placed or positioned within the grave.¹⁷ Slight preferences can be detected towards placing the body on its left side in a contracted position, and also for placing the head toward the tomb entrance; however, these trends were by no means universal, and within a single cemetery, or even within a single multi-use tomb, multiple orientations and positions might be present.

be taken as direct evidence for local rites. The comparison is generally accepted nevertheless.

¹⁶ On the LBA *ekphora*, see Vasilikou (1995, 337-343), Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 106-109; Lewartowski (2000, 57), and Georgiadis (2003, 62). See also Kurtz and Boardman (1971, 144-146) and Garland (1985, 31-34).

¹⁷ Vermeule 1964, 299-300; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 113-114; Lewartowski 2000, 57-58; Georgiadis 2003, 60. See also Lewartowski (2000, 58) for additional discussion and bibliography.

Chamber tombs tend to have a common orientation within a cemetery by nature of being carved into the same slope, but this is not always the case. Inhumation was the normal practice throughout the Late Helladic period, and cremations—which first appeared during the LH IIIA, plausibly with Anatolian influence—remained rare until the very end of the period.¹⁸ Grave goods were placed around the body, typically around the head or feet, and were presumably brought to the tomb directly from the *prothesis* or by other mourners.¹⁹ It is often difficult to distinguish which grave goods were deposited with each burial since the practices of secondary burial and reusing older tombs often obscures depositional patterns. Children could be given miniature vessels, feeding bottles, figurines (sometimes as toys?), and shells, but it should be noted that none of these offerings were exclusively related to children and all could appear with adult burials as well.²⁰ In fact, it is the variation in grave goods—within a single tomb and cemetery, and from one region to the next—that is one of the defining characteristics of Mycenaean burials, and individual choice and personality might have counted for more than anything else. Some number of grave goods is almost always found, but no standard “package” or assemblage can be linked reliably to specific groups with respect to age, gender, occupation, status, or class. As such, it is unlikely that grave goods can be taken as straightforward indicators of the deceased’s role in society during life. It is important to note that even jewelry does not appear in graves in proportion to the size or “richness” of the tomb; in other words, even small/simple burials can be accompanied by a large amount of material (metal) wealth, while comparatively large tombs can contain very few

¹⁸ Melas 1984, 24-33; 2001, 16-17; Georgiadis 2003, 60.

¹⁹ See Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 109-112; Lewartowski 2000, 58-59.

²⁰ van Leuven 1994, 43-46; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 113; Lewartowski 2000, 58-59.

grave goods or none at all—grave goods might not have even been considered an essential part of the rites in all places at all times.²¹ Finally it should be noted that differences can occur between the types and number of goods that have been found with primary vs. secondary burials; this might indicate that objects could be removed from a chamber at a later date, and that objects might not have been considered “property” of the deceased.²²

The burial itself concluded with the sealing of the tomb, often accomplished by constructing a wall in or in front of the stromion (entrance to the chamber) and/or in the dromos, and then filling in the dromos to bury the tomb; a marker was sometimes placed on or near the tomb, but markers are rarely found and do not appear to have been standard practice.²³ Grave-side drinking, feasting, animal sacrifices, and libations are attested by sherds of cups, kylikes, kraters, and rhyta, together with animal bones that can all appear scattered in the chambers themselves and in the soil used to fill the dromoi.²⁴ Specific details of these actions are unclear from the preserved record, but funerary feasts are well known from the Classical period—sometimes taking place grave-side, and sometimes at regular or irregular intervals long after the initial burial. Subsequent visitations to the tomb could account for the prominence of secondary treatment of the body, which was not always related to a later reuse of the tomb; in at least some cases,

²¹ See Lewartowski (2000, 58, 61) and Georgiadis (2003, 63-64) for concise overviews of the treatment of grave goods in tombs.

²² Vermeule 1979, 56; Wells 1990, 126-127; Georgiadis 2003, 64.

²³ Lewartowski 2000, 59-60; Georgiadis 2003, 62.

²⁴ Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 118; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 111-115; Hamilakis 1998; Lewartowski 2000, 59; Georgiadis 2003, 62.

secondary treatment appears to have been a standard part of the burial rites.²⁵ Secondary treatment often involved the movement of bones and objects into piles or pits dug into the floor or along the wall of the tomb, although reused tombs occasionally show bones and objects moved aside without differentiation.²⁶ Subsequent burials might also be preceded by the addition of earth to reform the floor of the chamber, and layers of ash and charcoal burners (often called incense burners) attest practical or ritual cleansing by fire; however, it is not clear if these actions attest ordinary reuse (they are by no means standard accompaniments of all secondary burials), or if the cleansing was necessitated by the smell of decomposition or ritual change in communal ownership of the tomb (new owners might have wished to cleanse the tomb of its previous occupants and their social connections).²⁷ Secondary treatments and reuse should not automatically suggest disrespect or a lack of concern with the deceased, but it can be interpreted to mean that deceased individuals were no longer associated with their corporeal remains after the decomposition process was complete. As such, the Mycenaean tomb can be viewed not as a house for the deceased, but as a temporary location for the individual to transition into the afterlife (if such an eschatological construct existed) through the natural process of decomposition.

Burials datable by Submycenaean or Protogeometric grave goods demonstrate a marked departure from multiple burials and chamber tombs toward a preference for

²⁵ Cavanagh 1978; Wells, 1990, 135-137; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 76, 116; Lewartowski 2000, 54; Gallou 2002, 340-346; Georgiadis 2003, 62-63.

²⁶ Vermeule 1964, 299-300; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 116-118; Vasilikou 1995, 107-108; Lewartowski 2000 54-55; Georgiadis 2003, 62-63.

²⁷ On evidence of burning in tombs, see Gallou 2002, 364-373.

single burials in cists or pits.²⁸ It must be noted that pits, cists and other simple methods of burial were employed during the LH III period, and so new burial trends should be regarded as preferences rather than as evidence for the appearance of new peoples. This shift toward cists is often regarded as a more economical treatment of the body as compared to a chamber tomb, but such a view should not be overstated. Whereas the initial labor required to construct a chamber tomb is greater than what is required to construct a cist, the reuse of a chamber (common during the LH IIIC period) entails only the excavation of the dromos and the dismantling of the blocking wall (if present).²⁹ By contrast, each cist requires that stone be quarried and/or transported and that a new hole be dug, and the dominant practice of single burial means that this process would be the same for each such burial. This expenditure of labor would only have been increased if the burial was preceded by the rite of cremation, with added the expense of a large amount firewood.³⁰ Therefore, SM/PG cists might in some cases represent the same or greater expenditure of labor as the LH III chamber tomb burials that preceded them.

The picture of SM/PG burials is no less varied than during the LH III period, and again no single rite prevailed across all places at the same time. Inhumations and cremations could appear contemporaneously in the same cemetery, and although it is likely that ancient populations conceived of the two rites differently, there is little evidence now to distinguish what those differences were. The absence of pictorial representations of funerary practices during this period and the variety of burial methods

²⁸ See Lemos (2002, 185-186) for a history of discussion regarding the reasons behind this shift, which remain largely speculative.

²⁹ Lemos 2002, 186.

³⁰ Lemos 2002, 186-187.

and offerings leaves many aspects of the rites open to debate.³¹ The scarcity of known contemporary settlements complicates the picture further, and often prevents a landscape analysis of the rites. Similarities between LH III and Archaic/Classical period practices make some continuity of rites plausible, but the danger of circular reasoning is obvious. In the end, SM/PG burials share a tendency for bodies or remains (often placed in ceramic vessels) to be deposited in built stone-lined cists, pits or trenches cut in to the ground, with ceramic and metal offerings placed next to or around the body. In these most general details the practices are similar to habits exhibited during the LH III period, and it must be noted that many of the grave goods were similar in nature, varying more by form than by type (cups, liquid containers, and jewelry changed shape through the centuries, but their functional significance might have remained the same).

Burial, memory, and landscape. It is also important to consider what came after the burial—that is, how the burial, the rites, and the deceased were marked in both landscape and personal memory. In large part, how the burial was remembered (as a collective action) depends on how the deceased was remembered (as an individual). The existence of secondary rites suggests that in at least some circumstances memory of the deceased compelled continued interactions between the living and the dead, even after a connection between the deceased individual and their corporeal remains had been severed by decomposition. Certain elements of funerary rites—like the blocking of chamber tomb entrances with walls, and occasional binding of the dead body—have been interpreted to reflect a fear of the dead, and as consequent attempts to keep the spirit of

³¹ Lemos 2002, 188-189.

the deceased in the tomb and prevent that spirit from “walking” among the living.³² However, the very act of reusing a tomb, sometimes multiple times over the course of a century or more, argues against an implicit fear of the dead, and the absence of blocking stones on contemporary pit burials (and indeed the fact that blocking walls are not universal features of chamber tombs) suggests that ranging spirits might not have been a negative concern for living populations. It should be noted that later Greeks viewed wandering spirits as pitiful rather than as terrifying or detrimental.³³

It is likely that Mycenaean eschatology involved some belief that an individual’s existence did not cease entirely upon death, although the specific nature of that continued existence is not clear from the extant record.³⁴ Images on contemporary larnakes and kraters depict creatures that can be interpreted as winged spirits, and such beliefs might lie behind the provisioning of burials with ceramic grave goods that are typically associated with food and drink—as a way of provisioning the deceased during the liminal period of decomposition and transition. The fact that personal items (small objects like sealstones and jewelry, as well as weapons, with which the deceased individual might

³² On a general fear of the dead and attempts to restrain the spirit, see generally Bulle (1907, 69), Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1995, 114). Against these ideas, see Wells (1990, 138), Lewartowski (2001, 54), Georgiadis (2003, 62).

³³ See Garland 1985, 5-6. For example, in *Antigone* the body of Polyneices is never referred to as dreadful, and the absence of burial is an act of desecration rather than motivated by a fear of going near the body. Teiresias (Soph. *Ant.* 1064-1090) warns of vengeance from the gods as a result of the desecration, the unburied body there being the cause of vengeance but not the agent. Likewise, in the underworld Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 11) is not afraid of speaking to the spirits of those he knew in life, and even lingers (11.628-635) hoping to talk to others until his fear of Persephone and the Gorgon drives him away.

³⁴ On the idea that some form of existence continued upon or after death, see Vermeule (1965, 146-147), Protonotariou-Deilaki (1990, 79, note 9), Immerwahr (1995, 116-117), Marinatos (1993, 26-30), and Lewartowski 2000, 60.

plausibly have had a personal connection during life) are sometimes found with secondary remains likewise suggests that surviving members of the community maintained some connection between the human remains and the memory of the deceased individual.

If a connection was maintained, then what was the nature of that relationship, and how was it perceived and enacted? It is clear that (social) memory of a deceased individual persisted after the initial burial and the decomposition of the body, but the absence of regular grave markers is often used as an argument against the existence of an ancestor cult—the argument being that if the dead cannot be identified, then they cannot be worshipped. However, Chysanthi Gallou’s reanalysis of material evidence argues convincingly that some form of ancestor veneration existed among Mycenaean communities.³⁵ At the core of her argument is the redefinition of “cult of the dead” to represent any form of regularized ritual activity that invokes the memory, presence, or communication with the deceased through performative actions; formalized “worship” as seen in other contemporary and later cultures need not be present. The ritual actions through which the dead were invoked and/or interacted with were typically performed at or near the burial space, as evidenced by the detritus associated feasting and other communal actions. Most importantly, Gallou suggests that the social method through which the dead became ancestors were the secondary rites attested in tholoi and in

³⁵ See Gallou (2002, 80-89, 362-373, 396-406) in support of a form of cult of the dead. See the discussion in Lewartowski (2002, 60) for dissenting opinions. It is worth noting that commemoration of the dead during the Classical period involved repeated and annual actions both at the site of the grave and in domestic settings; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 146-148.

chamber tombs.³⁶ The irregular practice of these rites might relate to regional differences in practice, but they might also relate to differences in the societal perceptions of who could make this transition from deceased to ancestor. If the handling of bones and the physical interaction with human remains was part of the ritual that marked the liminal transition to the realm of the ancestors, then the scarcity of this practice in simple graves and among certain members of the burial community (children and adolescents, for example) might indicate that access to the realm of the ancestors was not equally open to all members of the society. In any case, however the transition was determined or enacted, the role of tomb markers (as in the grave markers from Mycenae) is not strictly necessary. Some form of communal recognition and identification of burial sites is attested by the practice of secondary rites (for which one or more return trips to the burial site must have been made), and also by the continued use of single chambers through multiple generations (for which numerous repeated actions would have been enacted by a number of different people).³⁷

The aftermath of funerary rites must also be taken into account in relation to the surviving members of the community, and not just in relation to the dead—considerations of phenomenological experience and memory with respect to the landscape are imperative. Within the rites themselves, feasting and drinking were collective actions that reinforced existing social groups and relationships, and served in turn to underscore those relationships through the formation of collective (social) memories.³⁸ Where

³⁶ Gallou 2002, 362-373, 396-406.

³⁷ On the memory and preservation of burial spaces in spite of the absence of grave markers, see Gallou 2002, 375-377.

³⁸ There is a voluminous amount of anthropological literature on collective actions in mortuary contexts and the formation of social bonds; for specific reference to

commemorative rites were repeated—as in secondary rites—the repetition served to intensify those memories and the relationships they supported. The memories formed by these events are significant, because without memory any collective benefits of the funerary ritual would not last beyond the performative experience of the ritual itself. Yet memory is not permanent or immutable, and social memory in particular must be reinforced through repetition: either real (repeated actions—rituals), representational (embodied by symbols), or narrative (embodied by oral tradition).³⁹ Real repetition is attested in Mycenaean cemeteries in the form of secondary rites and reused burial spaces by later generations. Other forms of repetition are more opaque, especially in areas where the archaeological record does not include settlement data, but the landscape itself can serve as a visual (representational) symbol of the rites.

The complex interplay between landscape and memory is significant.⁴⁰ the landscape is permanent and in a topographical setting like Greece it is typically highly visible, therefore memories of ritual actions can be invoked visually from afar and at will. Combined with Gallou's proposals that Mycenaean secondary rites could transform the dead into societal ancestors, the site of ritual actions thus could serve as a visual queue linked both to the collective memory of the ritual, and to the commemorated ancestors themselves. The act of traversing through the landscape, with recognizable features imbued with locally significant meaning, would continually reference that meaning. Put

Mycenaean practices, see, for example, Hamilakis 1998, 115-126; Gallou 2002, 377-388; Georgiadis 2003, 66-67.

³⁹ See the discussion in van Dyke et al. (2003, 3-5) for an overview of these facets of repetition with bibliography.

⁴⁰ On the connection between landscape, memory, and the (re-)construction of social orders, see, for example, Tilley (1994, 11-34; 2010, 39-40), Giddens (1995, 26-48), Georgiadis (2003, 26-29), and van Dyke and Alcock (2003, 3-6).

another way in the case of burial spaces, movement around the burial space in the course of traversing the landscape would continually reference both the deceased (as ancestor) and the burial (as communal rite). It should be noted, however, that such visual queues would only have remained socially relevant while the memory of the ritual actions and/or the ancestors was alive within the community. Since the social significance of memory would have been tied to the repetition of ritual actions at periodic (even if irregular) intervals, as soon as that repetition was broken the importance of the landscape and the ancestors within it would begin to diminish. This would have been especially true if access to the burial space was unequal and restricted to a certain subset of the local population. If those groups that had access to the burial space lost that access or changed completely, and the rituals that had solidified earlier social bonds ceased to be practiced, then the societal importance of the old funerary landscape would begin to erode over the course of the next few generations as social memories shifted and new landscapes and social orders gained prominence.

Who had access to burial spaces? To a large extent, more detailed (and locally representative) analyses of burial rites depend on who was socially entitled to be buried. Scholarly discussions of Mycenaean burials are nearly unanimous in their considerations of status and family, but neither individual status nor kin networks are straightforward matters. Status as a criterion is problematic for three main reasons: it is not always possible to know whose status is represented by the grave material (the status of the deceased or of the living individuals who enacted the burial); the “status” indicated by burial goods might not reflect the deceased’s actual social role during life; ethnographic studies urge caution when assigning rank or levels of hierarchy to different types or forms

of burial since such distinctions might not be relevant to the living community.⁴¹ Individual identity in the funerary record is very difficult to detect beyond the most general distinctions of male/female or child/adult.⁴² Although weapons are sometimes interpreted as indicating individuals of a warrior class, such depositions are often concentrated in earlier burials at a cemetery and do not reflect a longstanding social practice for a given population.⁴³ Such warrior burials might therefore represent individuals who personally demonstrated martial prowess in times of local conflict, and might not represent a culturally ascribed status that would aid in interpreting such burials across the whole of the Mycenaean world. In fact, the variety of burial forms and the absence of standardized grave “kits” (assemblages) argues that Mycenaean communities did not intend or need to identify the status of each buried individual, and the quantity or perceived quality of grave goods should probably not be taken as a straightforward indicator of social status or rank.

Family is also a complicated criterion due to the ambiguity of the term. Without a solid understanding of Mycenaean kin groups or a comprehensive DNA study of a single burial population, it is perhaps more useful to speak of “corporate groups” (that is, groups of individuals united by common interests and activities, in which filial descent may or may not play a role) rather than strict descent-based family groups. Nevertheless, chamber tombs are typically interpreted as family structures, and clusters of tombs are

⁴¹ See Lewartowski (2000, 56, 61) for a general discussion of these problems with bibliography.

⁴² See Lewartowski 2000, 60-61. Lemos (2002, 188-189) states that emphasizing the gender of the deceased through differential burial goods and practices was a common during the PG period, but this was not necessarily the case during the LH III period.

⁴³ See Benzi 1996, 948-949.

viewed as larger social groupings within society, divided either vertically (different social hierarchies) or horizontally (related to distinctions of tribes, clans, etc.).⁴⁴ Where simple graves (in pits and cists) appear near a chamber tomb, those burials are often interpreted as belonging to individuals who were associated with the family but not entitled to burial in the tomb itself (individuals removed from the family proper by blood, status, occupation, manner of death, etc.).⁴⁵ Although the proximity of burials and graves to one another is often used in this manner as a factor to determine familial relationships, skeletal analysis complicates the picture. Modern anthropological analyses of human remains indicate that the minimum number of individuals interred is often double what has typically been estimated, and that children and women are underrepresented compared to men.⁴⁶ Children might be underrepresented because of the fragility of their bones, but the selectivity of men over women (by a factor of nearly 2:1 at some cemeteries) suggests that children and women were not given equal access to burial space. Children, especially the very young, were probably not fully integrated into the family organization and their deaths might plausibly have elicited different practices and rites accordingly.⁴⁷ The fact that the majority of women were buried at a younger age

⁴⁴ See, for example, Cavanagh and Mee (1990, 61-63; 1998, 130-132), Mee and Cavanagh (1990, 231-234), Lewartowski (2000, 55), Lemos (2002, 187-188, notes 402-404), and Georgiadis (2003, 65).

⁴⁵ Lewartowski 2000, 55.

⁴⁶ Halstead 1977, 108-109, figs. 1-10; Mee and Cavanagh 1984, 55; Morris 1987, 57-62; Wells, 1990, 138-139; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 127-132; Mee 1998b, 166-169. Children might also have been exposed or buried intramurally during the LH III period, and thus the lack of settlement data in some regions might skew the burial picture; see Lewartowski 2000, 53-55.

⁴⁷ See the discussions in Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 128-130) and Lewartowski (2000, 54).

than men, and that most of were of childbearing age, suggests that women's access to burial space might have been accorded through their roles as wives and daughters.⁴⁸

Even though the specific motivations that determined access to burial space and the location of burial within that space might not be fully recoverable today, the evidence from human remains makes it likely from that some special selectivity affected the choice of who could be buried. In other words, not every member of the community, or even of a single family or corporate group, had equal access to burial space. Decisions affecting who could be buried and in what manner likely involved considerations of family and status, but almost certainly involved other considerations as well, all of which were probably subject to as much regional variation as the burial practices themselves. Before those choices can be understood today, it is first necessary to determine how a burial population compared to the demographic makeup of the local community. Ian Morris assessed this demographic aspect through 11th to 5th century BCE burials in Athens to the convincing conclusion that because only a small percentage of the total Athenian population is represented in the known funerary record, some form of social exclusion must have been practiced.⁴⁹ In other words, because only a very small percentage of the total population is represented by the funerary record (about 1.7% in the 5th century), it is extremely unlikely that every member of the society had equal access to burial space. The comparison of burial and resident communities can thus provide invaluable insights into the nature of the society.

⁴⁸ Mee 1998b, 168-169; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 127-128. Ursula Vedder (1988, 190-191) provides an interesting parallel of this valuation by suggesting that women who died in childbirth in Classical Athens were viewed similarly to men who died in battle, with both dying in the line of duty, so to speak.

⁴⁹ Morris 1987, 74-75, 97-109.

Unfortunately, in many regions of the Mycenaean world, the southeast Aegean included, there are very few if any known settlements against which to compare cemetery data. Settlement data is not only important for the comparison of material assemblages (the comparison of imports in domestic versus funerary settings for example), but the layout and organization of settlements or the distribution of settlement clusters can inform modern understanding of social structures and organizations. These societal considerations, and the comparison of the number and nature of social groups in cemetery and settlement settings, are crucial for understanding details of the funerary record—how social groups (and individuals) chose to be remembered or interpreted in death; whether different social groups used the funerary landscape as a means of competition and assertion of social authority; how material objects functioned or were employed through consumption and display.⁵⁰ These questions can be approached without settlement data, but interpretations of a funerary assemblage can change greatly if, for example, five chamber tombs were used by a decentralized population of 30 or a centralized hierarchical population of 3,000. As a result, consideration will be given in this study to how representative the burial population might have been to the local community.

Cultural Geography

This study will approach the southeast Aegean as a geographically defined region encompassing the modern Dodecanese in Greece (the region from Samos and Ikaria in the north to Rhodes in the south, and Astypalaia and Karpathos in the west), and the

⁵⁰ On issues of competition, consumption, and display in the funerary record, and the need to compare this record with settlement data, see, for example, Voutsaki (1995, 7-8; 1997, 39-47), Steel (1998, 292), van Wijngaarden (1999, 3-5), Whitelaw (1999, 32-35), and Georgiadis (2003, 64-67).

Turkish coast from the Mycale peninsula in the north to the Datça peninsula in the south (the provinces of Aydın and the northern half of Muğla⁵¹); see Figure 1.1. This geography has not been chosen arbitrarily, but is based on current research in the east Aegean. Penelope Mountjoy first identified this area (minus Karpathos) as the “Lower East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface,” which she defined based on the higher proportion of Mycenaean ceramics and material influence compared to what is visible at sites farther to the north.⁵² This distinction is the significant factor in the determination of geography for the purposes of this study. The simple appearance of Mycenaean material at a site is of secondary importance to the dominance of Mycenaean material culture within the total assemblage from that site. Sites in the east Aegean to the north and east of the zone examined here demonstrate consistently lower proportions of Aegean imports or ceramic influence compared to local products and central Anatolian imports. Astypalaia and Karpathos (including the smaller offshore islands of Saria and Kasos) are included in this study as a way of examining the influence of communities on Crete and

⁵¹ This excludes the modern districts of Köyceğiz, Ortaca, Dalaman, and Fethiye—essentially the Dalyan Delta and the Xanthos river valley—in Muğla province. Activity in this region is almost entirely later than the period under consideration here, and reflects a Lycian, rather than an Aegean, tradition. Mycenaean material in this area has not been reported. Scarce Protogeometric sherds have been reported from excavations at Kaunos and Patara at the mouths of the Dalyan and Eşen rivers respectively, as well as from excavations at Çatılar Höyük and the larger Balboura Survey farther inland. On these, see Mellink (1969, 216), Işık (1993, 285, 296, fig. 13; 2000, 6), Gates (1994, 266), Mitchell (1998-1999, 167), Momigliano et al. (2011, 63, 75, fig. 13, 85-87, figs. 22-23), and French (2012, 20, fig. 11.13). At Çatılar Höyük at least, nearly 80 kilometers inland from the mouth of the Xanthos River, PG ceramics are uncommon in relation to local and Anatolian pottery.

⁵² Mountjoy 1998, 38, fig. 1, 52, fig. 9. This is also more or less the same geography covered by Georgiadis (2003) in his examination of the region; see also Eerbeek 2014, 3-5.

in the Cyclades on the western edge of the region.⁵³ Both islands are separated from their nearest neighbor by a larger distance than other islands in the Dodecanese, and so the potential for unique patterns of contact and social expression in these areas is greater. The goal of the study as a whole will be to investigate societal variation within this corner of the Mycenaean Aegean, and to trace that variation through time. For this chronological scope, the term “Late Helladic” will be used as opposed to the more island-centric designation “Late Cycladic.” The reason for this is purely conventional—all other discussions of the region since the beginning of the 20th century relate ceramic styles (and thus chronological periods) to Helladic models as opposed to the adjacent Cycladic terminology. The same terminological model will be followed here to facilitate the comparison of the discussion in this study with the larger body of research.

Before continuing, “cultural geography” must be defined in relation to the goals of this study. Cultural geography is a somewhat vaguely defined term, or more to the point, a term that encompasses a wide range of academic meanings and associations.⁵⁴ At the core of this approach is the investigation of the relationship between a society and its setting (whether that setting is natural, constructed, or remembered), and the use of the local landscape by elements within a society as a means of expression. Culture cannot be defined by the land that surrounds a community—there is nothing deterministically “Rhodian” about a society simply because of its location on Rhodes—but, rather, the

⁵³ Although published near the completion of this study, recent research has reiterated the differences between LBA societies in the Cyclades and the Dodecanese; see Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 341-359.

⁵⁴ Recent introductions to the discipline emphasize the wide breadth of topics under this aegis, as well as the emphasis on understanding culture through its interactions and locations in addition to material expressions. See, for example, Mitchell 2000, xiii-xviii; Anderson et al. 2003, 1-9; Atkinson et al. 2005, vii-xvi; and Anderson 2010, 1-12.

setting of social actions both actively shapes, and is shaped by, those actions that take place within it. Through time the landscape becomes imbued with meaning such that it can become associated with the actions and organizations of the community, and functionally contribute to the identity of the society. Understanding the connection between the landscape and settlement patterns within the region has implications for interpreting the construction of local identities, the exercise of regional authorities, and the access to (and distribution of) material wealth. This approach will focus primarily on the locations and distributions of different kinds of activities. These geographic distributions will be tools for analyzing and identifying how societies were organized within the landscape and how that organization was expressed, how societies interacted with one another and what this interaction reveals about the different social agencies operating within the region, and how these patterns of organization, expression, and agency were adapted during the physical and societal changes of the period.⁵⁵

It should be stated directly that identity itself is not what is being sought through this analysis. Collective identity and ethnicity are complex anthropological principles, and ones that are not well suited to the material remains within the prehistoric southeast Aegean at this time.⁵⁶ Group identities are established and enacted through a variety of

⁵⁵ The work of Mercurios Georgiadis (2003) is the only other modern consideration of the relationship between landscape and society in this region. His focus, however, was on the distribution of, and variation within, the region's funerary rites during the LH III period; the ways in which those rites were shaped by the landscape (i.e., the roles of water and visibility) formed one aspect of his investigation. Because of the difference in focus, Georgiadis' consideration of the details of funerary rites in the southeast Aegean is more comprehensive than what is presented in this study. See also Georgiadis and Gallou 2006-2007.

⁵⁶ The succinct remarks by Yannis Galanakis (2009, 8) summarize this point exceptionally well: "The emphasis here lies with the construction of complex networks of social identities (with ethnicity being only one aspect). The material

means in a variety of different living contexts. Funerary rites are an aspect of this expression, but so are aspects like personal appearance, language, the production and consumption of food, political structures, and the organization of kin groups, to name a select few. Although many of these aspects can be approached from the funerary record, none can be established conclusively from cemetery data alone, and some aspects that are of paramount importance for identity construction—like language and domestic traditions—are invisible in the funerary record of the period. The fact that there is no settlement data with which to compare the information from cemeteries exacerbates the problems of identity analysis. For example, there is no way to compare the personal appearance of individuals in death with their expression during life. Likewise, the production and consumption of food, housing patterns (with implications for social organization), and craft production are only indirectly represented by evidence from tombs. Social organization of kin groups can be posited from the funerary record, but the inconsistent practices of secondary rites and single inhumations make associating kin groups in cemeteries difficult without scientific confirmation. Political relationships can be inferred from the relative abundance or quality of grave goods, but this relationship is difficult to confirm, and the wide variety of funerary rites visible in the LH III repertoire of the region only adds complexity. For these reasons, the scope of investigation will remain wide, zoomed-out so to speak, so as to emphasize more general similarities and

culture in the Late Bronze Age Aegean (e.g. grave assemblages) appears to have been shaped more by issues of status, rank, gender, age and religious beliefs than ethnicity itself (... there is little to suggest that it [ethnicity] constituted... a significant marker of a consciously perceived and internally constructed strategy of social distinction between and within communities across the Aegean)." O'Shea (1984, 286-301) provides a good illustration of mortuary variability within and between ethnic groups.

differences in practice between sites. Choices regarding ethnic affiliation might not be able to be reconstructed, but broad differences in practice can be detected. The task then becomes to associate those practices with active social agencies.

Agency and identity can be related concepts, but are not inherently so. Identity politics blend the two realms, but political will can also transcend multiple identity groups and encompass a wide range of collective unities. This investigation proceeds on the premise that differences in the material record are the result of different active agencies that were perhaps informed by collective identities, but that were not solely reliant on them, or automatically expressive of them. For example, the prominence of Cretan influence in ceramic decorations on LH IIIA Karpathos might reflect an identity relationship between the inhabitants of Karpathos and Crete, but this is not certain. On the other hand, that ceramic influence does attest trade and the personal relationships necessary to establish and maintain trade routes between a production center on Crete and a consumption community on Karpathos. These routes of communication and trade reflect a series of conscious choices and actions on the part of members of a community on Karpathos that might not have been matched by a community on (for example) southern Rhodes. That these two communities imported ceramics that display different foreign influences is not itself a marker of identity, but it does attest that members of those two communities chose to maintain differential external communications and express themselves differently in the funerary realm, in part through objects related to those external communications. The ability to exercise these differences attests the existence of two different social agencies, each able to act independently in order to acquire objects from different sources that ultimately display different influences. This is

a very simplified example, but it illustrates the sort of deep changes (practice and choice),⁵⁷ as opposed to superficial changes (material variation and appearance), that will be sought in the course of this study.

Categories of Practice in the Archaeological Record

Social groups, as revealed by different patterns of activity, will be sought based on six categories. These categories examine material differences in order to reveal conscious choices regarding practice—how the dead were treated and manipulated, how they were honored or remembered, and how different types of objects made their way into these rituals. The categories are as follows:

1. Differences in tomb construction and method of burial. Choices regarding the method of burial and the type (and layout) of a tomb are based directly on the requirements of the funerary rite(s) and the associated access to the tomb to which different elements within the society were entitled or excluded. A large tumulus and a cinerary amphora are not independently indicative of wholly different conceptions of death and the deceased, but they do suggest different concerns regarding access and visibility. Likewise, a larger chamber tomb not only allows more occupants and the deposition of more material wealth than a smaller chamber tomb, it also has the potential to allow different rites to be enacted within the burial space as opposed to around it (washing of the body, for example). Thus, changes in location and the landscape of

⁵⁷ Yasur-Landau (2010, 13-17) defines “deep change” in relation to migration as one that is based on (domestic) behavioral patterns. Although the present study is not overtly concerned with the effects of migration on material change, the relationship between deep change and behavior will be followed here.

burial speak more to deep changes in the conception of the deceased and the role of the deceased for/within the living community than the architecture of tomb itself.

2. *Practices of single/multiple burial, and primary/secondary deposition.* These two practices potentially represent different attitudes toward access to the deceased and the proper treatment for that deceased individual. Multiple burial indicates repeated access to the same burial space, and secondary rites indicate more specific repeated access to the same individual; however, it should be noted that the focus of access is different in these two practices: the space versus the individual. On the other hand, single and primary depositions represent the absence of repeated actions focused on the deceased individual, at least insofar as they were enacted at the grave site. These practices can also reveal (if incompletely) something about the social organization and structure of a given community. Multiple burials within a single tomb suggest that those individuals interred together possessed an exclusive social connection that was not shared by every member of the community, or by every member of the subset of that community that was entitled to burial within the cemetery. Differential attitudes and access to burial spaces from one community to the next implies different social organizations, even though the exact nature of those organizations (kin/corporate groups) might not be able to be determined with confidence.

3. *Differences in the ratios of grave goods to individual burials or bodies within tombs.* Although differential numbers of grave goods can be interpreted to reflect class or status distinctions when considering a single cemetery, averages between cemeteries can reflect more general differences in practice and perception. A cemetery with relatively few burials but a large amount of material wealth suggests that access to burial

space and perceptions regarding the role of material wealth in funerary rites might be different when compared to a cemetery with a large number of burials with relatively few grave goods.

4. *Differences in the ratios of open to closed ceramic vessels.* The basis of this distinction is the difference in general use between consumption (open shapes) and storage (closed shapes). In addition to illustrating usable distinctions, this ratio is intended to sidestep a number of problems with vessel identifications and comparisons. Regarding identification, 19th and very early 20th century field notes and descriptions of looted sites might mention only an amphora or jug rim, but since these descriptions are not typically accompanied by illustrations, there is seldom a way of knowing what that label means in modern terms; the fact that much early material has subsequently been lost only compounds this issue. Labeling vessels as simply “open” or “closed” allows a generalization that circumvents problems of identification that might be based on second hand descriptions and memories of looted sites that (on Rhodes and in Caria at least) were not always recorded accurately or consistently. This generalization also allows rapid, if broad, comparisons across time, since Late Helladic III Furumark shapes (FS) do not always translate directly to Late Protogeometric shapes. Admittedly, this is a blunt approach, but it still allows for some comparison of immediate consumption versus storage.

This approach also reflects ambiguities regarding the identification of the function of shapes. To a large extent the funerary ritual determined the function of the vessels (rather than vice versa), and since the details of the rituals are in many cases unclear, the function of most vessel forms should not be interpreted as intrinsic or static. Although

smaller closed vessels, like a lekythos or a small jug, could be used for immediate consumption (dining), they could also be used to store a small amount of more precious liquid (as, for example, perfumed oil). Additionally, some shapes existed in a variety of sizes, such as piriform jars, stirrup jars, kraters, and skyphoi. It is possible that the different sizes performed the same function, like different sizes of wine carafes, but it is equally plausible that different sizes were employed in a range of different functions. Except in a small number of cases where the shape of a vessel creates an inherent function, like a lamp or a brazier, the detailed breakdown of shapes in these funerary contexts does not automatically reveal the nature of rites in which the ceramics were employed. This is not to say that no information can be gleaned from a detailed analysis of ceramic shapes, quite the contrary, but in order to reconstruct funerary rites from the ceramic record each context must be analyzed individually to avoid generalities and give proper concern for the sort of subregional diversity that this study intends to examine. The generality of “open vs. closed” shapes employed here might miss some of the closed shapes that were used actively and assumes no open shapes were used passively as temporary storage (like a serving bowl for solid objects), but without analyzing each context individually this blunt tool can still demonstrate differences in funerary practice.

5. The unequal distribution of materials and objects across geography. The distribution of different types of objects and materials plausibly reveals less about regional changes in funerary rites than about regional distributions of social authority. A geographic concentration of large amounts of material wealth indicates a different level of social display through funerary performance compared to sites in the immediate vicinity that do not display such concentrations. The rites need not have been different,

but the concentration of material wealth attests a concentration of social status and authority (tied to material display) exercised by the population that deposited that wealth. The distribution of these concentrations of wealth and status throughout the landscape can be used to suggest the levels of interaction between communities, and plausibly the unequal power relationships between those communities.

6. *Different patterns of importation and/or foreign influence.* The distribution of imports can be interpreted in much the same way as the distribution of material wealth in general—as a substantive symbol of differential levels of authority in the landscape. Where concentrations of objects possessing a shared origin can be detected, especially when sustained through a period of time, foreign influence can also suggest intentional preferences regarding contact with overseas populations and regions. For example, the appearance of objects of Argive manufacture throughout Rhodes during the LH IIIA, indicates not merely an aesthetic preference, but a conscious maintenance of overseas communication that is not visible in communities on contemporary Karpathos. The conscious decision to preference contact with people(s) in one external region over another is most likely a reflection of a complex combination of social factors that cannot fully be understood today. Cultural heritage, ethnic affiliation, the role of kin networks in the community and in the establishment of local authority, and mythological tradition, to name a few, can all be factors in the choice of which foreign goods to acquire. These important factors, however, can only be detected indirectly in the funerary record, in part by patterns of foreign influence and contact.

Patterns of importation and foreign influence bring the topic of the koine to bear on this discussion. The koine as a material phenomenon (as opposed to a linguistic one)

has acquired a unique application in studies of Aegean prehistory.⁵⁸ First applied in the early 20th century, the “Mycenaean Koine” was originally used to denote the broadly homogenous Mycenaean material culture that existed throughout the LH III Aegean.⁵⁹ In this sense the term was used much as “culture” would be today—based on material similarities, but representing broad unity with regard to social structures and expressions. Increasingly, as regional variation in the Mycenaean material record became more apparent, the word koine came to be used to refer to regional similarities defined by specific subsets of material culture, principally based on an often limited number of ceramic forms. This was the usage that V. R. d’A. Desborough employed when he wrote of the LH IIIC “miniature Mycenaean koine,” a regional phenomenon that encompassed the Dodecanese, Miletus, Naxos, and Perati, and that together exhibited certain material similarities not demonstrated elsewhere.⁶⁰ Similar material koines have been proposed subsequently to include the southeast Aegean—Penelope Mountjoy’s LH IIIC East Aegean Koine (which she describes as the functional successor to her LH IIIA-B East Aegean-West Anatolian Lower Interface),⁶¹ and Irene Lemos’ PG Euboean Koine.⁶²

The problem with the identification of koines lies with the attribution of agency.

The pursuit of collective identity expression through material (stylistic) variation has

⁵⁸ For a useful summary of the historiography of koines in LBA archaeology, see Galanakis 2009. Galanakis advocates for the abandonment of the term as one that has become so vaguely defined in modern discourse as to be virtually meaningless. On the other hand, see Thomatos (2007, 315-322) for a largely parallel discussion that focuses on Desborough’s koine, with the conclusion that the term still has validity.

⁵⁹ See Galanakis (2009, 6-8) for a summary and discussion of subsequent terminological modifications.

⁶⁰ Desborough 1964, 227-229.

⁶¹ Mountjoy 1998, 53-63.

⁶² Lemos 1998.

resulted in the inclusion of social identity within the heading of the koine. As a result, discussions of koines in the prehistoric Aegean often borrow language from discussions of socio-political entities. For example, when Mountjoy writes of imports and exports from the East Aegean Koine and contrasts the geographic boundaries of the koine with the political boundaries of the state of Ahhiyawa, the implication of this language is that the material koine functioned with a unitary socio-political agency.⁶³ Likewise, Lemos writes of the shared Euboean material koine as an outgrowth of Euboean commercial interests, essentially sidelining those communities in the Dodecanese as subordinate to Euboean agencies.⁶⁴ It is doubtful that either author intended that these deterministic interpretations should be drawn, but the focus on the materiality of the koine, to the detriment of the social (human) agencies behind the interactions, permits the ambiguity.⁶⁵

The search for agency in the current investigation requires a more explicit approach. The general acknowledgment that a material koine is a reflection of commercial activity—that is, repeated material commonalities can only be expressed in areas that have regular contact with one another—is key to understanding these phenomena. Rather than view material similarities as imposed (either actively or passively) from one area on others, as a top-down reflection of political will or influence, shared stylistic expressions should be viewed first and foremost as representations of contact with the automatic implication of reciprocity. Each actor in the chain of acquisition must function with an active agency in order for transmission to occur, since trade is an inherently active process and cannot occur passively. Ethnic affiliation,

⁶³ Mountjoy 1998, 55, 60, 63.

⁶⁴ Lemos 1998, 45, 56-57.

⁶⁵ See also Galanakis 2009, 7-8.

political ties, and other aspects of collective identity certainly influenced the underlying human contacts that ultimately coalesced to produce a shared stylistic expression, but that material continuum must be viewed as simply one of many such overlapping forms of expression. This is how stylistic and material commonalities will be treated in this study—reflections of the conscious choices that different communities made regarding external contact, mediated by (now invisible) factors of identity and personal relationships, but not singularly representative of any one of those factors.

These six categories are a way of approaching practice in the material record, to be used as a tool for identifying different social groups and the distribution of independent social agencies; but identification alone is not a sufficient goal. Instead, the identification of different social groups and agencies will be integrated into the larger historical narrative of the Aegean LBA/EIA transition in order to contextualize the region's societies. The resulting examination will provide a picture of the active role that these groups played in the changes of the period. This picture is intended to counter the image of the region as a peripheral zone that was dependent on larger centers in the southern Greek mainland, on Crete, and in Anatolia.

Chapter Outline and Organization

Because this study begins after Mycenaean material culture had already become dominant in the southeast Aegean, Chapter 2 briefly discusses the earlier history of the

region during the LH I-III A periods. The region demonstrates Cretan influence prior to the appearance of Mycenaean material culture, and several sites, including Trianda, Kostown, and Miletus, plausibly demonstrate a significant degree of active Cretan settlement. Subsequent Mycenaean material culture follows in the same sites that display Cretan material culture, which suggests that the same routes of communication and exchange that sustained the Cretan-influenced settlements of the region were instrumental in bringing the first Mycenaeans into the region. The nature of these initial contacts and influence, however, is a matter of debate. Did populations from Crete and the Mycenaean mainland actively settle in the southeast Aegean, or does the material culture indicate more passive acculturation? These issues of Minoan- and Mycenaeanization are discussed briefly during this historical outline in Chapter 2, but new research is not presented. Although it seems likely that active settlement did occur, it is probable that passive acculturation played a role as well; as a result, the societies of the LH III A-B southeast Aegean should be viewed as a combination of mainland and native influences. The nature of this initial combination is not discussed in detail here, since for the purposes of the rest of the investigation it largely does not matter if the societies were Mycenaean transplants or acculturated autochthonous communities. An examination of ethnic distinctions among the inhabitants, which is the essential basis of the “Mycenaean/Mycenaeanized” distinction, is not well suited to the material at hand from this period and region. As a result, the homogenous adoption of Mycenaean material culture facilitates the examination of social differences within the region, regardless of the origins of those societies.

Chapters 3 and 4 present those sites in the region that have produced evidence of activity from the LH IIIB-C and SM/PG periods respectively. Each chapter is organized by island or area, and proceeds in a counterclockwise direction. The location of each site that is used here relies on published topographic descriptions, correlated with published photographs, and supplemented by satellite imagery where possible.⁶⁶ These descriptions and photographs are not always consistent, as is noted where relevant, and in such cases effort has been made to determine the original location as closely as possible. A brief history of the exploration of each site is then followed by a summary of finds and then a classification of the site as either a cemetery, a settlement, or a site of unknown character. A cemetery is defined by the physical presence of a tomb, or the historically consistent reporting of a now-lost tomb, provided that ambiguity regarding the location of activity is not so great as to render the existence of the tomb questionable. This excludes some material of uncertain provenance from this study, especially from the LH IIIB period. A settlement is harder to classify since excavated habitation contexts are so rare in this region. For these purposes, a settlement is defined by a sherd scatter in the absence of cuttings for tombs provided that the location is consistent with what is known of other settlements in the area. These are discussed on a site-by-site basis, and draw largely on the expert opinions of those who reported the sites. Admittedly, this subjective method of identification is outdated and methodologically problematic; for example, it is acknowledged that the term “settlement” is used here as an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of human activities, not all of which might have included

⁶⁶ These sources are cited in Chapters 3 and 4. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962; 1970; 1973) and Georgiadis (2003) were particularly useful for detailed topographic descriptions and site photographs, while Google Earth was used as a supplement for satellite imagery and to examine rough topography.

habitation. However, since there is a total of only five sites in the entire region that have produced reliable settlement contexts (architecture and associated strata), and in the absence of intensive surveys (the Halasarna Survey is the sole exception), sherd scatters are employed here as a hint of how the landscape might have been populated in antiquity. Where not enough information exists to identify the scatter as a cemetery or as a tentative settlement—i.e., where only a small sherd scatter is present or where only a handful of datable sherds were recovered—the site will be classed as of unknown character. These sites still attest human activity, and can be used to examine the distribution of that activity in the landscape, but cannot inform the detailed analysis of social groups or behavior.

The analysis of this material begins with Chapter 5, which first examines pattern of intraregional variation in the record. The goal of this section is to distinguish independent social units based on the six categories outlined in the previous section in this chapter, *Categories of Practice in the Archaeological Record*. The separate social units are identified and briefly described at the end of this section. This picture is then supplemented by an examination of settlement chambers (*Siedlungskammern*)—areas of repetitious settlement bounded and united by topography.⁶⁷ The correlation between these two methods of analysis is important, since they reflect different activities. The social units are defined by differences in funerary practice and thus represent conscious choices regarding the expression of collective identity; the identities of *Siedlungskammern* are based solely on the distribution of sites and represent the

⁶⁷ See Bintliff (2000, 40-41) for a concise definition in relation to German *Landeskunde* studies. See also recent applications in western Anatolia in Hertel and Schachner (2000, 306), and Pavúk (2015, 95).

likelihood of regular contact between different areas of human activity. Therefore, the correlation between the two indicates that those populations that sustained the most regular contact with one another were also most likely to exhibit similarities in the outward expression of funerary rites.

Chapter 6 discusses what the societies of the southeast Aegean plausibly would have looked like. The first section details the nature of Mycenaean society in the region with an eye toward understanding just how Mycenaean these societies might have been. Next, the issue of who had access to burial space is analyzed. This section asserts that access to burial space was restricted, since the burial population does not reflect the demographics of a living community, and since it can only reasonably account for a very small population within the region. Because those who were buried must have been selected from a larger community it is here proposed that they constituted a local elite, the nature of which and the role that the elite dead played within the community is defined. With a connection between the cemeteries and local social authority thus outlined, the next section hypothesizes the extent to which different populations in the region were organized into hierarchies of social authorities. A tentative community hierarchy is reconstructed, the most important centers of which were Trianda/Ialysos, Kos town, and probably also Miletus. Lastly, the interaction between local communities and the landscape is analyzed in the last section. Here it is argued that the land itself was central to the construction of the region's social groups, and for defining the territory of the living through the placement of cemeteries. The interaction between the living and the land during the performance of funerary rites, and the positioning of cemeteries on prominent points that overlooked agricultural catchments and external access to those

catchments, served to reify the community as a whole through the association of ancestors and the environment.

Societal changes are considered in Chapter 7, beginning with examinations of patterns and transformations in land use and the distributions of human actions within the region during the LH IIIB and IIIC periods. Before comparable SM/PG patterns can be analyzed it is first necessary to confront chronological uncertainties regarding the relationship between LH IIIC, SM, and PG material. After a brief consideration of the basis for dating material to a Submycenaean “period,” it is concluded that in the southeast Aegean SM material should more properly be considered as either a lingering local LH IIIC “late” of sorts (by mainland standards there is very little LH IIIC Late material in the region), or as a variation of PG material. The distinction is essentially one of ceramic quality, rather than of chronology. Following the discussion of chronology, the patterns of land use and the distributions of activity are considered for the SM/PG period. The last section is an attempt to situate the broad social changes of the period within a narrative sequence. This narrative contextualizes and attempts to explain the nucleation of social authority and populations around the larger centers in the region during the LH IIIB-C periods, and the local responses to changing social, ecological, and economic conditions at the close of the Bronze Age. As these societies are followed into the beginning of the EIA, the rise of new Carian and Dorian identities are discussed.

Chapter 8 examines the ways in which communities in the southeast Aegean communicated with the outside world, and how communities differentially exploited external contacts. The chapter begins with a brief examination of mythic traditions recorded for the region by later (ancient) historians and mythographers. At issue here is

how different traditions were used by later populations to construct intraregional identities. Although this later evidence cannot be projected anachronistically into prehistory, there are parallels between the distribution of (semi-)mythical foundation events and the prehistoric material record. These parallels are further borne out by an examination of foreign goods and their uneven distribution throughout the region. Not only are foreign imports concentrated in the largest centers of social authority in the region, but objects from the eastern Mediterranean are more likely to have been imported to Rhodes, while objects from the central and northern Aegean and Anatolia are more likely to have been imported to Kos. The differential external orientations for the populations at each primary center of authority suggest that access to different foreign locations, and not simply the objects from those locations, was instrumental in the establishment of social status. These overseas contacts played a role in the rise of elites in these primary centers, and were also undoubtedly a factor in the migration period that followed. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the role of foreign contact in the population movements that followed, the colonial experience and the subsequent Dorianizing of the region.

Chapter 2

The Southeast Aegean during the Early Late Bronze Age

Before beginning with the main investigation of this study, this chapter outlines first what preceded the LH IIIB societies in the region. The inhabitants of much of the LH IIIB southeast Aegean display a thoroughly Mycenaean character with respect to their material culture and mortuary practices; however, the goal of this chapter is not to reevaluate the evidence for Mycenaean settlement in the region.⁶⁸ Instead, it serves as a preliminary historical introduction to the earlier Late Bronze Age region, and sets the stage for the chronological examination that follows.

The Late Minoan / Late Helladic I-II Period

By the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, the southeast Aegean was already well exposed to, and integrated into, the larger network of Aegean communications and interconnections.⁶⁹ Cycladic and Minoan (i.e., Cretan⁷⁰) influence was particularly

⁶⁸ Such examinations have already been conducted recently by Georgiadis (2003) and Eerbeek (2014).

⁶⁹ It should be noted that although knowledge about the Middle Bronze Age in the southeast Aegean has increased in the last two decades, the evidence is still more limited than the evidence for the Late Bronze Age. Additionally, the preservation and reporting of available evidence is hampered by the same problems that plague LBA sites, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷⁰ The terms Cretan and Minoan are often used interchangeably in LBA studies, but this pattern will not be followed here. Instead, Minoan will be used as an ethnonym to refer specifically to those cultural elements or population groups that are plausibly identified as having originated within the cultural milieu of Crete. On the other hand, objects that evidence contact without necessitating specific

prominent in the region during the Middle Bronze Age, and a Minoan physical presence is well attested by the end of the MBA in certain areas. Distinctively Cretan Middle Minoan imported objects have been found at sites on the islands on Karpathos, Kasos, Rhodes, Kos, and Samos, and on the mainland at Miletus, Iasos, and Knidos.⁷¹ Karpathos, Kasos, and Saria, which might be expected to display an early connection with Crete based on their geographical proximity, have not produced evidence of intensive contact, but sporadic finds throughout these western islands suggests that there was at least periodic contact with Crete.⁷² On Karpathos, the abandonment of earlier highland sites in favor of coastal locations and the expansion in the overall number of settlement sites mirror contemporary changes on Crete.⁷³ These changes in settlement patterns during the MBA might suggest a change in the society or population of the islands, perhaps resulting from increased contact with nearby neighbors overseas to the west. Larger settlements appear to have existed on Rhodes, and it is worth noting that one of the most densely populated areas in the region at this point appears to have been the north coast of Rhodes, which continued to be settled heavily until the end of the Bronze Age.

Although some Cretan ceramic imports from this early phase date to the Old Palace period and the beginning of the MBA, the majority are of Neopalatial date, and correspond with an increase in communication and contact between Crete and the

cultural transmission will be termed Cretan as a geographic reference, to separate the local use and function of the object from the ethnonym "Minoan."

⁷¹ For additional general discussion and citations see Mee (1982, 79-80), Davis (2001, 68), Davis et al. (2001, 91-93), and Georgiadis (2003, 24).

⁷² Davis 2001, 70.

⁷³ Melas 1985, 159. The concurrence of settlement change and an increasing Minoanization of the material culture is rough and difficult to date precisely, but the two phenomena can plausibly be linked.

southeast Aegean during the MM III-LM I periods. Neopalatial material has been detected on the islands of Saros, Karpathos, Kasos, Rhodes, Chalke, Tilos, Kos, Kalymnos, and Samos, and on the mainland at Miletus, Teichiussa, Iasos, and Knidos.⁷⁴ Pigadia on Karpathos was certainly a settlement of some size and importance, and might have been the largest in the immediate area around the island.⁷⁵ Additional finds from elsewhere on the island and on nearby Saros and Kasos support the view that this group of islands closest to Crete was inhabited by a population that was heavily influenced by Minoan culture. Fine ceramics and ashlar masonry combine with Minoan style loom weights to suggest that all levels of the population had deep contact with Crete.

Trianda on Rhodes has produced such a concentration of Neopalatial material that the nature of (at least parts of) the settlement and its society must have been heavily Minoanized. This Cretan influence is not only evident in the number of Neopalatial finds, but in the proportion as well, in which objects of Neopalatial manufacture or style account for the majority of all finds on record.⁷⁶ The assemblages recovered from the first phase of the settlement (Trianda I) include workshop materials, domestic tools and accoutrements, wall paintings, and evidence of ritual practice, which all suggest that the local population was emulating Cretan society on a widespread yet intimately personal

⁷⁴ For additional general discussion and citations see Mee (1982, 80-82; 1998a, 137), Melas (1988a, 112, 118), Mountjoy (1998, 33), Davis et al. (2001, 92-93), Georgiadis (2003, 24), and Niemeier (2005a, 9-10).

⁷⁵ Melas 1985, 160-161; Davis 2001, 70-71. Other sites on the island might have been simply isolated farmhouses or small clusters of family dwellings; Pigadia gives the best evidence for a centralized coastal settlement during this period.

⁷⁶ Note that Marketou et al. (2006) illustrate the importance of Cretan and Mycenaean ceramic influence and importation throughout the period, but also observe the high number of local products that were manufactured in those styles, which suggests active local workshops and regional exchange.

scale; moreover, this social phenomenon was probably not confined to the elites.⁷⁷

Unfortunate preservation of the settlement remains makes the chronology of the site difficult to piece together.⁷⁸ Although it is probable that the local population persisted on this site through the LH IIIB period (the cemetery at Ialysos was in use through at least the middle of the LH IIIC), it is not entirely clear that all of the chronological phases between LM IA and LM/LH IIIB are represented in the archaeological strata.

Excavations at the Seraglio on Kos have produced a settlement that displays a number of similarities with Trianda.⁷⁹ Craftsmen at this site produced Minoanizing light-on-dark pottery that was widely exported throughout the eastern Aegean and beyond through the LM IA period. This industry and the accompanying export network are unlikely to have developed without a local infrastructure to support them, although excavations have not produced clear evidence of that infrastructure. It is curious that so few genuine imports have been recovered from the Seraglio, and it is plausible that the local industry developed to fill a need that external commerce could not fill.

Unfortunately, as at Trianda, an LM I(A) destruction disrupted the settlement, which does not appear to have been resumed until the LM/LH IIIA. Nearby populations at Vathy Cave on Kalymnos made use of similar material assemblages, although the record suggests that the majority of objects there were locally produced.⁸⁰ Unlike at the Seraglio, the record at Vathy shows a continuity of habitation from the LM IA-LM/LH III.

⁷⁷ Marketou 1988; Davis 2001, 69; Georgiadis 2003, 24; Niemeier 2005a, 5, 9-10.

⁷⁸ Small excavation areas scattered throughout the modern town make it difficult to construct an accurate picture of the ancient settlement as a whole. See also the section on Trianda (3.5.1) in Chapter 3.

⁷⁹ Mee 1982, 82; Davis 2001, 68, 70; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010, 66-75.

⁸⁰ Davis 2001, 92.

Miletus IV spans the period of the New Palaces from the MM III to at least the LM IB or LM/LH II. The area of the excavated settlement appears to have included both domestic and sanctuary space, as defined by material assemblages and architecture.⁸¹ The fact that nearly 95% of all ceramics recovered from this phase of the site is Minoan domestic pottery is a strong indication that the local population was, for all practical purposes, Minoan.⁸² The question of whether this population immigrated directly from Crete, or whether acculturation occurred through more passive means is best left to other discussions; however, as with the settlements on Karpathos, at Trianda, and at the Seraglio, the existence of a Minoan(ized) population here on the coast strengthens the social and commercial ties between the region and the wider Aegean networks.⁸³ As with other nearby sites where Minoan influence was particularly prevalent, material goods at Miletus appear to have been largely locally produced. Although imports are present in the record (particularly from Crete, the Cyclades and Cyprus), the majority of objects on site, including those in Minoan styles, were made locally.⁸⁴

The LM/LH I-II period in the southeast Aegean is characterized by an increase in settlement numbers and density. Based on the few sites spread throughout the region (Trianda, Seraglio, Miletus, and possibly also Pigadia) that display not only Minoanizing trade products, but also domestic objects and decoration from at least the end of the MBA, it is likely that earlier Minoanization in these centers led to the wider Minoanization of regional populations through the following generations. This societal

⁸¹ Georgiadis 2003, 25; Niemeier 2005a, 4-8.

⁸² Niemeier 2005a, 9. See also Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 559-568.

⁸³ For Minoanization see Broodbank (2004); for relevance to Mycenaean studies, see Feuer (2011, 527).

⁸⁴ Gödecken 1996, 310-312; Mountjoy 1998, 36; Niemeier 2005a, 5-6.

shift affected an increased integration within the routes of communication and commerce in the wider Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Long distance trade and exchange is attested in the form of imported objects from Egypt, Cyprus, Anatolia, Crete, the Cyclades and the Greek mainland. However, imports were never common in proportion to the total number of objects found at any given site, and in spite of occasional far reaching commerce, the islands display a strong tendency toward local production. Locally produced Minoanizing goods, as from the Seraglio on Kos, always outnumber the genuine imports that would conceivably have served as models for local industry. The local production of Cretan goods suggests that a market existed for such a Cretan style, but that adequate mechanisms of acquisition did not. The nature and causes of this imbalance will not be investigated here, but it is important to note the presence of this inequality since a similar situation marks the material nature of the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

The Late Helladic IIIA Period

The beginning of the Late Bronze III period in the southeast Aegean is marked by the widespread appearance of Mycenaean material culture in the region.⁸⁵ Ceramic forms and the appearance of chamber tombs attest a localized Mycenaean presence from at least the latter part of the LH II period, especially on Karpathos (Pigadia), Kos (the Seraglio

⁸⁵ There has been much discussion over the appearance of the Mycenaean in the southeast Aegean in terms of chronology and social mechanisms. See, for example, Furumark 1950; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962; 1970; 1973; Mee 1978; 1982, 81-87; Melas 1985, 176-181; Benzi 1988b; Mountjoy 1998; Georgiadis 2003, 110-111; 2004; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010, 75-78; Eerbeek 2014.

and Eleona-Langada) and Rhodes (Trianda and Ialysos).⁸⁶ By the LH IIIA1 period, and increasing into the LH IIIA2, the spread of Mycenaean material culture became so prevalent that many sites in the region display no other material influences. It is probably no coincidence that the visible impact of Mycenaean society should first appear in those areas where Minoan influence was the heaviest, since exposure to those Minoan external networks most likely facilitated contact with Mycenaean society. Although it is not altogether clear why the material culture of the region displays such a marked shift from Cretan to mainland Mycenaean influence, the shift was dominant and largely complete by the end of the LH IIIA2 period.

Such a transition to Mycenaean material culture, generally termed “Mycenaeanization,” is a poorly understood process, not just in relation to the southeast Aegean, but in other areas of the Mycenaean world as well. In spite of the wide use of the term, or perhaps because of it, many different social processes are bound up within its aegis.⁸⁷ Debate primarily revolves around a general distinction between Mycenaean culture being spread by active movement of population groups, or by passive acculturation. The heart of this distinction seems to be whether the population that adopted Mycenaean material culture was itself Mycenaean—that is, did that group identify itself as Mycenaean—or whether the population simply adopted the material

⁸⁶ Melas 1985, 176-177; Benzi 1988b, 59; Mee 1998a, 137; Mountjoy 1998, 34; Georgiadis 2003, 24, 110-111; Niemeier 2005b.

⁸⁷ For an introduction, see Feuer 2011, 527-528. There is remarkably little direct discussion of the process itself through which cultural processes might be examined. Vitale et al. (2013) suggest that whereas Minoanization (encounters with Cretan civilization and the transition to a Cretan-influenced material culture) was characterized primarily ceramic changes, Mycenaeanization was characterized by more pervasive cultural transition and behavioral changes. The term will be used here to refer generally to the transition toward Mycenaean material culture; no specific cultural process is intended by this usage.

culture while self-identifying with a different cultural group. As Bryan Feuer has pointed out, however, this distinction might largely be an artificial construct of modern attempts to examine collective identity without the perspectives of Mycenaean societies themselves.⁸⁸ There is little in the material record to suggest that a concept of Mycenaean-ness existed during the LBA, or that a distinction was made between those societies that had newly adopted the material culture versus those that were already making use of it. Moreover, significant regional differences in the nature and structure of Mycenaean societies, which are reflected in regional material differences, make it impossible to make clear distinctions between those societies that were Mycenaean and those that wanted to be. Fortunately, such ambiguity surrounding the processes by which the southeast Aegean became Mycenaean does not directly affect this study. Since this cultural transition was already complete by the end of the LH IIIA2 period, the distribution of sites and societies throughout the region can be analyzed without the need to determine the origins of those populations. There is general agreement that populations in the southeast Aegean encountered Mycenaean culture through a combination of (commercially spread) acculturation and direct population movement.⁸⁹ As a result societies in the region by the end of the LH IIIA period, and into the IIIB, should be seen as combinations of multiple different cultural influences—from the Mycenaean mainland, Crete, and western Anatolia. It is this amalgamation that is examined in the rest of this study.

Returning to the historical narrative, it must be noted that Karpathos presents a different picture during this period, as sites such as Pigadia continue to display evidence

⁸⁸ Feuer 2011, 528.

⁸⁹ See Mountjoy 2015, 38.

of a much higher degree of contact with Crete than with the Mycenaean mainland.⁹⁰ Whereas LH IIIA1-2 Trianda is predominantly Mycenaean in its material, the overwhelming majority of ceramic vessels from contemporary Karpathos are either Cretan imports or locally made vessels in a Cretan style. A significant and increasing amount of Mycenaean and Rhodian material can be found on Karpathos during the LH IIIA2 period, and chamber tombs become the dominant form of funerary architecture, but Crete is still the more important material influence for inhabitants of the island.⁹¹ This is perhaps not surprising given the geographic relationship between Karpathos and Crete—Pigadia is closer to the east coast of Crete than to the northern coast of Rhodes—but it is the only island in the region that does not display a significant degree of material Mycenaeanization apart from the chamber tombs.

Elsewhere in the southeast Aegean, early LH IIIA1 material has been found primarily at larger sites and those that also produced Late Minoan strata, which suggests that the Mycenaean presence largely replaced its Minoan counterpart.⁹² The absence of clear disruption during this time at Trianda or at the Seraglio supports the idea that this cultural shift was not accompanied by violence.⁹³ This lack of disruption perhaps accounts for the fact that the LH IIIA2 was a period of unprecedented growth in the number and size of sites throughout the region. Cemeteries such as Ialysos and Eleona-Langada display a sharp increase in the number of active tombs, and other large

⁹⁰ Mee 1982, 83; Melas 1985, 176-177.

⁹¹ Patton 1996, 133-134; however, see also Platon and Karantzali 2003. Chamber tombs are typically taken to be indicators of Mycenaean funerary rites, and, by extension, perhaps other Mycenaean social phenomena as well.

⁹² Mee 1982, 81-83.

⁹³ Furumark 1950, 181; Morricone 1972-1973, 388-396; Mee 1982, 81-82; Marketou et al. 2006, 44-55.

cemeteries, for example the cemeteries around Vati on Rhodes and Müskebi near Bodrum, come into being at this time.⁹⁴ Ceramic objects of high quality, mostly imported from the Mycenaean mainland, as well as ceramic imports from Cyprus, and Egyptian and Levantine ivory, faience, and semi-precious stones indicate a level of wealth not seen previously in the region, at least not on so broad a scale. Additionally, populations appear to have spread beyond the coasts, settling inland and away from the earlier population centers and large coastal plains that dominated the LM/LH I-II settlement landscape. Central and southern Rhodes, western Kos, and the island of Astypalaia show evidence of more intensive habitation than can be detected earlier, as well as new population centers on Kalymnos, Samos, and throughout Ionia and Caria.⁹⁵

Unfortunately, few settlements exist that can be dated to this period, and so the majority of evidence comes from cemeteries. Nevertheless, the architecture of these cemeteries is itself instructive, as the vast majority of burials from the LH IIIA1 and later periods occur in chamber tombs that are consistent with mainland Mycenaean architectural types. Chamber tomb cemeteries can be found on the islands of Astypalaia, Saros, Karpathos, Kasos, Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos, and on the mainland at Miletus, Iasos, Pilavtepe, Müskebi, and Knidos.⁹⁶ A notable exception to this list is the discovery

⁹⁴ For general growth and expansion during the LH IIIA2, see Mee (1982, 83-87), Benzi (1988b, 62-64), Mountjoy (1998, 34-37), and Georgiadis (2003, 110-111). For the cemeteries at Vati and Müskebi, see their respective sections (3.5.14 and 3.14.4) in Chapter 3.

⁹⁵ At times this is evidenced only indirectly by the presence of tombs where none had been before.

⁹⁶ For additional discussion and citations see Mee 1978; Georgiadis 2003, 68-84; Niemeier 2005, 13-16.

of a small tholos tomb on Kos at Giorgaras, three kilometers outside of Kos town.⁹⁷ More than simply indicating a preference for Mycenaean architecture, the funerary architecture denotes the presence of Mycenaean beliefs and rituals concerning the perceptions and treatment of the dead—a notoriously conservative social practice—and the tholos tomb perhaps suggests the influence of Mycenaean social structures. As such, the prevalence of Mycenaean customs widely distributed throughout the region suggests that the southeast Aegean was fully within the Mycenaean sphere of influence by the end of the LH IIIA2 period.

Most telling on this point is the fact that locally produced ceramics were manufactured in Mycenaean forms, confirming that social mechanisms were in place not just for the consumption of Mycenaean custom and material culture, but for its production as well.⁹⁸ The saturation of Mycenaean material culture and practices throughout the region by the end of the LH IIIA2 period was thus not confined to the elites who were buried in the cemeteries, but extended also to those engaged in the production, transport, and acquisition of local goods. As a result, it is not an overstatement to speak of the inhabitants of the LH IIIA and later southeast Aegean as Mycenaean.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Skerlou 1996, 691-692. See also the section Giorgaras (3.7.6) in Chapter 3, as well as an LH IIIB tholos on the outskirts of Kos town (3.7.3).

⁹⁸ See the discussion by Vitale and Trecarichi (2015, 328-332) regarding the development of Mycenaean and Anatolian ceramic traditions on Kos.

⁹⁹ The absence of palaces should not be a stumbling block to determining the cultural identity of the region, since so few settlements have been excavated. The common material culture (and plausibly also the language—see, for example, Melas 1988a) of the region with the Mycenaean mainland provides ample evidence to establish the region as Mycenaean during the LH III. The southeast Aegean might, therefore, provide interesting insights into what a Mycenaean society could have looked like without a formal palace structure. See also the

Foreign contacts of populations in the region mirror what is seen elsewhere in the Mycenaean Aegean, although on a smaller scale, as evidence is primarily confined to the larger cemeteries at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada. From these sites come goods from Egypt, the Levant, Cyprus, and Anatolia, as well as sporadic finds from the northern Balkans.¹⁰⁰ Contact with Anatolia might also explain the earliest appearance of cremation around the LH IIIA2-B transition. Tombs at Syngairos on Astypalaia, Vonies on Karpathos, Ialysos, and Múskebi in Caria all produced burned bones that could indicate the early introduction of cremation into Mycenaean rites.¹⁰¹ Such an early introduction of cremation into the Dodecanese would support the idea that the practice was introduced into the Aegean from Asia Minor.¹⁰²

In contrast to the pattern visible during the earlier LBA levels in the region, where locally produced ceramic objects dominate the record, during the LH IIIA the majority, or at least a significant percentage, of total vessels from any given site were imported. Local production did occur during the period, as workshops and kilns have been found at Miletus, and sherds with Rhodian fabrics appear throughout the region. Additionally, formal and stylistic analysis of the decorated vessels from the LH IIIA2 southeast Aegean suggests that a large number display regional variations that are likely to have been

sections *How Mycenaean Was the Southeast Aegean?* and *Social Authorities and Hierarchies* in Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁰ For burial goods in contemporary tombs in the region, see generally Georgiadis (2003, 86-105) with additional citations.

¹⁰¹ Boysal 1967, 37-38; Doulas 1975, 372; Melas 1985, 39; Georgiadis 2003, 60, 77, 79, 83. It should be noted that evidence of burning on bones could also be attributed to fumigation or later disturbance. Additionally, the human remains at Syngairos were not found in context within the tomb(s), and the remains from Múskebi have never been fully published and so the dates are unclear. See also the relevant sections in Chapter 3 for descriptions of these sites.

¹⁰² See, for example, Iakovidis 1970, 56-57; Melas 1984, 25-26, 28-30; 2001.

developed locally.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, scientific analysis has shown that the majority of ceramics were imports, mostly from the Greek mainland, and from the Peloponnese in particular.¹⁰⁴ The fact that many of the vessels selected for scientific analysis have come from cemeteries might complicate this picture, since cemeteries might not contain representative samples of all ceramics used by a living population. Even so, through the dominance of imports in the region through the end of the LH IIIA2, the degree of engagement on the part of local Mycenaean communities with their overseas contacts becomes apparent. The degree to which this engagement was built upon dependency or selective choice is not clear from the funerary record alone.

Toward the Late Helladic IIIB Period

By the end of the LH IIIA period, the southeast Aegean demonstrates a fully Mycenaean culture with access to overseas networks that enabled contact with the eastern Mediterranean, Anatolia, Crete, the Aegean islands, and the Mycenaean mainland. The growth and expansion of settlements and wealth that were defining features of the LH IIIA2 began to slow and, perhaps (by traditional explanations), decline in the subsequent LH IIIB period.¹⁰⁵ By this point, the southeast Aegean islands and areas of the adjacent Carian coast had already developed a certain material regionalism through local production, which can be traced from the beginning of the LBA. The expression of this regionalism is difficult to trace since the record relies so heavily on funerary material, but

¹⁰³ Mountjoy 1998, 39.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Jones and Mee 1978, 468; 1986, 506-508.

¹⁰⁵ Phenomena traditionally explained by a decline in LH IIIB activity as a result of changing social and political strategies might well have been different in the southeast Aegean than in the rest of the Mycenaean world; this will be discussed in Chapter 7.

a blending of Mycenaean and Anatolian traits in terms of decoration and ceramic form is perhaps its most visible manifestation.¹⁰⁶ For example, forms of vessels common in Anatolian Gray and Tan Ware—carinated kraters and Anatolian flasks, for instance—are replicated in Rhodian fabrics with Cretan and Mycenaean decorative motifs from the LH IIIA into the IIIC. Additionally, the presence of cremated remains (an eastern practice in origin) within chamber tombs (Mycenaean in origin) plausibly suggests that the hybridization was not merely a factor of aesthetics, but was characteristic of a deeper cultural saturation. Such (sub-)regionalism only increased in the centuries that followed.

If the LH IIIA was marked by the Mycenaeanization of the region, then the LH IIIB was marked by the developing individualism of societies in different areas of the southeast Aegean. This individualism will be the focus of the investigation in the following chapters. Drawing primarily from the funerary record, behavioral changes and developments in the societies of the southeast Aegean will be examined on a local level and compared on the regional level in order to draw out subtle differences across time and space.

¹⁰⁶ See Melas 1988a; Mountjoy 1998; Vitale and Trecarichi 2015.

Chapter 3

Late Helladic IIIB to IIIC Sites

This chapter introduces the evidence from sites that date between the Late Helladic IIIB and the end of the Bronze Age. In total, there are 57 such sites—37 cemeteries, 18 possible settlements, and 13 more of unknown character (see Figure 3.1).¹⁰⁷ With the overwhelming majority of these sites being funerary in character, the nature of the evidence for this time period is thus skewed. Adding to this disparity in the available evidence is the fact that only three of the settlement sites—Ialysos on Rhodes, Kos Town on Kos, and Miletus in Caria—have been at least partially excavated and published.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the remaining proposed settlements have only been identified tentatively based on rough survey data and information from salvage excavations.

Investigation of the Bronze Age occupation of the region began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, primarily under the auspices of Italian and Danish expeditions on Rhodes and the larger islands of the Dodecanese, and British expeditions to the Carian coast.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent investigations beneath large Archaic and Classical sites, such as at Lindos and the Samian Heraion, followed shortly thereafter.¹¹⁰ Much of the early history

¹⁰⁷ Some sites, such as Pigadia on Karpathos and Miletus in Caria, possess both cemeteries and settlements, and so can be counted as both, which is why the number of cemeteries, settlements, and unknown sites add up to more than 57.

¹⁰⁸ Examinations of relevant periods at other settlement sites, such as Pigadia on Karpathos, the Heraion on Samos, and Iasos in Caria, are all more fragmentary in scope and tend not to be as well published.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Paton 1887; Paton and Myres 1896; Kinch 1914; Maiuri 1915; Jacopi 1926-1927.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Buschor 1927; Blinkenberg 1931; Milošević 1961.

of exploration of the region is the story of salvage work, conducted on sites that had been brought to light through illicit means and whose material record has been irreparably damaged as a result. Perhaps because of this, much of the early work in the region tended to focus narrowly on one site or another and made connections primarily through the more well established excavations at Ialysos.¹¹¹ Such examinations, also artifacts of their time, tended to catalogue and identify the objects recovered, while leaving more general practices unexplored. In response, more recent studies have attempted to examine the available information in a broad light with the aim of identifying and situating sites within larger settlement patterns, trade connections, and region specific practices and social identifiers.¹¹² These examinations began to reveal a diverse society that existed in the LH III period, one that shared affinities with Mycenaean societies on the mainland and throughout the Aegean, but one that also displayed certain uniquely regional differences.

Following from these studies, there is no need here to recount all available information regarding the sites of the LBA southeast Aegean;¹¹³ therefore, this section will only focus on that evidence which informs about the social geographies of the region. Each site is given a section number for easier cross-referencing in subsequent discussions and for reference in Appendix 1. Since the mass presentation of site information can appear overwhelming, each island is given an introduction that covers

¹¹¹ See, for example, Laurentzi 1938; Jacopi 1932-1933; Monaco 1941.

¹¹² See, for example, Furumark 1950; Hope-Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 1970, 1973; Mee 1978, 1982; Melas 1985, 1988a; Benzi 1992; Mountjoy 1998; Georgiadis 2003; 2009b.

¹¹³ See Georgiadis 2003 for a relatively current overview of the available evidence with relevant bibliographies. See also Mee 1978.

geography and basic exploration history, and a conclusion, which condenses the information in terms of major trends.

3.1. Astypalaia (Figure 3.2)

The LH III history of the island is not well known since only three sites can be identified: two cemeteries, and one of unknown character. Of the two cemeteries, only Armenochori has been excavated and published without prior disturbance. The unknown site, on a rocky promontory at Kastro tou Ag. Ioannou, is perhaps indicative of a habitation site, since there are no tombs evident in the area of a sherd scatter. Nevertheless, the nature of the site cannot be determined based solely on the absence of specific evidence, and, as a result, there are no reliably identified settlement sites on the island during the LH III period. The location of the disturbed cemetery at Syngairos, on the isthmus in the center of the island, suggests that a settlement likely existed on the isthmus nearby (perhaps in the area of the modern town), although its location cannot be confirmed. The presence of the cemetery at Armenochori, roughly nine kilometers inland, makes it unlikely that the two cemeteries serviced the same community, which would suggest the presence of at least one additional settlement in the western portion of the island.

3.1.1. Armenochori lies in the southwest of the island, about four kilometers southwest of the modern town of Astypalaia, at the western edge of a relatively well-watered inland plateau that is surrounded by barren hills. The site sits on a low hill that

forms a saddle between two larger hills and two revmata that drain down at steep angles toward the sea to the south. The plateau and its modern farmland extend to the north and east, while the barren hills are visible in all other directions.¹¹⁴ Two chamber tombs are of LH IIIA1-C date, the dromoi of which open toward the fertile plateau to the east-northeast.¹¹⁵ Hope Simpson and Lazenby note that they could not find evidence of a nearby settlement that could have made use of the tombs.¹¹⁶ The tombs are irregularly shaped, but both chambers are positioned very close to one another, so close, in fact, that the dividing wall between them has collapsed creating the illusion of one large tomb. No bones were recovered from inside the chambers, although ashes perhaps attest cremations.¹¹⁷

The tombs contained 116 ceramic vessels, a very large number for the region as a whole, especially considering the presence of only two tombs.¹¹⁸ Of note regarding the ceramics is the fact more date to the LH IIIB period than any other period, a pattern that is rarely seen elsewhere in the region. Also significant is the nearly even split between open and closed vessels (45:47 total), which varies slightly through time, but remains

¹¹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 41. The site also appears to have been called Patelles (see Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 161-162) after the “knee,” or saddle, of the hills in which the tombs sit; it might also have been called “Αρβανιτοχώρι” (see Konstantinopoulos 1973, 120). The site described by Konstantinopoulos matches the description of Armenochori, although the origin of the ambiguity of naming is unclear. It should be noted, however, that such pluralities of site names are not uncommon in the Dodecanese.

¹¹⁵ Zervoudakis 1971, 550, fig. 7.

¹¹⁶ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 161-162.

¹¹⁷ Zervoudakis 1971, 550; Georgiadis 2003, 83.

¹¹⁸ Zervoudakis (1971, 551) presents a summary of finds after detailing the more significant discoveries in his description of the chamber. Presumably the 116 ceramic vessels were mostly fragmentary, since fewer than a dozen are specifically described. It is unclear if the number 116 also includes finds from the dromoi.

reasonably consistent. The prominence of tools among the grave goods is also important, as the numbers of tools in tombs is not consistent throughout the region. Unfortunately, because the non-ceramic grave goods cannot be dated, and because no bodies were recovered with whom the tools and weapons might have been associated, it is not possible to say more regarding the deposition of these objects. Two bronze cauldrons, a dagger, a spearhead, a razor, and an axe head (all undated) were also recovered, for which it is worth noting that all of the bronze weapons and tools, as well as a stirrup jar were located in the northernmost tomb, and the stirrup jar and the dagger were placed on a stone slab against what would have been the dividing wall between the two tombs. The unequal distribution of goods between the two tombs could be related to the unusually high number of grave goods, but the specific explanation remains elusive. Without skeletal material it is impossible to determine whether the tombs represent a large number of offerings for very few individuals, or a large number of burials in two isolated tombs. Regardless, the pattern of a large number of offerings in a single (or double in this case) tomb can also be seen on Karpathos, while fewer offerings are more common on Rhodes and Kos.

3.1.2. Syngairos, on the isthmus in the middle of the island, faces the sea to the north, but is surrounded by barren hills in all other directions.¹¹⁹ A few hundred meters to the southwest is a good plain and a harbor where the settlement was likely located in the area of the modern town of Analipsi. Two LH IIIA2-B chamber tombs have been

¹¹⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 41.

reported, and scattered bones and ashes were reported on the hillside around the tombs.¹²⁰ The bones themselves show evidence of burning, although it is unclear if this occurred during cremation, or if the bones were burned after being deposited in the tombs, as if part of a cleansing by fire. Among the scattered remains were also recovered weapons and cosmetic spatulas. Tomb 2 contained in situ ceramics and small finds, including a (relatively) large number of tools similar to the pattern at Armenochori.¹²¹ The ratio of open to closed vessels is again equal, although in this case the sample size is significantly smaller, with only 11 vessels total.¹²²

3.1.3. Kastro tou Agiou Ioannou, on a peninsula on the western coast due east of the modern town of Astypalaia, and roughly four kilometers northwest of Armenochori, is a site of unknown character on a high rocky hill close to the sea, but surrounded by fertile hills.¹²³ It sits on a narrow and precipitous promontory that slopes steeply down to the coast on the north, west and south, but opens into a small fertile watershed to the east where a steep revma makes its way to the coast. In the area between the promontory and the chapel of Agios Ioannis in the fertile area to the east, Hope Simpson and Lazenby discovered sherds that range widely in date from the EBA to a fragment of an LH III deep bowl and an LH IIIA2-B1 kylix. The site is one of the few habitable areas in this

¹²⁰ Doulas 1975, 372; Georgiadis 2003, 83. Doulas describes Tomb 1 as badly eroded, which suggests that the bones washed out of the chambers down the slope; he specifically mentions one cranium, but the minimum number of individuals is unknown. Likewise the minimum number of individuals in Tomb 2 is unknown.

¹²¹ The tools included chisels, a fishhook, lead net weights and a whetstone. It is worth noting that that Doulas and Georgiadis (2003, 212) list slightly different ceramic assemblages.

¹²² A combination of erosion and illicit activity plausibly resulted in so few finds.

¹²³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 162-163; Georgiadis 2003, 41.

part of the island as a result of the small watershed, and it is possible that a small habitation site of some sort was located here at least until the beginning of the LH IIIB, although it does not seem to have continued long afterward.

The evidence from LH IIIB-C Astypalaia is minimal, perhaps because, like Karpathos and Kalymnos, the island has not yet been studied as intensively as other islands in the Cyclades or the Dodecanese. The burned bones and/or ashes in both cemeteries appear to have been placed directly on the floors of the tombs during the LH IIIA2-B period, making these burials, if cremations, early examples of the practice.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, little else can be said about the individuals buried in the tombs. Together, the four tombs produced 128 vessels, an average of 32 vessels per tomb, which corresponds to the pattern of ceramic deposition on Karpathos, but far exceeds tomb averages in the eastern Dodecanese. Minoan influence is more visible in iconographic elements during the LH IIIA2 period, but afterward the decoration becomes more east Aegean in style. From the limited personal objects inside the tombs and large amount of pottery, primarily types associated with drinking, it appears that Astypalaia and Karpathos shared similar burial rites and influences that, combined with Cretan iconographical influence, might have looked to the west more than the east.¹²⁵ This picture changed during the LH IIIC, at which point inhabitants on the island began to look more to the west.

¹²⁴ See Melas 1984; 2001; Georgiadis 2003, 83.

¹²⁵ On ceramic styles on Astypalaia, see Mountjoy 1999a, 1138-1139.

3.2. Saria

The only Bronze Age objects that have been reported from the island are tools: a bronze dagger, a bronze chisel, and a flat celt.¹²⁶ These tools were given to the British Museum by W. R. Platon in 1889, but a specific provenance is not recorded. To this meager collection might be added a small black stone axe from Ta Platia in the north of the island, which was reportedly seen by Dawkins at Olimpos on Karpathos.¹²⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby suggest that the island was used in antiquity in much the same way that it is used today—as a site of seasonal shepherding for communities on Karpathos. The island’s topography and lack of good water support this hypothesis against permanent habitation, and the lack of LBA finds could be explained by seasonal usage. In such a scenario, it would make sense for the only recoverable objects to be tools brought to the island by individuals who did not intend to stay for long, and who probably would not have erected structures that left an easily identifiable footprint in the landscape.

3.3. Karpathos (Figure 3.3)

The LH III occupation of Karpathos is better known due to the discovery of more sites and accompanying material than on Astypalaia, although similar problems regarding disturbances and salvage remain. Although earlier sites are scattered throughout the countryside, at various times clustering near the coasts or moving inland, LH IIIA-B

¹²⁶ Walters 1897, 64; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 168.

¹²⁷ See Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 168, note 127.

occupation is confined primarily to the coasts.¹²⁸ Only the cemetery at Avlona is located more than one kilometer from the sea. The majority of coastal sites where settlement can be inferred—Pigadia, Arkaseia, and Brykous—are situated near good harborage and have access to at least a small coastal plain. Although the inhospitable terrain in the northern half of the island might explain the absence of inland sites there, the adherence to the coast in the more arable south might suggest that the economic or social importance of the sea for contemporary societies was a determining factor in considerations of land use. This pattern is not visible on Rhodes or Kos, where sites regularly appear several kilometers inland, and might not have been the case on Astypalaia, where the inland cemetery at Armenochori appears to have been oriented more toward the rolling hills than the sea. This distribution of sites, combined with the Cretan influence visible in the material remains from Karpathos, indicate that the societies on this island in particular maintained close social and economic ties with Crete, to an extent not seen elsewhere in the southeast Aegean.

3.3.1. Tou Stavrou to Kefali, on the south part of the island roughly three and a half kilometers north of the modern airport and the same distance southwest of modern Lakki, sits below the north summit of a low hill with a hill to the west, and a revma to the east amid relatively fertile land.¹²⁹ One chamber tomb of LH IIIA1-B date has been reported with a burial most likely inside an amphoroid krater; however, it is unclear if this burial was a cremation or an inhumation.¹³⁰ The site also displays a good amount of

¹²⁸ Melas 1985, 154-162.

¹²⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 35.

¹³⁰ Melas 1985, 32; Georgiadis 2003, 77.

Cretan material dating back to the MM III-LM I, and so the use of the site during the LH IIIA and into at least the beginning of the IIIB could represent a reuse of an older burial ground. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the accompanying settlement in the nearby area.

3.3.2. Vonies, in the southwest of the island, lies just under a kilometer south of modern Arkasa where the main road south out of Arkasa turns to the east. The site faces the modern road between Arkasa and Menetes, and hills extend from the south, east, and west and open into a small valley to the north, which eventually drains into the coastal plain of Arkasa several hundred meters to the west.¹³¹ One roughly circular LH IIIA1-B chamber tomb was found with its dromos facing north toward the valley. Inside the tomb, on the east side, was a larnax of Middle Minoan type, which contained a partial burial consisting only of the skull and leg fragments, with an orientation toward the south.¹³² Another three burials were also located in the tomb, all of which appear to have been placed in successive layers below the level of the larnax. Burning on the bones of one individual suggests a partial cremation, which Melas takes as an indication of influence from the east. The other human remains appear to have been primary inhumations, although the fragmentary state of the remains makes this uncertain.

¹³¹ Sampson 1979, 459-460; Melas, 1985, 39; Georgiadis 2003, 35. The tomb was discovered by bulldozer when the nearby road was being widened; part of the larnax inside was cut off in the process, and evidence of a blocking wall in the dromos could not be determined.

¹³² Melas 1985, 39; Georgiadis 2003, 77. Georgiadis indicates that the head was located to the south of the leg bones; Melas' description that the bodies "faced north" would indicate that the heads were also placed to the south of the bodies. The bodies were placed near one another, but were not superimposed.

In all, 54 ceramic vessels (not counting loose sherds) plus the larnax are represented in the tomb, the majority of which are LH IIIA in date.¹³³ This number suggests a maximum of 13 or 14 vessels per burial, a number that fits better with the large number of grave goods seen on Astypalaia rather than the islands farther to the west.¹³⁴ That said, the ration of open to closed vessels is not evenly split as it was in the cemeteries on Astypalaia; instead, open vessels dominate by a factor of 26:21. Although the number of ceramic objects in the tomb is quite high, there is a noticeable lack of other grave goods except for a few bronze rings, which again differs from the pattern seen on Astypalaia. The location of the accompanying settlement is uncertain. Melas, for instance, proposes Asomatoi or Tou Sakeli ta Krema, although neither site dates later than LM I. Arsakeia across the valley on the coast would seem to be a good candidate for this accompanying settlement, although its dating is uncertain.

3.3.3. Arkaseia, site of a later settlement during historic periods, sits on a promontory surrounded by the sea on three sides that juts into the water for the better part of a kilometer. The peninsula, a few hundred meters south of modern Arkasa, is joined to the land on the east at a small but fertile coastal plain at the foot of the mountains, in which lies the cemetery at Vonies only one kilometer distant. Hope Simpson and Lazenby found a few, admittedly very few, sherds of Mycenaean manufacture, and they

¹³³ Zachariadou 1978, 250-281, 293; Melas 1985, 39-40, 70-75. The two authors diverge slightly on the distribution of dates.

¹³⁴ This is a maximum number of vessels per burial since it is possible that more than four burials originally existed, but cannot be detected without anthropological investigation. See the section on Pylona on Rhodes for an example of this discrepancy.

see cyclopean masonry on the site as evidence of LBA occupation.¹³⁵ A small cist grave on the site also has the appearance on an LBA burial.¹³⁶ However, considering the later occupation of the promontory, the architecture on its own is inconclusive and the handful of LBA sherds recovered must await excavation to confirm the presence of a settlement. Nevertheless, a possible settlement at Arkaseia—which seems at least plausible based on the topography and the presence of the later settlement—and a nearby chamber tomb at Vonies to the east could suggest the presence of a settlement and cemetery here on the coast.

3.3.4. Pigadia sits on the site of Classical Potidaion and the modern city of Karpathos, and the longevity of habitation at the site is explainable by its geography.¹³⁷ The site sits amid fertile hills, and today, as likely also in antiquity, it is the best harbor on the island. The coastal plain at the harbor is flanked by the acropolis hill on the east and Embasi hill on the west, with additional foothills to the south. The earliest finds in the area include MM IIIB-LM IA sherds recovered around the area of Embasi hill and the harbor; some early sherds were also recovered with the later LH IIIA-B tombs.¹³⁸ The town possesses several scattered tombs and pockets of settlement, although because the various sites are nestled among the modern city it is difficult to determine the original

¹³⁵ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 162-163.

¹³⁶ Perhaps the same tomb described briefly in della Seta (1924-1925, 91-92); however, the Italian preliminary report on the promontory at Arkaseia does not mention any material older than Geometric, and the tomb is described as possessing two individuals with no material goods at all—interpreted as a Christian burial accordingly.

¹³⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 159. See also the map in Melas (1985, fig. 8), which is also useful for visualizing the relationships between the various locations described by Hope Simpson and Lazenby.

¹³⁸ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 159-161; Melas 1985, 28, 30.

extent of ancient cemeteries or habitation. At the lower point of Embasi hill on the eastern side of the town (and the plain) sits one chamber tomb that probably originally faced toward the lowlands to the north, while hills to the south and valleys to the east and west hem in the tomb.¹³⁹ The pottery all dates to LH IIIA2, and so this tomb will only be considered here in order to suggest the geographical extent of the settlement and/or its territory leading into the LH IIIB period.

To the southeast of this tomb in the area known as Makelli, locals allege the existence of more tombs, although only one has been published.¹⁴⁰ This tomb was situated at the far eastern edge of the coastal plain just below Embasi hill facing the valley to the east, and ringed by slopes in all other directions. The tomb(s) were discovered in 1949 by accident while planting a vineyard and suffered considerable damage before a study could be conducted; little is known of the architectural features.¹⁴¹ In spite of this damage, and the fact that virtually nothing is known about the human remains that were found in the tomb, a large amount of material was recovered inside the chamber.¹⁴² Some 97 vessels are reported in association with the tomb, presumably not including loose sherds, which, if true that they all originated in the single excavated chamber, is a very large number for the southeast Aegean at this time.¹⁴³ Although it is

¹³⁹ Melas 1985, 28, 51-52; Georgiadis 2003, 35-36.

¹⁴⁰ Charitonides 1961-1962. See also Melas 1985, 28; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 69.

¹⁴¹ Melas 1985 28. For what remains of the architecture, see Charitonides 1961-1962, 32-33; Georgiadis 2003, 68.

¹⁴² The human remains (minimum number of individuals unknown) are reported to have been on top of the bronze weapons; see Georgiadis 2003, 77. This deposition could mean that the burial was secondary, although this is never stated.

¹⁴³ Charitonides 1961-1962, 33-70; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 69; Melas 1985, 52-54. The material is all dispersed among different private and public collections, and it is not certain that all examples belong to the single assemblage,

unclear if this reflects a large number of burials within the tomb(s), or a large number of ceramic goods deposited with few burials, the depositional pattern is similar to that seen at Vonies and on Astypalaia. That said, the dominant ratio of open to closed vessels (46:30) is more similar to the assemblage from Vonies. Also of note is the number of bronze weapons—three swords and three spearheads—which do not appear in these numbers throughout the rest of Karpathos or on Astypalaia. The strong Cretan influence in ceramic forms and decoration of LM IIIA vessels is further evidence of close ties with Crete, although the appearance of LH IIIA2/B transitional and LH IIIB Mycenaean forms and decoration just prior to the abandonment of the tombs suggests changing patterns of external contact just before the material record ceases.¹⁴⁴ In light of the fact that no LH IIIB Late or IIIC material has yet been discovered in Pigadia (or anywhere else on the island for that matter) it is uncertain what this transition of material traditions entailed from a social point of view.

The extent of LH III activity is suggested by the presence of two last chamber tombs reported about 100m south of the acropolis hill in the area known as Sisamos on the eastern edge of the plain, although little more is known than the date of the associated pottery—LH IIIA-B.¹⁴⁵ The acropolis itself possesses some scant evidence of occupation

in spite of claims to that effect. The possibility of additional tombs in the cemetery might account for discrepancies in date and material culture, and it might be unnecessary to look to the Minoan material as evidence of heirloom objects. Still, the recovery of 116 vessels from the two tombs at Armenochori on Astypalaia supports the idea of a regional practice of depositing a large number of offerings in tombs.

¹⁴⁴ Melas 1985, 28.

¹⁴⁵ Melas 1985, 30; Georgiadis 2003, 36. The tombs were disturbed and some finds appear to have been inside the tombs, while other finds were located on the surface.

in the form of (very few) surface sherds and “cyclopean” masonry.¹⁴⁶ It is just as likely, however, that the settlement was located in the area of the modern harbor, and was ringed by tomb clusters, at least one in the east around the Sisamos area, and one in the west around Makelli and Embasi Hill.

3.3.5. Near Kambi, in the area of Diafani (or Yiafani) on the northeast side of the island, was reported an LH IIIA2-B chamber tomb about 500m southeast of Diafani on a hill surrounded by relatively fertile ravines and a revma to the northwest.¹⁴⁷ The tomb has not produced any finds through excavation, but seven vessels, presented to the British Museum by W. R. Paton, were said to have come from the area, which possibly possessed more tombs originally.¹⁴⁸ Five of the vessels, including two closed vessels with plastic decoration on the rim—the first with a bull’s head and the second with a goat’s head—are said to have been found in the same tomb together with a bronze sword.¹⁴⁹ The ratio of open to closed vessels is roughly even, although the sample size is small and not likely to be complete or necessarily representative. Furumark views a Minoan influence in their form as evidence of Cretan manufacture and importation (followed by Melas), although Hope Simpson and Lazenby report that this conclusion is

¹⁴⁶ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 159-160. Melas (1985, 30) notes that the walls could be Iron Age or later in date, and that the overwhelming majority of surface sherds are Classical and Hellenistic.

¹⁴⁷ Melas 1985, 43-44; Georgiadis 2003, 36.

¹⁴⁸ Paton 1887b, 449; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 161.

¹⁴⁹ Paton (1887b, figs. 6-10) only illustrates the five vessels from the same tomb. The sword (fig. 3), illustrated on the plate with the vessels, is very short and appears to have been more of a long dagger, although its form is strongly Mycenaean. See also Melas 1985, 78.

“somewhat tenuous and inconclusive,”¹⁵⁰ and would themselves prefer to see Rhodian influence in certain (undefined) features of the vessels, with parallels from Ialysos. It is plausible that the assemblage (if it can be called that) is a mixture of Cretan imports as some of the fabric indicates, and Rhodian imports, as from the fabric of two kylikes and the style of the sword. Hope Simpson and Lazenby report the existence of ancient terraces nearer to the harbor, and Archaic and Classical sherds attest a settlement of later date, although LH III and EIA settlement in the area is currently unknown.

3.3.6. Avlona on the northwest side of the island possesses one LH IIIA1-B chamber tomb situated in one of the more fertile areas in the rocky northern portion of the island.¹⁵¹ The tomb sits on the northeastern edge of a narrow inland plain extending to the south where modern Avlona is located, while to the northeast a ravine leads through the hills to another high plain; hills surround in all other directions. The tomb itself no longer exists, but 16 LH IIIA2-B vessels that allegedly came from the tomb have been published.¹⁵² Motifs on the kylikes and jugs are commonly found elsewhere on the island and at Ialysos, which suggests local or regional patterning; on the other hand some kylix stems show the heavy solid construction of the Mycenaean mainland, while others are hollow, as on Crete; the mug appears to be a direct Cretan import by fabric.¹⁵³ Other vessels, like the beaked jug, show Minoan decoration on a Mycenaean body, which reflects a local amalgamation of influences. The ratio of open to closed vessels (11:4) is

¹⁵⁰ Furumark 1950, 201; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 161.

¹⁵¹ Georgiadis 2003, 36.

¹⁵² Platon and Karantzali (2003, 189) state that the tomb was destroyed during the clearing for a road.

¹⁵³ Platon and Karantzali 2003, 198-199. The authors also note that the assemblage is similar to what is found on Rhodes, as, for example, at Pylona.

radically different from what is seen elsewhere on the island, and in light of the method of discovery, it is not certain that the assemblage as it exists today is representative of the original deposition. Unfortunately, a lack of scientific analysis on Karpathian ceramics makes it difficult to determine the precise origin of many vessels, and so the exact nature of interaction between mainland Mycenaean, Cretan, and eastern Aegean influences remains unclear for the moment. Melas notes that the area appears as a likely candidate for a settlement, although no evidence now exists.¹⁵⁴

3.3.7. Two kilometers to the north, at Brykous, there is evidence for occupation on a rocky promontory near a good harbor.¹⁵⁵ The promontory at Brykous juts out into the sea, creating a small peninsula roughly half a kilometer long, on which are later, perhaps Hellenistic, remains of walls. Nevertheless, Mycenaean sherds were reported by Hope Simpson and Lazenby, although specific dates were not given, and the number of surface sherds that they collected at the site seems to have been quite small. Prehistoric activity appears to have been concentrated near the cove just to the east, which opens into a harbor and a (very) limited coastal plain. At present, it is unclear whether the potential cemetery at Avlona and the settlement at Brykous, separated by two kilometers, are part of the same site. It is perhaps more plausible that the cemetery at Avlona was used by a settlement in the plain itself, although no such settlement has been detected. If the prehistoric settlement at Brykous was as expansive as its Hellenistic counterpart, then it is possible that the city here dominated the inland plain at Avlona, since no counterpart has

¹⁵⁴ Melas 1985, 44.

¹⁵⁵ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 161-162; Melas 1985, 44. Melas calls the promontory Vroukounda and the cove Brykous. Since the cove is where prehistoric activity is attested, the entire site will be called Brykous here.

yet been found in the valley itself, and the carrying capacity of the coastal plain adjacent to Brykous would be quite small. The harbor at Brykous would have provided one of the only sizeable anchorages in the northern portion of the island, and is well situated between east Crete, Astypalaia, and Rhodes.

Prehistoric Karpathos is difficult to reconstruct since only two of the tombs mentioned here (at Vonies, and at Makelli in Pigadia) have been fully excavated, and those were at least partially destroyed before systematic study commenced. A greater proportion of sites on the island have been discovered either by rough surface survey or after illicit activities had revealed their presence.¹⁵⁶ Without additional study, little can be concluded based on the evidence from two excavated tombs, although it might be significant that outside of Pigadia, none of the sites appear to have possessed more than one tomb. The potential contrast between the (two?) clusters of burials at Pigadia and the single locus of funerary activity at sites elsewhere on the island could lend support to the idea of a hierarchy of sites with Pigadia as the lead settlement on the island.

The degree of Cretan influence on the material culture is stronger on Karpathos than on Astypalaia, or elsewhere in the southeast Aegean.¹⁵⁷ The combination of larnax and cremation (if it was a cremation) at Vonies bears broad similarities with burials known from Crete, but the practice is too poorly attested in the Aegean to allow firm conclusions. The only other larnax burial in the region is attested in a shaft grave at Ialysos, which can only indicate that this was not a common regional burial practice; however, burials inside other types of vessels (as in the krater burial at Tou Stavrou to

¹⁵⁶ See also Georgiadis 2003, 68; Platon and Karantzali 2003, 200.

¹⁵⁷ See also Mountjoy 1999a, 971.

Kefali) is more common. In general, ceramics on the island tend to display a strong Cretan character, especially during the LH IIIA1, and only begin to show Mycenaean influence to a limited extent during the late LH IIIA2 and into the IIIB. There is some agreement, tentatively supported by scientific study (although minimal in scope and sample size), that the Minoan style represents locally produced vessels, while the Mycenaean style represents imported vessels, mainly from the Argolid, and perhaps also from Rhodes.¹⁵⁸ However, it must be noted that elsewhere in the region Mycenaean material culture does not become dominant until the end of the LH IIIA2 period, and local ceramics do not tend to constitute a significant percentage of local funerary assemblages until during the LH IIIB and especially the early IIIC periods. Since it is precisely those phases that are under- or unrepresented in the material from Karpathos, it is not possible to make firm conclusions regarding cultural inclinations of the local populations on the island.

A final note must be made on the appearance of weapons in Karpathian tombs. At Armenochori and Syngairos on Astypalaia, weapons were relatively rare compared to the numbers of various kinds of tools. By contrast, tools are almost entirely absent from the funerary record on Karpathos, and the primary depositional object (excluding ceramics) was a weapon of some sort—a sword or a spear. Admittedly these are not common, and are represented only at Pigadia and Kambi. In fact, it is curious that in spite of vast number of ceramic grave goods recovered on the island (over 180 vessels from just eight tombs), there are so very few other grave goods of any material (roughly

¹⁵⁸ See Georgiadis 2003, 86 for sources. The studies appear to be mostly on stylistic grounds and what scientific or petrographic analysis that has been conducted has not always used material from firmly established contexts or dates.

one dozen not including beads). The absence of personal ornaments, in particular, is striking compared to funerary assemblages on Rhodes, Kos, and elsewhere farther to the west.

3.4. Kasos (Figure 3.3)

3.4.1. Poli sits on a sharp hill near the modern town of the same name in the interior of the island, and backs up against higher hills to the east and south, but overlooks a coastal lowland and the sea to the west and northwest where the modern harbor of Fri is located. Hope Simpson and Lazenby report finding surface sherds on the south terraces of the hill that range in date from the MBA to the EIA, and the existence of an LH III settlement seems probable, if not certain.¹⁵⁹ Deep bowl fragments suggest that habitation of the hill occurred during the period under consideration in this study, but more research is needed before anything conclusive can be offered.

3.5. Rhodes (Figure 3.4)

Rhodes provides perhaps the best evidence for occupational activity in the LH III period in the region; however, the volume of information, especially from Ialysos, has at times led to a direct equivalence between northern Rhodes and the larger southeast Aegean. Although scholarship since the 1970s has largely established the region as a

¹⁵⁹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 70; Melas 1985, 49-50; Georgiadis 2003, 36. Melas states that the hill appears to have been occupied fairly continuously from the Neolithic to the present.

separate corporate entity with multiple component parts, in larger surveys of the Mycenaean world, the southeast Aegean is still often defined in relation to Ialysos.¹⁶⁰ In all, there are 20 sites on the island that date to the LH IIIB-C periods and are included in this study, some of which possess more than one center of activity (as in multiple cemetery clusters, or both a cemetery and a settlement). Of these, 17 are cemeteries, four can reasonably be called settlements, and three are of unknown character. These sites are not distributed evenly throughout the island, and, in fact, different areas of the island appear to have had different concerns in regards to site selection. For example, sites in the north tend to be located on or within easy access to the coast, whereas sites in the south and east are farther inland and often lack an obvious approach to the sea. As such, the local landscape, especially access to fresh water and arable land, seems to have been the primary concerns of the local populations.

3.5.1. Trianda sits underneath modern Ialysos in a low coastal plain on the northeast corner of the island between a steep acropolis and the sea; before they were covered, two revmata drained through this part of the plain toward the sea.¹⁶¹ The coastal plain is dominated by the acropolis to the south-southwest, but smaller hills ring the plain to the west, south and east. Because only two other partially excavated settlements—at Kos Town, and at Miletus—currently exist with which to compare Trianda, and because neither of those has been fully excavated, few details can be drawn out for comparison. Nevertheless, what follows will provide a brief overview of the site so that a picture of an

¹⁶⁰ For studies that examine the nature of the region in depth, see, for example, Furumark 1950; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 1970, 1973; Mee 1978, 1982; Melas 1985, 1988a; Mountjoy 1998; Georgiadis 2003; Niemeier 2005a.

¹⁶¹ Georgiadis 2003, 36.

LH III settlement can be established, against which those sites of unknown character might be compared and, at the very least, shown not to be inconsistent with the limited data available.

The site was partly excavated by Giorgio Monaco in 1935 and 1936 as a series of six trial trenches, two of which were later joined into a small open excavation.¹⁶² Because the trenches were clustered among buildings in the modern town within a relatively small area, occupying only a few modern city blocks, no coherent picture of the whole site has yet emerged, and conclusions can only be based on a single fully excavated structure and two (or three) partial buildings.¹⁶³ Contention with Monaco's dating of the site led Furumark to restudy the pottery and refine the chronology.¹⁶⁴ Later work on the site began in 1978, although the focus of this research appears to have been on the earlier levels of habitation that predate this study.¹⁶⁵ Much of the more recent research on the site focuses on pottery chronologies and fine-tuning the evidence for Minoan colonization of the island; as a result, much of the research conducted to date falls outside of the range of the present study.

Furumark divided the chronology of the settlement into three phases—Trianda I, IIA, and IIB—which range from LM IA to LM IIIA1; however, for the purposes of this study only phase IIB, which dates roughly to late LM IB/II to LM IIIA1, is relevant.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Monaco 1941; see also Mee 1982, 4-7.

¹⁶³ Monaco 1941, 120-159; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 135.

¹⁶⁴ Furumark 1950; Mee 1982, 4.

¹⁶⁵ See Marketou 1988 for an overview of this research, especially her endnote 3, which references articles discussing MBA activity in the southeast Aegean and tephra from the Santorini eruption.

¹⁶⁶ Furumark 1950, 179. However, Monaco (1941, 162-178) preferred a longer range through the end of the 13th century for the last phase of the site, which,

Even though the pottery of this phase mostly clusters around LM/LH IIIA1, the appearance of LM/LH IIIB pottery suggests a continuation of the settlement, plausibly centered in a different area than what has been excavated.¹⁶⁷ The last phase of the site currently consists of a single building that was rebuilt on the foundations of an older structure, which was possibly destroyed in an earthquake.¹⁶⁸ The nature of the pottery appears strongly domestic (mostly various types of cups, bowls, kraters, and jars), with parallels at Knossos, Gournia, Palaikastro, and other sites on Crete; however, occasional rhyta and figurines are also present.¹⁶⁹ In effect, the forms present in the settlement do not differ significantly from what appears in tombs throughout the region, although quantification (not yet conducted) might reveal different proportions or origins. At least through the beginning of the IIB phase of the settlement (LM IIIA1), this particular building had a strongly Cretan material character, and the pottery shows many Cretan imports and locally produced vessels, while fully Mycenaean imports appear later.

The extent to which that Cretan nature of this building should be applied to the settlement as a whole remains to be seen through additional excavation, especially in light of evidence from the cemeteries for a more cosmopolitan nature of the population. An irregularly shaped room in the center of the structure can be identified as a courtyard, but little else can be interpreted from the other rooms in the way of function or use, and, by extension, the habits of its occupants. Changes in domestic coarse ware traditions from a Cretan style to a style reminiscent of the Mycenaean mainland led Furumark to

although not precisely correct based on the excavated pottery, is more likely to represent the actual habitation of the site. See also Mee 1982, 7.

¹⁶⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 135; Mee 1982, 6.

¹⁶⁸ Mee 1982, 6-7. Rubble and skeletons found in the level at the transition between phases IIA and IIB support Monaco's attribution of an earthquake destruction.

¹⁶⁹ Furumark 1950, 153; Benzi 1988a, 39-53.

suggest that the settlement transitioned from Minoan to Mycenaean influence sometime around the LM/LH IIIA1 period, from which point on the settlement and its cemeteries appear fully Mycenaean.¹⁷⁰ However, as on Karpathos, the scarcity of material datable to LM/LH IIIA2 or IIIB complicates this picture.¹⁷¹

In light of the expansive cemeteries of Ialysos to the southwest, it appears that a settlement of considerable size once occupied the site, although its precise bounds within the bowl-shaped coastal valley are unknown. From the cemeteries it can be inferred that the local population at Trianda was also a highly structured one with expansive ties to the world beyond the island. Since the cemeteries continued in use and increased in number through the LH IIIC, a settlement must have remained somewhere in the area through the end of the Bronze Age. This could suggest that the population center shifted slightly through the centuries, a phenomenon that can perhaps be seen elsewhere on Rhodes and Kos.¹⁷² The acropolis hill to the southwest of the cemeteries, and the hill of Moschou Vounara in the immediate vicinity of the cemeteries have been proposed as locations of the lost settlement phases; however, it is equally plausible that settlement continued in the plain near the already excavated areas, and that subsequent construction, erosion, and alluviation has so far obscured any remains.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Furumark 1950, 180-182, 262-271.

¹⁷¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 135; Mee 1982, 6-7; Benzi 1992, 407.

¹⁷² This idea will be discussed in Chapter 7. The slow movement of villages and family groups within an area is ethnographically attested in early modern Greece. See, for example, Murray and Kardulias 1986; Yarkar 2000; Forbes 2007; Forsén 2007.

¹⁷³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 137; Benzi 1992, 407.

3.5.2. The cemeteries at Ialysos lie to the southwest of the modern town, roughly one and a half kilometers to the southwest of the excavated areas of the Trianda settlement on two separate, but adjacent, foothills of the acropolis. The site was first explored between 1858 and 1865, and then systematically excavated from 1868 to 1871 by Sir Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmann, who, unfortunately, never properly recorded the project and virtually no information remains regarding the layout of the tombs that they excavated.¹⁷⁴ The pottery was published by Furtwangler and Löschcke, and then by Forsdyke, although information on other small finds is probably incomplete and little information remains to link the material to specific tombs. Amedeo Maiuri excavated the site between 1914 and 1922, and published the first proper plans of the cemetery; he also published his finds by the tomb in which they were found.¹⁷⁵ Later, Giulio Jacopi continued the excavations in 1927 and 1928, picking up where Maiuri left off, and published full plans of the cemeteries.¹⁷⁶

Ialysos consists of two cemetery clusters on adjacent hills: Makria Vounara and Moschou Vounara. Both lie on small hills that project from the north slopes of the acropolis of Ialysos with the coastal plain and the sea to the north, hills to the east, lowlands with Mt. Philerimos behind the acropolis to the south, and a revma to the west that divides the cemeteries from the settlement at Trianda.¹⁷⁷ A total of 129 tombs are located in the two clusters—39 at Makria Vounara, 90 at Moschou Vounara—spanning

¹⁷⁴ See also Maiuri 1923-1924, 83; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 135.

¹⁷⁵ Maiuri 1923-1924, 85-234; see also Maiuri and Jacopi 1928.

¹⁷⁶ Jacopi 1930-1931. Later studies by Mee (1982), Benzi (1992), and Georgiadis (2003), all of which looked at Ialysos as a part of a larger examination of Rhodes or the wider Dodecanese, organize the information from Maiuri and Jacopi in more easily accessible formats.

¹⁷⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 36.

dates between the LH IIB/IIIA1 and LH IIIC; however, only 88 of these are the so-called “New Tombs” excavated by Maiuri and Jacopi, which possess records of material contents and dating.¹⁷⁸ Including the Old Tombs (where dates are possible), 65 tombs were in use during the LH IIIA2 period, 36 during the LH IIIB, 50 during the LH IIIC, some others datable to the LH IIIA2/B transition, and 17 of undetermined date.¹⁷⁹ It is important to note that these numbers represent those tombs that were in use during a given period, they do not indicate the number of tombs constructed during that period.

Among only the New Tombs, for which more reliable dates exist, 49 tombs were in use during the LH IIIA, 15 were in use during the LH IIIB (all but 6 of which were also in use in the LH IIIA), and 36 were in use during the LH IIIC.¹⁸⁰ Of those tombs that were in use during the LH IIIC period, only 16 were newly constructed, and the rest were reused: 3 were used almost continuously from LH IIIA-C, only 2 were reused LH IIIB constructions, and the remaining 15 were reused LH IIB/IIIA tombs. The preference for reused tombs during the last phase of the LBA is a marked departure from earlier practice, and the preference to reuse LH IIIA tombs could speak to a changing conception of either the cemetery, the deceased (and/or the ancestors), or a changing living population. This is especially significant since the pattern of reuse is not uniform throughout the region at this time. With these changes in use, there were also changes to the tombs themselves. For example, tombs are generally smaller during the LH IIIB and grow larger during the LH IIIC, sometimes through the reuse or expansion of older LH

¹⁷⁸ This contrasts with Biliotti’s “Old Tombs,” for which only a list of objects and bedrock cuttings remain. Georgiadis (2003, 148-150, Appendix B.1) groups together 38 Old Tombs and rough descriptions of their contents where possible.

¹⁷⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 68; see also MacDonald 1986, 126-127.

¹⁸⁰ MacDonald 1986, 126-127, table 1.

IIIA tombs. Similarly large tombs are also a feature of southern Rhodian cemeteries in earlier periods, and could reflect the changing human landscape at the close of the Bronze Age.

There are also differences between the two cemetery clusters. Dromoi of the chamber tombs show a slight disparity in orientation, with those at Makria Vounara oriented to the north-northeast, while those at Moschou Vounara are primarily northerly with a few representing a southeasterly orientation.¹⁸¹ Tombs at Moschou Vounara possess more single burials, while Makria Vounara shows a median number of 2 burials per tomb.¹⁸² These numbers are low compared to cemeteries on the Greek mainland or on Karpathos and Astypalaia, and could in part be attributed to frequent cleaning and reuse; however, it is also possible long-term use of tombs that would lead to successive multiple burials was not encouraged by local custom here.

With regard to the contents of the tombs, human remains have been recovered, but because different counting methods produce different estimates of the minimum number of individuals interred, the counts can vary significantly. At Aspropilia on the southeastern side of the island, where anthropological methods have been applied to the identification of individuals within a tomb, the minimum number of individuals as established by counting skulls or grave goods can be doubled by anthropological

¹⁸¹ Georgiadis 2003, 69; see also plans on p. 328, fig. 5.114. It should be noted that the orientation of the dromos always faces downhill, as is required by the nature of the rock-cut chamber tomb, and, as such, the slight differences in orientations might have more to do with the shape and available space on the hills rather than any intentional bearing; however, if a different orientation was desired, the tomb could always have been built on a different slope of the hill.

¹⁸² Georgiadis 2003, 36, 77. There are still a significant number of single burials in Makria.

methods.¹⁸³ As such, the numbers of individuals buried at Ialysos could perhaps be doubled for a more accurate picture of the overall site. Not all of the New Tombs produced evidence of human remains, and so in order to fill in the gaps in the records, MacDonald calculates bodies based on the number of vessels represented in tombs where the minimum number of individuals is known. He admits the approach is problematic, but his finding that between 5 and 6 vessels per individual is consistent across all time periods at the site is roughly consistent with other sites on the island.¹⁸⁴

According to MacDonald's estimates, roughly 209 individuals are represented at the cemetery: 93 from LH II-LH IIIA, 21 in LH IIIB, and 95 during the LH IIIC. It is of note that he estimates only 15 tombs to have had more than three individuals, and only seven tombs to have had more than five individuals (three of which possessed 12 burials each). One LH IIIA2 tomb possessed nine burials, but the remaining tombs that show more than five estimated burials are all tombs that were in use during the LH IIIC period, most of which were also used in other periods as well. While it is possible that this approach obscures some nuances in the record, as for example the possibility of cenotaphs, MacDonald's estimates show a very clear difference from the patterns seen on Karpathos and Astypalaia, where a very large number of vessels in the tombs could either indicate a small number of individuals buried with many goods, or a large number of individuals buried with few goods each. Only those three tombs that possessed 12 individuals approached the number of vessels found at Armenochori or Pigadia.¹⁸⁵ The

¹⁸³ See the sections on Aspropilia at Pylona (3.5.16) later in this chapter.

¹⁸⁴ MacDonald 1986, 126-130, table 2.

¹⁸⁵ It is not certain that the same rites or attitudes toward burial were practiced on Astypalaia, Karpathos, and Rhodes.

fact that such tombs can be associated with LH IIIC activity suggests that the practice of many multiple burials might have been chronologically limited.

The overwhelming majority of burials were inhumations placed on the floor of the chamber, or at times in pits; however, nine cremations are also attested, all in LH IIIC contexts alongside inhumations.¹⁸⁶ Most often, cremated remains were placed in vessels—six were in jugs, four of which were buried in pits, and another was in a hydria—but two pits contained loose ashes, and another LH IIIA burial contained burned bones that could indicate a cremation, although this is not certain. The cremations are similar to the pattern seen at Perati, but there are no multiple cremations at Ialysos, which suggests that the similar disposal of the cremated body at Ialysos and Perati belies a fundamentally different approach to the deceased individual, much the same as can be seen in the lower incidence of multiple burials at Ialysos versus the Greek mainland. The rough similarity between the LH IIIC cremations at Ialysos and the earlier examples on Karpathos (and possibly also on Astypalaia) might suggest a continuity of practice within the southeast Aegean, a practice that ultimately has its roots farther to the east. That said, the influence was not unidirectional, as attested by the presence of a larnax burial in the lone example of a shaft grave within the region.¹⁸⁷ A comparable combination of larnax and shaft grave can be found at Zafer Papoura at Knossos; however, it is not clear from the remnants if the Ialysos larnax was manufactured in a Cretan or mainland style.

Both cemeteries show a tendency to preserve primary and single burials, which, though not unknown in the rest of the Mycenaean world, is certainly less common,

¹⁸⁶ Georgiadis 2003, 79.

¹⁸⁷ Unfortunately Tomb 81 cannot be more closely dated than LH III, although based purely on the form of the grave, it is likely to be early. See Georgiadis 2003, 79.

especially when compared with the Argolid.¹⁸⁸ From the information available, 35 chamber tombs show only primary burials (46.6% of all tombs), 26 show only secondary burials (34.6% of all tombs), and 14 show both primary and secondary burials (18.6% of all tombs).¹⁸⁹ At least 83 in situ primary burials were laid out in an extended position along the main axis of the chamber; 55 individuals were buried with their heads by the door, seven with their heads by the rear wall, 10 with their heads parallel to the stomion, and an additional 11 cannot be reconstructed. Moreover, 35 individuals were positioned on the left side of the tomb, 26 on the right side, and only 9 were laid along the center. In light of the frequency of primary burials and the dominant tendency to place the bodies along the walls with heads to the entrance, the hypothesis that this type of burial indicates unfinished rites is unsatisfactory; instead, it is possible that secondary and multiple burial rites were only given if a tomb were reopened and reused at later date, an action that appears to have been less of a certainty here than at other cemeteries where Mycenaean rites were practiced.

Although a preference can be detected for the body to be extended and positioned on the left side of the tomb with the head near the door, it should be noted that the number of occurrences where this is not the case is significant. This latter fact, combined with the different median number of burials per tomb at the Makria and Moschou clusters (2 vs. 1 individuals per tomb respectively), mentioned earlier, raises the possibility that more than one burial rite was performed at the site during the same period(s).¹⁹⁰ This

¹⁸⁸ The Argolid should, perhaps, not set the standard for considerations of “Mycenaean-ness.”

¹⁸⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 79, 85.

¹⁹⁰ The fact that New Tombs 76 and 86 contained only Cypriot burial goods, and the presence of Syrian and Hittite sealstones and jewelry also support the idea that

issue is furthered by the presence of the cremations mentioned earlier, and also of 15 tombs in which no bodies or human remains could be found, eight of which contained no grave goods or other objects either. As such, their interpretation as cenotaphs in a large port city, perhaps for those lost at sea or overseas, is enticing, but uncertain.¹⁹¹

Pottery recovered from the tombs indicates that the cemetery began in the LH IIB period and shows a rapid increase in activity during the LH IIIA (29% of the total), a subsequent decrease through the LH IIIB (7% of the total), and a six-fold increase in the LH IIIC (44% of the total).¹⁹² Spectrographic analysis of 55 samples shows that LH IIIA pottery consists of about 80% Argive imports, 15% imported from elsewhere, and only 10% local products.¹⁹³ During the LH IIIB period, the import pattern shifted and 50% of all pottery was imported from the Argolid, 40% from Thebes, Knossos and Attica, and 10% remained locally produced. The sharp change came during the LH IIIC period, when only roughly 5% of pottery was imported from the Argolid, 20% from Thebes, Knossos, Attica, Crete and Naxos, and about 75% of all pottery was locally produced. Scientific analyses of pottery from the region are otherwise rare, making it difficult to compare these results with other sites, and it must be noted that the results from a

the cemeteries at Ialysos served a cosmopolitan community. The presence of a varied population, or at least varied cultural influences, in the nearby settlement could explain certain differences in tomb architecture and offerings as well, all expressed in the local language of funerary display (accounting for broad similarities in depositions), but reflecting multiple and mixed traditions.

¹⁹¹ See Georgiadis 2003, 79. While possible that the empty tombs are simply unfinished or abandoned, this hypothesis does not fit well with the increased activity and the trend of reusing tombs in the LH IIIC period, as the increased demand for tomb space would be expected to drive down the number of unused or unfinished tombs.

¹⁹² For a more detailed examination of the pottery, see Mee 1982, 22-46; Benzi 1992, 223-405; Georgiadis 2003, 88-89.

¹⁹³ Jones and Mee 1978; 1986, 501-508.

funerary context cannot automatically be applied to the society at large, especially in the absence of settlement data.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming reliance on Argive, and generally mainland, imports for funerary rites through at least the LH IIIB is significant, and undoubtedly speaks to the cultural ties of the local population, not just in terms of emulation. It is likely that the dominance of Argive material culture reflects not simply a desire to acquire Argive material, but a very personal historical relationship with the Argolid. The fact that this relationship began to decline through the LH IIIB as the Argive palace society was declining should also suggest that this relationship was in some way influenced by the very highest levels of society. This need not suggest that the population that made use of the tombs at Ialysos was directly Argive (i.e., descending from a transplanted population during the LH IIB period), but the dominant choice to express funerary rites with Argive material speaks to a broad acceptance of the importance of contact with the Argolid in the construction of local status. Of note also are the Cypriot vessels that appear in four tombs: two Cypriot Base Ring I juglets, two Base Ring I or II bulls, one White Slip I jug and one flask.¹⁹⁴ New Tombs 76 and 86 contained only Cypriot vessels, and are likely to have been the tombs of Cypriots, especially considering that New Tomb 76 contained the bones of a child; however, both tombs are dated to LH IIIA1-2, placing them outside the immediate range of this study.

¹⁹⁴ Mee 1982, 22; Georgiadis 2003, 89. Considering the burial context, it is worth mentioning the proposed connection between Base Ring I and opium usage, although if the connection is true, it cannot have been widespread at Ialysos. Instead, it might contribute to the range of different funeral rites practiced at the site.

Only 20 tombs, totaling 25 burials of all periods, possess records for the locations of pottery within the tombs; however, the picture that emerges is not a unified one, and a high degree of variance with regard to specific vessel types and placement reveals no distinct and cohesive drinking/dining “package” or ritual.¹⁹⁵ Some tombs contained only single burials with several vessels of a single type. The ratio of open to closed vessels is similarly variable through time, being roughly 1:3 in the LH IIIA period, 1:1 in the IIIB, and almost 1:5 in the IIIC. The disparity in the LH IIIA is markedly different from the picture on Astypalaia and Karpathos, although not enough evidence exists to compare the IIIC phases directly.

The small finds at Ialysos are not always able to be dated closely, but it appears that tools and cosmetic equipment were reasonably constant, if uncommon, burial goods, both of which perhaps show a slight increase in number during the LH IIIC.¹⁹⁶ Much more informative is the preference for weapons (swords, spears, and arrows) in the LH IIIA,¹⁹⁷ and for objects of personal ornament (especially rings)¹⁹⁸ and for figurines¹⁹⁹ in

¹⁹⁵ See Georgiadis 2003, 89. This is contrary to the recent assertions of Eerbeek (2014, 117-125, 183-184, 187-200, 256-257) who identifies two distinct assemblage types at Ialysos. However, Eerbeek’s types overlap significantly and the differences are not convincingly attributed to active choice (which he identifies with an a priori reliance on identity expression), as separated from other factors such as commerce and availability or internal social status.

¹⁹⁶ It is of note that several mirrors have parallels on Cyprus; see MacDonald 1986, 141. See also Mee (1982, 45) and Georgiadis (2003, 99) for general discussions of the cosmetic equipment and the tools.

¹⁹⁷ An undated fragment of a helmet from the Old Tombs could possibly date to this period. See Mee 1982, 26, 45; Benzi 1988b, 61; Georgiadis 2003, 98.

¹⁹⁸ Mee 1982, 27, 45-46; Georgiadis 2003, 98-99. More of these objects were found in the Moschou Vounara cemetery than in Makria Vounara.

¹⁹⁹ Mee 1982, 26, 44; MacDonald 1986, 141; Georgiadis 2003, 99-100. There is some debate over the dating of figurines, especially of those found in graves with children. Additionally, some of the figurines are wheel made, which are only

the IIC. Among those IIC ornaments, gold, silver, bronze, and even iron (one fragment possibly a bracelet) demonstrate the society's continuing ability to acquire precious metals. Fragments of ivory vessels and other objects, most of which tentatively date to the LH IIC period, attest contact with the eastern Mediterranean,²⁰⁰ as do numerous beads and sealstones—including one Syrian and one Hittite example²⁰¹—of semiprecious stones.

While the small finds attest a variety of external contacts and a wide array of status symbols, it is important to note that a majority of the small finds were recovered from a small number of tombs. Relative to the large number of ceramic finds (over 1,200 total), the number of small finds is miniscule. For example, only 16 of the 89 New Tombs contained weapons, many possessing more than one, and those tombs in which weapons were deposited were also very likely to contain metal jewelry and metal vessels; however, it is not clear that all of the objects in every tomb were necessarily deposited at the same time.²⁰² On the other hand, tools rarely appeared multiple times in the same tomb, but frequently appeared in tombs that lacked weapons. The reasons for this distinction are not clear, although it could relate to the different relative statuses of the

otherwise attested in funerary contexts on Cyprus. MacDonald (1986, 141) notes that if the idea that such wheel made figures were introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean is correct, then an interesting pattern of bi-directional transmission appears with the introduction of their use in funerary rites to Ialysos.

²⁰⁰ Mee 1982, 46; Georgiadis 2003, 98.

²⁰¹ There is some debate over the types of stone. Georgiadis (2003, 99-100) reports the two seals were made of hematite, but Jacopi (1930-1932, 279) reports that the Syrian example from New Tomb 67 was made of steatite, and Maiuri (1923-1924, 127) cannot identify the type of stone (only "in pietra dura") in the Hittite example from New Tomb 17.

²⁰² Even if not deposited at the same time, some factor must have determined the repeated deposition of similar goods in the same tomb.

tombs' occupants. This pattern suits the idea formulated with regard to cemeteries on the Greek mainland that the objects with which a person was buried were indicative of that person's status and role in society. Craftsmen perhaps possessed single identifications of their trade, while warriors possessed multiple markers of their position as a sign of communal recognition.

In sum, the changes seen in the LH IIIC burials and the differences between the Moschou and Makria clusters suggest that multiple rites were performed at the site during the course of the cemetery's use. Some differences might be explainable by reference to different social strata, others to different social roles and habits, and still others to different places of origin. Lastly, before moving on it is important to note that no other cemeteries have been found on Rhodes that match Ialysos in terms of size or population. Socially, this distinctiveness has important implications for the role of Ialysos and its living population at Trianda in the ancient socio-political landscape of the island and the wider region. Archaeologically, it means that there are few reliable ways to compare smaller cemeteries on the island directly with large cemeteries elsewhere in the Aegean.

3.5.3. Maritsa sits inland, almost eight kilometers to the southwest of Ialysos and roughly two kilometers to the northwest of the modern town of Maritsa, with Mt. Paradeisi across the plain to the northwest, low flat ridges to the south and a revma with arable land to the west. At least two, and perhaps three, LH IIIA2-B chamber tombs have been reported with one dromos facing north toward a low hill.²⁰³ The site should

²⁰³ Jacopi 1926-1927, 331; Laurenzi 1938, 51; Mee 1982, 49; Benzi 1992, 409-410; Georgiadis 2003, 36. The number of tombs at the site is unclear. Jacopi does not state the number of tombs found, only that two of them had collapsed. Laurenzi

probably be associated with Coc(c)ala, excavated in 1926 and reported by Jacopi, although little information remains to confirm that association, and the tombs themselves have apparently been destroyed.²⁰⁴ Surface sherds collected by Hope Simpson and Lazenby mostly date to the LH IIIA-B.²⁰⁵ At least one primary burial is reported from the cemetery, but little else, as only five or six vessels can be attributed to the site. Of note is the presence of a tinned kylix, which is unknown outside of Ialysos, and the practice of primary burial, which is also rare beyond Ialysos.²⁰⁶ It is impossible to make firm conclusions based on so little data, but practical similarities with Ialysos might indicate social ties, which would not be altogether surprising given the geographical proximity of the two sites.

3.5.4. Kalavarda, toward the western edge of the long northwest coast of the island, possesses chamber tombs at Aniforo, Tzitzo and Kaminaki-Lures, all of which are hills just south of the modern town, and it is possible, although not certain, that the disparate sites were once part of a single large cemetery or a chain of cemeteries around

writes “Marizza. — Nel 1926 si scoprirono tre tombe a camera in località Cocala,” evidently referring to the excavations by Jacopi, but says nothing more about the site. Hope Simpson and Lazenby were shown the remains of only a single chamber, although they relate the site to the three tombs mentioned by Laurenzi. Georgiadis describes “at least two tombs.”

²⁰⁴ Jacopi (1926-1927, 331) describes the location of the site as “su un’altura denominata Còccala a destra della strada Cremasto-Marizza.” Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973, 139) relate that at the time of their survey a local guide related hearing an Italian archaeologist describe the place as a necropolis when he was a boy. Georgiadis (2003, 36) states that he located the site based on Hope Simpson and Lazenby’s descriptions on a hill called Kapsalovouno, but he could not locate the tombs at that time.

²⁰⁵ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 139-140.

²⁰⁶ Mee 1982, 49; Georgiadis 2003, 81, 91.

the ancient settlement.²⁰⁷ To the north of modern Kalavarda lies the sea and hills, which extend to the east and culminate in the hilltop to the south opening to a valley with lowlands and a revma to the west. The site apparently can no longer be located, and there seems to have been some historical confusion as to the names of the hills, which makes topographic descriptions unreliable. In 1886, two tombs were excavated by Biliotti and variously located at Tzitso or Kaminaki-Lures; the contents were then sold in London and never fully published.²⁰⁸

A third tomb was excavated in 1913, located either at Aniforo or at Kaminaki-Lures; the tomb was evidently in the vicinity of the earlier excavations at Tzitso.²⁰⁹ It is possible that this tomb (or one of the earlier tombs excavated by Biliotti) possessed a double dromos. The tomb was better excavated than its neighbors, and there appears to have been a burned skeleton in the chamber, which, since the skull appears only to have been charred and not incinerated, seems to be evidence for a cleansing of the tomb by fire, rather than cremation. The pottery points to a date around the LH IIIA2/B transition and include typical bowls, jars, and a rhyton. A bronze razor and one set of tweezers (likely LH IIIA2) were also recovered.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 141; Mee 1982, 50-53; Benzi 1992, 412-419; Georgiadis 2003, 37. By way of comparison with regard to the layout of a settlement ringed with chamber tombs, see the description of Pigadia on Karpathos (3.3.4) in this chapter.

²⁰⁸ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 141; Mee 1982, 52. Furtwängler and Lösckke reported three piriform jars, a stirrup jar, two jugs, an amphoriskos, a mug, a brazier, and six unspecified pots ranging between LH IIIA2 and IIIC in date.

²⁰⁹ Porro 1915; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 141; Mee 1982, 53.

²¹⁰ Mee 1982, 53; Georgiadis 2003, 101.

Five more tombs were later excavated by Jacopi at Aniforo, but plowing and/or bulldozer activity in the area has subsequently removed all trace of them.²¹¹ Jacopi originally reported that his five tombs of LH IIIA1-C date faced to the east. Tombs 1 and 4 seem to have been LH IIIA constructions that were reused in the LH IIIC, Tombs 2 and 3 show LH IIIA-C activity, and Tomb 5 appears only to have been used in the LH IIIC. Two examples of primary burials are found here, although the practice is more rare than secondary deposition.²¹² The peak of offerings occurred during the LH IIIA2 period with a decrease during LH IIIB and a subsequent increase during LH IIIC, which approached LH IIIA2 levels.²¹³ When the finds from the site as a whole are compiled, it is noteworthy that the ratio of open to closed vessels is so heavily dominated by closed forms in the LH IIIA and IIIC, but is roughly even in the LH IIIA/B-B, as this matches the pattern at Ialysos. Also of note is the relative absence of metal objects.

The ancient settlement was perhaps located near the top of Aniforo hill, above and to the south of the cemetery clusters.²¹⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby identified this settlement based on a large scatter of surface sherds, especially of coarse wares, which dated from the Middle Minoan period to the LH IIIA-B. Although no LH IIIC sherds were recovered in the surface scatter, the presence of LH IIIC material in the nearby tombs (as well as the presence of Early Geometric pottery in the scatter) plausibly suggests continued LH IIIC occupation.

²¹¹ Jacopi 1932-1933, 133-155; Mee 1982, 50.

²¹² Georgiadis 2003, 81.

²¹³ Mee 1982, 50-52; Georgiadis 2003, 91.

²¹⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 141.

3.5.5. The cemetery cluster of Papa-Lures at Kameiros likely sits at the west end of the hill immediately south of Classical Kameiros.²¹⁵ The site lies about two and a half kilometers west of modern Kalavarda, at the western edge of the coastal plain that stretches from Kalavarda to Trianda. The coastal plain extends from the northeast and a ridge with a revma extends to the northwest, which runs inland to the south through a vast stretch of hills. Unfortunately, the cemetery was first excavated by Salzmänn between 1858 and 1865, and no tombs now exist at the site;²¹⁶ it does not seem that Hope Simpson and Lazenby or Georgiadis were able to locate the actual site beyond a basic topographic similarity. Confusion arose soon after the excavation as to the provenance of pottery recovered at Kameiros-Kalavarda, and only perhaps 14 vessels in the Louvre can reliably be attributed to Kameiros. Maiuri identifies it as a Mycenaean cemetery, although he locates the site in a different place than other earlier reports.²¹⁷ Geographic ambiguity and a lack of evidence for in situ finds make the presence of a Mycenaean cemetery or settlement in this area uncertain, but it will be given the benefit of the doubt and included in this study in light of the fact that excavations were (apparently) carried out, even if they were never published. Little can be said of the materials from the site,

²¹⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 37. See also the map of the area in Jacopi (1932-1933, 11, fig. 1) that positions “Papatislures.”

²¹⁶ Mee (1982, 53) states that the Mycenaean material was never published and that Salzmänn made no mention of Bronze Age finds or the tombs in his report; see also the material listed as “Kalavarda-‘Kameiros’” (Mee 1982, 54). Brisch (in Torr 2005, 201-202) states that Salzmänn’s only publication on Kameiros was a collection of images from the excavations, which was published after Biliotti had moved on to excavate at Trianda; the accompanying text was never published due to Salzmänn’s early death.

²¹⁷ Maiuri 1923-1924, 252; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 143. Note Jacopi (1932-1933, 17) calls the site “Papatislures” in his discussion of the later cemetery associated with the city of the historic period. It is also the term that appears in the British Museum database.

except that the rhyton is a Peloponnesian import, which fits with the pattern of importation at Ialysos.²¹⁸ Among the non-ceramic finds, of note is the sword, which is the only weapon found on the north coast of Rhodes outside of Ialysos during the period under consideration here.²¹⁹ The dearth of material from Kameiros is undoubtedly related to the poor state of preservation and excavation; however, it is also possible that LBA Kameiros was not the population center that it was in later periods, and that the larger settlement was located to the east, at Kalavarda.

3.5.6. Lelos, just under four kilometers to the west-southwest of Apollona, sits on a southern spur of Mt. Profitis Ilias, where the slopes of the mountain give way to drainages and modern farmland. The site views slopes and hills to the west, Mt. Profitis Ilias to the north, Mt. Attavyros to the south and low lying fertile land to the east.²²⁰ Nine chamber tombs were excavated by Maiuri in 1915, although two were found empty and presumably robbed, and two others had been cleared out during the Byzantine period and

²¹⁸ Mee 1982, 53. Mee cites Jones and Mee (1978, 463, sample 8) as the source of the scientifically established Peloponnesian import; however, the LH IIIA2 rhyton in question is cited in Jones and Mee as published by Maiuri (1923-1924, 94-95, pl. 1), which originated in Tomb 4 at Ialysos, not at Kameiros. Benzi (1992, 418) notes a conical rhyton from "Kalavarda: Papa-Lures," which was published by Furtwängler and Löschcke (1886, 109, pl. 11:71). It is possible, although not certain, that this is the rhyton that was sampled by Jones and Mee. Mee's assertion (1982, 53) of the origin of the rhyton will be followed here in spite of the ambiguities since a first hand examination of the material was not conducted for this study.

²¹⁹ For small finds, see Mee 1982, 53; Benzi 1992, 418; Georgiadis 2003, 71, 100-101.

²²⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 144; Georgiadis 2003, 37.

reused.²²¹ The remaining tombs are given a date range of LH IIIA2-C, and the dromoi faced to the northwest-west-southwest.²²² The results of the excavations were briefly published by Maiuri in 1915, and then again as an appendix to his publication of the work at Ialysos in 1923-1924. As a result, the reports are focused heavily on recording the finds, and analysis is minimal except where comparisons can be drawn to Ialysos.

As at Kalavarda, an example of primary burial can be found at Lelos, although it is not the standard practice.²²³ The LH IIIA2 period shows the most offerings with a decrease during the LH IIIB, although here there is no subsequent increase in activity during the LH IIIC.²²⁴ The numbers of ceramic offerings deposited during the LH IIIB and IIIC are roughly equal, even though one less tomb was in use during the LH IIIC than in the IIIB. It is not clear if this means that the site was in continued decline after the LH IIIA period, or if the waning of LH IIIB activity stabilized during the LH IIIC and became more concentrated, since the same amount of material would then have been deposited with fewer burials. It seems likely that some social differences existed between the population around Lelos and coastal areas to the north, especially at Ialysos. The ratio of open to closed vessels remains roughly even until the LH IIIC, which is not a pattern seen at sites on the north coast of the island, and the rarity of metal objects, which is also a feature of the tombs at Kalavarda, is noteworthy.²²⁵

²²¹ The empty “cenotaphs” at Ialysos offers an alternative explanation for the empty tombs, although given the adjacent Byzantine disturbance it is more likely that the tombs were cleared out at that time.

²²² Maiuri 1915, 298-302; 1923-1924, 248-251; Mee 1982, 55-58; Benzi 1992, 422-431.

²²³ Georgiadis 2003, 81.

²²⁴ Mee 1982, 57-58; Georgiadis 2003, 91.

²²⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 91.

Perhaps of more interest than the material is the relationship between Lelos and Kariones, some one kilometer distant, which experiences an increase of activity as Lelos experiences its LH IIIB decline. Mee notes that the hardness of the stone into which the tombs were carved might have deterred continuing use of the Lelos cemetery in favor of other nearby locations like Kariones.²²⁶ However, this explanation must only account for the dearth of LH IIIB material at Lelos, and would not explain the absence of IIIC material in the surrounding area, since no other LH IIIC burials are known from the immediate area outside of Lelos.

3.5.7. Kariones, just over a kilometer to the northeast of Lelos and just over two and a half kilometers to the west of modern Apollona, possesses two chamber tombs of LH IIIA2-B date. Mt. Profitis Ilias and its slopes surround the site to the north, west, and east, while to the south are lowlands that extend to the southeast.²²⁷ The site's history of confused and often contradictory topographic descriptions and relations to Lelos make it difficult to piece together the local story. Jacopi published a photograph of a group of nine LH IIIB vessels from the site, although there appears to have been uncertainty as to the exact location of their provenance;²²⁸ additional vessels are included by Georgiadis.²²⁹ One of the kylikes is of a Zygouries type, and is perhaps an Argive import; however, most of the other vessels are more likely local products judging by decoration and fabric.

²²⁶ Mee 1982, 55. Mee cites the existence of an unfinished dromos as potential support for the idea that the bedrock at Lelos was unsuited to chamber tombs.

²²⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 37.

²²⁸ Jacopi 1933, 714; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 144; Mee 1982, 54-55; Benzi 1992, 420-422. The site should probably be identified with that of Maiuri's "Scariones;" Maiuri 1915, 299, fig.15.

²²⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 187.

The two cemeteries at Kariones and Lelos can plausibly be interpreted as connected to the same living population. Although the tombs at Kariones cannot be distinguished by date, the ceramic evidence suggests an increase in activity as Lelos goes into a sharp decline during the LH IIIB. This increase is not enough to offset the decline at Lelos, and the combined ceramic material still indicates a regional decrease in the level of deposited goods between the LH IIIA and IIIB. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the distance between the two cemeteries is slightly less than the distance between Ialysos and the settlement at Trianda. As such, the distance between Lelos and Kariones should not automatically be taken to indicate separate living populations, but could perhaps reflect multiple burial clusters of a single population. For reasons now unknown, it is plausible that two loci of funerary activity existed in the LH IIIA period—one at Kariones, and a larger one at Lelos. During the LH IIIB period, as a general decline was occurring in the frequency of funerary activity, a significant portion of that activity shifted from Lelos to Kariones. In the LH IIIC period, funerary activity ceased at Kariones as the situation at Lelos perhaps briefly stabilized, although on a significantly smaller scale than had existed previously. This scenario, if accurate, suggests that the two cemetery clusters reflected different, but parallel, structures or organizations within the same local society. The alternation of burial space, therefore, is a reflection of local shifts in authority.

3.5.8. Kastraki, just over two kilometers north-northeast of modern Kritinia (formerly Castello), sits on the edge of a small coastal plain, which opens below and to the west of the site, and a watershed that runs north to the sea; higher elevations continue

to the east.²³⁰ Its position on a hill overlooking fertile land with springs on the hillside fits the pattern for settlement location on the northern coast as seen from Trianda to Kalavarda, and the presence of a settlement is supported by the scatter of sherds along the north slope of the hill. Maiuri and Inglieri reported Mycenaean chamber tombs in the area, although the only cuttings in the bedrock on top of the hill appear to be (or were disturbed by) World War II slit trenches, and cuttings toward the bottom of the hill near the level of the plain have been cleaned out. A handful of worn sherds in these lower cuttings are Mycenaean, as are an assortment of vessels in museums in Rhodes and Copenhagen.²³¹ Most of the ceramics attributed to the site date to the LH IIIA2, but at least four date to the LH IIIB and IIIC. The ratio of open to closed vessels (7:9) is uniformly weighted slightly in favor of closed vessels, but since most of the material dates to the LH IIIA it is unclear if the preference for closed shapes continued into later periods. Almost all of the LH IIIA kylikes appear to be imports, and formal parallels with vessels from Mylasa and Müskebi are attested in the LH IIIB jug. In spite of disturbances by illicit activity during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the site will nevertheless be included as a cemetery in this study since the provenance of the vessels can reasonably be ascertained.

3.5.9. Kymisala, three kilometers northwest of modern Siana and the same distance southwest of modern Lakki, lies at the northern edge of the Kymisala plain, a

²³⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 145; Mee 1982, 58-59; Benzi 1992, 431. See Benzi for a brief description of the problems with, and mislabeling of, topographic identifiers.

²³¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 146; Mee 1982, 59. Mee labels the site as "Siana/Kastellos;" see also Benzi (1992, 431), who revises the date of an askos to LH IIIC.

small inland plain bordered on the south by higher elevations, and on the north by slopes leading down to the sea; a drainage with fertile coastal land lies over the hills to the east toward Lakki.²³² Biliotti collected vessels in the area, and Hope Simpson and Lazenby suggest that two vessels in the Copenhagen Museum and four other vases in the Rhodes Museum, which are attributed to Siana, should come from this site.²³³ These vessels decline in number from the LH IIIA2 to IIIC1, but are roughly evenly distributed between open and closed shapes. Most interesting are the three metal objects—a dagger, a knife and a spearhead—all of which show parallels with Anatolian forms.²³⁴ The absence of Anatolian pottery in the presence of these imports possibly has more to do with the context of excavation than any real difference in depositional or acquisitional practices; nevertheless, it should be noted that all of the extant LH IIIA and IIIB pottery appears to have been imported from the Aegean and southern Greek mainland, not from Anatolia. Tombs have been reported in the area, and additional Mycenaean pottery is reported at nearby Agios Fokas to the northeast, although apparently little now remains. The site will be classified here as a cemetery, although it is likely that the valley was the center of other activity as well in the LBA.

²³² See Maiuri 1915, 285, fig. 1.

²³³ Maiuri 1923-1924, 252; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 146-147; Mee 1982, 60; Benzi 1992, 432-433.

²³⁴ Mee 1982, 60. The bronze weapons possess parallels from Troy, Colophon, Tarsus and Ugarit. It is plausible that Anatolian pottery, especially Gray Ware from the northeast Aegean, would not have been kept since it is not decorated and is unlikely to have sold on the 19th century art market. On the other hand, formal connections with Cilicia and the Levant tie in with larger trends of Rhodian contact with the eastern Mediterranean, which will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 8.

3.5.10. Apolakkia possesses two concentrations of tombs at Chimaro and Trapezies Paraelis, both located on different slopes of the same large ridge north and west of modern Apolakkia between the town and the coast.²³⁵ The valley to the south and east is relatively well watered, and two rivers converge just north of the modern town of Apolakkia before flowing west to the coast, where a larger coastal plain can be found. When Kinch surveyed the region in 1904, the tombs had already been discovered and looted, and so only sherds remained to indicate the original contents.²³⁶ The cemetery at Chimaro is located between Apolakkia and the coast, on the western edge of a flat-topped hill called Trapezies. The site preserves only one chamber tomb, and only a small number of surface sherds have been collected.²³⁷ Nevertheless, Blinkenberg reported that at least three tombs were in the area, one of which contained 48 vessels; unfortunately

²³⁵ Dietz 1984, 67, 75; Georgiadis 2003, 38. The exact locations are unclear from published accounts. Dietz (1984, 67-68, 74 figs. 77, 88) describes the hill as “west (NW) of Apolakkia, south of the river,” but his photograph clearly indicates that the camera was positioned north of the river when taken. Georgiadis published photographs taken from the sites (2003, figs. 4.32-35) that indicate positions on the hill north of the river and west of the modern town. A rough sketch by Blinkenberg in 1904 (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 113, fig. 101), and his journal entry dated Feb. 14, 1904, seem to confirm this location.

²³⁶ Dietz 1984, 67. Kinch’s notebook, dated Feb. 13-14, 1904 (published by Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 111), records the existence of numerous tombs ranging in date from Mycenaean to Hellenistic. Although his report of 1000-2000 tombs cannot be accurate, he notes that all of the tombs in the area had already been opened and their contents removed by the time he arrived. Blinkenberg (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 113) noted that most of the finds from Trapezies and Chimaro were purchased by a man in Apolakkia, for whom looters were working on commission.

²³⁷ Mee 1982, 61; Benzi 1992, 433. Note that Mee and Benzi both call the site “Chimaria,” and associate it with the area of Monolithos, apparently an older regional designation that located Apolakkia within the sphere of Monolithos to the north. Blinkenberg’s notes dated Feb. 14, 1904 (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 113) record the presence of three Mycenaean tombs that were in the process of being looted during his visit.

this cannot be substantiated. Inglieri reported plundered tombs in the area, and Hope Simpson and Lazenby report that numerous vessels are said to come from this area, which range in date from LH IIIA2-IIIC1.²³⁸ Dietz was able to locate the remaining tomb with local help, but little remained by the time of his visit.²³⁹ The chamber tomb appears to be of LH IIIC date, and opens to the south.

The larger cemetery of Trapezies Paraelis lies on an eastern spur of the hill, just to the west of the confluence of two rivers, roughly a kilometer to the northwest of the modern town in an area formerly known as Stous Milous.²⁴⁰ The site views mountains to the north, the slopes of the hill to the west, and a large valley to the east that continues to the south where the revma flows through it.²⁴¹ Twenty LH IIIA2-C chamber tombs are spread across the hill with dromoi all pointing to the southeast. Unfortunately, no bodies were kept from the excavations, only pottery, and it is not altogether clear which tombs are represented by that pottery.²⁴² The majority of the collection (47 vessels) dates to LH IIIA2, but 28 vessels are datable to LH IIIB, and 4 are datable to LH IIIC.²⁴³ This site,

²³⁸ Maiuri 1923-1924, 253-254; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 147. It is possible that Hope Simpson and Lazenby referred to the finds at Trapezeis Paraelis by the name of Chimaro, as Mee (1982, 61-65) appears to have done.

²³⁹ Dietz 1984, 74-76.

²⁴⁰ Dietz (1984, 67) reports that during his 1975 survey only the oldest residents in Apolakkia recalled mills located on the banks of the river here. Kinch's notebook (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 111) records the association of the placenames Trapezi and stous Milous.

²⁴¹ Georgiadis 2003, 38.

²⁴² Mee 1982, 61-65; Georgiadis 2003, 80, 188-189. Mee notes that this cemetery, which he titles "Apolakkia-Chimaria," might be the same cluster as that which was reported by Inglieri, there called "Chimaro." Due to the shared names and similar general location, the cemetery or cemeteries will be incorporated within the overarching site of Apolakkia in this study.

²⁴³ On this pottery, see initially Mee (1982, 61-65) and Mountjoy's (1995, 33) redating.

like others in the larger region of southern and central Rhodes, shows a gradual decline during LH IIIB that continues through LH IIIC.²⁴⁴ Aside from decontextualized pottery, very little information remains except for two spearheads and a razor that Søren Dietz has associated with the site.²⁴⁵ Because of the proximity of the single tomb at Chimaro and the cemetery at Trapezies Paraelis, it seems likely that a single population made use of both burial locations, although the site of an associated settlement is unknown.

3.5.11. Kattavia, in the southwestern corner of the island, lies at the northwestern edge of the modern village on a small hill that houses the chapel of Agios Minas, and was formerly referred to as “Sto Granto.”²⁴⁶ Hills extend to the north of the site, but a sizeable inland plain stretches to the south, west and east, making it one of the more fertile areas in the southern portion of the island. Coarse ware sherds scattered on the top of the hill seem to indicate the presence of a settlement on the summit, but its extent is unknown.²⁴⁷ Below the settlement and near the base of the hill several chamber tombs appear to have been cut into the soft bedrock along the slopes, although they were unfortunately looted before Kinch could commence excavations in 1905.²⁴⁸ Three LH IIIA2-C chamber tombs face their dromoi southeast toward a shallow ridge with a revma

²⁴⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 91-92.

²⁴⁵ Dietz 1984 76-77, figs. 94-96; Benzi 1992, 434; Georgiadis 2003, 100-101. The objects were purchased in Rhodes in 1903 by members of the Danish expedition that explored Apolakkia.

²⁴⁶ Dietz 1984, 78; Georgiadis 2003, 38.

²⁴⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 147-148; Dietz 1984, 78.

²⁴⁸ Dietz 1984, 78. An excerpt from Kinch’s notebook (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 100), dated Sept. 17, 1905, mentions 15 Mycenaean tombs and suggests the possibility of more leading toward the edges of the old town. Those numbers have not been substantiated by later investigations, so, if true, many tombs must have been destroyed subsequently.

behind it, high hills to the northeast, and a valley to the south.²⁴⁹ The site of Ta Tzingani (also excavated by Kinch), which produced a single robbed LH IIIA chamber tomb, is visible on the opposite hill to the east and was probably part of the same cemetery.²⁵⁰

From the excavations it appears that only four vessels have survived—a jug, a mug, a conical cup and a bull’s head rhyton—although a number of others were originally recovered and recorded in notebooks, and others have surfaced subsequently (presumably from the looted chambers).²⁵¹ The surface pottery recovered by Hope Simpson and Lazenby dates somewhat narrowly to LH IIIA2-B1, and possibly includes remnants of the excavation dump.²⁵² Small finds include a “lamp” and fragments of a lead spindle whorl—the lone lead object on Rhodes according to Georgiadis—and beads, all of which were recovered from Tomb 1, and which date roughly to LH IIIA2-B.²⁵³ To this list can be added carnelian, steatite, and glass paste/faience beads, as well as a scarab and a fishhook, all probably dating to LH IIIA2-B (and all also without specific provenance).

Although it is certain that not all of the finds from the site have survived, and that perhaps none of the reports can be considered complete, external connections are still

²⁴⁹ Kinch 1914, 1-4; Dietz 1984, 84-86.

²⁵⁰ Georgiadis 2003, 38.

²⁵¹ On the finds, see Mee 1982, 65-66; Dietz 1984, 78-84; Benzi 1992, 434-435; Georgiadis 2003, 100-101, 189-190. Each authors gives a slightly different account of the finds, and Georgiadis, as the most recent author to attempt a catalogue, will be followed here; objects mentioned by other accounts are included in Georgiadis’ catalogue.

²⁵² Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 146-147; see also Mee 1982, 65.

²⁵³ Dietz 1984, 78-84; Georgiadis 2003, 100-101. Mee (1982, 65-66) and Georgiadis (2003, 100-101) seem more willing than Dietz to extend the date of the objects into the beginning of LH IIIB. It is of note that much of this material only survives in the notebooks and can no longer be located. It is also apparent that some of the vessels mentioned by Mee are also mentioned by Dietz.

attested. An LH IIIA incised carinated bowl has parallels to examples from Troy VI,²⁵⁴ and the bull's head rhyton is of Cretan form, but possess Mycenaean decoration (perhaps indicating local hybridization).²⁵⁵ The pottery fits with patterns seen at other sites in southern Rhodes, and is not inconsistent with what is seen at Ialysos. The number of open vessels (at a ratio of open to closed forms of 16:11 for the LH IIIA-B) is unusually high for the region as a whole, and it is not clear if this should be due to the disturbances and accidental preservation, or if this reflects finds from the settlement that washed down the hill and mingled with disturbed cemetery remains. The fact that the tombs were robbed, and one was even reused in the Hellenistic period, has unfortunately obscured almost all evidence of social practice at the cemetery. Moreover, because the overwhelming majority of the material associated with the cemetery was not found on site, little can be said of the site for the very end of the Bronze Age except that the area was settled and that the inhabitants buried their dead in chamber tombs on the slopes of the hill above the modern town.

3.5.12. Lachania is often cited in discussions of Bronze Age Rhodes, but the only evidence comes from vessels found in the Rhodes Museum and in Copenhagen, and the exact findspot is not known.²⁵⁶ It is also not known if all of the finds that are attributed to Lachania are actually from Lachania or somewhere else in southern Rhodes. Like many of the other sites in the southern part of the island this ambiguity makes analysis difficult;

²⁵⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 147-148; Mee 1982, 65-66; Georgiadis 2003, 91.

²⁵⁵ Mee 1982, 65-66.

²⁵⁶ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 149; Mee 1982, 66; Benzi 1992, 435-436.

however, unlike the other sites already discussed, Lachania will be omitted from final considerations in this study since there is no known physical site.

3.5.13. At Yennadi, roughly two kilometers south of the modern town, a cemetery and settlement have been recently explored. The site, near the shrine of Agios Giorgos, is dominated by the hill on which it sits, which occupies the view to the southwest with other hills and a ridge expanding to the north.²⁵⁷ The view opens to the east with a small revma running through a valley and the sea beyond. A single LH IIIA2-C chamber tomb was found in 1998 and slightly damaged during the construction of agricultural terraces, although it is possible that more tombs existed (or still might) in the surrounding area. The dromos faces to the northeast toward the revma. Human remains were recovered mixed with the grave goods, evidencing multiple secondary burials; based on the distribution of pottery dates, Karantzali proposes three burials in the LH IIIA2/B1, IIIB1-2, and IIIB2/C.²⁵⁸ The number of grave goods deposited with the first LH IIIA2 burial is larger (approximately 12 vessels) than with the other burials, which demonstrate a decline through the LH IIIB/C transition.²⁵⁹ It should be noted that the ratio of 12 grave goods per burial is above average for Rhodes at this time, although a similar ratio can be detected in an LH IIIA2-B chamber tomb at Pylona near Lindos.²⁶⁰ The ratio of open to closed vessels is approximately even, although the earlier burial was accompanied by a slight dominance of closed forms. Also interred was a bronze knife,

²⁵⁷ Maiuri 1923-1924, 253; Mee 1982, 67; Georgiadis 2003, 38; Karantzali 2009, 223-228.

²⁵⁸ Karantzali 2009, 225-227, fig. 4, 229.

²⁵⁹ The distribution of pottery dates is different in Georgiadis and Karantzali; Karantzali's (2009, 229) dates are followed here. See also Appendix 1.

²⁶⁰ See Table 3.1 in the section on Aspropilia at Pylona (3.5.16) later in this chapter.

and beads of carnelian, faience and glass paste, as well as a stone loomweight.²⁶¹

Approximately 600-700 meters to the east, on the other side of the revma, there is evidence of a settlement in the form of scattered surface sherds on top of a small hill.²⁶²

3.5.14. Vati possesses three cemeteries in its environs—Kalogrios, Passia, and Apsaktiras—all of which are spread in a long east-west line for the better part of four and a half kilometers on the north bank of the same river that flows past modern Yennadi several kilometers to the southeast. It is not clear that all of the cemeteries in this long stretch of territory belonged to the same settlement, and they are only grouped together here as a result of their common proximity to modern Vati. One of the cemeteries, on Kalogrios hill to the northwest of modern Vati, shows evidence of only LH IIIA2 use in two tombs, and so will not be included in this study.²⁶³

Passia was positioned on the top of a hill at the western edge of the chain of cemeteries, two and a half kilometers west of modern Vati. The north side of the cemetery is dominated by the landscape of the hillside, and the south opens onto a small ridge with a revma.²⁶⁴ The revma flows into the river to the east, where narrow tracts of riparian flat land permit agriculture. Kinch excavated four chamber tombs of LH IIIA2-C date, the dromoi of which face southeast toward the revma; unfortunately, he also reported that locals had found eight more graves before his arrival, only two of which

²⁶¹ Karantzali 2009, 250-252.

²⁶² Georgiadis (2003, 38) cites personal communication with Efi Karantzali for the location of the plausible settlement and the belief that there are likely more tombs in the area.

²⁶³ Dietz 1984, 65-66; Benzi 1992, 439; Georgiadis 2003, 39.

²⁶⁴ Dietz 1984, 21; Georgiadis 2003, 38-39.

contained vessels.²⁶⁵ Sketches by Kinch indicate slab paving in the northwest and northeast corner of Tomb 2, on which offerings and a skull were recovered in situ.²⁶⁶

Kinch's sketches of Passia are valuable in that they provide the only evidence regarding the placement of human remains and objects within the tombs. From these it appears that disarticulated bones (in secondary treatment) were placed in corners opposite the chamber entrances or to the side of the stomia, but rarely do human remains appear in the middle of the chamber; this fragmentary picture is consistent with what appears at Ialysos. Burial goods, on the other hand, typically appear toward the center of the chambers or next to the skulls. Two skulls can be counted in the sketch of Tomb 1, six in Tomb 2, four in Tomb 4 (Tomb 3 contained no finds of any kind). There often appears no way to access the skulls from the chamber entrance without stepping over a vessel or other offering, and it is likely that the vessels were deposited after the bones were placed. Therefore, the offerings could have been deposited for the secondary deposit individuals who still possessed some presence in the tomb.²⁶⁷ Among the finds at Passia, the LH IIIA2 finds are the least numerous, followed by a steady increase through LH IIIB to the richest period during LH IIIC.²⁶⁸ The ratio of open to closed vessels remains fairly constant during the LH IIIA-B at roughly 2:5, but changes during the LH IIIC to represent a slight preference for open shapes at 11:9.

²⁶⁵ Mee 1982, 71; Dietz 1984, 21; Benzi 1992, 440. It is unclear if the "empty" tombs were originally empty, or if they were emptied illicitly and Kinch related what was told to him. Six out of 12 tombs being left empty would be uncharacteristic for the region. Kinch's notebooks were published by Dietz (1984), and provide helpful sketches and additional information about the state and preservation of tombs.

²⁶⁶ Dietz 1984, 23, 31-32, 38, figs. 3, 19, 31, 34; Georgiadis 2003, 81.

²⁶⁷ However, this pattern may not necessarily hold for Tomb 2.

²⁶⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 92, 190-191.

The last cemetery around Vati, Apsaktiras, lies at the east end of the long chain of cemeteries just over one and a half kilometers east of modern Vati, on a low hill with other hills to the north, narrow valleys with revmata to the east and west, and the junction of the revmata and the river to the south at a small fertile plain.²⁶⁹ Kinch visited the site in 1904, but the cemetery had already been located and partially looted that winter.²⁷⁰ Twenty-five chamber tombs of LH IIIA2-C date had been found, but all of them had been emptied and perhaps as many as 280 intact vessels had been removed, in addition to sherds that had been discarded.²⁷¹ Kinch's efforts were, therefore, confined to cleaning the tombs and recording what information remained. The site appears to have had remarkable longevity as one EB III duck vase, perhaps imported from Troy, and a Hellenistic rock-cut tomb both attest.²⁷²

All of the dromoi point roughly east toward the narrow valley and revma at the base of the hill.²⁷³ Blocking walls were encountered at the opening of the dromos, which is not found elsewhere on the island; however, similar constructions can be seen at Dendra, Asine, Megalo Kastelli at Thebes, Mycenae, Menidi, and Dimini.²⁷⁴ Tomb 1, the best-preserved tomb in the site, also contained slab pavings along the northern wall of the

²⁶⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 39. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973, 150) note the likelihood of a settlement in the area, but were unable to locate it definitively.

²⁷⁰ Dietz 1984, 50.

²⁷¹ Maiuri 1923-1924, 253; Dietz 1984, 50-65; Benzi 1992, 437-439. Dietz (1984, 50) states that Kinch recorded in his notebooks the discovery of "c. 280 complete vases," but Dietz also notes that Kinch "evidently mixed the information given by the peasants with his own genuine field notes." This is probably the reason that Georgiadis (2003, 191-195) lists only 227 vessels from Apsaktiras. Since the number 280 cannot be verified Georgiadis will be followed in Appendix 1.

²⁷² Mee 1982, 67. However, Dietz (1984, 50) It should perhaps not be taken as a certainty that all materials attributed to the site are necessarily from Apsaktiras.

²⁷³ Dietz 1984, 51-53, figs. 52-54.

²⁷⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 72. Georgiadis interprets this feature as a liminal marker.

chamber, on which two bodies had been placed.²⁷⁵ Burials are otherwise difficult to study at this site because Kinch rarely encountered them in situ. Tomb 1 contained 4 skulls total (including the two on the slabs), one of which was either wearing a bronze helmet, or had a helmet placed next to the skull; an additional skull was found in Tomb 2.²⁷⁶ The two depositions on the slabs inside Tomb 1 appear to have been primary burials according to Georgiadis, but they are the only examples that attest to this practice, and indeed, it is unclear from Kinch's notes that even these depositions were primary.²⁷⁷ Unfortunately, because of the disturbed nature of the tombs prior to Kinch's study, it is probably not possible to know with certainty which burials were primary or secondary.

Pottery was recovered both on site, and also off site, which creates a certain margin of error in the data.²⁷⁸ Georgiadis lists 280 vessels attributable to the site, which makes it the second wealthiest cemetery in the terms of finds behind Ialysos.²⁷⁹ Similar to Yennadi, Apsaktiras demonstrates an increase in the number of LH IIIB ceramic offerings followed by a decline during the LH IIIC. The ratio of open to closed vessels is weighted toward closed forms during the LH IIIA at almost 1:2, but becomes even during the LH IIIB before returning to a 1:2 preference of closed shapes in the LH IIIC. The even ratio during the LH IIIB differs from the Passia cluster and from cemeteries on the east and north coast, but is similar to the ratios at nearby Yennadi and at Pylona on the west coast. The absence of a decline during the LH IIIB is perhaps to be linked with the

²⁷⁵ Dietz 1984, 52; Georgiadis 2003, 81.

²⁷⁶ Dietz 1984, 52-53; Georgiadis 2003, 100. The helmet has apparently been lost and does not seem to have been illustrated.

²⁷⁷ Dietz 1984, 52-53; Georgiadis 2003, 81.

²⁷⁸ Mee (1982, 67) states that 101 vessels appear in the Copenhagen and Rhodes Museums that were likely looted.

²⁷⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 191-195.

number of ceramic imports from Crete during this period, although close ties with Crete did not stave off a decline in funerary activity on Karpathos, and so the foreign connection alone cannot explain the pattern.²⁸⁰

3.5.15. Lardos, six kilometers west of Lindos and divided from Lindos by a mass of barren hills, possesses a cemetery on the west slope of a hill dominated by a modern school. The low hill is prominent in the modern town, and with tombs on its slopes its layout is not unlike Mycenae or Pylos. The eastern view blocked by the hill, a valley to the south, and lowlands with a valley and a revma to the west, and the dromoi face to the northwest-west-southwest, generally toward the lowlands and the revma.²⁸¹ The original number of tombs is now unclear as a result of the modern construction of the school, but several LH IIIA2-C chamber tombs have been reported; unfortunately, it appears that these were heavily looted prior to modern construction.²⁸²

Some 48 ceramic vessels appear to reside in at least four separate collections in museums in Rhodes and Lindos, not all of which still exist; in all cases it is unclear which tombs are represented by the finds.²⁸³ Although no list can be considered fully representative of the original site, all show similar patterns in the types and chronological distributions of the pottery. Most of the finds date to the LH IIIA2 period, and a sharp decline in material activity is evidenced during the LH IIIB, with a subsequent increase during the LH IIIC. The ratios of open to closed vessels change through time from 7:10

²⁸⁰ Mee 1982, 67-70; Georgiadis 2003, 92.

²⁸¹ Georgiadis 2003, 39.

²⁸² Maiuri 1923-1924, 253, 255-256; Mee 1982, 72-73; Benzi 1992, 441.

²⁸³ Mee 1982, 72-73; Benzi 1992, 440-445; see also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 150-151; Georgiadis 2003, 90, 92, 195-196. Mee's list only accounts for those in the Rhodes Museum.

during the LH IIIA, to 2:1 during the IIIB, to 8:5 during the IIIC. The dominance of open shapes in the LH IIIC is the only such attested occurrence in the region, and is likely the result of preservation, which throws other aspects of the data into question for the site as a whole. Imports are attested by two ritual vessels—an LH IIIC bull's head rhyton in the Karo Collection, which is likely a Cretan import,²⁸⁴ and an LH IIIC basket vase with a plastic master of animals motif, which Mee interprets “to afford a rare glimpse of the religious beliefs of prehistoric Rhodes.”²⁸⁵ However, the specific significance of this (admittedly rare) motif and technique, and its relevance to the burial rites that might have accompanied its deposition in the tomb (if that is indeed where it originated) are unclear at present.

3.5.16. Pylona shows two cemeteries around the modern town—Ambelia and Aspropilia, separated by roughly one kilometer—which sit at opposite edges of a sizeable inland plain about four kilometers northwest of modern Lindos and two and a half kilometers northeast of Lardos. Ambelia is positioned on the Plakoto ridge, roughly one kilometer to the southwest of modern Pylona on a narrow ridge between two hills that connect the plains of Lardos and Pylona.²⁸⁶ Hills dominate the view to the south, a high hill (also visible from Lardos) fills the north-northeast, and a limited plain lies to the west. The cemetery (containing an unknown total number of tombs) was largely plundered before excavations could begin, but in 1929 Jacopi excavated a single chamber

²⁸⁴ Mee 1982, 73.

²⁸⁵ Mee 1982, 73. See also Maiuri 1923-1924, 256, fig. 160; Benzi 1992, 445, pl. 143b.

²⁸⁶ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 151, note 145; Georgiadis 2003, 39.

tomb that contained 22 vessels of LH IIIA2-C date, a knife and a spear point.²⁸⁷ The earliest vessel, an LH IIIA2 piriform jar, is the only LH IIIA vessel described by Jacopi, and it is possible that the jar did not originate in the tomb.²⁸⁸ If the lone LH IIIA find is discounted, then Ambelia began to be used in the IIIB period, and experienced a subsequent decline through the IIIC. Of note is the fact that the ceramic ratio of open to closed vessels is weighted in favor of open vessels in the LH IIIB (8:1), and then shifts in the LH IIIC to favor closed vessels (1:4); since the tomb(s) were disturbed prior to excavation, it is not clear if this shift represents a real transition in practice or simply an artifact of preservation. It is also noteworthy that a majority of the LH IIIB pottery was imported, while the LH IIIC vessels are southern Rhodian in style.²⁸⁹

The other cemetery, Aspropilia, sits north-northwest of modern Pylona at the foot of low hills, which rise to the north and west, while the plain of Pylona extends to the south before contracting to the east of the site into a narrow valley and revma that connect the Pylona and Theotokos plains.²⁹⁰ The cemetery consists of six chamber tombs of LH IIIA2-C date, the dromoi of which face south toward the plain and low hills.²⁹¹ Although Tomb 6 was unfortunately plundered before excavation, Aspropilia has the benefit of being recently and well excavated and is the only cemetery in the region where anthropological methods have been applied to the study of human remains across the

²⁸⁷ Jacopi 1930-1931, 335-343; 1931, 468-469; Mee 1982, 73; Benzi 1992, 445-446; Georgiadis 2003, 100-101. A note made by Kinch and published by Sørensen (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 84), dated Feb. 22, 1905, records the enlistment of “gendarmes” to prevent the looting of a necropolis 20 minutes from Lardos towards Pylona; this is likely a reference to Ambelia.

²⁸⁸ Mee (1982, 73) notes the possibility that the vessel originated in another tomb, which could speak to a larger original cemetery.

²⁸⁹ Mee 1982, 74.

²⁹⁰ Karantzali 2003, 14; Georgiadis 2003, 39.

²⁹¹ Karantzali 1993; 2001, 14-21, figs. 1-22.

entire cemetery. Architectural features in the tombs are reminiscent of those at Ialysos, such as side chambers, steps, and benches.²⁹² The concentration of benches in relative numbers both here and at Ialysos appears to be higher than on the Greek mainland.

Using conventional means of counting interred individuals—counting skulls, for example—between nine and 16 individuals were buried in the tombs, but anthropological methods reveal that more than 30 people are represented.²⁹³ Tomb 1 contained the remains of a tall man about 40 years of age, a female aged about 21, and another female. Tomb 2 contained an elderly female in her 50s or early 60s, and a younger man in one chamber; the second chamber contained a middle-aged man, a 20 year-old female, another young woman and another young man, both around age 20; the third (main) chamber contained the primary burial of a young female in her mid 20s on the bench in the chamber, a woman in her 60s and a 10 year old child apparently buried together since their bones were mixed on the floor next to the bench, a heavily built man over 40 years of age, another man roughly 40 years of age, and a younger man perhaps not older than under 25. Tomb 3 contained an adult male, a young adult female, and a child of perhaps six-seven years of age. Tomb 4 contained an adult male, a female aged about 17-25, and seven children under the age of 10. Tomb 5 was disturbed during the Roman period at which time a single 50-year-old man was buried in one chamber; Mycenaean pottery was also recovered suggesting the chamber had been cleaned out at the time of the Roman burial. The second chamber was also disturbed by Roman activity but the burials are Mycenaean, including a young male of about 20 years, and a young woman under the age of 20 who was perhaps buried with the young man, and a child of about five years of age;

²⁹² See also Georgiadis 2003, 80-81.

²⁹³ MacGeorge 2001, 82-104; Georgiadis 2003, 80-81.

the second chamber also contained numerous other bones that cannot be identified, which is not surprising since pottery dates the long use of the chamber from LH IIIA2-C.

The pathology of these individuals is revealing of their stations and activities in life. The recurrence of anemia markers among the different skeletons in Tomb 2 plausibly suggests that the individuals interred in that tomb were from the same genetic population.²⁹⁴ The man in Tomb 1 had fused cervical vertebrae caused by repetitive injury or trauma and consistent with his identification as a warrior by the spearhead that accompanied his burial. Several of the men showed evidence of broken legs and ankles, in other words, injuries and deaths that are to be expected from such a population.²⁹⁵ That said, the number of aged individuals extending into their 50s and 60s is surprising, and the population tends to be tall compared to other populations in contemporary Mycenaean cemeteries, which suggests that the population in the tombs here was well-cared for and ate well; however, evidence of enamel hypoplasia and infections demonstrate that while the individuals buried here might have been elites, they were not

²⁹⁴ McGeorge 2001, 96. The proposal is based on the interpretation of cranial porotic hyperostosis as representative of thalassemia, which need not suggest strict familial relationships between the individuals affected, but it is consistent with such a relationship within a relatively restricted population. Additionally, wormian bones present in the crania of three individuals are plausibly interpreted as inherited traits. It must be noted, however, that the markers of anemia (if not indicative of thalassemia specifically) and wormian bones might also reflect chronic diseases from malnutrition, which is otherwise attested by other skeletal data.

²⁹⁵ McGeorge 2001, 95-96.

immune to childhood malnutrition and injuries or diseases contracted from hard labor and agricultural work.²⁹⁶

Whatever the cause of death or the nature of their life, all of the individuals appear to have been buried with a certain uniformity of burial rites, and assembled in family or larger corporate groups by tomb. Although the only evidence for primary burial comes from the young woman on the bench in Tomb 2,²⁹⁷ the fact that more than one body was positioned on the floor next to a bench in Tomb 5 might suggest that the rites were not dissimilar. Secondary burials appear in different clusters on the chamber floors surrounded by vessels, weapons, tools and the remnants of jewelry. Bodies in both primary and secondary depositions were found in contracted and extended positions, but in all cases that can be reconstructed, it appears that the body was positioned with the feet toward the chamber entrance. The positioning of the feet to the entrance contrasts with the pattern at Ialysos, where the head was most often positioned toward the entrance; however, since the tombs at Pylona and Ialysos faced opposite directions, bodies at both cemeteries show a tendency to align the head generally to the north. It is not clear if this similarity is the result of a larger desire to align the body, or if different depositional rites regarding orientation toward the chamber's entrance created a similar alignment by chance. Whatever the specific rites employed at Pylona, they appear to have been more uniform than the cosmopolitan variety visible in the record at Ialysos.

²⁹⁶ McGeorge 2001, 94-96. The man in Tomb 1 might have suffered from tuberculosis or brucellosis, and three individuals from Tomb 2 exhibit *cribra orbitalis* that might suggest anemias or parasitic diseases.

²⁹⁷ See Karantzali (2001, 17) and McGeorge (2001, 86) for a description of the in situ primary burial.

Table 3.1 – Ceramic vessels per individual in the chamber tombs at Aspropilia.²⁹⁸

Tomb chamber	Date	No. of vessels	No. of burials	Vessels per Individual
T1	LH IIIA2-B1	33	3	11
T2a	LH IIIA2	4	2	2
T2b	LH IIIA2-B1	7	4	1.75
T2c	LH IIIA2-B1	24	6	4
T3	LH IIIA2-B1	16	3	5.33
T4	LH IIIC	26	9	2.89
T5a	LH IIIA2-B	4	0	?
T5b	LH IIIA2-C	26	3 (7)	8.67 (3.71)

Because of the careful methods applied to the burial remains, and the reliable information regarding the placement and number of grave goods, it is possible to look at the correlation of individuals to objects. Table 3.1 shows the number of individuals and the number of accompanying ceramic grave goods in each chamber of the cemetery where human remains could be identified. With the exception of Tombs 1 and perhaps 5b,²⁹⁹ the number of ceramic vessels per individual buried ranges between roughly 2 and 5 pots per burial (average 3.34 excluding Tomb 1). This number is lower than what MacDonald calculated for Ialysos, which is partly explainable by the fact that the anthropological methods employed here can identify more individuals than the conventional methods employed at Ialysos.³⁰⁰ Therefore, the numbers of vessels per

²⁹⁸ See Karantzali 2001, 21-22; McGeorge 2001, 82-93. Tomb 6 is not included since no human remains were recovered. Mycenaean pottery was recovered from chamber 5a, but since the only burial Roman, the number of vessels per original burial is uncertain. Extra bones were identified in chamber 5b, but they could not be connected to an individual; therefore, the ratio of pottery to individual should be lower than 8.67 for this chamber. Karantzali (2001, 20) suggests seven burials in chamber 5b, which would give a vessels per individual number of 3.71.

²⁹⁹ On Tomb 5b, see Note 298 in this chapter.

³⁰⁰ MacDonald (1986, 128) states that the counting of skulls provided the numbers for burials at Ialysos. See also the section earlier in this chapter on Ialysos (3.5.2).

burial at Ialysos should perhaps be lower than the five to six pots per burial that MacDonald calculated. This average number of vessels per individual is reasonably similar to the pattern seen at Ialysos, but it is significantly different from the pattern on Karpathos and Astypalaia, where upwards of 100 vessels can be associated with a single chamber.³⁰¹ On the western islands of the region, either more individuals were buried per chamber, more vessels were buried per individual, or both. This difference probably speaks to a social distinction in burial practice between Rhodes and the islands to its west, while simultaneously suggesting an aspect of homogeneity in practice between northern and southern Rhodes.³⁰²

Overall, the LH IIIA2 finds were the most numerous, with a sharp decrease during LH IIIB, and an ensuing modest increase during the LH IIIC.³⁰³ A similar trend is roughly observable throughout the region, but it stands in contrast to the picture at Vati farther to the south, where the number of LH IIIB offerings increased. Changes are also visible in the ratios of open to closed vessels, which is roughly even in the LH IIIA period, weighted slightly toward open vessels during the LH IIIB (10:7), and shifted drastically toward closed vessels in the LH IIIC (6:13). A comparable LH IIIC shift is generally visible at Ambelia and Vati, as well as farther east at Lelos, Kalavarda, and Ialysos. This is not the pattern on Astypalaia, and it is possible that this reflects factors that affected Rhodian or societies on the eastern islands. At Aspropilia, the sharp decrease in LH IIIB activity should be seen in conjunction with the appearance of

³⁰¹ At a rate of 3.34 vessels per burial, a chamber tomb containing 100 vessels would possess upwards of 30 burials. At the rate of five or six vessels per burial, as proposed for Ialysos, the same tomb would contain between 17 and 20 burials.

³⁰² This need not indicate that all rites were uniform throughout LBA Rhodes.

³⁰³ Karantzali 2001, 21-22, 24-65; Georgiadis 2003, 92.

offerings at Ambelia, and the rapid increase in the number of LH IIIC goods could also be connected with the decline in activity at Ambelia. As at Lelos and Kariones, it is likely that the relative importance of the funerary spaces waxed and waned as the fortunes of the living members of the society changed.³⁰⁴

Table 3.2 – Ceramic Imports by Period and Source from Aspropilia³⁰⁵

Source	LH IIIA	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIB	LH IIIB-C	LH IIIC
Mainland-Argolid	14 (70%)	2 (100%)	6 (100%)	1 (50%)	1 (17%)
SE Aegean	4 (20%)				1 (17%)
Rhodian A				1 (50%)	2 (33%)
Rhodian B	2 (10%)				2 (33%)
Sample Total	20	2	6	2	6

Of note among the finds are a plastic bull's head and a painted master of animals scene, which is reminiscent of the basket vase with a similar, but plastic, master of animals motif found nearby at Lardos. ICP-AES analysis on 36 vessels has shown that the overwhelming majority of pottery in the tombs came from the Argolid, especially during the LH IIIA-B period, with local sources only becoming important during the LH IIIC.³⁰⁶ The pattern of importation matches well with what is seen at Ialysos, and even suggests that some vessels that appear to be Attic or Argive by iconographic style were in fact locally produced. Non-ceramic vessels are only found here outside of Ialysos, and

³⁰⁴ Contra Karantzali 2001, 14.

³⁰⁵ From the catalogue in appendix 1 in Karantzali and Ponting 2000, 236-237.

³⁰⁶ Karantzali and Ponting 2000; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 105-113; see also Georgiadis 2003, 90.

consist of two bronze cups of LH IIIA2-B date from Tombs 1 and 3.³⁰⁷ One sword was recovered from Tomb 3, which is a uniquely Aegean type (Sandars Eii), and has common parallels on Crete.³⁰⁸ The two spearheads from Tombs 1 and 3 have similarly Aegean distributions.³⁰⁹

While the “aesthetic quality” of certain material offerings is not always as high as what is seen at Ialysos, this observation misses the more important fact that no other cemetery on the island outside of Ialysos shows the quantity or diversity of grave goods that Aspropilia displays. There can be little doubt that this distinctiveness has much to do with the widespread plundering of tombs in the south and east of the island through the beginning of the 20th century. However, the richness of Aspropilia, magnified by its relatively small size in comparison to Ialysos or even the (mostly) plundered cemeteries at Trapezies Paraelis or Vati, support the existence of strong local hierarchies on the east side of the island. The modest increase in LH IIIC activity at the site, even if confined to two tombs, contrasts with the more general picture elsewhere in southern Rhodes of a cessation of funerary activity, and could suggest a nucleation of local authority. Lastly, the imported goods and other wealth in the tombs perhaps speaks to a connection with the nearby port at Lindos, which would have provided a port of access for the Argive imports at the site, and altogether establishes the broader Lindos area as a regional center on the south and east coast.

Crucial to understanding this area of Rhodes is an appreciation of the relationship between Aspropilia and Ambelia. Karantzali suggests that the two cemeteries functioned

³⁰⁷ Karantzali 2001, 66-67; Georgiadis 100-101.

³⁰⁸ Karantzali 2001, 67-68.

³⁰⁹ Karantzali 2001, 68-69.

separately, and serviced two different settlements on opposite sides of the Pylona plain; however, the two cemeteries are separated only by just over one kilometer. That distance is comparable to the distance from Trianda to Ialysos, or from the settlement at Pigadia on Karpathos to its cemetery at Makria; it also matches well with the distance from the settlement at Kos to the cemetery at Eleona-Langada, and from the settlement to the cemetery at Miletus, all of which will be discussed later in this chapter.³¹⁰ It is not unusual for a single settlement to possess multiple cemetery sites, as can be seen on Rhodes at Ialysos, Kalavarda, Kattavia, and Archangelos, and probably also at Lelos-Kariones and Kymisala. Because of this pattern, the close proximity of Ambelia and Aspropilia, should perhaps not be taken to indicate a difference in settlement, but should indicate that the same population made use of two cemetery sites at opposite entrances to the plain.

3.5.17. Lindos has long been the best anchorage on the eastern side of the island and Mycenaean presence is attested by LH IIIA2-C finds, some allegedly coming from tombs, although no tombs have found.³¹¹ The acropolis yielded relatively little Mycenaean material from the Danish excavations, although this should perhaps not be

³¹⁰ A little over one kilometer is also the distance that separates Lelos from Kariones, and the proposed settlement site from the cemetery at Archangelos, but it must be noted that these associations are less certain to have been single settlement territories than Trianda-Ialysos or Pigadia. All of these relationships will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

³¹¹ Benzi 1992, 448-449; Georgiadis 2003, 39, 71, 101. It is also worth noting that the Mycenaean material recovered from the acropolis does not fit the pattern of grave goods from other sites in southern Rhodes or at nearby Pylona, although the sample size here is too small to permit firm conclusions from the assemblage.

surprising given the extensive reuse of the acropolis in both ancient and modern times.³¹² Only 15 sherds of prehistoric date were recovered in the original excavations, among which stirrup jars and straight-sided alabastra can be identified, and some connection to Mycenae has been proposed based on preserved decoration.³¹³ All of the Mycenaean pottery from the top of the acropolis is consistently LH IIIB-C in date. Tools, consisting of a knife and two axes of an Anatolian or Near Eastern lugged or trunnion type have been found, the broad distribution of which includes Asine and Dodona, and one local example from Kos.³¹⁴ A proposed Cypriot origin for the axe type roughly parallels indications of Cypriot contact from the tombs at Ialysos, and it is likely that contact with Cyprus and the east was not limited to the northern ports of Rhodes.³¹⁵ Without scientific testing of the ceramic sherds, additional connections cannot be demonstrated. Because of the natural harbor and geographic orientation, the acropolis was likely the center of a settlement of some sort, and the imported objects from Pylona plausibly passed through this local port.

³¹² Blinkenberg (1931, 61) suggests that the lack of prehistoric material on the acropolis should suggest a continuity of cult and sacred space; however Mee (1982, 74) points out that later construction activity dug down to bedrock, and, therefore, likely removed most traces of Mycenaean habitation. A similar pattern of reuse can be seen on the Athenian acropolis and at Mycenae.

³¹³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 151; Mee 1982, 74. A connection specifically to Mycenae based on such fragmentary evidence is tentative at best.

³¹⁴ The type is Maxwell-Hyslop type III; see Mee 1982, 74.

³¹⁵ Mee (1982, 74) cautiously cites Catling's assertion that the presence of 20 such axes on the Cape Galidonya wreck suggests a Cypriot origin. It should be noted that the Cypriot graves at Ialysos date to the LH IIIA, while no ceramic date at Lindos can be established earlier than LH IIIB.

3.5.18. Archangelos, just inland about 14 kilometers north of Lindos, possesses a cemetery on the slopes of a hill at Mala and Petrokopio, which overlooks a large fertile inland valley extending to the northwest that is ringed by barren hills to the south, west and east. The cemetery is now destroyed, but two chamber tombs of LH IIIA2-C date were excavated by Kondis in 1949 after being discovered by local landowners.³¹⁶ The partially destroyed dromoi faced northwest toward the valley.³¹⁷ Tomb 1 only contained three LH IIIA2 vessels, but Tomb 2 contained a range of pottery dating from LH IIIA2 to the beginning of LH IIIC.³¹⁸ Unfortunately, six of the 17 vessels cannot be dated, and so uncertainty exists in the distribution of dates. This should probably account for the absence of open vessels during the LH IIIB-C, although it is interesting that what dates exist show a relatively consistent (if not frequent) use of the cemetery throughout its life. Most of the LH IIIA-B pottery was imported, whereas the LH IIIC pottery is local and exhibits strong ties with Ialysos.³¹⁹ The accompanying settlement was probably located on the other side of the plain on Anagoros hill, 1.3 kilometers to the northeast of the cemetery. Hope Simpson and Lazenby report finding a few sherds generally of Mycenaean date, although the extent and nature of the occupation is uncertain.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Charitonidis 1963, 135; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 153; Mee 1982, 75; Benzi 1992, 449.

³¹⁷ Charitonidis 1963, 135. Tomb 2 is not illustrated.

³¹⁸ Mee 1982, 75-76; Benzi 1992, 449-450. For Tomb 1 see also Charitonidis 1963, 135-137; for Tomb 2 see also Charitonidis 1963, 137-140.

³¹⁹ Mee 1984, 76. One of the LH IIIC amphoriskoi is of a type that is rare on Rhodes, and is only otherwise known from Ialysos.

³²⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 152-153; Mee 1982, 75. Another possible site has been reported on the nearby hill of Tsambika, but Hope Simpson and Lazenby could find no evidence of Mycenaean material there, although they note "the situation appeared quite promising;" see Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 152, note 160; Mee 1982, 76; Benzi 1992, 450.

3.5.19. Vigli lies roughly three and a half to four kilometers north-northeast of Archangelos below the slope of Rifi hill.³²¹ The hill itself is barren, but the land to the east possesses water and is cultivated today, and a river lies less than a kilometer to the north that flows to the coast at Kolympia. The single reported tomb, now destroyed, was of LH IIIA2-C date. The distribution of pottery dates (two LH IIIA2 vessels, four IIIB1, two IIIC, and two others not closely datable) suggests at least two burials, the last of which during the LH IIIC period represents a late reuse of the tomb.³²² A kylix of Zygouries type plausibly suggests ties with the Argolid. The only other object from the tomb is a bronze knife. Very little is known about the site, and although the pattern of deposition is broadly similar to what appears at nearby Archangelos, the scarcity of data makes it impossible to make firm conclusions.

2.5.20. Kolimba, in the Theotokos area, shows evidence for a Minoan and later Mycenaean settlement near its harbor, a rare geographical commodity on the east coast of the island.³²³ In spite of this, there is almost no evidence for Late Bronze Age use of the area, as Hope Simpson and Lazenby could only find one sherd that “appears to be part of a Mycenaean kylix,” and Melas reports no finds between the MMIII and the Hellenistic period. Due to the minimal information, the site will be omitted from final considerations.

³²¹ Georgiadis 2003, 39; Karantzali 2009, 229.

³²² Karantzali 2009, 252-262.

³²³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 154; Mee 1982, 76; Melas 1988b, 300; Benzi 1992, 450; Georgiadis 2003, 39-40.

2.5.21. The area around modern Kalythies probably supported a settlement in the LBA, but the exact location is not yet known. The hill of Mesonos just over two kilometers to the northwest of modern Kalythies, is bounded by hills west, north, and east, but it overlooks a coastal plain that extends to the south toward modern Faliraki. Hope Simpson and Lazenby report only a single handle of a deep bowl, which itself cannot indicate settlement, but does signify activity of some sort on the hill.³²⁴ On the remote Eremokastro to the south of modern Kalythies, Hope Simpson and Lazenby described “cyclopean” masonry, but were unable to locate prehistoric sherds.³²⁵ Laurenzi noted reports of Mycenaean material from the Eremokastro, but was unable to give more details.³²⁶ In spite of the admittedly minimal evidence, reports consistently reference the area as a locus of LBA activity, even if the nature of that activity is unclear at present. For this reason the area will be considered as a site of unknown type in final considerations of the region.³²⁷

3.5.22. Koskinou has been reported without topographical indicators, and the tomb or tombs perhaps no longer exist. The modern town sits on a low ridge that is surrounded by drainages that run north to a coastal plain and the sea. A single LH IIIA2-C tomb is suspected by Charitonides to have been in the vicinity of the modern town,

³²⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 155; see also Benzi 1992, 450; Georgiadis 2003, 40.

³²⁵ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 154-155; see also della Seta 1923-1924, 546; Benzi 1992, 450. However, see Mee 1982, 77.

³²⁶ Laurenzi 1938, 51. He states “Erimocastro. — Presso Calitca. Mancano notizie più precise.”

³²⁷ The reports for activity around Kalythies are not contradictory, as with Kolimba (3.5.20), or location non-specific, as with Lachania (3.5.12), which, at the very least, allows the activity to be plotted on a map.

although all that remains is a collection of six vessels in the Rhodes Museum.³²⁸ Mee notes the possibility that two LH IIIB stirrup jars could actually be LH IIIC in date, which would suggest that the tomb was used twice—once around the LH IIIA2/B transition, and a second time early in the LH IIIC period. The earlier group of vessels is probably imported, while the later group was locally produced.³²⁹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby suspect that the settlement associated with the tomb(s) is located underneath the modern city of Rhodes, perhaps on the acropolis, but this hypothesis remains unconfirmed. The site will be included in this study as a cemetery for the sole reason that the activity is consistently referenced without contradictory information or suppositions. The benefit of the doubt will be granted and located tentatively in the area of the modern town.

In general, Rhodian populations distinguish themselves from those on Astypalaia and Karpathos by showing a preference for fewer ceramic vessels in a given tomb,³³⁰ and a more even ratio of open to closed vessels during the LH IIIB, with a subsequent shift toward a preference for closed vessels in the LH IIIC. Additionally, the primary decorative style that developed on Rhodes during the LH IIIC was probably influenced by Crete (as in the Rhodian OSJs), and differs from the contemporary style(s) common farther to the north.³³¹ Within the island, cemeteries display a largely uniform set of practices with only slight variations from one area to the next. With a few exceptions at

³²⁸ Charitonidis 1963, 133-134; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 155; Mee 1982, 77; Benzi 1992, 451.

³²⁹ Charitonidis (1963, 134) notes the “σαφῶς ἀνατολικὸς χαρακτήρ τῶν μυκηναϊκῶν τούτων ἀγγείων τῆς βορειοανατολικῆς Ρόδου.”

³³⁰ This is possibly related to a preference for fewer burials per tomb.

³³¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 969, 985-988.

Ialysos, chamber tombs are reasonably standardized with burials attested in the same cemeteries in both primary and secondary forms, both in single and multiple instances, and are accompanied by a relatively narrow set of objects, mostly ceramic. While the specific forms and decorative motifs of those ceramic offerings change through time, the more general use of the vessels, that is the deep meaning of their appearance in the chambers as related to their function, does not.³³² Multiple clusters of tombs, as at Ialysos, Kalavarda, Apolakkia, Pylona, and possibly also Vati and Lelos-Kariones, suggest that different clusters might have served different segments of society within a single population. The idea that mobile social groups within a single topographical catchment made use of different tombs or cemetery clusters will be given additional consideration in Chapter 7.

Beyond the broad cultural uniformity evident throughout the island, subtle variations occur in the funerary record from one area to the next, principally divided by geography. For example, the interior size of chambers in the north averages 3.95m², while in the south it averages 5.6m²,³³³ and rare features like steps and incised cornices can be found only at Ialysos and Aspropilia. Tombs with multiple chambers appear only at Vati (at Passia and Apsaktiras) and at Pylona (at Aspropilia).³³⁴ Most of the reliable evidence for intact primary burials comes from the north side of the island, and only at Ialysos (and perhaps Maritsa) are a majority of the burials preserved primary

³³² The ultimate difference between a jar and an alabastron, or between a cup and a mug might be more of aesthetics or availability than of social significance; they are not antithetical in function. Generalizing function is largely unproductive, and functional contexts should be examined case by case.

³³³ Georgiadis 2003, 72. It must also be considered that cemeteries in southern Rhodes often went out of use by the LH IIIC period, and so differences in size may also be affected by chronological concerns.

³³⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 72-73; Georgiadis 2009b, 94.

depositions.³³⁵ The prevalence of single burials at Moschou Vounara at Ialysos is unparalleled in the rest of the island, where multiple depositions are more common.

Local variations are also visible in the chronological fluctuations of grave goods—in other words, through social responses to changing conditions. While most sites on the island evidence a decline in the number of ceramic offerings during the LH IIIB, cemeteries around Vati show a marked increase in depositional activity.³³⁶ Subsequently, as sites throughout the northern and central portions of the island show a rebound of activity in the LH IIIC, those same cemeteries around Vati (and Yennadi) show a rapid decrease in the number of goods deposited. No substantial differences in funerary practice can be detected in this area on the southeast coast, and so the variation must be the result of different social reactions to larger concerns during the end of the Bronze Age. Similar groupings of activity can be seen in the growth of sites in other areas during the LH IIIC. For example, the decline of Maritsa as nearby Ialysos grows is roughly paralleled by the oscillating activity between Lelos and Kariones. Likewise, unequal growth and geographic distribution of goods can be seen at Kalavarda and Pylona (the Aspropilia cluster), where marked increases in activity is contrasted with more modest growth or even decline of nearby neighbors.

³³⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 85. At Ialysos 46.6% of tombs have only primary burials, 34.6% contain only secondary burials, and 18.6% contain both primary and secondary burials. Outside of Ialysos 23.3% of all tombs possessed primary burials, 70% of tombs possessed secondary burials, and 3.3% possessed both primary and secondary depositions.

³³⁶ It should be noted that the record from Vati depends largely on objects recovered from disturbed cemeteries, and might be subject to variation.

The island can thus be viewed in terms of four general areas based on differences in funerary architecture, depositional practices, unequal concentration of wealth and access to foreign goods, and local chronological variation.

1. The area centered on Trianda-Ialysos and the northern portion of the large northernwestern coastal plain is distinguished by the cosmopolitan nature of its buried population, the focus on primary single burials, and the unparalleled access to foreign goods; the sheer number of objects deposited in the tombs at Ialysos rivals the rest of the island combined. It is likely that differences in funerary practice in this area are the result of external contact. The population around Maritsa, and perhaps also Koskinou, appears to have maintained close ties with the inhabitants at Trianda, since the cemetery at Maritsa goes out of use and Koskinou declines as Ialysos expands in the LH IIIC, suggesting a nucleation of populations.³³⁷
2. Kalavarda is distinguished by its size and the focus on multiple secondary burials versus the population in the northern portion of the coastal plain. Geographically, no other cemetery of any size exists in the intervening plain between Kalavarda and Ialysos after the LH IIIA, which perhaps suggests a movement of population beginning in the LH IIIB. An LH IIIC nucleation plausibly occurred with the expansion of cemeteries at Kalavarda, while no contemporary material is known from Kameiros (Papa-Lures), and Lelos-Kariones appears to stagnate or decline; decreasing numbers of goods at

³³⁷ Certain elite objects, like tinned kylikes, can only be found at Ialysos and Maritsa.

Kastraki and Kymisala along the coast to the south might also be tied to this phenomenon, but the connection is uncertain.

3. The area around the river at Vati and down the coast to Yennadi are distinguished by chronology, as they are the only cemeteries on the island that show a marked increase in LH IIIB activity (or relative continuity in the number of depositions in the case of Yennadi) and rapid LH IIIC decline.³³⁸ The vast quantity of material from the cemeteries at Vati, especially from Apsaktiras, is unmatched by any cemetery except Ialysos, although the aesthetic quality of goods and the evidence of foreign contact is not as strong. Nevertheless, the social responses to changes during the LH IIIB that created this variation in the funerary record are not seen elsewhere on Rhodes, a fact that suggests a degree of localized societal autonomy from the rest of the island.
4. The cemeteries at Pylona are distinguished by their architecture and physical size, and by the quantity of material they contained, which includes a higher number of weapons, tools, and imported objects than appears elsewhere outside of Ialysos, while the preference for multiple secondary burials differentiates the cemeteries from Ialysos. The nearby harbor at Lindos is the only natural harbor on the eastern side of the island that produces contemporary material, and it is likely connected to the external contacts of the population at Pylona. The nearby cemetery at Lardos might be connected to the population in the adjacent Pylona plain, although the evidence is unclear.

³³⁸ Similar increases in LH IIIB activity at Kariones and Ambelia at Pylona can plausibly be linked with oscillations at the nearby clusters of Lelos and Aspropilia respectively; therefore, the pattern at these sites is one of shifting authorities rather than local social variation as at Vati and Yennadi.

Shared architectural features with Vati (multiple side chambers) might reflect common social constructions, but the chronological differences between the two areas indicate different social responses and at least some degree of autonomy.

One final note should be made regarding the southeastern-most area of Rhodes, attested only by the disturbed cemeteries at Apolakkia and Kattavia (and perhaps also including Kymisala). Unfortunately these sites do not provide enough evidence to be placed within the preceding socio-geographical groups. The plains of Apolakkia and Kattavia are fairly remote from other contemporary sites, divided by rolling hills that are sparsely populated even today. As a result, the incomplete material record prevents the distinguishing of local behavioral patterns, and the orientation and/or affiliation of the area(s) cannot be determined.

The identification of these areas is not intended to suggest the presence of political jurisdictions or to establish the society (or societies) of one area as entirely different from those of another area. Without direct evidence of political institutions, or without settlement data at the very least, it is not possible to speak of the Pylona region, for example, as a socio-political entity. Subtle differences and unequal distribution of wealth between sites could suggest a rough hierarchy of sites on the island whereby the populations in these four centers occupied positions of relative importance, but the individual populations should be viewed as variations of the same larger society. It must be remembered that all of these sites—cemeteries, settlements, and those of unknown character—are connected by a common Mycenaean material culture and heritage that had only recently established itself on the island in the course of the LH IIIA.

As an illustration of the underlying similarities between the Rhodian subregions, consider the following example. If Rhodian tombs were used by family or corporate groups, as seems probable at Aspropilia based on skeletal markers of hereditary anemias, then the increased willingness to reuse tombs for additional secondary burials in the south of the island could suggest that kin groups were larger or that ties between kin were maintained through more successive generations (and thereby representing more burials) than in the north of the island where fewer multiple burials can be detected. The basic social organizations among the kin groups themselves need not have been different, and could have been identical throughout all of Rhodes, but the manifestations of those ties could have been slightly different from one area of the island to the next.³³⁹ These considerations and the implications for territory and societal interactions will be considered more fully, and in context within the southeast Aegean as a whole, in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.6. Symi (Figure 3.4)

3.6.1. The Kastro in Ano Symi, on the northeast side of the island facing Turkey, has been the site of habitation since at least the Archaic period.³⁴⁰ The site is on a low

³³⁹ Consider a hypothetical example in a modern American cemetery between a common family crypt, and a block of individual family plots within the same cemetery. The burial differences do not necessarily reflect any major differences in the organization or culture of the two families, but rather diverse burial traditions and the way the living members of the two families wish to be remembered as a family unit. Socio-economic differences might be inferred, but are not inherent.

³⁴⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 168-169. Hope Simpson and Lazenby note in their 1962 publication that they did not make landfall on the island, and their

hill that overlooks a good harbor on the west, and a small coastal plain to the north, while a larger plain extends to the east; however, the site is confined by steep hills to the south and west. Archaic and later habitation is clearly represented in surface finds and architecture used in later buildings, but there is some, albeit meager, evidence of earlier habitation. Hope Simpson and Lazenby note the presence of masonry that appears to be Mycenaean in the Kastro, although, as always, identification of masonry without context is far from certain. Two small surface sherds from the vicinity can “presumably be either Mycenaean or Archaic.”³⁴¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby also report the discovery of a single stemmed bowl perhaps datable to LH IIIA-B.³⁴² Because the evidence is so sparse for the period under consideration in this study, the site will be included as a locus of activity attesting human activity on the island, but classed as a site of unknown character.

3.7. Kos (Figure 3.5)

The island of Kos is unique in the southeast Aegean in that the majority of the island is occupied by large coastal plains and relatively low rolling hills. The Dikios mountain range that runs along the southeastern coast is the only sizeable landscape feature on the island, and it divides a large northern coastal plain from a smaller plain on the southeast coast. Unlike the its immediate neighbors in the Dodecanese and the river valleys of the adjacent mainland to the east, the landscape of Kos is much less fragmented by topography, a fact that is reflected in the distribution of sites across the

report is indebted to the observations of Dr. Michael Jameson. Hope Simpson and Lazenby’s observations on Symi in the 1970 publication are their own.

³⁴¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 169.

³⁴² Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 63.

island. As on other islands, water and local drainages appear to have been primary concerns for site location, regardless of the type of site (settlement, cemetery or unknown), and many sites are situated in and around the plain that do not conform to the settlement pattern on Rhodes where prominent hills appear to have been preferred. The excavation history of the island does not seem to have been disrupted by illicit activity to the extent seen on Rhodes, but sporadic looting and the loss of records during World War II create problems for analysis nonetheless. In all there 14 sites included in this study: eight cemeteries, five at least tentative settlements, and three sites of unknown character.

3.7.1. Kastello (or Kastelles) lies roughly four kilometers southeast of Kos town among the hills leading to the eastern edge of the Dikios range, approximately one kilometer inland from the sea. The site sits on a low ridge with a small hills and the sea (with Asia Minor visible beyond) to the east, gentle slopes with a plain to the north, the hill of Kastello with the Bokasia revma behind to the west, and the Dikios range to the south. One chamber tomb of LH IIIB date has been reported with a dromos that opens to the east.³⁴³ The chamber is irregularly cut in a flattened oval shape, and has an internal area of 0.84m²; the stomion has a height of 0.92m. The size of the stomion is comparable to those in northern Rhodian tombs, but the area of the chamber is significantly smaller. Along the southeastern wall inside the chamber were found the remains of two adult bodies in secondary deposition, and three ceramic vessels. In decoration and form the vessels show affinities to the ceramic repertoire at Ialysos and elsewhere on Rhodes and Kos, which suggests general Dodecanesian ties rather than the Argive connections

³⁴³ Papachristodoulou 1979; Papazoglou 1981; Georgiadis 2003, 40.

common on Rhodes.³⁴⁴ However, the appearance of two bodies with only three grave goods is a marked departure from the pattern observable on Rhodes and to the west, where much larger numbers of grave goods were common.³⁴⁵

3.7.2. Iraklis, in the area of modern Psalidi, sits just under one kilometer to the north of Kastello on the coast. The site possesses the probable remains of an LH IIIA2-B chamber tomb in a fertile lowland area, with the sea to the north and foothills of the Dikios range to the south.³⁴⁶ The tomb contained only one individual, which is uncommon on Kos, as single burials are only otherwise attested in the Langada cluster at Eleona-Langada. Twelve ceramic vessels were recovered, including one possible Attic import, and two spearheads.³⁴⁷ By Rhodian standards of three to six vessels per burial, this would suggest between two and four original burials; moreover, at nearby Kastello two burials were found with three vessels, which perhaps suggests the original presence of many more burials at Iraklis. The ratio of open to closed vessels is 1:2 in favor of closed vessels, which is not inconsistent with the pattern on Rhodes. The date ranges of the pottery cluster at the end of LH IIIA2, with only two vessels dating to the LH IIIB, which suggests that the tomb was used primarily during the LH IIIA2 period, with a single burial occurring later during the early LH IIIB. Considering the proximity of Iraklis and Kastello, separated by only one kilometer, it is possible that the two

³⁴⁴ Papazoglou 1981, 68-75.

³⁴⁵ The practice of secondary rites could have resulted in the disturbance or removal of some material; see the discussion in the section *The nature of Mycenaean funerary customs* in Chapter 1.

³⁴⁶ Skerlou 1993, 553; Georgiadis 2003, 40.

³⁴⁷ Georgiadis (2003, 235) lists the spearheads as arrowheads, but Skerlou explicitly describes “δύο χάλκινες αιχμές δοράτων.”

cemeteries were utilized by the same population, and that the appearance of Castello in the LH IIIB is related to the sharp decline of Iraklis. Such contrasting funerary displays could account for the difference in depositional wealth, as members of different social groups made use of each tomb. In this case, the greater concentration of wealth related to a single primary deposition at Iraklis might also signify a different status for the interred individual compared to the occupants of the tomb at Castello (which could plausibly be related to the LH IIIB ascendancy of the population at Kos town, which will be discussed further in Chapter 7). Additional sherds associated with walls in the surrounding area suggest the presence of a settlement nearby, although this has not been confirmed.³⁴⁸

3.7.3. The settlement at Kos town, often referred to as the Ser(r)aglio,³⁴⁹ is the only other excavated settlement in the Late Bronze Age Dodecanese outside of Trianda. Excavations were conducted by Luigi Morricone between 1935 and 1943 in five zones within a few hundred meters south of the harbor; however, the site suffered considerably from the loss of records and material during World War II.³⁵⁰ As a result, it is unfortunate that so many of the materials published from the settlement and the subsequent Protogeometric and Geometric cemetery are without exact information regarding their findspot or stratigraphic relationships. An additional problem, similar to Trianda, is that the ancient settlement is directly underneath the modern city, and excavations were confined to a series of small plots. This factor makes modern

³⁴⁸ Skerlou 1996, 659-690.

³⁴⁹ The Serraglio, also Seraglio or Σεράγιο, is one of the five areas around Kos town that Morricone excavated. For this reason the general settlement site will be referred to here as Kos town.

³⁵⁰ Morricone (1972-1973, 147-149) provides an account of the site and its material records from excavation through the German occupation.

understanding of the layout and arrangement of the ancient site piecemeal and fragmentary. Architecture and uses of space cannot be reconstructed at Kos town, and information must be gleaned from the simple presence or absence of specific types of material.³⁵¹

Morricone reports four phases of the settlement, the first beginning in the MM III or LM IA period and experiencing destruction in the course of the LM IA.³⁵² The second city was rebuilt, apparently immediately after the first along more or less the same orientation, although not exactly on the same foundations. This phase persisted until the LH IIIA2 period, during which time, the settlement appears to have been strongly influenced by Crete, as mainland Greek and Anatolian material does not appear in quantity until later. As on Karpathos and Rhodes, Mycenaean material culture becomes dominant by the end of the LH IIIA2 period, and marks the development of the third city during the LH IIIA2 and into the LH IIIB. Buildings were clustered together more tightly than in the second city, but there is no evidence of a destruction, and so the agency of this shift cannot be determined.³⁵³

The published pottery from the third phase is fully Mycenaean in nature, and appears to have been imported, possibly from the Argolid. Nevertheless, Mee is quick to point out that the published pottery is painted, and the bulk of ceramic vessels in the

³⁵¹ Morricone 1972-1973, 159, 210, figs. 21, 121. With imagination, one can envision irregular complexes of rooms around central courtyards, although this is not certain to have been the case. Later burial activity further complicates the already confusing stratigraphic picture.

³⁵² Morricone 1972-1973, 388-396; see also Mee 1982, 82, 86-89, 91. The reexamination by Vitale and his proposed revision of dates (2005, 88, table 3) do not affect this study since the dating of the third and fourth cities (LH IIIA-C) remain relatively unchanged.

³⁵³ Morricone 1972-1973, 392-393; Mee 1982, 86.

settlement must have been unpainted, (and therefore presumably considered unworthy of publication) and was most likely produced locally. Recent analysis plausibly confirms the existence of dual local ceramic workshops: one producing Mycenaean style products, and the other continuing a local tradition.³⁵⁴ This phase of the settlement was particularly disturbed by later burial activity and it is not clear how or even when the third city transitioned into the fourth.³⁵⁵ Very little remains of the architecture of the last phase of the settlement, and almost all information comes from stratigraphically nonspecific pottery. Some break is typically interpreted after the fourth city, since the latest pottery comes from the last phase of the LH IIIC, and the earliest Protogeometric burials date to the middle of that period.³⁵⁶ However, the exact span of time represented by that break remains unclear.

Salvatore Vitale's redating of the phases of the settlement bring Kos almost perfectly in line with Furumark's phasing and dating of Trianda on Rhodes. Vitale's "Insediamento del MB" (which might only begin in the LM IA) matches Furumark's Trianda I (LM/LH IA); Kos' first city matches Trianda IIA (LM/LH IB); and Kos' second city matches Trianda IIB (LM/LH II-III A1).³⁵⁷ In both locations, the transition from LH IIIA1 to IIIA2, which marks the transition to a fully Mycenaean material culture, appears to have occurred without incident, as no destructions or evidence of mass upheaval are evident. Unfortunately, since the settlement at Trianda has not produced a significant amount of post-LH IIIB material, which would in theory equate with Kos'

³⁵⁴ Vitale and Trecarichi 2015.

³⁵⁵ Morricone 1972-1973, 393-394; Mee 1982, 91.

³⁵⁶ See also Vitale 2005, 87-88, note 71. However, Benzi (2013, 521, 541) states that Karantzali's recent (unpublished) excavations indicate that the settlement continued until the late phase of the LH IIIC.

³⁵⁷ Vitale 2005, 89, table 4.

third city, there is at present no way to examine the cities in tandem during the periods that are most directly relevant to this study. Nevertheless, this parallel picture perhaps owes some debt to the fact that only Kos and Trianda exist as examples of settlements in the region, but the similarities do demonstrate the close ties between Kos and Rhodes during the Late Bronze Age.

The material itself is not particularly informative for reconstructing a view of the Kos settlement in isolation of the architecture. Jugs, amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, kraters, kylikes, cups, bowls, and tripod cookpots dominate the assemblage, as is to be expected at a settlement site. The decoration of some vessels might betray a Koan or Dodecanesian origin in the preference for pictorial scenes, especially in the LH IIIC, as fish, goats, and warrior scenes (including what appears to be men rowing a ship) match patterns seen elsewhere on Rhodes and Kalymnos.³⁵⁸ Non-ceramic objects appear to have been rare, or at least were rarely included in the publication—stone lamps, and bowls, stone querns, and rare bronze objects like rings, knives and tweezers.³⁵⁹ The intrusions of later burials, and the loss of records do not allow a detailed analysis of the objects.³⁶⁰ Additional excavation over a broader area of the modern town would also clarify stratigraphic problems and perhaps shed light on the layout of the ancient settlements.

³⁵⁸ Morricone 1972-1973, 296-384 (see especially 337-369); Mee 1982, 91.

³⁵⁹ Morricone 1972-1973, 154-252.

³⁶⁰ A current project—the SELAP project—is underway by Salvatore Vitale to find, catalogue, and reanalyze the extant material from Morricone's excavations, and it is hopeful that the project will bring clarity to the site. Some material, previously thought to have been lost, has already been recovered; see, for example, Vitale 2005.

Most recently, a badly preserved tholos was discovered on the western edge of the modern town, approximately half a kilometer west from the Serraglio excavations, and the same distance southwest from the modern harbor.³⁶¹ The walls of the tholos were destroyed in part by Roman period activity, but a preserved dromos opens to the east toward the settlement, and enough of the walls of the tomb are preserved to allow a diameter of 4.5 meters to be reconstructed.³⁶² The date is given as LH IIIB, although no specific finds, ceramic or otherwise, have yet been published.³⁶³ Two trenches had carved in the floor of the chamber, in which were found traces of burning along with pottery, gold jewelry, and bones. Some of the bones belonged to a large animal, possibly a horse, but it is not clear if human remains were also recovered or if the bones themselves display evidence of burning. The presence of two trenches plausibly suggests multiple burials, but this too is unclear. Secondary rites seem most likely.

3.7.4. Eleona and Langada, approximately 1.5 kilometers south-southwest from the harbor in Kos town and just over one kilometer from the ancient settlement, sit in a plain that extends to the north and east toward the sea and Asia Minor, visible beyond; the plain extends for kilometers to the west and south toward the Dikios range. The two sites are adjacent cemetery clusters that are divided by the Langada revma. The combined cemetery is large, almost comparable to Ialysos in size, and contains 82 tombs that range in date from LH IIB/IIIA1-C. The site is now largely built up and difficult to

³⁶¹ Skerlou 1997, 111.

³⁶² Skerlou 1997, 1111. This diameter is slightly larger than the LH IIIA tholos nearby at Giorgaras, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

³⁶³ Marketou 2010, 766. Skerlou (1997, 1111) states simply that the tomb is of the Mycenaean period, and publishes a photograph of the gold jewelry.

find in the absence of topographic markers, since the surrounding area is a fertile lowland devoid of hills; however, the revma and its proximity to the harbor and the settlement there would have made it an easy reference point on the landscape in antiquity.³⁶⁴ Both clusters were explored and excavated by Morricone between 1934 and 1940; however, as with the excavations in Kos town, some information was lost in the Second World War, and neither cemetery was fully published until 1966.³⁶⁵

The two cemetery clusters are not entirely parallel, as they differ in orientation, development, and composition. On average, each tomb contained 1.88 burials (median one), 5.39 vessels (median four), and 6.17 (median three) small finds, although Eleona displays a higher number of small finds per tomb than in Langada by a median of one additional find per tomb.³⁶⁶ These figures do not differ significantly from the pattern at Ialysos. The cluster at Eleona (on the west) is aligned as a whole roughly along an east-west axis, and its dromoi predominately face to the north toward the settlement and the sea.³⁶⁷ The cluster at Langada (on the east) is arranged in roughly a north-south orientation, and its dromoi face west toward the revma that divided the two halves of the cemetery, the Eleona cluster beyond, and the long coastal plain in the background.

The overall size of the chambers in Langada shrank from an average of 4.83m² in the LH IIIA period, to 3.07m² in the LH IIIB, to 2.63m² in the LH IIIC,³⁶⁸ although it is

³⁶⁴ See also Georgiadis 2003, 40.

³⁶⁵ See Morricone (1965-1966, 7-19) for an account of the explorations of Eleona-Langada. See Morricone (1972-1973, 147-149) for an account of the effects of the war. See also Georgiadis 2003, 73.

³⁶⁶ Georgiadis 2003, 82. However, problems with the preservation of human remains make the numbers of burials per tomb unreliable; a more complete description of these problems follows in this section.

³⁶⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 74.

³⁶⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 74.

doubtful that this decrease in size was directly related to a change in practice, since other factors including grave goods and general construction remain unchanged. Instead the change in size likely reflects a more economical attitude toward, or usage of, the space of a tomb and the effort required to carve it into the bedrock, especially since so many of the chambers appear to have been used for a short period of time. The majority of chambers show evidence for a single period of use, and only 26 out of the 82 tombs at the site show evidence of multi-period use. The preference for single burial here is different from what is seen on Rhodes, where multiple burials predominate; however, the high incidence of single burials is roughly matched in the Moschou Vounara cluster at Ialysos.

Human remains in the tombs are not well preserved because of the pozzolana from which the tombs were fashioned, and only 41 of the 82 chambers possess reliable evidence for human remains.³⁶⁹ While the pH level of the volcanic bedrock, spread easily by ground water in this low-lying area, can undoubtedly account for some of the empty tombs, similar vacancies at Ialysos makes an explanation of the tombs as cenotaphs a logical, if not directly supported, hypothesis. Nevertheless, the harsh ground conditions are likely to have obscured the number of burials, especially of children, and the number of individuals represented in the tombs should be higher than it currently is. Secondary burials account for the majority of remains, found in 30 tombs, with seven tombs containing only primary inhumations, and seven tombs containing both primary and secondary depositions. Single burials occur in 28 tombs at Langada (none attested at Eleona), but are almost unknown on the rest of the island, only otherwise occurring once

³⁶⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 82-83, 153-154.

at Iraklis; the other 13 tombs for which evidence exists all contained multiple burials.³⁷⁰ Only one certain cremation was found in Tomb 44 in an LH IIIC jug.³⁷¹

The preference for secondary burials is similar to what is seen on Rhodes outside of Ialysos, but the high incidence of single burials is not paralleled elsewhere in the region outside of the Moschou Vounara cluster at Ialysos. If each tomb was intended to service the burial needs of a single social group, then the prominence of single burials could indicate that those social units were smaller, or that communal burial with other members of that social group did not carry the same generalized social significance that it did on Rhodes. Unfortunately, because of the state of human preservation in the chambers, there is no reliable way to establish an average ratio of interred vessels to individuals as was done earlier in this chapter for the Rhodian cemetery at Aspropilia, which is based on MacDonald's study of the tombs at Ialysos.³⁷² At Eleona-Langada the number of vessels interred with single individuals varies between one and 28, and two tombs, Langada T.9 and T.55, both possess evidence of two individual burials, but contain only a single vessel in each tomb. While the geology might account for some missing information, the burial evidence at Eleona-Langada might also suggest a variety of funerary practices, much as can be seen at Ialysos, although perhaps on a smaller scale. Unlike on Rhodes, the fragmentary state of information regarding LH IIIB-C objects currently makes it impossible to determine the degree of foreign influence in the cemetery.

³⁷⁰ Georgiadis 2003, 83, 153-154.

³⁷¹ Morricone 1965-1966, 30-31; Georgiadis 2003, 82. Evidence of burning in other tombs is more likely to have occurred with fumigation.

³⁷² See Table 3.1 in this chapter. See also MacDonald 1986.

Because of the preference for single burials, it is possible to follow temporal changes in the cemetery with a degree of accuracy not possible at other sites where habitual reuse of older tombs obscures older data. The Eleona cluster is the older of the two halves of the cemetery, where 11 tombs date to the LH IIIA1 period.³⁷³ In the following LH IIIA2 period, activity at Eleona declined slightly with only seven tombs in use, while the first activity had commenced at Langada with the construction of 12 tombs. Eleona's decline continued through the LH IIIB period when only five tombs were in use (two of which were reused LH IIIA chambers), while Langada continued to grow, with 20 tombs in use through the period (all but two of which were new constructions). Both cemeteries showed an increase in use during the LH IIIC period, with 10 tombs in use at Eleona (three of which were reused), and 40 tombs in use at Langada (14 of which were reused, mostly from the LH IIIB period). The oscillations in activity between burial clusters suggest that different considerations, which changed through time, affected the choice for burial in each cluster. Unequal access applied to multiple social groups within the population is a plausible hypothesis, and will be given additional consideration in Chapter 6. It is worth noting here that this pattern is visible in other multiple cemetery clusters at Ialysos, Lelos-Kariones, Pylona, and locally at Kastello-Iraklis and between the two tholoi at Giorgaras and Kos town.³⁷⁴ The shift toward preference for burial at Langada could also have been influenced by the

³⁷³ Georgiadis 2003, 153-154. Mee (1982, 82, 87-88, 91) gives slightly different figures for the number of tombs in use in each period, but his numbers do not differ significantly from those given by Georgiadis. Georgiadis is followed here.

³⁷⁴ Admittedly the connection between Lelos-Kariones, Kastello-Iraklis, and the two tholoi is not certain, although it is consistent within the broad pattern.

orientation of that cemetery cluster, which faced west toward the revma and the plain beyond.

The volume of ceramic evidence from Eleona-Langada is second only to Ialysos, but it reveals a very different picture than the one that emerges for northern Rhodes. As the tombs show an increase in number from the LH IIIA2 to IIIB, the ceramic finds show a similar increase, which continues through the LH IIIC. Growth during the LH IIIB is only elsewhere seen in southeastern Rhodes in the cemeteries around Vati, and it is possible that both southeastern Rhodes and Kos expanded during this period as a result of changes at other power centers in the regions, including northern Rhodes and the Carian littoral. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 7. The ratios of open to closed vessels demonstrates another difference between Eleona-Langada and Rhodian cemeteries, in that the ratio never equalizes during the LH IIIB, as it does (or comes very close to doing) throughout much of Rhodes, but instead remains consistently weighted in favor of closed vessels. A sharp change can be observed in the LH IIIC material, as the ratio shifts from roughly 1:2 in the LH IIIB, to 1:5 in the LH IIIC, a shift that is paralleled in northern Rhodian material.

Eleona-Langada is also noteworthy for the number of small finds deposited in the tombs.³⁷⁵ Weapons, in particular, appear in numbers that are not found elsewhere beyond Ialysos, and of special note are the three swords specifically datable to the LH IIIB/C, which are the only such finds in the region that correspond to this period. Perhaps related to this phenomenon is the number of arrowheads, which no other cemetery in the region

³⁷⁵ See Georgiadis 2003, 234-238.

produced in comparable quantity; eight are datable to the LH IIIB/C.³⁷⁶ Taken together with objects of personal ornament (especially rings), which also begin to increase during the LH IIIB/C, the funerary evidence suggests a high status of the living population not just within the island, but also within the larger region. The fact that this status begins to increase in the LH IIIB, rather than during the LH IIIC, and continues through the end of the LBA is significant.

3.7.5. Yapili sits about two kilometers south of Kos town in a fertile lowland. One LH IIIC stirrup jar reportedly comes from a tomb in the area, but the tomb has not been located.³⁷⁷ Without additional information, the site will not be used in this study.

3.7.6. Giorgaras, about three kilometers west of Kos town, possesses a tholos tomb on a gentle slope in the middle of the large northern coastal plain of the island; there is no evidence of other contemporary tombs in the area.³⁷⁸ The tomb dates to the LH IIIA2, with reuse attested during the LH IIIC period; the dromos faces north toward the sea and the coastal plain, which extends to the east and west of the site, while the Dikios range occupies the view to the south. The construction of the tomb is canonical with mainland Mycenaean examples, although significantly smaller in size, with a

³⁷⁶ The use of arrows for hunting could negate their inclusion in the category of weapons, but the simultaneous increase in numbers with weapons plausibly indicates a correlation. In any case, the status of hunting as an elite activity correlates with the status of swords in contemporary Mycenaean burials.

³⁷⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 40.

³⁷⁸ Skerlou (1996, 691) mentions several clusters of Hellenistic graves, but nothing else prehistoric in the area; see also Georgiadis 2003, 40.

diameter of only 4.14 meters, and a height of 2.1 meters.³⁷⁹ It is only slightly smaller than the LH IIIB tholos on the outskirts of Kos town. A total of 39 whole or fragmentary vessels were recovered inside the main chamber, although only seven have been published with dates.³⁸⁰ As a result, little can be said about the pottery until more is studied and published. Also recovered were several objects of personal ornament, as well as a dagger and bronze arrowheads.³⁸¹

3.7.7. The Asklepieion produced prehistoric material, reported by Morricone, although much of the material was discovered without a clear context.³⁸² Morricone suggests the presence of a tomb in the area, now lost, but it is most likely Geometric in date judging from the ceramics that came to light. Georgiadis assumes that the tomb lies near the top of the heavily wooded slope and that it faced north toward the sea following the pattern of the rest of the tombs on the northeast side of the island. Its date of LH IIIA2 places it beyond the range of this study, although its location near the sanctuary perhaps attests to Late Bronze Age activity in the area, which would continue in one form or another for centuries, and so warrants mention here. The site is reported to have contained an unknown number of vessels in addition to swords, spearheads, and other tools and ornaments. The concentration of such wealth in a single tomb is uncharacteristic of other funerary assemblages on the island and in the larger region, and the best evidence for burial (the identification of which is based on the condition of an

³⁷⁹ Versus mainland examples that easily reach 10-15 meters in diameter. See Skerlou 1996, 691; Georgiadis 2003, 74.

³⁸⁰ Skerlou 1996, 691-692; Georgiadis 2003, 209.

³⁸¹ Skerlou 1996, 691-692; Georgiadis 2003, 102. The number of each type of small find was not reported.

³⁸² Morricone 1972-1973, 253-261; Georgiadis 2003, 40-41.

assemblage of vessels) is Geometric in date. For these reasons the LH IIIA phase of the site must be classified as of unknown character.

3.7.8. Asklupi, about three and a half kilometers south of Kos town, and two and a half kilometers southeast of the Asklepieion, shows the remains of a possible settlement on the terraces of a hill, now overgrown with trees.³⁸³ Activity at the site occurred primarily earlier than the scope of this study, but some Mycenaean sherds of bowls and kylikes were identified within the LH III range. Hope Simpson and Lazenby propose that a settlement existed on the east slopes of a now agriculturally terraced hill, but without more data the site can only here be identified as one of unknown character. It will nevertheless be included in this study for geographic reference.

3.7.9. Mesaria, just under two and a half kilometers west of the Asklepieion and just over two kilometers east-southeast of modern Zipari, sits on a low hill with fertile lowlands leading to the sea to the north, valleys to the east and west, and the Dikios range to the south. One chamber tomb of LH IIIB-C date has been found, with a dromos that faces to the north toward the lowlands.³⁸⁴ The dromos was partially destroyed before the tomb could be excavated, but it seems that the rectilinear chamber was larger than the example at Kastello, and broadly comparable in internal size to chambers in southern Rhodes (but larger than those in northern Rhodes).

³⁸³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 57; Georgiadis 2003, 41. Morricone reported EBA burials on the site; see Morricone 1950, 324-325; 1965-1966, 306; 1972-1973, 261-271.

³⁸⁴ Papachristodoulou 1979, 458. Georgiadis (2003, 41) dates the tomb to LH IIIA2-B, but Papachristodoulou's dating, based on an amphora from the tomb, will be followed here.

Inside the chamber were two graves, one along the eastern wall, and one along the western wall. The western grave was in a pit in the floor that contained one individual, buried with the head toward the back of the tomb lying in a supine position with the legs folded and the head turned toward the right.³⁸⁵ The eastern grave contained two individuals, although one appears to have been disturbed, interred in the same position. The position of the feet to the chamber entrance matches the orientation reported at Pylona on Rhodes, and contrasts with Ialysos. Only four vessels are reported from the chamber at a ratio of 1:3 open to closed. The small number of finds per burial roughly matches what is seen at Kastello, where two bodies were accompanied by three vessels, and likely attests Koan funerary ritual.³⁸⁶

3.7.10. Misonisi lies about 700 meters south-southeast of Lagoudi Zia, relatively high on the northern slopes of the Dikios mountain range in an area with a natural spring surrounded by fertile land to the north, and shows a range of surface sherds spanning the EBA and LBA.³⁸⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby note the similarity between the LBA sherds at this site and Mycenaean surface finds at Asklypi and Palaiopyli, but they state that numerous handles of coarseware jars and jugs were the only diagnostic sherds recovered; therefore, the chronology remains unrefined. The surface scatter of sherds and

³⁸⁵ Papachristodoulou 1979, 458. Since the orientation of the individual is not reported, it is not clear if the individual's right was the center of the tomb or the adjacent wall.

³⁸⁶ It is possible either that local customs did not encourage the deposition of numerous grave goods, or that the ritual that the goods accompanied (dealing with liquids, washing, feasting, etc.), which plausibly involved actions inside the chambers on Rhodes and elsewhere, instead occurred outside the tomb on Kos, and so did not require the transportation of vessels into the chambers.

³⁸⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 58-59; Georgiadis 2003, 41.

the presence of coarsewares suggest the existence of a settlement as opposed to a disturbed tomb, and the site will be classified as such for this study.

3.7.11. Palaiopyli Kastro, three kilometers east-southeast of modern Pyli and a few hundred meters southwest of the old town, possesses “cyclopean walls” with numerous LH III sherds on a narrow terrace on the north slopes of the Dikios range, just downhill from the Kastro.³⁸⁸ A Mycenaean settlement of uncertain date is possible in the area based on the wide scatter of sherds around the wall sections and the absence of tombs. The site is dominating on the landscape and backs up against the mountains to the south and opens into fertile hillsides in every other direction. The specific dates of the finds cannot be determined narrowly, but the assemblage, which consists overwhelmingly of open shapes (bowls, kylikes and kraters—the latter are somewhat uncommon in cemetery contexts on the island), does not have the appearance of funerary assemblages elsewhere on Kos. The site will be labeled as a settlement here. It is noteworthy that nearly all ceramics recovered at the site have local fabrics.

3.7.12. Near Linopotis Piyi, surface sherds suggest the presence of an MBA/LBA settlement based on the scatter of sherds across the hilltop and the absence of tombs in the area.³⁸⁹ The area does not appear to have been much explored and ceramic surface sherds are not dated narrowly enough to form conclusions for the purposes of this study. It will, therefore, be omitted from further considerations.

³⁸⁸ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 59-60; Georgiadis 2003, 41.

³⁸⁹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 60; Georgiadis 2003, 41.

3.7.13. Near the Agia Paraskevi chapel below Pyli and Linopotis Piyi, a chamber tomb has been reported.³⁹⁰ The exact location is unknown, but the area is at the northern edge of the foothills for the Dikios range, and is dominated by a hill to the northeast opening to the plain that extends to the north, east, and west with a revma to the north, and the Dikios range to the south. The date range for the pottery is given by Hope Simpson and Lazenby as LH IIIA2-C1 based on the decoration.³⁹¹ The vessels include a ladle (rare in later contexts elsewhere on the island), two tall kylikes, and a krater. The absence of closed forms is unusual in funerary contexts in the region, but without a full publication it remains unclear how representative these objects are of the entire assemblage.

3.7.14. Eleona, a cluster of houses just over three and a half kilometers northeast of modern Kardamaina on the south side of the island, possesses around 20 tombs of unclear date on a low hill near a spring just west of the modern cluster of houses; the site is just south of the road east from Kardamaina where the road turns north and climbs toward Pyli on the other side of the Dikios range.³⁹² The bedrock cuttings for the chambers are preserved on the south and north sides of the hill, which is surrounded by low hills to the north and east where the Dikios range ends abruptly at the sea, although a

³⁹⁰ Georgiadis (2003, 41) dates the site more narrowly to LH IIIA2-B, and cites Hope Simpson and Lazenby; however, Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970, 60) date the pottery to LH IIIA2-C1, and state that Konstantinopoulos and Nikolaides allowed them to write on the site in advance of a publication, which does not seem to have been published yet. Hope Simpson and Lazenby's broader dating will be followed here since their discussion of the material indicates that the four vessels they describe (followed by Georgiadis) were not the only ones recovered on site.

³⁹¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 60.

³⁹² Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 171; Georgiadis 2003, 41.

coastal valley opens to the west that runs toward Kardamaina and a revma can be seen some distance to the west. The cuttings do not provide conclusive evidence of the direction that the tombs faced, but they plausibly faced west toward the revma based on the consistent pattern throughout the rest of the island and region. No finds are associated with these tombs.

On the slopes of the hill, Hope Simpson and Lazenby found numerous surface sherds scattered for about 100 meters, with dates ranging from LH IIIA-C.³⁹³ The same problem reported on Symi and Nisyros, where Mycenaean and Archaic surface sherds were difficult to distinguish, was reported for this area as well. Nevertheless, they report finding kylikes and deep bowls among the fragments, as well as pieces of pithoi and the foot of a tripod cooking vessel. The kylix and deep bowl are found in conjunction with tombs elsewhere, but the pithos and the tripod cookpot (if it is a cookpot and not a brazier) are rare in funerary contexts in the region, which suggests the presence of a settlement on the hill.

It is plausible that a settlement existed in the area near the cemetery, perhaps near the top of the hill nearer the modern road, which would have allowed sherds to wash down to the area of the tombs.³⁹⁴ Based on the pattern in western Kos outside of Eleona-Langada, where multiple burials are common, it is likely that the original funerary population was considerable in this cemetery. As a result, the living population is unlikely to have occupied the same hill, and was perhaps located farther up the slopes to

³⁹³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 171, notes 163-164.

³⁹⁴ It is worth mentioning that two Mycenaean sherds were recovered from the site of Nerantzia, one kilometer to the west across the revma, only one of which could be dated—a handle from an LH IIIC tripod cookpot; see Georgiadis 2009a, 11. While the presence of two sherds does not confirm the location of a settlement, it does indicate that the area was broadly active at the close of the Bronze Age.

the north. On the other hand, a small settlement could have existed subordinate to a larger neighbor for which the cemetery was constructed, perhaps at Halasarna, thereby giving evidence for a hierarchy of sites in the southwestern plain of the island. In this scenario the cemetery would have marked or claimed land for a larger neighbor. That said, the distance of over four kilometers between Eleona and Halasarna makes the association of the settlement and cemetery unlikely, and a closer settlement location for Eleona should perhaps be sought. More intensive scrutiny of the area around Eleona and Halasarna with the goal of establishing the exact location of the two settlements is required.³⁹⁵

3.7.15. Halasarna, several hundred meters west of the modern town of Kardamaina and separated from the modern town by a revma, Mycenaean sherds in the area of the later sanctuary in the ancient city near the coast were collected as part of the Halasarna Survey Project.³⁹⁶ The sherds, which date back at least to the LH IIIA2 period, perhaps indicate a settlement in the area of the later ancient city. Additionally, surface sherds at Koukos, on a long low ridge approximately 800 meters west of Halasarna, possibly indicate an area of habitation farther back in the hills.³⁹⁷ The conclusion is that the site was primarily used in the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, but at least one LH IIIC stirrup jar was recovered to attest later activity. It is unlikely that Koukos and

³⁹⁵ It does not appear that the Halasarna Survey Project included the area of Eleona within its geography, and so the idea of a settlement in the area remains untested. Extensive alluviation of the coastal plain might have obscured many remains. See Georgiadis 2009a.

³⁹⁶ Aleura et al. 1985, 18; Georgiadis 2009a, 10; see also Georgiadis 2003, 41

³⁹⁷ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 171-172; Georgiadis 2009a, 18. Hope Simpson and Lazenby were unable to locate LBA sherds on the site, but they hypothesized the existence of a settlement in the period based on the topography.

Halasarna comprised a single settlement, and it seems more likely that Halasarna was the main settlement on the coast, and that LH IIIC Koukos was a satellite farmstead or other outbuilding.³⁹⁸

It is clear that the coastal Kardamaina plain supported more than one locus of LBA activity, especially during the LH IIIC period, when, based on the appearance of sherds at Koukos and Nerazntia,³⁹⁹ it is possible that habitation of the plain was less nucleated than in the LH IIIB.⁴⁰⁰ Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the intensity of occupation or the complete distribution of settled sites in the area, nor is it certain which settled population made use of the cemetery at Elaiona. Halasarna is generally believed to have been the most important settlement in the region, but this is largely due to its later importance in the plain and the eponymous deme of Halasarnitai.⁴⁰¹ It is plausible that the distance between Halasarna and Elaiona, at just over four kilometers, indicates that a different cemetery site was used by the inhabitants of LH III Halasarna, and, therefore, that Elaiona belonged to a separate settlement on the other side of the plain. If Halasarna was as important in the Late Bronze Age as it was in later periods, then it might be possible to see a settlement hierarchy in the Kardamaina plain, with Elaiona subservient to Halasarna, and satellite sites surrounding both larger settlements (at least in the LH IIIC period).

³⁹⁸ The site is altogether classified here as the settlement of Halasarna. See also Georgiadis 2009a, 19.

³⁹⁹ See Note 394 in this chapter.

⁴⁰⁰ The site at Tsangaris, just east of Halasarna, went out of use in the LH IIIA2 period; see Georgiadis 2009a, 16. Likewise the post LH IIIA disuse of Asklepieion and Giorgaras around Kos town might indicate a similar LH IIIB nucleation on the other side of the island.

⁴⁰¹ See Georgiadis 2009a, 7.

3.7.16. Antimacheia, in the center of the western side of the island where the modern airport is located, is listed as the findspot of two vessels in the British Museum that allegedly came from a single tomb of LH IIIB-C date, although the exact findspot is unknown.⁴⁰² The area is flat and relatively fertile as a result of the volcanic soil, and while it seems likely that there was once a settlement in the area with at least one tomb, no more can be said without additional information. Because the provenance cannot be specified, the site will not be considered in the final conclusions.

3.7.17. Asprietra, near the coast at the western edge of the bay of Kephalos, roughly two kilometers south of modern Kamari, is a cave that has produced Mycenaean sherds in small amounts.⁴⁰³ The site was explored briefly in the 1920s, and produced primarily Neolithic and Geometric material. The Mycenaean sherds are few in number and mostly non-diagnostic, only a krater and an oinochoe can plausibly be identified. Bronze objects, of which a single knife is specifically mentioned and illustrated, are also reported. It is not clear that any of the objects possessed a votive function, and the cave could simply have been a temporary shelter utilized by shepherds. It will be classed as a site of unknown character and date for final considerations of the period.

The general picture of the island is skewed by the overwhelming amount of evidence from the cemeteries at Eleona-Langada, similar to how the picture of Rhodes appears dominated by Ialysos. Information on the position and orientation of the deceased within the tomb was only recorded for nine tombs at Langada, one tomb from

⁴⁰² Georgiadis 2003, 41.

⁴⁰³ Levi 1925-1926, 275-277.

Mesaria, and one tomb from Iraklis, for a total of 18 persons.⁴⁰⁴ Nine of these burials were in an extended position, and nine were crouched; nine were deposited with the head toward the back of the tomb, five with the head toward the stomion, and three were parallel to the stomion.⁴⁰⁵ Goods, especially bronze objects, were most often positioned near the head, while the body was a less common deposition site, and goods were only rarely placed near the feet. Counting all tombs on the island with evidence of human remains, 16% contained only primary burials, 68% contained only secondary burials, and 16% contained evidence of both primary and secondary burials.⁴⁰⁶

These patterns are similar to what is seen on Rhodes outside of Ialysos, for example at Pylona, and are different than what appears on the Greek mainland and at Ialysos where the percentages of primary burials are higher. The preference for secondary burial on Kos and on Rhodes could speak to certain similarities in burial rites and perhaps suggests a regionalization of practice that contrasts with the cosmopolitan nature of Ialysos. That said, the fact that many tombs at Kastello, Eleona-Langada, and Mesaria contained only one object per burial demonstrates that burial rites on the two islands were not parallel. A total of only 62 LH III vessels have been published from Koan cemeteries other than Eleona-Langada, only 30 of which are dated.⁴⁰⁷ For comparison, more vessels were recovered from within a single chamber at Makelli at Pigadia on Karpathos, and at Armenochori on Astypalaia, and Tomb 32 at Ialysos produced 60 vessels on its own. The high incidence of single burial at Eleona-Langada is

⁴⁰⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 83.

⁴⁰⁵ The orientation of the burial at Iraklis is unclear.

⁴⁰⁶ Georgiadis 2003, 85.

⁴⁰⁷ See also Georgiadis 2003, 201-209. Of these 62 vessels, 39 are from Giorgaras alone. It must also be noted that finds are not reported from the 20 chamber tombs at Eleona.

matched only at the Moschou Vounara cluster at Ialysos, which perhaps suggests a similarity in practice between these two sites. The cosmopolitan nature of the burials and the notable foreign influence in both cemeteries can plausibly be linked to this practice, either through the importation or influence of variant social customs, or through a high rate of population turnover or frequent shifts in the social authority that determined collective burial in the cemeteries.⁴⁰⁸ Additional consideration of these factors will appear in Chapters 6 and 7.

As on Rhodes, Mycenaean-style chamber tombs and material culture began to appear on Kos during the LH IIB at (presumably) the largest and/or most prominent settlement on the island. A steady increase in goods attests a fully Mycenaean material culture throughout the island by the end of the LH IIIA2 period, and a following increase in LH IIIB activity culminated in an LH IIIC Early and Middle flourish on the eastern side of the island.⁴⁰⁹ During this period, the local pottery can be seen to develop an iconographic repertoire with a prominent focus on Pictorial Style imagery, which appears in relative quantities on Kos that are not seen on islands to the south or west. Although scientific analysis is sparse, optical emission spectroscopy of 20 LH II-III sherds from the Seraglio in Kos town indicates that eight samples (40%) were local products, six (30%) were Peloponnesian imports, and four samples (20%) were imported from Central

⁴⁰⁸ Both of these alternatives assume that family or corporate relationship between individuals was a required feature of multiple burials within a single chamber. LH IIIC reuse of LH IIIA tombs is a separate issue, although attempts to establish historical ties, whether real or mythical, might still come into play.

⁴⁰⁹ This coincides with Mountjoy's East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface; see Mountjoy 1998; 1999a, 967-969.

Crete.⁴¹⁰ Although the small sample size makes it difficult to apply these conclusions broadly, the relative importance of local pottery is substantially different from what is seen at Ialysos and the rest of Rhodes, where particularly Argive imports dominate the record until the LH IIIC. It is important to note, however, that the samples in the Koan study were taken from a settlement site, whereas the Rhodian samples that indicate a heavy reliance on Argive imports are drawn from cemetery sites, and therefore direct comparison might be misleading.

A pattern of external contact different from what exists on Rhodes can also be detected in the non-ceramic finds. At Eleona-Langada, bronze pins, fibulae, sword, and spear types demonstrate connections to the northern Balkans that are not paralleled at Ialysos.⁴¹¹ The pins and fibulae are stylistically similar to examples from the northern Balkans and one violin bow fibula from Langada Tomb 10 can be traced to specific parallels in Italy.⁴¹² Special attention should be drawn to Langada Tomb 21 (of LH IIIB date), which produced a Naue Type II sword that was “killed” and then placed on the carved bench inside the chamber.⁴¹³ This sword and a spearhead from the same tomb display continental European parallels, although it is noteworthy that the burial is also associated with nine vessels and seven small finds, none of which reveals foreign influence. It is uncertain whether the presence of non-local weaponry should indicate that the owner immigrated to Kos, or that the weapons were acquired through exchange;

⁴¹⁰ Jones and Mee 1986, 291-292, 508-509; Georgiadis 2003, 92. The general time range does not permit the results to be viewed in chronological detail like the material from Ialysos.

⁴¹¹ MacDonald 1986, 141, 145.

⁴¹² MacDonald 1986, 146.

⁴¹³ Morricone 1965-1966, 136-140; Mee 1982, 88-89; MacDonald 1986, 145; Georgiadis 2003, 83, 102.

however, since the sword and spearhead appear together, as a military kit so to speak, it is plausible that that the man who wielded these weapons travelled with them from the north to the Dodecanese. Such long distance travel and “mercenary” (of a sort) activity has been widely associated with the establishment of Mycenaean Cyprus and perhaps in Lycia during the waning years of Hittite control.

In general, tombs on Kos, especially those outside of Eleona-Langada, are smaller than those on Rhodes, and the deposition of material wealth appears to have been concentrated in the east of the island, around the settlement at Kos town.⁴¹⁴ The tholos at Giorgaras, just under two kilometers west of this settlement, contained objects that are traditionally interpreted as status symbols, such as a killed sword and multiple weapons that are characteristic of Mycenaean warrior burials in other regions of Greece.⁴¹⁵ The simple presence of two tholoi in the vicinity of the population at Kos town suggests a degree of concentration of social authority, perhaps reflective of a social structure modeled on mainland Argive forms. Even though the volume of material does not compare to the abundance of finds at Ialysos or at cemeteries on the Mycenaean mainland, which might represent a Koan trait, grave goods are more concentrated at Langada (and to a lesser extent at the neighboring Eleona cluster) than they are in most other cemeteries in the region.⁴¹⁶ The compounding of material wealth is particularly visible in the distribution of weapons and rings—weapons appear in only 10 tombs total, most dating to the LH IIIA-B, and rings appear in only nine tombs, most dating to LH IIIC. Eleven gold rings come from only three tombs at Langada, and bronze rings most

⁴¹⁴ See also Georgiadis 2003, 102.

⁴¹⁵ Only at Giorgaras do gold ornaments appear in the same tomb as weaponry.

⁴¹⁶ See also Vitale 2012, 411-414.

often appear in pairs or multiples. In relative numbers, they are as common at Langada as they are at Ialysos. These tombs often also contain more ceramic vessels than the island-wide average, and it is perhaps possible that the sporadic instances of concentrated material wealth, involving quantities well above the island-wide average, indicate the burials of non-Koan individuals; however it is more likely that the variety of depositional practices in the area around Kos town indicate the existence of a more highly stratified society than is visible in other parts of the island.

However the variance is explained, it is clear that the settlement at Kos town was a cosmopolitan assortment of populations, as at Ialysos, and that these two settlements were the most prominent occupied sites in the Dodecanese at the close of the Bronze Age. Perhaps together with Miletus and the settlement associated with the Múskebi cemetery near modern Bodrum they were among the most prominent in the region, at least through the LH IIIB. Scarabs and amber beads in tombs at both Ialysos and Eleona-Langada attest long distance communication at both sites.⁴¹⁷ Material similarities between Eleona-Langada, Ialysos, Perati, and other sites throughout the Aegean in the ceramic repertoire confirm more local interactions as well.⁴¹⁸

Yet it is plausible that the populations at Kos and Trianda looked to different areas of the outside world and that their respective cosmopolitan natures were not identical. Koan material connections to the northern Balkans are unparalleled on Rhodes, and similarities in grave goods between Eleona-Langada and Perati suggest a westward

⁴¹⁷ See, for example, MacDonald 1986, 147; Georgiadis 2009b, 96-97.

⁴¹⁸ See, for example, Mountjoy 1998; 1999, 967-969; Georgiadis 2009b, 96.

orientation beyond the Argolid for the Koan population.⁴¹⁹ In contrast, Cypriot ties at Ialysos are not seen on Kos, and ceramic forms and decorative schemes tend to show more of a connection with the LH IIIA-B Argolid and LM IIIC Crete.⁴²⁰ In light of these divergences in external contacts, the differences in funerary rites, and the chronology of activity on Kos, it is likely that Koan populations were socially distinct from Rhodes in much the same way that the different areas of Rhodes were distinct from one another—culturally, socially, and most likely economically connected, yet with discrete regional agencies and identities. Without additional information from sites in western Kos—Eleona, Halasarna, and Antimacheia in particular—there is no current way to identify diverse social groups within the Koan landscape.

3.8. Kalymnos (Figures 3.5 and 3.6)

Kalymnos has not been as well explored as its neighbor to the south, Kos, but the material culture known from the island shows compelling similarities, especially in the ceramic forms and the prominence of Pictorial Style decoration. Mountains dominate the

⁴¹⁹ MacDonald 1986, 144-145, 147-149, table 4. Similarities include the forms of vessels between Attica and those associated with Pictorial Style decoration in the LH IIIC Dodecanese, which is likely to be locally produced and shares numerous similarities with the islands to the north. See also Mountjoy 1998, 54; 1999, 967-969, 1078-1081, 1126-1127, 1139; Thomatos 2006, 142, 256-257. However, the study by Karantzali and Ponting (2000, 234) found that certain vessels identified as Attic based on style were chemically Rhodian. More scientific analysis of this material is required.

⁴²⁰ See Mountjoy 1999a, 969, 985-988. The lines of external contact were not completely separate, and the intent is not to oversimplify the issue here. Nevertheless, the fact that Rhodian ties are exemplified by the Cretan influence on Rhodian OSJs, the distribution of which is not identical to Koan and Milesian vessels, suggests divergent overseas markets.

landscape of Kalymnos, but two long narrow valleys running parallel to each other roughly east-west across the island provide agricultural land. The southern Pothia valley, now occupied by modern Kalymnos and Khorio, was the major site of LBA activity attested by a cemetery on Perakastro hill. The northern Vathy valley was the site of the only other reliably dated LBA activity at Vathy Cave. Unfortunately, conflicting historical reports and partial publications hinder the analysis of data from these two sites, and a general lack of information makes large-scale conclusions about the island unproductive without comparison to Koan material.

3.8.1. The hill of Perakastro was identified by Hope Simpson and Lazenby below the medieval castle and windmill, but the area has been changed dramatically in recent decades, and the revma has been covered by a road.⁴²¹ The site sits well back from the coast on the south side of the long Pothia Valley where the later castle of the Knights Hospitalier was constructed on the west side of the modern city toward the neighboring town of Khorio. The hill is a small spur projecting from the valley wall with steep sides, the northeastern slopes of which possess rock cuttings for an unknown number of tombs. To the south and west are hills, while the narrow valley opens to the southeast with the harbor a kilometer distant, and extends to the northwest beyond a (now covered) revma and the modern road, both of which are closely flanked by higher mountains on the sides of the valley.

Medieval use of the top of the hill and illicit excavations at the end of the 19th century have left no architectural information on the site except bedrock cuttings, and

⁴²¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 172; Georgiadis 2003, 42. Earlier descriptions of the location of the tomb cuttings are often unclear and at times contradictory.

very little material of any kind has been preserved.⁴²² However, 24 vessels and “about ten others of inferior interest” were obtained by W. R. Paton for the British Museum and attributed to this site.⁴²³ Hope Simpson and Lazenby suggest that a settlement might have existed at the top and on the east slopes of Perakastro hill facing the harbor (later disturbed by medieval activity and eroded into the revma), and that the lower banks below the cliffs on the northwest side of the hill might have contained the tombs (later disturbed and also eroded into the revma).⁴²⁴ This might account for discrepancies in the ascribed locations of finds and in the dating of material from the area, as the collection in the British Museum dates entirely to the LH IIIB-C period, but Hope Simpson and Lazenby state that surface sherds scattered on the south slope of the hill date to the LH IIIA-B.⁴²⁵

Some of the vessels in the British Museum collection, like the fruit stand, show clear evidence of a connection with Crete and with parallels from the North Cemetery at Knossos; however, others, like the kalathoi, show mainland influence in their decoration. Figural patterns on some of the vessels, as in series of fish on some vessels perhaps

⁴²² Georgiadis 2003, 74-75. Smith (1887, 80) reports a letter from Paton that describes the locals presenting him with finds from the site over a course of several years and indicates that the illicit excavations occurred perhaps at the beginning of the 1880s.

⁴²³ Paton 1887b, 446-448; Smith 1887, 80-81; Forsdyke 1925, 189-197. The vessels “of inferior interest” (Paton 1887b, 448) are apparently the additional 12 vessels included by Georgiadis (2003, 211) in his list of 36 total ceramic finds. I am indebted to Emilia Oddo for her help identifying several of these vessels.

⁴²⁴ Hope Simson and Lazenby 1962, 172.

⁴²⁵ See also Forsdyke 1925, 189; Stubbings 1951, 22. The center of burial activity at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada shifted through time, and it is possible that LH IIIA activity on the gentler eastern slopes of the hill was funerary in nature.

suggest local production since such motifs appear commonly on Kos in local fabrics.⁴²⁶ Optical emission spectroscopy of 14 LH III sherds has shown that six samples (42%) were imported from the Peloponnese, four samples (29%) were central Cretan imports, and the remaining four sherds (29%) were of undetermined origin.⁴²⁷ Because no control for local clay sources could be determined, the last four sherds cannot be ruled out as local. Nevertheless, the pattern of importation at Perakastro is more similar to what is seen on Kos than on Rhodes—with Peloponnesian imports being less numerous here than on Rhodes, and with Cretan imports retaining the significance seen on Kos but not on Rhodes. Again, caution is advisable in applying these results, since the broad date range combines earlier material (LH IIIA1) that is more likely to reflect Cretan influence, and later material (post-LH IIIA2) that is more likely to reflect Mycenaean influence—cultural transition is probably obscured. Additionally, in light of the historical disturbances to the site the precise context of these sherds, although likely to be funerary, is not certainly so. Most of the 36 vessels attributed to the site date to the LH IIIC, demonstrating a three-fold increase from the IIIB. The ratios of open to closed vessels reveals the same pattern visible on Kos where the ratio is slightly weighted toward closed vessels in the LH IIIB (3:5), and shifts more toward closed forms in the LH IIIC (roughly 2:5).⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ See Paton 1887b, pl. 1, fig. 5.

⁴²⁷ Jones and Mee 1986, 290-291, 509; Georgiadis 2003, 94. As with the material sampled from the Seraglio at Kos town, the sample size is small and spans a large temporal range.

⁴²⁸ Compare with Rhodian sites where LH IIIB ratios are roughly even before a drastic shift toward closed forms in the IIIC.

3.8.2. A cave on the opposite side of the valley from Perakastro about 200 meters east and above the chapel of Agia Varvara has produced LH IIIB-C sherds according to Hope Simpson and Lazenby, and Audrey Furness states that the cave was most likely used for temporary purposes rather than habitation.⁴²⁹ Since no detailed information has been published on this cave it will not be considered among the final analysis here. It would be interesting to discover the function(s) of this cave during the LBA, since it is tempting to read cult activity into such a location.

3.8.3. Daskalio cave in the Vathy Valley lies in the steep cliffs that overlook the harbor of Rina and the narrow valley that runs northwest through the length of Kalymnos just to the north of the Pothia Valley. The cave reportedly possesses LBA material, although Hope Simpson and Lazenby give it only a single sentence.⁴³⁰ Bean and Cook report Mycenaean finds in the cave, but only specifically mention Kamares Ware, which is an awkward chronological associate of Mycenaean material culture.⁴³¹ Benzi, after reanalyzing the material and records in the Rhodes Museum, finds that the Kamares Ware is actually LM I Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light ware commonly found in the southeast Aegean.⁴³² The LH IIIA2-B pottery is sparse, but is represented by fragments of one piriform jar, perhaps three cups, and two kylikes, all of which are imported, primarily from Kos and Rhodes, although Benzi notes certain stylistic similarities with

⁴²⁹ Furness 1956, 188. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962, 172) note the cave is at a 40 degree bearing from Perakastro and 400 meters distant.

⁴³⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 172. Maiuri (1928, 110-117) does not mention LBA material, and only describes Neolithic finds.

⁴³¹ Bean and Cook 1957, 128-129; see also Maiuri 1928, 114-115.

⁴³² Benzi 1993, 275.

the Argolid.⁴³³ A similar pattern of importation from the southern Dodecanese is attested by several LH IIIB kylikes. Locally produced pottery is attested by several sherds of bowls and a basin of forms known at Miletus, Rhodes and Mycenae.⁴³⁴

Late Helladic IIIC sherds are all local, and are limited to only eight fragments of a collar-neck jar, a stirrup jar, a lentoid flask, one kylix, three deep bowls, and one krater.⁴³⁵ The jar possesses a pictorial scene of two rampant goats, which links it stylistically to pottery from Kos, and strengthens the idea of a Kos-Kalymnos group. The function of the cave remains elusive, and the lack of common wares could easily be the result of excavation practice and recording.⁴³⁶ The character of the pottery, specifically the dominance of open shapes, presents a very different picture of the site than what is seen at cemeteries in the region. The relative scarcity of closed shapes at Vathy Cave does not fit the regional pattern established for funerary assemblages, but it does not quite match a domestic assemblage either. Benzi suggests that by the LH III period the cave was merely a temporary stopping point for merchants and fishermen, perhaps supported by the presence of weights; however, the cave is only accessible via a narrow approach carved into the cliff face, and it seems more likely that mariners, if desirous of solid ground, would progress to the mouth of the bay where a boat might have been pulled onto shore.

The sacred function of the cave in the LM/LH I period, attested by ritual objects including a bronze figurine of Minoan type, does not appear to have continued into the

⁴³³ Benzi 1993, 281; Davis et al. 2001, 92.

⁴³⁴ Benzi 1993, 281-282.

⁴³⁵ Benzi 1993, 286; Davis et al. 2001, 92. Benzi states “no more than seven sherds can be safely attributed to this [LH IIIC] period,” but includes eight sherds in his description.

⁴³⁶ Benzi 1993, 287; see also Georgiadis 2003, 42.

LH III period based on the lack of overtly ritualistic objects.⁴³⁷ That said, there are currently no sites in the southeast Aegean that can securely be identified as “sacred” without association with funerary ritual, and so the character of a purely sacred extraurban site in the region, against which Vathy Cave might be compared, remains undefined. Candidates could perhaps be sought at Lindos on Rhodes, based on later remains, at the Asklepieion on Kos, based on LH IIIA and post-Bronze Age finds, and at nearby Agia Varvara near Perakastro. The lack of excavated settlements in the wider region means that urban shrines and sacral areas, such as appear on contemporary Crete, the Aegean islands, and the Mycenaean mainland, are not known in the southeast Aegean.

Overall the pottery on Kalymnos appears very similar to that on Kos and at Miletus, all of which show a higher concentration of elaborate and Pictorial Style painted decoration compared to sites elsewhere in the region.⁴³⁸ Given the state of excavation and preservation of the sites, and the fact that only two sites show evidence for use in the periods under consideration in this study, the incomplete picture that emerges of the island is perhaps not surprising. Ultimately, it is most important to note the similarities between Kalymnos and Kos, and to a slightly lesser extent with Rhodes and Miletus. For this reason, Kalymnos and Kos have sometimes been linked together in discussions of material culture and society, as a Kos-Kalymnos group.⁴³⁹ This grouping is not entirely the result of a paucity of Kalymnian material, and is derived from shared features in

⁴³⁷ See also Benzi 2011.

⁴³⁸ Mountjoy 1999a, 1126-1127; Georgiadis 2003, 94.

⁴³⁹ Mee 1982, 91; Mountjoy 1998, 54; 1999, 1126; Georgiadis 2003, 109

decoration and fabrics that span centuries. Any social distinctions from Kos are impossible to detect in light of the dominance of the shared material record, and it appears that the two islands shared a strong socio-cultural bond.

3.9. Leros (Figure 3.6)

3.9.1. Kastro above modern Agia Marina sits on the eastern side of the island on a hill overlooking a sizeable harbor with a narrow isthmus plain to the west, hills to the south, and the sea to the north and east. The top of the hill was disturbed by a castle built by the Knights of St. John, and Hope Simpson and Lazenby recovered LBA material in an arc of about 80 by 120 meters just outside the walls on the northwest slopes.⁴⁴⁰ Deep bowl sherds can be identified by form and decoration as LH IIIB-C, and other sherds appear to show continued occupation of the hill into the EIA. The absence of tombs in the area in conjunction with the number of sherds and the size of the surface scatter suggests that the hill could have been the site of a settlement on the coast.

3.10. Leipsoi

3.10.1. Kastro has produced sherds of EIA date, but those reported by Hope Simpson and Lazenby that appear to be of Bronze Age manufacture are stated as potentially being either LBA or Archaic, a ceramic uncertainty that applies to surface

⁴⁴⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 53-54.

finds on other islands in the region.⁴⁴¹ Because of this uncertainty and the paucity of the finds as they are described, the site will not be included in final considerations of the region in this study.

3.11. Patmos (Figure 3.6)

3.11.1. Kastelli sits on the narrow isthmus that joins the northern and southern halves of the small island above the modern town of Skala. The acropolis site is on a hill that slopes steeply on the west and south into the sea and overlooks the modern harbor to the east, which stretches to the north along a narrow coastal plain. Hope Simpson and Lazenby report finding Late Bronze Age and Geometric sherds on the eastern slopes of the acropolis extending in broad swath toward Skala.⁴⁴² The finds are not many, as only a few sherds might date roughly to the time period under consideration here, but the presence of MBA, LBA and EIA sherds in the same place suggests a continuity of activity that allows the site to be included in the overall study here. Hope Simpson and Lazenby do not report tombs in the area and so the site might tentatively be identified as a settlement, although it will be labeled as a site of unknown character for the purposes of this study.

⁴⁴¹ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 51-52.

⁴⁴² Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 48-51.

3.12. Samos (Figure 3.6)

No material can reliably be dated to the LH IIIB or IIIC periods on the island, although multiple sites that display LH IIIA2 finds suggest that a population was active on the island. Because sites elsewhere in the region indicate a high degree of continuity between the LH IIIA2 and IIIB, it is hoped that the LH IIIA2 material from Samos can be used to create at least a basic picture of the island during the early LH IIIB period. A brief summary of LH IIIA2 findings will be included, therefore, for the sake of comparison. Exploration of the LBA phases of Samos has only located activity in the large coastal plain in the south of the island where the Heraion was located in historic periods. The Heraion appears to have been the site of a settlement and a cemetery in the LH IIIA, and the adjacent stream runs inland to the cemetery at Myloi, located just at the western edge of the plain. On the east side of the plain, the site of Tigani is of unknown character, but later habitation on the low hill with an adjacent natural harbor might suggest earlier occupation.

3.12.1. Myloi sits inland from the coast at the western end of a long coastal plain. The site is on a low hill that backs up against higher hills and ridges to the west and north, adjacent to a revma that flows out of the hills and into the plain to the east, the same stream that eventually flows by the Heraion to the southeast. A single rounded chamber tomb of LH IIIA2 date has been reported, with a dromos oriented to point toward the revma to the southwest. Inside were found two bodies along with six vessels

(two stirrup jars and four amphoriskoi), and several objects of personal ornament.⁴⁴³

Additional searches in the area were unable to find other tombs or other traces of LBA material, and so the association between the isolated tomb and the surrounding landscape is not clear. The absence of open shapes and the relatively numerous personal ornaments set the burials apart from patterns observable in the rest of the southeast Aegean. While the burial does display a Mycenaean form and material goods, it diverges significantly from burial traditions that prevailed in the southern and western islands of the region.

3.12.2. The Heraion shows Mycenaean levels in the area of the later temple, located a couple hundred meters from the coast in a flat coastal plain between two revmata.⁴⁴⁴ The coastal valley extends far to the east, but terminates in the west at the same well-watered stream that flows past Myloi two and a half kilometers to the northwest, while hills are visible at some distance to the north, which join the slopes of the Ambelos Mountain to the northwest. Just below the southern foundations of the Heraion is a built tomb of LH IIIA2 date covered by a tumulus mound approximately six meters in diameter, which the foundations of the temple partially obscure.⁴⁴⁵ The rectangular tomb is not a cut chamber tomb, but is built of a single row of limestone slabs; it is the only such construction in the region at this time, although similar forms

⁴⁴³ Zapheiroopoulos 1960, 249; Daux 1961, 839; Georgiadis 2003, 84. Georgiadis (2003, 84) states that the two burials were “most probably two primary burials,” but it is not clear from the reports that the burials were, in fact, primary.

⁴⁴⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 43.

⁴⁴⁵ Buschor 1927, 189.

can be found farther to the north and on the Mycenaean mainland.⁴⁴⁶ The dromos of the tomb opens to the south toward the limited plain by the sea.⁴⁴⁷

The remains of at least two burials, attested by fragmentary jawbones, were scattered inside the chamber indicating secondary burial, and appear to have belonged to a young adult and an older adult based on the teeth.⁴⁴⁸ Three stirrup jars and one pyxis were found smashed and jumbled together with the bones, and a second pyxis was smashed against the east wall next to the door, but separate from all other remains in the chamber.⁴⁴⁹ All pottery appears to date to LH IIIA2, and is of local manufacture.⁴⁵⁰ Also found in the chamber was a stone pommel for a dagger (the blade is not mentioned in the reports and apparently did not survive), and beads. It is probable that the mixing of remains and object fragments was part of a secondary treatment of the burial, but the disturbance to the tomb caused by the later construction of the temple foundations cannot be ruled out. However, had the burials been discovered during construction of the temple, it is hard to imagine why the tomb was not cleansed and the bodies relocated. This should perhaps suggest that the state of the tomb is the result of secondary treatment.

⁴⁴⁶ Papadimitriou (2001, 142-143) connects the tomb's construction to "L-type" prototypes at Eleusis; however, this form can also be found on Delos, Achaia, and Thessaly (see Papadimitriou 2001, fig. 68, b) and an Eleusinian influence here is not certain. Built tombs can also be found at Bakla Tepe north of Kolophon, on Psara near Chios, at Makara on Lesbos, at Panaztepe north of Izmir, and at Beşik Tepe at Troy; see Georgiadis 2003, 43-44. Therefore, it is unclear from where the inspiration for this architectural type made its way to Samos, but western Anatolia is just as plausible as the Mycenaean mainland.

⁴⁴⁷ The dromos here and at Myloi were short, both measuring only 0.84 meters. See Zappeiropoulos 1960, 249. The dromos, even as short as it is, is not a standard feature of contemporary Mycenaean built tombs; see Papadimitriou 2001.

⁴⁴⁸ Milošević 1961, 26. Milošević quotes Welter for much of his description of the tomb. Welter aged the younger of the two burials at roughly 15 years of age.

⁴⁴⁹ Buschor 1927, 189; Milošević 1961, 26.

⁴⁵⁰ See also Papadimitriou 2001, 142.

Regardless of the treatment of the remains, as at Myloi, the character of the grave goods—specifically the absence of open forms—and here also the form of the tomb do not match the regional pattern of burials to the west or south.

The LH IIIA site appears to have incorporated both a settlement and the tomb within a shared fortification wall, similar to the arrangement at Mycenae. However, fortification walls are not common features of settlements elsewhere in the region, and the presence of one here might speak to an influence from the Carian mainland.⁴⁵¹ Additionally, this shared cemetery-settlement space differs from the pattern of separate settlements and cemeteries seen farther to the south. The closest buildings to the tomb were not in use at the time of the burial, and the tumulus covered some of the older buildings. Due to the limited nature of the excavation under and around the later sanctuary buildings, it is not clear what the full layout of the settlement looked like, or how the tomb, and other contemporary burials if they existed, interacted with the settlement.

3.12.3. Tigani lies on the coast, five kilometers to the northeast of the Heraion at the other (eastern) edge of the coastal plain under modern Pythagoreio. Only two sherds can be dated definitively to the Bronze Age, both of which came from the Kastro hill, and so the nature of the Bronze Age site cannot be determined, although no tombs are known in the area.⁴⁵² The site will, therefore, be classified here as one of unknown type.

⁴⁵¹ Milošević 1961, 26; Georgiadis 2003, 43. Admittedly there are few nearby settlements with which to compare this one, although the fortification wall at Miletus provides a rough comparison of settlement organization if not architectural details.

⁴⁵² Technau 1929, 7; Georgiadis 2003, 43.

In general, Samos provides very little evidence from the LH IIIA period, and only indirect information about the end of the Late Helladic period. Ceramic finds are limited from these sites, but show the presence of major closed forms and the total absence of open shapes from funerary contexts.⁴⁵³ While this picture could easily change with continued study and additional sites, the prominence of closed vessels here (and perhaps also on Ikaria) in addition to the built chamber and tumulus positioned inside the city wall at the Heraion establishes a different form of funerary ritual than is seen elsewhere in the region, although it is not entirely un-Mycenaean. Since no activity on Samos can be dated from the end of the LH IIIA2 through LH IIIC, it is possible the island did not experience the same degree of Mycenaeanization that is demonstrated on islands farther to the south and west. If such a cultural process did occur, it might have taken place later on Samos than on Kos, Rhodes, or Astypalaia, and might not be visible in the material record as it stands today. It might also be the case that different regional influences from the Mycenaean mainland and western Anatolia played a role in the different appearance of the northern and southern islands in the southeast Aegean. Noticeably absent in the Samian material is the dominance of Argive influence visible in the material record on Rhodes and Kos. Whatever the cause, it seems local Samian society maintained a distinct appearance through the end of the LH IIIA.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³ See also Georgiadis 2003, 95.

⁴⁵⁴ Contra Milojcic 1961, 70.

3.13. Ikaria

Two vessels, one LH IIIB Late-LH IIIC Early strainer jug, and one LH IIIC Late ring vase, have been reported, but are without a specific provenance.⁴⁵⁵ Mountjoy describes the forms as local variations of Cretan and Rhodian types, which demonstrates the degree of contact owed not to the Mycenaean mainland or to western Anatolia, but to the south. Based on the excellent preservation of the two vessels, it is likely that they came from at least one tomb, but since no formal excavations have been conducted on Ikaria to produce comparanda, little more can be said about the vessels. In keeping with the methods of this study employed on other islands, no site will be included in the final study for Ikaria, although the presence of at least one tomb on the island is probable and worthy of mention, especially in light of the absence of LH IIIC material on adjacent Samos. If the relationship of these vessels to Rhodes and Crete could be substantiated through additional finds, then the resulting image would be substantially different from the picture of LH IIIA Samos, where populations appear to have looked north, west, and east rather than south.

3.14. Caria (Figure 3.6)

The landscape of Caria is dominated by mountains and river valleys to an extent not seen on the nearby islands. In the north of the region, the Büyük Menderes (anceient

⁴⁵⁵ Mountjoy 1999a, 1146-1147; Georgiadis 2003, 43, 95. Both are now in Stuttgart, and appear to have been bought in the same auction, which could suggest they were acquired at the same time and in the same area of Ikaria; see CVA Deutschland 26, Stuttgart 1, 11-12, pl. 3.2-4.

Maeander) River cuts a broad floodplain through high hills that extend inland toward the central Anatolian plateau. The spine of mountains at the northern edge of this plain, of which the islands of Samos and Ikaria are an extension, forms the northern geographic boundary of the region in this examination. Of special note in this area is the historic change of coastlines, which have landlocked once coastal sites like Miletus and perhaps also Pilavtepe. A series of inland plains and mountain passes with rolling slopes wind their way south toward the Bodrum peninsula, after which, farther to the south, the landscape becomes increasingly fragmented by mountains and expanses of agricultural land become increasingly scarce. In this region, five sites are known, all of which were originally on or very near the sea—three cemeteries, three settlements, and one site of unknown character. Additional contemporary sites are located farther inland and north of the Büyük Menderes River in Ionia, but for the purposes of this study, only those sites at which the majority (if not the entirety) of the material record is of Mycenaean character will be considered. This is not intended to overlook the presence of LH III material at inland Carian and Ionian sites, but since a handful of Mycenaean sherds in the midst of a volume of local Anatolian ceramics does not indicate a sustained population,⁴⁵⁶ the analysis of which is the goal of this project, only the following sites will be considered here.

3.14.1. Miletus has been the focus of a significant amount of scholarly interest in the past two decades as a result of the discovery of Minoan and Mycenaean settlement phases beneath the Classical city, which has in turn been connected to the city of

⁴⁵⁶ Although somewhat dated, the picture described by Mee (1978, 148-150) regarding trade versus more active settled activity is still valid.

Millawanda in Hittite records.⁴⁵⁷ Miletus would originally have been on the coast, although the area has since silted in as a result of the alluviation of the Maeander (modern Büyük Menderes) River. The LBA settlement has been located on the (ancient) coast, in the area of the Classical Temple of Athena. The site is particularly valuable in that, unlike Trianda or Kos town, the LBA settlement area at Miletus possesses relatively good stratigraphy that spans the entirety of the LH III period.⁴⁵⁸ The phases of relevance to this study are Miletus V-VI.

Miletus V begins in the LH IIIA1 and exhibits a destruction layer during LH IIIA2 or the beginning of IIIB1. The domestic pottery in this phase is entirely Mycenaean, and Anatolian pottery is notably absent with only a few exceptions. Three bull and two Phi-type figurines were also recovered. Two buildings can be reconstructed (although neither is complete), both of which possess central hearths and antechambers. Comparable building plans can be found in Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland, but are also known in western Anatolia, as at Beycesultan, meaning that the buildings could have been constructed in a Mycenaean fashion, but were not necessarily so.⁴⁵⁹ Up to eight potters' kilns can be associated with this level of the city that are typical of Mycenaean/Cretan construction, although, as with the domestic architecture, similar

⁴⁵⁷ For a brief introduction to the debate over the association with Hittite Millawanda, see recently Niemeier 1998, 23; 2005a, 19-20. The association will be followed here.

⁴⁵⁸ Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 218-248; Niemeier 1998, 27-37; 2005a, 10-16. However, Niemeier (1998, 26-27) notes the loss of excavated material during World War I and II.

⁴⁵⁹ The plan of the building, which involves a large rectangular outer wall with a perpendicular interior division, is not sufficiently complex so as to rule out independent innovation.

structures are not unknown in western Anatolia.⁴⁶⁰ The fifth city came to an end in a large conflagration that covered the entire area in a layer of burned debris up to 30 centimeters in depth.

The rebuilt Miletus VI is not well preserved, but the potters' quarter was moved to the south, while other (domestic?) structures were rebuilt along the same foundations as in the previous phase.⁴⁶¹ The best-preserved structure appears to have been a type of Corridor House, which has parallels in the Argolid, Messenia, Laconia, and on Crete, but not in Asia Minor.⁴⁶² The most significant feature of the sixth city is a large fortification wall that was partially constructed over remains of the fifth city along the northern edge of the excavation area. The construction technique of the wall has been matched to the *Kastenmauer* type of fortifications at Hattusa and other Hittite centers.⁴⁶³ In light of this, however, it is curious that the domestic pottery is almost completely Mycenaean in form and decoration, as it was in the fifth city. Only a few examples of Anatolian-derived motifs can be located,⁴⁶⁴ which appear on Mycenaean forms attesting a material hybridism that matches the apparent architectural hybridism. Two sherds bear incisions that could be Linear B signs, and additional animal and Psi-type figurines were found among the settlement remains. The city (or at least this area of it) was abandoned

⁴⁶⁰ Niemeier 2005a, 12. See also Georgiadis 2003, 93-94. It is to these potters' workshops, as well as the two additional kilns from Miletus VI, that exported Milesian pottery ranging from Tiryns to Syria should be attributed.

⁴⁶¹ See Niemeier 2005a, pl. 1.

⁴⁶² Niemeier 1998, 34-36; 2005a, 12, fig. 33. The building is of Hiesel's type of the Corridor House.

⁴⁶³ Mee 1978, 135-136; Niemeier 1998, 38.

⁴⁶⁴ Niemeier 1998, 39, fig. 15; 2005, 20. See also Kaiser and Zurbach (2015) for a specific consideration of the Anatolian and local pottery from Miletus IV-VI.

sometime during the LH IIIC period, and Submycenaean sherds were found on top of the ruined fortification wall.⁴⁶⁵

The accompanying cemetery at Miletus was positioned on Değirmentepe hill, a long east-west hill south of the Classical city and a kilometer and a half northwest of modern Balat, which formed its own small peninsula in the Late Bronze Age overlooking the entrance to the city. The hill possesses 11 tombs of LH IIIB-C date situated with the dromoi facing east-southeast toward the Milesian plain (ancient dry land), with the Bronze Age town on the coast 1.3 kilometers to the northeast, and hills to the west and the sea to the north.⁴⁶⁶ The tombs were excavated in 1908 and the material taken back to Berlin, where it was lost for decades as a result of the Second World War and the partition of Germany. The materials and notebooks were found after the reunification, but the cemetery has not yet been fully published. The cemetery consists of standard chamber tombs of regular rectilinear shape, although only one tomb has a published plan and sketch of its interior arrangement.⁴⁶⁷ This tomb displays secondary treatment of at least two bodies, with grave goods (ceramic vessels, jewelry, and bronze weapons) placed around the bones, effectively between the remains and the entrance to the chamber in much the same arrangement seen on Kos and Rhodes. In total, the chambers contained pottery of LH IIIB-C date, swords, spearheads, arrowheads, two horse bits, lead net

⁴⁶⁵ Mountjoy 2004; Niemeier 2005a, 20. There was likely a gap in occupation between the middle of the LH IIIC and the Submycenaean/Protogeometric period, although the nature of this gap, and its extent based on the spatial limitations of the excavation, is uncertain. See also the discussion of SM/PG Miletus (4.6.3) in Chapter 4.

⁴⁶⁶ Niemeier 2005a, 13; Georgiadis 2003, 42.

⁴⁶⁷ Niemeier 1998, 36, figs. 10-11; Georgiadis 2003, 75, 83. The illustration (Niemeier 1998, fig. 11) appears to show some of the objects deposited in a pit, which Georgiadis (2003, 83) posits could represent a cremation burial.

weights, and gold and glass-paste personal ornaments.⁴⁶⁸ One published picture of some of the finds displays a piriform jar bearing a fish motif that is common on contemporary Dodecanesian grave goods.⁴⁶⁹

The settlement and cemetery make clear that LH III Miletus was a large and thriving community, which imported objects from throughout the southeast Aegean and Peloponnese, and exported widely, beyond the boundaries of the Aegean. The dominance of Mycenaean material culture and the (plausible) presence of Mycenaean domestic architecture in the settlement suggest that socially the city was fully Mycenaean by the end of the LH IIIA period. The fact that the cemetery has not produced evidence for material earlier than LH IIIB suggests that additional tombs or cemeteries have yet to be discovered, since the earliest settlement long predates the LH IIIB.⁴⁷⁰ Without that evidence and the full publication of the funerary data, it is difficult to compare Miletus directly to sites elsewhere in the region.

3.14.2. Iasos, outside modern Kıyıkışlacık, sits on a long low ridge that juts southward into the Gulf of Mandalia north of the Bodrum peninsula. The narrow promontory, almost a kilometer long, is surrounded by water on the east, west, and south, and it was probably an island during the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁷¹ The site now connects to the mainland in the north where a narrow coastal plain provides arable land that winds its

⁴⁶⁸ Mee 1978, 133; Niemeier 2005a, 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Niemeier 1998, 37, fig. 12.

⁴⁷⁰ See also Mee 1978, 133.

⁴⁷¹ Georgiadis 2003, 42; Benzi 2005, 205; Momigliano 2012, 1.

way inland through the hills.⁴⁷² The site displays evidence of long occupation, with Minoan, Mycenaean, and Anatolian sherds of the Bronze Age scattered amongst the Classical to medieval ruins. Doro Levi began excavations at the site in 1960 with the hope of discovering the prehistoric levels of a settlement, and regular work has continued since.⁴⁷³ Late Bronze III levels were encountered underneath the Roman Agora, the Stoa of Artemis, and the Basilica at the East Gate, but the later construction activity had irreparably damaged the stratigraphy and architecture of the LBA settlement.⁴⁷⁴

No LBA tombs have yet been located in the immediate area of Iasos, and only pottery and fragments of figurines attest the prehistoric levels. The majority of LB III ceramic finds are locally made versions of Mycenaean forms (roughly 90% according to Benzi).⁴⁷⁵ Anatolian pottery, which was common in earlier periods, is rare, and Mycenaean imports account for less than two percent of the total pottery on site. All of the LH IIIC pottery appears in the local fabric, although the forms cannot be dated later than the LH IIIC Middle. LH IIIB-C imports from the Mycenaean mainland are primarily open shapes, which show formal and decorative similarities with assemblages in the Peloponnese and the southeast Aegean.⁴⁷⁶ Local pottery, also mostly of open forms, demonstrates formal and decorative ties to the Dodecanese and other western Anatolian sites with strong Mycenaean influence, such as at Troy, Miletus, and Múskebi.⁴⁷⁷ The assemblage and the pattern of external contacts are consistent with other

⁴⁷² Strabo (14.2.21) notes that, in his day, the “island’s” inhabitants drew most of their livelihood from the sea due to the poor quality of the soil.

⁴⁷³ Levi 1969-1970, 461; Pecorella 1984, 1-9; Momigliano 2012, 1-19.

⁴⁷⁴ See also Benzi 1985, 29; 2005, 205.

⁴⁷⁵ Benzi 1985, 30-33; 2005, 206.

⁴⁷⁶ Benzi 2005, 207-210.

⁴⁷⁷ Benzi 2005, 210-214.

settlement sites in the region, although without more coherent details little more can be concluded with certainty.

3.14.3. Pilavtepe sits on a natural hill roughly 13 kilometers southeast of Iasos and just over six kilometers southwest of modern Milas, just at the edge of the modern plain where the Milas airport is now located; Mathias Benter reports that the acropolis of Iasos is just visible from Pilavtepe.⁴⁷⁸ The plain has been formed by alluviation, and in the Bronze Age Pilavtepe would have been on the edge of a navigable bay, the mouth of which would have opened into the Aegean near Iasos. The hill possesses evidence of occupation from the Neolithic through Roman periods.⁴⁷⁹ There is evidence for a settlement on the top of the hill, and one chamber tomb on its south slope, which dates by pottery to the LH IIIA2-C.⁴⁸⁰ The chamber was disturbed and perhaps partially looted, so excavations were conducted quickly in a rescue style, begun and finished in a single day. As a result of the disturbances, the interior stratigraphy and arrangement of objects in the chamber had been lost by the time of excavation.

The dromos opens to the south facing what would have been the edge of the coastal plain. The chamber is relatively large by the standards of the southeast Aegean; at 5.75m² the chamber is larger than many of those found in the Dodecanese outside of Rhodes.⁴⁸¹ Inside were found human remains, but the number of burials could not be determined due to disturbance. Thirty ceramic vessels and fragments were recovered in the chamber, mostly along the west, south, and north sides of the tomb, in a ratio of open

⁴⁷⁸ Benter 2010, 344.

⁴⁷⁹ Diler et al. 2011, 197.

⁴⁸⁰ Benter 2010, 344-345.

⁴⁸¹ Benter 2010, 344.

to closed forms of 10:17.⁴⁸² Current publications do not describe and date all of the vessels, and so changes through the course of the tomb's use cannot be reconstructed, but the ceramic forms are those common to other chamber tombs in the southeast Aegean. Bronze chisels, a small blade, and a spatula were recovered, as well as faience jewelry, sealstones, and beads of precious stones and amber.⁴⁸³ Although not numerous, enough objects attest wealth and foreign connections to indicate access to the trade routes that carried faience, amber, and other non-local objects. The fact that preliminary reports of the site do not describe any Anatolian goods suggests that, like Iasos and Miletus, the population at Pilavtepe was fully Mycenaean or Mycenaeanized by at least the end of the LH IIIA2 period.

3.14.4. Müskebi, at the northern edge of modern Ortakentyaş, about seven kilometers northwest of the harbor at Bodrum, sits in a fertile inland plain that transitions to hills in the north, the Pazar mountain in the east, gentle slopes to the west, and a coastal plain and the sea four kilometers to the south. Early reports by George Bass indicate that the site was at least partially looted prior to excavation, and additional damage was done by quarrying activity of a clay bed near the tombs.⁴⁸⁴ In the course of excavation, 48 chamber tombs ranging in date from LH IIIA2-C were discovered,

⁴⁸² Benter 2010, 345-347. Based on the number of vessels Benter proposes a rough guess of at least three burials (probably more), but he admits this is not certain.

⁴⁸³ Benter 2010, 348-350. It should be noted that the dating of some of these small finds might place them outside the scope of this study—at least one sealstone is described as Middle Minoan, which is an unexpected find in an LH IIIB-C burial. It is also not clear if additional objects were lost when the tomb was disturbed.

⁴⁸⁴ Bass 1963, 353.

although the site appears to have been destroyed and/or buried since excavation.⁴⁸⁵

Purely in terms of number of tombs, Müskebi is the third largest cemetery in the region behind Ialysos and Eleona-Langada.

The cemetery has not been published in full, despite being excavated between 1963 and 1966, and so information is fragmentary.⁴⁸⁶ The tombs were grouped together into three clusters (A, B, and C), although these clusters were established based on the accessibility of tombs with regard to property divisions rather than ancient attempts to form three separate burial areas.⁴⁸⁷ Undisturbed tombs were laid out in rough rows with a few meters between the structures, not unlike the arrangement of the large cemeteries at Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona-Langada on Kos. The dromoi of clusters A and B probably faced the south and east, and the dromoi of cluster C probably faced east; the tombs were aligned along the curving slope of the hill, and so their variable orientation reflects the broad distribution of the tombs.

Although all were rock-cut chamber tombs, the architecture and dimensions of the chambers and dromoi varied widely.⁴⁸⁸ The chambers were both rounded and rectangular, with both vaulted and “pear-shaped” ceilings, and ranged in size between 0.49m² and 6.69m².⁴⁸⁹ Without precise dating, it is not clear how much of the difference in construction can be attributed to different phases of the site. The forms of the tombs align the cemetery with Mycenaean, rather than Anatolian, burial architecture; however,

⁴⁸⁵ Georgiadis (2003, 42) located the original site of the tombs, approximately one kilometer north on the road from Ortakentyahşi to Yalıkavak, on the left side of the road behind a modern ceramics shop.

⁴⁸⁶ Boysal 1967, 31; Mee 1978, 137.

⁴⁸⁷ Boysal 1967, 33; Georgiadis 2003, 42.

⁴⁸⁸ Boysal 1967, 33-35.

⁴⁸⁹ Boysal 1967, 33, 36.

the variability in size and construction is not characteristic of cemeteries on the islands of the southeast Aegean, and might represent a separate funerary influence; if true, it is unclear what this other influence would have been.⁴⁹⁰ Plaster on the interior of the walls, otherwise rare in the region, could have been used to stabilize the rock-cut walls or as decoration, but the plaster remnants were plain and unpainted at the time of their discovery. Of the 48 tombs at the site, 36 were in use during the LH IIIA period, 24 during the LH IIIB, and only 4 during the LH IIIC, with nine tombs being undatable.⁴⁹¹

Reports of only five of the tombs provide reliable evidence for the treatment of the dead, among which two showed evidence of multiple burial, and the other three tombs possessed only single burials.⁴⁹² Four of the tombs showed in situ primary burials, and only one contained a secondary burial. Evidence for cremation existed with charred and scattered bones in two tombs (one of which also contained an inhumation), while a third cremation was deposited in a pot. All of the cremations occurred in LH IIIA2-B contexts and likely reflect Anatolian influence. As with the architecture of the tombs, the grave offerings were equally variable. Tomb 6 in area B contained only one pyxis, while Tomb 15 in area B (a multiple burial chamber with one inhumation and one cremation) contained a group of two jugs, one amphora, one stirrup jar, and one cup, while a pyxis was placed separately by the door; a gold ring was the only object found with the scattered remains of the cremation.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ See also Georgiadis 2003, 75. It is also possible that the tombs reflect a strong local influence, with variations being derived purely from local manipulation of Mycenaean forms.

⁴⁹¹ Georgiadis 2003, 75.

⁴⁹² For the brief report of these tombs, see Boysal 1967, 36-39; see also Georgiadis 2003, 83.

⁴⁹³ See also Bass (1963, 354-356) for a report of a similarly rich tomb.

The 48 tombs at Müskebi produced 178 known vessels.⁴⁹⁴ The style of the pottery shows affinities with both Anatolia and the Aegean, although a particular connection to Kos and Rhodes, in terms of decoration and form, is evident in the assemblage.⁴⁹⁵ The presence of uniquely Rhodian products that were not widely exported, such as basket vases, suggest stronger ties with the southeast Aegean islands than with inland Anatolia or the Mycenaean mainland. Nevertheless, in the absence of full publication it is not certain how universal these ties were throughout the cemetery. The majority of pottery (58% of total) dates to the LH IIIA period, and a sharp decline follows thereafter.⁴⁹⁶ Published ceramics do not indicate any change in the ratios of open to closed vessels between the LH IIIA and IIIB, which remains roughly 3:5. The small sample size for LH IIIC vessels might indicate a shift toward a preference for closed shapes, but this is not certain. It is possible that the LH IIIB waning of activity at Müskebi was related to the contemporary growth of the burial population in eastern Kos; however, the growth of activity on Kos does not fully balance the numerical decline at Müskebi, so some decline in the number of individuals who had access to this burial form is evident in the local area during the LH IIIB.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 93-94, 103. Two catalogues of Mycenaean pottery in the Bodrum Museum, published by Boysal (1969b, 1-29) and Özgünel (1996), contain what is plausibly the majority of intact finds from the cemetery—that is, finds from inside the tombs. However, there is no way of knowing how complete the published collection is (i.e., only whole vessels appear in the publications) or how representative the catalogues are of the original cemetery. In any case, non-ceramic finds, architecture and layout, and human remains have never been published.

⁴⁹⁵ Mee 1978, 137-142.

⁴⁹⁶ See Georgiadis 2003, 210-214 for a list of the ceramic finds.

⁴⁹⁷ Mursili II's campaign against Arzawa, and attempts by Muwattalli II and Hattusili III to combat Piyamaradu produced widespread military actions in coastal Caria

Non-ceramic finds are rare, and by their relative absence might indicate a relationship to burials on Kos, where the concentration of wealth in a few tombs contrasts with numerous burials with no non-ceramic offerings.⁴⁹⁸ On the other hand, if the five published tombs are representative of the whole cemetery, the trend toward single primary burials is only paralleled at the Moschou Vounara cluster at Ialysos. The general picture of depositional practice that emerges at Mūskebi is broadly similar with other cemetery sites in the southeast Aegean, but differences in tomb architecture, treatment of the body, and the chronological distribution of material indicates that the local population was socially distinct from other communities on the islands. It is possible that the settlement that accompanied Mūskebi, not yet discovered, was a bridge between the Mycenaean west and the Anatolian east, its inhabitants blending elements of both cultures.

3.14.5. Knidos, on the tip of the Datça peninsula, displays evidence of LBA activity in the form of Mycenaean sherds identified by Ekrem Akurgal.⁴⁹⁹ The nature of this activity is not clear, although the evidence appears to be confined to a few sherds; as a result, the Bronze Age activity at the site cannot be dated narrowly, nor explained in context. As weak as the evidence is, Knidos will be included here as a site of unknown character since it appears that the only material evidence for Bronze Age activity at the

and Ionia from the late 14th to the mid 13th centuries (late LH IIIA2-early LH IIIB); the decline of the Bodrum peninsula could be related to these conflicts. See, for example, Bryce 2005, 212-214, 224-227, 290-293; Kelder 2004-2005, 77-80; Beckman et al. 2011, 271-276. However, Hittite place names in the Bodrum peninsula are not known, and so cannot conclusively be linked to the unlocated place names in the relevant texts.

⁴⁹⁸ Boysal 1967, 37-39; Mee 1978, 137.

⁴⁹⁹ Love 1969, 18; Mee 1978, 132.

site is Mycenaean and not Anatolian in heritage; however, the presence of a few sherds cannot indicate the nature or extent of such activity.

Other sites in Caria, such as Didyma, Mylasa, and Stratonikeia, as well as sites farther to the north in the valley of the Cayster River (modern Küçük Menderes), and to the south in Lycia have produced Mycenaean material as well.⁵⁰⁰ As the majority of these sites are beyond the geographical scope of this investigation, they will not be included here; however, it is also worth noting that most have not produced large quantities of Mycenaean material, especially in relative quantities with local or Anatolian material.⁵⁰¹ While Ephesus and Colophon have produced tombs that appear to have been constructed on a Mycenaean model, nearly all of the other findspots of Mycenaean objects, mostly pottery, also contain significant amounts of non-Mycenaean material. What distinguishes Miletus, Iasos, Pilavtepe, Müskebi, and perhaps Knidos is that the LBA pottery and other objects found there are almost entirely in a Mycenaean style, either imported from centers on the southern Greek mainland and Crete, or locally-made but following Helladic models; northwestern and central Anatolian influence appears rarely, but can be combined with Mycenaean styles.

The focus of this examination is on societies and not on the general transmission of material. Since Miletus, Iasos, Pilavtepe, Müskebi and Knidos are the only mainland sites that demonstrate a dominance of Mycenaean material culture at the close of the Late Bronze Age within the geographical boundaries of the southeast Aegean, only these

⁵⁰⁰ Mee 1978; Mountjoy 1998; Georgiadis 2003, 42-44; Niemeier 2005, 14-16; Vanschoonwinkel 2006a, 45, 57-58, 72; 2006b, 137.

⁵⁰¹ See, for example, Gates 1995, 290.

populations will be taken into account in the final consideration of the region. As they stand, these sites reveal a series of Mycenaean societies along the coast that shared close ties with the islands of the Dodecanese from at least the end of the LH IIIA2, and earlier in the case of Miletus. In fact, there is little in the material record to suggest that the populations of these sites differed in any substantial way from those in any other area of the Mycenaean world when regional variation is taken into account. It is perhaps not unreasonable to consider the coast from the Maeander River delta to the Datça peninsula as a Mycenaean littoral. As noted previously, however, that picture changes sharply once one moves east from the ancient coastline.

The importance of the coast is evident in the fact that, with the exception of Müskebi, all of the sites considered here were coastal in the Late Bronze Age. The only inland site among the five is Müskebi, but based on the local topography with the low plain extending to the south toward the sea, it is likely that the population that made use of the cemetery was centered nearer the coast. The importance of the sea for trade and communication cannot be minimized for the survival of the Mycenaean settlements in the region, but it is also significant that each of the settlements or cemeteries dealt with here, except for Knidos, was also located near a coastal plain that would have supported local agriculture. The relative scarcity of such coastal plains along the Lycian coast opposite Rhodes might explain why fewer Mycenaean finds have been located in Lycia.⁵⁰² The importance of the landscape in the siting of cemeteries in the Dodecanese has already

⁵⁰² Yarkar (2000, 346-347) notes that the lowland valleys in Lycia were only made livable for large populations in the last century with the eradication of malaria and the drainage of marshes. Throughout the recorded history of the region, most of the population has been transhumant, and gathered in the uplands.

been introduced, and will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6. Similar patterns of land use appear probable for the Mycenaean coast of Caria as well.

Chapter 4

Submycenaean/Protogeometric Sites

This chapter introduces the evidence for sites with Submycenaean and Protogeometric material. In total there are 17 such sites⁵⁰³—9 cemeteries, five at least tentative settlements, and four of unknown character (see Figure 4.1). As in the LH III and Chapter 3, the majority of sites are cemeteries, which inherently lends a bias to interpretations of the region's societies, but it is worth noting that the relative proportion of known cemeteries to settlements is consistent at roughly 2:1 in both the LH IIIB-C and the SM/PG. Many of the SM and PG phases of the region have come to light as part of other studies, typically as either the last phase of the LBA sites discussed in Chapter 3, or as the earliest material among later cemeteries or fill levels of later cities. Only in Caria do sites appear in the SM/PG without Mycenaean precursors. As a result, the majority of material is not well stratified. Nevertheless, the cemeteries allow a relatively undisturbed view of individual depositional contexts (even if a cemetery is disturbed, usually not every grave within it is affected), and this fact facilitates the direct comparison of SM/PG material with the LH III. That said, the evidence itself is sparse, and rarely does one site alone present enough material to permit anything but the most general of conclusions.

⁵⁰³ As in Chapter 3 (see Note 107 in that chapter) this number counts sites with both settlement and cemetery contexts once. For this period, the plausible settlement at the acropolis of Kameiros and the cemetery at the nearby hill of Patelles are counted separately since they are not certain to have been associated because of the distance between them.

4.1. Rhodes (Figure 4.2)

Rhodes presents significantly fewer sites during this period than during the preceding LBA, with activity known only at three sites: two cemeteries, one plausible settlement (associated with a cemetery), and a site of unknown character. Ialysos and Kameiros are located at either end of the large northwestern coastal plain, while Lindos is situated on the opposite side of the island with a small agricultural catchment but a good harbor; this results in a fairly even distribution of sites across the northeastern half of the island. Each site also had easy access to the sea. Each was investigated early in the 20th century as part of larger survey expeditions, and so the presentation of information is not consistent. As a result, each site presents very little information independently, with no activity currently predating the LPG. That said, all showed evidence for preceding activity during the LH IIIB-C, and although Kameiros and Lindos have not produced a significant number of Mycenaean remains, nearby Kalavarda and Pylona (respectively) were much larger Mycenaean centers through at least the middle of the LH IIIC.⁵⁰⁴ The fact that the three LPG sites roughly match the locations of the wealthiest and most well connected populations (in terms of imports) on the island in the preceding period does not automatically indicate a continuity of populations in light of the chronological gap between the end of the LH IIIC and the LPG. This association will be examined further in Chapter 6.

⁵⁰⁴ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2), Kalavarda (3.5.4), Kameiros (3.5.5), Pylona (3.5.16), and Lindos (3.5.17) in Chapter 3.

4.1.1. At Ialysos, an LPG cemetery was excavated in 1934 in the Marmaro area, one and a half kilometers west of modern Ialysos (about halfway between modern Ialysos and Kremasti), where the foothills of the acropolis reach north toward the sea and constrict the coastal plain.⁵⁰⁵ The area is just under one and a half kilometers northwest of the LBA cemeteries at Makra and Moschou Vounara, and was on the west bank of a (now vanished) revma. In all there are 83 burials in the cemetery that range in date from the LPG to the end of the Archaic period.⁵⁰⁶ Excavations produced two reliably dated LPG burials, and a third burial, richer than the other two, is plausibly LPG-EG transitional; all three burials were located in a small cluster farther west from the revma and the other (later) burials.⁵⁰⁷ Only the richest burial was described in detail, as a cremation with bones but no ashes deposited in an amphora. The other two burials are not described, but were deposited in the same manner and so might be interpreted to have been cremations as well.⁵⁰⁸ The two earlier burials are significantly poorer in terms of deposited material wealth, with each burial being accompanied by a single oinochoe, and fragments of iron weapons inside only one of the cinerary amphorae. The later burial was associated with much more material wealth: 12 vessels (evenly split between open

⁵⁰⁵ See Laurenzi 1936, 8, fig. 1.

⁵⁰⁶ Laurenzi 1936, 64-66, fig. 15; Desborough 1952, 225-226.

⁵⁰⁷ See Tombs 43, 44, and 45 in Laurenzi (1936, 161-166, figs. 149-153). Lemos (2002, 23) and Desborough (1952, 225-226) date the third tomb mentioned here (Tomb 43—the richest of the three) to the LPG-EG transitional period, but Coldstream (2009, 265) dates it EG. A very late LPG or transitional date is followed here because of comparisons with Koan material and pins of PG date associated with the burial. A fourth burial reported by Jacopi (1929, 146-147, 149, fig. 142) was stated as potentially PG by Desborough (1952, 225), but is dated EG in all other reports (see Coldstream 2009, 265).

⁵⁰⁸ Lemos 2002, 182.

and closed shapes), faience objects, a seal, an amulet, and a fragmentary figurine of the god Bes.⁵⁰⁹

Since the majority of all finds were recovered from the latest LPG transitional burial, it is not certain if this fact reflects the late date or if this burial was individually significant in some way. It should be noted that there is an attested increase in the number of funerary goods deposited from the MPG through the EG both here and on Kos. The presence of faience, the figurine of Bes, and the two one-handed barrel-shaped flasks reminiscent of Cypriot designs all associate this burial with eastern Mediterranean communication and trade routes. Such eastern contact is similar to patterns exhibited by LH III burials on Rhodes, which also looked to the eastern Mediterranean for overseas contact. Based on these ties, it seems likely that the individual buried with these goods possessed a special status within the community that was, at least in part, supported by those external contacts. It cannot be known if the objects belonged to that individual or were offered by others in his or her honor. In either case it was the origin of the objects and their associated cultural meaning that marked them as suitable gifts for the grave, and contributed that meaning to the identity of the individual who was buried.⁵¹⁰

Other objects were more local in origin, and many vessels find their closest parallels in contemporary burials on Kos.⁵¹¹ The rites attested by the LPG burials are different from those in the nearby LH IIIC cemetery. For example, cremation is apparently the standard practice by the end of the LPG, while it is attested only rarely

⁵⁰⁹ Laurenzi 1936, 164; Desborough 1952, 225-226; Lemos 2002, 182.

⁵¹⁰ It might not be a stretch to interpret this individual identity as a proxy either for the family or corporate group from which he or she came, and/or for the community at large. See the section *Territoriality* in Chapter 6.

⁵¹¹ Desborough 1952, 224; Coldstream 2009, 264.

during the LBA. The transition to single burials and the sharp decline in the number of grave goods also marks a change; however, the importance of closed vessels at the expense of open shapes in the earlier two LPG burials might be viewed as a heritage of the LH IIIC preference for closed shapes and a continuation of the rites that determined their deposition.⁵¹² Ultimately, there is little that speaks to a direct continuity of funerary rites from the LH IIIC to the LPG, and it is perhaps significant (if ambiguous in meaning) that the LPG burials were located in a completely different area than the earlier cemetery.

4.1.2. The PG cemetery cluster at Kameiros is located on the east side of a low ridge called Patelles, a little over one kilometer west from modern Kalavarda on the other side of a revma, and about one kilometer east of the ancient city of Kameiros. Its location alone is immediately striking in that it is almost equidistant from the LH III cemeteries of both Kameiros (Papa-Lures) and Kalavarda,⁵¹³ and sits on the portion of the ridge that overlooks the Kalavarda plain and revma, rather than the drainage to the immediate west of Kameiros (as Papa-Lures does). It is possible that the site is only associated with Kameiros because its position on the west side of the revma included it within the scope of the Italian Kameiros expedition in the 1920s and 30s. The cemetery at Patelles might be better associated with a population around Kalavarda on the other

⁵¹² See the LH IIIC section on Ialysos (3.5.2) in Appendix 1.

⁵¹³ The Patelles cluster is just over one kilometer from the Papa-Lures cluster, and just under one and a half kilometers from Kalavarda. See Jacopi (1932-1933, 118, fig. 132) for a plan of the cemetery.

side of the revma and its agricultural basin; such a geographical arrangement is attested in the LH III.⁵¹⁴

Of the 11 total tombs and burials in the cemetery, four burials can be dated reliably as LPG: one in a built stone sarcophagus, and three in amphorae.⁵¹⁵ All of the burials faced in a southeasterly direction, a uniformity in orientation that was probably determined by the slope of the ridge, but is nevertheless unusual for the period. The built stone sarcophagus, which finds contemporary parallels on Kos, consisted of six slabs of local stone forming the sarcophagus, placed in a rectangular pit cut into the bedrock.⁵¹⁶ It is similar to a built cist tomb, but the bedrock cutting likens it more to a sarcophagus—a similar form of which can be seen at Dirmil—than to a simple slab-lined cist. Inside the sarcophagus was a single child aged not more than three years, accompanied by an oinochoe and a cup, two bronze fibulae, two iron pins (of PG type), three bronze spirals, and an elaborate faience necklace; the assemblage is of a type often associated with female burials.⁵¹⁷ In contrast to the richness of this tomb, the three amphora burials were relatively poor in terms of material accompaniment. Each burial consisted of the

⁵¹⁴ This arrangement—a cemetery on a hill facing an agricultural catchment and divided from the settled population by a revma—is attested in the LH III at Trianda-Ialysos (3.5.1-2), Kattavia (3.5.11), and Kos town-Eleona-Langada/Giorgaras (3.7.3-4, 3.7.6).

⁵¹⁵ Jacopi 1932-1933, 119-122, 126-127, 128-130. The tombs are numbers 36, 38, 40, and 43; see also Lemos 2002, 23. Desborough (1952, 227-229) proposes a fifth burial be added to this list (Tomb 35), but the finds are un-illustrated (see Jacopi 1932-1933, 119) and the description of finds could indicate a date of LPG or Geometric; it will not be included in this study on account of the ambiguity. In general the history of excavation is murky and the Italian reports do not give details about the excavations or stratigraphy; see also Pernier 1914, and Porro 1915.

⁵¹⁶ Jacopi 1932-1933, 123, fig. 138, 125, figs. 140-141, 126.

⁵¹⁷ Jacopi 1932-1933, 124, fig. 139, 126-127; Desborough 1952, 228; Lemos 2002, 182, 188.

amphora that served to contain the human remains, while only one was accompanied by an oinochoe.⁵¹⁸ Two of the amphorae contained the remains of very young children, while the third contained nothing.⁵¹⁹ Each burial was apparently a simple inhumation with no evidence of burning or cremation.⁵²⁰ Generally, ceramic finds demonstrate a preference for closed shapes, and display decoration and forms that are characteristic in the region.

The general scarcity of funerary remains whereby each burial consists of a single amphora and maybe an additional vessel is similar to the pattern seen at Ialysos: at both sites, if only one additional vessel is present it is an oinochoe. Each cemetery also contained one significantly more elaborate burial with a focus on personal ornament rather than on weapons or tools as was common among LH III burials. Where weapons and tools were deposited, personal ornaments were not. The preference for closed vessels is also shared between the sites. There are, however, differences between the rites displayed at Ialysos and Kameiros—cremation versus primary inhumation respectively being first and foremost among them. The practice of affording elaborate burials to children is not demonstrated at Ialysos, but is demonstrated on Kos.

Other PG finds come from the acropolis underneath the Classical city of Kameiros a little over one kilometer to the west of the cemetery cluster at Patelles.⁵²¹ One amphora is of certain LPG date, although its findspot is not known.⁵²² Additional

⁵¹⁸ Jacopi 1932-1933, 119-122, 128-130.

⁵¹⁹ Jacopi (1932-1933, 122, 128) uses the word “neonato,” but no additional information is given.

⁵²⁰ Cremations, including in situ cremation-burials, are attested among the Geometric burials in the cemetery.

⁵²¹ Jacopi 1932-1933, 204, 360-363; Desborough 1952, 228-229; Lemos 2002, 239.

⁵²² Jacopi 1932-1933, 204-205, figs. 244-245.

sherds are illustrated, some labeled as sporadic finds, and are plausibly PG based on the images, but the exact number and date cannot be reconstructed from the published material.⁵²³ The majority of the finds on the acropolis appear to have come from the area of the later Temple of Athena but without context it cannot be known if these finds represent an early phase of cult practice, or, perhaps more likely, an early phase of settlement. The acropolis will tentatively be classed here as a settlement. In spite of the ambiguities, it is of note that no Mycenaean material has been recovered from the acropolis, indicating that any PG settlement on the hill was new, and that the Mycenaean population that made use of the LH III cemetery at Papa-Lures resided elsewhere.⁵²⁴

4.1.3. Lindos produced some PG sherds during the original excavations in 1904, although Desborough's analysis of the pottery concludes that much of the material is Geometric in date.⁵²⁵ Some PG material came from the west slope of the acropolis just above the modern town, in an area called Kopria, which overlooks the harbor from the base of the acropolis cliff.⁵²⁶ In what was probably an outdoor area between an ancient retaining wall and an unidentified floating wall (originally labeled as part of a house, although this identification is not supported) numerous fragments of PG skyphoi and amphorae were recovered along with later material ranging from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period.⁵²⁷ Some of the PG vessels originated in the area of these walls below

⁵²³ Jacopi 1932-1933, 353, fig. 100, 356, fig. 103, 257, fig. 105; Desborough 1952, 229.

⁵²⁴ See the section on Kameiros (Papa-Lures) (3.5.5) in Chapter 3.

⁵²⁵ Blinkenberg 1931, 234-240; Desborough 1952, 229-232.

⁵²⁶ Blinkenberg 1931, 58-60; Desborough 1952, 229-230.

⁵²⁷ It is not entirely clear from the published accounts what is PG and what is Geometric, and the majority of the catalogue (Blinkenberg 1931, 238-240) is not

the acropolis, which might have been terraced already by this period, but Blinkenberg reports that joins could be made with sherds recovered on the acropolis, which suggests that at least some of the vessels were used and broken on the acropolis and then thrown from the cliff for disposal.⁵²⁸ It is not clear if several iron and bronze pins were among the objects thrown from the cliff or deposited below. While the bronze pins are Geometric in form, such iron pins are more common in Protogeometric assemblages.⁵²⁹

Additional PG material was recovered in an area called the Boukopia on the north slopes of the acropolis, and in an adjacent area called Vigli.⁵³⁰ As at Kopria, the majority of finds are Geometric in date, and are potentially associated with a contemporary temple;⁵³¹ however, some PG sherds were recovered that attest earlier activity. The contexts for the sherds were not recorded and so firm dating cannot be determined. Open shapes, primarily skyphoi and kraters dominate the record, but amphorae, jugs, and an oinochoe are also present. The pottery demonstrates certain formal and decorative characteristics that are unknown elsewhere in the region (as on a krater with a ridge below the rim), and others that are more broadly Rhodian with parallels at Ialysos and

illustrated. Therefore, it is not possible to determine precise vessel counts from the published record. Fragments of kraters, pithoi, other types of cups, and an oinochoe could be added to the PG list.

⁵²⁸ Blinkenberg (1931, 57-58) suggests that similar deposition practices might have resulted in the later statue fragments and other material at Kopria. See also Desborough 1952, 230.

⁵²⁹ Desborough 1952, 231-232.

⁵³⁰ Blinkenberg 1931, 8, 11, 233; Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 23-57. Note that this is not to be confused with the LH III site of Vigli (3.5.19) included in Chapter 3. Neither Blinkenberg nor Sørensen provide a map or detailed descriptions of where these two areas are located except for an old photograph of the site (Sorensen and Pentz 1992, 23, fig. 2), presumably taken during the original explorations. Blinkenberg (1931, 11) states that the Boukopia "était situé entre l'acropole et le grand port," but provides no other topographic references.

⁵³¹ See Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 24-25, figs. 4-6.

Kameiros.⁵³² It is unclear if similarities with Attic prototypes reflect an Attic influence or simply reflect the state of knowledge regarding Protogeometric ceramics, which is largely based on Attic material.⁵³³ Stylistic similarities with Euboean decoration, for example involving paneled zigzags, can also be detected.⁵³⁴

These finds make it clear that Protogeometric activity occurred around the acropolis, and quite likely on the acropolis as well. Combined with Mycenaean material (in admittedly scant quantities) that was recovered during excavations of the temple complex, this Protogeometric and Geometric material suggests a long span of activity in the area.⁵³⁵ It is unfortunate that the material has not been published in more detail that would provide more precise dating and analysis of the forms, since as it stands, little can be said about the site except that it does not have the appearance of a funerary assemblage. Blinkenberg believed that later cultic activity had its origin in the Proto- and Geometric periods,⁵³⁶ however, although plausible, this remains uncertain. Later activity on the acropolis has removed all remnants of prehistoric structures and activities, and so additional excavation there is unlikely to resolve these questions. As a result, the site must remain classed as of unknown type.

⁵³² See, for example, Desborough 1952, 230-231; Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 34-36, 41.

⁵³³ See Lemos 2002, 212.

⁵³⁴ See, for example, Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 35.

⁵³⁵ For Mycenaean activity see section 3.5.17 in Chapter 3. Note that Sørensen (Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 57) makes reference to the conservatism of Dodecanesian pottery during this period, which could complicate the picture of relative dates.

⁵³⁶ Sørensen and Pentz 1992, 57.

The picture that emerges from Rhodes during the PG is sparse compared to the LBA. Single burial in ceramic vessels is the dominant form of burial, but the division between cremation at Ialysos and interment at Kameiros represents a significant regional divergence of funerary rites. Aside from the treatment of the body, the burial rite itself is consistent at both sites—a burial or cinerary container most often deposited singly or with only a single oinochoe. Personal ornaments or other accoutrements are rare, but where such objects do appear, they are concentrated in single elaborate burials. It is important, if ambiguous in meaning, that at Kameiros this elaborate burial form was given to a child, a practice otherwise only seen on Kos.⁵³⁷ Weapons are very rare, only occurring once.

As mentioned in the introduction to the island, the location of the three known sites is suggestive of continuity with earlier Mycenaean patterns of population distribution. Although the archaeological visibility of the settled landscape is much reduced for this period, the location of PG populations in close proximity to some of the richest (in funerary terms) LH IIIC populations is suggestive; this connection will be examined more fully in Chapter 7. The PG population at Ialysos was located in the same agricultural catchment as its LH III predecessors; likewise, PG activity at Lindos was located in the same general area as Mycenaean activity. The location of the cemetery at Kameiros, overlooking the agricultural area of the LH III population at Kalavarda, could indicate that the cemetery should be associated with a population at Kalavarda. On the other hand, the location could presage the rise of Kameiros as a regional center of power,

⁵³⁷ No information exists regarding the remains at Ialysos; the elaborate burial there might have been a child but this cannot be confirmed or challenged by published information.

and suggest a contemporary shift in the location of local power structures. Whether this was accompanied by a movement of population or simply of social authority is not clear at present, but the pattern of shifting locations for social actions is attested in the LH III landscape both on Rhodes and Kos, and is plausibly represented here as well.

4.2. Kos (Figures 4.2 and 4.3)

Evidence for the Koan PG is confined to a relatively large cemetery under modern Kos town, which was investigated early in the 20th century. Although additional activity is possible from the west side of the island, this cannot be confirmed at present. As with Rhodes, Koan PG material comes from an site and area where Mycenaean activity is attested at least through the middle of the LH IIIC, and possibly into the late LH IIIC.⁵³⁸ Also similar to the pattern on Rhodes, the local LH III population is one of the richest and most well connected in the region. With access to the large coastal plain and a good harbor, the same geographical qualities that benefitted the LH III population might well have continued to be attractive into the PG period.

4.2.1. Kos town, the site of a prosperous settlement in the LH III period, became an active center of funerary activity during the PG and Geometric periods.⁵³⁹

Unfortunately, Morricone's excavations of these phases, conducted between 1936 and 1946, suffered from the same wartime misfortunes of loss and destruction of records that

⁵³⁸ See the sections on Kos town (3.7.3) and Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3.

⁵³⁹ See section 3.7.3 in Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Mycenaean remains; see the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) for the associated cemeteries, which attest the material wealth and regional significance of the population.

prevent a full understanding of the Mycenaean phases.⁵⁴⁰ In spite of these losses, the publication presents a more complete picture of the PG and Geometric cemetery than of the LH III settlement, in part due of the nature of the material (tombs are inherently self-contained), and in part because the tombs were dug into the ruins of the LH III town, thereby disturbing the earlier levels. As with the excavations of the settlement, the cemetery was discovered in three separate areas of the modern town—the Ser(r)aglio in the east, the Halvagia/Pizzioli area in the west, and the Fadil area in the south.⁵⁴¹

Although the tombs are dispersed throughout the modern town, none of the excavated areas is more than 250 meters from the others. Based on other cemeteries in the region it is perhaps unlikely that there existed a single large cemetery of this size in the PG period, and a model of dispersed but adjacent clusters, as found at the nearby LH III cemetery of Eleona-Langada, is plausible.⁵⁴² Multiple burial clusters are present at contemporary Çömlekçi in the Bodrum peninsula. Nevertheless, the nature, layout, and relationship between the different excavated areas cannot be reconstructed at present.

In all, 99 PG and Geometric tombs were discovered, of which 25 are datable to the PG: 20 in the Serraglio area, and five in the Halvagia/Pizzioli area.⁵⁴³ Of these, five

⁵⁴⁰ Morricone 1978, 9-11; see also Morricone 1972-1973 (147-149) for an account of the loss of material and records during World War II, as well as the preface to his 1978 publication, written posthumously by Antonino di Vita.

⁵⁴¹ Morricone 1978, 11-14; see also Desborough 1952, 222-224; Lemos 2002, 180-182.

⁵⁴² See the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3. This pattern is also manifested on Rhodes and in Caria during the LH IIIC.

⁵⁴³ Morricone (1978, 29) lists 29 total PG burials: 22 in the Serraglio, six in the Halvagia/Pizzioli area, and one in the Fadil area; however, Lemos (2002, 181, note 337) notes that some of these tombs can now be dated to transitional PG-EG or EG phases. An additional PG tomb was recently discovered in the Halvagia area; see Kantzia 1987, 624.

are closely datable to the MPG, and 16 are closely datable to the LPG.⁵⁴⁴ Of the 25 total PG burials, 16 are in cist tombs, two in amphorae, two in smaller vessels, and at least two others (probably more) are inhumations in simple pits. The orientation of the burials appears to follow the local topography as influenced by the ruins of the Mycenaean city, and is not uniform.⁵⁴⁵ The architecture alone immediately sets these burials apart from the LH III precursors at Eleona-Langada and elsewhere on the island, where chamber tombs were the dominant burial form. In spite of this, the other PG forms of burial are present during the LH III, albeit in small relative numbers and usually in conjunction with, or within, a chamber tomb. During the PG period, these forms of burial are still proportionally less common than cists, which could suggest that conceptions regarding these burial forms had not changed significantly from the earlier period. Likewise, the primary funerary architectural forms of the two periods—chamber and cist—are similar in overall concept: an underground chamber containing the deceased and offerings entirely surrounded with stone. The cists lacked dromoi (and entrances by extension) and other features that could appear in LH III chamber tombs (like benches, paving slabs, antechambers, etc.), yet it is plausible that the cist was a comparable but more economical architectural form, transplanted to an area without natural access to bedrock, that continued the same or similar ideological associations that were once embodied by the chamber tomb.⁵⁴⁶ Perhaps the more important change in funerary practice involved

⁵⁴⁴ Lemos 2002, 17, 22.

⁵⁴⁵ Morricone 1978, 18.

⁵⁴⁶ In other words, the form could have been adopted as a natural architectural development rooted in new necessities and economy, rather than an entirely new form symbolizing a total break with past traditions.

the movement of the cemetery to within the boundaries of the LH IIIC settlement.⁵⁴⁷ If settlement continued in the area during the PG, it must have been located very close to the cemeteries.

At least half of the tombs during this period contained no human remains, but of those that did, burials were unanimously primary and single, a trait that continued through the Geometric period at the site.⁵⁴⁸ Single burials are not a new feature to eastern Kos, as a similar preference can be detected among LH III burials at Eleona-Langada and Iraklis.⁵⁴⁹ Inhumation was also standard, and the absence of cremation is markedly different from the majority of cemeteries in the Aegean at this time, although contemporary Kameiros also shows an absence of cremation.⁵⁵⁰ A possible reason for this might be the unusually large proportion of child burials, which on Rhodes and Naxos are more often inhumed while adult burials are more often cremated.⁵⁵¹ This pattern is not certain, as the evidence is scant at all sites in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades, but it does fit the available evidence. It is also plausible, since the entirety of the cemetery has not been excavated, that adults and children were not necessarily buried in the same location, and that more adult burials lie undiscovered under the modern town.⁵⁵²

The bodies that were recovered are mostly in poor condition, and no full record exists regarding age or gender. Children were typically buried in vases, which

⁵⁴⁷ Lemos (2002, 188) states that PG cemeteries are found in the ruins of Mycenaean settlements at Asine, Tiryns, Thebes, and Grotta.

⁵⁴⁸ See Lemos 2002, 181.

⁵⁴⁹ See the sections on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) and Iraklis (3.7.2) in Chapter 3.

⁵⁵⁰ Cremation does not appear on Kos until the Geometric period; see Desborough 1952, 222; Lemos 2002, 181.

⁵⁵¹ See Lemos 2002, 179-180, 182, 187. Styrenius (1967, 153) notes the same pattern for Attic PG burials.

⁵⁵² Lemos 2002, 181-182; see also Desborough 1972, 173.

themselves might have been deposited in cists; adults were usually placed in pits. Regardless of location, bodies in cists and pits were deposited in a contracted position. As with the orientation of the burials themselves, no rule is apparent regarding the orientation of the body.⁵⁵³ Grave goods were placed with the body in the cist or pit, although one cist also had goods positioned around it. Grave goods were primarily ceramic, but a large number of personal ornaments—primarily gold spirals, beads, bronze rings, and bronze and iron pins—are also attested. It is interesting to note that child burials tend to be the richest in terms of the number and variety of grave goods compared to the extant adult burials. Two of the PG pit burials that contained adults are among the poorest in the cemetery in terms of material wealth. In spite of the differences in quantity, there does not appear to have been a difference in the types of goods deposited with children versus adults—a difference of degree rather than type. Bird vases (*askoi*) were found in several tombs, and it is significant that these vessels were commonly deposited with children, although this trend was not universal or exclusive.⁵⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the concentration of wealth around children is not common in the PG Aegean, and such a broad display of wealth is only otherwise attested at Lefkandi and on Skyros.⁵⁵⁵ Even though the cemetery is only partially excavated, it might not be correct to view the respective statuses of the children and adults as wealthy and impoverished

⁵⁵³ See Desborough 1952, 222; Morricone 1978, 83, 226, 239, 246-7, 259, 260-261, 263, 293; Lemos 2002, 181. Note that these discussions also include Geometric burials, but the rite does not appear to have changed from the PG.

⁵⁵⁴ On the connection with children, see Guggisberg 1996, 294-295. On the Koan vessels, see Guggisberg 1996, 121-124, 126-127; Lemos 2002, 83. Note that Guggisberg (1 MPG, 1 M-LPG, 5 LPG, 1 LPG/EG Transitional) and Lemos (4 MPG, 2 LGP, plus 1 LPG figurine) date the vessels differently, with Guggisberg adding one transitional askos that Lemos appears to date EG instead. As the more recent study, Lemos is followed here.

⁵⁵⁵ Lemos 2002, 181. In local terms, Kameiros could perhaps be added to this list.

based solely on the material goods associated with their burials. It is probable that chamber tomb cemeteries in the region during the LH IIIC were restricted to a social elite, and access to burial space during the PG period might have been similarly restricted, even if the nature and composition of that elite had changed. Factors other than status and material wealth might have impacted decisions regarding burial form and deposited goods.

The frequency of burial and the deposition of offerings increased from the MPG to the LPG, a pattern that continued into the Geometric period. The number of ceramic grave goods per burial increased slightly from 3.2 to 4.6, whereas the number of personal ornaments per burial decreased, perhaps signifying a partial distribution of wealth over a larger segment of society toward the end of the period.⁵⁵⁶ The ceramic offerings span a range of forms without a clear preference for one type over another, as occasionally seen at LH III cemeteries in the region.⁵⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the ratio of open to closed shapes demonstrates a clear preference for closed shapes at a ratio of roughly 1:2 throughout the PG. This ratio is a departure from the 1:4 ratio during the LH IIIC, which, together with the shift in burial location to within or in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, attests a change in funerary rites and conceptions of the deceased's role within the community and the landscape.

⁵⁵⁶ It is difficult to quantify this since it is not always clear what articles are represented by the fragments of metal and faience jewelry that was recovered. In spite of this, the number of personal ornaments relative to the number of tombs and of ceramic goods decreases from the MPG to the LPG.

⁵⁵⁷ It is worth noting the presence of a Mycenaean piriform jar in Tomb 10 in the Serraglio, which Desborough (1952, 224) dates to the LH IIIA; see Morricone 1978, 86; Lemos 2002, 181.

4.2.2. The cave of Asprietra sits on the coast just over two kilometers south of modern Kamari (which is just south of modern Kephalos), on the western side of the island at the southern edge of bay of Kephalos; the cave opens to the south roughly one hundred meters from the rocky coast.⁵⁵⁸ Doro Levi explored the cave in the 1920s and reported Mycenaean,⁵⁵⁹ PG, and Geometric pottery; however, Desborough's reexamination of the pottery is skeptical of so early a date and places them early in the Geometric period.⁵⁶⁰ It is possible that a few of the 15 Geometric sherds illustrated by Levi might be PG in date, but this is not certain.⁵⁶¹ In light of the ambiguity this site will not be included in final considerations of the period. It is interesting to note, however, that with this site excluded from the study, there is no example of activity during this period from the western half of the island, a phenomenon that, in light of LH III remains at Eleona and Halasarna,⁵⁶² likely has less to do with historical reality than with the present state of knowledge.

The Koan preference for child burials is not altogether unique in the region (they also appear at Kameiros), but the importance given to the material display that accompanied the child is unparalleled. It should be noted, however, that it is not clear if the rarity of adult burials is a reflection of the piecemeal excavation of an urban site, or if

⁵⁵⁸ Levi (1925-1926, 235-236) provides a rough description and two pictures of the location, but he does not mark the cave on the map at the beginning of the article. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970, 62) give the latitude and longitude of the site based on a map in the Kos Museum.

⁵⁵⁹ See section 3.7.17 in Chapter 3.

⁵⁶⁰ See Levi 1925-1926, 266, figs. 45-46. Desborough (1952, 225) states "I am not convinced that either of these two vases is Protogeometric."

⁵⁶¹ Levi 1925-1926, 272, fig. 58; Desborough 1952, 225.

⁵⁶² See the sections on Eleona (3.7.14) and Halasarna (3.7.15) in Chapter 3.

it accurately reflects ancient practice. Koan burial rites consisted of single burials inhumed in cists or vessels with a few accompanying vessels and personal ornaments. Grave goods are more frequent here than elsewhere in the region, particularly with respect to Rhodian burials, but the average number of goods per burial is still distorted by a few uncharacteristically wealthy burials. As a result, the site-wide average number of goods per burial is slightly higher than is typically manifested in the graves. It is perhaps also significant that Kos (together with Miletus) displays the earliest PG material in the region, the MPG here predating the cemeteries on Rhodes and in most of Caria.

4.3. Kalymnos

4.3.1. In the museum at Pothia there is an LPG oinochoe that might have originated in the hills between modern Khorio and Panormos in the northwestern expanse of the Pothia valley.⁵⁶³ Since its precise origin is unknown and its context cannot be reconstructed (although a funerary context is plausible given its condition) no site for the island will be included in final considerations of the period. Some activity is nonetheless present at least by the end of the LPG.

4.4. Leros

4.4.1. The Kastro on Leros, at the western edge of the harbor of the modern town of Ag. Marina, is plausibly the site of Mycenaean and Geometric (and Archaic) period

⁵⁶³ Hood 1960-1961, 35; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 173, note 187 (citing Bean and Cook 1957, 129).

activity,⁵⁶⁴ but no firm evidence of intermediate activity has been found. As a result, the site will be omitted from final considerations of the period; however, in light of activity on the hill both before and after the period considered here, it seems likely that some SM/PG activity occurred. Excavation is required to confirm the exact location of the site, and the existence of this activity.

4.5. Samos (Figure 4.3)

Samian SM/PG sites are also located where Mycenaean activity is attested; however, in this case the separation of nearly three centuries (LM IIIB-SM/LPG) prevents any discussion of continuity. Two sites have been reported, each situated at opposite ends of the large southeastern coastal plain: a potential settlement at the Heraion, and a site of unknown character at Pythagoreion. Both sites were disturbed by later activity and so few conclusions can be drawn from this material. The data from the Heraion should not be used to discuss the origin of the later cult since there is nothing inherently cultic about the material so far published. On the other hand, until Miletus is fully published, the Heraion provides the only glimpse of a settlement assemblage in the region during the period.

4.5.1. The site of the Classical Heraion, situated at the western edge of the long coastal plain in the southeast of the island, produced SM and PG sherds among deposits

⁵⁶⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 53-54; see also Bean and Cook 1957, 135; Benson 1963, 46. See also section 3.9.1 in Chapter 3—it must be noted that the evidence for Mycenaean and Late Geometric activity is sparse and supported only by a scatter of surface sherds.

of primarily Geometric material in areas around the later Hekatompedon.⁵⁶⁵ Only pottery from this period has been reported, and only from mixed contexts due to later construction disturbance.⁵⁶⁶ In all, 57 vessels and fragments have been reported, four cups are reported to be SM, and the rest are PG but of unspecified date.⁵⁶⁷ The assemblage includes vessels, like plates, that are absent from funerary contexts in the region, and the ratios of open to closed forms—at 4:0 among SM ceramics, and nearly 11:2 among PG ceramics—are not paralleled in regional funerary contexts. The vessels themselves display an eclectic collection of decorations, variously referencing Attica (wavy lines and circles under the rim), Euboea (pendant semicircles), and the southeast Aegean (pendant lines and hourglass shapes), with fabrics also attesting Cycladic origins.

Although the variety of imported pottery and the uncharacteristic assemblage (weighted almost entirely toward open vessels) suggest the material did not originate in a disturbed cemetery (as is attested in the LH IIIA), it is not clear what the nature of the SM/PG site was. The earliest discussion of the finds prompted suggestions of the origin of cult practice and the continuity of Mycenaean traditions at the beginning of the colonial period;⁵⁶⁸ realistically, however, there is little from this period that is inherently cultic in nature, and imports alone do not indicate foreign settlers. Any undisturbed context that might affirm a cultic nature has long since been swept from the site by later

⁵⁶⁵ Technau 1929, pl. 4.6-4.7; Walter 1968, 11; see also Desborough 1952, 216.

⁵⁶⁶ Walter (1968, 11) states that some of the PG material was found on top of the ruins of Mycenaean houses, but not all reports of the LBA phases mention houses and so it is not entirely clear what this is in reference to; see also the section on the Heraion (3.13.2) in Chapter 3. It is safe to assume that the topography, including Mycenaean remains, was leveled in order to prepare the area for later construction in the Geometric period; it could be this act to which Walter refers and to which the SM and PG sherds belong contextually.

⁵⁶⁷ Walter 1968, 11, 91-94, pls. 1-10.

⁵⁶⁸ See, for example, Technau 1928, 7-8; Walter 1968, 11-13.

building activity. There is also the problem of a lack of material from anywhere on Samos during the LH IIIB-C that might provide a parallel context through which to attempt a reading of the SM/PG finds. This nearly 300-year lacuna might be a factor of excavation, but at present it seriously hampers arguments for Mycenaean continuity. Some cultic activity is plausible (if unconfirmed) in light of later activity, and an SM/PG settlement is probable based on the character of the finds and later settlement. As a result, for the present study the site will be classed as a probable settlement.

4.5.2. Excavations at Pythagoreion (Tigani) produced a number of LPG sherds during excavations in the 1960s.⁵⁶⁹ The modern town is five kilometers northeast from the Heraion around the bay, at the other (northeastern) end of the large coastal plain. The excavations detected the LPG activity on the acropolis, but the sherd material had been turned up by later activity. Preliminary analysis drew connections between several skyphoi fragments and parallels from the Athenian Kerameikos, but very little has been illustrated and it is not clear from the published accounts if this material is representative of all PG material recovered.⁵⁷⁰ Although the Geometric and Archaic material indicates that the site was a settlement during those periods, it is not clear how much PG material

⁵⁶⁹ Tsakos 1967, 463; 1968a, 168; 1968b, 385. The number of sherds is not specified, only a “μέγας ἀριθμός ὀστράκων πρωτογεωμετρικῶν καὶ γεωμετρικῶν ἀγγείων” (1968a, 168) being reported. Technau (1929, 7) reports that only a single PG sherd was recovered in earlier excavations. See also the section on Tigani (3.12.3) in Chapter 3.

⁵⁷⁰ See also Lemos’ (2002, 212) caution against an (historical) overreliance on Attic parallels for the east Aegean. By contrast, seventh century material displays characteristics linking primarily to Asia Minor and the Aegean littoral of the adjacent mainland; see Tsakos 1968b, 385.

was recovered from the site or what its context was (or even specifically what the material was). As a result, the PG site will be classified as of unknown type.

4.6. Caria (Figure 4.3)

During this period, Caria produces more than half of all sites known in the region: 10 total sites including three at least tentative settlements, six cemeteries, and two others of unknown type. Half of these sites are located in or around the Bodrum peninsula alone. Unlike on the islands, the majority of sites here do not show evidence of earlier Mycenaean activity, and many of these areas appear to be exploited for the first time during this period. As in the LH III, the majority of sites are on or near the coast; however, Çömlekçi sits in an inland plain, Theangela is positioned on a mountain top facing an inland alluvial plain rather than the coast, and Stratonikeia is far inland with access to the coast only via a tributary of the Maeander or an overland trek through the mountains. The diversification of site locations and the expansion inland suggests an intensification of land use and a plausible increase, or at least nucleation, of the population of the region. Agricultural land seems to have been a motivating factor for settlement, since even the mountaintop sites have access to expanses of alluvial land, and it was probably the river valleys that facilitated population expansion inland. In this period, the location of activity does not appear to have been as dependent on the sea as compared to the LBA pattern of activity.

4.6.1. Protogeometric sherds have been reported on a peninsula later occupied by Classical Pygela, in modern Kuşadası just west of the old town center.⁵⁷¹ The peninsula is low and small, roughly 200 meters in length, jutting north into the sea and connected to the land by a small isthmus at the south. Protogeometric and Geometric scatter is reported on the northeast side of the peninsula, but no details have been given and so no firm conclusions can be drawn. It is plausible that a PG settlement existed on the site, but since the finds themselves have not been published this cannot be confirmed. As a result, the site will not be included in final considerations of the period.

4.6.2. The (presumed) site of later Geometric and Archaic Melie/Panionion, above the modern town of Güzelçamlı, lies about 15 kilometers south of modern Kuşadası and the ancient site of Pygela. The site sits on the north slopes of the Mycale peninsula, about one kilometer inland on a prominent rise that overlooks the southernmost edge of the coastal plain that extends north to Kuşadası. Melie has produced “corroded” sherds from Protogeometric cups within the ancient citadel, which were found in a trial excavation that also produced Geometric material.⁵⁷² Unfortunately, the buildings mentioned in the published report appear to date later and so probably do not provide a context for the material.⁵⁷³ An additional three vessels have been reported from a nearby necropolis at Tsangli; their date is not certain, but LPG is plausible

⁵⁷¹ Cook 1958-1959, 20; 1959-1960, 40.

⁵⁷² Cook 1959-1960, 47.

⁵⁷³ There is no final report for this material. The description provided by Cook (1959-1960, 47) is unclear regarding the date of the buildings.

according to Desborough.⁵⁷⁴ The vessels—two jugs and a cup—were apparently recovered through illicit excavations and the exact findspot is given only in reference to nearby Panionion (Melie). As a result, nothing more can be said of the finds.

Nevertheless, as at Pygela, the presence of PG activity on a site that is known to have been a settlement during the Geometric and Archaic periods suggests the presence of a settled population by the the end of the PG, here with an accompanying cemetery in the immediate vicinity. For the purposes of this study the site will be treated as a tentative settlement with an associated cemetery; however, confirmation must await full publication of the original finds or renewed excavation.

4.6.3. Miletus has produced SM/PG material, but the findspots are limited to the excavations of the Classical Temple of Athena.⁵⁷⁵ The temple was constructed on top of, and cut into, the LH IIIC city wall.⁵⁷⁶ Excavations in the 1950s and 1960s recovered fragments of several SM and/or PG sherds on top of the ruined wall, indicating that the city and its defenses had been destroyed with the final LBA phase of the city, but that reoccupation had occurred shortly thereafter.⁵⁷⁷ The earliest sherds of this reoccupation were without an independent context, and they appear to have been part of a fill layer for the later temple foundation. The exact dating of this pottery is not clear and the final publication has not yet appeared. SM vessels/sherds are reported from the older

⁵⁷⁴ Winter 1887, 229, figs. 7-9; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 26; Desborough 1952, 221. The illustrations present intact vessels, which supports their origin in one or more tombs.

⁵⁷⁵ Hommel 1959-1960, 37; Schiering 1968, 145. See Niemeier and Niemeier (1997, 190-192) for a brief history of the excavation of this area.

⁵⁷⁶ See the section on Miletus (3.14.1) in Chapter 3.

⁵⁷⁷ On resettlement see Schiering 1968, 145; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 210-218; Niemeier 2005a, 20-21; Greaves 2002, 75-76.

excavations, a date that is maintained in recent publications by Wolf-Dietrich and Barbara Niemeier, but Irene Lemos dates the oldest pottery to the MPG, and everything else to the LPG.⁵⁷⁸ It is plausible that the SM material reported in the older publications would now be dated either as late LH IIIC or (E-M)PG. Following on this discrepancy it is perhaps significant that recent excavations have found PG material, but have not recovered anything dated as SM.⁵⁷⁹

Ultimately, however, it is perhaps premature to attempt a firm dating of SM/PG activity before the final publication of the newer excavations is released, and before a thorough reexamination of relevant pottery from the older excavations is conducted. Regardless of the precise date, the forms consist of standard types of skyphoi, kraters and trefoil oinochai of types found widely in the region. Likewise, decoration relates the pottery to Euboean prototypes, as is common throughout the region, although local

⁵⁷⁸ For the original dates that include both SM and PG, see Hommel (1959-1960, 52-53), and Schiering (1968, 145); Niemeier and Niemeier (1997, 205-206), Greaves (2002, 75-76), and Niemeier (2005a, 20) maintain the SM date, although not without questions. Lemos (2002, 212) states the earliest date is MPG based on comparisons to material from Lefkandi but does not cite this material as MPG in her catalogue. Lemos' catalogue of kraters includes two that Hommel described as SM; however, not all of the SM sherds listed by Hommel appear in Lemos' catalogue. A recent overview of PG and Geometric pottery from the earlier excavations by Michael Krumme (2015, 583-584) confirms the MPG date and states that EPG material was also found—which would be unique for the region; however, the EPG sherd (or sherds?) was apparently dated “on account of its find context,” and no additional information is given. Without more information about that context, MPG will be used here as the earliest PG date for Miletus, although this picture might change as more information comes to light. The SM dates provided by Hommel and Schiering appear to be based on the presence of hand drawn curves and concentric circles, which supposedly contrast with PG mechanically drawn arcs; however, see the section *The Submycenaean as a Chronological or a Material Distinction* in Chapter 7 for a discussion of this criterion as a dating technique.

⁵⁷⁹ Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 218.

influences are also present.⁵⁸⁰ At the very least it is clear that by the LPG there was a settled population in the area following the destruction of the LBA city. Whether this occupation was continuous or temporarily interrupted must await the final publication of the site; however, it must be noted that the area of excavation, as confined to the Temple of Athena, is not large enough to rule out a geographical shift in the area of occupation. A temporary contraction in settlement size following the LH IIIC destruction of the city could render the area of the LH IIIC city wall (then the edge of the settlement) uninhabited for a brief period without the site as a whole ceasing its existence.⁵⁸¹ The site will be classed as a settlement for the purposes of this study.

4.6.4. Techiussa occupies a small peninsula (called Kömüradası) about 120 meters in length that juts southward into the sea about four kilometers northeast of modern Akbük around the coast toward Didim.⁵⁸² The site is 17 kilometers south-southeast of Miletus, divided from the Büyük Menderes (Maeander) river delta by what, in antiquity, would have been a peninsula around modern Didim. The small site was surveyed as part of a larger project between 1984 and 1986, and primarily produced evidence of Geometric and Archaic activity.⁵⁸³ Two sherds are potentially datable to

⁵⁸⁰ A sherd illustrated by Schiering (1968, plate 34.3) shows small pendant lines flanking a larger motif on a shoulder, which is characteristic of LH III Dodecanesian pottery.

⁵⁸¹ It is worth noting that in the survey data presented by Lohmann (1997, 286-288, table 1; 1999, 466-473) the number of sites remains low and fairly constant throughout the BA and EIA, and only begins to change (increase) during the Archaic period. This pattern could argue against large-scale population change or movement at the end of the LH IIIC in favor of a relatively stable local population.

⁵⁸² The site is variously called Techiussa, Kömüradası, or Akbük in different commentaries.

⁵⁸³ Voigtländer 1986, 617-624; 1988, 567-608.

either the LPG or the EG, and are plausibly from a transitional phase.⁵⁸⁴ Because of the minimal evidence for activity during this period, the site will be classed as of unknown character; however, it is worth noting that a handful of LH IIIB-C sherds in a local fabric and several dozen Minoan sherds were also recovered (for this reason the PG site is here given the benefit of the doubt). Although this is not enough to suggest the continuity of a Mycenaean settlement, it does indicate a long history of Aegean activity in the area, the nature of which future excavation should be able to clarify.

4.6.5. At Iasos, material of SM/PG date was reported from excavations conducted between 1960 and 1970 by Doro Levi.⁵⁸⁵ The majority of these finds came from excavations of the later necropolis, the acropolis walls, and a cemetery beneath the agora. The 50 tombs that comprised the cemetery below the acropolis were originally labeled as the Protogeometric Cemetery, although most if not all of the vessels illustrated are considerably later than the PG. In fact, Lemos states that the illustrated material that appears in the excavation reports is entirely MG and LG by form.⁵⁸⁶ In the absence of a full publication of the areas in question, and because of the later date of the published material, the site will not be included here in final discussions of the period. It is worth noting, however, that Iasos was the site of Mycenaean activity, and so the appearance of SM/PG material would not be out of place.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Voigtländer 1986, 624, 650, fig. 25; 1988, 605, 607-608, fig. 39. Lemos (2002, 38) dates the sherds as LPG, this date is followed here.

⁵⁸⁵ Levi 1961-1962, 533-534, 537, fig.50, 555-571, fig. 99; 1965-1966, 417, 420, fig. 26; 1969-1970, 464-481, figs. 9-15.

⁵⁸⁶ Lemos 2002, 182, note 354, 212, note 105.

⁵⁸⁷ See the section on Iasos (3.1.2) in Chapter 3.

4.6.6. Pilavtepe, the site of a wealthy LH III chamber tomb and settlement,⁵⁸⁸ also produced SM material in the sherd scatter at the top and north slopes of the hill, which is the proposed site of the settlement.⁵⁸⁹ The hill, 13 kilometers southeast of Iasos and just over six kilometers southwest of modern Milas, overlooks a low agricultural expanse that would probably have been open to the sea during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Little information has been given regarding the SM pottery and no conclusions can be drawn except that SM material appears on an area of the hill that was probably associated with habitation. It is also not clear if the plausible settlement was continuously inhabited without a break from the LH IIIC without additional exploration and excavation.

4.6.7. From Classical Stratonikeia, inland nearly 25 kilometers east from modern Milas and seven kilometers west-southwest of modern Yatağan, comes a possible SM grave. The general area is separated from the coast to the west by a line of mountains and has been disturbed heavily in modern times by industrial activity. Two SM vessels—a bowl and a stirrup jar—were discovered in a museum in 1966, and were later connected to illicit activity at Stratonikeia.⁵⁹⁰ The good condition of the vessels seems to confirm the local story that the vessels came from a tomb, but no specific location in the ancient city can be determined. The shapes and (minimal) decoration are similar to finds from Miletus and to slightly earlier discoveries at Müskebi.⁵⁹¹ Although no specific location can be assigned for the vessels (or indeed the identity of a tomb as the original context),

⁵⁸⁸ See the section on Pilavtepe (3.14.3) in Chapter 3.

⁵⁸⁹ Benter 2010, 347; Diler et al. 2011, 197.

⁵⁹⁰ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968, 51.

⁵⁹¹ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968, 51-53.

the general site of Stratonikeia has been plausibly confirmed; therefore, the site will be included as a tentative cemetery in final considerations of the period.

4.6.8. Çömlekçi, a village about half way between modern Milas and Bodrum, produced 15 SM tombs during excavations conducted by Yusuf Boysal in 1968.⁵⁹² The cemetery is in two clusters in a low-lying agricultural area, roughly two kilometers south of the modern village toward the airport; it had been discovered previously when at least four tombs were opened by local villagers prior to excavation.⁵⁹³ Two of the tombs are standard cists, but the rest are lined with built walls of stones rather than slabs as is typical in the rest of the region.⁵⁹⁴ In this construction (but not the layout) they are similar to the LH IIIA built tomb at the Heraion on Samos, and other built tombs of the LB III period in Ionia.⁵⁹⁵ Most of the tombs are rectangular and are roughly the size of standard cists elsewhere in the region. Among these, the small and medium sizes compare well with what has been reported at Kos town, whereas tombs at Kameiros tend to match the smaller sized tombs at Çömlekçi.⁵⁹⁶ Three tombs are circular with diameters

⁵⁹² Boysal 1967, 39-40. The publication (the listed date of which is earlier than its actual publication date—hence the report of 1968 excavations in a 1967 volume) is preliminary, although no final publication appears to have followed. The total number of tombs is never stated, except that four (labeled A-D) were cleaned after being discovered looted, and an additional 11 were excavated; however, a picture labeled “tomb 21” (“mez. 21”) appears in plate 15, fig. 21. It is likely that the tomb number is a typo reduplicating the figure number, but this cannot be confirmed by the published evidence.

⁵⁹³ Boysal (1967, 40) states that the tombs “had been opened the previous year by villagers in search of treasure.” See also Mellink (1970, 165-166) for reference to two cemetery clusters.

⁵⁹⁴ Boysal 1967, 41-42.

⁵⁹⁵ See the section on the Heraion (3.12.2) and especially Note 446 in Chapter 3.

⁵⁹⁶ See Jacopi 1932-1933, 119-132; Morricone 1978.

of between 1.2 and 3 meters, with (disturbed) walls that appear to have sloped slightly inward toward the top perhaps suggesting the original presence of a vaulted roof like a tholos.⁵⁹⁷ If true, this construction type would be unparalleled in the region at this time.⁵⁹⁸

Only one tomb (Tomb 9, a built rectangular cist) provided complete skeletons, with six other tombs producing sparse human remains.⁵⁹⁹ In Tomb 9, two skulls were found with additional remnants of bone. Evidence of fire and blackened stones were recovered in Tomb 5, which the excavator notes is perhaps better to call a hearth than a tomb; the implications of an on site hearth for local funerary rituals are tantalizing but impossible to analyze without more complete publication. Although cremation is possible, there is no direct evidence of this practice published in relation to other tombs. No final publication of the finds has been completed, but catalogues of Mycenaean ceramic vessels in the Bodrum Museum presents at least some of the vessels.⁶⁰⁰ Of note is a bird vase askos, similar examples of which are only otherwise common on Kos during the MPG and LPG.⁶⁰¹ The pottery is otherwise typical of the region and little can

⁵⁹⁷ Boysal 1967, 42.

⁵⁹⁸ The only other regional tholoi are an LH IIIA construction at Giorgaras on Kos (3.7.6), which was reused in the LH IIIC, and an LH IIIB construction just outside the LH III settlement at Kos town (3.7.3). They have diameters of 4.14 and 4.5 meters respectively.

⁵⁹⁹ Boysal 1967, 42-43.

⁶⁰⁰ Boysal 1969b, 29-31; Özgünel 1996, 147-150. Neither is a comprehensive publication of all ceramic finds; see also Note 494 in Chapter 3.

⁶⁰¹ Guggisberg 1996, 133. Note that the form is much more similar to LH IIIC examples from Ialysos than to PG examples from Kos.

be said regarding external influences.⁶⁰² The ratio of open to closed vessels, at 1:2 matches both the LH IIIC ratio at Pilavtepe,⁶⁰³ and the PG ratios at Ialysos and Kos town (and to a lesser degree at Assarlık—ratio of 1:3). This suggests the possibilities of both a broad similarity of rites in the center of the region, and of a continuity of elements of those rites that resulted in the deposition of vessels from the LH IIIC to the SM/PG. None of the published material has been identified as anything other than SM, and Çömlekçi appears to have been a single period site.⁶⁰⁴ Aside from ceramics, only one bronze fibula is mentioned.

4.6.9. Dirmil, now in the southern edges of modern Gökçebel (formerly called Dirmil/Tremil), lies just over a kilometer and half inland at the western edge of the coastal plain of Yalıkavak, along the northwest coast of the Bodrum peninsula. The exact location of the site is not clear from the published accounts, but one tomb sits on the

⁶⁰² Boysal's (1985, 16) conclusion, based on the absence of lekythoi and stirrup jars at the site, that the population in the area of Çömlekçi had no contact with Greece is unconvincing; no other commentators repeat this claim.

⁶⁰³ See the section on Pilavtepe (3.14.3) in Chapter 3 and Appendix 1.

⁶⁰⁴ Boysal (1985, 16-17) states that one vessel is likely late LH IIIC, at or near the SM/PG transition. See also Boysal 1967, 39-40; 1969a, 12; Mellink 1970, 165. Date ranges given by other authors expand the site to cover the LH IIIC and PG, but the support for a date other than SM is unclear; see, for example, Desborough 1972, 179, note 1; Lemos 2002, 212. On the other hand, Vanschoonwinkel (2006a, 72, 136) states that the cemetery is a single period site that was abandoned at the beginning of the PG. The conflict is probably one of terminology—Özgül (1996, 130-131, 135) lists one vessel as LH IIIC early (=Furumark LH IIIC1—probably Boysal's LH IIIC/SM transitional vessel), and five more as LH IIIC late (=Furumark LH IIIC2). Today, Furumark's LH IIIC1 and IIIC2 would be labeled LH III Late and SM respectively; see Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 187. Thus, Boysal's original dating of the cemetery as SM, with one possibly LH IIIC Late/Transitional vessel is confirmed. See, however, the section *The Submycenaean as a Chronological or a Material Distinction* in Chapter 7 for a complication of this dating scheme.

slopes of Burgaz hill in the foothills of larger mountains to the east and south.⁶⁰⁵ The tomb itself was discovered accidentally in 1962 and was excavated as a rescue project the following year; it has never been fully published.⁶⁰⁶ The tomb consists of a built rectangular chamber with a corbelled vault and a dromos facing south; a 1.4 meter deep rectangular pit is cut into the bedrock of the chamber floor, lined with baked clay, in which was placed a sarcophagus.⁶⁰⁷ The superstructure is just over 2 meters by roughly 2.5 meters, and the cut pit below is about 70cm less on each side. These dimensions are slightly larger than the average tomb at Çömleççi, but it is within the range of variation; however, the cut pit below the tomb is not a common feature in the region.

A ceramic sarcophagus was inside the cut pit, which contained two bodies—an old man of approximately 65 years of age in a dorsal position, and a contracted burial of a 30-35 year old woman at his feet; one fibula was found in the sarcophagus and one

⁶⁰⁵ Bass (1963, 357) gives the most informative description of the location in which he corrects previously inaccurate topographic references, but he remains intentionally vague since at the time of publication the tomb had not yet been excavated.

⁶⁰⁶ See Boysal 1967, 44-45 and especially note 13; see also Carstens 2011, 489-491. Boysal only notes the recovery of a single vessel in the course of the excavation, while Bass (1967, 358-361) reports the in situ salvage of six vessels at the time of the tomb's discovery prior to excavation. It seems plausible that the tomb was looted in the time between. Özgünel (1979, 99-100, 105-106) publishes the finds from the tomb as well as additional later finds from an accompanying survey.

⁶⁰⁷ Bass 1963, 357-358; Boysal 1967, 44-45; Carstens 2011, 490. Lemos (2002, 182) states that the tomb is a reused chamber tomb presumably implying a Mycenaean date, but the form is not like earlier chamber tombs at nearby Müskebi, Pilavtepe, or on Kos. The ambiguity likely arises from the use of the term "chamber" to refer to the built superstructure; see Boysal (1967, 45) and Carstens (2011, 490). Although the form is roughly similar to an above ground Mycenaean chamber tomb with a pit burial, the construction should rule out this moniker.

skyphos is associated with the burials.⁶⁰⁸ Because the tomb has never been published in full, it is not clear what the relationship was between the burials in the chamber and the objects deposited in the built section of the tomb that Bass initially recovered, nor is it known if the burials were deposited at the same time or in different funerary events. A total of seven LPG vessels were recovered, with a ratio of 3:4 of open to closed forms.⁶⁰⁹ This ratio is closer to even than any other cemetery site in the region, but the probability that the tomb was looted makes firm conclusions unreliable. The forms are of standard types and are consistent with LPG ceramics elsewhere in the region and throughout the Aegean. Although Attic and mainland influence can be noted in the decoration of the vessels, Dodecanesian (as pendant vertical lines with semicircles on a krater from the site) and local Carian influence is also visible.⁶¹⁰

4.6.10. Assarlık was first explored in 1857, and then excavated in 1886 by W. Paton with additional surveys of the area in the last decade of the 19th century.⁶¹¹ The SM/PG through Archaic period cemetery sits on the slopes of a hill approximately 11 kilometers west-southwest of Bodrum on the western edge of the bay; the hilltop was also

⁶⁰⁸ See Tunakan 1964, 367-368; Mellink 1964, 161; 1965, 145; Carstens 2011, 490. The six vessels recovered by Bass (1963, 358-361) were on the floor level of the built section of the tomb above the cut chamber. It is not clear if the skyphos from inside the cut chamber was found inside or outside the sarcophagus.

⁶⁰⁹ Boysal 1969b, 31-32; Lemos 2002, 38, 51, 62, 71.

⁶¹⁰ See Bass 1963, 361; Carstens 2011, 491.

⁶¹¹ Assarlık may also be spelled with one "s," as Asarlık—this is apparently a later, and potentially westernized, spelling. The name is an old place name of an area that had been abandoned prior to the first exploration of the ancient site. See Carstens 2011, 484-486 for a concise history of exploration and excavation; see also Paton 1887a; Paton and Myres 1896, 203-204, 242-246, 265.

used during later periods as a settlement and fortification.⁶¹² Unfortunately, the location of the cemetery is not precisely known, as the published topographic references are insufficient and no site plan has ever been published.⁶¹³ Two cemetery clusters were

Table 4.1 – Tombs and finds at Assarlık⁶¹⁴

Tomb	Date	# Vessels	# Other Objects	Burials
A	LPG	3	2 +	1? Cremation
B	LPG? ⁶¹⁵	1	4 +	1? Cremation
C	Geometric	6	7 +	Sarcophagus ⁶¹⁶
D	Geometric	2 +	1 +	3 burials
E	Geometric	1		
F			2	
G			1	
M	(SM?) ⁶¹⁷		1	2 cremations
N	(SM?) ⁶¹⁷	3	1	7 burials (inhumations and cremations?)
O	SM	3 +	1	7 burials (inhumations and cremations?)
Tombs SW of A and B		6	4	Sarcophagi and cremations?
No context			1	

⁶¹² See Bean and Cook (1955, 116-118) and Carstens (2011, 484) for somewhat rough descriptions of the location.

⁶¹³ Carstens (2011, 484) relates her inability to locate the tombs on more than one occasion.

⁶¹⁴ Table combined from Desborough (1952, 218-220), and Carstens (2011, 487, fig. 5) with an LPG date for Tomb A provided by Lemos (2002, 65). See Carstens for more details regarding the pottery.

⁶¹⁵ Date assumed by similarity to Tomb A.

⁶¹⁶ Lemos (2002, 183) states that Paton's "sarcophagi" were in fact small clay boxes, but they are not illustrated.

⁶¹⁷ Date assumed by similarity to Tomb O, the finds are not illustrated or described in sufficient detail to provide a date.

reported to the west and east of the citadel, but presumably only the tombs to the east are relevant to this period of discussion.⁶¹⁸ Because of the early date of the excavations and the confusing presentation of the finds, it is not possible to associate all finds with individual tombs or determine the detailed chronology of funerary activity. Additionally, many of the tombs appear to have been disturbed prior to excavation. Table 4.1 illustrates the difficulties with the site.

The datable SM tomb (Tomb O) is a complex of two small cists and five larger cists within a rectangular enclosure lined by stones; at least one of the larger cists contained a “pithos” (probably an amphora) burial and bronze fibula.⁶¹⁹ Tomb N was similarly an enclosure of multiple cists, but was divided into two sections—the first section contained one large and three small cists, the other section contained one large and two small cists. Tomb M consisted only of two small cists, each containing ashes and one with a bronze fibula. The larger cists can be interpreted as having contained burials, which the excavators suggest contained inhumations,⁶²⁰ while the smaller cists likely contained ashes of cremation burials.⁶²¹ Only the finds from Tomb O—a bronze fibula, a stirrup jar, and a bird vase askos—have been described in detail and illustrated,

⁶¹⁸ See Paton 1887a, 67. A small prominence below the main citadel to the southeast is a plausible location, but it cannot be confirmed as the site of the cemetery.

⁶¹⁹ On the three enclosures—Tombs M, N, and O—see Paton 1887a, 73-74; Paton and Myres 1896, 243-244, figs. 17-18. Paton and Myres (1896, 243) describe opening another cist tomb in 1893, but it is not clear where it was located. They dated this tomb as SM, but because of the ambiguity regarding its location it will not be included in final considerations here.

⁶²⁰ Paton and Myres (1896, 244-245) assume the presence of inhumation based on the size of the cist, which, like the chamber at Dirmil, was large enough to contain a prone individual.

⁶²¹ Paton and Myres 1896, 243-244.

and so little can be concluded from the grave goods. The bird vase askos, at least, has been linked to examples at Çömlekçi and on Kos.⁶²² Because finds from Tombs M and N have not been illustrated (or were not recovered) the tombs cannot be dated conclusively as SM except by comparison to Tomb O. As a result, these tombs are not counted in final considerations here. It is also unclear from published accounts if the material that is described was all that was encountered in the tombs, or if additional material (i.e., fragmentary or undecorated) simply was not included in the early publications. Nevertheless, it is worth considering that if each large and small cist originally contained either an inhumation or a cremation burial, then the cumulative number of SM burials at Assarlık would be 14, which would make Assarlık the largest SM cemetery in the region.⁶²³ Unfortunately, because of the incomplete manner in which the information is presented in the publications, this cannot be confirmed.

The architecture of the two LPG tombs is similar to cemeteries elsewhere in Caria. The rectangular built tombs with dromoi are similar to the example at Dirmil, but

⁶²² Desborough 1952, 218; Boysal 1967, 43; Carstens 2011, 487, fig. 5. Forsdyke (1925, 211-212) illustrates a stirrup jar and a bird vase from Tomb O; see Guggisberg (1996, 134) for the bird vase. Boysal states that comparison to the material at Çömlekçi indicates an SM date for Tomb O at Assarlık, as opposed to a date of the SM/PG transition suggested by Desborough. Note that the bird vase askos is formally much closer to PG examples from Kos (and Attica and the Argolid), than to the example from Çömlekçi (which is more similar to LH III examples from Ialysos); see Guggisberg (1996, pl. 1, 15, 18) for the mainland comparanda.

⁶²³ It is worth noting here that Tombs 41 and 44 at Kameiros are similar collections of enclosed cists and pits; see Jacopi 1932-1933, 127-128, 130. In these cases each tomb contained a single burial in a sarcophagus or rock-cut pit and was accompanied by several pits that do not appear to have contained anything by the time of excavation, but presumably held grave goods originally. Both were tombs of children/newborns, but only one associated vessel was recovered, which is undated and un-illustrated.

here tumuli were piled on top of them.⁶²⁴ Unlike at Dirmil the burial chamber was not below the floor level of the tomb; instead, each chamber contained a single burial inside a vessel that held ashes and burned bones; in each case the vessel was placed against the wall opposite the entrance. Both burials were accompanied by iron weapons, but the rest of the finds were different—one burial was accompanied by additional ceramic vessels but no small finds, the other was accompanied by gold and bronze ornaments but no ceramic goods.⁶²⁵ The ceramic vessels demonstrate a preference for closed shapes, but if the urns are discounted then the ratio of open to closed forms is even (one bowl:one amphora).

All of the fibulae from the site possess local Carian forms, while some of the later gold jewelry also demonstrates Dodecanesian influence.⁶²⁶ The pottery is most likely local as well, although the ubiquitous Attic connection has been suggested in past studies. It is unfortunate that more reliable studies have not been conducted, and that at present the majority of material from the site can offer no evidence of rites and influence. Additional excavation is unlikely to result in a greater understanding of the site due to recent development of the area and the likelihood of looting at some point over the last century and a half. On the other hand, scientific testing of the extant pottery would aid in understanding the overseas connections of the area's inhabitants, and any continuity or change in those contacts by comparison to other local communities from the LH III and SM/PG periods.

⁶²⁴ Paton 1887a, 67-68. The contemporary tomb at Dirmil was underground, which could suggest that a tumulus originally covered it as well, which subsequently eroded into the hillside.

⁶²⁵ See Carstens 2011, 487, fig. 5. Forsdyke (1925, 212) illustrates the amphora and the spouted bowl from Tomb A.

⁶²⁶ Carstens 2011, 486-488.

4.6.11. The site of Archaic and Classical Theangela, just over 15 kilometers east of Bodrum between modern Etrim and Çiftlik, has produced one LPG vessel that is probably to be associated with a disturbed tomb.⁶²⁷ The site sits on top of a steep mountain that rises above an expansive agricultural area to the north (around modern Etrim and Pınarlıbelen) and a small river valley to the south (around modern Çiftlik). The tomb had already been disturbed by the time it was excavated, but a large fragment of an LPG skyphos was recovered in conjunction with the grave. The form of the skyphos is similar to examples recovered from Dirmil and Old Smyrna, and the decoration—concentric circles with an inscribed “windmill”—reference Attic and Thessalian prototypes.⁶²⁸ No other finds or constructions of similar age have been found in the area, so nothing can be said of the context of the burial.

4.6.12. Knidos, on the western tip of the Datça peninsula, has produced PG material in mixed deposits from excavations in the area of the harbor.⁶²⁹ These sherds are not described in detail or illustrated, and given their location in an area disturbed by later activity they can do little but attest generalized PG activity. Excavations of a terrace wall beneath the Monopteros of Aphrodite Euploia produced a number of bronze fibulae of a type that range widely in date from the SM to the Geometric.⁶³⁰ Of particular interest is the fact that such fibulae have been found elsewhere in ritual deposits associated with

⁶²⁷ Işık 1990, 18-20. The tomb itself is not described.

⁶²⁸ Işık 1990, 19-20; Lemos 2002, 39.

⁶²⁹ Mitchell and McNicoll 1979, 83. The exact findspot is not specified and the sherds do not appear in any of the preliminary reports on the site.

⁶³⁰ Love 1973, 107. It is probable that the PG sherds mentioned by Mitchell and McNicoll (1979, 83) originated in this context as well.

temples of female deities: Athena at Lindos, Artemis Orthia in Laconia, Hera Limenia at Perachora, and Hera at Argos.⁶³¹ However, the comparanda provided by these sites, especially by Lindos for the purposes of this study, pulls the date of the Knidian fibulae into the Geometric period. As a result, the PG material cannot be related directly to cult practice, and without any additional information regarding the forms, decoration, or even the number of sherds, the site will be classed as of unknown type.

The character of Carian cemeteries differs from what is seen on the islands with respect to funerary architecture, burial rites, and depositional practices. The built cist tomb, as at Çömlekçi and Assarlık, and the built tholos or chamber, as at Dirmil and Çömlekçi, are unparalleled forms in the rest of the region, especially the cut shaft below the chamber floor at Dirmil.⁶³² The preference for cremation is shared with Ialysos, but the preference for multiple burials is unique to the region. Ceramic grave goods and personal ornaments—especially fibulae, which are often the only non-ceramic grave good reported—are more rare here than on the islands, although Rhodian burials (with the wealthiest examples omitted) are similar in this respect. It is perhaps also significant that five out of the six SM sites in the region are located in Caria. Whether this is a reflection of chronology or commerce is unclear, but it nonetheless marks a clear difference between Caria and the islands.

The funerary picture that emerges suggests that substantial differences existed between the societies in Caria and those on the islands. Many commentators have

⁶³¹ Love 1973, 107, notes 20-22.

⁶³² The built sarcophagus in a bedrock-cut shaft at Kameiros (Tomb 40) is as close as any other site comes to this architecture. Note that Kameiros also has pit graves clustered inside an enclosure in a similar arrangement to Assarlık.

attributed these differences to the rise of the Leleges or a general emergence of Carian culture.⁶³³ Whatever the identity of this population, it does not seem likely that it was entirely new to the landscape during this period. The funerary rites were different from what had preceded in the LH III, but certain elements, like the preference for multiple burial and for closed ceramic shapes among grave goods, are paralleled in earlier burials.⁶³⁴ The societies that emerged after the end of the Bronze Age centers at Miletus and in the Bodrum peninsula (associated with the cemetery at Müskebi) undoubtedly drew on a variety of cultural traditions—local traditions mixed with Mycenaean heritage from the littoral and Anatolian influence from the interior. It is in the funerary activity of this period that this hybridized identity finds its first expression, perhaps expressly in contrast to the neighboring islands.

⁶³³ See, for example, Paton 1887; Paton and Myres 1896; Bean and Cook 1952; 1955; 1957.

⁶³⁴ Until the non-ceramic finds from Müskebi are fully published together with a more complete picture of the dating of the site and its material, the prevalence of non-ceramic grave goods in the LH III cannot be established. In other words, it is not certain that the small number of grave goods is a change from earlier practice.

Chapter 5

Regional Variation and Social Groups

This chapter brings together the information presented in Chapters 3 and 4 in order to analyze intraregional variations in the funerary record. The goal of this analysis is to develop a picture of the distribution of different social agencies throughout the region. The different social units that can be detected are described and then compared to the distribution of *Siedlungskammern* as a way of testing the validity of the social units and considering a more complete picture of the social geography of the region.

Intraregional Variation

Analysis of subregional patterns of behavior is based on the six *Categories of Practice* outlined in Chapter 1. In each category, LH IIIB-C material is analyzed first, followed by SM/PG material. The categories are summarized below for ease of reference:

1. Differences in the size and construction of tombs, and methods of burial;
2. The practice of multiple versus single burial, and primary versus secondary burial within individual tombs and cemeteries;
3. Differences in the ratio of grave goods to burials;
4. Differences in the ratio of open to closed vessels;

5. The unequal distributions of materials and objects (the presence or absence of weapons, tools, figurines, imported goods, etc.) across geography;
6. Different patterns of importation and/or foreign influence on material culture across time and space.

1. Tomb Size and Construction, and Methods of Burial (Figures 5.1 and 5.2)

The forms of LH III tombs are fairly standardized, at least in terms of the published information. The overwhelming majority of burials were placed in chamber tombs; other forms of burial—in cists and pits, primarily—are comparatively rare. Multiple chambers and antechambers are rare, and appear primarily on Rhodes. Interior paving stones, plaster and blocking walls appear sporadically, but the regularity of these practices cannot be determined accurately since so many of the tombs in the region were disturbed prior to excavation. The size of the chamber varies across the region, ranging between over 7 m² for the chamber at Vonies on Karpathos to under 1 m² at Kastello in eastern Kos.⁶³⁵ Intra-island variation in size is visible on Rhodes, where southern Rhodian chambers tend to be larger than those in the north by an average of almost 1.5 m².⁶³⁶ Sizes could change through time as well, as at Eleona-Langada on Kos, where the average chamber changed from an average of 4.83 m² in the LH IIIA to 2.63 m² during the LH IIIC, while at Ialysos chambers during the LH IIIB were the smallest and grew slightly during the IIIC (although not to the sizes seen in the IIIA).⁶³⁷ Additional architectural variation can be seen in the tombs at Myloi and at the Heraion on Samos,

⁶³⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 69. See also section on Kastello (3.7.1) in Chapter 3. Note that the tomb at Mesaria in central Kos (3.7.9) was also over 6 m².

⁶³⁶ Georgiadis 2003, 72.

⁶³⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 69, 74.

both of which possess very short dromoi of less than 1 m in length, and the latter of which is the only built tomb and tumulus in the region.⁶³⁸

Overall, most chamber tombs in the southeast Aegean were more average in size, and only the most general distinctions can be drawn from architecture alone. Chambers on Karpathos and southern Rhodes tend to be larger than those on Kos and northern Rhodes. Samian architectural traditions are distinct from those of the islands to the south, exhibiting less emphasis on the dromos and an unparalleled above ground built tomb and tumulus at the Heraion. General observations on size and architecture are subject to accidents of preservation and excavation, in that the dimensions of some tombs have not been reported and many were not discovered intact. Additionally, the island of Samos provides no examples dated after the LH IIIA period, and Karpathos provides no LH IIIC tombs. Such chronological and archaeological lacunae prevent the direct comparison of evidence across all areas through all periods.

During the SM/PG period, methods of burial are generally more diverse than what was exhibited during the LH IIIB-C period, and a broader array of preferences can be detected regarding burial forms, practices, and architecture across the region. The primary difference that marks the two periods is the absence of chamber tombs from SM/PG cemeteries; nevertheless, no form of burial is entirely new to the region during this period—built tombs, sarcophagi, pit burials, and cremations are all attested in limited quantities during the LH III period. In terms of architecture and tomb layout, there is little, in fact, that necessitates a complete change in the rites associated with burial;

⁶³⁸ See Notes 446-447 in Chapter 3.

rather, evidence suggests a change in the location of rituals that were perhaps slightly modified with time.

Cremation, although present in the LBA, becomes more prominent during the SM/PG, and becomes the dominant method of disposing of the body at Ialysos and Assarlık.⁶³⁹ Although the remains were always deposited in closed vessels, the details of deposition are not consistent between the two sites. At Assarlık (and possibly also Çömlekçi) burned bones and ashes were recovered inside vessels, while at Ialysos only the remnants of bones were selected for deposition in vessels. It is not certain that this difference reflects a divergence in ritual between the populations at Ialysos and Assarlık, but since an intermediate step is required to transfer the cremated remains to a receptacle, it seems likely that the choice not to include associated ashes with the remains reflects a different conception of cremation and/or the body of the cremated individual—specifically what remains constituted that body after the rite of cremation.⁶⁴⁰

The absence of cremation at smaller cemeteries in Caria is perhaps an artifact of preservation and/or excavation, but the absence of the practice at Kameiros and at Kos town in particular is a more striking illustration of differing rites. Nevertheless, the suggestion that children (which constituted the majority of contemporary burials at both Kameiros and Kos town) and adults could be interred and cremated respectively—

⁶³⁹ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1) and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1.

⁶⁴⁰ LH III chamber tombs at Ialysos demonstrate skeletal remains swept to the side of the chamber along with their accompanying burial goods; see section 3.5.2. Since this secondary treatment of the body is not always accompanied by a subsequent use of the tomb, it must be assumed that secondary treatment could constitute a final rite for the deceased. The movement and handling of bones in both the LH III and the LPG might represent a continuity of some aspect of funerary treatment of the skeletal remains after the body itself was no longer present, whether through the agency of natural decomposition or fire.

representing two simultaneous burial rites—complicates this picture.⁶⁴¹ Put another way, of the five cemeteries in the region that possess more than one burial/tomb, only two present no evidence of cremation—the same two cemeteries that consist primarily of child burials. Since both children and adults do not appear anywhere in the region in comparable numbers within the same cemetery, it is perhaps best not to conclude too much from the simple presence or absence of cremation.

The concentration of child burials at Kameiros and Kos town itself indicates a divergence of funerary practice.⁶⁴² Proportionally large numbers of child burials are not common features in Aegean cemeteries at this time, and neither is the degree of concentration of deposited material, as comparably wealthy burials only appear at Lefkandi and on Skyros.⁶⁴³ In both of these locations, the patterns of wealth deposition are broadly similar to what appears at Kos town and Kameiros, involving the offering of faience, gold spirals, rings, etc. as accompaniments of the deceased; however, at Lefkandi and on Skyros the proportion of child burials is low compared to the overall number of burials in any one cemetery. In both instances, adults were buried more frequently and although children could receive elaborate grave goods, the majority of wealth was associated with adult burials. In this respect, practices on Kos and at Kameiros are distinct. It could simply be that children and adults were interred in different locations. At Lefkandi, a small number of children were buried in a cluster in a corner of the

⁶⁴¹ Styrenius 1967, 153; Lemos 2002, 179-180, 182, 187.

⁶⁴² See the sections on Kameiros (4.1.2) and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4.

⁶⁴³ Lemos 2002, 161-170, 181. It is worth noting that at the cemetery of Magazia on Skyros, wealthy PG burials occurred in the complete absence of cremation, paralleling the practice on Kos. At Lefkandi, the majority of child burials are LPG and SPG.

cemetery near the heroon,⁶⁴⁴ which could suggest that the Serraglio cluster at Kos town was similarly positioned at the edge of a much larger and age-inclusive cemetery. On the other hand, the cemetery at Kameiros was excavated in its entirety, and produced only four burials that date to the period, three of which contained children; likewise, child burials were discovered throughout modern Kos town, but adult remains were not. While some of the imbalance in numbers between children and adults could be attributed to differential burial rites and poor soil conditions,⁶⁴⁵ it is more likely that children could be interred more frequently than adults in certain burial clusters in the region.

The reason behind the preference for child burials is not altogether clear. Children, especially infants and the very young, were probably not fully integrated into family organizations; therefore, it should perhaps not be surprising to find them set apart in death as they were “set apart” from the rest of the family in life, as they might not have been entitled to the full benefits of membership within an adult burial community.⁶⁴⁶ With regard to the objects deposited with children, the assemblages are similar to what appear among the wealthy tombs at Lefkandi and Skyros, or at any other cemetery in the Aegean—the difference is a matter of scale rather than type. In this respect, it is worth noting that the wealthiest burial at contemporary Ialysos possesses a similar assemblage to the wealthy child burials at Kameiros and Kos town.⁶⁴⁷ That said, not all children in these two cemeteries were interred with a large amount of material wealth. For example,

⁶⁴⁴ Lemos 2002, 165, note 161.

⁶⁴⁵ See the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3 for the effect of poor soil conditions on the recovery of human remains.

⁶⁴⁶ See Lewartowski 2000, 54. The social significance of burying children will be examined more fully in the section *Who Had Access to Burial Space?* in Chapter 6.

⁶⁴⁷ The burial at Ialysos was a cremation, but the age of the individual is not reported, nor are any details given for the other burials. See the section on Ialysos (4.1.1) in Chapter 4.

at Kameiros, two of the three child burials consisted only of the funerary amphora that contained the remains, and similar simple burials occurred at Kos town. Extreme wealth must thus be regarded as a special case. It is therefore plausible that the practice of giving children burials, especially with elaborate arrays of grave goods, reflects a practice that carried a special resonance with communities in the southern Dodecanese. The fact that this rite is not demonstrated on the Carian mainland perhaps indicates a different relationship between funerary displays and social organizations, especially with respect to inheritance and generational relationships.

The difference of Carian burials is best revealed by the presence of built tombs, which do not appear in the rest of the region. The cists at Çömlekçi with built stone walls are reminiscent of the slab-cists at Kos town and on Rhodes, and the smaller and medium size built cists are comparable in size to the cists at Kameiros and Kos town respectively.⁶⁴⁸ However, the larger rectangular and circular structures at Çömlekçi are larger than tombs in the islands, and recall LBA built tombs at Samos and farther north in Ionia.⁶⁴⁹ Similar built rectangular chambers exist at Dirmil and Assarlık, but are not found on the islands.⁶⁵⁰ Additionally, the burial shaft below the floor in the chamber at Dirmil might roughly parallel the use of stone slabs at Çömlekçi to create different floor surfaces below the main floor level of the chamber.⁶⁵¹ Although the origin or influence for these built tombs is not clear in light of the ambiguity of the LH IIIC to SM/PG transition, built chamber tombs are confined to a relatively small area around the Bodrum

⁶⁴⁸ See the section on Çömlekçi (4.6.8) in Chapter 4.

⁶⁴⁹ See Note 446 in Chapter 3 regarding LBA built tombs. The built tomb on Samos does not post-date the LH IIIA, but comparable examples in Ionia continued in use into the LH IIIC.

⁶⁵⁰ See the sections on Dirmil (4.6.9) and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4.

⁶⁵¹ Boysal 1967, 41, pl. 13, fig. 17.

peninsula.⁶⁵² Taken together with other evidence regarding practice and rites, a unique Carian funerary identity begins to emerge during this period.

In sum, SM/PG burial practices reflect an array of perceptions and practices, with each site displaying slightly different patterns from its nearest neighbor; however, since so few sites are represented by this material, it is difficult to determine how widespread these differences were. Cremations were only practiced at Assarlık on the western tip of the Bodrum peninsula and at Ialysos (and possibly also at Çömlekçi). Child burials constitute the majority of known funerary activity at Kameiros and at Kos town. Meanwhile Carian tombs demonstrate completely different styles of construction from what is seen elsewhere in the contemporary region, or in LH III Caria.

2. Multiple and Single, Primary and Secondary Burial (Figures 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6)

Human remains have suffered from inconsistencies in reporting and illicit activity perhaps more than any class of grave offering in the region. Even in cemeteries where human remains have been recorded, there is not always sufficient information to reconstruct the attitudes toward human remains, or the orientation, position, or number of bodies within a chamber. Additionally, a large number of empty tombs at LH III Ialysos and Eleona-Langada might suggest that certain practices hindered (or omitted) the preservation of human remains.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵² Stratonikeia and Theangela, farther to the east, do not possess this tomb type; see sections 4.6.7 and 4.6.11 respectively in Chapter 4. The absence of contemporary cemeteries in northern Caria makes it difficult to gauge the northern extent of this trend.

⁶⁵³ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2) and Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3.

From what record remains, secondary rites were preferred throughout the region and through all periods of the LBA. A dominant practice of primary burials is only attested at Ialysos, and at nearby Maritsa; the incomplete publication of Mūskebi suggests that primary deposition might have been common there as well.⁶⁵⁴ The concentration of the practice in northern Rhodes suggests that local social concerns or funerary variation were factors that were not shared uniformly throughout the region. Although the cosmopolitan nature of the population at Trianda could indicate a correlation between external contact and the practice of primary burial (i.e., foreign influence), the lower incidence of primary burials among other populations with strong evidence for external contacts (like Eleona-Langada, and Miletus) suggests that the preference at Ialysos was locally inspired.

The rites of multiple versus single burial present a more complicated picture. Although the practice of multiple burials is more common throughout the region, single burials are not as discretely localized as the rite of primary deposition. Instead, single burials appear in dominant numbers only at the Moschou Vounara cluster at Ialysos, at Eleona-Langada, and perhaps also at Iraklis on Kos and Tou Stavrou to Kefali on Karpathos.⁶⁵⁵ Single burials also occur, although not in dominant numbers, at Kalavarda and perhaps also at Mūskebi.⁶⁵⁶ This dispersal is primarily concentrated around the largest population centers in the region—northern Rhodes, and eastern Kos—and does

⁶⁵⁴ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2), Maritsa (3.5.3), and Mūskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3. Since only five of the 48 tombs at Mūskebi have been published, it is unclear how representative those five tombs are.

⁶⁵⁵ See the sections on Tou Stravou to Kefali (3.3.1), Ialysos (3.5.2), Iraklis (3.7.2), and Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3.

⁶⁵⁶ See the sections on Kalavarda (3.5.4) and Mūskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3. Again, only five of the 48 tombs at Mūskebi have been published.

not precisely match the distribution of primary burials. It is not clear at present whether this geographical arrangement reflects a higher degree of external contact, or a higher degree of individual turnover in the larger population centers.

The nature of the social groups that made use of LH III chamber tombs will be considered in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7, but it is important to consider some of that information here, as it illustrates a potential explanation for the distribution of these burial practices.⁶⁵⁷ The expansions and contractions evident in the funerary populations of northern Rhodes and eastern Kos suggest that the family and/or corporate groups that made use of the tombs were not static during the LH IIIB-C. It is significant that those populations with a preference for single burial also display evidence for a nucleation of population during the LH IIIB or IIIC (primarily centered on the communities at Trianda and Kos town). Similarly, those populations that do not show evidence for nucleation, as at Vati and Pylona on Rhodes,⁶⁵⁸ also show a preference for multiple burials, which suggests a continuity of burial population not seen in the cemeteries where single burial was preferred. Changes in the way the nucleated societies interacted with the outside world, and the probable internal competition among elite groups that resulted, could plausibly have produced a situation where membership in, and the identity of, family and corporate groups changed (comparatively) rapidly with respect to more remote or stable populations. This scenario would have created a trend where fluctuating social groups in the larger population centers (a sort of *nouveau riche*, so to speak) would have sought the use of new tombs or the reuse of older discontinued tombs. As these new social units

⁶⁵⁷ On the nucleation of societies and its effect on burial patterns, see the sections *Changes in Land Use and Settlement – LH IIIB* and *Changes in Land Use and Settlement – LH IIIC* in Chapter 7, along with Tables 7.2 and 7.3.

⁶⁵⁸ See, in Chapter 3, the sections on Vati (3.5.14) and Pylona (3.5.16).

formed, changed, and dissolved, the resulting pattern of burials would show both multiple depositions, reflecting the more successful or durable social units, and single depositions, reflecting the less durable and shorter-lived social groups.

During the SM/PG period, multiple burials are confined to Çömlekçi, Dirmil, and Assarlık; however, Assarlık and perhaps also Çömlekçi possess single burials as well.⁶⁵⁹ As a result, it is rare for multiple burial to have been the exclusive practice. It is worth noting that at Assarlık the presence of “multiple burials” depends on the definition of a tomb: whether an enclosure with multiple cists and pits constitutes one tomb or multiple. The SM enclosure (only one is firmly dated, but perhaps three such enclosures should be counted in this period), which contained up to seven burials in two cists and five pits, includes a line of stones that bounds the area and thereby connects all of the burials within the enclosed space. Ultimately this enclosure might have functioned in much the same way as a chamber tomb, where access to the bounded area was dependent on inclusion within a set family or corporate group. For this reason the enclosure is treated here as a single tomb and its burials as multiple burials. The multiple burial at Dirmil is unambiguous, as it consists of two primary inhumations within a single sarcophagus. The practice of multiple burial is confined exclusively to the western edge of the Bodrum peninsula during this period, and is another uniquely Carian trait.

Secondary rites are only attested in conjunction with cremation, and occur only at Ialysos and Assarlık (and possibly also Çömlekçi).⁶⁶⁰ This distribution is not identical to

⁶⁵⁹ See the sections on Çömlekçi (4.6.8), Dirmil, (4.6.9), and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1.

⁶⁶⁰ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1) and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1. Çömlekçi (4.6.8) might also possess evidence of cremation, but it is

the distribution of multiple or single burial and so the practices cannot be connected. Moreover, the secondary rites associated with cremation at these two sites are not the same. As mentioned in the previously, Ialysos cremations contained only remains of bone, while Assarlık cremations contained ashes as well. Because of the selectivity demonstrated at Ialysos, the mere presence of secondary rites at the two sites does not connect them in a meaningful way; it only serves to distinguish the rites of populations at these two sites from those in their immediate vicinity.

3. Ratio of Grave Goods to Burials (Figure 5.7)

With the incomplete record of human remains, it is not possible to reconstruct the ratio of grave goods to individual bodies for all cemeteries in the region; nevertheless, a major division can be seen between the western and eastern islands during the LH III period. The vast quantity of material wealth in two chambers at Armenochori on Astypalaia, and in single chambers at Vonies and at Pigadia on Karpathos is unmatched by tombs to the east.⁶⁶¹ Unfortunately, only Vonies produced reliable evidence of the original number of burials in the chamber (four), which gives a ratio of bodies to (ceramic) goods of about 1:13.⁶⁶² Regardless of the exact ratios at these three sites, there is a marked discrepancy in the quantity of goods per chamber with cemeteries on Rhodes and Kos.

not clear if evidence of burning is widespread or confined to Tomb 5, which the excavator states is perhaps a hearth rather than a tomb.

⁶⁶¹ Armenochori (3.1.1) produced 116 ceramic vessels plus small finds. Vonies on Karpathos (3.3.2) produced 54 vessels plus small finds. The tomb at Makelli at Pigadia (3.3.4) produced 97 ceramic vessels plus small finds.

⁶⁶² This ratio, applied to the tomb at Armenochori and Makelli suggests roughly nine and seven burials respectively. Of course, there is no reason to suspect that the original ratios at these sites would necessarily have been the same.

Ialysos displays a degree of variance with regard to the number of individuals buried in its chambers, ranging between one and 12, but only three of the 88 New Tombs contained more than 50 ceramic vessels.⁶⁶³ The majority of tombs contained less than 15 vessels, and produced a site-wide average of roughly five vessels per burial across all periods of the LBA. Fewer burials have been reported from Kalavarda, but a rough average of four or five vessels per burial seems probable there as well.⁶⁶⁴ Pylona is the only cemetery where the original number of burials can reliably be determined, and its average is roughly between three and six vessels per burial throughout the LBA.⁶⁶⁵ Kos produces sufficient evidence from Kastello, Iraklis, Eleona-Langada, and Mesaria. With the exception of Iraklis, where 12 vessels were recovered with a single burial, the average is consistent with two to five vessels per burial at Eleona-Langada, and one or two vessels per burial in the surrounding cemeteries.⁶⁶⁶ On Samos, Myloi and the Heraion produced a similarly low average of two or three vessels per burial.⁶⁶⁷ Adjacent Caria provides evidence only from the cemetery at Pilavtepe, where perhaps as many as 10

⁶⁶³ See the section on Ialysos (3.5.2) in Chapter 3; see also MacDonald 1986, 128.

This only accounts for the New Tombs, for which records of chambers with both bodies and vessels exist. See also Appendix 1.

⁶⁶⁴ See the section on Kalavarda (3.5.4) in Chapter 3.

⁶⁶⁵ See the section on Pylona (3.5.16) in Chapter 3; see also Table 3.1 in Chapter 3. The entries in Appendix 1 show a variation in time based on averages of the total number of bodies found within tombs that span ranges of LH IIIA2-IIIC, and where it is difficult to determine the dates of individual burials. It is possible, therefore, that the estimated number of bodies interred during the LH IIIB should be lower than given in the Appendix, and the resulting number of vessels per burial should be higher for that period.

⁶⁶⁶ See the sections on Kastello (3.7.1), Iraklis (3.7.2), Eleona-Langada (3.7.4), and Mesaria (3.7.9) in Chapter 3. See also Georgiadis 2003, 82-83. As noted in Chapter 3 (3.7.2), the tomb at Iraklis perhaps contained more burials originally.

⁶⁶⁷ See the sections on Myloi (3.12.1) and the Heraion (3.12.2) in Chapter 3.

vessels per burial were deposited (30 vessels with at least three bodies),⁶⁶⁸ unfortunately, not enough information has been published regarding the burials at Miletus and Mūskebi.

A difference in burial attitudes can thus be detected between the large number of ceramic offerings on Astypalaia and Karpathos, a smaller number on the eastern islands, and perhaps a larger number again in Caria. While the large number of offerings on Astypalaia and Karpathos could relate to a large amount of material wealth with a small number of burials, or a large number of burials with fewer offerings each, the sheer amount of grave goods within single chambers is not uniformly matched elsewhere. Small numbers of individual tombs at Ialysos, Pylona, and Iraklis, and perhaps also at Pilavtepe, possessed large numbers of vessels, which might suggest the irregular (occasional) existence of similar attitudes toward material deposition as seen among populations in the west. Nevertheless, the average number of vessels per burial throughout Rhodes, Kos, and Samos is not as high as is seen on Astypalaia and Karpathos. Additionally, the reasonably uniform ratio of vessels to burial on Rhodes—roughly four or five vessels per burial—is slightly higher than the average on Kos and Samos, although it is not clear if this difference was due to a difference in practice or a difference in the availability of suitable grave goods. Without more information on Miletus and Mūskebi it is not clear if the trend on the mainland was to deposit more material wealth in tombs, as suggested by Pilavtepe, but this trend is implied.

Throughout the region the general trend during the SM/PG period is for more vessels to be buried with individuals as the PG progresses, a pattern that continues into the Geometric period. The only site with a firm internal chronology, Kos town, displays

⁶⁶⁸ See the section on Pilavtepe (3.14.3) in Chapter 3.

an increase in the number of burial goods per body from 3.2 in the MPG to 4.6 in the LPG.⁶⁶⁹ Additionally, the highest rates of material deposition during the period all occur during the LPG at Ialysos (5.7 vessels per burial), Kos town (4.6 vessels per burial), and Dirmil (3.5 vessels per burial).⁶⁷⁰ Assarlık consistently demonstrates a lower average than elsewhere in the region, with between one and two vessels per burial, but this should perhaps be viewed as an artifact of its early discovery and excavation, rather than historical reality.⁶⁷¹ The only other SM burials, at Çömlekçi, demonstrate an average (2.7 vessels per burial) that better compares with the MPG average at Kos town than with the low average at Assarlık.⁶⁷² It must be noted, however, that in spite of this trend toward an increasing number of grave goods per burial, a significant number of LPG burials at Ialysos, Kameiros, and Kos town were accompanied by only one or two objects.⁶⁷³ Although more grave goods could be deposited, this does not mean that all burials were so fashioned, and it is perhaps this aspect that is reflected in the low vessel per burial average at LPG Assarlık.

Aside from a general change in numbers through time, which is demonstrated throughout the region, there is little predictable variation in the ratios from one area to the next. SM burials are only found in Caria, and quantification is perhaps unreliable because of the incomplete publication record. The SM average at Çömlekçi is roughly comparable with the average at MPG Kos town, perhaps suggesting at least some

⁶⁶⁹ See the section on Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

⁶⁷⁰ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1) and Dirmil (4.6.9) in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

⁶⁷¹ See the section on Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

⁶⁷² See the section on Çömlekçi (4.6.8) in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

⁶⁷³ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1), Kameiros (4.1.2), and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1.

continuity in practice or conception of rites between these two areas. However, LPG burials display wide variation in averages, but are not grouped predictably by geography. The proximity of the high averages at Ialysos and Dirmil to the low averages at nearby Kameiros and Assarlık complicates any attempt to reveal subregional funerary practices. Moreover, the overall picture of the distribution of ceramic goods is further skewed by the fact that there was no set material package or grave assemblage in the region as a whole or within a single site. For example, the wealthiest burial at Kameiros contained only two vessels, but was accompanied by eight personal ornaments; likewise, an amphora burial at Ialysos was accompanied by a single vessel, but fragments of at least three iron weapons.⁶⁷⁴ As a result of this variation, ultimately little can be said regarding subregional divisions based solely on the ratio of grave goods to bodies.

Table 5.1 – Number of ceramic grave goods per burial by period⁶⁷⁵

	Cemetery	LH IIIC	SM	MPG	(L)PG
Dodecanese	Ialysos	5			5.7
	Kameiros	5-8			1.25
	Kos town	2-5		3.2	4.6
Caria	Müskebi	2			
	Assarlık		1		2
	Dirmil				3.5

⁶⁷⁴ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1) and Kameiros (4.1.2) in Chapter 4.

⁶⁷⁵ See, in Appendix 1, the sections on Ialysos (New Tombs, Old Tombs) for the LH III and Ialysos (Marmaro) for the LPG; Kalavarda for the LH IIIC and Kameiros (Patelles) for the LPG; Eleona-Langada for the LH III and Kos Town for the MPG and LPG. The LH III finds from Kameiros (Papa-Lures) are unfortunately unquantifiable. The LH III cemetery at Miletus unfortunately is not published in sufficient detail to allow comparison in this way. The number from Pilavtepe, at roughly 10 vessels per burial, cannot be dated more narrowly than LH III based on the published information, and so the number is not reliable for specific comparison between the LH IIIC and the SM/PG.

As shown in Table 5.1, only three cemeteries provide enough information for direct comparison of LH IIC and PG ratios of ceramic vessels per burial: Ialysos, Kameiros and Kos town. At both Ialysos and Kos town the number of grave goods, although it does fluctuate, remains relatively stable across time. The modest decrease evident at MPG Kos town cannot be compared to other sites, but the consistency between LH IIC and LPG numbers at Ialysos and Kos town might suggest that a degree of continuity existed with regard to depositional practices. The lacuna during the intervening generations, and the evident change at Kameiros, makes this continuity and the specific nature of those rites uncertain; however, the lacuna should not automatically suggest discontinuity either. Although additional evidence from Caria is not direct, LH IIC Müskebi can reasonably be compared with SM/PG Assarlık and Dirmil due to their rough proximity in the Bodrum peninsula. The correlation between rates of deposition exhibited by these three sites matches that illustrated by cemeteries in the Dodecanese, again suggesting a broad continuity regarding (at least the perception of) the role that grave goods played in funerary rites, even if the nature of those rites was not uniform throughout the region.

4. Ratio of Open to Closed Vessels (Figures 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, and 5.11)

Ratios of open to closed ceramic forms demonstrate a high degree of variation throughout the region. This division by formal class relies on a functional difference between open and closed forms—the former as vessels of consumption, and the latter as

vessels of storage.⁶⁷⁶ Since the data comes exclusively from funerary contexts, any differences in the ratios can be interpreted to reflect a different approach to the burial rite regarding the consumption practices of the ritual's participants and/or provisions for the deceased. Table 5.2 shows the ratios broken down by subregion and period.

Table 5.2 – LH III ratios of open to closed ceramic forms by island or area and period⁶⁷⁷

Island/Area	LH IIIA	LH IIIB	LH IIIC
Astypalaia	8:9	7:6	8:9
Karpathos	3:2	10:7	
Rhodes	1:2	4:5	3:10
<i>W. Rhodes</i> ⁶⁷⁸	<i>1:3</i>	<i>5:8</i>	<i>3:13</i>
<i>SE. Rhodes</i> ⁶⁷⁹	<i>1:2</i>	<i>9:10</i>	<i>4:5</i>
<i>E. Rhodes</i> ⁶⁸⁰	<i>1:1</i>	<i>5:3</i>	<i>2:3</i>
Kos	1:2	2:3	1:4
Kalymnos		4:5	1:2
Samos	0:11		
Caria	4:7	11:20	1:2

Samos, with its lack of open forms, appears as an outlier in the region, although the absence of later material prevents direct comparison across time. Nevertheless, the unique assemblages here might indicate different rites than what is seen elsewhere in the region. Karpathos is the only island that shows a consistent preference for open shapes,

⁶⁷⁶ See the discussion of this distinction in the section *Categories of Practice in the Archaeological Record* in Chapter 1.

⁶⁷⁷ See Appendix 1 for the data from which these ratios are drawn. Pottery that is dated, for example, LH IIIA-B was factored into the ratio by dividing the number in half and adding the half values to the LH IIIA and IIIB amounts. Likewise, LH IIIB-C counts were halved and added into the LH IIIB and IIIC categories.

⁶⁷⁸ Comprises Ialysos, Kalavarda, and Apolakkia. The disturbances of the record from Kalavarda and Apolakkia make precision impossible, but the patterns fit more closely with Ialysos than with sites to the west.

⁶⁷⁹ Comprises Yennadi and Vati based on similar ratios and change through time.

⁶⁸⁰ Comprises Lardos and Pylona based on similar ratios and change through time.

and the pattern does not change significantly from the LH IIIA to the IIIB. Astypalaia is also noticeably different by its relatively even ratio and consistency across time. The eastern islands and Caria demonstrate a relatively uniform ratio of (roughly) 1:2 during the LH IIIA period, and only later develop their own regional patterns, with Caria demonstrating an early departure in the LH IIIB. Communities on Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos develop more even ratios during the LH IIIB (eastern Rhodes even demonstrates a preference for open shapes, which only appears elsewhere on Astypalaia and Karpathos), but those on western Rhodes and Kos develop a strong preference for closed shapes during the LH IIIC that is not shared to the same degree in the rest of the region. In fact, the ratios in eastern Rhodes are more similar to those of Kalymnos and Caria during the LH IIIC than they are to western Rhodes and Kos. When considering that the record of western Rhodes and Kos is dominated by the major cemeteries at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada, which were in ascendancy during the LH IIIC, the difference between western Rhodes/Kos, and eastern Rhodes/Kalymnos/Caria is most likely attributable to shifts in population and social responses to the “renaissance” of the LH IIIC.

In sum, Astypalaia, Karpathos, and Samos demonstrate individualized funerary rites, or at least different attitudes toward those rites, from the beginning. Communities in the rest of the region began with a similar ratio of ceramic forms, and by extension a similar attitude toward certain aspects of the funerary rites, but diverged during the LH IIIB and IIIC. Communities in Caria perhaps developed an individual pattern during the LH IIIB and IIIC, but the small sample size (from Pilavtepe only) makes firm conclusions unreliable. Ialysos and Eleona-Langada illustrate a similar pattern of change

with respect to ceramic forms during the LH IIIB and IIIC, while the areas farther from those centers demonstrate a different trajectory.

Ratios of the SM/PG period, as given in Table 5.3, display less variation than in the preceding LH III period. This might simply be a reflection of the fact that only three areas have produced any quantifiable SM/PG cemetery data, as compared to seven areas in the LH III period; however, the broad uniformity between cemeteries on Rhodes and Kos is a new development during the SM/PG, as is the emerging differentiation of Carian rites.

Table 5.3 – SM/PG ratios of open to closed ceramic forms from cemetery contexts by island or area and period⁶⁸¹

Island/Area	LH IIIC	SM	MPG	(L)PG
Rhodes	3:10			1:2
<i>Ialysos</i>	2:9			1:2
<i>Kameiros</i>	1:2			1:4
Kos	1:4		1:2	1:2
Caria	1:2	1:2		2:3
<i>Central</i> ⁶⁸²	1:2	3:7		5:7

Although Rhodes displays an internal difference between the ratios at Ialysos and Kameiros, this difference is perhaps skewed by the presence at each cemetery of a single tomb with substantially more deposited wealth than its neighbors.⁶⁸³ The small sample size of each cemetery (three and four tombs respectively) might also skew the numbers.

⁶⁸¹ See the relevant sections of Appendix 1 for the data from which these ratios are drawn.

⁶⁸² Comprises the area around the Bodrum peninsula including Çömlekci, Dirmil, Assarlık, and Theangela in the SM/PG; it includes only Müskebi during the LH IIIC.

⁶⁸³ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1) and Kameiros (4.1.2) in Chapter 4.

When the island-wide ratio is compared with nearby Kos, the numbers correlate well, with both areas producing a ratio of 1:2 in favor of closed shapes. In both areas, the dominant preference of closed shapes is partially attributable to the use of amphorae and other closed vessels to contain the remains of the deceased. It is worth noting that those vessels that were offered as additional grave goods were more evenly split between open and closed forms, although closed forms were still preferred. Both of these areas show a dramatic change from the preceding LH IIIC period when western Rhodian cemeteries displayed a clear preference for closed shapes at a ratio of approximately 3:13, with an island-wide ratio of 3:10, while Koan cemeteries displayed a ratio of 1:4. While this change certainly reflects a modification of depositional practice, it cannot solely be the result of fewer vessels being offered, since at Ialysos and Kos town the number of vessels per burial in the LH IIIC and LPG was roughly similar (see Table 5.1). Instead, the change must reflect a shift in attitudes toward, and/or the location of, rites that affected depositional practice. Such attitudes are likely also to be related to the change in location of cemeteries and to changes in the type of tombs and method of burial (the disappearance of the dromos and internal space, for example).

Carian cemeteries have the disadvantage of extensive historical looting and poor or partial publication, which makes any attempt to quantify their data only tentative at best. Nevertheless, the SM ratio of open to closed shapes from central Caria—that is the area around the Bodrum peninsula—matches the MPG ratio on Kos at 1:2, which could suggest a broad correspondence of practice. That correspondence changes in the LPG with a shift toward a more even ratio in central Caria. Such a preference is not attested elsewhere in the region, and although the incomplete state of publication could be

responsible for skewing the data slightly, a clear shift in depositional practice is attested. This, in conjunction with architectural innovations and unique treatments of the body, suggests that a divergent set of funerary practices had already developed by the LPG. An understanding of the situation in the LH IIIC is hampered by a lack of publication, and only Mūskebi (in the area here identified as central Caria) can provide a rough comparison.⁶⁸⁴ The LH IIIC ratio of open to closed vessels, at 1:2, corresponds well to the SM ratio and to the MPG ratio on Kos. It might, therefore, reasonably be postulated that the divergence in funerary practice did not occur until the LPG, and that while populations on the islands maintained a degree of continuity with regard to earlier funerary practice, Carian populations began to develop a distinct identity at that time.

Table 5.4 – Ratios of open to closed ceramic forms from settlement contexts by period⁶⁸⁵

Settlement	Island/Area	SM	MPG	(L)PG
Heraion	Samos	4:0		11:2
Miletus	Caria			11:3

As shown in Table 5.4, settlement contexts, although rare, are consistent in their ratios of open to closed shapes. The SM material from Miletus cannot be quantified fully, but the LPG ratio from the Heraion matches that of finds from Miletus. It is difficult to carry this correspondence further, since the reason behind the ratio of forms in a settlement context is not as dependent on shared specific rites as in a cemetery context. A rough correspondence between shared forms could simply be the result of general similarities in cultural practice, which is already evident from the material culture.

⁶⁸⁴ See the section on Mūskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁶⁸⁵ See the relevant sections of Appendix 1 for the data from which these ratios are drawn.

However, it is worth noting that both the Heraion and Miletus are at the northern edge of the region under consideration here. Without additional points of reference from other areas of the southeast Aegean, there is no way to determine if the correspondence between Samos and Miletus is a subregional pattern, or if the ratio is indicative of the broader region as a whole. A similar dominance of open shapes is present at LPG Old Smyrna and on Naxos and Paros (Koukounaries), in the latter cases to the near exclusion of closed forms.⁶⁸⁶ Thus, it is likely that the pattern represented at the Heraion and at Miletus is not uniquely relevant to the southeast Aegean, but is broadly indicative of the Hellenized (east) Aegean.

5. Unequal Distribution of Materials and Objects (Figure 5.12, 5.13, and 5.14)

Because small finds are difficult to date narrowly within a multi-period context, the analysis of their distribution throughout the region depends primarily on their simple presence or absence, and their relative quantities. In this respect, Caria, with its lack of full publications, and Rhodes, with a significant degree of historical disturbance and illicit activity, are difficult to integrate into a larger picture of the region. In general, small finds are never common relative to the quantity of ceramic offerings in funerary contexts. This is true both of small sites where few offerings of any kind were deposited, and of large sites, where specific tombs display lavish assortments of offerings.

During the LH III period, only four chamber tombs are known from Astypalaia, but those tombs yielded an unusually high number of tools, primarily those dealing with fishing (hooks, net weights) or woodworking (chisels). Such objects are not uncommon

⁶⁸⁶ Lemos 2002, 38-40, 51, 59, 71.

in coastal maritime communities, but are perhaps unexpected in chamber tombs where objects of personal status—swords and imported objects for example—are more common, and their presence indicates the societal value of those individuals who worked or interacted with the sea. This frequency of tool deposition is not matched elsewhere in the region, where most sites display a scarcity of small finds of any type.⁶⁸⁷ In particular, Ialysos and Eleona-Langada, and on a smaller scale Pylona, stand out as exceptions with large numbers of small finds of all types.⁶⁸⁸ All three cemeteries share certain patterns: weapons date primarily to the LH IIIA and taper off in number during the IIIB, relatively few (mainly spears and arrowheads) date to the IIIC; personal ornaments (especially rings) and cosmetic equipment (tweezers, mirrors, razors) decrease in number during the LH IIIB, but increase sharply during the IIIC; at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada, figurines appear in small numbers during the LH IIIA and IIIB, but increase in number sharply during the IIIC.

The shared trends at these three sites are likely to be connected to population, since these cemeteries are also among the largest and wealthiest (in terms of material deposition) in the region.⁶⁸⁹ The increase in the prevalence of wealth displays in funerary

⁶⁸⁷ An exception might be the LH IIIA phase of the Asklepieion on Kos (3.7.7); however, the concentration of material wealth here is not typical of the region, and all of the material is not certain to have originated within a funerary context; see Morricone (1972-1973, 253-261).

⁶⁸⁸ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2), Pylona (3.5.16), and Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁶⁸⁹ Ialysos possesses 129 tombs, and Eleona-Langada possesses 82 tombs. Although Pylona possesses only 7 tombs, it ranks 4th overall in the number of ceramic finds behind Ialysos, Eleona-Langada, and Vati; Pylona ranks 3rd in the number of small finds. Large cemeteries such as Müskebi (48 tombs), Vati (39 tombs), Apolakkia (21 tombs), and Eleona (20 tombs) either lack publication or are not known to have produced small finds as a result of disturbances and/or illicit activity.

contexts in areas with larger funerary populations should perhaps be viewed as a combination of increased competition among those who were considered fit for burial in the chamber tombs, and an economically motivated increase in the flow of goods through those population centers. While these areas demonstrate a diversity and concentration of funerary objects not shared throughout the southeast Aegean, especially at smaller or more remote sites, it is important not to overemphasize the role that these populations played in the long-distance interactions of the wider region. Larger populations might have attracted more material wealth, and thus deposited more objects with their dead, but throughout the region the types of objects that were deposited remained reasonably constant—a difference of degree, rather than of rite. Astypalaia, with its focus on the deposition of tools, is the only outlier in the region in terms of class of object.

The majority of non-ceramic objects during the SM/PG period are personal ornaments, which is the case at every site that has produced small finds. Primarily these small finds are pins, fibulae and rings, with other forms of jewelry—especially faience—appearing as well. Similar types of small finds occur throughout the region, and variation is confined to number rather than type. The overwhelming majority of small finds comes from Kos town (from which more of such objects are known than from the rest of the region combined),⁶⁹⁰ with a smaller, but still significant, number of finds coming from Ialysos and Kameiros.⁶⁹¹ It is noteworthy that these concentrations of small finds, and of

⁶⁹⁰ In this respect it is of note that personal ornaments were particularly common in later LH IIIC burials at Eleona-Langada, which perhaps suggests a continuity of practice and/or belief with MPG burials at Kos town; see Vitale 2009, 1238.

⁶⁹¹ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1), Kameiros (4.1.2), and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1. A total of three burials at Ialysos and Kameiros produced all of the non-ceramic finds in the entries in Appendix 1, hence the reference to a “still significant number of finds.”

the majority of grave goods in general, are in the same areas as those that also displayed such concentrations during the LH IIIC. This marks a substantial disparity in distribution, as all of the cemeteries in the islands display a large amount of personal ornament, while none of the cemeteries in Caria match this degree of deposition. Such goods are attested at Çömlekçi (which also produced the second largest amount of ceramic cemetery material in the region behind Kos town), Dirmil, and Assarlık, but in much lower quantities.⁶⁹² In this respect, it is significant that all of these cemeteries are located in and around the Bodrum peninsula, which perhaps attests to shared rites or influence from the islands. Nevertheless, the preference for personal ornament must be regarded as a more important aspect of Rhodian and Koan burials than Carian examples.

A similar distribution can be seen with respect to figural ceramic vessels, specifically the so-called “bird vases” (a form of askos) which are found at Kos town, Çömlekçi, and Assarlık.⁶⁹³ The type is most common on MPG Kos, and tapers in significance through the LPG, but one example is represented from SM Çömlekçi and one from SM Assarlık. The distribution, focused within the region exclusively on Kos and central Caria, suggests a degree of contact and influence between the island and the adjacent mainland communities. Similar vessels are found at Skyros and Lefkandi in the EPG and MPG, and at Athens and Argos in the EPG.⁶⁹⁴ Although the origin of the shape is uncertain, variously related both to Mycenaean/Aegean predecessors and to Cypriot

⁶⁹² See the sections on Çömlekçi (4.6.8), Dirmil (4.6.9), and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1. It must be noted that the history of disturbance and inadequate publication of Carian cemeteries might skew this picture somewhat.

⁶⁹³ See the sections on Kos town (4.2.1), Çömlekçi (4.6.8), and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1 in the column for “Ritual Vessels.”

⁶⁹⁴ Lemos 2002, 82-83.

and Cretan influences, the rarity of the type and its confined distribution is telling of intraregional contacts and routes of communication with the wider Aegean.⁶⁹⁵

6. Distribution of Imported Goods (Figures 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, and 5.18)

During the LH III period, imported objects are found at every site in the region in the form of ceramics, which are primarily Argive with a sizeable proportion from elsewhere on the Mycenaean mainland and Crete. On Karpathos Cretan influence on ceramic form and decoration, which was undoubtedly aided by geographical proximity, is noticeably more prominent than in areas to the east.⁶⁹⁶ This Cretan connection is primarily dominant during the LH IIIA, as Mycenaean styles begin to appear in greater numbers only during the IIIB; however, the absence of LH IIIC material on the island makes it unclear if populations here were matching the rest of the region by undergoing a cultural-material shift in influence from Crete toward the Mycenaean mainland.

On other islands, especially on Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos, scientific analysis reveals a strong preference for Argive ceramic imports through the end of the LH IIIA2 and beginning of the IIIB periods.⁶⁹⁷ These imports account for more than 80% of LH IIIA ceramics at Ialysos and roughly 70% at Pylona, although the percentages decline during the IIIB and IIIC periods.⁶⁹⁸ A high percentage of Argive imports are also attested

⁶⁹⁵ See also Guggisberg (1996) for a survey and analysis of this type of vessel.

⁶⁹⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 971; see also the island conclusions section for Karpathos in Chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁷ See Mee 1982, 87-88; Georgiadis 2003, 113; Marketou et al. 2006, 53-55.

⁶⁹⁸ Jones and Mee 1978, 468-469; 1986, 506-509; Karantzali and Ponting 2000, 236-238; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 105-108; Georgiadis 2004, 64. See also Table 3.2 in Chapter 3.

from Kos and Kalymnos during this time.⁶⁹⁹ Through the LH IIIB the number of imports began to decrease the number of local products began to fill the gap, and by the LH IIIC a marked preference for local products can be detected, with local ceramics accounting for 75% of vessels at Ialysos and 70% at Pylona.⁷⁰⁰ During this period, local styles developed regional significance and became widely exported. Rhodian regional pottery in the LH IIIC displays a stronger Cretan influence than other areas, while the so-called “East Aegean Koine” with its accompanying predilection for Pictorial Style decoration has a broad distribution throughout Kos, Kalymnos, Caria (at least at Miletus), Astypalaia, and north through Chios and perhaps beyond.⁷⁰¹ The Koine is defined on the grounds of form (for example, by the appearance of the east Aegean amphoroid krater and the flattened globular stirrup jar) and decoration (as the Pictorial Style), and so is strictly a description of material similarity. The shared aesthetic qualities must not be

⁶⁹⁹ Thirty percent of the LH II-III sherds sampled from Kos, and just over 40% of LH III sherds sampled from Kalymnos are from the Peloponnese, most likely the Argolid; see Jones and Mee 1986, 508-509. These samples are chronologically mixed and the results are not broken down by period. Based on the pattern from Rhodes, it is plausible that the LH II-III A percentages of Peloponnesian imports should be higher, and the LH IIIC percentages lower. Note that “local” in this discussion refers generally to a southeast Aegean origin.

⁷⁰⁰ Jones and Mee 1978, 468-469; 1986, 506-508; Karantzali and Ponting 2000, 236-238; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 108. See also Table 3.2 in Chapter 3. It is significant that 25-30% of ceramic goods from these two sites were still imported during the LH IIIC, illustrating that the societies were hardly cut off from external communication. Sarah Murray’s recent dissertation reconsiders the levels and contexts of trade in post-palatial mainland Greece and Crete (2013, 22-160, 364-377, 548-556), and persuasively demonstrates the continuation of trade and communication, even if specific patterns changed through the centuries. Her findings do not directly include the southeast Aegean, but the model is applicable.

⁷⁰¹ Mountjoy 1998, 52-63; 1999a, 967-969, 985-988, 1078-1080, 1126, 1139; 2013, 563-564.

considered cultural indicators in and of themselves except as the most basic signifiers of Mycenaean society.

Imports in other materials and from areas beyond the Aegean are more concentrated in the larger population centers. Ialysos, Pylona, and Eleona-Langada provide the majority of ivory, semi-precious stone objects (jewelry, sealstones), and faience, as well as Cypriot ceramics (at Ialysos), and bronze objects from the northern Balkans (at Eleona-Langada).⁷⁰² This consolidation of foreign objects among the larger population centers matches the concentration of small finds, and should likewise be seen as the result of economic motivations and population density.

As discussed in Chapter 3, it is possible that populations in different areas looked to different parts of the outside world through their foreign connections.⁷⁰³ On Rhodes, the Cypriot and Levantine connections evidenced by LH IIIA-B pottery and sealstones are localized at Ialysos, and the subsequent LH IIIC local style shows a formal and decorative influence from Crete blended with local and Anatolian types. Likewise, the weapons and personal ornaments from the northern Balkans, and perhaps as far afield as Italy, are localized to LH IIIA-B Eleona-Langada, and the subsequent LH IIIC East Aegean (material) Koine extends primarily to the east and north from Kos. Although Argive ceramic motifs remain prominent and evidence for other long distance communication is sparse, it is plausible that the orientations of ceramic style and decoration during the LH IIIC should be viewed along the same geographical terms as the earlier long distance contacts within the largest population centers—as new products

⁷⁰² See also the island conclusions sections for Rhodes and Kos in Chapter 3.

⁷⁰³ See the island conclusion sections for Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos in Chapter 3. See also Girella 2005, 137-138.

moving along existing transit and communication routes. The maintenance of overseas ties through the post-palatial period has recently been demonstrated for the Mycenaean mainland, and a similar commercial continuation should be expected for the southeast Aegean.⁷⁰⁴ These geographical predispositions regarding foreign contacts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Burial goods in the southeast Aegean during the SM/PG period generally do not demonstrate the same level of foreign influence as in the earlier LH III. A notable regional exception comes from the area of Kos and the Bodrum peninsula (the area of the LH III East Aegean Koine), which forms the extreme southeastern limit of the PG “Euboean Koine”, as discussed by Desborough and Lemos.⁷⁰⁵ This latter koine, identified by a shared preference for primarily ceramic forms and decoration, is not widespread in the region, and the most dominant non-ceramic shared features between the Koine and Kos is the general concentration of wealth in cemeteries. On the other hand, burial forms and rites, as attested by the tendency to bury children with an abundance of material wealth (as at Kameiros and Kos town) and unique architectural features (as attested in Caria), are not otherwise common in the contemporary Aegean.

The majority of foreign imports come from burials on Rhodes (faience from Ialysos and Kameiros, and Cypriot vessels and a figurine of Bes from Ialysos) and Kos (Euboean ceramic imports, and perhaps Cypriot influence in the bird vases), with comparatively little from the Carian mainland.⁷⁰⁶ Certain decorative traits, such as

⁷⁰⁴ See Murray 2013, 22-160, 364-377, 548-556.

⁷⁰⁵ Desborough 1964, 228-230; Lemos 2002, 212-217.

⁷⁰⁶ See the sections on Ialysos (4.1.1), Kameiros (4.1.2), and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4. Coldstream (2008, 265) identifies the “pendant tongues”—vertical lines between larger motifs, which is a uniquely Dodecanesian trait during the

typically Euboean pendant semicircles and paneled zigzags, or Cypriot rectilinear decoration, are found elsewhere in the region on Samos and in Caria, but, the greatest concentration of foreign influences is centralized on Rhodes and Kos.⁷⁰⁷ The earlier LH III trend, whereby Rhodian communities looked to the eastern Mediterranean and Koan communities looked to the north, is perhaps responsible for the different orientations of Rhodian and Koan imports;⁷⁰⁸ that said, any differences in orientation should not be seen to override the similarities in depositional practice. Ultimately, the most salient feature of southeast Aegean material culture during this period might be the lack of a clear and singular source of external influence.⁷⁰⁹

The Cultural Geography of the Southeast Aegean: Intraregional Social Groups

The Social Units of the Southeast Aegean

Based on the examination of intraregional variation in the previous section, differences in the material record distinguish communities in distinct areas as sharing a

PG—as originating in Attic iconography before being adapted by local craftsmen; however, this does not automatically indicate sustained contact with Attica, merely the transmission and modification of a motif. See Lemos' (2002, 212) caution against overreliance on Attic parallels for PG ceramics.

⁷⁰⁷ See also Lemos 2002, 208; Coldstream 2008, 264-265.

⁷⁰⁸ Relevant to this orientation is Coldstream's observation (2008, 264) that the PG ceramic repertoire from Dirmil has more in common with Ionic and Attic influence than with (primarily Rhodian) Dodecanesian.

⁷⁰⁹ For example, Desborough (1952, 232), Mountjoy (1999a, 967-969), Lemos (2002, 208-209), Cook and Dupont (2003, 12), and Coldstream (2008, 264) have discussed the high degree of regionalism in the southeast Aegean's ceramic repertoire, which gave rise to its Geometric style.

discrete (albeit culturally related) set of funerary practices. Variation with respect to one practice does not automatically indicate significant social differences, but where multiple practices diverge the likelihood is greater that an independent social unit can be detected.⁷¹⁰ The distribution of practices hints at the organization of more specific systems of beliefs or political associations, but at present the material record can only support a limited interpretation of the socio-political phenomena behind the funerary material. For the purposes of this section, these different social units are intended to reflect different social agencies; see Figure 5.19. For example, the identification of multiple areas of LH III Rhodes represents the existence of multiple independent, yet connected, social (sub-)units, each functioning with its own independent agency within the larger region. Differences in the material record exist as a reflection of the different practices, foreign contacts, and expressions of local authority within each social unit.

The Western Southeast Aegean. Consisting of the islands of Astypalaia, Karpathos, and Kasos, this area is unfortunately devoid of SM/PG material, which makes direct comparison of LBA patterns impossible. Moreover, activity on Karpathos is not attested later than the LH IIIB, and LBA activity on Kasos is not closely datable. Only on Astypalaia does activity continue into the LH IIIC. Nevertheless, on its own this early decline in activity sets the western portion of the region apart from the eastern islands of the Dodecanese. The divergent funerary activity suggests that the populations of the western islands responded differently to the social stresses of the period than did populations farther east. As societies began to nucleate around larger, wealthier, and more influential centers on Rhodes and Kos during the LH IIIB and IIIC periods,

⁷¹⁰ The approach is similar to distinguishing two dialects by groups of isoglosses.

Astypalaian and Karpathian communities demonstrate no such social adaptation. The continued absence of funerary activity during the SM/PG period suggests that whatever societal factors led to the earlier decline of elite funerary display were still in place by the beginning of the Geometric period. This is to say that in whatever specific ways the local societies adapted and developed during the LH IIIB-C, which are not reconstructable from the extant record, these adaptations precluded large displays of elite wealth within funerary contexts; these social values and practices were still held and enacted during the SM/PG period.⁷¹¹

With regard to the material record, communities on both Astypalaia and Karpathos share a tendency to deposit more material wealth within a single chamber tomb than elsewhere in the region (with the exception of a few chambers at Ialysos), and in both areas ceramic goods display a stronger formal and decorative Cretan influence than is visible farther to the east. That said, this area of the region was not uniform during the LH III period. Astypalaian communities display a transition to a Mycenaean material culture during the LH IIIC period, which can perhaps be related to the decline of communities on Karpathos. Such a decline of communities on Karpathos might have hindered the flow and acquisition of Cretan goods, while the simultaneous rise of production centers to the east—which created Mountjoy's East Aegean (material)

⁷¹¹ This assumes the islands were not completely depopulated after the LH IIIB or IIIC periods. Climatic changes involving the gradual drying of the regional climate toward the close of the Bronze Age conceivably would have had drastic consequences for the fertility of small inland and coastal plains that dominate the western islands, as well as on the more barren islands elsewhere in the region. Nevertheless, complete depopulation cannot be proven in light of the scarcity of archaeological investigation on many of the islands. On climate change see originally Carpenter (1966, 54-80), or recent discussions in Cline (2014, 142-147), and Knapp and Manning (2016) with relevant subsequent references.

Koine⁷¹²—provided an alternative source of imported goods for funerary display. At the same time, communities on Astypalaia were more likely to deposit tools in graves—especially those having to do with fishing and the sea—than were communities in other areas.⁷¹³ This depositional difference suggests that these activities, and plausibly those who practiced them, were held in a different esteem on Astypalaia than elsewhere.

The material differences and different chronological fortunes for the western islands should be related to the earliest appearance of LBA populations in the region.⁷¹⁴ Middle Minoan and LM I-II material is found throughout the region in varying quantities, but during the LM/LH IIIA period material distinctions began to appear that divided the western and eastern islands. While Mycenaean material culture became dominant in the southern and eastern Dodecanese and among the adjacent coastal communities, populations on the western islands maintained a material culture dominated by Cretan influence, much as it had been before. These different external orientations should not be taken alone as straightforward indicators of cultural affiliation: in other words, Cretan influence in the west and Mycenaean influence in the east should not alone indicate that the west was populated by Late Minoan communities while the east was peopled by mainland Mycenaeans. The evidence simply suggests that the local communities in each area chose to present themselves externally (in the funerary realm, although presumably this pattern extended to other aspects of social life as well) based on different external orientations. Nevertheless, whatever factors produced the shift toward the adoption of

⁷¹² On the East Aegean Koine and Astypalaia, see Mountjoy 1998, 52-63; 1999a, 967-969.

⁷¹³ See the section on Syngairos (3.1.2) in Chapter 3.

⁷¹⁴ For a more detailed, although still concise, description of the pre-LH IIIB southeast Aegean with references to additional information, see Chapter 2.

Mycenaean material culture in the east—whether through direct settlement of Argive populations, or through a more passive acculturation, or through a combination of the two processes—these factors were absent from communities on Astypalaia and Karpathos, where different social systems either encouraged the maintenance of ties to Cretan communities, or actively discouraged Mycenaean influence. The expression of Cretan material influence, therefore, is not a direct indicator of Cretan society, but it is a reflection of underlying social mechanisms that differentiate the communities of the western islands from those of areas to the east. Although LH IIIC ceramic form and decoration from the cemetery at Armenochori on Astypalaia indicates that foreign influence had shifted to become more involved with the East Aegean Koine centered to the east, activity at the cemetery was already in decline, representing the continuation of different fortunes for populations on the island independent of the adoption of material culture from the east.

Rhodes. The island shows sparse evidence for habitation prior to the LH IIIA—confined to the area of Trianda/Ialysos—at which point the Mycenaeanization of the island occurred uniformly.⁷¹⁵ The rapid spread of Mycenaean material culture throughout the island and the uniform Argive character and importance (i.e., functional contexts) of imported ceramics suggest a relatively homogenous population. It is not certain that the Mycenaeanization of the island's communities represents direct settlement by Argive populations, or a more passive acculturation. Regardless, the uniform adoption of Argive-styled material culture and generally Mycenaean funerary customs does suggest that the dispersed Rhodian populations were sufficiently interconnected to benefit from a

⁷¹⁵ See again the sections *The Late Minoan / Late Helladic I-II Period*, and *The Late Helladic IIIA Period* in Chapter 2.

uniform external presentation of Mycenaean rites. Although the island's inhabitants shared a common cultural heritage, subtle subregional differences in the material record expose multiple independent agencies: in the northwest centered on Trianda/Ialysos; in the west centered on Kalavarda (at least by the end of the LH IIIC); in the southeast centered in Vati river valley; and in the east centered on Pylona.

Trianda/Ialysos was the largest population center on the island throughout the period, and as such it drew the majority of imported and luxury objects (constituting the majority of small finds from the island). Burial goods at Ialysos reflect ties to Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean in addition to Crete and the Mycenaean mainland. Perhaps as a result of this cosmopolitan nature of the population, local burial methods reflect a degree of variation not seen in the rest of the island. Both multiple and single burials (with a preference for each in different burial clusters) are attested, as well as an unparalleled preference for primary deposition, although secondary rites are common. The disappearance of surrounding cemeteries through the LH IIIB and IIIC indicates a nucleation of local authority that further distinguishes the population of Trianda/Ialysos from others on the island.

The communities of western Rhodes display almost identical funerary habits as can be seen at Ialysos, but are distinguished by a preference for multiple secondary burials. The geography of the area is fragmented by steep hills and mountains, and it is likely that there were multiple small population centers in this area of the island. For example, the adjacent cemeteries at Lelos and Kariones alternated in importance throughout the LH IIIA-C, but both fell into disuse and decline during the LH IIIC as funerary activity increased at nearby Kalavarda. It is likely that the western portion of

the island nucleated around the population at Kalavarda during the LH IIIC, much as occurred in northwestern Rhodes around Ialysos.

Material from eastern Rhodes reflects separate agencies from the western portion of the island through differences in ceramic shapes and chronological activity. In contrast to the overwhelming preference for closed ceramic shapes among grave goods that is visible in western Rhodian cemeteries, eastern cemeteries show more balanced ratios, and LH IIIB Pylona and Lardos display a unique preference for open shapes. A contemporary preference for open ceramic forms is only seen on Karpathos, and generally balanced ratios appear among Astypalaian rites. It is not clear if a connection can be drawn between eastern Rhodes and these areas, but it is possible that populations in eastern Rhodes shared certain affinities with communities on islands to the west. Regardless of external connections, the increase in funerary activity in southeast Rhodes during the LH IIIB (at Vati, and Yennadi at least demonstrates no decline in activity from the LH IIIA period) demonstrates different social agencies and concerns in this area than elsewhere on the island. The subsequent decline of the southeastern cemeteries during the LH IIIC contrasts with the increase in such activity at contemporary Pylona (near Lindos) on the eastern side of the island. In this case, it is unlikely that nucleation can explain the inverse fortunes of the two areas, as was the case elsewhere on Rhodes. The ratios of open to closed ceramic shapes is not the same between southeastern and eastern Rhodes, and the quantity and variety of small finds and imported objects from Pylona, near the eastern shore, sets this area off as having different external contacts.⁷¹⁶ Between

⁷¹⁶ It should be noted that the widespread looting and disturbance of sites in south and eastern Rhodes might skew the record of material deposition. See the sections on Lachania (3.5.12), Vati (3.5.14), Lardos (3.5.15), Pylona (3.5.16), and

southeastern and eastern Rhodes, the eastern population at Pylona appears to have been the wealthier, and funerary displays involving weapons, personal ornament, and non-ceramic vessels (only found here outside of Ialysos) are reminiscent of displays at Ialysos, even if the individual rites differ slightly.

By the end of the LH IIIC period relatively large and wealthy population centers had developed at Ialysos,⁷¹⁷ Kalavarda, Vati, and Pylona, with additional populations scattered in the southeast and west of the island.⁷¹⁸ During the subsequent SM/PG period, three of these centers—Ialysos, Kameiros (1.5 kilometers from Kalavarda), and Lindos (the nearest LH III coastal site to Pylona, between four and five kilometers around the coast)—produce the only evidence of activity on the island. In the cases of Kalavarda/Kameiros and Pylona/Lindos the specific site of activity changed, but the general location within the landscape remained the same. It is unclear why the southeastern population of the island is not represented in the SM/PG record (this

Lindos (3.5.17) in Chapter 3. It should also be noted that the Archaic period territory of Lindos extended to the southern tip of the island; see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 1202. Although this political territory should not be projected anachronistically into the LBA, the historic ability of Lindos to extend control over this part of the island might have been predicated upon longstanding relations and shared practices, as well as topographical accessibility.

⁷¹⁷ The settlement at Trianda has produced only scant LH IIIC remains thus far, but the number of LH IIIC graves at Ialysos required a sizeable community in the immediate area. It is likely either that the population center moved to another location within the coastal plain, or that modern activity and alluviation has obscured the post-LH IIIB phases of the settlement at Trianda. See the section on Trianda (3.5.1) in Chapter 3.

⁷¹⁸ See Appendix 1. Note that the very end of the LH IIIC, that is to say the (Argive) LH IIIC Late, is not represented in any significant quantity on Rhodes or in the southeast Aegean as a whole. The very end of the LH IIIC period and the transition into the SM/PG is discussed in more detail in the section *Toward a Local Chronological Progression* in Chapter 7; see also Notes 863-865 in Chapter 7 for references to LH IIIC Late material in the region.

plausibly has more to do with modern investigation than ancient reality), but the relative geographic stasis of major population centers could suggest a degree of continuity among the local communities of Rhodes. The agents of social authority might have changed within each area, thereby compelling a shift in the specific location of activity, but the overall population groups and the (social/territorial) division of the local landscape remained more or less intact. This is not the pattern of, for example, the shift in importance from the LBA centers of Mycenae, Midea, and Tiryns to Argos, or the later synoecism of Rhodes. In these cases, the shift of the location of local authority produced a larger shift in population distribution and especially territorial organization over much greater distances. No such deep changes in landscape use or territory can be detected with regard to Rhodes during the SM/PG period.

Submycenaean/Protogeometric material is scarce in the Dodecanese—only three cemeteries are known, all on Rhodes and Kos. The small sample makes it easier to define similarities among the material, and difficult to distinguish between real differences in practice versus simple variation.⁷¹⁹ Communities on Rhodes and Kos can be distinguished from their contemporaries in Caria by a preference for single, primary inhumation, and a tendency to inter children in proportionally higher numbers than elsewhere in the Aegean. Burial goods are more common than in Caria, and the classes of objects deposited are consistent among cemeteries on the islands.⁷²⁰ The record thus

⁷¹⁹ Consider here the high degree of local variation in funerary practices at LH III Ialysos; see the section on Ialysos (3.5.2) in Chapter 3.

⁷²⁰ See Tables 5.1 and 5.3 in this chapter. The lower number of ceramic goods per burial at Kameiros has the effect of skewing the ratio in favor the closed vessels that were used to contain the bodies of the deceased. In all three cemeteries, if the amphorae that contained the human remains are discounted from the record, then

indicates that communities on these islands exhibited a broad similarity that distinguishes them from their contemporaries on the adjacent mainland. That said, the smaller size of Rhodian tombs, accompanied by a tendency to deposit less wealth and fewer individuals per cemetery compared to Koan burials, all attest Rhodian variation within this continuum of shared practices. This variation suggests that access to burial space was dependent on different social factors between Rhodian and Koan populations. Likewise, differences in the frequency of deposited objects might suggest different perceptions of the function of objects in the realm of elite displays, upon which the status of the interred individual was asserted. Unfortunately, these differences in perception and social distinction can be suggested based on the sparse material record, but cannot be described in any detail.

Kos, Kalymnos, and Central Caria. Like other areas of the southeast Aegean, Kos was inhabited prior to the LH IIIA by a people with a largely Cretan material culture.⁷²¹ Likewise, the LH IIIA was a period of rapid and complete Mycenaeanization. By the end of the LH IIIA2, the island possessed two main areas of habitation: the first centered on a large and materially wealthy population in the east at modern Kos town, with a number of smaller sites spread around the large coastal plain on the north end of the island; the second on the smaller coastal plain in the southwest of the island around Halasarna (near modern Kardamaina). The fragmentary nature of the material record outside of Kos town and its adjacent cemetery of Eleona-Langada makes it impossible to

the ratio of open to closed shapes is more even, and the range of shapes quite restricted. See Appendix 1.

⁷²¹ See again the sections *The Late Minoan / Late Helladic I-II Period*, and *The Late Helladic IIIA Period* in Chapter 2. See also Vitale and Treçarichi 2015.

detect any intra-island differences in the populations, as was done with Rhodes, and these two areas are differentiated by topography alone.

During the LH IIIB-C, ceramic assemblages and decorative styles are so similar between sites on Kos and Kalymnos that no useful distinctions can be made. The material record suggests that the populations on these two islands were interconnected to such a degree that it was beneficial for the disparate communities to represent themselves materially in nearly identical ways.⁷²² This area is distinguished by a smaller number of grave goods per burial than in nearby cemeteries, and a general preference for multiple burials. Additionally, the ratio of open to closed shapes is similar to what is seen in northern and western Rhodes, but is substantially different from the ratios in southern and eastern Rhodes and in the western islands. Although material differences exist between the site of Mūskebi in central Caria and the assemblages from Kos-Kalymnos, the chronologies of the two areas indicate a strong connection. After initial Mycenaeanization during the LH IIIA period, funerary activity at Mūskebi wanes sharply through the LH IIIB and IIIC periods as activity at Eleona-Langada on Kos continually increases. As demonstrated on contemporary Rhodes, this inverse activity pattern can be reconstructed to represent a nucleation of social authority around the population at Kos town. This would suggest that during the LH IIIB-C period, populations in central Caria—and those on Kalymnos—were socially tied to the main Koan population in northwestern Kos.⁷²³ The elites at Kos town established their authority in much the same

⁷²² Note that the evidence for LH III habitation on Kalymnos is confined to the southern half of the island adjacent to the island of Kos. The northern half of Kalymnos is largely inhospitable due to the topography.

⁷²³ It is worth noting here the mythic association of Koan kings with Kalymnos and Nisyros; see the sections on those three islands in Appendix 3.

way as can be seen at contemporary Ialysos, at least with regard to the funerary realm. The pattern of material deposition is slightly different on Kos, but the overall model is more or less the same.

The broad societal link between Kos, Kalymnos, central Caria (the Bodrum peninsula), and perhaps smaller communities on other islands in the immediate vicinity, cannot be detected in the following SM/PG period. The initial inversion of the LH III pattern, whereby SM/PG Carian communities multiplied and expanded in activity as Koan activity decreased, might imply a connection between these areas at least through the transition from the LH III to the beginning of the SM/PG period, but it is difficult to detect without more material. The absence of evidence should be treated cautiously, however, since there is little SM/PG material from any of the Dodecanesian islands outside of Rhodes and Kos, and only one known SM/PG site on Kos itself. The absence of other material within this area might simply be a factor of exploration and preservation. As on Rhodes, it is significant that the sole Koan SM/PG site is located at Kos town—the seat of primary social authority on the island during the LH III period. The specific location of funerary rites changed during this time from outside the settlement at Eleona-Langada to within the confines of the LH III city (which might plausibly be interpreted to be the outskirts of the SM/PG town⁷²⁴), a change in location that is generally similar to the movement of funerary settings seen on Rhodes during this period.

⁷²⁴ Admittedly, this is an unproven hypothesis. The SM/PG settlement has not been located at Kos town, but funerary activity is commonly located at the outskirts of a settlement during the SM/PG period.

A continuation of concentrated social authority is attested at Kos town by the nature of burials in addition to their location. The prevalence of materially wealthy child burials, which occur here in a higher concentration than anywhere else in the contemporary Aegean, is suggestive of a special importance afforded to the brief heirs to family status.⁷²⁵ The materials deposited with the burials are consistent with funerary goods in other areas (i.e., the grave goods are not child-specific, like toys or feeding bottles), and the primary difference is the contextual focus on children. This practice is echoed on a much smaller scale at Kameiros on Rhodes, and in general terms the practices on Rhodes and Kos share more similarities with each other than either does with Caria. That said, child burials at Kameiros are poorer in the quantity of grave goods compared to Koan examples, and the simple presence of so many children at Kos town sets the accompanying community apart. This demographic difference attests different ideas regarding status and access to burial space than is seen elsewhere in the region. An understanding of the exact nature of those differences must await the discovery of adult burials on Kos and the SM/PG settlement.

Caria. Like other areas of the southeast Aegean, the Carian littoral was inhabited prior to the LH IIIA, during which period the populations of the area underwent a thorough Mycenaeanization.⁷²⁶ The Mycenaean portion of Caria—defined by sites that exhibit a dominant Mycenaean material culture, not simply the presence of Mycenaean objects—is confined to the ancient coastline extending south from Miletus. As a result of proximity there are strong similarities between the Carian material record and that

⁷²⁵ See the section on Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4.

⁷²⁶ See again the sections *The Late Minoan / Late Helladic I-II Period*, and *Late Helladic IIIA Period* in Chapter 2.

demonstrated on the islands of the central Dodecanese. As noted in the previous section on Kos, the chronological fortunes of Müskebi can plausibly be connected with those of the population at Kos town, indicating a strong social link between central Caria and the central Dodecanese. Unfortunately, the absence of complete publications might obscure different depositional patterns within the area. To date, no LH III Carian cemetery has been published in sufficient detail to allow a complete comparison with island counterparts. Because the preliminary report on the excavations at Müskebi remains the best source for this type of investigation, the attested connection between central Caria and the islands cannot be expanded northward toward Miletus.⁷²⁷ Hittite documents attest Milesian activity during this period, but other Carian communities dealt with here cannot be associated directly with this activity, nor can they be associated with known Hittite place names.⁷²⁸ It is certainly plausible that (Mycenaeanized) Miletus acted with its own agency as the primary center of northern Caria during the LH III period, and that central Caria—the Bodrum peninsula—was within the orbit of communities on Kos and the central Dodecanese. Such a distinction remains hypothetical at present, since it combines literary and material evidence that does not overlap.

⁷²⁷ See Boysal 1967; see also the section on Müskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 for additional publications that attempt to supplement the preliminary report. Subsequent publication of the pottery in the Bodrum Museum (Boysal 1969b; Özgünel 1996), which includes Müskebi material, probably should not be considered complete publications of all of the site's ceramics.

⁷²⁸ On problems with associating Hittite place names, see Garstang and Gurney (1959, 75-100), Melchert (2003, 5-7, 37, 94), and Bryce (2005, 41-44). On the identification of Miletus with the Hittite Millawanda/Milawata, see Niemeier (1998, 23; 2005a 19-20). See also Hawkins (1998, 25-31) for a detailed discussion of place names in the region under consideration in this study. The area of Classical Caria is typically associated with the Hittite Karkisa/Karkiya; however, see recently Simon (2015) against this identification.

Central Caria—specifically the area around the Bodrum peninsula—becomes the center of a resurgence of funerary activity during the SM/PG period. What is most notable about this resurgence is that it spreads beyond the littoral and into the mountainous Carian interior. In so doing, these populations become the only examples in the region during the SM/PG period to settle new territory that had not previously been under the sway of Mycenaean material culture. In contrast to settlement changes on Rhodes or Kos, the movement of Carian activity did not simply occur within existing territories, but brought about changes to earlier territorial boundaries. Although these communities appear clustered around the peninsula, the range of variation in funerary architecture and practice makes it uncertain if these disparate communities operated within a single agency. Chronological and methodological uncertainties regarding the SM material aside, the three best published of the Carian cemeteries—Çömlekçi, Assarlık, and Dirmil—all display slightly different styles and sizes of built tombs, enclosures, and burial containers. Additionally, burial rites vary in terms of the number of individuals interred, and in what state (primary or secondary, inhumed or cremated).

This range of variation is difficult to explain given the relatively short chronological span of the SM/PG period, especially in relation to the comparatively homogenous, yet similarly rapid, Mycenaeanization of the larger region during the LH IIIA. It is possible, however, that this swift expansion during the SM/PG is precisely what led to the diversity of practices. If shared material expression represents attempts to express societal commonalities, then such diversity can be interpreted as a reflection of each group's attempt to differentiate itself from its neighbors in light of the rapid development of multiple new spheres of social authority. Rather than see this expansion

as resulting from the spread of a single source or social model, the diversity can be considered a reflection of autochthonous social complexity. In this way, a new Carian identity can be postulated to have emerged by the LPG, resulting in part from a decline of regional authority of Koan populations, but these Carian groups should not be considered a homogenous unit. Instead, LPG central Caria should be viewed as a patchwork of different communities, obviously connected, since they ultimately share the same material culture, but distinct with regard to social authority and agency. Milesian activity in the north continues from the LH III period, but the chronology is not fully established and the absence of funerary material makes direct comparison with central Caria impossible at present.

Samos. Like Karpathos, the populations of Samos are differentiated from the rest of the region in large part by their divergent chronological fortunes. Although the island is Mycenaeanized by the LH IIIA2, there is no subsequent material until the appearance of SM/PG ceramics at the Heraion and Pythagoreion. Landscape continuity is plausible due to the reuse of these two sites, both located on opposite ends of the same large coastal plain in the southeast of the island, but the chronologically significant intervening gap remains unexplained. In addition to the chronology, aspects of the LH IIIA funerary record set the area apart from communities on islands in the southern Dodecanese. The absence of open vessels from tombs at Myloi and the Heraion, as well as design differences in the tombs themselves (such as built-stone construction, shorter dromoi, and constructed tumuli, which are more common farther north in Ionia⁷²⁹) are not attested

⁷²⁹ Tombs constructed in this manner appear in Ionia, but also on Delos, and in Attica, Achaëa, and Thessaly; see Papadimitriou 2001, 142-143; Georgiadis 2003, 43-44.

elsewhere in the southeast Aegean. This need not indicate a separate and unrelated population, but it does indicate differences in the external influences and self-representation of the local populations from those farther south. As with Miletus, the SM/PG material does not come from funerary contexts and so cannot be compared directly with Dodecanesian or Carian contexts.

Siedlungskammern and Social Groups

An additional avenue of investigation is provided by what have been called *Siedlungskammern*.⁷³⁰ Each “settlement chamber” is identified by topographic isolation from its neighbors—groups of sites in a valley or coastal plain that is ringed with mountains can be labeled as a single *Siedlungskammer* based on the logical assumption that the population of each of these settlements would have had more regular contact with the other communities in that *Kammer* than with communities outside of that topographic niche. As a result, settlements can be grouped together based on topographic access to one another as a way of analyzing the degree to which different communities might plausibly have interacted with one another. This approach requires modification for the southeast Aegean in two respects. First, the scarcity of settlements means that the locations of cemetery sites must be substituted; however, because a cemetery can be connected to the living landscape of an undefined settlement, the cemetery can stand in

⁷³⁰ See Hertel and Schachner (2000, 306), and Pavúk (2015, 95) for specific reference to western Anatolia. See also the concise discussion and definition in Bintliff (2000, 40-41). Hertel and Schachner use the term within the specific context of a settlement hierarchy, which will be discussed in the section *Social Authorities and Hierarchies* in Chapter 6. Pavúk uses the term in a more literal manner to associate settlements by geography without the implication of rank. The ability to associate sites by topography, even if the character of the sites is unknown, is of particular value here.

for the community at large in the assembly of *Siedlungskammern* in this region. Second, island communities are not exclusively confined by mountains, and the easiest route of communication between two places might not be overland; as a result, access to the sea must be taken into account within this model. Recent work on the nature and navigability of Bronze Age watercraft have established general daily ranges for both paddled or oared smaller boats (20-40/50 kilometers, essentially inter-island communication and commerce), and larger sailing vessels (100 kilometers or more, essentially long-distance inter-regional communication along foreign trade routes).⁷³¹ Since the idea of the *Siedlungskammern* is based on the frequency of contact, the shorter distance for a one-way journey by small boat will be used in this analysis—two coastal populations that are within 40 kilometers of one another will be considered part of the same *Kammer*.

Based on this method, an identification of *Siedlungskammern* can be attempted for the southeast Aegean during the LH III as follows; see Figure 5.20.

1. The communities of Astypalaia, being confined within a small geographical space and with easy access to the sea, can be identified as a single unit.

2. Activity on Karpathos is clustered in the north and the south, divided by a mountainous and barren neck of land that would likely have hindered overland communication; nevertheless, easy access to the sea would have enabled communities to maintain ties. On the east side of the island, the distance between Kambi in the north and Pigadia in the south is just under 30 kilometers; likewise, the distance on the west side of the island between Brykous in the north and Arkaseia in the south is nearly 40 kilometers. It is plausible that Kasos should be included within this unit, since the modern harbor on

⁷³¹ On these ranges see Broodbank 2000, 102, 345; Knappett et al. 2008, 1114; Tartaron 2013, 85, 112, 192.

the north side of the island—about a kilometer and half from LBA Poli—lies roughly 18 kilometers from Arkaseia on Karpathos, and roughly 40 kilometers around the coast from Pigadia. Therefore, a Karpathos-Kasos *Kammer* can be constructed, with three subdivisions: northern and southern Karpathos (2a and 2b respectively), and Kasos (2c).

3. Rhodes, with its mountainous interior, can be reconstructed with multiple *Kammern* distributed around the coast. First (3a), The settlement at Trianda in the north plausibly included the community at Maritsa; additionally, although Koskinou and Kalythies are separated by overland hills, the low hills would not have created a severe impediment, and the sea would have provided easy communication routes—the beach at modern Ammoudes (between LBA Kalythies and Koskinou) is roughly 20 kilometers by sea from the settlement at Trianda. Second (3b), although the populations that would have made use of Kalavarda, Kameiros, Lelos, Kariones, and Kastraki are separated by rough terrain (especially the inland community at Lelos/Kariones), the drainages and narrow valleys around the south and west of Mt. Profitis Ilias provide communication routes between the inland communities and the coast.⁷³² To the south, Kymisala is separated from the other sites to the north by difficult terrain around Mt. Attavyros, but its nearest beach at Glyfada below modern Lakki lies 25 kilometers from Kalavarda; it is possible that communities around Kymisala were oriented toward Kalavarda, but the remoteness of the location makes this uncertain. Third (3c), the communities at Pylona, Lardos, and Lindos are located very close to one another and have easy access to the sea. Additionally, the communities centered in the Vati valley and Yennadi are separated from those to the north by approximately 10 kilometers from the beach south of Lardos to

⁷³² Note that small modern roads still follow these valleys.

the mouth of the Vati river. The river valley also extends inland and comes very near a tributary of the Apolakkia river, which plausibly formed a route of communication between these communities. It is likely that the communities along the coast to the north of Lindos at Archangelos and Vigli should be added to this *Kammer* since the coastal valley between Lindos and modern Kharaki leads directly to the valley of Archangelos. Vigli and Archangelos are separated from the Trianda *Kammer* (3a) by steeper hills, which plausibly marks the northern boundary of *Kammer* 3c. In addition to the sites on Rhodes, the settlement at Kastro on Symi lies roughly 40 kilometers from the settlement at Trianda and just over 35 kilometers from the beach at Kalavarda.⁷³³ It is, therefore, plausible that communities on Symi can be included in the Rhodian *Kammer* even if the exact relationship is unclear.

4. Kos can be divided roughly in half by the line of the Dikios mountain range. On the north side of this division (4a), centered around Kos town, the large coastal plain supported settlements as far west as Agia Paraskevi and Palaiopyli. South of the line of mountains (4b), the coastal plain at Halasarna (modern Kardamaina) supported additional communities.⁷³⁴ Although the overland terrain between these two *Kammern* is not as barren as on other islands, the clustering of sites around the northern and southern coastal plains suggests that the two groups of communities were oriented differently, perhaps each around the large settlement in its area—Kos town and Halasarna. The distance by sea—at nearly 30 kilometers between Kos town and modern Kardamaina—suggests a

⁷³³ Kastro on Symi is roughly 50 kilometers by sea from the next nearest site to the north at Knidos.

⁷³⁴ See the sections on Halasarna (3.7.15) and Eleona (3.7.14) in Chapter 3. Note especially the discovery of Nerantzia, Koukos, and Tsangaris (see Notes 394 and 400 in Chapter 3) by the Halasarna survey, which are small satellite sites that plausibly attest nucleation around the population at Halasarna.

degree of relative autonomy between the two settlement areas,⁷³⁵ even if the distance is not so great as to prevent regular communication. This *Kammer* likely also included communities outside of Kos on Kalymnos and in Caria. The communities on Kalymnos (4c) are divided by a steep mountain ridge, but are only approximately seven kilometers distant from one another by sea. The distance of just under 30 kilometers between the harbor at Kos town and modern Kalymnos town (at the edge of which lies the LBA cemetery at Perakastro) links these sub-*Kammern*. Additionally, the distance between the harbor at Kos town and the coast nearest to Múskebi (four kilometers inland) in Caria is just over 15 kilometers by sea, and Knidos is roughly 30 kilometers from Kos town or 20 kilometers from Halasarna by sea. Kastro on Leros lies about 50 kilometers from the harbor at Kos town, at the extreme edge of the range proposed for a longboat, but just over 30 kilometers from the harbor at Vathy (near LBA Daskalio Cave) on Kalymnos.

5. The communities on Samos are all located around the same coastal plain on the southeast side of the island and form a single *Kammer*.

6. Iasos and Pilavtepe are joined by access to the sea at Iasos, and are separated by roughly 13 kilometers. The extensive inland plain around Pilavtepe has been formed by alluviation, and in the LBA Pilavtepe would have been closer to the bay, and thus would have had easier contact via the sea.

It is more difficult to group sites during the SM/PG period because in many areas there are too few sites to group (Figure 5.21). Rhodes and Kos are particularly problematic in this regard. Although Ialysos and Kameiros are only separated by a little

⁷³⁵ “Relative autonomy” as compared to, for example, communities at Kos town and Ask lupi, which are separated by only 3.5 kilometers overland.

over 20 kilometers by sea, the absence of other sites in the area makes it difficult to call this area a “settlement chamber.” Likewise, Kos town and Knidos are difficult to group together without additional sites around either. Nevertheless, the distribution of sites in the north does allow for *Siedlungskammern* to be identified.

7. Communities on Samos are joined to those north of the Mt. Mycale peninsula in southern Ionia. The site of Melie is separated by only 25 kilometers from Pythagoreion or 30 kilometers from the Heraion.

8. Miletus and Teichiussa are on opposite sides of what would have been a peninsula in this period, separated by an easy overland plain or just over 50 kilometers by sea.

9. The communities of central Caria (the Bodrum peninsula and the area inland) are divided from one another by very rugged topography. In the western tip of the peninsula (9a), the small coastal plains below Assarlık and Dirmil are separated by just over 40 kilometers by sea; conversely, the plain below Assarlık stretches inland (past LBA Müskebi) toward Dirmil, which could plausibly have provided an avenue of communication. The 15 kilometers between the coast near Assarlık and Kos town should also associate these communities as well. Farther east (9b), Theangela and Çömlekçi are situated at opposite ends of an inland plain; Pilavtepe lies to the north from Çömlekçi, accessible by narrow valleys through the mountains. These two sub-*Kammern* are most easily connected by sea. The northern sea-route from Dirmil extends roughly 30 kilometers to the nearest coast to Çömlekçi (itself seven kilometers from the coast), or just over 40 kilometers to what would probably have been the ancient coastline near Pilavtepe. The southern sea-route is less direct, since Theangela is eight kilometers from

the coast. The closest coastlines, now a series of resorts below modern Çiftlikköy, lie roughly 20 kilometers from the coast below Assarlık. This *Kammern* is significantly more divided by topography than the others outlined here, but each site is sufficiently close to a neighbor to allow tentative groupings. Still, the divisions might indicate a higher degree of relative autonomy between each community (and plausibly between the eastern and western sub-*Kammern*) than in more densely settled areas.

Table 5.5 – Comparison of Social Units and *Siedlungskammern*

Date	Social Units	<i>Siedlungskammern</i>	Territory added by <i>Kammern</i>
LH III	Western SE Aegean	1, 2 (a-c)	Kasos (2c)
	Rhodes	3 (a-c)	Symi (3a/b)
	Northern (Trianda/Ialysos)	3a	
	Western (Kalavarda)	3b	
	Southeastern (Vati/Yennadi)	3c	
	Eastern (Pylona/Lindos)		
	Kos-Kalymnos-Central Caria	4 (a-c)	Knidos, Leros
	Samos	5	
Caria (northern)	6		
SM/P G	Samos	7	Mycale peninsula
	Northern Caria	8	
	Central Caria	9 (a-b)	

These *Siedlungskammern* compare well with the social units identified by variation in the funerary material record; see Table 5.5 and Figure 5.22. *Kammern* 1 and 2 match with the Western Southeast Aegean social units. On Rhodes, the northern social unit (centered on the population at Trianda/Ialysos) matches with *Kammer* 3a; the western social unit (centered on the population at Kalavarda) matches with *Kammer* 3b; the eastern social unit(s) matches with *Kammer* 3c, although the distinction in funerary practices between the southeast (centered on Vati) and the east (centered on Pylona) is

not represented in the *Kammer*. The Kos-Kalymnos-Bodrum peninsula social unit matches with *Kammer* 4. The Samian social unit matches with *Kammer* 5. Meanwhile, *Kammern* 6-8 fit within the broad geography of northern coastal Caria and SM/PG Samos, where incomplete excavation histories and publications prevent precise identification of funerary practices. The more narrowly defined SM/PG area of central Caria matches *Kammer* 9. The *Kammern* also allow overseas communities to be associated with larger population centers. The community on Symi can plausibly be connected to communities in northern Rhodes (*Kammern* 3a/b), while populations on Leros and at Knidos can plausibly be connected with those on Kos (*Kammer* 4). The inclusion of the Mycale peninsula with Samos in *Kammer* 7 is likely a reflection of the northward (Ionian) orientation for the area's inhabitants during the SM/PG period.⁷³⁶

This strong correlation is important because the social units and the *Siedlungskammern* are based on different kinds of activities. The social units rely exclusively on funerary practice; other diverse types of activities—such as overseas trade, the exercise of local social authority, ceramic production, etc.—are reflected in the funerary record, but only insofar as they are mediated by the burial rites. As a result, the social units reflect conscious efforts to represent the deceased and the wider community through shared practices within a larger collective identity. On the other hand, *Siedlungskammern* do not reflect the way a community chose to be represented, but instead reflect the likelihood of regularized interactions and a general interdependence of different communities. Therefore, a correlation between the two indicates a correlation

⁷³⁶ This northward orientation is discussed in more detail in the section *The Southeast Aegean and the Colonial Experience* in Chapter 8. See also Note 729 in this chapter.

between the external self-representations of different groups of communities, and the sorts of implied (but largely archaeologically invisible) activities associated with regular contact between communities (i.e., personal knowledge, marriage, small-scale exchange of basic commodities, etc.). The combined picture of distributed social groups, supported by both sets of data, is thus more likely to reflect ancient practice.

Throughout the periods under consideration here, communities on Rhodes, Kos, and in central Caria might be viewed as the social core of the southeast Aegean. Communities in these areas were uniformly affected by Mycenaeanization and display similar and interrelated adaptations to the changes that affected Aegean societies during the post-palatial period. By contrast, societies farther from these centers—on Astypalaia, Karpathos, and Samos—display markedly different adaptations to the stresses of the LH III period. In many of these areas, adaptations apparently precluded the continued existence of the local LBA social units. Although this evidence alone (in the absence of additional survey and excavation data) should not be interpreted to suggest the total depopulation of western or northern areas of the southeast Aegean, it does indicate significant social differences between the communities in these areas and those farther east and south. The core areas of Rhodes, Kos, and central Caria are marked by the (largely static) geographic preservation of social authority into the SM/PG period within the boundaries of earlier territorial associations.

Chapter 6

Society and the Social Landscape

This chapter examines the broad nature of societies in the southeast Aegean from the LH IIIB to the end of the LPG period. Chapter 2 discussed the introduction of Mycenaean material culture to the region, this chapter begins with an examination of how Mycenaean the societies that used that material culture really were. The chapter then proceeds to examine the societal significance of those buried and how representative the burial community might have been of the total population. With an understanding of what the societies might have looked like, the distribution of social authorities within the landscape is then considered with special reference to local hierarchies, landscape features, and territoriality.

Society and Burial in the Southeast Aegean

How Mycenaean Was the Southeast Aegean?

The core of the southeast Aegean was fully Mycenaeanized in terms of its material culture by the end of the LH IIIA2 period.⁷³⁷ The material culture of

⁷³⁷ See Chapter 2 for the pre-LH IIIB history of the region, especially the section *The Late Helladic IIIA Period*. The role that preexisting (pre-Mycenaeanized) communities played in the development of subregional distinctions warrants additional investigation. Recent linguistic research has illustrated a degree of contact between the Greek language and the Carian and Luwian languages that

communities in the western areas (Astypalaia and Karpathos) display slightly more material influence from Crete, but communities in the central areas of the region (Rhodes, Kos, and Caria) almost exclusively made use of material imported from, or derived from, the Mycenaean mainland. This material fact raises an interesting question regarding the nature of those societies: since Mycenaean culture is typically viewed through the lens of the palace, to what extent can these societies be described as Mycenaean? In other words, to what extent did communities in these areas experience Mycenaean culture?

The question is legitimate. The majority of modern understanding about the functioning of Mycenaean society is based on texts and sealings recovered from palaces in the Argolid, Messenia, and on Crete. Combined with additional information from the material record attesting trade and exchange networks at the local and international levels, a picture has developed of economic and political interaction that is largely

must have occurred at least partially within this geography. For example, the plausible Carian underpinning of place names and later deme names throughout the Dodecanese implies a Carian identity for pre- or non-Mycenaean (and Minoan) population groups on the islands; see especially Bresson (2009, 113-114), as well as Craik (1980, 47-52). Likewise, the inclusion of Luwian ethnonymic markers in later Greek constructions suggests an early contact between speakers of the respective languages, even if the exact location and chronology of this contact has not been identified specifically; see Dale 2015, 422-437 (see also Note 748 in this Chapter). Note also that mythic traditions concerning Symi, Nisyros, and Kalymnos all reference Carian inhabitants prior to Cretan and/or Greek colonization; see the sections on Symi, Nisyros and Kalymnos in Appendix 3. A more complete examination of the populations of the region prior to Minoan- and Mycenaeanization would involve an examination of Early and Middle Bronze Age remains (which are beyond the scope of this study), which could potentially shed light on what types of societies Cretan and mainland Mycenaean peoples encountered upon their arrivals, and the degree to which the communities of the LBA represent cultural hybridizations.

inseparable from the palace itself.⁷³⁸ The Mycenaean palace is not simply a status-laden building symbolic of the state, but rather is seen as an integral part of the bureaucracy that maintained the state structures. As such, the palace and Mycenaean culture have become inextricably linked in archaeological discourse. This is not to say that the association is invalid—on the contrary, the palace structures were, by all evidence, integral to the collective identities of Mycenaean states like those in Messenia, the Argolid, Boeotia, or the Gulf of Volos among others. Yet ongoing research in what could be termed peripheral areas of the Mycenaean world (e.g., in the Corinthia, in the hinterlands of the Pylian kingdom, and in Thessaly) has begun to shift this focus and attempt to examine the functioning of non-palatial Mycenaean society.

With regard to the southeast Aegean, a caveat must first be considered: there are no extensively excavated towns in the region.⁷³⁹ This is not an academic consideration. Excavations at what were plausibly the largest population centers in the region—at Trianda, Kos town, and Miletus—have not revealed more than a few complete buildings and assorted wall segments of others. This is due primarily to the nature of the excavations, whereby the Mycenaean levels can only be accessed by digging around later (or modern) structures. This fact makes any attempt to reveal a relatively complete town layout impossible. Other known or plausible settlement sites in the region either have not been excavated or are so disturbed by later activity that it might never be possible to

⁷³⁸ By way of introduction, see the recent summaries of current research on Mycenaean palatial economies, mobilization, and social structures in Galaty and Parkinson (2007, 3-16), Tartaron (2008, 104-110), Nakassis et al. (2010), and Nakassis (2013). The old image of the socially monolithic palace is changing, and is being challenged by survey data and nuanced theoretical interpretations of economic and political interactions.

⁷³⁹ See the sections on Trianda (3.5.1), Kos town (3.7.3), the Heraion (3.12.2), Miletus (3.14.1), and Iasos (3.14.2) in Chapter 3.

locate reliable Mycenaean levels of the site (as with Lindos and Iasos, for example). The result of this practical impasse is that it is not possible to say with certainty whether there is or is not a Mycenaean palace (i.e., styled after examples on the Mycenaean mainland) located within the southeast Aegean. Of course, this uncertainty cannot form the basis for a logical reconstruction of the societies within the region; it merely prevents the blanket statement that the southeast Aegean was palace-less. As a result, any attempt to reconstruct the political structure of societies of the region is automatically hindered, and, accordingly, must be approached indirectly.

So if the politics cannot be reconstructed directly, what was culturally Mycenaean, and not simply materially Mycenaean? Culture is composed of more than political structures; it is appearance, religious beliefs, family organization, and language, among many other aspects.⁷⁴⁰ With regard to the southeast Aegean, appearance is perhaps the easiest to identify from the funerary record. Jewelry, weaponry, and tools—in other words, the more personal objects that a person would have worn and carried—suggest that the appearance of the region's inhabitants was consistent with what is known about the dress and external presentation of the peoples of central and southern Greece. Of course, the location of these objects in a funerary setting, as opposed to a domestic context, can call into question the degree to which these objects were representative of the inhabitants' everyday appearance, and it should be noted that objects of Balkan, Anatolian, and eastern Mediterranean manufacture do appear in the graves. That said, none of these objects are inconsistent with assemblages in central and southern Greece, and the appearance of the people and their surroundings would at least have been

⁷⁴⁰ The concept of Mycenaean-ness and what it meant to ascribe to a Mycenaean identity or ethnicity has recently been well examined by Feuer (2011).

recognizable to a visitor from the Mycenaean mainland. This is not a consideration that should be taken lightly, but it is a consideration that is ultimately superficial.

A deeper cultural connection lies in the funerary habits, which are fully Mycenaean. The construction and use of regional chamber tombs are fully within the realm of funerary variation seen in central and southern Greece; only on Samos are external influences seen in the form of a tumulus erected over a built chamber.⁷⁴¹ Moreover, the depositional practices—i.e., the placement, treatment, and number of bodies; the types, location, and treatment/condition of grave goods; the general location of cemeteries within the landscape—are also fully comparable to practices seen on the Mycenaean mainland. As a result, there can be no doubt that the funerary practices of peoples within the southeast Aegean were Mycenaean. This statement has implications for the broader religious and ideological beliefs of the region's inhabitants, especially given the presence of Phi- and Psi-type figurines from graves on Rhodes and Kos, and from disturbed contexts at the later settlement at Iasos. Although none of this evidence directly attests the broader religious beliefs of the region's inhabitants, it is difficult to imagine that conceptions of the treatment and role of the deceased within a society, and the specific rituals that enact those beliefs, could be transferred to the region in isolation of other ideologies.

Family organization is more difficult to pin down based on the tombs alone. Analysis of skeletal remains at the Aspropilia cemetery cluster at Pylona on Rhodes indicates that several of the individuals buried in a single tomb potentially were related (or at least came from the same genetic population), as revealed by the repeated presence

⁷⁴¹ See note 446 in Chapter 3. Even here, the form is not unknown in the Mycenaean repertoire.

of markers for anemia and wormian bones.⁷⁴² Similar family relationships have recently been examined among tomb burials in the Mycenaean mainland.⁷⁴³ However, the fact that members of a single lineage were buried in a single chamber merely demonstrates that members of that lineage were accorded similar status in death (and presumably, although not necessarily, in life). The specific relationships and organization of the kin network cannot be reconstructed without additional evidence, and the results are difficult to apply to other cemeteries where skeletal remains might not have been kept or properly recorded. Nevertheless, the uncertainty regarding the nature of the specific relationships of related individuals should not override the importance of the burial practice. The fact that multiple generations of related individuals could be accorded similar status at Aspropilia suggests that the methods by which social status was transmitted were at least partially tied to heredity. That such individuals were both male and female indicates that concepts of heredity were not exclusive to one sex or the other.

These social constructs are not exclusive to the Mycenaean world, or even within the eastern Mediterranean, but they are also not commonly revealed by funerary rites. Thus, funerary evidence for their existence combined with roughly parallel rites in both the southeast Aegean and the Mycenaean mainland suggests a deep (as opposed to superficial) cultural tie with specific regard to the relationship between social organization and authoritative structures. Although the details of organization cannot be reconstructed from the information currently at hand, the mechanisms by which status

⁷⁴² See the discussion of Aspropilia in the section on Pylona (3.5.16) in Chapter 3. See also McGeorge 2001, 96-97. It should be noted that both of these skeletal markers could be related to poor nutrition and chronic diseases related to diet, which are otherwise attested by enamel hypoplasia and cribra orbitalis.

⁷⁴³ See, for example, Schepartz et al. 2009, 165-166; Bouman et al. 2009, 305-306. See, however, Georgiou et al. 2009, 276.

was accorded to family units, and by which that status might be claimed through access to a family unit, appear to have been shared by communities in both the southeast Aegean and the southern Greek (Mycenaean) mainland.⁷⁴⁴

Language, a factor of paramount importance for identity construction, is not directly visible during this period in the southeast Aegean. Unless a cache of Linear B tablets should be discovered amongst the ruins of one of the Mycenaean period settlements in the region, any pursuit of language is ultimately highly speculative.⁷⁴⁵ That said, there is some justification for speculation in this regard, and it is worth mentioning a few, at least circumstantial, pieces of evidence. Hittite diplomatic letters that name Attarissiyas and Tawagalawa in conjunction with the place name Ahhiya(wa) have been linked to the Greek personal names Atreus and Eteokles, and the toponym Achaia respectively.⁷⁴⁶ Although the associations are plausible, and generally accepted,

⁷⁴⁴ Georgiadis and Gallou (2006-2007, 173-180) have favorably compared funerary rites regarding sources of water and the location of cemeteries in both the Argolid and the southeast Aegean.

⁷⁴⁵ Even then, such a cache would only attest the existence of Mycenaean Greek in the region, not its status as the primary language of the general population. Likewise, royal communication between the Hittite king and the king of Ahhiyawa (if it is to be associated with a Mycenaean polity) attests the presence of Hittite speakers in the Ahhiyawan kingdom, but Hittite is unlikely to have been the primary language of the general populace. On problems with associating languages and populations in western Anatolia, see Melchert 2003, 1-3, 8.

⁷⁴⁶ The individual associations of these personal names have generally been accepted (see West 2001, 265; Beckman et al. 2011, 97, 120) dating back to Forrer's (1924a, 113-114; 1924b, 21) initial associations. Other names in Hittite records have been proposed to have Greek connections (for example, Alaksandus = Ἀλέξανδρος), but their connections to other geographic areas (as to Wilusa in this case) removes them from the scope of the discussion here. For more recent discussions and relevant references see the following: for Attarissiya see West (2001), Hoffner (2009, 255-256), and Beckman et al. (2011, 97-98, 285-286); for Tawagalawa see Niemeier (2007, 80, note 504), Hoffner (2009, 296-297), and Beckman et al. (2011, 120, 286); see also Beckman et al. (2011, 135, 138, note

any connection to the southeast Aegean relies on an association between the region and Ahhiyawa. Unfortunately for this discussion, the location of the Hittite political entity Ahhiyawa is the subject of great debate, and can only tentatively be located in the southeast Aegean.⁷⁴⁷ Concerning the Greek language, a recent suggestion that the Classical Greek ethnonymic suffix *-ηνος* derives from the Luwian *-wann(i)* implies an early linguistic contact between (Mycenaean?) Greek and the languages of western Anatolia; a subsequent transmission localized in the east Aegean/west Anatolia is postulated, but the exact date cannot be narrowed.⁷⁴⁸ Although circumstantial, altogether

102) for the proper name Kagamuna, who might be a named relative of an Ahhiyawan king.

⁷⁴⁷ The Hittite *Ahhiya(wa)* is typically associated with the Greek Ἀχαιοί, and thus with the Mycenaeans. On the history of this association, see the discussion in Fischer (2010, 31-36, 40-45). See also Niemeier (1998, 19-27, 43-45, especially fig. 3) and Beckman et al. (2011, 1-6) for useful overviews of the voluminous historiography regarding the placement of Ahhiya/Ahhiyawa, which (currently) is most often associated with a Mycenaean polity in southern Greece, like Mycenae. For an association with the southeast Aegean, see Mountjoy (1998, 49-51), with older references in Niemeier (1998, 20, fig. 3), who disagrees with the association. The primary argument against locating Ahhiyawa with the southeast Aegean appears to be the absence of evidence for a large seat of political power in the region; see the references in Niemeier (1998, 44) and Hope Simpson (2003, 231). However, as has been noted several times in this study, there is a serious lack of settlement data in the region as a whole, and it is reasonably unsound (methodologically) to conclude firmly that no significant seat of political power existed when known settlements either cannot, or have not been, extensively investigated.

⁷⁴⁸ Dale (2015, 422-433) offers a convincing reconstruction of the linguistic derivation of the Greek *-ηνος* (**-φενος*) from the Luwian *-wann(i)*, and suggests (438-439) that the period of transmission should lie sometime at the end of the LBA; he admits, however, that this date cannot be proven. His proposal (434-437) that the toponym Mytilene (Μυτίληνα) is derived from something originally meaning “the city of Muwatallis” (**Muwatalliwann(i) > *Μυφετελιφενα > *Μυτιληνα > Μυτίληνα*,” 437) is interesting for its implications regarding Hittite involvement on the islands off the coast of its western Anatolian vassals, but is beyond the immediate scope of this investigation. It is mentioned here only as a plausible example of Hittite involvement in the region; see also for example, Bryce

this evidence suggests that those populations of the southeast Aegean that made use of Mycenaean material culture probably had at least a passing familiarity with the Mycenaean language, even if it was not (yet) the primary language of the general population. The likelihood that the transmission of material culture was accompanied by some degree of human movement makes this all but certain.⁷⁴⁹

In sum, the funerary picture of the region during the LH III period is entirely consistent with patterns observable on the Mycenaean mainland. Without additional settlement data there is no reliable way to compare the funerary and domestic contexts in order to determine the degree to which local communities practiced a Mycenaean culture in daily life. Conversely, without that settlement data there is also no reasonable argument against the idea that at least a significant portion of many local communities (if not entire communities) considered themselves Mycenaean and thus chose to express that identity in death. It is likely that the general populations of the eastern Dodecanesian islands and the Carian coast were composed of peoples with various backgrounds and ethnic affiliations, but by the beginning of the LH IIIB period there is little in the material record that attests the outward expression of non-Mycenaean identities. The conclusion, therefore, is that by this point it had become advantageous to assert a Mycenaean cultural affiliation upon death. Thus, it is very likely that it had become advantageous to express

2005, 212-214, 224-227, 290-293; Kelder 2004-2005, 77-80; Beckman et al. 2011, 271-276.

⁷⁴⁹ See recently Niemeier 2005b, 199-206; 2007, 51-60; Mountjoy 2015, 38; Eerbeek 2014, 280-285; 2015, 293-306.

such an affiliation in life as well, and it was that outward expression that gave rise to the material hybridism and idiosyncratic features that mark the region's local production.⁷⁵⁰

Who Had Access to Burial Space?

As discussed in Chapter 1 in the section on mortuary analysis, Mycenaean chamber tombs on the Greek mainland and on Crete do not demonstrate demographic patterns that match what would be expected of a living population. For example, men can outnumber women in the burial population by a factor of nearly 2:1 in some cases, and children (especially infants and very young children) are consistently underrepresented.⁷⁵¹ It should be noted, however, that during the LH III period, the numbers of men and women buried tend to be more balanced even if men do still outnumber women in the burial record.⁷⁵² Gendered and age-related imbalances indicate that some factors affected access to burial space; that is, only certain members of a community were entitled or allowed to be buried. Different burial practices depending on age can be detected in the SM/PG record at Kameiros and Kos town,⁷⁵³ whereby children were interred and adults were cremated, but no such distinctions can be detected in the LH III record with regard to age or gender. At Aspropilia at Pylona, the only cemetery in the region that has produced quantifiable data regarding age and gender, there is less disparity present: five chamber tombs contained 10 men, 10 women, and 10 children

⁷⁵⁰ On the blending of material influences on local ceramics, see Niemeier (1998, 39, fig. 15; 2005, 20), Kaiser and Zurbach (2015), and Vitale and Trecarichi (2015).

⁷⁵¹ See the discussion in the section *Who had access to burial spaces?* in Chapter 1.

⁷⁵² See Halstead 1977, 9, figs. 4, 8, 10.

⁷⁵³ See the sections on Kameiros (4.1.2) and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4.

under the age of 10.⁷⁵⁴ The average age at death for men was 35 and for women 31; however, the age distributions were considerably different, with a median age at death for men of about 35, and for women only about 25.⁷⁵⁵ This is due to the fact that half of the women in the sample died before reaching their late 20s, while all but two of the men lived past their late 20s or early 30s. Although this picture from Pylona is closer to what would be expected from a living population there are still imbalances: there is a scarcity of men under the age of 30, and there is only a single youth (a female) between the ages of 11 and 19. Some age disparity between men and women can be attributed to death or complications from childbirth,⁷⁵⁶ but it is likely that other social factors were considered.

The factors that affected access to burial space are unlikely to be revealed by a close examination of grave goods since it is doubtful that grave goods alone present an accurate reflection of the status, occupation, social role, etc. of the deceased.⁷⁵⁷ In a general sense, it is significant that especially during the LH IIIA period, and to a lesser extent during the LH IIIB, the overwhelming majority of ceramics deposited in southeast Aegean graves were imports, primarily from the Argolid. It is difficult to take the mere presence of imports in the funerary record as a direct marker of status or social role for the deceased; however, it is unlikely that every member of a society would have had equal access to imports. In light of this, the fact that every grave in many cemeteries is accompanied by imports suggests that those who were buried did have similar access to

⁷⁵⁴ For this discussion, see McGeorge 2001; see also the section on Pylona (3.5.16) in Chapter 3.

⁷⁵⁵ See McGeorge 2001, 94, 100, fig.1. The median estimates here are calculated from the 15 adults (seven men, eight women) whose ages are more narrowly estimated.

⁷⁵⁶ See Mee 1998b, 168-169; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 127-128.

⁷⁵⁷ See the discussion in the section *Who had access to burial spaces?* in Chapter 1.

those imports—this on its own plausibly marks a distinction between those who were buried (i.e., those in a social position to access imported goods) and those who were not. Of course, such a distinction is only valid if those who had access to burial did not comprise the entire local community.

Ian Morris assessed the differences between burial and resident populations in his examination of Athenian customs.⁷⁵⁸ His approach was based on the following formula to estimate an average total living population at any given moment based on the funerary population:

$$\text{total population size} = \frac{((\text{number of burials}) \times (\text{average life expectancy}))}{(\text{number of years the site was in use})}$$

A couple of these variables require additional definition. Life expectancy in this sense means the average age at death for the given burial population. The average ages at death at Pylona discussed earlier in this section—35 years for men, 31 for women—fits with models for the contemporary Argolid and Attica, which vary between 20 and 40 years of age generally.⁷⁵⁹ For the purposes here, the average age difference between the genders at Pylona is split and an average age of 33 is used. The number of years a site was in use is problematic in part because the chronology itself is debated, and in part because it is not always possible to know how exactly how long a tomb was used if only general dates are known (eg., generally LH IIIA). For these purposes, the chronology and absolute

⁷⁵⁸ Morris 1987, 97-109. For the formula to estimate population size and examples of its application, see Mee and Cavanagh (1984, 55-56), Morris (1987, 74), and Jones (1996, 26).

⁷⁵⁹ See Halstead 1977, 108-109; McGeorge 2001, 94.

dates is based on Warren and Hankey, as modified by Cynthia Shelmerdine and recent work with radiocarbon dating.⁷⁶⁰ The span during which a site was in use will be assumed (for simplicity and to ease comparison between sites) to have been the entire chronological span. This, of course, is simply not possible for many sites, but the calculation of population based on that assumption illustrates certain points about total population estimates.

The most striking illustration of the calculations in Table 6.1 is the low numbers of the general population estimates. In part these numbers might result from the fragmentary nature of the funerary record; for example, it is plausible that other tombs originally existed at Kalavarda, and so the number of the total population should probably be higher than it is here. On the other hand, the small populations are also due to the small number of burials that can be dated to large chronological ranges; for example, for 9 LH IIIB burials at Pylona to span a range of 120 years means that only one person would be buried every 13-14 years. Although a population of 30 might reasonably constitute a community of small dispersed farming families, populations in the order of single digits are difficult to justify as realistic population estimates. Such a small population would also have included the very young, the old, the sick, the weak, etc., and yet the effort must still have been expended to carve a chamber tomb, amass material

⁷⁶⁰ See Warren and Hankey 1989, 169, table 3.1; Shelmerdine 2001, 331-333, table 1. For the LH IIIA1 and IIIA2, the lowest date range of Shelmerdine's modification of Warren and Hankey's chronology is used: 1390/70 (IIIA1/2) – 1300. For the LH IIIB, again the lowest range is used: 1300-1180. For the beginning of the LH IIIC to the IIIC Middle (after which almost all activity in the region appears to cease), 1180 is maintained from the end of the LH IIIB, and the end date of the LH IIIC Middle, rounded to 1080, is obtained from Toffolo et al. (2013, 7-10) and Fantalkin et al. (2015, 35-41); the date is rounded to the middle of the range given by Toffolo et al., and to the end of the range given by Fantalkin et al.

Table 6.1 – Number of burials and population estimates by period⁷⁶¹

	LH IIIA1/2 (1390/1370 – 1300) <u>90/70 years</u>		LH IIIB (1300 – 1180) <u>120 years</u>		LH IIIC Early – Middle (1180 – 1080) <u>100 years</u>	
	# burials	total pop.	# burials	total pop.	# burials	total pop.
Pylona (Aspropilia)	10	3.7	9	2.48	10	3.3
Ialysos	77 (IIIA2)	36.3	21	5.78	95	31.35
Kalavarda	4	1.47	2	0.55	3	0.99
Eleona- Langada	38 (IIIA2)	17.91	50	13.75	100	33
Müskebi	72	26.4	48	13.2	8	2.64

wealth for the burial, and perform rites that are the same as those practiced at much larger population centers elsewhere in the Mycenaean world. Were such extremely small and dispersed populations groups to have persisted throughout the region from the LH IIIA2 to the IIIC Middle, which collectively span 310 years, it is uncertain that that population would have been large enough to sustain itself.⁷⁶² Even if the population estimates in

⁷⁶¹ For Pylona, the minimum number of individuals identified in each tomb is used here; see Appendix 1. For all other sites, since the human remains probably underestimate the original number of burials, maximum estimates are used. For Ialysos, see estimates made by MacDonald (1986, 130, table 2). For Kalavarda, the maximum number in the range given in Appendix 1 is used. For Eleona-Langada and Müskebi, each tomb is treated as having two burials. The estimate for Eleona-Langada might slightly overestimate the number of original burials considering the prevalence of single burials on Kos, but without scientific analysis of human remains the exact number of burials is uncertain. The assumptions for Kalavarda and Müskebi might still underestimate the original number of burials if MacDonald's method for estimating burials at Ialysos (based on an average number of grave goods per burial) is broadly applicable.

⁷⁶² As an experiment, if every LH III tomb in the region is added together from Appendix 1 (with each cemetery where the total number of tombs is unknown counted as one tomb each), the total is 460 tombs. If each tomb is assumed to

Table 6.1 underestimate the original totals (although the anthropological analysis at Aspropolia cautions against disregarding this information wholesale), the discrepancies are unlikely to be the sole result of poor tomb preservation or incomplete discovery. It is far more likely that the number of individuals within a given community who had access to burial space was much smaller than the total number of people within that community. As such, some factors must have affected the ability of some individuals (or their social group) to make a better claim for inclusion within the burial community over others—a special selectivity within the community unequally favoring some individuals over others. Without better information regarding the size and extent of LH III settlements in the region there is no way to compare these population estimates directly, but the small numbers alone support the practices of social selectivity and exclusion regarding the burial population.

So, if the data indicates that only a subset of the general population had access to the chamber tomb cemeteries during the LH III period, then what was the nature of that group? Unfortunately, this is where the data largely fails modern investigations. Eerbeek has recently proposed that the inhabitants of the chamber tombs in the region were originally settlers from the Argolid and those who saw social advantage in acculturating.⁷⁶³ Although possible, it is difficult to prove; moreover, given the variability and sub-regionalism within the funerary record, it is also difficult to support a uniform material distinction that would separate immigrants and their descendants from

have contained three original burials (which is an arbitrary number that overestimates the practice of multiple burial in the region) and is plugged into the formula used here, then the total estimated population average for the LH IIIA-C Middle is only 147 individuals for the entire region. At five burials per tomb, the estimate would still only be 245 individuals.

⁷⁶³ Eerbeek 2014, 280-285; 2015, 293-306.

local emulators. A more general definition might be more useful in this context. First, those who were buried in the southeast Aegean demonstrate the following shared attributes: access to foreign imports; the desire to express a Mycenaean (initially a specifically Argive) identity in death within a population that might not have been genetically descended in its entirety from the central or southern Greek mainland; membership within a family/corporate group that in part determined the location of burial (the existence of multiple chambers and multiple clusters indicates that more than one such group could exist simultaneously within the same community); requirements for membership within those family/corporate groups, as well the requirement(s) for membership within the burial population, was uniform enough to be recognizable and socially applicable across a broad geography. The fact that burial could occur in communal tomb space suggests that the factors that determined burial could be related to membership within those social/corporate groups; however, as discussed previously in this section, not every member of the group was entitled to such a burial. Likewise, the early prominence of Argive material, and perhaps through that material a claim to some sort of special connection with the Argolid as a region or its peoples, suggests that such a connection could also influence burial selection; again, however, if not every member of a family group was entitled to burial, then descent alone cannot have been enough to qualify one for burial.

It seems clear, therefore, that the funerary record indicates the burial of individuals rather than of groups. Group identity might have been important in determining where to bury the individual, but the decision of whether to bury was dictated primarily, if not solely, by the identity of the individual in question. This

suggests that individual status was the determining social factor.⁷⁶⁴ “Elite” is a problematic word in classical archaeology, since it usually connotes a highly stratified society, often with a hereditary hierarchy, which might not have been present in every society to which the term is applied. That said, a more general definition of the term elite still proves useful. If divorced from its associations of heredity and stratification, then “elite” simply connotes an imbalance of authority in a given social setting.⁷⁶⁵ As an adjective, a political elite is an individual who exerts an elevated level of influence on political matters; likewise, a business or military elite is an individual who exerts unequal influence in economic or military affairs. Such examples can reference personal abilities and ambition as much as family connections. Heredity might position an individual to assume a social role that would impart unequal status upon them, but it need be only one of many such factors that would contribute to the status of the individual. This is the definition of “elite” that is used here: an individual who was singled out by the broader community for recognition and unequal status, which itself might have translated to increased influence in matters of politics, war, trade, ritual, etc.

Within the context of southeast Aegean tombs, it is not hard to interpret the burial of an elderly male as representing an individual who was singled out with such status, but it is more difficult to attribute that achieved status to a younger individual. Given what is known about Classical Greek society, this is especially true regarding younger women and youths. Without a better understanding of Mycenaean society in the southeast Aegean there is no reliable way to know how status was achieved or ascribed. The status of a 20 year old interred female could have been determined by family membership and

⁷⁶⁴ See the discussion in Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 123-130.

⁷⁶⁵ See, for example, the definition in Shore 2002, 3-4.

her role as a wife or mother in the continuation of that family unit,⁷⁶⁶ this might especially be the case if the family itself possessed a special status in the larger community; on the other hand, there is nothing that precludes the possibility that her status could have been personal or religious in nature. Children should perhaps be seen as a different category since most appear in LH IIIC tombs: seven of ten children at Pylona were buried in a tomb that only contained LH IIIC material. Nevertheless, given the high rates of child mortality in pre-modern societies, if every child within the social group that died was entitled to burial then the number of young children in cemeteries should be much higher.⁷⁶⁷ The relatively low number of children in chamber tombs suggests they too were specifically chosen, perhaps for an irregular (i.e., special) role that would apply only to children, as, for example, a first born who died before they had a chance to fulfill their role in society.

Such patterns might suggest that different factors affected the burial selection of different (age/gender/etc.) groups, rather than a single universal social rule. Thus, those who were too young or not in a social position to have achieved personal status (i.e., children and younger women respectively) could plausibly have qualified for burial as symbols of their social groups in which social authority and status were already concentrated. On the other hand, those who were of an age and position to achieve personal status were allowed or refused burial according to their actions. Such a scenario could account for the imbalance in gender and age groups in the chamber tombs at Pylona: specific children could have been interred as special symbols of their larger

⁷⁶⁶ See Mee 1998b, 168-169; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 127-128. See also Vedder (1988, 190-191) and her assertion of the heroic role of Athenian women who died in service to the *oikos*.

⁷⁶⁷ See Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 128-130.

social groups; young women of childbearing age could have been interred with status derived from their importance as wives and daughters in the furtherance of the social group (i.e., expansion through marriage and childbearing); men and very old women could have been interred with status derived from personal achievement and their role in the larger society. Although hypothetical, such a picture is at least consistent with both the funerary remains and what is currently known about Mycenaean burial practices.

The specific factors that influenced burial decisions are not possible to reconstruct in full without additional information about how the society functioned in non-funerary settings. Nevertheless, population data does indicate that selectivity and exclusion were practiced with regard to burial space. The nature of this burial space, as the focus of communal actions (including the initial construction, and later feasting/drinking and secondary rites) and as the repository of selected individuals with imported material wealth, indicates that those who were buried possessed a special status in the society regardless of age or gender. As a result, those who were buried can be termed “elites” within their local social contexts, meaning that they directly exercised or at least embodied unequal power distribution within the community. Because of this association, where chamber tombs appear in the southeast Aegean, it is reasonable to conclude that the individual or individuals buried there represent the concentration of status within a larger local community. Thus, a chamber tomb cemetery should represent a concentration of social authority within the landscape.

It remains to be considered how the dead were viewed by the living members of their communities. If the deceased individual can be labeled an elite within the community during life, then what would they have been called in death? Gallou’s

proposal that the dead were transformed into ancestors through the repeated rituals associated with secondary burial suggests that at least some of the deceased could be viewed in this way.⁷⁶⁸ Her definition of “cult of the dead” to involve any repetitious ritual activity invoking the memory, presence, or communion with the dead casts those ritual actions not as strict worship, but as continued veneration. The dead were not deified, but they did take on a symbolic importance that carried social significance for the living members of their family/corporate groups. Following her theory, the repetition of ritual actions brought the living into repeated contact with the dead, thereby keeping the memory of the deceased alive, and their social significance relevant to the living community. Although Gallou singles out secondary rites as the mechanism of transformation, her definition of repetitious cult actions could also mean that any such activity, and not only those performed in the physical presence of human remains, could function in this capacity. Thus, ritual actions performed graveside and those performed in the home in honor of the deceased could similarly invoke memory, venerate the dead, and keep the importance of that individual in social circulation.⁷⁶⁹

The view that the dead represent ancestors requires additional definition—specifically what constitutes an “ancestor.” Most classical discourse refers to ancestors in the sense typically employed in Classical and post-Classical Greek and Roman societies, in which the definition of one’s ancestor is based on descent. That is, an individual of an older generation in a direct line of descent is an ancestor, while those who are younger or not involved in a direct line of descent are not ancestors. However,

⁷⁶⁸ Gallou 2002, 80-89, 362-373, 396-406. On the academic history of “ancestor cults,” see Gallou 2002, 29-45.

⁷⁶⁹ See also the discussion in Hamilakis 1998, 115-119.

this definition relies to some extent on a modern understanding of a nuclear family unit, and does not fully account for the range of social organizations known ethnographically.⁷⁷⁰ An ancestor need not be directly related to a living individual in order to be considered an ancestor, but ancestral relations might very well be ritually constructed as a way of incorporating otherwise unaffiliated individuals into a collective unity. This reflects the fact that an ancestor is a social construct, created by ritual actions. Those rituals that transform the dead into ancestors effectively efface the individual identity of the deceased and replace it with one that is reflective of a larger collective identity (e.g., a “forefather”). In this way, collective memory is manipulated and the dead can be used to strengthen collective identities, in which case actual descent might not be important. Thus, an ancestor is a symbolic representative of a social group, either narrowly representative of the social group (family/corporate) that performed the burial, or broadly representative of the community at large. The scope of this symbolism probably depended on the status of the individual in question. This distinction between an ancestral personage and filial descent is an important one, as it opens the concept of “ancestor” to individuals who might not have procreated by the time of their death. It should also be considered, however, that not every individual buried inside a chamber tomb was transformed into an ancestor. Although every burial was selected, it is unlikely that the memory of the very young would have carried the same social significance as other members of the burial community. The transition to being an ancestor, therefore, must have involved more than the simple act of burial.

⁷⁷⁰ See Gallou (2002, 410-414) for a very brief overview of these concepts.

Social Authorities and Hierarchies

If the region's inhabitants were culturally Mycenaean, then the role of regional hierarchy in Mycenaean society cannot be ignored. As discussed in the earlier section *How Mycenaean was the Southeast Aegean?* in this chapter, the role of the palace as an institution, and the social structures attendant to that institution, are integral to modern understanding of Mycenaean society. The absence of palaces in the southeast Aegean does not mean that there is no evidence for the exercise or distribution of social authority in the region. The wider landscape of the southern Greek mainland provides evidence for the existence of settlement hierarchies that were dependent on the palaces, and independently attest the existence of centralized authority.⁷⁷¹ Such hierarchies can be tentatively reconstructed for the southeast Aegean based on the size of cemeteries and the wealth concentrated in them, and the distribution of those cemeteries within different social units.⁷⁷² Although not the traditionally conceived settlement hierarchy, the location of cemeteries within the landscape as substantive symbols for the location of local communities allows the construction of plausible community hierarchies; see Figure 6.1.

In the western southeast Aegean there are fewer sites that can be ranked. The cemetery at Armenochori on Astypalaia contained significantly more wealth than the burials at Syngairos (the only other cemetery on the island), which suggests a different

⁷⁷¹ See, for example, Davis et al. 1997, 422-423, 483-484; Wright 2004, 115-118, 127-128; Cosmopoulos 2006, 213-224; Adrimi-Sismani 2007; Feuer 2011, 510.

⁷⁷² This is counter to Mee and Cavanagh's (1990, 235-242) observation that only the most basic regional groupings are visible in the distribution of tombs on the Greek mainland. An updated study would be beneficial, one that incorporates a more detailed examination of topography and plausible community groupings in relation to the distribution of tombs and cemeteries.

status was expressed by the burials at Armenochori. As a result, the population associated with that site may be viewed as the primary community on the island. On Karpathos, Pigadia is not only the richest cemetery in the Karpathos-Kasos social unit, it is also the only site that has produced multiple tombs. As such it can be reconstructed as the primary population center in its social group. In both of these social groups (Astyapalaia, Karpathos-Kasos) the only hierarchy that can be reconstructed from the available evidence is two-tier—a primary population and others undifferentiated below it. This is markedly different from the pattern that appears farther to the east.

In the Rhodes(-Symi) social group, the primacy of the population at Trianda/Ialysos is generally agreed upon by modern scholars. The number of burials, the concentration of material wealth, the variety of imported grave goods, and the variety of funerary rites all suggest a large and cosmopolitan community that is not paralleled elsewhere. That said, Ialysos is not the only cemetery on the island that demonstrates concentrations or varieties of material wealth. Each of the sub-units also possesses one cemetery that was larger and/or wealthier than those around it. In the west, burials at Kalavarda were not particularly wealthy in earlier periods, and the cemetery at Lelos displays significantly more material wealth in the LH IIIA period; however, by the LH IIIC period the situation had reversed—Kalavarda grew in size as Lelos declined, and other nearby sites went out of use. This suggests that the social authority that was embodied by chamber tomb burial became nucleated in Kalavarda by the LH IIIC. Likewise, burials at the cemetery at Pylona in the east contain a level of non-ceramic wealth not matched at other sites in the area. Burials at cemeteries to the south in the Vati valley contain a similar, albeit smaller amount of non-ceramic material wealth,

suggesting a roughly comparable authority in the region. Indeed, the increase in the number of LH IIIB depositions at Vati and the contemporary decrease in activity at Pylona might suggest an alternation in (sub-)regional power. It is plausible that the eastern social group possessed more than one major population center—one in the Pylona plain and the other in the Vati valley—each locally dominant in different periods.

Within the Kos-Kalymnos-Central Caria(-Leros) social group, the population at Kos town was most likely the primary authority for the same reasons that Ialysos was primary on Rhodes. Additionally, the two tholos tombs in the vicinity of this population group suggest an effort to parallel the symbols of power structures on the Mycenaean mainland. Elsewhere on Kos, the communities around the southern coastal plain likely were oriented toward the settlement at Halasarna as a secondary center of authority on the island. On Kalymnos, the population associated with the cemetery at Perakastro (Pothia) was probably the largest, with other communities oriented toward it.⁷⁷³ In Caria, only Múskebi currently can be placed within the Koan orbit, with Knidos plausibly associated by its location, but any attendant communities to either population should also be included within this larger social group.

Social groups on Samos and elsewhere in Caria cannot be arranged in hierarchies due to the incomplete record and broad distribution of sites. The size of Miletus and its attested importance in the Hittite historical record suggest that it too should be classed as a primary center, even if its subsidiaries are unclear.

According to this reconstruction, by the LH IIIB there existed two primary centers of social authority in the eastern Dodecanese—at Trianda/Ialysos, and at Kos town—each

⁷⁷³ See the section in Chapter 3 (3.8.2) on a cave with contemporary activity in the Pothia valley opposite the cemetery at Perakastro.

of which plausibly exerted (some degree of) influence over their respective social groups. This arrangement was maintained and consolidated (through nucleations of secondary centers) in the LH IIIC. The relationship between the two primary centers is uncertain; for example, whether the two social groups comprised one, two, or multiple political entities is beyond the scope of the extant record. Salvatore Vitale has proposed that the LH IIIB increase in funerary activity at Eleona-Langada on Kos and the contemporary decrease in activity at Ialysos should be interpreted as an alternation of regional importance between the two centers.⁷⁷⁴ Such an alternation, combined with the subsequent recovery of activity at LH IIIC Ialysos, indicates the interconnectedness of the two centers, but cannot resolve the ambiguity of their relationship. It is worth noting that the geographic size of these respective social groups, separated by a straight-line distance of about 95 kilometers,⁷⁷⁵ is comparable to, or only slightly smaller than, the territorial size of Mycenaean states on the southern Greek mainland (Figure 6.2).⁷⁷⁶ By size alone, the area from Rhodes to Leros would have been large for a Mycenaean polity, although this alone is not sufficient reason to assume a political division.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Vitale 2014.

⁷⁷⁵ The distance by sea is over 100 kilometers, at or near the maximum daily sailing range of the period as estimated by Broodbank (2000, 345, table 12), Knappett et al. (2008, 1014), and Tartaron (2013, 192).

⁷⁷⁶ The territories in the Peloponnese are drawn from Davis et al. 1997, 394, fig. 3; Wright 2004, 127; Pullen and Tartaron 2007, 156, fig. 14.5.

⁷⁷⁷ Although the relationship between the southeast Aegean and the Hittite-attested kingdom of Ahhiyawa is not certain, it is perhaps worth noting that if the two primary centers on Kos and Rhodes operated as separate socio-political entities, then there is no attestation of that second polity. In fact, a single large political entity with two competing primary elite populations would better fit the picture of the Ahhiyawan state provided by Hittite records. This is admittedly circular reasoning, however. If Ahhiyawa referred instead to the southern Greek mainland, then the Hittites were clearly unconcerned with differentiating between

The different nature of these hierarchies illustrates an additional social difference between the western and eastern islands of the region. On Astypalaia and Karpathos, only two-tier hierarchies can be reconstructed—that is, outside of the major center on each island, there does not appear to be a differentiation between other communities. By contrast, the three-tier hierarchies on Rhodes and Kos involve a single primary center on each island with at least one or more secondary centers where more locally oriented agency was concentrated, and then a lower level of much smaller communities that surrounded them. This arrangement and distribution suggests the existence of more complex social structures and a broader range of personal relationships that would be required in order to maintain those structures. Although this does not directly attest the specific political form of social authority that existed within these social groups, such organized multiple-tier structures are consistent with (or, at the very least, are not inconsistent with) palatial distribution of authority on the Mycenaean mainland. The existence of these socio-political entities on the islands of the Dodecanese might account for the absence of large centers in Caria and in the interior of the Maeander River (modern Büyük Menderes) valley.⁷⁷⁸ With primary centers of socio-political power on

Mycenaean polities by name, and Ahhiyawa could simply have referred to whichever Mycenaean political entity the Hittite king had need of addressing at the time.

⁷⁷⁸ As recently noted by Becks (2015, 126), “another interesting result [of his investigation] can be observed in the region of the Maeandros River, whose broad valley did not develop into a major territorial unit [in the LBA].” See also the distribution of major settlement centers and the settlement hierarchy illustrated by Becks (2015, 127, fig. 9), which shows a virtual vacuum south of the Büyük Menderes; c.f. Hawkins (1998, 31, fig. 11), and the discussion of Bademgediği Tepe in Meriç and Öz (2015, 612-617). It should be noted that a significant level of alluviation in the river valley, combined with historic course changes of the river, might obscure evidence of activity in the valley itself.

the islands and at Miletus, western Caria would effectively have been a contested periphery between the larger centers, much like the eastern Argolid and the Corinthia in the LBA.⁷⁷⁹ The even distribution of social authorities along the coast from Rhodes to Kos to Miletus leaves little room for additional coastal power centers on the mainland littoral, where the rugged topography of southern Caria would require such a center to be located.⁷⁸⁰

The Local Landscape and Territory

Orientation and Topography

As represented by the locations of chamber tombs, populations do not appear uniformly throughout the region, and are largely contingent upon the topography. A total of 40 cemeteries and tentative settlement sites can be identified in the region during the LH IIIB and IIIC periods;⁷⁸¹ all of which occupy positions in or immediately above arable land. The majority of these agricultural catchments are not large, as with the exception of the coastal plains along the northwest coast of Rhodes, and the north coast of Kos, the majority of land in the region is dominated by steep slopes that divide small

⁷⁷⁹ See Pullen and Tartaron (2007) regarding a similar proposal for the Corinthia and the eastern Argolid as caught between the competing centers at Mycenae and on Aegina.

⁷⁸⁰ Additionally, the historic settlement patterns in Caria entailed small hilltop settlements with a regionally dispersed population; see Hornblower 1982, 1-16. Although not attested during this period, the later pattern should be considered here.

⁷⁸¹ This number counts settlement and cemetery contexts at a single site together. Sites that do not have a specific date (generally LH III, for example) are not counted here.

seasonal drainages from one another. These drainages and the alluvial soil around them form the greater part of arable land on the islands. In Caria, steep mountains divide the floodplains of major rivers and small coastal plains, creating a similarly fragmented landscape. The larger catchments could perhaps have supported more than one settled population center, but smaller catchments, especially around seasonal riverbeds and isolated upland valleys, would have limited the size of local populations and the routes of communication between them. In fact, it is noteworthy that with very few exceptions,⁷⁸² none of the smaller catchments in the region displays evidence of more than one settled population of a substantial size in the LH IIIB or IIIC. As such, the majority of arable catchments appear to have been utilized by one community.

The orientation and position of tombs and cemeteries is indicative of the relationship between the landscape and its inhabitants. Within individual cemeteries the orientation of tombs is fairly consistent in the southeast Aegean—that is, tombs tend to face in a single general direction within a single cemetery (or cluster)—but orientations vary widely from one site to the next.⁷⁸³ Even within a single geographical area there is typically no unified orientation. Within the southeast Aegean no reliable or consistent relationship exists between the orientation of tombs and cardinal directions, the position of lunar-solar phenomena, or even the position of a settlement relative to the cemetery.⁷⁸⁴ All of these considerations have been proposed in the past as influences in the orientation

⁷⁸² Lelos and Kariones occupy positions within a single drainage area, and the various clusters around Vati are situated within the same river valley. The open nature of Koan topography means that multiple sites share the same lowlands there as well, although the unity of the landscape without topographical divisions makes the situation different.

⁷⁸³ See Georgiadis 2003, 46-48; 2009b, 94.

⁷⁸⁴ See also Georgiadis 2003, 108; Georgiadis and Gallou 2006-2007, 175-178.

of tombs, and while cemeteries in other areas of the Mycenaean world might show support for these influences, the cemeteries of the southeast Aegean do not. Instead, cemeteries are spread unevenly throughout the topographically fragmented geography, and can be found most regularly within close proximity to valleys and sources of water (including the sea), toward which local tombs are most often oriented.

Mercurios Georgiadis has noted the specific importance of water for the orientation of tombs within cemeteries.⁷⁸⁵ Because of the nature of the islands, most areas have at least some view of the sea, and the majority of inland valleys contain seasonal rivers or drainages. Georgiadis suggests that the common orientation of tombs toward water and valleys reflects the importance of the local landscape for the burial rites, especially through the way that the funerary landscape of the ancestors interacts with the source(s) of life-giving water. This is perhaps related to the presence of seashells among funerary assemblages throughout the region, sometimes many miles from the coast.⁷⁸⁶

Perhaps more importantly, by facing the local water source a tomb automatically faces the agricultural land that is adjacent to, and fed by, that water. Likewise, by facing the sea the tomb also faces the coastal plain between the sea and the hills in which the tomb is situated. In so doing, the tomb effectively faces the living population; where tombs and likely settlement sites can be associated, cemeteries can also face in the

⁷⁸⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 47-48, 108; Georgiadis and Gallou 2006-2007, 178-179.

⁷⁸⁶ Seashells appear at Ialysos, Lelos, Pylona, and Eleona-Langada; the dates roughly cluster during LH IIIA and/or IIIC. See Georgiadis 2003, 100-102. A connection between death and the sea has been proposed on contemporary Crete; see Marinatos 1997, 282, 288.

general direction of the settlement.⁷⁸⁷ This association between the realm of the dead—the tomb—and the realm of the living—the land and water from which the living drew their livelihood—serves to transform the deceased into more than simply an occupant of a tomb. Instead, because cemeteries and the deceased overlook the land and water that sustained the living local populations from positions in proximity to highly visible landscape features, the occupants of the tombs would become associated with the land itself, even after death.⁷⁸⁸

Although a chamber tomb is not always visible in the landscape from a distance, since very little of the structure is visible above ground, the hill on which the tomb or cemetery was placed could become associated with the dead in the memory of the living, as is the case with cemeteries today. The repeated practice and performance of funerary rites in the same space served to reinforce that memory, both in relation to the connection between the dead and the landscape, and in relation to the social bonds of the living who enacted the rites.⁷⁸⁹ Thus, the memory of the deceased individual, and the socially symbolic importance of the funerary actions, would have been linked to the place of burial. As one traversed the landscape, moving around the focal point of those memories, sight lines with the hill or promontory on which the cemetery was located would serve as repeated queues for memory. Additionally, soft landscape features, such as trees and

⁷⁸⁷ See Appendix 2. The inverse relationship between the two graphs in Appendix 2 demonstrates the tendency of cemeteries to face in the general direction of the settlement; however, this does not necessarily mean that the cemetery faced in that exact direction. As a result, no rule can be established whereby the cemetery must have faced the living settlement.

⁷⁸⁸ See Georgiadis and Gallou 2006-2007, 178. On memory and landscape in connection with social activities, see Tilley (1994, 11-34; 2010, 39-40), Giddens (1995, 26-48), Georgiadis (2003, 26-29), and van Dyke and Alcock (2003, 3-6).

⁷⁸⁹ On this, see the section *Burial, memory, and landscape* in Chapter 1.

plants, would leave no archaeological trace, but could function as markers within the landscape, as, for example, the cypress trees that are commonly planted in and around cemeteries today and visually mark burial spaces from a distance. Whatever the visual appearance of cemeteries might have been, the fact that cemeteries were maintained and remained active through multiple generations, and that individual graves were revisited for the purposes of secondary rites, indicates that burial space itself was a feature within the landscape during the LH III.⁷⁹⁰ This idea is reinforced by the LH IIIC practice of reusing chamber tombs, some of which (as at Giorgaras on Kos) had not been used for roughly a century, but their location was evidently still remembered. The role of the deceased in the living landscape thus becomes a tangible one, and one that serves to define and identify the landscape and its inhabitants as an entity on a local topographic scale.

As with other approaches to the SM/PG record, the small number of sites makes it difficult to make firm conclusions regarding the geographical distribution of sites. As a result, there is a less visible pattern of activity within the landscape than was evident during the LH IIIB-C. Nevertheless, with the exception of Theangela, all of the sites included in this study are located either in, or immediately adjacent to, areas of arable land.⁷⁹¹ Moreover, the majority of sites, even in Caria, are still located either on the coast or on the inland edge of a coastal plain. In these respects, the locations of human activity are not substantially different from what was exhibited during the LH III period, in spite of the respective contraction and expansion of activity in the Dodecanese and Caria. The

⁷⁹⁰ See also Gallou 2002, 375-372.

⁷⁹¹ Theangela is located on a steep, high mountainous ridge roughly 400 meters above the adjacent valley floors to the north and west.

general distribution of all sites suggests that access to arable land and the sea were still the primary concerns for settlement in the region. The appearance of foreign objects in Dodecanesian burials attests the importance and continuation of overseas contacts, despite the reduced scale of those contacts.⁷⁹² A fear of the sea, or more specifically of dangers borne on the sea, which is visible in other areas of the contemporary Aegean, cannot be sustained for the region during the SM/PG period. Although some of the (tentative) settlements—Kameiros and Melie—are located on high defensible positions near the sea, others—at the Samian Heraion and Miletus—are located in lowland coastal areas without obvious topographic barriers to the coast. A balance between local agriculture and overseas contact existed throughout the period much as it had during the LH III, although, again, on a different scale.

The relocation of burial spaces away from LH III predecessors is the most significant distinction in land use between the LH III and the SM/PG periods. The movement of burial space at Kos town to within the bounds of the Mycenaean settlement does not have other contemporary parallels in the region; however, settlement and burial spaces were mixed at the LH IIIA Heraion on Samos, and the movement of funerary activity within the area of an earlier settlement is attested elsewhere in the SM/PG Aegean.⁷⁹³ It is worth noting that an LH IIIB tholos was discovered just outside the LH III settlement at Kos town, suggesting that some burial spaces were located around the

⁷⁹² Sarah Murray's (2013, 22-160, 364-377, 548-556) recent dissertation persuasively demonstrates continuity of overseas contacts on the Greek mainland and Crete throughout the PG, contradicting the supposed collapse of overseas ties.

⁷⁹³ See the sections on Kos town (3.7.3, 4.2.1) and the Heraion (3.12.2) in Chapters 3 and 4. The reuse of earlier habitation space for PG funerary rites is demonstrated at Argos, Asine, Tiryns, Mycenae, Krannon in Thessaly, and on Naxos; see Lemos 2002, 157-160, 177, 179-180.

edges of settlement space (at least on Kos). If the SM/PG settlement at Kos town were located somewhere in the vicinity of the harbor in an area that has yet to be excavated, then the currently excavated cemetery clusters would have been spread around the southern edge of the coastal settlement. Admittedly this is an unproven arrangement, but it is consistent with the earlier layout of the site, and with settlement patterns at the SM/PG Heraion and Miletus where the population appears to have been centered near the coast. As a result, the relocation of the Koan cemetery within the boundaries of the old town might not reflect the development of new funerary practices, contrary to how the arrangement at first seems. The location of burials might also suggest the contraction of the SM/PG settlement from its LH IIIC size, although again this remains speculative.

With regard to topography, the majority of new SM/PG sites, again with the exception of Theangela, are located near agricultural land and water, much as they had been during the LH III period. However, during the SM/PG period, there is no discernable arrangement of burials within cemeteries or of cemeteries within a given landscape. Aside from a general proximity to water and arable land, there is no obvious interaction between the respective spaces of the living and the dead. By nature of the landscape itself—mountains broken by narrow drainages that lead to small inland and coastal plains—any proximity to arable land automatically necessitates proximity to rivers and seasonal drainages. This geographic fact is consistent between the LH III and the SM/PG; therefore, the absence of burial orientations toward water sources marks a conscious choice to depart from older patterns of funerary practice.

Territoriality

Of the 34 known cemeteries in the region during the LH IIIB and IIIC periods, 15 cemeteries (in 16 clusters) can be associated with 11 (at least tentative) settlements.⁷⁹⁴ In every case, the settlement occupies a position on a hill that overlooks a coastal plain or an inland valley. The locations of these cemeteries cluster into two patterns. The first case, at five sites, involves the cemetery being located on the slopes of the same hill on which the settlement was located.⁷⁹⁵ In most cases, the locations of these settlements are inferred from sherd scatters, but the cemetery is always lower down the slope than the hypothetical location of the settlement. The more common pattern, at eight sites (plausibly nine), involves the cemetery being located at a distance from the settlement.⁷⁹⁶ In all of these examples, the settlement and the cemetery appear on opposite sides of a valley, but the distance between the two suggests that the same population made use of the sites. The distance between the settlement and the cemetery is typically small, varying from 0.6 kilometers at Yennadi, to three kilometers between Giorgaras and Kos town. If the largest and smallest distances are discounted, then the ranges are more

⁷⁹⁴ See Appendix 2. Sixteen of 34 cemeteries account for 47% of the known total dating to this period; however, of only 18 tentative settlement sites that date to the period, 11 can be connected to a cemetery, which accounts for 61% of the known total. In the absence of excavation data to confirm the existence of more settlements, these numbers are sufficient at least to suggest a pattern.

⁷⁹⁵ See the sections on Pigadia (3.3.4), Kalavarda (3.5.4), Kattavia (3.5.11), Kos town (3.7.3), Eleona (3.7.14), and Pilavtepe (3.14.3) in Chapter 3.

⁷⁹⁶ See the sections on Vonies (3.3.2), Pigadia (3.3.4), Ialysos (3.5.2), Yennadi (3.5.13), Pylona (3.5.16), Archangelos (3.5.18), Eleona-Langada (3.7.4), Giorgaras (3.7.6), and Miletus (3.14.1) in Chapter 3. Note that the settlement location for Pylona is unknown, but is suspected to have been located in the area of the modern town in the plain, which would make it flanked by the cemeteries at Ambelia and Aspropilia.

consistent, between 1.2 and 1.6 kilometers (with an average of 1.37 kilometers).⁷⁹⁷ These distances are consistent with the separation between chamber tomb cemeteries and settlements in the Argolid, where the average separation is roughly one kilometer.⁷⁹⁸

Those cemeteries that are separated from their accompanying settlements are the ones that most easily distinguish the territory of the living populations. At Pigadia the small coastal plain is flanked by cemeteries on slopes on opposite sides of the plain. Likewise, at Archangelos, the settlement sits on an isolated hill in the middle of the inland plain, while the cemetery is on the slopes at the southern edge of the plain. Often these cemeteries were positioned not only at the edge of a valley or plain, but near an overland entrance to the catchment. The hills that form the cemetery at Ialysos, for example, overlook the small semi-circular coastal plain that sustained the settlement at Trianda, but the cemetery is also located in the southwest corner of that catchment, near the entrance to the larger open plain to the southeast. Vonies lies on the overland route that winds east into the hills from the small coastal plain that sustained the settlement at Arkaseia. While the exact site of the settlement at Pylona on Rhodes is not known, the position of the two cemeteries around the valley suggests a similar pattern—Aspropilia sits on a ridge near the pass between the Pylona plain and the route east toward the coast at Lindos, while Ambelia sits on a low hill in the pass to the south that leads to the plain of Lardos.

In these instances, it does not seem likely that the location of the cemeteries was simply a matter of convenient geology. At Vonies, Ialysos, Pylona, and Archangelos, for

⁷⁹⁷ These distances suggest that the cemeteries of Lelos (3.5.6) and Kariones (3.5.7), and Kastello (3.7.1) and Iraklis (3.7.2), which in both cases are roughly one kilometer distant from each other, belonged to the same population.

⁷⁹⁸ Cavanagh and Mee 1990, 55; Mee and Cavanagh 1990, 229-230.

instance, hills that could have supported chamber tombs surround the valleys, and numerous locations could have provided space for burials if desired. Where the geology provides numerous potential locations for the construction of burial space, the decision to locate that space in one area over another becomes one of choice, not necessity. The fact that many of these cemeteries are located near overland routes between valleys and plains suggests that considerations other than convenience affected the choice of location.

The location of these examples near plausible routes of communication indicates that cemeteries could be used as border markers in the region, thereby taking advantage of the topography to establish the land of one population from another. It is possible that population pressure contributed to the need to demarcate territory, but the evidence does not uniformly support this idea. In spite of the fact that the residents of Kalavarda shared the long coastal plain with other communities, including at Trianda, the cemeteries were clustered on the slopes below the settlement with no obvious attempt to claim territory. Throughout the region, some populations seem to have placed cemeteries at the edges of their agricultural catchments, while others chose to locate their dead closer to the settlement. There does not appear to have been a consistent rule regarding the placement of the dead in relation to a settled population.

For this reason, some studies have suggested that chamber tomb cemeteries were not used as territorial markers in the Late Bronze Age. Studies of the distribution of contemporary cemeteries in southern Greece have concluded that since no spatial territory is demarcated by chamber tomb cemeteries relative to their accompanying settlements, the choice of where to site a cemetery was not undertaken with political or

social boundaries in mind.⁷⁹⁹ The average distance between a cemetery and its settlement in the southeast Aegean, at 1.37 kilometers, can enclose only enough land to sustain a small population.⁸⁰⁰ This fact is often used as an argument against the use of cemeteries as territorial markers since the required catchment for large settlements would easily exceed this size; however, symbols of territory do not need to be located at a physical boundary in order to mark a territory.

In Classical and Aegean archaeology, the issue of territory has focused primarily on state forms of control and political boundaries.⁸⁰¹ A territory is often conceived of in permanent terms of the borders that define it—those people, places, things, etc. that are outside the territorial boundary are not subject to the state, while those that are inside the boundary are subject. This rigid model, which has its origins in the 19th century, generally ignores the fluidity of social mechanisms that might transcend these definitions of space. For example, a shepherd might move between and among different territories in the course of a year, and individuals in a settlement that is nominally in one political territory might engage in social or economic activities with a community in another jurisdiction. In human terms, territories are rarely impenetrable boundaries like lines on a map; instead, they are fluid and subject to change, transgression, and mobility.

⁷⁹⁹ See, for example, Mee and Cavanagh 1990, 229-230.

⁸⁰⁰ See, for example, Bintliff (2013, 33, fig. 2.5) for estimations of agricultural areas and population size.

⁸⁰¹ For a brief introduction to the history of territoriality with implications for archaeological discourse, see Sack (1986, 23-27, 43-48), Delaney (2005, 35-69), and van Valkenburgh and Osborne (2013, 3-14). For specific reference to ancient Greece, see Bintliff 2013. Chabot-Hanowell and Alden Smith (2013) attempt an integration of ecological models based on Dyson-Hudson and Alden Smith (1978) with other updated and more nuanced views of territory. Chabot-Hanowell and Alden Smith (2013) especially offer a refutation of the criticism of ecological determinism that is often cited against landscape-specific models of territory

The concept of a territory is defined by social activity; at its core, a territory is a social creation.⁸⁰² Territories can be influenced by natural phenomena (topography, water sources, coastlines, etc.), but they will always be created and maintained by social mechanisms. As concepts, territories can be defined in spatial terms, but they are not confined to physical space; instead, they can encompass specific actions or classes of objects such that multiple territories can exist within a shared space.⁸⁰³ For example, on feudal estates in medieval England, peasants might be able to gather firewood and hunt rabbits within the grounds, but they could not hunt deer, as the deer belonged to the “territory” of the nobility. Because of the social maintenance of these concepts, above all else a territory conveys meaning.⁸⁰⁴ It emphasizes and enforces social order, and sanctions the activities that take place within it. The conveyance of information does not require boundary markers, and thus objects that signify territory may be located near or far from the ideological boundaries of a spatial territory. Indeed, where a territory is inherently defined by activities or topography, the specific geographic boundaries of the territory might be unimportant.

Cemeteries, as the loci of rituals that reflect and reinforce social order, are inherently territorial entities by this definition. By placing a cemetery outside the immediate space of the settlement, the performative activity (the ritual that reinforces the social order) is shifted to a separate place within the landscape. This is the case wherever the cemetery might be located, since all LH IIIB and IIIC burials in the region are located outside of the settlement. The result is that people must move through the landscape,

⁸⁰² See Sack 1986, 19-24. Delaney (2005, 10) is precise: “[territories] are fundamentally constitutive of the social orders whose features they express.”

⁸⁰³ Sack 1986, 15-25. See also van Valkenburgh and Osborne 2013, 10-14.

⁸⁰⁴ See Sack 1986, 19-22, 32-40; Delaney 2005, 15-17.

from the main settlement or other area of habitation to the site of funerary rituals. In so doing, the landscape becomes the stage for the actions to be performed. Since the ritual that transits the landscape serves to reinforce the social order and effectively communicates social values, the loci of ritual action—that is, the point of origin (the settlement), the point of destination (the cemetery), and the route between—are all encompassed within a territory that is both real and physical within the landscape, and that is reinforced by ritual authority symbolized by the tomb and the ancestors within it.⁸⁰⁵ The cemetery thus becomes a tangible symbol of the social order of the local population. As such, the cemetery need not be located at the edge of a political jurisdiction to serve as a symbol of authority within the landscape, since its very existence and accessibility from the settlement communicates that authority.

This sort of fixed signifier for a larger spatial territory is well suited to the fragmented topography of the southeast Aegean. With the small size of many of the agricultural catchments, especially on Karpathos, and central and southern Rhodes, the population limits would have been quite small. Local communities would have depended on outside communication, trade, and especially intermarriage in order to survive and maintain their way of life. In such a system of interconnected, yet spatially separate, communities, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the specific borders of each community would be less important to define, since a relatively high degree of community overlap (of territories within territories in other words) would characterize the normal way of life.

This overlap should not, however, indicate that small local communities maintained no individual identity apart from their neighbors. To the contrary, the

⁸⁰⁵ See also the section *Burial, memory and landscape* in Chapter 1.

establishment of cemeteries in prominent positions within the landscape, often overlooking the approaches to both the settlement and the adjacent agricultural land, suggests that the cemetery and those deceased ancestors within it were instrumental in establishing one population from another. With the ancestors as visible markers of the living population from positions that quite literally look out over the landscape of the living, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the funerary realm contributed to the identity of the living.⁸⁰⁶ In this way, the territory of individual communities was effectively sanctioned and represented by their ancestors, not by means of positioning the ancestors at the far edges of the land, but by making them highly visible and interactive within the living landscape. The continuous use of many of these tombs and cemeteries through multiple generations, as well as the reuse of chambers after periods of disuse, attests the durability of cultural memories regarding these burial spaces.

This hypothesis for the LH III is based on observation of the relative positions of settlements and cemeteries, an observation that is not possible for the SM/PG period because of the inability to associate the two classes of activity within a single geographical area. Since Kameiros provides the only tentative example of a settlement with its associated cemetery located at a distance, it is not possible to generalize patterns for the region. That said, the relative locations of the cemetery and the (plausible) settlement at SM/PG Kameiros are consistent with the pattern of LH III activity.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁶ See Sack (1986, 127-153) and Paasi (2000, 91-102, 109-111) for examinations of the relationships between physical and conceptual territoriality and collective identity. See also de Polignac (1995, 33-41, 98-106) for a similar examination of Archaic period Greek identities. For specific reference to the funerary landscape of the Bronze Age southeast Aegean, see Georgiadis (2003, 108; 2009b, 94-95), and Georgiadis and Gallou (2006-2007, 175-180).

⁸⁰⁷ See the section on Kameiros (4.1.2) in Chapter 4.

Specifically, the settlement and cemetery are separated by one kilometer, which is well within the 1.37 kilometer LH III average, and the cemetery overlooks an agricultural catchment and water source. The only difference here is that the catchment is not adjacent to the proposed settlement site. While this could suggest that the cemetery and the land it overlooks were not associated with the activity on the acropolis of Kameiros, the cemetery's location could also reflect a claim on the agricultural land. Utilizing the cemetery's status as emphasizing a connection between the visibility of the dead and the land of the living, the placement of an elite burial ground overlooking a non-adjacent catchment could serve to form a connection between that land and the parent community of those buried.⁸⁰⁸ This proposal fits with the shifting patterns of activity in the area as well, whereby the discontinuation of LH IIIC activity at Kalavarda and the beginning of PG activity at Kameiros might be interpreted either as a shift in the center of local social authority, or in the local population center. The reasons for this shift are unclear, but by placing the dead so as to overlook the territory of the older community, the PG community at Kameiros could make a legitimate claim to that territory, and the heritage with which it had been established.

Although no broad pattern can be inferred based on this sole example, the locations of other SM/PG cemeteries are, at the very least, consistent with a function of territorial symbols as proposed for the LH III period. The SM/PG Marmaro cemetery at Ialysos is located to the west of the old LH III center of habitation, in the narrow pass

⁸⁰⁸ The theme here of territorial legitimization through the placement of the dead and the attendant rituals that surrounded that placement within the landscape is similar to the connection between extra-urban cult and territory as defined by de Polignac (1984, 33-41, 98-106).

between the foothills of the acropolis and the sea.⁸⁰⁹ Even though the site of the SM/PG settlement is not known, the cemetery's position at the western entrance to the coastal plain of Ialysos makes it a landscape marker in much the same way as the cemetery at Kameiros. The cemetery clusters at Kos town do not occupy a strategic topographic position,⁸¹⁰ but their locations—scattered a few hundred yards south of the harbor—would mark the area and its population for anyone approaching the harbor (and thus the sea) from a site farther inland. Dirmil sits over a kilometer inland from the coast, but overlooks the plain between the inland hills and the various harbors and inlets along the coast east of modern Yalıkavak.⁸¹¹ Although the mountains behind the tomb limit access to the plain, the site looks down on all east-west movement through the plain. Likewise, Assarlık is not located near an entrance to a plain, nor is it adjacent to any fertile area, but the hill on which it sits is visible from the entrance to the harbor at Yalı and the small alluvial plain that stretches north into the hills.⁸¹² It is of note that LH III Müskebi lies at the northern edge of this same plain near the overland pass to the plain of Bodrum.⁸¹³

Each of these cemeteries is located along routes of movement into or through an agricultural catchment, or an approach to or from the sea. By locating visible references

⁸⁰⁹ See the section on Ialysos (4.1.1) in Chapter 4.

⁸¹⁰ It should be noted that the expansive flat coastal plain around modern Kos town affords very few topographic markers. See the section on Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4.

⁸¹¹ See the section on Dirmil (4.6.9) in Chapter 4.

⁸¹² See the section on Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4.

⁸¹³ Both Müskebi and Assarlık are roughly four kilometers from the present coastline at modern Yalı. While this distance far exceeds the 1.37 kilometer LH III average, it is not implausible that a population in the Yalı valley made use of both cemeteries at different points in time. If the latest LH IIIC burial at Müskebi can be viewed as roughly contemporary with the earliest "SM" graves at Assarlık, then it would attest a local shift in funerary location in much the same manner as demonstrated at LH III Lelos and Kariones, and at Iraklis and Kastello.

of the dead (cemeteries) in places through which the living must pass in order to come and go through a given area, the living population sanctions their place within the landscape, and lays claim to it. As in the LH III period, through the act of locating burial space on or near a prominent topographic feature, the landscape itself becomes imbued with the symbolic significance of the ancestors of the living population. Carian built tombs and tumuli would have been visible on the landscape in their own right. The most common types of burial during the SM/PG period (cists, pits and built tombs) no longer required a specific geological formation of limestone for their construction, as LH III chamber tombs had required, and could theoretically be constructed anywhere. Therefore, since locations were still chosen among hills and prominences, there must have existed a preference for the intangible (symbolic) associations of those locations. The fact that a similar pattern of funerary practice within the landscape can be detected between the LH III and the SM/PG periods suggests that the importance of the landscape for funerary rites did not change significantly from one period to the next. This focus on emphasizing territoriality through the location of the dead is a shared feature of funerary rites during both periods, and in all areas of the southeast Aegean. This observation should not imply continuity of political boundaries or institutions, but merely of broad social practices and perceptions of the land, at least in the funerary realm.

Chapter 7

Societal Changes and Transitions

The last chapter examined broad social patterns in the region in order to develop an idea of what societies in the region might have looked like and how they might have been organized and structured within the landscape. This chapter examines the ways in which those societies changed in response to internal and external stimuli through the upheavals that marked the end of the palatial periods on Crete, the Mycenaean mainland, and in the eastern Mediterranean, and through the Aegean migrations that defined the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The chapter first considers broad changes in land use and settlement patterns in each period, along with a consideration of the nature of Submycenaean material in the region, and whether that material represents a chronological or material phase. The chapter concludes with a narrative summation of the larger trends.

Large-Scale Patterns Within the Landscape

Changes in Land Use and Settlement – LH IIIB

The number of sites throughout the region remains more or less stable through the end of the LH IIIA2 and the beginning of the IIIB (Figure 7.1). Only in the northwest coastal plain of Rhodes is there evidence for a decrease in the number of sites, which

should probably be understood as a nucleation of population or social authority centered on the settlements at Trianda and Kalavarda.⁸¹⁴ Despite the relatively stable number of sites, there is generally a marked decrease in the evidence for funerary activity in the region in terms of both the number of tombs utilized and the number of grave goods left as offerings. As a result, the LH IIIB has traditionally been labeled as a period of social decline and recession in the southeast Aegean.⁸¹⁵ However, the picture that emerges is not uniform, and is not necessarily indicative of decline in all areas.⁸¹⁶

Unfortunately few sites with multiple tombs possess reliable dates regarding the specific number of tombs that were in use during a given period; these sites are given in Table 7.1. Where the tombs cannot be counted due to a lack of published information, the number of ceramic grave goods can provide a rough gauge for the level funerary activity at a site; however, because the number of objects that were interred within each tomb or with each burial varied throughout the region, the overall tomb count and the number of deposited vessels cannot be compared directly. That said, the two data sets do reveal roughly comparable information regarding the change in funerary activity through time.

⁸¹⁴ Mee 1982, 88; Georgiadis 2003, 106.

⁸¹⁵ This phenomenon is not limited to the southeast Aegean, for particular reference to this region, see Mee (1982, 87-89; 1988) and Benzi (1988, 64-67).

⁸¹⁶ See also Georgiadis 2003, 106-110; 2009b, 95.

Table 7.1 – Number of tombs in use by period and the percent change from the previous period⁸¹⁷

Site	LH IIIA(2)	LH IIIB	LH IIIC
Ialysos	65	36 (-44%)	50 (+39%)
Kalavarda	5	3 (-40%)	5 (+67%)
Lelos	4	3 (-25%)	2 (-33%)
Pylona	4	4 (0%)	2 (-50%)
Eleona-Langada	19	25 (+32%)	50 (+100%)
Müskebi	36	24 (-33%)	4 (-83%)

The majority of the region displays a marked decline in funerary activity during the LH IIIB period. The two largest cemeteries in the LH IIIA2, Ialysos and Müskebi, as well as many of the smaller sites, demonstrate a decrease in the number of active tombs at this time. Likewise, ceramic vessel counts from cemeteries on Karpathos,⁸¹⁸ Rhodes,⁸¹⁹ Kos,⁸²⁰ Samos,⁸²¹ and in Caria⁸²² represent a decrease in the number of deposited grave goods between the LH IIIA2 and the LH IIIB.⁸²³ This widespread

⁸¹⁷ See also Appendix 1. This table only accounts for those sites with more than two tombs and chronological specificity. For example, Pigadia on Karpathos is not listed here since the cemeteries' disturbances do not allow for accurate conclusions regarding chronological change.

⁸¹⁸ See the sections on Vonies (3.3.2) and Pigadia (3.3.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸¹⁹ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2), Kalavarda (3.5.4), Lelos (3.5.6), Kastraki (3.5.8), Apolakkia (3.5.10), Lardos (3.5.15), and Pylona (3.5.16) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. Other sites with very few finds of any kind also demonstrate a decrease in activity, but the paucity of material makes their accuracy uncertain.

⁸²⁰ See the sections on Iraklis (3.7.2), Eleona-Langada (3.7.4), and Giorgaras (3.7.6) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸²¹ No LH IIIB material is known from Samos, which is a marked decrease from the LH IIIA record; see section 3.12 in Chapter 3.

⁸²² See the section on Müskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸²³ A large amount of the material that can be dated to the LH IIIB is datable only to the early phase of that period (LH IIIA/B Transition, LH IIIB1, or LH IIIB Early depending on the source). There might be an element of regional bias in the analysis of material from this area, in that a vessel that has been formally or

decline largely parallels developments throughout the Aegean and the Mycenaean mainland at this time, and the impact of these events is evident on the southeast Aegean through changes in patterns of importation—Argive imports that had dominated the LH IIIA record at sites like Ialysos, Pylona, and Eleona-Langada, began to give way to LH IIIB local products.⁸²⁴

The widespread decline was not uniform throughout the region, as there were areas that responded with an increase in funerary activity, illustrated in Figure 7.2. At Armenochori on Astypalaia, more ceramic offerings were deposited during the LH IIIB than in any other period.⁸²⁵ Similar peaks in activity are evident at the clusters at Passia and Apsaktiras at Vati, as well as at the cluster at Ambelia at Pylona on Rhodes (where there is no change in the number of active tombs from the LH IIIA to at least the early IIIB).⁸²⁶ The record at Eleona-Langada demonstrates an increase in both the number of tombs that were in active use and in the number of ceramic grave goods deposited within them from the LH IIIA-B, although in this case activity at the cemetery continued to

stylistically classed as LH IIIB1 based on finds from the Argolid might in fact have continued to be used and produced later in the southeast Aegean, and might, therefore, chronologically date as LH IIIB Late or even early LH IIIC. See Mee 1988, 57; Mountjoy 1999a, 1078; 1999b, 514-515. The nature and decoration of LH IIIC pottery in the Dodecanese has also led to past confusion regarding dating, as demonstrated by Mountjoy's (1995) redating of LH IIIC vessels as LH IIIA; see also Mountjoy 1999a, 969, 984-985, 988-989, 1126-1127.

⁸²⁴ Jones and Mee 1978; 1986, 506-509; Mee 1982, 88; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 105-113. The change in relative numbers between foreign goods and imports was not uniform, however; see Karantzali and Ponting 2000, 238.

⁸²⁵ See the section on Armenochori (3.1.1) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸²⁶ See the sections on Vati (3.5.14), and Pylona (3.5.16) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. At Pylona, the Ambelia cluster shows more activity during the LH IIIB, but the Aspropilia cluster shows less activity. Kariones (3.5.7) also shows a slight increase in the number of deposited grave goods, but the sample size is small. See also Mee 1982, 67-71; Georgiadis 2003, 92.

intensify through the LH IIIC.⁸²⁷ Thus, different patterns of chronological activity attest the increasing regionalization and shifts in the power structures throughout the southeast Aegean. Since the changes and stressors that affected the LH IIIB populations were relatively uniform throughout the larger Mycenaean Aegean, variation in the responses to those effects should be seen as reflections of localized intent and agency.

The causes of declining activity in certain areas during the LH IIIB are not well understood, and as a result it is difficult to speculate on why funerary activity in some communities declined while in others it intensified. It is important to consider that since chamber tomb cemeteries most likely represent a concentration of social authority in “elite” individuals and social groups, a decline in burial activity cannot be taken to indicate a decline in the total population.⁸²⁸ Such a pattern should instead only be interpreted as a decrease in the number of such elite individuals within the local community. Accordingly, lower number of elite burials reflects the lower number of individuals, and generally of families and groups, considered fit for burial in such a manner. A decrease in the number of individuals of a certain status in society, therefore, suggests that social authority (manifested in part by the ability to be buried in a chamber tomb with imported goods) began to be concentrated among fewer individuals in certain areas of the region during the LH IIIB period.

Since the general population cannot be considered to have decreased in number based solely on the evidence from the chamber tombs, the pattern that emerges is

⁸²⁷ See the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸²⁸ See the section *Who Had Access to Burial Space?* in Chapter 6 for a definition of “elite” within this context. The excavations of Trianda and Kos Town are not extensive enough to determine the nature or extent of the general population. Settlement and survey data are the only way to determine if the general population experienced a contemporary decline.

plausibly one of a dispersed nucleation of societal authority (i.e., disparate centers with localized authority), not of widespread depopulation or societal collapse.⁸²⁹ This model could explain why smaller cemetery sites elsewhere in the region did not go completely out of use during the LH IIIB, since some level of social authority, and therefore the subset of the population fit for chamber tomb burial, would have persisted along with the population. This model should not imply that the nature of social authority or of political control remained unchanged from the LH IIIA period, but simply that the ability to wield that authority became restricted in certain areas. As a result, some local populations might not have experienced a period of societal decline with the collapse of the mainland centers. Such local nucleation might also be connected to the increasing subregionalization of the material record in the region as a reflection of the development and expression of different social agencies.

If the LH IIIB (especially the second half of the period) was not a time of collapse and discontinuity in the southeast Aegean, then the subsequent revival during the LH IIIC period can be seen in new light. The nucleation of populations throughout the region in the LH IIIC would therefore have begun at some point during the LH IIIB, conceivably at least in part as a result of local responses to the interruption of exchange and contact with the collapse of Mycenaean centers to the west. It is important, however, not to place such an emphasis on the southern Greek mainland that developments in the southeast Aegean are viewed only as by-products of larger changes. Local changes and the increasing regionalism in the material record should also be attributed to local influences. Rather

⁸²⁹ The suggestion by Mee and Cavanagh (1984, 62), that a decline in the value (and perhaps also the number) of goods deposited in tombs might indicate political stability and the reduced need for (competitive) funerary displays, fits with this model.

than view regionalism as a factor of trauma, the rise of localized practices and identities can be the result of a period of relative social, political, and economic stability, which allows local communities to nucleate around existing power structures.⁸³⁰ In this model, communities in some areas— particularly in northern Rhodes (Trianda-Ialysos and Kalavarda), and perhaps also on Karpathos⁸³¹—responded to changing conditions during the LH IIIB by nucleating social authority around a restricted group of individuals or families within the general population. This nucleation was probably a combination of internal choice and external necessity, and was locally oriented, as no evidence suggests that it was accompanied by changes in regional authority, settlement patterns, or population elements. In turn, populations in other areas—particularly in southeastern and eastern Rhodes (Yennadi-Vati and Pylona), and eastern Kos⁸³²—responded to these events with localized increases in funerary activity, which suggests local elites expanded in number in those areas.

These localized responses should almost certainly be related to one another. On Rhodes, the localization of social authority in the north and west, and the contraction of communities on Karpathos, allowed elites in the south and east of the island to expand

⁸³⁰ See, for example, Pantou (2014, 392) discussing LBA Phylakopi. Certain (albeit not exact) similarities can be interpreted regarding social nucleation in the Archaic period as related to collective identity coalescing around religious locations and events; see, for example, Morgan (1990, 1-25, 191-234; 1993) and de Polignac (1995, 32-88). The LH IIIB “trauma” that produced increasing regionalization on the Mycenaean mainland was rooted in the collapse of palatial administrative centers, for which no evidence exists in the southeast Aegean.

⁸³¹ The complete cessation of funerary activity on Karpathos by the end of the LH IIIB might indicate that different factors were in effect here than in the rest of the region.

⁸³² See also the discussion of Halasarna (3.7.15) in Chapter 3 regarding the possibility of a similar pattern on the west side of the island.

their numbers and local influence. On Kos, the expansion of activity at Eleona-Langada probably had as much, if not more, to do with the drastic decline of activity at Múskebi as with the contraction of regional activity on northern Rhodes. Hittite documents record ongoing social, political, and military unrest in northern Caria throughout the LH IIIA2 and IIIB periods, and the destruction level of Miletus V (LH IIIA2-B1) can plausibly be related to these events.⁸³³ If the sharp decrease in activity at LH IIIB Múskebi can be connected to these events as well, as seems reasonable, then the ascendancy of LH IIIB Koan society could similarly have been related—an increase in local authority to fill a power vacuum, and a safe place of refuge for those fleeing further troubles on the adjacent mainland.⁸³⁴ A simultaneous nucleation of social authority at Ialysos and Kalavarda could seem to stand at odds with the idea of a regional power shift away from these areas; however, this theoretical conflict between simultaneous nucleation and regionalism is only problematic if a connection between the nucleation of social authority and geographical expansion of political authority is considered intrinsically linked. It is important that these two concepts be kept separate from one another—concentrated nucleated authority can be geographically limited, and multiple parallel social authorities (i.e., social units with independent agency) can exist within a limited landscape.⁸³⁵

⁸³³ See, for example, Bryce 2005, 212-214, 224-227, 290-293; Kelder 2004-2005, 72-75, 77-80; Beckman et al. 2011, 271-276. See also Note 497 in Chapter 3.

⁸³⁴ Because the populations along the coast of Caria were already Mycenaean(-ized) by the LH IIIA1-2, an early LH IIIB influx of new elites to Kos would not be marked by a change in funerary material culture (which is not attested), but it could account for the increase in elite population and the alteration of lines of trade and communication to support this increased population. The cemetery of Múskebi and the settlement at Kos town are separated by less than 20 kilometers across the sea.

⁸³⁵ Consider the historical examples of Archaic and Classical Greek poleis, or early modern German principalities prior to 19th century unification. The degree of

Regional changes in the LH IIIB are also evidenced by a degree of geographical mobility among local populations. In addition to the population movements that accompanied the nucleations at Ialysos and Kalavarda, a few sites—Poli on Kasos, Kastraki and Lindos on Rhodes, Kastello on Kos, and Kastro on Leros⁸³⁶—appear for the first time in the LH IIIB. For this point, it is significant that Kastraki, Lindos, and Kastello are located near older LH IIIA sites,⁸³⁷ which might suggest that although the site was new, the population was not. Furthermore, local shifts in burial location are evidenced at Lelos and Kariones, at Ambelia and Aspropilia, at Kastello and Iraklis, and at the two tholoi at Giorgaras and Kos town.⁸³⁸ As LH IIIB funerary activity declined at Lelos similar activity increased at Kariones, and as subsequent activity decreased at Kariones during the LH IIIC similar activity increased at Lelos. In much the same way, a brief LH IIIB increase in grave goods at Ambelia corresponds with a decrease in activity at nearby Aspropilia. Kastello is less than one kilometer from the earlier cemetery at Iraklis, and a similar pattern of complementary chronologies is demonstrated. Likewise, the two tholoi at and near Kos town alternate by date, with the one at Giorgaras in use during the LH IIIA, then the one at Kos town demonstrating LH IIIB use, before Giorgaras was reused during the LH IIIC.

centralization of social or political authority is not intrinsically linked to geographical expression.

⁸³⁶ See the sections on Poli (3.4.1), Kastraki (3.5.9), Lindos (3.5.17), Kastello (3.7.1), and Kastro (3.9.1) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. To this list could also be added the cemetery on Değirmentepe Hill at Miletus, although since the settlement predates the cemetery the population cannot be considered to have originated in the LH IIIB.

⁸³⁷ See Mee 1982, 58, 74; Georgiadis 2003, 38-40.

⁸³⁸ See the sections on Lelos (3.5.6), Kariones (3.5.7), Pylona (3.5.16), Kastello (3.7.1), Iraklis (3.7.2), Kos town (3.7.3), and Giorgaras (3.7.6) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

It is plausible that the same (reasonably) settled population might shift the location of certain activities and practices over time, as is ethnographically well represented in Greece and western Turkey into the early modern period.⁸³⁹ It must be considered that a span of roughly two centuries is represented by the combination of the LH IIIA2 and IIIB periods, and that such a span of time, in human terms of some eight generations, is ample to allow for substantial changes in practice to evolve. If chamber tombs represent family or corporate groups, then the shift in burial location could indicate a shift in the local social structures, where an old social unit gave way to a new one. No general change in the local population is required for this to have been the case, and none is evidenced at any of these locations; instead, it is plausible that the visible changes are the result of internal reconfigurations of elite behavior and display manifested by the choice of burial grounds. Such internal rearrangements might especially have occurred among smaller populations in newly settled areas toward the end of the LH IIIA2, where local mobility within a new landscape would produce an alternating appearance and disappearance of archaeologically visible activity.

Changes in Land Use and Settlement – LH IIIC

The LH IIIC period shows a varied landscape, more so than in earlier periods, but ultimately a landscape that continues the trends established during the LH IIIB (Figure 7.3). The most notable feature of the period is the decline in the geographical distribution of sites: the total number of active sites decreases from 39 in the LH IIIB to 29 in the LH

⁸³⁹ See, for example, Murray and Kardulias 1986; Chang and Tourtellotte 1993; Sutton 1999; Yarkar 2000; Forbes 2007; Forsén 2007.

IIIC;⁸⁴⁰ all evidence of habitation disappears on Karpathos and Symi;⁸⁴¹ only the cemetery at Armenochori remains active on Astypalaia;⁸⁴² half of all datable sites on Kos go out of use,⁸⁴³ and additional sites on Rhodes are discontinued.⁸⁴⁴ The tholos at Giorgaras on Kos is the only site that shows evidence of LH IIIC activity without IIIB precursors, but in this case the tholos was previously built in the LH IIIA and reused.⁸⁴⁵ Additional cemetery sites on Astypalaia, Rhodes, and Caria evidence a decline in funerary activity during the LH IIIC through a decrease in the number of grave goods.⁸⁴⁶

Nevertheless, many of those sites that persisted into the LH IIIC experienced a revival of funerary activity and show marked growth (or even a “renaissance”) of social activity.⁸⁴⁷ As illustrated in Table 7.1, Ialysos, Kalavarda, and Eleona-Langada all show a marked increase in the number of active tombs during this period.⁸⁴⁸ It is worth noting that at this time the number of active tombs at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada was equal,

⁸⁴⁰ These numbers do not include sites that are dated generally LH III, and sites that possess both settlement and cemetery contexts are counted once; see Appendix 1.

⁸⁴¹ See the island conclusion for Karpathos (3.3) and the section on Symi (3.6.1) in Chapter 3.

⁸⁴² See the section on Armenochori (3.1.1) and the island conclusions for Astypalaia in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸⁴³ See the sections on Kastello (3.7.1) and Iraklis (3.7.2) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. Admittedly most of the sites on the island are not closely datable.

⁸⁴⁴ See the sections on Maritsa (3.5.3), Kameiros (Papa-Lures) (3.5.5), Kariones (3.5.7), and probably also Koskinou (3.5.22) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸⁴⁵ See the section on Giorgaras (3.7.6) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸⁴⁶ See the sections on Armenochori (3.1.1), Kymisala (3.5.9), Apolakkia (3.5.10), Kattavia (3.5.11), Yennadi (3.5.13), Vigli (3.5.19), and Müskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. Additionally, the clusters of Apsaktiras at Vati (3.5.14) and Ambelia at Pylona (3.5.16) show a decline in the number of grave goods, while adjacent clusters show increases.

⁸⁴⁷ On this renaissance label see Morris (1997, 540) and Thomatos (2006, 257-260). Settlement data from this late period is generally lacking; see the sections on Trianda (3.5.1), Kos town (3.7.3), and Miletus (3.14.1) in Chapter 3.

⁸⁴⁸ See also the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2), Kalavarda (3.5.4), and Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

even if more material wealth was concentrated at Ialysos. Additional sites on Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos demonstrate a similar increase in the level of funerary activity.⁸⁴⁹ Although the number of active tombs at Lelos decreases from the LH IIIB level, the number of LH IIIC offerings remains more or less the same, indicating a concentration of more material wealth with fewer individuals in the funerary context.⁸⁵⁰

As with the northwest coast of Rhodes during the earlier LH IIIB period, the LH IIIC record also indicates a nucleation of populations. The cessation of activity at Maritsa, and perhaps also at Koskinou, can be related to the increase in activity at Ialysos. Likewise, the decline of Lelos and the discontinuation of Kariones could be related to the increase in activity at Kalavarda.⁸⁵¹ On Kos, the discontinuation of activity at Kastello and Iraklis, and also the continuing decline of Múskebi, can plausibly be related to the continuing increase of activity at Eleona-Langada. Shifts in the relative sizes of these cemeteries are illustrated in Figures 7.4 and 7.5. It is significant that those areas that show an increase in activity and nucleation in the LH IIIC are the same as those that plausibly demonstrate a nucleation of social authority in the LH IIIB. The material pattern, however, is different between the two periods. While earlier concentration of social authority was evidenced by a geographical concentration of activity and material, there was little cessation of more regional activity farther from the major population centers. Under the model proposed for the LH IIIB, this indicates a concentration of

⁸⁴⁹ See the sections on the Passia cluster at Vati (3.5.14), Lardos (3.5.15), the Aspropilia cluster at Pylona (3.5.16), Giorgaras (3.7.6), and Perakastro (3.8.1) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1. To this list could perhaps be added Archangelos on Rhodes (3.5.18), although the ceramic sample size is small.

⁸⁵⁰ See the section on Lelos (3.5.6) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁸⁵¹ The absence of LH IIIC material from Kameiros (Papa-Lures) (3.5.5) might relate to this same nucleation, but the incomplete record from Kameiros makes any relationship uncertain.

social authority around the larger population centers, but since activity (by the local social elites who were buried) did continue at the smaller sites no large-scale movement of the general population can be supported. In contrast, LH IIIC nucleation is evidenced by an increasing concentration of material wealth within the larger population centers to the exclusion of smaller neighbors, which often show no evidence of continued use. The cessation of activity at smaller sites indicates that local elites were no longer buried in large numbers outside of the major population centers, which, by extension, suggests that they were no longer resident in large numbers outside those centers either. If the LH IIIB was the period when social authority began to be consolidated, then the LH IIIC (at least the IIIC Early and Middle) was when that consolidation shifted in focus from authority to residence.

This increase in the number of elites within the communities at Trianda, Kalavarda, and Kos Town can plausibly be linked to the appearance of new populations. As demonstrated by Tables 7.2 and 7.3, the pattern of chamber tomb use changed between the LH IIIB and IIIC. On Rhodes, tombs used in the LH IIIB were more likely to have been used continuously since the LH IIIA than to be newly constructed. In other words, those social groups that made use of the tombs in the LH IIIB were likely to have done so a few generations earlier in the LH IIIA as well, which suggests a continuity of social authority. On the other hand, Eleona-Langada displays a marked increase in the number of new LH IIIB tombs, which matches the model proposed earlier for an expansion of the elite social groups in the accompanying population at this time. In contrast, during the LH IIIC period there are fewer tombs that were used continuously

Table 7.2 – Number of LH IIIB tombs that continued in use from LH IIIA, and that were newly constructed

Cemetery Site	No. in use LH IIIA-B	No. new in LH IIIB ⁸⁵²
Ialysos ⁸⁵³	9	5
Kalavarda	4	0
Pylona ⁸⁵⁴	4	0
Eleona-Langada	4	21

Table 7.3 – Number of LH IIIC tombs that continued in use from LH IIIB, that were newly constructed, and that were reused

Cemetery Site	No. in use LH IIIB-C	No. new in LH IIIC ⁸⁵⁵	No. tombs reused in IIIC ⁸⁵⁶
Ialysos ⁸⁵³	5	16	15
Kalavarda	3	1	2
Pylona ⁸⁵⁴	1	1	0
Eleona-Langada	12	30	7

from the LH IIIB relative to the number of new or reused tombs. This shift suggests that an increased percentage of elites within these communities did not have access to preexisting burial space in the LH IIIC, and so created or repurposed new tomb space.⁸⁵⁷

The logical extension of this theory is that the reason preexisting burial space was unavailable was because a significant proportion of those elites that were buried in the

⁸⁵² The number of tombs newly constructed in the LH IIIB. This includes both single period tombs (only in use during the LH IIIB) and those that continued in use through the LH IIIC.

⁸⁵³ Only counts the New Tombs, for which more reliable dates exist.

⁸⁵⁴ The different chambers of Tombs 2 and 5 are counted together as single tombs.

⁸⁵⁵ Only tombs newly constructed in the LH IIIC period; that is, single period tombs containing only LH IIIC material.

⁸⁵⁶ That is, LH II and LH IIIA constructions that were reused in the LH IIIC, but do not show evidence of use during the intervening LH IIIB period.

⁸⁵⁷ See also the discussion in the section 2. *Multiple and Single, Primary and Secondary Burial* in Chapter 5.

LH IIIC belonged to different social groups that had not previously required burial space in the cemeteries.

Christopher Mee originally suggested that the reuse of tombs during the LH IIIC is indicative of displaced populations, and specifically indicative of refugee immigration from the old Mycenaean centers on the mainland.⁸⁵⁸ Mee's proposal fits with the basic chronology of Mycenaean material expansion to Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean;⁸⁵⁹ however, there is nothing in the material record that indicates the arrival of new populations in the region. The number of ceramic imports during the LH IIIC is small in proportion to the number of locally made vessels, and no new traditions can be detected in the materials or local distributions of practices that would suggest a break between the LH IIIB and IIIC periods.⁸⁶⁰ Although the reuse of the tholos at Giorgaras on Kos might reflect an attempt to recreate mainland burial traditions, it is just as plausible that nucleated elites from the surrounding countryside would occupy disused tombs in order to establish their own burial space within the cemetery of the resident population. It should be noted that the motive for a new population group to reuse older burial space is the same, regardless of the origin of that group. Of course, the fact that no changes can be detected in burial spaces that were restricted to local elites does not mean that a general change in the local population could not have taken place; for this, data from settlements is required to corroborate a larger population change. Evidence of LH

⁸⁵⁸ Mee 1982, 89-90; 1988, 57.

⁸⁵⁹ See recent examinations of the movement east by Yasur-Landau (2010, 138-171), in Killebrew and Lehmann (2013), and by Cline (2014, 102-138, 148-152).

⁸⁶⁰ For more detailed examinations of the evidence that come to the conclusion of local agency and nucleation, see Benzi (1992, 224-225), MacDonald (1986, 149), and Georgiadis (2004, 68-69; 2009b, 97-98). Note that the different authors disagree on the scope of the population shift and on the relative roles of Ialysos and other smaller sites.

IIIC activity is scant at Trianda and Kos Town, perhaps more a result of preservation and limitations on excavation than a reflection of ancient reality. Miletus, on the other hand, does not show evidence of a discontinuity in the material culture between the LH IIIB and IIIC, which argues against a substantial change in the behavior or composition of its inhabitants.

The changes in settlement patterns in the LH IIIC had their origins in the LH IIIB. If, as proposed earlier, a nucleation of social authority (if not population) began during the LH IIIB, then the movement of local elites to those centers of authority in the following generations is reasonable—a localized chain migration from hinterland to social center.⁸⁶¹ Within the larger social setting an increasing number of elites within larger population centers is unlikely to have occurred without a broader population increase in those same areas. Similar social advantages (i.e., access to goods and services) that that would influence members of higher social strata to relocate to those centers of social authority would conceivably influence those of lower social strata as well. In this way, therefore, the general growth displayed by the LH IIIC cemeteries can at least partially be explained. With a sudden influx of population, there then occurred a reversal of the concentration of social authority of the LH IIIB period. As the population of all strata of society grew, the larger number of elites and of elite goods within the burial record attests a diversification of social authority in the largest population

⁸⁶¹ See Anthony's (1997, 25-27) discussions of chain migration and spatial interactions. Traditional push-pull factors between the larger settlements and surrounding countryside must have influenced the local populations to relocate, but in the absence of settlement data the nature of these factors can only be speculated. Nevertheless, in a recent article Panagiota Pantou (2014) demonstrates how communal spaces in population centers foster the creation of collective identities, which would conceivably provide a social incentive (in addition to economic motivations) to nucleate around existing urban populations.

centers.⁸⁶² These changes in land use and settlement were almost certainly related (in some form) to the political stresses and societal adjustments that occurred throughout the Aegean during the LH IIIC, as is traditionally understood, but the nucleation of settlements cannot be supported by the appearance of an external population. Additionally, although the absence of refuge settlement sites could be explained in part by the absence of systematic investigation, the fact that populations continued to exist in low lying areas near the sea suggests that maritime threats were not determining factors for settlement patterns in the region at the close of the Bronze Age.

The end of the Bronze Age is poorly represented in the southeast Aegean. Much of the landscape is archaeologically invisible by the middle of the LH IIIC—in some areas (Rhodes, Kos) through the proposed nucleation of populations and a plausible depopulation of the surrounding countryside, and in other areas for unknown reasons (Karpathos, Samos). Of those sites that remain active through the middle of the period, none appear to have persisted continuously into the Protogeometric period. Although some material from Rhodes can be dated late in the LH IIIC,⁸⁶³ Kos town⁸⁶⁴ and Miletus⁸⁶⁵ display breaks in their occupation levels before the final phase of the LH IIIC, as do the most prominent cemetery sites at Ialysos and Eleona-Langada. To some extent the dating lacuna might be explainable by current ceramic chronologies, which Mountjoy

⁸⁶² See also Yasur-Landau 2010, 93-95.

⁸⁶³ Mee 1982, 91.

⁸⁶⁴ Morricone 1972-1973, 393-396; Vitale 2005, 88, note 71. However, Benzi (2013, 521, 541) states that Karantzali's recent (unpublished) excavations in Kos Town attest a continuation of settlement to the last phases of the LH IIIC. See also Vitale's (2009, 1233) preliminary report on SELAP's reevaluation of Morricone's material, in which "a rather advanced phase of LH IIIC" is reported. This could suggest that the only break in the local sequence is the absence of SM and EPG material.

⁸⁶⁵ Mountjoy 2004, 198-200.

has suggested is overly reliant on mainland (Peloponnesian) Mycenaean sequences, and does not accurately reflect the chronological realities of other areas.⁸⁶⁶ As a result, it is possible that some of the local material that corresponds to a mid LH IIIC date by comparison to the Mycenaean mainland might in fact be datable later. Likewise, the material transition from the end of the LH IIIC to the PG is currently debated and requires additional investigation before the examination of land use patterns can continue. As the chronology is considered it is important not to overlook the human context, as the post-Bronze Age region was still inhabited by peoples that a few generations earlier would have been termed “Mycenaean.”

The Submycenaean as a Chronological or a Material Distinction

The interpretation of large-scale patterns through the very end of the LBA and beyond depends largely on how the Submycenaean material is understood in relation to both the end of the LH IIIC and the PG. In light of the general paucity of material evidence from the region during these periods any treatment of the SM creates certain problems. If the SM is to be interpreted as a stand-alone chronological phase, then there is little overlap between the earliest phases of SM activity on the Carian mainland and the later LPG activity on the adjacent islands; moreover, the chronological gap that appears in some areas is of a substantial length of time in human generational terms. On the other hand, if the SM should be viewed as synchronous with the end of the LH IIIC and/or the earliest phases of the PG, then the social changes that are visible in the region must have taken place rather quickly, transitioning in a space of barely a couple generations from a

⁸⁶⁶ See Mountjoy 1999a, 969, 984-985, 988-999, 1078, 1126-1127; 1999b; 2004, 199.

society recognizable on Mycenaean terms into a series of fully Geometric or Carian communities. Before an examination of the larger patterns of the region can begin, the chronology must be engaged.

The history of investigation into the Submycenaean period has been summarized multiple times, and need not be repeated in depth here.⁸⁶⁷ The term Submycenaean was first introduced by Theodore Skeat in 1934 as a designation for a ceramic style from the Arsenal Cemetery on Salamis, which was different from, but overlapped with, the PG style in Athens.⁸⁶⁸ This early attribution of the SM was intended to serve as a temporary designation until a better understanding of the chronology had been attained through continued excavation. However, rather than maintain its status as a temporary—and overlapping—designation to be brought back within the fold of the larger chronology, continued study of the SM cemented its identity as a separate chronological phase. Although there has been general agreement on the existence of the SM as a definable ceramic style, throughout much of the 20th century debate largely centered on whether the SM was a regional variant definable primarily by comparison to Attica, the Argolid, and Lefkandi, or whether it constituted a dimly understood phase of post-Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean.⁸⁶⁹ Jeremy Rutter added fuel to the academic fire in 1978 when he

⁸⁶⁷ For example, Lemos (2002, 7-8) and Papadopoulos et al. (2011) give recent, and succinct, overviews of previous studies; see also Mountjoy 1988, 2-5, table 1. The subjective nature of the material is evident by the fact that using much the same evidence, Lemos and Papadopoulos et al. come to opposite conclusions—that the SM is a stand-alone period, or an overlapping phase respectively. The SM remains a virtual Rorschach test of chronological methodology.

⁸⁶⁸ Skeat 1934, 27-29.

⁸⁶⁹ For the SM as a regional variant that essentially overlaps with the LH IIIC, see for example Desborough (1964, 17-20, 28; 1972, 30-33, 41-45) and Snodgrass (1971, 30-40). For the SM as a post-Late Mycenaean chronological phase, see for example

proposed that SM material was not merely regional in scope, but related specifically to funerary practices, thereby specifying a practical context for the ceramics and removing much of their chronological significance.⁸⁷⁰ Subsequent finds of SM material have come from domestic contexts in the Argolid and in northern Greece (and perhaps from the southeast Aegean as well⁸⁷¹), which have caused some scholars to cast doubt on the broad applicability of Rutter's theory.

Rutter's search for contextual meaning is ultimately the most crucial aspect of the SM debate: if concrete social change and/or a broad cultural material variation can be associated with the SM, then the identity of the phase as a chronological period gains credence. Desborough first proposed that the SM ceramic style is accompanied by the introduction of long pins and arched fibulae, and by the shift toward a preference for single burials in pits or cists, as opposed to the earlier preference for multiple burials in chamber tombs.⁸⁷² Subsequent research has shown that all of these features can be detected in association with LH IIIC chamber tombs, which indicates that SM ceramic material accompanies a shift in preference rather than form.⁸⁷³ The pins and fibulae do not inherently indicate a social transition any more than a change in ceramic style; however, the shift in burial preferences might reflect just such a "deep change"—

Styrenius (1967, 23-28, 160-162) and Mountjoy (1986, 194). See also Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 187.

⁸⁷⁰ Rutter 1978, 59-62.

⁸⁷¹ See the sections on the Heraion (4.5.1) on Samos, and Miletus (4.6.3) and Pilavtepe (4.6.6) in Caria in Chapter 4. All three have produced SM sherds without accompanying evidence for funerary activity, but it should be noted that none of this material has been published with contextual information.

⁸⁷² Desborough 1964, 81.

⁸⁷³ See Dickinson 1983 (especially pages 66-67 for specific reference for the SM period); Lemos 2002, 8.

connotations of “Helladic” or “foreign” influence aside.⁸⁷⁴ Although single burials and pits or cists are all attested during the LBA, they are never a common form of burial relative to chamber tombs and tholoi, and rarely do they appear as the only form of burial in a cemetery.⁸⁷⁵

Nevertheless, there does not appear to have been a steady transition from the LH IIC chamber tomb to the SM cist or pit, as would be expected if these forms were indicative of a broad societal transition. Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, in the only monograph to date on the SM period, demonstrates that in Attica cist tombs were preferred among the stylistically earlier SM burials, and only later toward the end of the SM period (as identified by internal stylistic development of SM ceramics) did pit graves become common only once other forms of burials—such as cremation—had also become prevalent.⁸⁷⁶ This pattern is admittedly applicable only to Attica, but it suggests that burial rites associated with SM ceramic material were not unified in a meaningful way within the relatively short period of time that SM material can be detected. As such, those rites, again identified purely by their ceramic accompaniments, are distinguished

⁸⁷⁴ Discussions of LBA chamber tombs giving way to EIA cists have at times been bound up in the idea of different classes of LBA society and the revival of MBA “local” burial preferences (read as “pits and cists”) in the centuries after restrictive Mycenaean customs had been abandoned; see, for example, Snodgrass (1971, 186-187). That said, support for a revival of MBA customs (after a gap of up to 600 years) during the EIA is as elusive as evidence for an invasion of new peoples; see also a summary of research in Dickinson (1983, 55).

⁸⁷⁵ Dickinson 1983, 62; Lewartowski 2000, 7-16, 20.

⁸⁷⁶ Styrenius 1967, 153, diagram 14; compare Mountjoy 1988, 29-30. Styrenius’ division of the SM into Early, Middle, Late A, Late B, and Transitional SM/PG is not certain; see Papadopoulos et al. (2011, 189) for a note on his dating. Styrenius’ five periodic divisions are curiously homogenous in that all contain between 15 and 17 graves, which speaks either to a remarkably consistent death rate for the local population (especially given the 100 years he attributes to the period), or an overreliance on a (modified) tripartite chronological scheme.

primarily by what they are not—that is, involving Mycenaean-style chamber tombs—rather than by shared traits that attest what they are. This is a significant distinction. In the end, all that can be said of SM burial rites is that they are similar both to simple late Mycenaean and PG graves,⁸⁷⁷ and that stylistically SM pottery accompanies a practical shift away from chamber tombs.

The focus on ceramic style in the identification of the SM is important, and problems with that focus have been pointed out recently by John Papadopoulos in considering the similarity of SM and PG vessels.⁸⁷⁸ He points out that vessels have traditionally been dated based on the method used to create the circles and semi-circles that decorate them—either by free hand (SM) or by a mechanically pivoted multiple brush (PG).⁸⁷⁹ There are, however, a small number of vessels where both techniques appear together, such as the cinerary amphora from Kerameikos Tomb hS 101.⁸⁸⁰ Papadopoulos' caution is well founded that should such a vessel have been encountered in pieces it is unlikely that it would have been identified as a single PG urn, and that motifs that are typically dated as LPG can accompany hand drawn decoration that can otherwise be dated as early SM. Moreover, differences between the decoration and forms

⁸⁷⁷ See again Lewartowski 2000, 7-16.

⁸⁷⁸ Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 189-191.

⁸⁷⁹ Qualitative variation in ceramic decoration has recently been analyzed in relation to apprenticeships and the education of young or unskilled (learning) individuals; see recently Hasaki (2012, 171-196) and Langdon (2013, 176-189; 2015, 22-33). The implications of this idea for altering the pictures of prehistoric chronology, object use, and stylistic development are explicitly discussed by Langdon (2015, 29-32). For the purposes of this discussion, it is significant that simultaneous variation of otherwise "standard" decorative motifs can be attributed to decreased motor skills and technical familiarity, both common in child development and the acquisition of skill sets.

⁸⁸⁰ See Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 194, fig. 5.

of SM and PG vessels can lack an objective robusticity. For example, the difference between a “tremulous” or “zigzag” line (LH IIIC Late according to Mountjoy) and a “wavy” line (SM) is more of a subjective stylistic division than an objective chronological marker, as suggested by the variable range of dates for such vessels.⁸⁸¹ The differences between these lines reflect an assumed uniformity of decoration—that is, the assumption that the variation between peaks and valleys of the wave were intended to be both internally consistent within the same vessel (which they demonstrably are not) and externally consistent by period across multiple points of manufacture—that cannot be supported by the material evidence at present.⁸⁸² Vessels that display characteristically “SM” decoration (manually drawn circles and lines, and inconsistent wavy lines) are also restricted to a relatively small number of shapes: primarily deep bowls/cups with a few amphorae/amphoriskoi and jugs/lekythoi.⁸⁸³ The heavy reliance on cups often makes the dating of a chronological SM phase contingent on the simple presence or absence of a single primary shape, which is methodologically problematic. Additionally, the evolution of these shapes is marked by such factors as the relative lengthening or

⁸⁸¹ Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 191-197. The vessels Mountjoy (1988, 8-18) examined were previously dated as early to late SM by various earlier commentaries. The fact that the zigzag can also appear on PG cups and skyphoi should only add to the chronological confusion; see Lemos 2002, 30-33, 40-42.

⁸⁸² On this point, see Langdon (2013, 176-189, table 8.1) where issues of variation of scale and symmetry are related to the age of the painter (i.e., a child apprentice) and the development (or lack) of fine motor skills.

⁸⁸³ Mountjoy 1988, 8-18; Lemos 2002, 7-8, notes 48-50; Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 197. Compare the small number of shapes with the greater variety originally examined by Desborough (1966, 13-28) when he sought the very end of the LH IIIC, or by Styrenius (1967, 38-50, 68-75, 80-84, 99-110, 125-148) in his consideration of the progression from the beginning of the SM to the SM/PG Transition. The fact that so much of the argument over chronological standing has been reduced to so little material is not indicative of a robust debate.

shortening of a conical foot on a deep bowl (which is otherwise distinguished by a way line decoration),⁸⁸⁴ and a “perked-up biconical shape.”⁸⁸⁵ Such criteria are difficult to quantify objectively, and are only viewed as chronological markers by their association with an accompanying decorative feature, like a manually drawn line or semicircle, that is itself a reasonably subjective indicator of date.⁸⁸⁶

Beyond the material itself, a clear picture of the stratigraphic relationship between the LH IIIC and the SM, and between the SM and the PG does not exist. No stratigraphic context that involves SM material is secure and without problems, which vary from site to site, and which is why so much emphasis has been placed on stylistic concerns. Some sites have been put forward by authors as producing stratigraphically more secure evidence for the existence of an SM stratum, but methodological problems and

⁸⁸⁴ Lemos 2002, 7, note 48.

⁸⁸⁵ Styrenius 1967, 35; Papadopoulos et al. 2011, 189. Styrenius compares the “perked-up shape” to the LH IIIC Granary Style and concludes an early SM date is most likely; however, Papadopoulos et al. (2011, 189-190, fig. 4) compare the shape to an almost identical PG lekythos dated by mechanically drawn circles.

⁸⁸⁶ Note that the illustrations of LH IIIC Middle deep bowls in Thomatos (2006, 98-108, figs. 1.308-360) demonstrate a wide range of decorative quality. Comparable illustrations of PG skyphoi in Lemos (2002, 33-46, pls. 6.3, 7.4, 22.5, 28.2-4, 34.8, 36.4, 45.1, 51.5, 66-70) demonstrate a similar variation in decorative quality (including on vessels from the same site), even if manually drawn semi-circles are absent. Additionally, low conical feet, which might otherwise be indicative of SM forms, can appear on LH IIIC Middle deep bowls (Thomatos 2006, fig. 1.329) and on PG skyphoi (Lemos 2002, pls. 70.5-6). These examples compare with SM deep bowls or skyphoi in Styrenius (1967, fig. 4) and Papadopoulos et al. (2011, figs. 3b, 7-8). Such variations in quality and form, whether due to regionalism or internal inconsistencies, complicate any attempt to enforce chronological standards on the ceramic evidence. See also Mountjoy’s (1988, 19) contention that LH IIIC Late vessels from the Pompeion cemetery (which were originally identified as SM) were “so badly made that it is difficult to base dating on the shapes of individual vessels,” thereby requiring a comparison of decorative motifs.

chronological assumptions (dead reckoning) can render all of them uncertain.⁸⁸⁷

Moreover, it is not enough simply to establish a stratigraphic relationship between the LH IIIC and the SM; rather, a clear progression must be established from the latest LH IIIC through the SM into the EPG in order to secure the SM as a distinct stratigraphically attested chronological phase. The establishment of stylistically SM ceramics (meaning primarily hand-decorated, as discussed previously) as stratigraphically above the LH IIIC Late at one site, and then below generally PG material at another site serves only to establish that vessels with stylistically less careful and precise decoration accompanied the decline and abandonment of the first site, and presaged or accompanied the establishment and growth of the second.⁸⁸⁸ In neither context (societal decline or establishment) would such less precisely decorated wares be conceptually out of place, but, likewise, in neither context can a chronological relationship be established based solely on the quality of those materials without independent external references.

In light of the concerns with SM material—the absence of a clear stratigraphic progression from the LH IIIC Late-SM-EPG; the absence of independently attested practical contexts for SM material that are not shared by earlier and later populations; the absence of characteristic non-ceramic material; the paucity of ceramic forms and the somewhat cyclical dating of those forms by qualitative reference to hand drawn or corrupted versions of motifs that are also expressed in the LH IIIC and PG repertoire—it is most probable that stylistically SM ceramic material overlapped chronologically with

⁸⁸⁷ See, for example, Lemos 2002, 7-8, notes 46-50; Papadopoulos 2011, 191-194.

⁸⁸⁸ This is not a substantially different scenario than is typically proposed to explain the societies of an SM chronological phase; however, it is important to note that the decline and (re)establishment of multiple widespread communities need not have been contemporaneous. Indeed, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces demonstrably was not simultaneous.

both the latest LH IIIC and the PG, occurring to a greater or lesser degree one way or the other depending on location. This was the position initially established by Skeat, and elaborated by Desborough's earlier research.⁸⁸⁹ Styrenius, although differing from Desborough on certain points, also maintained that there was a degree of overlap between the SM and the LH IIIC.⁸⁹⁰ Papadopoulos' assertion that nearly identical shapes and motifs can appear on vessels that are traditionally dated to both the SM and PG periods suggests that the difference is one primarily of quality.⁸⁹¹ It is doubtful that very many scholars would reject wholesale the idea of some at least regional overlap between the SM and LH IIIC, or perhaps even between the SM and EPG, but consensus on the nature and dating of that overlap is not forthcoming.

Toward a Local Chronological Progression

This study will not treat the SM material as constitutive of a distinct chronological phase.⁸⁹² Nothing in the record of the southeast Aegean contradicts or addresses the methodological problems introduced in the preceding section, and so it can add little to the general debate. Within this examination there are certain problems that are created by the elimination of the SM as a chronological phase. If the SM overlaps both the LH IIIC

⁸⁸⁹ Desborough 1966, 17-21.

⁸⁹⁰ Styrenius 1967, 151-153, 158-163. His descriptions of the material and the burial forms of his Early and Middle SM bear strong similarities with the LH IIIC, while his Late SM A, Late SM B, and Transitional SM/PG all bear more in common with the PG material and burial practices than with the earlier SM phases; see Styrenius 1967, 151-153, Diagram 14. This might reflect the chronological overlap and, more importantly, the transition of social practices from a more Mycenaean model to what would become a "Geometric/EIA" model.

⁸⁹¹ Papadopoulos 2011, 189-197.

⁸⁹² In this study, the period is written as "SM/PG" in recognition of the chronological overlap, or, at the very least, ambiguity.

and the PG, then the inclusion of SM material in this chapter might introduce chronologically LH III material into a consideration of otherwise PG social trends. Unfortunately, without more nuanced investigation of the previously identified SM material from Samos and Caria, and without a more inclusive definition of the chronology within this phase of the Aegean as a whole, it is not possible to determine what southeast Aegean SM material reflects LBA activities, and what reflects PG activities. It is entirely possible that regional material that has been identified as SM was so classed on (subjectively) qualitative grounds, in which case the attribution of SM is not sound.

An example of this trend can perhaps be seen in the dating of the bird vases (askoi) from Çömlekçi (SM), and Assarlık (SM).⁸⁹³ The forms of the two Carian SM askoi are very different—the bird from Çömlekçi is in a fine fabric and has a raised head and globular body with plastic miniature vessels and baskets on its back, while the “bird” from Assarlık is roughly made of coarse fabric in the shape of an orange slice with a spout in place of its head.⁸⁹⁴ The formal differences between these two examples are greater than what is typically represented in the contemporary repertoires of other areas. Moreover, although the Çömlekçi bird vase possesses no exact parallels, it is roughly similar to LH IIIC horse-shaped vessels from Ialysos, while the Assarlık bird vase finds its closest parallel in M-LPG examples from Kos town, as well as an EPG example from Athens, and an E/MPG example from Argos.⁸⁹⁵ What the two bird vases from Caria share is a less precise manufacture and unique forms that share few similarities with more

⁸⁹³ See the sections on Çömlekçi (4.6.8) and Assarlık (4.6.10) in Chapter 4.

⁸⁹⁴ Guggisberg 1996, 133-134, pls. 35.1-4.

⁸⁹⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 23, 71, pls. 1.1, 15.8.

common types, thereby allowing them to be classed independently. The degree of chronological overlap represented by these two SM vessels—with parallels ranging in date from the LH IIIC to the LPG—is probably also represented in other SM finds from the two sites; however, this is not as easy to determine. Çömlekçi has never been fully published, and Assarlık was not excavated or published in a systematic way, resulting in confusing and conflicting information. Additionally, it is likely that stylistically conservative trends in the region's LPG ceramic repertoire might tie into this discussion—if the LPG repertoire is conservative, it stands to reason that other phases of the PG should be too, which has implications for SM material with local PG comparanda.⁸⁹⁶ At present, however, the chronological implications of this phenomenon are not entirely clear due to the same stratigraphic uncertainties and regionalizing trends that make SM material so difficult to interpret in other areas.

With specific reference to the southeast Aegean, stylistically SM material must be integrated into the local chronological sequence in a way that reflects its traditional identification as a distinct ceramic style and its synchronicity with both the later LH IIIC and the earlier PG periods. As such, a local sequence might be pieced together along the following lines. The absence of the latest phases of the LH IIIC, which in the region are still identified largely by comparison to Argive examples, might in part be addressed by a combination of local decorative conservatism (which would prolong the appearance of otherwise local LH IIIC decorative features) and the disproportionate distribution of SM material to the north of the region and to Caria, where relatively little LH IIIC activity is

⁸⁹⁶ Sørensen and Pentz (1992, 57) note that the “well known conservatism of the Dodecanesian potters” makes firm dating of Proto- and Geometric pottery from Lindos difficult. Cook and Dupont (2003, 12, note 3) note that the beginning and end of the Koan (i.e., from Kos town) PG postdates its Attic comparanda.

attested. Material dated to the SM that appears at new sites like Çömlekçi and Assarlık, which do not demonstrate earlier activity, might plausibly attest activity at the very end of what, on the southern Greek mainland, would otherwise be dated LH IIIC Late. This would account for stylistic similarities between ceramics from these sites and LH IIIC comparanda from the Dodecanese, Attica, and the Argolid. The dating of this material to the SM as a chronological period would then be attributable to stylistic and formal inconsistencies resulting from the development of new local industries that were not as accustomed to manufacturing or decorating vessels in the traditionally “Mycenaean” manner, but nonetheless did so on account of the cultural currency that the material culture carried. On this note, it is significant that all thirteen vessels from Çömlekçi included by Özgünel in his catalogue of the Bodrum Museum are of local manufacture.⁸⁹⁷

Stylistically SM material from preexisting sites, like Miletus and Pilavtepe, are difficult to assess before final publications are released, but similar local phenomena might be invoked. At least at Miletus there is evidence of some sort of widespread social disruption late in the LH IIIC period (the end of Miletus VI), which resulted in the abandonment of the excavated area of the settlement and the disuse of the massive fortification wall. It is reasonable to assume that whatever prompted this disruption would have had a negative impact on the structure and organization of ceramic workshops and training, which would plausibly have produced a decline in the quality of produced goods until the necessary skill sets and knowledge had redeveloped. The (re-)development of these skill sets should be associated with the transition from stylistically SM to stylistically PG ceramics—that is, stylistically less precise and more variable to

⁸⁹⁷ Özgünel 1996, 130-131, 135, 147-150.

stylistically more precise and exact. By this pattern, Carian “SM” ceramics are indicative of the disruption of older social infrastructures and the development of new centers of production, while the absence of SM material in the Dodecanese is a reflection of the relative stability and continuity of populations at some of the major centers of social authority during the LH IIIC period. The adoption in these areas of the PG ceramic style should then be connected to overseas contact and the integration of local populations within contemporary maritime networks.

The fact remains that the earliest phases of the PG period are not represented in the region, which should suggest at least some chronological break. However, the absence of EPG material is perhaps not the chronological problem that it would first appear, since no EPG (and scarcely any MPG either for that matter) has yet been located in any quantity outside of the Greek mainland.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, if stylistically SM and PG material (even LPG by some associations⁸⁹⁹) can plausibly overlap, then the incongruity between unequal distributions of LH IIIC, SM, and LPG ceramic activity can at least partially be resolved. Accordingly, societies throughout the region employing lingering versions of stylistically LH IIIC ceramics would have begun using M/LPG ceramics at a later date as a result of increasing contact with mainland communities that were already producing and using material in that style, effectively bypassing a regional EPG style. Simultaneously, SM material was subregionally concentrated among Carian workshops that were in the process of developing relevant skill sets and technical knowledge, which

⁸⁹⁸ See Lemos 2002, 9-18. See, however, Krumme (2015, 583) for a possible EPG sherd from Miletus. It is possible that population movements and restructuring that characterized the change from the LH IIIC to the PG in the southeast Aegean have obscured this transitional material, and that sites attesting activity during this period simply have not yet been discovered.

⁸⁹⁹ Papadopoulos 2011, 189-191.

eventually transitioned into a qualitatively PG style. Discussion of SM material as related to Argive and especially Attic production might suggest that contact with these overseas areas was disproportionately concentrated in Caria as well. Likewise, an absence of mainland EPG imports and the appearance of MPG material in the southeast Aegean might speak more to shifting patterns of commerce and regional preferences than to chronology.

This tentative account will not be immune to criticism, and it is not intended to apply to any region other than the southeast Aegean;⁹⁰⁰ however, this attempt to address the chronological gap between the LH IIIC Middle (dated largely by Argive

⁹⁰⁰ On the other hand, it would be interesting to see other studies attempt to better integrate a non-linear reading of the ceramic sequence with an expanded program of dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating. Such approaches at Assiros in northern Greece have already urged the lifting of the date of the PG back to what has traditionally been the chronological realm of the LH IIIC; see, for example, Newton et al. (2005), Wardle (2012), and Wardle et al. (2014). It should be noted, however, that the reliability of these contexts from Assiros is the subject of debate, and the suggested raising of dates might go too far. Although a recent C14 study by Toffolo et al. (2013) supports the conventional chronology for the date of a pre-defined SM-PG boundary, it should be noted that the latest date ranges for material from LH IIIC Middle-Late contexts are frequently later than typically assumed, and the earliest date ranges for material from PG contexts are separated by only the slimmest of margins (2013, 5-6, table 1, 7-8, figs. 3-4). It is plausible that LH IIIC Late styles were used later than conventionally believed, and that PG styles (perhaps not with the conventionally linear EPG-MPG-LPG progression) began marginally earlier than convention holds; see also Fantalkin et al. (2015, 31-39, tables 2-3) for a similar narrowing of the chronological gap between the LH IIIC Late and the PG based on Levantine comparisons. It should also be noted that radiocarbon analysis of pyre material from tombs at Torone (Papadopoulou et al. 2011, 198-199, fig. 9) demonstrates the chronological overlap of SM and PG pottery.

The SM should be the focus of a new study that is sensitive to the methodological and stratigraphic pitfalls that have plagued its material to this point. Should such a study demonstrate that the phase is merely a collection of form-specific traits and assumptions based on the quality of decoration, then the framework must be reworked.

comparisons) and the local LPG is consistent with what is currently known about the SM and PG chronologies within the realm of local variation. Admittedly, this approach might not dissolve the entirety of the gap, but a recognition of the synchronicity of the SM with both the LH IIIC and PG ceramic styles, combined with the effects of artistic conservatism and local variation, goes some way toward an explanation. If the conventional gap is maintained, then the space of time between the LH IIIC Middle and the LPG totals upwards of a few hundred years depending on the chronology used. In human terms of perhaps a dozen generations this gap is simply unacceptable unless the southeast Aegean outside of Caria is interpreted to have been virtually unpopulated for that period, which seems extremely unlikely. Although additional exploration and excavation might very well fill in some of the missing data, it is also likely that the chronological framework for the region, based almost entirely on mainland examples and dead reckoning, is not accurate.⁹⁰¹

⁹⁰¹ Lemos (2002, 26) follows Warren and Hankey (1989, 167-169) in determining the passage of time from the LH IIIC to the PG by attributing generations to discernable ceramic styles: the more complex the style in terms of internal variation and development, the more generations of potters (and thus time) are attributed to it. This approach has not changed significantly since Desborough (1966, 258-263 1972, 79, 340-345) first studied the period. On this dead-reckoning, and its problems, see also Papadopoulou 2011, 194-199. Note that the study by Toffolo et al. (2013, 10), in which Lemos took part, asserts that this span of time is far too long based on radiocarbon data. It is an academic irony that such dead reckoning, rooted in a Morellian approach to the artist's subconscious and applied broadly to period phases, should codify sequences that remove individual variation and artistic license from consideration.

Changes in Land Use and Settlement – SM/PG

Evidence for the SM/PG period is limited to 19 sites: three SM cemeteries, and three tentative SM settlement sites; one MPG cemetery and one MPG settlement; six LPG cemeteries, two at least tentative LPG settlements, and two LPG sites of unknown character; and five sites that cannot be dated more narrowly than PG (one cemetery, two tentative settlements, and two sites of unknown character); see Figures 7.6, 7.7, and 7.8. Of the six SM sites, only three—Çömlekçi, Pilavtepe, and Stratonikeia—have produced no evidence of accompanying PG material.⁹⁰² Compared to the LH IIIB-C, the SM/PG material comprises a very small sample set, and no single periodic (or stylistic) division within this date range produces enough information to make broad generalizations about the region as a whole. Put another way, LH IIIC Eleona-Langada produced roughly the same amount of material as is currently known from the entire SM/PG region,⁹⁰³ additionally, one LH IIIA2-B chamber tomb at Pigadia on Karpathos produced roughly twice the amount of pottery as is currently known from all of SM/PG Caria.⁹⁰⁴ Because of this, the sites must be examined together, which is why it was necessary to confront the chronology prior to any discussion of the region. The proposed sequence discussed in the previous section is illustrated in Figure 7.9. As no conclusive transition between the final LH IIIC and the PG has yet been detected, the result of minimal overlap of sites,

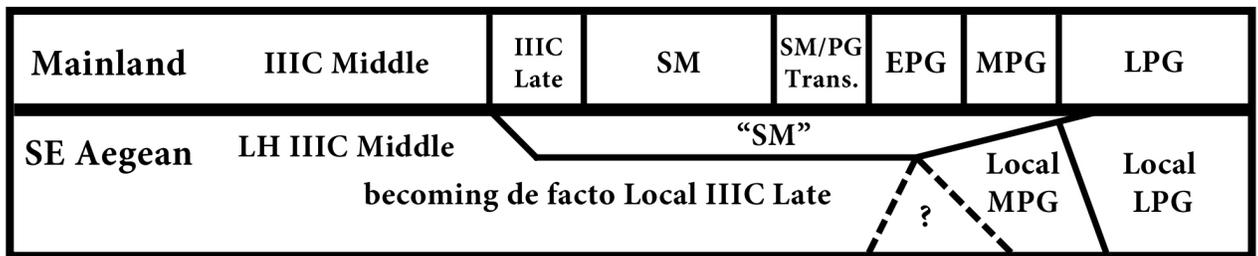
⁹⁰² It should be noted that Stratonikeia produced only two vessels out of context, which appear to have been dated as SM because of the combination of LH III ring bases and decoration similar to PG style; see Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968, 51-52, pl. 25, figs. 1-2. Çömlekçi and Pilavtepe have not been fully published and the pottery is not fully illustrated.

⁹⁰³ See the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) and the SM/PG entries in Appendix 1. This accounts only for published pottery or numbers.

⁹⁰⁴ See the section on Pigadia (3.3.4) in Chapter 3, and see Appendix 1 for the SM/PG entries.

there is currently no way to resolve the chronological dilemma with complete confidence. The sequence proposed here attempts to close the gap, but does not eliminate it. Additional exploration and excavation, especially in the areas of the largest LH IIC population centers, will hopefully contribute clarity to this issue.

Figure 7.9 – Proposed relative sequence of the southeast Aegean as compared to a standard sequence of the Greek mainland⁹⁰⁵



As defined here, the SM/PG is a relatively short period compared both to the LH IIC that preceded it and the Geometric that follows. Perhaps occupying a space of only a few generations (as defined primarily by the PG), this period is marked by an absence

⁹⁰⁵ The mainland sequence is based on that proposed by Warren and Hankey (1989, 167-169, table 3.1) and maintained by Lemos (2002, 26); dates are intentionally not included, although the relative spacing of the periods in the mainland sequence is derived from the number of generations that Warren and Hankey assign to each period for the LH IIC and SM—2 for the LH IIC Middle, 1 for the IIC Late, 2 for the SM—and that Lemos assigns for the SM and PG periods—2 for the SM, 1 for the SM/PG Transitional, 1 for the EPG, 1 for the MPG, and 2 for the LPG. The sequence for the southeast Aegean follows that proposed in the previous section. The spacing of the respective “periods” in the southeast Aegean sequence is not intended to reflect their duration or date, but to reflect their relative relationships to a conventional chronology. The underlying assumption for this proposed chronology is that the SM (and the subsequent transition to, and beginning of, the PG) represents a much shorter span of time than it is traditionally assigned based on the internal variation of artistic styles; see Note 900 in this chapter.

of information that makes direct comparison to LH III patterns difficult. That said, the lack of overlap between LH IIIC and SM/PG sites is itself indicative of a substantial change in settlement pattern. Old centers of some of the most prominent LH IIIC activity—Ialysos, Kalavarda, and Kos town—all maintain some level of SM/PG activity, but they are the only currently known sites in the Dodecanese that do so. This perhaps represents a continuation of the nucleation of social authority that became increasingly consolidated during the LH IIIC, as evidenced by the disappearance of displays of social authority (chamber tombs and accompanying deposited wealth) in the surrounding countryside. The SM/PG displays of wealth are significantly reduced from their LH IIIC levels, but, as already discussed, this should not automatically be interpreted to reflect a direct and proportional change in the general population of the region. It is plausible that similar social restrictions regarding access to burial space existed among populations in the region during both the LH III and the SM/PG periods. The small numbers of burials in SM/PG cemeteries suggest even smaller local populations than their LH III counterparts,⁹⁰⁶ and together with the inclusion of foreign objects (faience objects and Cypriot vessels at Ialysos and Kameiros) and large concentrations of material wealth (gold and bronze objects at Kos town), it is very likely that access to SM/PG burial space was restricted. In this feature of unequal social access, the SM/PG cemeteries do not function differently from their LH IIIC predecessors.

⁹⁰⁶ See the discussion of LH III population size in the section *Who Had Access to Burial Space?* in Chapter 6. By comparison, LPG Kos town contained perhaps 20 burials, which, according to the equation used in Chapter 6 (assuming an average life span still of 33 years and a time span of perhaps 2 generations—50 years—based on Lemos' reckoning of the period), results in a population of 13.2. It seems unlikely that the largest community in the region would have barely topped a dozen individuals; therefore, some selectivity regarding access to burial space is strongly implied.

The picture that emerges from the SM/PG Dodecanese differs from the LH IIIC pattern primarily in terms of scale. Centers of power are essentially unchanged, and funerary wealth displays more similarities than differences: burials of both periods display mostly pottery with roughly similar ratios of open to closed forms and of the average number of vessels per burial, and small finds include significant numbers of personal ornaments, especially rings, with few weapons and tools. The difference is mainly that fewer burials result in a smaller corpus of material; however, if the SM/PG period is also a substantially shorter period than the LH IIIC, then this variation in the scale of funerary activity might be less significant than it at first seems. In other words, a smaller number of burials within a smaller time frame could result in a roughly comparable rate of burial between the two periods.

Table 7.4 – Relative positions of associated LH IIIC and SM/PG cemeteries⁹⁰⁷

LH IIIC Site	SM/PG Site	Distance	Direction
Ialysos	Ialysos	1.2 km	NW
Kalavarda	Kameiros	1.4 km	W
Eleona-Langada	Kos town	1.25 km	N-NE

As discussed in Chapter 6, agricultural catchments can plausibly be reconstructed as constituting territories of the living that were bounded and sanctioned by the location of the dead.⁹⁰⁸ As given in Table 7.4, the location of each PG cemetery in relation to its LH III precursor is also consistent with earlier patterns of mobility and spatial arrangement. The distance between each associated site varies between 1.2 and 1.4

⁹⁰⁷ See the sections on Ialysos (3.5.2, 4.1.1), Kalavarda (3.5.4), Kameiros (4.1.2), Eleona-Langada (3.7.4), and Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁹⁰⁸ See the section *Territoriality* in Chapter 6.

kilometers (average 1.28 kilometers). This distance is consistent with the average of 1.37 kilometers between LH IIIB-C settlements and cemeteries.⁹⁰⁹ Of course, an association between two cemetery sites of different periods does not automatically indicate an association between the two living populations that made use of them. Nevertheless, the distance between LH III settlements and cemeteries suggests that the span of roughly a kilometer and a half was within the range of a single population's conceptual territory. The location of the later (PG) cemeteries within the same conceptual territory as the earlier cemeteries, and their attendant living social units, suggests that some degree of spatial continuity existed among the larger of the social groups in the region from the end of the LBA to the PG. This alone cannot indicate continuity of genetic populations, nor of practices or beliefs, but in conjunction with other factors the overlap of spatial territories is at least consistent with the continuity of populations on the islands of the southeastern Dodecanese.

Caria presents a different scenario. An increase in the number of sites from four during the LH IIIC period to 10 SM/PG sites represents a significant expansion of social authorities and likely also their attendant populations throughout the area. As discussed in the section *Intraregional Variation* in Chapter 5, the Carian funerary pattern differs from that seen in the Dodecanese in a number of significant ways. In conjunction with a geographical expansion of activity, these divergences in funerary practice suggests that Carian populations experienced different fortunes and intentionally expressed different agencies from those communities on the adjacent islands. Of the LH IIIC sites in

⁹⁰⁹ See the section *Territoriality* in Chapter 6 and Appendix 2.

Caria,⁹¹⁰ only Miletus shows conclusive evidence of continuous activity on a large scale. Submycenaean material has been reported from Pilavtepe, but the amount of material appears to have been small. Additionally, until a full publication of the site is produced it is not certain that this SM material does not overlap with the later stages of the LH IIIC, for which there is substantially more material attestation, rather than the PG. The appearance of PG material at Knidos is only loosely dated, and follows an even less specific date of earlier “Mycenaean” pottery; as such, the nature of this site cannot be determined for either period.⁹¹¹ Against this meager background, and the contraction in the number of sites on the adjacent islands, it is all the more striking that seven new sites appeared during the SM/PG period without evidence of earlier precursors. Unlike on the islands, none of these seven sites is within one and a half kilometers of earlier activity. The closest two sites to an LH III cemetery, Dirmil and Assarlık, are both between five and seven kilometers from LH III Müskebi, and Dirmil is located in a different agricultural catchment from the earlier site. Additionally, Müskebi, which was one of the largest cemeteries in the region during the LH IIIA, experienced a sharp decline in activity during the LH IIIC when it attests only four relatively impoverished burials.⁹¹² The appearance of new SM/PG cemeteries in the Bodrum peninsula sharply reverses the earlier decline, and should not, therefore, be related to a pattern of population movement derived from LBA activity; it more likely relates to new factors among the SM/PG populations.

⁹¹⁰ See the sections on Miletus (3.14.1), Iasos (3.14.2), Pilavtepe (3.14.3), and Müskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

⁹¹¹ See the section on Knidos (3.14.5) in Chapter 3.

⁹¹² See the sections on Müskebi (3.14.4) in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1.

A basis for this phenomenon can be sought in the reason for Mūskebi's decline during the LH IIIB-C, which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, can plausibly be linked to the regional ascendancy of the population centered nearby at Kos town. As funerary activity increased through the LH IIIB and into the IIIC, comparable activity at Mūskebi declined. If, as seems likely, the fortunes of the elites on Kos and the Bodrum peninsula were linked during the LH III period, then it is logical that this association should continue, at least for a time, into the SM/PG. Viewed from this standpoint, the SM/PG period in central Caria (the Bodrum peninsula) is essentially the reverse of the LH IIIB-C. Instead of regional authority becoming concentrated in the elites on Kos, such authority became decentralized, which allowed SM/PG populations in central Caria to expand their own local authority. The appearance of new sites in the archaeological record should be interpreted to represent the appearance of new elites, or at least new efforts to assert an authority and/or status that had previously, in the LH IIIC period, been geographically centered on Kos.

Such a comparison to settlement patterns during the LH IIIC, even inversely, raises the question of general population trends. As social authority became increasingly concentrated in the population at Kos town during the LH IIIB-C, it seems that the general population followed suit. As elite power nucleated, local populations outside the main settlement center became archaeologically invisible. There is no reason to assume that the countryside was literally uninhabited, especially since the only evidence for populations in these areas—cemeteries—are merely reflections of an elite substratum; however, the absence of archaeological evidence of smaller populations outside the main centers does plausibly suggest that fewer people occupied these areas. By extension, as

archaeologically visible elite actions—again, cemeteries—returned to Caria during the SM/PG period, it is reasonable to propose that a general increase in population accompanied the new expressions of elite subregional authority, which, as before, was nucleated around the archaeologically visible elites whose authority was contingent upon the existence of a general (non-elite) population.

A Narrative of Societal Change from the End of the Bronze Age through the Aegean Migrations

This section proposes a narrative of the causes and local responses that produced the patterns of change presented in this chapter. Although much of the discussion is hypothetical, an attempt to produce a “historical” narrative is important in that it contextualizes the material patterns back within the social mechanisms that produced them. In this way, a more complete picture of cultural geography and social change can be presented.

On the local level, the relatively even distribution of Mycenaean society throughout the region by the end of the LH IIIA2 meant that settlement was focused primarily on agricultural catchments. As discussed in Chapter 6, the location of plausible settlement sites and (in their absence) cemeteries suggest that agricultural land and access

to water was of paramount importance for inhabitants of the region.⁹¹³ Areas of activity are almost universally located on hills overlooking low coastal or inland plains, with only very few sites being located in areas without access to such landscape features.

Cemeteries in particular are distributed around the edges of such catchments, and the tombs within the cemeteries are oriented so as to open toward the arable land and the source(s) of water that fed the land. This uniform orientation was intentional. In areas where the landscape permitted multiple orientations of tombs within a cemetery, the land was utilized so that the internal orientation was homogenous. Furthermore, cemeteries were often positioned near points of access to the plain that they overlooked. Positions were chosen deliberately near passes that joined valleys or on prominent landscape features that enhanced the visibility of the cemetery's location.⁹¹⁴ In such cases, the dead were not hidden, and although they could be located near the settlement, they were not always so.

Because of these locations within the landscape, cemeteries and the deceased were positioned so that they quite literally overlooked the arable land in the valleys below and also the living population that drew its livelihood from that land. The deceased, as ancestors, became tangible symbols of the local elites within the living population of the area, representing the connection between the living community and the landscape that sustained it.⁹¹⁵ The cemetery served as a focal point for the rooting of a community to its

⁹¹³ Georgiadis 2003, 47-48, 108; Georgiadis and Gallou 2006-2007, 178-179. See also the section *Orientation and Topography* in Chapter 6.

⁹¹⁴ The deliberateness of these locations is indicated by the fact that where various geologically suitable locations could have been chosen, the strategic placement near access points was regularly selected.

⁹¹⁵ On the association of chamber tomb cemeteries in the region with local elites and ancestors, see the section *Who Had Access to Burial Space?* in Chapter 6.

environment, a focal point that was reinforced by the repeated funerary rituals that traversed the landscape between the settlement and the cemetery. As substantive symbols of the living community and the place of that community within the landscape, the choice to locate the deceased near points of access to an agricultural catchment can also be interpreted as a territorial claim. Territory in this sense should not be interpreted as an impermeable barrier to social or authoritative access. In this case, the territory marked by the position of the deceased served to communicate the existence and identity of the living population that was represented by the cemetery, effectively sanctioning that small section of the human landscape.

As the major centers of social authority grew in importance through the end of the LH IIIB and into the IIIC, smaller sites within their territories disappeared. This is usually understood to represent a nucleation of social authority and population around the major centers, but the specific mechanisms behind the population movement has remained unclear. If local elites were to nucleate—that is, if those who held social authority at a local level were to move from one locality to another—then their movement would effectively break the cycle through which repeated funerary rituals reinforced the connection between the elite ancestors and the community's environment. In the short term, as the old elite population shrank locally, the old territorial identity markers would become artifacts of a past that was ritually (re-)enacted with decreasing frequency. Communities would certainly not disintegrate simply because of the loss of a single marker of group identity, social organizations (i.e., family ties) are traditionally more resilient. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to postulate that this process would have created a weakening of social cohesion with respect to the symbolic connection

between the structures of social authority within the community and the local community at large. As local social authority became concentrated in the major centers, and as elites relocated to them (which accounts for the attested increase in the number of LH IIIC burials in sites like Ialysos, Kalavarda, and Eleona Langada), elements of the general population—those who had cause to relocate, for whom proximity to those with authority provided social advantage—would conceivably have followed suit. In the long term, communities to reorient themselves in response both to population displacement and shifts in the perception of the role that old social structures played in the construction of local communities. This would consequently provide opportunities for new social structures to form, perhaps around new family groups who could express their authority for the first time, or perhaps around new populations with slightly different traditions (which would translate to changes in the practice of funerary rites). This reorientation is a likely explanation for the shift in the location of funerary activity and a shift in the rites themselves during the following SM/PG period.

As elsewhere in the Aegean, the Mycenaean culture described outlined in Chapter 6 did not survive the LH IIIC period, but instead transitioned into something new during the SM/PG period. Although changes are undeniable, it is important not to focus so closely on those differences that possible similarities regarding the populations and practices are overlooked or downplayed. For example, the disappearance of chamber tombs in favor of cists is a significant architectural distinction, but might not represent a complete conceptual change. Submycenaean/Protogeometric burial forms are attested during the LH III period, but are never the primary burial method.⁹¹⁶ Both chamber

⁹¹⁶ See Dickinson 1983, 66-67; Lewartowski 2000, 7-16, 20.

tombs and cists surround the deceased in a stone chamber that is inset into the ground, both contain the body and accompanying grave goods,⁹¹⁷ and both require communal effort to quarry and move stone, dig the enclosure, and erect the tomb. The inherent absence of dromoi and interior architectural features (steps, platforms, etc.) in cist tombs means that any rites that were once performed in, or associated with, these locations in LH III chamber tombs would have to take place elsewhere in the PG. This does not, however, mean that the core rite could not be performed without these features. For example, rites that were once performed near the tomb entrance, as attested by cup fragments often found in LH III dromoi, could still be performed in the PG cemetery over or around the tomb without the (hypothetical) smashing of cups at the tomb's entrance that evidences the ritual in the LH III. Rites that included liquids, such as washing the body, which are typically associated with a *prothesis and ekphora* and perhaps evidenced by the increasing prominence of closed vessels in LH IIIC chambers, can still have taken place, but might no longer have culminated with the deposition of the vessels that were employed in those acts, especially if the body was cremated.

Although changes occurred between the end of the LH IIIC and the SM/PG period, it is likely that the core of beliefs surrounding the deceased and the ancestors' role in the community would have been recognizable from one period to the next—changed, but with a recognizable core. In other words, it is unlikely that the population changed considerably, and that whatever caused these shifts in practice, it was as much motivated

⁹¹⁷ The fact that fewer grave goods sometimes accompanied PG burials means that the amount of room needed to contain them was smaller than in the LH III. Additionally, Koan burials could be accompanied by vessels positioned outside the cist; see the section on Kos town (4.2.1) in Chapter 4. It should be noted, however, that many LH IIIB-C burials throughout the region were not accompanied by material goods.

by internal pressures as by external influences. The primary funerary difference between the LH III and the SM/PG is thus related to the location of the rites, which are geographically expanded by a switch to built tombs; however, the fact that many of the SM/PG cemeteries were constructed in similar locations within the landscape to their LH III counterparts suggests that some conceptual core of the rites persisted from the LBA. Most of the SM/PG cemeteries in the region were still constructed on hills that overlooked points of access to agricultural catchments.

The distribution of sites within the region suggests that a substantial change in the nature and organization of social authority occurred between the end of the LH IIIC period and the M/LPG. The multi-tiered site hierarchies that spread from the central and southeastern Dodecanese during the LH IIIC period gave way to a scattering of sites without any geographical indication of distributed authority. This discontinuity not only suggests a change in the overall organization of socio-political authority, it implies a larger change in the general relationships of populations and social groups with one another. Yet the fact that local populations persisted in the primary centers at Miletus, Kos town, and in the Ialysos plain (the settlement site is unknown) suggests that this change of authority was manifested differently than on the southern Greek mainland. In contrast to, for example, the Argolid, where social changes led to the slow abandonment of old Mycenaean centers, populations persisted in (or at least in close proximity to) the primary centers of the LH III southeast Aegean. Moreover, those populations appear to have maintained some semblance of regional authority, as evidenced by the ability of

elites within those communities to gain access to foreign goods.⁹¹⁸ This can be viewed as a twist on the classic decapitation model as it is typically applied to the Mycenaean mainland.⁹¹⁹ Under this model, if the “head” were removed from a hierarchy like the one on Rhodes, then local authorities in the secondary centers in western and eastern Rhodes would assume greater local autonomy. Admittedly, this model is probably too simplistic to account for the political changes of post-palatial Mycenaean communities. The “head” as an institution would not evaporate immediately, and so the waning of the primary center and the resultant waxing of local authorities would be a more drawn out process than the model suggests; moreover, some form of authority would likely replace the “head” in its own local context. The model remains, however, a valid rough template for conceptualizing the shift from regional to local authorities, and the multiplication of those authorities in a social landscape that became more laterally than vertically organized. To streamline the complex socio-political events that this idea encompasses, the end result would be the continuation of local centers of authority, but without the earlier network of power—the rise of a patchwork of locally oriented socio-political groups. This scenario

⁹¹⁸ It is worth considering the possibility that the location of these centers on preexisting trade routes was one reason for the continuity of settlement. Since the display of imported objects was essential to the construction of SM/PG social status (at least in the funerary realm, although this principle might reasonably be expanded to other realms of society), the discontinuity of a port location might have caused foreign sailors—who would not have had extensive knowledge of the area—to bypass the community as a whole, creating a decrease in available status-producing goods. Over time, as trade networks shifted and stabilized, this conceivably would have promoted the authoritative rise of new communities at the expense of the old ones. Therefore, it would have been in the interests of island elites to maintain a geographic position with easy access to these preexisting overseas routes, even if those elites had only recently assumed power or were new to the area.

⁹¹⁹ Methodological problems with this model are noted, see Crielaard 2011, 83-88.

is compatible with the distribution of sites in the southern Dodecanese: old secondary centers of social authority become new primary centers within a reduced social landscape. What is particularly curious is the absence or invisibility of any communities that had existed below this level of authority in the LH IIIC—that is, the smaller, more regional sites that filled in the landscape and occupied the lowest tiers in the site hierarchies.

The answer to this problem is multifaceted. Recent work on the “Sea Peoples” has demonstrated a strong Aegean component among the multinational migration that made its way through Cyprus, Cilicia, and into Palestine.⁹²⁰ Although nothing in the material record of the southeast Aegean indicates the arrival of a large number of refugees and migrants on their way east,⁹²¹ any migration en route from the Greek mainland to the eastern Mediterranean cannot but have gone through the southeast Aegean. This rationale has been used in the past to connect the region’s brief LH IIIC flourish to the influx of new population groups.⁹²² The problem with this interpretation is that it ignores the socially, economically, and ecologically disruptive forces that the rapid appearance of a new population can have on a contained region. The previous focus on military interactions between migrants and existing kingdoms has perhaps obscured these

⁹²⁰ For the general eastward movement of peoples, see recent summations in Drews (1993, 48-72), Dickinson (2006, 43-46), Yasur-Landau (2010, 138-193, 335-345), and in Killebrew and Lehmann 2013.

⁹²¹ For example, the ceramic repertoire of this period is derived from types present in earlier assemblages, non-ceramic objects are likewise of the same types present earlier, and foreign imports (including those from the Mycenaean mainland), although found in larger numbers than in the earlier LH IIIB, are not common relative to the total number of funerary goods (the relative numbers of imports to local products in lower in the LH IIIC than in the IIIB)

⁹²² See initially Mee (1982, 89-90; 1988, 57), and more recently, for example, Georgiadis (2009b, 97-98) and Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis (2015, 338, note 1).

other aspects of migration. The closed ecosystem of an island would be ill suited to absorb and sustain a large number of extra mouths for any length of time before over-exploitation of the land built up critical stresses. Likewise, incoming populations do not always assimilate into existing social fabrics. This can apply stress to existing power structures if the new community cannot be distributed into the landscape, as, for example, because of limited space and ecological conditions inherent to island geographies. It is more likely that any arrival of new populations through the southeast Aegean would have contributed instability toward the collapse of local societies, rather than bolstered them. While lingering population movements might be a plausible explanation for the collapse of local social authorities at the end of the LH IIIC, it cannot explain social factors of growth at the end of the LH IIIB or early in the IIIC.

On the note of ecology, it is important to consider evidence that climatic conditions were changing at this time, since island ecosystems would be particularly sensitive to such changes.⁹²³ A general shift toward a drier regional climate could have transformed land that was ecologically marginal during the LH IIIB period into land unsuited to sustain a human population by the end of the LH IIIC. This could be one factor behind the absence of archaeologically visible activity on smaller islands, and the nucleation of general populations into the larger centers during the LH IIIC period. If the carrying capacity of the land decreased during the LH IIIC and into the SM/PG period, then it is logical that the rural population centers, and the elites that were dependent on them, would have suffered disproportionately as a result. Faced with such a situation, opportunities elsewhere, as in the Near East, might have seemed a desirable alternative to

⁹²³ See initially Carpenter (1966, 54-80), and more recently Cline (2014, 142-147), and Knapp and Manning (2016).

staying on the islands, and the population of the southeast Aegean conceivably could have declined accordingly.

The end result of all of these factors would have created a situation compatible with what is represented by the SM/PG record. If the rural population diminished—the result of a combination of factors including ecological pressures, economic/social advantage to relocate to a larger population center (nucleation), external stimuli (wider population movement east), etc.—then that declining rural population would no longer support the same level of social infrastructure that had existed earlier. This societal transition would be represented in the landscape as a decline or absence of the archaeological material that had earlier represented the presence of those social structures. This should not indicate a complete depopulation of the landscape (although in some areas this might well have been the case), but rather a dispersal of the remaining rural population and a localized decentralization of the authoritative structures that had once held those populations together. The earlier nucleation would have left population centers intact along preexisting routes of trade and communication, which provided the knowledge and objects upon which the social status of local elites was asserted; however, the geographical scope of any influence that those elites could exert was reduced from what it had been earlier. This is an admittedly tentative reconstruction of the changes at the beginning of the SM/PG period, but as a model it does fit the available evidence and it allows for additional changes to be explored.

The dispersal of cemetery sites in central Caria represents a remarkably (and atypically) sudden appearance of new centers of social authority throughout the region. Two small (or dwindling in the case of Müskebi) LH IIIC cemeteries give way to five

SM/PG sites within a space of a few generations.⁹²⁴ These new burial spaces reflect the appearance of new social structures, since factors of selectivity and exclusion regarding access can be detected, and for the ability to mobilize local resources to construct the tombs. This level of authority is only represented at Müskebi and at Pilavtepe in the preceding LH III period, and the subsequent sudden appearance of such structures is unlikely to be related exclusively to internal factors. The changes in central Caria can better be explained by relation to the scenario of decentralized authority and weakening social structures within the former primary population center on Kos at the time. With the collapse of the adjacent center of authority that had previously exerted influence over the Bodrum peninsula, the resulting power vacuum allowed or encouraged new local elites to assert themselves. There are common features among Carian tombs, but the diversity of practice is more salient among them. This diversity can plausibly be related to the development of new means of asserting social status, based on modified versions of practices introduced from communities to the west. In this patchwork of Carian societies can be seen the foundation of the later hilltop strongholds and elite cemeteries that developed in the Geometric period and later.⁹²⁵

Given these changes in burial practices and distributions, what might be concluded about the SM/PG populations? As discussed earlier, the tombs themselves and the burial methods mark a distinctly new trend from the preceding period, but nothing in

⁹²⁴ It must be noted that Pilavtepe and Çömlekçi are only dated as SM, but neither is fully published and the ambiguities surrounding the nature of “Submycenaean” in the region call this identification into question.

⁹²⁵ Hornblower 1982, 1-16; Adiego 2007, 1-2. The proximity of this emergence to the later center of Carian political power, Halikarnassos, is intriguing, if not directly indicative of PG changes in local authority. See also Niemeier (2009) for a recent overview of Miletus during this period that attests a slightly different trajectory for northern Carian communities than what is seen in the south.

the local record suggests a complete break with the past; tombs and burials can be viewed as variations on a theme, and the material evidence supports a general continuity of populations and beliefs. However, the shift in practice must be accounted for in some way, and a link to the new social structures might provide a key to understanding this phenomenon as well. If the funerary practices in central Caria can be viewed as local responses to the power vacuum left by the collapse of the LH III power centers (and their networks), then the same principle can reasonably be applied to the tombs themselves on a smaller local level. In other words, the intentional change—the intentionality of this change is important—in tomb type and location can be seen as a local response to new socio-political realities, whereby new practices and locations emphasize an intentional break with past traditions. No longer tied to Koan authority, these new elites created a hybridized method of displaying authority—reflected by a combination of adapted Mycenaean/Aegean funerary display (as the local visual language of social status), but reflecting uniquely local populations and practices.

In the central and southern Dodecanese changes in burials (i.e., form, location, and rites) and in the organization and distribution of social authority can plausibly be connected to shifts that would culminate in the emergence of a new Dorian identity. The identity and origin of the Dorians as an intrusive ethnic group in the Peloponnese have a controversial history, and are largely dependent on the discipline of the observer.⁹²⁶

Linguistic evidence that separates the Mycenaean and Doric dialects by a significant

⁹²⁶ See recent summaries in Drews (1988, 203-225), Vanschoonwinkel (1991, 331-366), Hall (1997, 4-16), Eder (1998, 9-24), and Lemos (2002, 191-193).

distance suggests that the Doric dialect did not originate in the Peloponnese;⁹²⁷ this evidence should not be discounted. Although archaeological evidence is ambivalent toward the appearance of a Dorian population in southern Greece sometime during the LH IIIB/C, the material record can accommodate them.⁹²⁸ Shifts in ceramic production and consumption combined with shifting preferences regarding tomb construction and funerary ritual do not automatically indicate the presence of a new population group, but when taken together with linguistic evidence a rough picture does emerge.⁹²⁹ It seems likely that a population group identifying itself as Dorian began to trickle into southern Greece sometime around the weakening and collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, and that the process by which the general population became “Dorian” was marked by gradual ethnic transition—as opposed to sudden violent conquest—set against the backdrop of larger Aegean population movements of the period.⁹³⁰

Returning to the southeast Aegean, the reason the appearance of a Dorian identity in the southern Greek mainland matters for this discussion is because of the later Dorian

⁹²⁷ See recently (with bibliography) Finkelberg 2006, 115-139, 143-149; see also Lemos 2002, 192, notes 11-13.

⁹²⁸ Discussions concerning the potential for invaders not to leave significant traces typically cite the Celtic invasion of Galatia in the 3rd century BCE, or the Slavic invasion of Greece in the 6th century CE; see references in Lemos (2002, 192, note 6) and Finkelberg (2006, 145-146, note 15). However, Rose (2008, 421) notes that these two stereotypical examples might not be entirely accurate. See also Malkin (1994 43-45) regarding the creation of myth.

⁹²⁹ This is not the place to outline a complete history of the post-palatial southern Greek mainland. See the discussions in Notes 926-927 in this chapter.

⁹³⁰ See also Hall's (1997, 67-107, 184-185) case study of the Argolid regarding ethnic expression and transition. The existence of non-Dorian populations in the Peloponnese into the Archaic period is an important observation that often gets lost in discussions of the “Dorian Invasion;” see also Hall (2002, 82-89) and Finkelberg (2006, 168-169).

affiliation of populations in the region.⁹³¹ Mythic traditions of the region regularly specify an Argive foundation, as opposed to other Dorian areas of the Peloponnese;⁹³² that said, the Argive foundation traditions must be viewed as later constructs, specifically dating to the historical period.⁹³³ Although it is possible that these traditions reflect ancient population movements, this need not be the case.⁹³⁴ If the Argive traditions arose as a later product of (Geometric-Classical period) Dorian identity—that is, traditions of Argive foundations developed as a response to local needs to justify and ground a Dorian identity with historical events—then how did the societal transition take place, and why was the Argolid given outsized importance in the memory of these events? Since, in the

⁹³¹ The issue is one of chronology: a southeast Aegean Dorian identity rooted in connections to the eastern Peloponnese, as indicated by later mythic traditions, relies on a preexisting (or at least roughly contemporaneous) Dorian population in those regions. Ancient tradition regarded the Dorianizing of the islands as a series of colonial events following from the generations after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese; see Craik 1980, 30-31. Thucydides (5.112) reports a Melian tradition that the city had been founded 700 years prior to the Athenian invasion during the Peloponnesian War, which would place the (semi-mythical) foundation event in the years before 1100 BCE. The dating of an emergent Dorian identity is not without methodological problems regardless of the approach employed; however, the material record of the Geometric period in the southeast Aegean is largely a continuation of trends that began by the end of the LPG. Therefore, if the expression of a new collective identity is to be sought through changes in the material record, then that expression should appear with the funerary and organizational changes of the SM/PG period. See, however, Dickinson's (1983, 67) jest that "Crete somehow became Dorian without the intervention of cist-users!"

⁹³² Exceptions to this rule, like the Lacedaimonian co-foundation of Symi (co-founded with Argives, see the section on Symi in Appendix 3) are rare within the southeast Aegean. Cities regularly preserve records of multiple successive foundations, but one of those events is typically Argive. See also Figure 8.1 in Chapter 8.

⁹³³ This is discussed in more detail in the section *Mythic Traditions and the Archaeological Record* in Chapter 8.

⁹³⁴ By way of comparison, recent research on the Aeolian migration proposes that the mythic tradition better reflects later socio-political realities; see Parker (2008), and Rose (2008).

Argolid, both the social structures (on which the routes of communication and trade in part depended) and the general population (which experienced social upheaval and the admixture of new population groups) experienced significant changes between the end of the LH IIIB and the PG, the maintenance of overseas ties indicates a special selectivity on the part of communities in the southeast Aegean. In other words, conscious choices were made to maintain overseas ties with the region, instead of the populations that had migrated from the Argolid to other areas (i.e., to Cyprus, and plausibly to Ionia). Something about the Argolid in particular held importance for the populations and the new social elites within the southeast Aegean during this period.

Set against the broader backdrop of the LH IIIC Aegean—larger population movements, ecological change, and adaptations in the organization and distribution of social authorities—it is possible to speculate on how local societies coalesced during the SM/PG period. The renegotiation of social relationships that was compelled by the weakening of old social structures and old organizational patterns within the landscape would have provided a unique opportunity for new social groups (including local elements that had not previously exercised authority) to integrate themselves into the fabric of their new communities.⁹³⁵ The hybridized nature of this new social fabric can be seen in the small shifts in SM/PG activity on the islands, like new cemetery sites and constructions in areas of existing or continuing populations; these activities amount to using modified versions of existing practices as opposed to wholly new rites. The benefit

⁹³⁵ On new social opportunities provided by the collapse of a centralized (state) society, and the use of memory and recognizable institutions in the reconfiguration of that society, see Bronson (2006, 138-140), as well as the summarizing discussions by Kolata (2006, 218-219), Schwartz (2006, 9-11), and Yoffee (2006, 223).

of these modifications is to promote recognizability—to allow individuals with diverse backgrounds to identify with the newly amalgamated customs without underscoring a complete break with the past—while new lineages are emphasized and legitimized through the choice of new burial grounds. This combination of modified old customs and new practices continues into the Geometric period. The focus on recognizability can tie into the development of mythic traditions as well. Within the reconfiguring society (the processes outlined here should be seen as ongoing throughout the period), an equally new ethnic identity was locally sanctioned by (re)constructing mythologies that tied the new communities to the same mainland geographies that had been important to earlier local populations, but with contemporary (Dorian) cities.⁹³⁶ The new mythic layer that developed as a result over the next several centuries—one of Argive colonization from cities that had never existed as major centers in the Bronze Age (Epidaurus, Troezen, Megara)—is the one that was eventually recorded during the historic period. The unifying nature of this mythological construct is probably why the tradition spread to adjacent communities in central Caria. The historic Dorian Hexapolis (and later Pentapolis) consists of the exact territory that was culturally, socially, and (probably) politically entangled since the LH IIIA period.⁹³⁷ Additional archaeological work on Rhodes, Kos, and in central Caria is required to supplement the SM/PG picture that currently exists, but the region has the potential to function as a test case of hybridity in action during the Early Iron Age.

⁹³⁶ This is not unlike the function of the “Catalogue of Ships” in the *Iliad*; see Anderson (1995, 187-189) and Dickinson (1999, 208-210; 2007, 233-238).

⁹³⁷ On the Dorian Hexapolis/Pentapolis, see Herodotus (1.144).

Chapter 8

Patterns and Analysis: The Southeast Aegean and the Wider World

This chapter builds on ideas introduced in Chapter 5, 6, and 7 to examine the ways in which the region's societies interacted with, shaped, and exploited interactions with the outside world. Later mythic traditions are first examined as a way of prodding how the past was used to construct regional (and subregional) identities in historic periods. This information cannot be projected wholesale into the LH III or SM/PG periods, but there are interesting correlations between the mythic accounts of foundations and prehistoric patterns of external (foreign) contact. These patterns of contact are examined in more detail in the second section, which considers the nature and role of overseas contact in the creation of local authority. Of particular interest is how different societies in the southeast Aegean intentionally maintained contact with different areas of the outside world, and how those specific patterns of contact—and not simply the access to foreign goods themselves—shaped local constructions of status. This interplay is then applied to the roles that the region's social groups and their external orientations played during the social upheavals of the LBA/EIA transition.

Mythic Traditions and the Archaeological Record

Mythological traditions relating to the southeast Aegean largely hinge on varied and overlapping foundation stories. Such accounts have been gathered in previous

discussions of the region's history and archaeology.⁹³⁸ The extant mythic traditions relate predominantly to Rhodes, a fact that is undoubtedly connected to the island's importance during the Hellenistic and Roman periods—indeed, the majority of testimonia date from that time. For the most part, foundation legends that recount the prehistoric past present an untestable version of events in that too many assumptions must be made in order to correlate the myth and an archaeological assemblage.⁹³⁹ For example, accounts of the prehistory of Rhodes that indicate successive Cretan and Argive settlements can superficially correlate with the archaeological record, whereby the population at Trianda-Ialysos demonstrates a transition from Cretan influence to Argive-influenced Mycenaean material culture somewhere around the LM/LH IIIA1. However, it is important to note that the mythic traditions are not specific as to the sequence of events, nor are they unanimous regarding the origin of different groups of settlers. For a tradition to be correlated with the material record, elements of myth must be cherry-picked in order to form a coherent whole. Moreover, a mythic tradition must be viewed within its contemporary context—that is, related to political/social/religious/etc. concerns contemporary with the ancient author recording the tradition, as well as later aetiologies. For example, the nearly unanimous tradition of Dorian settlers from the Argolid might reflect little more than an attempt to give historical weight to a shared cultural-linguistic reality. The absence of an Argive tradition from Miletus contrasts directly with the

⁹³⁸ See, for example, Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 154-157; 1973, 129-133, 157-158; Craik 1980, 153-167; Fragkopoulou 2015, 230. See also Appendix 3 for relevant testimonia for the discussion in this section.

⁹³⁹ For a recent analysis and general historiographic discussion, see Hall 2006. For recent discussions of specific traditions, see Vanschoonwinkel (2006b), Parker (2008), Rose (2008), Fragkopoulou (2015, 231-236), and Mac Sweeney (2013, 7-16; 2015, 241-256).

prehistoric (LH III) material record, but suits the Ionic identity of the historical city. Likewise, the dispersal of the Heliadae from Rhodes to other islands and parts of the Knidia might speak less to prehistoric population movements than to Hellenistic and Roman period political justification for Rhodian territory overseas. This is not to say that the mythic tradition carries no historical weight, but the tradition must be interpreted as any other source of evidence.

Flexibility regarding historical reality might also be evident in the material record of LBA tombs in the southeast Aegean. The practice of multiple burial in chamber tombs throughout the region suggests that a close proximity or association with previous generations was a significant aspect of shared funerary rites.⁹⁴⁰ The communal interment of multiple generations indicates that the social significance of earlier generations was important for establishing the identity of the current (or recently departed) generation. This is especially true regarding the reuse of older chamber tombs, where no direct affiliation between the multiple generations can be assumed. These cases, particularly prominent in the LH IIIC period, suggest that the construction of an identity that was reflected by the burial location was more socially significant than the historical fact surrounding the individual's descent. In other words, the act of affiliating oneself with a new community's past and their ancestors (through the reuse of burial space) was enough to make that selected heritage a reality for the local population—the historical veracity of a tradition was of secondary importance to the popular acceptance of that tradition.⁹⁴¹

⁹⁴⁰ Mee and Cavanagh 1984, 48-49; 1990, 234. See also recent scientific analyses of kinship in Mycenaean burial groups in McGeorge (2001, 96-97), Schepartz et al. (2009, 165-166), and Bouman et al. (2009, 305-306); however, see also Georgiou et al. (2009, 276).

⁹⁴¹ See Irad Malkin's "Dagobert principle" (1994, 44).

Although the association was personal, made by the individual being buried and/or that person's survivors, the acceptance of this practice by the larger population—evidenced by the frequency of tomb reuse—made the association a communal reality.⁹⁴² This process is not substantially different from the way that heroic ancestors in the mythic traditions were used to establish a shared cultural tie with groups beyond the local sphere of influence. The shared construction of social reality was an ongoing process for these communities, and lay at the heart of collective identity construction.

This principle of a constructed collective heritage is a double-edged sword—it renders the mythic tradition not directly compatible with the material record, but it also reinforces the reality that a material assemblage reflects only one aspect of cultural expression. Whatever the social benefits of claiming a heritage or mythic past were, the benefits of such a claim were shared and, as such, they represented membership in a common (cultural/political/religious/etc.) group. In effect, the shared tradition reflected a common corporate group writ large. Just as similarities in material culture can demonstrate attempts at expressing commonalities among groups, shared traditions reflect similar attempts at common expression. The task becomes how to read the traditions with the material record without preferencing one over the other, and without projecting anachronisms in either direction. In terms of social geography, the shared expression of social identity that is reflected in the mythic traditions can be compared to

⁹⁴² The implicit assumption being that the frequency of a practice indicates the acceptance of that practice. In the absence of evidence for a new population group, through which coercion might be postulated as a motivation for societal “acceptance,” the frequency is here taken as evidence for social acceptability. Cavanagh and Mee (1978, 44) assert a similar line of reasoning.

the social groups identified in Chapter 5 as a way of examining the continuity (or absence of it) of communal expressions.⁹⁴³

Table 8.1 – Distribution of the origins of foundations and founders by area⁹⁴⁴

	Cretan	Argive	Megarian	Aeolian/ Thessalian
Astypalaia	X	X	X	
Karpathos	X	X		
Rhodes	X	X	X	
Symi		X		
Nisyros		X		X
Kos		X		X
Kalymnos		X		X
Samos				X
Miletus	X			
Halikarnassos		X		
Knidos (<i>the Knidia</i>)	X	X	X	X

Table 8.1 (see also Figure 8.1) illustrates the geographic distributions of the most common foundation stories and founders. The widespread tradition of Dorian settlement reflects the Doric reality of the historical southeast Aegean.⁹⁴⁵ The fact that the material record indicates a strong Argive connection in the LBA cannot be correlated directly with that tradition, but it suggests that the majority of the region (unlike the population of Miletus) maintained a collective identification with populations in the southern Greek

⁹⁴³ This is an admittedly crude application of the later evidence, but since this is not the place to fully examine the social organizations of the various post-Geometric societies within the region, a broad brush is used. See Bresson (2009, 113-115) for an example of how information from inscriptions regarding the names of demes and phratries can contribute to the discussion. This more detailed approach deserves its own investigation in another study.

⁹⁴⁴ See Appendix 3 for the myths from which this table is drawn.

⁹⁴⁵ On the importance of Herakles (and his descendants by proxy) in regional mythology, see Craik 1980, 164-5.

mainland, even after the period of initial influence from the Mycenaean mainland had ceased.⁹⁴⁶ Although this shared tradition only links the central and southern Dodecanese, Astypalaia, and parts of the Carian coast in the most general way, it nevertheless represents a shared cultural expression within the landscape. In other words, societal and cultural differences notwithstanding, communities in those areas could selectively choose to express a common heritage, mediated by a predominantly Argive tradition.

Perhaps more telling is the distribution of Cretan and Aeolian/Thessalian traditions. With the exception of the wider Knidia, no area possesses traditions of both a Cretan and an Aeolian/Thessalian foundation. Moreover, Cretan traditions are localized to the southern and western areas of the southeast Aegean (with the exception of Miletus), whereas Aeolian/Thessalian traditions are localized to the central and northern Dodecanese.⁹⁴⁷ Again, this contrasting distribution cannot be applied wholesale to the material record—that is, the historical veracity of Cretan or Aeolian settlement is of secondary importance to the shared expression (and mutual recognition) of that heritage⁹⁴⁸—the distribution reflects a choice to express different commonalities in

⁹⁴⁶ Samos and the islands of the northern Dodecanese do not provide enough material evidence at the end of the Bronze Age to allow conclusions to be drawn.

⁹⁴⁷ It is worth noting here that the Homeric (*Il.* 2.676-680) political entity of Kos is concentrated in the same area—centered on Kos, but controlling Kalymnos and Nisyros as well. The Homeric account also includes Karpathos and Kasos within the domain, but not Samos, which is perhaps a reflection of the distribution of Dorian populations throughout the region. This might reflect a Homeric conflation of contemporary social correspondence justified by historical political unity.

⁹⁴⁸ The expressions of an Argive, Megarian, Aeolian, etc. heritage, and the belief in the veracity of that heritage are not automatically the same. The philosophical justification for this concept is slightly beyond the scope of this study. For these purposes the key is that a tradition was expressed on a communal level, meaning that specific tradition carried cultural significance as a communal identifier both within the community itself (whether that “community” comprised a single village

different areas of the region during the historical period. That said, populations in the central and the southern Dodecanese did display comparable external geographic orientations in the LH III and PG periods.⁹⁴⁹ External contacts of communities centered on Kos were oriented toward the north and the west, with more imports originating in the north Aegean, Anatolia, the central Greek mainland and Euboea; imports from the Balkans and Italy also appeared at Eleona-Langada on Kos. This area constituted the core of the East Aegean Koine in the LH IIIC and the eastern edge of the Euboean Koine in the PG. Meanwhile, communities on Rhodes were oriented toward Crete and the eastern Mediterranean, with LH III and PG imports originating in the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus, and Crete, and LH III stylistic influence from Crete and Cyprus.⁹⁵⁰

The connection between the analogous patterns in the mythic traditions and the material record cannot be associated directly with any causal relationship—it is unlikely, for example, that Hellenistic Koan tradition preserves an accurate memory of a specific prehistoric colonizing event from Lesbos.⁹⁵¹ On the other hand, later traditions might

or a series of populations within a region) and when viewed from outside that community by others. Belief in the veracity of a tradition is not a collective phenomenon, but a personal one; as such, belief *per se* will not be dealt with here. Communal recognition of a tradition does not automatically indicate that all parties believed that tradition to be true, but merely that recognition served to reinforce social bonds between those parties.

⁹⁴⁹ See the section 6. *Distribution of Imported Goods* in Chapter 5, as well as the island conclusions for Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos in Chapter 3. These orientations are discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

⁹⁵⁰ Of note here are the traditions regarding Kadmos and the daughters of Danaos stopping on Rhodes during their respective flights from Phoenicia and Egypt. See Apollod. *Bib.* 2.1.4; Diod. Sic. 5.58. See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 129, 131; Craik 1980, 159. See also the section on Rhodes in Appendix 3.

⁹⁵¹ See the section on Kos in Appendix 3 for these traditions.

reflect the continuation, or aetiological justification, of longstanding geographic preferences in external communication.⁹⁵² Aeolic elements in Koan mythic traditions, like the names of Thessalos, Antiphos, and Pheidippos,⁹⁵³ or commercial ties to the northern Aegean might be remembered as tied to a colonial endeavor; however, rather than reflect a specific prehistoric event, these traditional elements might instead be connected to more general and routine patterns of contact and commerce that were conducted over the course of centuries. The attribution of broad patterns to a single event or individual is not uncommon in later Greco-Roman society. A cultural memory of earlier overseas contact can be postulated regarding the mythic traditions, but the methodological problems involved in conclusively supporting this association are obvious. Ultimately, the best application for the traditions lies in their own geography. The specific (historical) colonization by Epidauros, Crete, or Lesbos is less important than the existence of shared traditions of a common origin among geographically localized societies, since it was this heritage that contributed to communal identity.⁹⁵⁴ This is the collective identity that can be compared to the cultural geography of the present study. As such, the traditions of the western Dodecanese (Astypalaia and Karpathos) set those societies apart from those on Rhodes, which are different from those on the islands of the central Dodecanese (Kos, Kalymnos, and Nisyros), which are in turn different from disparate areas in Caria (northern Caria—Miletus, the Bodrum peninsula,

⁹⁵² Later archaeological material that might support this proposal falls outside the scope of this study, but would be an avenue of future research.

⁹⁵³ Strabo notes that the names of Antiphos and Pheidippos, sons of Thessalos, reflect more of an Aeolic than a Doric heritage; see Note 22 in Appendix 3.

⁹⁵⁴ The contribution of varied mythic traditions to communal identity(-ies) has recently been studied by Mac Sweeney (2013) with special focus on Ionia (see her summarizing conclusions on pages 201-203). With regard to Miletus, see pages 44-53, 69-79.

and the Knidia). This geographic arrangement is remarkably similar to the social groups that were reconstructed in Chapter 5 based on the archaeological record of the LH IIIB-LPG. These similarities will be discussed further in the next section.

Foreign Goods and Contact: The External Orientation of Local Communities

Patterns of importation have been detailed in the section *Distribution of Imported Goods* in Chapter 5, and so only a brief review will be included here before moving on to larger patterns. Imported goods, primarily ceramic, were extremely common in the funerary record from the very beginning of Mycenaean society in the region. At Ialysos and Pylona on Rhodes, as much as 70-80% of tested LH IIIA pottery originated in the Argolid. Although systematic scientific testing has not been conducted on deposits in the rest of the region, similar preferences for Argive material can be noted on Kos and Kalymnos, while a preference for Cretan material was stronger among communities on Karpathos and Astypalaia. This overwhelming preference for imported goods began to wane during the LH IIIB period, and by the LH IIIC local products were fulfilling the same roles that imports once had as markers of status in funerary contexts. More importantly, however, preferences regarding the origin of imported goods had shifted and diversified. Rhodian communities displayed a preference for goods from a variety of locations in the southern Greek mainland and on Crete, with Cretan ceramic influence becoming noticeably more prevalent.⁹⁵⁵ Meanwhile, to the north, the “East Aegean Koine” encompassed Kos, Kalymnos, Astypalaia, and parts of Caria and Chios. During the subsequent SM/PG period, a portion of the area that comprised this Koine (in this

⁹⁵⁵ On Cretan ceramic influence on LH IIIC Rhodes, see Mountjoy 1998, 63; 1999a, 985-988.

case Kos and the Bodrum peninsula) became the southwestern-most anchor point of the “Euboean Koine,” which brought Euboean ceramic imports, among other things, to the region.⁹⁵⁶ Both of these Koines are best viewed as reflections of trade routes rather than as socio-political entities. For example, the LH IIIC East Aegean Koine reflects the fact that a thriving intraregional trade had developed in locally produced (mainly Koan and Milesian) ceramics.⁹⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the distribution of this localized trade network roughly corresponds to the two social groups of Kos-Kalymnos-central Caria and Northern Caria (Miletus) that were outlined in Chapter 5. This observation is not to imply a socio-political foundation for the Koine, but merely to connect the material distribution to the social networks of trade and communication that would have accompanied the LH IIIC social groups. Imports from farther afield (admittedly never common relative to the total number of other imports at a site) can be detected almost exclusively at the largest population centers in the region, a pattern that remained the same during both the LH IIIB-C and the SM/PG periods. The majority of all ivory, semi-precious stones, faience, Cypriot ceramics, and bronze weapons and tools were deposited in Rhodian and Koan burials.

The dominance of foreign objects in cemetery contexts, especially in the LH IIIA period, indicates that overseas contact was essential to the construction of elite status within early LH III southeast Aegean communities. It is plausible that the relatively homogenous origins of those goods indicate identities of ruling elites. For example, the

⁹⁵⁶ On the two Koines, see Desborough (1964, 228-230), Mountjoy (1998, 52-63; 1999a, 967-969, 985-988, 1078-1080, 1126, 1139; 2013, 563-564), and Lemos (2002, 212-217). See also the discussion of koines in the section 6. *Different patterns of importation and/or foreign influence* in Chapter 1.

⁹⁵⁷ See also Knappett and Hilditch 2015, 200-205.

overwhelming number of Argive imports visible in wealthy burials on Rhodes might suggest that local authority was at least in part derived from claims of Argive descent.⁹⁵⁸ Likewise, it is possible that the material indicates the Argive character of the local population—that is, a transplanted Argive population in the southeast Aegean.⁹⁵⁹ Ultimately, however, these ideas require settlement data for corroboration. The funerary data alone is insufficient to establish the selective identity of a population, or of a subset of that population, in any but the most general of ways.⁹⁶⁰ What the funerary material does indicate is a high degree of selectivity regarding which available imports were (re)purposed as grave goods. Whether the local population at Ialysos was transplanted from the Argolid or not, for example, the overwhelming majority of individuals associated with the burial rites there chose to express a material connection to the Argolid during the LH IIIA-B.⁹⁶¹ Similar preferences existed among communities in the rest of

⁹⁵⁸ On this idea, see recently Eerbeek 2015, 305-306. The word “claims” is used here to denote that literal descent by blood might have been of secondary importance to the claim of such a descent.

⁹⁵⁹ Dickinson (1983, 63-64) notes that funerary practices are particularly subject to emulation, and the practices of various segments of society can take on the material attributes of those of the elite without direct action (i.e., settlement, active influence, etc.). See also Niemeier (2005b, 199-206; 2007, 51-60) and Mountjoy (2015, 38) regarding the likelihood of some level of population movement.

⁹⁶⁰ “Identity” is typically taken to mean “ethnicity” in Classical archaeological discourse, a concept that is so varied in its expression and conception that it cannot be reconstructed with complete reliability based on only a small portion of a society’s practices (i.e., the funerary realm in isolation). For detailed examinations of ethnicity in the ancient world, see discussions in Hall (1997; 2002), Malkin (1998; 2001), Dougherty and Kurke (2003), Derks and Roymans (2009), Cifani and Stoddart (2012), and Skinner (2012, 3-58, 233-257); see also Jones (1997) and Lucy (2005) for general theoretical discussions of ethnicity in archaeological contexts.

⁹⁶¹ It must be noted that it is unclear whether this decision of expression and deposition was that of the deceased or of the deceased’s descendants, peers,

Rhodes, Kos, Kalymnos and parts of Caria to express themselves using Argive material, and on Karpathos and Astypalaia using Cretan material. The selectivity suggests that the depositional preference was not simply a factor simply of what was available; however, the degree to which this practice reflected (or departed from) what was in general use in the larger community is not clear from the available evidence. Settlement data is badly needed in order to place this behavior in a more complete social context. Additionally, more comprehensive scientific testing is needed to confirm the origins of ceramic vessels. A recent analysis by Efi Karantzali and Matthew Ponting, designed to test the stylistic attribution of 36 vessels from Pylona on Rhodes, found that seven (nearly 20%) were misattributed—three imports were in fact Rhodian, and four locally produced vessels were in fact imports.⁹⁶² Such analyses have the potential to change the current picture of overseas commerce considerably.

Although the material record is generally not so specific, there are situations where individuals from other cultural backgrounds can be detected.⁹⁶³ For example, the presence of two graves at Ialysos that only contain Cypriot materials makes it tempting to view these graves as those of wealthy and prestigious Cypriots.⁹⁶⁴ Balkan jewelry and weapons at Eleona-Langada on Kos might likewise suggest individuals of non-local

corporate partners, etc. Unknowns like this are one reason why a reconstruction of ethnic identity is so problematic. Whose ethnic identity(/-ies) are expressed in the material record?

⁹⁶² Karantzali and Ponting 2000, 219-222, 234, table 2. Of note is that both of the stylistically Attic vessels that were tested were actually of Rhodian manufacture; see also Lemos' (2002, 212) caution against the overuse of Attic attributions regarding PG ceramics.

⁹⁶³ The widespread practices of secondary burial and the reuse of older tombs often make it impossible to associate specific objects with a single deposition.

⁹⁶⁴ See the section on Ialysos (3.5.2) in Chapter 3.

descent who had integrated into the local social fabric by the time of their deaths.⁹⁶⁵ The simple presence of foreign objects as prestige goods is to be expected in wealthy graves, and the appearance of individuals with diverse backgrounds among populations of large cosmopolitan centers at the crossroads between east and west is not out of the ordinary; however, the differential distribution of these individuals and/or objects is instructive. The Cypriot and eastern Mediterranean material (manifested by Egyptian faience and Near Eastern seals, whose appearance on Rhodes was probably mediated through Cyprus) is concentrated in graves on Rhodes, whereas jewelry and weapons from the Balkans, Anatolian ceramics and perhaps even Italian imports are concentrated in graves at Eleona-Langada.

It is likely that the elites in the two largest primary population centers in the LH III region, at Trianda-Ialysos and at Kos town, were externally oriented in different directions. The external networks of the Rhodian elite extended farther to the south, stretching into the eastern Mediterranean and to Crete. This orientation accounts for the greater concentration of Cypriot and Near Eastern material at Ialysos and Pylona, as well as the LH IIIC exclusion of Rhodes from the material East Aegean Koine (with the contemporary Rhodian preference for Cretan ceramic influence) and its PG exclusion from the material Euboean Koine. By contrast, the external networks of the Koan elite extended farther to the north, stretching into the north Aegean and coastal Anatolia toward the northern Balkans. This orientation accounts for the concentration of northern Balkan jewelry, tools, and weaponry, as well as Koan (and nearby communities within its sphere of influence) inclusion in the LH IIIC East Aegean Koine (which stretched

⁹⁶⁵ See the section on Eleona-Langada (3.7.4) in Chapter 3. Of course, jewelry and weapons can travel independently of owners.

northward along the Anatolian coast) and the PG Euboean Koine (with its network stretching northwest through the central Aegean). The respective orientations might also account for the later mythic traditions of Danaos and Kadmos in Rhodes, and of Lesbian foundation events in those areas within the Kos-Kalymnos-central Caria social group.⁹⁶⁶ In this light, these traditions should not be viewed as memories of earlier colonization events, but as much-transformed reflections of lingering preferences regarding overseas contact and trade. Although communication and trade certainly occurred between the population centers on Rhodes and Kos (and elsewhere in the vicinity), the external orientation for each group of elites faced away from the other.

To be clear, the connection between Rhodian and Koan elites and these overseas communication routes should not be seen in terms of cause and effect. It would be fruitless, and probably historically inaccurate, to attempt to determine whether the differential access to overseas goods that these routes provided populations in the region was the result of active attempts to steer commerce on the part of local elites, or if local elites simply benefited passively from their strategic geographic location. Historical reality probably rested somewhere in the middle. Sea-borne trade between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean must have passed either south from Crete, or past Rhodes along the south coast of modern Turkey. This route east toward Cyprus and Cilicia was undoubtedly a contributing factor in Mycenaean expansion into the region during the LH II-III A1, just as Cretan mercantile and social expansion had preceded it. The location of early Rhodian Mycenaean elites on this communication route certainly contributed to their ability to establish status based on the prestige items that were widely recognized

⁹⁶⁶ See again Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 in this chapter, as well as the sections on Rhodes and Kos in Appendix 3.

throughout the Aegean as bearers of social status. Through time, the elite consumption of these goods and the routes that bore them east and west developed co-dependently, to the point that the routes persisted even during the social upheavals that marked the end of the Bronze Age and through the generations that followed.⁹⁶⁷

Likewise, the early establishment of Koan Mycenaean elites undoubtedly was aided by the preexisting routes of communication that linked the northern half of the Dodecanese and coastal Caria as far as Miletus.⁹⁶⁸ A similar co-dependent development of elite consumption and intensifying communication routes can be postulated for this area, similar to that seen on Rhodes. In this case, the networks between the Milesian Gulf and Kos would have lent themselves naturally to expansion north, where large urban populations existed along the northwest Anatolian coast around the greater Karaburun peninsula (at Izmir) and in the Troad.⁹⁶⁹ This natural orientation (in geographic terms) facilitated the transit of Balkan and western Anatolian materials—and probably individuals as well—southward along the coast into the southeast Aegean. The specific human mechanisms underlying regular foreign contact and travel, particularly in reference to personal knowledge and the effect of individual relationships on these routes, deserves additional exploration in its own study; these mechanisms are the only way to explain, in human terms, the maintenance of such lines of communication in the midst of social change. Although the mercantile point of view is largely silent for this region, the continuation of overseas orientations during the SM/PG period can at least partly be

⁹⁶⁷ See again Murray's (2013) dissertation examining the continuation of trade patterns through the LBA/EIA transition in the Aegean.

⁹⁶⁸ See the section *The Late Minoan / Late Helladic I-II Period* in Chapter 2 for a brief outline of this network, which included trade in locally produced Koan and Milesian goods. See also Notes 956 and 957 in this chapter.

⁹⁶⁹ See Hawkins 1988, 21-31; Becks 2015, 117-127, figs. 8-9.

explained by the motivations of new local elites. As discussed earlier, elites of the SM/PG period asserted their authority in much the same way as their LH III counterparts; thus, the language of authority had not changed substantially from one period to the next, simply the speakers of that language. When viewed as a component of this language of authority, the overseas routes of communication become imbued with a lingering importance that would transcend societal transition for the simple reason that new elites operating within an existing population would need to assert their authority using relatively conventional (recognizable) means. The practical result of this exercise would be the persistence of communication routes through multiple generations, and plausibly also a reflection of this socio-political reality in the mythic traditions used to justify and sanction them.

The Southeast Aegean and the Colonial Experience

The southeast Aegean never had a true colonial experience during the period under consideration in this study, and it must be noted that the later colonial period (during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods) played out very differently for the southeast Aegean than it did in Ionia.⁹⁷⁰ To be precise, the earlier period discussed here was not marked by colonization in the strict sense—in practical terms there was no mass transit of unified populations, nor organized expeditions (indeed, the very nature of the societal collapse that is often cited as a trigger for these population movements precludes this requisite organization), and in theoretical terms the postcolonial processes of economic exploitation and occupation cannot be applied to the populations of the

⁹⁷⁰ See Vanschoonwinkel 2006b, 134-136.

region.⁹⁷¹ For this reason the term “migration” has become more standard to describe the population movements from the Greek mainland to the east Aegean and western Anatolia during the LBA/EIA transition. Still, the differences between the later Dorian and Ionian colonizations are significant. Whereas the Ionian colonization was marked by organized endeavors within a relatively short span of time, the Dorian events give a more patchwork impression, and the tradition of violent conquest that marks Ionian traditions is largely absent from the southeast Aegean.⁹⁷² Later Hellenistic and Roman period authors appear to have been the first to codify diverse and contradictory traditions of Spartan colonization in the Cyclades and at Knidos, as well as linking various settlements together under the aegis of Althaimenes.⁹⁷³ Based on the difference between the colonial experiences of Ionia and the Dorian south, it worth asking why such a difference should have existed. Since no colonial endeavor can be understood without understanding the role of the native population, in what way were the later experiences of populations in the southeast Aegean shaped by the social changes and contacts outlined in the rest of this chapter?

To this end, an exception to the general Dorian identity within the region is instructive. Residents of Miletus and Samos ascribed to an Ionian identity in the historic period, but during the LH III period Miletus at least was fully within the same socio-cultural sphere as populations in the central and southern Dodecanese. The material record suggests that the LH III population at Miletus was the northernmost of the

⁹⁷¹ See Tsetschladze (2006, xxiii-xxviii), and Descœudres 2006 (289, note 1) for larger discussions.

⁹⁷² On violence in Ionian narratives, see Mac Sweeney 2015.

⁹⁷³ See Vanschoolwinkel 2006, 134; Malkin 1994, 67-114. See also the sections on Rhodes and Knidos in Appendix 3.

recognizably Mycenaean populations in the east Aegean; societies farther north had contact with the Mycenaean Aegean, but were most likely organized along local and/or Anatolian traditions. Of course, this does not mean that Milesian and Rhodian communities viewed themselves as part of the same social or ethnic unity, but the swing of the Milesian populace toward an Ionian identity while comparable communities to the south maintained a separate association with the southern Greek mainland suggests that different factors affected the societies of the northern and southern portions of the southeast Aegean.

In terms of geography, this division between the north and south can be detected, albeit tentatively, in the asymmetrical organization of communities between the LH IIIB-LPG periods. If Miletus can be viewed as a primary center of LH III social authority,⁹⁷⁴ then the location of the other primary centers on Rhodes and Kos leaves Miletus alone as a mainland social influence (and/or political power) in the region. Additionally, the city's location at the mouth of the Maeander River makes inland communication much easier than in the topographically more fragmented southern Caria. In human terms, SM/PG period populations at Miletus might already have had more commercial contact with Attica and cities farther north in what would become Ionia.⁹⁷⁵ Although causally murky, the social changes that marked the expanded expression of Carian societies in and around the Bodrum peninsula also appear to have marked a northward orientation for the

⁹⁷⁴ Although the hierarchy structures on which this identification is here applied to the populations at Kos town and Trianda-Ialysos is absent for Miletus (see the section *Social Authorities and Hierarchies* in Chapter 6), the importance of the city in Hittite records and its role in regional trade makes it likely that Miletus was a regional seat of social authority.

⁹⁷⁵ Coldstream (2002, 264) notes a strong Attic influence in the Ionian and Carian PG ceramic repertoire.

population at Miletus. Taken together, populations in the northern areas of the southeast Aegean, were plausibly oriented inland to a degree not possible with communities to the south. With time this orientation produced differences in external communications and local population constituency that ultimately made the northern areas more attractive destinations for Ionian populations during the Geometric period.

Ecological factors should also be considered in this discussion. The Maeander River is only the southernmost of three such large waterways that extend inland.⁹⁷⁶ These rivers provide a resource that cannot be matched on the adjacent islands—guaranteed access to fresh water and arable land. With the shift to a drier regional climate toward the end of the LH III period,⁹⁷⁷ these waterways would have been able to sustain a population in a way that would have been impossible on even a large island like Rhodes. By extension, the islands of the central and southern Dodecanese, as well as the more mountainous areas of Caria, would have afforded fewer agrarian opportunities for new settlers. Although this situation might not have applied during the later colonization period, it should have had a significant impact on the Aegean migrations at the end of the Bronze Age. Consequently, non-local populations (the migrants themselves) would most likely have settled in disproportionately higher numbers in these riverine areas of Ionia. It is these displaced populations that can be seen as the precursors to later colonization—

⁹⁷⁶ The others are the modern Gediz (ancient Hermos) and the Küçük Menderes (ancient Cayster).

⁹⁷⁷ See recently Cline 2014, 142-147; Knapp and Manning 2016, 102-138.

translators, merchants, and cultural mediators through which knowledge of foreign territory was communicated.⁹⁷⁸

At present, not enough can be known about the structures of social authority in the region during the LH IIIC to know how the primary authorities would have responded to the Aegean migrations, but it is worth speculating. As already discussed, it is conceivable that existing infrastructures allowed these communities (and their dependents) to “survive” for a time during the LH IIIC until a combination of pressures outpaced their adaptive abilities, at which point the societal changes that mark the local SM/PG took over. The chronology of this all is significant. If the local ceramic LH IIIC and PG styles are conservative enough to lower their dates relative to mainland sequences,⁹⁷⁹ then by the time those social authorities in the southeast Aegean collapsed during the (local) LH IIIC Middle(-Late?), the majority of the population upheaval in the Aegean would already have been over. No causal relationship can yet be posited between the survival of these social authorities and the later settlement patterns, but it is possible that the island authorities disproportionately affected the course(s) that migrating populations took.⁹⁸⁰ Perhaps a combination of political and ecological factors made the islands of the southeast Aegean less appealing to migrating populations compared to relatively fertile lands to the northeast among the rivers of Ionia, or farther afield among the large cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Those populations that settled in Ionia

⁹⁷⁸ This is based on the idea that colonial endeavors require preexisting knowledge of the area to which they are dedicated, since no group of settlers can reasonably be pictured as sailing heedlessly with the wind.

⁹⁷⁹ See the discussion of relative dating in the section *Toward a Local Chronological Progression*, as well as Figure 7.9, in Chapter 7.

⁹⁸⁰ Georgiadis hints at military activity in the region in a recent publication (Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 355, notes 112-113). His research on this matter is still forthcoming at the time of writing this study.

became overseas focal points for (post-Mycenaean) populations on the Greek mainland that were still experiencing population movements and displacements, thereby setting the stage for later non-Dorian settlement of Ionia. By contrast, the islands of the central and southern Dodecanese, with their different population composition, experienced a more mixed combination of influences as surviving trade routes brought individuals from central Greece, the northwest Aegean, Crete, and most recently the Dorian(-izing) Peloponnese. Although the first Dorian settlers in the Aegean can perhaps be dated to the PG period, it was probably not until the Geometric or Archaic period that the region became “Dorian” as later authors would understand it, a process marked not by mass colonization, but by a slow, steady, and piecemeal influx of people and acculturation.⁹⁸¹

⁹⁸¹ The Peloponnese itself was not “Dorian-ized” quickly, but was marked by a gradual process of transition; see Hall (2002, 82-89) and Finkelberg (2006, 168-169). It is against this background of slow ongoing population movement and shifting ethnic affiliation that the concept of identity in the Aegean must be viewed.

Chapter 9

Final Remarks

This study has examined the social geography of the southeast Aegean with an eye toward establishing reasonable distinctions between social groupings based on practice. Material distinctions in and of themselves are notoriously difficult to parse into socially significant representations of group identities. For this reason, the focus here remained on a broader examination of the plausible human actions and social structures behind the deposition of the material. From this attempt, perhaps the most significant conclusion is that multiple distinct and geographically distributed authoritative agencies are proposed to have existed during the LH III period. These social groups, through the exercise of authority by means of the community hierarchies proposed in Chapter 6, might very well have existed as socio-political entities by the LH III B and through at least the middle of the LH III C periods. The social reconfigurations of these groups at the end of the LBA and during the subsequent SM/PG period, and plausibly the social memories of those earlier hierarchies, had a lasting effect on the population migrations and development of regional authorities and identities well into the historic period.

The absence of good settlement data has long been a problem for identifying socio-political entities in the region, and has prevented the more traditional definition of settlement hierarchies upon which such entities are based. But a community is not a settlement, nor vice versa, and the human landscape should be defined by all classes of activity. The absence of reliable survey data is noted in this regard, as well as the quite

likely event that future excavation and (hopefully) surveys will potentially change the picture outlined here in some, at least small, ways—it would be a fallacy to assume that the current sparse picture of the region is an entirely accurate reflection of ancient reality. Still, the foundations of the Archaic and Classical region should be sought during this period, and it is expected that correlations between the social geographies of the prehistoric and historic southeast Aegean will be borne out by subsequent investigation.

The LH IIIB-C social hierarchies outlined here should not be invalidated by the absence of settlement data; on the contrary, they should serve as a testable hypothesis for future work. A brief thought experiment might serve as a useful illustration. If the citadel at Mycenae had been obliterated by later activity—that is, if the site had not been forcibly abandoned at the beginning of the Classical period, and if subsequent elaboration and expansion of the Archaic temple and settlement had more completely destroyed the Mycenaean architecture—what would attest the prehistoric importance of the site as a center of state authority?⁹⁸² In the immediate area the funerary evidence alone would attest a concentration of material wealth (and foreign contact), as well as the ability to mobilize large sections of the population in order to construct the surrounding tholos tombs. Clusters of chamber tombs that fan out to the northwest and southwest of the citadel would fill in the picture of the living landscape as a site of funerary performance, and the distribution of tomb types and their contents would suggest the stratification of the accompanying community. In regional terms, if only funerary data is considered, the

⁹⁸² A much more detailed version of this experiment, applied to other core areas of the Mycenaean mainland, would prove useful in assessing the relationship between the distribution of funerary activity and the distribution of social authority. For these purposes, see Mee and Cavanagh (1990, 235-242), Cherry and Davis (2001), Wright (2004), and Burns (2010, 166-170).

concentration of material wealth and symbolic status at Mycenae would set that community apart compared to other burial spaces in the northern Argive plain and in adjoining topographically confined areas (i.e., the Berbati and Nemea valleys). The distribution of small tholoi and chamber tombs in those areas would attest an unequal distribution of status and social authority, which plausibly reconstructs a multi-tiered hierarchy centered on Mycenae. Lastly, the chronological distribution—the appearance and disappearance of tholoi and other activities—of this regional activity would suggest the development and nucleation of regional social authority. In other words, if the citadel at Mycenae was unknown to modern scholarship, and attested only by scattered sherds among the foundations of later buildings, there would still be good reason to assume the central importance of the population that inhabited the hill in Mycenaean times.

The same patterns can be seen in the southeast Aegean during the LH III period. The human landscape attests important and powerful centers of social authority at both Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes and at Kos town. The recent discovery of two tholos tombs in and around Kos town (as well as the increasingly prominent picture of Miletus in regional trade networks) should compel a reevaluation of the traditional view that the population that made use of Ialysos was the exclusive and preeminent power in the region. The location of these two centers of authority on the islands should also inform the discussion regarding the Hittite-attested state of Ahhiyawa. The usual argument against the political entity's location in the southeast Aegean relies on the absence of a large settlement as a plausible seat of regional authority—a “fact” that should now be called into question, if not discounted for its narrow scope. The presence of island authorities, at least one of which (Kos town) plausibly extended influence onto the mainland in the Bodrum

peninsula (at Müskebi), argues in favor of the socio-political scenario attested in the Hittite records.

At no point during the period under consideration in this study did the cumulative population of the southeast Aegean appear as a single social group or possess a single active agency. Regionalism is one of the factors that defines the inhabitants of the Dodecanese and coastal Caria at the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Early Iron Age—strategically positioned between east and west, but also between north and south. The social developments of the LH III period contributed directly to what followed, and set the stage for the socio-political realities of the Archaic and Classical southeast Aegean. It is hoped that issues involving (but certainly not limited to) the ethnic divisions of Ionian and Dorian settlement, the Dorian Hexapolis and the distribution of Greek poleis, and the development of Carian communities and identities can be evaluated from a new perspective as a result of this approach. The cultural geography of the southeast Aegean, outlined here, should be tested by future fieldwork and research.

Appendix 1 – The Sites

The table that follows is a more quantified record of the material and sites discussed in this study. As with the sections on individual sites, the table is not intended to be entirely comprehensive (in many cases it simply cannot be); instead, it is intended to give an accurate idea of the materials recovered from each site for the purpose of reconstructing a picture of each community. The contents are drawn from the sources for the individual site discussions in Chapters 3 and 4. For the LH III material the primary source for this information is Georgiadis 2003, supplemented by other regional and site-specific studies, especially Mee 1982, and Benzi 1992. For the PG material the primary source is Lemos 2002, again supplemented by regional and site-specific studies. Occasionally, different sources give conflicting object counts, and these issues (as well as which count is followed here) are noted in the discussions of relevant sites in Chapters 3 and 4. The following table is organized chronologically and alphabetically by island or area and site. It should be noted that the chronological labels “LH IIIA-B” and “LH IIIB-C” used here encompass material that is of a transitional character, and also material that is dated generally to those ranges. Likewise, the label “PG,” as opposed to “MPG” or “LPG” denotes material that cannot be dated more narrowly than Protogeometric. It should also be noted that counts of open and closed ceramic vessels are based on published information that might not include all ceramic material from a given site; therefore, the total number of ceramic vessels from a site might be larger than the number of open and closed forms added together.

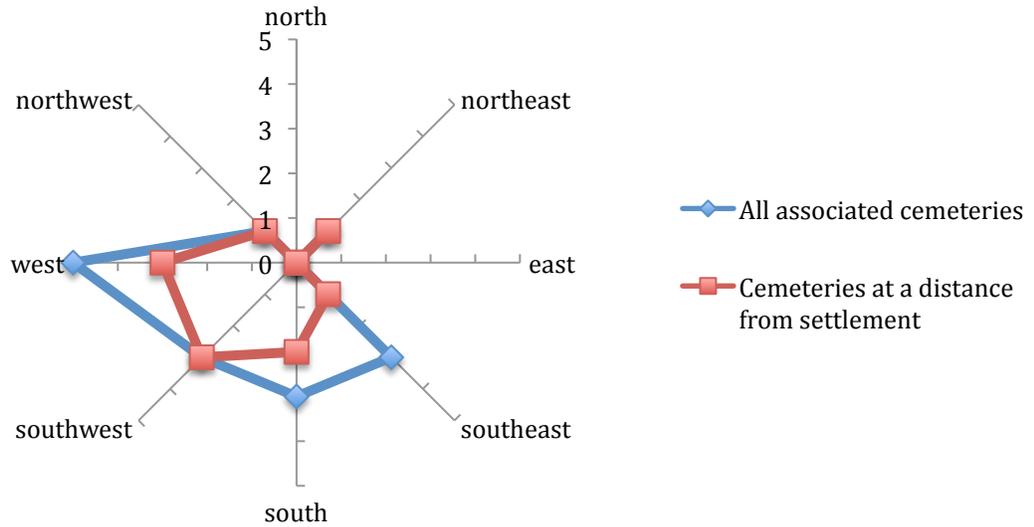
Key to the table		
x	Number unknown or not counted	
Number *	Number includes objects not closely datable or datable to a broad range, actual number for a given period might be lower	ex.: 1 * = 1 object, not closely datable
Number ‡	Number refers to a partial excavation, an incomplete report, or one that does not include all material from a site, actual number for a given period might be higher	ex.: 2 ‡ = 2 objects attested in the published record, but more possible
Number (number *)	Number of objects directly datable to the period (total number of objects including those not closely datable)	ex.: 1 (3 *) = 1 object datable, 2 others not closely datable for a possible total of 3

Period	Region	Site	Chapter Section	Site Type	Disturbed	Architect	Total # Temples	# Temples this Period Only	Tomb Types	Orientation	Human Remains	Single/Multi Burial	Prim/Sec. Burial	Chert./Porous n of Bodies	Burial Inside Vess./Lamax	Residue Cremation	Total # Vess.	# Vess. by Period	Open Vess.	Closed Vess.	Ritual Vess.	Metal Vess.	Vess. in Other Materials	Sword/Dagger	Speerhead	Arrowhead	Axe	Other Tools	Wrs. Ornament	Beads/Broochs /Etc.	Conspic. Equip.	Figurine				
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Caria	Kandos	3.14.1	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Akroas	3.3.3	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Bykos	3.3.7	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Roi	3.4.1	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Asklipi	3.7.8	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Agriopetra	3.7.17	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Eleona (Kardamena)	3.7.14	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Halkarna (Kardamena)	3.7.15	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Nikoussi (Zan)	3.7.10	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Phalopyli Kastri	3.7.11	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Pannos	Kastelli	3.11.1	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Arhangelos	3.5.18	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.21	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Yermadi (Ag. Giorgos)	3.5.13	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Smyri	Kastro	3.6.1	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Asyplala	Armenochori	3.1.1	Cemetery					chamber	EHE																										
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kastro tou Ag. Ioannou		3.1.3	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Asyplala		3.1.3	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Carab	Halkis	3.14.1	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Caria	Iassos	3.14.2	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Caria	Pharope	3.14.3	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Caria	Pharope	3.14.3	Settlement	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Caria	Muskeli	3.14.4	Cemetery	x			48	36																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kalythos	Psakalis Cave, Vathy (Rhina)	3.6.3	Unknown																																
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kalythos	Perastatos (Pothia)	3.6.1	Unknown	x																															
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Alonia	3.3.6	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Alonia	3.3.6	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Alonia	3.3.5	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Alonia	3.3.5	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Alonia	3.3.4	Cemetery	x			44																												
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Pigadia	3.3.1	Cemetery	x				chamber	N, E																										
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Tou Stavrou to Kefali	3.3.2	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kerathos	Ionnis (Akada)	3.3.2	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Ag. Paraskevi (Pvli)	3.7.13	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Asklipion	3.7.14	Unknown	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Asklipion	3.7.14	Unknown	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Eleona-Lingada	3.7.4	Cemetery	x			82	19 (LH IIIA2)																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Giorgarvas	3.7.6	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Inaklis	3.7.2	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Kos	Asklipion	3.7.2	Cemetery	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kosakona	3.5.10	Settlement	x			20																												
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Arhangelos	3.5.18	Cemetery	x			2																												
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Ialyssos (New Tombs, Old Tombs)	3.5.2	Cemetery	x			65																												
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Ialyssos (New Tombs, Old Tombs)	3.5.2	Cemetery	x			65																												
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Settlement	x				chamber																											
1 - LH IIIA (Unspecified)	Rhodes	Kalythos	3.5.4	Set																																

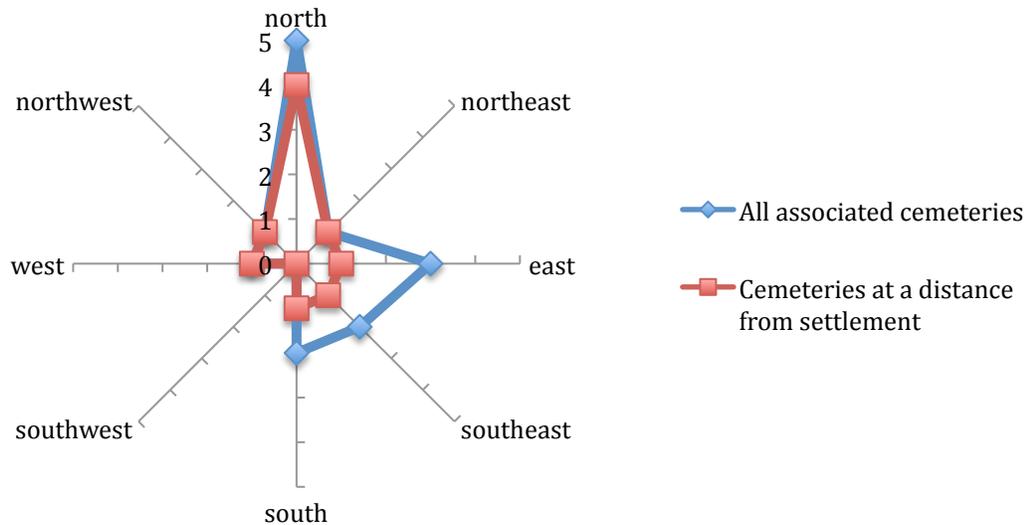
Period	Region	Site	Chapter	Section	Site Type	Disurbed	Architectre	Total # Tombs	# Tombs this	Period City	Tomb Type(s)	Orientation	Human Remains	Single/Multi	Form/Sec	Other/Positio	Burial Inside	Possible	Total # Vess.	# Vess. By	# Vess. per	Open Vess.	Closed Vess.	Ritual Vess.	Metal Vess.	Vess. in Other	Sword/Dagger	Spearehead	Arrowhead	Axe	Other Tools	Ornamts	Beads/Burtons	Ceramic	Figurine				
3-4	Rhodes	Vigli	3.5.19	Cemetery	x			1	1		chamber	NE	?	?					24 (25)	2	2		2																
3-4	Rhodes	Vernadi (Ag. Giorgos)	3.5.13	Cemetery	x			10+*	1 (3-7)		chamber	NE	(perhaps 14 burials)	multiple					7+*	7+*	1		2																
4-5	Caria	Asanlık	5.6.10	Cemetery	x			15	15		bull, criss, pits, built, chamber, tholos			?					19	19	2.7	6	12	1															
4-5	Caria	Gimelicki	5.6.8	Cemetery	x						chamber, tholos			?					2*			7																	
4-5	Caria	Mileus	5.6.3	Settlement	x														2*																				
4-5	Caria	Platzep	5.6.6	Settlement	x														2*																				
4-5	Caria	Brononkeia	5.6.7	Cemetery	x														2*	2		1	1																
4-5	Samos	Heron	5.5.1	Settlement	x														27		4																		
4-5	Samos	Kos	5.5.2	Settlement	x														57		4																		
5-6	MFG	Kos	5.2.1	Cemetery	x			99	5 (9*)		dst, pit, vessel	var.		single	primary				90	16	3.2	5	7	4															
5-5	PG	Caria	5.6.12	Unknown	x														3*			1	2																
5-5	PG	Caria	5.6.2	Settlement	x														3*																				
5-5	PG	Rhodes	5.1.3	Unknown	x														3*																				
5-5	PG	Lindos	5.1.3	Unknown	x														3*																				
5-5	PG	Samos	5.5.1	Settlement	x														3*																				
6-7	LPG	Caria	5.6.10	Cemetery	x			10+*	2		built, burb, turnull	NW, SW	2	single	secondary				27	53	4	2	1	3															
6-7	LPG	Caria	5.6.9	Cemetery	x						built	S		multiple	primary				7*	7*	3.5	3	4																
6-7	LPG	Caria	5.6.3	Settlement	x														3*																				
6-7	LPG	Caria	5.6.11	Cemetery	x														3*																				
6-7	LPG	Caria	5.6.11	Cemetery	x														3*																				
6-7	LPG	Kos	5.2.1	Cemetery	x			99	16 (20*)		dst, pit, vessel	var.		single	primary				90	74	4.6	24	48	2															
6-7	LPG	Rhodes	5.1.1	Cemetery	x			93	3		vessel		3	single	secondary				17	17	5.7	6	11																
6-7	LPG	Rhodes	5.1.2	Cemetery	x			11	4		vessel, built	SE	3	single	primary?				5	5	1.25	1	4																
6-7	LPG	Samos	5.5.2	Unknown	x														3																				

Appendix 2 – Settlements and Cemeteries

Position of LH III Cemeteries Relative to Settlements



Orientation of LH III Cemeteries



Date Range	Area	Settlement	Chapter Section	Cemetery	Chapter Section	Relationship to Settlement	Direction from Settlement	Distance from Settlement	Orientation of Cemetery
LH IIIA-B	Karpathos	Arkaseia	3.3.3	Vonies	3.3.2	across a coastal plain	southeast	1.3 km	north
LH IIIA-B	Karpathos	Pigadia	3.3.4	Makelli	3.3.4	across the harbor and a coastal plain	west	1.4 km	east
LH IIIA-B	Karpathos	Pigadia	3.3.4	Pigadia	3.3.4	on the slopes below the settlement	west	-	north
LH IIB-III C	Rhodes	Trianda	3.5.1	Ialysos	3.5.2	across a coastal plain	southwest	1.6 km	north (mostly)
LH IIIA-C	Rhodes	Kalavarda	3.5.4	Kalavarda	3.5.4	on the slopes below the settlement	northwest	-	east
LH IIIA-C	Rhodes	Kattavia	3.5.11	Kattavia	3.5.11	on the slopes below the settlement	southeast	-	southeast
LH IIIA-C	Rhodes	Yennadi	3.5.13	Yennadi	3.5.13	across an inland valley	west	0.6 km	northeast
LH IIIA-C	Rhodes	unkown	-	Ambellia	3.5.16	probably across an inland plain	south?	?	?
LH IIIA-C	Rhodes	Archangelos	-	Aspropolia	3.5.16	probably across an inland plain	northeast?	?	south
LH IIIA-C	Kos	Kos town	3.5.18	Archangelos	3.5.18	across an inland plain	south	1.3 km	northwest
LH IIB	Kos	Kos town	3.7.3	Kos town	3.7.3	on the outskirts of the settlement	west	-	east
LH IIB-III C	Kos	Kos town	3.7.3	Eleona-Langada	3.7.4	across a coastal plain	southwest	1.2 km	north, west
LH IIIA, III C	Kos	Kos town	3.7.3	Giorgaras	3.7.6	across a coastal plain	west	3 km	north
LH IIIA-C	Kos	Eleona	3.7.14	Eleona	3.7.14	on the slopes below the settlement	southeast	-	?
LH IIB-C	Caria	Miletus	3.14.1	Miletus	3.14.1	across a coastal plain	southwest	1.4 km	southeast
LH IIIA-C	Caria	Pilavtepe	3.14.3	Pilavtepe	3.14.3	on the slopes below the settlement	south	-	south
PG	Caria	Melle	5.6.2	Melle	5.6.2	on the slopes below the settlement	east	-	?
LPG	Rhodes	Kameiros (Acropolis)	5.1.2	Kameiros (Patelles)	5.1.2	on another ridge across a revma	east	1 km	-

Appendix 3

Mythic Traditions

What follows is a brief summary of the mythic foundations, settlements, and colonizations of islands and areas in the region. The summaries are not intended to be comprehensive, but are intended to provide basic details and information for discussions in Chapters 7 and 8.⁹⁸³

Astypalaia. Mythic traditions only appear late. Ovid records that Astypalaia was part of Minos' domains, and Skymnos of Chios records a later colonization by Megarians.⁹⁸⁴ An early connection between the island and Epidauros has been postulated based on the local importance of the cult of Asklepios.

Karpathos. The island is recorded as part of Minos' domains, and was later colonized by Iolkos from Argos.⁹⁸⁵

Rhodes. A tripartite division of the island, between Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos, appears early in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and in Pindar.⁹⁸⁶ Later authors

⁹⁸³ These summaries are based on later historians and mythographers. For the sake of brevity, evidence from inscriptions regarding the names of demes and phratries are not included here. A more detailed investigation of this nature that would include such information would undoubtedly prove fruitful; see Bresson (2009, 113-115) for an example of how this information can contribute to the discussion.

⁹⁸⁴ Ov. *Met.* 7.461-462; Pseudo-Skymnos 550-552. See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 157; Craik 1980, 167.

⁹⁸⁵ Diod. Sic. 5.54.4. See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 156; Craik 1980, 166-167.

⁹⁸⁶ Hom. *Il.* 2.653-666; Pind. *Ol.* 7.71-76.

went to some pains to reconstruct or flesh out the earlier history of the island, although details differ between the various accounts.⁹⁸⁷ The Homeric Rhodians that followed Tlepolemos to Troy were not the first inhabitants of the island, an honor that goes at various times and places on the island to the Heliadai,⁹⁸⁸ the Telchines,⁹⁸⁹ and the descendants of Danaos⁹⁹⁰ and of Kadmos.⁹⁹¹ Greek settlement is attributed to two men named Althaimenes: one the son of the Cretan king Katreus who landed at Krentenia/Kameiros;⁹⁹² the other an Argive son of Kissos who was joined by descendants of the Dorians who settled Megara after the death of Kodros.⁹⁹³ Ancient commentators who wished to coordinate the chronology of these events were not in agreement as to whether Tlepolemos or the Argive Althaimenes was the first to bring the Dorians to the island, or whether they arrived before the Trojan War or just after it, or whether the three main cities on the islands were founded by the Dorian settlers anew or were re-inhabited from an older population. It is entirely likely that much of the traditional associations and genealogies reflect later aetiologies—as in the founding of a place called Kretenia by a Cretan prince—or later attempts to root divine epithets and cult titles in a mythic-historic past—as in the relation between the Telchines and the local “Telchinios” epithet of

⁹⁸⁷ See Apollod. *Bib.* 2.1.4, 2.8.2, 3.2.1-2; *Epit.* 6.27; Conon *Narr.* 47; Diod. Sic. 4.58.7-8, 5.55-59; Paus. 3.19.10; Strabo 14.2.6-8.

⁹⁸⁸ Diod. Sic. 5.57; Pind. *Ol.* 7.71-76; Strabo 14.2.8.

⁹⁸⁹ Conon *Narr.* 47; Diod. Sic. 5.55; Strabo 14.2.7.

⁹⁹⁰ Apollod. *Bib.* 2.1.4; Diod. Sic. 5.58.1.

⁹⁹¹ Diod. Sic. 5.58.2-3.

⁹⁹² Apollod. *Bib.* 3.2.1; Diod. Sic. 5.59.

⁹⁹³ Conon *Narr.* 47; Strabo 14.2.6.

Apollo, Hera and the Nymphs, or between the Heliadai and the prominence of local worship to Apollo.⁹⁹⁴

Symi. The island was first settled by men who arrived with Triops from Rhodes under the leadership of Khthonios, the son of Poseidon.⁹⁹⁵ Later, the Nireus who led the Homeric contingent to Troy is recorded as also controlling part of the Knidia prior to the island's seizure by the Carians.⁹⁹⁶ After the Carians' abandonment of the island, it was re-colonized by Lacedaimonians and Argives.⁹⁹⁷

Nisyros. After being created by Poseidon as a weapon against the giant Polybotes, the island was inhabited by Carians until Thessalos, son of Herakles, took possession of the island together with Kalymnos.⁹⁹⁸ These two islands then passed to his sons, Antiphos and Pheidippos, who led the islands to war against Troy.⁹⁹⁹ Herodotus records the island as having been colonized by Epidauros.¹⁰⁰⁰

Kos. The first inhabitant of the island is reported to have been Kandalos the son of Helios, who fled from Rhodes after the murder of his brother.¹⁰⁰¹ At a later date, the ruler of Lesbos and surrounding islands, Makareus, sent an expedition to colonize Kos

⁹⁹⁴ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1973, 131; Craik 1980, 157-158. See also Diod. Sic. 5.55.2.

⁹⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. 5.53. See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 156; Craik. 1980, 157. This Triops is one of the Heliadai who fled after the murder of his brother.

⁹⁹⁶ Diod. Sic. 5.53.2; Hom. *Il.* 2.671-675.

⁹⁹⁷ Diod. Sic. 5.53.2-3.

⁹⁹⁸ Apollod. *Bib.* 1.6.2; Diod. Sic. 5.54.1; Strabo 10.5.16. See also Craik 1980, 157. Diodorus calls Kalymnos by the name "κάλυδνα," an ancient variant.

⁹⁹⁹ Homer (*Il.* 2.676-680) includes the islands of Karpathos (as κάρπαθον), Kasos, Kos, and the νήσους καλύδνας together with Nisyros as an apparently united domain.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Hdt. 7.99.2-3.

¹⁰⁰¹ Diod. Sic. 5.57.

under his son, Neandros.¹⁰⁰² Historically, the island was certainly Dorian, colonized by Epidauros according to Herodotus,¹⁰⁰³ but a connection between Kos and Thessaly was noted in antiquity—both directly through the Aeolian colonization reported by Diodorus, and also through the descent of the Koan kings Antiphos and Pheidippos from Thessalos, son of Herakles.¹⁰⁰⁴ A Homeric label of the main city of Kos as “the city of Eurypylos” recalls another hero by the same name, who is recorded in the Catalogue of Ships as having led 40 ships from a part of (what would later be called) Thessaly.¹⁰⁰⁵

Kalymnos. As noted with Nisyros, the island of Kalymnos is recorded as first having been inhabited by Carians prior to its acquisition by Thessalos, who passed it to his sons Antiphos and Pheidippos, kings of Kos.¹⁰⁰⁶ As such, it was part of a larger kingdom that contributed ships to the war against Troy.¹⁰⁰⁷ The island is listed by Herodotus alongside Kos and Nisyros as having been colonized by Epidauros.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰² Diodorus Siculus (5.81) includes this account as part of a larger description of the east and southeast Aegean islands’ colonization from Lesbos—also included are Samos and Rhodes. Rhodes alone is described as being already inhabited, where an existing population (apparently) peacefully received the new settlers.

¹⁰⁰³ Hdt. 7.99.2-3.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Diod. Sic. 5.54.1; Hom. *Il.* 676-680. Regarding the names of these Koan kings, Strabo (14.6.6) notes, “οὔτοι τὸ Αἰολικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ Δωρικὸν γένος ἐμφαίνοντες.” See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 156; Craik 1980, 166.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Hom. *Il.* 2.734-737.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Diod. Sic. 5.54.1; Hom. *Il.* 2.676-679. See also Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 156.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Homer (*Il.* 2.676-679) mentions Kalymnos together with Nisyros, Karpathos, Kasos, and Kos. The use of the phrase “νήσους τε Καλύδνας” (677), using a variant name for the island, suggests that Kalymnos consisted also of the smaller islands located around it north of Kos.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hdt. 7.99.2-3.

Samos. As with Kos, Samos is reported as having been colonized by an expedition sent from Lesbos by Makareus under the leadership of his son, Kydrolaos.¹⁰⁰⁹ Pausanias reports the Ionians arriving on the island under the leadership of Prokles after having been driven out of Epidauros.¹⁰¹⁰

Caria. The Carians were said to have lived originally on the islands of the east Aegean, already subject to Minos, and were at that time called the Leleges.¹⁰¹¹ Under Minos' brother, Rhadamanthys, the proto-Carians crossed to the mainland, expelling the Pelasgians (and other Leleges), and began to expand through what would later become the region of Caria.¹⁰¹²

Miletus. Pausanias records that the city was originally called Anaktoria, under the rule of the autochthonous Anax and his son, Asterios.¹⁰¹³ Following the reign of Asterios, the eponymous Miletos, fleeing from Minos, conquered the city with an army from Crete, and was joined in the newly refounded city by the local Carian

¹⁰⁰⁹ Diod. Sic. 5.81.7-8.

¹⁰¹⁰ Paus. 7.4.2; see also Strabo 10.2.17, 14.1.3. The recorded flight of Ionian settlers from Dorian invaders ties into the larger narrative of population movements at the close of the Age of Heroes. In this context, the combination of Ionian and Dorian geography can plausibly be connected to the island's location at the border between the Ionian and Dorian east Aegean.

¹⁰¹¹ Strabo 14.2.27. See also Bresson (2009, 113-115) for evidence of places, demes, and phratries with Carian linguistic underpinnings in the Classical Dodecanese.

¹⁰¹² Diod. Sic. 5.84.3-4; Strabo 14.2.27. See also Mary Bachvarova's (2015, 154-160) examination of the Carian viewpoint in later Greek accounts of Anatolian foundations.

¹⁰¹³ Paus. 7.2.5. Both the name of the founder and the kingdom are obviously derived from $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$, although neither is described as Greek. See also Gorman 2001, 14-19.

population.¹⁰¹⁴ The cosmopolitan nature of Miletus was noted in historical times by Herodotus.¹⁰¹⁵

The Bodrum Peninsula. The later city of Halikarnassos dominates discussions of the peninsula, and as a result the mythic prehistory of the area is largely dark. The city itself and the island of Arkonnesos (modern Kara Ada) in Bodrum bay was colonized by Anthes of Troezen, which is the first reference to Dorians in the peninsula.¹⁰¹⁶

Knidos. The city is included in the Dorian Pentapolis along with Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros, and Kos.¹⁰¹⁷ The Dorian moniker is traceable either to the Lacedaimonians,¹⁰¹⁸ or to the Argives who followed Althaimenes from Megara to Rhodes¹⁰¹⁹ (or to the Argive Kyrnos who settled there and became king after abandoning his search for Io,¹⁰²⁰ although presumably a preexisting population would be required for him to become king). The larger Knidia is also given a connection to Crete, through the conquest and expulsion of the Carians by five of the Cretan Kouretes, and to Thessaly, through Triops—one of the Heliadai who fled from Rhodes to the Knidia to Thessaly,

¹⁰¹⁴ This event has been much researched lately. See Mac Sweeney 2013, 44-79; 2015, 244-256; Bachvarova 2015, 154-60.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hdt. 1.142.3, 146.1-2.

¹⁰¹⁶ Hdt. 7.99.2-3; Strabo 14.2.16. The proximity of Halikarnassos to the LH III-LPG sites of Múskebi and Assarlık, located in the adjacent coastal valley to the west only five kilometers away, makes the omission of earlier traditions curious. The tradition that Halikarnassos was founded by Troezen stands in contrast to the report that neighboring Dorian populations on the adjacent islands (Kos, Kalymnos, and Nisyros) were Epidaurian foundations. This could plausibly be a reflection of the expulsion of Halikarnassos from the Dorian Hexapolis, creating the Classical period Pentapolis; see Hdt. 1.144.

¹⁰¹⁷ Herodotus (1.144) also includes Halikarnassos as an original sixth member; see also Strabo 14.2.6.

¹⁰¹⁸ Hdt. 1.174.

¹⁰¹⁹ Strabo 14.2.6.

¹⁰²⁰ Diod. Sic. 5.60.4-5.

before he was later exiled back to the Knidia with a number of Thessalian refugees.¹⁰²¹

Triops, the founder of Triopium on the peninsula, is variously described as the son of Helios, Apollo, and a descendant of Poseidon. The prominence of Helios and Apollo, who appears elsewhere in the mythology of the Knidia,¹⁰²² should likely be seen as a later political justification or aetiology for the inclusion of the region as part of the Rhodian *peraea*.

¹⁰²¹ Diod. Sic. 5.60.1-3, 5.61. There is perhaps a conflation of multiple figures named “Triop(a)s” in this account—one the Rhodian son of Helios, and the other the Thessalian son of Poseidon.

¹⁰²² Diod Sic. 5.62.

Key to Figures

Note: certain sites that are described in Chapters 3 and 4 are omitted from the following figures for lack of evidence or unreliability; omissions are explicitly stated in the text.

LH III Sites

Astypalaia

- 3.1.1. Armenochori (*Cem.*)
- 3.1.2. Syngairos (*Cem.*)
- 3.1.3. Kastro tou Agiou Ioannou (*Unk.*)

Karpathos

- 3.3.1. Tou Stavrou to Kefali (*Cem.*)
- 3.3.2. Vonies (*Cem.*)
- 3.3.3. Arkaseia (*Sett.*)
- 3.3.4. Pigadia (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.3.5. Kambi (*Cem.*)
- 3.3.6. Avlona (*Cem.*)
- 3.3.7. Brykous (*Sett.*)

Kasos

- 3.4.1. Poli (*Sett.*)

Rhodes

- 3.5.1. Trianda (*Sett.*)
- 3.5.2. Ialysos (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.3. Maritsa (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.4. Kalavarda (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.5.5. Kameiros (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.6. Lelos (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.7. Kariones (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.8. Kastraki (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.9. Kymisala (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.10. Apolakkia (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.11. Kattavia (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.5.13. Yennadi (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.5.14. Vati (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.15. Lardos (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.16. Pylona (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.17. Lindos (*Unk.*)
- 3.5.18. Archangelos (*Cem./Unk.*)
- 3.5.19. Vigli (*Cem.*)
- 3.5.21. Kalythies (*Unk.*)
- 3.5.22. Koskinou (*Cem.*)

Symi

- 3.6.1. Kastro (*Unk.*)

Kos

- 3.7.1. Kastello (*Cem.*)
- 3.7.2. Iraklis (*Cem.*)
- 3.7.3. Kos town (Seraglio) (*Sett.*)
- 3.7.4. Eleona-Langada (*Cem.*)
- 3.7.6. Giorgaras (*Cem.*)
- 3.7.7. Asklepion (*Unk.*)
- 3.7.8. Asklupi (*Unk.*)
- 3.7.9. Mesaria (*Cem.*)
- 3.7.10. Misonisi (*Sett.*)
- 3.7.11. Palaiopyli Kastro (*Sett.*)
- 3.7.13. Agia Paraskevi
- 3.7.14. Eleona (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.7.15. Halasarna (*Sett.*)
- 3.7.17. Aspripetra (*Unk.*)

Kalymnos

- 3.8.1. Perakastro (*Cem.*)
- 3.8.3. Daskalio Cave (*Unk.*)

Leros

- 3.9.1. Kastro (*Sett.*)

Patmos

- 3.11.1. Kastelli (*Unk.*)

Samos

- 3.12.1. Myloi (*Cem.*)
- 3.12.2. Heraion (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.12.3. Tigani (*Unk.*)

Caria

- 3.14.1. Miletus (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.14.2. Iasos (*Sett.*)
- 3.14.3. Pilavtepe (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 3.14.4. Múskebi (*Cem.*)
- 3.14.5. Knidos (*Unk.*)

SM/PG Sites

Rhodes

- 4.1.1. Ialysos (*Cem.*)
- 4.1.2. Kameiros (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 4.1.3. Lindos (*Unk.*)

Kos

- 4.2.1. Kos town (*Cem.*)

Samos

- 4.5.1. Heraion (*Sett.*)
- 4.5.2. Pythagoreion (*Unk.*)

Caria

- 4.6.2. Melie (*Cem./Sett.*)
- 4.6.3. Miletus (*Sett.*)
- 4.6.4. Teichiusa (*Unk.*)
- 4.6.6. Pilavtepe (*Sett.*)
- 4.6.7. Stratonikeia (*Cem.*)
- 4.6.8. Çömlekçi (*Cem.*)
- 4.6.9. Dirmil (*Cem.*)
- 4.6.10. Assarlık (*Cem.*)
- 4.6.11. Theangela (*Cem.*)
- 4.6.12. Knidos (*Unk.*)



Figure 1.1 – The Southeast Aegean

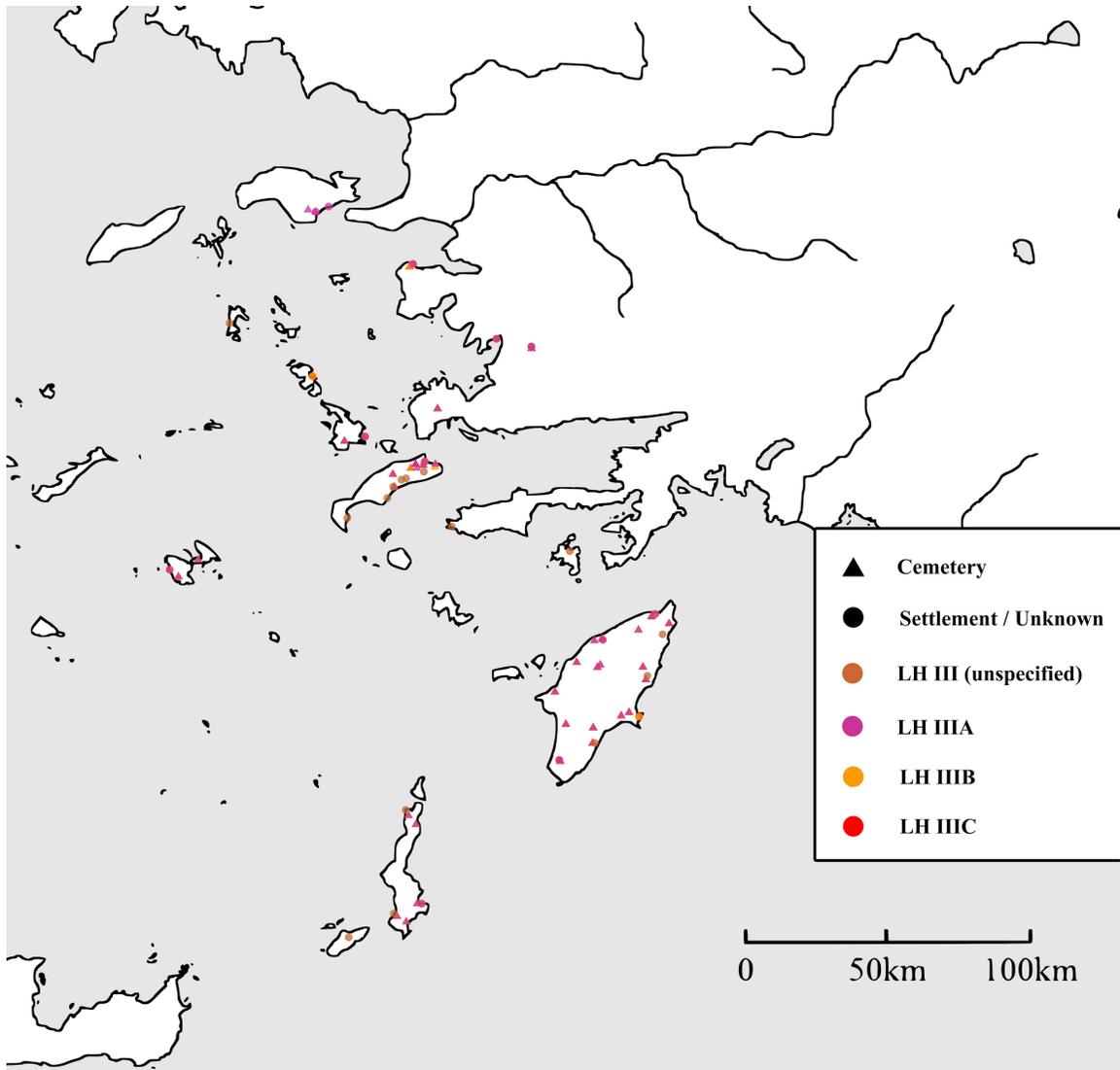


Figure 3.1 – All LH III sites included in this study

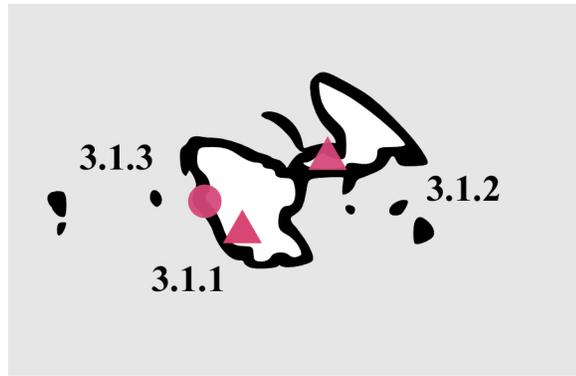


Figure 3.2 – LH III Astypalaia

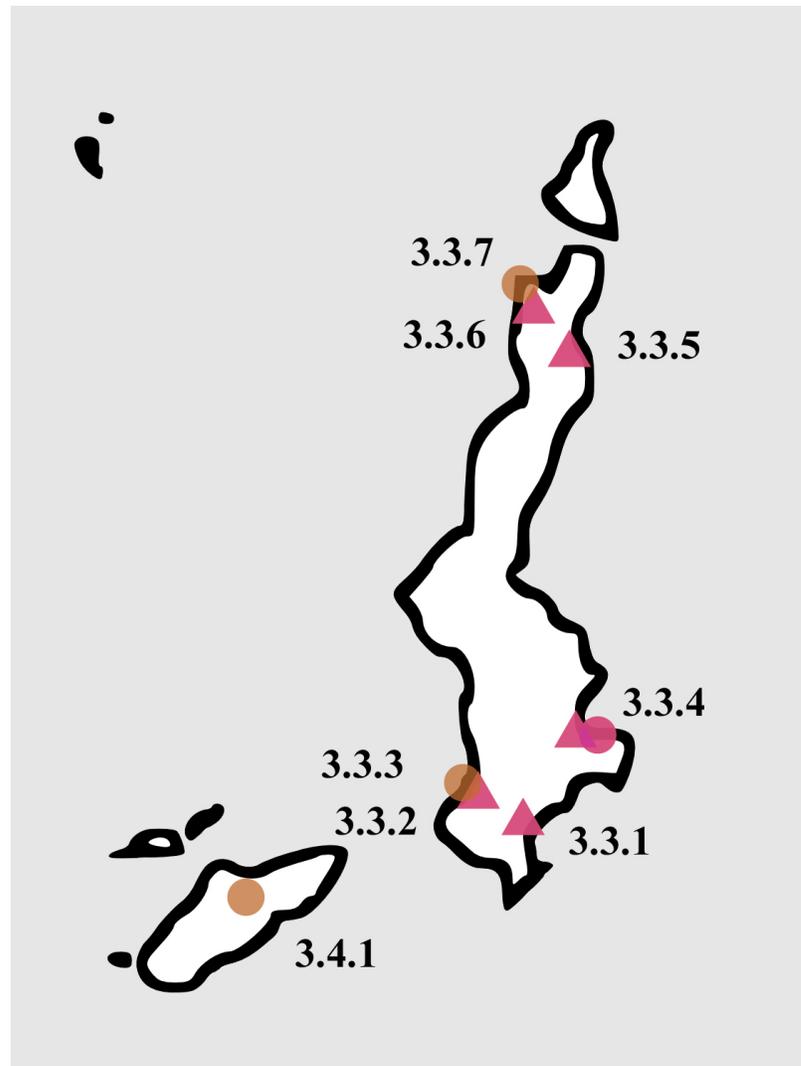


Figure 3.3 – LH III Karpathos and Kasos

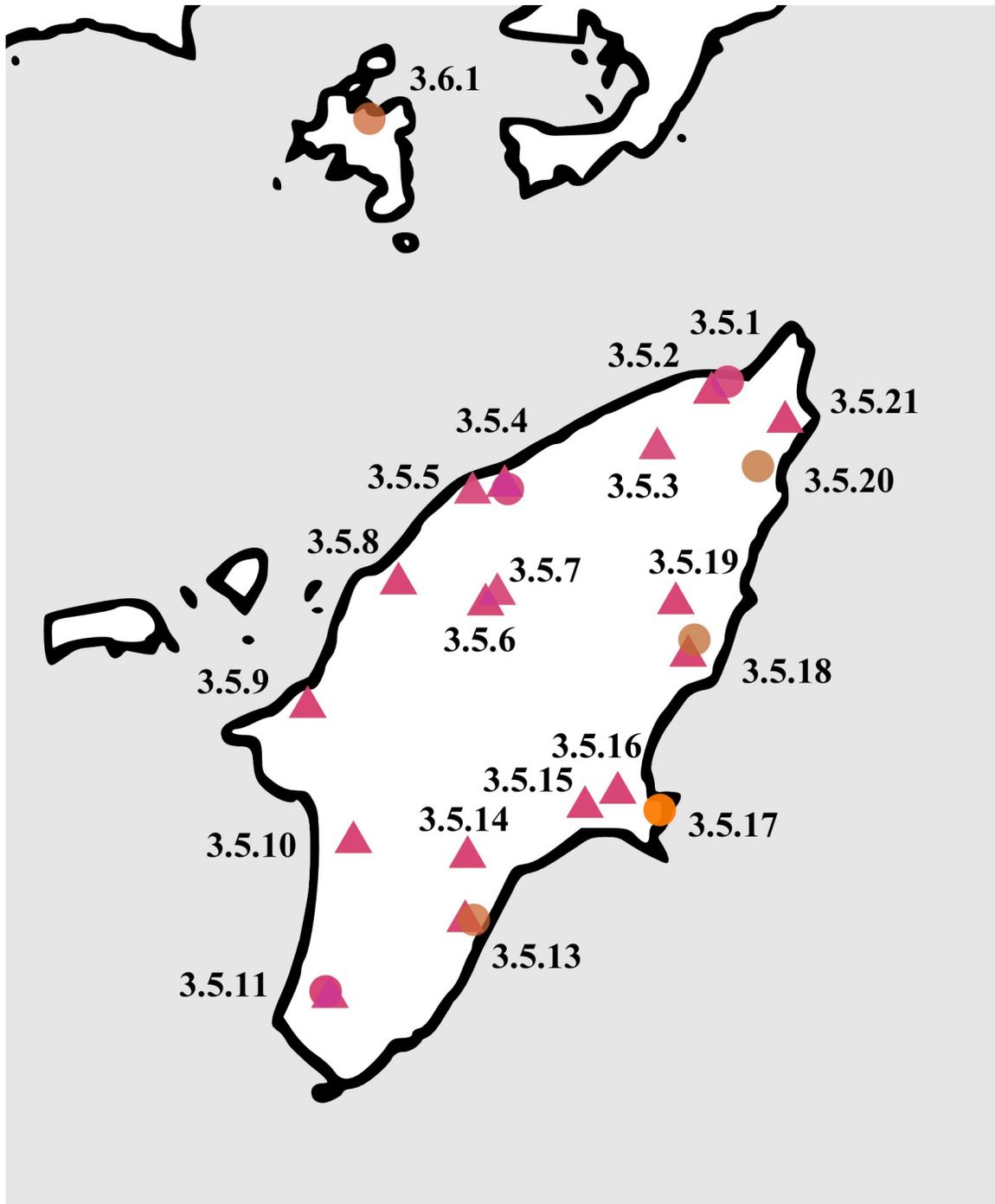


Figure 3.4 – LH III Rhodes and Symi

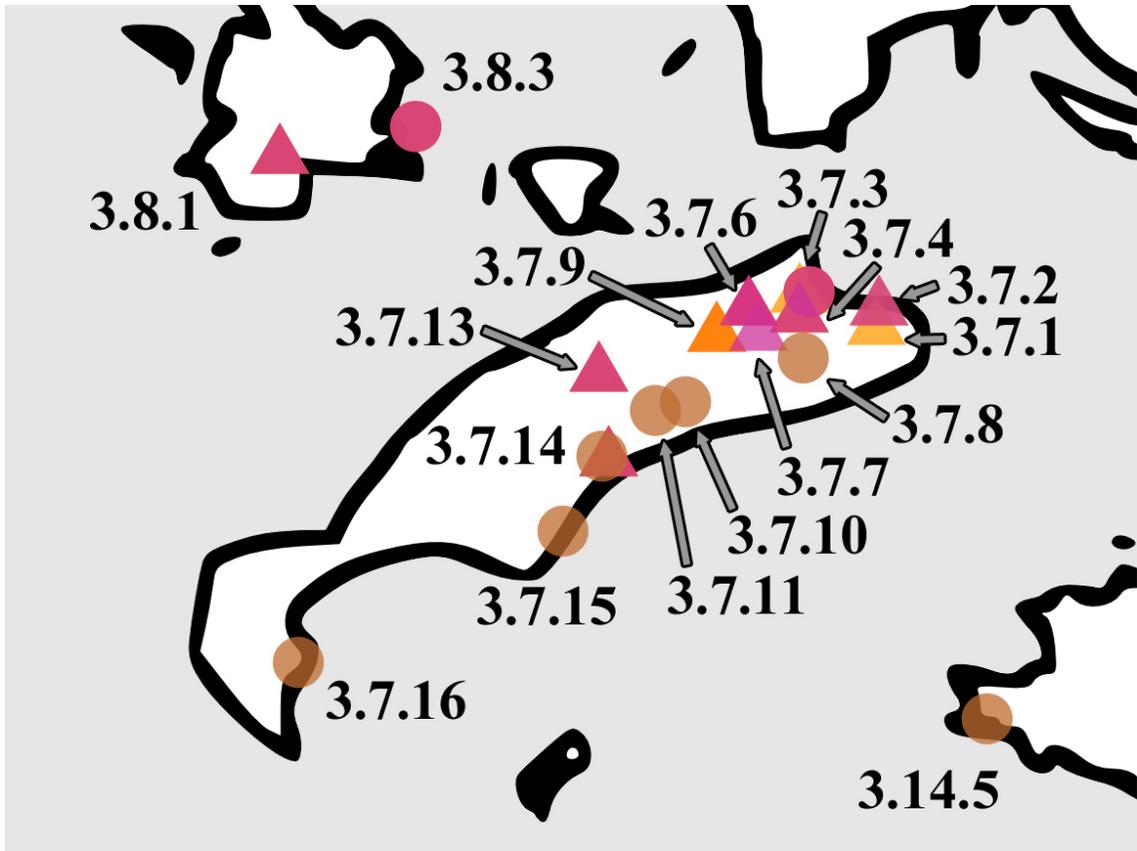


Figure 3.5 – LH III Kos and Kalymnos

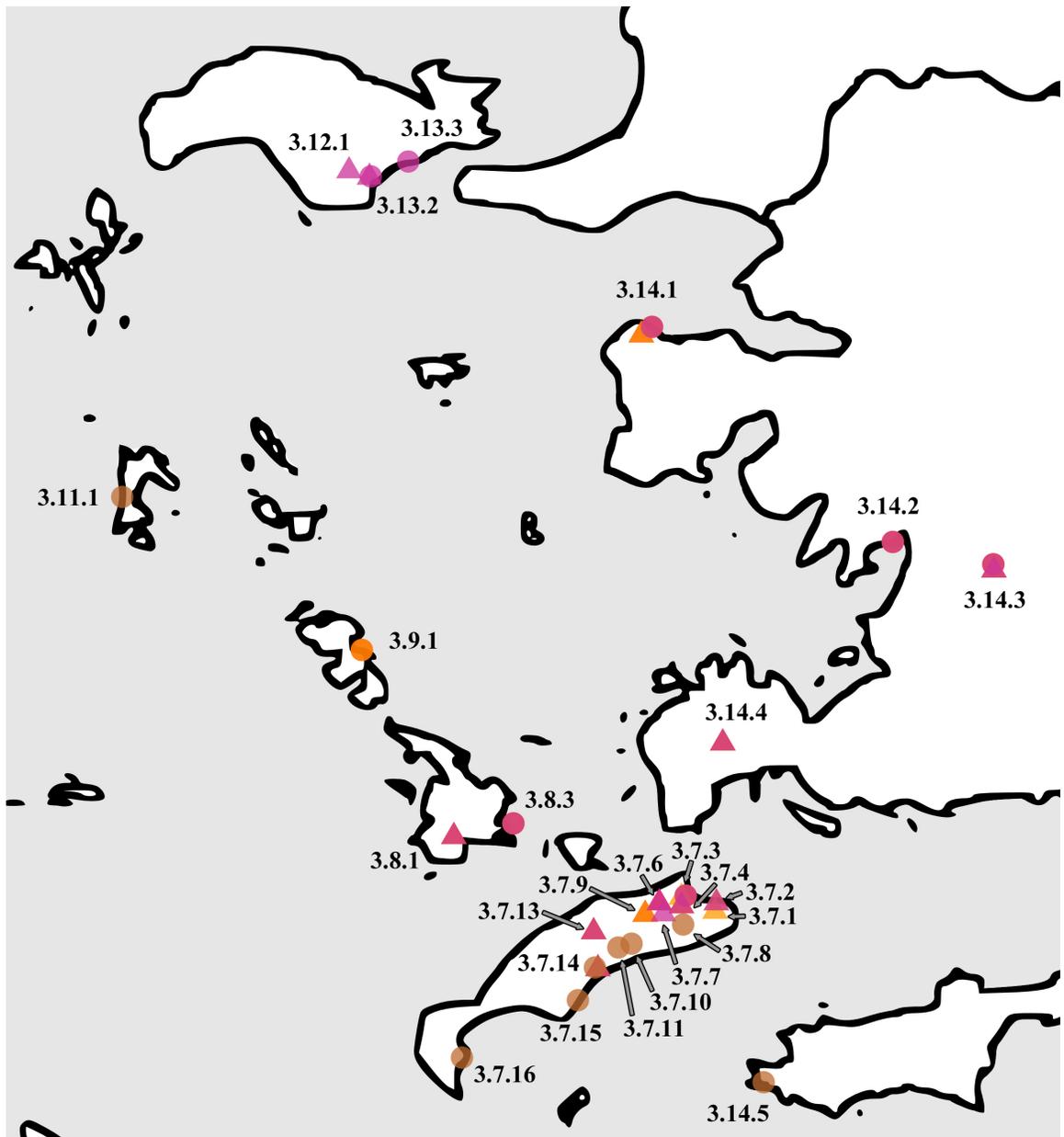


Figure 3.6 – The LH III northern Southeast Aegean

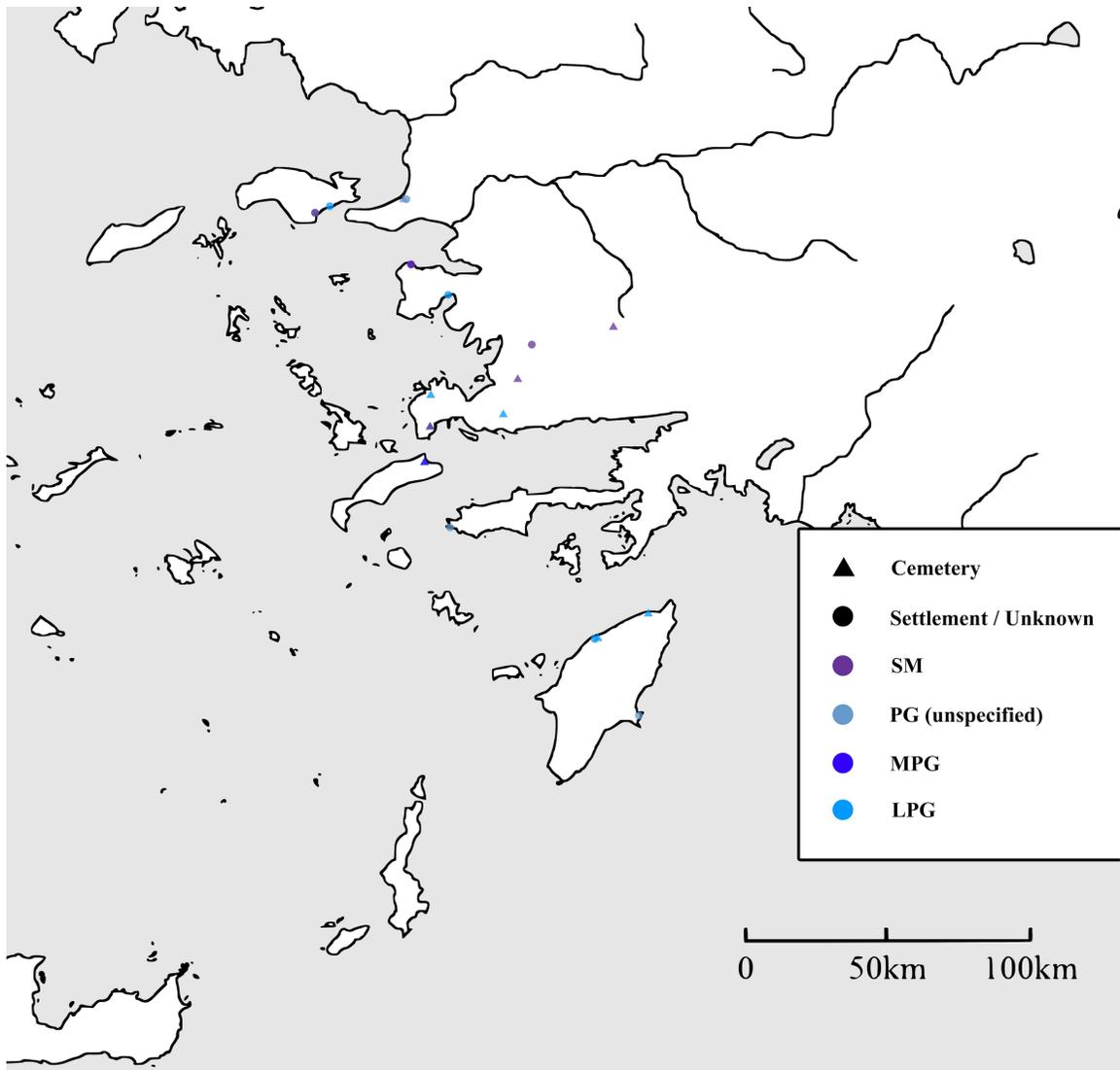


Figure 4.1 – All SM/PG sites included in this study



Figure 4.2 – The SM/PG southern Southeast Aegean

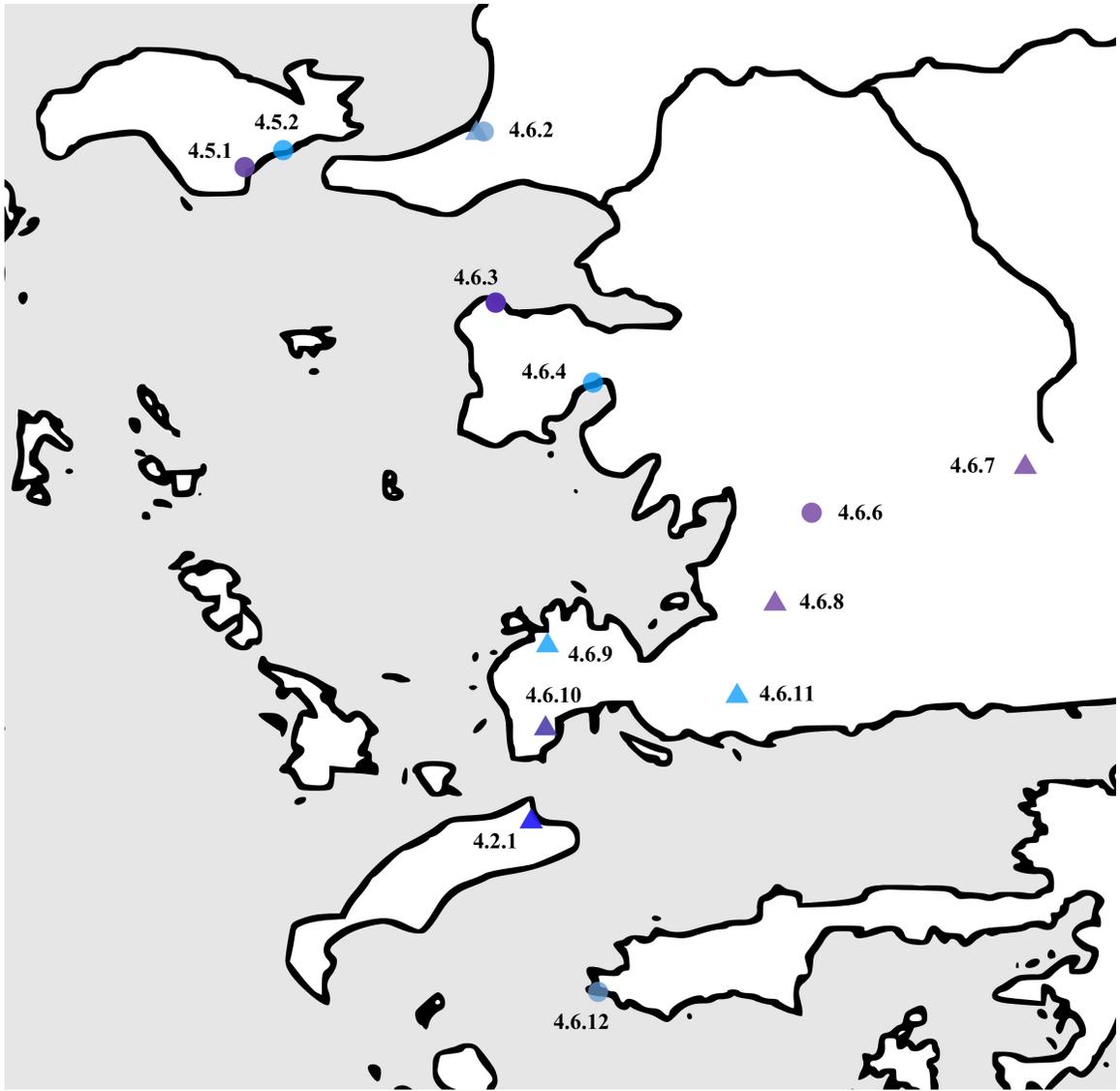


Figure 4.3 – The SM/PG northern Southeast Aegean

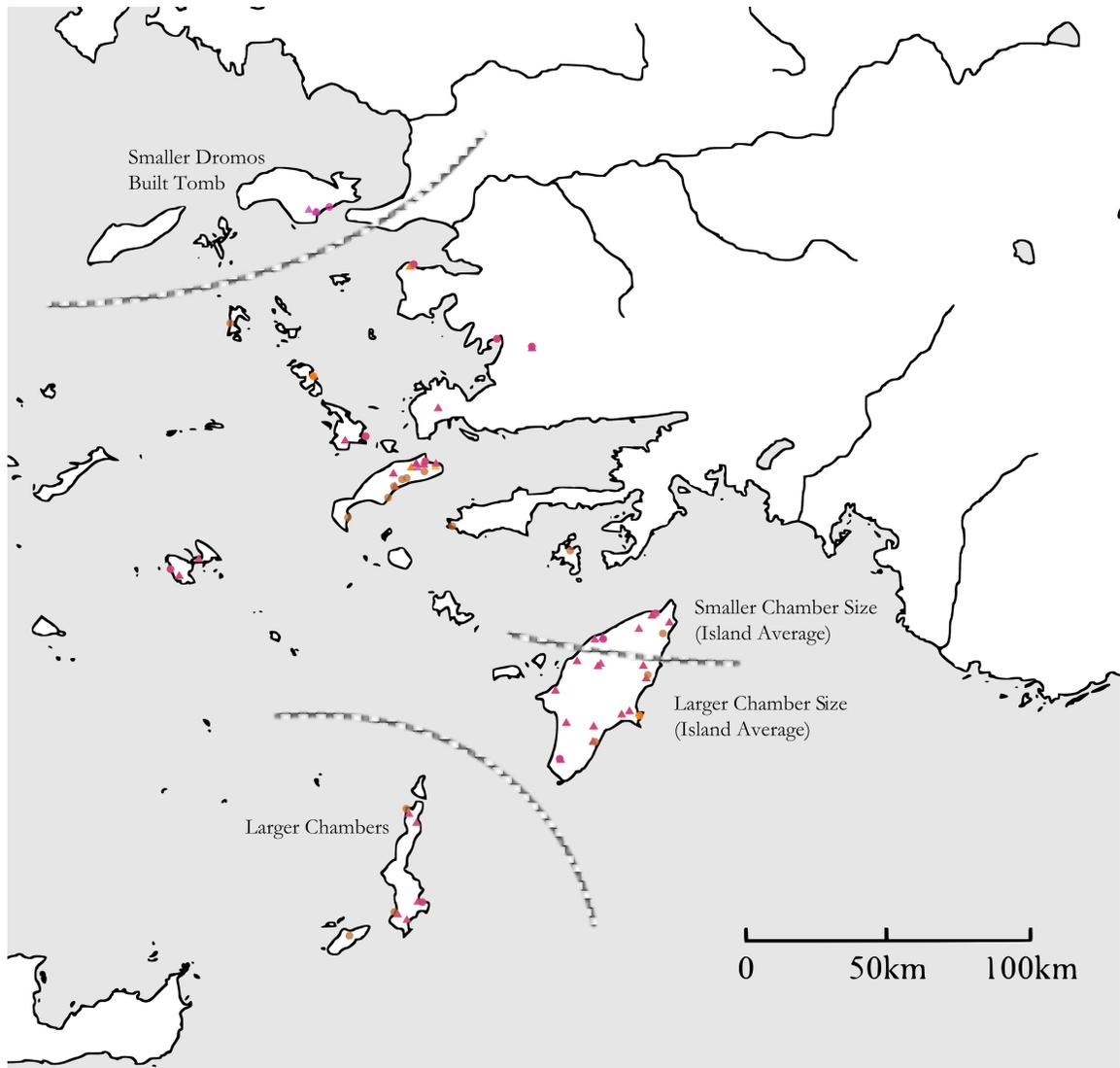


Figure 5.1 – LH III funerary architecture

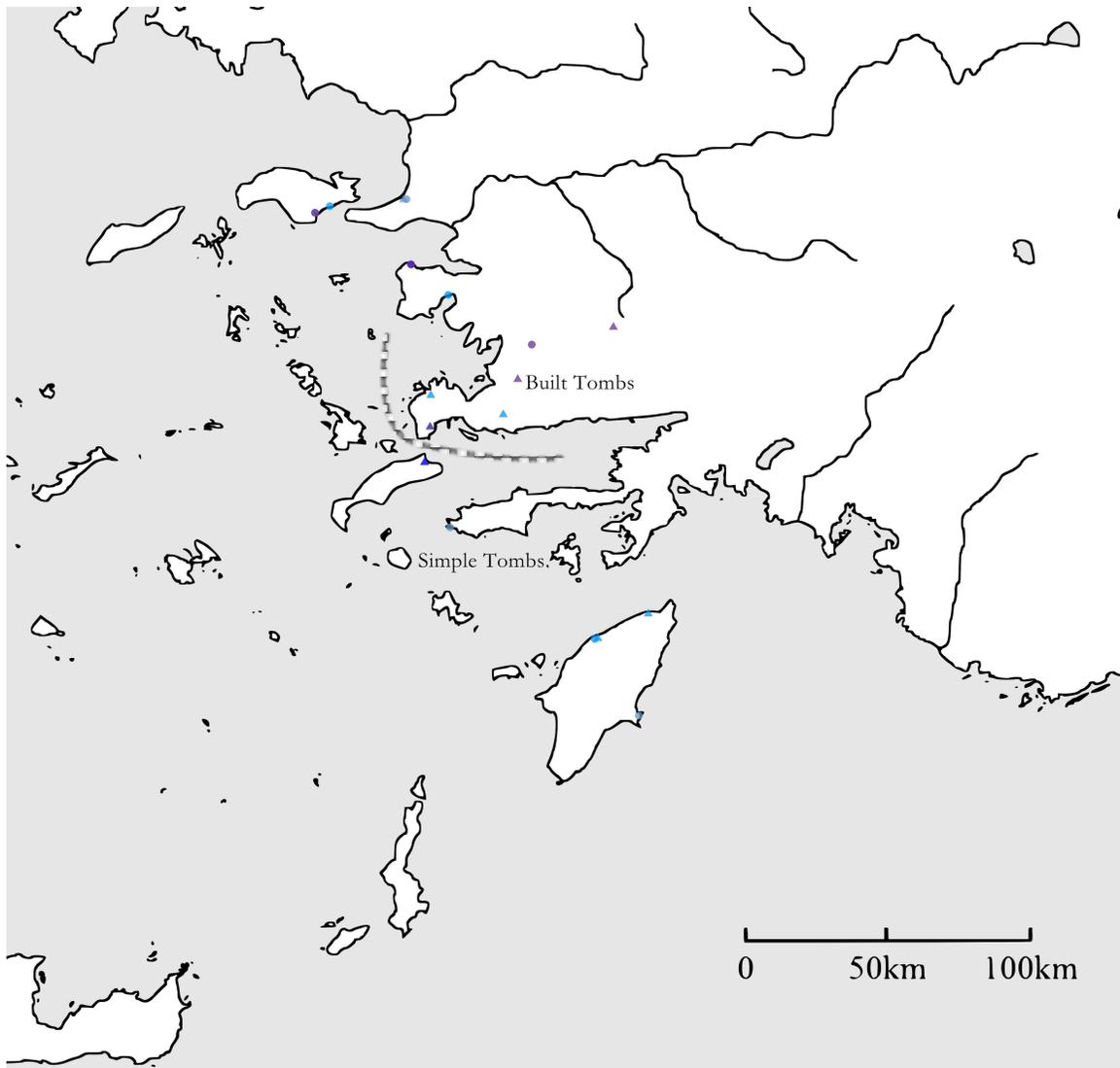


Figure 5.2 – SM/PG funerary architecture

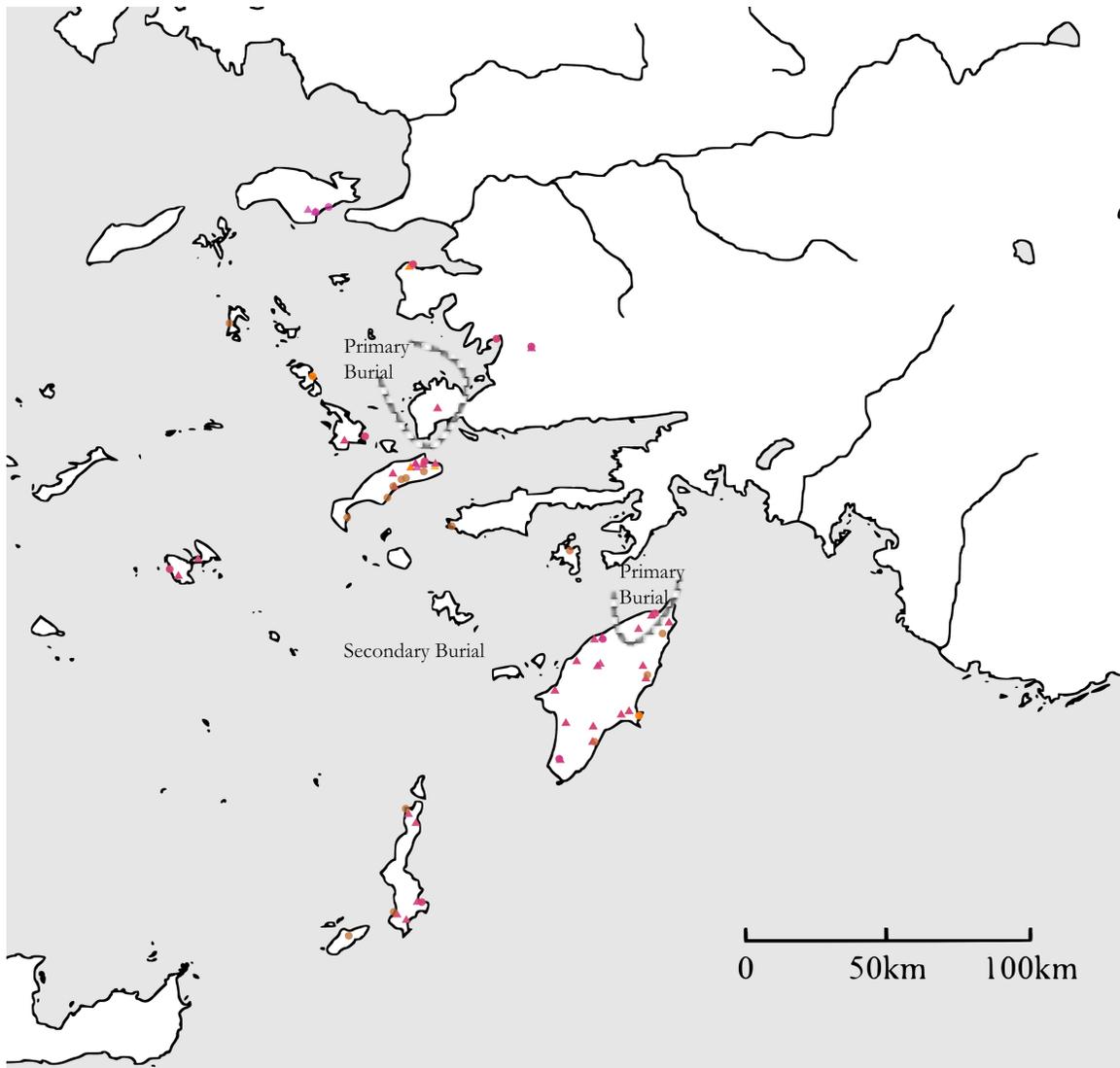


Figure 5.3 – LH III multiple and single burials

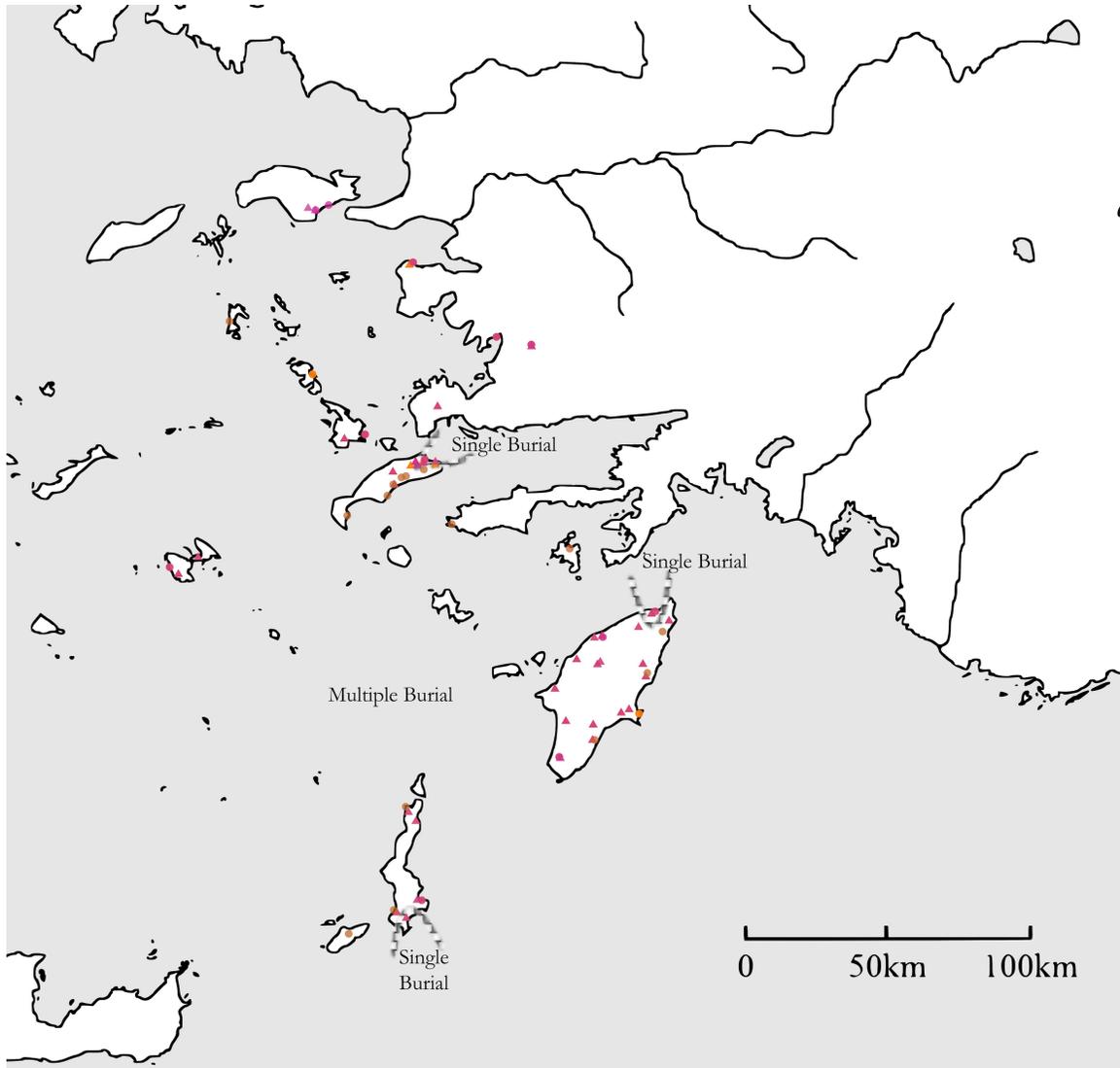


Figure 5.4 – SM/PG single and multiple burials

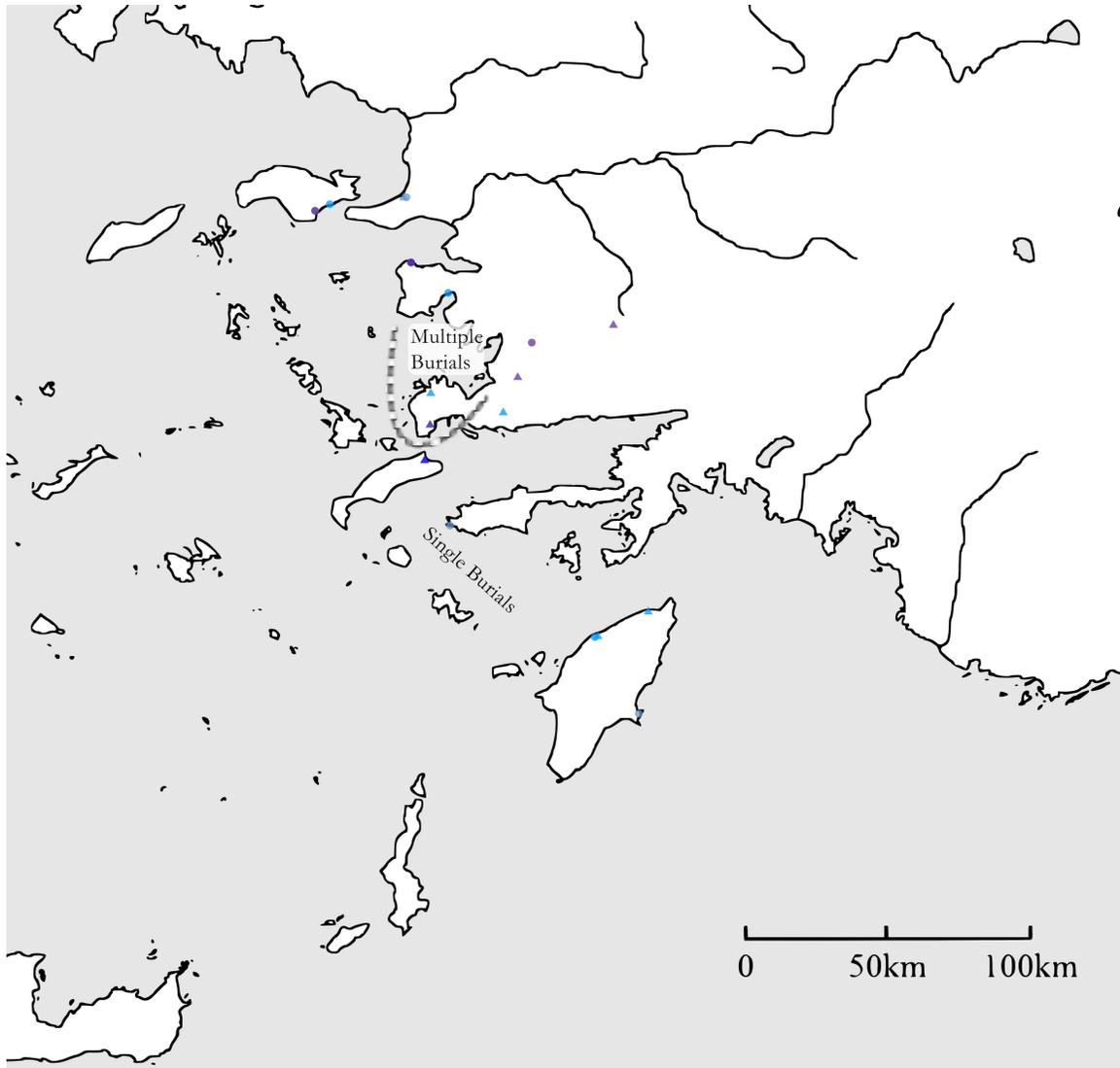


Figure 5.5 – LH III primary and secondary burials

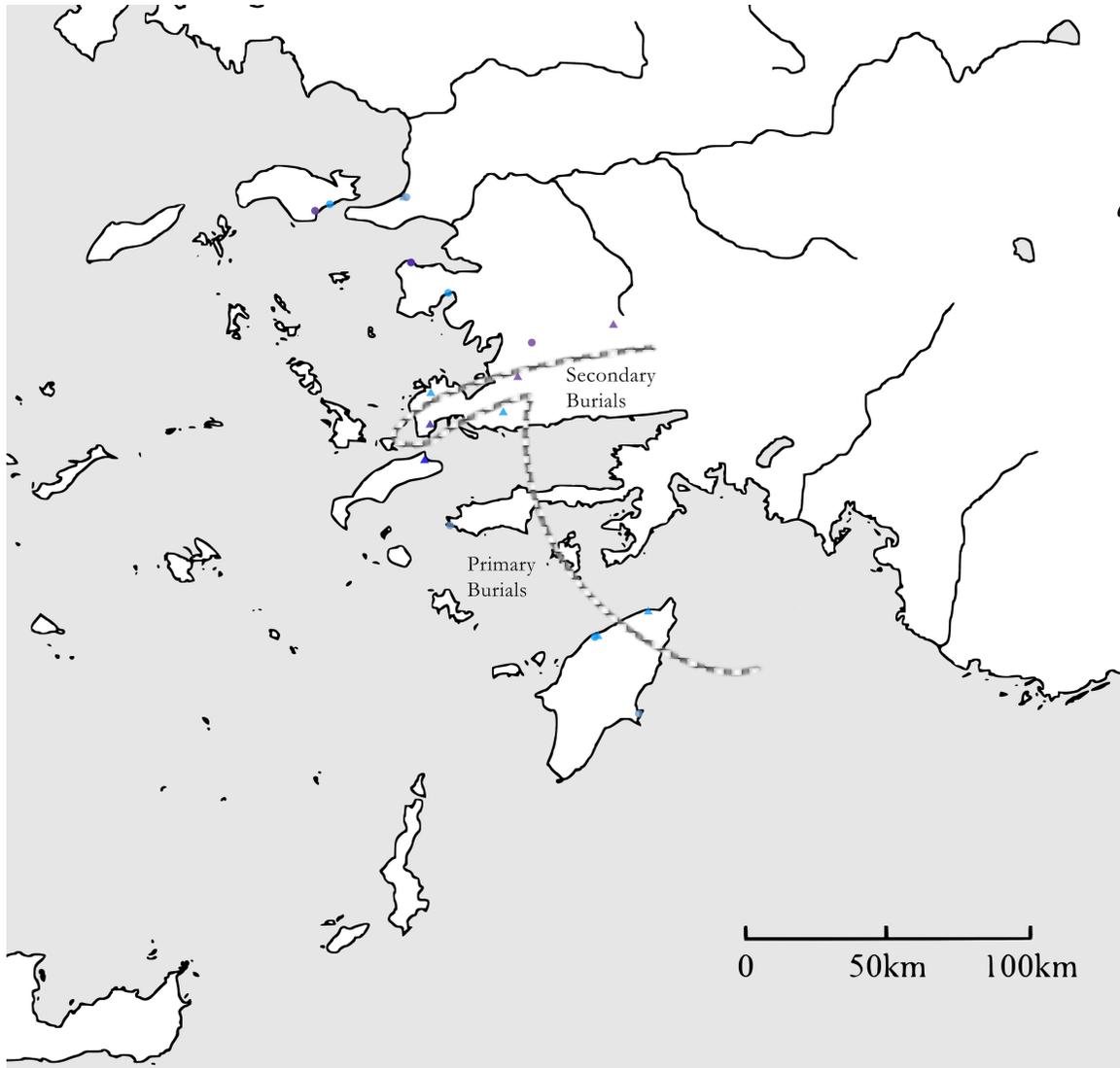


Figure 5.6 – SM/PG primary and secondary burials

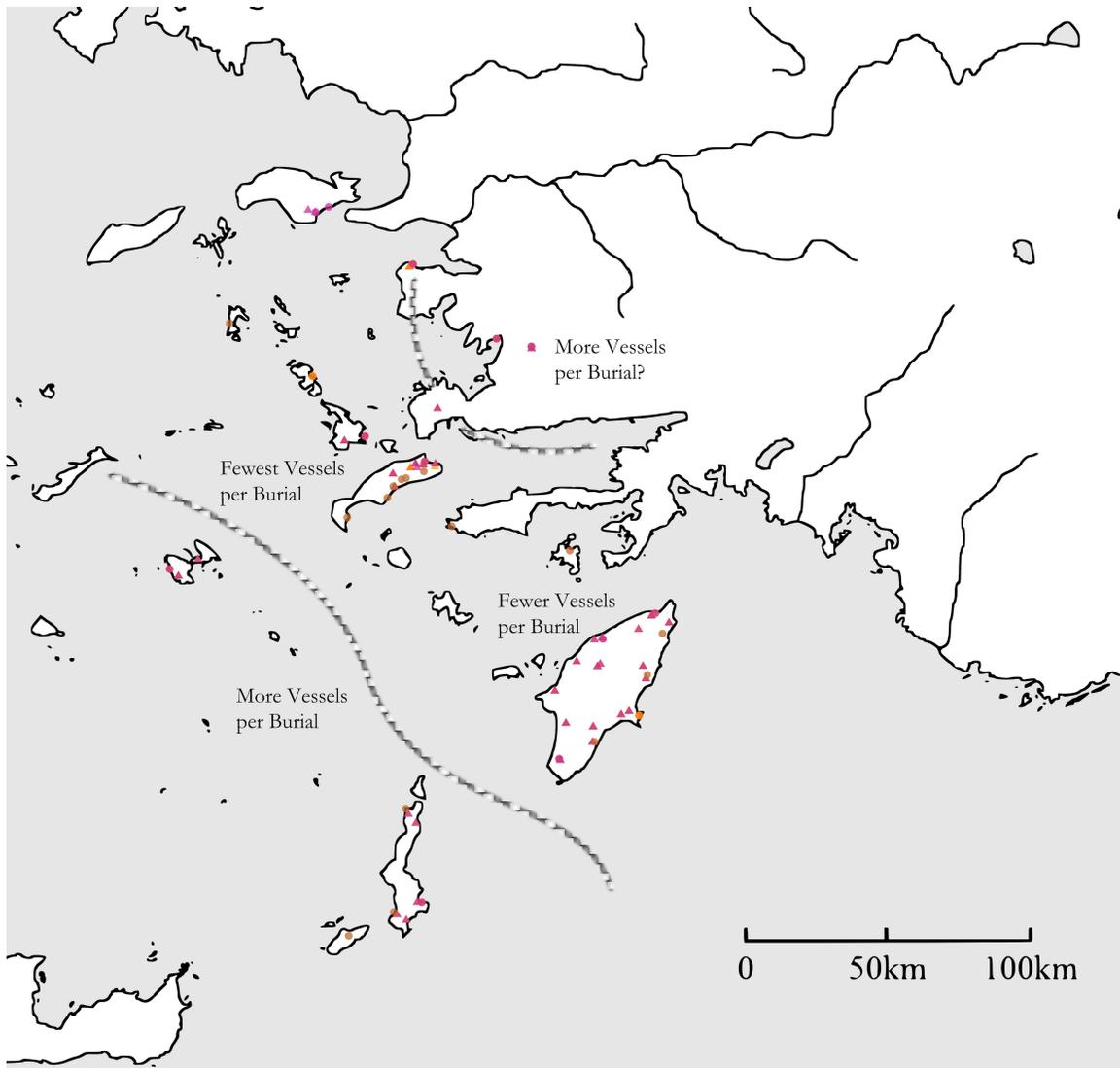


Figure 5.7 – LH III vessels per burial

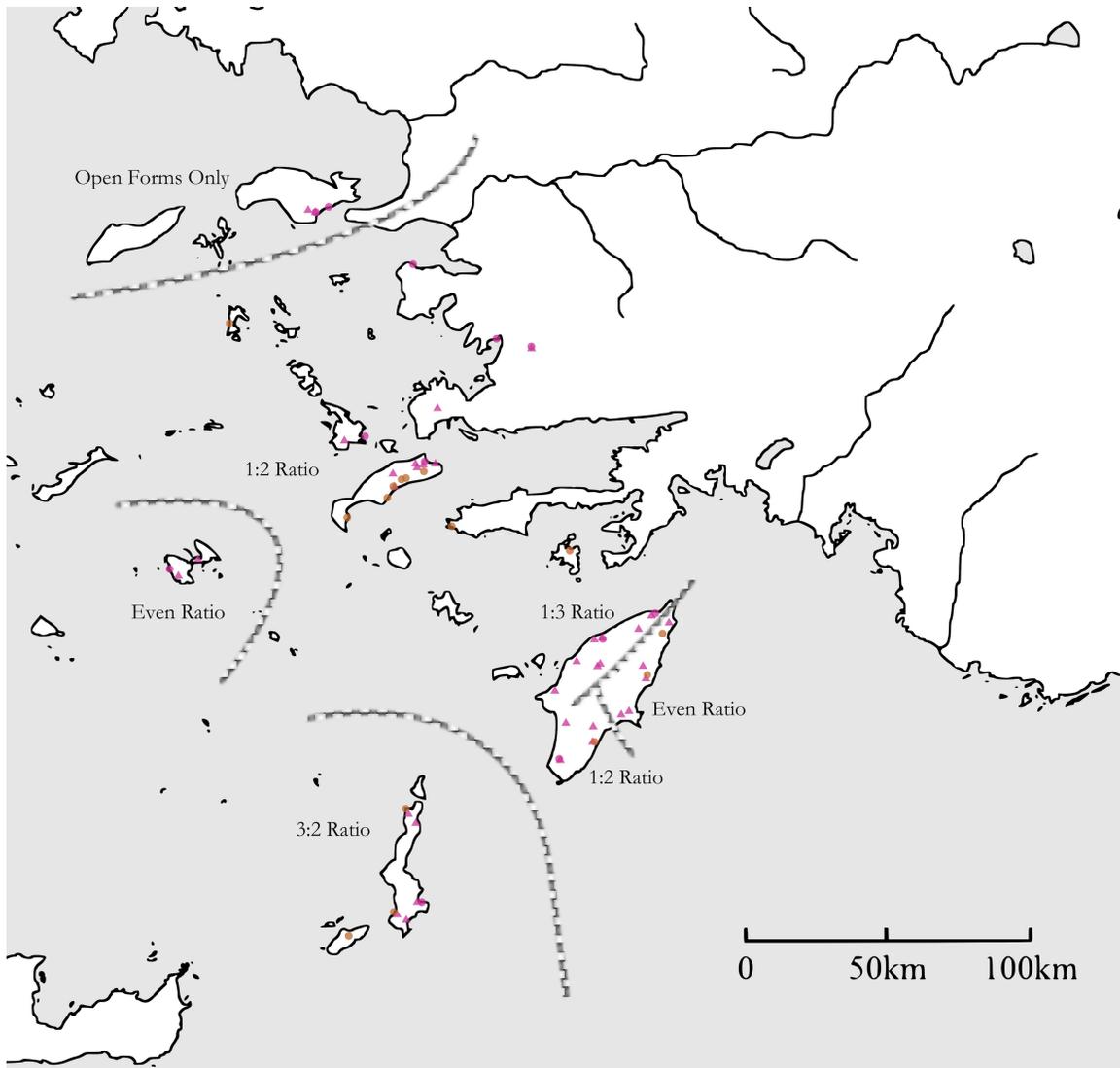


Figure 5.8 – LH IIIA ratios of open to closed ceramic vessels

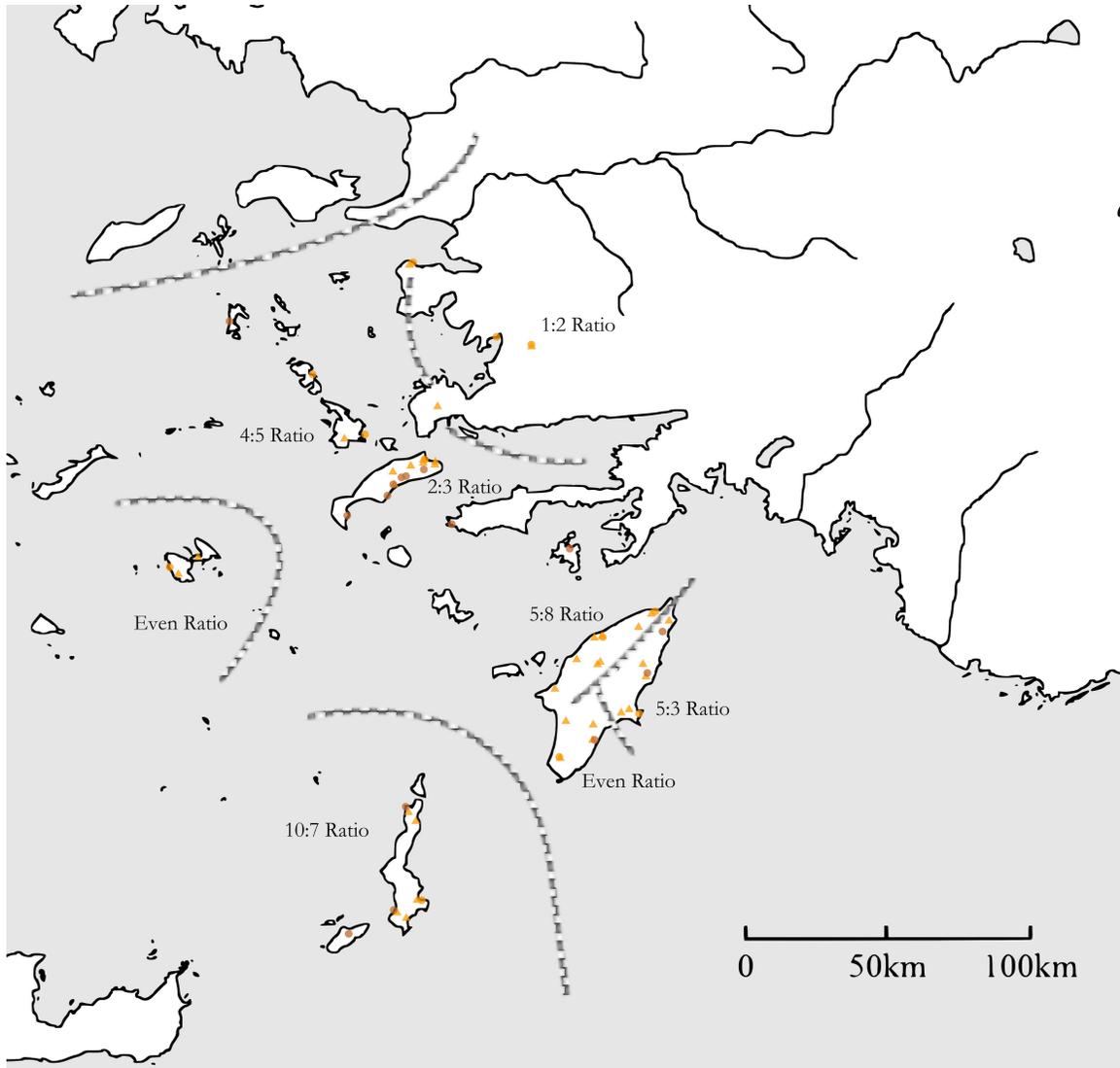


Figure 5.9 – LH III B ratios of open to closed ceramic vessels

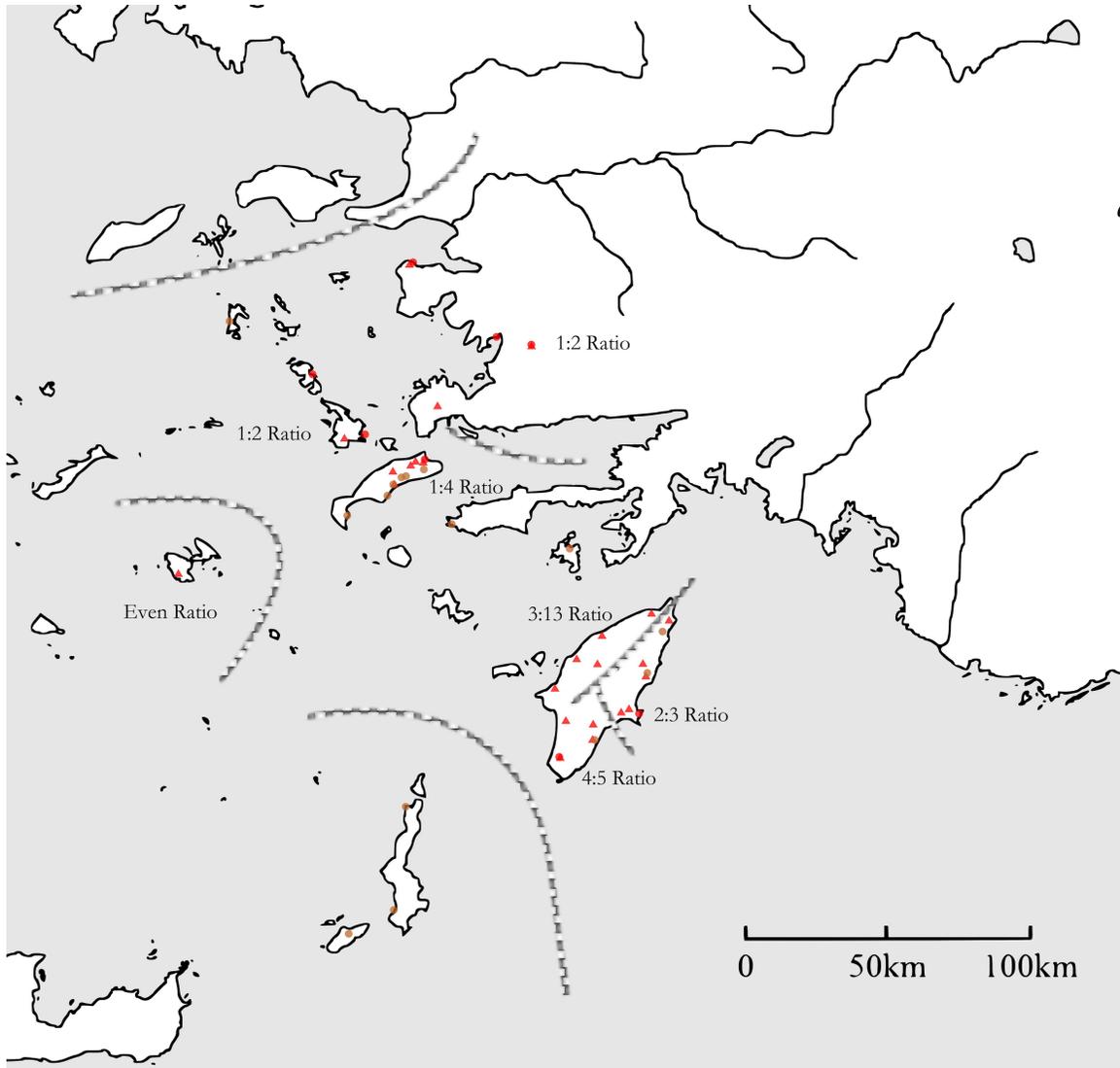


Figure 5.10 – LH IIIIC ratios of open to closed ceramic vessels

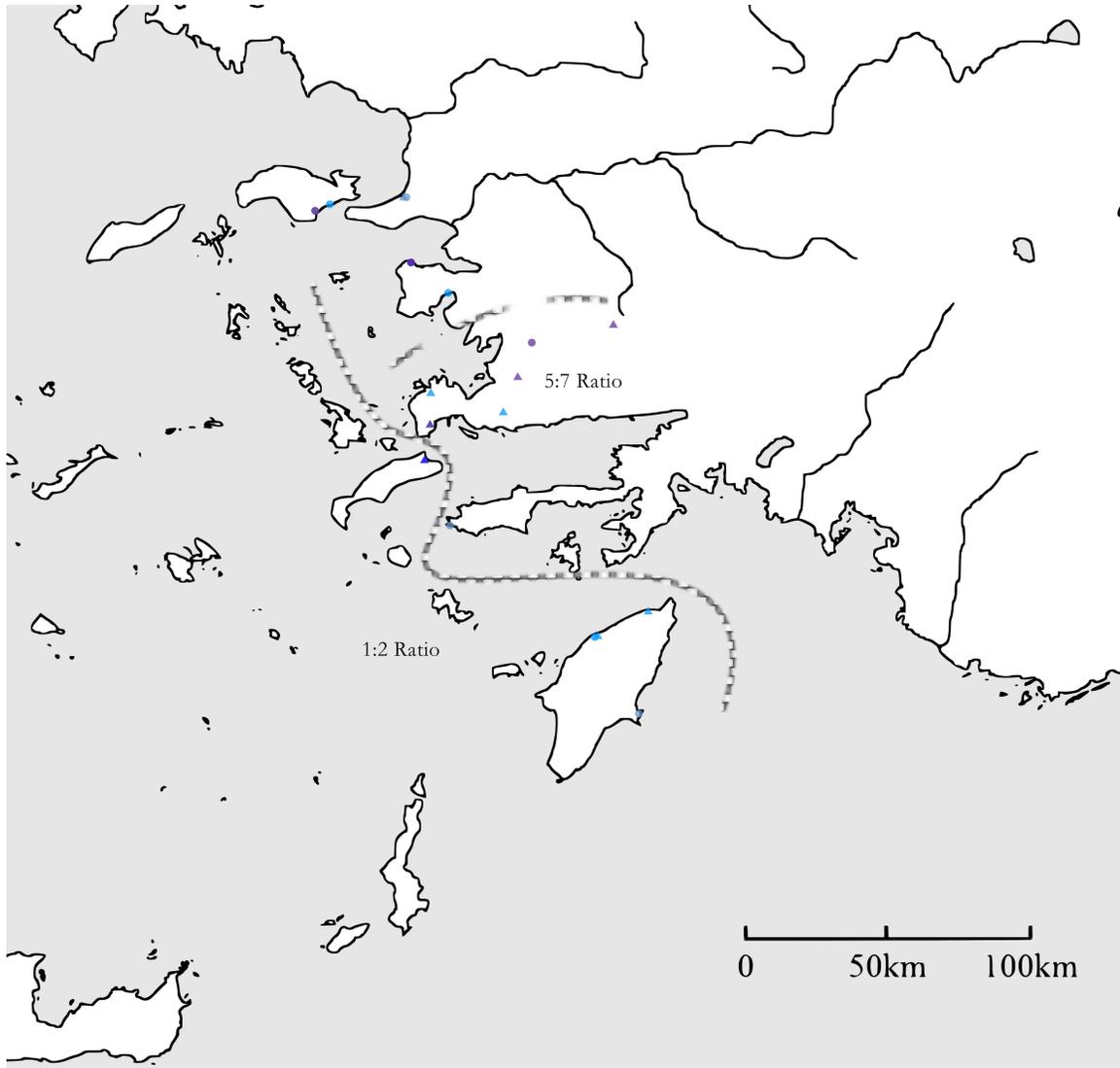


Figure 5.11 – LPG ratios of open to closed ceramic vessels

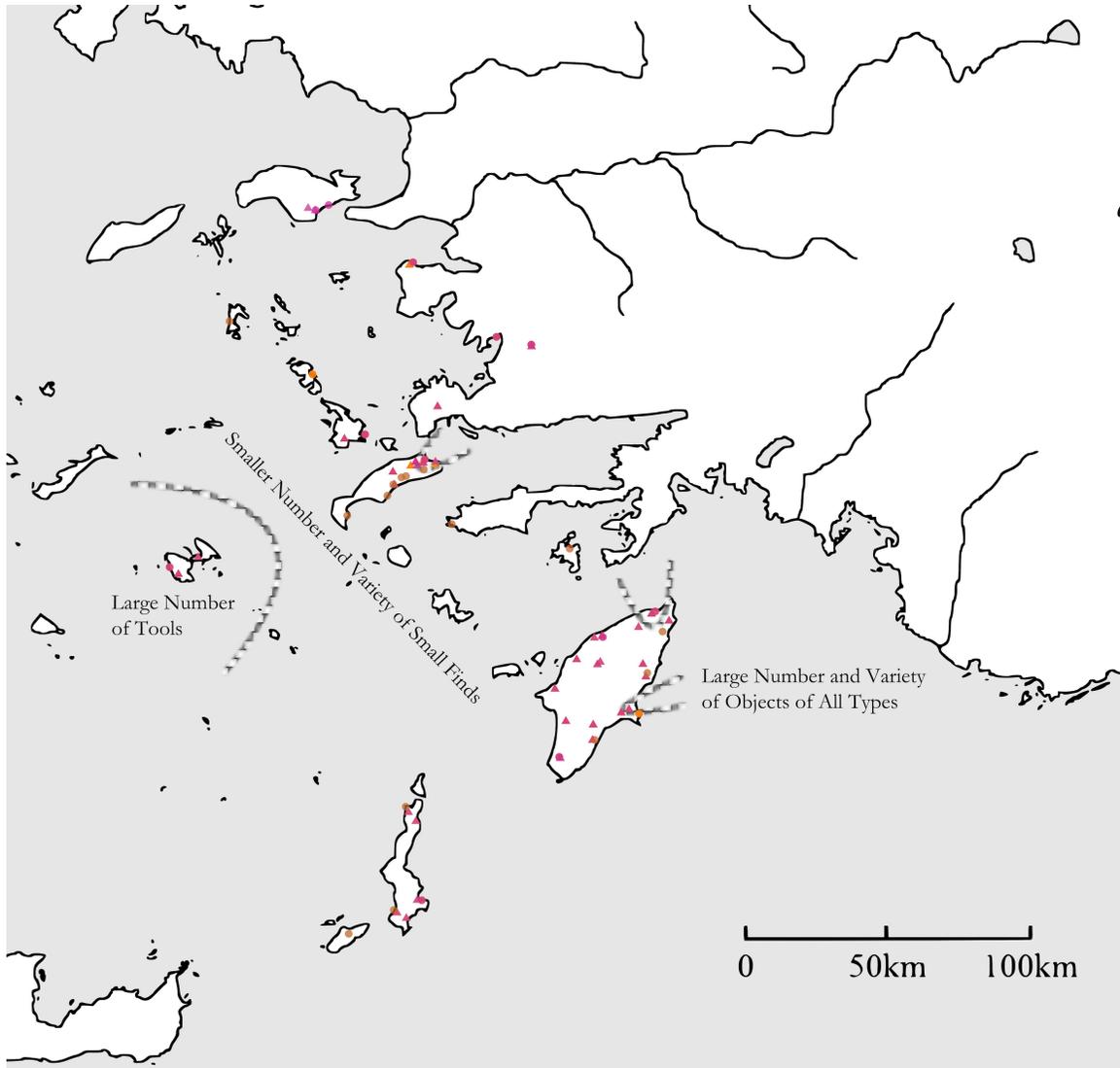


Figure 5.12 – LH III concentrations of grave goods

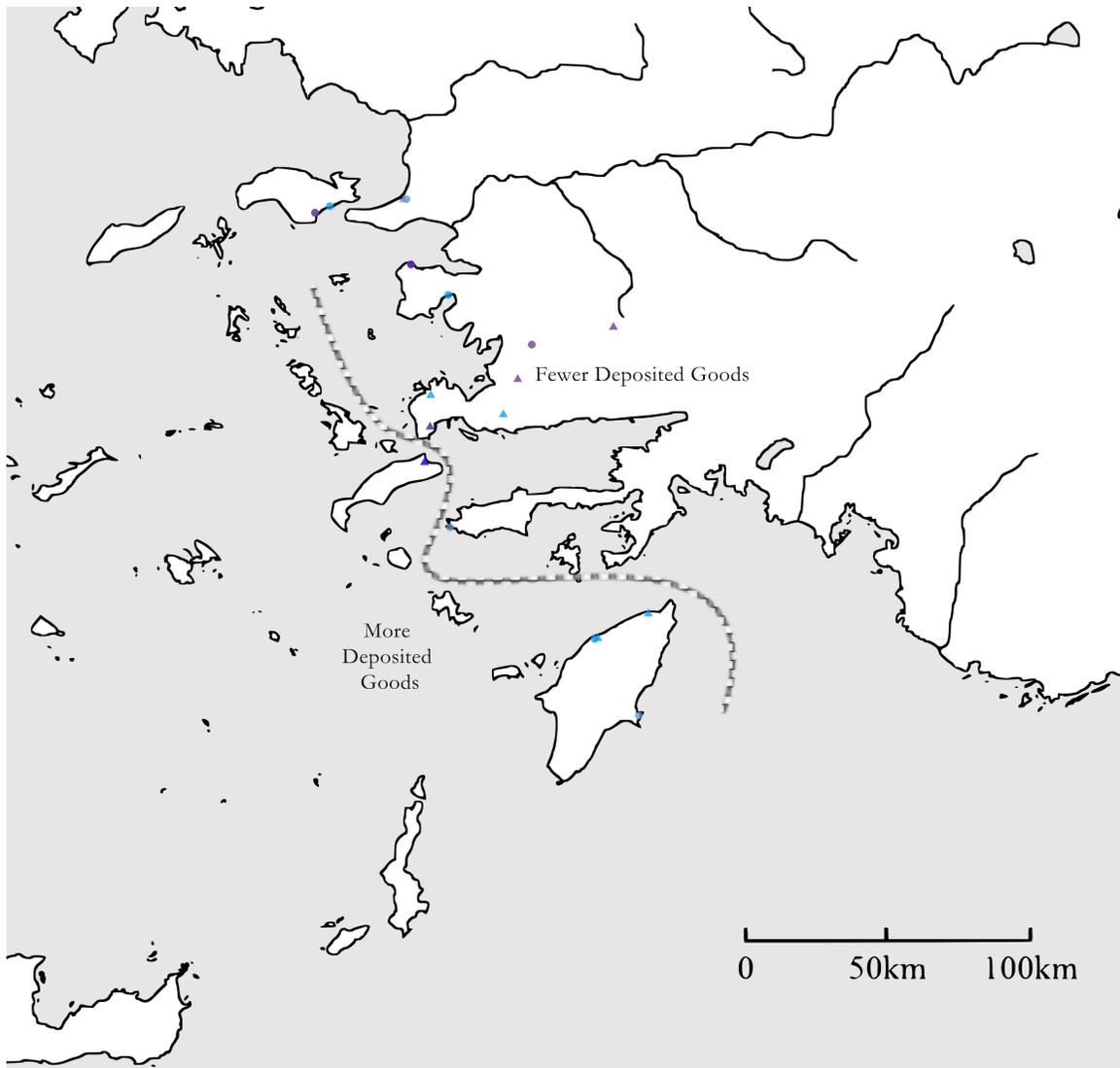


Figure 5.13 – SM/PG concentrations of grave goods

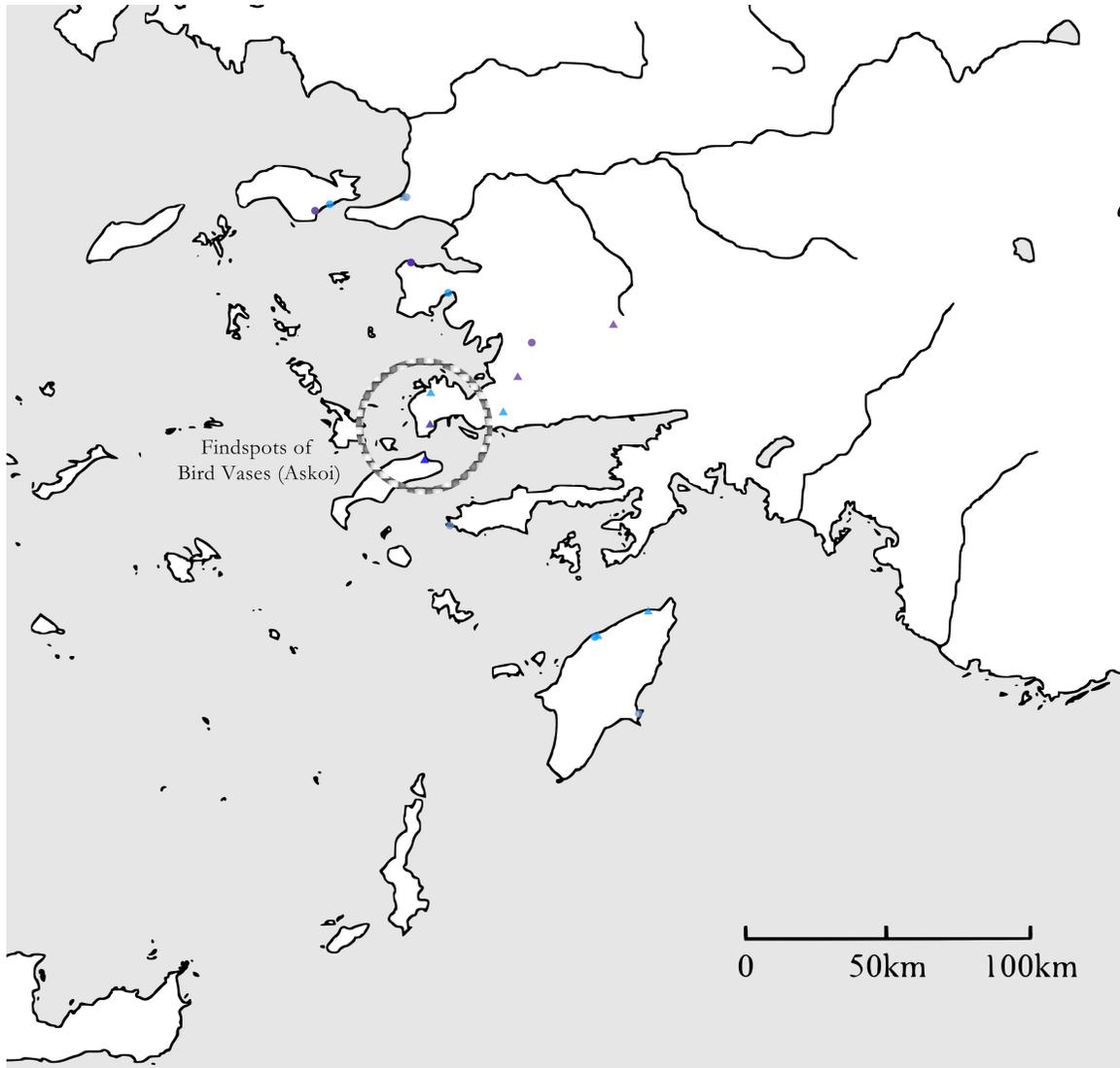


Figure 5.14 – Findspots of SM/PG bird vase askoi

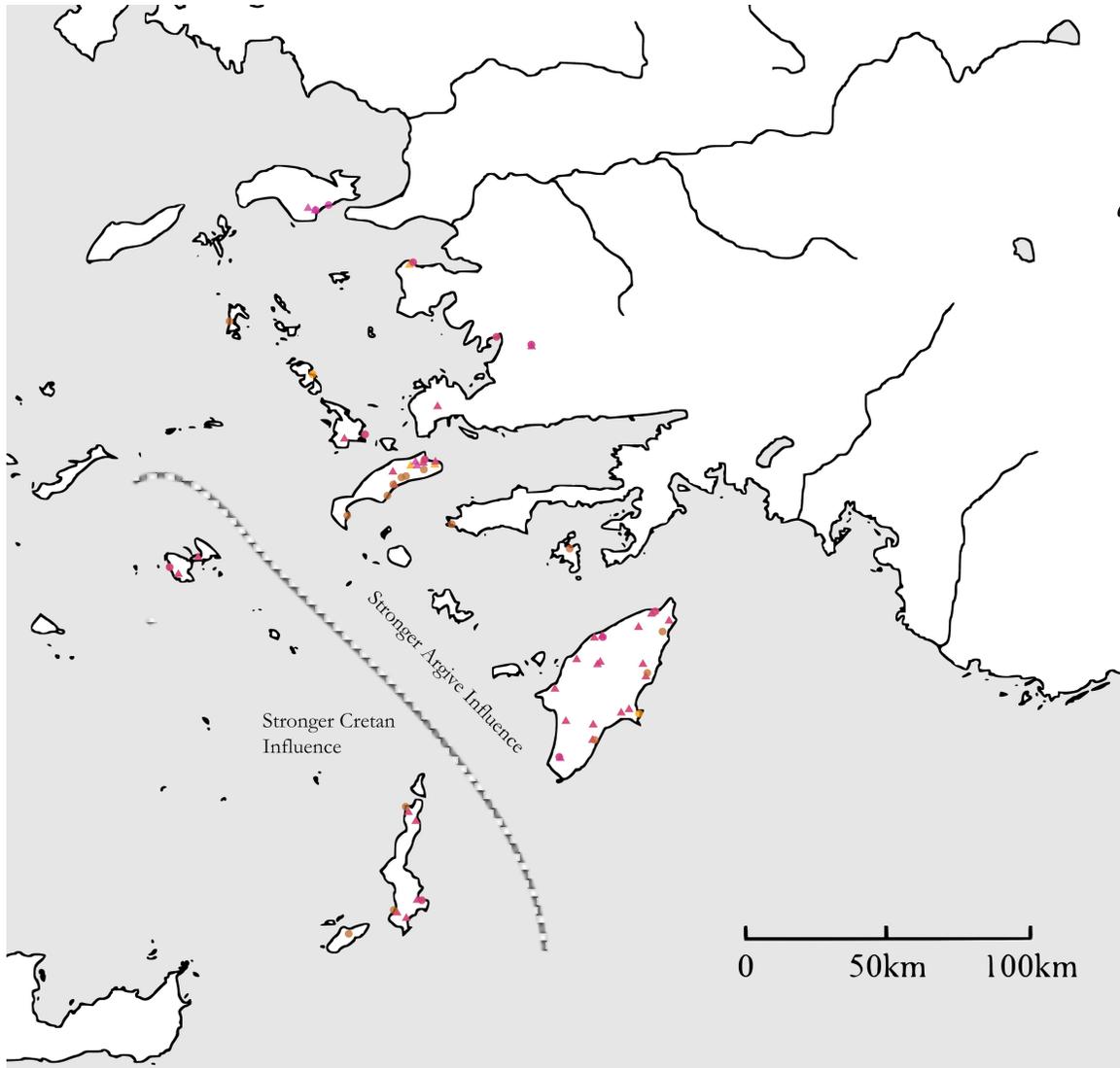


Figure 5.15 – LH IIIA-B ceramic influences

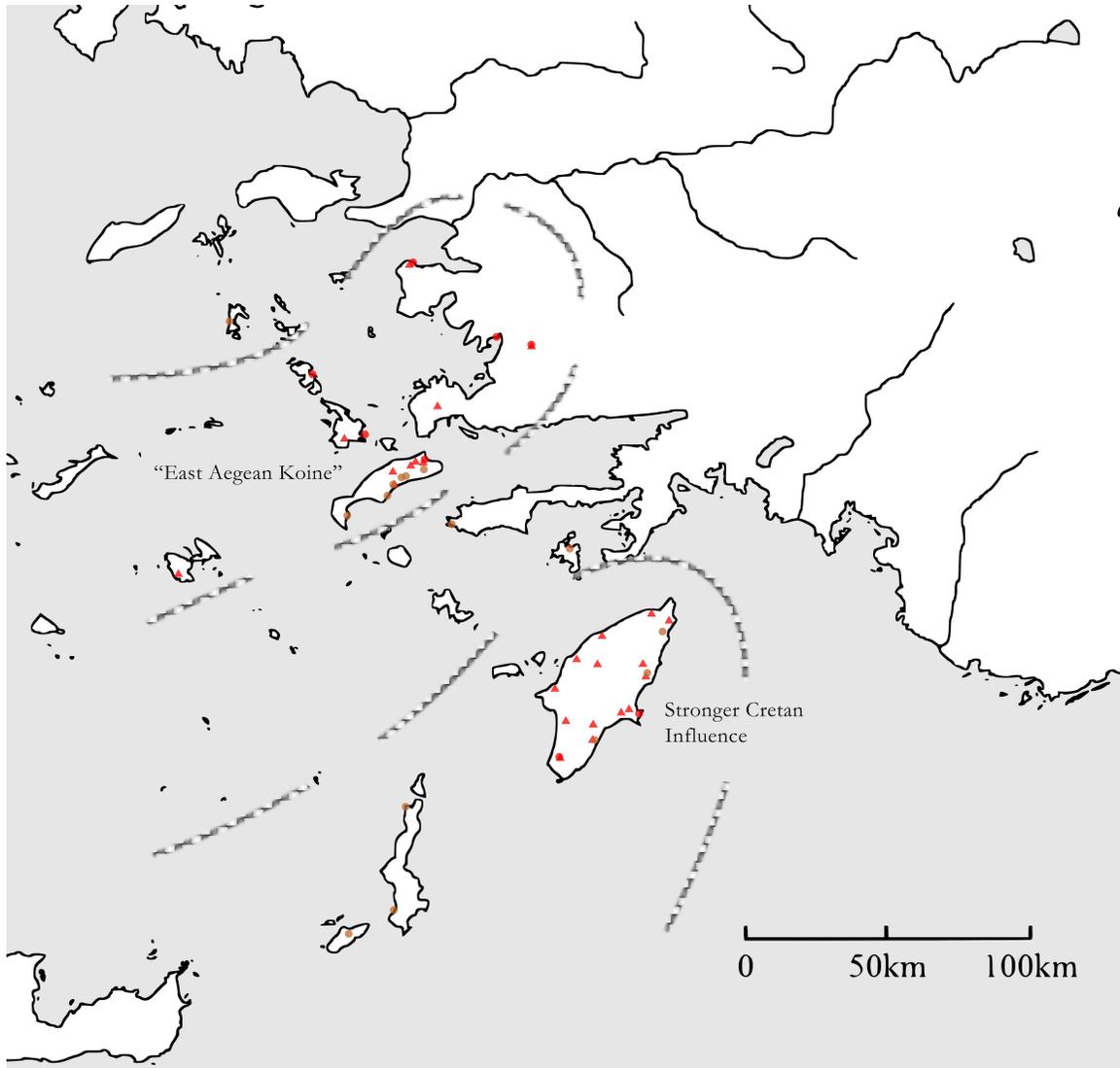


Figure 5.16 – LH IIIIC ceramic influences

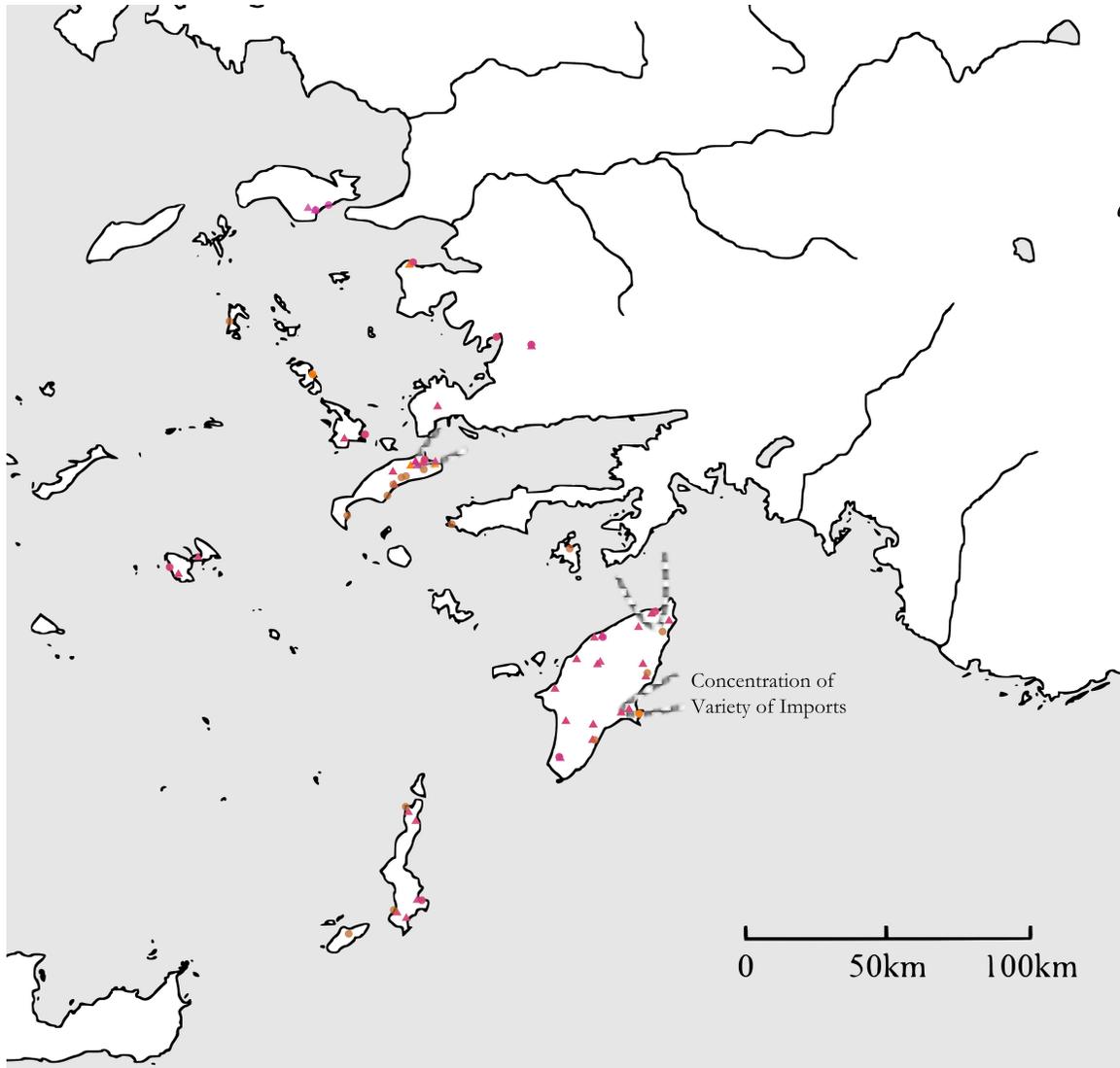


Figure 5.17 – LH III concentrations of imported grave goods

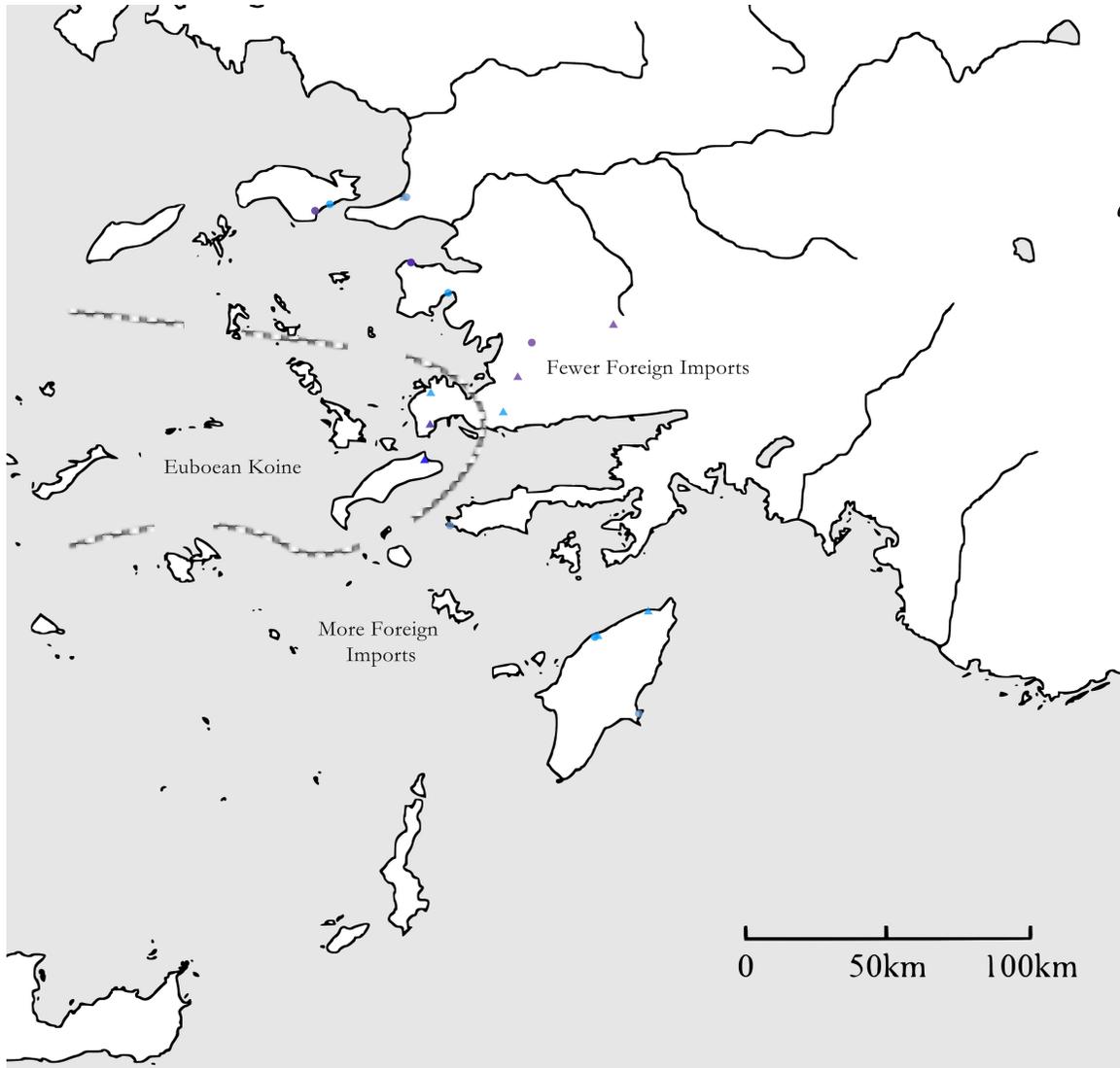


Figure 5.18 – SM/PG concentrations of imports

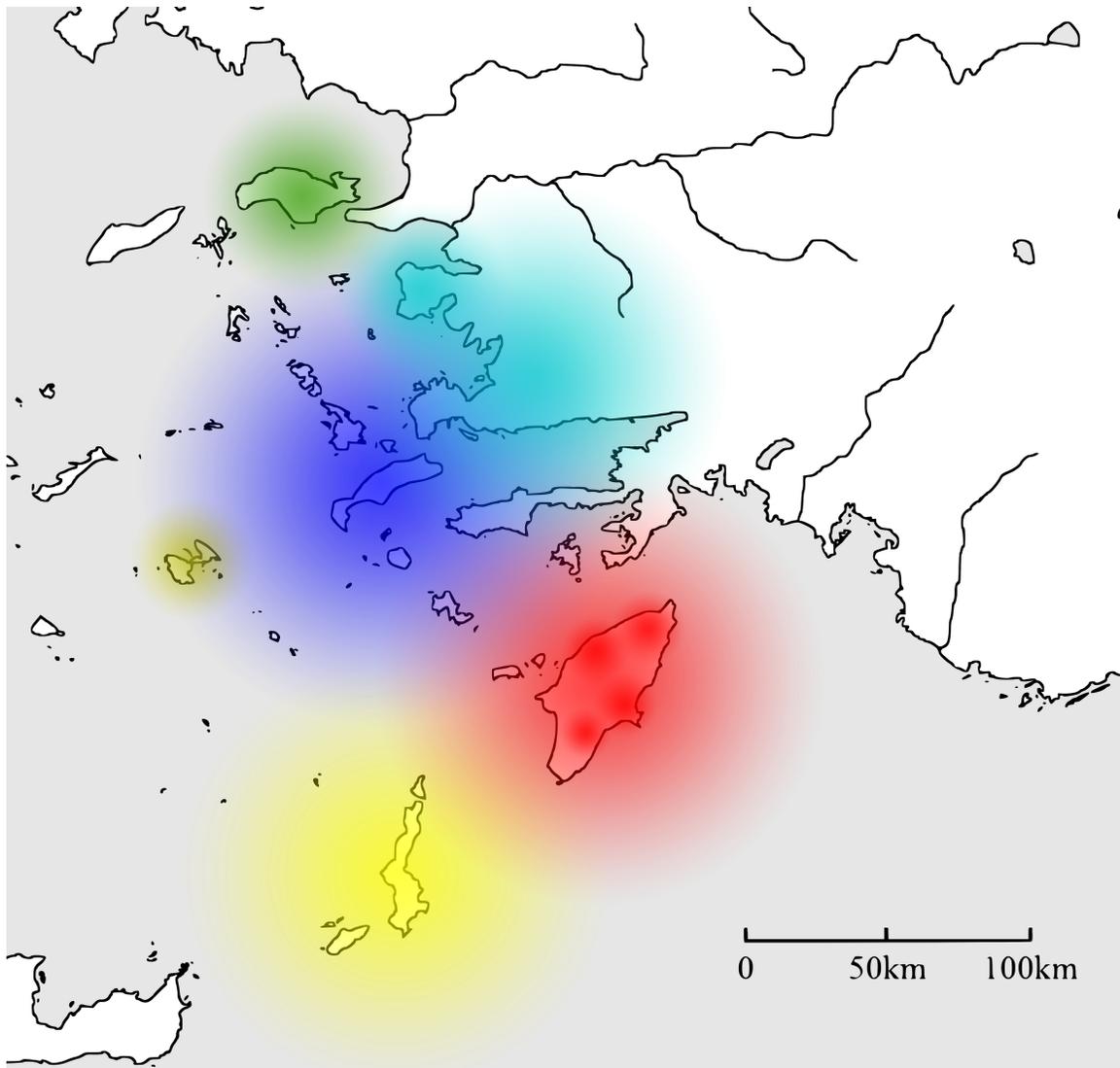


Figure 5.19 – Southeast Aegean social units identified by funerary activity

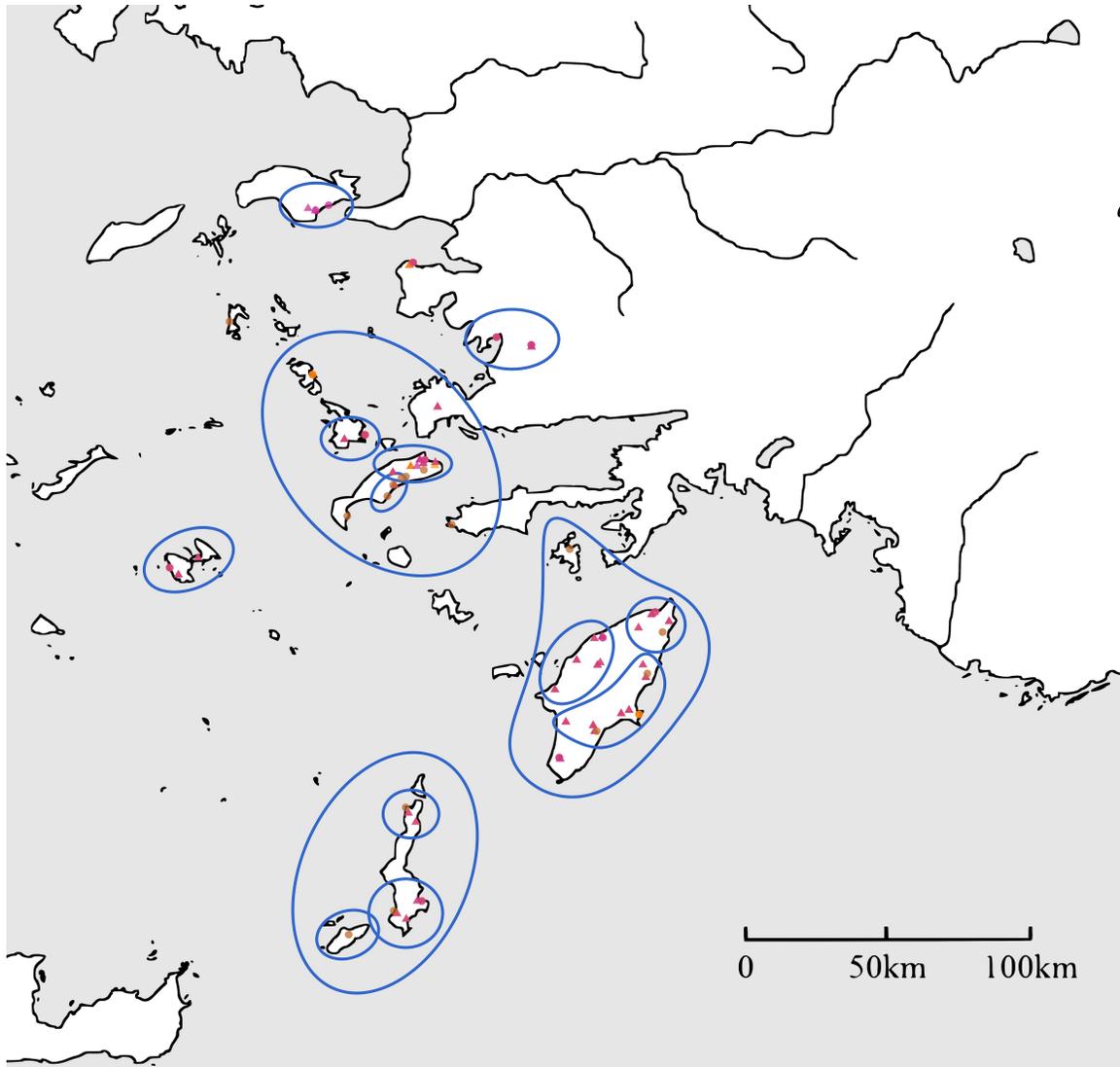


Figure 5.20 – LH III *Siedlungskammern*

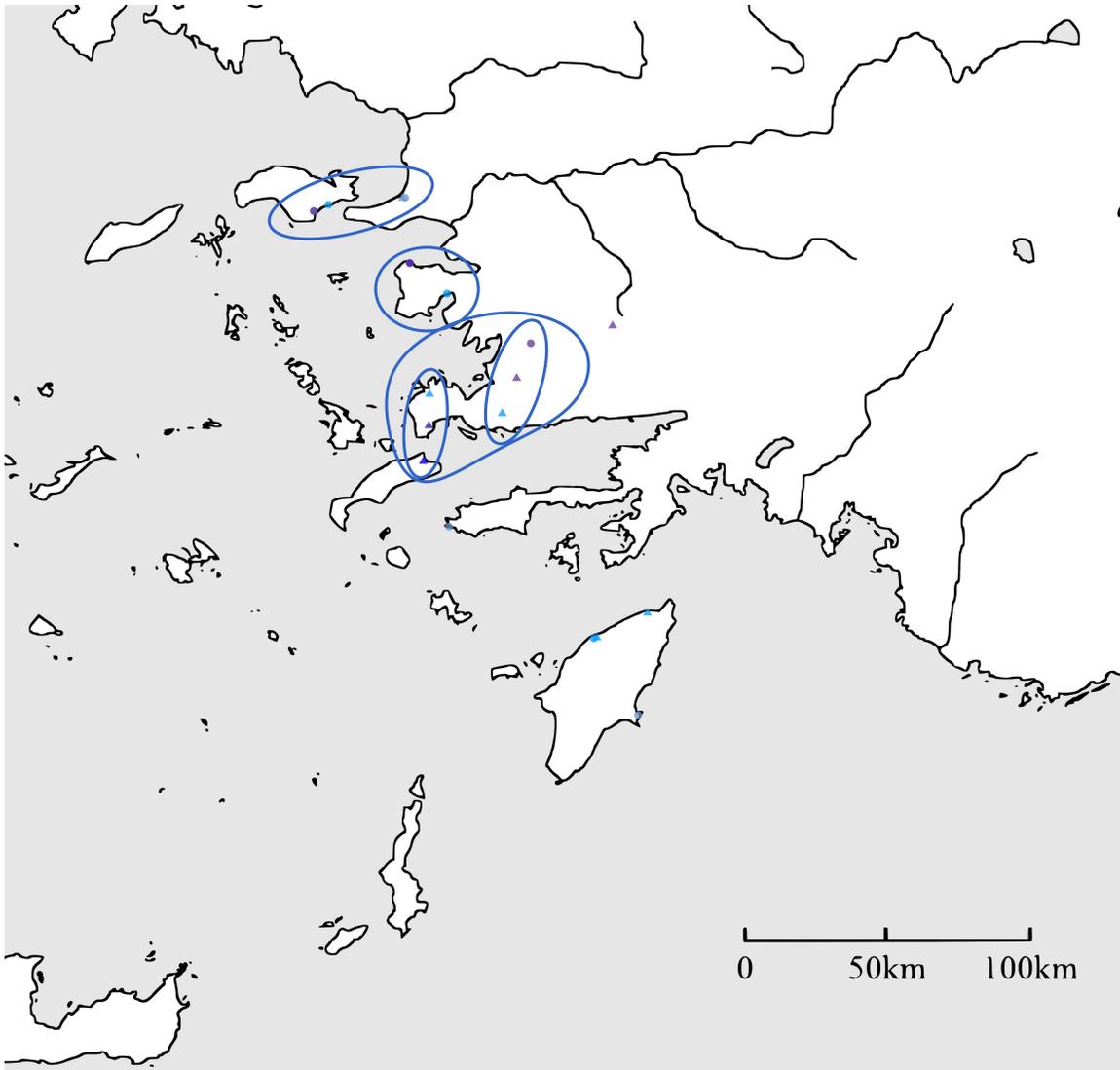


Figure 5.21 – SM/PG *Siedlungskammern*

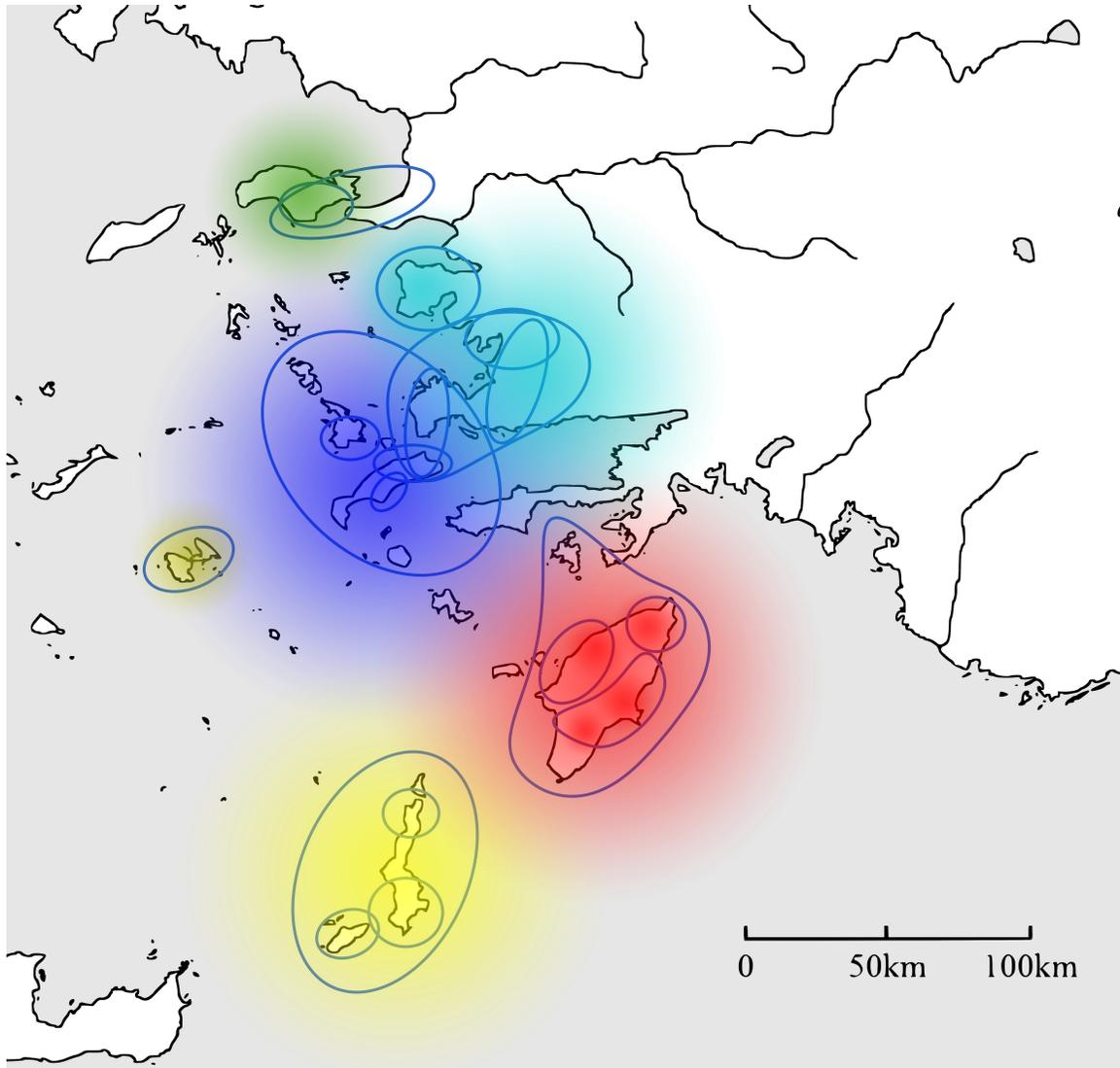


Figure 5.22 – Correlation of social units and *Siedlungskammern*

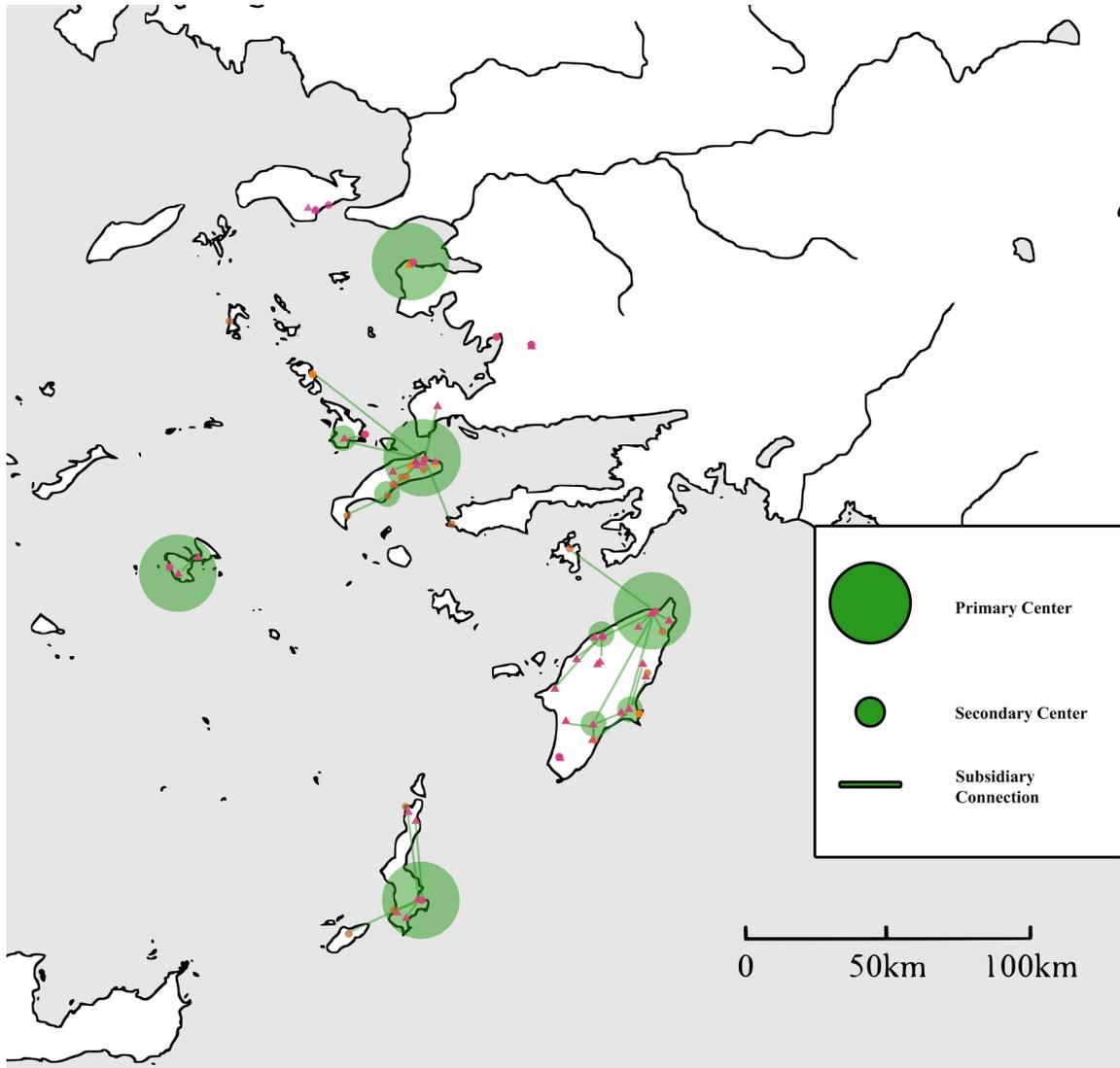


Figure 6.1 – Site hierarchies during the LH IIIB-C

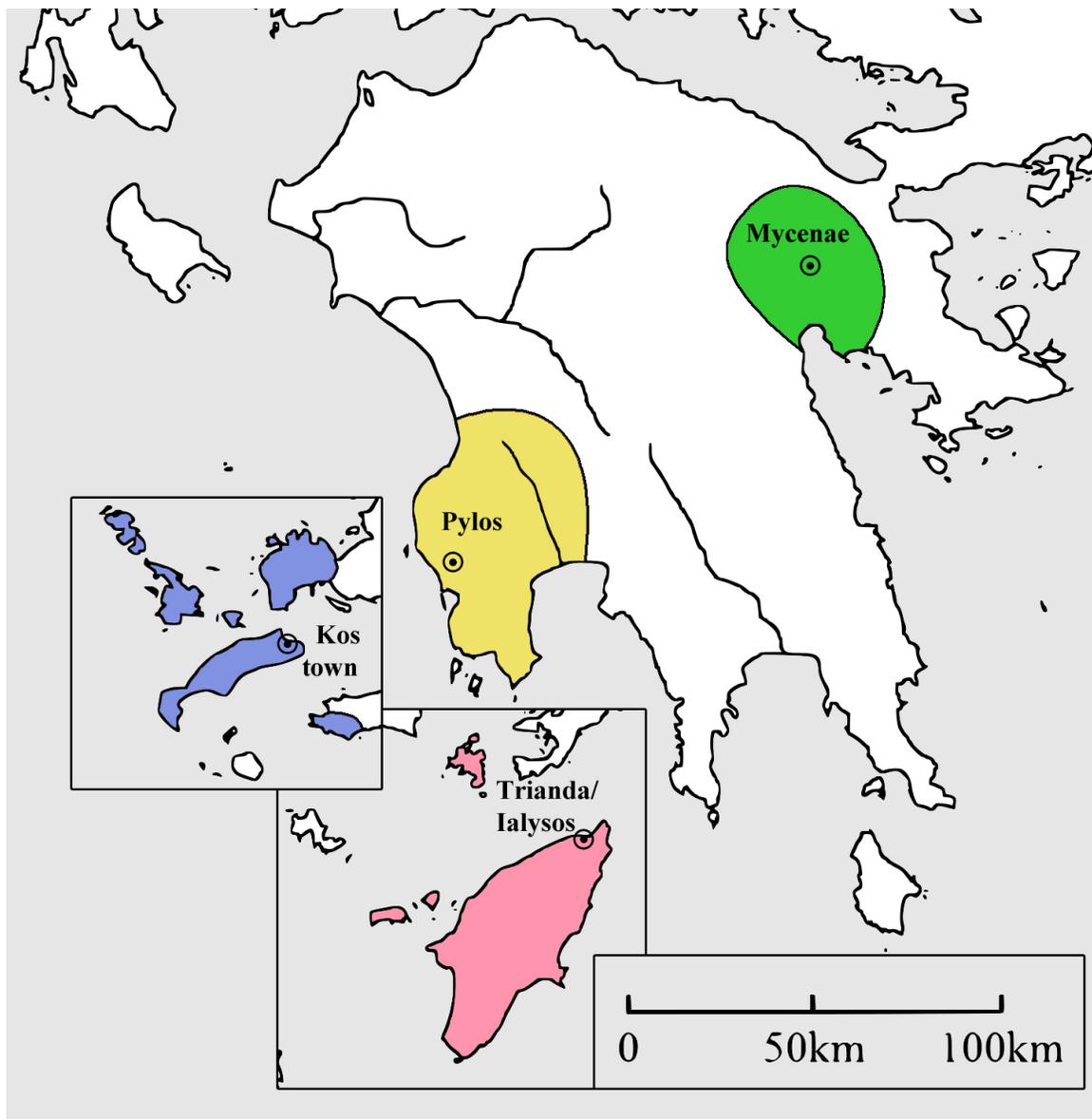


Figure 6.2 – Comparison of the size of the LH III southeast Aegean hierarchies and Mycenaean states on the contemporary southern Greek mainland

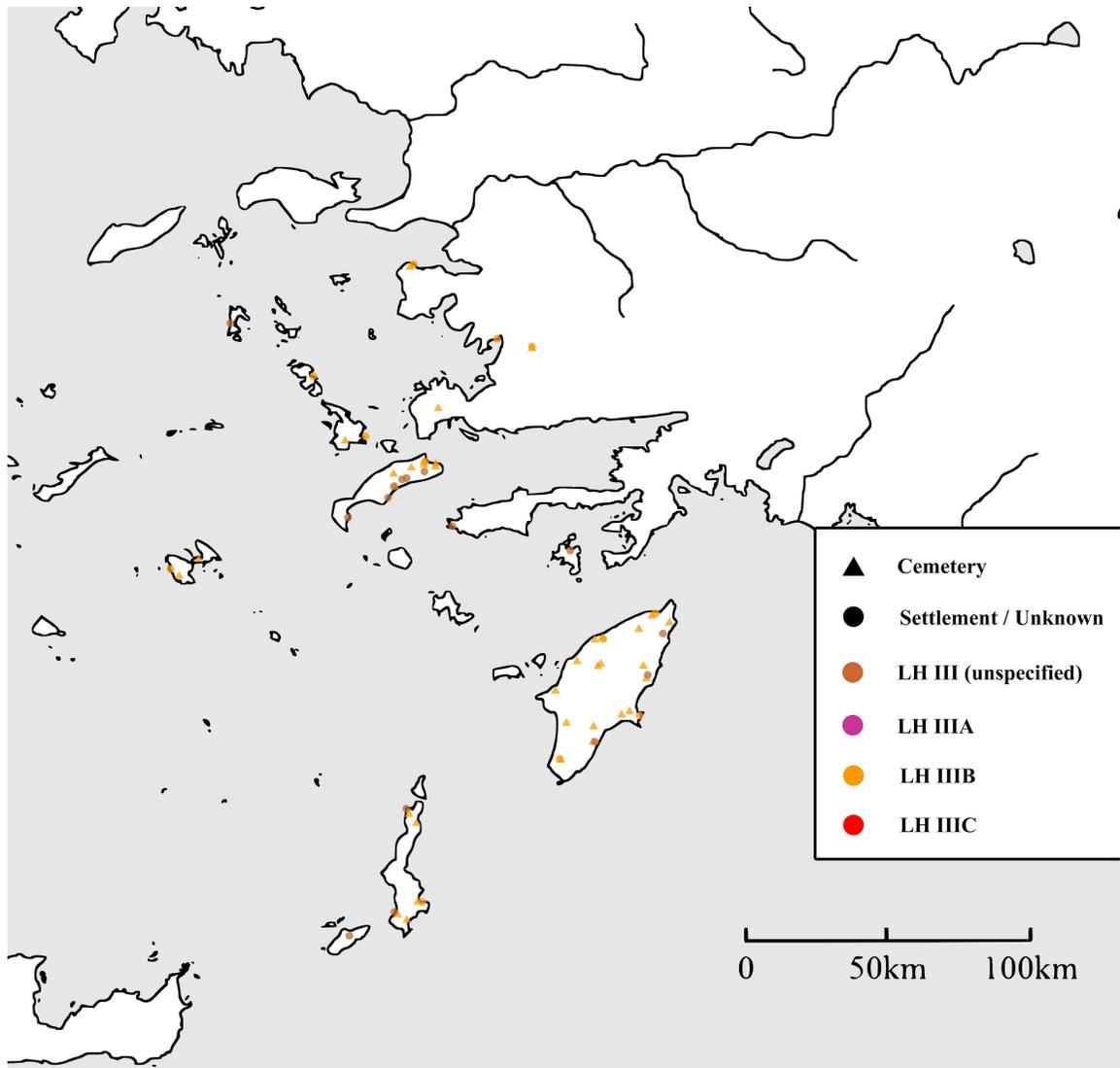


Figure 7.1 – The distribution of LH IIIB sites (with sites of unspecified LH III date included)

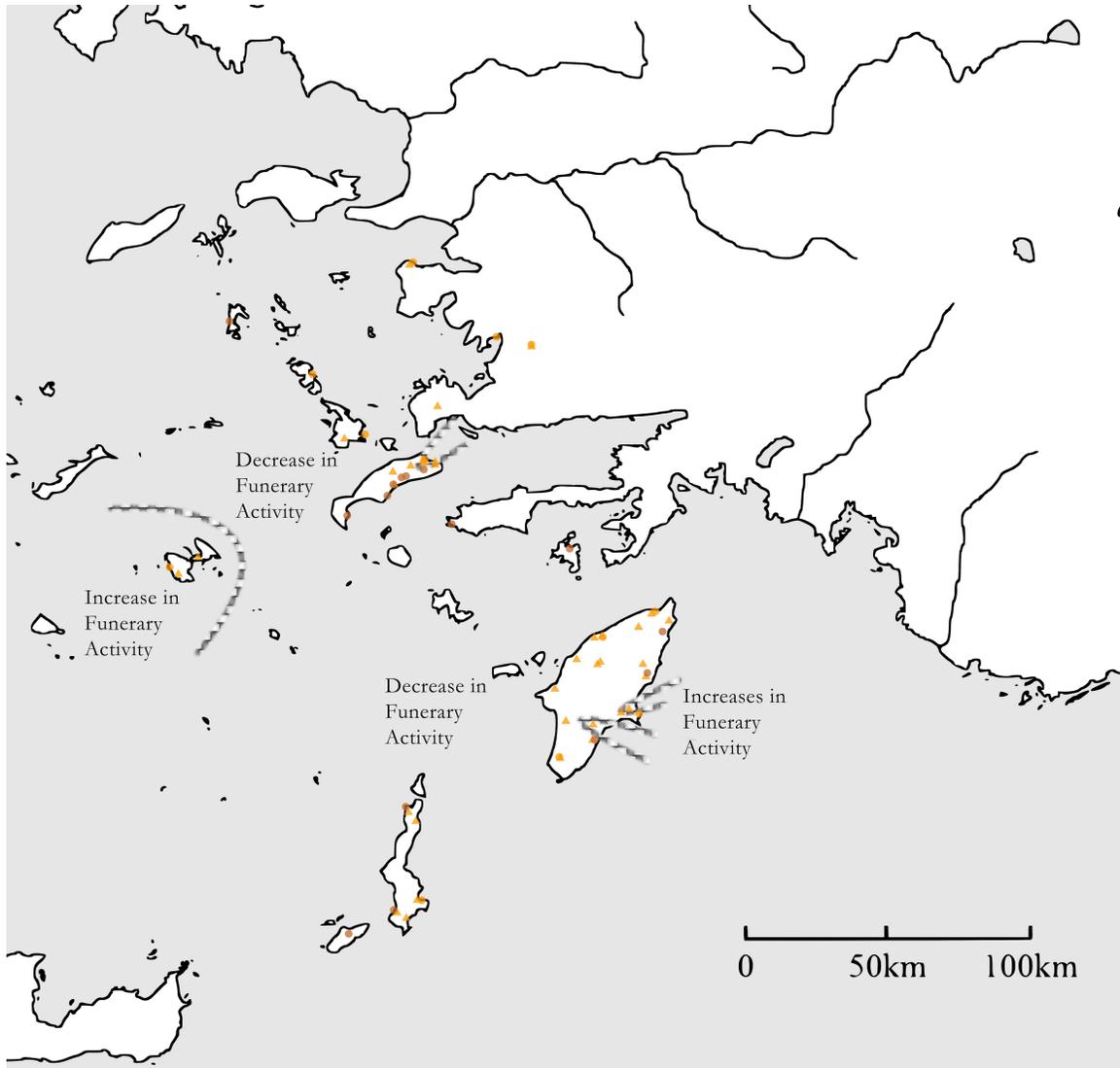


Figure 7.2 – Growth of LH III B sites

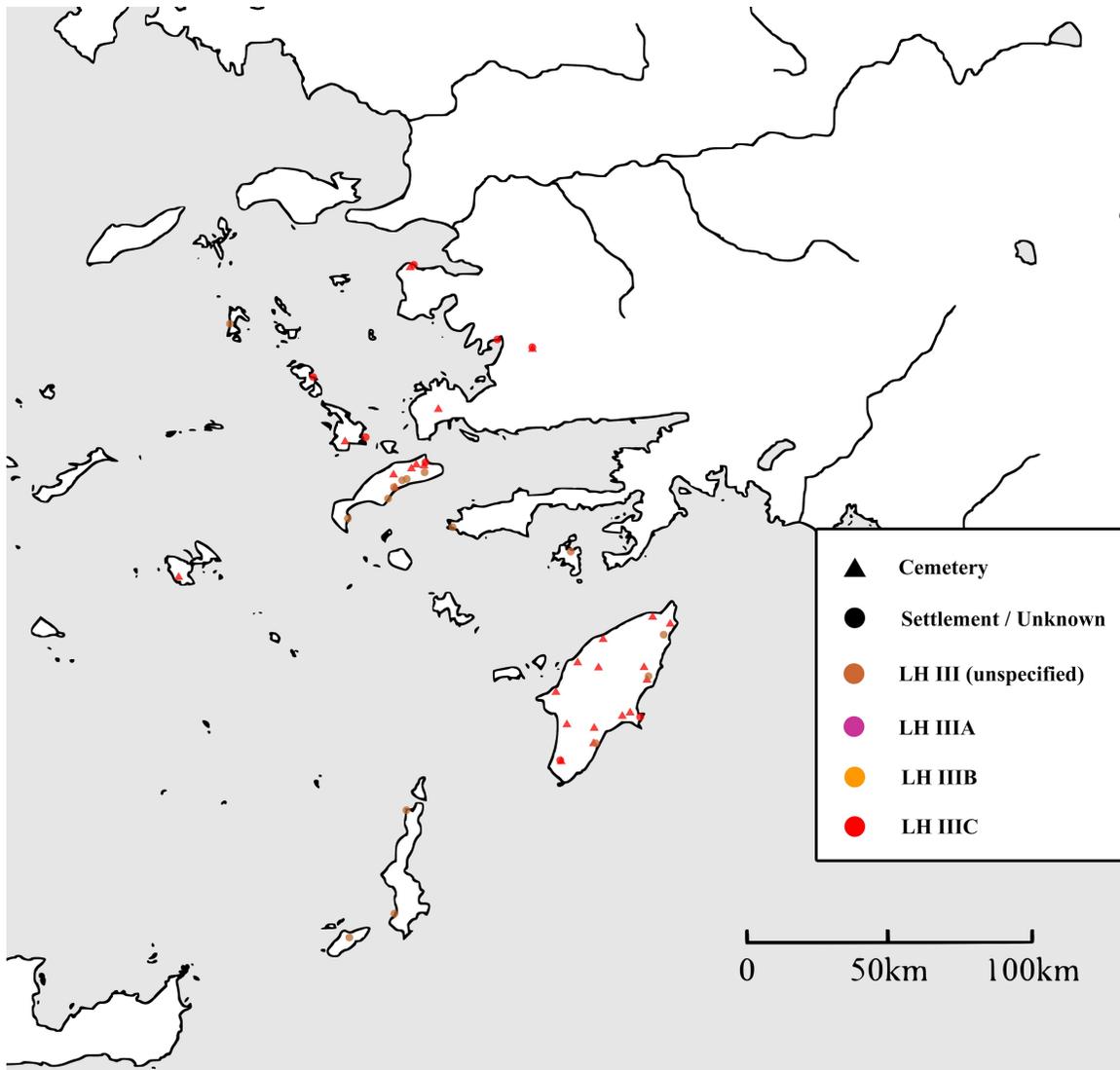


Figure 7.3 – The distribution of LH IIIC sites (with sites of unspecified LH III date included)

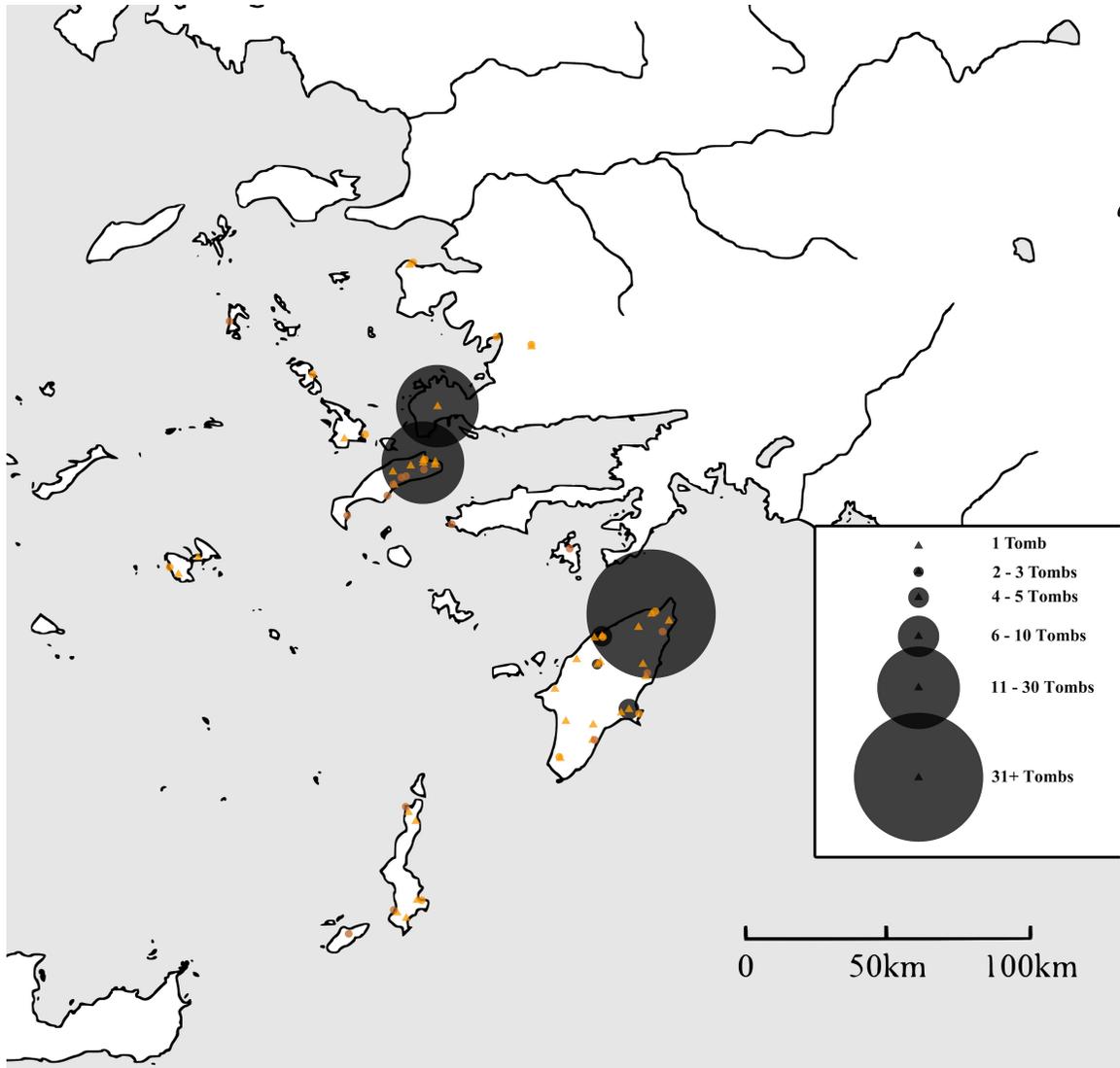


Figure 7.4 – Sizes of datable LH IIIB cemeteries

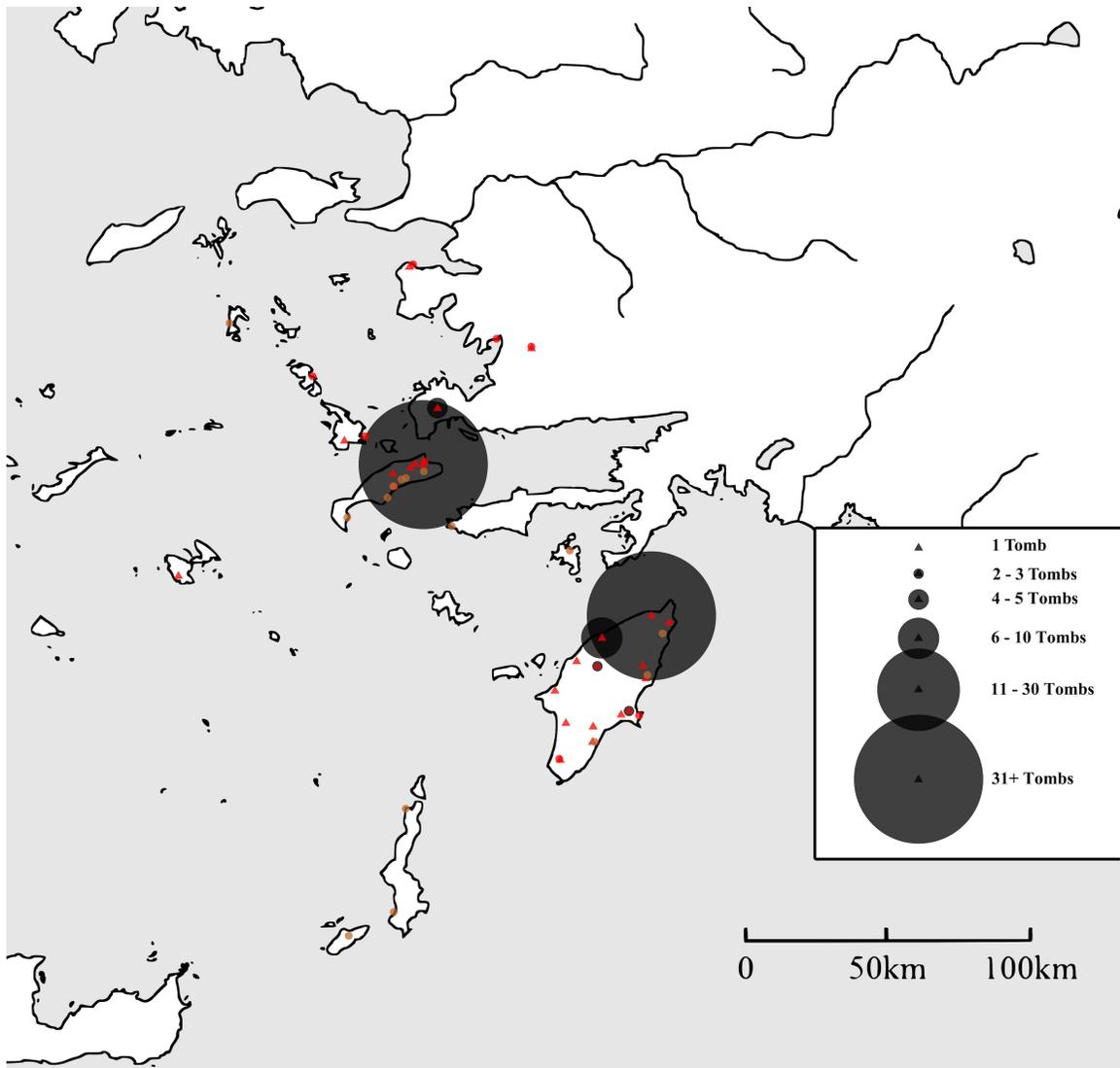


Figure 7.5 – Sizes of datable LH IIC cemeteries

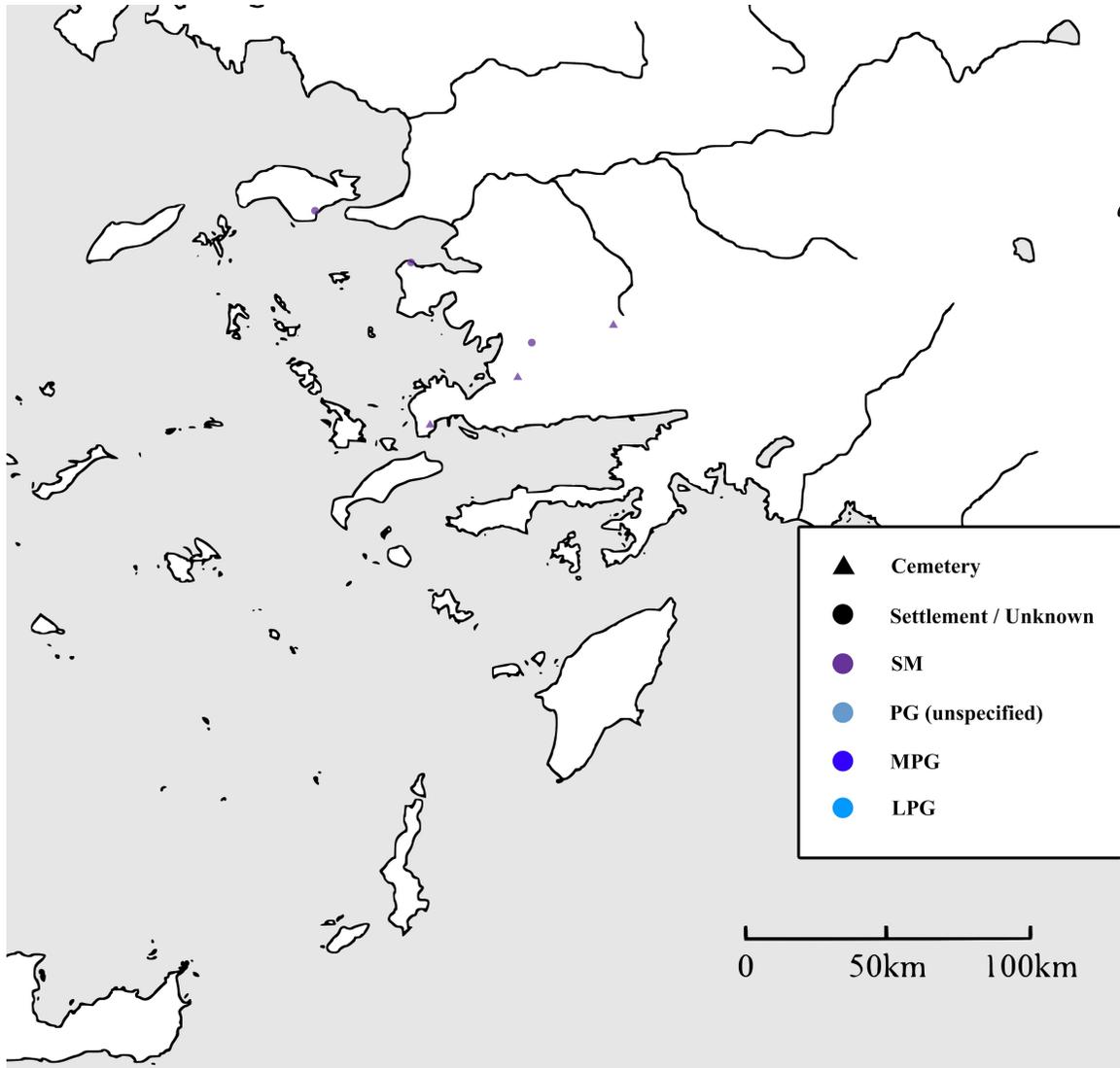


Figure 7.6 – The distribution of SM sites

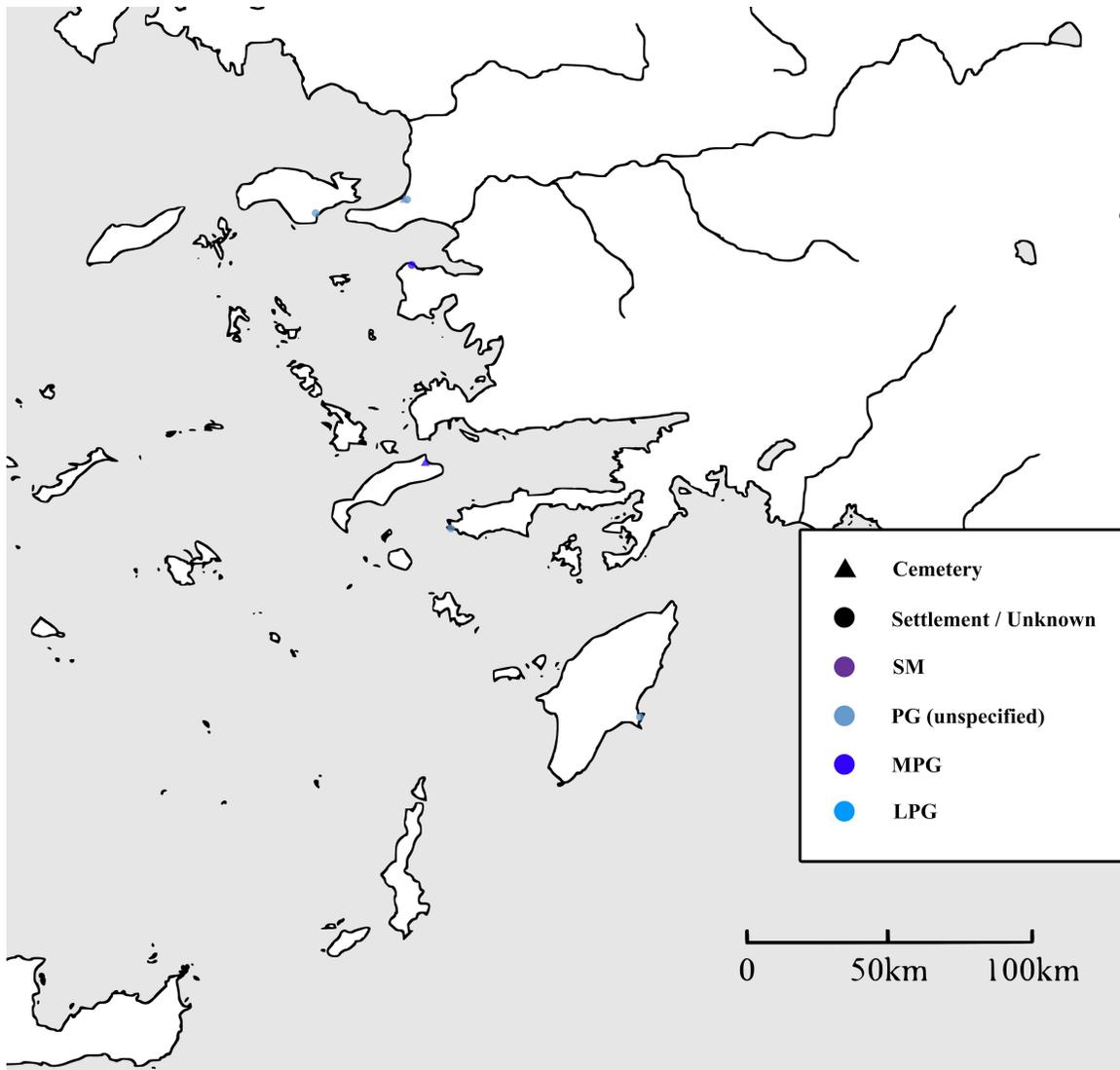


Figure 7.7 – The distribution of MPG sites (with sites of unspecified PG date included)

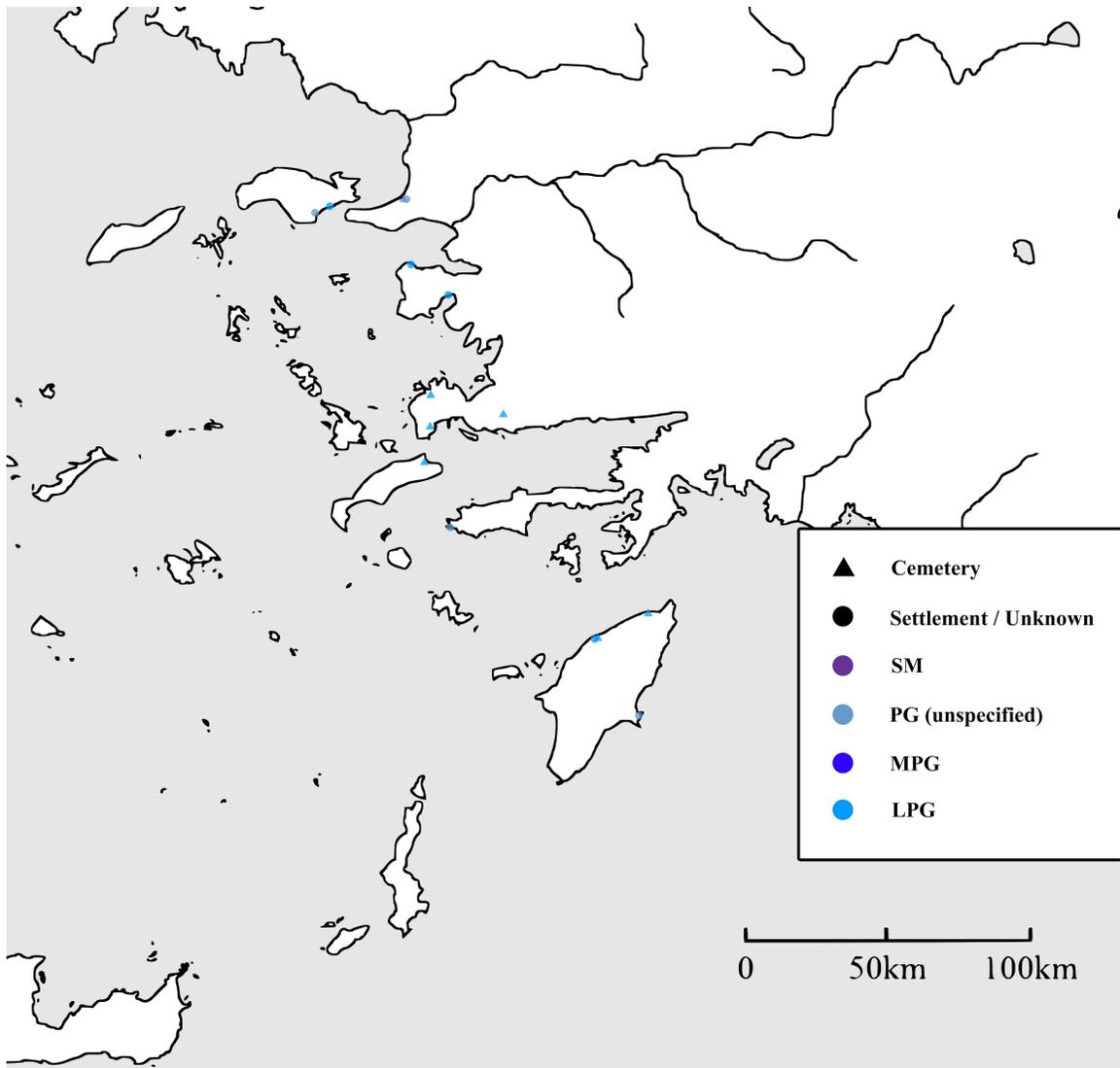


Figure 7.8 – The distribution of LPG sites (with sites of unspecified PG date included)

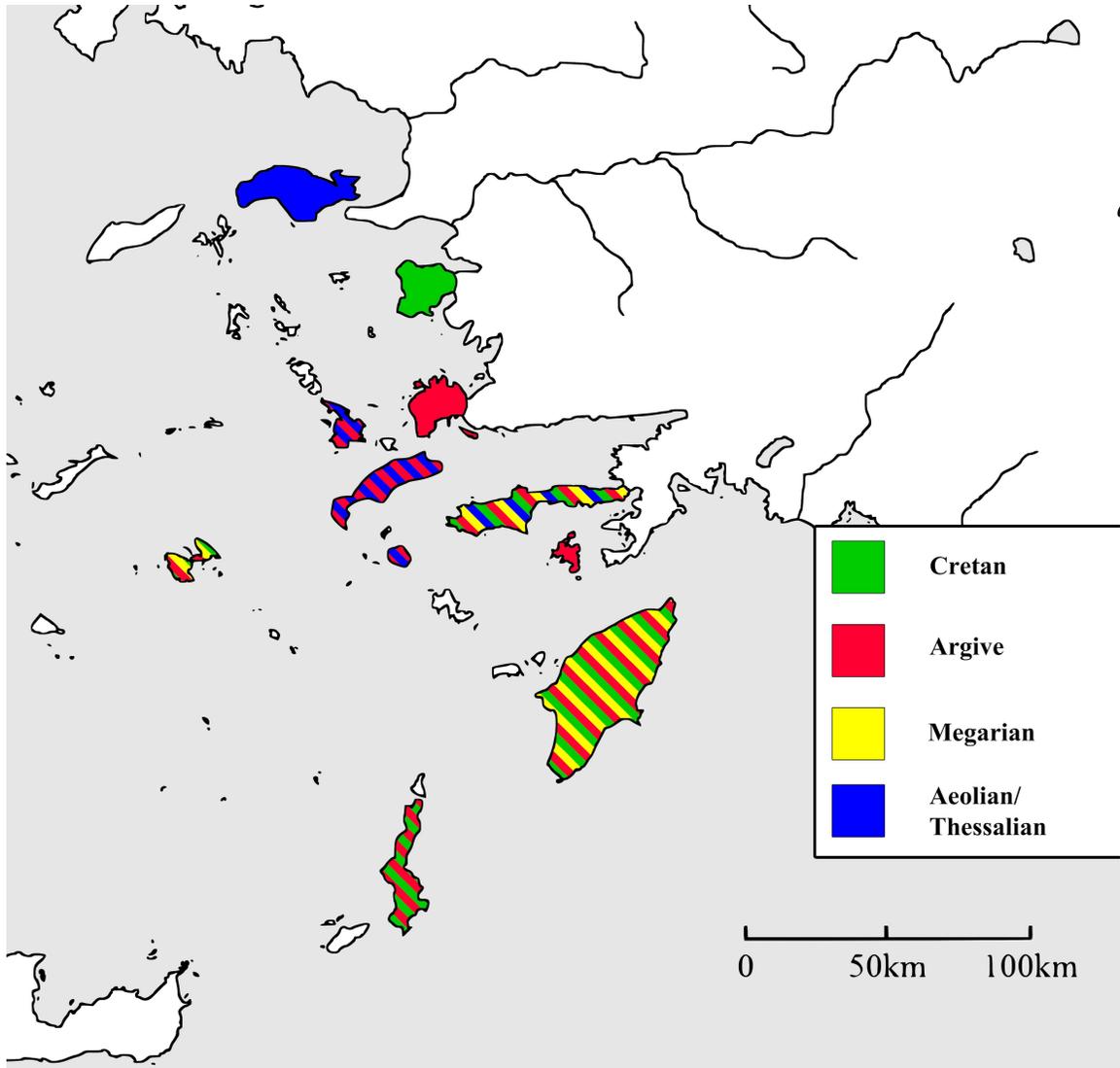


Figure 8.1 – Origins of mythic founders, settlements, and colonial events by island and area

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