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The 'Mycenaeans' in the south-eastern Aegean revisited

Vol. 1-2: Text and appendices



Jacob Eerbeek

The ‘Mycenaeans’ in the south-eastern Aegean revisited

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Chapter 1

Background to the research

Mycenaean culture developed on the Greek mainland and in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age. This period is dated here between about 1700 and 1050 BC.¹ The heyday of Mycenaean culture was from the 14th to 13th centuries BC. This period, which is known as the “Palatial period of Late Helladic IIIA-B” (hereafter LHIIIA-B), sees the establishment of several palace-centered territorial states (e.g. Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, Pylos in Messenia and Thebes in Boeotia) (Map 1).² Somewhere around 1200 BC, the palaces are destroyed and not rebuilt.³ Although these destructions marked the end of Mycenaean palace civilization, several elements of Mycenaean culture survived into the subsequent Late Helladic IIIC period (hereafter LHIIIC). Continuities have, for example, been observed in burial customs, pottery-making and bronze work.⁴ This period, which is known as the “Post-palatial period” and lasted from about 1200 to 1050 BC, can, therefore, be seen as the last stages of Mycenaean culture.⁵

There are also Mycenaean influences⁶ visible in the different geographic regions adjacent to the Greek mainland, such as Crete,⁷ the Cycladic islands⁸ and the south-eastern Aegean.⁹ The penetration of Mycenaean culture is, however, not uniform, but shows strong regional differences.¹⁰ Moreover, Mycenaean (decorated) pottery has been widely distributed in almost the whole Mediterranean.¹¹ The area in which this group of material has been found includes Spain, Italy, Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt.¹² This

¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 17, Table 1; Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2; Rutter 2010, 418-20.

² Shelmerdine/Bennett 2008, 289; Shelton 2010, 144; Tartaron 2013, 16-7.

³ Dickinson 2006, 43-6; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 392-3; Shelton 2010, 146.

⁴ Dickinson 2006, 72-6; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 398-402.

⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 392.

⁶ Mycenaean influences may be recognized, for example, in (public) architecture, artistic styles and technologies (e.g. pottery), ritual objects (e.g. terracotta figurines) and graves (e.g. tomb types and mortuary practices) (Mac Sweeney 2008, 105).

⁷ Farnoux/Driesen 1997.

⁸ Schallin 1993; Earle 2012; Tartaron 2013, 17.

⁹ Mee 1982; Mee 1988b; Benzi 1992; Georgiadis 2003.

¹⁰ Mac Sweeney 2008; Mee 2008, 365-81; Tartaron 2013, 17.

¹¹ In this study, the term Mycenaean is not used only to refer to object produced in workshops on the Greek mainland, but also to imitations or reproductions manufactured elsewhere. In Chapter 4, in which the Mycenaean pottery from the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands is discussed, depending on the availability of provenance studies, a distinction between imports from the Greek mainland and local products is made.

¹² Van Wijngaarden 2002, 3, 16-22; Mee 2008; Mühlenbruch 2009.

wide distribution is generally seen as an indication of Mycenaean ‘involvement’ in the exchange systems of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean.¹³

The focus of this PhD research is on the Mycenaean archaeological evidence from the south-eastern Aegean. Attention is paid only to the material from LHIIIA-B (see above).¹⁴ The region is made up by the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands (Map 2). A key feature distinguishing the south-eastern Aegean from other regions in which Mycenaean traits were adopted (see above) is the widespread popularity of Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (Fig. 1 in Chapter 4).¹⁵ These graves contained mostly Mycenaean-style burial offerings, including (decorated) pottery (Fig. 6 in Chapter 4), bronze weapons (Figs. 6-7 in Chapter 5) and stone and glass jewelry (Figs. 32-4 in Chapter 5).

The Mycenaean finds from the south-eastern Aegean have been variously interpreted. In general, two major interpretive perspectives have tended to dominate the debate surrounding this evidence: the “colonialist” and the “social constructive perspective” (see section 1.2 below). It will be argued in section 1.3 below that both perspectives tend to represent the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age as being made up by two opposing social blocs, with Mycenaean on one side and local groups (Anatolians, Rhodians, etc.) on the other. This is, however, not supported by the archaeological evidence. In order to transcend this apparent dichotomy, a different approach based on the expression of group identities in tombs will be developed here. Questions which will be addressed in this dissertation include “what different group identities are being expressed with the material culture and what does this tell us about the social dynamics and the relations between the different societies of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean?” Before introducing these questions (see section 1.3 below), however, a short description of the archaeological record of the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands, with a focus on the Mycenaean evidence, is given.

1.1 The archaeology of the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands

¹³ Van Wijngaarden 2002, 5-7; Tartaron 2013, 1.

¹⁴ For a summary of the material from LHIIIC with further references see, for example, Marketou 2010a (Dodecanese except Rhodes); Marketou 2010b (Rhodes).

¹⁵ Benzi 1996, 948.

For the purpose of this overview the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands has been divided into a southern, a central and a northern zone (Map 3).¹⁶

The southern zone is made up by the south-west coast of Anatolia and some of the Dodecanese islands, namely Rhodes, Kos, Astypalaia and Karpathos (Maps 2-3). Mycenaean finds, which are abundantly represented, come from both settlement¹⁷ and tomb contexts.¹⁸ Mycenaean-style (decorated) pottery is especially numerous (Figs. 11 and 14 in Chapter 4).¹⁹ The Mycenaean ceramic assemblage consists of imports from the Greek mainland and local products. Based on the materials that have been published so far, it appears that there is much more pottery of Mycenaean type than of local, non-Mycenaean, type.²⁰ Other categories of Mycenaean-style artifacts, of which the majority comes from tombs (see below), include bronze weapons (e.g. swords and spearheads) (Fig. 31 in Chapter 5), stone and glass jewelry beads (Figs. 32-4 in Chapter 5), stone seals and implements, and terracotta figurines (Fig. 126).²¹

A characteristic feature of the southern zone is represented by the popularity of subterranean Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (Fig. 1 in Chapter 4).²² Other types of tombs (e.g. small tholoi and pit graves) are rare. Most graves contain (multiple) inhumations. Cremation burials are very rare.²³

The central zone is centered on the Gulf of Izmir (Map 3). Mycenaean materials have been found in both settlements²⁴ and tombs.²⁵ There is more local Anatolian than Mycenaean-style pottery (Fig. 176 in Chapter 4), of which the corpus consists of imports from the Greek mainland and locally manufactured vessels.²⁶ Certain mainland Greek ceramic pot shapes were imitated in unpainted local wares, of which examples are the straight-sided alabastron

¹⁶ A different terminology is used by P.A. Mountjoy (1998). The “East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface”, by which she refers to the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands, is divided by her into a “Lower”, “Central” and “Upper Interface”. These “Interfaces” geographically overlap with the “zones” used here (Mountjoy 1998; see, also, Mac Sweeney 2011, 68-71).

¹⁷ E.g. Miletus and Iasos on the west coast of Anatolia; Trianda on Rhodes; and the “Serraglio” on Kos

¹⁸ E.g. Değirmentepe/Kalabaktepe and Müskebi on the west coast of Anatolia; Ialysos on Rhodes; and Eleona/Langada on Kos

¹⁹ Ialysos (cemetery) (Rhodes): Benzi 1996, 969; Iasos (settlement) (south-west coast of Anatolia): Benzi 1999, 273-4; Benzi 2005, 210-14; Miletus (settlement) (south-west coast of Anatolia): Niemeier 1997, 347.

²⁰ Rhodes (south): Mountjoy 1995b; Trianda (settlement) (Rhodes): Karantzali 2009; Iasos (settlement) (south-west coast of Anatolia): Benzi 2005, 210; Miletus (settlement) (south-west coast of Anatolia): Niemeier 2002a, 26-8.

²¹ Mee 1982, 20-2, 26-7 (Ialysos); Benzi 1992 (Rhodes); Tartaron 2013, 17 (general).

²² Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 68-9; Mountjoy 1998, 34, 36-7.

²³ There are examples from the chamber tomb cemetery of Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (Boysal 1967; Mee 1978, 137) and Vonies (single tomb) on the island of Karpathos (Melas 1985, 39-40).

²⁴ E.g. Limantepe and Çesme-Bağlararası

²⁵ E.g. Ephesus (Ayasuluk Hill), Panaztepe and Baklatepe

²⁶ Niemeier 2005a, 16.

(Fig. 181 in Chapter 4) and the small piriform jar (Fig. 182 in Chapter 4). Other Mycenaean-style artifacts are less numerous and varied than in the southern zone (see above), and come mostly from tombs (see below). The commonest are stone and glass jewelry beads (Figs. 96-8 in Chapter 5),²⁷ and stone seals (Fig. 94 in Chapter 5).²⁸ There were also a bronze sword²⁹ and a terracotta figurine found.³⁰

The commonest tomb type in the central zone is the pot or pithos burial (Fig. 165 in Chapter 4).³¹ There are also some small tholoi (Fig. 172 in Chapter 4)³² and built rectangular chamber tombs.³³ Most tombs held single or multiple inhumations. Cremation burials are also relatively common.³⁴

The northern zone is centered on the Troas region in the north-western part of the west coast of Anatolia (Map 3). Mycenaean-style artifacts, of which the majority is made up of decorated pottery,³⁵ have been found in both settlement³⁶ and tomb contexts.³⁷ The regional ceramic assemblage is dominated by unpainted local wares, i.e. Grey and Tan wares. Mycenaean-style pottery was imported from the Greek mainland and produced in local workshops (Fig. 199 in Chapter 4).³⁸ Similar to the central zone (see above), certain mainland Greek ceramic pot shapes were imitated in unpainted local wares, such as the one-handed rounded kylix (Fig. 205 in Chapter 4) and the small piriform jar (Fig. 196 in Chapter 4). Mycenaean-style artifacts other than pottery are less frequent than in the central zone (see above). They come mainly from tombs. The commonest are stone and glass jewelry beads (Fig. 103 in Chapter 5)³⁹ and (stone) seals (Fig. 114 in Chapter 5).⁴⁰ There was also a bronze sword found.⁴¹

The dominant tomb type in the northern zone is the pot or pithos burial (Fig. 99 in Chapter 5), which is used for both inhumations and cremations.⁴² Another type, of which so

²⁷ Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2012 (Panaztepe).

²⁸ Erkanal-Öktü 2000 (Baklatepe, Limantepe and Panaztepe).

²⁹ Ersoy 1988 (Panaztepe).

³⁰ Günel 1998 (Limantepe).

³¹ Mountjoy 1998, 37; Horejs/Kanz 2008; Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2012, 125.

³² E.g. Panaztepe and Kolophon

³³ E.g. Samos, Baklatepe and Panaztepe

³⁴ Mountjoy 1998, 37; Günel 1999b, 170; Basedow 2002, 469.

³⁵ Mountjoy 1998, 35, 43-5; Pavuk 2002, 60.

³⁶ E.g. Hissarlık-Troy

³⁷ E.g. Beşiktepe and the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns in the Lower Town of Hissarlık-Troy

³⁸ See, for example, Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006 (Hissarlık-Troy).

³⁹ Basedow 2000, 134-40 (Beşiktepe).

⁴⁰ Basedow 2000, 132-4 (Beşiktepe); Pini 1992 (Beşiktepe); Korfmann 1996, 36, Taf. 2.2 (Hissarlık-Troy); Korfmann 2004, 653-4 (Hissarlık-Troy).

⁴¹ Basedow 2000, 122-3 (Beşiktepe).

⁴² Mountjoy 1998, 37; Basedow 2002, 469-70.

far only two examples have been discovered at the cemetery site of Beşiktepe, is a free-standing structure in the form of a house (German: “Grabhaus”) (Fig. 100 in Chapter 5).⁴³

The above overview shows that there is a clear distinction between the southern zone on the one hand and the central and northern zones on the other. The archaeological record of the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands is strongly Mycenaean in character. Local expressions in material culture seem to be hardly represented. Mycenaean culture is much less pervasive in the central and northern zones. Local traditions dominate the archaeological record. This applies to the pottery as well as to the burial customs. Mycenaean-style chamber tombs appear only in the south-eastern Aegean. There are also some differences between the central and the northern zone. In tombs in the former, more and a wider variety of Mycenaean-style objects have been found.⁴⁴ In addition, there is a tomb type, namely the small tholos, which only occurs in the central zone.

1.2 Previous interpretations: “colonialist” and “social constructivist”

The archaeological overview in the previous section shows that there are strong regional differences in the distribution of Mycenaean (material) culture along the west coast of Anatolia. This is especially apparent between the ‘Mycenaeanized’ southern zone and the culturally more locally-oriented central and northern zones. How has this material ‘divide’ been interpreted?

The interpretation of the Mycenaean evidence from the south-eastern Aegean was, and still is, a hotly debated issue in Aegean Bronze Age archaeology.⁴⁵ In general, two major interpretive perspectives have tended to dominate the debate surrounding this evidence. The first, to which I will refer as the “colonialist perspective”, is based on the assumption that there were colonists or immigrants from the Greek mainland in the south-eastern Aegean. Supporters of the second approach, which has become increasingly popular in recent years and to which I will refer as the “social constructivist perspective”, think that the

⁴³ Basedow 2000, 45-8 (Beşiktepe).

⁴⁴ This is based on the information from the cemeteries of Panaztepe on the Anatolian mainland and Archontiki on the islet of Psara, adjacent to Chios. Both sites are, unfortunately, still largely unpublished. In the northern zone two cemeteries have been excavated. One is at Beşiktepe; the other – the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns – in the Lower Town of Hissarlık-Troy (Map 3). Admittedly, the two sites are located close to each other, but since there are no other known necropoleis in the region it is unclear whether the patterns identified here should be seen as indicative of local rather than regional trends.

⁴⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 110-1; Benzi 2013a, 509, fn. 1.

archaeological pattern reflects the behavior of local groups who selectively adopted and adapted traits of Mycenaean (material) culture.

The “colonialist perspective” has been advocated by scholars such as C. Mee,⁴⁶ W.-D. Niemeier⁴⁷ and M. Benzi.⁴⁸ They believe that the populations at the different sites⁴⁹ were made up by people of colonial (i.e. Mycenaean) and local descent.⁵⁰ Since there are hardly any styles other than ‘Mycenaean’ represented in the archaeological record of the south-eastern Aegean (see section 1.1 above), one of the main difficulties is how to distinguish, archaeologically, between Mycenaean and local groups. For example, the excavated part of the settlement of Miletus⁵¹ has mainly produced finds of Mycenaean character.⁵² Hence, if the nature of the artifacts recovered represents a reliable indicator of the different groups living at the site (for a discussion see section 1.3 below), the presence of local, non-Mycenaean groups is not immediately apparent.⁵³ According to Niemeier, who is currently working on the final publication of the excavations that he and his team carried out at Miletus between 1994 and 2004, this shows that the people of local descent had adopted Mycenaean culture.⁵⁴ The locals were acculturated to Mycenaean culture.

The difficulty in distinguishing between ‘real’ and ‘made’ Mycenaean is also apparent in the work of Mee and Benzi. The former notes that even though he is convinced of the presence of Mycenaean settlers in the south-eastern Aegean, he cannot completely rule out acculturation.⁵⁵ According to Benzi, the first Mycenaean arrived in Rhodes in the early 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIIIB-III A1). This coincides with the first appearance of Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (mostly in the north-west at Trianda/Ialysos).⁵⁶ The second half of the 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIIIA2) sees a strong increase in the number of sites with Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (Chapters 4 and 5). Benzi is, however, not sure about whether this has to be regarded as indicative of a further influx of settlers from the Greek mainland⁵⁷ or the acculturation of local communities (contra LHIIIB-III A1).⁵⁸ Note that

⁴⁶ Mee 1988b; Mee 1998; Mee 2008.

⁴⁷ Niemeier 1998; Niemeier 2005a; Niemeier 2005b.

⁴⁸ Benzi 1988b; Benzi 1996, 973.

⁴⁹ E.g. Trianda on Rhodes, the “Serraglio” on Kos, and Miletus and Iasos on the Anatolian south-west coast

⁵⁰ Benzi 1988b, 59; Bryce 1989, 2; Mee 1988, 303; Mee 2008, 373; Niemeier 2008, 37.

⁵¹ According to A.M. Greaves, only a small part of the settlement area (ca. 3.5%) has so far been investigated (Greaves 2007, 8).

⁵² Niemeier 2008, 307.

⁵³ Mee 1978, 149; Niemeier 2008, 307.

⁵⁴ Niemeier 2008, 307.

⁵⁵ Mee 1988b, 303.

⁵⁶ Benzi 1988b, 59.

⁵⁷ Note that in an earlier article Benzi expressed the thought that this increase was due to “the arrival of a second wave of Mycenaean settlers” (Benzi 1988b, 62).

both Mee⁵⁹ and Niemeier believe that there was a second wave of Mycenaean settlement in the south-eastern Aegean in the second half of the 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIII A2).⁶⁰

A source of information which is often included in discussions about the supposed Mycenaean presence in the south-eastern Aegean is a small group of contemporary Hittite texts (ca. 25 fragments) discovered in the ruins of the Hittite capital of Boğazköy-Ḫattuša in central Anatolia.⁶¹ In these texts, a kingdom or country by the name of *Aḫḫiyawa* is mentioned.⁶² It is indicated that this country was politically and militarily involved in the south-west of the west coast of Anatolia.⁶³ The texts tell us that by the late 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIII A2) the settlement of Miletus (see above), which has been identified with the country called *Millawanda* or *Millawata* in the Hittite texts, had come under the control of the king of *Aḫḫiyawa*.⁶⁴ They also inform us that the king of *Aḫḫiyawa* controlled a number of islands off the Anatolian (south-west) coast.⁶⁵

A topic of discussion has been the localization of the kingdom of *Aḫḫiyawa*.⁶⁶ Over the years different locations have been suggested, including the mainland of Greece, Thrace, Cyprus, Crete and the islands in the south-eastern Aegean, especially Rhodes. An increasing number of scholars now believe that *Aḫḫiyawa* can be identified with one or several of the Mycenaean palace states on the Greek mainland (see introduction, Chapter 1). A number of textual and archaeological arguments have been proposed to support this hypothesis. First, the term *Aḫḫiyawa* is very similar to one of the terms used by the legendary poet Homer for the Mycenaean Greeks (i.e. *Achaioi*) in his epic writing.⁶⁷ Furthermore, there are two Hittite texts in which the ruler of *Aḫḫiyawa* is designated as “Great King”.⁶⁸ Only a select group of powerful kings is known to have been addressed by this title, including the kings of Hatti, Egypt, Babylon, Mittani, Assyria and – apparently – *Aḫḫiyawa*.⁶⁹ The fact that the ruler of *Aḫḫiyawa* was, at least for a short while – the two texts concerned are assigned to the Hittite

⁵⁸ Benzi 1996, 973; Benzi 2005, 206; Benzi/Graziado 2013, 19.

⁵⁹ Mee 1988b, 304.

⁶⁰ Niemeier 1998, 41; Georgiadis 2003, 111; Niemeier 2005a, 16.

⁶¹ Georgiadis 2009, 28.

⁶² Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 7-8.

⁶³ Bryce 1989, 11-2.

⁶⁴ Bryce 2005, 58; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 271-2.

⁶⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 272-6.

⁶⁶ Simpson 2003; Niemeier 2008, 303-9; Wiener 2009; Burns 2010b, 69.

⁶⁷ Bryce 2010, 479.

⁶⁸ Bryce 2005, 57; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 275, 280.

⁶⁹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 275.

kings *Ḫattušili III* (c. 1276-1237 BC)⁷⁰ and his son/successor *Tudḫaliya IV* (c. 1237-1228 BC)⁷¹ – considered a Great King by the rulers of Hatti has led several scholars to reject the idea that the center of Aḫḫiyawa was on one of the islands off the Anatolian (south-west) coast, especially Rhodes. It is argued that it is unlikely that such an important title could apply to the ruler of a relatively small-sized island state.⁷² In addition, no palaces or royal tombs have been discovered on any of the islands in the south-eastern Aegean.⁷³ On the basis of these arguments (name similarity, the title “Great King” and lack of monumental architecture on any of the islands in the south-eastern Aegean), most scholars now place Aḫḫiyawa on the Greek mainland, with its main center at Mycenae in the Argolid⁷⁴ or at Thebes in Boeotia (Map 1).⁷⁵ In this light, it should be noted that we know of at least one and perhaps two local Anatolian rulers to whom the status of “Great King” had been accorded around the same time as the king of Aḫḫiyawa (i.e. 2nd half of the 13th century BC).⁷⁶ As stated above, one of the arguments on the basis of which Rhodes or the south-eastern Aegean in general is rejected as the possible location of the Great Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa is that the archaeological record has not yielded any monumental architecture. With regards to the validity of this argument, it has to be pointed out there are also no known monumental tombs or palaces from either one of the Anatolian Great Kingdoms mentioned above.

If Aḫḫiyawa really refers to – one or several of the Mycenaean kingdoms on – the Greek mainland, the Hittite texts seem to confirm that there were Mycenaean active along the west coast of Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. According to J.M. Kelder, who strongly believes in a Mycenaean colonial presence in the south-eastern Aegean,⁷⁷ “[i]t can no longer be realistically doubted that ‘Aḫḫiyawa’ in Hittite texts must refer to one or several of the Greek Mycenaean palatial states”.⁷⁸ There are, however, still scholars who believe that Aḫḫiyawa can be identified with one or several of the islands in the south-eastern Aegean. Benzi, for example, thinks that the center of Aḫḫiyawa was on Rhodes (this also shows that the colonialist perspective and Aḫḫiyawa=Greek mainland are not definitely bound to each

⁷⁰ The text assigned to Ḫattušili III (c. 1267-1237 BC), the so-called “Tawagalawa letter”, is given a date in the middle of the 13th century BC (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 119-20).

⁷¹ The text assigned to Tudḫaliya IV (c. 1227-1209 BC) is a treaty between the king of Hatti and *Shausgamuwa*, ruler of the Syrian vassal state of *Amurru*. Aḫḫiyawa appears in a list of rulers whom Tudḫaliya considered his equals. Interestingly, however, the name of the king of Aḫḫiyawa was not included in the final version of the treaty, the name subsequently being erased (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 67).

⁷² Benzi 2002, 368.

⁷³ Mee 2008, 374; Niemeier 2008, 304.

⁷⁴ Niemeier 2008, 304, fn. 112; Wiener 2009, 713-4.

⁷⁵ Niemeier 2008, 304-6; Wiener 2009, 708-12.

⁷⁶ Hawkins 1998, 20-1.

⁷⁷ Kelder 2004-2005, 72-5; Kelder 2012a, 61.

⁷⁸ Kelder 2012b, 1.

other). According to him, the Mycenaean world did not constitute a unified political entity (see above),⁷⁹ but consisted of a number of independent palace-centered territorial states. It is not immediately apparent which were the Mycenaeans referred to in the Hittite texts.⁸⁰ These texts indicate that Ahḫiyawa was a coastal power located in proximity to Anatolia. Moreover, Benzi believes that the archaeological evidence shows that Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes was the main trading center in the south-eastern Aegean during the Late Bronze Age.⁸¹ Hence, he proposes that Trianda/Ialysos was the center of Ahḫiyawa. He thinks that large parts of the Late Bronze Age settlement may have been washed away by floods. This could account for the ‘missing’ of a palace and any other monumental architecture (e.g. fortifications and tombs).⁸² Other scholars who in recent years have suggested that Ahḫiyawa was an island-based kingdom centered on Rhodes are P.A. Mountjoy (see below),⁸³ S. Sherratt⁸⁴ and C. Gates.⁸⁵ With regard to the location of the ‘missing’ palace, Sherratt has suggested that there might be an administrative center buried under the heart of the historical center of the modern city of Rhodes.⁸⁶

I do not intend to revisit the (unresolved) Ahḫiyawa question here. The aim is to point out that the archaeological evidence is not unequivocal (immigration-acculturation duality) and that there is a tendency to employ the few Hittite texts in which the country of Ahḫiyawa is mentioned (25 texts of a total ca. 30.000 found at the Hittite capital of Boğazköy-Ḫattuša), of which the interpretation is also not completely straightforward (see above), as evidence to demonstrate that there were Mycenaean Greeks in the south-eastern Aegean. The texts are said to ‘prove’ that this region was controlled by one or several of the Greek Mycenaean palatial states. In this way, an image of a Mycenaean colonial power with overseas territories is constructed.⁸⁷ The Mycenaeans established control by subjugating the natives. This view is, for example, expressed by Niemeier, who states that “[a]t the different sites the portion of natives living together with the *Mycenaean overlords* may have differed” (italics not in

⁷⁹ This view has, however, recently been proposed by J.M. Kelder (see Kelder 2012a; Kelder 2012b).

⁸⁰ Benzi 2002, 365; cf. Burns 2010b, 69-70.

⁸¹ Benzi 1996, 967-9; Benzi 2002, 375-6.

⁸² Benzi 2002, 376; see, also, Simpson 2003, 225-6.

⁸³ Mountjoy 1998.

⁸⁴ Sherratt 2001.

⁸⁵ Gates 1995.

⁸⁶ Sherratt 2001, 217-8, fn. 9; Sherratt 2009, 90-1.

⁸⁷ In a chapter called “Mycenaean history” in the monograph “A companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World” (2008), P. de Fidio notes that during the palatial period of LHIIIA-B “the Mycenaeans . . . established themselves in actual colonies, like Miletus on the Carian coast, Ialysos on the island of Rhodes, Kos, Iasos and Mūsgebi (Halicarnassus)” (De Fidio 2008, 92).

original).⁸⁸ Similar ideas have (previously) been expressed by Benzi (for LHIIIB-III A1).⁸⁹ The main argument in this line of reasoning is that among the earliest Mycenaean tombs at Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes, which are dated to the early 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIIIB-III A1), there are a few that contained bronze weapons, which have been interpreted as belonging to “a number of displaced aristocrats (and their households) [from the Greek mainland who] set sail to the Aegean in order to try their fortune there at the expense of the local communities”.⁹⁰ In this light it might be interesting to point out that bronze weapons remain common in tombs in the south-eastern Aegean throughout the LHIIIA-B period (Chapters 5 and 6). In other words, they should not be seen as a phenomenon typical of or chronologically restricted to LHIIIB-III A1 (i.e. when the first Mycenaean are supposed to have arrived). It should be pointed out, however, that there also scholars who think that the Mycenaean presence was mainly commercial in nature (i.e. for trading purposes).⁹¹ According to E. Karantzali, for example, the LHIII settlement at Trianda/Ialysos first and foremost functioned as a trading station.⁹²

The colonial situation in the south-eastern Aegean tends to be described in dualist terms, with Mycenaean on one side and local groups (e.g. Anatolians, Rhodians, Koans, etc.) on the other. Scholars working from a “colonialist perspective” focus largely on the colonizers’ perspective. This is reflected in the emphasis placed on the dominance of elements of Mycenaean origin in the archaeological record. Only little attention is paid to the natives (i.e. the colonized), who are represented as passive ‘recipients’ of Mycenaean culture, “[aping] the manners of their overseas masters in matters like tomb architecture and funerary offerings”.⁹³ The colonial situation is thus seen as a unidirectional process. The Mycenaean influenced the people of local descent – and not the other way around.

The general characteristics of this Mycenaean casus (colonizer-centered perspective, disregard of natives and unidirectional character of the interactions characterizing the colonial situation) are shared by a large number of other studies on colonialism in the ancient Mediterranean.⁹⁴ Similar assumptions are, for example, inherent in such descriptive concepts as Hellenization and Romanization (cf. Mycenaeanization or Mycenaean acculturation),⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Niemeier 2005b, 203.

⁸⁹ Benzi 1988b, 59; see, also, Georgiadis 2003, 111.

⁹⁰ Benzi 1996, 951; see, also, Niemeier 2005a, 16.

⁹¹ Bryce 1989, 2; Karantzali 2009, 365.

⁹² Karantzali 2005, 149-50; Marketou et al. 2006, 54-5; Karantzali 2009, 365.

⁹³ French 1986, 278.

⁹⁴ Dietler 2005; Knapp/Van Dommelen 2010, 3.

⁹⁵ Voskos/Knapp 2008, 660-1

which are used to account for the adoption of Greek and Roman (material) cultures by indigenous populations in areas of ancient Greek and Roman colonization.⁹⁶

In recent years, under the influence of postcolonial thought, the colonizer-centered perspective has come under increasing criticism in archaeology.⁹⁷ Scholars such as M. Dietler,⁹⁸ P. van Dommelen⁹⁹ and A.B. Knapp¹⁰⁰ argue that the social realities of colonial situations are too complex to be reduced to a single structuring colonial divide separating the colonizers from the colonized. This divide also tends to naturalize the dominant position of the colonizers. From a postcolonial perspective, colonial societies are seen as integrated wholes, made up by people from both indigenous and colonial descent, who together build new colonial communities (i.e. unlike the colonizers' home situation) characterized by their own distinctive forms or styles of (material) culture, combining elements from different cultural traditions. This process is called cultural hybridization.¹⁰¹

This postcolonial trend is also apparent in a number of recent studies concerning the nature of the Mycenaean presence in the south-eastern Aegean. The focus of these studies has been on local 'responses' to Mycenaean culture. In what follows, I will refer to these studies as the "social constructivist perspective" (see above). Scholars who have been working from this perspective include P.A. Mountjoy,¹⁰² M. Georgiadis¹⁰³ and N. Mac Sweeney.¹⁰⁴ Neither one of these authors believes that there were immigrants from the Greek mainland in the south-eastern Aegean (contra "colonialist perspective"). According to them, the heterogeneous distribution of traits of Mycenaean material culture along the west coast of Anatolia (see section 1.1 above) can best be understood as the result of (regional) differences in interactions and exchanges between local groups and Mycenaean culture. In that sense, this region is no different from other areas, such as Crete or the Cycladic islands, where various elements of Mycenaean culture were also adopted, but in a distinctive local fashion (see above). By 'participating' in Mycenaean culture, the different regions making up the Late Bronze Age Aegean expressed their socio-cultural connectivity, which is not the same as claiming that they were politically united.

⁹⁶ Jones 1999, 29-34; Dietler 2005, 55-8.

⁹⁷ Van Dommelen 2005, 111-8.

⁹⁸ Dietler 2005.

⁹⁹ Van Dommelen 2005.

¹⁰⁰ Knapp 2008, 57-61; Voskos/Knapp 2008.

¹⁰¹ Van Dommelen 2005, 116-8.

¹⁰² Mountjoy 1998.

¹⁰³ Georgiadis 2003; Georgiadis 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Mac Sweeney 2008; Mac Sweeney 2011, 68-9.

A prominent supporter of the “social constructivist perspective” is P.A. Mountjoy (also, see fn. 16). According to her, the archaeological evidence should not be interpreted in terms of either the presence or the absence of Mycenaeans in the southern, and central and northern zones, respectively, but rather as indicative that the different local groups inhabiting the west coast of Anatolia had undergone various degrees of Mycenaean acculturation. She uses the concept of cultural hybridity (see above) to explain the appearance of new forms of material culture.¹⁰⁵ For example, Mountjoy distinguishes a regional style of pottery combining Anatolian, Minoan and Mycenaean traits, which was developed in south Rhodes in the second half of the 14th century BC (ceramic phase LHIII A2).¹⁰⁶ (This so-called Rhodo-Mycenaean style is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.) Another case study discussed by her is the Mycenaean-style chamber tomb cemetery at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (situated opposite the island of Kos) (Chapters 4 and 5). While chamber tombs are typically used for inhumation burials on the Greek mainland (Chapter 3), there were three graves – of a total forty-eight – at Müskebi which also had cremation remains found inside of them.¹⁰⁷ The practice of cremation is usually regarded as Anatolian in origin.¹⁰⁸ Mountjoy also pays attention to a group of four bronze swords from the chamber tomb cemetery at Değirmentepe near Miletus (Chapters 4 and 5). Only one of the swords is of Aegean/Mycenaean origin. An Anatolian/Hittite origin has been suggested for the others.¹⁰⁹ What these examples (regional pottery style on Rhodes, ‘mixing’ of burial practices and different sword types) demonstrate is that the material culture associated with the south-eastern Aegean is not wholly or typically Mycenaean, at least in terms of the Mycenaean Greek mainland. According to Mountjoy, this shows that the different groups that lived along the west coast of Anatolia used Mycenaean (material) culture to produce unique hybrid identities of their own.¹¹⁰ She suggests that Mycenaean culture may have been more easily adopted in the southern than in the central and northern zones, because it had already been exposed to a strong Minoan influence in the late Middle and Early Late Bronze Age (LBA IA and IB periods) (Chapter 4).¹¹¹

Similar to Mountjoy, Georgiadis believes that the Mycenaean finds from western Anatolia need not be interpreted in terms of the presence of migrants, but, rather, are the result

¹⁰⁵ Mountjoy 1998, 36-7.

¹⁰⁶ Mountjoy 1998, 39; Mountjoy 1995b.

¹⁰⁷ Mountjoy 1998, 36.

¹⁰⁸ Jung 2007, 220-1, 229.

¹⁰⁹ Mountjoy 1998, 37; according to H. Genz these what Mountjoy calls Hittite/Anatolian swords should rather be seen as Levantine in origin (Genz 2011, 304).

¹¹⁰ Mountjoy 1998, 37.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 37.

of interactions and exchanges with the mainland of Greece.¹¹² According to him, the south-eastern Aegean was, socio-politically, autonomous.¹¹³

In his study, Georgiadis concentrated on similarities and differences in funerary practices (cemetery, tomb architecture, burial rituals and offerings) within the south-eastern Aegean. There were also comparisons made with the Greek mainland. According to him, in terms of the rituals performed and the offerings deposited, the cemeteries on the south-west coast Anatolia and adjacent islands are not unlike the ones recovered on the mainland of Greece.¹¹⁴ He, however, also identified a number of regional traits, such as that tombs in the same cemetery often have a common orientation.¹¹⁵ Since the origin of this custom is supposed to go back to earlier burial practices in western Anatolia and the south-eastern Aegean, this shows how new traditions were created by incorporating old ones (cf. hybridization concept mentioned above).¹¹⁶ Another idiosyncrasy is represented by a regional preference for secondary burials or treatment of the dead (scattering of bones after decomposition).¹¹⁷ Georgiadis believes that this can be seen as a process through which the dead were transformed into ancestors. By ‘intervening’ with the dead, their protection and help was directed towards or conferred upon the community of the living. According to Georgiadis, this may also explain why some tombs are oriented towards the settlement.¹¹⁸ Another regional trait is that terracotta figurines appear only rarely in tombs (for more comments on the distribution of terracotta figurines in the south-eastern Aegean, see section 1.3 below).¹¹⁹ By contrast, they occur much more frequently in funerary contexts on the Greek mainland.¹²⁰ Georgiadis sees “Mycenaean” as a socio-cultural identity, which was expressed in various ways in different parts of the Aegean.¹²¹ A similar view has been developed by N. Mac Sweeney, who also doubts whether there were Mycenaean settlers in south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.¹²² Her argument is based on a deconstruction of the idea that the Greek mainland should be seen as the center from which Mycenaean

¹¹² Georgiadis 2003, 106-115; Georgiadis 2009, 28.

¹¹³ Georgiadis 2003, 114.

¹¹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 109; Georgiadis 2009, 31.

¹¹⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 77.

¹¹⁶ Georgiadis 2003, 106-7; Georgiadis 2009, 31.

¹¹⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 85.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 85.

¹¹⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 107-8; Georgiadis 2009, 31.

¹²⁰ It should be noted that there is also some variation on the Greek mainland. For example, terracotta figurines are more common in cemeteries in southern than in northern Attica, including some sites without any figurines at all (Cavanagh 1998, 109-110).

¹²¹ Georgiadis 2003, 111.

¹²² Mac Sweeney 2011, 68-9.

culture originated and was spread to other parts of the Aegean.¹²³ According to Mac Sweeney, there are precedents for many elements typically associated with Mycenaean culture from the Aegean beyond the Greek mainland.¹²⁴ One of the examples discussed by her is Mycenaean fresco painting combining earlier Cretan and Cycladic traditions.¹²⁵ Minoan influences are also visible in Mycenaean pottery. Moreover, the use of sealings in the Mycenaean palatial administration is seen by Mac Sweeney as a possible Near Eastern influence.¹²⁶ She concludes that “Mycenaean” should not be regarded as a clearly-defined cultural package originating from one area and being transferred to others, but as a composite culture, which is the result of the interconnection between, and the mutual influence of, the different élites in the Aegean proper.¹²⁷ Rather than as indicative of the presence of ‘mainlanders’, the adoption of elements of Mycenaean culture in the south-eastern Aegean reflects local élites participating in, and expressing their identity in relation to, a pan-Aegean élite network.¹²⁸

In the next section, the approach used in this PhD study will be introduced. I will explain why a different approach is needed by highlighting a number of weaknesses in the two general perspectives discussed above relating to the arguments that have been used to prove or disprove the presence of Mycenaean in the south-eastern Aegean.

1.3 A different perspective: the contextual production of identities in the south-eastern Aegean

In the previous section, it was discussed that the debate on the interpretation of the regional differences in the distribution of Mycenaean material culture along the west coast of Anatolia tends to be dominated by two interpretive perspectives: the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist perspective”. The latter arose in response to the inherent tendency of the “colonialist perspective” to represent the south-eastern Aegean as a wholly Mycenaean area, with a population made up by people of Mycenaean Greek (i.e. colonizers) and local descent (i.e. colonized). According to scholars working a “colonialist perspective”, the predominance

¹²³ Mac Sweeney 2008, 107.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 108.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, 108.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 108.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 108-9.

¹²⁸ Mac Sweeney 2008, 108-9; Mac Sweeney 2011, 69.

of Mycenaean culture indicates that the local inhabitants had been acculturated to Mycenaean culture. But if there is no way of archaeologically distinguishing between settlers from the Greek mainland (i.e. ‘real’ Mycenaeans) and people of local origin (i.e. ‘made’ Mycenaeans), then how can we be sure that there were ‘real’ Mycenaeans to begin with?

Mee and Niemeier (see section 1.1 above)¹²⁹ have suggested a number of archaeological criteria, most of which have been derived from a similar debate on the identification of Minoan colonies outside Crete,¹³⁰ as indicative of Mycenaean occupation abroad: the presence of Mycenaean-type (undecorated) domestic pottery,¹³¹ religious customs and cult patterns,¹³² mortuary practices and tomb types,¹³³ house architecture and administrative practices.¹³⁴ There is plentiful evidence for Mycenaean mortuary practices and tomb types in the south-eastern Aegean (see section 1.1 above). This manifests itself in the presence of a large number of cemeteries with Mycenaean-style chamber tombs.¹³⁵ New tombs and cemeteries continue to be discovered in the region.¹³⁶ The evidence for the other criteria is much more limited. Vestiges of domestic architecture of (possible) Mycenaean-type have, for example, so far only been uncovered at Miletus.¹³⁷ The evidence for Mycenaean religious customs and cult patterns is also limited. There are only a few terracotta figurines dated to LHIIIA-B from tombs on Rhodes.¹³⁸ Their interpretation as religious items is, however, not certain.¹³⁹ The lack of figurines in funerary contexts is one of the local characteristics discussed by Georgiadis to demonstrate the local nature of the adoption and adaptation of Mycenaean culture in the south-eastern Aegean. The evidence from the tombs is only partially counterbalanced by that from the settlements. Small numbers of Mycenaean terracotta figurines have been found at Trianda on Rhodes,¹⁴⁰ the “Serraglio” on Kos,¹⁴¹ and

¹²⁹ Mee 1988, 302; Niemeier 2005a, 5-6, 10-16; Niemeier 2005b, 202 (see, also, Benzi 2005, 206).

¹³⁰ Hägg/Marinatos 1984, 221.

¹³¹ Mycenaean unpainted ceramics – kylikes and shallow angular bowls – and (tripod) cooking pots

¹³² Mycenaean female and animal terracotta figurines

¹³³ Chamber tombs, primary and secondary inhumations and Mycenaean-style burial gifts

¹³⁴ Mycenaean lentoid seals and seal impressions, and Linear B writing

¹³⁵ E.g. Ialysos on Rhodes, Eleona/Langada on Kos, and Müskebi and Değirmentepe/Kalabaktepe on the south-west coast of Anatolia

¹³⁶ Note that in 2012 a new tomb at the previously known cemetery has been excavated. In addition, a new cemetery has been discovered at the nearby hill of Kalabaktepe (Herda 2013, 434, fn. 52). Moreover, in the summer of 2013, a new necropolis has been found in the Bodrum/Ortakent district nearby the previously known cemetery of Müskebi (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/mycenaean-artifacts-found-in-bodrum.aspx?pageID=238&nID=51909&NewsCatID=375>).

¹³⁷ The evidence is, however, very fragmentary. There are two possible Mycenaean houses (Niemeier 2005a, 12-3).

¹³⁸ Mee 1982, 22; Dietz 1984, 49; Karantzali 2001, 50-1.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of the function(s) of terracotta figurines, see Gallou 2005, 52-4.

¹⁴⁰ Benzi 1988a, 53; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1990, 181, Fig. 86b; Karantzali 2005, 148.

¹⁴¹ French 1971, 180.

Iasos¹⁴² and Miletus on the Anatolian south-west coast.¹⁴³ It has to be admitted that at all of these sites the Bronze Age stratigraphy had been badly disturbed as a result of building activities in later periods. In any case, if the criteria suggested by Mee and Niemeier are considered useful for establishing the presence of Mycenaeans, the available evidence for Mycenaean occupation in the south-eastern Aegean is far from conclusive.¹⁴⁴ As indicated on Map 2, the only habitation site with a full ‘package’ of Mycenaean cultural traits is Miletus. Nevertheless, Niemeier believes that the southern zone can be regarded as “a zone of Mycenaean settlement”.¹⁴⁵

Scholars working from a “social constructivist perspective” interpret the mixed character of the Mycenaean evidence as the result of the behavior of local peoples selectively adopting and adapting traits of Mycenaean (material) culture in order to construct hybrid identities of their own (for a summary of Mac Sweeney’s argument, which follows a different line of reasoning see end of section 1.2 above). The combination of Mycenaean elements and features of supposed local provenance (e.g. Rhodo-Mycenaean pottery style and uniformity in orientation of cemeteries) tends to be regarded as proof that the peoples developing these hybrid identities did not have Mycenaean but local backgrounds. It may be argued that in this way, this perspective – implicitly – reinforces the image that ‘Mycenaeaness’ can somehow be measured (cf. criteria discussed in the context of the “colonization perspective” above) and that the only ‘real’ Mycenaean is a Mycenaean Greek Mycenaean.

As noted in section 1.2 above, the emergence of the “social constructivist perspective” may be linked to the increasing influence of postcolonial theory in archaeology in recent years.¹⁴⁶ The basis of postcolonial thought is that colonial situations are made up by people of different origins or descents. They are interlinked through their interactions, which can be conceptualized as a mutually constitutive cultural dialogue. In other words, this is not a unilateral or one-sided process in which the colonizers act as sole ‘givers’ and the colonized as passive ‘receivers’ (cf. processes of Mycenaeanization, Hellenization and Romanization discussed in section 1.2 above): “[b]oth parties eventually become something other than they were because of the processes of entanglement and their unintended consequences”.¹⁴⁷ The bottom line is that cultures and well-defined populations should not be seen as closed or bounded entities with readily distinct identities own their own (cf. archaeological cultures in

¹⁴² Benzi 1999, 275; Benzi/Graziadio 2013, 3.

¹⁴³ Niemeier 2005a, 11, fn. 262, 13, fn. 301-2.

¹⁴⁴ Benzi 2002, 368.

¹⁴⁵ Niemeier 2005a, 203.

¹⁴⁶ Voskos/Knapp 2008, 660-1.

¹⁴⁷ Dietler 2005, 54.

Chapter 2 in this respect).¹⁴⁸ In this light consider the following statement by Mee on the apparent ‘invisibility’ at Miletus of any indigenous population segment: “The existence of a chamber tomb cemetery at Değirmentepe suggests that Mycenaeans settled at Miletus, a conclusion which is supported by the domestic architecture, especially of the third period. Anatolians are less in evidence”.¹⁴⁹ The different groups that make up colonial situations together create new communities.¹⁵⁰ Their interactions can lead to new meanings and forms of (material) culture, a process referred to as hybridization. What this implies is that there is no *a priori* reason to deny the presence of settlers from the Greek mainland on the basis of the incorporation of old and new traditions to create new forms of material culture (cf. “social constructivist perspective”). In other words, the existence of a hybrid (archaeological) culture and the presence of Mycenaean immigrants need not be mutually exclusive.¹⁵¹

It can thus be concluded that neither one of the two interpretive perspectives completely agrees with or offers a satisfying explanation for the archaeological evidence. One of the problems is that there is a tendency to think about the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in terms of two opposing social blocs, with Mycenaeans on one side and local groups (Anatolians, Rhodians, etc.) on the other. As is clear from the discussion above, from an archaeological perspective, this clear-cut distinction cannot be made. It is not the intention of this study to revisit this laden issue. The aim is to transcend the impasse in the debate by adopting a different approach, the application of which will hopefully shed new light on the south-eastern Aegean during the Late Bronze Age.

One of the aims of this PhD study is to establish whether the Mycenaean material culture, which appears to have been predominant in the south-eastern Aegean, was used to express different group identities. In contrast to the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist perspective”, in which the identification of groups – Mycenaeans and locals – tends to be based on only a few material indicators occurring in the archaeological record, in this research a more holistic approach is adopted. This approach is referred to as “neo-culture history” (Chapter 2). The basis of this perspective is that identities should not be seen as natural ‘properties’, which are passively reflected in the archaeological record,¹⁵² but as social ‘constructs’, which are actively constituted and manipulated by actors via associations

¹⁴⁸ Jones 1999, 106-10; Knapp/Van Dommelen 2010, 1.

¹⁴⁹ Mee 1978, 149.

¹⁵⁰ Van Dommelen 2005, 116-7.

¹⁵¹ Niemeier 2005a, 203.

¹⁵² Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 2.

between objects, persons, ideas, signs, etc.¹⁵³ It follows that it is not possible to assign identities by considering objects in isolation or out of context. Since identities are constructed via associations, one type of object can have different meanings depending on the other material factors together with which it is found.¹⁵⁴ In other words, “material culture is meaningfully constituted”.¹⁵⁵ The contextual approach proposed here, therefore, makes it possible to see whether there are any differences, of a regional or chronological nature, in the identities expressed with Mycenaean material culture in the south-eastern Aegean. In this way, a better understanding of the different groups in society in the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean than the one based on the “colonialist” and “social constructivist perspectives”, reducing it to an ‘artificial’ opposition between Mycenaeans and natives (see above), may be developed.

Identities are expressed in all different kinds of socio-cultural settings. For both practical and theoretical reasons, in this PhD study, the focus is on the construction of identity in tombs. As noted above, a large – and still growing – number of sites with Mycenaean-style chamber tombs have been uncovered in the south-eastern Aegean. As a matter of fact, it is the only type of context, of which sufficient material has been published. There is only relatively little available from the settlements.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, as noted above, at most habitation sites the Bronze Age stratigraphy had been badly disturbed because of building activities in later periods.

Mycenaean-type chamber tombs may be seen as well suited for studying the construction and expression of group identities, because they are multiple tombs, which means that they were designed to be used for multiple inhumations, and could be used by one group for several generations (Chapter 3).¹⁵⁷ Moreover, in general, burial practices are often highly group-specific, related to ancient myths and legends, beliefs about the afterlife, gender (men versus women) and age differences, etc.¹⁵⁸ In this way, it can be assumed that there was a close connection between a particular group or community and tomb. The key unit of analysis in this dissertation is represented by the archaeological assemblages found inside the tombs, which are regarded as the materialized remains of the activities through which group identities were constructed and expressed. The methodology used in this PhD study is further explained in Chapter 2.

¹⁵³ Jenkins 2008, 16-8.

¹⁵⁴ Hodder/Hutson 2003, 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 1.

¹⁵⁶ E.g. Trianda on Rhodes, the “Serraglio” on Kos, and Iasos and Miletus on the Anatolian south-west coast

¹⁵⁷ Mee 2010, 286.

¹⁵⁸ Van Wijngaarden 2012, 64.

The group identities in the south-eastern Aegean are not viewed in isolation, but are compared with the identities expressed in (chamber) tombs on the Greek mainland, which are discussed in Chapter 3. The south-eastern Aegean will be addressed in Chapters 4 and 5. In the sixth chapter, a comparison is made between the identities expressed in the different regions making up the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand, and the Greek mainland on the other. In this way, the connectivity of the south-eastern Aegean on a regional and supra-regional level (Greek mainland) can be assessed.

It should be pointed out that there is some overlap between the approach adopted here and the work of Georgiadis discussed in section 1.2 above, which is also based on a comparative analysis of funerary practices in the south-eastern Aegean. In addition, he also makes comparisons with the Greek mainland. However, the focus in his work was on (the organization of) cemeteries, tomb architecture, burial rituals, burial offerings and their connected beliefs.¹⁵⁹ Although here attention is also paid to tomb architecture and burial rites, I will concentrate mainly on the objects found within the tombs. My approach differs from the one adopted by Georgiadis in that he treats the burial gifts (pottery, weapons, jewelry, etc.) as one single data set. Moreover, his approach is based on the assumption that the burial record can be seen as offering a representation, albeit idealized, of the socio-political realities of everyday life.¹⁶⁰ He regards the burial context as an active socio-political arena.¹⁶¹ This is, for example, reflected in the emphasis placed by Georgiadis on the consumption or deposition of valuable or exclusive items (eclecticism) in tombs, interpreted as such based on their relative rarity or probable specialized content, as (possible) status markers.¹⁶² In the present study, however, objects are not singled out but considered as part of tomb assemblages (contextualized), which are seen as the materialized remains of the activities through which group identities were expressed. By looking at similarities and differences in the construction of group identities on site, regional and inter-regional level a better understanding of the social dynamics characterizing the communities in the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean than one based mainly on differences in social status can be developed.

¹⁵⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 2.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 66.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 50, 66-7

¹⁶² See, for example, Georgiadis' discussion of unguent containers and ritual vessels (*rhyta*) on Rhodes (Georgiadis 2003, 96). Similarly, since bronze weapons are seen as status markers, the fact that they occur in most excavated tombs on Karpathos is perceived as an indication that only the wealthiest of the local community had this kind of tomb (i.e. chamber tomb) with socially-laden offerings, such as weapons. Alternatively, the popularity of bronzes is explained as showing that weapons had an important metaphysical symbolism on the island (*ibidem*, 98).

Chapter 2

Social theory, archaeology and ethnicity

The Mycenaean archaeological evidence from the south-eastern Aegean has been interpreted in different ways. In Chapter 1, the two major interpretive perspectives were discussed: the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist perspective”. It was argued that there is a tendency to think of the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in terms of two opposing social blocs – Mycenaean on one side and natives or local groups on the other. As noted, this clear-cut distinction is not reflected in the surviving archaeological evidence. In order to transcend this apparent dichotomy and develop new insights about the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in this chapter a different approach based on the production of group identities in tombs will be proposed. The theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this approach, which is referred to as “neo-culture history”, are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2 is divided into two parts. In part one (sections 2.1 and 2.2), the focus is on the theoretical background of the neo-culture historical approach. Attention will be paid to the complex relationship between group identity and material culture. In the archaeological literature, this connection has often been framed in terms of ethnic descent.¹ Hence, in this part of the chapter, a concise overview of how ethnic identity has been used in archaeology over the years will be given. I will, however, first address the conceptualization of ethnicity in the social sciences, which have had a strong influence on archaeology from the 1960’s onwards.² The second part of this chapter (section 2.3) discusses the methodology used in this PhD study. The focus will be on tomb assemblages and how they can be used to study the construction and manipulation of group identities.

2.1.1 Ethnicity: Primordialism and Circumstantialism

¹ Mac Sweeney 2009, 102-4.

² It has to be emphasized that there is no consensus regarding the definition of ethnicity (for a recent overview, see Brubaker 2009).

There are two main perspectives on ethnicity in social theory, namely primordialism and circumstantialism, of which the latter is also known as instrumentalism.³ Scholars working from a primordialist perspective may be characterized as “analysts of naturalizers”.⁴ They concentrate on the subjective feelings and ideas of a people, the members of which conceive of ethnicity as an innate (i.e. universal) quality of man, stemming from “the [naturalized] ‘givens’ – or, more precisely, as culture is inevitable involved in such matters, the assumed ‘givens’ – of social existence”.⁵ Ethnicity manifests itself in such assumed ‘givens’ as shared descent⁶ and (material) culture, of which the latter can relate to something general like a common way of life (see example Fur/Baggara tribes below) or more specific as a shared language or religion.⁷ In the academic literature, these cultural similarities are sometimes referred to as ‘cultural stuff’ (cf. archaeological culture in section 2.2.1).⁸

The other conceptualization of ethnicity in social theory is circumstantialism. Rather than as manifested in a variety of inalienable group-specific ‘possessions’ (cf. ‘cultural stuff’), ethnicity is seen as essentially relational in nature. The circumstantialist approach is principally based on F. Barth’s (1969) highly influential introductory essay to the volume “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference”. Instead of concentrating on real and/or imaginary intra-group similarities (cf. primordialism and ‘cultural stuff’ above), ethnicity is conceptualized as a social boundary between two or more ethnic groups that marks the differences, which are considered socially relevant by their respective members.⁹ There is, however, no simple one-to-one relationship between the markers used to signal an ethnic boundary and the ‘cultural stuff’, which it encloses (see above).¹⁰ The markers are essentially relational in nature, which means that they are established in relation to any contextually present ethnic ‘others’ – and the boundary markers employed by these ‘others’ for similar differentiating purposes. As a consequence, the members of one ethnic group may take different ‘guises’ when confronted with persons from various other ethnic groups. An illustrative citation in this respect is the following by A.P. Cohen (1982):

³ Wimmer 2008, 971-2.

⁴ Gil-White 1999, 803.

⁵ Geertz 1973, 259-60.

⁶ Eriksen 2001, 264; Mann 2005, 10.

⁷ Brubaker/Loveman/Stamatov 2004, 49; Mann 2005, 10-1; Karner 2007, 17.

⁸ Barth 1969, 15.

⁹ Eriksen 2001, 262-4.

¹⁰ Barth 1969, 14.

People become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries: when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things, or merely of contradictions to their own culture.¹¹

Thus, ethnicity is not seen as a self-manifesting cultural property, but rather as a contextually-embedded relational process.¹² Its essentially social nature means that the conditions for inclusion and/or exclusion are not fixed, but, at least in principle, negotiable. Consider the following example. The western Sudanese Fur and Baggara tribes see themselves as two separate ethnic groups.¹³ Fur can become Baggara by adopting their nomadic way of life. This is what separates Fur from Baggara in everyday life.¹⁴

The two perspectives thus emphasize two different aspects of ethnic identity. Primordialism stresses the emotional link between group members. It provides an emic or insider's view of ethnicity.¹⁵ Instrumentalism, on the other hand, focuses on the different ways ethnicity is used in everyday life (praxis). The Fur/Baggara example discussed above demonstrates that it may be possible for people to change their ethnic identity, thereby denying its primordial or immutable character. However, despite the social nature of ethnicity, in practice not all markers or conditions of inclusion may be negotiable.¹⁶ While a lifestyle can be changed (see Fur/Baggara example above), a person's skin color or age obviously cannot. Instrumentalism also stresses the situational nature of ethnicity. Belongingness to a specific group may only be or become relevant in a limited number of situations. This is called situational ethnicity.¹⁷ Instrumentalism provides an etic or outsider's view of ethnicity.¹⁸

The two perspectives discussed above are not mutually exclusive, but can be combined. The sociologist R. Brubaker investigates how ethnicity operates in everyday life. He addresses issues such as when and how it becomes relevant to people as a category of identification and how they are influenced by it when 'inactive'. His work is discussed in the next section.

¹¹ Cohen 1985, 69.

¹² Eriksen 2001, 263.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 263.

¹⁴ Haaland 1969 (see, also, Eriksen 2001, 263).

¹⁵ Eriksen 2001, 36-7.

¹⁶ Díaz-Andreou/Lucy 2005, 8.

¹⁷ Eriksen 2001, 266-7.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 36-7.

2.1.2 R. Brubaker and “Beyond Groupism”

Ethnicity can be understood as a group identity. As noted above, it is usually expressed in terms of shared putative descent and (material) culture. In the literature on the subject, ethnicity is often talked about in terms of “ethnic groups”.¹⁹ According to R. Brubaker, there is a tendency in the social sciences to take “groups” for granted²⁰ and treat them as self-evident units of social analysis, “to which agency and interests can be attributed”.²¹ He believes that the frequent use of the term “group” gives the false impression that “groups”, in the sense of discrete collective units, are simply out there. According to Brubaker, however, “groups” have to be invoked through what he calls “group-making projects”.²² The aim of these projects is to transform (ethnic, national, racial) categories into groups by increasing the level of awareness,²³ which occurs through the activation of relevant knowledge structures.²⁴ Ethnicity should, therefore, not be seen as a fixed property or entity in the world (cf. primordialism, see section 2.1.2 above), but as a constructed cognitive perspective on the world.²⁵ It enables people to categorize “persons, actions, threats, problems, opportunities, loyalties, interests and so on . . . in ethnic . . . terms”.²⁶ In other words, they do not only represent (passive) but also process information (active).²⁷ This is congruent with P. Bourdieu’s (1969) famous habitus principle,²⁸ which is defined as a system “of durable, transposable dispositions [(a way of being, a habitual state . . . and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination)²⁹”].³⁰ This system represents knowledge and is a generative of action.³¹

¹⁹ The same is true for other “groups”, such as nations and races (Brubaker 2002, 164). The relevance or general appeal of ethnic identity (or any other group identity for that matter) in everyday life is ultimately context-dependent and historically-situated.

²⁰ For a criticism on Brubaker, see Jenkins 2008, 9-12.

²¹ Brubaker 2002, 164.

²² *Ibidem*, 170-1.

²³ *Ibidem*, 171.

²⁴ Brubaker 2002, 175; Brubaker/Loveman/Stamatov 2004, 46-7.

²⁵ Brubaker 2004, 14.

²⁶ Brubaker/Loveman/Stamatov 2004, 36-7.

²⁷ Brubaker/Loveman/Stamatov 2004, 41 (see, also, Wimmer 2008, 975).

²⁸ Brubaker/Loveman/Stamatov 2004, 42.

²⁹ Bourdieu 1977, 214, fn. 1.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 72.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 78.

Groups may crystallize, for example, in conjunction with violence and other dramatic events (see below).³² Since “groups” do not constitute a permanent state of being, unless sustained, levels of ethnic awareness decline, causing the “forces of everyday routine” to reassert themselves.³³

In order to illustrate the process of group-formation, I will briefly pay attention to a case study discussed by Brubaker. In the second half of the 1990’s, he conducted fieldwork in the city of Cluj, which is the main administrative center of the Transylvanian region of Romania.³⁴ There is a substantial minority – between 14 to 23% of the population – of Hungarians. An incident which temporarily led to heightened levels of groupness – among the Hungarian minority – was an attempt by the mayor of the city, who is of Romanian descent, to prohibit the carrying out of an important ‘Hungarian’ annual celebration. Another example is when the mayor ordered a new plaque installed on the base of a monumental statue of Matthias Corvinus, celebrated king of Hungary during the late 15th century. The new plaque denied his Hungarian roots by emphasizing his (partial) Romanian origin.³⁵

The work of Brubaker is mainly based on the study of cases from 19th and 20th Europe and the United States.³⁶ Nevertheless, I believe that his conception of (ethnic) groups, as temporary manifestations of heightened awareness, can also be helpful when thinking about groups in the past. This will be further discussed in the next two sections.

2.2 Archaeology and ethnicity: an overview

In what follows, a diachronic overview of how archaeologists have approached ethnicity over the years is given. In general, two main approaches can be distinguished. The first one, which is hereafter referred to as the *passive mode* (see section 2.2.1), may be connected to two prominent schools of thought in archaeology: traditional culture-history (first half of 20th century) and New Archaeology (1950’s and 60’s).³⁷ The second approach, which is hereafter

³² A recent example is represented by the so-called 2004 Redfern riots in Sydney, Australia. A 17-year-old Aboriginal boy died under suspicious circumstances. The family claims he was killed in a police pursuit. The police speak of a tragic accident. In any case, the death of the boy led to the gathering of Aboriginal youths from across Sydney to the Redfern area. The situation escalated into a full-scale riot (see, for example, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3491299.stm>).

³³ Brubaker 2002, 177.

³⁴ Ibidem, 178.

³⁵ Ibidem, 181.

³⁶ Ibidem, 181-2.

³⁷ Johnson 1999, 12-33; Renfrew/Bahn 2001, 34-40.

referred to as the *active mode* (see section 2.2.2), can be associated with today's interpretive archaeology.

2.2.1 Passive conceptions of ethnicity in archaeology

In culture-historical archaeology and New Archaeology the relationship between ethnicity and material culture is perceived as unproblematic.³⁸ Ethnic identity, it is assumed, is a social given (cf. primordialism in section 2.1 above) which is passively reflected in the archaeological record. This is clearly illustrated by culture-history's culture-concept.³⁹ The following definition is derived from V.G. Childe's 1929 monograph "The Danube in Prehistory", which is generally considered as an important work in the establishment of the culture-history paradigm in (European) archaeology.⁴⁰

"We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, and house forms – constantly recurring together. Such a complex of associated traits we shall term a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what today would be called a 'people'."⁴¹

In a later article Childe (1935) stated that "[i]f ethnic be the adjective for people, we may say that prehistoric archaeology has a good hope of establishing an ethnic history of Europe, while a racial one seems hopelessly remote".⁴² In other words, archaeological cultures are seen as passive reflections of the behaviors of ethnic groups in the past.⁴³ This idea of culture has been called *normative*. It implies that the people making up an ethnic group have shared beliefs and ideas. These 'norms' manifest themselves in a homogenous material culture.⁴⁴

³⁸ Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 2, 4.

³⁹ Johnson 1999, 16-7.

⁴⁰ There were other archaeologists before Childe who had been using a similar concept of culture (Jones 1997, 16). In relation to this, mention should be made of the (infamous) German prehistorian G. Kossinna (1911), whose work played an important role in 'legitimizing' the expansion politics of the Nazi's during World War II (Trigger 1980, 25; Jones 2008, 323).

⁴¹ Childe 1929, v-vi.

⁴² Childe 1935, 198-9.

⁴³ Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 2.

⁴⁴ Johnson 1999, 16-7 (see, also, Jones 1997, 24; Jones 2008, 325).

An illustration of the use of the concept of the archaeological culture is provided by the work of C. Hawkes (1931) on Iron Age Britain.⁴⁵ He identified three archaeological cultures which succeeded each other in the material record: Iron Age A, Iron Age B and Iron Age C. The definition of Iron Age A was, for example, based on Halstatt-style material culture and Iron Age B on La Tène-style material culture. According to Hawkes, the succession of archaeological cultures showed that there had been three waves of migrations from the European continent: Celts (Iron Age A) (6th century BC), the La Tène-people from Spain (Iron Age B) (early 4th century BC) and Belgic tribesmen from northern Gaul (Iron Age C) (late 1st century BC). It was commonplace in culture-historical archaeology to explain cultural change as the result of external influences, either through the movement of peoples (migration) or contact with other groups (diffusion of ideas).⁴⁶ Thus, Hawkes believed that the Iron Age A people (Celts) were absorbed and/or driven out by the Iron Age B people (La Tène-people), who superseded their settlements.⁴⁷

From the middle of the 20th century, the culture-historical paradigm was gradually replaced by the New Archaeology or processual archaeology.⁴⁸ This research tradition, which was developed in the Anglo-Saxon world, wanted to turn archaeology from a non-explanatory field of study, based on the description of archaeological cultures (see above), into a 'real' science with its own research agenda and scientific tools.⁴⁹ One of the paradigm's most important methodological instruments is its definition of society, which was conceived of as an integrated socio-cultural system in balance with the external environment.⁵⁰ A society had a number of inter-related sub-subsystems, such as economy, technology and social organization. These parts interacted with each other in response to external stimuli. One of the advantages of system's theory is that it allowed for the development of more complex ideas to account for cultural change. In the culture-historical tradition, it was commonplace to explain change by referring to external influences, either through the migration of peoples or the diffusion of new ideas through contact with other groups.⁵¹ A similar explanation (movement

⁴⁵ Hawkes 1931 (see, also, Jones 1999, 29-39).

⁴⁶ Johnson 1999, 17-8.

⁴⁷ Hawkes 1931, 77.

⁴⁸ Johnson 1999, 20; Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 4.

⁴⁹ Johnson 1999, 24-5.

⁵⁰ Johnson 1999, 24; Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 4.

⁵¹ Johnson 1999, 17-8.

of peoples) was proposed by Hawkes to account for the spread of the Iron Age material culture traditions of continental Europe to Britain (see above).⁵²

A good example to illustrate the use of system's theory in archaeology is provided by the explanation offered by archaeologists to account for a number of developments which took place at Chaco Canyon in the north-west of New Mexico in the period of 700-800 AD.⁵³ During this period, there is an upsurge in the construction of ceremonial monuments. Parallel to this, a transition from pit-houses to stone pueblos (large masonry buildings) has been observed. Archaeologists believe that these developments are indicative of an increasing level of social complexity. At the time of these the climate at Chaco was getting drier (external stimulus). As a consequence of this, the region's economy was transformed from a system based on rainfall into one that relied on crop irrigation (change in economic sub-system). A social élite was developed in order to coordinate the work force which was needed to keep these systems running (change in social organization).⁵⁴

In processual archaeology, material culture is interpreted in relation to the socio-cultural system. The functions of artifacts are defined on the basis of their functional roles in maintaining the equilibrium with the external environment (see above). Material culture is seen as man's extra-somatic means of adaptation.⁵⁵ According to L.R. Binford, who was one of the leading figures in New Archaeology, artifacts can be subdivided into three functional classes: technomic, socio-technic and ideo-technic.⁵⁶ Cross-cutting these formal classes are what Binford describes as "formal characteristics which can be termed stylistic".⁵⁷ He believes that style can best be understood in relation to ethnic origin. The role of these formal stylistic attributes within the socio-cultural system is to promote group cohesion and solidarity.⁵⁸ A different view on style was developed by J.R. Sackett. According to him, artifacts can be regarded from two contrasting, but fully complementary, points of view. The first one is functionality. Questions addressed include how is an object used, what ends does it serve and "how [does] it behave as an integral part of the cultural system".⁵⁹ The second point of view is style, which relates to an object's design and form. Sackett regards style as the product of a series of specific choices made by a people from an enormous broad spectrum of

⁵² Jones 1997, 29-30.

⁵³ Johnson 1999, 76-7 (see, also, Wills/Dorshow 2012).

⁵⁴ Johnson 1999, 76-7.

⁵⁵ Binford 1964, 440; Johnson 1999, 22.

⁵⁶ Binford 1962, 219-20.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 220.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 220.

⁵⁹ Sackett 1977, 370.

other formal possibilities. In other words, there are other ways of achieving a similar result. This makes the decisions made by a certain people to produce something in a certain way contingent on local or context-determined circumstances. Because these choices are socially transmitted, Sackett sees degree of similarity in style in different historically related loci or contexts as indicative of the intensity of social interaction between groups. Similarity in style is, therefore, seen as an index of ethnic similarity and difference.⁶⁰

Despite the many differences, in processual archaeology a similar conception of ethnicity as in the culture-historical tradition is used.⁶¹ As is clear from the above, both approaches conceive of ethnicity as a self-manifesting social given, which is passively reflected in the archaeological record. This is similar to the primordialist view of ethnicity, which has been treated in section 2.1 above. This perspective also presumes that there is a (real or socially constructed) relation between ethnic identity and a group's 'cultural stuff', which are essentially seen as the self-manifesting 'products' of ethnicity. The only difference between the two archaeological approaches is that in contrast to culture-history, where the particular focus is on complexes or assemblages of material traits, the new archaeological perspective concentrated on style as the natural 'carrier' of ethnic identity.

2.2.2 Active conceptions of ethnicity in archaeology

The second mode of thinking is characterized by an active archaeological conceptualization of ethnicity. It can be viewed in conjunction with today's interpretative school of thought in the discipline.⁶² An important difference with the two approaches discussed in section 2.2.1 above is the relative position of the social agent or actor.⁶³ As noted above, one of New Archaeology's main methodological instruments is the socio-cultural system. Within system's theory, the only role people have is to perform the duties or tasks which are required to maintain the equilibrium with the external environment. Hence, they actively contribute in reproducing the socio-cultural system.⁶⁴ Human behavior is thus seen as teleological in

⁶⁰ Ibidem, 371 (see, also, Jones 1997, 111-2).

⁶¹ Jones 1997, 107-8; Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 2, 4.

⁶² Johnson 1999, 98-101.

⁶³ Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 5-6.

⁶⁴ Johnson 1999, 104.

nature.⁶⁵ In today's interpretative school of thought, on the other hand, people are believed to have had a more active and constitutive role in society. Within the structures of society, they act and behave in accordance with their own interests, motivations, emotions, etc. They possess what is called agency.⁶⁶

The active role of agents is also apparent in the way material culture is conceived. As noted above, in processual archaeology material culture is seen as man's extra-somatic means of adaptation.⁶⁷ In today's interpretative school of thought, the archaeological evidence is perceived as principally "meaningfully constituted".⁶⁸ These meanings are conferred upon the material remains through the behavior of past social agents. Meanings may be deduced from the archaeological evidence by paying attention to contextual associations.⁶⁹ Consider the following example, which is derived from M. Johnson's 1999 monograph "Archaeology Theory – An Introduction".⁷⁰ Johnson discusses different meanings an axe might have depending on the context in which it is found. The meaning of an axe inside a grave is, for example, dependent on the person it is buried with (male, female, child, etc.) and any other burial gifts with which it is associated (e.g. weapons, jewelry, ceramic containers, etc.). The same object can appear with different assemblages in other graves from the same cemetery. Moreover, it is also possible for an axe to be found on the floor of a house (part of an inventory) or in a rubbish pit (together with other discarded remains). In all of these cases, the meaning of the object is contextually constituted. The next step is to interpret the 'clues' left in the material record in terms of the significances behind the objects and associations. Did the axe belong to the deceased (personal possession), did it have a symbolic significance (for example as a sign of masculinity) or was it intended for use in the afterlife? The answers to these questions may not be immediately obvious. The extent to which it is possible to provide satisfying answers is dependent on a number of factors, such as the size of the data set, the availability of evidence from other sources (e.g. historical texts and visual representations), but also the creativity of the interpreting archaeologist. In the end, it should be remembered that there is always more than one perspective. Funeral ceremonies may, for example, be attended by family members, kin's men, people from the same or neighboring villages,

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 142.

⁶⁶ Dobres/Robb 2000, 4-17 (see, also, Johnson 1999, 5; Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 5).

⁶⁷ Binford 1964, 440; Johnson 1999, 22.

⁶⁸ Hodder/Hutson 2003, 1-2.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, 162-87.

⁷⁰ Johnson 1999, 107.

political allies, enemies, etc.⁷¹ These persons look at and perceive of the rituals performed in their own distinctive way. In that sense, the perspective of the modern interpreting archaeologist can be seen as yet another way of looking. The evidence can be interpreted in different ways, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but complement each other.⁷²

How do these observations affect the conceptualization of ethnicity in archaeology? A ground breaking book in this respect is I.R. Hodder's "Symbols in Action" (1982).⁷³ This study was based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted by him in the Lake Baringo area of Kenya. He showed that the tribes studied by him only employed certain features of material culture to express their distinctiveness vis-à-vis each other. A good indicator, for example, is represented by female ear decorations. Other features of material culture, such as ceramic pots and tools, had a more diffuse pattern of distribution associated with them, not following the (geographic) boundaries separating the individual tribes from each other. The implication of Hodder's work is that it cannot be assumed that the distribution of archaeological cultures coincides with the habitats of distinctive ethnic groups. Which traits – if any – are used to express ethnic distinctiveness is dependent on interactions between groups. In other words, its meaning is context dependent and socially constituted. These insights are clearly related to Barth concept of the ethnic boundary discussed in section 2.1 above. In the next section, I will pay attention to how the insights gained by Hodder's work have influenced the study of ethnicity in archaeology in recent years. In the last two decades, numerous case studies and volumes have been published. In section 2.2.3, the focus is on the work of S. Jones (1997), who has had an important influence on the field of ethnic studies in contemporary archaeology. The criticism by the ancient historian J.M. Hall (1999) will also be discussed.

2.2.3 The archaeology of ethnic boundaries

As is clear from the previous two paragraphs, although there have been a number of major transformations in archaeology, these have had only a limited effect on the conceptualization of ethnicity in the discipline. A ground breaking book in this respect is Hodder's "Symbols in Action" (1982), which, as noted above, made evident that distribution patterns of material culture (archaeological cultures) need not coincide with the habitats of distinctive ethnic groups. What matters is how objects are used in everyday life. While some items clearly were

⁷¹ Hayden 2009.

⁷² Johnson 1999, 106.

⁷³ Hodder 1982.

ethnically-laden, others were not. As a result, identities should not be seen as passively reflected in the archaeological record, but as actively constructed by actors in relation to each other.

Hodder's work was, however, carried out in the ethnographic present (Lake Baringo area of Kenya). S. Jones is one of the first scholars who developed a methodology based on this practical turn in archaeology aimed at studying the expression of ethnic identity in the material record. The methodological-interpretative framework proposed by her in the book "Archaeology of Ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and present" (1997) is called "multidimensional ethnicity".⁷⁴ The approach is strongly influenced by Bourdieu's habitus principle⁷⁵ (see section 2.1.2 above) and Barth's concept of the ethnic boundary (see section 2.1.1 above).⁷⁶

In Jones' book a number of principle guidelines are proposed that can be used to recognize ethnic boundaries, or rather the active markers associated with them, in the archaeological record. Since ethnic boundaries are the principal means through which ethnic distinctiveness is expressed, the focus should be on what Jones calls the "objectification of cultural difference".⁷⁷ This is what happens when persons with different habituses meet in contexts in which ethnicity plays an important role in structuring the relations between groups. The archaeological correlates of such inter-ethnic encounters – what Jones calls "manifestations of ethnicity"⁷⁸ – may be recognized in the material record by paying attention to 'untidy' distribution patterns "disrupt[ing] regular spatio-temporal stylistic patterning".⁷⁹ This also highlights the main difference between Jones' approach and the earlier culture-historical and processual archaeology paradigms (see section 2.2.1 above). It is the study of regular spatio-temporal patterning (see above), through the definition of stylistically homogeneous cultures, which is central to culture-historical archaeology (see section 2.2.1 above). In processual or New Archaeology, a similar conception of ethnicity, as manifested in formal stylistic traits cross-cutting the different, functionally-explained, categories of artifacts is used (see section 2.2.1 above). According to Jones, by focusing on shared elements in material culture, there is a tendency to overlook variation ('untidy' distribution patterns disrupting regular spatio-temporal stylistic patterning) which she believes should be central to

⁷⁴ Jones 1997, 84-105.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, 88-92.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 59-60.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, 96.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, 97.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, 129.

a discussion in which the expression of identity in the archaeological record is the subject of explication.⁸⁰

The book includes one case study which Jones uses to illustrate the potential of the approach developed by her. She focuses on a number of settlements in south-east Britain in the period from about 100 BC to 200 AD.⁸¹ During this period, an increasing influence of Roman (material) culture is apparent in the archaeological record, which is seen as the result of the area being incorporated into the Roman Empire (cf. Romanization).⁸² According to Jones, the analysis of early Roman Britain was and still is strongly influenced by culture-historical archaeology. This is, for example, reflected in the common use of such categories as “Roman” or “native” to order the material remains.⁸³ In this way, the archaeological record is being represented as constituted by different, spatially-separated, cultural traditions, which are seen as the material ‘residues’ of well-defined populations with readily distinct identities (Romans versus natives). As is clear from the primordialist-instrumentalist debate in the social sciences (see section 2.1 above), as well as from the ethnographic fieldwork conducted by Hodder in the Lake Baringo area of Kenya (see section 2.2.2 above), objects do not passively reflect identities, but may be involved in the practices through which people express their identities in different social contexts.⁸⁴ Thus, according to Jones, in order to study identity in the archaeological record it is necessary to let go of the social and cultural group as the primary unit of analysis (cf. Romans and natives) and adopt a contextual approach. It is through the comparative study of contexts and the archaeological assemblages associated with them that we can learn more about how material culture was used to construct and manipulate identities in the past. In her book, Jones defined a number of contexts or ‘locales’ for investigating the expression of identity in Early Roman Britain: rural settlements, nucleated settlements, military forts, extra-mural settlements and burial sites or cemeteries.⁸⁵ One of the elements of material culture discussed by Jones is architecture. It is demonstrated that at the different sites investigated by her changes in architectural style occur at different times and take different forms. For example, while in some settlements Roman building styles are adapted (e.g. masonry construction and villa-style architecture), there are other sites that do

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 130-1.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 29.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 33.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 36.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 130.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 130.

not show an equivalent transition, maintaining pre-Roman building traditions instead.⁸⁶ There are also many variations distinguishable in the pottery assemblages from the different sites. This concerns the relative proportions of imported pottery, local copies and ‘native’ products.⁸⁷ Jones interprets these variations as an indication that there were different identities being expressed by the populations at the different sites. Some of these identities might be site-specific, such as the use of Roman-style architecture, through which the people employing it may have attempted to associate themselves with a broad Roman identity, while others, such as particular styles of pottery or burial customs, may be shared on a more regional basis serving to reproduce what Jones calls “regional ethnicities”.⁸⁸

To sum up, Jones’ model of multidimensional ethnicity may be used to demonstrate, or make plausible, that certain traits of material culture were employed to signal differences between groups. A major difficulty is, however, the interpretation of these traits as ‘emblems’ or ‘carriers’ of ethnic distinctiveness.⁸⁹ What kinds of differences are being objectified? The answer to this question may not be immediately obvious. Jones concludes that “ethnicity, *amongst other factors*, may disrupt regular spatio-temporal stylistic patterning” (italics not in original).⁹⁰ It is hardly surprising that the model of multidimensional ethnicity cannot ‘escape’ from the materially-biased and multi-interpretable nature of the archaeological evidence (see section 2.2.2 above).⁹¹ One of the circumstances hindering a straightforward ethnic interpretation of the evidence is that, as noted by J.M. Hall, the active signaling of social boundaries is not a practice that is definitionally limited to ethnic groups. In other words, there is nothing definitionally ‘ethnic’ about the marking of social boundaries⁹² in the social world or the occurring of identity-laden patterns in the material record. Similar practices may also be observed among other self-conscious identity groups, such as religious, social status and political groups.⁹³ However, it should be stressed that ethnicity is often intermeshed with other aspects of identity or social belonging, such as age, gender, status and religion.⁹⁴

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 132.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 133.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 134.

⁸⁹ Hall 2002, 22, fn. 65.

⁹⁰ Jones 1997, 129.

⁹¹ A similar point is made by N.M. Sweeney in the article “Beyond Ethnicity: The Overlooked Diversity of Group Identities” (2009). In this article, she argues that the archaeological debate on identity has been dominated by ethnicity. According to Sweeney, this has led to a neglect of other ‘socially-binding’ group (e.g. regional, landscape and political) identities in archaeological interpretation.

⁹² Jenkins 2008, 129-31.

⁹³ Hall 1997, 137-8.

⁹⁴ Eriksen 2001, 269-71 (see, also, Jones 1997, 135; Lucy 2005, 100).

Another difficulty is the material nature of the archaeological evidence. As noted in section 2.1.1 above, members of an ethnic group usually claim descent from a common ancestor. Even though material culture could have been used to express real and/or imagined kinship relations, it is argued by Hall that without any written evidence, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate that a single or a collection of cultural trait(s) was employed to mark an ethnic boundary in the past.⁹⁵

On the above grounds, Hall draws the conclusion that “there can be no archaeology of ethnicity among societies who have left us no [written] record”.⁹⁶ Although disappointing from an archaeological point of view, his criticism is valid and makes clear that interpretation in archaeology has many seemingly unbridgeable difficulties associated with it. Nevertheless, there are other ways of studying ethnic groups or rather “groups” in general in the archaeological record. The method developed here, which is henceforth referred to as neo culture-history, is described in section 2.3 below.

2.3 Neo culture-history and the Archaeology of “Groups”

It is not the aim of this study to identify traits which may or may not have been used by social agents to ‘label’ ethnic boundaries in the past. The approach used in this research focuses on what can be called the contextual production of groups. As indicated in the previous sections, the archaeological record should not be seen as constituted by monolithic cultures representing the behaviors of past ethnic groups. Ethnicity can offer only a partial explanation for the patterns and variability observed in the material record. One of the reasons for this is that even though everyday behavior might be influenced – or even structured – by it, through a person’s habitus or cognitive knowledge structures (see section 2.1.2 above), ethnic identity is only actively expressed in a limited number of social contexts. What characterizes these contexts is that the activities which are contingent on them lead to temporary heightened or elevated levels of ethnic awareness and group cohesion. Within these contexts, ethnic categories are temporarily transformed into discrete groups or entities. This idea is based on Brubaker’s notion of group making as a project (see section 2.1.2 above). Although it was

⁹⁵ Hall 2002, 142, 182.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 24.

developed in connection with fieldwork conducted by him in contemporary settings, such as in the Romanian city of Cluj, I believe that thinking about ‘groupness’ as a contextualized event or state of being can also lead to new insights about groups in the past.

The first step in translating the concept of ‘groupism’ to archaeology is by defining a range of contexts which can readily be identified in the archaeological record and might be capable of attracting large numbers of similarly-minded persons. In this PhD study, the focus is on the manifestation of groups in tombs. Another type of context which may be fruitfully studied from the perspective adopted here is represented by religious or cultic sites, such as temples and (open air) sanctuaries. Prior to discussing the neo-culture historical methodology used in this research, attention is given to (theoretical) developments in funerary archaeology. This serves to provide a historical overview of the different ways tombs have been approached in archaeology and to show how the methodology developed here is related to current debates in the discipline. Attention is paid to how this important topic has been addressed in the different archaeological paradigms: culture-history, New Archaeology and post-processual or interpretative archaeology.

In culture-historical archaeology, the focus is on the describing of burial gifts and tomb types. As noted in section 2.2.1 above, these are among the criteria used to define archaeological cultures – or by extension cultural entities or ethnic peoples.⁹⁷ Culture-history focused on the burial as an “object”.⁹⁸ New Archaeologists looked at tombs in a different way. According to them, the study of ancient burials could lead to deeper insights about a society’s social organization.⁹⁹ Social complexity constitutes an important part of the socio-cultural system (see section 2.2.2 above). Binford believed that the tomb and the burial rites performed were aimed at reproducing the *social persona* of the deceased. The social persona is defined as “the composite of the social identities maintained in life and recognized as appropriate for consideration at death”.¹⁰⁰ According to Binford, the most commonly recognized classes or dimensions of the social persona are age, sex, social status, conditions of death, location of death and social affiliation.¹⁰¹ In this way, the artifacts recovered were seen as faithfully reflecting “aspects of a living society”.¹⁰² The same ideas were applied to

⁹⁷ Brown 2008, 301 (see, also, Chapman/Randsborg 1981, 3-4).

⁹⁸ Laneri 2008, 1.

⁹⁹ Laneri 2008, 1; Robb 2008, 303; Chapman 2013, 49.

¹⁰⁰ Binford 1971, 17.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, 17.

¹⁰² Hodder 1982, 152.

the (spatial) organization of cemeteries. Divisions or clusters were seen as representing groups in society.¹⁰³

The interpretative school of thought in archaeology (see section 2.2.2 above), however, rejects the notion that there is, by definition, a close correspondence between tomb and social structure. This is related to the criticism which has been raised against New Archaeology in general and, in particular, its way of conceiving of society as a self-reproducing socio-cultural system (including its social organization) (see section 2.2.2 above). Tombs and rituals are meaningfully constituted. By virtue of the active agent, however, it is not necessary for these meanings to coincide with the (experienced) realities of everyday life. Another dimension which is likely to be involved is represented by a group's attitudes to death, which may be expressed in the performance or enactment of specific rituals, the treatment of the dead and the deposition of particular objects with the deceased. Medieval 'Christian' burials are illustrative of how attitudes to death can influence the material constitution of tombs. It is commonplace in 'Christian' burial practice to be buried in a shroud and/or coffin without accompanying burial gifts.¹⁰⁴ The 'possessionlessness' of dead bodies can be seen as an expression of the idea that "the dead had moved away from an earthly world separated by gender and class to a paradise without these constraints".¹⁰⁵ Thus, it is possible for social relations to be inverted or distorted through mortuary practices. As a result, the funerary record need not passively reflect the social realities of everyday life. It is a consciously constituted record; a social arena in which social relations are actively manipulated with reference to people's perceptions, beliefs, ideas, etc.¹⁰⁶

The task of archaeologists to 'translate' the objects found within tombs to past human practices and interpret them in terms of the different meanings expressed is far from obvious.¹⁰⁷ The 'messages' embodied in the archaeological record are often difficult to comprehend, especially among societies that have left us no written record. In this light also consider the reservations expressed by Hall (see section 2.2.3 above) towards interpreting material culture in strictly ethnic terms. As stressed by him, ethnicity, if socially relevant, may be articulated in a variety of different cultural 'media', only one which is material culture. Again it is important to stress that multiple interpretations can exist side-by-side. Past events,

¹⁰³ Chapman 2013, 50.

¹⁰⁴ Similar practices can be observed in burials in the Islamic World, in which it is also uncommon for the dead to be accompanied with burial gifts (Petersen 2013, 242, 245).

¹⁰⁵ O'Sullivan 2013, 264-5.

¹⁰⁶ Parker Pearson 2003, 32-3; Chapman 2013, 52-3; Ekengren 2013, 174-5.

¹⁰⁷ Voutsaki 1998, 41-2; Hodder/Hutson 2003, 2-3; Theuvs 2009, 294-7.

such as funerals, could be attended by a variety of people, including persons belonging to different age groups (children, adults and elderly), sexes (male and female), occupations, religions and ethnicities. These people saw the events with different ‘eyes’. As noted above, in this light, the archaeological perspective can be seen as yet another set of ‘eyes’ (see section 2.2.2 above). Besides our own preconceptions and theoretical inclinations, these ‘eyes’ are also influenced by a number of practical issues, such as the standard of excavation and recording, the robbing of tombs and the often poor preservation of certain materials (e.g. wood, clothing, bone and metal).

The approach adopted in this research is inspired by the post-processual or interpretative school of thought in archaeology. The main premise of this study is that the funerary record is to be seen as a consciously constituted record. As such, and based on the theoretical framework discussed in section 2.1.2 above, tombs are considered as suitable arenas for studying the expression of group identities. The passing away of a group member may be conceptualized as a situation or an event which often resulted in the gathering of a potentially large group of mourners.¹⁰⁸ In this sense, a person’s death and the rituals performed in conjunction with it may be conceived as a kind of ‘group-making-project’. The burial of the deceased in a tomb usually constitutes part of a sequence of events. It is possible for the dead body to be presented in the house of his/her family. Subsequently, the deceased is carried on a bier to the cemetery, which may be accompanied by a funeral procession.¹⁰⁹ In and/or outside the tomb, various ceremonies are performed: the corpse is inhumed or cremated and burial gifts are placed by its side (e.g. jewelry, incense, food stuffs, etc.). These and other individual and/or group-based rituals probably happened in accordance with specific, often strongly controlled, cultural values and beliefs, which are usually related to the common group identity of the people involved.¹¹⁰ The ceremonies performed serve a variety of functions. From the perspective of the deceased, he/she is given a proper funeral, thereby ‘securing’ a safe passage to the hereafter. In this way, the dead were prevented from haunting the community of the living. The group members present are able to mourn together and through the rituals performed “reassert the ties that have been weakened by the loss of one member, and to restore continuity and unity, i.e. the collective identity”.¹¹¹ In addition to this, these group-based activities may also serve to express any socially relevant differences (e.g.

¹⁰⁸ Durkheim 1964, 414; Voutsaki 1998, 45-6.

¹⁰⁹ For Mycenaean Greece, see, for example, Georgiadis 2003, 61-3; Burns 2010b, 182-5.

¹¹⁰ Robb 2008, 289.

¹¹¹ Metcalf/Huntington 1992, 51-2; Voutsaki 1998, 46.

ethnicity, social status, religion, treatment of the dead, etc.) to any ‘outsiders’ present (cf. Barth’s concept of ethnic boundaries in section 2.1.1 above).¹¹²

In this research, the focus is on the material ‘residues’ of these group-based activities. These ‘residues’ are what is left in the funerary record of the ceremonies performed. It is not the aim of this study to develop concrete ideas about the activities in which the objects recovered were involved. The focus of this research is on the relations between the objects found inside a particular tomb. The term “objects” is used here to refer to both items of material culture, such as pottery, and human bone material. This whole complex (tomb context, items of material culture and human bone material) constitutes what in this study is called the “tomb” or “funerary assemblage”. These assemblages represent the primary unit of analysis of this PhD study.

One of the premises of this research is that if material culture is used to express group identities, this should manifest itself archaeologically in differently constituted tomb assemblages. An assemblage type is defined on the basis of a number of characteristic traits, which are either objects often (positive) or hardly ever appearing together (negative). For example, it is possible for some vessel forms to (almost) only occur in combination with each other.¹¹³ It is important to stress that the relations have to be *structural*. This means that similar patterns of association (positive or negative) should be observed in a number of different tomb contexts in the same cemetery. In other words, every assemblage type is defined on the basis of its own *internal structural relations*. Besides material traits of which the purpose is to mark the differences between groups (see above), there may also be specific traits cross-cutting the different types of assemblages. Features which can appear in a large number of tombs in the same cemetery are, for example, the tomb type and the treatment of the dead.¹¹⁴

Hence, tomb assemblages are constituted or informed by two different types of relations. “Relations of difference” are used to distinguish assemblages from each other. It is through the identification of these relations that it can be made plausible that material culture was used to express different group identities. This may be seen in connection with what

¹¹² Baumann 1992, 99.

¹¹³ On the Greek mainland, this is for example the case with the large piriform jar and the kylix with high-swung handles (Chapter 3).

¹¹⁴ In the south-eastern Aegean, there is a link between the use of chamber tombs, inhumation burials and the deposition of unguent containers (small piriform jars and stirrup jars) (Chapter 5).

Jones' calls "the objectification of cultural difference" (see section 2.2.3 above).¹¹⁵ She, however, explains it in relation to the construction of ethnicity by the 'juxtapositioning' of different cultural traditions. I do not see the different assemblage types as the manifestation of different ethnic identities. Which differences are being expressed, may they be of an ethnic, a religious, an economical or a political nature, is ultimately dependent on local circumstances. No generalizations can be made here. The second type of relation constituting the tomb assemblages is represented by "relations of similarity", which emphasize the similarities between the different types of assemblages. They can be seen as the manifestation of the communal character or background of the different social groups whose dead are buried in a particular cemetery. Since ethnicity relates to shared feelings of belongingness (see section 2.1 above), it is tentative to see "the relations similarity" as a possible way of expressing this sentiment of social belonging in the funerary record.

The approach described above can be used on different scales or levels. It is possible to develop insights about the different group identities expressed on a site-specific level. The same analysis can, however, also be repeated on a regional and inter-regional basis. By comparing the assemblage types from different cemeteries in terms of their constituting relations of difference and similarity (see above), it is possible to address the social connectivity between areas, which is a good indicator for interactions between groups and possibly the movement of ideas and/or people. In this PhD study, a comparison will be made between group identities expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland on the one hand and the south-eastern Aegean on the other. The individual regions are considered in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, respectively. The inter-regional comparison is made in Chapter 6.

A final point of attention is the name given to the approach developed here, which I coined "neo culture-history". The main reason is that similar to 'traditional' culture-history, which was discussed in section 2.2.1 above, emphasis is placed on patterns of similarity and difference in the archaeological record and the definition of complexes of associated material traits. An important criticism against 'traditional' culture-historical archaeology is that while on a conceptual basis archaeological cultures were defined as assemblages composed of a variety of different types of artifacts (see definition by Childe in section 2.2.1 above), in praxis, their identification was often based on only a few archaeological indicators.¹¹⁶ An illustrative example is Childe's discussion of Iron Age cultures in Britain. Immigrant peoples

¹¹⁵ Jones 1997, 96.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, 17-8.

were identified by him on the basis of fine ware pottery styles alone. For example, the discovery of ‘haematite’ pottery at a number of sites was regarded by Childe as indicative of the presence of ‘Jogassian’ immigrants (late Halstatt culture of north-eastern France).¹¹⁷ This introduces another point of criticism which is often raised against ‘traditional’ culture-history; the tendency to equate cultures with ethnic groups (see section 2.2.1 above). The problem is, however, that ethnicity cannot be seen as the primary variable structuring variation in the archaeological record, because it is not primordial or simply ‘out there’, but only comes into play in a limited number of social contexts. Moreover, as pointed out by Jones and others (see section 2.2.3 above) the social landscape should not be regarded as composed of a large number of monolithic cultural blocs. Groups, as argued by Brubaker (see section 2.1.2 above), can best be seen as temporary manifestations of increased awareness.

The problems associated with ‘traditional’ culture-history have been resolved by the approach developed here because the focus of research is directed to the ‘locale’ in which group identities are actively expressed. As noted above, in this study, attention is mainly paid to tomb contexts. In addition, in Chapter 4, a comparison is made between tomb and settlement contexts in order to show that the former deviates from the latter, which can be seen as evidence that the funerary record (at least in this case) is a consciously meaningfully constituted record. The other problem, of developing definitions on the basis of single traits only, is avoided by making the definition of assemblage types dependent on their internal structural relations. In other words, there are multiple variables involved. As noted above, it is necessary for the relations between objects to be structural. The premise is that if material culture is used to express different group identities, this will manifest itself archaeologically in differently constituted tomb assemblages, which differ from each other through their “relations of difference” and are similar to each other through their “relations of similarity”. In the next chapter, the neo culture-historical approach developed in this chapter will be applied to the archaeological record of Late Bronze Age Greece.

¹¹⁷ Childe 1940, 204-6 (see, also, Jones 1997, 30).

Chapter 3

Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

In the previous two chapters the research problems which are central to this PhD study (Chapter 1) and the methodological approach used to address them (Chapter 2) have been introduced. The aim is to establish the degree of the deployment of Mycenaean material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean. For this purpose, in Chapter 2 a methodology, referred to as neo-culture history, based on the contextual production of groups in tombs was developed. In this chapter, the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland in the Late Bronze Age will be approached from this perspective. The aim is to establish whether it is possible for different tomb assemblages to be recognized in it, which may be seen as the manifestation of distinct groups in Mycenaean society. Before discussing this, however, attention will first be paid to the various uses of the term “Mycenaean” in the archaeological literature.

3.1 The use of the term “Mycenaean”

The term “Mycenaean” is typically used to refer to the dominant archaeological culture of the central and southern Greek mainland during the Late Bronze Age.¹ An archaeological culture essentially provides an overview of – what are considered to be – the most characteristic cultural traits found within a specific area during a certain time period. The concept and the research paradigm it constitutes part of, the culture-historical approach, were discussed in section 2.2.1. An example of a culture-historical definition of the term “Mycenaean”, as an archaeological culture, is given below:

¹ Gates 1995, 290; Wright 2004, 134; Mac Sweeney 2008, 105-6; Burns 2010b, 41-72; Sherratt 2010, 10-1.

The term Mycenaean indicates a cultural assemblage consisting of LH pottery and other artifact types that have been associated with it, such as figurines, metal objects, architectural forms and techniques, tomb types, and [Linear B] writing.²

As discussed in Chapter 2, it is commonplace to equate archaeological cultures with distinct peoples or ethnic groups. Similarly, there has been a tendency to regard the material traits listed above as the manifestation of the “Mycenaean people”.³ It is, however, usually not necessary for the whole assemblage to be present in order for ‘Mycenaeans’ to be ‘identified’ in the archaeological record. A case in point is represented by the trend to see the occurrence of Mycenaean pottery as a confirmation of the presence of ‘Mycenaeans’.⁴ In this way, ‘Mycenaean’ settlements, mostly of a commercial nature (also known as “emporía”),⁵ have, for example, been identified in the central⁶ and eastern Mediterranean.⁷ But if it is possible for ‘Mycenaeans’ to be identified on the basis of pottery alone, then how objective can the “cultural assemblage” from the citation above be considered to be? In order for this question to be answered, we need to look at the circumstances under which this definition was formulated.

Until recently, archaeological research targeting the Late Bronze Age in Greece was mainly concentrated on élite centers, which were usually readily identifiable because monumental features, such as fortification walls and gates, had never completely disappeared under the surface. Clear examples are the Cyclopean constructions of Tiryns and Mycenae, which were being discussed by scholars long before H. Schliemann began his excavations there in the late 19th century.⁸ Both of these sites have been under excavation for over one hundred years now.⁹ Other well-known élite centers in mainland Greece are Pylos in Messenia¹⁰ and Thebes in Boeotia.¹¹ The number of excavations of sites with monumental architecture¹² has not been counterbalanced by a corresponding interest for lower-level,

² Gates 1995, 290.

³ Hall 2002, 48; Feuer 2011, 513, 515-6.

⁴ Burns 2010b, 71.

⁵ Laffineur/Greco 2005.

⁶ E.g. Scoglio del Tonno in Italy (see, for example, Cazzella/Recchia 2009)

⁷ E.g. Miletus on the south-west coast of Anatolia and Trianda on Rhodes (Chapter 1)

⁸ Burns 2010b, 44-51; French 2010, 671 (Mycenae); Maran 2010, 723 (Tiryns).

⁹ Schliemann worked at Mycenae in 1876 (for a summary of the site’s excavation history, see French 2010, 671). Between 1884-5, Schliemann carried out excavations at Tiryns (for a summary of the site’s excavation history, see Maran 2010, 722-3).

¹⁰ For a summary of the site’s excavation history, see Davis 2010, 680-2.

¹¹ For a summary of the site’s excavation history, see Dakouri-Hild 2010, 690-1.

¹² E.g. Cyclopean walls, gates and tholos graves

particularly rural sites, although their number has been increasing in recent years.¹³ The result of this research bias is that our understanding of Mycenaean culture is strongly elitist in nature.¹⁴ The same bias is also reflected in the culture-historical definition of the term “Mycenaean” presented above, since some of the criteria listed in it have a distribution limited largely to palatial centers. This, for example, applies to Linear B tablets¹⁵ and specific building and tomb types, such as the megaron¹⁶ and the tholos.¹⁷ We can thus conclude that the culture-historical definition of “Mycenaean” is a construct reflective of contemporary research interest in ‘Mycenaean’ élites.

Even though what tends to be considered as typical “Mycenaean” is strongly elitist in nature, and therefore applies to only a small part of Greece’s Late Bronze Age population, the traits associated with it have come to be used in such a way as to be representative of Mycenaean society as a whole. As noted in Chapter 2, this is also what characterizes the culture-historical approach: the tendency to equate archaeological cultures with ethnic groups.¹⁸ Besides a common or material culture, in the case of Mycenaean Greece this picture of ethnic unity is reinforced by the apparent linguistic homogeneity on the Greek mainland during the Late Bronze Age. Clay tablets found at a number of sites distributed across the Mycenaean cultural realm have revealed the use of a shared writing system, called Linear B. This script was used to write an early form of ancient Greek.¹⁹

Another source which seems to suggest that the Mycenaean Greeks might have constituted an ethnic – and possibly also a political – unity are the Homeric epic poems. It is said that the Greeks, who are collectively being referred to as the *Achaiói* (also see section 1.2), were united under king Agamemnon of Mycenae, whence they crossed the Aegean and fought the famous war against Troy. Most scholars agree that the Homeric poems were written down around the 8th-7th century BC. Rather than an accurate representation of Greece during the Late Bronze Age, the world created by Homer is regarded as a patchwork or a bricolage with influences from the various chronological phases in the course of which these poems were written down, copied, reinterpreted, etc.²⁰

¹³ Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 308.

¹⁴ Bennet 1999, 224; Mac Sweeney 2008; Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 308.

¹⁵ Driessen 2008; Palaima 2010, 358.

¹⁶ Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 290-1.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 290-1.

¹⁸ Díaz-Andreu 2005, 2.

¹⁹ Palaima 2010.

²⁰ Raaflaub 1997 (see, also, Hall 2002, 54, fn. 101-2).

The cultural assemblage we call “Mycenaean”, as well as the assumption that it is representative of the Mycenaean people in general can thus be seen as a construction based on the research standards of the late 19th-20th century. The developments in the contemporary archaeological discourse have, however, not gone unnoticed in Aegean archaeology. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the problems with the culture-historical approach is its normative conception of culture, which essentially means that members of one ethnic group all think – and on the basis of that act – alike. These shared norms manifest themselves in a homogeneous material culture (see section 2.2.1). What is stressed in the contemporary discourse is the active role of social agents in the formation of the archaeological record. Rather than passively reflecting ideas, material culture is actively used by social agents for a variety of different purposes. One way material culture might be used is to express and manipulate identities. In a recent article entitled “Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery” B. Feuer (2011) has attempted to use these insights to develop a new more up-to-date conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”.²¹ This article is briefly discussed below.

The argument of Feuer is based on the supposition that “Mycenaean” denotes the ethnic identity of the members of the élite governing class of Late Bronze Age Greece (for comments on the elitist nature of the culture-historical conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”, see above).²² Based on a review of relevant anthropological and sociological sources, he stresses that the meaning of “Mycenaean” is contextually constituted.²³ Feuer, subsequently, wonders how Mycenaean ethnicity may have differed regionally. In his research, the focus is on the opposition between the Mycenaean heartland, which he identifies with southern Greece, and such ‘peripheral’ areas as Thessaly, Crete and the Cycladic islands. In contrast to the Greek mainland, where the political hegemony of the Mycenaean would have been largely uncontested, in these peripheral areas, because of the relational or dyadic nature of ethnic identity (see section 2.1), it would have been necessary for the Mycenaean to ‘redefine’ themselves socially, vis-à-vis any ethnic ‘others’.²⁴ According to Feuer, this combination of factors (the presence of ethnic ‘others’ and the contingent ‘redefinition’ of what it meant to be a “Mycenaean”) manifests itself in culturally ‘mixed’ archaeological assemblages²⁵ consisting “of two or more cultures or ethnic groups”.²⁶ The question remains,

²¹ Feuer 2011.

²² *Ibidem*, 513, 515-6.

²³ *Ibidem*, 511, 528.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 515-28.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 521, 525, 530.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 521.

however: how do we recognize ‘Mycenaeans’ in the archaeological record? If the meaning of “Mycenaean”, as suggested by Feuer, is contingent on the context of interaction, the criteria marking this identity might have differed from context to context. Because of this uncertainty, according to Feuer, the only ‘Mycenaeans’ that can be positively identified, with some degree of certainty, are those that have the “full range” of Mycenaean cultural diacritics associated with them.²⁷ He considers those traits as diacritics which from the culture-historical perspective are regarded as characteristic of Greece in the Late Bronze Age. Hence, we see the same features as in the definition of “Mycenaean” given at the beginning of this section: Linear B writing, architecture, tomb types (chamber and tholos tombs), (decorated) pottery and terracotta figurines.²⁸

The conclusion reached by Feuer makes clear the extent to which our conception of what is “Mycenaean” is entrenched in the culture-historical framework, in which it was developed (see above). The approach developed here acknowledges the importance of the insights which have been gained in connection with the culture-historical perspective, but I believe that in order to further increase our understanding of the Mycenaean world new ways of studying it have to be developed. In Chapter 2 the approach used in this PhD study, which is referred to as neo-culture history, was introduced. The aim is to investigate the nature and degree of the deployment of material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record. As discussed in Chapter 2, groups are defined on the basis of structural relations between artifacts within funerary assemblages. Two such types of relations are distinguished: relations of similarity and difference. The former can be seen as a way of expressing similarities between groups, manifested in traits cross-cutting the different types of assemblages identified. It was hypothesized that these similarities might be ethnic in nature. Relations of difference relate to features distinguishing groups from each other. These manifest themselves in combinations of objects that do not appear in any of the other groups. The meaning of such differences might be religious, political or economic in nature. The aim of this PhD study is to define these groups in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference. We can only speculate about the meaning behind these relations. In this chapter the archaeological burial record of the central and southern Greek mainland will be approached from a neo-culture historical perspective (see sections 3.3 to 3.7 below). Before

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 528.

²⁸ For a bibliography see Feuer 2011, 512-4.

this, it is necessary for certain methodological aspects, such as the chronological and geographical range of this PhD study, to be considered.

3.2.1 Chronological and geographical range

This research concentrates on the Late Bronze Age, which on the Greek mainland is also known as the Late Helladic Period. In absolute terms, it corresponds to about 1700 to 1100 BC.²⁹ This study focuses on only part of this period, namely on the so-called “Palatial period of Late Helladic IIIA-B” (hereafter LHIIIA-B), i.e. 14th-13th centuries BC. This period has been divided into four sub-phases,³⁰ which are distinguished on the basis of the different kinds of Mycenaean pottery associated with them:

LHIIIB-III A1 (1st half of 14th century BC)

LHIIIA2 (2nd half of 14th century BC)

LHIIIB1 (1st half of 13th century BC)

LHIIIB2 (2nd half of 13 century BC)

The study of Mycenaean pottery can be seen as its own distinctive research topic. There are many scholars who have made major contributions to this field of research. One of the most important reference works is A. Furumark’s “The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification” (1941).³¹ He introduced a system for classifying individual pot shapes and motifs, the so-called Furumark Shape (henceforth FS) and Furumark Motif (henceforth FM) number indices. Mention should also be made of E. French, who has published numerous important articles on the evolution of Mycenaean pottery on the basis of her work at Mycenae.³² She trained my students, including P.A. Mountjoy, who has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 for her role in the debate on the Mycenaean ‘presence’ in the south-eastern Aegean (see section 1.2). She is especially well known for the two-volume monograph “Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery” (henceforth RMDP) (1999a) published by her in which a chronological overview (from LHI to LHIIIC) of the decorated pottery from every major region of (modern) Greece is offered. Most of the stylistic dates used in this dissertation have been adopted from this work.

²⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 17, Table 1; Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2.; Rutter 2010, 418-20.

³⁰ Mountjoy 1999a, 17, Table 1.

³¹ Furumark 1941 (for a recent critique of Furumark’s classificatory systems, see Sherratt 2011).

³² See, for example, French 1964; French 1965; French 1966; French 1969.

The geographical range of this chapter coincides with the supposed ‘heartland’ of Mycenaean civilization, which is the area upon which our current understanding of what is meant by the term “Mycenaean” is based (see section 3.1 above).³³ The following regions of the Greek mainland will be taken into consideration: Boeotia (Map 4), Attica (Map 5), the Korinthia (Map 6), the Argolid (Map 7), Laconia (Map 9) and Messenia (Map 10). With the exception of the Korinthia, where so far no settlement with monumental architecture has been discovered,³⁴ in all of these regions one or more palace-centered citadels have been localized. Palatial structures have, for example, been excavated at Thebes in Boeotia, Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, the Menelaion in Laconia and Pylos in Messenia.³⁵ There was probably a monumental building on top of the Acropolis of Athens in Attica, although, because of building activities in later periods, few remains of it have survived.³⁶ Most scholars believe that these palace-centered citadels formed the centers of small to medium-sized territorial states.³⁷

3.2.2 Tombs and burial practices in Mycenaean Greece

Since, from a contextual perspective, funerary assemblages cannot be considered outside the context from which they were retrieved, before moving on to discuss these (see section 3.3 to 3.7), attention shall first be paid to the different types of tombs and burial customs found on the Greek mainland in LHIII A-B.

A variety of tomb types is attested on the Greek mainland during the “Palatial period of LHIII A-B”. The most characteristic are the so-called beehive or tholos and chamber tomb.³⁸ Chamber tombs are rock-cut graves.³⁹ They consist of three integral components: a

³³ Snodgrass 2002; Shelton 2010, 142; Feuer 2011, 515.

³⁴ Pullen/Tartaron 2007.

³⁵ Shelmerdine 2008, 117-27; a Mycenaean state was probably also located on the island of Crete in this period. However, as noted above, the geographic scope of this study is limited to the conventional Mycenaean heartland (Shelmerdine 2008, 115). For the same reason, more peripheral areas, such as Thessaly (Feuer 2011), and Epirus (Tartaron 2004) and Achaia in north-eastern and north-western Greece respectively, are also not included in this study. To what extent the patterns observed in the Mycenaean heartland also appear in these more peripheral areas may be investigated in a future research project.

³⁶ See, for example, Mountjoy 1995a, 22-4.

³⁷ Shelmerdine/Bennett 2008, 289; Shelton 2010, 144; Tartaron 2013, 16-7 (for a different view, see Kelder 2012a; Kelder 2012b).

³⁸ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 62-79; Cavanagh 2010, 328-30.

³⁹ Another related type is the built chamber tomb (Papadimitriou 2001). This type is, however, not very common. (A large number of such tombs were excavated at Eleusis in Attica. These are discussed in section 3.6.2 below.) In this case, similar to the tholos, the walls are made of dry-stone walling rather than being rock-cut.

sloping dromos or entranceway, a blocking wall closing the entrance and the actual burial chamber (Fig. 1). The layout of tholoi principally follows the same general scheme. However, instead of rock-cut, their dromos walls and vaulted chamber are made of dry-stone walling.⁴⁰ Both types are multiple tombs. This means that they were designed to be reopened for successive burials and other (post-mortem) rituals. Single graves, like earth-cut pits and slab-lined cists, also occur, but are considerably fewer in number than the chamber tombs, which clearly predominate the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B period.⁴¹ As noted in Chapter 1, the chamber tomb is also the most common tomb type in the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean.

The distribution of tholos and chamber tombs in the different parts of the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B period is not homogeneous. Many chamber tombs have, for example, been excavated in Boeotia, Attica and the Argolid.⁴² In the Korinthia, Laconia and Messenia, on the other hand, their number is much more limited. It is important to point out, however, that there are quite a number of sites in these regions that have not yet (fully) been published.⁴³ The highest concentration of tholoi is found in Thessaly, the Argolid and Messenia.⁴⁴ We know of only a few beehive graves from other parts of the Greek mainland, including Boeotia and the Korinthia.⁴⁵ In any case, in comparison with the chamber tomb, their overall number is quite small.⁴⁶

Besides a difference in number, there are several other notable differences between chamber and tholos tombs. The tholos, which is often monumental in size, appears to have been reserved for the leading families or élite minority of Mycenaean society. In addition to their monumental character, which may be seen as an indication of the large-scale organized labor required for their construction, they also often contained – although many of them were found in a robbed state – a considerable number of objects made from rare and exotic materials, including gold, silver, ivory, alabaster and rock-crystal.⁴⁷

Chamber tombs come in different shapes (e.g. rectangular, circular, trapezoidal, etc.) and sizes. There are both small and large graves. In general, in terms of the number and

⁴⁰ Cavanagh 2010, 328.

⁴¹ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 62.

⁴² Mee 2010, 286.

⁴³ Korinthia: Aedonia (Demakopoulou 2006); Laconia: Sykia (Efstathiou 2008) and Epidauros Limera (Demakopoulou 1968; Gallou 2008); Messenia: Ellinika (Koumouzelis 1996).

⁴⁴ Cavanagh 2010, 330.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 330.

⁴⁶ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 63-4 (see, also, Georgiadis 2003, 59).

⁴⁷ Voutsaki 2001, 199.

variety of objects other than pottery, they are less ‘wealthy’ than tholos graves. There is, however, a tendency for larger chamber tombs to contain more artifacts made from rare and exotic materials associated than smaller ones (e.g. Athenian Agora Tomb 1 and Prosymna Tomb 2). As shown in the discussion of the assemblages below, this is definitely not a fixed pattern. We also have large tombs with only a few offerings other than pottery (e.g. Prosymna Tomb 15); or vice versa, small graves that contain many (e.g. Prosymna Tomb 51).

Apart from tomb type, there is also some (regional) variation in the treatment of the dead. At the chamber tomb cemetery of Tanagra in Boeotia the dead were, for example, placed in clay coffins or larnakes.⁴⁸ This practice is well known from Minoan Crete (e.g. LMIIIA chamber tomb cemetery at Mochlos).⁴⁹ The Tanagra casus is exceptional, however, since it was commonplace in the Mycenaean world for the dead, either in a chamber or tholos tomb, to be laid out on the floor.⁵⁰

From this point onwards, my focus will mainly be on chamber tombs. Even though this is not the only type of tomb found in Late Helladic Greece, it is the most common and widespread.⁵¹ As noted in Chapter 1, with a few exceptions, the archaeological burial record of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean has also almost only yielded chamber tombs.

In order to understand why chamber tombs constitute a suitable context for studying the expression of group identities, we need to take a closer look at how and by whom they were used. In the first place, it has to be stressed that the whole concept of the chamber tomb – a grave designed for successive burials – marks a change from a funerary culture in which it was common to be buried individually to one in which it was customary to be placed with others in collective graves.⁵² It is generally assumed that these others were family members and/or other close relatives,⁵³ although this is yet to be confirmed genetically. In this light, it is unfortunate that the bones are often found in a poor state of preservation. Not everybody buried their dead in chamber tombs, however. As indicated above, although they are much less numerous than chamber tombs, we still find single inhumations in pits and cists in Greece in the LHIIIA-B period.

By constructing a chamber tomb and attending to it on a regular basis, to bury the recently passed and/or to celebrate the memory of those who have gone before, an emotional

⁴⁸ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 74-5.

⁴⁹ Smith 2010.

⁵⁰ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 71-7; Cavanagh 2010, 328, 338-9; Mee 2010, 286.

⁵¹ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 77.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 55, 131.

⁵³ Mee 2010, 286.

connection is forged between a tomb and the group who is burying their dead there. A place of memory is created. Although we know only very little about the rituals and ceremonies performed in connection with a ‘Mycenaean funeral’, there is reason to believe that it might have involved a potentially large group of mourners.⁵⁴ We have depictions on clay larnakes from Tanagra in Boeotia (see above) from which it can be derived that the beginning of a burial ceremony involved a procession (*ekphora*) by which the deceased was escorted from one location (e.g. his/her house) to the tomb/cemetery.⁵⁵ In this procession objects which were to be deposited inside the grave (e.g. personal possessions or ‘gifts’ from friends or relatives) may have been displayed.⁵⁶ Our main source of information regarding the rituals and ceremonies that were carried out in and/or outside the tomb is represented by the grave goods and human remains recovered from it. As noted above, dead bodies were usually placed on the floor of the burial chamber. When room for new burials had to be made, it was common for the remains of earlier ones to be heaped together in a corner, alongside one of the walls or placed in a pit cut into the floor of the burial chamber.⁵⁷ According to W.G. Cavanagh, this involved the removing of the bones, to be secondarily reburied, from the tomb into the dromos, where, before returning them, the main ceremony would have taken place (possibly the cleansing or anointing of the bones) (for further discussion of this topic, see Chapter 6).⁵⁸

Internments which are still in situ at the time of excavation are called “primary burials”. They are often – but not always – the final burial to have been placed inside a particular tomb. In such cases, the skeleton is usually found in good order (unless a tomb was robbed or the roof collapsed) with any pots and/or other objects positioned around it. The heaps of bones found in many Mycenaean chamber tombs are called secondary burials.⁵⁹ They often contain the (re-buried) remains, consisting of both bone material and burial offerings, of multiple internments. In such secondary deposits, it is usually not possible for the remains of individual burials to be kept apart. Because chamber tombs have often been used for multiple generations, undisturbed primary burials are not as common as secondary ones.

Other rituals which may have been performed in and/or outside the tomb include the consumption of a funerary meal, the offering of libations and burial gifts to the deceased and

⁵⁴ Voutsaki 1998, 45-6; Burns 2010b, 184-5.

⁵⁵ Burns 2010b, 183; Mee 2010, 286-7.

⁵⁶ Burns 2010b, 185.

⁵⁷ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76; Cavanagh 2010, 339-40; Mee 2010, 288.

⁵⁸ Cavanagh 1978, 171-2 (see, also, Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76).

⁵⁹ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76; Gallou 2005, 112-7.

the drinking of a final toast in his/her honor,⁶⁰ which might be supported, archaeologically, by the discovery of numerous fragments of mainly unpainted kylikes or (stemmed) drinking cups at tomb entrances, in particular in the Argolid, where this appears to have been a common practice.⁶¹ This provides additional evidence for the supposition that in the Mycenaean world funerals might have attracted potentially large groups of mourners (see above). All of these activities contributed to the formation of what in this study are called funerary assemblages. In connection with the relation between a tomb and the people burying their dead inside of it (see above), we may conclude that the various rituals and ceremonies described above ultimately “serve[d] to reproduce the collective identity of a group over a long period of time”.⁶² For this reason, I believe that chamber tombs are suitable contexts for studying the expression of group identities in the archaeological burial record of Late Bronze Age Greece. It is to the dating of the funerary assemblages through which these identities are studied here that I shall now turn.

3.2.3 The dating of funerary assemblages

In contrast to settlement sites, where the different phases of habitation have often led to a series of superimposed cultural layers or strata, such a vertical stratigraphy is not common in tombs.⁶³ The only stratigraphically closed burial deposits found within Mycenaean chambers tomb are represented by the items placed in sealed containers like pits or cists cut into the floor of the burial chamber. Such receptacles usually contain secondary deposits, which, as noted above, often have associated with them the remains of multiple interments. These can belong to more than one generation. Consequently, rather than as closed ‘time capsules’, Mycenaean multiple tombs can, as argued by G.J. van Wijngaarden, best be characterized as “open archaeological contexts”.⁶⁴ This openness relates to both the past as well as the present. Concerning the past, when a tomb had to be reopened for the introduction of a new burial, new objects were added to the tomb. At the same time, it was possible for ‘old’ items stemming from previous burials to be reused, or, alternatively, be removed from it altogether.⁶⁵ Hence, a tomb assemblage should be seen as the dynamic outcome of a long

⁶⁰ Burns 2010b, 182-4.

⁶¹ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 115.

⁶² Van Wijngaarden 2012, 64.

⁶³ There are some examples of tombs, in which the remains from successive periods were separated by a layer of earth (e.g. Athenian Agora Tomb 7; Prosymna Tomb 44; Pylos Tombs E-6 and E-9).

⁶⁴ Van Wijngaarden 2012, 63.

⁶⁵ Gallou 2005, 112-7.

process. Another factor adding to the open character of these funerary assemblages is the possibility that a tomb and its finds were looted, either in antiquity or in more recent times.

The most important way to establish the length of time during which a Mycenaean chamber tomb was used is by means of the stylistic dates that have been assigned to the ceramic vessels found inside of it. It is also by association with the pottery that the offerings other than pottery are dated, since most do not have their own typo-chronology and, therefore, cannot be dated out of context. Individual pots, in particular vases with a pattern-painted decoration, can usually be dated on the basis of morphological and/or stylistic criteria. These indicators are, for example, based on the presence of a certain kind of decoration, such as the use of stipple (FM 77), which is mainly found in LHIIB-III A1 (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above).⁶⁶ Another criterion is represented by vessel types which were in circulation only during a specific period of time, such as the LHIIB-III A1 handleless jar (FS 77), which often has stipple (FM 77) as its main decorative motif. Another example is the so-called “Zygouries kylix” (FS 258A), which is typical of LHIIB1.⁶⁷

It is, however, not possible for all vases or pottery fragments found in a particular tomb to be dated with certainty. This applies especially to vessels without painted decoration, including cups (FS 222), bowls (FS 295) (Fig. 7), jugs (FS 109) (Fig. 56) and amphorae (FS 68). These pot forms typically exhibit only minor inter-period morphological changes. Because these vessels can belong to more than one stylistic phase, it is usually possible for them to be dated by association with the decorated pottery together with which they are found. Apart from most unpainted vases, there are also some decorated vase types, which are difficult to date in isolation, especially when dealing with fragments. For example, stirrup jars (FS 171-178) (Fig. 72),⁶⁸ miniature jugs (FS 112-115) (Fig. 69) and feeding bottles (FS 159-162) (Fig. 99) can often be assigned to both LHIII A2 and LHIIB (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above). This has to do with the life span of individual pot forms. The issue might be resolved when it is possible for the rest of the pottery from a particular assemblage to be assigned to a single stylistic horizon (i.e. LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 or LHIIB). This, however, need not always be the case. There is, for example, also the possibility that stylistically older pots, either new ones imitating old ones or heirlooms, are placed in a tomb together with vases of a much later date.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Mountjoy 1986, 51.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 93.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, 79-81.

⁶⁹ Mühlenbruch 2009, 24.

Another problem is related to the dating of tomb assemblages from LHIIIB. This period has been divided into two sub-phases, namely LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2 (see section 3.2.1 above), which roughly correspond with the first and the second half of the 13th century BC, respectively. The distinction between both phases is based on several indicators. For example, typical of LHIIIB1 is the Zygouries kylix (FS 258A).⁷⁰ There are no more pattern-painted kylikes in LHIIIB2, which, at least in the Argolid, is characterized by the presence of two distinctive types of deep bowls (FS 284), i.e. the deep bowl type B and rosette bowl.⁷¹ However, both vessel forms have mainly been found in settlement contexts. They are rare in tombs.⁷² Consequently, on the Greek mainland as well as outside of it, it is generally difficult to make a distinction between tomb assemblages from LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2. For this reason, in this research, LHIIIB is treated as a single, admittedly rather long, period.

Having established the methodological framework of this PhD study, in the rest of this chapter the attention will be on the funerary assemblages yielded by the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland in the Late Bronze Age. I will first focus on the materials from the cemeteries excavated in the Athenian Agora in Attica (see section 3.3 below) and at Prosymna in the Argolid (see section 3.4 below). As discussed in section 3.1 above, the assemblages are compared in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference, which form the basis on which in this dissertation group identities are defined. Both sites are compared with in section 3.5 below. In the remainder of the chapter, other sites from the different parts of the Greek mainland will be considered (e.g. Kolonaki in Boeotia, Eleusis in Attica, Kalkani in the Argolid and Pylos in Messenia) in order to see whether there are any trends which are common to the Greek mainland in general. Alternatively, it may also be possible for certain traits to be limited to only one or several regions. The results of this inter-regional comparison are presented in section 3.7.

3.3 The cemetery in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (see Appendix I)

⁷⁰ Mountjoy 1986, 93.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 121.

⁷² Shelton 1996, 290, 293; Shelton 2000, 38, fn. 10.

About fifty tombs have been excavated in the Agora at Athens (Map 5).⁷³ An overview of the individual grave inventories is provided in Appendix I at the back of this dissertation. There are about twenty-three chamber⁷⁴ and twelve pit or cist tombs.⁷⁵ In contrast to the chambers, usually containing multiple (primary and/or secondary) inhumations,⁷⁶ the pit- and cist-graves produced only single burials.⁷⁷ The rest is comprised of graves, of which the original type(s), because of the poor state of some of the tombs, could not be established with certainty.

Ceramic vessels of all major stylistic phases have been found: LHIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB.⁷⁸ There were more tombs in use LHIIB-III A1 than in any other period; circa twenty-three in LHIIB-III A1, seventeen in LHIIIA2 and five in LHIIIB.⁷⁹

The study of the funerary assemblages from the Agora has led to the identification of three groups. In what follows, they are referred to as “Agora-1”, “Agora-2” and “Agora-3”. Before discussing these groups in terms of their constituting relations of difference – what separates them from each other – I will first pay attention to the features they have in common. As noted in section 3.1 above, such features are seen as the manifestation of relations of similarity, which are interpreted here as an expression of a shared, possible ethnic, collective identity.

3.3.1 Relations of similarity: LHIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB

There are a number of material traits the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” graves have in common. These similarities are discussed in chronological order below.

Twelve of the sixteen assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 come from chamber tombs.⁸⁰ The remainder consists of two pit and two cist graves.⁸¹ Apart from tomb type, what the majority of these tombs have in common is that in most of them unguent containers were found. Fourteen of the sixteen graves (c. 88%) had one or several small piriform jars (FS 28

⁷³ Immerwahr 1971, 96-110, 158-247; Camp 2003, 254-73.

⁷⁴ Immerwahr 1971, 98-102; Camp 2003, 254.

⁷⁵ Immerwahr 1971, 103-4.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 101-2.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 103.

⁷⁸ LHIIIC pottery came to light in Tombs 6, 7 (Mountjoy 1995a, Fig. 70) and 41 (reused well), but since this period falls outside the chronological range of this PhD study (see section 3.2.1 above), these vessels – and the tombs in which they were found – are not mentioned in the main text.

⁷⁹ Mountjoy 1995a, Figs. 33, 46, 61; Camp 2003, 254-73; four graves are without pottery (Tombs 30 (cist), 33-4 (chambers, disturbed) and 38 (pit or cist, disturbed)) (see Appendix I).

⁸⁰ Tombs 1, 3, 7 (lower stratum), 8, 14, 21, 23-4, 31, 40, Grave J-K 2:2 and Grave K 2:5

⁸¹ Tombs 16 (pit), 36 (pit), 17 (cist) and 37 (cist)

and 31) (Figs. 7, 15, 22, 24 and 27) associated with them.⁸² Rounded alabastra (FS 84) also occur in both groups of assemblages (Fig. 16), but predominantly in connection with the “Agora-1” group.⁸³ With regards to the offerings other than pottery, we see that in both groups of assemblages, but especially in the “Agora-1” group,⁸⁴ there is a tendency to include stone conuli and glass beads.

Nine of the eleven assemblages from LHIII A2 come from chamber tombs.⁸⁵ The remainder consists of two pit graves.⁸⁶ Unguent containers appear in seven assemblages (c. 64%). Small piriform jars (FS 45) (Fig. 20)⁸⁷ and rounded alabastra (FS 85) (Fig. 19)⁸⁸ both occur in four graves, two times in combination. Similar to LHII B-III A1, rounded alabastra are mostly found in association with “Agora-1” assemblages. Finally, from two tombs we have a globular stirrup jar (FS 171),⁸⁹ one time in combination with a small piriform jar.⁹⁰ No shared elements can be discerned with respect to the offerings other than pottery in LHIII A2. Stone conuli and glass beads are still found in both groups, but are much less common than in the previous period.⁹¹

The “Agora-1” group is not attested in LHII B. From this period, we only have three chamber tombs with “Agora-2” assemblages.⁹² Only one of these included a rounded alabastron (FS 85-86) and a stirrup jar (FS 180).⁹³ The above overview shows that in LHII B-III A1 and, albeit to a lesser extent, in LHIII A2, the “Agora-1” and the “Agora-2” group were

⁸² Small piriform jars from LHII B-III A1 were present in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 1 (chamber), 3 (chamber), 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 8 (chamber), 16 (pit grave), 23 (chamber, lower stratum), 24 (chamber), 40 (chamber) and Grave K 2:5 (chamber). The same shape was found in the following “Agora-2” assemblages: Tomb 14 (chamber), 17 (cist grave), 21 (chamber, bone pit), 36 (pit grave) and 37 (cist grave).

⁸³ Rounded alabastra from LHII B-III A1 were present in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 1 (chamber), 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 8 (chamber), 16 (pit grave), Grave K 2:5 (chamber) and Grave J-K 2:2. The only “Agora-2” assemblage with this pot shape is Tomb 21 (chamber, bone pit).

⁸⁴ Seven of the ten “Agora-1” assemblages from LHII B-III A1 (70%) contained stone conuli versus two of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (c. 33%) from this period. Five of the ten “Agora-1” assemblages (50%) contained glass beads versus two of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (c. 33%). Note that three of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (50%) from LHII B-III A1 did not have any offerings other than pottery associated with them.

⁸⁵ Tombs 5, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 26, 32 and 35

⁸⁶ Tombs 11 and 39

⁸⁷ Small piriform jars from LHIII A2 were found in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 5 (chamber), 18 (chamber) and 35 (chamber). The only “Agora-2” assemblage from LHIII A2 in which this shape is present is Tomb 13 (chamber).

⁸⁸ Rounded alabastra from LHIII A2 were found in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 15 (chamber), 18 (chamber) and 35 (chamber). The only “Agora-2” assemblage with a rounded alabastron from LHIII A2 is Tomb 11 (pit grave).

⁸⁹ Tombs 5 (chamber) (“Agora-1”) and 26 (chamber) (“Agora-2”)

⁹⁰ Tomb 5 (chamber) (“Agora-1”)

⁹¹ There is one “Agora-1” tomb, of the total of seven (c. 14%), with a stone conulus (Tomb 18) and one with a string of glass beads (Tomb 39). Two of the four “Agora-2” graves (50%) yielded a stone conulus (Tombs 11 and 13).

⁹² Tombs 14, 20 and 25

⁹³ Tomb 25 (chamber)

connected with each other through the following shared features: tomb type (chamber tomb) and the presence of unguent containers, especially small piriform jars. What is interesting to point out is that the “Agora-3” group lacks exactly these characteristics. This group, which is attested only in LHIII A2, is made up four graves,⁹⁴ consisting of two or three cists and one or two pits. In none of them, any small piriform jars, rounded alabastra or stirrup jars were found. Although there is no connection between these types of tombs and the absence of such vessels, which is clear from the occurrence of small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra in pit and cist graves with “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2, the contrast between the “Agora-3” group on the one hand and the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” group on the other is striking. The members of the “Agora-3” group clearly did not use material culture to show their affiliation with the collectivity with which the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” groups associated themselves (for more comments on this, see section 3.3.5 below).

3.3.2 Relations of difference: “Agora-1 (1)” in LHIIB-III A1

There are two main variants to the “Agora-1” group. In what follows, these are referred to as the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Agora-1 (2)” group (for comments on the “Agora-1 (2)” group, see under section 3.3.3 below). The former is attested with certainty only in LHIIB-III A1 (for comments on LHIII A2, see below). It is possible for two tombs from this period to be associated with this group: Tombs 1 and 3. The “Agora-1 (1)” group, in terms of the pottery, is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 23) (Fig. 2), a stirrup jug (FS 150) (Fig. 3)⁹⁵ and a number of open vases which have been tinned in imitation of silver vases,⁹⁶ especially kylikes of different shapes (Figs. 4-6). Typical of this group are tinned kylikes with high-swung handle(s) (FS 272-273) (Fig. 6). Another pot shape of which the distribution is limited to the “Agora-1 (1)” group is the tinned shallow angular bowl or shallow bowl with ribbon handles (FS 295).⁹⁷

The “Agora-1 (1)” group, in terms of the offerings other than pottery, is characterized by the presence of a collection of gold leaf ornaments, with the majority consisting of thin discs decorated with a rosette pattern. Apart from that, the assemblages from Tombs 1 and 3,

⁹⁴ Tombs 19, 27, 28 and 29

⁹⁵ Note that the stirrup jug (FS 150) from Tomb 3 was tinned (Immerwahr 1971, 172).

⁹⁶ Mountjoy 1995a, 29-31.

⁹⁷ Examples of the kylix with high-swung handle(s) came to light in both Tomb 1 and Tomb 3. The shallow angular bowl has a distribution limited to Tomb 3.

which are associated with this group, both included a unique concentration of a specific category of objects. Tomb 1 contained a set of toiletry objects, which consisted of a bronze mirror, two ivory boxes or pyxides (Fig. 8), a pair of ivory hair ornaments, several ivory pins and (probably) part of an ivory comb. Two bronze swords (Sandars type Ci) – both furnished with gold rivets – and a cleaver (Fig. 9) were recovered from Tomb 3. Although individual toiletry articles, such as ivory combs⁹⁸ and pins,⁹⁹ are also known from a number of other tombs at the site, in none of these, a concentration similar to that from Tomb 1 was found.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the distribution of some of the items recovered, most notably the ivory boxes or pyxides, is limited to this one grave. The same applies to the bronze swords from Tomb 3. Although bronze weapons also occur in a number of tombs with “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages, rather than swords,¹⁰¹ these contained spearheads¹⁰² and/or daggers.¹⁰³

Tombs 1 and 3 are situated in relative proximity to each other on the north slope of the Areopagus, nearest to the Athenian Acropolis. In terms of the length of their dromoi and the size of their chambers, these can be considered the most monumental graves of the cemetery in the Athenian Agora. The chamber of Tomb 1 (Fig. 10) had an area of 24 m²,¹⁰⁴ that of Tomb 3 an area of roughly 13 m² (Fig. 11).¹⁰⁵ This is in stark contrast to the rest of the cemetery. Most of the Agora tombs had burial chambers with surface areas of less than 6 m².¹⁰⁶ Although only a few dromoi had been preserved to a considerable length, in view of the large size of its chamber, it seems notable that Tomb 1 had the longest (extant) dromos of the cemetery, at least 11 meters long.¹⁰⁷ Only a small part (c. 3.80 m) of the dromos of Tomb 3 was preserved.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ Ivory or bone combs came to light in Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”), 16 (pit grave) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and 23 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”).

⁹⁹ Ivory or bone pins were found in Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”), 16 (pit grave) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and 21 (chamber, bone pit) (“Agora-2”).

¹⁰⁰ We only have combinations of combs and a pins from Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 16 (pit grave) (for further comments on these graves, see discussion of the “Agora-1 (2)” group in section 3.3.3 below).

¹⁰¹ The long sword from Tomb 3 has a length of 74 cm (Immerwahr 1971, 175), the shorter one 46 cm, although nothing of the hilt, except two small pieces, was preserved. It must originally have been longer, thereby exceeding the average length of daggers measuring between 30 to 40 cm (ibidem, 176). The daggers from Grave K 2:5 are, for example, 32 and 35 cm in length (Camp 2003, 268). The one from Grave J-K 2:2 is slightly longer with a length of 41 cm (ibidem, 262).

¹⁰² Single spearheads come from Tomb 40 (chamber) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and Grave J-K 2:2 (“Agora-1 (2)”).

¹⁰³ Daggers were found in Graves K 2:5 (“Agora-1 (2)”) and J-K 2:2 (“Agora-1 (2)”).

¹⁰⁴ Immerwahr 1971, 159.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, 171.

¹⁰⁶ Immerwahr 1971, 99; Mountjoy 1995a, 36-7.

¹⁰⁷ Immerwahr 1971, 159.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 171.

A characteristic architectural feature of Tomb 1 is that there were two rock-cut benches along the lateral sides of the burial chamber, on top of which in situ burial offerings were found.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, beside one of these benches was a cist grave cut into the bedrock. There were no human remains found inside of it.¹¹⁰ Tomb 2, which based on the pottery associated with it can be dated LHIII A2, is the only other chamber tomb with a cist grave cut into the bedrock.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, this grave was badly damaged. Its (extant) ceramic assemblage consisted of only four vessels: a stirrup jar (FS 171), the base of a (large) piriform jar,¹¹² a shoulder fragment of a jug and part of a kylix. The original shape of the kylix was either a carinated FS 267 or a FS 272 with one high-swung handle.¹¹³ Recognizable on its surface were “traces of white”, which may be remnants of an original tin-covering. No other items have been reported from Tomb 2. Although the evidence is limited, based on its location, adjacent to Tombs 1 and 3 on the north slope of the Areopagus (see above), and the possible presence of a tinned kylix and a large piriform jar (see fn. 112), it may belong to the “Agora-1 (1)” group (for an overview of the features characteristic of this group, see Table 1 in section 3.3.4 below).

3.3.3 Relations of difference: “Agora-1 (2)” in LHIII A2

The “Agora-1 (2)” group is attested in LHIIB-III A1¹¹⁴ and LHIII A2.¹¹⁵ In terms of the pottery, the assemblages associated with it are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (FS 109, 133, 144 and 150) (Fig. 12) and open pot shapes, especially (unpainted) kylikes. An important difference with the “Agora-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.3.2 above is that the kylikes found together with the “Agora-1 (2)” group are, as a general rule, not tinned. They are either left unpainted (FS 266) (Fig. 13) or have a painted decoration (FS 264) (Figs. 14 and 21).

Although there are no marked changes in the pot shapes which are typically associated with this group between LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2, this does not apply to the offerings other

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 159.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 159-160.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 169-70.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, 170, II-2. The total height of the preserved fragment is circa 13 cm. However, rather than a FS 44-45, as suggested by Immerwahr, which usually have a height of ca. 15 cm, based on the fact that less than half of the vessel was preserved (break below biggest diameter) it seems likely that it originally belonged to a larger vessel, either a large piriform jar (FS 35), a piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) or a stirrup jug (FS 150).

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 170, II-4.

¹¹⁴ For “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1, see Appendix I Tombs 7, 16, 23, 24, 40, Grave J-K 2:2 and Grave K 2:5.

¹¹⁵ For “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2, see Appendix I Tombs 5, 10, 15, 18, 32, 35 and 39.

than pottery. The “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 usually include glass (c. 63%) and/or stone jewelry beads (75%). Another category of objects which occurs in 50% of the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period is represented by bronze weapons, comprising spearheads (Fig. 17),¹¹⁶ daggers (Fig. 18)¹¹⁷ and arrowheads.¹¹⁸ Ivory or bone toiletry articles, such as small combs¹¹⁹ and pins,¹²⁰ were present in c. 38% of the assemblages. Such items were found together with bronze weapons (arrowheads) in only one assemblage.¹²¹

While the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 typically included a variety of different types of objects other than pottery (glass and stone beads, stone conuli and bronze weapons and/or toiletry articles), this was not the case in the subsequent LHIII A2 phase. Of the seven assemblages attributed to this period two consisted exclusively of pottery.¹²² The remaining five each produced a single offering other than pottery, comprising a bronze dagger,¹²³ a bronze pin,¹²⁴ a terracotta figurine,¹²⁵ a glass bead necklace¹²⁶ and a stone conulus.¹²⁷

3.3.4 Relations of difference: “Agora-2” in LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB

The “Agora-2” group is attested in LHIIB-III A1,¹²⁸ LHIII A2¹²⁹ and LHIIB (for comments on LHIIB, see below).¹³⁰ There are no vase forms which can be considered generally characteristic of it. The only (possible) exception is constituted by ritual vessels (FS 128 and 201). There are only examples of this vessel type from LHIII A2, during which its distribution is limited to the “Agora-2” group.¹³¹ What distinguishes this group from the two “Agora-1” groups discussed above is that medium or large jugs and open vessel types are usually absent.

¹¹⁶ Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 40 (chamber) and Grave J–K 2:2 (chamber)

¹¹⁷ Graves J–K 2:2 (chamber) and K 2:5 (chamber)

¹¹⁸ Tomb 7 (chamber, lower stratum)

¹¹⁹ Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 16 (pit grave) and 23 (chamber, lower stratum)

¹²⁰ Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 16 (pit grave)

¹²¹ Tomb 7 (chamber, lower stratum)

¹²² Tombs 5 (chamber) and 35 (chamber)

¹²³ Tomb 15 (chamber)

¹²⁴ Tomb 32 (chamber)

¹²⁵ Tomb 10 (chamber)

¹²⁶ Tomb 39 (pit grave)

¹²⁷ Tomb 18 (chamber)

¹²⁸ Tombs 8 (chamber), 14 (chamber), 17 (cist), 21 (chamber), 31 (chamber), 36 (pit) and 37 (cist)

¹²⁹ Tombs 11 (pit), 13 (chamber), 21 (chamber) and 26 (chamber)

¹³⁰ Tombs 14, 20 and 25

¹³¹ Ritual vessels are comprised of a pegtop rhyton (FS 201) from Tomb 21 (chamber) and a hydria with a pierced base (FS 128) from Tomb 26 (chamber).

Offerings other than pottery are more common in LHIIB-III A1 than in LHIII A2. Of the six assemblages attributed to LHIIB-III A1 three consisted exclusively of pottery.¹³² Common among the remaining three are stone conuli and glass beads, which were found together in two assemblages.¹³³ Bronze knives also occur twice.¹³⁴ Finally, we have a pair of toiletry articles, consisting of a bone pin and a bronze mirror from Tomb 21 (chamber, bone pit). One of the four assemblages from LHIII A2 did not have any offerings other than pottery associated with it. Of the remaining three two produced a stone conulus.¹³⁵ Single finds include a bronze needle¹³⁶ and bowl,¹³⁷ and two terracotta female figurines and a few bits of lead wire.¹³⁸ As is clear, in contrast to the two “Agora-1” groups discussed above, the “Agora-2” assemblages have, as a general rule, no weapons associated with them.

There are three tombs from LHIIB of which the assemblages might be attributed to the “Agora-2” group.¹³⁹ What these have in common with the “Agora-2” assemblages from previous periods is that they do not include any kylikes and only one has a medium jug (FS 109) associated with it.¹⁴⁰ A difference, however, is that in two of the tombs under consideration here a small mug (FS 126 and 226) was found (Fig. 23). This pot shape appears for the first time at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIB and remains limited to this group – since we have neither “Agora-1” nor “Agora-3” graves (for comments on the “Agora-3” group, see section 3.3.5 below) from this period. The only offering other than pottery is represented by a small terracotta female figurine from Tomb 20.¹⁴¹

3.3.5 Tomb assemblages from the Agora: “Agora-3” (LHIII A2)

A separate group of assemblages is represented by Tombs 19 (cist), 27 (cist or pit), 28 (cist) and 29 (pit), which are all cist or pit graves and dated to LHIII A2.¹⁴² The only pattern we see is that with one exception, the tombs included in this group yielded single medium or large

¹³² Tombs 31 (chamber), 36 (pit grave) and 37 (cist grave)

¹³³ Tombs 14 (chamber) and 21 (chamber, bone pit)

¹³⁴ Tombs 14 (chamber) and 17 (cist grave)

¹³⁵ Tombs 11 (pit grave) and 13 (chamber)

¹³⁶ Tomb 11 (pit grave)

¹³⁷ Tomb 13 (chamber)

¹³⁸ Tomb 26 (chamber)

¹³⁹ Tombs 14 (burial on top of ceiling), 20 (chamber) and 25 (chamber)

¹⁴⁰ Tomb 14 (burial on top of ceiling)

¹⁴¹ Immerwahr 1971, 212.

¹⁴² Tomb 19 (cist), 27 (cist or pit), 28 (cist) and 29 (pit)

jugs only. Tomb 28 (cist) produced a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 24). In two of the four assemblages some offerings other than pottery were found.¹⁴³ A stone conulus came to light in Tomb 28 (cist). The following items were recovered from Tomb 29 (pit): a stone mould for making glass beads (Fig. 25), a stone celt, and a bone implement and handle.

To conclude this section on the Late Bronze Age cemetery in the Athenian Agora, in Table 1 below a concise overview of the different groups discussed above, in terms of their most characteristic features, is provided.

“Agora-1 (1)” (LHIIB-III A1) (section 3.3.2)	“Agora-1 (2)” (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2) (section 3.3.3)	“Agora-2” (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB) (section 3.3.4)
Pottery	Pottery	Pottery
<p>Group is characterized by combination of stirrup jug (Tombs 1 and 3) and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or <u>tinned</u> kylikes.</p> <p><u>Tinned pottery</u> is limited to this group.</p> <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large piriform jar • Kylix with high-swung handle(s) • Shallow angular bowl 	<p>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and <u>plain</u> and/or <u>painted</u> kylikes (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2).</p>	<p>Group usually does not contain any medium or large jugs or open pot shapes (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB).</p> <p>Open vessel type limited to this group is (LHIIB):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small mug
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
<p>Assemblages contain a heavy concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as ivory toiletry articles, gold jewelry, bronze weapons and metal vessels.</p> <p>Object types limited to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivory pyxides • Ivory inlays • Gold rosettes • Bronze (long and short) swords • Bronze lamp 	<p>Assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 typically include some glass and stone beads, and stone conuli.¹⁴⁴</p> <p>Other categories commonly associated with this group in LHIIB-III A1 consist of bronze weapons (spear and arrowheads and daggers, i.e. no swords) and ivory toiletry articles (combs and pins).</p> <p>Offerings other than pottery are comparatively rare in LHIII A2; no artifact</p>	<p>The number of offerings other than pottery is limited (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB). Relatively common in LHIIB-III A1 are bronze knives, glass beads and stone conuli.¹⁴⁵ Half of the assemblages from LHIII A2 contained a stone conulus.¹⁴⁶</p>

¹⁴³ Tomb 19 (cist) and 27 (cist or pit) are without any offerings other than pottery.

¹⁴⁴ For more comments on stone conuli and glass beads, see discussion of relations of similarity in section 3.3.1 above.

¹⁴⁵ See fn. 144.

¹⁴⁶ See fn. 144.

	types are typical of this group in this period.	
Architectural details	Architectural details	Architectural details
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chambers have floor-sizes ranging from 13 (Tomb 3) to 24 m² (Tomb 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chambers have floor-sizes less than 6 m² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chambers with floor-sizes less than 6 m²

Table 1 Overview of the most important characteristics of the Agora-1 (1), Agora-1 (2) and Agora-2 groups

It can be inferred from the overview in Table 1 that of the different groups of assemblages recognized in the archaeological burial record of the Athenian Agora in the Late Bronze Age the two “Agora-1” groups in general and the “Agora-1 (1)” group in particular are most clearly defined in terms of the different pot shapes and types of objects other than pottery typically associated with them. This observation mainly pertains to LHIIB-LHIIIA1, since, in the subsequent LHIIIA2 phase, the “Agora-1 (1)” group is not attested and most of the items considered characteristic of the “Agora-1 (2)” group in LHIIB-III A1, such as glass and stone beads and bronze weapons, are found in only a limited number of assemblages.

The two “Agora-1” groups have in common the combination of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially kylikes, although, as indicated above, it is possible for a distinction to be made between both groups in terms of the types of kylikes found in association with them. This combination does not appear in any of the “Agora-2” or “Agora-3” assemblages. What all groups, except the “Agora-3” group, have in common is that they usually include a number of unguent containers (small piriform jars, rounded alabastra and stirrup jars). Since this explained here in relation to the manifestation of relations of similarity (for more comments on the manifestation of relations of similarity, see section 3.3.1 above), this may be interpreted as an indication that in the tombs with “Agora-3” assemblages a different collective identity, if any, was expressed.

3.4 The Mycenaean cemetery at Prosymna (Argolid) (Appendix II)

The largest cemetery of Mycenaean Greece which has been completely published is situated at Prosymna, to the north-west of the Argive Heraion, i.e. the famous Hera sanctuary of ancient Argos.¹⁴⁷ The site was founded in the Middle Helladic Period (c. 2100 to 1700 BC).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Blegen 1937; Mountjoy 1999a, 64.

During this period mainly cist graves were in use.¹⁴⁹ The first chamber tombs appeared at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age or LHI-II in Mycenaean terms (c. 1700-1450 BC).¹⁵⁰ There is a monumental tholos of approximately the same early date in relative proximity to the cemetery at Prosymna. It had been robbed, but contained LHIIA and LHIIIA potsherds.¹⁵¹

C.W. Blegen uncovered fifty-one chamber tombs at Prosymna. The tombs, the excavation of which was undertaken from 1925 to 1928, were extensively published by Blegen in 1937.¹⁵² There is a more a recent, detailed publication of the pottery by K.S. Shelton (1996).¹⁵³ An overview of the individual grave inventories is provided in Appendix II at the back of this dissertation.

The study of the funerary assemblages from Prosymna has led to the identification of two groups. In what follows, they are referred to as “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2”. Before discussing these groups in terms of their constituting relations of difference – what separates them from each other – I will first pay attention to the features they have in common. As noted in section 3.1 above, such features are seen as the manifestation of relations of similarity, which are interpreted here as an expression of a shared, possible ethnic, collective identity.

3.4.1 Relations of similarity: LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB

There are a number of material traits cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages at Prosymna. These similarities are discussed in chronological order below.

Since in the cemetery of Prosymna only chamber tombs with primary and/or secondary inhumations from the LHIIIA-B period were found (for comments on the robbed tholos situated in proximity to it, see above), the different groups of assemblages have the tomb type in common.¹⁵⁴ There are also some offerings, consisting of ceramics and objects other than pottery, that because they occur frequently in both groups of assemblages may be regarded as the manifestation of relations of similarity.

¹⁴⁸ Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2.

¹⁴⁹ Blegen 1937, 30-50.

¹⁵⁰ Tombs 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 17, 18, 24, 28 and 52 (ibidem, 261)

¹⁵¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 64, fn. 73.

¹⁵² Blegen 1937.

¹⁵³ Shelton 1996.

¹⁵⁴ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 71-2.

Concerning the pottery, there is a general tendency at Prosymna to deposit unguent containers in graves. Single or combinations of such vessels were present in a relatively large number of the tombs containing “Prosymna-1” (c. 83%) and “Prosymna-2” assemblages (c. 84%).¹⁵⁵ This can be seen throughout the LHIIIA-B period. It is possible to recognize a number of chronological developments in the repertoire of the vessel forms most frequently found. In LHIIIB-III A1 (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above), rounded alabastra (FS 84) (Fig. 28) are the most common,¹⁵⁶ although small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44) (Figs. 29 and 34)¹⁵⁷ also occur relatively frequently.¹⁵⁸ A new pot form is developed in LHIIIA2, namely the stirrup jar (FS 171) (Fig. 72). This shape¹⁵⁹ occurs more frequently than the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Figs. 38, 53 and 63)¹⁶⁰ and is about as popular as the rounded alabastron (FS 85)¹⁶¹ in this period.¹⁶² The same vessel types are also found in LHIIIB. In this period, however, we see the stirrup jar (FS 173, 180 and 182) (Fig. 64)¹⁶³ clearly exceeding the rounded alabastron (FS 85-86) (Fig. 65)¹⁶⁴ and the small piriform jar (FS 45 and 48)¹⁶⁵ in popularity.¹⁶⁶

There are also some offerings other than pottery, which are common in both groups of assemblages. One category of items which occurs frequently in tombs with “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages is represented by stone conuli (Fig. 39).¹⁶⁷ This can be seen

¹⁵⁵ This percentage is based on the presence or absence of small piriform jars, rounded alabastra or stirrup jars from LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB in the tombs with “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

¹⁵⁶ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB-III A1 are Tombs 2, 3, 29, 33, 34, 37 and 43; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB-III A1 are Tombs 11, 13, 17, 40, 45 and 48.

¹⁵⁷ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIB-III A1 are Tombs 2, 3, 28, 34, 42 and 43; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages containing small piriform jars from LHIIIB-III A1 are Tombs 11 and 25.

¹⁵⁸ For a general discussion of pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIIB-III A1, see Shelton 1996, 281-4.

¹⁵⁹ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 44 and 49; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 4, 16, 25, 32, 36, 45 and 48.

¹⁶⁰ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 3, 8, 11, 18, 21, 22, 24, 34, 42, 43 and 51; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 36, 40 and 48.

¹⁶¹ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 8, 11, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49 and 51; Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 18, 25, 32, 36, 40, 45 and 48.

¹⁶² For a general overview of the pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIIA2, see Shelton 1996, 284-9.

¹⁶³ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 7, 8, 21, 22, 28, 33, 41, 43 and 44; Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 1, 5, 10, 19, 20, 36 and 45.

¹⁶⁴ “Prosymna-1” tombs with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB are Tombs 21 and 33; “Prosymna-2” tombs with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB are Tombs 6, 10, 36 and 50.

¹⁶⁵ Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 12 (?) and 28; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 1 and 19.

¹⁶⁶ For a general overview of the pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIIB, see Shelton 1996, 290-4.

¹⁶⁷ For a general discussion of the popularity of these object types, see Gallou 2005, 364.

throughout the LHIIIA-B period.¹⁶⁸ Stone conuli are not the only types of objects which appear relatively frequently in both groups of assemblages; they are, however, the commonest. Other categories of items, such as glass beads and terracotta figurines, although we know of examples from both the “Prosymna-1” and the “Prosymna-2” group, are best discussed in connection with the relations of difference, to which we will now turn.

3.4.2 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-1 (1)” in LHIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB

In the archaeological burial record of Prosymna it has been possible for two variants of the “Prosymna-1” group to be identified. These are referred to here as the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.3 below).

With regards to the pottery, the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 35) (Figs. 26, 35, 40 and 54) and medium or large jugs (FS 105, 109-110, 120, 133, 144-145 and 150) (Figs. 27, 36-7 and 55), and a certain amount of unpainted and/or tinned open vessels,¹⁶⁹ especially different types of kylikes. Typical are the kylix with high-swung handles (271-273) and the shallow angular bowl (FS 295) (Fig. 40).

The “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1¹⁷⁰ and LHIIIA2¹⁷¹ (for comments on LHIIB, see below) usually have a wide variety of offerings other than pottery associated with them, including glass and stone jewelry (Figs. 31, 42 and 43),¹⁷² toiletry items (bronze pins and mirrors),¹⁷³ bronze weapons (for comments, see below), seals (Figs. 32, 46

¹⁶⁸ C. 25% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 (1 of 4) contain stone conuli; 100% of all Prosymna-2 assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 (5 of 5) contain stone conuli. C. 93% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2 (14 of 15) include stone conuli. 60 % of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from this period (9 of 15) include stone conuli. Four “Prosymna-2” assemblages did not comprise any finds other than pottery. C. 63% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIB (5 of 8) have stone conuli. One “Prosymna-1” assemblage from LHIIB has no objects other than pottery associated with it. Stone conuli were found in 75% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB (6 of 8).

¹⁶⁹ Farnsworth/Immerwahr 1966, 395.

¹⁷⁰ See Tomb 2 (chamber) in Appendix II.

¹⁷¹ See Tombs 3 (chamber), 29 (chamber + recess, cist IV), 37 (chamber, lower level), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber) in Appendix II.

¹⁷² Tomb 2 (LHIIB-III A1) contained both glass and stone beads. All tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 yielded glass beads. With the exception of the assemblage from Tomb 37 (chamber, lower level), this also applies to stone beads. For comments on LHIIB, see main text.

¹⁷³ Bronze mirrors were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 3 (chamber), 29 (chamber + recess) and 42 (chamber). There are bronze pins from Tombs 29 (chamber + recess) and 42 (chamber).

and 56)¹⁷⁴ and terracotta figurines (Figs. 33, 47 and 48).¹⁷⁵ Apart from the general wide range of the objects found, there are a number of specific types of artifacts which can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, which, however, does not mean that they appear in every such assemblage, but rather that their distribution in general is limited to this group. These include gold jewelry, such as rosettes and (relief) beads (Fig. 30),¹⁷⁶ glass relief-beads, especially rosettes (Fig. 44) and beads in the so-called “bracket-shape” (Fig. 45),¹⁷⁷ amber beads¹⁷⁸ and ivory toiletry articles, such as combs and containers (with inlays).¹⁷⁹

Another distinctive trait of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is that the assemblages – from LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2 – have far more metal objects, mostly bronzes, associated with them than any of the other groups at Prosymna (see below). Some items, such as bronze mirrors, cleavers¹⁸⁰ and daggers (Fig. 41),¹⁸¹ are (almost) completely limited to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. The distribution of others, for example knives¹⁸² and arrowheads,¹⁸³ also includes a small number of “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

The description given above provides an overview of the features most assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group have in common (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). There are, however, also some differences. In Tomb 3, for example, no

¹⁷⁴ A seal was found in Tomb 2 (LHIIB-III A1). Additional seals come from the following LHIIIA2 contexts: Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber) and 41 (chamber). There is also a gold signet ring from Tomb 44 (LHIIB).

¹⁷⁵ Terracotta figurines come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 3 (chamber), 37 (chamber, lower level), 38 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber).

¹⁷⁶ Gold jewelry comes from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁷⁷ Glass relief-beads come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 37 (chamber, lower level) (LHIIIA2), 38 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁷⁸ Amber beads come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 7 (chamber) (LHIIB?), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁷⁹ Ivory inlays come from Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2). Toiletry items were found in Tombs 29 (chamber + recess) (LHIIIA2), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 42 (?) (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁸⁰ Bronze cleavers come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 7 (chamber) (LHIIB), 15 (chamber) (LHIIB), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁸¹ Bronze daggers were found in the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 29 (chamber + recess) (LHIIIA2), 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 37 (chamber, lower level) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

¹⁸² Bronze knives were found in Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze knives are Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber). Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 with bronze knives are Tombs 13 (lower stratum, rear wall) and 36 (main chamber). The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 with a bronze knife is Tomb 34 (chamber, inner right corner). Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB with bronze knives are Tombs 1 (chamber) and 10 (chamber).

¹⁸³ Bronze arrowheads were found in Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze arrowheads are Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze arrowheads are Tombs 34 (chamber, inner right corner) and 49 (chamber, lower level). The only tomb with a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIB containing bronze arrowheads is Tomb 10 (chamber).

kylikes were found. Other notable features include the presence of a rhyton (FS 201) and four unpainted amphorae (FS 68). Neither one of these pot shapes occurs in any of the other “Prosymna-1 (1)” graves. Despite these differences, Tomb 3 has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group here, because of the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 30) and a wide variety of offerings other than pottery, comprising a number of ivory inlays (?), two gold ornaments, a gold chain, three bronze daggers and a bronze mirror. Tomb 43, on the other hand, did not produce a large piriform jar. Its assemblage did, however, include a considerable number of unpainted kylikes, among which there was one with high-swung handles (FS 272), an ivory rosette, a silver spoon, three bronze daggers, and a cleaver and a mirror of the same material.

A number of changes take place in the composition of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages in LHIIB.¹⁸⁴ While the pottery repertoire is more or less the same as in LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIB-III A2 (see above), there is a clear decline in the number and variety of the offerings other than pottery found. The only piece of gold jewelry is a signet ring from Tomb 44 (Fig. 56). Moreover, there are no glass relief-beads, nor any bronze weapons. In terms of variation, Tomb 15 yielded only one kylix. Because its assemblage also comprised a large piriform jar (FS 35) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295), this tomb has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Another reason is that this is one of the largest tombs of the cemetery – in terms of the length of its dromos and the size of its chamber. As argued in section 3.4.5 below, this is another feature the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs have in common and through which they distinguish themselves from the tombs belonging to the other two groups at Prosymna, to which the attention shall now turn.

3.4.3 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-1 (2)” in LHIIB-III A1, LHIIB-III A2 and LHIIB

The “Prosymna-1 (2)” group in several respects resembles the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.4.2 above. However, since the assemblages associated with it generally do not include any of the items which can be considered as most characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, such as large piriform jars, gold jewelry and glass relief-beads, it is treated as a separate group here.

¹⁸⁴ See Tombs 7 (chamber), 15 (chamber) and 44 (chamber, upper level) in Appendix II.

What the two Prosymna-1 groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” – have in common is that the assemblages associated with them typically comprise one or more medium or large jugs (FS 109-110, 120, 136, 144-145, 150) (Figs. 49-50, 57) and kylikes. An important difference, however, is that we have no evidence of tinning among the kylikes recovered from “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts, which are generally left unpainted (FS 266-267). Moreover, the kylix with high-swung handles (FS 271-273) is (almost) completely limited to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. The same applies to shallow angular bowls (FS 295) (for exceptions, see below).

No major changes can be observed in the vessel types typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB.¹⁸⁵ There is, however, at least one pot form which appears relatively frequently in combination with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2 (c. 63%).¹⁸⁶ This is the so-called wide-necked jar (FS 74) (Fig. 51). Otherwise, it is only known from two “Prosymna-2” contexts, one from LHIII A2,¹⁸⁷ the other from LHIIB.¹⁸⁸ There is also a pot shape of which the distribution is limited largely to “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIII A2 and LHIIB: the amphora (FS 66-68) occurs in c. 63% of all “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2.¹⁸⁹ By LHIIB, this has decreased to only 20% (for comments on the amphora and the “Prosymna-2” group, see section 3.4.4 below).¹⁹⁰ As noted above, a concentration of unpainted amphorae came to light in Tomb 3, which contained a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage. This is, however, the exception rather than the rule.

In terms of the offerings other than pottery, we see that in most “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages, especially from LHIIB-III A1¹⁹¹ and LHIII A2,¹⁹² there are glass and/or stone

¹⁸⁵ See Tombs 8 (chamber, cist I), 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII) and 33 (chamber, cist II) in Appendix II for “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1. For “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2 see Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 21 (chamber + cist), 24 (chamber), 27 (chamber + double cist), 28 (chamber), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V), 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level) and 51 (chamber) in Appendix II. For “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB, see Tombs 12 (chamber, lower level), 21 (chamber, center), 22 (chamber), 33 (chamber + side chamber) and 37 (chamber, upper level).

¹⁸⁶ The wide-necked jar occurs in the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2: Tombs 8 (chamber, rear niche), 24 (chamber), 27 (chamber), 49 (chamber, lower level) and 51 (chamber).

¹⁸⁷ Tomb 47 (dromos cist)

¹⁸⁸ Tomb 50 (chamber)

¹⁸⁹ Tombs containing “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2 with amphorae are Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 24 (chamber), 28 (chamber), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) and 51 (chamber).

¹⁹⁰ The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIB with an amphora is Tomb 12 (chamber, lower level).

¹⁹¹ Glass and stone beads were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1: Tombs 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII) (glass and stone) and 33 (chamber, cist II) (glass and stone). Tomb 8 (cist I) (see fn. 168) did not yield any offerings other than pottery.

jewelry beads represented. In this respect, it resembles the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.4.2 above. Glass and stone jewelry appears to be less common in both “Prosymna-1” groups in LHIIIB.¹⁹³ It should be noted, however, that glass relief-beads, which, as argued above, can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, generally do not occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. Another important difference between both “Prosymna-1” groups is that bronzes in general and bronze weapons in particular are not common in “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts (for comments on bronzes in relation to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, see section 3.4.2 above). The only weapons found in any quantity in association with this group – in LHIIIA2 – are arrowheads, of which we have examples from two “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts.¹⁹⁴ A category of objects which is present in 50% of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2¹⁹⁵ and 40% from LHIIIB¹⁹⁶ is made up by terracotta figurines,¹⁹⁷ in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids). This is less than the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above)¹⁹⁸ but more or less the same as the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 below).

Other categories of items, such as seals,¹⁹⁹ also occur but their numbers are relatively limited. The same applies to objects made from such rare or exotic materials as gold²⁰⁰ and ivory, of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above).

Since, as noted in section 3.4.2 above, in LHIIIB we see a decline in the number and variety of the offerings other than pottery found in association with “Prosymna-1 (1)”

¹⁹² Glass and stone beads were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche) (glass), 21 (chamber + cist) (glass and stone), 27 (chamber + double cist) (stone), 28 (chamber) (glass and stone), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) (glass), Tomb 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level) (glass and stone) and 51 (glass and stone). No beads came to light in Tomb 24 (chamber).

¹⁹³ We have glass beads from Tombs 22 (chamber) and 33 (chamber). No jewelry was found in Tombs 12 (chamber, lower level), 21 (chamber, center) and 37 (chamber, upper level).

¹⁹⁴ Tombs 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) and 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level)

¹⁹⁵ Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with terracotta figurines are Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 27 (chamber), 28 (chamber) and 49 (chamber, lower level).

¹⁹⁶ Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIB with terracotta figurines are Tombs 22 (chamber) and 33 (chamber + side chamber).

¹⁹⁷ There is also one “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIB-IIIA1 with a female terracotta figurine: Tomb 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII).

¹⁹⁸ About 71% of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 had terracotta figurines associated with them (see fn. 175).

¹⁹⁹ Seals come from c. 38% from all “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts from LHIIIA2 and 20% from LHIIIB. For the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group this is c. 43% for LHIIIA2 (see fn. 174). The only “Prosymna-1 (1)” tomb from LHIIIB-IIIA1 – Tomb 2 – yielded a stone cylinder seal. The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIB with a seal is Tomb 44 (c. 33%). In it was found a gold signet ring.

²⁰⁰ The only gold item found is a small bead from Tomb 49 (LHIIIA2). An ivory female statuette (Fig. 52) came to light in Tomb 51 (see main text).

assemblages, it can be concluded that in this period this trait cannot be used to distinguish between the two “Prosymna-1” groups. In this case, the distinction is based primarily on the pottery, especially the presence or absence of a large piriform jar.

Even though in many assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group most of the features discussed above can be found (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below), it is important to stress that there is also some variation between the individual assemblages. Mention should, for example, be made of the assemblage from Tomb 51 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), which produced a bronze dagger, an ivory female statuette (Fig. 52) and a collection of amber beads. Moreover, no kylikes have been found inside of it. As noted above, objects made from ivory (almost) only occur in tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see also Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). The same applies to the distribution of bronze daggers and amber beads (see section 3.4.2 above). Despite this, and the lack of kylikes, Tomb 51 has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group because of the absence of a large piriform jar²⁰¹ and the presence of four medium jugs (FS 109-110) and a wide-necked jar (FS 74).

I also want to make mention of some of the finds from Tomb 33, particularly those recovered from its side chamber (LHIIIB). In it were found two lentoid seal stones and a concentration of bronzes, consisting of a pair of tweezers, a chisel and a serrated saw. As argued above, such concentrations of bronzes are not common in association with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. This is more typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group in LHIIIA2 (see section 3.4.2 above), although for the objects themselves this group does not provide any parallels. Comparatively speaking, more bronzes were found here than in any of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs from LHIIIB. Also in terms of the pottery, we see similarities between the materials from the side chamber of Tomb 33 and the assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group in general. In it were found two kylikes with high-swung handle(s) (FS 273) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295). There was also an unpainted shallow bowl with high-handles (FS 241), which is similar in appearance to the kylix with high-swung handles (FS 273). Despite of this, however, Tomb 33 has been considered as part of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. The main reason is the absence of a large piriform jar (for comments on the role of the large piriform jar in the definition of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, see section 3.4.2 above).

²⁰¹ The same applies for such other criteria typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group as tin-covered kylikes, gold jewelry (beads and rosettes) and glass relief-beads (for comments on these features, see section 3.4.2 above).

3.4.4 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-2” in LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB

The “Prosymna-2” group is attested in LHIIB-III A1,²⁰² LHIII A2²⁰³ and LHIIB.²⁰⁴ It differs in a number of ways from the two “Prosymna-1” groups described in the previous sections. In contrast to these, the assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-2” group usually²⁰⁵ do not include any medium or large jugs (with an average height of c. 20-30 cm).²⁰⁶ Present in most “Prosymna-2” assemblages²⁰⁷ are a number of small jugs or juglets (FS 112-114 and 149) (Fig. 58) (with an average height of c. 10 cm).²⁰⁸ Another common pot shape, especially in LHIII A2 (60%),²⁰⁹ but also attested in LHIIB-III A1²¹⁰ and LHIIB,²¹¹ is the amphora (FS 66-68). As noted in section 3.4.3 above, this vessel type is rare in combination with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, but common in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” type.²¹²

Open pot shapes are not numerous, usually consisting of only one or two vessels (for exceptions, see comments below). In contrast to the two “Prosymna-1” groups discussed

²⁰² For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIB-III A1, see Appendix II Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum real wall), 17 (chamber, 15 cm above floor), 18 (chamber), 34 (chamber, cist IV) and 36 (chamber, rear).

²⁰³ For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIII A2, see Appendix II Tombs 4 (chamber + cist I), 11 (chamber), 13 (chamber, left outer/inner corner), 16 (chamber), 17 (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor + east chamber, upper level), 32 (chamber), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 36 (side chamber), 40 (chamber), 45 (chamber + chamber, cist I + dromos, cist), 47 (dromos tomb) and 48 (chamber).

²⁰⁴ For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIB, see Appendix II Tombs 1 (chamber), 5 (chamber), 6 (chamber), 10 (chamber), 19 (chamber), 20 (chamber), 36 (chamber, left of door/center) and 50 (chamber).

²⁰⁵ Medium or large jugs from “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1 come from Tombs 18 (chamber) and 34 (chamber, cist IV). Assemblages from LHIII A2 with such jugs came to light in Tombs 11 (chamber), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 39 (dromos tomb), 45 (chamber + chamber, cist I + dromos, cist) and 47 (dromos cist). Assemblages from LHIIB with medium or large jugs are Tombs 1 (chamber), 6 (chamber) and 36 (chamber, left door/center).

²⁰⁶ For the heights of these vessels, see for example the linear jug (FS 105) (c. 26 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 6 (#31) (Shelton 1996, 15), the cutaway-necked jug (FS 136) (c. 23 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 21 (#233) (ibidem, 48) and the narrow-necked jug (FS 121) (c. 22 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 22 (#888) (ibidem, 54). For the heights of small jugs, see for example the juglet (FS 114) (c. 7 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 19 (#276) (ibidem, 46) and the juglet (FS 114) (c. 11 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 32 (#873) (ibidem, 87).

²⁰⁷ Small jugs were found in c. 67% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1, 80% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIII A2 and 38% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB.

²⁰⁸ Of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-III A1, 80% contained a small jug. C. 80% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIII A2 yielded juglets and c. 38% from LHIIB.

²⁰⁹ Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIII A2 with amphorae are Tombs 11 (chamber), 17 (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 36 (side chamber), 39 (dromos tomb), 40 (chamber), 46 (chamber + cist I) and 48 (chamber).

²¹⁰ The only tomb with a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIB-III A1 with an amphora is Tomb 18 (chamber).

²¹¹ Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB with amphorae are Tombs 19 (chamber + cist), 36 (chamber, left door/center) and 50 (chamber).

²¹² About 62% of all “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIII A2 contained one or more amphorae (see section 3.4.3 above).

above, unpainted kylikes are not particularly common. We only have a few single kylikes (FS 266-267) from “Prosymna-2” contexts dating to LHIII A2.²¹³ What is most characteristic of this group, however, is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes associated with it. This combination is typical of the two “Prosymna-1” groups discussed in the previous two sections.

More frequently found are the conical cup (FS 204-206),²¹⁴ the shallow cup (FS 219-220),²¹⁵ and the carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 60) and the small mug (FS 126 and 226) (Fig. 61).²¹⁶ Neither one of these pot shapes is limited to the “Prosymna-2” group per se. The conical cup and the shallow cup frequently occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (1)”²¹⁷ and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages.²¹⁸ Carinated conical cups and small mugs appear less often. For this reason, I want to briefly focus on the combinations in which these two pot shapes occur in assemblages classified here as belonging to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. Consider the following examples: Tombs 37 (Prosymna-1 (1)) (LHIII A2), 8 (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIII A2) and 33 (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIII B). What these assemblages have in common besides the presence of a small mug and/or a carinated conical cup is that they contain a relatively high concentration of small ceramic vessels. All of them comprised one or more small jugs and a feeding bottle (FS 159-161). In addition, Tomb 33 produced an askos (FS 194), two small stemmed cups and a miniature cup. These assemblages also included one or more terracotta figurines.

The individual pot shapes listed above in connection with Tombs 37, 8 and 33 – small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149) (Fig. 58),²¹⁹ feeding bottles (FS 159-161) (Fig. 59)²²⁰ and askoi (FS 194)²²¹ – also occur in several of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages. An important difference,

²¹³ Tombs 4 (chamber + cist I), 25 (25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor), 40 (chamber), 46 (chamber + cist I) and 48 (chamber)

²¹⁴ “Prosymna-2” contexts from LHII B-III A1 with conical cups are Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall), 34 (chamber, cist IV) and 36 (chamber, rear); from LHIII A2 Tombs 16 (chamber), 17 (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 40 (chamber) and 48 (chamber). There is one (possible) example from LHIII B: Tomb 1 (chamber).

²¹⁵ The only “Prosymna-2” context from LHII B-III A1 with shallow cups is Tomb 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall); from LHIII A2 Tombs 16 (chamber), 32 (chamber), 45 (chamber + chamber, cist I + dromos, cist), 46 (chamber + cist I) and 48 (chamber); from LHIII B Tomb 50 (chamber).

²¹⁶ “Prosymna-2” contexts from LHII B-III A1 with small mugs or carinated conical cups are Tomb 18 (FS 225) (chamber), 34 (FS 230) (chamber, cist IV) and 36 (FS 230) (chamber, rear); from LHIII A2 Tombs 17 (FS 226) (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 32 (FS 230) (chamber), 35 (FS 230) (chamber + cist II, III + IV); from LHIII B Tombs 1 (FS 226) (chamber), 6 (FS 226) (chamber) and 10 (FS 126).

²¹⁷ Examples are Tomb 2 (LHII B-III A1), 42 (LHIII A2) and 43 (LHIII A2).

²¹⁸ Examples are Tomb 33 (LHII B-III A1), 21 (LHIII A2), 24 (LHIII A2) and 33 (LHIII B).

²¹⁹ For comments on the popularity of small jugs in connection with the “Prosymna-2” group, see main text above.

²²⁰ Feeding bottles have been recovered from Tombs 17 (LHII B-III A1 and LHIII A2), 25 (LHIII A2) and 36 (LHIII A2).

²²¹ An askos comes from Tomb 17 (LHIII A2).

however, is that since these assemblages tend to be smaller in size – in terms of the number of vessels found – than those associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups, in which case these small ceramic vessels often constitute part of large deposits containing the remains of many secondarily reburied inhumations,²²² it is much easier to recognize the possible salience of these combinations of small ceramic vessels. Consider the finds recovered 70 to 45 cm above the floor of Tomb 17 (LHIIIA2).²²³ The assemblage consisted of an amphora (FS 66), a small jug, a feeding bottle, an askos, a conical cup (FS 204) and a small mug (FS 226). A very similar assemblage dated to LHIIB-III A1 was found at a deeper level in the same tomb (chamber, 15 cm above floor).

Two other small pot shapes of which the distribution can be approached in a similar way are the handleless jar (FS 77) and the squat jug (FS 87). The former occurs in LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2; the latter appears in contexts dating from LHIIA to LHIIB-III A1. Here, I will only pay attention to the combinations in which the handleless jar occurs.²²⁴ The FS 77 is attested in two “Prosymna-2” assemblages, namely Tombs 18 (chamber) and 36 (chamber). Other small ceramic pots recovered from the latter context include two squat jugs (FS 87), a small jug (FS 112), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) and a miniature cup. In Tomb 18 were found: two handleless jars, two squat jugs, a small jug, an askos (FS 194) and a small mug (FS 225). The only “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage with a handleless jar is Tomb 27 (chamber + double cist) (LHIIIA2). Besides a handleless jar, it included a small jug, a feeding bottle (FS 160) and an askos.

From the perspective developed above, I would like to suggest that these combinations of small ceramic vessels found in association with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages should not be seen as arbitrary but rather as indicative of the presence of (secondarily removed) burials similar to the “Prosymna-2” group (for comments on variety in the “Prosymna-2” group itself, see below). Admittedly, the possibility can also not be excluded that we are dealing with a separate group here which occurs independently both in combination with the two “Prosymna-1” groups, as well as with the “Prosymna-2” group.

²²² An example is Tomb 43 (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). The heap found in the inner right corner contained at least seven skulls and other bones belonging to adults and children (Blegen 1937, 187-8). The assemblage included twenty-two vases, comprising five medium or large jugs, a feeding bottle, a miniature handmade jug, a carinated conical cup and a small angular bowl. There were also five terracotta figurines recovered.

²²³ *Ibidem*, 53-4.

²²⁴ Squat jugs occur in the following “Prosymna-2” contexts: Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-III A1), 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 32 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-III A1) and possibly 45 (LHIIIA2). In the latter case, the squat jugs are dated to LHIIA, in an assemblage predominantly consisting of vases from LHIIIA2.

In terms of the offerings other than pottery, no specific object types can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-2” group. We actually have four assemblages from LHIIIA2 which consisted exclusively of pottery.²²⁵ What is interesting about these is that, according to Blegen, they all (probably) belonged to the burials of children.²²⁶ Besides stone conuli (see section 3.4.1 above), the remaining assemblages usually include some glass and/or stone beads, especially in LHIIIB-III A1²²⁷ and LHIIIB.²²⁸ Jewelry beads appear to be less common in LHIIIA2.²²⁹

Categories of items which are comparatively rare in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group are bronze weapons (for exceptions, see comments below)²³⁰ and seals.²³¹ The only bronzes found consist of some tools (knives, a pair of tweezers and a scale pan),²³² jewelry (rings)²³³ and toiletry articles (wire pins and a mirror) (LHIIIA2)²³⁴

A category of items present in c. 33%²³⁵ of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and c. 38% from LHIIIB is represented by terracotta figurines, in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids).²³⁶ Terracotta figurines are, together with stone conuli and glass and stone jewelry beads (see above), among the objects most frequently found in

²²⁵ Tombs 16 (chamber), 17 (70-45 cm above floor), 36 (side chamber) and 47 (dromos cist)

²²⁶ For Tomb 16, see Blegen 1937, 52; for Tomb 17, see *ibidem*, 53-4; for Tomb 36, see *ibidem*, 122; for Tomb 47, see *ibidem*, 224.

²²⁷ Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIB-III A1 with jewelry beads are Tombs 17 (70-45 cm above floor) (glass), 18 (chamber) (glass) and 36 (chamber, rear) (glass and stone). There were no beads found in association with the “Prosymna-2” assemblages from Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall), 34 (chamber, cist IV) and 52 (chamber).

²²⁸ Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIB with jewelry beads are Tombs 1 (chamber) (glass), 5 (chamber) (glass), 6 (chamber) (glass), 19 (chamber) (glass and stone), 20 (chamber) (glass) and 50 (chamber) (glass and stone). None were found in Tombs 10 (chamber) and 36 (chamber, left door/center).

²²⁹ Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with jewelry beads are Tombs 4 (chamber + cist I) (glass), 11 (chamber) (glass and stone), 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor) (glass and stone), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV) (stone) and 45 (chamber + chamber, cist I + dromos, cist) (stone). There were no beads found in Tombs 13 (chamber, left outer/inner corner), 16 (chamber), 17 (70-45 cm above floor), 32 (chamber), 39 (dromos tomb), 40 (chamber), 46 (chamber + cist I) and 48 (chamber).

²³⁰ A bronze dagger was found in Tomb 13 (chamber, left outer/inner corner) (LHIIIA2) and we have bronze spearheads from Tombs 10 (chamber) (LHIIIB) and 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIIIA2).

²³¹ Seals came to light in Tombs 6 (chamber) (LHIIIB), 11 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 13 (chamber, left outer/inner corner) (LHIIIA2) and 46 (chamber + cist I) (LHIIIA2).

²³² Bronze knives were uncovered in Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIIB-III A1), 36 (LHIIIB-III A1) (chamber rear), 46 (chamber + cist I) (LHIIIA2) and 10 (chamber) (LHIIIB). We have a pair of bronze tweezers from Tombs 10 (chamber) (LHIIIB) and 36 (chamber rear) (LHIIIB-III A1), and a scale pan from Tomb 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor) (LHIIIA2).

²³³ Bronze rings came to light in Tombs 32 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 19 (chamber) (LHIIIB).

²³⁴ Bronze (wire) pins were found in Tombs 1 (chamber) (LHIIIB), 18 (chamber) (LHIIIB-III A1), 32 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 35 (?) (chamber + cist II, III + IV) (LHIIIA2). A mirror came to light in Tomb 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIIIA2).

²³⁵ This percentage increases to c. 45% if the assemblages without offerings other than pottery are excluded (see *fn.* 225).

²³⁶ Terracotta figurines were uncovered in the following “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIIA2: Tombs 4 (chamber + cist I), 32 (chamber) and 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV); from LHIIIB: Tombs 10 (chamber) and 19 (chamber).

combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. (In connection with the comments made above regarding the possible relation between the “Prosymna-2” group and the presence of small ceramic vessels in tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages, it is interesting to point out that most such tombs with terracotta figurines also typically have a concentration of small ceramic pots associated with them.²³⁷)

The “Prosymna-2” group should not be conceived of as a homogeneous group. Even though in many assemblages associated with it most of the features discussed above can be found (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below), it is important to stress that there is also some variation between the individual assemblages. As noted above, most “Prosymna-2” assemblages have only one or two open vessels. There are, however, several containing a much larger number of open vase forms: Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-III A1), 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1), 25 (north chamber + east chamber, upper stratum), 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-III A1), 45 (chamber, rear + chamber, cist + dromos, cist) (LHIII A2).²³⁸

Two assemblages which I have also included in the “Prosymna-2” group are Tombs 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIII A2) and 47 (dromos cist) (LHIII A2). The former, in terms of the pottery, is made up by a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), a stirrup jar (FS 171) and a stirrup jug (FS 150); from Tomb 47 come a medium jug (FS 109) and a wide-necked jar (FS 74). The main reason why – despite the absence of any small ceramic pots – I have included these assemblages in the “Prosymna-2” group is that both contain a medium jug, but no kylikes. The occurring together of these vessel types is what the two “Prosymna-1” groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” – have in common.

In terms of variation in the offerings other than pottery, there are four assemblages that have to be mentioned here, because they had bronze weapons associated with them, which, as noted above, are not particularly common in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group: Tombs 13 (left outer/inner corner) (LHIII A2), 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIII A2), 25 (north chamber, cist) (LHIII A2?) and 10 (chamber) (LHIIB). In Tomb 13, a bronze dagger and a glass seal were found. As noted above, seals (see fn. 231) but in particular bronze

²³⁷ Tomb 38 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”) (LHIII A2) produced two small jugs, two askoi and seven terracotta figurines. Another example is Tomb 43 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”) (LHIII A2) which had one miniature handmade jug, two feeding bottles, a carinated conical cup and six terracotta figurines. From the other “Prosymna-1” group, we can mention Tomb 28 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIII A2). This grave yielded three small jugs, three carinated cups and two terracotta figurines.

²³⁸ Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-III A1) included five, 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-III A1) nine, 25 (north chamber + east chamber, upper stratum) five, 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-III A1) thirteen and 45 (chamber, rear + chamber, cist + dromos, cist) (LHIII A2) five open vessels.

weapons (see fn. 230) generally do not occur in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages. In Tomb 10 no less than seven bronzes were found: three spearheads, an arrowhead, a knife, a pair of tweezers and a (fragmentary) shallow basin. From Tomb 25 (east chamber, upper level) come two bronzes, a spearhead and a mirror. The other assemblage from this chamber tomb, from its north chamber, originates from a cist that had been cut into the floor. Recovered from it were a long sword, a dagger and two glass beads. Although there was no pottery directly associated with this assemblage, on the floor itself – into which the cist had been dug – a considerable number of vessels from LHIIIA2 were found. The main reason why – despite the presence of bronze weapons – the assemblages discussed above have been included in the “Prosymna-2” group is that there are no examples of medium or large jugs and kylikes occurring together. This is one of the most important ways of distinguishing between the two “Prosymna-1” groups and the “Prosymna-2” group (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). Furthermore, the assemblages from Tombs 10 and 13 had some small ceramic pots associated with them.²³⁹

3.4.5 “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” compared: some architectural considerations

In the previous four sections the similarities and differences between the “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages were discussed. The distinction between them, as reflected in the pottery and the offerings other than pottery, also manifests itself in certain aspects of the architecture of the tombs. In general, the tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages are among the largest of the cemetery. This applies to the length of their dromoi as well as to the size of their burial chambers. Seven of the eleven “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs (c. 64%) had dromoi of ten or more meters in length.²⁴⁰ Tombs 2²⁴¹ and 44²⁴² had the longest dromoi, measuring 17.25 and 18.80 meters, respectively. Among the other two groups, we see that most graves (c. 73%) were approached via entranceways between four to seven meters long.²⁴³

²³⁹ Tomb 13 produced a miniature jug. The assemblage from Tomb 10 yielded three small jugs and two handmade small mugs.

²⁴⁰ Tombs 2 (Blegen 1937, 173), 7 (ibidem, 156), 15 (ibidem, 170), 41 (ibidem, 142), 42 (ibidem, 147), 43 (ibidem, 185) and 44 (ibidem, 206)

²⁴¹ Ibidem, 173.

²⁴² Ibidem, 206.

²⁴³ Tombs with dromoi four to seven meters long (in numerical order) are: Tombs 1 (ibidem, 69), 6 (ibidem, 154), 8 (ibidem, 160), 12 (ibidem, 204), 13 (ibidem, 193), 17 (ibidem, 53), 18 (ibidem, 57), 19 (ibidem, 59), 20

Apart from the longest dromoi, the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs were also the largest in terms of the size of their respective burial chambers. Four “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs had floor-sizes exceeding 20 m² (c. 36%).²⁴⁴ Most other graves had floors measuring between 10 and 20 m² (c. 45%).²⁴⁵ By contrast, the majority of tombs belonging to the other two groups had floor-sizes ranging from 4 to 8 m² (c. 61%).²⁴⁶ The main difference between the “Prosymna-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-2” group is that the former contains a larger proportion of graves with floors measuring between 10 to 20 m²²⁴⁷ and 8 to 10 m².²⁴⁸ In addition, the “Prosymna-2” group includes a number of tombs with floor-sizes between 2 to 4 m² (c. 18%).²⁴⁹ This category is not found in any of the other groups at Prosymna.

From the above overview it can be derived that tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages were generally more monumental in character than the other two groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of the site.²⁵⁰ The builders of Tomb 2 further enhanced this monumentality by decorating the door jambs and lintel with a unique color-painted fresco.²⁵¹

A general overview of the most distinctive characteristics of each of the three Prosymna groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” – as established on the basis of the discussion of the assemblages (see sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.4 above) and the architecture (see this section), is provided in Table 2 below.²⁵²

(ibidem, 61), 21 (ibidem, 62), 24 (ibidem, 83), 27 (ibidem, 98), 28 (ibidem, 80), 32 (ibidem, 101), 33 (ibidem, 104), 39 (ibidem, 131), 45 (ibidem, 218), 46 (ibidem, 221), 48 (ibidem, 215) and 51 (ibidem, 224).

²⁴⁴ Tombs 2, 7, 42 and 44 (ibidem, 244, fn. 4)

²⁴⁵ Tombs 3, 15, 29, 41 and 42 (ibidem, 244, fn. 5)

²⁴⁶ Tombs with floor-sizes between 4 to 8 m² are (in numerical order): Tombs 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 35, 36, 40, 45, 46, 48, 50 and 51 (ibidem, 244, fn. 7-8).

²⁴⁷ “Prosymna-1 (2)” tombs with floor-sizes between 10 to 20 m² are: Tombs 8, 24 and 34 (ibidem, 244, fn. 5).

The only “Prosymna-2” tomb with a floor-size between 10 to 20 m² is Tomb 32 (ibidem, 244, fn. 5). About 27% of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” graves had floor-sizes between 10 to 20 m² versus c. 4.5% among the tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

²⁴⁸ “Prosymna-1 (2)” tombs with floor-sizes between 8 to 10 m² are: Tombs 21, 27, 33 and 49 (ibidem, 244, fn. 6). The only “Prosymna-2” tomb with a floor-size between 8 to 10 m² is Tomb 10 (ibidem, 244, fn. 6). About 36% of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” graves had floor-sized between 8 to 10 m² versus c. 4.5% among the tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

²⁴⁹ Tombs 5, 16, 20 and 52 (Blegen 1937, 244, fn. 9)

²⁵⁰ There are three tombs which have assemblages from two different groups associated with them. Tomb 29 has yielded a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber + recess) and a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIB-III A1 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII). In Tomb 37 were found a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber, lower level) and a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIB (chamber, upper level). Finally, Tomb 34 produced a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIB-III A1 (chamber, cist IV) and a Prosymna-1 (2) assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V). In the calculations on which the percentages presented above are based, Tombs 29 and 37 were included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group and Tomb 34 in the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group.

²⁵¹ Blegen 1937, 174.

²⁵² For details and variations, see main text above.

“Prosymna-1 (1)” (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB) (see section 3.4.2)	“Prosymna-1 (2)” (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB) (see section 3.4.3)	“Prosymna-2” (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB) (see section 3.4.4)
Pottery	Pottery	Pottery
<p>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or <u>tinned</u> kylikes (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).</p> <p><u>Tinned pottery</u> is limited to this group.</p> <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group are (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large piriform jar • Kylix with high-swung handle(s) • Shallow angular bowl 	<p>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and <u>unpainted</u> kylikes (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).</p> <p>Closed vessel type limited (mostly) to this group is (LHIII A2):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wide-necked jar <p>Closed vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the Prosymna-2 group is (LHIII A2 and LHIIB):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amphora 	<p>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIB).</p> <p>Closed vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the Prosymna-1 (2) group is (LHIII A2 and LHIIB):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amphora <p>Group is characterized by combinations of small ceramic vessels, such as handleless jars, squat jugs, small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi, and small mugs and carinated conical cups (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).</p>
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
<p>Group usually contains concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as ivory toiletry articles, gold jewelry and bronze weapons (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2).</p> <p>Other common categories of objects include glass and stone beads, stone conuli, terracotta figurines and seals (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2).²⁵³</p> <p>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold rosettes and (relief) beads (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIII A2) • Glass relief-beads, especially rosettes and beads in the bracket-shape (LHIII A2) • Amber beads (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB) • Bronze daggers (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIII A2) • Bronze cleavers (LHIII A2 and 	<p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory (cf. Prosymna-1 (1)), are very rare (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).</p> <p>Most common are glass and stone beads, stone conuli and terracotta figurines (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).²⁵⁴</p>	<p>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB); most common are glass and stone beads, stone conuli and terracotta figurines (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).²⁵⁵</p> <p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory (cf. Prosymna-1 (1)), are very rare (LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB).</p>

²⁵³ For more comments on stone conuli and glass beads, see discussion of relations of similarity in section 3.4.1 above.

²⁵⁴ See fn. 253.

²⁵⁵ See fn. 253.

<p>LHIIIB)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze mirrors (LHIIIA2) • Ivory toiletry articles (e.g. combs and containers) (LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2) 		
<p>Architectural details</p>	<p>Architectural details</p>	<p>Architectural details</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 meters or more long dromoi • Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 10 to more than 20 m² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 to 7 meters long dromoi • Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 4 to 20 m² with, proportionally speaking, more chambers with floor-sizes measuring between 8 to 10 m² (see fn. 248) and 10 to 20 m² (see fn. 247) than the Prosymna-2 group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 to 7 meters long dromoi • Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 2 to 20 m² with, proportionally speaking, less chambers with floor-sizes measuring between 8 to 10 m² (see fn. 248) and 10 to 20 m² (see fn. 247) than the Prosymna-1 (2) group

Table 2 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” groups

It can be inferred from Table 2 above that the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is the group with the clearest distinguishing features associated with it. In contrast to the other two groups – “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” – there are a considerable number of artifact types of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to this group, such as large piriform jars, tinned kylikes and shallow angular bowls, gold (relief) beads and rosettes and bronze daggers. Even though the defining criteria of the other two groups, in particular the “Prosymna-2” group, are less clear and therefore tend to exhibit more intra-group variability (for comments on variety, see the appropriate group-specific sections above), I do believe that the three-group scheme developed here in order to describe the archaeological burial record of Prosymna (see Table 2 above) offers a good representation of the most important patterns discernible in it.²⁵⁶

3.5 Mycenaean Athens and Prosymna: A comparison

²⁵⁶ A small number of tombs have been left out of this analysis, either because they did not fit into any of the groups described above (Tomb 52) or they fell outside the chronological range of this study (Tombs 13 and 30). In addition, the materials from Tomb 26 (side chamber, upper level) were secondarily dumped there (Shelton 1996, 212).

In sections 3.3 and 3.4 above, the Late Bronze Age cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) were discussed. At both sites, it has been possible for a number of different groups of assemblages to be identified. The aim of this section is to compare the two sites by concentrating on the similarities and differences between the individual groups associated with them. As was explained in section 3.1 above, in this PhD study tomb assemblages are principally seen as constituted by two types of relations: relations of similarity and relations of difference. In the previous two sections, the individual groups from the Athenian Agora and Prosymna were described in terms of these two relations, or rather what in this dissertation are considered to be the material manifestations of it in the archaeological burial record. These relations also form the basis for the comparison of both sites that will be carried out in this section.

3.5.1 Athenian Agora and Prosymna: relations of similarity

We can see a number of notable similarities in terms of the different ways relations of similarity were expressed at the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna. At both sites, there clearly is a preference for using chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary inhumations, although the cemetery in the Athenian Agora also contained a number cist and pit graves from LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2 (see section 3.3 above). Another notable similarity is that at both sites it was commonplace to deposit unguent containers with the deceased. There are, however, some differences in the types of unguent containers that are most frequently found at the two sites. Firstly, at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora, there was a clear preference in LHIIB-III A1 for small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44). Although rounded alabastra (FS 84) occur in both groups of assemblages known from this period – “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” – their distribution is limited largely to the “Agora-1” group (see section 3.3.1 above). A different pattern emerges from the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. At this site, rounded alabastra were more popular than small piriform jars (see section 3.4.1 above). Another difference between the two sites becomes apparent in LHIIIA2 with the development of the stirrup jar (FS 171-178). While this pot shape constitutes part of many assemblages at Prosymna – although still less common than the rounded alabastron (FS 85) in this period – the stirrup jar is very rare at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIIA2, where we mainly see small piriform jars (FS 45) and rounded alabastra appearing in the tombs,

thus continuing the tradition from the previous LHIIB-III A1 phase. There do not appear to be any major changes in LHIIB, although it is difficult to compare the two sites because of the limited number of tombs in use in the Athenian Agora in this period (see section 3.3 above).

The offerings other than pottery also reveal similarities and differences among the two cemeteries. At both sites, it is commonplace to find stone conuli and glass beads in the tomb assemblages from LHIIB-III A1. This also applies to the assemblages from LHIII A2 and LHIIB at Prosymna. In the Athenian Agora, on the other hand, there is a strong decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found in LHIII A2. Although stone conuli appear in all three groups of assemblages from this period – “Agora-1 (2)”, “Agora-2” and “Agora-3” – it in no way compares to the frequency with which these objects occurred in the previous LHIIB-III A1 phase. Glass beads have also (almost) completely disappeared. A category of objects comparatively common at Prosymna in LHIII A2, being attested with varying frequencies in all three groups of assemblages from this period, is made up by terracotta figurines, in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids). In the Athenian Agora, on the other hand, these objects are found in only a limited number of graves.²⁵⁷ (This category of items is discussed in more detail in section 3.5.2 below.) It can thus be concluded that in terms of the relations of similarity the two sites most resemble each other in LHIIB-III A1, although as noted above, even in this period it is possible for a number of differences between them to be identified, for example in the different types of unguent containers placed inside the tombs.

3.5.2 Athenian Agora and Prosymna: relations of difference

The groups that most resemble each other are: “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1”. I will focus first on the “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above). Since the former is attested only in LHIIB-III A1, our discussion is inevitably limited to this period. Characteristic features, in terms of the pottery, the two groups have in common are comprised of the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 30) and medium or large jugs (FS 150), and a large quantity of unpainted and/or (sometimes possibly)

²⁵⁷ The only figurine from a LHIII A2 “Agora-1 (2)” context comes from Tomb 10. We have two figurines from a LHIII A2 “Agora-2” context: Tomb 26. A single figurine came to light in Tomb 20, which is an “Agora-2” context from LHIIB.

tinned open vases, including shallow angular bowls (FS 295) and kylikes of different shapes, among which examples with high-swung handles (FS 271-273).

There are also similarities in terms of the offerings other than pottery among the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. At both sites, the distribution of items manufactured from rare or exotic materials such as ivory and gold – gold jewelry, such as rosettes and (relief) beads, ivory toiletry articles – is limited largely to tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. A feature typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group from LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2 is the presence of a high concentration of bronzes, comprising weapons, such as daggers and arrowheads, tools and toiletry articles. Although we have only two “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages, both from LHIIB-III A1, it is notable that at least one of these – Tomb 3 – produced a collection of four bronzes, consisting of two swords (weapons), a cleaver (tool) and a bowl (vessel). From Tomb 1 come a bronze mirror (toiletry) and lamp.

A notable difference between the two groups is that while the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group typically has glass and stone beads associated with it, no beads were recovered from any of the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages. In the Athenian Agora, beads occur only in combination with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Agora-2 group”.

A final point to be addressed here is represented by the architecture or the monumentality of the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see section 3.4.5 above). Although we have only two “Agora-1 (1)” tombs at our disposal (Tombs 1 and 3), it is notable that the tombs containing “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages were among the largest – in terms of dromos length and chamber floor size – of the respective cemeteries they constituted part of.

It is also possible for some similarities to be observed among the “Agora-1 (2)” (see section 3.3.3 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.3 above). The former is attested in LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2; the latter occurs in contexts dating from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIII B. Characteristic features they have in common and by which they are connected to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, respectively, comprise the presence of one or more medium or large jugs (FS 109-110, 120, 133 and 144-145) and a certain amount of open vases, especially unpainted kylikes of different shapes (FS 266-267).

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, the assemblages associated with both groups from LHIIB-III A1 usually include a number of stone and/or glass beads. A notable difference is that the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period often comprise some bronze

weapons, such as spear- and arrowheads and daggers. This is not the case at Prosymna. As noted above, there is a strong decline in the number of offerings other than pottery found at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIIA2. As a result, there are hardly any offerings other than pottery associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period. One tomb yielded a bronze dagger.²⁵⁸ Another one produced a collection of glass beads.²⁵⁹ No changes can be observed at Prosymna in LHIIIA2, during which it is still commonplace to find glass and stone beads – together with a variety of other items – in association with the “Prosymna-1” (2) group. We do, however, see a strong decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found at Prosymna in LHIIB, but this seems to have mainly affected the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from this period (see section 3.4.2 above).

As noted in the previous sections, the defining criteria of the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups are less clear than those associated with the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups. Nevertheless, it is possible for some similarities between the “Agora-2” (see section 3.3.4 above) and the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 above) to be identified. Both are found in contexts dating from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB. A notable similarity is that the tomb assemblages with which they are associated usually have no, or only a few, medium or large jugs and/or open vessels. If medium or large jugs are present, they, as a general rule, do not occur together with kylikes. This combination is what characterizes the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups. It should be pointed out that, overall, the number of kylikes found in association with “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages is comparatively limited.

A feature typical of the “Prosymna-2” group, from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIB, is that the assemblages with which it is associated often have a number of small ceramic vessels (for more comments on combinations of small ceramic vessels, see below). Among the tombs in the Athenian Agora, no such pattern can be recognized. At Prosymna, small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149) are particularly common. In total 80% of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 yielded one or more juglets. This pot shape was present in half of the “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2. It should be pointed out, however, that this percentage is based on only four tombs (the total number of “Agora-2” assemblages from this period), while the 80% from Prosymna takes into the account the finds from no less than fifteen graves.

The “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages usually have only a limited number and variety of objects other than pottery. Stone conuli and glass beads are the commonest,

²⁵⁸ Tomb 15 (chamber)

²⁵⁹ Tomb 39 (pit grave)

although after LHIIB-III A1, glass beads are only found at Prosymna. (As noted above, in LHIII A2 we see a strong decline in the number of offerings other than pottery found at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora.) A category of items which is relatively common at Prosymna (see section 3.4.3 above) but comparatively rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora is formed by terracotta figurines. They occur in c. 33% of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIII A2²⁶⁰ and in c. 38% of the same group from LHIIB. Only one of the four “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIII A2 (25%) and one of the three from LHIIB (c. 33%) yielded terracotta figurines.

A final comment concerns the tendency which was observed at Prosymna for small ceramic vessels, such as handleless jars (FS 77), small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149), feeding bottles (FS 159-161) and small mugs (FS 225-226), to occur together in the same assemblage. The same pattern may also be observed among the tombs in the Athenian Agora in LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2. A good example from LHIIB-III A1 is Tomb 24 (“Agora-1 (2)”), which yielded a handleless jar, an askos (FS 194) and a carinated conical cup (FS 230). From Tomb 7 (Agora-1 (2)), which is also LHIIB-III A1 in date, come a squat jug (FS 87), a small jug and an askos. Notable LHIII A2 contexts are Tombs 18 (“Agora-1(2)”) and 39 (“Agora-1 (2)”). The former produced a small jug in combination with an askos; the latter a small jug and a feeding bottle. In general, it may thus be noted that while at Prosymna combinations of small ceramic vessels occur in all groups of assemblages (see section 3.4.4 above), in the Agora cemetery this is limited to the “Agora-1 (2)” group. The only (possible) exception is constituted by the assemblage from Tomb 21 (Agora-2), which included two small jugs. In contrast to Prosymna, it is not possible for a general relationship to be observed between tombs in the Agora cemetery containing such combinations and the presence of terracotta figurines (for comments on this relationship, see section 3.4.4 above). The only (possible) exception is Grave K 2:5 from LHIIB-III A1, which produced two handleless jars together with two terracotta figurines. There are no other graves from the Agora cemetery with figurines from this period.

It can thus be concluded that with respect to the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record, there are clear similarities and differences among the two sites that have so far been discussed in this dissertation. In the next section, attention will be paid to a number of other sites on the Greek mainland. The aim is to establish

²⁶⁰ As noted in section 3.4.4 above, if the assemblages without offerings other than pottery other excluded from this, the number increases to c. 45%.

whether the patterns observed at the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna may also be found in other parts of the Mycenaean heartland.

3.6 Mycenaean Athens and Prosymna versus the rest of the Greek mainland

A comparison-based survey

In the previous sections, the focus was on the tomb assemblages from the Late Bronze Age cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (section 3.3) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (section 3.4). In this section the finds from a number of other sites on the Greek mainland will be discussed. These are compared with those from the Athenian Agora and Prosymna in order to assess the extent to which the patterns observed there (see section 3.5 above) can also be recognized in other parts of the Mycenaean heartland. The following regions will be taken into consideration (from north to south and east to west): Boeotia (section 3.6.1), Attica (section 3.6.2), the Korinthia (section 3.6.3), the Argolid (section 3.6.4), Laconia (section 3.6.5) and Messenia (section 3.6.6). From every region, a number – the list is not exhaustive – of well-published tombs and/or cemeteries have been selected.

3.6.1 Boeotia

Several Late Bronze Age necropoleis have been excavated in Boeotia (Map 4).²⁶¹ In what follows, the focus will be on the chamber tomb cemeteries of Kolonaki and Ismenion which are situated in the hills outside Mycenaean Thebes.²⁶² The sites were published by A. Keramopoulos in 1917.²⁶³ The publication includes photographs of only a selection of the excavated finds.²⁶⁴ The eleven best documented LHIIIA-B tombs are taken into consideration here.²⁶⁵

We will first focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes. Besides the common use of chamber tombs at the

²⁶¹ Dakouri-Hild 2010, 702.

²⁶² Another major tomb site in the region is represented by the cemeteries of Tanagra. So far, however, only preliminary reports have been published (for an overview see Mountjoy 1999a, 642, fn. 41).

²⁶³ Keramopoulos 1917.

²⁶⁴ The non-pictured artifacts were mentioned in the text.

²⁶⁵ Ismenion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 9, 14, 21, 25 and 26

different sites,²⁶⁶ there is a general tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased.²⁶⁷ Although only a relatively small selection of vessels has been pictured by Keramopoulos, from the inventory lists he published it can be derived that at Thebes there was a clear preference for rounded alabastra (FS 84-85).²⁶⁸ Most specimens pictured in the original publication have been dated to LHIIIB-III A1. We also have a few small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44) from this period (Fig. 70), but this shape is much less common than the rounded alabastron.²⁶⁹ This is apparent from the number of tombs in which these vessel types occur, as well as the relative amount of each of these pot shapes. Most graves containing small piriform jars produced only one or two examples of this vase form.²⁷⁰ Rounded alabastra, on the other hand, appear in greater numbers. Most assemblages comprised four or more of this pot shape.²⁷¹ The LHIIIA2-B phase is marked by the development of the (globular) stirrup jar (FS 171, 173 and 180) (Figs. 67-8), of which examples are present in almost all tomb assemblages under consideration here.²⁷² Only one rounded alabastron (FS 85)²⁷³ and no small piriform jars (FS 45) from this period were pictured by Keramopoulos.

In terms of the offerings other than pottery, we see that stone conuli²⁷⁴ and terracotta figurines²⁷⁵ are the commonest. Both are present in five of the eleven tomb assemblages (c. 45%) under consideration here (for an overview, see fn. 265). They appear together in three graves.²⁷⁶

Comparing the patterns described above with those associated with the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.5 above), it can be concluded that the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes most closely resembles that of Prosymna. At both sites, the rounded alabastron (FS 84-85) is clearly more popular than the small piriform jar (FS 31 and 44-45). Moreover, while terracotta figurines and stirrup jars are comparatively rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora, they are common to very

²⁶⁶ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 67-8; Gallou 2005, 180.

²⁶⁷ Unguent containers have been reported from Ismenion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 9, 14, 25 and 26. The only tomb without unguent containers is Kolonaki Tomb 21.

²⁶⁸ Rounded alabastra were present in the following tombs: Ismenion Tombs 2, 3 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 7, 9, 14, 25 and 26.

²⁶⁹ Small piriform jars come from Ismenion Tombs 2 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 14 and 26.

²⁷⁰ One or two small piriform jars were found in Ismenion Tombs 2 (N=1) and 5 (N=1); and Kolonaki Tombs 1 (N=2) and 26 (N=1).

²⁷¹ Four or more rounded alabastra came to light in Ismenion Tombs 2 (N=5), 3 (N=4) and 5 (N=4); and Kolonaki Tombs 9 (N=5), 14 (N=14) and 26 (N=11).

²⁷² Stirrup jars from LHIIIA2-B appear in Ismenion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 14 and 25. There are no stirrup jars in Kolonaki Tombs 9, 21 and 26.

²⁷³ Ismenion Tomb 2

²⁷⁴ Stone conuli were found in Ismenion Tombs 2, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 14 and 25.

²⁷⁵ Terracotta figurines came to light in Ismenion Tomb 3; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 14, 21 and 25.

²⁷⁶ Ismenion Tomb 2; and Kolonaki Tombs 14 and 25

common at Prosymna. Besides similarities in the way relations of similarity are expressed, it is also possible for parallels to be observed in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference between the archaeological burial records of Thebes on the one hand and the Athenian Agora and Prosymna on the other.

There are four assemblages that can be compared with the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. These are Ismenion Tomb 3,²⁷⁷ and Kolonaki Tombs 9,²⁷⁸ 21,²⁷⁹ and 26.²⁸⁰ Kolonaki Tomb 21 is dated to LHIIIB.²⁸¹ The other assemblages can be attributed to LHIIIB-III A1.²⁸² Similar to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, most of these assemblages included one or more large (piriform) jars (FS 15 and 25) and a number of undecorated kylikes (FS 266 and 273). Two exceptions have to be mentioned here. There was no large piriform jar found in Kolonaki Tomb 21. No kylikes have been reported from Ismenion Tomb 3. The assemblage from Kolonaki Tomb 21 has nevertheless been included in this group because it yielded a number of other categories of objects which are typically associated with the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group: a gold bead, a collection of glass relief-beads – in the shape of papyrus heads – and a set of undecorated pottery, consisting of a conical cup (FS 204), a carinated kylix (FS 267), a kylix with two high-swung handles (FS 273) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295). Even though no kylikes have been reported from Ismenion Tomb 3, its assemblage did include several large (piriform) jars and a number of offerings other than pottery made of exotic and rare materials, such as an ivory comb and (fragments of) an alabaster vase. As noted in section 3.5 above, the presence of such items is a feature the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups have in common. In this light, note the collection of offerings other than pottery from Kolonaki Tomb 26, which consisted of several pieces of gold leaf, a gold relief-bead in the shape of a lily, a gold needle (?), part of a silver vase, a bronze tool and knife, and a glass bead.

²⁷⁷ Keramopoulos 1917, 85-93.

²⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 141-6.

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 181-4.

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 181-4.

²⁸¹ This date is primarily based on the presence of a handmade miniature jug (FS 126), which are generally dated to LHIIIB (Mountjoy 1986, 93, 101-3). The rest of the assemblage consists of undecorated pottery.

²⁸² Mountjoy dates the palatial jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 652, fn. 109), the large piriform jar (*ibidem*, 652, fn. 115) and the rounded alabastron (*ibidem*, 659, fn. 154) from Tomb 3 to this period. Three palatial jars (*ibidem*, 652, fn. 110-1) and two rounded alabastra (*ibidem*, 654, fn. 118) from Kolonaki Tomb 9 are assigned by her to LHIIIB-III A1. Pot shapes from Kolonaki Tomb 26 dated by Mountjoy to LHIIIB-III A1 include a beaked jug (*ibidem*, 654, fn. 126), a medium piriform jar (*ibidem*, 654, no. 23) and a large piriform jar (*ibidem*, 652, fn. 115).

Three tomb assemblages may be compared with those associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. These are Ismenion 4,²⁸³ and Kolonaki Tombs 7²⁸⁴ and 14.²⁸⁵ All three contained pottery from LHIIB-III A1²⁸⁶ and LHIII A2.²⁸⁷ Similar to the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group, in these tombs were found combinations of medium or large jugs (FS 132, 144 and 150) (Fig. 66) and (undecorated) kylikes. Moreover, the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials is limited (largely) to the tombs discussed in the previous paragraph (Ismenion Tomb 3; and Kolonaki Tombs 9, 21 and 26) (for an exception to this pattern, see the discussion of Kolonaki Tomb 25 below). There are, however, also some differences among the different sites. As noted in section 3.5 above, the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages usually have glass and/or stone beads associated with them.²⁸⁸ It seems that beads are generally underrepresented in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes.²⁸⁹ Among the three tombs discussed here, we only have two glass beads from Kolonaki Tomb 14.

The final group of assemblages from Mycenaean Thebes consists of Ismenion Tombs 2²⁹⁰ and 5,²⁹¹ and Kolonaki Tombs 1²⁹² and 25.²⁹³ These most closely resemble the “Prosymna-2” group. Ismenion Tombs 2 and 5 contain pottery from LHIIB-III A1²⁹⁴ and

²⁸³ Keramopoulos 1917, 93-5.

²⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 137-41.

²⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 150-9.

²⁸⁶ The following ceramic vessels from Ismenion Tomb 4 are dated by Mountjoy to LHIIB-III A1: a beaked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 660, fn. 165) and a stirrup jug (*ibidem*, 660, fn. 170). Dated to the same period from Kolonaki Tomb 7 are two stirrup jugs (*ibidem*, 656, no. 33; *ibidem*, 660, no. 64). LHIIB-III A1 vessels from Kolonaki Tomb 14 include several rounded alabastron (*ibidem*, 654, fn. 119), a beaked jug (*ibidem*, 660, fn. 165) and a cutaway-necked jug (*ibidem*, 660, fn. 162).

²⁸⁷ Ismenion Tomb 4 yielded two LHIII A2-B stirrup jars (inventory numbers 5 and 6). These have not been discussed by Mountjoy. Dated by her to LHIII A2-B from Kolonaki Tomb 9 are a spouted cup (*ibidem*, 656, no. 33) and a stirrup jar (*ibidem*, 675, no. 135). Pot forms from LHIII A2 from Kolonaki Tomb 14 include a dipper (*ibidem*, 667, fn. 215), a bowl with two high-swung handles (*ibidem*, 667, fn. 218) and an askos (*ibidem*, 666, fn. 204).

²⁸⁸ As noted in section 3.5 above, beads are mainly common among the tombs in the Athenian Agora in LHIIB-III A1. We see a general decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found at this site in LHIII A2.

²⁸⁹ The possibility cannot be excluded that not all beads were recovered in the excavation of the tombs in the hills around Thebes.

²⁹⁰ Keramopoulos 1917, 81-6.

²⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 95-7.

²⁹² *Ibidem*, 126-8.

²⁹³ *Ibidem*, 187-94.

²⁹⁴ Pot shapes from LHIIB-III A1 from Ismenion Tomb 1 include a rounded alabastron (Mountjoy 1999a, 665, fn. 118), a small piriform jar (*ibidem*, 659, fn. 148) and a beaked jug (*ibidem*, 660, no. 63). Vessel types from this period from Ismenion Tomb 5 are made up of two rounded alabastra (*ibidem*, 659, no. 56) and a small piriform jar (*ibidem*, 659, no. 50).

LHIIIA2.²⁹⁵ The other two assemblages can be dated to LHIIIB.²⁹⁶ Similar to the “Prosymna-2” group, medium or large jugs are not common and, if found,²⁹⁷ do not occur in combination with kylikes, which as noted above, is characteristic of the assemblages discussed in the previous paragraph (Ismenion Tomb 4; and Kolonaki Tombs 7 and 14). Another notable feature they share is that three of the four assemblages included one or more small ceramic pots of the same types which we find in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Ismenion Tomb 1 yielded three small jugs (FS 112-114), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 72) and two small carinated bowls. The only small ceramic pot from Ismenion Tomb 5 is an askos (FS 194) (Fig. 71). In Kolonaki Tomb 25 were found a small jug and two feeding bottles (FS 161). No small ceramic vessels were recovered from Kolonaki Tomb 1. Because of the absence of jugs, it is, nevertheless, considered as part of this group. Another reason is that the only ceramic offering from this tomb is a terracotta figurine. As noted in section 3.5 above, it is commonplace to find terracotta figurines in “Prosymna-2” assemblages. As a matter of fact, three of the four assemblages considered here had terracotta figurines associated with them.²⁹⁸ While Ismenion Tomb 2 and Kolonaki Tomb 1 yielded three and one terracotta figurines, respectively, Kolonaki Tomb 25 had no less than ten terracottas, comprising six figurines – five standing females and one bovid – and four pieces of furniture. The assemblage from this tomb also had a number of other unique features associated with it. Among the objects other than pottery there are fifteen ivory beads, an ivory plaque, eight gold foil rosettes and a glass relief-bead in the shape of a cockle shell. As noted above, both the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials and glass relief-beads is otherwise largely limited to tombs with assemblages that can be compared to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Kolonaki Tomb 25 is also unique in terms of the variety of open pot shapes found. The assemblage included a decorated deep bowl (FS 284), a one-handed bowl (?) (FS 283), two spouted bowls (FS 250) and three coarse ladles (FS 311). None of the other tombs discussed in this section either had deep bowls or coarse ladles associated with them. Despite of its unique features, Kolonaki Tomb 25 is, nevertheless, considered here as part of the same group

²⁹⁵ Pot shapes from LHIIIA2 from Ismenion Tomb 1 consist of a rounded alabastron (ibidem, 663, fn. 190) and a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 667, no. 95). Vessel types from this period from Ismenion Tomb 5 are comprised of a stirrup jar (ibidem, 666, fn. 198) and an askos (ibidem, 666, no. 90).

²⁹⁶ Pot forms from Kolonaki Tomb 1 dated by Mountjoy to LHIIIB are made up of two spouted bowls (ibidem, 676, fn. 277) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 673, fn. 261). Dated to the same period from Kolonaki Tomb 25 are – among others – three stirrup jars (ibidem, 673, fn. 259; ibidem, 675, fn. 262; ibidem, 675, no. 132), a deep bowl (ibidem, 678, fn. 285) and a flask (ibidem, 675, fn. 266).

²⁹⁷ The only medium jug found is a beaked jug from Ismenion Tomb 1 (inventory number 17). Moreover, there are kylix sherds from Kolonaki Tomb 1, which, however, did not yield any jugs.

²⁹⁸ Ismenion Tomb 2; and Kolonaki Tombs 1 and 25

of assemblages as Ismenion Tombs 2 and 5, and Kolonaki Tomb 1. The main reasons are the lack of medium or large jugs, the concentration of small ceramic pots and the large number of terracotta figurines (see above).

In section 3.4.4 above, I argued that combinations of small ceramic pots are not limited to the “Prosymna-2” group per se, but also appear in the other groups of assemblages at the site. A clear example of this in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes is represented by Kolonaki Tomb 14, which, based on the presence of medium jugs and kylikes, has previously been compared to the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups (see above). It, however, also yielded a concentration of small ceramic pots, comprising a handleless jar (FS 77) (for comments on the handleless jar in relation to the “Prosymna-2” group, see section 3.4.4 above), a small cutaway-necked jug (FS 135), a small stirrup jug (FS 150), an askos (FS 194), a small goblet (FS 254) (Fig. 69) and a miniature kylix with two high-swung handles (FS 273). In connection with the relation proposed in section 3.4 above between the presence of small ceramic vessels and terracotta figurines, it is notable that there were two figurines (bovids) found in Kolonaki Tomb 14.

The previous discussion of the tomb assemblages from the cemeteries in the hills outside Mycenaean Thebes clearly shows that in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are clear similarities with the groups identified among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (see section 3.3 above) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.4 above).

3.6.2 Attica

Several necropoleis from the Late Bronze Age have been excavated in Attica (Map 5).²⁹⁹ The tombs in the Athenian Agora were discussed in section 3.3 above. In what follows, I will pay attention to the cemetery at Eleusis, round the coast to the north-west of Athens. Mention is also made of a chamber tomb excavated at Limniones on the island of Salamis.

The so-called “West Cemetery” at Eleusis was investigated and published by G. Mylonas (1975).³⁰⁰ The dominant tomb types are cist graves³⁰¹ and supra-terranean built

²⁹⁹ Many necropoleis were published without any contextual information. This especially applies to south Attica (Mountjoy 1999a, 488). A good example is the cemetery of Vourvatsi (Polychronakou-Sgourtisa 2006; Benzi 1975). Another cemetery, of which the publication is in preparation, is the recently excavated site of Glyka Nera (Polychronakou-Sgourtisa 2007).

³⁰⁰ Mylonas 1975.

³⁰¹ Most cist graves were MH in date (Papadimitriou 2001, 87).

chamber tombs, of which about forty were found.³⁰² The cemetery also contains four subterranean chamber tombs. The site was in use from late MH/LH I to LHIIIB.³⁰³ In what follows, the focus is on the tomb assemblages from LHIIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIIIB.³⁰⁴

We shall first pay attention to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of the West Cemetery at Eleusis. As indicated above, the dominant tomb type during the “Palatial period of LHIII A-B” is the supra-terranean built chamber tomb, which was used for primary and secondary inhumation burials. In addition to a common tomb type, there is also the tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased (c. 65%).³⁰⁵ Rounded alabastra (FS 84) (c. 67%)³⁰⁶ are slightly more popular than small piriform jars (FS 28, 31 and 33) (50%) in LHIIIB-III A1 (Fig. 73).³⁰⁷ Both vessel types³⁰⁸ occur in LHIII A2 as well (c. 19%), but they are much less common than the stirrup jar (FS 171),³⁰⁹ which is present in 75% of the assemblages from this period. The stirrup jar (FS 173) is the only unguent container found at Eleusis in LHIIIB (Fig. 78).

A notable difference between the West Cemetery at Eleusis and the Late Bronze Age necropoleis excavated in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna is that at Eleusis there were almost only supra-terranean chamber tombs discovered. At the other two sites, the archaeological burial record consists (almost) exclusively of underground chamber tombs. This tomb type only appears at Eleusis in LHIIIB (see below). A notable similarity between the different sites is the tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased. In terms of the variety of different vase forms found, the archaeological burial record of Eleusis most closely resembles that of Prosymna (see section 3.4.1 above). This is most clearly reflected in the popularity of stirrup jars (LHIII A2-B) at the site. Such vessels are remarkably rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (see section 3.3.1 above). We also notice differences

³⁰² *Ibidem*, 65.

³⁰³ Mountjoy 1999a, 488

³⁰⁴ Note that the necropolis remained in use until the Hellenistic period (Papadimitriou 2001, 65).

³⁰⁵ Four (Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5, θπ13, λπ16) of the six assemblages from LHIIIB-III A1 produced unguent containers (c. 67%). No such vessels were found in Tombs Ζπ6 and Μπ9. Twelve (Tombs Βπ18, Βπ20, Γπ1, Επ1, Επ3, Ηπ3, Θπ4, Θπ24, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4 and Μπ6) of the sixteen assemblages from LHIII A2 contained unguent containers (c. 75%). There were no unguent containers in Γπ17, Θπ5, Μπ8 and Μπ11. Four (Ζπ3, Ηπ15, Ηπ22 and θπ5) of the seven built-chamber-tomb-assemblages from LHIIIB (c. 57%) and two (λπ13 and λπ15) of the four chamber-tomb-assemblages from this period produced unguent containers (50%). No such vessels were found in the following built chamber tomb assemblages: Γπ19, Ηπ16 and θπ15. Chamber tombs without unguent containers are Tombs λπ11 and λπ14.

³⁰⁶ Rounded alabastra from LHIIIB-III A1 came to light in Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5, θπ13 and λπ16.

³⁰⁷ We have small piriform jars from LHIIIB-III A1 from Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5 and λπ16.

³⁰⁸ Rounded alabastra from LHIII A2 were found in Tombs Βπ18, Ηπ3 and Θπ4. Small piriform jars came to light in Γπ1, Ηπ3 and λπ4. This equals c. 19% of all assemblages from LHIII A2.

³⁰⁹ The following assemblages from LHIII A2 contained stirrup jars: Tombs Βπ18, Βπ20, Γπ1, Επ1, Επ3, Ηπ3, Θπ4, Θπ24, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4 and Μπ6.

between Eleusis and Prosymna. While the rounded alabastron (FS 84-85) is found relatively frequently at Eleusis in LHIIIB-III A1 (c. 67%), in LHIII A2 it is clearly outnumbered by the newly developed stirrup jar (FS 171) (see above). At Prosymna, on the other hand, rounded alabastra remain common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIII A-B”. In LHIII A2, they are (almost) as popular as the stirrup jar (see section 3.4.1 above). Another difference between Eleusis and Prosymna is related to the offerings other than pottery. At Prosymna – but also among the tombs in the Athenian Agora – the assemblages often contain stone conuli and glass beads (see section 3.5 above). Both categories of objects also occur at Eleusis, but only in a limited number of graves.³¹⁰

It is also possible for similarities to be observed between the West Cemetery of Eleusis and Prosymna in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. Among the tombs that have been excavated at Eleusis only one group of assemblages has been identified. It is attested in LHIIIB-III A1,³¹¹ LHIII A2³¹² and LHIIIB.³¹³ This group closely resembles the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 above). Similar to this group, the Eleusis assemblages usually have no or only a few medium or large jugs (FS 109-110 and 150)³¹⁴ and open vessels. Moreover, kylikes are rare³¹⁵ and never occur in combination with medium or large jugs. Another characteristic feature is the presence of one or more small ceramic pots. The same vessel types as those typically associated with the “Prosymna-2” group are found. Most common at Eleusis in LHIIIB-III A1 is the small jug (FS 112 and 135) (50%) (Fig. 74),³¹⁶ but there are also single examples of the handleless jar (FS 77),³¹⁷ the feeding bottle (FS 159) (Fig. 75)³¹⁸ and the askos (FS 194)³¹⁹ from this period. In LHIII A2, the small jug (FS 112, 114 and 149) (Fig. 76)³²⁰ and the feeding bottle (FS 160)³²¹

³¹⁰ Glass beads came to light in Tomb Θπ4 (LHIII A2). Stone conuli were recovered from the same tomb, as well as from Θπ5, Ζπ3 (LHIIIB), Ηπ22 (LHIIIB) and Θπ15 (LHIIIB).

³¹¹ Tombs Ζπ6, Ηπ1, Ηπ5, θπ13, λπ16 and Μπ9

³¹² Tombs Βπ18, Βπ20, Γπ1, Γπ17, Επ1, Επ3, Ηπ3, Θπ4, Θπ5, Θπ24, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4, Μπ6, Μπ8 and Μπ11

³¹³ Tombs Γπ19, Ζπ3, Ηπ15, Ηπ16, Ηπ22, θπ5 and θπ15

³¹⁴ We have one medium stirrup jug from LHIIIB-III A1 from Tomb Μπ9. From a LHIII A2 context comes a medium linear jug: Tomb Μπ6. An undecorated jug from LHIIIB was found in Tomb Ηπ22.

³¹⁵ A monochrome kylix came to light in Tomb Ηπ1 (LHIIIB-III A1). A kylix with two vertical handles below the rim was found in Tomb Επ3 (LHIII A2).

³¹⁶ Small jugs from LHIIIB-III A1 were uncovered in Tombs Ζπ6, Ηπ1 and λπ16.

³¹⁷ Tomb Ζπ6

³¹⁸ Tomb θπ13

³¹⁹ Tomb Μπ9

³²⁰ The following tombs yielded assemblages from LHIII A2 with small jugs: Tombs Βπ20, Επ1, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4 and Μπ11.

³²¹ The following tombs yielded assemblages from LHIII A2 with feeding bottles: Tombs Βπ18, Βπ20, Γπ17, Θπ4, Μπ4 and Μπ6.

are equally popular (c. 38%). Other small ceramic pots from this period include an askos³²² and two small mugs (FS 225) (Fig. 77).³²³ Small vessels also appear in contexts dating from LHIIIB. Two assemblages included a small jug (c. 29%).³²⁴ Single pot forms are comprised of a feeding bottle,³²⁵ an askos³²⁶ and a handmade basket vase (FS 317).³²⁷

The assemblages from LHIIIA2 (c. 56%) and LHIIIB often have terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females associated with them. Seven of the sixteen assemblages from LHIIIA2 did not yield any offerings other than pottery.³²⁸ The remaining nine all contained one or more terracotta figurines (100%).³²⁹ Three of the seven assemblages from LHIIIB were without objects other than pottery.³³⁰ Three of the remaining four had terracotta figurines (75%).³³¹ Other types of objects, such as bronze daggers,³³² stone conuli,³³³ glass beads³³⁴ and seals,³³⁵ have only been found in a limited number of graves. As noted in section 3.4.4 above, terracotta figurines are also regularly occur in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. A notable difference, however, is that in that in many of these assemblages glass and/or stone beads were present.

As indicated above, there were also four sub-terranean chamber tombs excavated at Eleusis.³³⁶ Unfortunately, all four had been extensively robbed.³³⁷ The only tomb from which any pottery was recovered is Tomb λπ13.³³⁸ Its assemblage, which can be dated to LHIIIB, consisted of a stirrup jar (FS 173),³³⁹ a narrow-necked jug (FS 120) (Fig. 79)³⁴⁰ and an unpainted conical kylix (FS 274). There is no other tomb at Eleusis of which the assemblage comprises a medium or large jug in combination with a kylix. As noted in section 3.5 above,

³²² Tomb Ηπ3

³²³ Tombs Επ1 and Ηπ3

³²⁴ Tombs Ηπ22 and Θπ15

³²⁵ Tomb Θπ15

³²⁶ Tomb Γπ19

³²⁷ Tomb Θπ15

³²⁸ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 without any offerings other than pottery are comprised of Tombs Γπ17, Επ1, Επ3, Θπ24, Μπ4, Μπ6 and Μπ11.

³²⁹ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 containing terracotta figurines are Tombs Βπ18, Βπ20, Γπ1, λπ4, λπ16, Ηπ3, Θπ5 and Μπ8.

³³⁰ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIB without any offerings other than pottery are comprised of Tombs Γπ19, Ηπ15 and Ηπ16.

³³¹ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIB containing terracotta figurines are Tombs Ηπ22, Θπ5 and Θπ15.

³³² Single daggers were found in Tombs Γπ1 (LHIIIA2), Ζπ6 (LHIIIB-III A1) and Ηπ5 (LHIIIB-III A1).

³³³ See fn. 310.

³³⁴ See fn. 310.

³³⁵ A seal was found in Tomb Θπ4.

³³⁶ Tombs λπ11, λπ13, λπ14 and λπ15

³³⁷ Papadimitriou 2001, 87.

³³⁸ Tomb λπ11 only had bronzes associated with it, comprising a spearhead, a cleaver, a bodkin and part of an ornamental band.

³³⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 546, fn. 470.

³⁴⁰ Ibidem, 544, no. 218.

this is what the “Agora-1” and the “Prosymna-1” group have in common and what distinguishes them from the “Agora-2” and the “Prosymna-2” group, respectively.

Another example of medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes comes from a chamber tomb excavated at Limniones, on the east coast of the island of Salamis, just offshore from Attica (Map 5).³⁴¹ It had been used for three inhumation burials and a (possible) cremation.³⁴² Based on the pottery the assemblage from the tomb can be dated to LHIIIB.³⁴³ We notice similarities between the tomb excavated at Limniones and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. As noted in section 3.4.1 above, features the different groups of assemblages have in common at Prosymna in LHIIIB consist of the presence of unguent containers, mostly made up of stirrup jars in this period, and stone conuli. These are among the various types of objects considered here as the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. In this light, note that the Limniones assemblage contained six unguent containers, comprising five stirrup jars (FS 167, 173 and 180) and a small piriform jar (FS 48), and three stone conuli.

The finds recovered from the tomb excavated at Limniones also have features in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Objects found in this grave that are characteristic of this group include a large piriform jar (FS 40) (Fig. 80), a shallow angular bowl (FS 295) and a glass relief-bead (Fig. 82). The assemblage also comprised two large jugs (FS 120) (Fig. 81) and three undecorated kylikes (FS 266-267). A similar combination of ceramic vessels came to light in Tomb λπ13 at Eleusis (see above). The other finds from Limniones consisted of three bronzes, comprising a mirror, a scale pan and a razor or cleaver. Note that at Prosymna the distribution of bronze mirrors and cleavers is limited mostly to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). A final comment concerns the discovery of a small jug (FS 114) and a feeding bottle (FS 161) in the tomb at Limniones. As noted in section 3.4.4 above, such combinations of small ceramic pots (cf. “Prosymna-2”) also regularly occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages.

In general, we can conclude that both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference, there are a considerable number of similarities between the sites discussed in this section and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. The assemblages from the supra-terranean chamber tombs excavated at Eleusis can be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. Moreover, although limited in number, we also discussed some

³⁴¹ Tzavella-Evjen 1992.

³⁴² Ibidem, 70.

³⁴³ Mountjoy 1999a, 488.

assemblages (Eleusis Tomb λπ13 and the chamber excavated at Limniones) which have features in common with the “Prosymna-1” group.

3.6.3 The Korinthia

There are only a few published Late Bronze Age cemeteries from the Korinthia (Map 6). In what follows, attention will be paid to a robbed LHIIIA2 chamber tomb excavated at Barnavos and two graves dated to LHIIIB which have been cleared outside the Bronze Age settlement of Zygouries.³⁴⁴

Located at Barnavos, to the west of the Bronze Age settlement of Tsoungiza, is a (robbed) chamber tomb.³⁴⁵ The assemblage has been dated to LHIIIA2. It includes five unguent containers: a rounded alabastron (FS 85), two stirrup jars (FS 167 and 171) (Fig. 83) and one or two small piriform jars (FS 45). In LHIIIA2, these vessel types are also very common at Prosymna. They are found in all different types of assemblages there.

The Barnavos assemblage also had three medium jugs (FS 109) and a carinated kylix (FS 267) associated with it.³⁴⁶ Offerings other than pottery consisted of a bronze cleaver or razor³⁴⁷ and a stone bead.³⁴⁸ The occurring together of one or more medium or large jugs and kylikes is a feature characteristic of the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups (see section 3.5 above). Glass and stone jewelry beads also constitute a typical feature of these assemblages.

Located to the south-east of Tsoungiza is the Bronze Age settlement of Zygouries.³⁴⁹ Two chamber tombs (Tombs 33 and 35) from LHIIIB³⁵⁰ were discovered circa 500 meters to the west of it.³⁵¹ The two graves have in common the presence of a number of unguent containers. Tomb 33 produced three stirrup jars (FS 179, 180 and 182); recovered from Tomb 35 were two stirrup jars (FS 180) and a small piriform jar (FS 48). As indicated above, stirrup jars are among the various types of objects the different groups of assemblages at Prosymna

³⁴⁴ Another cemetery consisting of – at least – five chamber tombs is situated at Ayia Sotira, to the north of the Bronze Age settlement of Tsoungiza. The publication is currently in preparation (Wright et al. 2008, 628). There is another Late Bronze Age cemetery at Aedonia. The site, which is largely unpublished – pottery vessels and other objects are on display in the Nemea archaeological museum – consists of seventeen chamber tombs, two dromoi without chamber and a shaft grave (Krystalli-Voti 2006, 23).

³⁴⁵ Wright et al. 2008, 628.

³⁴⁶ Ibidem, 615-20.

³⁴⁷ Ibidem, 617, no. 5.

³⁴⁸ Ibidem, 620, no. 12.

³⁴⁹ Blegen 1928.

³⁵⁰ Mountjoy 1999a, 199.

³⁵¹ Blegen 1928, 57-65.

have in common with each other (cf. relations of similarity). The same applies to stone conuli. However, we only have stone conuli from Tomb 33 at Zygouries.

Both assemblages may be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. Neither one of the assemblages included any open vessels. Apart from usually containing no or only a few open pot shapes, “Prosymna-2” assemblages also often have one or more small ceramic pots (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). Such vessels are present in Tombs 33 and 35 at Zygouries as well. The former yielded a juglet (FS 112-114) and a feeding bottle (FS 161) (Fig. 84). Recovered from Tomb 35 were a feeding bottle, an askos (FS 194) and a handmade basket vase (FS 317). In conjunction with this, “Prosymna-2” assemblages also regularly include terracotta figurines. In this light, note that in both Zygouries tombs such items were found: Tomb 33 produced three terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females; in Tomb 35 no less than eleven figurines in the shape of standing females came to light.

Mention should be made of the large number of jugs found in Tomb 33; in total six were found (FS 105, 110 and 120) (Fig. 85). Tomb 35, on the other hand, only had a single large jug (FS 105) associated with it. It is not uncommon to find a medium or large jug in a “Prosymna-2” assemblage (cf. Tomb 35). However, their number usually does not exceed one or two (see section 3.4.3 above).

The overview above indicates that both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are similarities between the sites discussed above and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. While the two chamber tombs excavated at Zygouries provide us with good parallels for the “Prosymna-2” group, the evidence for the “Prosymna-1” group is less unequivocal (cf. robbed tomb at Barnavos).

3.6.4 The Argolid

We know of a large number of chamber tomb cemeteries in the Argolid (Map 7). Chamber tombs have, for example, been excavated at Mycenae, Prosymna, Berbati, Dendra (Midea), Argos (Deiras), Kokla, Evangelistria (Nauplion) and Asine.³⁵² In what follows, I will only focus on the chamber tombs located on the hill slopes around the citadel of Mycenae (Map 8). The cemetery of Prosymna has been discussed in section 3.4 above.

Several groups of chamber tombs have been excavated at Mycenae. Here we will only focus on the tombs excavated by A.J.B. Wace (1920-1923) in the Kalkani area and the “Third

³⁵² Mountjoy 1999a, 60-7.

Kilometer Cemetery” (Map 8). Both areas had previously been explored by Chr. Tsountas (1887-1898).³⁵³ The tombs excavated by Wace are, however, better documented³⁵⁴ and therefore more suitable for the assemblage-based analysis carried out below. The results of Wace’s explorations are published in the monograph “Chamber Tombs at Mycenae” (1932).³⁵⁵ The finds from thirteen of the tombs³⁵⁶ investigated by him are discussed below.³⁵⁷ Among these, it has been possible for three groups of assemblages to be identified. Before discussing the features defining the individual groups, attention is paid to the elements they have in common. As noted before, such cross-cutting features are conceived here as the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

The assemblages were found in chamber tombs which had been used for primary and/or secondary inhumation burials.³⁵⁸ Other features the different groups of assemblages have in common include the presence of unguent containers (100%), stone conuli (c. 77%)³⁵⁹ and glass beads (c. 77%).³⁶⁰ With regards to the different types of unguent containers found, the archaeological burial record of Mycenae – at least the part of it investigated by Wace – most closely resembles that of Prosymna (see section 3.4 above). Since the Mycenae-assemblages discussed here mostly date to LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIIB, our comparison of the two sites is chronologically limited to these periods.³⁶¹ A notable similarity between both sites

³⁵³ Tsountas investigated one-hundred-and-three chamber tombs, but (with the exception of four preliminary reports) he never published a definitive account of his expeditions (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 337). It was not until 1985 that part of his work was published (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985). This important monograph by A. Xenaki-Sakellariou contains photographs and descriptions of a large amount of the (mainly) objects other than pottery which were recovered by Tsountas. There was only a small number of pottery vessels included in the publication. It has proven difficult – and often impossible – to connect the pots, in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, with Tsountas’ excavation records. Moreover, it appears that pot sherds and fragmentary or incomplete vessels, which are usually numerous in Mycenaean chamber tombs, were not included in Tsountas’ inventory lists. As a result, there are many tombs ‘without’ pottery (ibidem, 352-3).

³⁵⁴ It has to be pointed out, however, that although listed in the tomb finds lists, not every vessel or small find for that matter was actually depicted by him in his publication “Chamber Tombs at Mycenae” (1932). As a result, the shape, decoration and date of some of the vases described by him have been difficult to establish.

³⁵⁵ Wace 1932.

³⁵⁶ These are Tombs 502, 515, 520, 523, 524, 525, 530, 533, 513, 516, 519, 521 and 527.

³⁵⁷ Not all twenty-four tombs included in the original publication are taken into consideration here, because some of them were found empty, robbed or to mainly contain pottery from LHIIIA. Left out of the following discussion are Tombs 504, 505, 522, 531, 514, 517, 518, 528, 529 and 532.

³⁵⁸ Wace 1932, 138-41 (see, also, Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 65-6, 71-2).

³⁵⁹ Of the tombs listed in fn. 353, no stone conuli were found in Tombs 519, 521 and 527.

³⁶⁰ One or more glass beads came to light in Tombs 502, 515, 520, 523, 524, 530, 513, 516 and 521. We have stone beads from Tombs 502, 515, 520, 524, 516 and 519.

³⁶¹ Wace did not discover any ‘intact’ assemblages from LHIIIB-III A1. The only exception is a collection of finds unearthed in the dromos of Tomb 515. These had been removed from the chamber, which was reused in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC. Otherwise, some assemblages consisting mainly of LHIIA and/or LHIIIB pottery (e.g. Tombs 517 and 518) include a few single vessels from LHIIIB-III A1. In general, based on these finds, it seems that similar to Prosymna, the rounded alabastron was more popular than the small piriform jar in LHIIIB-III A1. Small piriform jars from this period appear to be very rare among the tombs excavated by Wace. However, as noted in the main text, this changes in LHIIIA2.

is the popularity of the newly developed stirrup jar (FS 171) (Figs. 93 and 99). As noted in section 3.3 above, stirrup jars are very rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora. We can, however, also observe a number of differences between Prosymna and Mycenae. At Prosymna, the rounded alabastron (FS 84-86) remains common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B” (see section 3.4.1 above). In LHIIIA2, this pot shape is as, if not more popular than the stirrup jar. The rounded alabastron is also found at Mycenae in LHIIIA2 (for comments on this shape in LHIIB-III A1, see fn. 361), but it occurs in much fewer tombs³⁶² than the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 94)³⁶³ and the stirrup jar,³⁶⁴ which are clearly the most popular unguent containers found at Mycenae in LHIIIA2-B.

We now turn to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of Mycenae. Similar to the features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages discussed above, it is possible for similarities to be observed with some of the groups established among the tombs in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna (cf. section 3.5 above). Three of the tombs excavated by Wace at Mycenae yielded assemblages that can be compared to those associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and the “Agora-1 (1)” group. These are Tombs 502 (LHIIB)³⁶⁵ (Third Kilometer Cemetery),³⁶⁶ 515 (LHIIIA)³⁶⁷ (Kalkani)³⁶⁸ and 520 (LHIIIA2)³⁶⁹ (Kalkani).³⁷⁰ What they have in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Agora-1 (1)” groups is the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 35 and 40) (Fig. 86) and a considerable number of undecorated and/or tinned open vases, especially different types of kylikes (FS 266-267 and 273) and shallow angular bowls (FS 295). No large piriform jar was found in Tomb 515. However, because its assemblage included four tinned vessels, three kylikes and a shallow angular bowl, and a wide array of offerings other than pottery, this

³⁶² Rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 or LHIIB came to light in Tombs 520 (LHIIIA2), 527 (LHIIIA2-B) and 533 (LHIIIA2-B).

³⁶³ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 or LHIIB containing small piriform jars are Tombs 520 (LHIIIA2), 523 (LHIIIA2), 524 (LHIIIA2), 525 (LHIIIA2-B), 530 (LHIIIA2), 513 (LHIIB), 519 (LHIIIA2-B) and 527 (LHIIIA2-B).

³⁶⁴ Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 or LHIIB with stirrup jars are Tombs 502 (LHIIB), 515 (LHIIIA2), 520 (LHIIIA2), 523 (LHIIIA2), 524 (LHIIIA2), 525 (LHIIIA2-B), 530 (LHIIIA2), 533 (LHIIIA2), 516 (LHIIIA2), 519 (LHIIIA2-B), 521 (LHIIIA2) and 527 (LHIIIA2-B).

³⁶⁵ Pottery vessels from this grave dated to LHIIB by Mountjoy include a large piriform jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 132, no. 223) and a feeding bottle (ibidem, 138, no. 247).

³⁶⁶ Wace 1932, 3-10.

³⁶⁷ The finds from the dromos are of LHIIB-III A1 date, including eight rounded alabastra (Mountjoy 1999a, 98, fn. 370-1, 375) and a medium piriform jar (ibidem, 98, no. 72). In the chamber, a LHIIIA2-B stirrup jar and a group of tinned vessels from the same period were found. The majority of the decorated pottery from the chamber is of LHIIIC date.

³⁶⁸ Wace 1932, 50-63.

³⁶⁹ Pottery vessels from Tomb 520 of LHIIIA2 date include two large piriform jars (Mountjoy 1999a, 115, no. 140; ibidem, 115, fn. 510) and a rounded alabastron (ibidem, 116, no. 149).

³⁷⁰ Wace 1932, 21-8.

tomb is nevertheless considered as part of this group. It is to these other objects that we shall now turn.

The three Mycenae-assemblages under discussion here contained a variety of objects other than pottery, comprising, among others, gold jewelry (Fig. 87), various types of seals, and glass and stone beads. The assemblages also include some items which can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). In all three graves, gold leaf rosettes and/or (relief) beads were found (Fig. 87). The same applies to glass relief-beads. A variety of different shapes is attested. A bead in the shape of an argonaut and fragments of beads in the bracket-shape came to light in Tomb 515. The assemblage from Tomb 520 has beads associated with it in the shape of papyrus heads and ‘ivy’ leaves (Fig. 89). Finally, beads in the shape of curls-of-hair were found in Tomb 502 (Fig. 90). Another notable find is a gold signet ring (Fig. 88) from Tomb 520. Tomb 44 at Prosymna, which is considered as part of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, also contained a gold signet ring (Fig. 56) (see section 3.4.2 above). Despite these similarities, it is also possible for some differences between these Mycenae-assemblages and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Agora-1 (1)” groups to be observed. The clearest example of this is the relatively small number of bronzes recovered from the tombs at Mycenae. As noted in section 3.5 above, a characteristic feature of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is the presence of a strong concentration of bronzes, consisting of weapons (e.g. daggers and arrowheads), tools (knives and cleavers or razors) and toiletry articles (e.g. mirrors and pins). There were no bronzes recovered from Tomb 502. The only bronze found in Tomb 520 is a pin. The only exception to this pattern is represented by Tomb 515, in which a larger concentration of bronze objects came to light. Its assemblage included, among others, several arrowheads, two knives, a pin and a scale pan.

We have three assemblages which can be compared with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.5). These are Mycenae Tombs 524 (LHIII A2)³⁷¹ (Kalkani),³⁷² 525 (LHIII A2)³⁷³ (Kalkani)³⁷⁴ and 533 (LHIII A2)³⁷⁵ (Kalkani).³⁷⁶ What they

³⁷¹ Pottery vessels from this tomb from LHIII A2 include a small jug with cutaway neck (Mountjoy 1999a, 119, fn. 556), a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 127, fn. 596) and a handmade basket vase (ibidem, 122, fn. 567).

³⁷² Wace 1932, 38-43.

³⁷³ Vases from Tomb 525 of LHIII A2 date are made up by a cutaway-necked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 119, fn. 553) and a small piriform jar (ibidem, 115, no. 146). Other finds include a small undecorated stirrup jug and two plain kylikes with two vertical handles below the rim. Both shapes mostly occur in LHIII A2. The assemblage also includes a LHIII B deep bowl (ibidem, 143, fn. 706) and piriform jar (ibidem, 132, no. 222).

³⁷⁴ Wace 1932, 89-92.

³⁷⁵ Pottery vessels from this tomb from LHIII A2 include a beaked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 136, fn. 663), two cutaway-necked jugs (ibidem, 119, fn. 553-4) and a monochrome rounded kylix.

³⁷⁶ Wace 1932, 113-20.

have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the “Agora-1 (2)” (cf. Table 1 in section 3.3.5 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group on the other (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above) is that the assemblages from these graves contained medium and/or large jugs (FS 109, 120, 133 and 146) (Fig. 92) in combination with one or more unpainted kylikes (FS 266, 269 and 273). Another similarity is that there were no objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory, found in these tombs at Mycenae. It is also possible for a number of differences to be observed. Jewelry beads only came to light in Tomb 524. As argued in section 3.5 above, jewelry beads constitute a common component of most “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages.³⁷⁷ Interestingly, Tomb 524 yielded a glass plaque with spiraliform design and a relief-bead in the shape of an ‘ivy’ leaf. In general, at Prosymna the distribution of glass relief-beads is limited mostly to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. As noted above, the three tombs excavated by Wace at Mycenae – Tombs 502, 515 and 520 – which can be compared to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group all had collections of glass relief-beads associated with them. Another difference relates to the kylikes found in Tomb 533. Its assemblage included two kylikes with high-swung handles (FS 273). The distribution of this vessel type is limited largely to tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (for exceptions, see sections 3.3 and 3.4 above).

A different group of assemblages is represented by Mycenae Tombs 513 (Kalkani),³⁷⁸ 516 (Kalkani),³⁷⁹ 519 (Kalkani),³⁸⁰ 521 (Kalkani),³⁸¹ 523 (Kalkani),³⁸² 527 (Kalkani)³⁸³ and 530 (Kalkani).³⁸⁴ The finds from Tomb 513³⁸⁵ and the chamber of Tomb 527 are LHIIIB in date.³⁸⁶ The remaining assemblages can be attributed to LHIIIA2.³⁸⁷ The finds from these

³⁷⁷ We should note that in the case of the Agora-1 (2) group, this mainly applies to LHIIIB-III A1. As argued in section 3.5, in LHIIIA2 there is a strong decrease in the number of objects other than pottery found in the tombs in the Athenian Agora.

³⁷⁸ Wace 1932, 45-8.

³⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 63-7.

³⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 87-9.

³⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 28-31.

³⁸² *Ibidem*, 35-7.

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, 94-8.

³⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 106-110.

³⁸⁵ Vessels from Tomb 513 dated to LHIIIB include a small piriform jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 132, no. 226) and a flask (*ibidem*, 140, fn. 682).

³⁸⁶ Pottery vessels from the chamber of Tomb 527 dated to LHIIIB are a narrow-necked jug (*ibidem*, 134, fn. 652), a feeding bottle (*ibidem*, 134, fn. 654) and a small jug (*ibidem*, 134, fn. 651).

³⁸⁷ Vases from Tomb 516 from LHIIIA2 include a small jug (*ibidem*, 118, no. 166) and a stirrup jar (*ibidem*, 124, no. 190). In Tomb 519 the following ceramic vessels from LHIIIA2 were found: a small piriform jar, a stirrup jar (*ibidem*, 124, no. 191) and an askos. A linear jug is dated to LHIIIB (*ibidem*, 134, fn. 650). Pottery vessels from Tomb 521 from LHIIIA2 include a small jug, an askos (*ibidem*, 125, no. 193), a stirrup jar (*ibidem*, 124, no. 188), a flask (*ibidem*, 124, no. 192) and a monochrome kylix. LHIIIA2 finds from Tomb 523 are comprised of three stirrup jars (*ibidem*, 124, no. 186; *ibidem*, 124, fn. 574, 578) and a jug with a cut-away neck

tombs can be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. What they have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the “Prosymna-2” group on the other is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring together with unpainted kylikes. Note that jugs (FS 109, 120 and 133) (Fig. 91) (c. 57%)³⁸⁸ and unpainted kylikes (FS 267 and 273) (c. 14%)³⁸⁹ do appear, but in different assemblages. Moreover, similar to the “Prosymna-2” group, the Mycenaean assemblages under discussion here have no or only a few open vase forms associated with them (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). Three tombs (c. 43%) did not include any open vessel types: Tombs 513, 516 and 519. Tombs 521, 523, 527 and 530 yielded two, four, one and three open vases, respectively.

Three of the seven assemblages (c. 43%) contained one or more small jugs (FS 112-114) (Fig. 97).³⁹⁰ As commented in section 3.4.4 above, juglets also frequently occur in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Another notable similarity is that the small jugs discovered within these tombs at Mycenae – Tombs 513, 516, 519, 521, 523, 527 and 530 – are not found in isolation but typically have a number of other small ceramic pots associated with them. Tomb 521 yielded a juglet, a small hydria (FS 129) and an askos (FS 194) (Fig. 98). Two small jugs were found in Tomb 516 (Fig. 97). Recovered from the dromos of Tomb 527 were the following small ceramic pots: a juglet, a feeding bottle (FS 160) and a miniature handmade basket vase (FS 317). The chamber of this tomb produced a small jug, a feeding bottle and a miniature handmade hydria. Although there was no juglet found in Tomb 519, its assemblage did include an askos.

Four of the seven Mycenaean assemblages comprised terracotta figurines (c. 57%).³⁹¹ As noted above, such items are also relatively common in combination with assemblages of the “Prosymna-2” group. In two tombs,³⁹² one or more glass relief-beads were found (Fig. 100), of which the distribution, as noted in section 3.5 above, is limited largely to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. The same applies to the distribution of items made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory. In this light, it is notable that in four of the seven Mycenaean tombs

(ibidem, 119, no. 172). Vessel types from the dromos of Tomb 527 from LHIII A2 include a feeding bottle (ibidem, 122, fn. 565), a rounded alabastron (ibidem, 116, no. 150) and a small jug (ibidem, 118, fn. 538). Finally, recovered from Tomb 530 were a shallow spouted cup with high handle (ibidem, 127, no. 206) and three stirrup jars (ibidem, 124, no. 187).

³⁸⁸ Medium or large jugs were found in Tomb 519 (FS 110), 521 (FS 109), 523 (FS 109 and 133) and 527 (FS 120).

³⁸⁹ Unpainted kylikes came to light in Tomb 530 (FS 267 and 273) only.

³⁹⁰ Tombs 516, 521 and 527

³⁹¹ Tombs 513, 519, 521 and 527

³⁹² One glass relief-bead in the shape of a lily was found in Tomb 521. In Tomb 523, four glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads came to light.

under consideration here (c. 57%) one or more small, ivory (engraved) discs were uncovered (Fig. 100).³⁹³ These may originally have been fastened to a background of some kind, perhaps a wooden box or casket.³⁹⁴ Other notable objects are comprised of a gold ring from Tomb 513 and a silver ring from Tomb 530. No items made of exotic and rare materials are associated with the assemblages from Tombs 524, 525 and 533, which were compared above to the “Agora-1 (2)” and Prosymna-1 (2)” groups.

As argued in section 3.4.4 above, combinations of small ceramic pots also sometimes occur in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. There is also one example of this from among the tombs excavated by Wace. Tomb 524 yielded four medium jugs (FS 109 and 120) and fragments of unpainted kylikes. In this grave were also found two small jugs (FS 113 and 134) (Fig. 95), a feeding bottle (FS 160) (Fig. 96), three askoi (FS 194), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) and a handmade basket vase (FS 317). Interestingly, its assemblage included nine terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females. As noted above, such items also relatively frequently occur in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Moreover, four of the seven Mycenae tombs of which the assemblages were compared above to the “Prosymna-2” group had figurines associated with them.

As is clear from the previous discussion, both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are similarities between Mycenae and Prosymna (and the Athenian Agora). We also pointed out a number of differences, such as the small number of bronzes found in tombs comparable to the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups and the relative frequency (c. 57%) with which ivory discs (part of box or casket) appeared in assemblages similar to the “Prosymna-2” group. There is also one tomb of which the assemblage does not fit into any of the groups discussed above: Tomb 526.³⁹⁵ It did not contain any pottery. An adult female was buried with only stone and glass jewelry. In addition, the assemblage included three Egyptian faience scarabs, based on the cartouches of which, belonging to the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III,³⁹⁶ Tomb 526 has been dated to LHIIIA.

3.6.5 Laconia

³⁹³ Tombs 513, 519, 523 and 530

³⁹⁴ Wace 1932, 211.

³⁹⁵ Ibidem, 92-4.

³⁹⁶ Burns 2010b, 179.

Late Bronze Age cemeteries have been excavated at a number of sites in Laconia, such as at Pellana, Melathria, Sykia and Epidauros Limera (Map 9).³⁹⁷ Unfortunately, with the exception of Melathria (see below), none of these sites has so far been fully published.

Six chamber tombs from LHIII A2, of which five had been plundered, were uncovered at Melathria.³⁹⁸ Despite of its disturbed state, it is nevertheless possible for similarities between this site and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna to be noticed. If we concentrate on the unplundered grave (Tomb A1), its assemblage shows affinity with that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. This is most clear from the presence in the tomb of four medium jugs (FS 110 and 145) and two unpainted kylikes (FS 267). As argued in section 3.5 above, this combination is typical of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. Other finds from the tomb at Melathria are made up of four stone conuli and a large number of stone and glass beads.³⁹⁹ Stone conuli and glass and stone beads are common in all three groups of assemblages at Prosymna in LHIII A2. For this reason, these items have been regarded as the (possible) manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of this site (see section 3.4.1 above). A similar interpretation has been proposed for the unguent containers having been found in most tombs at Prosymna. In this light, note that the assemblage from the unplundered tomb at Melathria included a stirrup jar (FS 171). This pot shape is also very common at Prosymna in LHIII A2 (see section 3.4.1 above). Note that there were also stirrup jars, as well as other types of unguent containers, such as a rounded alabastron (FS 85) from Tomb Σ2 and a small piriform jar (FS 45) from Σ1, recovered from the disturbed graves at Melathria.

Four chamber tombs have been excavated at Sykia. They are largely unpublished.⁴⁰⁰ Based on a recent publication (2008), it is, however, possible for part of the assemblage from Tomb 2 to be reconstructed. The ceramic finds can be dated to LHIII A2. Its assemblage appears to be similar to that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group.⁴⁰¹ This is clearest from the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 35), a strong concentration of bronzes, comprising a sword, a dagger and a razor, and glass relief-beads in Sykia Tomb 2. As noted in section 3.4.2 above, these features are typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group.

³⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999a, 244-7.

³⁹⁸ Demakopoulou 1979.

³⁹⁹ Ibidem, 48.

⁴⁰⁰ Efstathiou 2008, 269-72.

⁴⁰¹ Note that we have no examples of the “Agora-1 (1)” group from LHIII A2 (see section 3.3.2 above).

It can be inferred from the discussion above that despite the limited amount of (published) information available from Laconia there are clearly similarities between the archaeological burial record of this region and that of Prosymna.

3.6.6 Messenia

A large number of Late Bronze Age cemeteries have been excavated in Messenia (Map 10).⁴⁰² One of the few sites which has been completely published is the cemetery located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos). It is on this site that we will concentrate in this section.

There are several burial areas located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos). For chronological reasons, we will focus here on the materials from Tholos III and the (chamber) tombs.⁴⁰³ Tholos III was constructed in LHIIIA.⁴⁰⁴ The grave had an 8.10 meters long dromos and a circular chamber with a diameter of c. 7.70 m (c. 46.5 m²) (Fig. 101).⁴⁰⁵ LHIIIA sherds are mentioned (but not illustrated) in the excavation report.⁴⁰⁶ It appears that the use of the tholos lasted into LHIIIB, to which the majority of the pottery found has been attributed.⁴⁰⁷ The assemblage, which had been looted,⁴⁰⁸ resembles that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above). This is especially clear from the presence in Tholos III of two large piriform jars (FS 35) (Fig. 102)⁴⁰⁹ and nine undecorated vases, including seven kylikes (FS 266-267) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295).⁴¹⁰ As indicated in Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above, these objects are typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group.⁴¹¹ There are also similarities in terms of the offerings other than pottery between the assemblage from Tholos III at Pylos and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Objects recovered from it that are characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group include gold leaf rosettes and (relief) beads (Fig. 103),⁴¹² and glass relief-beads, comprising such motifs as

⁴⁰² Mountjoy 1999a, 303-6.

⁴⁰³ Other burial areas comprise another tholos and a grave circle, both of which were founded in LHI (Mountjoy 1999a, 304) and fall outside the chronological range of this PhD study (Blegen et al. 1973, 95-176).

⁴⁰⁴ Blegen et al. 1973, 94, N.M. 9139 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 318, no. 11).

⁴⁰⁵ Blegen et al. 1973, 79.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, 73, 75.

⁴⁰⁷ Pottery vessels from Tholos III from LHIIIB include the two large piriform jars (Mountjoy 1999a, 345, no. 86), a deep bowl (*ibidem*, 352, no. 114) and a decorated chalice (*ibidem*, 352, no. 107).

⁴⁰⁸ Blegen et al. 1973, 78-9.

⁴⁰⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 345, no. 86.

⁴¹⁰ Blegen et al. 1973, 92-5.

⁴¹¹ Note that although similar as a group, we have no “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIB (see section 3.3.2 above).

⁴¹² Blegen et al. 1973, 83-4.

cockle and murex shells, ‘ivy’ leaves and rosettes. Several beads in the bracket-shape were also found.⁴¹³ Other notable finds from Tholos III are made up of fragments of one or more pyxides or boxes and a pin made of ivory,⁴¹⁴ a bronze sword or dagger⁴¹⁵ and pieces of amber beads.⁴¹⁶ As indicated in section 3.4.2 above, at Prosymna, the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials such as gold, ivory and amber is limited largely to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Although from an earlier period, i.e. LHIIB-III A1, a pair of ivory pyxides was found in the Athenian Agora Tomb 1, which has been classified as belonging to the “Agora-1 (1)” group (see section 3.3.2 above). In addition, we noticed that at Prosymna, bronze weapons, such as swords and daggers, are mostly found in “Prosymna-1 (1)” contexts (see section 3.4.2 above). In this light also note the bronze swords recovered from Tomb 3 in the Athenian Agora, which, although from an earlier period, i.e. LHIIB-III A1, contained an “Agora-1 (1)” assemblage (see section 3.3.2 above).

The only excavated cemetery in Messenia which has been completely published is that located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos).⁴¹⁷ It is made up of six chamber tombs⁴¹⁸ and a pit grave.⁴¹⁹ The use of the cemetery lasted from LHIIA to LHIIB. Most burials are, however, LHIIB-III A1 in date.

Among the tomb assemblages, it is possible for a number of shared features to be defined. In addition to the use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary inhumation burials, every assemblage included one or more unguent containers. The most common in LHIIB-III A1 is the rounded alabastron (FS 84). This pot shape occurs in all five tombs containing pottery of this phase.⁴²⁰ Small and/or medium piriform jars (FS 28, 31, 33 and 44) (Fig. 104) also appear but in only three of the five graves (60%).⁴²¹ The newly developed stirrup jar (FS 166, 171 and 178) (Fig. 105) is the most popular in LHIIIA2. All five tombs with pottery of this phase yielded one or more stirrup jars.⁴²² Rounded alabastra (FS 85) and small piriform jars (FS 45) appear in only two (40%)⁴²³ and one tombs (20%),⁴²⁴ respectively. The only assemblage from LHIIB included a small piriform jar (FS 48) and a stirrup jar (FS

⁴¹³ Ibidem, 87-92.

⁴¹⁴ Ibidem, 84-6.

⁴¹⁵ Ibidem, 84.

⁴¹⁶ Ibidem, 82, 87.

⁴¹⁷ Ibidem, 176-215.

⁴¹⁸ Tombs E-4, E-6, E-8, E-9, E-10 and K-1 (ibidem, 179)

⁴¹⁹ Tomb E-3 (ibidem, 176)

⁴²⁰ Tombs E-3, E-4, E-6, E-8 and E-9

⁴²¹ Tombs E-6, E-8 and E-9

⁴²² Tombs E-4, E-8, E-9, E-10 and K-1

⁴²³ Tombs E-4 and E-8

⁴²⁴ Tomb K-1

173). There are no objects other than pottery which based on the frequency with which they occur can be considered as a (possible) manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Pylos. In terms of the different types of unguent containers found, Pylos most closely resembles the trends observed at Prosymna (see section 3.4.1 above). This is especially clear from the popularity of the newly developed stirrup jar at both sites in LHIII A2. A notable difference is, however, that at Prosymna the rounded alabastron remains common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIII A-B”. In LHIII A2, it is as, if not more popular than, the stirrup jar. As indicated above, although the rounded alabastron is still found at Pylos in LHIII A2, it is much less popular than in LHII B-III A1 and occurs in far fewer tombs than the stirrup jar. If we turn to the manifestation of relations of difference among the tombs at Pylos, we also notice similarities and differences with the archaeological burial record of Prosymna (and the Athenian Agora).

There is one assemblage, from LHII B-III A1, of which the composition is similar to those typically associated with the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups. The assemblage from Tomb E-6⁴²⁵ includes a large piriform jar (FS 31) and a strong concentration of bronzes, comprising a sword, a spearhead, a dagger and a cleaver or razor. These items were found together ca. 45 cm above the floor of the chamber. On the floor itself, more bronzes, two mirrors, a dagger and a knife, were found in combination with a pair of jugs and four so-called three-handled conical bowls (Fig. 106). We have no kylikes from either one of these levels. Large piriform jars and strong concentrations of bronzes are typical of the “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups (see section 3.4.2 above). As indicated above, a similar group of bronzes was found in one of the “Agora-1 (1)” tombs in the Athenian Agora (i.e. Tomb 3). A notable difference is, however, that in association with these finds in Pylos Tomb E-6 no unpainted or tinned kylikes were found. The three-handled conical bowl is a locally developed shape.⁴²⁶ It should be pointed out, however, that there were more burials made at slightly higher elevations in the tomb. At ca. 80 cm above the floor a single burial was interred, accompanied by a feeding bottle, a necklace made of gold and ivory beads and a group ivory inlays. Finally, ca. 2.35 m above the floor three burials were encountered. They had with them a linear cutaway-necked jug and two unpainted kylikes (FS 267). While the pottery from the floor of the tomb and that associated with the burial placed 45 cm above the floor can securely be dated to LHII B-III A1,

⁴²⁵ Blegen et al. 1973, 184-92.

⁴²⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 332.

this does not apply to the other burials in the tomb. The pottery associated with them is undiagnostic. It is unclear whether these vessels belong to LHIIB-III A1 or perhaps to a later period (LHIII A2?). In any case, the presence of gold beads, and ivory beads and inlays in Tomb E-6 is notable, because among the tombs in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna, the distribution of such items is mostly limited to the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see section 3.5 above).

We also have a few assemblages which might be compared to the “Agora-1 (2)” (see section 3.3.3 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.5 above). The assemblages concerned are Tombs E-4 (chamber, pit B),⁴²⁷ E-9 (40 cm above floor)⁴²⁸ and K-1 (chamber, west side).⁴²⁹ The former is dated to LHIIB-III A1⁴³⁰; the latter two to LHIII A2.⁴³¹ What they have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the assemblages associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups on the other is that they contain medium or large jugs (FS 120, 135 and 144) (Fig. 107) in combination with one or two kylikes (FS 264 and 267). There were undecorated kylikes found in Tombs E-4 and E-9. Tomb K-1, on the other hand, yielded a pattern-painted kylix with horizontal handles (Fig. 108), which is a locally developed pot shape (cf. three-handled conical bowls from Tomb E-6 above).⁴³² The only objects other than pottery found in association with these assemblages from Pylos are glass and stone beads,⁴³³ and a stone seal.⁴³⁴ As noted in section 3.5 above, jewelry beads are also among the objects most frequently found in combination with assemblages of the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. Interestingly, however, the glass beads from Tomb K-1 had been made in a mould. In it were found eight glass relief-beads in the shape of lilies (Fig. 109). At Prosymna, the distribution of such beads is limited largely to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages.

⁴²⁷ Blegen et al. 1973, 180-3

⁴²⁸ Ibidem, 201-7.

⁴²⁹ Ibidem, 208-15.

⁴³⁰ The only vessel from Tomb E-4 (chamber, pit B) which can stylistically be dated is a beaked jug. It can be attributed to LHIIB-III A1 (Mountjoy 1999a 327, no. 40). The other vessels are either monochrome or left unpainted.

⁴³¹ Pottery vessels from above the floor in Tomb E-9 dated to LHIII A2 are comprised of a feeding bottle (ibidem, 336, fn. 290), a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, no. 71), a small beaked jug (ibidem, 336, fn. 289) and a straight-sided alabastron (ibidem, 334, fn. 283). A selection of LHIII A2 vessels from Tomb K-1 (chamber, west side): a stirrup jar (ibidem, 338, no. 72), a small piriform jar (ibidem, 334, no. 62), a straight-sided alabastron (ibidem, 334, no. 66) and a narrow-necked jug (ibidem, 336, fn. 286). The assemblage also includes three stirrup jars which are dated to LHIIB (ibidem, 338, no. 76; ibidem, 341, fn. 324-5).

⁴³² Ibidem, 332, 338.

⁴³³ Tombs E-4 (chamber, pit B) and K-1 (chamber)

⁴³⁴ Tomb E-9 (40 cm above floor)

A third group of assemblages is represented by Tombs E-3 (pit),⁴³⁵ E-4 (chamber, floor),⁴³⁶ E-9 (chamber, pits 1 and 2),⁴³⁷ E-10 (pit in dromos)⁴³⁸ and K-1 (chamber, east side).⁴³⁹ The assemblages from Tombs E-3⁴⁴⁰ and E-9⁴⁴¹ are dated to LHIIIB-III A1, that from K-1 to LHIIIB⁴⁴² and the rest to LHIII A2.⁴⁴³ It is possible for a comparison with the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups to be made. Shared features include the general lack of medium and large jugs and open pot shapes (see section 3.5 above). The only jug found is a plain FS 109 from Tomb K-1. Open pot shapes only occur in Tomb E-9. This assemblage included two carinated kylikes (FS 267) but no medium or large jugs. In other words, there are no kylikes found in combination with medium or large jugs. This is also a feature typical of the “Agora-2” and the “Prosymna-2” group. A notable trait of the latter is that the assemblages associated with it often contain one or more small ceramic pots, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi, small mugs and carinated conical cups. From among the assemblages under consideration here, there is one that contained a strong concentration of such vessels, namely Tomb E-9. In it were found a miniature piriform jar (FS 28), a small rounded alabastron (FS 83), a small jug (FS 112-114), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 110) two miniature kylikes with high-swung handles (FS 273).

Among the objects other than pottery most frequently found in association with the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups are glass and stone beads, and terracotta figurines (Prosymna). One of the Pylos assemblages included a pair of terracotta figurines (E-9). Glass and/or stone beads were found in Tombs E-3 (pit) and E-9 (chamber, pit 1 and 2). A stone conulus came to light in Tomb E-4 (chamber, floor). There were no other objects recovered from Tombs E-10 (pit in dromos) and K-1 (chamber, east side).

It was argued in section 3.4.4 above that it is possible to find combination typical of the “Prosymna-2” group in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)”

⁴³⁵ Blegen et al. 1973, 176-8.

⁴³⁶ Ibidem, 180-3.

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, 201-7.

⁴³⁸ Ibidem, 207-8.

⁴³⁹ Ibidem, 208-15.

⁴⁴⁰ Pottery vessels from pit Tomb E-3 from LHIIIB-III A1 are comprised of four rounded alabastra (Mountjoy 1999a, 325, fn. 219-20).

⁴⁴¹ The assemblage from the pits 1 and 2 in the chamber of Tomb E-9 included the following pots from LHIIIB-III A1: a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 331, no. 51), four rounded alabastra (ibidem, 324, fn. 201; ibidem, 325, fn. 219) and two small piriform jars (ibidem, 324, no. 27; ibidem, 325, fn. 215).

⁴⁴² The following vases from the east side of Tomb K-1 have been dated to LHIIIB: a small piriform jar (ibidem, 345, no. 89) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 341, fn. 323).

⁴⁴³ Pottery vessels from Tomb E-4 (chamber, floor) dated to LHIII A2 include a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, fn. 294) and a flask (ibidem, 338, fn. 300). From Tomb E-10 (pit in dromos) come two pot shapes from LHIII A2: a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, fn. 294) and a flask (ibidem, 338, fn. 298).

groups. Interestingly, a similar phenomenon may be observed at Pylos. As argued above, Tomb E-6 (LHIIB-III A1) has several features in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” (and the “Agora-1 (1)”) group. This tomb also contained a strong concentration of small ceramic pots, comprising a miniature hydria (FS 128), a feeding bottle (FS 159) and two very small rounded alabaster (FS 84). These vases were associated with the burial of two children.⁴⁴⁴ Also belonging to this group of items were a bronze mirror, a large number of glass beads and two terracotta figurines. As indicated above, figurines are relatively common in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages. We also have small ceramic pots occurring together in Pylos Tomb E-9 (40 cm above floor). Based on the presence of a medium jug (FS 135) and two unpainted kylikes (FS 267), this assemblage was compared above to the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. It, however, also includes a pair of small ceramic pots: a feeding bottle (FS 160) and a small beaked jug (FS 149). There were no figurines associated with this assemblage.

It can be derived from the above overview that, both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference, there are similarities and differences between the archaeological burial record of Pylos on the one hand, and that of Prosymna and the Athenian Agora on the other. We discussed assemblages which have features in common with the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups, as well as with the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. The “Prosymna-2” group appears to be less well represented. There are only a few tombs containing concentrations of small ceramic pots. In any case, the fact that we also find combinations of small vessels in Tombs E-6 and E-9 – in the former case together with a pair of terracotta figurines – clearly shows that people were familiar with this practice at Pylos as well.

3.7 Mycenaean comparanda

In section 3.6 above, a comparison was made between the archaeological burial records of Prosymna and the Athenian Agora on the one hand, and that of the other areas making up the Mycenaean heartland on the other. The focus has been on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference. The aim of this section is to summarize the conclusions reached and develop a number of general archaeological guidelines or comparanda that can be used to characterize the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland on the one hand, and

⁴⁴⁴ Blegen et al. 1973, 186.

make comparison with different geographic regions adjacent to the Greek mainland on the other. In the final chapter of this dissertation, these guidelines will be employed to compare the Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean. In that chapter we will also address the extent to which the different groups of assemblages discussed here may be seen as expressions of distinct group identities.

3.7.1 Mycenaean comparanda: relations of similarity

Tomb assemblages are constituted by two different types of relations: relations of similarity and difference. The former manifest themselves in specific traits cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. On the basis of the results of section 3.6 it is possible to define a number of features which can be seen reappearing in tomb assemblages in the different areas making up the Mycenaean heartland.

An important shared characteristic is that most of the assemblages that have been discussed in this chapter were recovered from multiple graves, especially chamber tombs. Such tombs are usually used for successive burials (see section 3.2.2 above). Another notable feature most assemblages have in common is that they include one or more unguent containers. We discussed three types: small piriform jars, rounded alabastra and stirrup jars. It was possible for some chronological and geographic variation to be observed. With regards to chronology, the commonest in LHIIB-III A1 are the small piriform jar and the rounded alabastron. Very popular in LHIIIA2 and LHIIB is the newly developed stirrup jar. The only exception to this pattern is represented by the cemetery in the Athenian Agora, where only a limited number of stirrup jars has been found (see section 3.5 above). In terms of the relative proportions of the individual types, we should point out that there is some regional variation. A good example of this is represented by the relative popularity of the rounded alabastron in LHIIIA2. At Prosymna, this pot shape is just as popular (if not more popular than) the stirrup jar in this period (see section 3.4.1 above). It is notable that at no other site discussed in this chapter a similar pattern was observed. In general, the rounded alabastron is much less common than the stirrup jar in LHIIIA2. At Eleusis (Attica), for example, only 19% of the tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 contained one or more rounded alabastra. The stirrup jars appears in 75% of the assemblages (see section 3.6.2 above). Similar patterns can be observed at Mycenae (Argolid) (see section 3.6.4 above) and Pylos (Messenia) (see section 3.6.6 above).

Unguent containers are not the only types of objects appearing in most of the assemblages discussed in this chapter. This also applies to several kinds of offerings other than pottery. These are glass and stone beads and stone conuli. Beads and conuli are common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. Similar to the unguent containers discussed above, it is possible for some differences between sites to be observed. For example, beads and conuli are not particularly common in the assemblages recovered from the tombs excavated at Eleusis (Attica) (see section 3.6.2 above) and Pylos (Messenia (see section 3.6.6 above)). A third group of items present in many of the assemblages discussed here are terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females (and bovids). We have some examples from LHIIIB-IIIA1, but they occur most frequently in LHIIIA2-B. Although figurines are found in all different types of assemblages, they appear most often in assemblages containing one or more small ceramic pots. Such vessels are especially common in the so-called “Greece-3” group (see section 3.7.2 below). It should be pointed out that similar to the other types of objects discussed above there is also some regional variety in the popularity of figurines. For example, only a relatively small number of tombs in the Athenian Agora contained figurines (see section 3.3 above). The same applies to the cemetery of Pylos (see section 3.6.6 above). From Pylos, we only have figurines from LHIIIB-IIIA1. Figurines show up many more times in tombs at Thebes (Boeotia) (see section 3.6.1 above), Eleusis (Attica) (see section 3.6.2 above) and Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.4 above).

3.7.2 Mycenaean comparanda: relations of difference

It can be concluded on the basis of section 3.6 that there are a good many similarities between the different groups of assemblages identified among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) on the one hand, and those in the other parts of the Mycenaean heartland on the other. Three general groups of assemblages can be identified. These are here referred to as “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3”. In what follows, each of these groups will be described in general terms. As indicated above, it is possible for variation to be observed, both within and between sites. The descriptions given below, however, mainly take into account the features found in most assemblages classified as belonging to a certain group.

Tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages⁴⁴⁵ are usually – if sufficient information is available and the tombs are preserved well enough – among the largest graves, in terms of the length and the size of their respective dromoi and burial chambers, of the cemeteries to which they belonged (e.g. Athenian Agora Tombs 1 and 3; Prosymna Tombs 2 and 44). The “Greece-1” group is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars, medium or large jugs and a certain amount of unpainted and/or tinned open vases, especially different types of kylikes and shallow angular bowls. In addition to pottery, “Greece-1” assemblages often have a large number and wide variety of offerings other than pottery associated with them. Common types of objects are stone and glass beads, seals, bronzes, including weapons (e.g. daggers and arrows), tools (e.g. cleavers or razors and knives) and toiletry articles (e.g. mirrors and pins) (for comments on stone conuli and terracotta figurines, see section 3.7.1 above). While, as indicated in section 3.7.1 above, beads appear frequently in all different types assemblages, there are some categories of items, of which the distribution is limited largely to the “Greece-1” group. This does not mean that these objects are present in every “Greece-1” assemblage, but rather that if they occur in a certain cemetery they are mostly restricted to this group. These are bronze swords, gold jewelry, comprising gold leaf rosettes and (relief) beads, glass relief-beads (e.g. rosettes, papyrus heads, curls-of-hair and brackets), amber beads and ivory toiletry articles, such as pins and pyxides or boxes. In general, it can be stated that the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory, is (almost) completely limited to the “Greece-1” group.

The “Greece-2” group⁴⁴⁶ has a number of features in common with the “Greece-1” group. The assemblages typically contain medium or large jugs in combination with unpainted kylikes. Specific vessel types such as the large piriform jar, the kylix with high-swung handle(s) and the shallow angular bowl (FS 295) have a distribution limited largely to tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages. The same applies to the technique of tinning, which has not been attested on any of the kylikes connected with the “Greece-2” group.

In contrast to the “Greece-1” group, there are no objects other than pottery which can be called characteristic of the “Greece-2” group. Most common are stone and glass beads (for comments on stone conuli and terracotta figurines, see section 3.7.1 above). Some tombs also

⁴⁴⁵ Examples of “Greece-1” assemblages are Ismenion Tomb 3 and Kolonaki Tomb 9 (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Tombs 1 and 3 (Athens, Attica); Prosymna Tombs 2, 41 and 44 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 515 and 520 (Mycenae, Argolid); Sykea Tomb 2 (Laconia); and Tholos Tomb III and E-6 (Pylos, Messenia).

⁴⁴⁶ Examples of “Greece-2” assemblages are Ismenion Tomb 4 and Kolonaki Tomb 7 (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Tombs 24 and 40, and Grave K 2:5 (Athens, Attica); Eleusis Tomb λπ13 (Attica); Barnavos (?) (the Korinthia); Prosymna Tombs 21, 24 and 49 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 524, 525 and 533 (Mycenae, Argolid); Melathria Tomb A1; Pylos Tombs E-4, E-9 and K-1 (Messenia).

contain bronze weapons (e.g. daggers and arrowheads) and stone seals. In general, the distribution of glass relief-beads and objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory, is limited largely to “Greece-1” assemblages (see above).

The “Greece-3” tombs are usually – if sufficient information is available and the tombs are preserved well enough – among the smallest graves, in terms of the length and size of their respective dromoi and burial chambers, of the cemeteries to which they belonged. While the assemblages may contain medium or large jugs and unpainted kylikes, these never occur together. In general, however, “Greece-3” assemblages include no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes. Another notable feature of this group is that the assemblages associated with it typically contain one or more small ceramic vessels, of which examples are the handleless jar, small jug, feeding bottle, askos, small mug and carinated conical cup. There are no objects other than pottery which can be considered characteristic of this group. Most common are stone and glass beads and terracotta figurines.⁴⁴⁷ As indicated in the text above, small ceramic pots are not limited to the “Greece-3” group per se. They also occur in the other two groups described above. It is interesting to point out, however, that it is relatively common to find terracotta figurines in tombs with “Greece-1” and “Greece-2” assemblages containing concentrations of such small ceramic vessels.⁴⁴⁸ This seems to reinforce the suggestion made above that there is a link between these pots and the presence of terracotta figurines.

The Mycenaean comparanda that have been established in this chapter will be used as benchmarks with which to compare the ‘Mycenaean’ tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean. Before this comparison can be made, however, we need to develop an understanding of the different groups of assemblages in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean. It is to these assemblages that we will now turn.

⁴⁴⁷ Examples of “Greece-3” assemblages are Ismenion Tombs 2, 5 and Kolonaki Tomb 1 (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Tombs 11, 21, 20 and 25 (Athens, Attica); most Eleusis graves (Attica); Zygouries Tombs 33 and 35 (the Korinthia); Prosymna Tombs 16 and 17 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 513, 516, 519, 521, 523 and 527 (Mycenae, Argolid); Pylos Tombs E-3, E-9 and E-10.

⁴⁴⁸ Examples are Kolonaki Tombs 14 (“Greece-2”) and 21 (“Greece-1”) (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Grave K 2:5 (“Greece-2”) (Athens, Attica); Prosymna Tombs 42, 43 (“Greece-1”), 8 and 28 (“Greece-2”) (Argolid); Melathria Tomb A1 (“Greece-2”); and Pylos Tomb E-6 (“Greece-1”).

Chapter 4

Ceramic patterns in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

In Chapters 1 and 2, the theoretical and methodological frameworks of this study have been developed. It has been argued that tomb assemblages are constituted by two different types of relations – relations of similarity and difference – and that these can be considered as the manifestation of different group identities in the archaeological burial record. By comparing the material manifestation of these relations at a number of Late Bronze Age cemeteries on the Greek mainland,¹ three groups of assemblages have been defined. These have been referred to as “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3”. These groups are described in Chapter 3. In this chapter and the next, the focus will be on the tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean. The assemblages themselves are discussed in Chapter 5. Here, the archaeological background against which to consider these assemblages is provided. Attention will be paid to tomb types, funerary customs and the ceramic repertoire in general. Unlike other categories of finds, such as bronze weapons and glass and stone jewelry, pottery has been found in most Late Bronze Age tombs – and settlements – along the west coast of Anatolia. As a result, this class of material culture constitutes a suitable candidate for investigating, from a diachronic perspective, the similarities and differences within and between different regions (for inter-regional comparisons see sections 4.10 and 4.20 below). We will also take into account the pottery from the settlements. By comparing the pottery from the tombs and the settlements, it is possible to assess whether certain types of objects were used specifically for funerary purposes. This serves to strengthen the assumption that the archaeological burial record can be considered a context in which identities were consciously being expressed.

¹ E.g. Agora at Athens (see section 3.3) and Eleusis in Attica (see section 3.6.2); Ismenion and Kolonaki at Thebes in Boeotia (see section 3.6.1) and Prosymna (see section 3.4) and Mycenae in the Argolid (see section 3.6.4)

This chapter is divided geographically into two parts (Map 16). In the first part, we will discuss the area referred to in Chapter 1 as the “southern zone”. In this study, this area is taken to include the south-west coast of Anatolia and the islands of Rhodes, Kos, Astypalaia and Karpathos (see sections 4.1 to 4.9 below). The area to the north of Mount Latmos (cf. “central and northern zones” defined in section 1.1), which is close to the settlement of Miletus, is treated in part two (see sections 4.11 to 4.18 below). In the final section of this chapter, a comparison between the two areas will be made (see section 4.19 below).

4.1 Rhodes in the Late Bronze Age

The island of Rhodes, which is the largest in the south-eastern Aegean, is located to the south-west of the west coast of Anatolia (Maps 11-2). It was well positioned along the trade routes to Cyprus and the Near East.² More than thirty Mycenaean-style chamber tomb cemeteries have been excavated on Rhodes.³ Unfortunately, many of them were illicitly excavated (e.g. Vati (Apsaktiras) and Lardhos).⁴ The largest necropolis is situated at Ialysos. The tombs were excavated in two separate phases. Between 1868 and 1871, the British vice-consul Sir Alfred Biliotti investigated forty-one tombs. Of the excavation carried out by him there is hardly any documentation left.⁵ In the literature, these tombs are referred as the “Old Tombs” (OT). An additional eighty-nine tombs, the so-called “New Tombs” (NT), which are much better recorded than the previously dug “Old Tombs”, were excavated by A. Maiuri (1914 and 1921)⁶ and G. Jacopi (1927-1928).⁷ Located in relative proximity to Ialysos is the Bronze Age site of Trianda, which is the only excavated settlement on the island of which a considerable part has been published.

4.1.1 Tomb types, burial customs and offerings

The most common tomb type on Rhodes during the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B” was the chamber tomb (Fig. 1).⁸ Such tombs are approached via a sloping dromos. Access into the burial chamber can be gained by removing the dry-stone built wall blocking the entrance

² Mountjoy 1999a, 979.

³ Benzi 1988b, 69, Table I.

⁴ Benzi 1988b, 59; Georgiadis 2003, 71.

⁵ Furtwängler/ Loeschke 1886, 1-17 and Pls. 1-11; Forsdyke 1925, 139-77; Walters/Forsdyke 1930, Pls. 1-8.

⁶ Maiuri 1926, 83-341.

⁷ Jacopi 1933, 253-345.

⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 71.

(stomion).⁹ As noted above, more than thirty chamber tomb cemeteries have been localized on Rhodes. There is variation in the number of chamber tombs per site. At Ialysos, which is the largest necropolis of the island, more than one-hundred graves have been excavated. The second and third biggest cemeteries of the island are those located at Vati (Apsaktiras)¹⁰ and Apollakia¹¹ with a reported total of twenty-five and twenty-one tombs, respectively.¹² There are also many sites at which only one or two chamber tombs have been discovered (e.g. Kouri, Zuccalades, Damatria and Kariones).

The information about the skeletal remains found inside the chamber tombs on Rhodes is of uneven quality and – since many graves were robbed – is also not available for every site.¹³ Nevertheless, it seems that in general they were used for multiple burials (Fig. 2).¹⁴ As noted in Chapter 3, on the Greek mainland chamber tombs were also typically used for successive burials. An important difference, however, pointed out by O.T.P.K. Dickinson,¹⁵ is that compared to the Greek mainland, there are unusually few persons (1-3) buried per tomb at Ialysos and at other cemeteries in the region.¹⁶

Only a few other tomb types are attested on Rhodes in the Late Bronze Age. At Ialysos, we have three pit graves (NT's 39, 41 and 76), a (possible) shaft grave (NT 81) and a chamber tomb with two dromoi (NT 86).¹⁷ Interestingly, in the (possible) shaft grave, which had been robbed, there were fragments of two clay larnakes found. Larnakes are commonly used for burials on Minoan Crete.¹⁸ As noted in Chapter 3, they also occur at a number of sites on the Greek mainland. A site famous for its larnakes is Tanagra in Boeotia. The chamber tomb with two dromoi (NT 86) and two of the pit graves (NT's 39 and 76) had been used for single burials (note contrast with multiple burials in chamber tombs discussed above). Because the third pit grave (NT 41) had been plundered, the number of burials made inside of it could no longer be established.

⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the architecture of the tombs, see Georgiadis 2003, 68-73.

¹⁰ Dietz 1984, 50.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 67-74.

¹² We also know of some other large cemeteries that had been (partially) robbed such as Kastellos (Benzi 1992, 431) and Siana (*ibidem*, 432) of which the total number of graves is unknown. A comprehensive overview giving the total number of tombs (estimated) per site is provided by Benzi (1988b, 69, Table I).

¹³ For an overview see Georgiadis 2003, 77-82.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 79-82.

¹⁵ Dickinson 1984.

¹⁶ However, this may be a slight underestimation of the total number of burials. The Italian excavators at Ialysos only counted the skulls and long bones and did not carry out any anthropological analysis (Benzi 1992, 230; see, also, Georgiadis 2003, 81).

¹⁷ Benzi 1992, 230.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 230.

Inhumation was the dominant burial rite on Rhodes in the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. There is one possible cremation from LHIIIA in New Tomb 19 at Ialysos.¹⁹ Cremation did not become common on Rhodes until LHIIIC.²⁰

4.1.2 The pottery from Rhodes (tombs): Mycenaean

The bulk of the pottery discovered within (chamber) tombs on Rhodes is ‘standard’ Mycenaean in character. Only a relatively small number of Minoan-style²¹ and Cypriot-style vessels²² have been found, of which the majority comes from the cemetery at Ialysos. A “huge amount” of the Mycenaean was probably imported from the Greek mainland.²³ This view is based mainly on morphological and stylistic criteria. It has, however, been confirmed by a number of scientific studies. A small selection of LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB vases from the cemeteries of Ialysos (N=33)²⁴ and Pylona (Aspropilia) (N=28)²⁵ has been investigated using optical emission spectroscopy (OES) and chemical analysis, respectively. The results of both of these studies indicate that the majority of the pottery investigated had, in fact, been imported from the Argolid, in the north-east Peloponnese.

All three major periods of Mycenaean pottery – LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB – are represented at Ialysos (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1). The ceramic record of this site forms the basis of the following overview. As indicated above, Ialysos is the largest, and one of the best documented cemeteries on the island. Comparisons shall also be made with other sites on Rhodes. Pottery from LHIIIB-III A1 has come to light in twenty New and eight Old Tombs (for a definition of these terms, see section 4.1 above).²⁶ Closed pot shapes make up about 86% (50 of 58) of the complete decorated assemblage. Table 1 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

¹⁹ Benzi 1992, 231, 268.

²⁰ Georgiadis 2003, 79.

²¹ Most Minoan imports, some of which might be local copies, were found at Ialysos. They have a chronological range of LMII to LMIIIB. Small amounts of Cretan imports or local copies also occur elsewhere on the island. These have a chronological range of LMIIIA2 to LMIIIB. Find places comprise the southern cemeteries of Siana/Kastellos (Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, no. 36; *ibidem*, no. 81; *ibidem*, 1016, no. 83), Apollakia (Benzi 1992, 9; Mountjoy 1999a, 994, no. 19; *ibidem*, 1007, no. 58; *ibidem*, 1015, fn. 386), Vati (Apsaktiras) (*ibidem*, 1021, no. 97) and Passia (*ibidem*, 1016, fn. 397; *ibidem*, 1025, fn. 459).

²² A small quantity of imported Cypriot pottery has been found at Ialysos (Benzi 1992, 5-11). The corpus consisted of two bull-shaped rhyta of Base ring II ware and two Base-ring I juglets (Benzi 1992, 11; Georgiadis 2003, 89; Marketou 2009, 49). The chronological range of this material is LHIIIA1-2 – LCIB to LCIIA-B in Cypriot ceramic terms (Mee 1982, 22; Marketou 2009).

²³ Benzi 1996, 969.

²⁴ Jones/Mee 1978.

²⁵ Karantzali/Ponting 2000.

²⁶ See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation (see, also, Benzi 1992, 209).

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Small-medium piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) (Fig. 3)	c. 36% (N=21) ²⁷	Shallow cup (FS 219) (Fig. 7)	c. 7% (N=4) ²⁸
Beaked jug (FS 144) (Fig. 4)	c. 14% (N=8) ²⁹	Decorated kylix or goblet (FS 254-255) (Fig. 8)	c. 7% (N=4) ³⁰
Rounded alabastron (FS 84) (Fig. 5)	c. 12% (N=7) ³¹		
Large piriform jar (FS 19, FS 22) (Fig. 6)	c. 10% (N=6) ³²		

Table 1 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIB-III A1 decorated vessel types from Ialysos (Old Tombs and New Tombs)

Decorated pottery from LHIIB-III A1 has also been found at several other cemeteries on Rhodes, such as Tolo, Lelos, Kalavarda, Vati (Apsaktiras) and Koskinou (Map 12).³³ At these sites, a similar preference for closed pot shapes can be observed. The small piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) is the commonest.³⁴ Of other vessel types common at Ialysos such as the beaked jug (FS 144)³⁵ and the rounded alabastron (FS 84)³⁶ we only have single examples from other sites.

Mycenaean decorated vessels from LHIII A2 have been found in sixty tombs at Ialysos (forty-four NT's and sixteen OT's).³⁷ Closed pot shapes make up about 76% (220 of 290) of the complete assemblage. Table 2 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

²⁷ NT 17: no. h (Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 199); NT 19: no. 3-4 (ibidem, 990, fn. 199), 5 (ibidem, 990, fn. 200), 6 (ibidem, 990, fn. 206), 12 (ibidem, 990, no. 1); NT 32A: no. 1; NT 35: no. d (ibidem, 990, fn. 201); NT 36: no. 2; NT 37: no. 6 (ibidem, 990, fn. 204), 7, 8 (ibidem, 990, fn. 200); NT 45: no. a (ibidem, 990, fn. 199); NT 74: no. 6 (ibidem, 990, fn. 200); NT 78: no. 1 (ibidem, 989); NT 79: no. 3 (ibidem, 990, fn. 200), 4 (ibidem, 990, no. 2); OT 30: A825; OT 26: A826 (ibidem, 990, fn. 199); OT A: A823 (ibidem, 990, no. 4); OT 28: A824 (ibidem, 990, fn. 200)

²⁸ NT 3: no. 5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 992, fn. 224); NT 37: no. 9 (ibidem, 992, no. 12), 10 (ibidem, 994, fn. 226); NT 62: no. 13 (ibidem, 992, fn. 224)

²⁹ NT 31: no. 9 (Mountjoy 1999a, 992, fn. 219); NT 36, no. 1 (ibidem, 989); NT 37: no. 3 (ibidem, 992, fn. 219); NT 50: no. 10 (ibidem, 992, fn. 219); NT 62: no. 6 (ibidem, 992, fn. 218); NT 69: no. 1 (ibidem, 992, fn. 219); NT 74, no. 3 (ibidem, 992, fn. 219); OT 32: A877 (ibidem, 992, no. 10)

³⁰ NT 21: no. 8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 226); NT 37: no. 11 (ibidem, 994, fn. 266); NT 74: no. 5 (ibidem, 994, no. 15); OT 24: A864 (ibidem, 994, fn. 226)

³¹ NT 4: no. 7 (Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 212); NT 11: no. 1 (ibidem, 990, fn. 211); NT 19: no. 2 (ibidem, 990, fn. 211), 13; NT 74: no. 4 (ibidem, 990, fn. 212); OT 29: A812; OT 24: A813 (ibidem, 990, no. 7)

³² NT 10: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 983); NT 31: no. 1; NT 37: no. 1 (ibidem, 989); NT 50: no. 6; NT 62: no. 7 (ibidem, 990, fn. 204); OT A: A822 (ibidem, 990, fn. 204)

³³ Benzi 1992, 209.

³⁴ Asprovilo: Benzi 1992, 408, Tomba 6, no. 1; Tolo: ibidem, 411, Tolo, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 199); Vati (Apsaktiras): Morricone 1986, 221-223, nos. 3-5; Benzi 1992, 438, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 203); Lardhos: Benzi 1992, 441, nos. 1, 7 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 200, 203); Koskinou: Benzi 1992, 451

³⁵ Kalavarda (Vasi Sporadici in Musei Stranieri): Benzi 1992, 418

³⁶ Vati (Apsaktiras): Morricone 1986, 242, no. 28 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999, 990, fn. 213)

³⁷ See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation (see, also, Benzi 1992, 213).

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Large piriform jar (FS 34-35) (Figs. 9-10)	c. 22% (N=64) ³⁸	Pattern-painted kylix (FS 256-257) (Figs. 20-1) Monochrome kylix with two vertical handles below rim (FS 269) (Fig. 22) Monochrome kylix (FS 264)	c. 7% (N=19) ³⁹ c. 2% (N=7) ⁴⁰ c. 1% (N=4) ⁴¹
Piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) (Fig. 11)	c. 12% (N=35) ⁴²	Krater Amphoroid krater (FS 54-56)	c. 2% (N=3) ⁴⁵
Globular-squat stirrup jar (FS 170-171, FS 178) (Fig. 12)	c. 13% (N=37) ⁴³	Stemmed krater (FS 8) (Fig. 23)	(N=2) ⁴⁶
Domestic stirrup jar (FS 164)	c. 3% (N=9) ⁴⁴	Spouted krater (FS 298)	(N=1) ⁴⁷

³⁸ NT 1: no. 1; NT 3: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 231); NT 4: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231); NT 6: nos. 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 232), 4 (ibidem, 994, fn. 233), 5 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231); NT 7: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 229), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230); NT 9: no. 1; NT 10: nos. 2 (ibidem, 994, no. 18), 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 233), 4; NT 19: no. 1; NT 22: no. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 233); NT 23: no. 1; NT 24: no. 1; NT 25: nos. 1-2, 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 238); NT 26: no. 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231); NT 27: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 234), 3; NT 28: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 235), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 234), 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 233), 4 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231); NT 29: nos. 1, 2 (ibidem, 990, fn. 245); NT 31: nos. 2, 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 4, 5 (ibidem, 994, fn. 236), 8 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230); NT 48: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 237), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 235); NT 50: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 229), 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 231), 4, 5 (ibidem, 994, fn. 233); NT 51: nos. 7 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 8-10; NT 54: no. 7 (ibidem, 994, fn. 235); NT 55: nos. 1, 2 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 3 (ibidem, 994, fn. 235), a; NT 56: nos. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 230), 2; NT 57: no. 1; NT 58: no. 1 (ibidem, 994, fn. 238); NT 59: no. 1 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293) (correct shape?); NT 60: no. 1; NT 62: no. 17; NT 63: no. 1; NT 74: no. 7; OT 21: A832 (ibidem, 994, fn. 245); OT 36: A835; OT 37: A827

³⁹ NT 3: no. 4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 349); NT 7: nos. 6 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 348), 7; NT 9: no. 3; NT 17: no. 53; NT 19: nos. 15 (ibidem, 1007, no. 59), 16; NT 20: no. 6; NT 48: nos. 8, 9; NT 54: nos. 10 (ibidem, 1007, no. 63), 11; OT A: A865, A871 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 349); OT 5: A866; OT 12: A868; OT 25: A867; OT 26: A870, A872 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 349)

⁴⁰ NT 19: nos. 18 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 354), 19 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 354); NT 27: no. 10 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 354); NT 28: no. 17 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 354); NT 31: no. 19; NT 56: no. 11 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 355); OT 5: A860 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 354)

⁴¹ NT 48: nos. 10 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 351), 11 (ibidem, 1007, no. 64); NT 50: no. 12 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 351); NT 57: no. 2

⁴² NT 6: no. 6 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 292); NT 7: no. 4 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292, 295); NT 15: no. 10 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 16: no. 3 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293); NT 22: no. 2 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293); NT 23: nos. 3-5 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 27: no. 7 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 28: no. b; NT 31: no. 11 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293); NT 38: no. a; NT 48: no. 4 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 50: no. 7 (ibidem, 999, fn. 298); NT 51: nos. 1 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 11, 12 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 52: no. a; NT 54: nos. 1 (ibidem, 999, fn. 298), 8 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292, 297); NT 55: nos. 9 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293), 10-11 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 57: no. 3; NT 58: nos. 2-3; NT 62: no. 11 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); NT 70: no. 5 (ibidem, 999, fn. 294); NT 72: no. 2a (ibidem, 999, fn. 293); OT A: A898 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); OT 19: A894 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292, 295); OT 36: A901 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293); OT 37: A899 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292); OT 38: A896 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), A902 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293)

⁴³ NT 4: nos. 4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, no. 45), 9 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 312); NT 8: no. 2 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 10: nos. 6, 8 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 312); NT 19: no. 11 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 309); NT 23: no. 6 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 311); NT 25: nos. 5, 6 (?); NT 26: no. 3 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 27: nos. 6 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 308), 8 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 309), 9; NT 27A: no. a (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 28: nos. 6 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 309), a; NT 31: no. 12; NT 48: nos. 5 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 305), 6 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 306), 7 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 50: no. 18 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 51: no. 2; NT 52: no. 3 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); NT 55: no. 12 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 309); NT 56: no. 7; NT 57: nos. 4-6 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 309); NT 58: nos. 4-5 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 311); NT 63: no. 3 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 311); OT 17: A913 (ibidem, 1001, no. 37); OT 21: A909 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 311), A910, A924 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 312); OT 31: A923 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 311); OT 36: A916

⁴⁴ NT 3: no. 3; NT 4: no. 3; NT 7: no. 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 313); NT 28: 5; NT 50: no. 8; NT 55: no. 4; OT 19: A891, A92 and A93 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 313)

Cutaway-necked jug (FS 133) (Figs. 13-4)	c. 4% (N=12) ⁴⁸	Mug (FS 225, FS 251) (Fig. 24)	c. 2% (N=7) ⁵¹
Stirrup jug (FS 151) (Fig. 15)	c. 3% (N=9) ⁴⁹		
Beaked jug (FS 145, FS 149) (Fig. 16)	c. 1% (N=4) ⁵⁰		
Feeding bottle (FS 160) (Fig. 17)	c. 6% (N=17) ⁵²		

Table 2 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIIA2 decorated vessel types from Ialysos (Old Tombs and New Tombs)

Decorated pottery of this phase has come to light at many other sites on Rhodes, including Kouri,⁵³ Zuccalades,⁵⁴ Kalavarda,⁵⁵ Lelos,⁵⁶ Apollakia,⁵⁷ Vati (Apsaktiras)⁵⁸ and Pylona (Aspropolia) (Map 12).⁵⁹ In general, the shape repertoire is similar to that of Ialysos (cf. Table 2 above). The most frequently occurring vessel types are the large piriform jar (FS 34-35),⁶⁰ the stirrup jar (FS 166, FS 171)⁶¹ and the decorated kylix (FS 256-257).⁶² There is also

⁴⁵ NT 3: no. 2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 996, fn. 248); NT 27: no. 4 (ibidem, 996, fn. 247); NT 60: no. 2 (ibidem, 996, fn. 247)

⁴⁶ NT 54: no. 6 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, fn. 326); NT 59: no. 3 (ibidem, 1003, fn. 325)

⁴⁷ NT 4: no. 8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1009, no. 71)

⁴⁸ NT 4: no. 5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 997, fn. 271); NT 19: no. 10 (ibidem, 997, fn. 271); NT 23: no. 7 (ibidem, 997, fn. 273); NT 28: no. 10 (ibidem, 997, no. 28); NT 29: no. 5; NT 31: no. 10 (ibidem, 997, fn. 271); NT 55: nos. 5, 6 (ibidem, 997, fn. 271); NT 56: nos. 3 (ibidem, 997, fn. 271), 5; NT 57: no. 8; NT 59: no. 5; OT 26: A876 (ibidem, 997, fn. 271)

⁴⁹ NT 3: no. 6 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 285); NT 4: no. 6 (ibidem, 999, fn. 284, 286); NT 19: no. 9 (ibidem, 999, fn. 284); NT 27: no. 5 (ibidem, 999, fn. 284, 286); NT 55: no. 7 (ibidem, 999, fn. 284); NT 56: nos. 4 (ibidem, 999, fn. 285), a (ibidem, 999, fn. 284); NT 57: no. 7; OT 21: A890 (ibidem, 999, fn. 286)

⁵⁰ NT 31: no. 15 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, no. 31); NT 54: no. 9 (ibidem, 997, fn. 275); NT 58: no. a (ibidem, 997, fn. 283); Tomb 32: A878 (ibidem, 997, fn. 275)

⁵¹ NT 19: no. 8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1005, fn. 333); NT 28: no. 11 (ibidem, 1005, no. 50); NT 51: no. 5 (ibidem, 1005, fn. 334); NT 60: no. a (ibidem, 1005, fn. 333); OT 5: A853 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 346); OT 38: A846, A847 (ibidem, 1005, fn. 335)

⁵² NT 3: no. 7-8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 287); NT 10: no. 10 (ibidem, 999, fn. 290); NT 19: no. 14; NT 25: no. 7 (ibidem, 999, fn. 288); NT 28: nos. 15-6; NT 29: no. 7; NT 30: no. 3 (ibidem, 999, no. 33); NT 50: no. 17 (ibidem, 999, fn. 288); OT A: A934 (ibidem, 999, fn. 291); OT 5: A938 (ibidem, 999, fn. 287); OT 21: A935 (ibidem, 999, no. 32), A940 (ibidem, 999, fn. 288); OT 25: A936 (ibidem, 999, fn. 287); OT 38: A937 (ibidem, 999, fn. 287), A941 (ibidem, 999, fn. 288)

⁵³ Benzi 1992, 408.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, 408-9.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 412-9.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, 422-31.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, 434.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 437-9.

⁵⁹ Karantzali 2001.

⁶⁰ A few examples are given to illustrate this. The most common closed pot shape found at the cemetery of Kalavarda (Aniforo) (Benzi 1992, 413-7) is the large piriform jar, of which six examples were found (Tomb 1 (46): no. 2; Tomb 2 (47): 1a (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 239), 1b, 2, 3; Tomb 3 (48): no. 1). Large piriform jars are also very common among the (extant) finds from the (robbed) cemetery of Vati (Apsaktiras) (Benzi 1992, 437-9). Fourteen jars have been published: Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 39.1; ibidem, Pl. 40.2, 4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 996, no. 20), 6 (ibidem, 994, fn. 239); Morricone 1986, 226-35, nos. 8-9, 10 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 238), 11-12 (ibidem, 994, fn. 234), 13 (ibidem, 994, fn. 236), 14-15, 17-18.

⁶¹ A few examples are given to illustrate this. The most frequently found closed pot form at Lelos (Benzi 1992, 422-31) is the stirrup jar, comprising examples of the piriform FS 166, the globular FS 171 and the squat FS 178 (Tomb 1: no. 6; Tomb 5: nos. 10-11, 12 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 292), 14-15 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 312); Tomb 6:

some variation. At Lelos, for example, the large piriform jar (FS 34-35) is not common. The only one found comes from Tomb 5.⁶³ The most frequently found closed pot shape at this site is the stirrup jar (FS 166, FS 171, FS 178) (for an overview, see fn. 61). The large piriform jar is also relatively uncommon among the extant finds from the (robbed) cemetery of Apollakia. Of the in total thirty-one closed pot shapes dated to LHIIIA2 from this site only two are large piriform jars.⁶⁴ Similar to Lelos, stirrup jars are the commonest among the closed pot shapes at Apollakia (for an overview, see fn. 61).

A notable development is that the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 18)⁶⁵ and the rounded alabastron (FS 85) (Fig. 19),⁶⁶ are comparatively rare on Rhodes in LHIIIA2. As noted above, both pot shapes, but especially the small piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) were very common in the previous LHIIB-III A1 phase (cf. Table 1 above).

There are twenty-three New and eight Old Tombs with pottery from LHIIB at Ialysos.⁶⁷ This marks a 50% decrease in comparison to LHIIIA2 (see above). Closed pot shapes make up about 54% (53 of 99) of the complete decorated assemblage. Open pot shapes are clearly more numerous than in LHIIIA2. Table 3 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Squat stirrup jar (FS 180) (Fig. 28)	c. 7% (N=7) ⁶⁸	Patterned kylix (FS 258) (Figs. 31-2)	c. 11% (N=11) ⁷²
Conical stirrup jar (FS 182) (Fig. 29)	c. 7% (N=7) ⁶⁹	Monochrome kylix (FS 264)	c. 2% (N=2) ⁷³

nos. 2 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 3 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 5, 6 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 7 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 9 (ibidem, 999, fn. 292), 12; Tomb 7: nos. 3-4. Stirrup jars also frequently occur at Apollakia: Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 57.3-5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 292); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 59.14-15 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 311), 18 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 60.1-3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 310); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 61.5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 308); Dietz 1984, 77, 108.

⁶² A few examples are given to illustrate this. The painted kylix is the most frequently found open pot shape at Lelos (Benzi 1992, 422-31): Tomb 1: no. 2; Tomb 2: no. 1; Tomb 5: nos. 4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 351), 5, 6 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 354); Tomb 6: nos. 24, 25 (ibidem, 1007, fn. 351), 26, 29; Tomb 7: nos. 1, 2. It also frequently occurs at the cemetery of Pylona (Aspropilia) (Karantzali 2001, 14-22): Tomb 1: nos. 16473, 16474, 16475, 16477; Tomb 2: nos. 17957, 17965, 17966, 17959 (?); Tomb 3: nos. 16514, 16515; Tomb 5: nos. 18635, 18642.

⁶³ Benzi 1992, 423, Tomb 5, no. 1.

⁶⁴ Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 41.6 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 243); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 42.3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, no. 19).

⁶⁵ Mountjoy 1999a, 984, 994.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 996.

⁶⁷ See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation (see, also, Benzi 1992, 214-5).

⁶⁸ NT 7: no. 5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407); NT 24: nos. 4 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407, 414), 6 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 424), a (ibidem, 1019, fn. 408); NT 30: no. 2 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407); NT 64: no. 3 (ibidem, 1019, no. 91, fn. 407); OT A: A908 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 411)

⁶⁹ NT 38: no. 2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407, 415); NT 53: nos. 8 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407, 416), 9 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 414); OT A: A903 (ibidem, 1021, no. 94), A904-5 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 413); OT 11: A907 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407)

27) Globular stirrup jar (FS 173) (Fig. 29)	c. 6% (N=6) ⁷⁰		
Advanced-piriform stirrup jar (FS 167) (Fig. 26)	c. 2% (N=2) ⁷¹		
Large piriform jar (FS 35, FS 37) (Fig. 25)	c. 10% (N=10) ⁷⁴	Stemmed krater (FS 9, FS 11) (Fig. 33) Ring-based krater (FS 281)	c. 2% (N=2) ⁷⁵ c. 2% (N=2) ⁷⁶
Narrow-necked jug (FS 118, FS 120) (Fig. 30) Jug with cut-away neck (FS 136) large linear jug (FS 105)	c. 4% (N=4) ⁷⁷ c. 2% (N=2) ⁷⁸ c. 2% (N=2) ⁷⁹	Deep conical bowl (FS 300-301) (Fig. 34)	c. 6% (N=6) ⁸⁰

Table 3 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIB decorated vessel types from Ialysos (Old Tombs and New Tombs)

We also have decorated pottery from LHIIB from a number of other cemeteries on the island. This phase is especially well represented in south Rhodes. The archaeological record seems to indicate that north-west Rhodes was largely abandoned. This view is based on a general lack of LHIIB material from this part of the island.⁸¹ In general, the shape repertoire is similar to that of Ialysos (cf. Table 3 above). Stirrup jars (FS 173, FS 180, FS 182)⁸² appear the most frequent among the closed pot shapes. Decorated kylikes (FS 258) are also very common outside Ialysos.⁸³

⁷² NT 10: no. 9 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 455); NT 21: no. 7 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 453); NT 38: no. 4; NT 41: no. 2 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 457); NT 53: nos. 1 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 457), 5, 6 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 455); NT 59: nos. 6 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 457), 7 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 455); NT 75: no. 3 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 455); OT A: A873 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 457)

⁷³ NT 49: nos. 2, 2a

⁷⁰ NT 10: no. 7; NT 51: no. 13 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 425); NT 59: no. 10 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 420); OT 12: A911 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 420); OT 35: A918 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407), A919 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 408)

⁷¹ NT 62: no. 5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 409); OT 27: A967 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407)

⁷⁴ NT 6: no. 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 385); NT 9: no. 2 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 382); NT 10: no. 5 (ibidem, 1015, no. 77); NT 23: no. 2 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385); NT 24: no. 2 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 380); NT 26: no. 1 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385); OT A: A838 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 379); OT 4: A831, A833 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385); OT 12: A836 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385)

⁷⁵ NT 5: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1021, no. 102); NT 59: no. 2 (ibidem, 1021, no. 101)

⁷⁶ NT 38: no. 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 463); NT 53: no. 3 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 460)

⁷⁷ NT 38: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 396); NT 53: no. 4 (ibidem, 1016, fn. 394); NT 59: no. 4 (ibidem, 1016, fn. 397); OT 35: A879 (ibidem, 1016, no. 84)

⁷⁸ NT 53: no. 10 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 404); NT 59: no. 5 (ibidem, 1016, fn. 401)

⁷⁹ NT 30: a (monochrome or plain?); NT 75: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 393)

⁸⁰ NT 5: no. 2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1027, no. 118); NT 60: nos. 3 (ibidem, 1027, fn. 471), 4 (ibidem, 1027, fn. 469); OT A: A947 (ibidem, 1027, fn. 469); OT 7: A944 (ibidem, 1027, no. 117); OT 25: A945 (ibidem, 1027, fn. 470)

⁸¹ However, Benzi stresses that this 'shortage' of evidence should be treated with caution. The main reason is that there are a number of sites in this region (e.g. Kouri, Asprovilo, Maritsa and Damatria) of which the vases are no longer available for study (Benzi 1992, 215).

⁸² A few examples are given to illustrate this. The stirrup jar is the most frequent closed pot shape among the (extant) LHIIB materials from Apollakia: Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 58.8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 408), 10; Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 59.1-2, 6 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 423), 7-9 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 408), 10;

Two categories of Mycenaean pottery I have not yet paid attention to are undecorated and tinned vessels. Undecorated Mycenaean vases constitute only a small proportion of the (extant) Ialysos assemblage.⁸⁴ We have twenty vases from LHIII A2⁸⁵ and seven from LHIII B.⁸⁶ The LHIII A2 corpus consists mainly of open pot shapes (18 of 20). There were mostly kylikes (15 of 18) of different shapes found (FS 266-267, FS 269) (Figs. 35-7). The LHIII B corpus, which is much smaller than that associated with LHIII A2, yielded open (3 of 7) and closed pot shapes (4 of 7) in roughly equal proportions. Open vessel forms are made up of two kylikes (FS 266) and a conical cup (FS 204); closed vessel types of small jugs only.

We also have small amounts of undecorated Mycenaean pottery from a number of other cemeteries on the island. Examples are Kalavarda (Aniforo),⁸⁷ Apollakia,⁸⁸ Kattavia,⁸⁹ Passia,⁹⁰ Vati (Apsaktiras)⁹¹ and Pylona (Aspropilia).⁹² Similar to Ialysos, there is a preference for open pot shapes at these sites, especially kylikes (FS 266-267).

Similar to the undecorated Mycenaean ware, tinned vessels make up only a very small proportion of the (extant) Ialysos assemblage.⁹³ There are ten from LHIII A2⁹⁴ and eight from

Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 60.13, 14 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 417); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Tav. 61.3. The same applies to the remaining LHIII B materials from the (robbed) cemetery of Vati (Apsaktiras): Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 57.11 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1021, no. 97), 13 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 58.1, 2-4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407), 7 (ibidem, 1021, no. 95), 9 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 410), 11 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 409); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 59.3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1021, no. 96); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 60.4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 408), 5 (ibidem, 1019, no. 88); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 61.1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, footnote no. 419); Morricone 1986, 284-303, nos. 89, 90 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 420), 91 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407), 92-3, 94-5 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 409) 96, 98 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 421), 99-101 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 407, 417), 102-103, 108 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 423), 110 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 423); Benzi 1992, 438, no. 3.

⁸³ A few examples are given to illustrate this. The kylix is the most frequent open pot shape at Vati (Apsaktiras): Morricone 1986, 300-3, nos. 108 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 423), 110 (ibidem, 1019, fn. 423); Benzi 1992, 438, no. 3. The same applies to the extant materials from the (robbed) cemetery of Apollakia: Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 50.4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 457), 7 (ibidem, 1025, no. 113); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 51.2, 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 454); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 52.1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 458).

⁸⁴ I only discuss the undecorated pottery from the New Tombs here. It is unclear which proportion of the undecorated wares from the Old Tombs was kept or thrown by Biliotti. In the case of the New Tombs, which were excavated later, we have a better understanding of this, because of the extant notebooks.

⁸⁵ NT 4: nos. 4, 11, 15; NT 6: no. 7; NT 10: nos. 12-13; NT 19: nos. 17, 21; NT 22: no. 3; NT 25: no. 6; NT 31: nos. 17-18; NT 50: nos. 15, 21; NT 56: nos. 9-10; NT 58: no. 7; NT 59: no. 8; NT 62: nos. 4, 18

⁸⁶ NT 5: no. 7; NT 24: no. 5; NT 49: nos. 4, 6-7; NT 53: nos. 7, 19;

⁸⁷ Tomb 48 (3): no. 2 (Benzi 1992, 415); Tomb 49 (4): no. 3 (ibidem, 416)

⁸⁸ Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 45.9-10; Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 54.2, 14-5, Pl. 55.3, 9, 17; Dietz 1984, 75, Fig. 92; ibidem, 77, no. 5525.

⁸⁹ Dietz 1984, 78-84, nos. 2, 4-5, 8, 16-7.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, 29, no. 9; ibidem, 46, nos. 4, 8, a-d.

⁹¹ Blinkenberg/Johansen 1926, Pl. 54.1, 3, 13, Pl. 55.6-7; Morricone 1986, 258-60, 316, nos. 52, 55-7, 126; Benzi 1992, 439, nos. 8-11.

⁹² Tomb 1: nos. 16503-4, 16498-9 (Karantzali 2001, 21); Tomb 2: nos. 16469-70, 17973, 17956 (ibidem, 21); Tomb 3: nos. 16511, 16513 (ibidem, 21); Tomb 5: no. 18655 (ibidem, 22)

⁹³ Benzi 1992, 6-7.

⁹⁴ NT 4: nos. 16-17; NT 28: nos. 18bis, 19; NT 31: nos. 19-20; NT 50: nos. 13-14, 16; OT 5: 860

LHIIIB.⁹⁵ The corpus consists exclusively of open pot shapes, especially kylikes (FS 266-267, FS 273) (Fig. 38). The distribution of tinned pottery is almost completely confined to the cemetery of Ialysos. The only exception is represented by a single rounded kylix (FS 266) found at Maritsa, which is a site with two chamber tombs located in relative proximity to Ialysos.⁹⁶

4.1.3 The pottery from Rhodes (tombs): basket vases and incense burners

Two pot forms which cannot be classified as Mycenaean per se, but are relatively common in the pottery repertoire of Ialysos, as well as in that of other parts of Rhodes are the basket vase (FS 319) and the incense burner or brazier (FS 316). The basket vase (Figs. 39-40) mostly occurs in LHIIIA2. Of the thirteen examples found, eleven can be dated to LHIIIA2⁹⁷ and two to LHIIIB.⁹⁸ This vessel type is also found at other sites on Rhodes, such as Kariones,⁹⁹ Lelos,¹⁰⁰ Lachania,¹⁰¹ Vati (Apsaktiras),¹⁰² Lardhos¹⁰³ and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Map 12).¹⁰⁴ The basket vase can be connected with the so-called “Rhodo-Mycenaean ware”, which was developed in one or more workshops in south Rhodes in LHIIIA2.¹⁰⁵ Its style of decoration is characterized by the combination of Minoan and Anatolian traits. Rhodo-Mycenaean pots are often decorated with linear and/or geometric motifs, such as cross-hatched and solid triangles (FM 61), concentric arcs (FM 44), chevrons (FM 58) and semi-circles (FM 43).¹⁰⁶ According to Mountjoy, they were adapted from “Minoan elements current on Crete in LMIIIA”.¹⁰⁷ Note,

⁹⁵ NT 5: nos. 4-6, 8; NT 53: nos. 17, 20-21; OT 7: A850

⁹⁶ Benzi 1992, 410, no. 2.

⁹⁷ NT 6: no. 8; NT 28: no. 8; NT 31: no. 23 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 375), 4 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 371); NT 48: no. 12 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 370); NT 50: no. 11 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 372), a; NT 51: no. 14 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 371); NT 62: no. 1 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 370); NT 63: no. 2 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 375); OT 16: A811 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 375)

⁹⁸ NT 53: no. 11; NT 59: no. 11

⁹⁹ Tomb 2: no. 9 (Benzi 1992, 421)

¹⁰⁰ Tomb 6: nos. 37-8 (ibidem, 429)

¹⁰¹ Benzi 1992, 437, no. 14 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 373).

¹⁰² Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 47.1 (Mountjoy 1995b, 22, Fig. 1, no. 3), 4 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 371), 7 (ibidem, 1012, no. 73); Morricone 1986, 307-12, nos. 113 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 374), 114, 115 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 375), 116, 117 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 371), 118-9 (ibidem, 1012, fn. 375).

¹⁰³ Benzi 1992, 445, no. 44.

¹⁰⁴ Tomb 1: nos. 16482, 16505 (Karantzali 2001, 21)

¹⁰⁵ Benzi 1992, 7-9; Mountjoy 1995b; Mountjoy 1998, 39; Mountjoy 1999a, 984.

¹⁰⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 984, 1012.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, 984.

however, that there are also basket vases decorated with Mycenaean-style motifs, such as flowers (FM 18) and curve-stemmed spirals (FM 49).¹⁰⁸

Another pot form which is probably local to Rhodes is the undecorated tripod brazier or incense burner (FS 316) (Fig. 41).¹⁰⁹ A similar shape is known from the Greek mainland,¹¹⁰ but the Rhodian variant has several distinctive traits associated with it. Rhodian braziers usually have rolled-up legs, which is a feature also often found on Rhodo-Mycenaean basket vases (see above). Moreover, the FS 316 regularly has plastic bosses on the shoulder.¹¹¹

There are about sixty known examples from eleven different sites, including Ialysos, Maritsa,¹¹² Kalavarda (Tzito),¹¹³ Lelos,¹¹⁴ Kattavia,¹¹⁵ Vati (Apsaktiras),¹¹⁶ Passia,¹¹⁷ Lardhos,¹¹⁸ Archangelos,¹¹⁹ Pylona (Aspropilia)¹²⁰ and Pylona (Ambelia) (Map 12).¹²¹ In total thirty-seven incense burners were found inside the New and Old Tombs at Ialysos.¹²² Most of these can be dated to LHIIIA2 (20 of 37) (c. 54%).¹²³ Ten vessels can be assigned to LHIIIB (c. 27%)¹²⁴ and seven cannot be dated with certainty (c. 19%).¹²⁵

4.1.4 The pottery from the settlement of Trianda (Rhodes)

To the north of the cemetery of Ialysos is the nearby Bronze Age coastal settlement or delta-harbor town of Trianda (Map 12). The earliest excavations were carried out by the Italian

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, 1012, fn. 374.

¹⁰⁹ The provenance of one example from Ialysos (NT 5: no. 11) has been tested. It had a local Rhodian clay composition (Jones/Mee 1978, 463, 469).

¹¹⁰ Mee 1982, 16.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 16.

¹¹² Benzi 1992, 410, no. 3.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 417, no. i.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 422-3, no. 7.

¹¹⁵ Dietz 1984, 81, no. 10.

¹¹⁶ Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 47.8-11; Morricone 1986, 313-4, nos. 121-2; Benzi 1992, 439, nos. 13-4.

¹¹⁷ Dietz 1984, 34, no. 4.

¹¹⁸ Benzi 1992, 441-445, nos. 42-3.

¹¹⁹ Benzi 1992, 450.

¹²⁰ Tomb 1: nos. 16484, 16485, 16486 (Karantzali 2001, 21); Tomb 3: nos. 16518, 16519 (*ibidem*, 21)

¹²¹ Benzi 1992, 448, no. 16.

¹²² Benzi 1992, 161.

¹²³ NT 7: e; NT 10: no. 14; NT 19: no. 22; NT 22: no. 4; NT 23: no. 9; NT 27: no. 12, c; NT 28: no. 9, c; NT 31: nos. 25-26; NT 48: no. 13; NT 50: no. 20; NT 54: c; NT 55: no. 13; NT 63: no. 4; OT 5: A801, A803, A805, A807

¹²⁴ NT 5: nos. 10-11; NT 24: no. 7, c; NT 30: b; NT 53: nos. 12-13; NT 59: nos. 12-13, a

¹²⁵ NT 60: b; NT 62: no. 3; OT A: A802, A806, A808, A809; OT 34: A804

Archaeological Mission in 1936. Since 1978, the Greek Archaeological Service has carried out rescue excavations in different locations at the site.¹²⁶

The earliest architectural remains have been attributed to the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. roughly 2000-1700 BC.¹²⁷ Three Late Bronze Age phases have been distinguished. The first and second phases are referred to as LBA IA and LBA IB, respectively.¹²⁸ Both periods – and LBA IA in particular – are characterized by a strong Minoan cultural influence (e.g. pottery, architecture and wall paintings).¹²⁹ On top of the LBA IB remains, a new settlement was built, which is referred to as the “Mycenaean settlement”. According to the excavators, “[t]he buildings of the Mycenaean settlement were founded on a new layout and continued in use until the end of the LHIIIA2”.¹³⁰ The demise and final desertion of Trianda has been attributed to “a great flood”, which is said to have taken place around the end of LHIIIA2 or the beginning of LHIIIB. However, the cemetery at nearby Ialysos remained in use until LHIIIC. The little amount of LHIIIB material which has been found at Trianda (see below) and the complete absence of any potsherds from LHIIIC could indicate that after “the flood” the settlement was moved to a different location, which is yet unknown.¹³¹ Alternatively, Ialysos might have belonged to a different settlement.

The architectural remains associated with the Mycenaean settlement at Trianda are poorly preserved.¹³² In one of the buildings exposed – the so-called “southwest building” – some fragments of Mycenaean terracotta figurines were found.¹³³ The pottery corpus of Trianda has been divided into two main groups: imported Mycenaean and local wares. A sample of sherds (about 80) from the LB III levels of the site has been investigated by neutron activation analysis (NAA), from the results of which it has been inferred that most of the painted Mycenaean pottery was imported from the Greek mainland, especially from the Argolid.¹³⁴ As noted in section 4.1.2 above, the majority of the Mycenaean vases found within the tombs at Ialysos were also probably imported from there. Small numbers of imports from Crete, Cyprus (Fig. 42) and Kos have also come to light at Trianda.¹³⁵

¹²⁶ Mee 1982, 4; Marketou 1998, 40.

¹²⁷ Marketou 1998, 42-5.

¹²⁸ Marketou 2010b, 779-86.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, 781.

¹³⁰ Karantzali 2005, 144.

¹³¹ According to T. Marketou, a probable site might be at the south-west slope of mount Phileremos (Marketou 2010b, 785-6).

¹³² Karantzali 2005, 144.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, 148.

¹³⁴ Marketou et al. 2006, 48.

¹³⁵ Marketou 2005, 146; Marketou et al. 2006, 49-50; Karantzali 2009, 358-9.

The following overview is based on the pottery published in a number of preliminary publications, since a definitive account of the site is not available yet. According to the excavators, however, the accounts given in these preliminary publications provide a representative picture of the pottery corpus of the site. The individual sherds and/or vessels are referred to in the footnotes at the bottom of each page.

Mycenaean decorated vessels common at Trianda in LHIIB-III A1, of which the sample is relatively small, are the painted goblet (FS 254-255) (Fig. 43)¹³⁶ and the shallow cup (FS 219) (Fig. 44).¹³⁷ Painted closed pot shapes are comparatively rare. The small piriform jar (FS 31) (Fig. 45)¹³⁸ and the large piriform jar (FS 19, FS 22)¹³⁹ appeared in this phase.

The most frequent pot form in LHIII A2, to which most potsherds found have been attributed, is the painted kylix (FS 256-257, FS 264) (Figs. 46-7).¹⁴⁰ The stemmed bowl (FS 304),¹⁴¹ the mug (FS 225-226) (Fig. 48)¹⁴² and the krater (FS 7-8) (Fig. 49)¹⁴³ are also relatively well represented. Only a narrow range of closed pot shapes is found. There are quite some large piriform jars (FS 35) (Fig. 50).¹⁴⁴ Stirrup jars (FS 171)¹⁴⁵ and (rounded or straight-sided) alabastra (FS 85, FS 94)¹⁴⁶ are comparatively rare.

Only very little material from LHIIB has so far been uncovered at the site. Similar to the previous two phases, the most common Mycenaean pot shape is the painted kylix (FS 258) (Fig. 51).¹⁴⁷ There are also some deep bowl sherds (FS 284).¹⁴⁸ No closed pot forms dated to LHIIB have so far been published.¹⁴⁹

¹³⁶ Furumark 1950, 168, Fig. 8, no. 133; *ibidem*, 170, fig. 9; Karantzali 2005, Pls. XXIV, XXV, nos. 13027, 2890d; Marketou et al. 2006, 17-20, nos. 156, 225.

¹³⁷ Furumark 1950, 170, fig. 9; Karantzali 2005, Pls. XX, XXV, nos. 19462, 101.

¹³⁸ Furumark 1950, 170, fig. 9; Karantzali 2005, Pls. XX, XXXIII, nos. 19972, 19337; Marketou et al. 2006, 16-7, nos. 150, 159.

¹³⁹ Karantzali 2005, 145, Pl. XXXIII; Karantzali 2009, 358.

¹⁴⁰ Benzi 1988a, 40-50, nos. 6-16, 23, 36, 42-8, 50; Karantzali 2005, 144; *ibidem*, Pls. XX, XXV, nos. 19339, 1112c, 19091, 19097a; Marketou et al. 2006, 17-20, nos. 153, 161, 166, 176, 184, 210, 222; Karantzali 2009, 358-9, Fig. 2d-e.

¹⁴¹ Benzi 1988a, 44, no. 24; Karantzali 2005, Pl. XXIV, nos. 1947a, 2879a, 19108b; Marketou et al. 2006, 19, no. 206; Karantzali 2009, Fig. 2f-g (LHIII A), h-i.

¹⁴² Karantzali 2005, 144, fn. 22; *ibidem*, Pl. XXVI, nos. 19100b, 1112a, 118a; Benzi 1988a, 40-7, nos. 3, 28, 35.

¹⁴³ Benzi 1988a, 39-47, nos. 1-2, 21-2, 27, 30, 34; Karantzali 2005, Pl. XXVII, nos. 13026, 197b, 1906;

Marketou et al. 2006, 17-19, nos. 163, 205, 217.

¹⁴⁴ ; Benzi 1988a, 43-8, nos. 19-20, 25-6, 29, 39; Karantzali 2005, Pl. XXVII, no. 12353; Marketou et al. 2006, 17-8, nos. 157, 167, 170, 186, 188, 191.

¹⁴⁵ Marketou et al. 2006, 17-9, nos. 162, 165, 200; Karantzali 2009, 358.

¹⁴⁶ Benzi 1988a, 47, no. 35; Karantzali 2005, 145.

¹⁴⁷ Karantzali 2005, Pl. XXVIII, nos. 875, 13275, 1090b, 19099b.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, Pl. XXVIII, no. 13269.

¹⁴⁹ Marketou et al. 2006, 44.

The LHIIIA-B Mycenaean painted assemblage from the settlement, thus, mainly consisted of open vessels (no percentage available). In addition, the LHIIIA imported assemblage also included a large number of plain kylikes (FS 266-267) (Figs. 52-3).¹⁵⁰

The imported Mycenaean pottery was outnumbered by local wares,¹⁵¹ which are characterized by the combination of different cultural traits. Common vase types are different types of Mycenaean kylikes (FS 266-267, FS 269) (Figs. 54-5) and shallow angular bowls (FS 295) (Fig. 56). The most common everyday drinking vase at 'Mycenaean' Trianda was the conical cup (FS 204) (Figs. 57-8). The popularity of this typical Minoan drinking vessel can be traced back to the LBA IA period, during which the site was exposed to a strong Minoan cultural influence (see above).¹⁵²

Another common pot shape is the large angular bowl or basin (close to FS 295, FS 297) (Fig. 59),¹⁵³ which is a combination of the Mycenaean shallow angular bowl FS 295 and the locally developed large carinated bowl with basket handles (FS 297).¹⁵⁴ The FS 297 is based on an Anatolian prototype. The same applies to the carinated ring-based krater with vertical handles (FS 287),¹⁵⁵ which is also quite common in the sherd material.¹⁵⁶

Closed pot forms are also well represented among the local wares. Plain and painted pitchers are common. Some of these appear to be related to the Mycenaean-type beaked (FS 145) and/or narrow-necked jug (FS 120) (Fig. 60).¹⁵⁷ Domestic jars used for storage, transport and cooking are also numerous.¹⁵⁸ It is interesting to point out that the domestic pottery corpus consisted of a 'mix' of Minoan-type and Mycenaean-type vessels.¹⁵⁹

The decoration on these local vessels mostly consisted of linear and/or geometric designs, such as zigzags (FM 61), net triangles and wavy lines (FM 53) (Fig. 61).¹⁶⁰ Similar motifs also appear on the Rhodo-Mycenaean vessels discussed in section 4.1.3 above. According to Mountjoy, these designs were adapted from Minoan elements current on Crete in LMIIIA.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁰ Karantzali 2005, 144.

¹⁵¹ Karantzali 2009, 365.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, 359.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, 361-2.

¹⁵⁴ Mountjoy 1999a, 1009.

¹⁵⁵ Karantzali 2009, 362.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 362.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 363.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 363.

¹⁵⁹ Karantzali 2005, 148 (see, also, Furumark 1950, 173-6).

¹⁶⁰ Karantzali 2009, 364.

¹⁶¹ Mountjoy 1995b, 33.

According to the excavators, the pottery fragments published by them provide a representative picture of the ceramic corpus of the site. We can therefore use it to compare the pottery from the settlement with that of the nearby cemetery at Ialysos. The aim of this comparison is to establish whether there are any vases which appear to have been used for funerary purposes only. Several observations can be made. Firstly, the Mycenaean repertoire from Trianda consisted largely of open vase forms, in particular (painted and undecorated) kylikes. In the tombs at Ialysos, on the other hand, the majority of the vessels found are of closed type. As is clear from Table 3 above, we can see a change in this in LHIIIB, when open and closed pot forms are found in roughly equal proportions at Ialysos (see section 4.1.2 above). This period is, however, underrepresented in the sherd material from the settlement of Trianda. Secondly, the Trianda corpus is made up by a mix of Mycenaean and local (decorated) vase forms (e.g. large carinated bowls or kraters). There were hardly, if any, of these local vessels found in the tombs at Ialysos. The only non-canonical Mycenaean pot shapes appearing at the cemetery are the basket vase (FS 319) and the incense burner (FS 316) of which no fragments from Trianda have so far been reported. Both the FS 319 and the FS 316 may, therefore, be considered true ‘burial pots per se’. Thirdly, stirrup jars (FS 171) are rare among the finds from the settlement. As noted in section 4.1.2 above, stirrup jars from LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB are very common at Ialysos. According to E. Karantzali, the lack of stirrup jars was “due probably to the specialized function of the stirrup jar as a perfume/oil container for ceremonial purposes”.¹⁶²

There are also a few similarities to be noted between the pottery from the settlement and that from the cemetery. The LB III levels at Trianda produced quite a number of large piriform jars (FS 19, FS 35) and (painted) kylikes (FS 256-257, FS 264 and FS 266-267), especially from LHIIIA2. The large piriform jar and the (painted) kylix were very common at Ialysos in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. As noted above, however, most sherds from Trianda are dated to LHIIIA2. There is hardly any material from LHIIIB, during which the settlement appears to have been abandoned.

To conclude, the comparison seems to suggest that a large proportion of the Mycenaean painted closed vessels were imported especially for funerary purposes. The only two categories of imported vases which are common to fairly common in both the settlement and the cemetery are painted kylikes (FS 256-257) and large piriform jars (FS 19, FS 35).

¹⁶² Karantzali 2005, 145.

4.2 Kos in the Late Bronze Age

The island of Kos – the third largest of the Dodecanese (after Rhodes and Karpathos) – is located to the north-west of Rhodes (Maps 11). The largest Bronze Age sites are the settlement of the “Serraglio” (see section 4.2.4 below) and the adjacent cemetery at Eleona/Langada (Map 13). There are only a few other sites, consisting of a number of isolated or single tombs (e.g. Georgaras, Kastello, Mesaria and Pyli) (Map 11).¹⁶³

4.2.1 Tomb types, burial customs and offerings

The most common tomb type on Kos during the Late Bronze Age is the chamber tomb. The largest chamber tomb cemetery is situated at Eleona/Langada, circa 800 meters to the south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” (Map 13). The necropolis is constituted by two opposite fields separated by a stream bed. The site was excavated by the Italian archaeologist L. Morricone, who was also in charge of the archaeological explorations conducted at the “Serraglio”. His investigations on Kos lasted from 1935 to 1946.¹⁶⁴ Eighty-three chamber tombs were uncovered, twenty-two from Eleona (ET) and sixty-one from Langada (LT).¹⁶⁵

The chamber tombs were used for inhumation burials only.¹⁶⁶ At Eleona/Langada, there is only information about the number of persons buried per tomb at Langada. The original notebooks of the excavations at Eleona were lost during World War II.¹⁶⁷ The tombs at Langada contained both primary and secondary burials (see section 3.2.2).¹⁶⁸ Although the skeletal remains were in a poor state of preservation (in some tombs no human remains were found at all),¹⁶⁹ it seems that similar to Rhodes (see section 4.1.1 above), there was only a limited number of persons buried per tomb (1-3). The same picture emerges from the other chamber tombs that have been excavated on Kos from which there is any anthropological data available. At Kastello, two secondary burials were found. The chamber tomb at Mesaria contained two primary burials and one cleared aside.¹⁷⁰

The only other tomb type represented on Kos is the tholos or beehive grave. There are two examples, one of which is situated circa 3 km to the west/south-west of the “Serraglio”.

¹⁶³ Mountjoy 1999a, 1075-6; Benzi 2006, 15.

¹⁶⁴ Vitale 2012, 407.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 408.

¹⁶⁶ The only cremation burial is dated to LHIIC (LT 44) (Morricone 1967, 29, 202-6).

¹⁶⁷ Morricone 1967, 25.

¹⁶⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 82.

¹⁶⁹ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 75.

¹⁷⁰ Mountjoy 1999a, 1076.

The other tholos tomb was found in Kos town and can probably be associated with the Late Bronze Age settlement of the “Serraglio”.¹⁷¹ The tholoi have a dromos, a blocking wall and a circular chamber (diameter between 4 to 5 m). The tholos west/south-west of the “Serraglio” was constructed in LHIIB-III A1. It was used again in LHIII A2 and LHIIC.¹⁷² The tholos in Kos town is dated to LHIIB.¹⁷³ No pottery from this grave supporting this date has, however, so far been published.

4.2.2 The pottery from Kos (tombs): Mycenaean

The majority of the pottery found within tombs on Kos is of Mycenaean-type. So far, there has been no scientific investigation into the provenance of the Mycenaean pots.¹⁷⁴ According to Morricone, no less than half of the Mycenaean pottery (from LHIII A1-2) found at Eleona/Langada was produced locally.¹⁷⁵ As shown above, it seems that most Mycenaean vessels from Rhodes were imported from the Argolid on the Greek mainland.¹⁷⁶ These products may also have reached Kos,¹⁷⁷ either directly or via Rhodes.

There are twelve tombs from Eleona with Mycenaean pots from LHIIB-III A1.¹⁷⁸ No ceramics of this phase were recovered from any of the tombs at Langada. The Eleona corpus from LHIIB-III A1 consists of twenty-six decorated vases. Of these, only one is open. Table 4 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Small-medium piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) (Fig. 62)	c. 54% (N=14) ¹⁷⁹	Carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 64)	c. 4% (N=1) ¹⁸⁰
Rounded alabastron (FS 83-84) (Fig. 63)	c. 31% (N=8) ¹⁸¹		

¹⁷¹ Marketou 2010a, 766.

¹⁷² Gregoriadou 1996.

¹⁷³ Skerlou 1997.

¹⁷⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 92.

¹⁷⁵ Morricone 1967, 307-9; Benzi 1996, 969.

¹⁷⁶ Jones/Mee 1978; Karantzali/Ponting 2000.

¹⁷⁷ A similar suggestion is made by L. Morricone (1967, 297, 308).

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix 6 at the back of dissertation.

¹⁷⁹ ET 7: no. 2 (1326) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1084, fn. 753); ET 8: no. 1 (334) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 753); ET 10: nos. 1 (337) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 755), 2 (336) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 753); ET 16: nos. 2 (369) (ibidem, 1084, no. 10), 3 (366) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 750); ET 17: no. 1 (367) (ibidem, 1084, no. 11); ET 18: nos. 1 (381) (?), 2 (372) (ibidem, 1083, fn. 744), 3 (378) (ibidem, 1083, no. 4), 4 (375) (ibidem, 1083, fn. 745); ET 21: no. 1 (388) (ibidem, 1084, no. 9), 2 (389) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 754); ET 22: no. 1 (1289) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 753)

¹⁸⁰ ET 21: no. 5 (390) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1085, no. 14)

¹⁸¹ ET 2: no. 1 (302) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1083, fn. 746); ET 7: no. 1 (328) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 756); ET 8: no. 2 (333) (ibidem, 1084, no. 5); ET 14: nos. 1 (354) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 756), 2 (352) (ibidem, 1085, no. 12), 3 (349) (ibidem, 1084, no. 6); ET 18: nos. 5 (377) (ibidem, 1084, fn. 756), 6 (373) (ibidem, 1083, fn. 747)

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Table 4 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIIB-III A1 decorated vessel types from Eleona on Kos

The only other site with (published) LHIIIB-III A1 pottery is the tholos tomb located west/south-west of the “Serraglio”. It yielded a small piriform jar (FS 44).¹⁸²

Three tombs from Eleona and ten from Langada contained painted pottery from LHIIIA2.¹⁸³ There are three other graves – the tholos west/south-west of the “Serraglio” and the chamber tombs at Mesaria and Pyli – with pottery from this phase. Closed pot shapes make up about 74% (31 of 42) of the decorated assemblage from Eleona/Langada. Table 5 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Small-medium globular (FS 171) (Fig. 65)	c. 21% (N=9) ¹⁸⁴	Patterned kylix (FS 256-257) (Fig. 67)	c. 7% (N=3) ¹⁸⁸ c. 5% (N=2) ¹⁸⁹
Conical-piriform stirrup jar (FS 166)	c. 5% (N=2) ¹⁸⁵	Monochrome kylix (FS 264)	
Squat stirrup jar (FS 178)	c. 2% (N=1) ¹⁸⁶		
Domestic stirrup jar (FS 164)	c. 2% (N=1) ¹⁸⁷		
Straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 66)	c. 10% (N=4) ¹⁹⁰	Spouted cup (FS 249)	c. 7% (N=3) ¹⁹¹
Large piriform jar (FS 34-35)	c. 10% (N=4) ¹⁹²		
Flask (FS 188, FS 190)	c. 7% (N=3) ¹⁹³		

Table 5 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIIA2 decorated vessel types from Eleona and Langada on Kos

¹⁸² Gregoriadou 1996, 692, Pin. 227.

¹⁸³ See Appendices 6 and 7 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁸⁴ LT 3: nos. 1 (22) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 779, 783), 2 (23) (ibidem, 1088, no. 26); LT 29: no. 2 (96) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 779); LT 38: no. 8 (137) (ibidem, 1088, no. 25); LT 41: 1284bis; LT 51: nos. 9 (207) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 784), 10 (203) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 780); LT 54: no. 3 (397) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 779, 783); LT 56: no. 4 (232) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 782)

¹⁸⁵ LT16: no. 7 (52) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 779); LT 51: no. 8 (199) (ibidem, 1088, no. 24)

¹⁸⁶ ET 10: no. 5 (339) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 781)

¹⁸⁷ ET 16: no. 6 (1363) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 785).

¹⁸⁸ LT 16: no. 3 (53) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 35); LT 37: nos. 2 (272) (ibidem, 1090, no. 33), 3 (135) (ibidem, 1090, no. 34)

¹⁸⁹ LT 37: no. 4 (136) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 806); LT 54: no. 2 (222) (ibidem, 1090, fn. 806)

¹⁹⁰ ET 16: no. 5 (371) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, no. 23); ET 18: no. 7 (379) (ibidem, 1087, no. 21); LT 38: no. 2 (142) (ibidem, 1087, fn. 773); LT 56: no. 1 (231) (ibidem, 1087, no. 22)

¹⁹¹ LT 16: no. 4 (48) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 798); LT 51: nos. 3 (206) (ibidem, 1090, no. 32), 4 (200) (ibidem, 1090, fn. 797)

¹⁹² ET 16: no. 4 (1330) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, no. 16); LT 25: no. 2 (83) (ibidem, 1087, no. 18); LT 38: no. 1 (144); LT 51: no. 1 (ibidem, 1087, no. 17)

¹⁹³ ET 2: no. 4 (300) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 790); LT 37: no. 5 (133) (ibidem, 1088, fn. 789); LT 41: no. 2 (155) (ibidem, 1088, no. 28)

A notable development in this period is that small piriform jars (FS 45) and rounded alabastra (FS 85) are extremely rare. There were only two rounded alabastra found.¹⁹⁴ Both of these shapes were very common at Eleona in LHIIB-III A1 (see above).

Six tombs from Eleona and twenty-one from Langada contained LHIIB vessels.¹⁹⁵ This is more than twice as much as in LHIII A2 (see above). There is LHIIB pottery published from two other graves on the island: the chamber tombs at Mesaria and Kastello. Closed pot shapes make up about 56% (43 of 77) of the decorated assemblage from Eleona/Langada. We notice an increase in the relative proportion of open painted vessels compared to LHIII A2 (see above). Table 6 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Globular stirrup jar (FS 173) (Fig. 68)	c. 21% (N=16) ¹⁹⁶	Patterned kylix (FS 258) (Figs. 70-1)	c. 9% (N=7) ²⁰⁰
Conical stirrup jar (FS 182) (Fig. 69)	c. 14% (N=11) ¹⁹⁷	Monochrome rounded kylix (FS 264)	c. 3% (N=2) ²⁰¹
Squat stirrup jar (FS 178, FS 180)	c. 6% (N=5) ¹⁹⁸	Monochrome conical-rounded kylix (FS 274)	c. 3% (N=2) ²⁰²
Piriform stirrup jar (FS 167)	c. 1% (N=1) ¹⁹⁹	Monochrome kylix with two horizontal handles	c. 1% (N=1) ²⁰³
		Truncated stemmed bowl (FS 283) (Fig. 72)	c. 5% (N=4) ²⁰⁴

Table 6 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIB decorated vessel types from Eleona and Langada on Kos

¹⁹⁴ ET 16: no. 1 (370) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, fn. 772); LT 25: 1 (80) (ibidem, 1087, no. 19)

¹⁹⁵ See Appendices 6 and 7 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁶ ET 20: no. 6 (1334) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, fn. 818); LT 10: nos. 27 (106), 28 (1365) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 818); LT 21: no. 7 (72) (ibidem, 1094, no. 48); LT 23: nos. 4 (258) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 821), 5 (257) (LHIII C?), 6 (256) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 821); LT 28: no. 1 (89) (ibidem, 1094, no. 47, fn. 818); LT 35: no. 6 (125) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 826); LT 59: nos. 6 (241) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 818), 7 (243), 8 (239) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 821); LT 60: nos. 5 (248) (ibidem, 1094, no. 46), 6 (246), 7 (247) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 826), 8 (250) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 822)

¹⁹⁷ LT 19: no. 3 (66) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, no. 51); LT 21: no. 8 (70); LT 36: nos. 1 (126) (ibidem, 1094, no. 50), 2 (130) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 819); LT 46: nos. 8 (183) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 819), 9 (182), 10 (181), 11 (1321); LT 49: no. 3 (193); LT 57: no. 8 (229); LT 59: nos. 4 (238) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 819), 5 (242) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 819)

¹⁹⁸ ET 4: no. 11 (310) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, no. 49); LT 21: no. 9 (74) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 824); LT 37: no. 7 (131) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 824); LT 40: no. 3 (154) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 825); LT 48: no. 3 (191) (ibidem, 1094, fn. 820)

¹⁹⁹ LT 30: no. 3 (92) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, no. 45)

²⁰⁰ ET 15: no. 7 (353) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, no. 55); ET 19: no. 3 (382) (ibidem, 1095, no. 56); LT 15: no. 1 (395) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 841); LT 20: no. 2 (68) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 839); LT 52: no. 6 (210) (ibidem, 1095, no. 57); LT 53: no. 3 (218) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 843); LT 57: no. 5 (227) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 840)

²⁰¹ LT 15: nos. 3-4 (393-4) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 844)

²⁰² LT 15: no. 2 (396) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 845); LT 43: no. 1 (159) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 845)

²⁰³ ET 4: no. 7 (309) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 846)

²⁰⁴ ET 5: no. 1 (325) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 848); LT 46: nos. 3 (180) (ibidem, 1097, no. 59), 4 (187) (ibidem, 1097, no. 58); LT 49: no. 2 (195) (ibidem, 1095, fn. 848)

A category of Mycenaean pottery I have not yet paid attention to is represented by the undecorated vessels. Such vases are not common at Eleona/Langada. We have single examples of the kylix from LHIIIB-III A1 (FS 266),²⁰⁵ LHIII A2 (FS 269)²⁰⁶ and LHIIIB (FS 267).²⁰⁷ Another Mycenaean shape is the dipper (FS 236). It appeared in a LHIIIB²⁰⁸ and in a 'mixed' LHIIIB-C assemblage.²⁰⁹

The tombs at Eleona/Langada also contained vases which may or may not have been inspired by Mycenaean prototypes. The most common examples are small jugs and small mugs or carinated cups. Juglets are found in nine of the thirteen tombs with pottery from LHIII A2 (c. 70%).²¹⁰ Twelve of the twenty-seven tombs containing LHIIIB pottery included one or more small jugs (c. 44%).²¹¹ This pot shape might have been inspired by the Mycenaean FS 112-114. The corpus comprises examples in painted (linear and monochrome)²¹² and plain ware.²¹³ A possible Anatolian trait²¹⁴ is that several juglets have a trefoil-mouthed lip (Figs. 73-4).²¹⁵ Trefoil-mouthed lips are commonly found on Anatolian beak-spouted jugs.²¹⁶ An example of this shape came to light in Eleona Tomb 17 (LHIII A1-2) (Fig. 75).²¹⁷ The assemblage from the destroyed chamber tomb at Mesaria (LHIII A2-B) also included a trefoil-mouthed juglet (FS 137) (Fig. 76).²¹⁸

Small carinated cups (Figs. 77-8)²¹⁹ occur in three of the thirteen tombs with pottery from LHIII A2 (c. 23%).²²⁰ The shape is less common in LHIIIB. In only one of the twenty-seven tombs containing pottery from this phase any small carinated cups were found (c.

²⁰⁵ ET 21: no. 4 (1337)

²⁰⁶ LT 51: no. 5 (201)

²⁰⁷ ET 4: no. 8 (318)

²⁰⁸ ET 4: no. 9 (314)

²⁰⁹ LT 43: no. 3 (157)

²¹⁰ ET 2, 10 and 16; LT 16, 25, 37, 38, 41 and 56

²¹¹ ET 4, 6, 15 and 19; LT 21, 23, 30, 37, 49, 52, 59 and 60

²¹² ET 2: no. 3 (299) (LHIII A2); ET 4: nos. 2 (308) (LHIIIB), 3 (340) (LHIIIB); ET 6: no. 2 (324) (LHIIIB-C); ET 19: nos. 1 (384) (LHIIIB), 2 (383) (LHIIIB); ET 22: no. 2 (387) (LHIIIB-III A1?); LT 2: no. 1 (21) (LHIII A-C); LT 23: no. 2 (77) (LHIIIB-C); LT 30: no. 1 (94) (LHIIIB) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1092, fn. 814); LT 37: no. 1 (132) (LHIII A2); LT 49: no. 1 (194) (LHIIIB) (ibidem, 1092, fn. 815); LT 56: no. 3 (228) (LHIII A2)

²¹³ ET 10: no. 3 (335) (LHIII A1-2); ET 15: no. 4 (356) (LHIIIB-C); ET 16: no. 6 (368) (LHIII A1-2); ET 21: no. 3 (1335) (LHIII A1?); LT 16: no. 2 (49) (LHIII A2) (Benzi 1996, 955, fn. 54); LT 21: no. 1 (75) (LHIIIB); LT 25: no. 7 (273) (LHIII A2-C) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 27: no. 1 (90) (LHIII) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 38: no. 5 (141) (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 41: no. 1 (156) (LHIII A2); LT 52: nos. 3 (214), 4 (Benzi: LHIIIB-C) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 59: no. 2 (240) (LHIIIB-C)

²¹⁴ Mee 1978, 139-40; Benzi 1996, 956.

²¹⁵ ET 10: no. 3 (335) (LHIII A1-2); LT 27: no. 1 (90) (LHIII) (Benzi 1996, 955, fn. 54); LT 38: no. 5 (141) (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 49: no. 1 (194) (LHIIIB) (ibidem, 1092, fn. 815)

²¹⁶ Benzi 1992, 956 (see, also, Mee 1978, 139-40).

²¹⁷ ET 17: no. 2 (376) (see, also, Marketou 2010a, 765)

²¹⁸ Mountjoy 1999a, 1076.

²¹⁹ ET 15: no. 12 (1329) (LHIIIB-C) (Benzi 1996, 955, fn. 54); LT 29: no. 1 (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 38: nos. 6 (143) (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54), 7 (138) (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54); LT 56: no. 2 (LHIII A2) (ibidem, 955, fn. 54).

²²⁰ LT 29, 38 and 56

4%).²²¹ These locally made vessels may have been inspired by the Mycenaean carinated conical cup FS 230 and/or small mug FS 227.²²²

We also have a few ‘poorly’ executed imitations of Mycenaean vase types, consisting of three rounded alabastra (akin to FS 83-85)²²³ and two askoid vessels (akin to FS 194).²²⁴ One of the alabastra (FS 83) (Fig. 79) belongs to a class of reddish, wheel-made burnished ware, of which the origin has been traced back to the Early Bronze Age in the south-eastern Aegean.²²⁵ The same technique is also attested on Rhodes.²²⁶

4.2.3 The pottery from Kos (tombs): non-Mycenaean imports

Mycenaean-type vessels make up the largest group of pots of the Eleona/Langada pottery corpus. Vases in other wares are limited in number. Several Minoan or Minoan-inspired vessels were found in Eleona Tomb 18 (LHIIB-III A1): a red-slipped or monochrome jar²²⁷ and an undecorated, tall conical cup (FS 204).²²⁸ According to Morricone, they were produced locally, but based on Minoan prototypes.²²⁹ Interestingly, the same tomb also yielded a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 80), which, according to Mountjoy, is either a Minoan import or a local copy (LMIII A1-2).²³⁰

A few vessels are similar to the “south Rhodian group” discussed in section 4.1.3 above. These include two large piriform jars (FS 35) (LHIII A2)²³¹ decorated with solid and hatched triangles (FM 61) (Figs. 81-2). They were either local imitations or imported from south Rhodes.²³² There was also a typical Rhodian incense burner with curled-up legs (FS 316) (see section 4.1.3 above) found in one of the tombs at Eleona/Langada (LHIII A1-2).²³³

²²¹ ET 15

²²² Benzi 1996, 956, 966.

²²³ ET 4: no. 1 (311); ET 12: no. 1 (346) (LHIIB-III A1) (Benzi 1996, 956); ET 15: no. 1 (355) (LHIIB-C)

²²⁴ ET 3: no. 3 (303) (LHIIB-III A1?); ET 12: no. 5 (1327) (LHIIB-III A1?)

²²⁵ Benzi 1996, 956, 966-7.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, 956.

²²⁷ ET 18: no. 1 (381)

²²⁸ ET 18: no. 9 (374)

²²⁹ Morricone 1967, 69, fn. 4; *ibidem*, 72, fn. 9 (see, also, Morricone 1975, 282, Fig. 245).

²³⁰ ET 18: no. 7 (379) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, no. 21)

²³¹ LT 25: no. 2 (83) (Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, no. 18); LT 51: no. 1 (208) (*ibidem*, 1087, no. 17)

²³² Mountjoy 1999a, 1085.

²³³ ET 8: no. 4 (331)

4.2.4 The pottery from the settlement of the “Serraglio” (Kos)

The “Serraglio” is the only large Bronze Age coastal or harbor settlement – estimated around 7.5 ha in size – that has so far been excavated on Kos (Map 13).²³⁴ The site was investigated by L. Morricone (see section 4.2.1 above). The excavation notebooks were destroyed during World War II.²³⁵ The settlement history of the “Serraglio” has been divided into four ‘towns’ corresponding with the successive periods from LBA IA to LHIIIC.²³⁶ Similar to Trianda on Rhodes (see section 4.1.4 above), the first town, which is dated to LBA IA, is characterized by a strong Minoan cultural influence.²³⁷ The second and third ‘towns’ are dated to LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2-B, respectively. The second ‘town’ corresponds with the appearance of the first chamber tombs at Eleona (see section 4.2.2 above). The third ‘town’ had two major phases, of which the earlier is dated to LHIIIA2-B1, the later one to end of LHIIIB.²³⁸ The second phase of the ‘third town’ is marked by the construction of a casemate fortification wall, which was only recently discovered.²³⁹ According to S. Vitale, the third ‘town’ was brought to an end by a “dramatic event”, manifested archaeologically by an *in situ* destruction deposit.²⁴⁰ The fourth ‘town’ is dated to LHIIIC.²⁴¹

The Late Bronze Age remains and stratigraphy were heavily disturbed by later (proto-) Geometric tombs. Because of the missing notebooks (see above) and later disturbances in the settlement area, the exact archaeological context of most of the pottery is unknown.²⁴² The pottery assemblage is composed of (imported) Mycenaean and local wares. There are no estimations of their relative proportions.²⁴³ Based on stylistic grounds, the majority of the Mycenaean decorated material seems to be imported from the Greek mainland. However, in contrast to the Trianda corpus (see section 4.1.3 above), of which a large sample has been analyzed for provenance, no scientific investigation of the material from the “Serraglio” has so far been made.

²³⁴ Vitale 2012, 408 (see, also, Marketou 2010a, 763).

²³⁵ Morricone 1975, 147-9.

²³⁶ Marketou 2010a, 763; Vitale 2012, Pl. XCII.

²³⁷ Marketou 2010a, 764.

²³⁸ Vitale 2012, Pl. XCII.

²³⁹ Marketou 2010a, 765.

²⁴⁰ Vitale 2012, 408.

²⁴¹ Marketou 2010a, 763; Vitale 2012, Pl. XCII.

²⁴² Mountjoy 1999a, 1075.

²⁴³ In this light, note that S. Vitale is currently preparing a new publication of the “Serraglio” and Eleona/Langada materials (Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project (Vitale 2012)).

The following overview of the Mycenaean pottery is based on the potsherds and/or vessels which were included in Morricone's 1975 publication of the site. Because the settlement has not yet been fully published (see fn. 243), the observations made here can only be considered tentative. The LHIIIB-III A1 repertoire, which is relatively small in size, mainly consisted of open pot shapes. The corpus is comprised of painted goblets (FS 254-255) (Fig. 83),²⁴⁴ shallow cups (FS 219)²⁴⁵ and kraters (FS 7) (Fig. 84).²⁴⁶

The LHIIIA2 period is much better attested at the "Serraglio". The corpus is predominated by open pot forms. The commonest vessel type is the pattern-painted kylix (FS 256-257) (Figs. 85-6).²⁴⁷ There are also some examples of the stemmed bowl (FS 304),²⁴⁸ the mug (FS 225-226) (Fig. 87),²⁴⁹ the krater (FS 298, FS 303)²⁵⁰ and the one-handled bowl (FS 283) (Fig. 88).²⁵¹ Closed pot shapes are comparatively rare. The corpus includes one large piriform jar (FS 34-35),²⁵² which, according to Mountjoy, was probably imported from south Rhodes.

The extant LHIIIB material consists mostly of open pot forms. The commonest vessel type is the pattern-painted kylix (FS 258).²⁵³ There are also some deep bowl sherds (FS 284) (Fig. 89).²⁵⁴ Only a few closed vessels have so far been published, including three globular stirrup jars (FS 173).²⁵⁵

There is also a small quantity of unpainted Mycenaean pottery. Although from disturbed contexts, published by Morricone are two carinated kylikes (FS 267)²⁵⁶ and a

²⁴⁴ Morricone 1975, 350, Fig. 343, e (Mountjoy 1999a, 1085, no. 15).

²⁴⁵ Morricone 1975, 231, Fig. 160 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1085, fn. 760).

²⁴⁶ Morricone 1975, 339, Fig. 329a, a' (Mountjoy 1999a, 1085, no. 13).

²⁴⁷ Morricone 1975, 354, Fig. 346, e (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 36); Morricone 1975, 342, Fig. 333, a, b (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 799); Morricone 1975, 346, Fig. 335 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 800); Morricone 1975, 347, Fig. 337 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 804); Morricone 1975, 342, Fig. 333, h, i (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 802); Morricone 1975, 344, Fig. 334, g-i, m (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, fn. 803); Morricone 1975, 350, Fig. 343, d (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 38); Morricone 1975, 342, Fig. 333, d-g (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, 1090, fn. 801); Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 37.

²⁴⁸ Morricone 1975, 201, Fig. 96 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1092, fn. 807).

²⁴⁹ Morricone 1975, 239, Fig. 175 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1088, fn. 794); Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 31.

²⁵⁰ Morricone 1975, 381, Fig. 379b (Mountjoy 1999a, 1092, no. 40); Mountjoy 1999a, 1092, no. 42.

²⁵¹ Morricone 1975, 352, Fig. 344c (Mountjoy 1999a, 1090, no. 39).

²⁵² Morricone 1975, 287, Fig. 253 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1085, fn. 769).

²⁵³ Morricone 1975, 286, Fig. 251 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 839); Morricone 1975, 341, Fig. 332; *ibidem*, 344, Fig. 334, a-d (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 839); Morricone 1975, 346, Fig. 336 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1095, fn. 840).

²⁵⁴ Morricone 1975, 349, Figs. 341-2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1097, fn. 850); Morricone 1975, 352, Fig. 344, d-f (Mountjoy 1999a, 1097, fn. 850); Mountjoy 1999a, 1097, no. 60.

²⁵⁵ Morricone 1975, 174, Fig. 55, left (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, fn. 821), Fig. 55, middle (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, fn. 821), Fig. 55, right (Mountjoy 1999a, 1094, fn. 821).

²⁵⁶ Morricone 1975, 177, Fig. 63.

shallow angular bowl (FS 295) (LHIII A-C).²⁵⁷ There is also an early LHII B-III A1 goblet or kylix with two high-swung handles (FS 271, FS 273).²⁵⁸

With regards to the existence of a local Koan style, mention has to be made of a LHIII A2 spouted krater (FS 298) decorated with parallel wavy lines (FM 53), which, according to Mountjoy, is a feature typical of Koan Mycenaean (Fig. 90).²⁵⁹ A similar vessel (LHIII A2) was found in one of the chamber tombs at Ialysos on Rhodes (Fig. 91).²⁶⁰ This is probably an import from Kos.²⁶¹ Morricone published several other sherds of large bowls and/or kraters decorated with parallel wavy lines.²⁶² The popularity of parallel wavy lines on local vessels may have developed from the LBA I East Aegean “Light-on-Dark” (LOD) and “Dark-on-Light” (DOL) pottery style. The wavy line was a popular motif on (DOL and LOD) pots decorated in this style.²⁶³ These vessels were probably manufactured at the “Serraglio” on Kos and exported to other parts of the south-eastern Aegean.²⁶⁴

It is possible to make a tentative comparison between the materials from the settlement of the “Serraglio” and the cemetery at Eleona/Langada. As noted above, the Mycenaean-style vases – or rather the fragments thereof – from the settlement consist mostly of open vases, especially decorated kylikes (FS 256-258) (LHIII A2-B). We also find decorated kylikes at Eleona/Langada, but the tombs yielded mainly vases of closed type. The LHIII A2-B stirrup jar (FS 171, FS 173, FS 182) occurs the most frequent (cf. Tables 5 and 6 in section 4.2.2 above). This pot shape appears to be comparatively rare in the settlement. This could suggest that stirrup jars were mostly used for funerary purposes.

4.3 Astypalaia

The island of Astypalaia is situated circa 50 kilometers to the west of Kos (Map 11). Two pairs of two chamber tombs have been excavated at Armenochori (Fig. 92)²⁶⁵ and Synkairos.²⁶⁶ There were no skeletal remains recovered from Armenochori. At Synkairos,

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 205, Fig 106.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 187, Fig. 72.

²⁵⁹ Mountjoy 1998, 39; Mountjoy 1999a, 1091-2, no. 40.

²⁶⁰ NT 4: no. 8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1009, no. 71)

²⁶¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1009.

²⁶² Morricone 1975, 355, Figs. 347-8 (see, also, Karantzali 2005, 149, fn. 49).

²⁶³ Mountjoy 1998, 39; Karantzali 2005, 147.

²⁶⁴ Mountjoy 1998, 39.

²⁶⁵ Zervoudaki 1971.

²⁶⁶ Doulas 1975.

some scattered burnt bones and ashes possibly belonging to one or more cremation burials were found.²⁶⁷

4.3.1 The pottery from Astypalaia (tombs): Mycenaean

Most of the pottery found within the tombs on Astypalaia is of Mycenaean-type.²⁶⁸ So far, no research has been carried out into the provenance of the Mycenaean vessels. The tombs at Armenochori yielded over one hundred (decorated and plain) vases.²⁶⁹ There is one small piriform jar (FS 31) from LHIIB-III A1.²⁷⁰ The rest of the assemblage consists of vessels dated to LHIII A2, LHIIB and LHIIC.²⁷¹ The tombs at Synkairos contained only pottery from LHIII A2. Its assemblage is made up of ten (decorated and plain) pots.²⁷²

About twenty decorated vases found at Armenochori can be attributed to LHIII A2. The Synkairos assemblage has seven decorated pots of this date associated with it. Because of the differences between the two sites in terms of the different types of vessels found, they are discussed separately below.

Closed pot shapes (14 of 20) outnumber open ones at Armenochori. The most common closed vessel type is the globular stirrup jar (FS 171), of which seven examples were found.²⁷³ There are also two piriform FS 166's,²⁷⁴ four straight-sided alabastra (FS 94)²⁷⁵ and a large piriform jar (FS 35).²⁷⁶ The open shape repertoire is made up of three pattern-painted kylikes (FS 256-257) (Fig. 93),²⁷⁷ two stemmed kraters (FS 8) and a one-handled bowl (FS 283).²⁷⁸

The Synkairos corpus is comprised four open and three closed pot forms. Open shapes include a linear dipper (FS 236)²⁷⁹ and a shallow cup (FS 219-220). There are also two

²⁶⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 83.

²⁶⁸ Mountjoy 1999a, 1138-9.

²⁶⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1138; Marketou 2010, 769.

²⁷⁰ Mee 1975, 298; Georgiadis 2003, 214.

²⁷¹ It is important to point out that none of the tombs is fully published. The information presented here is based on the original PhD manuscript (1975) of C. Mee who had access to the materials. Moreover, an additional inventory list is available in M. Georgiadis published dissertation (2003).

²⁷² Dumas 1975; Mountjoy 1999a, 1138.

²⁷³ Mountjoy 1999a, 1139.

²⁷⁴ Mee 1975, 298

²⁷⁵ These alabastra could also be of LHIIB date (Mee 1975, 299; Georgiadis 2003, 214).

²⁷⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 1139.

²⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 1140, no. 1.

²⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 1140.

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 1140, fn. 1000.

Minoan kylikes (see section 4.3.2 below). Among the closed pot forms are a small piriform jar (FS 45),²⁸⁰ a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94)²⁸¹ and a small hydria (FS 129).²⁸²

At Armenochori, there are fewer decorated vessels from LHIIIA2 (N=20) than from LHIIIB (N=33). In this period closed (N=17) and open pot shapes (N=15) occur in roughly equal proportions. Similar to LHIIIA2, the most common closed vessel type is the stirrup jar (N=13), especially the globular FS 173, of which seven examples were found.²⁸³ The remainder of the closed shape repertoire is made up of four large piriform jars (FS 35, FS 37 (Fig. 94)²⁸⁴ and a narrow-necked jug (FS 120).²⁸⁵ Open pot shapes are comprised of six pattern-painted kylikes (FS 258), four deep bowls (FS 284) and four mugs (FS 226). There is also a stemmed krater decorated in a Minoan fashion (FS 9) (Fig. 95) (see section 4.3.2 below).²⁸⁶

Both assemblages also include a number of undecorated Mycenaean vases. There were mostly open pot shapes found. A rounded kylix (FS 266) came to light at Synkairos (LHIIIA2).²⁸⁷ At Armenochori, the following undecorated vessels were found: six rounded and four carinated kylikes (FS 267), five conical cups (FS 204), two shallow angular bowls (FS 295), three small carinated cups (FS 230), four dippers (FS 236) and a juglet (FS 112-114).²⁸⁸ Because the exact context of the pottery is unknown, a more precise chronological range than LHIIIA-C cannot be given.

4.3.2 The pottery from Astypalaia (tombs): other styles of pottery

As indicated in the previous section, the assemblages from both sites also include a small number of Mycenaean vessel forms decorated in the Minoan tradition (they were included in the vessel count in the previous section). Found at Synkairos were two LHIIIA2 pattern-painted kylikes decorated in the Minoan tradition with iris cross and stacked zigzag, and,

²⁸⁰ Ibidem, 1139.

²⁸¹ Ibidem, 1139.

²⁸² Ibidem, 1139.

²⁸³ Ibidem, 1140.

²⁸⁴ Ibidem, 1140.

²⁸⁵ Ibidem, 1140.

²⁸⁶ Ibidem, 1142, no. 3.

²⁸⁷ Zervoudaki 1971, Pl. 558.

²⁸⁸ Mee 1975, 299-301; Georgiadis 2003, 214-6.

according to Mountjoy, they are either imports or local copies.²⁸⁹ The LHIIIB stemmed krater (FS 9) from Armenochori is a Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid (Fig. 95).²⁹⁰

A few pots appear to have Anatolian connections. At Synkairos (LHIIIA2), two stemmed kraters of Anatolian-type were found, one of which is decorated with parallel wavy lines (FM 53).²⁹¹ Another Anatolian-inspired vase, from Armenochori, is a large carinated bowl with two basket handles (FS 297) decorated with parallel wavy lines (LHIIIA2).²⁹² As noted in section 4.2.4 above, parallel wavy lines constitute a popular motif on local vessels in the south-eastern Aegean.

4.4 Karpathos

Karpathos is the second largest Dodecanese island and the closest to Crete (Maps 11 and 15).²⁹³ Six cemetery sites have so far been localized.²⁹⁴ Only two chamber tombs have actually been excavated: Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa) (Fig. 96).²⁹⁵ The other cemetery sites were destroyed and only small groups of (washed out) vases remain (e.g. Embasi, Tou Stavrou to Kephali, Diaphani-Kambi and Avlona).²⁹⁶

The chamber tomb at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) contained the remains of seven inhumations.²⁹⁷ The grave at Vonies (Arkasa) produced a Minoan-type clay larnax burial, the remains of three (earlier) secondary burials and a (possible) cremation.²⁹⁸

4.4.1 The pottery from Karpathos (tombs):

Minoan/Mycenaean

The two excavated chamber tombs yielded a large amount of pottery. Around ninety vessels were recovered from the grave at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli). The Vonies (Arkasa) assemblage comprised about sixty pots.²⁹⁹ Most vases from both sites are of Minoan-type³⁰⁰

²⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1140, fn. 1003.

²⁹⁰ Ibidem, 1142, no. 3.

²⁹¹ Ibidem, 1140.

²⁹² Mountjoy 1998, 39; Mountjoy 1999a, 1140.

²⁹³ Mountjoy 1999a, 971; Marketou 2010a, 770.

²⁹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 35-6.

²⁹⁵ Ibidem, 68.

²⁹⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 970.

²⁹⁷ Charontinidis 1961-1962.

²⁹⁸ Mountjoy 1999a, 970; Georgiadis 2003, 77.

²⁹⁹ Zachariadou 1978 (see, also, Melas 1985, 37-40).

³⁰⁰ Mountjoy 1998, 38-9.

or are hybrids combining Minoan and Mycenaean traits.³⁰¹ There are only a few canonical Mycenaean vessels.³⁰² The majority of the pottery found at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa) is dated to LM/HIIIA2. We have no vessels from LM/HIIIB and only a few can be assigned to LM/LHIIIA1. The Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) assemblage includes nine pots from LM/LHIIIA1, comprising two small piriform jars (FS 44) (hybrids) (Fig. 97),³⁰³ a beaked jug (FS 144) (hybrid) (Fig. 98),³⁰⁴ two domestic stirrup jars (Minoan) (Fig. 99),³⁰⁵ a spouted cup (Minoan),³⁰⁶ and one stemmed (FS 7) (hybrid)³⁰⁷ and two amphoroid kraters (Minoan) (Fig. 100).³⁰⁸ At Vonies (Arkasa) only a single goblet (Minoan) was found.³⁰⁹

At both sites, the LM/HIIIA2 corpus is comprised of more (decorated) open than closed pot shapes.³¹⁰ Most frequently found is the spouted cup (Minoan) (Fig. 101).³¹¹ Other common open pot shapes are the pattern-painted kylix (Minoan and hybrid) (Figs. 102-3),³¹² the amphoroid krater (Minoan) (Figs. 104-5),³¹³ the one-handled bowl (FS 208/283)³¹⁴ and the kantharos or stemmed bowl (Minoan) (Fig. 106).³¹⁵

The most common closed vessel type is the stirrup jar (Fig. 107).³¹⁶ At both sites, there were mostly stirrup jars of Minoan type found. Only at Vonies (Arkasa) two Mycenaean globular FS 171 came to light.³¹⁷ Two other pot shapes of which we have examples from both sites are the Minoan large piriform jar (Fig. 108)³¹⁸ and the small jug, particularly the Minoan FS 149 (Fig. 109).³¹⁹ There are also two large piriform jars of Mycenaean-type (FS 35) from Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli).³²⁰

Although there were mostly painted vases found at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa), the assemblages also include a small number of undecorated pots, including

³⁰¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 971.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, 971.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, 971, nos. 1-2.

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, 973, no. 4.

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, 973, no. 5, fn. 60.

³⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, 973, no. 7.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, 973, no. 6.

³⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, 971, no. 3, fn. 54.

³⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 973, fn. 65.

³¹⁰ The Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) assemblage includes twenty-three closed and forty-three open shapes. At Vonies (Arkasa), there were nineteen closed and twenty-four decorated open vessels.

³¹¹ Melas 1985, 321-24, Figs. 130-3, C 51-67; Mountjoy 1999a, 977, nos. 14-6, fn. 82-3, 85-7, 89.

³¹² Melas 1985, 317-8, Figs. 126-7, C 34-43; Mountjoy 1999a, 977-8, nos. 17-21, 23, fn. 90-2.

³¹³ Mountjoy 1999a, 975, no. 10, fn. 70.

³¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 978, no. 24, fn. 94-5.

³¹⁵ Melas 1985, 319-20, Figs. 128-9, C 45-50; Mountjoy 1999a, 979, no. 25, fn. 96-7.

³¹⁶ Mountjoy 1999a, 975-7.

³¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 977, fn. 81.

³¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 975.

³¹⁹ Melas 1985, 310, Fig. 119, C 23, 329, Fig. 138, C 96; Mountjoy 1999a, 975, no. 11, fn. 75.

³²⁰ Mountjoy 1999a, 975, fn. 69

some of Mycenaean-type. At Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa), single examples of the rounded kylix (FS 266) were found (Fig. 110).³²¹ Moreover, two undecorated small piriform jars were found at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli).³²² The assemblages also include a small number of plain ware vessels of Minoan type. At both sites we find examples of the side-spouted jar (Fig. 111)³²³ and the fire box,³²⁴ both in coarse ware.

4.4.2 The pottery from Karpathos (tombs): other styles of pottery

A number of pots found within the tombs on Karpathos can illustrate contacts with other parts of the south-eastern Aegean. Possible imports from Rhodes are made up of two basket vases (FS 319) from Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) (Fig. 112)³²⁵ and two incense burners with curled-up legs (FS 316) from Vonies (Arkasa) (Fig. 113).³²⁶ Another vessel is a large piriform jar (FS 38) with two zones of cross-hatched triangles (FM 61), which, based on its decoration, can be classified as belonging to the “south Rhodian group” (Fig. 114).³²⁷ This jar constitutes part of a collection of vases, which is said to have originated from one or a number of destroyed chamber tombs of the same cemetery as the grave at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) (see above). This group of vessels also includes a Rhodian-style incense burner (FS 316) (Fig. 115).³²⁸

Of possible Anatolian-type are four small jugs (FS 112-114), of which three were found at Vonies (Arkasa).³²⁹ The fourth one belongs to the collection of pots from Anemomili-Makeli without provenance (see above).³³⁰ Two of these juglets have a trefoil-mouthed lip (Fig. 116), which, as noted in section 4.2.2 above, is usually seen as an Anatolian trait. Interestingly, the small jugs from Vonies (Arkasa) were found together with burnt bones (see section 4.4 above). The practice of cremation is often regarded as Anatolian in origin.³³¹

³²¹ Melas 1985, 328, Fig. 137, C 90-2; *ibidem*, 291, Fig. 100, no. 1019.

³²² Melas 1985, 306, Fig. 115, C 10-11.

³²³ Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli): Melas 1985, 328, Fig. 137, C 88-9; Vonies (Arkasa): *ibidem*, 294, Fig. 103, no. 1038

³²⁴ Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli): Melas 1985, 329, Fig. 138, C 93; Vonies (Arkasa): *ibidem*, 294, Fig. 103, no. 1041

³²⁵ Mountjoy 1999a, 979, fn. 98.

³²⁶ Melas 1985, 294, Fig. 103, nos. 1039-40.

³²⁷ Mountjoy 1999a, 975, fn. 68.

³²⁸ Melas 1985, 54, no. 67.

³²⁹ *Ibidem*, 289, Fig. 98, nos. 1007-9.

³³⁰ *Ibidem*, 54, no. 64.

³³¹ Jung 2007, 220-1, 229.

4.5 South-western coastal Anatolia: chamber tomb cemetery of Müskebi

Three chamber tomb cemetery sites have so far been excavated on the south-west coast of Anatolia: Müskebi (see section 4.5), Pilavtepe (see section 4.6 below) and Değirmentepe (see section 4.8 below).³³² The Müskebi necropolis is located opposite to the island of Kos (Map 11). The excavation of Müskebi, which was conducted by Y. Boysal, lasted from 1963 to 1966.³³³ The cemetery consists of forty-eight Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (Fig. 117).³³⁴ The graves themselves were not well preserved, as they had suffered from erosion, agricultural activities and illicit digging.³³⁵ The tombs were used mainly for inhumation burials.³³⁶ There were several tombs with only one burial (e.g. Tombs 6, 34 (?) and 45). In one grave (Tomb 39), the skeletons of two persons were identified.³³⁷ Interestingly, in three graves – Tombs 3, 15 and 39 – burnt skeletal fragments were found. These probably belonged to cremation burials, which, based on the pottery with which they were associated, can be dated to LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIIB.³³⁸ Tombs 15 and 39 also contained an unburned skeleton.³³⁹

4.5.1 The pottery from Müskebi: Mycenaean

The chamber tombs at Müskebi contained about one-hundred-and-sixty vases.³⁴⁰ The bulk of the pottery is of Mycenaean-type. The origin of this material has been debated. K.B. Gödecken has reported on the basis of a NAA study that most of the Mycenaean decorated vessels from Müskebi were products from one (i.e. “Workshop II”) of the two pottery workshops at Miletus which have been identified by her.³⁴¹ Her study has, however, received much criticism, because she never published the supporting data upon which these conclusions were based.³⁴² A local origin, for at least some of the Müskebi vessels, has also

³³² For comments on a group of newly discovered tombs in the vicinity of Müskebi, see Chapter 1, fn. 136.

³³³ Boysal 1967, 32.

³³⁴ Boysal 1967, 34; Mee 1978, 137; Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 69; Georgiadis 2003, 75.

³³⁵ Boysal 1967, 32-4; Georgiadis 2003, 75.

³³⁶ It is important to stress that the skeletal remains were poorly preserved (Mee 1978, 137). Therefore, the information on the number of persons buried per tomb should be treated with caution.

³³⁷ Boysal 1967, 37-9.

³³⁸ Jung 2007, 220, 229.

³³⁹ Boysal 1967, 37-8; Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76.

³⁴⁰ Boysal 1969.

³⁴¹ Gödecken 1988, 312.

³⁴² Niemeier 2002a, 26-7.

been proposed by Mountjoy. Based on (the description of) the color of the fabric (“ziegelrot”), she believes that they were either produced locally or imported from a nearby source, such as Kos or Miletus.³⁴³ According to C. Mee, the Müskebi corpus consists of a mix of local products and imports from Rhodes and the Argolid on the Greek mainland.³⁴⁴

The Müskebi corpus includes Mycenaean vessels from LHIIB-III A 1, LHIII A 2, LHIII B and LHIII C. Most can, however, be dated to LHIII A 2 and LHIII B.³⁴⁵ Only two vases can definitely be assigned to LHIIB-III A 1. These are two shallow cups (FS 219) with stipple (FM 77) from Tomb 2.³⁴⁶

There are around thirty-three tombs with LHIII A 2 pottery.³⁴⁷ Closed pot shapes make up about 72% (63 of 88) of the decorated assemblage. Table 7 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Globular stirrup jar (FS 171) (Fig. 118)	c. 17% (N=15) ³⁴⁸	Monochrome rounded kylix (FS 264) (Fig. 122)	c. 8% (N=7) ³⁵⁰
Piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) (Fig. 119)	c. 11% (N=10) ³⁴⁹	Patterned kylix (FS 256-257)	c. 3% (N=3) ³⁵¹
		Monochrome kylix with two vertical handles below rim (FS 269) (Fig. 123)	c. 1% (N=1) ³⁵²
Straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 120) ³⁵³	c. 14% (N=12) ³⁵⁴	Shallow cup (FS 220), ³⁵⁵ small mug (FS 227) (Fig. 124) ³⁵⁶	c. 6% (N=5)
Large piriform jar (FS 35) (Fig. 121)	c. 11% (N=10) ³⁵⁷		
Small piriform jar (FS 45)	c. 9% (N=8) ³⁵⁸		

Table 7 Overview of the most frequently found LHIII A 2 decorated vessel types from Müskebi

³⁴³ Mountjoy 1998, 36.

³⁴⁴ Mee 1978, 137-42.

³⁴⁵ For comments on LHIII C, see Mountjoy 1998, 53, fn. 150.

³⁴⁶ Tomb 2: 706-7 (Mountjoy 1998, 36, fn. 63)

³⁴⁷ See Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

³⁴⁸ Tomb 2: 630, 998, 695-6, 619; Tomb 4: 694; Tomb 21: 693; Tomb 23: 694; Tomb 32: 997, 1000; Tomb 34: 1031, 1033; Tomb 38: 2339; Tomb 39: 2312; Tomb 45: 2333

³⁴⁹ Tomb 2: 638; Tomb 15: 698; Tomb 24: 692; Tomb 32: 1001, 999, 996, 1028; Tomb 36: 1029; Tomb 45: 2334; Tomb 47: 2339

³⁵⁰ Tomb 16: 684; Tomb 20: 628; Tomb 21: 627; Tomb 34: 992; Tomb 35: 991; Tomb 39: 2313, 2320

³⁵¹ Tomb 2: 1862; Tomb 12: 688; Tomb 21: 1861

³⁵² Tomb 2: 686

³⁵³ Some of these alabastra could also date to LHIII B. This uncertainty is caused by the fact that some of them do not have any other vessels associated with them (e.g. Tombs 6, 26 and 31) and they are difficult to date out of context.

³⁵⁴ Tomb 6: 700; Tomb 7: 643; Tomb 15: 615; Tomb 24: 699; Tomb 26: 1009; Tomb 27: 1008, 1003; Tomb 31: 1006; Tomb 32: 1007; Tomb 35: 1005; Tomb 37: 1012; Tomb 47: 2338

³⁵⁵ Tomb 15: 709; Tomb 22: 708; Tomb 24: 1866; Tomb 32: 1013; Tomb 41: 2308

³⁵⁶ Tomb 22: 701-3; Tomb 32: 971; Tomb 45: 2332

³⁵⁷ Tomb 2: 680, 646; Tomb 11: 679; Tomb 15: 726; Tomb 22: 647, 728; Tomb 27: 985; Tomb 35: 990; Tomb 36: 679; Tomb 39: 2310

³⁵⁸ Tomb 11: 655; Tomb 22: 634-6; Tomb 32: 1022; Tomb 34: 970; Tomb 41: 2316; Tomb 45: 2331

Six tombs contained pottery from LHIIIB.³⁵⁹ The decorated corpus consists of only nineteen vases, ten closed and nine open. Table 8 below provides an overview of the most frequently found vessel types.

Closed pot shape	Relative proportion	Open pot shape	Relative proportion
Globular and squat stirrup jar (FS 173, FS 180)	c. 26% (N=5) ³⁶⁰	Rounded-conical monochrome kylix (FS 266, FS 274) Patterned kylix (FS 258) (Fig. 125)	c. 11% (N=2) ³⁶¹ c. 5% (N=1) ³⁶²
Straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), ³⁶³ large piriform jar (FS 35, FS 37) ³⁶⁴	c. 11% (N=2)	Carinated (conical) cup (FS 230) (Fig. 126)	c. 11% (N=2) ³⁶⁵

Table 8 Overview of the most frequently found LHIIIB decorated vessel types from Müskebi

A category of Mycenaean pottery I have not yet paid attention to are the undecorated vessels. The assemblage consists of thirteen open and three closed shapes. Among the open shapes, the kylix is the commonest. We have one rounded (FS 266)³⁶⁶ and two carinated kylikes (FS 267) (Fig. 127)³⁶⁷ from LHIIIA2, and one rounded (Fig. 128)³⁶⁸ and two carinated kylikes³⁶⁹ from LHIIIB. The remainder of the open shape repertoire consists of five conical cups (FS 204) (LHIIIA2) (Fig. 129)³⁷⁰ and two shallow cups (FS 220) (LHIIIA2).³⁷¹ The only closed pot forms found are two medium jugs (FS 109)³⁷² from LHIIIA2 and a feeding bottle (FS 160)³⁷³ from LHIIIB.

The tombs at Müskebi also contained vases which may or may not have been inspired by Mycenaean prototypes. The most common examples are small jugs and carinated cups. Juglets are found in twelve of the thirty-three tombs³⁷⁴ with pottery from LHIIIA2 (c.

³⁵⁹ See Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

³⁶⁰ Tomb 3: 691; Tomb 13: 631; Tomb 28: 994, 995, 1030

³⁶¹ Tomb 18: 617, 689.

³⁶² Tomb 13: 687.

³⁶³ Tomb 14: 1863; Tomb 33: 1004

³⁶⁴ Tomb 13: 678; Tomb 33: 989

³⁶⁵ Tomb 33: 983, 1011

³⁶⁶ Tomb 2: 625

³⁶⁷ Tomb 2: 618; Tomb 16: 685

³⁶⁸ Tomb 13: 690

³⁶⁹ Tomb 3: 626; Tomb 18: 624

³⁷⁰ Tomb 4: 666; Tomb 16: 667; Tomb 32: 973, 974; Tomb 7: 664

³⁷¹ Tomb 32: 1014, 1016

³⁷² Tomb 20: 633; Tomb 23: 661

³⁷³ Tomb 33: 972

³⁷⁴ Tomb 4: 621; Tomb 9: 658; Tomb 10: 725; Tomb 12: 668; Tomb 15: 718, 724; Tomb 27: 980; Tomb 29: 977; Tomb 36: 1025; Tomb 40: 2318; Tomb 42: 2315; Tomb 45: 2329-30; Tomb 46: 2336

36%).³⁷⁵ Four of the six tombs containing LHIIB pottery included one or more small jugs (c. 67%).³⁷⁶ This pot shape might have been inspired by the Mycenaean FS 112-114. There are examples in plain³⁷⁷ and in painted ware.³⁷⁸ Two decorated juglets have an ‘Anatolian’ trefoil-mouthed lip (FS 137).³⁷⁹ Another two have a zigzag pattern (FM 61) on the shoulder (cf. south Rhodian-style large piriform jars FS 35 mentioned below) (Fig. 130),³⁸⁰ for which there is a good parallel (LHIIIA2) with a trefoil-mouthed lip from one of the chamber tombs at Ialysos on Rhodes.³⁸¹ Benzi has attributed this piece to the Rhodo-Mycenaean style (see section 4.1.3 above).³⁸²

Small monochrome carinated cups appear in three of the thirty-three tombs with pottery from LHIIIA2 (c. 9%).³⁸³ The shape might have been inspired by the Mycenaean FS 230. There were also three such ‘standard’ Mycenaean carinated conical cups found at Müskebi (these three cups are included in the calculations on which Tables 7 and 8 are based).³⁸⁴ These were either imported or copied locally (Fig. 126).³⁸⁵

4.5.2 The pottery from Müskebi: other styles of pottery

There are only a few vessels in styles other than Mycenaean. Contacts with Rhodes may be illustrated by a collection of LHIIIA2 pots consisting of a Rhodian basket vase (FS 319) (Fig. 131) (see section 4.1.3 above)³⁸⁶ and four incense burners with curled-up legs (FS 316) (Fig. 132) (see section 4.1.3 above).³⁸⁷ Mention also has to be made of two large piriform jars (FS 35, FS 37) with zigzags (FM 61) on the shoulder (Fig. 130). One of these is dated to LHIIIA2,³⁸⁸ the other to LHIIB.³⁸⁹ The use of such geometric and linear motifs constitutes a

³⁷⁵ Some of these small jugs could also date to LHIIB. Some have no other pottery associated with them (e.g. Tombs 9 and 10) and they are difficult to date out of context (cf. fn. 354 above).

³⁷⁶ Tomb 3: 720; Tomb 18: 637; Tomb 28: 976; Tomb 33: 975, 1024

³⁷⁷ Tomb 4: 621; Tomb 28: 976; Tomb 29: 977; Tomb 33: 975, 1024

³⁷⁸ Tomb 3: 720; Tomb 9: 658; Tomb 10: 725; Tomb 12: 668; Tomb 15: 718, 724; Tomb 18: 637; Tomb 27: 980; Tomb 36: 1025; Tomb 40: 2318; Tomb 42: 2315; Tomb 45: 2329-30; Tomb 46: 2336

³⁷⁹ Tomb 15: 718, 724

³⁸⁰ Tomb 45: 2329-30

³⁸¹ NT 29: no. 5

³⁸² Benzi 1992, 55.

³⁸³ Tomb 2: 622, 710; Tomb 30: 1015; Tomb 46: 2335

³⁸⁴ Tomb 32: 1012 (LHIIIA2); Tomb 33: 983, 1011 (LHIIB)

³⁸⁵ Mee 1978, 142.

³⁸⁶ Tomb 2: 622

³⁸⁷ Tomb 22: 704; Tomb 23: 705; Tomb 32: 1002, 1020

³⁸⁸ Tomb 15: 726

³⁸⁹ Tomb 33: 989

characteristic trait of the local style that developed in south Rhodes in LHIII A2 (see section 4.1.3 above).³⁹⁰

4.6 South-western coastal Anatolia: Pilavtepe

Located less than fifty kilometers to the north-east of the cemetery of Müskebi is the Bronze Age coastal settlement of Iasos (Map 11) (see section 4.7 below). At a short distance from Iasos is the hill of Pilavtepe, where a single Mycenaean-style chamber tomb was discovered in 2001 (Fig. 133).³⁹¹ The skeletal remains, which were poorly preserved, were not kept. Therefore, there is no information about the number of persons buried in the tomb.³⁹² The pottery inventory consisted of twenty-seven ceramic vessels.³⁹³ The use of the tomb lasted from LHIII A2 into LHIII C.³⁹⁴

The Mycenaean repertoire from LHIII A2 and/or LHIII B is comprised of a rounded alabastron (FS 85),³⁹⁵ two decorated small jugs (FS 112-114),³⁹⁶ three stirrup jars (FS 171, FS 180)³⁹⁷ and five straight-sided alabastra (FS 94).³⁹⁸ Open pot forms found include a monochrome (FS 264)³⁹⁹ and a patterned-painted kylix (FS 256-257),⁴⁰⁰ as well as a short-stemmed goblet/kylix.⁴⁰¹

The tomb also contained a small carinated cup, which might have been inspired by the Mycenaean FS 230.⁴⁰² Similar vessels have been found at Eleona/Langada on Kos (see section 4.2.2 above) and at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 4.5.2 above).

Of Anatolian character is a krater with three vertical handles (Fig. 134).⁴⁰³ It is decorated with parallel wavy lines (FM 53). As noted before, this was a very popular motif in the south-eastern Aegean during the LHIII period (see Rhodes and Kos in sections 4.1.4 and

³⁹⁰ According to Mountjoy, at Müskebi, there are no vessels decorated in the distinctive style of the south Rhodian workshops (Mountjoy 1998, 36).

³⁹¹ Benter 2009.

³⁹² *Ibidem*, 351.

³⁹³ *Ibidem*, 354-8.

³⁹⁴ Attributable to LHIII C are two deep bowls, two amphoriskoi, three large ovoid piriform jars and perhaps some of the straight-sided alabastra (Benter 2009, 353, Abb. 6, nos. 1-2; *ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, nos. 13-7) (pers. comm. P.A. Mountjoy 04.02.11).

³⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, no. 11.

³⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, nos. 1, 3 (pers. comm. P.A. Mountjoy 04.02.11).

³⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, nos. 4-6 (pers. comm. P.A. Mountjoy 04.02.11).

³⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, nos. 7-10, 12 (cf. fn. 395 above).

³⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 353, Abb. 6, no. 5 (pers. comm. P.A. Mountjoy 04.02.11).

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, 353, Abb. 6, no. 6 (pers. comm. P.A. Mountjoy 04.02.11).

⁴⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 353, Abb. 6, no. 7.

⁴⁰² *Ibidem*, 353, Abb. 6, no. 3.

⁴⁰³ *Ibidem*, 353, Abb. 6, no. 12.

4.2.4 above). The shape of the Pilavtepe vessel is similar to that of two kraters found at Synkairos on the island of Astypalaia (see section 4.3.2 above). As a matter of fact, one of the Synkairos kraters also has parallel wavy lines on the shoulder.⁴⁰⁴ For two linear conical bowls and a handleless flask from Pilavtepe, there seem to be no prototypes, Mycenaean or otherwise.⁴⁰⁵

4.7 South-western coastal Anatolia: Iasos

Located a few kilometers to the south-west of Pilavtepe is the Bronze Age coastal settlement of Iasos (Map 11). The Italian archaeologist D. Levi started to excavate the site in 1960.⁴⁰⁶ The earliest occupation phases have been dated to the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age period.⁴⁰⁷ Similar to other coastal centers in the region, such as Trianda on Rhodes (see section 4.1.4 above) and the “Serraglio” on Kos (see section 4.2.4 above), the Mycenaean levels at Iasos were preceded by a period characterized by a strong Minoan cultural influence (e.g. architecture, potter’s marks in Linear A script, stone objects and pottery).⁴⁰⁸ There appears to be a short gap in occupation between the Minoan and Mycenaean phases at Iasos.⁴⁰⁹

The Bronze Age stratigraphy was seriously disturbed by later building activities.⁴¹⁰ The only major find category that has been published so far is the pottery. M. Benzi, who is preparing a publication of the Mycenaean materials from Levi’s excavations at Iasos, distinguishes between two categories of ceramics: canonical Mycenaean pottery and local wares.⁴¹¹ So far, there has been no investigation into the provenance of the ‘canonical’ Mycenaean pottery from Iasos – whether it was produced in the region or imported from the Greek mainland.

A preliminary evaluation by Benzi of the pottery from part of the Late Bronze Age settlement – the so-called East Basilica deposits – seems to indicate that canonical Mycenaean account for only 10% of the assemblage. The local wares are clearly the most numerous.⁴¹² The local style of Iasos exhibits several different cultural influences. Canonical Mycenaean

⁴⁰⁴ Mountjoy 1999a, 1140.

⁴⁰⁵ Benter 2009, 352-3, Abb. 6, nos. 11, 13; *ibidem*, 355, Abb. 7, no. 2.

⁴⁰⁶ Momigliano 2012, 6.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, 37.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, 126-36.

⁴⁰⁹ Benzi 2005, 205; Momigliano 2012, 38.

⁴¹⁰ Benzi 2005, 205-6.

⁴¹¹ *Ibidem*, 206.

⁴¹² *Ibidem*, 206.

pot forms, such as, for example, the decorated and the unpainted kylix (FS 256-257, FS 266) (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB) and the deep bowl (FS 284) (LHIIIB), were reproduced in local clays. Other vessel types include the eastern Aegean large carinated bowl with two basket handles (FS 297) (Fig. 135). The decoration on these local vessels was made up of Mycenaean-type and a number of “odd motifs”.⁴¹³ Most popular was the wavy band (FM 53).⁴¹⁴ Illustrative is a spouted krater fragment (FS 298) with parallel wavy lines (Fig. 136). It is similar to vases from Rhodes (Fig. 91) and Kos (Fig. 90). As noted in section 4.2.4 above, parallel wavy lines constituted a very popular motif on local Koan vessels in the LHIII period.

The following overview of the Mycenaean pottery from Iasos is based on the potsherds and/or vessel fragments that have been published by Benzi in a number of preliminary reports. The Mycenaean assemblage from LHIIIB-III A1 consisted mainly of open vessel types.⁴¹⁵ There are a few fragments of decorated goblets (FS 254-255) (Figs. 137-8)⁴¹⁶ and shallow cups (FS 219) (Fig. 139).⁴¹⁷ Two rounded alabastra (FS 84) (Fig. 140) were also found.⁴¹⁸

The LHIIIA2 corpus mainly consisted of open pot forms. The most common vessel type is the kylix. There are pattern-painted (FS 256-257) (Figs. 141-2) and monochrome examples (FS 264) (Fig. 143).⁴¹⁹ Other open vessel types comprise the stemmed bowl (FS 304) (Fig. 144),⁴²⁰ the mug (FS 225-226)⁴²¹ and the krater (FS 8, FS 281, FS 298).⁴²² Closed vase forms are comparatively rare. Recovered were fragments of a large (FS 35) (Fig. 145)⁴²³ and a small piriform jar (FS 45),⁴²⁴ a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94)⁴²⁵ and a piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) (Fig. 146).⁴²⁶

There is less material from LHIIIB than from LHIIIA2. The assemblage mostly consisted of open pot forms. The commonest vessel types are the decorated kylix (FS 258)

⁴¹³ Ibidem, 210.

⁴¹⁴ Mountjoy 1999a, 1091; Benzi 2005, 210.

⁴¹⁵ In this overview of the Mycenaean shape repertoire, no distinction is made between possible imports and closely imitated specimens of local manufacture.

⁴¹⁶ Benzi 2005, Pl. L, e-i.

⁴¹⁷ Ibidem, Pl. L, c-d.

⁴¹⁸ Ibidem, Pl. L, a-b.

⁴¹⁹ Ibidem, 207-9, Pls. L, k, LI, a-f, LIV, b-d.

⁴²⁰ Ibidem, 209, Pl. LII, b-e (most patterned ones seem to be LHIIIB in date).

⁴²¹ Ibidem, 209.

⁴²² Ibidem, 211, Pl. LIII, b, d-e (date not certain).

⁴²³ Ibidem, 209, Pl. LII, f (or from a large patterned jug?).

⁴²⁴ Ibidem, 209-10, Pl. LII, g.

⁴²⁵ Ibidem, 30.

⁴²⁶ Ibidem, 201, Pl. LII, h.

(Figs. 147-8)⁴²⁷ and the deep bowl (FS 284) (Fig. 149).⁴²⁸ Closed shapes are comparatively rare. Only a single conical stirrup jar (FS 182) (Fig. 150) has been identified.⁴²⁹

The assemblage also includes some undecorated vases of Mycenaean-type. From LHIIIB-III A1 come a number of rim sherds of rounded kylikes (FS 260, FS 264) (Fig. 151).⁴³⁰ The LHIIIA-B local corpus comprises examples of the carinated kylix (FS 267) (Fig. 152)⁴³¹ and the shallow angular bowl (FS 295) (Fig. 153),⁴³² both of which were relatively common at the site.

It is possible for a comparison with the pottery from the nearby chamber tomb at Pilavtepe to be made (see section 4.6 above). While the (published) Mycenaean finds from the settlement mainly consist of open vase forms, especially kylikes (FS 256-258, FS 266-267), the tomb, besides a number of open vessels also yielded a considerable quantity of closed pot forms, comprising stirrup jars (FS 171, FS 180), straight-sided alabastra (FS 94) and small jugs (FS 112-114). Although so far there are only a few preliminary publications available of the LB III pottery from Iasos, it seems that all of these shapes were rare in the settlement.

4.8 South-western coastal Anatolia: Değirmentepe

The third Mycenaean-style chamber tomb cemetery on the west coast of Anatolia is situated at the hill of Değirmentepe,⁴³³ which is located about 1.5 km to the south-west of the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (Map 11) (see section 4.9 below).⁴³⁴ There are eleven rock-cut chamber tombs, which were excavated by Th. Wiegand in 1908.⁴³⁵ The cemetery was in use from LHIIIB to LHIIIC Early.⁴³⁶ Only a few pottery vessels have so far been published. A final publication is currently being prepared by W.-D. Niemeier, who is also in charge of the publication of the Mycenaean levels at the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (see section 4.9 below).

⁴²⁷ *Ibidem*, Pl. LI, g-k.

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*, Pls. LI, l-n, LII, a.

⁴²⁹ *Ibidem*, 210, Pl. LII, i.

⁴³⁰ *Ibidem*, 207, 211, Pls. L, j, LII, l.

⁴³¹ *Ibidem*, 211, Pls. LII, m, LIII, b.

⁴³² *Ibidem*, 211, Pl. LII, n.

⁴³³ For comments on new tombs discovered at Değirmentepe and the nearby hill of Kalabaktepe in the summer of 2012, see Chapter 1, fn. 136.

⁴³⁴ Wiegand 1908, 9 (see, also, Niemeier 2005a, 13).

⁴³⁵ Niemeier 1998, 36; Niemeier 2005a, 13.

⁴³⁶ Mountjoy 1998, 53.

With regard to the pottery, according to Mountjoy, who has seen the materials, the tombs at Değirmentepe contained many open and closed pot shapes.⁴³⁷ Published closed vessel types comprise a large piriform jar (FS 37),⁴³⁸ two stirrup jars (FS 173, FS 182)⁴³⁹ and an Anatolian lentoid flask (FS 186).⁴⁴⁰ Open shapes are made up of four pattern-painted kylikes (FS 258)⁴⁴¹ and a deep bowl (FS 284).⁴⁴² There was also an undecorated dipper (FS 236).⁴⁴³

Local pot forms include a linear carinated bowl with two basket handles on the rim (FS 297),⁴⁴⁴ two based mugs (FS 226),⁴⁴⁵ a based kalathos (FS 291)⁴⁴⁶ and an amphoroid krater (FS 56),⁴⁴⁷ which, according to Mountjoy, has close affinities with Minoan examples of this shape.⁴⁴⁸ Note that some of the above-listed pots may also be from LHIIC Early.⁴⁴⁹

4.9 South-western coastal Anatolia: Miletus

Located in proximity to the cemetery of Değirmentepe, at a distance of less than fifty kilometers from Iasos is the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (Map 11), which can probably be identified with the country and/or city of *Millawanda* known from the contemporaneous Hittite sources (Chapter 1).

The earliest excavations were carried out by Th. Wiegand in 1899. Other archaeologists that have worked at the site are C. Weickert (1930's and 50's) and G. Kleiner (1960's and 70's). The most recent excavations by W.-D. Niemeier and his wife B. Niemeier are currently being prepared for publication.⁴⁵⁰

The site, which has suffered greatly from later building activities, has six major Bronze Age occupational phases, i.e. Miletus I-VI.⁴⁵¹ The earliest two phases have been dated

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, 37.

⁴³⁸ Heilmeyer 1988, 25, no. 1; Niemeier 1998, 37, Photo 12.

⁴³⁹ Hühns 1982, 44-5, Abb. 83-4; Heilmeyer 1988, 25, no. 3; Niemeier 1998, 37, Photo 12.

⁴⁴⁰ Hühns 1982, 45, Abb. 92-3.

⁴⁴¹ Hühns 1982, 44, Abb. 87; Heilmeyer 1988, 25, nos. 9-11.

⁴⁴² Hühns 1982, 45, Abb. 89.

⁴⁴³ Ibidem, 44, Abb. 80.

⁴⁴⁴ Heilmeyer 1988, 25, no. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Hühns 1982, 45, Abb. 86 (Mountjoy 1998, 55, 67, Fig. 17, no. 3).

⁴⁴⁶ Hühns 1982, 46, Abb. 88 (Mountjoy 1998, 43, 67, Fig. 18, no. 1).

⁴⁴⁷ Mountjoy 1998, 56, Fig. 11; Niemeier 1998, 36, Photo 11; Benzi noted an amphoroid krater in the middle of the plan published by Niemeier (1998, 36, Photo 11).

⁴⁴⁸ Mountjoy 1998, 54.

⁴⁴⁹ Pot forms like the amphoroid krater (FS 56), and the based mug (FS 226) and kalathos (FS 291) are typical of LHIIC. There are, however, also early examples from LHIIB (Mountjoy 1998, 43).

⁴⁵⁰ Niemeier 2005a, 1.

⁴⁵¹ Niemeier 2009a, 142, Fig. 1.

to the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age period (Miletus I-II).⁴⁵² The settlements of Miletus III and IV are characterized by a strong Minoan cultural influence (e.g. pottery, ritual items, frescoes, seals, weight system and Linear A script).⁴⁵³ The material culture of the fifth and sixth settlement is indicative of a strong Mycenaean influence. In addition to numerous pieces of Mycenaean (undecorated and painted) pottery (c. 95% of the assemblage),⁴⁵⁴ there are also some – albeit fragmentary – house remains, which may be compared to specific house forms on the Greek mainland, and a few Mycenaean terracotta figurines and stone lentoid seals. The cemetery at the hill of Değirmentepe, consisting of eleven Mycenaean-style chamber tombs, was discussed in section 4.8 above.⁴⁵⁵

Based on the Mycenaean decorated pottery, it has been possible to establish that Miletus V lasted from LHIIIB-III A1 to the end of LHIIIA2, which is marked by a destruction layer.⁴⁵⁶ The sixth settlement is dated from LHIIIB to LHIIIC Early, which is also the period to which the cemetery at the hill of Değirmentepe belongs (see section 4.8 above). During Miletus VI, the settlement was fortified with a fortification wall.⁴⁵⁷ In the same period, there was also defensive wall built at the settlement of the “Serraglio” on the island of Kos (see section 4.2.4 above).

According to the excavators, the majority of the pottery found (c. 95%) is of standard Mycenaean-type. There are only a few Anatolian vessels,⁴⁵⁸ including examples of the carinated bowl with basket handles (akin to FS 297).⁴⁵⁹ A recent NAA study has shown that the Milesian pottery corpus consisted of a mix of local products,⁴⁶⁰ which were also shipped to other parts of the south-eastern Aegean, and imports from the Greek mainland.⁴⁶¹ Local production has been confirmed by the discovery of eight potter’s kilns at the site.⁴⁶²

The following overview of the Mycenaean pottery from Miletus is based on the potsherds and/or vessel fragments that have so far been published in a number of preliminary

⁴⁵² Niemeier 2005a, 2-3.

⁴⁵³ Niemeier 2005a, 3-10; Niemeier 2009b, 157.

⁴⁵⁴ A. Ünal, on the other hand, claims that Mycenaean pottery merely accounts to 5% of the overall pottery repertoire of Late Bronze Age Miletus (Ünal 1991, 24).

⁴⁵⁵ Niemeier 2005a, 10-3.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 10.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 12, 20.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 10-1.

⁴⁵⁹ Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 228, Abb. 53.

⁴⁶⁰ Niemeier 2002a, 58, 95-6.

There have been several investigations into the provenance of the Mycenaean pottery from Miletus. As noted above, the supporting data from the study by K.B. Gödecken (1988), who argued that most of the decorated vessels from Müskebi, as well as the majority of the pottery from Miletus was produced locally, has never been published.

⁴⁶¹ Niemeier 2005a, 10-2.

⁴⁶² Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 2005a, 11-2.

publications. From LHIIIB-III A1, which marks the beginning of Miletus V, there are a few fragments of painted goblets (FS 254-255)⁴⁶³ and shallow cups (FS 219).⁴⁶⁴ Closed shapes include a rounded alabastron (FS 84)⁴⁶⁵ and a (large?) piriform jar (FS 19, FS 22).⁴⁶⁶

The LHIII A2 corpus consists mostly of open pot shapes. The commonest open vessel type is the kylix,⁴⁶⁷ of which there are pattern-painted (FS 256-257) (Figs. 154-5) and monochrome examples (FS 264). Other shapes include the stemmed bowl (FS 304),⁴⁶⁸ the mug (FS 225-226) (Fig. 156),⁴⁶⁹ the shallow cup (FS 220)⁴⁷⁰ and the krater (FS 8).⁴⁷¹ Closed pot forms seem to be comparatively rare. Published specimens consist of a stirrup jar (FS 171)⁴⁷² and a small piriform jar (?).⁴⁷³

Miletus VI is dated to LHIIIB-C. Only a few habitation contexts with pottery have so far been excavated.⁴⁷⁴ Similar to Miletus V, the published assemblage is made up mainly of open pot shapes. There are several painted kylix (FS 258) (Fig. 157)⁴⁷⁵ and deep bowl (FS 284) (Fig. 158) fragments.⁴⁷⁶

The Mycenaean levels at Miletus also yielded a collection of undecorated domestic pottery of Mycenaean-type, most of which, according to the excavators, was produced in local clays.⁴⁷⁷ Vase types published from Miletus V include the conical cup (FS 204) (Fig. 159),⁴⁷⁸ the rounded kylix (FS 266),⁴⁷⁹ the medium or large jug (FS 105, FS 109) (Fig. 160)⁴⁸⁰ and the tripod cooking pot (FS 316).⁴⁸¹ As noted above, there are only a few Miletus VI deposits. The contents of a well comprised five locally-made domestic vessels, consisting of a large jug, a

⁴⁶³ Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 42, no. 1 (see, also, Niemeier 2005a, 10, fn. 255).

⁴⁶⁴ Lecture J. Zurbach at conference NOSTOI in Istanbul (Turkey), 31 March-3 April 2011.

⁴⁶⁵ Schiering 1959/60, Taf. 9, no. 2.

⁴⁶⁶ Schiering 1959/60, Taf. 13, no. 6; Niemeier 2005a, 10, fn. 255.

⁴⁶⁷ Schiering 1959/60, Taf. 13, nos. 5, 9; Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 226, Abb. 46a-c; *ibidem*, 227, Abb. 47-9.

⁴⁶⁸ Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 227, Abb. 49.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 226, Abb. 46e.

⁴⁷⁰ Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 47, nos. 1-2; Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 227, Abb. 47; Niemeier 2005a, 11, Fig. 25.

⁴⁷¹ Schiering 1959/60, Taf. 13, no. 10; Schiering 1979, Taf. 22, no. 1a-b; Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 226, Abb. 46d.

⁴⁷² Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 44, no. 1.

⁴⁷³ Schiering 1959/60, 22, Taf. 13, no. 4 (or straight-sided alabastron?).

⁴⁷⁴ Niemeier 2005a, 12.

⁴⁷⁵ Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 47, no. 3; Schiering 1959/60, Taf. 13, nos. 7, 8 (date not certain); Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 217, Abb. 29a.

⁴⁷⁶ Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 217, Abb. 29b; Niemeier 2002a, 95, no. 2-5.

⁴⁷⁷ Niemeier 2005a, 10-2.

⁴⁷⁸ Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 228, Abb. 51b.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 227, Abb. 50.

⁴⁸⁰ Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 45, no. 1; Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 228, Abb. 51a.

⁴⁸¹ Hommel 1959/60, Taf. 45, no. 3; Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 220, Abb. 37.

conical cup (FS 204), a deep cup (FS 215), a carinated kylix (FS 267) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295).⁴⁸²

Since the Değirmentepe necropolis is still largely unpublished (see section 4.8 above), at this point, it is not possible to make a comprehensive comparison between the pottery from the settlement and the cemetery. Nevertheless, based on the published materials from the cemetery and the settlement, it seems that closed pot forms, such as stirrup jars and piriform jars, occur mainly in the necropolis.

4.10 Inter-regional comparison: similarities and differences in the south-eastern Aegean

In the previous sections, the different tomb types and the pottery found within the tombs and settlements in the south-eastern Aegean have been discussed. In what follows, focusing on these aspects, the region as a whole will be compared. The area to the north of the island of Samos will be considered in the second part of this chapter (see sections 4.11 to 4.19 below).

4.10.1 Tomb types and burial rites

The most common tomb type in the south-eastern Aegean is the subterranean rock-cut chamber tomb. There is considerable variety in the total number of chamber tombs per site. The archaeological burial record contains a few large cemeteries and a much larger number of smaller necropoleis with often no more than one or two chambers.⁴⁸³ The largest cemeteries are those located at Ialysos on Rhodes (more than one-hundred (chamber) tombs), Eleona/Langada (eighty-three chamber tombs) on Kos and Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia (forty-eight chamber tombs).

Tomb types other than chamber tombs are very limited in number. The archaeological burial record of Ialysos (Rhodes) includes one shaft and two pit graves. Another tomb type is represented by the supra-terranean tholos, or beehive tomb, two (small) examples of which have been uncovered on Kos.

⁴⁸² Niemeier 2005a, 12, Fig. 30.

⁴⁸³ There are examples from Rhodes (e.g. Kouri, Zuccalades, Damatria, Maritsa and Tolo (see section 4.1.1 above)), Kos (Kastello, Mesaria and Pyli (see section 4.2.1 above)), Astypalaia (Armenochori and Synkairos (see section 4.3 above)), Karpathos (Vonies (Arkasa) and Diaphani (Kambi) (see section 4.4 above)) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Pilavtepe (see section 4.6 above)).

Inhumation was the norm in the south-eastern Aegean. It seems that, on average, there were no more than three persons buried per tomb.⁴⁸⁴ As indicated above, because of different circumstances (e.g. illicit digging, recording standards and local geology), this number has to be treated with some caution. Other burial practices appear to have been only hardly practiced in the south-eastern Aegean in the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. We know of only a few tombs that contained cremations dated to this period, consisting of three tombs at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast, the pair of tombs at Synkairos on Astypalaia and the grave at Vonies (Arkasa) on Karpathos. The tomb at Vonies (Arkasa) yielded an interesting ‘mix’ of burial traditions. Apart from a (possible) cremation, there were also three inhumation burials, of which one was made in a Minoan-style clay larnax. Fragments of larnakes also came to light in the (robbed) shaft grave at Ialysos (NT 81) on Rhodes.

The pottery from the tombs: Mycenaean (LHIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB)

The tombs in the south-eastern Aegean have yielded pottery of different shapes and styles. The largest category is represented by the Mycenaean, but as indicated above, besides this we also find some vessels in local or regional and other styles, such as Minoan and Cypriot ones. The only notable exception to this is represented by the island of Karpathos, where the archaeological burial record has mainly yielded vases of Minoan style and decoration. Nevertheless, in terms of the vessel types found, only minor differences can be observed between the Minoan pottery from Karpathos on the one hand, and the Mycenaean pottery from the rest of the south-eastern Aegean on the other. It is to the discussion of these ‘Mycenaean’ vessel types that I will now turn.

The earliest Mycenaean-style pottery, coinciding with the appearance of the first chamber tombs in the region, is dated to LHIIB-III A1. This phase is relatively well represented on Rhodes (Ialysos) and Kos (Eleona/Langada). The small piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) and the rounded alabastron (FS 84) are popular on both islands. A Rhodian characteristic is that there are quite a number of beaked jugs (FS 144) and large piriform jars (FS 19, FS 22). Large (pattern-painted) jugs, such as the FS 144, are not common elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIB-III A1. There is one unique stirrup jug (FS 150) from Kos

⁴⁸⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 85.

(Eleona/Langada) and a Minoan/Mycenaean beaked jug from Karpathos (Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli)). Large piriform jars appear only in tombs on Rhodes in this period.

We notice a strong increase in material in the region in LHIII A2. A notable, intra-regional similarity is that there are hardly any small piriform jars (FS 45) and rounded alabstra (FS 85) from LHIII A2. This marks a clear break with the previous LHII B-III A1 phase, when both of these pot shapes were among the vessel types that were most frequently found. The most common closed vessel type in LHIII A2 is the stirrup jar, in particular the globular FS 171. Although well represented on Rhodes, the FS 171 is not nearly as popular as the piriform FS 166. The piriform stirrup jar is also quite common at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. There are only a few examples from elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean (e.g. Eleona/Langada on Kos and Armenochori on Astypalaia).

A trait typical of LHIII A2 is that in most parts of the south-eastern Aegean, there are many closed shapes as well as open ones. Closed pot forms, however, do tend to outnumber open ones. The most common open vessel type is the painted kylix. We often find it in tombs on Rhodes, Kos and Astypalaia and at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. There are many pattern-painted (FS 256-257) and monochrome examples (FS 264). One type of kylix, of which the distribution is restricted largely to Rhodes, is the solidly-coated kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (FS 269). There are single examples of this kylix-shape from Eleona/Langada on Kos and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. Painted kylikes are also well represented on Karpathos, but they are mostly of the Minoan type. They are, however, outnumbered by the more popular Minoan (spouted) cup.

It is also possible for a number of intra-regional differences to be identified. The most common closed vessel type on Rhodes in LHIII A2 is the large piriform jar (FS 35), which is as popular as the piriform stirrup jar (FS 166). The large piriform jar is also relatively common at Müskebi. We only have a few examples from Kos, Astypalaia and Karpathos. Interestingly, most Koan jars were either imported from south Rhodes or copied or reproduced locally. This seems to confirm the close link between this vessel type and the island of Rhodes.

Another vase type, of which the distribution is limited largely to Rhodes, is the pattern-painted jug. The popularity of this vessel form can be traced back to LHII B-III A1 (see above). The cutaway-necked (FS 133, FS 136) and the stirrup jug (FS 150-151) are the commonest. From other parts of the south-eastern Aegean we only have single examples of this shape. This applies to Kos (Eleona/Langada and Pyli), Karpathos (Vonies (Arkasa)) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast.

With regards to the open pot shapes, we see that on Rhodes the krater (FS 8, FS 54, FS 298) is relatively common in LHIIIA2. On Kos, only single examples of this shape have been found (tholos west/south-west of the “Serraglio” and Pyli). The krater is also well represented on Astypalaia and Karpathos. The kraters found at Synkairos on Astypalaia are of Anatolian type. The Karpathian assemblage includes only amphoroid kraters of Minoan type. There were no kraters found in any of the tombs at Müskebi. A krater comparable to the pair of Anatolian style kraters from Synkairos on Astypalaia (see above) came to light at Pilavtepe.

A pot form which is comparatively rare in tombs on Rhodes and Karpathos, but very common at Müskebi is the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94). It is also quite popular at Eleona/Langada on Kos. The same could apply to Astypalaia (Armenochori and Synkairos) and Pilavtepe as well, but it is not clear what proportion, if any, of the straight-sided alabastra found there should be dated to LHIIIA2 rather than to LHIIIB.

There is less Mycenaean pottery from Rhodes from LHIIIB than from LHIIIA2. The same applies to the cemetery of Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. So far, no chamber tombs with pottery from LM/HIIIB have been discovered on Karpathos. On Astypalaia, only the tombs at Armenochori remain in use. At Eleona/Langada on Kos, there is an increase in the number of the tombs and the amount of pottery recovered. Finally, during LHIIIB, a new cemetery was established at Değirmentepe, in relative proximity to the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus.

The regional pottery corpus of LHIIIB is quite similar to that of LHIIIA2. The most common vessel type is the stirrup jar, especially the globular FS 173. The large piriform jar (FS 35, FS 37) is also still relatively common. It is known from tombs on Rhodes and Astypalaia (Armenochori). On the Anatolian south-west coast the shape appears at Müskebi and Değirmentepe. Similar to LHIIIA2, the large piriform jar is comparatively rare on Kos. The pattern-painted jug remains common on Rhodes. LHIIIB types of jugs are the cutaway-necked (FS 136) and the narrow-necked jug (FS 120), of which there is also an example from Astypalaia (Armenochori). Similar to LHIIIA2, pattern-painted jugs are rare on Kos.

There is a proportional increase in the total amount of open vases recovered during LHIIIB. As noted above, closed and open shapes are found in (almost) equal proportions at Ialysos on Rhodes, Eleona/Langada on Kos and Armenochori on Astypalaia. According to Mountjoy, the tombs at Değirmentepe contained many open shapes as well as closed ones.⁴⁸⁵ The commonest open vessel type in the region is the painted kylix. There are many pattern-

⁴⁸⁵ Mountjoy 1998, 37.

painted (FS 258) and a number of monochrome examples (FS 264, FS 266). The krater (FS 9, FS 281), the mug (FS 226-227) and the deep bowl (FS 284) are also relatively well represented. Kraters are known from Rhodes, Astypalaia (Armenochori) and (possibly) Değirmentepe. We have no examples of this shape from LHIII B from Kos or Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast.

The focus has so far been on the Mycenaean decorated pottery. At most sites in the region, there were, however, also some undecorated pots of Mycenaean-type found. The largest number has been found on Rhodes, where in addition to unpainted, there is also a group of tinned vases (Ialysos). Tinned pots do not occur anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean. The corpus consists (almost) exclusively of open pot forms. The most common vessel type is the kylix, especially the rounded FS 266 and the carinated FS 267.

A category of pottery I have not yet paid attention consists of vessels which may or may not have been inspired by Mycenaean prototypes. In this context were discussed the small jug or juglet and the small carinated (conical) cup, of which the former might be based on the Mycenaean FS 112-114, and the latter on the Mycenaean FS 230. We mostly have examples of these shapes from LHIII A2-B. Juglets and carinated cups have been found in most parts of the south-eastern Aegean, but are particularly common at Eleona/Langada on Kos and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. It is notable that while, with some exceptions,⁴⁸⁶ the small jugs and the carinated cups from these sites 'look' local in shape and decoration, on Rhodes (especially at Ialysos) there were mostly 'canonical' Mycenaean ones found. On Karpathos, on the other hand, of which the pottery corpus consisted mostly of Minoan style and Minoan/Mycenaean hybrid vessels, the Minoan version of the small beaked jug (FS 149) was popular.

The number of vessel types for which no Mycenaean prototypes can be suggested is very limited. Good examples are the basket vase (FS 319) and the incense burner or brazier with curled-up legs (FS 316), both of which were developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2. The distribution of these pot shapes is limited largely to Rhodes. We know of only a few examples from other parts of the south-eastern Aegean. This applies to Kos, Karpathos and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast.

It is notable that within the (chamber) tombs excavated in the south-eastern Aegean mostly Mycenaean-type vessels were found. The pottery from the settlements in the region seems to be more 'mixed'. The corpus consists of both Mycenaean and locally developed

⁴⁸⁶ For example, see section 4.5.1 above on the carinated conical cups from Müskebi.

vessel types. Nevertheless, as noted before, only a small part of the settlement corpus has so far been published. It is to the pottery from the settlements that we will now turn.

The pottery from the settlements (LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2 and LHIII B)

Late Bronze Age levels have been excavated at four settlements in the region: Trianda on Rhodes, the “Serraglio” on Kos, and Iasos and Miletus on the south-west coast of Anatolia. It is interesting to point out that at all of these sites the ‘Mycenaean’ levels were preceded by one or more occupation phases (LBA IA-B) characterized by a strong Minoan cultural influence.

Of the pottery found at these sites, only of the Mycenaean (decorated) ware a considerable part has been published. There is much less information about the local wares. The Mycenaean corpus consisted of a mix of imports, mostly from the Greek mainland, and reproductions made locally. The Mycenaean pottery found at the different settlements in the region is, in terms of the variety of shapes, very similar in nature. The assemblages consisted mainly of decorated open pot shapes. The painted goblet (FS 254-255) and the shallow cup (FS 219) were common in LHIIB-III A1. The most frequent vessel type in LHIII A2-B was the painted kylix (FS 256-258, FS 264). Although at all sites, there were also some fragments of closed pots, such as stirrup jars and (large) piriform jars, identified, overall closed shapes of Mycenaean-type are rare.

The assemblages also included sherds of undecorated Mycenaean vessels. These plain vases were both imported and reproduced locally. Based on the information that has so far been published, it is not possible to assess the relative proportion of decorated versus undecorated Mycenaean. In any case, it seems that similar to the painted corpus, the undecorated assemblage consisted mainly of different types of kylikes, especially the rounded FS 266 and the carinated FS 267. Another relatively common pot form, at least at Trianda on Rhodes and Iasos on the Anatolian south-west coast, is the shallow angular bowl (FS 295). It thus seems that in the settlements in the south-eastern Aegean Mycenaean pottery was used mainly as fine drinking or table ware.

Besides Mycenaean, the assemblage of Trianda on Rhodes also included many fragments of vessels which had been locally developed. Examples of this are the large carinated bowl and the carinated krater with vertical handles (FS 287). Both of these pot forms are derived from Anatolian prototypes. The decoration on these local vessels consists of

geometric and linear motifs, which, according to Mountjoy, had been adapted from LMIIIA Crete. Parallel wavy lines (FM 53) were also often used. This motif was frequently used on local vessels in the whole south-eastern Aegean – on Kos in particular – in the LH III period. As noted in section 4.2.4 above, the popularity of this motif can (probably) be traced back to the early Late Bronze Age. Indeed, it is important to stress that the Mycenaean culture did not (completely) replace ways of living that had existed prior to its ‘arrival’. Illustrative in this respect is that at LB III Trianda a mix of Minoan and Mycenaean domestic vessels were used. Moreover, despite the popularity of the Mycenaean kylix – in both painted and plain ware – the most common everyday drinking vase remained the conical cup (FS 204), which continued to be reproduced without a break from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁸⁷

Unfortunately, there is only little information available about the local styles and the domestic pottery from the other settlement sites in the region. We only know that parallel wavy lines (FM 53) were common as a decorative motif on local vessels throughout the region. With regards to the domestic pottery, according to the excavators the domestic assemblage of Miletus (V-VI) consisted mostly of pot forms of Mycenaean-type. This assemblage includes, among others, examples of Mycenaean tripod cooking pots. From no other site in the region have any fragments of this pot shape been published. In any case, the evidence is too meager to be able to establish whether the people living at Trianda and Miletus had different dietary habits.

The last point addressed here is related to the relationship between the pottery from the settlements and the tombs. By making a comparison between these pottery corpora, it is possible to establish whether there are any pot forms which appear to have been used for funerary purposes only. The clearest pattern observed relates to the ratio open versus closed shapes. While in the settlements mostly open pots of Mycenaean-type were found, especially (painted) kylikes, the tombs, as a general rule, also yielded a considerable number of closed ones. A clear example of this is the popularity of stirrup jars in tombs. This pot form is hardly represented in the settlement sites that have been discussed in this chapter. It may therefore be postulated that stirrup jars constituted part of a distinct regional funeral (ceramic) culture.

The middle and upper part of the west coast of Anatolia

⁴⁸⁷ Karantzali 2009, 359.

In the second part of this chapter, we will briefly address the area to the north of the island of Samos. The pottery from a number of cemetery and settlement sites is discussed, including Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) (see section 4.12 below), Limantepe (see section 4.14 below), Panaztepe (see section 4.16 below) and Hissarlık-Troy (see sections 4.18 and 4.19 below). This area is considered separately here for a number of reasons, of which the most important one is that, with the exception of Samos, there have not been any subterranean chamber tombs discovered in it. One of the questions addressed is whether in the tombs found here other ceramic vessels were deposited than in the chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean.

4.11 Samos

The island of Samos lies close to the west coast of Anatolia (Map 11), opposite the settlement of Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) (see section 4.12 below).⁴⁸⁸ Two cemetery sites, both of which are situated in the south-east of the island, were excavated: the Heraion and Miloi. The former is mostly known for its Archaic Hera sanctuary. Below its foundations, a robbed, built chamber tomb, which had originally been covered by an earthen tumulus, has been uncovered. The floor was paved with stone slabs and pebbles (cf. Baklatepe in section 4.14 below).⁴⁸⁹ The tomb is associated with a large settlement site with a fortification wall.⁴⁹⁰ The remains of at least two inhumations were found. The extant ceramic assemblage, which is dated to LHIII A2, consists of three fragmentary stirrup jars, including one piriform FS 166, and two straight-sided alabastra (FS 94). At Miloi, a small chamber tomb containing two skeletons and six vases from LHIII A2 was found.⁴⁹¹ The (unpublished) assemblage consists of a piriform jar, two stirrup jars and two flasks.⁴⁹²

4.12 Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill)

To the north-east of Samos on the west coast of Anatolia is situated the ancient city of Ephesus (Map 11). In 1963, the disturbed remains of a tomb were uncovered on the Byzantine citadel of Ayasoluk Hill.⁴⁹³ The tomb type could no longer be established. Six pots from

⁴⁸⁸ Mountjoy 1999a, 1146.

⁴⁸⁹ Milojević 1961, 26.

⁴⁹⁰ Milojević 1961, 25-6; Mountjoy 1999a, 1146; Georgiadis 2003, 75.

⁴⁹¹ Georgiadis 2003, 75.

⁴⁹² Mountjoy 1999a, 1146.

⁴⁹³ Mee 1978, 127 (see, also, Mellink 1964, 157-8).

LHIIIA2 were found,⁴⁹⁴ of which one contained some human bones. The ceramic assemblage consists of a large piriform jar (FS 35), a conical rhyton (FS 199) (Fig. 161), a flask (FS 188) (Fig. 162), a stemmed krater (FS 8), a flask with a pierced base (Fig. 163) and an undecorated juglet (FS 112-114) (Fig. 164). According to Mountjoy, the flask (FS 188) and the rhyton (FS 199) are of Mycenaean-type. The piriform jar (FS 35) and the krater (FS 8) were decorated in a Minoan and/or an east Aegean tradition and are probably local imitations. There is no Aegean prototype for the flask with a pierced base (Fig. 163). It is, however, decorated in the Mycenaean style.

During recent excavations on Ayasoluk Hill, traces of a fortified Late Bronze Age settlement have been uncovered. The site can probably be identified with the ancient city of *Apaša*, the capital of the kingdom of *Arzawa* which is mentioned in the contemporary Hittite cuneiform sources. The pottery found consisted of a mix of Anatolian and Mycenaean-style fragments dated to LHIIIB-C.⁴⁹⁵ Note that Late Mycenaean potsherds have also come to light below the foundations of the Artemision at the foot of Ayasoluk Hill.⁴⁹⁶

A recent excavation (2005) in the hinterland of Ephesus at the village of Halkapınar brought to light a disturbed pithos burial (Fig. 166), containing the inhumation of an adult woman.⁴⁹⁷ There were no burial offerings. The pithos was part of a larger cemetery. Fragments of two additional burial pithoi were found during an earlier rescue excavation at Halkapınar in 1973 which had been instigated by the discovery of a LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB Mycenaean straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 165).⁴⁹⁸

4.13 Emporio on Chios and Archontiki on Psara

Most finds from the island of Chios (Map 11) originate from just one site, i.e. the settlement of Emporio. The majority of the pottery is dated to LHIIIC (and is therefore not discussed here). The earlier remains, which are assigned to LHIIIB, are extremely fragmentary.⁴⁹⁹ A cist-grave from the same period yielded a decorated Mycenaean straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) and a small mug (FS 226). It also contained an undecorated conical cup in Grey ware and a bowl with painted decoration (akin to FS 244).⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁴ Mountjoy 1998, 36.

⁴⁹⁵ Büyükkolancı 2007.

⁴⁹⁶ Mountjoy 1998, 36.

⁴⁹⁷ Horejs/Kanz 2008, 108-11.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 107.

⁴⁹⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1148.

⁵⁰⁰ Mountjoy 1999a, 1147, 1149; Privitera 2005, 232.

Off the coast of Chios is located the islet of Psara (Map 11). On the west side is a large Late Bronze Age cemetery at Archontiki. A settlement, which has been only partially excavated, lies to the west of the necropolis.⁵⁰¹ The cemetery consists of about fifty graves, mainly cist-graves, but there are also a few supra-terranean built chamber tombs.⁵⁰²

The site is largely unpublished.⁵⁰³ A selection of finds from six different tombs is on display in the archaeological museum of Chios. The following observations are based on the objects seen in the exhibit. Firstly, the earliest Mycenaean-style vessels are LHIIB-III A1 in date, consisting of a painted goblet (FS 255) and a shallow cup (FS 219). Published elsewhere is a straight-sided alabastron from LHIIA (FS 91).⁵⁰⁴ It thus seems that the foundation of the cemetery at Archontiki pre-dates the first appearance of chamber tombs on Rhodes and Kos, which is dated to LHIIB-III A1 (see sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.1 above).

Most Mycenaean-style vases are, however, LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIB in date. There are also a number of vessels from LHIIC. It seems that closed shapes are much more numerous than open ones. The commonest pot form is the stirrup jar, of which there are different types, such as the globular FS 171 (LHIIA2), the piriform FS 166 (LHIIA2) and the conical FS 182 (LHIIB). Another very popular vessel type in LHIIA2-B is the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94). It is interesting to point out that the 'origin' of this pattern can be traced back to as early as LHIIA. In addition to the one mentioned above, there is another straight-sided alabastron from LHIIA (FS 92) – with rock-pattern (FM 32) on the shoulder and curved stripes (FM 67) on the sides. On display as well is a LHIIB-III A1 straight-sided alabastron (FS 93) decorated with scales (FM 70) and wavy bands (FM 53). Mountjoy refers to another LHIIB-III A1 example with curve-stemmed spirals (FM 49).⁵⁰⁵

There are not a lot of open pot shapes of Mycenaean-type on display. The sample includes a number of painted kylikes (FS 256-258) from LHIIA2 and LHIIB and a deep bowl (FS 284) from LHIIA2 or LHIIB.

In addition to Mycenaean-style ceramics, there is also a large amount of undecorated pottery of local type. The assemblage consists of a mix of cups and bowls and local reproductions of specific shapes of Mycenaean-type. A popular Mycenaean pot form which was reproduced locally is the (rounded or straight-sided) alabastron (FS 85, FS 94), the

⁵⁰¹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1156; Privitera 2005, 232.

⁵⁰² Papadimitriou 2001, 143-5.

⁵⁰³ A notable exception is the report published by L. Achilara (1995).

⁵⁰⁴ Mountjoy 1999a, 1156.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, 1156.

popularity of which is also reflected in the large number of decorated straight-sided alabastra (see above).

4.14 Limantepe

The Late Bronze Age settlement of Limantepe is situated on the south coast of the Gulf of Izmir on the Anatolian mainland (Map 15). The earliest pottery from the site is dated to the Early Bronze Age. Because of later building activities, the Late Bronze Age stratigraphy was heavily disturbed.⁵⁰⁶

Only a small selection of sherds has so far been published. Nevertheless, the Late Bronze Age corpus consists mostly of local Anatolian pottery.⁵⁰⁷ Mycenaean-style ceramics make up only a small proportion of the assemblage. According to the excavators, the Mycenaean corpus consists of a mix of imports, probably from the Greek mainland, and local products.⁵⁰⁸ In addition to Mycenaean pottery, there was also a Mycenaean figurine fragment found at Limantepe.⁵⁰⁹

Most of the Mycenaean pottery from Limantepe is LHIIIA2 in date. The assemblage consists mostly of open pot forms. Most frequently found is the kylix, comprising both pattern-painted (FS 256-257) (Figs. 167-68)⁵¹⁰ and monochrome examples (FS 264).⁵¹¹ Other sherds belong to a stemmed (FS 304)⁵¹² or a one-handled bowl (FS 283),⁵¹³ a spouted krater (FS 298)⁵¹⁴ and a deep conical bowl (FS 300) (Fig. 169).⁵¹⁵ Closed shapes are comparatively rare. Pot forms identified include a (large) piriform jar (FS 35, FS 45),⁵¹⁶ a small stirrup jar⁵¹⁷ and a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 170).⁵¹⁸

4.15 Baklatepe and Kolophon

⁵⁰⁶ Günel 1999b, 41-3.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, 59.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, 60.

⁵⁰⁹ Günel 1998.

⁵¹⁰ Özgünel 2006, Pl. 1, nos. 2-9.

⁵¹¹ Günel 1999b, 64, fn. 145.

⁵¹² Özgünel 2006, Pl. 2, nos. 1-2 (or one-handled bowl?).

⁵¹³ *Ibidem*, Pl. 2, no. 2 (or stemmed bowl?).

⁵¹⁴ *Ibidem*, Pl. 1, no. 1.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibidem*, Pl. 2, no. 4.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibidem*, Pl. 2, nos. 5-7.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibidem*, Pl. 2, no. 9.

⁵¹⁸ Günel 1999b, 80, no. 54.

Located to the south-east of the settlement of Limantepe is the hill of Baklatepe (Map 15).⁵¹⁹ During the Late Bronze Age, a supra-terranean built chamber tomb was erected on the highest point of the hill. Similar to the grave discovered below the foundations of the Heraion on the island of Samos (see section 4.11 above), the Baklatepe tomb was probably, too, originally covered by an earthen mound or tumulus.⁵²⁰ The floor was paved with pebbles. The tomb had been disturbed in ancient times. The cremated remains of eight persons have been identified.

The tomb has not yet been completely published. Nevertheless, an overview of the pottery has recently become available (Fig. 171).⁵²¹ The assemblage can be dated to LHIIIB-C. It is composed of a mix of local vases and vessels of Mycenaean-type.⁵²² The Mycenaean corpus consists of a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), a pattern-painted kylix (FS 257) and a stemmed bowl (FS 305).⁵²³ The decoration of three large carinated bowls of local-type is probably inspired by the Mycenaean-style. One bowl is decorated with a panel pattern (FM 50) in combination with whorl-shells (FM 23).⁵²⁴ The local corpus comprised a pair of (baseless) flasks, a number of cylindrical stands (FS 336), two belly-handled amphorae, three shallow bowls or dishes and a krater.

According to the excavators, the tomb at Baklatepe is associated with a settlement discovered at the nearby hill of Kocabaş Tepe (Map 15).⁵²⁵ Located to the south of Kocabaş Tepe is the ancient city of Kolophon, where a small Late Bronze Age tholos tomb has been excavated (Fig. 172).⁵²⁶ The Kolophon grave resembles the tholoi from Kos in size and construction (see section 4.2.1 above).⁵²⁷ It had been robbed, but the pottery found within the tomb is dated by the excavators to LHIIIB-C,⁵²⁸ which is also the date assigned to the tholos recently discovered – but largely unpublished – in Kos town (see section 4.2.1 above).

4.16 The cemetery of Panaztepe

Panaztepe is situated nearby the Gediz/Hermos River to the north of the Gulf of Izmir (Map 15). The archaeological site consists of three parts: a north and west cemetery and an acropolis settlement. The west cemetery constitutes the largest burial site that has so far been

⁵¹⁹ Erkanal 2008, 165.

⁵²⁰ Ibidem, 166.

⁵²¹ Erkanal/Şahoğlu 2012.

⁵²² Erkanal 2008, 166.

⁵²³ Erkanal/Özkan 1998, 422, Res. 5.

⁵²⁴ Mountjoy 2013, 583.

⁵²⁵ Erkanal 2008, 166.

⁵²⁶ Bridges 1974.

⁵²⁷ Georgiadis 2003, 75.

⁵²⁸ Bridges 1974, 265.

discovered in western Anatolia,⁵²⁹ containing over one-hundred-and-twenty tombs. There is a great diversity in tomb types. The most common type is the pithos, of which sixty-six have been found. The remainder consists of “20 tholoi, 16 pots, 12 cists, 3 composites, 2 boxes, 2 urns, 1 small tholos and 1 rectangular burial chamber . . . dating to the Late Bronze Age”.⁵³⁰ Both inhumations and cremations occur.⁵³¹ Unfortunately, many tombs had been robbed prior to excavation (consider the finds from the Manisa museum discussed below).⁵³²

The publication of the Panaztepe corpus is still in progress. A selection of the pottery from the years 1985-1990⁵³³ has been published by S. Günel (1999a).⁵³⁴ She states that Mycenaean-style ceramics are known from both the cemetery and the habitation site.⁵³⁵ However, no Mycenaean-type pots from the settlement are included in the publication.

The Mycenaean-style corpus consists of imports, probably from the Greek mainland, and local imitations, to which the majority of the vessels recovered has been attributed.⁵³⁶ The Mycenaean vessels constitute only a small proportion of the Panaztepe corpus, which consists mostly of unpainted local pottery. The local repertoire is comprised of some (carinated) cups and bowls, a few jugs – some with trefoil-mouthed lips – and a number of jars with bi-conical bodies and tall cylindrical necks (Fig. 173).

Most of the (published) Mycenaean pottery from Panaztepe is LHIIIA2 in date. The only exception is a unique beaked jug (FS 144-145) (Figs. 174-5),⁵³⁷ which either is LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2 in date. Other closed pot forms include a small (FS 45) (Fig. 176) and two large piriform jars (FS 35) (Fig. 177),⁵³⁸ two linear juglets (FS 112-114) (Fig. 178)⁵³⁹ and a globular stirrup jar (FS 171) (Fig. 179).⁵⁴⁰ There are also two (fragmentary) pattern-painted kylikes (FS 256-257) (Fig. 180).⁵⁴¹ In addition to imported and locally produced Mycenaean-style vases, a number of pot forms are reproduced in local plain ware, namely the (rounded or

⁵²⁹ Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2012, 125.

⁵³⁰ *Ibidem*, 125.

⁵³¹ Günel 1999a, 170-1; Basedow 2002, 469.

⁵³² Erkanal-Öktü 2004, 657-8.

⁵³³ There is also a selection of pottery on exhibit in the Izmir archaeological museum. However, the vessels have a label “Panaztepe”. Therefore, it is not clear whether they were found in the settlement or in one of cemeteries.

⁵³⁴ Günel 1999a.

⁵³⁵ *Ibidem*, 192.

⁵³⁶ *Ibidem*, 174-5.

⁵³⁷ Tholos B-Ĝ (?): Günel 1999a, 416, Lev. 137

⁵³⁸ Tholos D: Günel 1999a, 415, Lev. 133, no. 1; Tholos E: *ibidem*, 415, Lev. 134, no. 1

⁵³⁹ Pithos J: Günel 1999a, 411, Lev. 130, no. 2; Pithos S: *ibidem*, 411, Lev. 130, no. 1

⁵⁴⁰ Pithos L: Günel 1999a, 414, Lev. 132, no. 2, 417; *ibidem*, Lev. 138, no. 1

⁵⁴¹ Tholos A: Günel 1999a, 418, Lev. 140, no. 2; Tholos İ: *ibidem*, 417, Lev. 140, no. 1

straight-sided) alabastron (FS 85, FS 94) (Fig. 181) and the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 182).⁵⁴²

Another collection of pots – and bronzes – from Panaztepe, robbed from one or more tholoi and acquired by the Manisa museum in 1982, was published by Y.E. Ersoy in 1988.⁵⁴³ The group is dated to LHIIIA2.⁵⁴⁴ Mycenaean-style pots comprised two small piriform jars (FS 45) (Fig. 183), two straight-sided alabstra (FS 94) (Fig. 184), and a pattern-painted (FS 256-257) (Fig. 185) and an undecorated rounded kylix (FS 266) (Fig. 186). The same collection also included four vessels of local-type: a small jug or juglet, a flask, and two kraters with ‘Trojan’ parallels (Fig. 187).

4.17 The cemetery of Beşiktepe

Located on the north-west coast of Anatolia is the Late Bronze Age cemetery of Beşiktepe (Map 16), which is at a distance of about 7 km from the famous citadel of Hissarlık-Troy. There are about one hundred graves, most of which are pithoi and smaller pots containing one or multiple primary and/or secondary inhumations. A few also had cremation remains. Another tomb type is represented by two freestanding rectangular stone-built ‘houses’ (“Grabhaus”). The better preserved one contained a double cremation.⁵⁴⁵

The cemetery was published by M. Basedow (2000). About one third of the Beşiktepe ceramic corpus consists of Mycenaean and Mycenaean-influenced pottery. Most pots are therefore of local-type. The local repertoire is comprised of (carinated) cups and bowls and some closed pots, including a group of jars and juglets.

The Mycenaean-style pottery from Beşiktepe is divided into two groups: a local (MYK 1) and an imported category (MYK 2), either from the Greek mainland or elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean. Most vases can probably be dated to LHIIIA2. Twenty closed pots were identified, comprising seven or eight straight-sided (FS 94) (Fig. 188)⁵⁴⁶ and two rounded alabstra (FS 85),⁵⁴⁷ six small piriform jars (FS 45) (Fig. 189),⁵⁴⁸ two or three (linear)

⁵⁴² Straight-sided and rounded alabastron: Günel 1999a, 412-3, Lev. 131, nos. 1-6; small piriform jar: ibidem, 414, Lev. 132, no. 1

⁵⁴³ Ersoy 1988.

⁵⁴⁴ Mountjoy 1998, 35-6.

⁵⁴⁵ Basedow 2002, 469.

⁵⁴⁶ Tomb 4: no. 6; Tomb 10: no. 2; Tomb 27: nos. 4, 9; Tomb 32: no. 2 (or jug fragment?); Tomb 68: no. 5; Tomb 93: no. 6; Tomb 111: no. 2

⁵⁴⁷ Tomb 21: no. 3; Tomb 97: no. 4

⁵⁴⁸ Tomb 68: no. 6; Tomb 93: nos. 3-4; Tomb 94: no. 2; Tomb 100: no. 3; Tomb 110: no. 3

jug fragments⁵⁴⁹ and a stirrup jar handle.⁵⁵⁰ Open shapes are represented by (maximally) twelve kylikes (FS 256-257) (Fig. 190),⁵⁵¹ one mug (FS 225-226),⁵⁵² two one-handled bowls (FS 283) (Fig. 191)⁵⁵³ and three cups/bowls.⁵⁵⁴ In addition to decorated Mycenaean pottery, there are also several copies in unpainted local ware of the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 192) and the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 193).

4.18 Hissarlık-Troy – The Cemetery of Cinerary Urns

Seven kilometers to the east of the cemetery of Beşiktepe is located the famous citadel mound of Hissarlık, which is commonly identified as the ancient city of Troy (Map 16). The pottery from the citadel is discussed in section 4.19 below. In what follows, attention is briefly paid to the so-called Cemetery of Cinerary Urns which is situated in the citadel's lower town and was excavated by C.W. Blegen.⁵⁵⁵ The necropolis belongs to settlement phase Troy VIIh, which is the same as LHIIIA2 in Mycenaean pottery terms.⁵⁵⁶ Blegen excavated nineteen intact urns. Four burial pithoi were also found. However, there is evidence for at least 182 cinerary urns. This discrepancy can be understood as the result of later building activities in this area during the Roman and Hellenistic periods.

The pottery from the cemetery has been studied in detail by Mountjoy. There are three intact Mycenaean-type pots and 126 sherds, which accounts to about 1% of the entire cemetery deposit. The remainder consists of sherds in local Grey (85%) and Tan wares (14%).⁵⁵⁷ Only one of the intact urns contained a Mycenaean-type pot, namely a globular stirrup jar from LHIIIA2 (FS 171) (Fig. 194).⁵⁵⁸ Note that the nineteen urns investigated by Blegen were generally poor in terms of pottery. In total, only nine vessels were found in five different cinerary containers.⁵⁵⁹ In other words, most urns did not contain any pottery at all.

⁵⁴⁹ Tomb 27: no. 7; Tomb 32: no. 2 (or straight-sided alabastron?), 5

⁵⁵⁰ Tomb 88: no.6

⁵⁵¹ Tomb 4: no. 2; Tomb 15-West: nos. 4, 6, 8-9; Tomb 15-Ost: no. 2; Tomb 48: no. 2; Tomb 49: no. 3; Tomb 50: no. 2; Tomb 51: no. 2; Tomb 58: no. 17; Tomb 93: no. 7

⁵⁵² Tomb 98: no. 2

⁵⁵³ Tomb 15-West: nos. 5, 14

⁵⁵⁴ Tomb 12: no. 3; Tomb 48: no. 3; Tomb 98: no. 3

⁵⁵⁵ Blegen et al. 1953, 370-91.

⁵⁵⁶ Mountjoy 1999b, 284.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 284.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 287, no. 115.

⁵⁵⁹ Urn nos. 1-3, 12, 18 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 335-51)

Besides intact pots, a large number of potsherds, including, as noted above, 126 Mycenaean-style fragments, were also recovered. With the exception of a few pieces from LHIIA, LHIIIB and LHIIIB-III A1, most are dated to LHIIIA2. The relation between the (earlier) sherds and the cemetery is not clear (secondary fill material?). Only few complete profiles could be restored, including a painted rounded alabastron (FS 85) (Fig. 195)⁵⁶⁰ and two unpainted small piriform jars in local Grey ware (Fig. 196).⁵⁶¹ Based on the relative intactness or restorability of these vessels, as opposed to the fragmentary state of the rest of the sherd material from the cemetery, it seems probable that they originated from one or more of destroyed cinerary urns or burial pithoi.

4.19 Hissarlık-Troy – The citadel mound

The citadel mound of Hissarlık-Troy (Map 16) is located to the north of the cemetery at Beşiktepe (see section 4.17 above). During the Late Bronze Age, the settlement of Hissarlık-Troy consisted of two integral components: a fortified citadel and a (fortified?) lower town. Both parts were severely damaged by Classical, Hellenistic and Roman builders. The plan of the Late Bronze Age citadel has a big vacant space in the middle, which is the location of the Classic temple of Athena, for the construction of which the upper part of the citadel was completely leveled. All that is left of Late Bronze Age Troy is a series of large buildings directly within and outside the fortification wall.⁵⁶²

The habitation history of the settlement of Hissarlık-Troy is divided into nine phases – Troy I-IX – corresponding with the successive phases from the early 3rd millennium BC or Early Bronze Age (Troy I) to the Roman era (Troy IX). Troy VI Late and Troy VIIa is the Late Bronze Age settlement, the former of which can be further subdivided into Troy VI f, g and h. In what follows, attention is paid to the Mycenaean pottery from Troy VI g and h, as well as to that from Troy VIIa, which, in Mycenaean terms correspond with LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB, respectively.⁵⁶³

Several thousand Mycenaean-style pot sherds as well as a number of intact or restorable vessels have been discovered at Hissarlık-Troy. Also found were some pieces of Minoan, Cypriot and Canaanite origin.⁵⁶⁴ Mycenaean-style sherds were recovered from both the citadel and the lower town. The assemblage consists of a mix of imports from the Greek

⁵⁶⁰ Mountjoy 1999b, 287, no. 117.

⁵⁶¹ Ibidem, 287-8, no. 119.

⁵⁶² Easton et al. 2002, 76-7.

⁵⁶³ Mountjoy 2006, 241-8.

⁵⁶⁴ Jablonka/Rose 2004, 624-5.

mainland, mainly from the Argolid in the north-eastern Peloponnese, pots from local workshops and Mycenaean-inspired vessels executed in local plain wares. The relative proportion or ratio of imports and local products represents a hotly debated topic. Although Mountjoy, until recently, was convinced that the majority of the Mycenaean pottery found at Troy came from local workshops, in a recent article (2006) co-authored with H. Mommsen, she concluded that a separation between imports from the Greek mainland, the so-called MYBE group (Mycenae-Berbati), and vessels of local Trojan origin or provenance – Troy-A clay paste – can no longer convincingly be made.⁵⁶⁵ The problem is mainly applicable to the pottery from LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2. A change is distinguishable in Troy VIIa, when for the production of LHIIIB vessels a gradual shift to a different clay paste – Troy-B – appears to have taken place. The Troy-B clay paste is clearly local to the Troas region.⁵⁶⁶ The issue, whether the people of Troy switched from importing to producing locally, or simply moved to a different clay source in LHIIIB as opposed to the one used in LHIIIA, shall not be further discussed here.

Mycenaean-style pottery makes up only 3-5% of the pottery corpus of Troy VI Late.⁵⁶⁷ The mainland pottery style also had an influence on the vessels produced in the local Grey and Tan wares. In any case, the recent German excavations at Hissarlık-Troy have made clear that, although considerable, Mycenaean-type and Mycenaean-inspired pot shapes did not make up one third of the Troy VI pottery assemblage, as was originally suggested by Blegen.⁵⁶⁸ For Troy VIIa, no such figures exist. Nevertheless, based on the sherd count from the Troy VIIa habitation deposits published by Mountjoy (2001), it can be concluded that, also in LHIIIB, Mycenaean pottery – canonical or inspired – still only accounted for a small proportion of the entire corpus.⁵⁶⁹

The following overview of the Mycenaean pottery from Hissarlık-Troy is based on the publications of the material by Mountjoy. Individual sherds and/or vessels are referred to in the footnotes at the bottom of each page. Turning to the ceramic inventory of Troy VIg, only relatively little material of this phase has been found. The LHIIB-III A1 pottery assemblage consists mostly of open pot shapes. The painted goblet (FS 254-255) (Fig. 197)⁵⁷⁰ and the

⁵⁶⁵ Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 98.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibidem, 98-100, 120.

⁵⁶⁷ Pavuk 2002, 60.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibidem, 60.

⁵⁶⁹ Mountjoy 2001.

⁵⁷⁰ Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, 105, nos. 21-3, 53.

shallow cup (FS 219) (Fig. 198)⁵⁷¹ are the commonest. Closed shapes are less well represented. There are published examples of the small (FS 31, FS 44)⁵⁷² and the large piriform jar (FS 19, FS 22) (Fig. 199)⁵⁷³ and the rounded alabastron (FS 84).⁵⁷⁴

One LHIIIA1 habitation deposit also yielded well-stratified undecorated pottery: Area between House VIG and the fortification wall J7/8, Stratum 3, Deposit E.⁵⁷⁵ Found were a goblet (FS 263) (Fig. 200),⁵⁷⁶ a rounded kylix (FS 266) (Fig. 201)⁵⁷⁷ and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295) (Fig. 202).⁵⁷⁸ The deposit also contained a number of Mycenaean-inspired pot forms, such as local versions of the bridge-spouted jug (FS 103),⁵⁷⁹ the lipless bowl (FS 204) (Fig. 203),⁵⁸⁰ the goblet (FS 263) (Fig. 204),⁵⁸¹ the askos (FS 195),⁵⁸² the kylix with raised handle (FS 271) (Fig. 205)⁵⁸³ and the large jug (FS 105).⁵⁸⁴

Most of the Mycenaean-type pottery which has been uncovered at Hissarlık-Troy comes from Troy VIh and is dated to LHIIIA2. The assemblage consists mostly of open pot shapes. The kylix, in both pattern-painted (FS 256-257) (Figs. 206-7) and monochrome ware (FS 264) (Figs. 208),⁵⁸⁵ is the most popular. Other relatively common open pot forms are the stemmed bowl (FS 304) (Fig. 209),⁵⁸⁶ the mug (FS 225),⁵⁸⁷ the shallow cup (FS 220)⁵⁸⁸ and

⁵⁷¹ Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 383, nos. 32-33; Mountjoy 1997a, 289, no. 25 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 410, no. 26); Mountjoy 1997b, 262, D8.220.191; Mountjoy 1999b, 261, 276, 284, nos. 1, 59, 98; Mountjoy 2006, 244, Taf. 4, no. 11; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, 112, nos. 19-20, 91.

⁵⁷² Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 410, no. 12; Mountjoy 1997a, 289; Mountjoy 1999b, 284, no. 100; Mountjoy 2006, 243; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, no. 18.

⁵⁷³ Mountjoy 1997a, 289, nos. 22-3; Mommsen et al. 2001, 182-4, no. 8; Mountjoy 2006, 244, Taf. 4, no. 10; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105, 116, nos. 52, 116.

⁵⁷⁴ Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 420, no. 29; Mountjoy 1997a, 289 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 410, nos. 4, 5, 16); Mountjoy 1999b, 276 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 416, no. 21), 284.

⁵⁷⁵ Mountjoy 1997a, 287-92.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 290, no. 28.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 290, no. 29.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 290, no. 30.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 290.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 290, no. 32.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 290, no. 33.

⁵⁸² *Ibidem*, 290.

⁵⁸³ *Ibidem*, 292, no. 34.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 292.

⁵⁸⁵ Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 398, nos. 6-7, Fig. 403, no. 2, Fig. 412, nos. 3, 7, 17, 26, Fig. 415, nos. 9-10, 15, 20, Fig. 416, nos. 3, 8, 11, 14, 18-9, 37, Fig. 418, nos. 5, 9, 11-2; Mountjoy 1997b, 262, nos. I17.612.70, H17.879, 911.5, K17.488.1, L4.301.3; Mountjoy 1999b, 257-87, nos. 6-12, 21, 24-5, 29, 39-49, 67-76, 91-2, 109-14; *ibidem*, 263, 280 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 398, nos. 6-7), 316 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 247, no. 17); Mommsen et al. 2001, 184, nos. 15-20, 22-3; Mountjoy 2006, 244-5, Taf. 5, nos. 14-5, Taf. 7, nos. 19-23; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103-5, 112, 117, nos. 27-41, 54-5, 94-6, 124 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 383, no. 10).

⁵⁸⁶ Mountjoy 1999b, 274, no. 51; Mommsen et al. 2001, 186, no. 21; Mountjoy 2006, 245; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 117-9, nos. 125, 134.

⁵⁸⁷ Mountjoy 1999b, 277, no. 66; *ibidem*, 257, 274 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 412, no. 19); Mommsen et al. 2001, 184, no. 14; Mountjoy 2006, 245, Taf. 6, nos. 17-8; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, no. 26.

⁵⁸⁸ ; Mountjoy 1999b, 272 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 411, no. 5), 272-3, no. 38 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 412, no. 36), 317, no. 39; Mommsen et al. 2001, 184, no. 13; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, no. 25.

krater (FS 8, FS 53) (Fig. 210).⁵⁸⁹ Closed shapes are comparatively rare. Nevertheless, a wide variety of pot forms is found, including examples of the large piriform jar (FS 34-35) (Fig. 211),⁵⁹⁰ the stirrup jar (FS 164, FS 171),⁵⁹¹ the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 212)⁵⁹² and the rounded (FS 85)⁵⁹³ and the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 213).⁵⁹⁴

Undecorated pottery dated to Troy VII or LHIIIA2 consists of Mycenaean-type or Mycenaean-inspired kylikes (FS 266-267) (Fig. 214),⁵⁹⁵ shallow angular bowls (FS 295),⁵⁹⁶ stemmed bowls (FS 304)⁵⁹⁷ and large (domestic) stirrup jars (FS 164).⁵⁹⁸ A plain small piriform jar in local Tan ware was found on the floor of the so-called Pillar House.⁵⁹⁹ Another Mycenaean vessel type found at Troy is represented by the tripod cooking pot (FS 316).⁶⁰⁰ Tripod legs are, however, comparatively rare in Troy VI Late and VIIa. The kitchen ware pottery from Hissarlık-Troy largely consisted of local two-handled deep pots, which are sometimes reused as cinerary urns.⁶⁰¹

Troy VIIa corresponds with LHIIIB. Similar to LHIIIA2, the assemblage consist mostly of open pot shapes. The pattern-painted kylix (FS 258) (Figs. 215-6)⁶⁰² and the deep bowl (FS 284) (Fig. 217)⁶⁰³ are the most popular. Other shapes identified include the stemmed

⁵⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999b, 256-7, 262-86, nos. 3, 5, 28, 32-3, 37, 65, 107-8; *ibidem*, 277 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 418, no. 14), 279 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 416, no. 34); Mommsen et al. 2001, 184, no. 12; Mountjoy 2006, 244, Taf. 5, no. 13.

⁵⁹⁰ Mountjoy 1999b, 261-86, nos. 30-1, 60, 101-2; *ibidem*, 272 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 412, no. 21, Fig. 413, no. 5, Fig. 415, no. 13), 277 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 416, no. 15); Mommsen et al. 2001, 184, no. 10; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 103, no. 24.

⁵⁹¹ Mountjoy 1999b, 256, 263, 271, no. 27, 272 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 412, no. 8, 23, 27, 35, Fig. 413, no. 11, Fig. 415, no. 29-30, 32), 287, no. 115; Mountjoy 2006, 245, Taf. 6, no. 16.

⁵⁹² Mountjoy 1999b, 261-86, nos. 2, 87, 103-4; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 116-7, nos. 117, 123.

⁵⁹³ Mountjoy 1999b, 272 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 416, no. 24), 277 (Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 416, no. 24), 287, no. 117; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 113, no. 92.

⁵⁹⁴ Mountjoy 1999b, 272-82, nos. 34-5, 88.

⁵⁹⁵ Mountjoy 1999b, 264-87, nos. 15-6, 122; Pavuk 2002, 60.

⁵⁹⁶ Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 311, 37.956; Pavuk 2002, 60.

⁵⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999b, 264.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 267, 280.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 266.

⁶⁰⁰ Blegen et al. 1953, Fig. 329, 37.1171.

⁶⁰¹ Pers. communication P. Pavuk (22.06.11).

⁶⁰² Mountjoy 1999b, 280, nos. 79-80; Mommsen et al. 2001, 187-90, nos. 28-9, 32, 50; Mountjoy 2001, 304-16, nos. 7, 27, 36; *ibidem*, 302 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 18), 304 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 243, no. 10), 305 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 246, no. 7), 308 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 246, no. 2), 309 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 245, no. 10), 316 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 247, no. 19), 321 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 10); Mountjoy 2006, 247, Taf. 9, nos. 31-2; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105-20, nos. 44-8, 56, 60-1, 137.

⁶⁰³ Mountjoy 1999b, 282, nos. 93-4; Mommsen et al. 2001, 188-92, nos. 39, 47-8, 52, 55-8; Mountjoy 2001, 304-21, nos. 8, 34, 47; *ibidem*, 302 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 20), 305 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 244, no. 1, Fig. 246, no. 6), 311 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 244, no. 25), 314 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 246, no. 15-6, 33), 319 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 7); Mountjoy 2006, 248, Taf. 10, nos. 33-4; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105-16, nos. 49-50, 66-7, 87, 118.

bowl (FS 305) (Fig. 218),⁶⁰⁴ the mug (FS 226)⁶⁰⁵ and the krater (FS 9, FS 281, FS 298).⁶⁰⁶ Closed shapes are comparatively rare. However, a variety of shapes is found. There are examples of the large piriform jar (FS 35, FS 38) (Fig. 219),⁶⁰⁷ the stirrup jar (FS 167, FS 174, FS 182) (Fig. 220),⁶⁰⁸ and the rounded (FS 86)⁶⁰⁹ and the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94, FS 98).⁶¹⁰

Most undecorated Mycenaean-type or Mycenaean-inspired pot shapes from Troy VI Late (see above) survived into Troy VIIa or LHIIIB.⁶¹¹ There are also some new shapes introduced, such as the narrow-necked jug (FS 120),⁶¹² the deep bowl (FS 284) (Fig. 221)⁶¹³ and the lipless conical kylix (FS 274).

4.20 Inter-regional comparison: the middle and northern part of the west coast of Anatolia

In what follows, the different sites discussed in sections 4.11 to 4.19 above will be compared. The discussion is centered on two main topics: tomb types and the ceramic corpus, in particular the variety of Mycenaean-type vessels represented.

Tomb types and burial rites

A characteristic trait of the funerary landscape of the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia is the presence of a wide diversity of tomb types. Pithos and pot burials are the commonest. Pithoi and pot burials have been excavated at Halkapınar near Ephesus (Fig. 237), Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy.

⁶⁰⁴ Mountjoy 1997b, 262, I17.97.1; Mountjoy 1999b, 269-82, nos. 26, 95; Mountjoy 2001, 319 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 7); Mountjoy 2006, 248, Taf. 10, no. 38; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105-8, nos. 51, 68.

⁶⁰⁵ Mountjoy 1999b, 258-79, no. 78; Mommsen et al. 2001, 188-90, nos. 38, 46; Mountjoy 2001, 316, no. 37; *ibidem*, 316 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 247, no. 26-7); Mountjoy 2006, 247, Taf. 9, nos. 29-30; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105, no. 43.

⁶⁰⁶ Mountjoy 1999b, 275-80, nos. 55-6, 83; Mountjoy 2001, 304, no. 6; *ibidem*, 309 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 245, no. 2), 314 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 246, no. 32); Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 108, nos. 64-5.

⁶⁰⁷ Mountjoy 1999b, 274-5, no. 52; Mommsen et al. 2001, 188, no. 34; Mountjoy 2001, 304, no. 2; Mountjoy 2006, 246, Abb. 24; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 108, no. 57.

⁶⁰⁸ Mommsen et al. 2001, 186, nos. 24-7; Mountjoy 2001, 304, no. 5; Mountjoy 2006, 247, Taf. 8, no. 27; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 105-20, nos. 42, 136.

⁶⁰⁹ Mountjoy 2001, 305-14, nos. 10, 32; *ibidem*, 308 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 246, no. 1), 321 (Blegen et al. 1958, Fig. 248, no. 9); Mountjoy 2006, 247, Taf. 8, no. 25.

⁶¹⁰ Mountjoy 1999b, 275, no. 53; Mommsen et al. 2001, 188, no. 33; Mountjoy 2001, 316, no. 35; Mountjoy 2006, 247, Taf. 8, no. 26; Mountjoy/Mommsen 2006, 117, no. 126.

⁶¹¹ Pavuk 2002, 61.

⁶¹² Mountjoy 2001, 304, 317.

⁶¹³ *Ibidem*, 306, no. 16.

A different type of tomb is represented by the supra-terranean built chamber tomb. There are at least two examples. One is situated at the Heraion on Samos, the other at Baklatepe close to the Gulf of Izmir. Both tombs were probably originally covered with an earthen mound or tumulus. Supra-terranean tombs were also excavated at Panaztepe and Beşiktepe. At both sites, more than one-hundred graves have been uncovered. Interestingly, only one rectangular built burial chamber has been discovered at Panaztepe. Similarly, at Beşiktepe, only two freestanding stone structures were excavated (see section 4.17 above). Another type of freestanding burial structure, of which there are examples from Panaztepe and Kolophon, is the small tholos. Twenty-one small beehive tombs have been discovered at Panaztepe. They are similar in size and construction to the tholoi from the island of Kos (see section 4.2.1 above).

Two additional tomb types are the cist grave and the sub-terranean chamber tomb. Cist graves are not very common at Panaztepe and Beşiktepe. There are twelve cists versus sixty-six pithoi at Panaztepe, and eight cists versus fifty-eight pithoi and thirty-four small pot burials at Beşiktepe. The only exception to this pattern is represented by the cemetery of Archontiki on the islet of Psara, which consisted mainly of cist graves (ca. sixty-five in total). This necropolis also included a few supra-terranean built chamber tombs.⁶¹⁴

Subterranean chamber tombs are comparatively rare. One single chamber tomb is situated at Miloi on Samos. There may be a second one at Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill). However, all that remained of the original tomb construction is a shallow circular depression. The original type is not clear.

Most tombs in the south-eastern Aegean contained multiple inhumation burials (see section 4.10 above). The practice of cremation is very uncommon. Although inhumations are common at major sites such as Panaztepe and Beşiktepe, we also find many cremation burials there. The built chamber tomb at Baklatepe and the 'intact' freestanding 'house' at Beşiktepe produced cremations only. Some of the Panaztepe tholoi contained both inhumation and cremation burials. A similar picture of 'mixed' customs also emerges from the pithos and pot burials from Beşiktepe and Panaztepe.⁶¹⁵ Based on the currently available information, it seems that at Archontiki on Psara, the preferred burial rite was inhumation. No cremations have thus far been reported from this site.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 75; Privitera 2005, 232.

⁶¹⁵ Günel 1999a, 170-1; Basedow 2002, 469.

⁶¹⁶ Achilara 1996; Papadimitriou 2001, 143-6; Georgiadis 2003, 84.

The pottery from the tombs

With the exception of the island of Karpathos (see section 4.4 above), the great majority of the pottery corpus of the south-eastern Aegean consists of Mycenaean-style vessels. In parallel with a ‘lack’ of subterranean chamber tombs (see above), imported or locally produced Mycenaean-type vases make up only a relatively small proportion of the pottery corpus of the sites in the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast, which were discussed in sections 4.11 to 4.19 above. The regional ceramic repertoire consists mostly of local pottery. There appear to be a few exceptions. Firstly, although the site is still largely unpublished, it seems that at Archontiki on Psara Mycenaean-type and local pottery are found in roughly equal proportions. Moreover, the pots from the subterranean chamber tomb at Miloi and the (robbed) built chamber tomb at the Heraion on Samos were ‘completely’ Mycenaean. The finds from Ephesus might also have originated from a (destroyed) chamber tomb. The assemblage consists mainly of Mycenaean-style vases and includes vessel types, which are rare at other sites in the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast, but common in the south-eastern Aegean, especially on Rhodes (see section 4.1.2 above). Especially noteworthy in this respect are the krater (FS 8), the large piriform jar (FS 35) and the conical rhyton (FS 199).

With the exception of the cemetery of Archontiki on Psara, there do not appear to be any Mycenaean-style vessels from LHIIIB-III A1. A possible exception is represented by a beaked jug (FS 144-145) from Panaztepe, which either is from LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2. Most Mycenaean-type vases are datable to LHIIIA2. However, a date in LHIIIB can, especially in the case of Mycenaean-style vessels reproduced locally, not always be excluded.⁶¹⁷

The commonest LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIIB pot form in the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast is the (rounded or straight-sided) alabastron (FS 85, FS 94), especially the straight-sided variant (FS 94). There are many examples from Samos (Heraion), Ephesus (Halkapınar), Emporio on Chios, Archontiki on Psara, Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy. As noted in section 4.13 above, the earliest straight-sided alabastra found at Archontiki on Psara are from LHIIA (FS 91) and LHIIIB-III A1 (FS 93). Another relatively common pot shape is the small piriform jar (FS 45). The FS 45 is known from Samos (Miloi?),

⁶¹⁷ Note that in the archaeological epilogue of the recent monograph “The Ahhiyawa Texts” (2011), it is claimed that from several sites, including Beşiktepe and Panaztepe, there is specific LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2 pottery (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 277-8). This view is not supported by the (published) evidence. The Beşiktepe necropolis, which is completely published, was in use during Troy Phase VIIh, the destruction of which is dated by Mountjoy to the end of LHIIIA2 in Mycenaean terms (Mountjoy 1999b).

Archontiki on Psara, Baklatepe, Panaztepe and Beşiktepe. The popularity of the Mycenaean alabastron and the small piriform jar is also apparent from the fact that they were often reproduced in local plain wares (e.g. Archontiki, Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and cemetery of cinerary urns at Hissarlık-Troy).

A characteristic feature of the Mycenaean pottery corpus of the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast is that stirrup jars are very uncommon (FS 171). The only exceptions are formed by the tombs which have been excavated on Samos (Heraion and Miloï) and Psara (Archontiki). Only a single stirrup jar handle was found at Beşiktepe. Similarly, there was only one globular FS 171 included in the Panaztepe publication (1999). Moreover, the pottery corpus – whole vessels and sherds – from the cemetery of cinerary runs at Hissarlık-Troy comprised only a single globular stirrup jar.

The pottery from the settlements

There are some Bronze Age settlements which yielded Mycenaean-type pottery. In the above, attention was paid to the materials from Limantepe and Hissarlık-Troy. It is important to emphasize that there are also Mycenaean-type pots from other settlement sites in the region, such as from Panaztepe and Çeşme (Bağlarası) (near Izmir),⁶¹⁸ but hardly any have so far been published.⁶¹⁹

Mycenaean pottery constitutes only a small part of the pottery corpus of Late Bronze Age Limantepe and Hissarlık-Troy. The assemblages mostly consisted of unpainted local pottery. The Mycenaean corpus consists of a mix of imports, probably from the Greek mainland, and local products. Moreover, at Hissarlık-Troy, several mainland Greek shapes were reproduced in local plain ware. One example, which is also known from the nearby necropolis of Beşiktepe, is the small piriform jar (FS 45).

The quantity of published Mycenaean pottery from Hissarlık-Troy is much larger than that from Limantepe. Nevertheless, the shape repertoire is relatively similar. An important difference is, however, that while at Limantepe the Mycenaean ware appears to have had a chronological range limited largely to LHIIIA2, at Hissarlık-Troy, it was in circulation from LHIIA to LHIIIC, but with a clear ‘peak’ in LHIIIA2 (Troy VIh).

During the LHIIIA-B period, the Mycenaean assemblage consisted mostly of open pot shapes. At Hissarlık-Troy, “it seems to have formed part of an assemblage made up of Grey

⁶¹⁸ Şahoğlu 2012.

⁶¹⁹ For a complete overview of all sites, see, also, Kelder 2004-2005.

Ware, coarse ware and Mycenaean ware, the Mycenaean pottery being the fine tableware of the assemblage”.⁶²⁰ The commonest Mycenaean vessel type at Hissarlık-Troy and Limantepe (in LHIIIA2) was the painted kylix (FS 256-257, FS 264). The corpora also comprised a number of closed pot forms, such as large piriform jars (FS 35), straight-sided alabastra (FS 94) and stirrup jars (FS 171). However, overall, closed vessels of Mycenaean-type are comparatively rare.

A last point of attention is represented by the relationship between the pottery from the tombs and the settlements. Although there are only a few settlement sites published, a number of preliminary observations can nevertheless be made. Focusing on the Mycenaean style pottery, the ceramic assemblage from the settlements consists mostly of open pot forms, especially kylikes (FS 256-258). Closed vessel types are rare. The tombs, however, offer a reversed picture. Closed pot forms, such as the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) and the small piriform jar (FS 44-45) – in both painted Mycenaean ware and reproduced in local plain wares – are common. While there are some examples of these shapes published from the settlements, it seems that they are mainly used for funerary purposes. They may, albeit tentatively, be considered as ‘burial pots per se’.

4.21 Final Considerations

In the last section of this chapter, attention is paid to the most important similarities and differences between the south-eastern Aegean and the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast. The focus is on tomb types, burial customs and the range of Mycenaean-type pottery vessels found.

With regards to tomb types, the funerary landscape of the south-eastern Aegean can be described as rather homogeneous in nature, almost exclusively consisting of subterranean chamber tombs. By contrast, underground chamber tombs are very rare in the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast. It is illustrative that the only chamber tomb has been discovered on the island of Samos (Miloi) (see section 4.11 above), marking the artificial boundary used in this study to differentiate between the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand and the rest of the Anatolian western coastal zone on the other. The most common tomb type to the north of Samos is the pithos or pot grave. In contrast to the south-eastern Aegean, the funerary landscape also included a number of other tomb types. There is a group of supra-terranean graves, comprising rectangular built chamber tombs and circular tholos or

⁶²⁰ Mountjoy 1997a, 262; Mountjoy 1998, 45.

beehive tombs, of which two examples have also been excavated on the island of Kos (see section 4.2.1 above).

Another notable difference is related to burial rites. While inhumation was clearly the norm in the south-eastern Aegean, at more northern sites, such as Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy, we find a ‘mix’ of inhumation and cremation among the buried population. Cremation only rarely occurs in contexts from LHIIIA-B in the south-eastern Aegean. Notable exceptions are represented by Synkairos on Astypalaia, Vonies (Arkasa) on Karpathos and a small number of tombs at Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia.

The great majority of the pots found within the tombs in the south-eastern Aegean are of Mycenaean-type. By contrast, at most northern sites, such as at Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy, Mycenaean constitutes only a relatively small part of the whole assemblage. The two areas are also ‘divided’ by the different types of Mycenaean vessel types found. The most popular vessel forms in the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast are the alabastron, especially the straight-sided variant (FS 94), and the small piriform jar (FS 44-45). Illustrative in this respect is that both types of vessels are also frequently reproduced in local plain wares. The alabastron and the small piriform jar (FS 44-45) are closely linked to the funerary culture of the area to the north of the island of Samos. They may be considered as actual ‘burial pots per se’.

The alabastron (FS 85, FS 94) and the small piriform jar (FS 45) are comparatively rare in the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. As argued in section 4.10 above, this is in contrast to LHIIIB-III A1, when the rounded alabastron (FS 84) and the small piriform jar (FS 31, FS 44) are among the most popular pot forms found. There is one notable exception to this pattern. At Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia, the straight-sided alabastron is very popular in LHIIIA2-B. There were also quite a number of small piriform jars from this period found. The popularity of the straight-sided alabastron – and to a lesser degree that of the small piriform jar – at Müskebi may be seen as connected to the popularity of both of these pot forms in tombs, of non-Mycenaean-type, to the north of the island of Samos. In this light, note that the single chamber tomb at Pilavtepe located to the north of Müskebi also contained up to six alabastra (FS 85, FS 94). Apart from the pottery, three chamber tombs at Müskebi yielded cremation remains. As noted above, the practice of cremation is very common at sites such as Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy, but very rare – to non-existent – in the south-eastern Aegean.

Another distinction between both regions concerns variations in the presence of Mycenaean stirrup jars (FS 171-182). This pot form is very common in tombs in the south-

eastern Aegean. It is closely linked to the funeral culture of the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands. By contrast, stirrup jars are extremely rare in graves to the north of the island of Samos. There were only single examples found at sites such as Panaztepe, Beşiktepe and Hissarlık-Troy. The only exceptions to this pattern are represented by the tombs excavated on Samos (Heraion and Miloi) and Psara (Archontiki). Samos yielded the northernmost chamber tomb discovered along the Anatolian west coast. Psara is located at the same height – along the Anatolian west coast – as sites like Limantepe and Panaztepe. The pottery corpus of the cemetery of Archontiki on Psara shows affinity with both the northern Anatolian and the south-eastern Aegean ‘spheres of influence’. The former is manifested in the popularity of the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), in both painted and local plain ware. Moreover, there are many vessels of local type. In any case, Mycenaean decorated pots were definitely more common than at sites such as Panaztepe and Beşiktepe. Apart from more Mycenaean vessels, in strictly numerical terms, the tombs at Archontiki also yielded a large number of stirrup jars, illustrating the link with the ‘Mycenaeanizing’ world of the south-eastern Aegean. Moreover, so far, no cremation burial has been reported from this site.

It is interesting to point out that the Mycenaean-style pottery repertoires from the settlements appear to be more similar than the materials from the tombs in both regions. It has to be stressed that the pottery from most sites, for example, Trianda on Rhodes, and Iasos, Miletus and Limantepe, have so far only been partially published. The largest body of material in the middle and the northern part of Anatolia comes from Hissarlık-Troy. It appears that at all of these sites, the Mycenaean pottery corpus – at least the decorated vases – was used mainly as fine tableware. The painted kylix is the most popular shape. Closed pot forms, such as stirrup jars (FS 171), small piriform jars (FS 44-45) and (rounded and straight-sided) alabastra (FS 85, FS 94) are comparatively rare. The remainder of the assemblages consisted of local pottery – in both painted and undecorated ware. At most sites, such as at Trianda, Limantepe and Hissarlık-Troy, these local styles continued traditions from earlier periods. Although the Mycenaean style had an influence on local potters and their products (shapes and decoration), it never fully replaced the way of living which had existed at these sites before. An illustrative example is represented by the continued popularity of the Minoan conical cup at LB III Trianda on Rhodes, which remained the most common “everyday drinking cup”, also after the Mycenaean-type kylix had been adopted into the local repertoire.

Having established the ‘ceramic framework’ of the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand and that of the middle and the northern part of the Anatolian west coast of Anatolia on the other, in the next chapter the actual tomb assemblages will be addressed. The similarities

and differences between the different sites and regions will be discussed. Similar to Chapter 3, the focus is on the material manifestation in the archaeological burial record of relations of similarity and difference. In Chapter 6, it will be explained how these emergent patterns – or rather the “groups” identified – can be related to the social dynamics of the communities that inhabited the west coast of Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age.

Chapter 5

Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

The main purpose of the previous chapter was to provide the background against which to consider the tomb assemblages discussed in this chapter. Attention was paid to tomb types, funerary customs and the ceramic repertoire in general. Having discussed these matters in the previous chapter, here the focus is on the actual tomb assemblages, which means that besides pottery we will also take objects of a different nature, such as bronze weapons and stone and glass jewelry beads, into account. Similar to Chapter 3, in which I dealt with the tomb assemblages from the Greek mainland, the assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean will be discussed in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference. These terms are explained in more detail in Chapter 2. The basis of this discussion is formed by the tomb assemblages themselves, an overview of which can be found in the appendices at the back of this dissertation. There, I will present in tabular form the materials from Ialysos (New Tombs) (Appendix 3), Lelos (Appendix 4) and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Appendix 5) on Rhodes, Eleona/Langada on Kos (Appendices 6 and 7) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (Appendix 8).

In what follows, the tomb assemblages shall be discussed in chronological order: LHIIB-III A1 in section 5.1, LHIIIA2 in sections 5.2 and 5.3, and LHIIIB in section 5.4. Each of the regions considered in Chapter 4 – Rhodes, Kos, Astypalaia, Karpathos and the Anatolian west coast – will be treated separately within these periods.

5.1 LHIIB-III A1: introduction

The south-eastern Aegean

The first chamber tombs appeared on Rhodes and Kos in LHIIB-III A1. A few vessels from this period have also been found on Astypalaia (see section 4.3.1) and Karpathos (see section 4.4.1), as well as at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 4.5.1). The

earliest Mycenaean-style vases from the cist-grave cemetery at Archontiki on the islet of Psara, situated off the coast of Chios, are of LHIIA date. There is also some pottery from LHIIB-III A1 (see section 4.13).

5.1.1 Rhodes

There are more than thirty chamber tomb cemeteries on Rhodes (Maps 11-2 in Chapter 4). Sadly enough, a large number was illicitly excavated (see section 4.1). As a result, the original archaeological context of a large part of the material is unknown and is, therefore, not suited for the assemblage-based analysis that forms the basis of the methodology of this PhD study. The excavation of the New Tombs at Ialysos has (Maps 17-8 in Chapter 5), however, been relatively well recorded. There is only little (extant) information about the Old Tombs (for an overview of the excavation history of the site, see section 4.1). The original archaeological contexts of a considerable number of pots are known, but a large amount of the other finds (e.g. bronze weapons, stone and glass jewelry beads and stone conuli), which are now in the British Museum in London,¹ can no longer be assigned to a specific tomb number.²

Most tombs at Ialysos contained only a few (one to three) vases from LHIIB-III A1. Actual assemblages from this period are rare. This is probably due to the fact that most tombs established in this phase continued to be used in later periods. Nevertheless, the two assemblages containing pottery only from this period may be classified as belonging to the same group, which is referred to here as the “Ialysos-1” group.³ Its defining criteria are discussed below. First, however, I want to point out that although, with the exception of the two tombs discussed below, it is not possible for any groups to be defined, we do see clear similarities between the tombs containing pottery from LHIIB-III A1 in terms of the vessel types found. Eighteen of the twenty-eight tombs at Ialysos with pottery from this phase (c. 62%)⁴ yielded one or more, small piriform jars (Fig. 1)⁵ and/or rounded alabastra.⁶ The piriform jar occurs in fourteen, and the rounded alabastron in six tombs. Another group of

¹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx (keyword: Ialysos)

² Benzi 1996, 970.

³ NT 37 and 74

⁴ NT 3-4, 10-1, 17, 19, 21, 31, 32A, 35-7, 45, 50-1, 62, 69, 74, 78-9; OT A, 23-4, 26, 28-9, 30 and 32

⁵ The following tombs contained small piriform jars from LHIIB-III A1: NT 17, 19, 32A, 35-7, 45, 74, 78-9; OT A, 26, 28 and 30 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 27).

⁶ In the following tombs rounded alabastra dated to LHIIB-III A1 were found: NT 4, 11, 19, 74; OT 24 and 29 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 31).

tombs is characterized by the presence of a large piriform jar (Fig. 2),⁷ which, with one exception,⁸ does not occur in combination with small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra. What is interesting about this is that in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB small piriform jars and rounded alabastra almost completely disappear, while large piriform jars are then found in the majority of tombs with pottery from these phases (see below). Based on the widespread distribution of small piriform jars and rounded alabastra at Ialysos in LHIIIB-III A1, I would like to suggest that these can be seen as the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of that site. Outside Ialysos, we know of only one other (semi-intact) tomb assemblage on Rhodes that has been dated to LHIIIB-III A1. It comes from a semi-destroyed tomb at Tolo, to the south-west of the cemetery at Ialysos (Map 12 in Chapter 4). In the light of the observations made above, it is interesting to point out that among the finds recovered from it was a small piriform jar.⁹

As noted above, we can identify only two assemblages that exclusively consisted of pottery from LHIIIB-III A1: New Tombs 37 and 74. In this period, the “Ialysos-1” group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (Figs. 3-4), especially beaked jugs, and painted and/or undecorated kylikes (Fig. 5). With regards to the offerings other than pottery, New Tomb 37 only had a few non-descript pieces of bronze and ivory associated with it.¹⁰ New Tomb 74, on the other hand, produced two bronze weapons, a long sword (Sandars Type Ci/Cii) (Fig. 6) and a spearhead (Fig. 7). As shown below, bronze weapons are also typical of the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 below) and LHIIIB (see section 5.4.1 below).

5.1.2 Kos

Only one large chamber tomb cemetery has been excavated on Kos. It is situated at Eleona/Langada (Map 13 in Chapter 4 and Map 19 in Chapter 5), which is in close proximity to the Bronze Age settlement of the “Serraglio”.¹¹ There are only a few other cemetery sites on the island, consisting of single chamber¹² and tholos tombs (see section 4.2.1).¹³

⁷ Large piriform jars from LHIIIB-III A1 appeared in the following tombs: NT 10, 31, 37, 50, 62 and OT A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 32).

⁸ NT 37

⁹ Benzi 1992, 411, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 208).

¹⁰ Benzi 1992, 319, A-B.

¹¹ Morricone 1967; Georgiadis 2003, 40; Vitale 2012, 408.

¹² Castello, Mesaria and Pyli (tomb type not certain)

¹³ There are two known tholoi. One is located west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”, the other in Kos town.

Twelve chamber tombs from Eleona contained pottery from LHIIB-III A1.¹⁴ Five of these can be considered as LHIIB-III A1 assemblages, since they did not have any pots from later periods associated with them.¹⁵ There are no tombs from Langada with vases from this phase. Based on insights gained from later periods, it is possible for the assemblage from Eleona Tomb 21 to be assigned to a specific group, which is referred to here as the “Kos-1” group. This assemblage will be discussed below. First, however, I want to point out that although, with the exception of Eleona Tomb 21, it is not possible for any groups to be defined at Eleona in LHIIB-III A1, we can clearly see similarities between the different tombs containing pottery from this phase in terms of the vessel types found. Eleven of the twelve tombs with pottery from LHIIB-III A1 (c. 92%) produced one or more, small piriform jars (Figs. 8-9)¹⁶ and/or rounded alabastra.¹⁷ Small piriform jars occur in eight and rounded alabastra in six graves. It may be postulated that it is through these vessel types that in the archaeological burial record of this site relations of similarity are expressed. The use of chamber tombs can, of course, also be added to this list (see section 4.2.1).

As noted above, Eleona Tomb 21 may be considered as part of the “Kos-1” group. Typical of this group are medium or large jugs, painted and/or undecorated kylikes and bronze weapons. No medium or large jug was found in Eleona Tomb 21, but it did contain an unpainted rounded kylix and three bronzes, comprising a spearhead (Fig. 10), a razor or cleaver (Fig. 11) and (part of) a knife (?).

5.1.3 LHIIB-III A1: inter-regional comparison

The majority of pottery comes from Rhodes (Ialysos) (see section 5.1.1 above) and Kos (Eleona/Langada) (see section 5.1.2 above) in LHIIB-III A1. Although there are also other cemeteries in the region that yielded vessels from this period, such as Armenochori on Astypalaia, Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) on Karpathos¹⁸ and Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia,¹⁹ at these sites only small numbers of vases were found. For this reason, in this

¹⁴ See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁵ Tombs containing ‘homogeneous’ assemblages dated to LHIIB-III A1 are the following: ET 14, 17-8, 21 and 22.

¹⁶ The following tombs contained small piriform jars from LHIIB-III A1: ET 7-8, 10, 16-8 and 21-2 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 179).

¹⁷ Rounded alabastra dated to LHIIB-III A1 were found in the following tombs: ET 2, 7-8, 12, 14 and 18 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 181).

¹⁸ In Chapter 4, these vessels are described as Minoan or Mycenaean/Minoan hybrids. They are dated to LM/LHIII A1.

¹⁹ For an overview of these early vessels, see section 4.5.

inter-regional comparison we will focus mainly on the materials from the islands of Rhodes and Kos.

There are similarities and differences between the tomb assemblages from Rhodes and Kos in LHIIIB-III A1. With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, on both islands we see that most tombs in use in this period contained one or more small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra. It is interesting to note that even though we only have a few vessels dated to this period from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) on Karpathos, among them we find examples of the small piriform jar. Less common than the small piriform jar, but still relatively well represented on Rhodes in LHIIIB-III A1 is the large piriform jar. This pot form is very rare on Kos. This is also the case in LHIII A2. This is interesting, because, as indicated below, large piriform jars are found in practically every tomb on Rhodes in LHIII A2.

The only groups that can be identified on Rhodes and Kos in LHIIIB-III A1 are the “Ialysos-1” and the “Kos-1” group. Their numbers are limited in this period (see above), but since they are also attested in LHIII A2 and LHIIIB, their identification as such does not have to be questioned. Features these groups have in common are the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, such as spearheads and swords. In LHIII A2 we notice an increase in the number of tombs containing “Ialysos-1” and “Kos-1” assemblages. At the same time, at both Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona/Langada on Kos new groups can be seen to emerge. It is to this period that we shall now turn.

LHIII A2: introduction (I)

The south-eastern Aegean

Mycenaean cultural influence was restricted mostly to Rhodes and Kos in LHIIIB-III A1. This influence expanded in LHIII A2. New chamber tombs were constructed on the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 5.2.3 below), as well as at Múskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.2.4 below). Moreover, Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona/Langada on Kos see an increase in the number of tombs in use in this period. On Rhodes, new cemeteries were also being founded (see section 5.2.1 below). In the case of Kos the evidence is limited largely to Eleona/Langada. We know of only a few other sites on the island (see section 5.2.2 below).

5.2.1 Rhodes

We see a strong increase in the number of tombs in use at Ialysos in LHIII A2 (see section 4.1.2). This section is divided into two parts. In the first part the assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos are discussed (see section 5.2.1.1 below). There is also an increase in funerary activity in other parts of Rhodes. In the second part of this section a comparison will be made between Ialysos and the assemblages from a number of other cemetery sites on the island (see section 5.2.1.3 below).

5.2.1.1 Tomb assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos

It is possible for two groups of assemblages to be distinguished at Ialysos in LHIII A2.²⁰ They are referred to here as “Ialysos-1”²¹ and “Ialysos-2”²² (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 1 below). As noted in section 5.1.1 above, the “Ialysos-1” group is also attested in LHIIB-III A1. Before discussing the distinguishing traits of these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. There are several vessel types and categories of objects other than pottery that are common to both the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. With regards to the pottery, the majority of assemblages associated with these groups contained one or more large piriform jars (c. 92%) (Figs. 12-3)²³ and stirrup jars (c. 88%).²⁴ The most common types of stirrup jars are the piriform (Fig. 14)²⁵ and the globular stirrup jar (Fig. 15).²⁶ Another vessel

²⁰ In this section tombs reused in later periods and with only a few vessels from LHIII A2 remaining are usually not taken into account. The same applies to tombs which have (almost) completely been destroyed. Examples of this are New Tombs 1, 2, 12, 15-7, 20, 27A, 60 and 72-3.

²¹ For “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2, see New Tombs 3-4, 7, 9, 19, 27-8, 31, 48, 50 and 54-7 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

²² For “Ialysos-2” assemblages from LHIII A2, see New Tombs 6, 8, 10, 18, 22-3, 25-6, 29, 51, 58 and 63 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

²³ Large piriform jars occur in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3-4, 7, 9, 19, 27-8, 31, 48, 50 and 54-7; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including large piriform jars come from the following tombs: NT 6, 10, 22-3, 25-6, 29, 51, 58 and 63. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 38.

²⁴ Stirrup jars were found in the following tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3-4, 7, 19, 27-8, 31, 48, 50 and 54-7; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including stirrup jars come from the following tombs: NT 6, 8, 10, 22-3, 25-6, 51, 58 and 63. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42-4.

²⁵ Piriform stirrup jars came to light in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 7, 27-8, 31, 48, 50, 54-5 and 57; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including piriform stirrup jars come from the following tombs: NT 6, 22-3, 51 and 58. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42.

²⁶ Globular stirrup jars occur in the following tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 19, 27-8, 31, 48 and 55-7; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including globular stirrup jars come from the following tombs: NT 8, 10, 25, 26, 51, 58 and 63. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 43.

type which is found in fewer tombs than the large piriform jar and stirrup jar but may still be considered relatively common is the tripod incense burner or brazier (50%).²⁷ Besides certain pot forms, there are also some types of objects other than pottery which might be regarded as common to both groups of assemblages. These are (glass and/or stone) beads (50%),²⁸ of which different types and shapes are found, and stone conuli (c. 42%).²⁹ Although some of the features listed above are more common than others, since they are fairly equally represented in both groups of assemblages, they are here tentatively considered as material manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos.

We will now turn to the ways in which relations of difference are expressed archaeologically. The first group to be discussed is the “Ialysos-1” group (for an overview of the most characteristic features of this group, see Table 1 below). Assemblages of this type have been found in about fourteen New Tombs at Ialysos.³⁰ This group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and kylikes. The cutaway-necked jug (Fig. 18)³¹ and the stirrup jug (Fig. 19)³² are especially common. There are also some vessel types which, although they are not included in every “Ialysos-1” assemblage, do have a distribution which is generally limited to this group. This applies to the large domestic stirrup jar (Fig. 20) (c. 46%)³³ and the krater (Fig. 21) (c. 36%).³⁴ We also have a group of ritual vessels (c. 36%), consisting of two conical rhyta (Fig. 22),³⁵ two hydriae with a pierced base (Fig. 23)³⁶ and a Cypriot terracotta bull figure with a pierced mouth.³⁷ It is interesting to point out that the only ritual vessel (a conical rhyton) (Fig. 24) found in a tomb containing a “Ialysos-2” assemblage

²⁷ Incense burners were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 7, 19, 27-8, 31, 48, 50 and 54-5; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising incense burners come from the following tombs: NT 10, 22-3 and 63. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 122-3.

²⁸ Glass and/or stone beads occur in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3, 28, 31, 54 and 56-7; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including glass and/or stone beads come from the following tombs: NT 8, 25-6, 29, 51, 58 and 63.

²⁹ Stone conuli were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 4, 27, 31, 48, 50, 54 and 56; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising stone conuli come from the following tombs: NT 10, 25, 51 and 63.

³⁰ See fn. 21 above.

³¹ Cutaway-necked jugs came to light in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 4, 19, 28, 31, 55-6 and 57. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 48.

³² Stirrup jugs were found in the following tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3-4, 19, 27 and 55-7. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 49.

³³ “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2 including domestic stirrup jars are the following: NT 3-4, 7, 28, 50 and 55. The only “Ialysos-2” assemblage with a domestic stirrup jar is New Tomb 6. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 44.

³⁴ Kraters were found in the following “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3-4, 27, 50 and 54. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 45-7.

³⁵ NT 4 and 50

³⁶ NT 19 and 56

³⁷ NT 31

(NT 6) also had a large domestic stirrup jar associated with it. Concerning the relation between the “Ialysos-1” group and the presence of ritual vessels, it is relevant to remark that New Tomb 37, which yielded an “Ialysos-1” assemblage from LHIIB-III A1 (see section 5.1.1 above), also produced a rhyton-like vessel (Fig. 25).

The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Based on surface treatment it is possible for three groups of kylikes to be distinguished: unpainted, pattern-painted and tinned (for comments on tinned ware, see section 4.1.2). Five tombs yielded mainly examples in plain and/or tinned ware.³⁸ The rounded (Fig. 26) and the carinated kylix are the commonest. There is a kylix with two high-swung handles³⁹ from New Tomb 50 (Fig. 27),⁴⁰ in which was also found a tinned shallow angular bowl (Fig. 28).⁴¹ Interestingly, four of the five tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages with a majority of unpainted and/or tinned kylikes had a ritual vessel associated with them.⁴² This sub-group shall henceforth be referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

Graves with pattern-painted kylikes (Figs. 29-30) usually do not have any undecorated or tinned ones associated with them. Ritual vessels are also generally absent.⁴³ This sub-group shall henceforth be referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. There are eight tombs associated with it.⁴⁴

The distinction between the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group is so far based on a number of ceramic indicators. It is, however, also apparent in the tomb architecture and the diversity of objects other than pottery found. Graves with “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages usually have a larger burial chamber and are approached via a longer dromos.⁴⁵ In addition, there are a number of categories of objects other than pottery of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. This does not mean that these items are present in every assemblage classified as such, but more that they generally do not occur

³⁸ NT 4, 28, 31, 50 and 56

³⁹ A second kylix with high-swung handles FS 273 was uncovered in New Tomb 62, which contained pottery dating from LHIIB-III A1, LHIII A2, LHIII B and LHIII C (Benzi 1992, 365-7). Interestingly, it also yielded a pot in the shape of a conical rhyton, but without the distinctive aperture at its bottom. Benzi calls it a “[b]ottiglia senza anse” (ibidem, 365-6, no. 2). Apart from the FS 273, there were a LHIII A2 basket vase, a flask, two piriform stirrup jars and a fragmentary large piriform jar.

⁴⁰ Benzi 1992, 337, no. 13.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 337, no. 16.

⁴² NT 4, 31, 50 and 56

⁴³ The only exception is New Tomb 19, in which a hydria with a pierced base was found.

⁴⁴ NT 3, 7, 9, 19, 27, 48, 54 and 57

⁴⁵ Benzi has divided the New Tombs into three size-classes, based on the area of their respective burial chambers: small (0.40 to 3.00 m²), medium (3.00 to 7.00 m²) and large (7.00 to 15.70 m²) (Benzi 1992, 228). The comparisons made in the main text are based on this model. An overview of size-classes represented per group is given in Table 1 below.

in combination with other types of assemblages. This applies to the following categories of objects: gold (relief) beads⁴⁶ and rosettes,⁴⁷ bronze swords, comprising a long (Sandars type Ci) and two short ones (Sandars type Dii and Eii) from New Tomb 4 (Fig. 31), a sword pommel (Sandars type C or Di)⁴⁸ from New Tomb 31 and part of a dagger (?) from New Tomb 50,⁴⁹ metal vessels⁵⁰ and stone (lentoid) seals.⁵¹ Glass relief-beads also typically occur in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. Plaques are quite common in this sub-group (Figs. 32-3),⁵² but also occur in two tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages (see below).⁵³ Rosettes, on the other hand, are only found in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages.⁵⁴ There is one type of which the distribution is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. These are the so-called bracket-shaped beads, of which we have examples from two graves, i.e. New Tombs 4 and 31 (Fig. 34).⁵⁵

Characteristic of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group is that the assemblages often have a variety of bronzes associated with them. Four of the eight tombs yielded spearheads and/or arrowheads (Fig. 35)⁵⁶ and in four razors or cleavers were found (Fig. 36).⁵⁷ We also have two tombs without any bronzes, one of which only produced pottery.⁵⁸ The other⁵⁹ contained a small collection of jewelry, consisting of some fragments of amber and a few glass beads, including an oval-shaped plaque with double rosettes and a pendant in the shape of a curl-of-hair.⁶⁰ The only other “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblage that contained some jewelry is New Tomb 54. In it were found an amethyst bead, a piece of amber and a few glass beads, including one or two relief-beads in the shape of rosettes. It is interesting to point out that, although not common, at Ialysos the distribution of amber beads is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. Apart from the two “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages mentioned above, amber beads were found in only two other graves, i.e. New Tombs 4 (LHIIIA2) and 53 (LHIIIB), both of which belong to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” sub-group (for New Tomb 53, see section 5.4.1 below).

⁴⁶ NT 4, 31 and 50 (Benzi 1992, 185-8)

⁴⁷ NT 4, 28 and 31 (Benzi 1992, 189-90)

⁴⁸ Benzi 1992, 171.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 171-3.

⁵⁰ NT 56 (Benzi 1992, 181-2)

⁵¹ NT 50 (Benzi 1992, 338, A)

⁵² NT 4, 28 and 31

⁵³ NT 26 and 58

⁵⁴ NT 54 (“Ialysos-1 (2)”) and 56 (“Ialysos-1 (1)”)

⁵⁵ Benzi 1992, 199-200.

⁵⁶ NT 7, 19, 27 and 54

⁵⁷ NT 9, 27, 48 and 54

⁵⁸ NT 55

⁵⁹ NT 57

⁶⁰ Note that these objects could no longer be identified by Benzi and their identification is based on the description in Maiuri’s publication of the tomb (Benzi 1992, 355).

We can identify about twelve tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages (for an overview of the most characteristic features of this group, see Table 1 below).⁶¹ The graves tend to be smaller, in terms of the size of the burial chamber and the length of the dromos,⁶² than those containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages (see above). With regards to the pottery, we do not see any medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes. This combination of vessels is, as indicated above, characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. In general, medium or large jugs⁶³ and open pot shapes, especially kylikes,⁶⁴ are not common in tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages.

A characteristic feature of the “Ialysos-2” group is that more than half of the assemblages associated with it (c. 58%) include one or more small ceramic vessels.⁶⁵ The small jug or juglet (Fig. 37) is the most common, occurring in five tombs.⁶⁶ Feeding bottles are found in three graves.⁶⁷ We also have single examples of the rounded alabastron (Fig. 38)⁶⁸ and the askos (Fig. 39).⁶⁹ Small open pot forms include the small mug⁷⁰ and the small stemless goblet.⁷¹

In contrast to the “Ialysos-1” group discussed above, there are no specific categories of objects other than pottery that can be called typical of the “Ialysos-2” group. Overall, it can be said that the “Ialysos-2” assemblages usually do not have a large number of objects other than pottery associated with them. We have four tombs that contained only pottery.⁷² Glass beads⁷³ and stone conuli⁷⁴ are the most common. However, as noted above, since these also frequently appear in combination with the “Ialysos-1” group, they can probably best be seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that there is quite some variety in the number of glass beads found per tomb. No more than two pieces are associated with New Tombs 8, 29 and 63.

⁶¹ See fn. 22.

⁶² See fn. 45.

⁶³ The only medium or large jug comes from New Tomb 23.

⁶⁴ Two of the twelve tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages yielded a single undecorated kylix. These are New Tombs 22 and 58.

⁶⁵ NT 8, 10, 18, 23, 25, 29 and 58

⁶⁶ NT 8: no. 1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 997, fn. 265); NT 18: no. 2; NT 23: no. 8 (ibidem, 997, no. 27); NT 29: no. 5; NT 58: a (ibidem, 997, fn. 283)

⁶⁷ NT 10, 25 and 29 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 52)

⁶⁸ NT 29: no. 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 996, no. 24)

⁶⁹ NT 29: no. 4

⁷⁰ NT 51: no. 5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1005, fn. 334)

⁷¹ NT 29: no. 8 (Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 227)

⁷² NT 6, 18 and 22-3

⁷³ NT 8: Benzi 1992, 244, B; NT 25: ibidem, 286, 8A-E; NT 26: ibidem, 287, 6; NT 29: ibidem, 295, C; NT 51: ibidem, 340-1, 6B, 14A; NT 63: ibidem, 368, A

⁷⁴ NT 10, 25, 51 and 63

New Tomb 26 yielded fourteen beads. The largest quantities were recovered from New Tombs 58, 25 and 51, which produced fifty, sixty-one and more than one-hundred glass beads, respectively.

New Tomb 51 clearly stands out from the other graves with “Ialysos-2” assemblages. Besides a large collection of glass and stone beads, it also yielded an object made of silver (probably a diadem) and a bronze razor or cleaver. It should be noted that metal items are very rare in the “Ialysos-2” group. The only other metal objects found are some pieces of lead wire from New Tomb 8 and a bronze knife from New Tomb 26 (Fig. 40). Bronze weapons are completely absent, of which the distribution, as argued above, is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. Other distinguishing features of New Tomb 51 are the length of its dromos (c. 8.00 m) and the fact that it – or rather its location – was marked by a tomb stone. Similar stones also appear in New Tombs 27, 48, 50, 54 and 55 (Fig. 41), all of which contained “Ialysos-1” assemblages (see above). New Tomb 51 is, however, not included in this group because its assemblage did not have any medium or large jugs or kylikes associated with it.

So far, I have strictly separated the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. New Tomb 51 shows, however, that certain “Ialysos-1” traits (tomb architecture and presence of valuable or exotic materials) can also appear in “Ialysos-2” assemblages. The reverse may also be true. As indicated above, many “Ialysos-2” assemblages have one or more small ceramic pots. As a matter fact, the “Ialysos-1” group also includes a number of tombs in which several such small vessels were found.⁷⁵ Consider New Tomb 28. Among its contents were a small jug, two feeding bottles, a small mug, a carinated conical cup and a small stemless goblet. Indeed, this shows that the definition of the groups as developed in this chapter – and in Chapter 3 for the Greek mainland – allows for variation between individual assemblages.

Another type of variation is represented by assemblages deviating from both main patterns described above: material manifestations of relations of similarity and difference. This applies to the following three tombs: New Tombs 76,⁷⁶ 81⁷⁷ and 86.⁷⁸ The assemblages from New Tombs 76 and 86 consist exclusively of Cypriot-style pottery. The former yielded a

⁷⁵ New Tomb 19 contained a feeding bottle and a small mug. In New Tomb 28 were found a small jug, two feeding bottles, a small mug, a carinated conical cup and a small stemless goblet. New Tomb 31 produced two small jugs. Among the finds from New Tomb 50 were a carinated conical cup and a feeding bottle. A small jug and three small stemless goblets came to light in New Tomb 56. The contents of New Tomb 57 included a small piriform jar and a small jug.

⁷⁶ Benzi 1992, 11, 384-5.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, 11, 389.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, 11, 395.

lekythos (Fig. 42), the latter a jug, a lekythos and a bull figure.⁷⁹ New Tomb 81 had been extensively robbed, but contained fragments of two Minoan-style clay larnakes. The lack of large piriform jars and stirrup jars within these tombs is striking. As indicated above, in the majority of tombs with “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2” assemblages large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars were found. Another important difference is represented by the tomb type, since neither one of the tombs listed above can be classified as a ‘classic’ Mycenaean-style chamber tomb used for multiple inhumations, which was the norm at Ialysos in LHIIIA-B (see section 4.1.1).⁸⁰

5.2.1.2 LHIIIA2 assemblages from the Old Tombs at Ialysos

The original archaeological contexts of a large part of the pottery from the Old Tombs at Ialysos are known.⁸¹ There is, however, also a large collection of finds, mostly objects other pottery, of unknown provenance. As indicated in Chapter 4, we have hardly any documentation of the excavation of these tombs. Judging from the relative size of some of the assemblages, sometimes consisting of no more than one vessel,⁸² it seems likely that many tombs were found in a robbed state. Moreover, with a few exceptions, the assemblages ‘consist’ almost exclusively of pottery. We usually do not know which objects other than pottery were found in which tomb. For these reasons, in the following discussion I will only concentrate on the question whether there are any similarities between the groups recognized among the New Tombs (see above) and the (extant) materials from the Old Tombs. In order to do this I will focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record.

With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity, we noted in section 5.2.1.1 above that the majority of assemblages from the New Tombs included one or more large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars, of which there are a number of different types. The most common are the piriform stirrup jar and the globular stirrup jar. About 60% of the Old Tombs

⁷⁹ Mee 1982, 22.

⁸⁰ New Tomb 76 is a pit grave with a single burial; New Tomb 81 a shaft grave (no burial remains found); and New Tomb 86 a chamber with two dromoi containing only a single inhumation (see section 4.1.1).

⁸¹ For an overview of the ceramic vessels per tomb, see Mee 1982, 122-4.

⁸² OT 2, 10, 14, 16-8, 30 and 34

containing assemblages from LHIII A2⁸³ had stirrup jars associated with them.⁸⁴ We see a clear preference for the piriform stirrup jar (c. 42%).⁸⁵ The extant corpus includes relatively few large piriform jars. Only three of the twelve Old Tombs with LHIII A2 assemblages yielded a large piriform jar.⁸⁶ Less common than the large piriform jar and the stirrup jar, but still occurring in a relatively large number of assemblages from the New Tombs (50%) is the tripod incense burner or brazier. Among the Old Tomb assemblages two⁸⁷ included examples of this vessel type (25%). Therefore, we might conclude that in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity – at least as far as the pottery is concerned – there are similarities and differences between the assemblages from the Old Tombs and the New Tombs.

We also see similarities between both groups of tombs when it comes to the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. Below I give two examples that show that the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group also occur among the Old Tombs. The inventory of Old Tomb 26 may tentatively be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. It includes two pattern-painted kylikes and a cutaway-necked jug. The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group.

The finds from Old Tombs 38 are similar to those typically associated with the “Ialysos-2” group, comprising two feeding bottles, two small mugs and a carinated conical cup. As indicated above, the lack of medium or large jugs and/or kylikes and the presence of one or more small ceramic vessels are features characteristic of the “Ialysos-2” group. In the next section we will address the question whether the two “Ialysos” groups established here also occur in other parts of Rhodes.

5.2.1.3 LHIII A2 assemblages from other sites on Rhodes

Since as indicated before many sites on Rhodes were robbed or illegally excavated it is only possible for a few sites to be compared to Ialysos. These are Kalavarda (Aniforo), Mandhriko, Kariones, Lelos, Kattavia, Passia and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Map 12 in Chapter 4).

⁸³ In this count I only include the tombs with two or more ceramic vessels from LHIII A2. These are Old Tombs 5, 19-21, 25-7, 31, 36-8 and A. Graves that had only one pot form from this phase and were therefore not included in the count are Old Tombs 12 (kylix), 16 (basket vase), 23 (flask), 32 (beaked jug) and 34 (incense burner).

⁸⁴ OT 19, 21, 31, 36-8 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42-4)

⁸⁵ OT 19, 36-8 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42)

⁸⁶ OT 20 and 36-7 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 38)

⁸⁷ OT 5 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 122-3)

Five Mycenaean-style chamber tombs were excavated at Kalavarda (Aniforo).⁸⁸ The graves (apparently) did not contain anything but pottery. Four tombs yielded vessels from LHIIIA2.⁸⁹ Of these two – Tombs 48 (3) and 49 (4) – only had a single pot from this period.⁹⁰ They were intensively reused in LHIIIC. In terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity, we see clear similarities between the assemblages from Kalavarda (Aniforo) and those from Ialysos. Three of the four tombs contained large piriform jars,⁹¹ in two cases in combination with a stirrup jar. With regards to the manifestation of relations of difference, there are similarities between the finds from Tomb 46 (1) and the “Ialysos-1” group. The assemblage of the former included a stirrup jug,⁹² a pattern-painted kylix⁹³ and a conical rhyton.⁹⁴ The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. The distribution of ritual vessels is also usually limited to this group at Ialysos (see section 5.2.1.1 above). The assemblage from Tomb 47 (2) did include two beaked jugs but no kylikes were found inside of it.

To the south-west of Kalavarda is Mandhriko where a single chamber tomb has been cleared.⁹⁵ Its assemblage consisted of a large piriform jar⁹⁶ and a small piriform jar.⁹⁷ All that can be said about it is that it includes an example of the vessel type present in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos. Because of this, at Ialysos the large piriform jar is seen as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

East of Mandhriko is Kariones where two Mycenaean-style chamber tombs have been discovered.⁹⁸ Tomb 2 is LHIIIB in date (see section 5.3.1.2 below). The assemblage from Tomb 1 is not fully preserved. Only six of the thirteen vessels found have been published. There are no objects other than pottery. The extant LHIIIA2 assemblage consists of a large piriform jar,⁹⁹ four globular stirrup jars¹⁰⁰ and a conical cup.¹⁰¹ It suffices to state here that

⁸⁸ Jacopi 1933; Mee 1982, 50-3; Benzi 1992, 413-17; Georgiadis 2003, 37, 71-3.

⁸⁹ Tomb 50 (5) is LHIIIC in date (Mee 1982, 52).

⁹⁰ There were a large piriform jar in Tomb 48 (3) and a globular stirrup jar in Tomb 49 (4).

⁹¹ Tomb 46 (1): no. 2 (Benzi 1992, 413); Tomb 47 (2): nos. 1a-c (ibidem, 414); Tomb 48 (3): no. 1 (ibidem, 415)

⁹² Benzi 1992, 413, no. 3.

⁹³ Ibidem, 413, no. 4.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, 413, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, fn. 320).

⁹⁵ Benzi 1992, 419; Georgiadis 2003, 37.

⁹⁶ Benzi 1992, 419, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 231).

⁹⁷ Benzi 1992, 419, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 246); Georgiadis 2003, 37-8.

⁹⁸ Benzi 1992, 420-2; Georgiadis 2003, 37.

⁹⁹ Benzi 1992, 420, no. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Benzi 1992, 420, nos. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 305), 3-4 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310), 5 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293).

¹⁰¹ Benzi 1992, 420, no. 6.

large piriform jars and stirrup jars are also present in most assemblages at Ialysos. On these grounds, they are interpreted as manifestations of relations of similarity at that site.

Nearby Kariones is the cemetery of Lelos,¹⁰² which consists of nine Mycenaean-style chamber tombs.¹⁰³ Four tombs had been robbed or cleared by clandestine excavators.¹⁰⁴ With regards to the material expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we notice that, with the exception of Tomb 2, all assemblages included one or more stirrup jars (80%). The piriform stirrup jar¹⁰⁵ and the globular stirrup jar¹⁰⁶ are equally popular, occurring in three assemblages each. Incense burners appear in two contexts (40%).¹⁰⁷ We see similar patterns at Ialysos in this period. A notable difference, however, is that at Ialysos besides stirrup jars the majority of tombs also included one or more large piriform jars. At Lelos, on the other hand, only one tomb contained a large piriform jar from LHIII A2.¹⁰⁸ Apart from pottery, many assemblages from Ialysos also had stone conuli associated with them. In this light note in three of the five tombs in use at Lelos in LHIII A2 (60%) stone conuli were found.¹⁰⁹

It is possible to see similarities between Lelos and Ialysos when it comes to the manifestation of relations of difference. The assemblages from Tombs 5 and 6 can be compared to the “Ialysos-1” group. Both included medium or large jugs and pattern-painted kylikes. Another similarity is represented by the offerings other than pottery. Among the finds recovered from Tomb 6 were several glass plaques and a crystal lentoid seal stone. As noted above, glass plaques also typically occur in combination with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. Moreover, at Ialysos the distribution of seal stones is also limited this group. There are no such items from Lelos Tomb 5, of which the assemblage included a bronze knife, a shell and a stone conulus (see above).

Lelos Tombs 2 and 7 may be compared to the “Ialysos-2” group. In both tombs pattern-painted kylikes but no medium or large jugs were found. In addition, among the finds from the two graves were a number of small ceramic vessels. Tomb 2 yielded a small jug and Tomb 7 a feeding bottle and a rounded alabastron. The only tomb which has not been mentioned so far is Tomb 1. With the exception of a stirrup jar and an incense burner (see

¹⁰² Mee 1982, 55-8; Benzi 1992, 422-31; Georgiadis 2003, 37, 71-3.

¹⁰³ For an overview of the finds per tomb, see Appendix 4 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁴ Benzi 1992, 422-31.

¹⁰⁵ Tombs 1, 5-6

¹⁰⁶ Tombs 5-7

¹⁰⁷ Tombs 1, 6

¹⁰⁸ Tomb 5

¹⁰⁹ Tombs 1, 5-6

above), its assemblage is comprised only of open vessels, including a goblet from LHIIIB-III A1, a pattern-painted kylix from LHIIIA2 and an undecorated (conical) kylix.¹¹⁰ We have no parallel for this from Ialysos.

Another cemetery, which consists of at least three chamber tombs, is situated at Kattavia, in south Rhodes.¹¹¹ The vessels from Tombs 2 and 3 could no longer be identified.¹¹² The assemblage from Tomb 1 can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group, because it included a stirrup jug¹¹³ and several (painted and undecorated) kylikes.¹¹⁴ This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Objects other than pottery consist of a steatite seal,¹¹⁵ a stone conulus,¹¹⁶ a bead¹¹⁷ and a lead weight.¹¹⁸ At Ialysos, the distribution of seals is also limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. The Kattavia assemblage also included three large piriform jars,¹¹⁹ four (piriform and globular) stirrup jars and an incense burner.¹²⁰ Although we have only one assemblage here, I want to point out that these are also the vessel types which are present in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos in LHIIIA2. Because of this, they have been interpreted here as possible manifestations of relations of similarity (see section 5.2.1.1 above).

The cemetery of Passia is situated to the north-east of Kattavia, nearby the large, but robbed necropolis of Vati (Apsaktiras). There are four chamber tombs at Passia.¹²¹ The only assemblage from LHIIIA2 comes from Tomb 1. It exclusively consists of pottery. The assemblage can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. Among the finds recovered were two medium or large jugs¹²² and two kylikes.¹²³ This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. The assemblage also included a large piriform jar.¹²⁴ As noted above, large piriform jars, together with stirrup jars, are present in most assemblages at Ialysos in LHIIIA2.

¹¹⁰ Benzi 1992, 422, no. 3.

¹¹¹ Dietz 1984, 78; Benzi 1992, 434-5; Georgiadis 2003, 38.

¹¹² Dietz 1984, 78.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 80, no. 6.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 80-1, nos. 4-5, 8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 84, no. 20.

¹¹⁶ Benzi 1992, 81, no. 11.

¹¹⁷ Dietz 1984, no. 21.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 83, no. 14.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 78-81, nos. 1, 3, 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, 81-4, nos. 12-3, 15, 18.

¹²¹ Dietz 1984, 21-50; Georgiadis 2003, 38-9, 71-3.

¹²² Dietz 1984, 26-9, nos. 5 (stirrup jug) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 284), 8 (beaked jug) (*ibidem*, 997, fn. 278).

¹²³ Dietz 1984, 25-9, nos. 3 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 349), 9.

¹²⁴ Dietz 1984, 29, no. 10 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 240).

Located to the north-east of Passia and near the coast is the cemetery of Pylona (Aspropilia),¹²⁵ which consisted of six chamber tombs.¹²⁶ Tomb 4 is LHIIIC in date¹²⁷ and Tomb 6 was emptied in late Roman times.¹²⁸ The main phase of use of the rest of the cemetery is LHIIIA2.

With regards to the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we notice that the assemblages of all four remaining tombs included one or more large piriform jars and stirrup jars. The piriform stirrup jar and the globular stirrup jar are equally popular, occurring in all four tombs each. Incense burners¹²⁹ and stone conuli appear in two of the four graves (50%).¹³⁰ Glass beads are present in three of the four tombs (75%). We see comparable trends at Ialysos in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1.1 above).

The assemblages of Tombs 1, 2, 3 and 5 can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. In all four tombs medium or large jugs (Figs. 43-4) and (painted and undecorated) kylikes were found. This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Other features Tombs 1, 2, 3 and 5 have in common with this group are the presence of (amphoroid) kraters (Fig. 45) in Tombs 1 and 3, and conical rhyta in Tombs 1 and 2 (Fig. 46). As indicated above, at Ialysos, the distribution of these vessel types – kraters and ritual vessels – also tends to be limited to this group. Among the objects other than pottery there are items which can be considered characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. These are glass relief-beads (Figs. 47-9), which were found in Tombs 1, 2 and 3, and bronze weapons: a spearhead and a razor or cleaver came to light in Tomb 1, and recovered from Tomb 3 were a short sword (Sandars type Eii) (Fig. 50), a spearhead (Fig. 51) and a razor or cleaver. Tomb 3 also yielded a unique necklace of gold relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair. At Ialysos, the distribution of gold beads is (almost) completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, which is also the sub-group with which most bronze swords are associated. The “Ialysos-1 (2)” group mostly contains spearheads and arrowheads (see section 5.2.1.1 above). The remaining two graves – Pylona Tombs 2 and 5 – did not produce any bronze weapons. Tomb 2 yielded some bronze rings and a pair of tweezers. In Tomb 5 a bronze knife was found.

¹²⁵ Karantzali 2001; Georgiadis 2003, 39, 71-3.

¹²⁶ For an overview of finds per tomb, see Appendix 5 at the back of this dissertation.

¹²⁷ Karantzali 2001, 18-9.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, 21.

¹²⁹ Tombs 1 and 3

¹³⁰ Tombs 2 and 5

To conclude, in section 5.2.1.1 above it was argued that we can recognize two main groups of tomb assemblages at Ialysos in LHIII A2. These have been referred to as “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2”. As shown above, assemblages similar to the “Ialysos-1” group also appear at a number of other cemeteries on Rhodes, such as at Kalavarda (Aniforo), Lelos, Kattavia, Passia and Pylona (Aspropilia). There is much less evidence outside Ialysos for the “Ialysos-2” group. The only convincing parallels are Lelos Tombs 2 and 7.

Besides in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference, we can also compare these sites with Ialysos by focusing on the material expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. As indicated above, at these cemeteries we see the same general trends as at Ialysos in LHIII A2. The majority of assemblages include one or more large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars. Incense burners are, albeit more infrequently, also regularly found. To conclude this section on Rhodes, in Table 1 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group is given.

“Ialysos-1 (1)”	“Ialysos-1 (2)”	“Ialysos-2”
Pottery	Pottery	Pottery
<p>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or <u>tinned</u> kylikes</p> <p><u>Tinned pottery</u> is limited to this group.</p> <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic stirrup jars • Ritual vessels • Kylikes with high-swung handle(s) • Shallow angular bowls <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kraters 	<p>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and <u>painted</u> kylikes.</p> <p>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pattern-painted kylikes <p>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kraters 	<p>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</p> <p>Assemblages associated with this group often contain one or more small ceramic vessels, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi, small mugs and carinated conical cups.</p>
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
<p>Group usually contains concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as gold jewelry and bronze weapons.</p> <p>Object types limited to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold rosettes and (relief) beads • Glass bracket-shaped beads • Stone seals • Bronze swords 	<p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory are very rare.</p> <p>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze spearheads • Bronze razors or cleavers <p>Object types limited (mostly) to this group</p>	<p>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery.</p> <p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory, and bronze weapons generally do not occur.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metal vessels <p>Object types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amber beads • Glass relief beads, especially plaques and rosettes • Bronze arrowheads 	<p>and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amber beads • Glass relief beads, especially plaques and rosettes • Bronze arrowheads 	
Architectural details	Architectural details	Architectural details
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 of 4 tombs of which data is available¹³¹ had dromoi of 8.50 meters long or more.¹³² • 2 of 4 tombs of which data is available had “large” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²)¹³³; the other two “medium” (3.00 to 7.00 m²).¹³⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 of 9 tombs had 3 to 4.50 meters long dromoi¹³⁵; the other five had 6.30 to 8.20 meters long dromoi.¹³⁶ • 8 of 9 tombs of which data is available had “medium” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²)¹³⁷; one had a “small” chamber (0.40 to 3.00 m²).¹³⁸ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 of 10 tombs of which data is available¹³⁹ had 3 to 5.50 meters long dromoi¹⁴⁰; the length of the dromoi of the other four ranged between 5.80 to 8.10 meters.¹⁴¹ • 6 of 11 tombs of which data is available had “small” chambers (0.40 to 3.00 m²)¹⁴²; the other five had medium chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²)¹⁴³

Table 1 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2” groups in LHIII A2

5.2.2 Kos

In LHIIB-III A1 the cemetery at Eleona/Langada was limited completely to Eleona. In the following LHIII A2 phase, on the other hand, the focal point of the site was shifted to Langada, where the majority of tombs in use in this period are situated. We know of only a few other cemetery sites on Kos where funerary activity has been recorded in LHIII A2 (see section 4.2.1). These are a tholos located west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” and single chamber tombs located at Mesaria and Pyli (Map 11 in Chapter 4).

¹³¹ No information about the length of the dromos is available from New Tombs 28, 31 and 54.

¹³² NT 4 and 50

¹³³ NT 31 and 50

¹³⁴ NT 4 and 56

¹³⁵ NT 27 (?), 48 (?), 54 and 57

¹³⁶ NT 3, 7, 9, 19 and 55

¹³⁷ NT 3, 7, 9, 19, 27, 54-5 and 57

¹³⁸ NT 48

¹³⁹ We have no information about the length of the dromos of New Tombs 26 and 63.

¹⁴⁰ NT 8, 10, 18, 22-3 and 58

¹⁴¹ NT 6, 25, 29 and 51

¹⁴² NT 8, 10, 18, 22, 29 and 63

¹⁴³ NT 6, 23, 25, 51 and 58

5.2.2.1 LHIII A2 assemblages from Eleona/Langada

It has been possible to identify two groups of assemblages at Eleona/Langada in LHIII A2. They are referred to here as “Kos-1”¹⁴⁴ and “Kos-2”¹⁴⁵ (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 2 below). As noted in section 5.2.1 above, the “Kos-1” group is also attested in LHIIB-III A1. Before discussing the distinguishing traits of these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. There are two vessel types that are common to both the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group. These are stirrup jars, mostly of the globular type, and small jugs or juglets (Fig. 52). The former occur in ten of the thirteen tombs with assemblages from LHIII A2 (c. 77%),¹⁴⁶ the latter in nine (c. 69%).¹⁴⁷ Since these vessel types appear so frequently in both groups of assemblages, they are here considered as possible material manifestations of relations of similarity. We now turn to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada.

There are three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2.¹⁴⁸ This group is characterized by the presence of medium or large jugs, (painted and undecorated) kylikes (Figs. 53-4) and bronze weapons. One spearhead came to light in Langada Tomb 16 (Fig. 55).¹⁴⁹ Two arrowheads (Fig. 56)¹⁵⁰ and an axe were found in Langada Tomb 37.¹⁵¹ Other finds from this tomb consist of a bronze ring and pin, a lead button, a rubber’s stone, a stone conulus, some fragments of amber and a few glass beads.¹⁵² We have no objects other than pottery from Langada Tomb 51.

The “Kos-2” group is comprised of seven assemblages from Langada and three from Eleona.¹⁵³ What characterizes this group is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring in combination with kylikes. As noted above, this combination is typical of the “Kos-1” group.

¹⁴⁴ For “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2, see Langada Tombs 16, 37 and 51 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁵ For “Kos-2” assemblages from LHIII A2, see Eleona Tombs 2, 10 and 16 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 3, 25, 29, 38, 41, 54 and 56 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁶ Stirrup jars occur in the following tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: LT 16, 37 and 51; “Kos-2” assemblages comprising stirrup jars come from the following tombs: ET 10; LT 3, 29, 38, 41, 54 and 56. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 184-7.

¹⁴⁷ Small jugs were found in the following tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: LT 16 and 37; “Kos-2” assemblages including juglets come from the following tombs: ET 2, 10, 16; LT 25, 38, 41 and 56. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, 210-5.

¹⁴⁸ See fn. 144.

¹⁴⁹ Morricone 1967, 124.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, 176.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, 175-6.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 174-6.

¹⁵³ See fn. 145.

In general, medium or large jugs¹⁵⁴ and open pot shapes, especially kylikes,¹⁵⁵ are not common in association with the “Kos-2” group. Another trait of this group is that it includes a good many assemblages containing one or more small ceramic vessels. The most common is the small jug (70%).¹⁵⁶ This pot shape was discussed above in relation to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada. Other small ceramic pots occurring in combination with the “Kos-2” group are the small carinated cup (Fig. 57), the feeding bottle and the rounded alabastron. The cup appeared in three tombs,¹⁵⁷ the feeding bottle¹⁵⁸ and the alabastron¹⁵⁹ in two each.

“Kos-2” assemblages usually include only a small number of objects other than pottery. There are about four tombs without any other finds.¹⁶⁰ “Kos-2” assemblages do not comprise any bronze weapons, of which the distribution is limited to the “Kos-1” group in LHIIIA2 (see above). Terracotta buttons¹⁶¹ and stone conuli¹⁶² are the commonest, of which examples were found in four assemblages each (40%). Note that no terracotta buttons were recovered from any of the tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages. Jewelry beads also appear in four assemblages (40%).¹⁶³ Of the three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages only one had some beads associated with it.¹⁶⁴ However, we notice considerable differences within the “Kos-2” group in the number of beads per tomb. Eleona Tomb 16 and Langada Tombs 25 and 56 produced only a single (glass or stone) bead. Two-hundred-and-seventy-six pieces came to light in Langada Tomb 38.

So far, we have focused our analysis of Kos on the cemetery of Eleona/Langada. In the next section, we will explore a number of other sites to see if the “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” groups also occur in other parts of the island.

5.2.2.2 LHIIIA2 assemblages from other sites on Kos

¹⁵⁴ The only medium or large jug found comes from Langada Tomb 25.

¹⁵⁵ The only kylix found comes from Langada Tomb 54, which yielded a monochrome FS 264.

¹⁵⁶ See fn. 147.

¹⁵⁷ LT 29, 38 and 56 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 219-22)

¹⁵⁸ ET 10: no. 4 (338); LT 54: no. 1 (220) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, fn. 778)

¹⁵⁹ ET 16: no. 1 (370) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, fn. 772); LT 25: no. 1 (80) (ibidem, 1087, no. 19)

¹⁶⁰ ET 2, 10 (note that we have no information on most of the small finds from the Eleona Tombs); LT 3 and 29

¹⁶¹ LT 25, 38, 41 and 56

¹⁶² ET 16; LT 38, 41 and 54

¹⁶³ ET 16; LT 25, 38 and 56

¹⁶⁴ LT 38

Only a few other cemetery sites have so far been excavated on Kos. Of interest here are the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”¹⁶⁵ and the chamber tombs at Pyli¹⁶⁶ and Mesaria (Map 11 in Chapter 4).¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the tholos is still largely unpublished. We nevertheless see a number of similarities between the assemblages from the tholos and the tomb at Pyli on the one hand and the “Kos-1” group on the other. These have in common in the presence of (painted) kylikes¹⁶⁸ and bronze weapons. The tholos produced a spearhead and a short sword or a dagger.¹⁶⁹ Amongst the finds recovered from the tomb at Pyli are a short sword (Sandars type H) (Fig. 58)¹⁷⁰ and a spearhead (Fig. 59).¹⁷¹ Moreover, the assemblage from the tomb at Pyli had a linear stirrup jug associated with it. As noted above, medium or large jugs also typically occur in combination with the “Kos-1” group in LHIII A2.

We can also notice some differences. In both the tholos and the tomb at Pyli a krater was found.¹⁷² This pot shape does not appear in any of the tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages at Eleona/Langada. In addition, apart from bronze weapons, the tholos also yielded gold rosettes and beads and glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads.¹⁷³ Besides Langada Tomb 37, which contained three glass beads and some fragments of amber (probably belonging to beads), in none of the other tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages any glass or stone, let alone gold, jewelry was found.

The chamber tomb at Mesaria had been disturbed by a bulldozer. Its (extant) inventory may tentatively be compared to the “Kos-2” group from Eleona/Langada. We do not find any medium or large jugs or kylikes. Its assemblage consists of closed pot forms only, comprising a small jug, a linear handleless jar and a large piriform jar stylistically dated to LHIII B.¹⁷⁴

We have so far concentrated on similarities and differences with the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference. Although the complete assemblage from the tholos is unknown, it is notable that none of the tombs discussed in this section yielded any stirrup jars. At Eleona/Langada, this is one of the vessel types present in most assemblages that have been excavated at that site. For this reason stirrup jars are seen as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity here. The same

¹⁶⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 40, 74.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 41.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 41.

¹⁶⁸ Giorgaras: Skerlou 1996, 692, Pin. 227a, right; Pyli: Benzi 2006, 16-7, nos. 5-8.

¹⁶⁹ Skerlou 1996, 691.

¹⁷⁰ Benzi 2006, 17-21, no. 9.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 21-2, no. 10.

¹⁷² Giorgaras: Skerlou 1996, 692; Pyli: Benzi 2006, 15, no. 1.

¹⁷³ Skerlou 1996, 691.

¹⁷⁴ Mountjoy 1999a, 1076.

applies to small jugs or juglets, of which we do have an example from the (destroyed) chamber tomb at Mesaria.

To conclude, at Eleona/Langada, two main groups of assemblages were identified, which have been referred to as “Kos-1” and “Kos-2”. The evidence from the rest of the island is very limited. We discussed several tombs which have features in common with the “Kos-1” group. Except for the (destroyed) chamber tomb at Mesaria, the “Kos-2” group is attested only at Eleona/Langada in LHIII A2. To conclude this section on Kos, in Table 2 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group is given.

“Kos-1”	“Kos-2”
Pottery	Pottery
Group is characterized by the presence of painted kylikes. Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medium or large jugs 	Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes. Assemblages associated with this group often contain one or more small ceramic vessels, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi and carinated conical cups.
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
Object types limited to this group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze weapons: spearheads and arrowheads 	Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery. Object types limited (mostly) to this group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terracotta buttons • Stone conuli

Table 2 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” groups in LHIII A2

5.2.3 Astypalaia and Karpathos

The island of Astypalaia is located to the south-west of Kos, and to the north-west of Karpathos (see below). Two pairs of two chamber tombs have been excavated at Armenochori and Synkairos (Map 11 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.3).¹⁷⁵ The assemblages from both sites are quite similar. They are made up of a number of open vessels, several (plain and pattern-painted) kylikes and one or two kraters, and a variety of closed pots. The main difference between the two sites is the range of closed shapes found. At Armenochori, we find a large piriform jar and a large number of stirrup jars, including examples of the piriform FS

¹⁷⁵ Georgiadis 2003, 74.

166 and the globular 171. The repertoire of closed pot shapes from Synkairos consists of a small piriform jar, a straight-sided alabastron and a hydria.

There are also similarities between the two sites when it comes to the offerings other than pottery. In both pairs of tombs a variety of bronzes was found. Both assemblages included spearheads. Other bronzes recovered from Armenochori are made up by a cauldron, a dipper (?), two knives, a razor or cleaver and an axe. Other finds consist of a rubber's stone, some stone conuli¹⁷⁶ and a few glass beads, including two relief-beads – one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette.¹⁷⁷ Because the tombs at Armenochori were also in use in LHIIB, and LHIIC (Chapter 4), the possibility that some of these finds belong to a later period cannot be completely excluded. Besides two spearheads, other bronzes from the Synkairos assemblage comprise two chisels and a fish hook. Other finds include a large collection of lead fishing weights and a rubber's stone.¹⁷⁸

There is more evidence of funerary activity in LM/HIIIA2 on Karpathos. Unfortunately, however, for several reasons only a small number of tombs have actually been excavated. The rest of the material was handed in to the museum or washed out from destroyed tombs. The only two tombs that have been excavated are situated at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa) (Map 11 in Chapter 4).¹⁷⁹ The assemblages from these tombs are very similar in nature. They are comprised a large number and a wide variety of open vases, including different types of kraters, cups and kylikes. There are also closed vessels, such as large piriform jars and different types of stirrup jars. Since we also have many large piriform jars and stirrup jars in collections of which the original context or provenance is (partially or completely) unknown, it is tentative to see these vessel types as possible material manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Karpathos. Concerning the offerings other than pottery, at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) mostly bronze weapons were found, namely a short sword (Sandars type B) (Fig. 60),¹⁸⁰ two spearheads (Fig. 61),¹⁸¹ a dagger¹⁸² and a razor or cleaver.¹⁸³ There also were two non-descript lead items.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 239.

¹⁷⁷ Triantafyllidis 2002-2005.

¹⁷⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 239.

¹⁷⁹ Melas 1985, 39-40; Mountjoy 1999a, 970.

¹⁸⁰ Melas 1985, 330, C101.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 330, C104-5.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, 330, C102.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, 330, C103.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 330, C98-99.

The only objects other than pottery from Vonies (Arkasa) consisted of two plain bronze rings.¹⁸⁵

We have one incomplete assemblage from the north side of Karpathos which can be compared to the materials from the two tombs discussed above. The assemblage comes from a (destroyed) tomb at Kambi (Diafani).¹⁸⁶ It consists of a stirrup jar, a small jug, two pattern-painted kylikes (Figs. 62-3), an angular cup and two rhyta (Figs. 64-5).¹⁸⁷ The assemblage also comprised a short bronze sword (Sandars type Dii) (Fig. 66).¹⁸⁸ We find the same combination, open vessels, especially kylikes, occurring together with bronze weapons, at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) (see above).

5.2.4 South-western coastal Anatolia: Müskebi

Three chamber tomb cemetery sites have been excavated on the south-west coast of Anatolia: Müskebi (see below), Pilavtepe (see section 5.4.5 below) and Değirmentepe (see section 5.4.6 below).¹⁸⁹ I will discuss Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe under LHIIB below.

The Müskebi necropolis (Map 11 in Chapter 4) consisted of forty-eight badly-preserved Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (see section 4.5). Only the pottery and the bronzes have been fully published.¹⁹⁰ Of other find categories, such as glass and/or stone jewelry beads, we have only limited information.

Three groups of assemblages can be recognized in the archaeological burial record of Müskebi. These are referred to here as “Müskebi-1”,¹⁹¹ “Müskebi-2”¹⁹² and “Müskebi-3”¹⁹³ (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 3 below). It is not possible to find any traits all these different groups of assemblages have in common. Therefore, we will now proceed in discussing the defining or distinguishing criteria of these groups. We have eleven chamber tombs with “Müskebi-1” assemblages. The assemblages are characterized by

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 40.

¹⁸⁶ Melas 1985, 43-4, 78, nos. 1266-73; Mountjoy 1999a, 970.

¹⁸⁷ Melas 1985, 78, nos. 1268-9.

¹⁸⁸ Melas 1985, 299, no. 1273; Georgiadis 2003, 217.

¹⁸⁹ For comments on a group of newly discovered tombs in the vicinity of Müskebi, see Chapter 1, fn. 136.

¹⁹⁰ Boysal 1969; Akyurt 1998, 29-34.

¹⁹¹ For “Müskebi-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Tombs 6, 9, 10, 26, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 40 and 42 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁹² For “Müskebi-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Tombs 2, 12, 16, 20, 21, 34, 35 and 39 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

¹⁹³ For “Müskebi-3” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Tombs 4, 7, 11, 15, 22, 23, 24, 27, 32, 36, 41, 45, 46 and 47 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

consisting of only one ceramic vessel. The small jug, occurring in five tombs (c.45%),¹⁹⁴ and the straight-sided alabastron, which is found in four graves (c. 36%),¹⁹⁵ are the commonest. There is also one assemblage with a small carinated cup¹⁹⁶ and another one with a globular stirrup jar.¹⁹⁷ Objects other than pottery appear to be absent.

A vessel type that appears in five of the eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (c. 63%) and in nine of the fourteen with “Müskebi-3” assemblages (c. 65%) is the stirrup jar. In combination with the “Müskebi-2” group we mostly have examples of the globular stirrup jar FS 171 (Fig. 67).¹⁹⁸ Among the “Müskebi-3” assemblages the globular stirrup jar¹⁹⁹ and the piriform stirrup jar (Fig. 68)²⁰⁰ are more or less equally represented. As noted above, only one of the “Müskebi-1” assemblages included a stirrup jar (FS 171).²⁰¹ Although not as popular as the stirrup jar (see above) but also relatively common in association with the two groups is the large piriform jar (Fig. 69). This pot form appears in three of eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (c. 38%)²⁰² and in five of the fourteen with “Müskebi-3” assemblages (c. 36%).²⁰³ Since the stirrup jar and, albeit to a lesser extent, the large piriform jar are common to both the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group, we might see their popularity as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. It is to the expression of relations of difference that we will turn next.

There are about eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages.²⁰⁴ The main characteristic of this group is that the assemblages associated with it typically include one or more (painted or undecorated) kylikes. The monochrome kylix (Figs. 70-1), occurring in seven graves, is the most common.²⁰⁵ Pattern-painted²⁰⁶ and undecorated kylikes²⁰⁷ have been found in three and two tombs, respectively. There are a number of features that distinguish this group from the “Müskebi-1” group discussed above and the “Müskebi-3” group to be dealt with below. These

¹⁹⁴ Tombs 9, 10, 29, 40 and 42 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374)

¹⁹⁵ Tombs 6, 26, 31 and 37 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 353-4)

¹⁹⁶ Tomb 30 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 383)

¹⁹⁷ Tomb 38 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)

¹⁹⁸ Globular stirrup jars were found in Tombs 2, 21, 34 and 39. Tomb 2 also yielded a piriform stirrup jar. What appears to be a domestic stirrup jar came to light in Tomb 35. For further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348-9.

¹⁹⁹ Tombs 4, 23, 32 and 45 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)

²⁰⁰ Tombs 15, 24, 32, 36, 45 and 47 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 349)

²⁰¹ Tomb 38 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)

²⁰² Tombs 2, 35 and 39 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 357)

²⁰³ Tombs 11, 15, 22, 27 and 36 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 357)

²⁰⁴ See fn. 192.

²⁰⁵ Tombs 2, 16, 20, 21, 34, 35 and 39 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 350, 352)

²⁰⁶ Tombs 2, 12 and 21 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 351)

²⁰⁷ Tombs 2 and 16 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 366-7)

are that “Müskebi-2” assemblages generally do not include any small jugs²⁰⁸ or straight-sided alabastra,²⁰⁹ both of which occur relatively frequently in combination with “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages.

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, we should make it clear that of four of the eight tombs we do not know whether anything else than pottery was found.²¹⁰ Based on the available information, it seems that the “Müskebi-2” group often has a bronze spearhead associated with it (Fig. 72).²¹¹ In addition to this, in Tomb 34 two razors or cleavers were found (Fig. 73).

About fourteen tombs contained “Müskebi-3” assemblages.²¹² In none of these any kylikes were found. Ten of the fourteen tombs with “Müskebi-3” assemblages produced one or more open shapes (c. 71%), but these mostly consisted of shallow cups (5 of 14),²¹³ small mugs and carinated cups (4 of 14).²¹⁴ Interestingly, in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group discussed above these pot forms are not common.²¹⁵

We can identify several pot forms which are particularly common in association with the “Müskebi-3” group. These are the small jug (6 of 14) (see below),²¹⁶ the straight-sided alabastron (6 of 14) (Fig. 74)²¹⁷ and the small piriform jar (5 of 14).²¹⁸ As noted above, small jugs and straight-sided alabastra also frequently appear in combination with the “Müskebi-1” group. The distribution of the small piriform jar, on the other hand, is (almost) completely limited to tombs with “Müskebi-3” assemblages.²¹⁹ Since the small jug and the straight-sided alabastron are common to both the “Müskebi-1” and the “Müskebi-3” group, we might see their popularity as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. Whereas the stirrup jar connects the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group, these vessel types establish a link between the “Müskebi-1” and the “Müskebi-3” group.

²⁰⁸ The only “Müskebi-2” assemblage dated to LHIIIA2 with a small jug is Tomb 12 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374).

²⁰⁹ Of all eight “Müskebi-2” assemblage the only one with a straight-sided alabastron is Tomb 35 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 354).

²¹⁰ Tombs 16, 21, 35 and 39

²¹¹ Tombs 2 (?), 12, 20 and 34

²¹² See fn. 193.

²¹³ Tombs 15, 22, 24, 32 and 41 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 355, 371)

²¹⁴ Tombs 22, 32, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 356, 383)

²¹⁵ Shallow cups and carinated cups were found only in Tomb 2. We have a conical cup from Tomb 16.

²¹⁶ Tombs 4, 15, 27, 36, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374, 377-80)

²¹⁷ Tombs 7, 15, 24, 27, 32 and 47 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 353-4)

²¹⁸ Tombs 11, 22, 32, 41 and 45 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 358)

²¹⁹ The only small piriform jar from another group comes from Tomb 34, which contained a “Müskebi-2” assemblage (see fn. 192).

A typical “Müskebi-3” trait is the presence in some tombs of one or more small ceramic vessels, of which the most common examples are the small jug (Fig. 75), occurring six graves,²²⁰ and the small mug and carinated cup, which are found four tombs (Fig. 76).²²¹ Perhaps the small piriform jar should also be included in this category of vessels (see above). Other pot forms which belong to this group of vessels and occur only once are the rounded alabastron (Fig. 77)²²² and the askos (Fig. 78).²²³

We only have little information about the offerings other than pottery from the tombs with “Müskebi-3” assemblages. A variety of different items has been found. Tomb 7 produced a bronze knife (Fig. 79)²²⁴ and Tomb 15 a gold ring (?) and a stone blade.²²⁵ An actual set of bronzes came to light in Tomb 11, which yielded a short sword (Fig. 80), a spearhead (Fig. 81) and a needle.²²⁶ Tombs 32 and 22 contained a bronze razor or cleaver and a necklace consisting of thirty-three glass relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair (Fig. 82), respectively.²²⁷

To conclude this section on Müskebi, in Table 3 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the different groups is given.

“Müskebi-1”	“Müskebi -2”	“Müskebi-3”
Pottery	Pottery	Pottery
Group is characterized by assemblages consisting of single vessels only. The most common are the small jug and the straight-sided alabastron.	Group is characterized by the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes. Vessel types rare in combination with group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small jugs • Straight-sided alabastra • Shallow cups • Small mugs and carinated cups 	Group does not include any (painted or undecorated) kylikes. Vessel types common in combination with this group: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small jugs • Straight-sided alabastra • Small piriform jars • Shallow cups • Small mugs and carinated cups
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
There is no information about any offerings other than pottery found in connection with this group.	Assemblages of this group regularly include a bronze spearhead.	No object types can be considered typical of this group. A variety of objects, including bronze weapons and glass beads, is

²²⁰ Tombs 4, 15, 27, 36, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374, 377-80)

²²¹ Tombs 22, 32, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 356, 383-5)

²²² Tomb 24: 723

²²³ Tomb 32: 1017

²²⁴ Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 14, no. 28 (7).

²²⁵ Boysal 1967, 37; Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 13, no. 24 (15).

²²⁶ Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 14, no. 29 (11).

²²⁷ Pulak 2008, 384.

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Table 3 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Müskebi-1”, “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3” groups in LHIII A2

5.2.5 South-eastern Aegean: inter-regional comparison (LHIII A2)

In the previous sections, the LHIII A2 tomb assemblages from the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean were considered. The focus was on the material manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record. In what follows, I will concentrate on the most important similarities and differences in terms of these relations within the region as a whole. It is to the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record that I will now turn.

So far, we discussed three major sites/regions. These are Ialysos on Rhodes (see section 5.2.1 above), Eleona/Langada on Kos (see section 5.2.2 above) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 5.2.4 above). In terms of the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record we can identify a number of important similarities and differences. A feature found throughout the region in LHIII A2 is that the majority of tombs discovered yielded one or more stirrup jars. This also applies to the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos (see sections 5.2.3 above), from where we have just single tombs since no large cemeteries have so far been excavated there. Although stirrup jars are present throughout the south-eastern Aegean, it is possible to see differences in the specific types of stirrup jars found at the different sites in the region. On Rhodes, we mainly find examples of the piriform and the globular stirrup jar. The same mix is present at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast and at Armenochori on the island of Astypalaia, but the tombs at Eleona/Langada on Kos contained almost only globular stirrup jars. A similar picture emerges when paying attention to the distribution of large piriform jars in the region. This vessel type occurs in practically every tomb assemblage on Rhodes in LHIII A2 and may therefore, similar to the stirrup jar, be seen as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. Although not as common as on Rhodes, the large piriform jar also appears relatively frequently at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast and we also have examples from tombs on Astypalaia and Karpathos, where, similar to Rhodes, it is present in practically every tomb used in LM/HIII A2. The situation is different on Kos,

however. The large piriform jar is a relatively rare pot shape and cannot be considered as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

We also find traits of which the popularity clearly is of local significance only. This applies to the incense burner or brazier with tripod legs on Rhodes and the small jug at Eleona/Langada on Kos. It has to be stressed that juglets also occur in many tombs at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. However, in contrast to Eleona/Langada where the juglet can be seen cross-cutting all different groups of assemblages, at Müskebi there is one group – the “Müskebi-2” group – in which it is structurally absent. A characteristic typical of Müskebi is represented by the popularity of the straight-sided alabastron. Similar to the small jug discussed above, it is very common in two of the three assemblage groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of this site: “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3”. To sum up this part on the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we can clearly see similarities and differences between the different parts making up the south-eastern Aegean. It is notable, however, that the ‘origin’ of most of these similarities can be traced back to Rhodes.

We will now turn to the expression of relations of difference. Similar to the manifestation of relations of difference discussed above, also in this respect, it is possible to find clear similarities and differences between the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean. We can identify two clusters of assemblage groups which have common features associated with them. These are the “Ialysos-1 (2)”, the “Kos-1” and the “Müskebi-2” group, and the “Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Müskebi-3” group.

Features the “Ialysos-1 (2)”, the “Kos-1” and the “Müskebi-2” group have in common is that they are all characterized by the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, especially spearheads. We may also define a number of differences. The “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, for example, typically has one or more medium or large jugs associated with it. Kraters also regularly occur in combination with it. Neither at Eleona/Langada on Kos nor at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast have any kraters been found. Medium or large jugs are also not common at these sites, but we do see that the distribution of such vessels is limited largely to tombs with “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2” assemblages. This suggests that similar to Rhodes, also at these sites there is a relationship – albeit not a structural one – between the occurring together of kylikes and medium or large jugs. Although, because of the limited number of tombs excavated, we cannot really speak of “groups” as far as Astypalaia and Karpathos are concerned, it should be pointed out that we also find assemblages

containing (painted and undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons there. As a matter of fact, the assemblages from these islands are more similar to those associated with Rhodes because they also often include one or more kraters.

Besides kylikes and bronze weapons, “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages also regularly include glass relief-beads. At Eleona/Langada, none of the “Kos-1” assemblages comprised any such beads. The same applies to the assemblages associated with the “Müskebi-2” group. A notable exception is represented by the pair of chamber tombs excavated at Armenochori on Astypalaia. Here several glass beads, including two relief-beads – one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette – came to light. As stated above, these tombs are also notable for having yielded a LHIIIA2 krater. This shape, while occurring relatively frequently in association with the “Ialysos-1” group, has not been found in any of the tombs at Eleona/Langada containing “Kos-1” assemblages or at Müskebi with “Müskebi-2” assemblages. This clearly shows the close relation between Astypalaia and Rhodes in general and the “Ialysos-1” group in particular.

As indicated above, at Ialysos on Rhodes we can distinguish between two sub-groups: the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. The latter was discussed in the previous paragraph. The former is geographically confined to Rhodes in general and Ialysos in particular. It is characterized, among others, by the presence of tinned pottery, especially kylikes, and it also often has ritual vessels associated with it. While tinned pottery has not been found anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean, ritual vessels are known from a few other sites in the region as well. We have one pegtop rhyton from Langada Tomb 51 on Kos and a pegtop rhyton and a rhyton in the shape of bull’s head from Kambi (Diafani) on Karpathos. What is interesting about these graves is that contained assemblages characterized by the presence of (painted and undecorated) kylikes. Although no offerings other than pottery came to light in Langada Tomb 51, among the finds from Kambi (Diafani) was a bronze sword. This shows that the connection between ritual vessels and tombs with kylikes and bronze weapons also exists outside Rhodes. As a matter of fact, while at Ialysos ritual vessels are limited mostly to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, which has *tinned* kylikes instead of pattern-painted kylikes associated with it, elsewhere on the island – for example, at Kalavarda (Aniforo) and Pylona (Aspropilia) – we also find rhyta in combination with assemblages comprising no tinned but only painted and/or undecorated kylikes. This situation is more similar to that evinced at Eleona/Langada on Kos and Kambi (Diafani) on Karpathos (see above).

The second cluster of assemblages mentioned above is made up of the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. Features they have in common are that they usually do not include any kylikes or medium or large jugs. And if they do, these never occur in combination in the same assemblage. (This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group, and to a lesser extent of the “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2” groups.) Another shared trait is that a good many tombs contained one or more small ceramic vessels, of which the most common example is the small jug or juglet. Other vase types which belong to this category of vessels are the rounded alabastron, the small piriform jar, the feeding bottle, the askos and – among the open shapes – the small mug and the carinated (conical) cup. With regards to the objects other than pottery, it seems that these assemblages usually include only a small number and limited variety of other finds. Stone conuli, terracotta buttons and (small quantities of) glass beads appear to be the most frequent. Nowhere else in the south-eastern Aegean have assemblages similar to the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group been found.

The previous discussion of the two clusters of assemblage groups shows that there are clear similarities and differences between the different sites in the region. I would like to point out the widespreadness or pervasiveness of the group characterized by assemblages including kylikes and bronze weapons. In addition to Rhodes, Kos and the Anatolian south-west coast, we also find such assemblages on Astypalaia and Karpathos. This does not apply to the other cluster of assemblage groups of which the distribution appears to be limited to only the major sites on Rhodes (Ialysos), Kos (Eleona/Langada) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Müskebi). In this light, one assemblage group I have not yet mentioned is the “Müskebi-1” group. It is characterized by assemblages consisting of only a single vessel, usually a small jug or a straight-sided alabastron. There is no convincing evidence for such a group from anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2.

5.3 LHIIIA2: introduction (II)

The middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia

In the previous sections, the focus was on the tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean. Section 5.3 is devoted to the area to north of the island of Samos and the Samsun

Daği/Mykale promontory: the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. Mycenaean vessels occurred, often in relatively small quantities, side-by-side with local ones in different types of graves, such as pithoi, small tholoi and freestanding ‘houses’. The largest sites are Archontiki on the islet of Psara adjacent to Chios (see section 5.3.3 below), and Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 below) and Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 below) on the Anatolian mainland. Unfortunately, final publications of the cemeteries of Archontiki and Panaztepe are not yet available. The aim of this section is to give an overview of the different types of assemblages found at the different cemeteries. At some sites, such as at Miloi and the Heraion on Samos and Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) on the Anatolian mainland, only a single tomb has been found. In such cases only a description of its inventory shall be given. In section 5.3.6 below I will make a comparison between the different sites and address how they compare to the groups identified in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean discussed in section 5.2 above.

5.3.1 Samos

Two tombs from the island of Samos have been published (Map 11 in Chapter 4), a robbed built chamber tomb below the foundations of the Archaic Hera temple, which was originally covered by an earthen mound, and a small chamber tomb at Miloi, north-west of it. In both graves only closed vessel types were found. The Heraion assemblage consisted of three stirrup jars and two straight-sided alabaster. In the chamber tomb discovered at Miloi came to light two stirrup jars, a flask and a piriform jar. Both graves also yielded some objects other than pottery. The Heraion assemblage included a stone pommel, a steatite rosette and a silver bead.²²⁸ At Miloi some glass beads and a few gold items were found.²²⁹

5.3.2 Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill)

The remains of a disturbed tomb, of which the type could no longer be established, were uncovered at Ayasoluk Hill, the Byzantine citadel of the ancient city of Ephesus (Map 11 in Chapter 4).²³⁰ The extant assemblage, which is LHIII A2 in date, consists of a large piriform

²²⁸ Milojević 1961, 26.

²²⁹ Georgiadis 2003, 239.

²³⁰ Mee 1978, 127; Mountjoy 1998, 36.

jar, a flask, a small jug, a stemmed krater, a conical rhyton (Fig. 83) and a handleless flask with a pierced bottom (Fig. 84).²³¹ No finds other than pottery are associated with it.

5.3.3 Archontiki on Psara

The cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki is located on the islet of Psara to the west of Chios (see section 4.13) (Map 11 in Chapter 4). The only assemblage from Chios itself comes from a cist-grave which contained a straight-sided alabastron, a small mug, a conical cup in Grey ware and a bowl with painted decoration.²³²

The cemetery at Archontiki on Psara is still largely unpublished. The inventories of a selection of tombs are on (temporary) display in the Chios archaeological museum. The artifacts come from Tombs 27, 28, 38a, 42, 47 and 47a. Judging from the finds on display, it seems that we can identify at least two vessel types which are present in every assemblage. These are the stirrup jar and the straight-sided alabastron. Because of the popularity of these vessel types, it is tentative to see them as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of this site.

It is more difficult to discuss the expression of relations of difference because the extent to which the assemblages on display can be considered complete is unknown. I will therefore only describe the finds from the tombs here which, as they are displayed, seem to exhibit similarities with the groups identified in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean (see section 5.3.6 below). These are Tombs 27 and 42.

The repertoire of closed pot forms from Tomb 42 consists of a large number of stirrup jars and straight-sided alabastra (for further comments, see above), a large piriform jar and a conical rhyton. In addition, a considerable amount of kylikes was found, including four pattern-painted and three undecorated ones. There also were a few local cups and two (tinned?) shallow angular bowls (?). Other finds include a bronze spearhead, a number of stone conuli, several stone and glass beads and a carnelian and a glass lentoid seal.

The repertoire of decorated closed shapes on display from Tomb 27 consists of four stirrup jars, including two of the piriform FS 166 type and two of the globular FS 171 type, a straight-sided alabastron and an askos. The rest of the pottery assemblage is made up of a small jug, a feeding bottle and four small cups, including one or two small carinated cups

²³¹ Mee 1978, 127; Mountjoy 1998, 36.

²³² Mountjoy 1999a, 1147, 1149; Privitera 2005, 232.

and/or small mugs. Objects other than pottery are comprised of a bronze pin and a Mycenaean terracotta figurine.

5.3.4 Panaztepe

Although situated a few kilometers inland today, recent research has shown that during prehistoric times Panaztepe was probable an island settlement (Map 15 in Chapter 4).²³³ The west cemetery contains a wide variety of tomb types, of which the commonest are the pithos and the small tholos (see section 4.16). Only a small part of the cemetery has so far been published. In what follows, I will mainly focus on the (extant) materials from the tholoi, many of which were robbed in antiquity.

The assemblages from the tholoi consisted of a mix of local vessels, including adaptations of such Mycenaean vessel types as the straight-sided alabastron and the small piriform jar, and Mycenaean-style vases. No complete tholos assemblage has so far been published. However, through a series of single finds, it is possible to develop a general understanding of the different sorts of objects typically associated with this type of tomb at Panaztepe. Two robbed tholoi, Tombs D and E, each yielded a large piriform jar (Figs. 85-6). In two other tholoi, Tombs A and I, there are fragments of pattern-painted kylikes (Fig. 87). Another unique find, recovered from one of the beehive graves at Panaztepe, is a LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2 beaked jug (Fig. 88).

The above described vessels were uncovered during the excavations of the site between 1985 and 1990, of which the pottery has been published by S. Günel (1999). Additionally, there is a group of stolen vases, which was acquired from an antiquities' dealer by the Manisa museum in 1982. They are said to have come from one or more tholoi.²³⁴ Apart from two small piriform jars (Fig. 89) and two straight-sided alabastra (Fig. 90), the group included a pattern-painted (Fig. 91) and an unpainted kylix (Fig. 92). Also dated to LHIII A2 are an Anatolian-type juglet and lentoid flask and two Grey ware kraters of Trojan-type.²³⁵

Other types of objects found in these tholoi graves comprise bronze weapons, stone seals and glass-relief beads.²³⁶ There was part of a sword (Sandars type Di) among the materials acquired by the Manisa museum (see above).²³⁷ Another (largely unpublished)

²³³ Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2012, 24, fn. 1.

²³⁴ Ersoy 1988, 55-6.

²³⁵ Ibidem, 60-1, nos. 9-18 (see, also, Mountjoy 1998, 35-6).

²³⁶ Günel 1999a, 171.

²³⁷ Ersoy 1988, 59, no. 1.

tholos yielded a collection of bronzes consisting of one spearhead, eight arrowheads, three bowls, three knives, three chisels and a saw.²³⁸ The same tomb also produced a unique bronze seal bracelet with a decoration inspired by Hittite rather than Mycenaean prototypes (Fig. 93).²³⁹ Stone seals, mainly lentoids, are also quite common (Fig. 94).²⁴⁰ There is also a (probably imported) cylinder seal from the Levant (Fig. 95).²⁴¹ Finally, in at least two tholos tombs, glass-relief beads were found. Tomb A produced a rosette (Fig. 96)²⁴² and several rectangular plaques with spiraliform and ‘ivy’ leaves design (Fig. 97).²⁴³ A rosette was also recovered from Tholos B (Fig. 98).²⁴⁴

5.3.5 Beşiktepe

Another large cemetery is located at Beşiktepe, in the north-west part of the Anatolian west coast (Map 16 in Chapter 4). The necropolis consisted of more than one hundred graves (see section 4.17). The most common tomb types are pithos (total of more or less 59) (Fig. 99)²⁴⁵ and pot burials (total of 34).²⁴⁶ There are also a few cist-graves (total of 8)²⁴⁷ and two rectangular built tombs (Fig. 100).²⁴⁸

With regards to the assemblages, most pot graves did not contain any (additional) ceramic vessels. There are also hardly any finds other than pottery associated with them. The same applies to the assemblages from the cist-graves. Moreover, Mycenaean pottery has not been found in any of the pot or cist-graves.

Besides the burial container itself, the majority of pithoi (43 of 59)²⁴⁹ yielded no or (fragments of) only one or two other vases, also including a few Mycenaean-style vessels. Most others (13 of 59)²⁵⁰ produced between three to five additional vases. This group includes a much higher percentage of Mycenaean pottery.

²³⁸ Erkanal-Öktü 2000, 71.

²³⁹ Eerbeek 2010, 6-7.

²⁴⁰ Erkanal-Öktü 2000, 69; idem, 2004, 664, nos. 461-2 (inv. 10007-8), 665, no. 463 (inv. 10857).

²⁴¹ Ibidem, 73, Abb. 4.

²⁴² Çınardalı 1996, 81, Şek. 1-2.

²⁴³ Ibidem, 84, Şek. 3-5, 86, Şek. 6-9.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem, 81, Şek. 1-2.

²⁴⁵ Basedow 2000, 14-6.

²⁴⁶ Ibidem, 36-8.

²⁴⁷ Ibidem, 48-50.

²⁴⁸ Ibidem, 45-7.

²⁴⁹ Tombs 1, 3, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 21, 25-6, 31, 33-7, 39-42, 46, 49-52, 61-3, 67, 71, 82, 89, 92, 98, 100-1, 106 and 111

²⁵⁰ Tombs 4, 15-Ost, 23, 32, 68, 77, 80, 88, 93-4, 97, 105 and 110

Concerning the finds other than pottery, most pithoi (44 of 59)²⁵¹ contained no or only one type of object. Small bronze rings (Fig. 101)²⁵² and single clay beads are the commonest (Fig. 102),²⁵³ occurring in four and three pithos graves, respectively. Among this sub-group of pithos graves we do not notice any stone beads at all. Most were also 'poor' in terms of the total amount of ceramic vessels found. The majority (36 of 44) either had no or only one or two vases associated with them.²⁵⁴

Among the remaining fifteen pithoi,²⁵⁵ there is a group of nine graves characterized by the presence of stone, mainly carnelian, often in combination with glass beads.²⁵⁶ We notice considerable differences in the number of beads per tomb. In Tombs 25, 26 and 33, between two to five stone beads were found. Interestingly, in all of these graves, the total number of pots is two. Moreover, none of them contained any Mycenaean decorated pottery. The largest collections of beads came to light in Tombs 21 (43), 58 (21), 68 (56) and 93 (61) (Fig. 103). With the exception of Tomb 21, which produced only two vases, the other graves had between five to seven (additional) ceramic vessels associated with them. Moreover, in all of these pithoi one or more Mycenaean pots were found. The assemblage from Tomb 58 included part of a pattern-painted kylix. The other graves yielded only closed pot shapes, namely small piriform jars (Tombs 68 and 93) (Fig. 104) and rounded (Tomb 21) and straight-sided alabstra (Tomb 68 and 93) (Fig. 105).

Other types of objects which are relatively common in pithoi containing stone beads are small bronze rings²⁵⁷ and needles,²⁵⁸ and terracotta beads²⁵⁹ and buttons.²⁶⁰ Gold items are very rare at the Beşiktepe. Single gold beads were found in Tombs 21 and 58 (Fig. 106). Both graves yielded a relatively large collection of stone beads (see above). On top of that, Tomb 58 also produced a group of bone items, comprising several beads and two engraved seals (one rectangle and one lentoid) (Fig. 107). Two other notable pithos graves are Tombs 15-Ost and 68. Apart from a large number of carnelian beads (see above), the latter also contained a unique pair of bronze ankle bands (Fig. 108).²⁶¹ There are parallels for the use of ankle bands

²⁵¹ Tombs 1, 3-4, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 27, 31, 34-7, 39, 41-2, 46, 48, 50-2, 61-3, 67, 71, 77, 80, 82, 92, 94, 97-8, 100-1, 105-6 and 111

²⁵² Tombs 3, 4, 46 and 106

²⁵³ Tombs 27, 94 and 105

²⁵⁴ Tombs 1, 3, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 31, 34-7, 39, 41-2, 46, 50-2, 61-3, 67, 71, 82, 92, 98, 100-1, 106 and 111

²⁵⁵ Tomb 15-Ost, 21, 23, 25-6, 32-3, 40, 49, 58, 68, 88-9, 93 and 110

²⁵⁶ Tombs 21, 23, 25-6, 33, 58, 68, 89 and 93

²⁵⁷ Tombs 25, 33, 58 and 93

²⁵⁸ Tombs 40, 58, 89 and 93

²⁵⁹ Tombs 21, 26, 89 and 93

²⁶⁰ Tombs 25, 58 and 68

²⁶¹ Basedow 2000, 29 (see, also, Lassen 1994).

from Anatolia, as well as from Cyprus and Syria-Palestine.²⁶² A third arm or ankle band came to light in Beşiktepe Tomb 110.

The limited number of tombs with carnelian beads (9 of 59) and the circumstance that they were often found in combination with other ‘rare’ objects, such as gold and glass beads, and bronze ankle bands indicates that these objects were probably used to express a specific social identity.

A unique type assemblage is associated with the freestanding rectangular built tombs, which are referred to as “Grabhaus 15-West” and “Grabhaus 85”. Sadly enough, hardly anything remains of the latter.²⁶³ The inventory of “Grabhaus 15-West” consists exclusively of open vases, including fragments of four pattern-painted kylikes (Fig. 109) and two one-handed bowls (Fig. 110). There was also local pottery found, comprising three kraters (Fig. 111), one of which had been used as an urn, and a number of cups and bowls. Placed in the krater/urn were part of a bronze short sword (Sandars type Dii) and implement, and two terracotta buttons.²⁶⁴

In a later stage, the walls of “Grabhaus 15-West” were leveled and a burial pithos – Pithos 15-Ost – was inserted into floor of the former front chamber or “Ostraum”. Similar to the pottery from Grabhaus 15-West (see above), the pithos yielded only open vases, namely a pattern-painted and an unpainted rounded kylix (Fig. 112), and two local bowls (Fig. 113). Other finds include a piece of bronze and a Mycenaean lentoid seal stone (Fig. 114).²⁶⁵ The only other seals found at Beşiktepe were made of bone: two engraved lentoids and a rectangular plaque from Pithos Tomb 58.²⁶⁶

5.3.6 The middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia: inter-regional comparison (LHIIIA2)

This section addresses the question whether it is possible to find any similarities between the tomb assemblages from the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia and the

²⁶² Basedow 2000, 126.

²⁶³ *Ibidem*, 48.

²⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, 47-8, 122-3.

²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 19-20 (see, also, Pini 1992, 158, no. 1).

²⁶⁶ There might be another lentoid bone seal from Pithos Tomb 88. However, no engravings remain, because of which it is unclear whether it was an actual seal or not (Basedow 2000, 134).

groups recognized in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean, that were discussed in section 5.2 above. Most relevant to our discussion here are the groups characterized by the occurring together of (painted and/or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons. The groups with which we are concerned here are the following: “Ialysos-1”, “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2”. On the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos single assemblages were found which, in composition, are similar to these groups (see section 5.2.5 above). Although these groups and assemblages have specific features in common there is also some variation among them. For example, we regularly find kraters, ritual vessels and glass relief-beads in tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages. The distribution of ritual vessels outside Rhodes is limited to single tombs on Kos²⁶⁷ and Karpathos.²⁶⁸ Kraters are more frequently found. They are common in tombs on Astypalaia²⁶⁹ and Karpathos²⁷⁰ and there are a few graves on Kos²⁷¹ in which kraters came to light. However, in none of the tombs containing “Müskebi-2” assemblages any kraters were found. Outside Rhodes glass relief-beads appear at only one site on Astypalaia²⁷² and in one of the two tholoi on Kos.²⁷³ In the previous sections, we came across a number of assemblages in which one or more of these combinations of objects are represented. These are the (destroyed) tomb at Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) (see section 5.3.2 above), Tomb 42 at Archontiki on Psara (Tomb 42) (see section 5.3.3 above), “Grabhaus 15-West” at Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 above) and the (incomplete) tholoi assemblages from Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 above).

At Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) we find a krater in combination with two ritual vessels. As indicated above, these vessel types are especially common in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. In this light note that the same assemblage also included a large piriform jar. It was argued in section 5.2.1 above that because this pot shape is found in the majority of tombs on Rhodes in LHIII A2, it can probably be seen as a material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of the island.

Another tomb in which a ritual vessel and a large piriform jar were found is Tomb 42 at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. The same assemblage also included a large number of kylikes and a bronze spearhead. As indicated above, this combination appears at many different cemeteries in the south-eastern Aegean. In addition to Archontiki on Psara, two other

²⁶⁷ LT 51

²⁶⁸ Diafani (Kambi)

²⁶⁹ Armenochori and Synkairos

²⁷⁰ Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa)

²⁷¹ Tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” and Pyli (tomb type uncertain)

²⁷² Armenochori

²⁷³ Tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”

sites to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dađı/Mykale promontory containing tombs with inventories including combinations of kylikes and bronze weapons are Panaztepe and Beşiktepe.

At Panaztepe, several small tholoi, of which the majority had unfortunately been robbed prior to the excavation, have been explored. Among the finds recovered were large piriform jars, a beaked jug, (fragments of) kylikes, kraters, of Anatolian or Trojan-type, bronze weapons and glass relief-beads. Although we know of kylikes and bronze weapons appearing together at a large number of sites in the south-eastern Aegean, the distribution of combinations of medium or large jugs, kraters and glass relief-beads is (almost) completely limited to tombs on Rhodes (cf. “Ialysos-1” group). This apparent ‘Rhodian’ influence is also reflected in the fact that in at least two tholoi at Panaztepe a large piriform jar was found. As argued above, this vessel type appears in most tombs on Rhodes in LHIIIA2. Because of this, it is seen as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Rhodes.

No large piriform jars or medium or large jugs were found at Beşiktepe, nearby the citadel of Hissarlık-Troy. We do, however, notice an assemblage characterized by the presence of a large number of open vessels, including a good many decorated kylikes and a pair of Anatolian or Trojan-type kraters, and (part of) a bronze sword. This is the only assemblage of this kind that has come to light at the site. The tomb from which it was recovered is also of a unique type. It has the shape of a freestanding house, i.e. “Grabhaus 15-West”. There is another tomb of this type at the site, but because it was (almost) completely destroyed only very little about its original contents is known.

The previous overview makes clear that the distribution of assemblages characterized by the presence of kylikes and bronze weapons is not limited to the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2, but also includes the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dađı/Mykale promontory. Moreover, several of the tombs discussed contained additional traits (large piriform jars, kraters, ritual vessels and glass relief-beads) which are especially typical of Rhodes in this period.

In contrast to the kylix-bronze weapons tombs discussed above, it seems that assemblages similar to those associated with the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group do not occur outside the south-eastern Aegean. I know of only one clear exception. The assemblage concerned comes from Tomb 27 at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. It included a small jug, a feeding bottle, an askos and one or two small carinated cups. The

presence of one or more small ceramic vessels is one of the features the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group have in common.

5.4 LHIIB: introduction

The south-eastern Aegean and the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia

The period known as LHIIB covers roughly the 13th century BC. Even though it lasted twice as long as the LHIIIA2-phase that preceded it, which corresponds with the second half of the 14th century BC, LHIIB is not marked by a general increase in the number of tombs. Only at Eleona/Langada on Kos an increase has been recorded (see section 5.4.2 below). In addition, there was a new cemetery founded at Değirmentepe which is situated in relative proximity to the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (see section 5.4.6 below).²⁷⁴ By contrast, in other parts of the south-eastern Aegean, such as Rhodes (see section 5.4.1 below) and Astypalaia (see section 5.4.3 below), as well as at Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.4.4 below), there is a clear drop in the number of tombs in use in LHIIB in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. Moreover, no graves from LM/LHIIB have so far been discovered on Karpathos.²⁷⁵

We also have less material from LHIIB from the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dağı/Mykale promontory. No new tombs were built at Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 above). The situation at Panaztepe is less clear (the site is largely unpublished). In any case, the published evidence does not include any distinctive vases from LHIIB. The cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki on the islet of Psara, which is also largely unpublished, has produced a considerable number of vessels from this period.²⁷⁶ Other cemetery sites with pottery from LHIIB are the built chamber tomb at Baklatepe and probably the (robbed) small tholos discovered at Kolophon (see section 5.4.7 below).

²⁷⁴ For comments on a group of newly discovered tombs at Değirmentepe and the nearby hill of Kalabaktepe in the summer of 2012, see Chapter 1, fn. 135.

²⁷⁵ However, note that a recently published group of pots originating from a destroyed chamber tomb at Avlona in northern Karpathos includes several vessels from LM/LHIIB (Platon/Karantzali 2003). In this light, it should be stressed that most LM/LHIIIA2 cemetery sites are in the south part of the island (ibidem, 190, Fig. 1; ibidem, 200). In other words, the apparent lack of tombs from LM/LHIIB may also have to do with a bias in archaeological research.

²⁷⁶ However, since the ‘completeness’ of the assemblages that are on display in the Chios archaeological museum is unclear, and there are no combinations of vessels dated to LHIIB directly relevant to our discussion, the site shall not be further considered here. For an overview of vessel form popular at this site, see section 4.13.

5.4.1 Rhodes

The LHIIIB-period on Rhodes is marked by a relative decline in the number of tombs in use in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. The archaeological record seems to indicate that north-west Rhodes was largely abandoned. This view is based on a general lack of LHIIIB material from this part of the island.²⁷⁷ The major site here is still Ialysos but there is a clear drop in the number of tombs at this site as well (see section 5.4.1.1 below). We have relatively more sites with material from this period from south Rhodes, but unfortunately most of them were illicitly excavated (e.g. Apollakia and Vati (Apsaktiras)). Because of this – and similar to LHIIIA2 – our discussion of LHIIIB Rhodes will mainly be based on the well documented cemetery of Ialysos.

5.4.1.1 Tomb assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos

Pottery of LHIIIB date has been found in twenty-three New Tombs at Ialysos.²⁷⁸ This marks a sharp decline in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. There are forty-four New Tombs of which the assemblages comprised one or more vessels of LHIIIA2 date. Thus, we see a drop of about 50% in LHIIIB. Nevertheless, no major changes can be observed in the groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of the site.²⁷⁹ The same two groups as in LHIIIA2 are found in LHIIIB: “Ialysos-1”²⁸⁰ and “Ialysos-2”²⁸¹ (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 4 below). Before discussing the distinguishing traits associated with these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. These features are regarded here as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos.

²⁷⁷ However, Benzi stresses that this ‘shortage’ of evidence should be treated with caution. The main reason is that there are a number of sites in this region (e.g. Kouri, Asprovilo, Maritsa and Damatria) of which the vases are no longer available for study (Benzi 1992, 215).

²⁷⁸ See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation (see, also, Benzi 1992, 214-5).

²⁷⁹ In this section tombs reused in later periods and with only a few vessels from LHIIIB remaining are usually not taken into account. The same applies to tombs which have (almost) completely been destroyed. Examples of this are New Tombs 1, 6-7, 9-10, 43, 51, 60, 62 and 66.

²⁸⁰ For “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB, see New Tombs 5, 38, 53, 59 and 75 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

²⁸¹ For “Ialysos-2” assemblages from LHIIIB, see New Tombs 24, 30 and 49 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

There are several vessel types that are common to both the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. These are the stirrup jar (c. 63%) (Fig. 115),²⁸² the incense burner or brazier (c. 63%)²⁸³ and the large piriform jar (50%).²⁸⁴ Among the objects other than pottery, we see that glass beads are clearly the most common (c. 63%).²⁸⁵ Glass beads, stirrup jars, incense burners and large piriform jars were also among the objects most frequently found in LHIII A2 (see section 5.2.1 above). We do, however, notice a proportional change, since in LHIII A2 large piriform jars and stirrup jars were present in almost 90% of the assemblages.²⁸⁶ Similar to the objects conceived here as manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos, there do not appear to be any major changes in the ways relations of difference are expressed. It is the expression of these relations that we will now turn.

There are five tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages.²⁸⁷ Three of these (60%)²⁸⁸ have large burial chambers²⁸⁹ and dromoi eight to eleven meters in length.²⁹⁰ With regards to the pottery, the assemblages typically include one or more medium or large jugs (Fig. 116),²⁹¹ kylikes and kraters (Figs. 117-8).²⁹² In LHIII A2 it was possible to make a qualitative distinction between “Ialysos-1” assemblages containing tinned and pattern-painted kylikes. The former is referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, the latter as the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. Although we have fewer tombs to base this on,²⁹³ the same distinction can also be made in LHIII B.

²⁸² Stirrup jars were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII B: NT 38, 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including stirrup jars come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 30. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 68-71.

²⁸³ Incense burners came to light in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII B: NT 5, 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising incense burners come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 30. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 125.

²⁸⁴ Large piriform jars occur in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII B: NT 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including large piriform jars come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 49. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 74.

²⁸⁵ Glass beads were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII B: NT 5 and 53; “Ialysos-2” assemblages containing glass beads come from the following tombs: NT 24, 30 and 49.

²⁸⁶ We should stress that among the tombs containing ‘incomplete’ LHIII B assemblages (cf. fn. 279) there are also stirrup jars and large piriform jars: NT 6 (large piriform jar), 7 (stirrup jar), 9 (large piriform jar), 10 (large piriform jar), 23 (large piriform jar), 26 (large piriform jar), 51 (stirrup jar), 62 (stirrup jar) and 64 (stirrup jar).

²⁸⁷ See fn. 281.

²⁸⁸ NT 5, 38 and 59

²⁸⁹ See fn. 45.

²⁹⁰ NT 5 (Benzi 1992, 239); NT 38 (ibidem, 319); NT 59 (ibidem, 356).

²⁹¹ With the exception of New Tomb 5, every assemblage includes one or two pattern-painted jugs.

²⁹² The only “Ialysos-1” tomb without a krater is New Tomb 75.

²⁹³ We had fourteen tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2 (see fn. 21) versus five from LHIII B (see fn. 281).

Classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” sub-group are New Tombs 5 and 53. In both a number of unpainted and tinned kylikes was found. The two tombs produced a similar set consisting of one rounded and two or three carinated kylikes, and a shallow angular bowl. New Tomb 53 also yielded two pattern-painted kylikes. In LHIIIA2 none of the tombs with “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages had any such kylikes associated with them. The distribution of this type of kylix was limited to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in that period. There are also three tombs containing only pattern-painted kylikes from LHIIIB. These are New Tombs 38, 59 and 75. They can be classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” sub-group.

It was noted in section 5.2.1.1 above that in LHIIIA2 “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages often have a ritual vessel associated with them. One of the two LHIIIB tombs with tinned kylikes²⁹⁴ yielded a narrow-necked jug with a pierced bottom, for which there is a parallel from Old Tomb 35 (see section 5.4.1.2 below).²⁹⁵

In LHIIIA2, “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages usually have a wide variety of objects other than pottery, including gold jewelry, bronze swords, metal vessels, amber beads, stone seals and glass relief-beads. Such items are also present in New Tombs 5 and 53. Among the items recovered from New Tomb 5 are gold relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair (Fig. 120), glass relief-beads in the shape of rosettes (Fig. 119) and a stone bead capped in gold (Fig. 120). Finds of interest from New Tomb 53 include some gold wire rings/earrings, a gold plaque in the shape of a cuttlefish, a perforated silver disc, two bronzes, a short sword (Sandars type G) (Fig. 121) and a basin (Fig. 122), some amber beads, an amethyst lentoid seal stone and a number glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads and rectangular plaques with spiraliform design.²⁹⁶

Apart from a lack of tinned kylikes, another characteristic of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, as defined on the basis of the LHIIIA2 assemblages,²⁹⁷ is that objects other than pottery are not very common and mostly consist of bronzes, especially spearheads and razors or cleavers. In LHIIIB, of the three tombs classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group (see above) only New Tomb 59 produced a large collection of objects other than pottery. Recovered were five bronzes, comprising one spearhead (Fig. 123), one razor or cleaver (Fig. 124) and three knives (Fig. 125), two terracotta figurines (Fig. 126), a rubber’s stone (Fig. 127), a stone conulus and four glass beads. Thus, in terms of the offerings other than pottery, the finds from

²⁹⁴ NT 53

²⁹⁵ Benzi 1992, 344, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 394).

²⁹⁶ Benzi 1992, 346-7, no. 23-5, a, A-N.

²⁹⁷ See fn. 44.

New Tomb 59 are similar to those associated with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIII A2. Apart from the materials from New Tomb 59, we only have a few lead coils from New Tomb 75.

There are three tombs containing “Ialysos-2” assemblages.²⁹⁸ Two of these²⁹⁹ have small burial chambers.³⁰⁰ Of the tombs with small chambers one had a 5.50 long dromos³⁰¹; the length of the other has not been recorded. The third tomb³⁰² had a medium-sized chamber and a slightly longer dromos, i.e. 7.00 meters.

The assemblages include one or two open vessels. One tomb, namely New Tomb 49, had two monochrome kylikes, but, similar to LHIII A2, we do not find any kylikes in combination with medium or large jugs in association with the “Ialysos-2” group. This combination, as noted above, is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Moreover, it should be pointed out that medium or large jugs are generally not common in association with the “Ialysos-2” group. In LHIII B we have one example from New Tomb 30. Instead of medium or large jugs, two of three “Ialysos-2” assemblages³⁰³ included one or more small jugs. The juglet is not the only type of small ceramic vessel that occurs in combination with the “Ialysos-2” group. Two assemblages had a feeding bottle.³⁰⁴ One of these³⁰⁵ also included a rounded alabastron (Fig. 128) and a pair of small stemless goblets. In LHIII A2, “Ialysos-2” assemblages also usually have one or more small ceramic vessels associated with them. In both LHIII A2 and LHIII B the small jug and the feeding bottle are the most common. What is interesting to point out is that whereas in LHIII A2, small jugs and feeding bottles also regularly in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIII B we find them only in connection with the “Ialysos-2” group. Small ceramic vessels are, however, not completely absent from these groups. New Tomb 5 yielded a small piriform jar and a small carinated cup and we have a rounded alabastron and a small semi-globular cup from New Tomb 59.

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, in all three tombs only glass beads were found. Most notable is New Tomb 49 for it contained a collection of glass plaques decorated with spirals and double rosettes. While glass plaques are mostly found in

²⁹⁸ See fn. 283.

²⁹⁹ NT 24 and 49

³⁰⁰ See fn. 45.

³⁰¹ NT 24

³⁰² NT 30

³⁰³ NT 24 and 49

³⁰⁴ NT 30 and 49

³⁰⁵ NT 30

connection with the two “Ialysos-1” groups, in LHIIIA2 we also noticed two “Ialysos-2” assemblages that had glass plaques among their contents.

While the majority of assemblages found at Ialysos can be ‘fitted’ into either one of the two groups developed here, there are a few tombs that seem to ‘resist’ any such straightforward classification. In section 5.2.1 above I paid attention to the shaft grave and the two ‘Cypriot’ graves that have been discovered at Ialysos. In LHIIIB we have New Tomb 41. This is a pit grave.³⁰⁶ Its (extant) ceramic inventory consists only of open pot forms: a linear cup, a pattern-painted kylix and a stemmed bowl. There are also two fragments of glass. The lack of closed pot shapes, particularly stirrup jars and large piriform jars, is striking especially since these are present in the majority of *chamber tomb* assemblages dated to LHIIIB.

5.4.1.2 LHIIIB assemblages from the Old Tombs at Ialysos

The original archaeological contexts of a large part of the pottery from the Old Tombs at Ialysos are known.³⁰⁷ There is, however, also a large collection of finds, mostly objects other than pottery, of unknown provenance. As indicated in Chapter 4, we have hardly any documentation of the excavation of these tombs. Judging from the relative size of some of the assemblages, sometimes consisting of no more than one vessel,³⁰⁸ it seems likely that many tombs were found in a robbed state. Moreover, with a few exceptions, the assemblages ‘consist’ almost exclusively of pottery. We usually do not know which objects other than pottery were found in which tomb. For these reasons, in the following discussion I will only concentrate on the question whether there are any similarities between the groups recognized among the New Tombs (see above) and the (extant) materials from the Old Tombs. In order to do this I will focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record.

There are about nine Old Tombs that contained one or more vessels from LHIIIB.³⁰⁹ With regards to the expression of relations of similarity, we see that in six tombs³¹⁰ one or more stirrup jars were found (c. 67%). Large piriform jars occur in three graves (c. 33%).³¹¹ No incense burners can definitely be assigned to LHIIIB. The relative popularity of the stirrup

³⁰⁶ Benzi 1992, 327.

³⁰⁷ For an overview of the ceramic vases per tomb, see Mee 1982, 122-4.

³⁰⁸ OT 2, 10, 14, 16-8, 30 and 34

³⁰⁹ OT 4, 7, 11-2, 17, 25, 27, 35 and A

³¹⁰ OT 11-2, 17, 27, 35 and A

³¹¹ OT 4, 12 and A

jar is similar to that observed among the New Tombs at Ialysos (c. 63%). The large piriform jar occurs less frequent.

Turning to the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record, it may be possible to identify some similarities between the finds from Old Tombs 7 and 35 and the “Ialysos-1” group. The objects recovered from Old Tomb 7 include a rounded kylix with traces of tinning,³¹² a handleless monochrome carinated bowl³¹³ with what appears to be a pierced base³¹⁴ and a bronze sword (Sandars type Di).³¹⁵ As noted above, ritual vessels and bronze weapons mostly occur in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. Moreover, tinned pottery and bronze swords are only found in connection with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. Examples are New Tombs 4 (LHIIIA2) and 53 (LHIIIB). Note that both of these tombs also contained a ritual vessel. A ritual vessel also came to light in Old Tomb 35, i.e. a hydria with a pierced bottom.³¹⁶ Other finds from this tomb are comprised of a narrow-necked jug (Fig. 129), two Egyptian glass vessels³¹⁷ and a bronze cup (?).³¹⁸ Although the assemblage does not include any kylikes, the presence of a pattern-painted jug, a ritual vessel and three objects made of exotic or rare materials – glass and bronze – are all features typically found in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

Finally, I want to make mention of the (extant) assemblage from Old Tomb 4. It consists of two large piriform jars³¹⁹ and a variety of objects other than pottery, notable among which are a bronze sword (Sandars type Dii), three bronze spearheads, four thin gold plaques stamped with a figure of a recumbent winged sphinx, a number of gold foil rosettes and a collection of glass relief-beads, comprising (rectangular) plaques and rosettes. We cannot link the pottery to a specific group recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos. The offerings other than pottery, on the other hand, are similar to those typically found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group. While bronze spearheads mostly occur in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIIA2-B,³²⁰ gold jewelry and bronze swords are usually

³¹² Benzi 1992, 6 (see, also, Farnsworth/Immerwahr 1966, 394).

³¹³ OT 7: A849 (see, also, Benzi 1992, 119-20)

³¹⁴ This observation is based on the pictures available in the BM Online catalogue of this vase.

³¹⁵ Its attribution to this grave has been questioned by Mee on chronological grounds (Mee 1982, 26-7, 97, fn. 148; Benzi 1992, 171, fn. 16).

³¹⁶ OT 35: A881 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 399)

³¹⁷ OT 35: Glass 1 (Registration number: 1872,0315.100.1) (BM website)

³¹⁸ Registration number: 1872,0620.33 (BM website)

³¹⁹ Mountjoy has dated only one vessel, namely the one (A833) that has a decoration consisting of flowers (FM 18) on the shoulder, to LHIIIB (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 385). The other vessel (A831) is dated by Mee (1982, 122) to LHIIIA2. Benzi dates both vessels to LHIIIA2 (1992, 16-7). However, based on the crude execution of the decoration of the second vessel, it has been assigned to LHIIIB here.

³²⁰ E.g. NT 7, 19 and 59

found together in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages.³²¹ Glass relief-beads appear in both groups, although we find them more often in association with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.³²²

Thus, whereas in terms of the expression of relations of similarity we see similarities between the pottery from the New Tombs and the Old Tombs (esp. popularity of the stirrup jar), finding good parallels for the two groups that have been recognized among the former – “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2” – is more problematic. This can probably to a large extent be attributed to the incomplete nature of most of the assemblages (see above).

5.4.1.3 LHIIB assemblages from other sites on Rhodes

So far, I have only paid attention to the tombs that have been excavated at Ialysos. In this section we will look at a number of cemetery sites outside Ialysos. The aim is to establish whether there are any parallels for the groups that have been identified among the tombs there. Cemeteries to be taken into consideration are Kariones, Passia, Pylona (Ambelia) and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Map 12 in Chapter 4).

The cemetery of Kariones consists of two chamber tombs. Tomb 1 contained a LHIIIA2 assemblage and was discussed in section 5.2.1 above. Of the ten vases of which the assemblage from Tomb 2 was originally made up nine have been published.³²³ No finds other than pottery have been reported. The assemblage consisted of a large piriform jar (Fig. 130),³²⁴ two stirrup jars,³²⁵ a basket vase³²⁶ and five open vessels, among which there were three kylikes, two with a pattern-painted decoration,³²⁷ the third one is tinned.³²⁸ At Ialysos large piriform jars and stirrup jars in particular are found in most tombs dated to LHIIB. The presence of kylikes, especially tinned ones, constitutes a feature typical of the “Ialysos-1” group, although there is no medium or large jug among the extant finds. As indicated above, this combination can be considered characteristic of this group.

Passia is situated in the south-central part of Rhodes. Pottery dated to LHIIB has come to light in Tombs 1, 2 and 4. With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity,

³²¹ E.g. NT 4, 31 and 53

³²² Examples of “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages containing glass relief-beads are New Tombs 4, 28 and 56. “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages with glass relief-beads are New Tombs 54 and 57.

³²³ Benzi 1992, 420.

³²⁴ *Ibidem*, 421, no. 1.

³²⁵ *Ibidem*, 421, nos. 2-3 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407).

³²⁶ Benzi 1992, 421, no. 9.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, 421, nos. 5-6

³²⁸ *Ibidem*, 421, no. 7.

we notice that all three tombs yielded two stirrup jars.³²⁹ Three large piriform jars were found in Tomb 4.³³⁰ The stirrup jar is also the vessel type found in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos. The large piriform jar, although less common than the stirrup jar in LHIIIB, is also regarded as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos (see above).

The assemblages from Passia Tombs 1 and 4 have features in common with the “Ialysos-1” group. Tomb 2 was reused in LHIIIC³³¹ and did not contain any other LHIIIB vases than the two stirrup jars mentioned above. It will therefore not be considered below. Tomb 1, which was first used in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 above), yielded a krater³³² and an undecorated rounded kylix.³³³ The assemblage lacks a medium or large jug of LHIIIB date. It should be noted, however, that among the finds dated to LHIIIA2 there are two, a pattern-painted beaked jug and stirrup jug. No small finds have reported from this grave. Tomb 4 did yield a jug of LHIIIB date (Fig. 131).³³⁴ The assemblage also included two kraters,³³⁵ and one pattern-painted³³⁶ and four undecorated kylikes.³³⁷ Kraters, jugs and kylikes constitute characteristic elements of the “Ialysos-1” group (see above). As noted above, a krater and a kylix also came to light in Tomb 1 at Passia. Whereas Tomb 1 had no objects other than pottery associated with it, Tomb 4 yielded a terracotta figurine (Fig. 132) and some glass beads, including five rectangular plaques with spiraliform design (Fig. 133).³³⁸ Glass plaques are typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2-B.

The chamber tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) constituted part of a larger robbed cemetery.³³⁹ The earliest pottery from the grave, which was excavated by G. Jacopi in 1929, may be LHIIIA2 in date. Dated to this period by Mountjoy are a stemmed krater³⁴⁰ and two cups.³⁴¹ Note, however, that all of these vessels have been assigned to LHIIIB by Benzi.³⁴² The grave remained in use in LHIIIC. With regards to the LHIIIB assemblage, it included a

³²⁹ Tomb 1: Dietz 1984, 26-8, nos. 6, 7 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 412); Tomb 2: Dietz 1984, 33-3, nos. 1, 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407); Tomb 4: Dietz 1984, 43-6, nos. 7, 10

³³⁰ Dietz 1984, 37-48, nos. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 385), 5 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385), 11 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 384).

³³¹ Dietz 1984, 34, no. 2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1061, fn. 643).

³³² Dietz 1984, 21, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 462).

³³³ Dietz 1984, 29, no. 1.

³³⁴ Dietz 1984, 39-40, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 397).

³³⁵ Dietz 1984, 46-7, nos. 8 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1021, fn. 433), 9 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 462).

³³⁶ Dietz 1984, 41, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 459).

³³⁷ Dietz 1984, 46, nos. 4, 8, a-d.

³³⁸ Ibidem, 49-50, nos. 14-5.

³³⁹ Benzi 1992, 445-6.

³⁴⁰ Ibidem, 446, Pylona, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, fn. 325).

³⁴¹ Benzi 1992, 447-8, Pylona, nos. 8 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1005, fn. 341), 13 (ibidem, 1005, fn. 341).

³⁴² Benzi 1992, 446.

stirrup jar³⁴³ and an incense burner.³⁴⁴ As indicated above, the same vessel types are found in the majority of New Tombs containing assemblages dated to LHIIIB.

Concerning the groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos, we can best compare the assemblage of the tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) with the “Ialysos-1” group. Besides the krater mentioned above, it included a medium jug and a group of undecorated pottery, consisting of a dipper,³⁴⁵ two kylikes³⁴⁶ and a shallow angular bowl.³⁴⁷ The offerings other than pottery are made up of two bronzes, namely a spearhead and a knife.³⁴⁸ Medium or large jugs and kylikes often occur together in connection with the “Ialysos-1” group.³⁴⁹ Bronze spearheads are especially common in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIIA2-B.

The cemetery at Pylona (Aspropilia) was in use mostly during LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 above). In two graves a few LHIIIB vessels were also found, i.e. Tombs 2 and 5. In both graves several stirrup jars came to light.³⁵⁰ As indicated above, stirrup jars also appear in most of the New Tombs at Ialysos containing assemblages dated to LHIIIB. The only ‘intact’ LHIIIB assemblage from Pylona (Aspropilia) comes from one of the two side or ancillary chambers of Tomb 2.³⁵¹ Tomb 5 was reused in LHIIC and disturbed in Roman times.³⁵² Apart from the stirrup jars mentioned above, the assemblage from Tomb 2 also had five open vessels, including one pattern-painted and three unpainted kylikes. There are no finds other than pottery associated with it. Of the groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos in LHIIIB (see above) none provides a good parallel for this assemblage. The presence of kylikes constitutes a feature typical of the “Ialysos-1” group – although they also sometimes occur in combination with the “Ialysos-2” group. Tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages, however, also usually have one or more medium or large jugs associated with them. There were no jugs found in the side chamber of Tomb 2 at Pylona (Aspropilia). The assemblage seems to come closest to that from Tomb 2 at Kariones discussed above.

We can thus conclude that in other parts of Rhodes the evidence for the two groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos is limited. There are a number of parallels for

³⁴³ Benzi 1992, 448, Pylona, A (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 409).

³⁴⁴ Benzi 1992, 446, 448, no. 16.

³⁴⁵ Ibidem, 446, 448, no. 17.

³⁴⁶ Ibidem, 446, 448, nos. 14-5.

³⁴⁷ Ibidem, 446-7, no.12.

³⁴⁸ Ibidem, 448, nos. 18-9.

³⁴⁹ Because the tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) was reused in LHIIC, the attribution to LHIIIB of the unpainted pots is not completely certain. The same applies to the objects other than pottery recovered from it.

³⁵⁰ Tomb 2: 17951, 17954 (Karantzali 2001, 16); Tomb 5: 18646, 18658 (ibidem, 20)

³⁵¹ Karantzali 2001, 16.

³⁵² Ibidem, 19-20.

the “Ialysos-1” group, i.e. Tombs 1 and 4 at Passia and Pylona (Ambelia). Mention also has to be made of the recently published cemetery of Ayio Georgio (Gennadi), in north-eastern Rhodes. The tombs discovered here were found in a robbed state. Among the finds recovered were a good many (painted and undecorated) kylikes (Fig. 134). There were also a few medium or large jugs and a collection of glass beads, including a number of plaques with spiraliform design (Fig. 135).³⁵³ Although we do not know which of these objects were found together within the same tomb, it is notable that these are all find categories – kylikes, jugs and glass plaques – commonly found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group.

With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record we saw that in most tombs at Ialysos stirrup jars and/or incense burners were found. Large piriform jars also regularly occur (see section 5.4.1.1 above). As is clear from the overview above, stirrup jars are present in many tombs across the island. Ayio Georgio (Gennadi) (see above) can also be added to this list, since there were a large number of LHIIIB stirrup jars among the finds recovered from the robbed tombs excavated at this site (Fig. 136). Incense burners and large piriform jars seem to be less common outside Ialysos. Large piriform jars are known from Passia (Tomb 4) and Ayio Georgio (Gennadi).³⁵⁴ Moreover, we have a single incense burner from the chamber tomb excavated at Pylona (Ambelia). To conclude this section on Rhodes in LHIIIB, in Table 4 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group is given.

“Ialysos-1 (1)”	“Ialysos-1 (2)”	“Ialysos-2”
Pottery	Pottery	Pottery
<p>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or <u>tinned</u> kylikes</p> <p><u>Tinned pottery</u> is limited to this group.</p> <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ritual vessels • Shallow angular bowls <p>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kraters 	<p>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and <u>painted</u> kylikes.</p> <p>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pattern-painted kylikes <p>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kraters 	<p>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</p> <p>Vessel type limited to this group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small jugs • Feeding bottles

³⁵³ Karantzali 2009, 235.

³⁵⁴ Give ref.

Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
<p>Group usually contains concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as gold jewelry and bronze weapons.</p> <p>Object types (mostly) limited to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold jewelry (rings and beads) • Bronze swords • Metal vessels • Stone seals • Amber beads • Glass relief beads, especially plaques and rosettes 	<p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory are very rare.</p> <p>Object types limited to this group are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze spearheads 	<p>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery.</p> <p>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory, and bronze weapons generally do not occur.</p>
Architectural details	Architectural details	Architectural details
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One tomb has a dromos with a length of 11.00 meters³⁵⁵; the other one of 4.05 m long.³⁵⁶ • One tomb has a “large” chamber (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²)³⁵⁷; the other a “medium” one (3.00 to 7.00 m²).³⁵⁸ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two tombs have a dromos with a length of between 8.50 to 8.80 meters³⁵⁹; the third one has a 4.50 meters long dromos.³⁶⁰ • Two tombs have “large” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²)³⁶¹; the third a “small” one (0.40 to 3.00 m²).³⁶² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One tomb has a dromos with a length of 5.50 meters³⁶³; the other about which information is available³⁶⁴ has a dromos with a length of 7.00 meters.³⁶⁵ • Two of the three tombs have “small” chambers (0.40 to 3.00 m²)³⁶⁶; the third a “medium” one (between 7.00 to 15.70 m²).³⁶⁷

Table 4 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2” groups in LHIIB

5.4.2 Kos

In LHIIB, we notice an increase in the number of tombs in use at Eleona/Langada on Kos (Map 19 in Chapter 5). There are thirteen tombs containing vessels from LHIIIA2 and twenty-seven with vases from LHIIB (Chapter 4).³⁶⁸ In the archaeological burial record the same two

³⁵⁵ NT 5

³⁵⁶ NT 53

³⁵⁷ NT 5

³⁵⁸ NT 53

³⁵⁹ NT 38 and 59

³⁶⁰ NT 75

³⁶¹ NT 38 and 59

³⁶² NT 75

³⁶³ NT 24

³⁶⁴ We have no information about the length of the dromos of NT 49.

³⁶⁵ NT 30

³⁶⁶ NT 24 and 49

³⁶⁷ NT 30

³⁶⁸ See Appendices 6 and 7 at the back of this dissertation.

groups of assemblages as in the previous LHIIIA2-phase can be recognized, i.e. “Kos-1”³⁶⁹ and “Kos-2” (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 5 below).³⁷⁰ Similar to LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above), a feature the two groups have in common is that most assemblages associated with them³⁷¹ included one or more stirrup jars (Fig. 137) (c. 80%).³⁷² Small jugs were also present in the majority of assemblages in LHIIIA2.³⁷³ In LHIIIB, however, they are predominantly found in combination with “Kos-2” assemblages (see below). For this reason, this vessel type will be considered below in connection with the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. It is to the expression of these relations that we will now turn.

There are three tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages dated to LHIIIB: Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tombs 15 and 46. This group is also attested in LHIIIB-III A1 (see section 5.1.2 above)³⁷⁴ and LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above).³⁷⁵ One of the most characteristic features of this group is the combination of kylikes and bronze weapons, particularly spearheads. We also find this combination at other sites on Kos, such as at Pyli (LHIIIA2) and the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” (LHIIIA2). Eleona Tomb 4³⁷⁶ and Langada Tomb 15 both contained several kylikes (Fig. 138) and a bronze spearhead (Fig. 139). Bronze weapons also came to light in Langada Tomb 46. Among the finds recovered from it are a short sword (Sandars type Fii) (Fig. 140), a spearhead (Fig. 141) and a cleaver (Fig. 142). In contrast to the assemblages from Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tomb 15, the one associated with Langada Tomb 46 did not include any kylikes. There was, however, a group of capacious drinking vessels found in Langada Tomb 46, consisting of two truncated stemmed bowls (Fig. 143) and one deep bowl. This apparent ‘lack’ of kylikes may have a chronological explanation. According to S. Vitale, the pottery from Langada Tomb 46 should be dated to the very end of LHIIIB, what he calls, LHIIIB2 Late.³⁷⁷ The same date is assigned to Langada Tomb 21 (see below). Another notable feature of Langada Tomb 46 is that its

³⁶⁹ For “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Eleona Tomb 4 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 15 and 46 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

³⁷⁰ For “Kos-2” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Eleona Tombs 5, 15 and 19 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 21, 23, 30, 36, 40, 48-9 and 59-60 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

³⁷¹ “Kos-1” assemblages containing stirrup jars from LHIIIB are the following: ET 4 and LT 46. Stirrup jars from LHIIIB were present in the following “Kos-2” assemblages: ET 5; LT 21, 23, 30, 36, 40, 48-9 and 59-60.

³⁷² In this section tombs reused in later periods and with only a few vessels from LHIIIB remaining are usually not taken into account. Examples of this are Eleona Tombs 6 and 20, and Langada Tombs 28, 35 and 52.

³⁷³ See fn. 147.

³⁷⁴ ET 21

³⁷⁵ LT 16, 37 and 51

³⁷⁶ The attribution of this spearhead to Eleona Tomb 4 is not completely certain. It might also have come from Eleona Tomb 5 (Morricone 1967, 83).

³⁷⁷ Vitale 2012, 410.

assemblage included a medium or large jug. While the other two tombs associated with the “Kos-1” group in LHIIIB – Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tomb 15 – do not have any medium or large jugs, we do see this vessel type appearing in several tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2, i.e. Langada Tombs 16 and 51 and the finds from the chamber at Pyli (see section 5.2.2 above).

I would like to make a final comment with regards to the assemblage of Eleona Tomb 4. Apart from the kylikes and the bronze spearhead upon which the attribution of this tomb to the “Kos-1” group is based there is one more aspect that has to be mentioned here. This is that Eleona Tomb 4 contained a fairly large number of small ceramic vessels, consisting of a rounded alabastron, two small jugs, two askoi and a miniature monochrome kylix with two horizontal handles. In LHIIIA2 we also find small jugs in combination with the “Kos-1” group, but the distribution of other small ceramic vessels, such as feeding bottles, small mugs and carinated conical cups appears to be limited mostly to the “Kos-2” group. For that reason, in LHIIIA2 we regarded small jugs as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada. In the period under review in this section, however, just one of the three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages had small jugs associated with it. Because in LHIIIB small jugs predominantly occur in combination with the “Kos-2” group, it is probably better to consider them as marking a relation of difference. It is to the “Kos-2” group that we shall now turn.

There are about eleven tombs with “Kos-2” assemblages, three from Eleona and eight from Langada.³⁷⁸ Similar to LHIIIA2, kylikes and bronze weapons do not occur together in association with this group. Bronze weapons only rarely appear in combination with it. We know of no examples from LHIIIA2. The only grave that had a “Kos-2” assemblage with bronze weapons is Langada Tomb 21. Among the finds recovered are a spearhead (Fig. 144) and a (ritually killed) sword (Naue type II) (Fig. 145).³⁷⁹ We nevertheless consider this tomb as part of the “Kos-2” group because it contained a fairly large number of small ceramic vessels, of which the presence is regarded here as a feature typical of the “Kos-2” group. Six of the eleven tombs (c. 55%)³⁸⁰ that had such assemblages produced one or more small ceramic vessels. The most common is the small jug, of which examples were found in six graves (for comments on the popularity of the small jug in combination with the “Kos-1”

³⁷⁸ See fn. 370.

³⁷⁹ Morricone 1967, 137-9.

³⁸⁰ ET 15, 19; LT 21, 23, 40 and 49

group, see above).³⁸¹ Two tombs that stand out because besides juglets they also had a number of other small ceramic vessels associated with them are Eleona Tomb 15 and Langada Tomb 21. The assemblage of Eleona Tomb 15 includes a rounded alabastron, a feeding bottle, a small mug and a carinated cup (Fig. 146). Apart from a small jug, the assemblage from Langada Tomb 21, which is also notable for the presence of a pair of bronze weapons (see above), comprises a feeding bottle (Fig. 147), two small lipless bowls (Fig. 148) and a small stemmed bowl. According to Vitale, the pottery from this grave dates to the same period as that from Langada Tomb 46 (see below), namely to the end of LHIIIB or LHIIIB2 Late.³⁸²

The “Kos-2” assemblages typically include only a limited number of offerings other than pottery. Similar to LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above), the terracotta button and the stone conulus are the commonest. The former is attested in five tombs,³⁸³ the latter in four.³⁸⁴ Other finds of interest are an ivory button,³⁸⁵ a bronze spiral³⁸⁶ and a bronze knife.³⁸⁷ I already mentioned Langada Tomb 21 above, which is unique for the presence of a bronze spearhead (Fig. 144) and sword (Fig. 145). Bronze weapons are generally found in combination with the “Kos-1” (see above), not together with the “Kos-2” group.

Four tombs from Eleona/Langada have assemblages that cannot be fitted into any of the groups defined above, i.e. Eleona Tomb 3, and Langada Tombs 4, 27 and 58. Langada Tomb 4 has only a single small jug or juglet associated with it. This type of vessel is difficult to date out of context (see section 3.2.3). It is especially common at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIA-B. Langada Tomb 58, which is assigned to LHIIIB by Vitale³⁸⁸ and Mountjoy,³⁸⁹ consists of a dromos – the chamber has not been excavated – containing a large pithos with the remains of a child burial and two bronze tools. Assemblages without any Mycenaean decorated pottery were also found in Eleona Tomb 3 and Langada Tomb 27. The former yielded a small cup, a spouted bowl and an askoid vessel. The assemblage from Langada Tomb 27 consists of a trefoil-mouthed juglet (Fig. 149) and a small bowl. The date of the finds from both of these tombs is unclear. Benzi suggested a general date in LHIII for the materials from Langada Tomb 27.³⁹⁰ There is a parallel for the askoid vessel from Eleona

³⁸¹ ET 15, 19; LT 21, 23, 40 and 49

³⁸² Vitale 2012, 410-1 (see, also, Mee 1982, 88-9).

³⁸³ ET 19; LT 21, 30, 36 and 60

³⁸⁴ ET 15, 19; LT 48 and 60

³⁸⁵ LT 60

³⁸⁶ LT 23

³⁸⁷ ET 15

³⁸⁸ Vitale 2012, XCI, Table 1.

³⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999a, 1078.

³⁹⁰ Benzi 1996, 955, fn. 54.

Tomb 3 from Eleona Tomb 12, which also contained a local copy of a Mycenaean rounded alabastron (Fig. 150). Based on its shape, close to the FS 83, the vessel might be as early as LHIIIB-III A1.³⁹¹ As shown in Chapter 4, the rounded alabastron was also common in Mycenaean painted ware during this period.

5.4.2.2 Assemblages from other sites on Kos

Only a few other cemetery sites with tombs containing assemblages from LHIIIB have so far been published from Kos (Map 11 in Chapter 4). A single chamber tomb at Kastello produced (the base of) a stirrup jar, a deep bowl³⁹² and a kylix.³⁹³ As noted above, we also find stirrup jars in the majority of tombs excavated at Eleona/Langada and are seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of that site. Kylikes and bowls appear in combination with both the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group, but since no bronze weapons have been reported from the tomb at Kastello, we can best compare it to the “Kos-2” group (see above). Finally, there is a small tholos adjacent to the settlement of the “Serraglio”. According to T. Marketou, it can be dated to LHIIIB (cf. beehive grave at Kolophon below).³⁹⁴ No vessels from this tomb have, however, so far been published. Besides pottery, it also contained pieces of gold jewelry (rosettes and beads).³⁹⁵

We can thus conclude that outside Eleona/Langada there is no (convincing) evidence for the two groups identified there in LHIIIB. This is in contrast to LHIIIA2 when we at least were able to find parallels for the “Kos-1” group (see section 5.2.2 above).³⁹⁶ To conclude this section on Kos, in Table 5 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group is given.

“Kos-1”	“Kos-2”
Pottery	Pottery
Group is characterized by the presence of painted kylikes and/or other large drinking vessels, such as deep bowls.	Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.
Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group are:	Assemblages often have one or more small ceramic vessels, including rounded alabastra, small jugs, feeding bottles and

³⁹¹ Ibidem, 956, 964, Fig. 23.

³⁹² Ibidem, 1097, fn. 850.

³⁹³ Ibidem, 1095, fn. 839.

³⁹⁴ Marketou 2010, 766.

³⁹⁵ Skerlou 1997, Pin. 417a.

³⁹⁶ Pyli and the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medium or large jugs 	small carinated cups. Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small jugs • Feeding bottles
Offerings other than pottery	Offerings other than pottery
Object types (mostly) limited to this group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze weapons: spearheads and swords 	Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery. Object types limited (mostly) to this group are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terracotta buttons • Stone conuli

Table 5 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” groups in LHIIIB

5.4.3 Astypalaia

Of the two pairs of chamber tombs on the island of Astypalaia only the one at Armenochori remains in use in LHIIIB (Map 11 in Chapter 4). The assemblage is made up of a large number of closed and open vases. Closed vase types are comprised of several large piriform jars (Fig. 151),³⁹⁷ different types of stirrup jars³⁹⁸ and a narrow-necked jug.³⁹⁹ Open vessel forms found are a krater (Fig. 152),⁴⁰⁰ a large number of (painted and undecorated) kylikes, four deep bowls, a stemmed bowl (Fig. 153) and a tall mug.

The assemblage also includes a good many objects other than pottery. Notable finds are two metal vessels, a cauldron and a dipper, a bronze spearhead and razor, and a number of glass beads, among which there are two relief-beads, one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette (Figs. 154-5).⁴⁰¹ Stone conuli and terracotta buttons were also found.⁴⁰² It should be pointed out, however, that since the tombs at Armenochori remained in use until LHIIIC (Chapter 4) and the exact archaeological context of the individual finds is unknown we cannot be sure that all of the undecorated vessels (mostly kylikes) and objects other than pottery belong to this or the previous LHIIIA2-period.

³⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999a, 1140.

³⁹⁸ Ibidem, 1140.

³⁹⁹ Ibidem, 1140.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibidem, 1142, no. 3.

⁴⁰¹ Triantafyllidis 2002-2005.

⁴⁰² Georgiadis 2003, 239.

5.4.4 South-western coastal Anatolia: Müskebi

There are only a few tombs at the cemetery of Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia that contained pottery from LHIIIB (Map 11 in Chapter 4).⁴⁰³ Only six assemblages can be attributed to this period.⁴⁰⁴ These belong to two different groups of assemblages, both of which appeared for the first time in LHIIIA2, i.e. “Müskebi-2”⁴⁰⁵ and “Müskebi-3”⁴⁰⁶ (for comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403). In terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity, we notice that three of the six assemblages (50%)⁴⁰⁷ had several stirrup jars associated with them (Fig. 156).

In LHIIIB, there are three tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages. Similar to LHIIIA2, in the period under consideration in this section the “Müskebi-2” group is characterized by the presence of one or more (undecorated and/or painted) kylikes (Figs. 157-8). One of the three tombs also had a medium or large jug associated with it,⁴⁰⁸ which appears relatively frequently in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group in LHIIIA2 as well (see section 5.2.4 above). Another similarity with LHIIIA2 is that we find no straight-sided alabastra in association with the “Müskebi-2” group in LHIIIB. The distribution of this vessel type is limited to the “Müskebi-3” group. In LHIIIA2, it also often occurs in combination with the “Müskebi-1” group (for comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403). Whereas in LHIIIA2 we noticed that “Müskebi-2” assemblages regularly had bronze spearheads associated with them, neither one of the two assemblages dated to LHIIIB (see fn. 405) included any objects other than pottery.

The remaining three tombs have “Müskebi-3” assemblages associated with them.⁴⁰⁹ They do not include any kylikes, of which the distribution is limited to the “Müskebi-2” group (see above). There are several features which can be considered characteristic of this group. Firstly, two of the three tombs produced a straight-sided alabastron. We do not find this pot shape in any of the tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages in LHIIIB (see above). A second

⁴⁰³ However, it is possible that some of the one-vessel graves (“Müskebi-1” group) discussed under LHIIIA2 above belonged to this period (see section 5.3.4). Indeed, juglets and straight-sided alabastra, which predominated in these “Müskebi-1” tombs, are difficult to date in isolation or out of context.

⁴⁰⁴ Müskebi Tombs 3, 13, 14, 18, 28 and 33

⁴⁰⁵ For “Müskebi-2” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Tombs 3, 13 and 18 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

⁴⁰⁶ For “Müskebi-3” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Tombs 3, 14, 28 and 33 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.

⁴⁰⁷ Two “Müskebi-2” tombs had stirrup jars associated with them: Tombs 3 and 13. One of the four “Müskebi-3” graves produced stirrup jars: Tomb 28.

⁴⁰⁸ Tomb 18: Boysal 1969, 16, Tav. XIX, no. 2 (inv. 2307) (see, also, Mee 1978, 139)

⁴⁰⁹ Tombs 13, 14, 28 and 33

feature typical of the “Müskebi-3” group is the presence of one or more small ceramic vessels. In two of the three tombs⁴¹⁰ such vessels were found. In both graves one or two small jugs came to light. Tomb 33 also yielded a number of other small ceramic vessels, i.e. a feeding bottle (Fig. 159) and two small carinated cups (Fig. 160). In LHIIIA2, we hardly find any small jugs occurring in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group. The pot shape mostly appears together with “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages. In LHIIIB, however, this contrast appears to be less strict, since in two of the three tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages a small jug was found.⁴¹¹

There were only objects other than pottery found in Tomb 14. This “Müskebi-3” assemblage included four bronzes, comprising two spearheads (Fig. 161) and two knives (Fig. 162). It has to be stressed that in LHIIIA2 we mostly find bronze weapons in association with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (see section 5.2.4 above).

5.4.5 South-western coastal Anatolia: Pilavtepe

A single chamber tomb is located at Pilavtepe, which is nearby the Bronze Age settlement of Iasos (Map 11 in Chapter 4). Vessels from different periods were found inside the grave, i.e. LHIIIA2-B and LHIIIC. In what follows, mention is made only of the pots dated to LHIIIA2-B. Closed vases that can be assigned to this period are made up of three stirrup jars, several alabastra, including a rare rounded and a few straight-sided ones, and two small jugs. Open vessel forms dated to LHIIIA2-B are comprised of an Anatolian-style krater (Fig. 163), two painted kylikes, a small stemless goblet and (possibly) a small carinated cup.

The tomb yielded a large number of objects other than pottery. Most of these can, however, not be dated with certainty. This is due to the fact that the tomb was reused in LHIIIC (Chapter 4) and that the archaeological context of the individual finds is unknown. There are several bronze items, such as a small knife, a chisel, a spatula and a bodkin.⁴¹² Stone objects include a rubber’s stone, three steatite seals and a number of stone conuli. Jewelry was also found. We have three elements of amber and a good many ‘plain’ glass beads. There are also some glass relief-beads: four in the shape of papyrus heads and two in the shape of rosettes, of which one had been set in a frame consisting of four fine gold rings. Another find of interest from the tomb at Pilavtepe is a gold three-ribbed band or ring.

⁴¹⁰ Tombs 28 and 33

⁴¹¹ Tombs 3 and 18

⁴¹² Benter 2009, 354-8.

5.4.6 South-western coastal Anatolia: Değirmentepe

A cemetery consisting of eleven chamber tombs is located at Değirmentepe⁴¹³ nearby the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (Map 11) (see section 4.9).⁴¹⁴ The graves were excavated by T. Wiegand in 1908. The final publication is currently being prepared by W.-D. Niemeier.⁴¹⁵

The cemetery has a chronological time span from LHIIB to LHIIC Early.⁴¹⁶ Although the site is still largely unpublished, by combining the information from a number of different publications, it has been possible to develop an idea of part of the inventory of at least one grave, namely D 33 or Tomb 2. It had an impressive dromos with a length of about 9.50 m (Figs. 164-5). The chamber had sides of over three meters in length.⁴¹⁷ The following vases may be assigned to Tomb 2: a large piriform jar (?),⁴¹⁸ a conical stirrup jar,⁴¹⁹ a tall mug,⁴²⁰ a deep bowl,⁴²¹ a pattern-painted kylix,⁴²² an amphoroid krater (if correctly identified and dated to this phase),⁴²³ a deep conical bowl⁴²⁴ and a dipper.⁴²⁵ Finds other than pottery include at least three bronzes, namely a short sword and two spearheads,⁴²⁶ and a number of glass-relief beads in the shape of curls-of-hair.⁴²⁷ In addition to these, of (currently) unknown provenance are several pierced boar's tusks from a helmet,⁴²⁸ a pair of bronze horse bits⁴²⁹ and a number of gold⁴³⁰ and glass rosettes.⁴³¹ Moreover, there are also at least three more

⁴¹³ Note that in 2012 a new tomb at the previously known cemetery has been excavated. In addition, a new cemetery has been discovered at the nearby hill of Kalabaktepe (Herda 2013, 434, fn. 52).

⁴¹⁴ Georgiadis 2003, 75.

⁴¹⁵ Niemeier 2005a, 13.

⁴¹⁶ Mountjoy 1998, 53; Niemeier 1998, 36.

⁴¹⁷ Niemeier 1998, 36, Photo 10.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 37, Photo 11 (see, also, Benzi 2006, 24, fn. 47).

⁴¹⁹ Hühns 1981, 44-5, Abb. 83/84.

⁴²⁰ *Ibidem*, 45, Abb. 86 (see, also, Mountjoy 1998, 67, Fig. 17, no. 3).

⁴²¹ Hühns 1981, 45, Abb. 89.

⁴²² *Ibidem*, 44, Abb. 87.

⁴²³ Mountjoy 1998, 56, Fig. 11; Niemeier 1998, 37, Photo 11; Benzi noted an amphoroid krater in the middle of the plan published by Niemeier. Note that a LHIIB or LHIIC amphoroid krater from Değirmentepe was published by Mountjoy (1998, 66, Fig. 11, no. 1).

⁴²⁴ Hühns 1981, 46, Abb. 88 (see, also, Mountjoy 1998, 67, Fig. 18, no. 1).

⁴²⁵ Hühns 1981, 44, Abb. 80.

⁴²⁶ Benzi 2006, 24, fn. 47.

⁴²⁷ Niemeier 2005a, Colour Pl. 20.

⁴²⁸ Heimeyer 1988, 25, no. 16.

⁴²⁹ *Ibidem*, 25, no. 6.

⁴³⁰ *Ibidem*, 25, no. 14.

⁴³¹ *Ibidem*, 25, no. 15.

bronze swords. Of the four published swords, one is of an Aegean type (Sandars type Fii). For the others an Anatolian⁴³² or Levantine origin has been suggested.⁴³³

5.4.7 Kolophon and Baklatepe on the Anatolian west coast

To the north of Değirmentepe, there are only a few cemetery sites with (published) pottery from LHIIIB. Two built graves which have been dated to this period are a small tholos at Kolophon and a rectangular built chamber tomb at Baklatepe (Map 15 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.15). The interior of the tholos had been robbed.⁴³⁴ Fragments of Mycenaean pottery associated with it have been dated to LHIIIB-C.⁴³⁵ There are also a few objects other than pottery, namely a glass plaque with spiralfirm design (Fig. 166) and a bronze needle and knife.⁴³⁶

According to the excavators, the tomb at Baklatepe was built by the inhabitants of the nearby Bronze Age settlement-site of Kocabaş Tepe (Map 15 in Chapter 4).⁴³⁷ The grave, which had probably originally been covered by an earthen mound or tumulus, had been robbed.

The Baklatepe grave, which is largely unpublished, produced a mix of Mycenaean, Mycenaean-imitating and local vessels. The assemblage consists of many closed shapes and open ones, of which the latter includes a pattern-painted Mycenaean kylix and stemmed bowl.⁴³⁸ Based on the very wide panel (FM 75) with half rosette (FM 74),⁴³⁹ the bowl can probably be dated to LHIIIB2. Additionally, four large bowls were found, of which (at least) one may be called ‘Mycenaeanizing’ on the basis of the use of panel (FM 50) decoration, which is a LHIIIB ‘Leitmotif’.⁴⁴⁰ Other open pot forms comprise a krater and three red-slipped shallow bowls. The Baklatepe grave has a variety of offerings other than pottery associated with it, including ivory inlays,⁴⁴¹ gold jewelry⁴⁴² and a lentoid seal stone.⁴⁴³

⁴³² Niemeier 1998, 37, Photo 12.

⁴³³ Genz 2011, 304.

⁴³⁴ Bridges 1974.

⁴³⁵ *Ibidem*, 265.

⁴³⁶ Akyurt 1998, Şek. 21, a-c.

⁴³⁷ Erkanal 2008, 166.

⁴³⁸ Erkanal/Şahoğlu 2012, 97, Res. 6.

⁴³⁹ Mountjoy 1986, 123.

⁴⁴⁰ Mountjoy 1986, 95.

⁴⁴¹ Erkanal 2008, 166.

⁴⁴² *Ibidem*, 166.

5.4.8 Inter-regional comparison (LHIIIB)

In the above, the LHIIIB tomb assemblages from the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean were considered. We also briefly paid attention to the area to the north of it, but the number of (published) sites with tombs containing pottery from LHIIIB is very limited (see section 5.4.7 above). It is known that many graves with pottery from this phase have been excavated at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. Unfortunately, the site has so far remained largely unpublished. As a result, in what follows, the focus will mainly be on the south-eastern Aegean. In the preceding, every region (Rhodes, Kos and the south-west coast of Anatolia) was discussed individually by paying attention to the expression of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record. In what follows, I will concentrate on the most important similarities and differences in terms of these relations within the region as a whole. It is to the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record that our attention will now turn.

What connects the south-eastern Aegean as a whole in LHIIIB is the predominance of sub-terranean chamber tombs and the fact that in most of these tombs stirrup jars were found. This applies to Rhodes (see section 5.4.1 above), Kos (see section 5.4.2 above), Astypalaia (see section 5.4.3 above) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (see sections 5.4.4 to 5.4.6 above). We also notice some regional differences. As noted in section 5.2.1 above, besides stirrup jars, two other vessel types that are found in many tombs on Rhodes in LHIIIA2 and may therefore be seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record are the large piriform jar and the incense burner. Even though our understanding of Rhodes in LHIIIB is to a large extent based on the finds from the New Tombs at Ialysos, where both pot shapes continue to be popular in this period, it seems that the large piriform jar is also common in other parts of the island.⁴⁴⁴ The incense burner appears to occur less frequently.⁴⁴⁵ Although we cannot interpret it as a manifestation of relations of similarity, since we are dealing with single tombs here, it is notable that there were large piriform jars among the finds recovered from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Değirmentepe (Tomb 2 or D 33) on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.4.6 above).

⁴⁴³ Erkanal-Öktü 2004, 659, no. 456 (inv. 18072).

⁴⁴⁴ Large piriform jars dated to LHIIIB were for example found at Kariones, Passia, Ayio Georgio (Gennadi) and Vati (Apsaktiras) (Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 39.5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, no. 78); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Tav. 41.1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 383); Morricone 1986, 232-8, nos. 16, 22 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 378).

⁴⁴⁵ Incense burners from outside Ialysos come from Passia and Pylona (Ambelia) (see section 5.4.1.3 above).

At Müskebi, where only a relatively small number of tombs were in use in LHIIIB, a few large piriform jars were also found (see section 5.4.4 above). Similar to LHIIIA2, the large piriform jar is very rare at Eleona/Langada on Kos in LHIIIB. At that site we saw that in LHIIIA2 besides stirrup jars most tombs contained one or more small jugs (see section 5.2.2 above). While juglets are still common at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIB, they are mostly found in combination with the “Kos-2” group and can therefore best be considered in connection with the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. This is similar to Rhodes, where small jugs also only occur in combination with a specific group in LHIIIB, i.e. “Ialysos-2”. At Müskebi, on the other hand, juglets are evenly distributed over both groups attested in this period, i.e. “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3”.⁴⁴⁶ This is especially interesting since in LHIIIA2 small jugs were mostly found together with “Müskebi-1”⁴⁴⁷ and “Müskebi-3” assemblages.⁴⁴⁸ In association with the “Müskebi-2” group there were usually no or only medium or large jugs found in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.4 above).⁴⁴⁹ In LHIIIB, we only have one such jug occurring in combination with a “Müskebi-2” assemblage. This brings me to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean.

We can distinguish two clusters of similar assemblage groups. The first one is constituted by the “Ialysos-1”, the “Kos-1” and the “Müskebi-2” group, the second one by the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. The same clusters have also been defined for LHIIIA2. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the most notable similarities and differences between the different groups making up the two clusters. The assemblages that are associated with the “Ialysos-1” and the “Kos-1” group often include (painted and/or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, especially spearheads and short swords. The “Müskebi-2” group also has the presence of kylikes as one of its most distinctive features, but no bronze weapons have been found in combination with it. This is in contrast to LHIIIA2 when kylikes and bronze spearheads regularly appear together (see section 5.2.4 above). Apart from the three groups listed above, similar assemblages dated to LHIIIB have come to light at Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pilavtepe (see section 5.4.5 above) and Değirmentepe on the south-west coast of Anatolia.

⁴⁴⁶ Small jugs found in combination with “Müskebi-2” assemblages come from Tombs 3 and 18; “Müskebi-3” assemblages containing juglets were found in Tombs 28 and 33.

⁴⁴⁷ For comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403.

⁴⁴⁸ It should be kept in mind, however, that there were many more tombs containing assemblages dated to LHIIIA2 (N=33) (see section 5.2.4 above) than to LHIIIB (N=6) (see section 5.4.4 above).

⁴⁴⁹ The only tomb with a “Müskebi-2” assemblage dated to LHIIIA2 that had a small jug is Tomb 12.

The lack of bronze weapons found in conjunction with the “Müskebi-2” group has already been mentioned above. Some other differences also have to be noted here. The “Ialysos-1” group often includes a krater and one or more medium or large jugs. Another local characteristic is that “Ialysos-1” assemblages also sometimes comprise a collection of glass relief-beads. The same features are found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2. Of these three features, only jugs appear in a small number of tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages at Eleona/Langada⁴⁵⁰ and “Müskebi-2” assemblages at Müskebi.⁴⁵¹ We have better parallels from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe on the Anatolian south-west coast. Apart from kylikes and a bronze spearhead, at Armenochori were found a narrow-necked jug, a krater and some glass relief-beads. The tombs at Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe (Tomb 2 or D 33) yielded kylikes, a krater and a number of glass relief-beads. In addition to this, Tomb 2 or D 33 at Değirmentepe also had a set of bronze weapons associated with it, consisting of two spearheads and a short sword.

The second cluster of similar assemblage groups is constituted by the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. There are several features the assemblages associated with these groups have in common. Firstly, kylikes and medium or large jugs are rare. However, if they occur they are never found together, since this combination is considered characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group discussed above. Secondly, we usually find only a limited quantity and variety of offerings other than pottery. In addition, bronze weapons are generally absent.⁴⁵² A third trait the groups listed above have in common is that the assemblages associated with them often include one or more small ceramic vessels. Most popular is the small jug or juglet. Other vessel types belonging to this category of pottery are the rounded alabastron, the feeding bottle, the small mug and the small carinated cup. With regards to LHIIIA2, I noted that at Ialysos we have examples of such small ceramic vessels occurring in combination with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1” group (see section 5.2.1 above). A possible example of this in LHIIIB is represented by the tomb excavated at Pilavtepe on the south-west coast of Anatolia. As noted above, the assemblage of this tomb includes several items (two kylikes, a krater and glass relief-beads) which are also typically found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group. Apart from that, it also produced a collection of small

⁴⁵⁰ LT 46

⁴⁵¹ Tomb 18

⁴⁵² The exceptions are Langada Tomb 21, which yielded a bronze sword and spearhead, and Müskebi Tomb 14, in which two bronze spearheads were found.

ceramic vessels, consisting of a rounded alabastron, two small jugs, a small stemless goblet and a small carinated cup.

A final consideration addressed here is how the different assemblage groups discussed above compare to the tomb assemblages from the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. It has to be stressed that only very little is known about the LHIIIB period in the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Daği/Mykale promontory. In section 5.4.7 above, mention was made of the small tholos at Kolophon and the built chamber tomb at Baklatepe. A glass plaque with spiraliform design has been published from Kolophon. The tomb had been robbed, but on the basis of the pottery found the excavators dated it to LHIIIB-C. We know of some earlier tholoi (LHIIIA) from Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 above), which is situated to the north of Kolophon. Among the finds recovered from the tholoi at Panaztepe, most of which, similar to the one at Kolophon, had been robbed prior to excavation, were bronze weapons, stone seals and glass plaques and rosettes. Moreover, the pottery assemblage included fragments of Mycenaean large piriform jars and kylikes. There was also one beaked jug found. The pottery can be dated to LHIIIA1-2. As noted in section 5.3.6 above, there are similarities between the finds from the tholoi and those typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group. It is worth speculating whether, originally, the Kolophon grave may have had a similar assemblage.

The built rectangular tomb at Baklatepe was used only for cremation burials. It contained a large number of open vases, including a local krater and a Mycenaean kylix and stemmed bowl. Note that comparable groups of artifacts dating from LHIIIA1-2 have also come to light in some of the tholoi at Panaztepe as well as in the rectangular built tomb at Beşiktepe (see sections 5.3.5 above). Since kraters and kylikes are also typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group, might it be possible to see south-eastern Aegean ‘influences’ in these assemblages?

This concludes our discussion of the tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean and the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. In the next chapter, the groups established here will be compared with those recognized in the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland, which were described in detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Attention will also be paid to the question what the groups defined in Chapters 3 and 5 can tell us about the degree to which identities were expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland and in the south-eastern Aegean in the LHIIIA-B period. Another point of interest is what we may learn from similarities between groups in terms of the connectivity between people. The

aim is to develop a better understanding of the social dynamics characterizing the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.

Chapter 6

Synthesis and Conclusions

It was argued in Chapter 1 that, in general, two major interpretive perspectives have tended to dominate the debate surrounding the Mycenaean archaeological evidence from the south-eastern Aegean. They have been referred to as the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist perspective” (see section 1.2). From the former perspective, the strong Mycenaean ‘character’ of the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands is regarded as indicative of the presence of immigrants or colonists from the Mycenaean Greek mainland. It is generally assumed that local groups were fully acculturated to Mycenaean culture. As can be derived from the regional archaeological overview in section 1.1, the ‘impact’ of Mycenaean culture was much less profound in the central and northern parts of the Anatolian west coast.

Illustrative in this respect is the widespread popularity of Mycenaean-style chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean, which are virtually absent in the areas to the north of it, where mostly local tomb types are found. Scholars working from a “colonialist perspective” see this as a confirmation that the “zone of Mycenaean settlement”¹ stayed limited to the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands. It is this inter-regional variability which has become central to the “social constructivist perspective”. From this perspective, the archaeological patterns are explained as reflecting the behaviors of different local groups combining Mycenaean traits with other cultural traditions in order to construct hybridized identities of their own. ‘Even’ in the south-eastern Aegean, it is possible to recognize other non-Mycenaean influences in the archaeological record. It is, therefore, believed that there were no immigrants from the Greek mainland present in the south-eastern Aegean during the Late Bronze Age – because the only ‘real’ Mycenaean is a Mycenaean Greek Mycenaean (see discussion in section 1.3).

As a result of the debate between the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist” approach described above, there has been a tendency to discuss the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in terms of two opposing social blocs, with Mycenaean on one side and local groups (Anatolians, Rhodians, etc.) on the other. As indicated in Chapter 1, the archaeological evidence upon which this distinction is based is far

¹ Niemeier 2005b, 203.

from conclusive. It does not allow for a distinction to be made between ‘real’ and ‘made’ Mycenaean. In this respect, the importance of the so-called Aḥḥiyawa texts in providing historical ‘evidence’ for the presence of ‘real’ Mycenaean in this area during the Late Bronze Age should not be underestimated. The Aḥḥiyawa texts, the interpretation of which, similar to the archaeological evidence, is not unequivocal, have been discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

The “social constructivist” approach also fails to provide a satisfying interpretation of the archaeological evidence. As noted above, the combination of old and new traditions (i.e. Mycenaean) tends to be seen as evidence that the people ‘behind the Mycenaean pots’ were of local rather than of colonial descent. However, from a postcolonial perspective (see section 1.3), this is what one would expect to find in colonial situations, where different groups together create or establish new colonial communities and through their interactions and exchanges ‘new’ forms of (material) culture. One of the key points of postcolonial thinking, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, is that the people by whom colonial situations are made up should not be conceived of as bounded cultures with readily distinct identities (cf. Mycenaean and locals).²

The bottom line is that the archaeological evidence neither proves nor disproves the possibility of Mycenaean settlers in the south-eastern Aegean. In order to transcend the current debate, a different way of approaching “groups” in the archaeological record has been developed in this dissertation. This approach has been termed “neo-culture history” (Chapter 2). Instead of regarding “groupism” as a permanent state of being and “groups” as the main unit of which the social world is composed, the crystallization of “groups” is seen as a temporary contextual manifestation of increased group awareness (see comments on Brubaker and group making as a project in section 2.1.2). By focusing on contexts in which “groups” are likely to have ‘emerged’ and which can be identified archaeologically, it is possible to study the expression of group identities in the material record.

It was argued in Chapters 2 and 3 that graves can be seen as suitable contexts or ‘locales’ for studying the expression of group identities in the archaeological record. The primary unit of analysis is represented by the assemblage found within a particular tomb, which is regarded as the material manifestation or the product of the activities through which group identities are constructed and manipulated. It is assumed that if material culture was used to express different group identities, this should manifest itself archaeologically in

² Knapp/van Dommelen 2010, 1.

differently constituted tomb assemblages. These differences are reflected in specific combinations of objects of which the distribution is limited to only a number of tombs in a particular cemetery. On the basis of these “relations of difference” the different types of assemblages are defined. There may also be similarities cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. These similarities are to be understood as signaling a communal element in the different group identities manifested in the archaeological burial record (see section 2.3). It was proposed in Chapter 2 that there may be a connection between these “relations of similarity” and the expression of ethnic identity, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is usually based on common descent and shared feelings of belongingness; commonality is central to the definition of ethnicity. In this way, tomb assemblages can really be seen as active constructions constituted by relations of similarity and difference between groups. By comparing the assemblages from different cemetery sites in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference, an understanding of the socio-cultural connectivity between them may be developed, which can be considered as an important indicator of interactions and exchanges between regions and possibly the movement of ideas and/or people.

The aim of this study has been to establish whether by applying the neo-culture historical approach described above, it is possible to recognize different groups in the archaeological burial record; whether there are different group identities being constructed and expressed via the (Mycenaean) objects found within the tombs in the south-eastern Aegean. Additional questions include: how do the different parts of which the region is made up compare to each other in this regard and what does this say about the relations between them? Another target has been to assess the area’s socio-cultural connectivity with the supposed heartland of Mycenaean culture, i.e. the Greek mainland. These topics will be addressed in this chapter. I believe that by concentrating on these points with a neo-culture historical perspective, it should be possible to shed a new light on the social dynamics characterizing the societies of the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands in the Late Bronze Age. In the next two sections, the different group identities expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland (see section 6.1 below) and in the south-eastern Aegean (see section 6.2 below) will be discussed.

6.1 The expression of identity in tombs on the Mycenaean Greek mainland

In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I paid attention to tomb assemblages from a number of cemeteries on the Greek mainland in use during the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. The graves excavated in the Agora at Athens (Attica) (see section 3.3) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.4) played a central role in the discussion. The neo-culture historical approach was used to investigate similarities and differences between the tomb assemblages that have been uncovered at these sites. A comparison was subsequently made between the different types of assemblages identified here and the (published) materials from a number of other cemeteries situated in central and southern Greece, such as Thebes (Boeotia) (see section 3.6.1), Eleusis (Attica) (see section 3.6.2), Mycenae (Argolid) (see section 3.6.4) and Pylos (Messenia) (see section 3.6.6). The analysis revealed important inter-regional similarities and differences. Regardless of this variety, however, it has been possible to define three general groups of funerary assemblages. These have been referred to as “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” (see section 3.7). The question addressed here is what these material definitions can tell us about “groups” and the social dynamics characterizing the societies of the Greek mainland in the Late Bronze Age.

It was noted in section 3.7 that the assemblages from the Greek mainland are constituted by two different types of relations: relations of similarity and relations of difference. As discussed above (also see section 2.3), relations of similarity may be related to the expression of ethnic identity, because they signal a communal element in the different group identities manifested in the archaeological burial record. The second set of relations stresses differences between “groups”, which can be of various natures, such as religious, economic or political.³ In what follows, both constituting relations are discussed in relation to the “groups” which have manifested themselves in the funerary record of the Greek mainland.

In tombs in central and southern Greece, the relations of similarity are mainly apparent in a fairly uniform treatment of the dead. There appears to have been a prevailing ideology about death and burial in Mycenaean society.⁴ Several strands of evidence seem to support this. A good example is represented by the widespread custom of burying the dead in multiple

³ A similar conclusion concerning the different identities informing Mycenaean burial customs has been reached by S. Voutsaki. She argues that “mortuary ritual simultaneously created two only seemingly opposite realities: unity in the form of collective identity, and difference, in the form of internal divisions” (1998, 46).

⁴ Gallou 2005, 139.

graves, especially chamber tombs. It has to be pointed out, however, that not all of the Mycenaean dead were placed in such graves. As indicated in Chapter 3, a variety of different tomb types is attested on the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B Palatial period. The chamber tomb is, however, by far the commonest. Connected with the use of chamber tombs was a shared way by means of which the community of the living disposed of dead bodies; in most tombs primary and/or secondary burials have been found.⁵ A cultural habit which may be related to this is the placement of unguent containers with the dead. As argued in section 3.7, a similarity cross-cutting the different types of assemblages is that most tombs contained a number of (small) unguent containers. During LHIIIB-III A1, small piriform jars (Figs. 7 and 15 in Chapter 3) and rounded alabastra (Figs. 16 and 28 in Chapter 3) appear to have been the cultural 'norm'. Most common in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB are small piriform jars (Figs. 20 and 38 in Chapter 3), rounded alabastra (Fig. 19 in Chapter 3) and (globular) stirrup jars (Figs. 62 and 64 in Chapter 3). Small piriform jars and alabastra may have been used as containers for honey as well as unguents. It is generally assumed that stirrup jars were used for perfumed oils.⁶ Based on the popularity of unguent containers in tombs, it seems clear that they must have played a prominent role in the funeral rites performed. Because of this, the rituals for which these vessels were used may have constituted an important communal element for the society at large. One interpretation is that the oils and unguents were employed to anoint or cleanse the dead body. An alternative is that they were meant as provision for use in the afterlife.⁷ In relation to this, it has to be pointed out that we do not know whether the vessels were filled or empty when they were left inside in a particular tomb. In the latter case, a symbolic use may also be considered.⁸ This evidently also applies to the rest of the pottery found in tombs.

Two other groups of objects which are present in some quantity in most Mycenaean multiple tombs are glass and/or stone beads (Figs. 42-3 in Chapter 3) and stone conuli or buttons (Fig. 39 in Chapter 3).⁹ The beads may have belonged to necklaces or diadems, which were either worn by or presented to the dead.¹⁰ The stone conuli might have been used as hem-weights to "make women's heavy woollen skirts, and sometimes apparently men's kilts,

⁵ In this light note that pit and cist-graves usually, but not always, only contain single inhumations (see for example discussion of pit and cist-graves excavated in the Agora at Athens in section 3.3).

⁶ Mountjoy 1993, 127-8; Gallou 2005, 98; Mee 2008, 365.

⁷ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 119.

⁸ Pers. comm. V.V. Stissi (08.13).

⁹ See, for example, Gallou 2005, 120.

¹⁰ Mee 2010, 287.

hang well”.¹¹ In this way, it is possible to connect both groups of objects with the presentation of the dead body.¹² An alternative explanation is offered by C. Gallou. According to her, the beads and buttons may have been attached to the (decayed) shrouds into which the disarticulated bones were wrapped after cleansing (see below). This could account for the fact that in tombs these items are often found in association with secondary burials (consisting of disarticulated bones).¹³ Gallou’s view is based on a reconstruction by W.G. Cavanagh of the performance of secondary burial treatment. He proposes that this involved the removal of the skeletal remains from the chamber to the dromos, where they were ceremonially cleansed. After this, the disarticulated bones were perhaps wrapped into a (new) shroud and returned into the chamber.¹⁴ Besides beads and buttons, unguent containers are also often found in association with these secondary deposits. Because of this, Gallou proposes that oil, together with water and wine, may have been used for the ceremonial cleansing of the bones and for the unction of the shroud in which the skeletal remains were wrapped.¹⁵ She also points out that the same deposits also often include terracotta figurines (Figs. 47-8 in Chapter 3), of which the intention may have been to provide “divine protection” (for more on figurines, see below).¹⁶

The advantage of Gallou’s interpretation is that it combines all aspects which in Chapter 3 were defined as traits that cross-cut the different group identities manifested in the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland. In any case, this recurring complex of material traits (multiple graves, primary and secondary inhumations, unguent containers, jewelry beads and stone conuli) can be seen as marking the collective, possibly ethnic, identity of the people buried in chamber tombs in Late Bronze Age Greece – at least in terms of funerary representation.

The second set of relations is related to the expression of differences between “groups”. As noted above, based on the analysis carried out in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, it has been possible to identify three general groups of funerary assemblages in the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland: “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3”. They are discussed below.

The group which is best distinguishable is the “Greece-1” group. Persons buried in tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages often have large piriform jars (Figs. 2 and 26 in Chapter

¹¹ Hughes-Brock 1999, 280-2.

¹² See, for example, Smith/Jones 2010, 444.

¹³ Gallou 2005, 120.

¹⁴ Cavanagh 1978, 171-2.

¹⁵ Gallou 2005, 120.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 122-3.

3), medium or large jugs (Figs. 3 and 40 in Chapter 3) and a considerable quantity of unpainted and/or tinned open vessels, especially kylikes and shallow angular bowls (Fig. 40 in Chapter 3), associated with them. This seems to suggest that the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs played an important role in the practices through which the identities that are associated with the “Greece-1” assemblages were expressed.¹⁷

What is also typical of assemblages of the “Greece-1” group is that they often contain a large number and wide variety of objects other than pottery, of which examples are weapons (e.g. swords and daggers) (Figs. 9 and 41 in Chapter 3), various kinds of jewelry (Figs. 42-5 in Chapter 3), different types of seals (Fig. 32 in Chapter 3) and non-ceramic (e.g. stone and ivory) containers (Fig. 8 in Chapter 3). As noted above, some of the categories of objects listed above also appear frequently in tombs with “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” assemblages. This applies to glass and stone beads, but also to stone conuli and terracotta figurines. There are, however, a few classes of items which are characteristic of the “Greece-1” group. These include glass relief-beads (Figs. 82 and 89), in particular examples of the curled-leaf or bracket type (Fig. 45 in Chapter 3),¹⁸ gold beads (Fig. 2 in Chapter 3), rosettes (Fig. 87 in Chapter 3) and signet rings (Figs. 56 and 88 in Chapter 3), bronze swords (Fig. 9 in Chapter 3) and non-ceramic containers, such as alabaster vases and ivory pyxides (Fig. 8 in Chapter 3). It has to be stressed that these objects do not occur (together) in every tomb with a “Greece-1” assemblage. The main point is that within a particular cemetery, they are mostly found in graves containing “Greece-1” assemblages. Some of these artifacts were manufactured from raw materials not native to Greece, such as gold, ivory and alabaster. Thus, it seems that in addition to the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs, the presentation and deposition of objects other than pottery played an important role in the practices through which the identities associated with the “Greece-1” assemblages were expressed. Since the raw materials for some of the artifacts left inside the tombs had to be imported from elsewhere (see above), these may also have been used to signal a group’s external or international relations.¹⁹ Another function might have been to show a group’s (political) connection to one of the leading regional palatial centers. According to S. Voutsaki, access to these what she calls “prestige items” – “items . . . often made of exotic and rare materials”²⁰ – was restricted and controlled by the palatial élites. She interprets their distribution pattern, which is limited mostly to tombs, as indicative of an exclusive gift exchange network between

¹⁷ See, also, Wright 2004, 99-100.

¹⁸ Hughes-Brock 1999, 291.

¹⁹ Burns 2010b, 185.

²⁰ Voutsaki 2001, 195.

(local) élites.²¹ This implies at least some correspondence between social organization and the image constructed in the tomb of the dead (see section 2.3). However, as noted in Chapter 2, in this PhD study the archaeological burial record is conceived of as a consciously constructed record. Hence, the general lack of ivory and gold in tombs containing “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” assemblages is, therefore, not seen here as the result of the ‘lower’ social or economic status of the persons interred, but rather as indicative of the different group identities being expressed in the funerary record.

A final comment with regard to the “Greece-1” group concerns a development visible in LHIIIB. As noted in Chapter 3, during this period, in most parts of the Greek mainland, we see a strong decrease in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery deposited within the tombs. The only exceptions appear to be the palatial centers, especially Mycenae. Voutsaki believes that the general lack of prestige items at Prosymna (see section 3.4.3) and other “lesser centres” from LHIIIB onwards shows that the access to these goods was becoming increasingly restricted to the palatial élites.²² From the perspective adopted here, it may also be seen as an indication that less emphasis was being placed on the display and deposition of goods other than pottery than in previous periods. We do not see parallel changes in the pottery or ceramic part of the assemblage, from which it can be inferred that the real or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuff continued to play a prominent role.²³

The “Greece-2” group does not have any typical vase forms or objects other than pottery associated with it. There are similarities and differences with the “Greece-1” group. One of the key differences is that large piriform jars and tinned kylikes and shallow angular bowls are generally absent. Similar to the “Greece-1” group, the assemblages usually include some drinking vessels and medium or large jugs. This suggests that there is a relation between the identities being expressed through the “Greece-2” assemblages and the real or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs. If the number of open vessels found can be considered as an indicator of the relative significance of drinking and/or eating in the rituals performed, then it appears to have had a less prominent role than in tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages, where open vessels are generally more numerous. In this light note that “Greece-2” tombs are also usually smaller, in terms of the length of the dromos and the size of the burial chamber, than graves with “Greece-1” assemblages, which are often among the

²¹ *Ibidem*, 204.

²² *Ibidem*, 203-5.

²³ *Ibidem*, 203-5.

largest of the cemeteries of which they constituted part (see sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.7). Is it possible that there is a correlation between the absolute size of tombs and the number of open vessels found on the one hand, and, on the other, the size of the group of persons attending the funeral ceremonies?

There are no specific objects other than pottery which are typical of the “Greece-2” group. As mentioned above, several categories of items cross-cut the different groups of assemblages manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of Late Bronze Age Greece (see above). Other groups of artifacts include stone and glass seals and bronze weapons, such as arrow- and spearheads. Objects manufactured from exotic or rare materials, such as gold and ivory, are rare. From an economic or status-oriented perspective, this group may be called a ‘poorer’ variant of the “Greece-1” group. However, as noted above, this relies on the assumption that there was unequal access to “prestige items”. Furthermore, it implies that the different groups manifested in the archaeological burial record by definition had an equal ‘desire’ to acquire such goods and deposit them in their tombs. If we ‘restrict’ our interpretation to the expression of identity in the mortuary sphere, it seems fair to say that by the groups who expressed their identity through the “Greece-2” assemblages only relatively little emphasis was placed on the display and deposition of goods other than pottery.

The “Greece-3” group encapsulates a variety of assemblages, which have as one of their most characteristic features that the tombs in which they occur are usually relatively small compared to those associated with the “Greece-1” and “Greece-2” groups (see section 3.4.7). Another recurring trait is that open vessels and medium or large jugs (cf. small jugs or juglets mentioned below) are comparatively rare. There are several pot forms which may be considered as characteristic of the “Greece-3” group. These include the small jug or juglet (Figs. 58 and 74 in Chapter 3), the feeding bottle (Figs. 75 and 96 in Chapter 3), the askos (Fig. 98 in Chapter 3), the small mug (Fig. 61 in Chapter 3) and the carinated conical cup (Figs. 60 and 72 in Chapter 3). Based on their small size, for some of these pots, in particular for the feeding bottle and the askos, a connection with the burial of children has been suggested.²⁴ This link can sometimes (but not always) be corroborated by the funerary remains.²⁵ In this light note that child skeletons are less robust than adult ones and therefore tend to be less well preserved.²⁶ It should be pointed out that the vases listed above do not constitute a fixed set. Most tombs contained only a few of the vessels mentioned. Furthermore,

²⁴ Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 129; Gallou 2004, 371 (see, also, Smith/Dabney 2010, 441).

²⁵ E.g. Prosymna Tomb 18 (askos) (Blegen 1937, 58); Prosymna Tomb 34 (cist IV) (feeding bottle) (ibidem, 114); Prosymna Tomb 22 (feeding bottles, askos) (ibidem, 67)

²⁶ Lagia 2007, 294-5 (see, also, Gallou 2005, 115).

there are also some graves which are classified here as belonging to the “Greece-3” group but do not have any feeding bottles, askoi, small mugs, etc.²⁷ As indicated above, there is variety within the different groups of assemblages. Perhaps not all “groups” buried in chamber tombs used material culture to differentiate themselves from ‘others’. Even though inter-group differences may have been played down, most tombs containing “Greece-3” assemblages do have some of the communal features cross-cutting the different groups associated with them. This seems to indicate that relations of similarity emphasizing the collectively of the society at large were expressed through funeral rituals. One of the communal features appearing relatively frequently in tombs with “Greece-3” assemblages are terracotta figurines. Similar to the feeding bottle and the askos mentioned above, terracotta figurines have often been linked to child burials.²⁸ Although figurines also appear in tombs containing “Greece-1” and “Greece-2” assemblages, they seem to be more closely linked to the “Greece-3” group. In this light it is interesting to note that figurines are more frequently found in “Greece-1” and “Greece-2” tombs with than without feeding bottles, askoi, small jugs, etc.²⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, some of these examples may be considered as ‘mixed’ “Greece-1” or “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” groups (see sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.5). In general, apart from figurines, beads and conuli or buttons, the number and variety of objects other than pottery retrieved from tombs with “Greece-3” assemblages tends to be limited. As noted above, rather than seeing this as a sign of economic ‘poverty’, in the mortuary sphere this may be explained as an indication that no great significance was attached to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. This also fits well with the above comments that by some groups, material culture may not have been used to differentiate themselves from ‘others’.

The aim of this section has been to discuss and compare the three general assemblage groups in the archaeological burial record of Late Bronze Age Greece in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference. In this way, a sense of the degree to which material culture was used to express different group identities in funeral ritual has been developed. As noted above, a common element is present in most chamber tombs through the placement of such items as unguent containers, beads and conuli with the dead. Material culture is most actively used to express differences or unicity by the people expressing their identities through the “Greece-1” assemblages. This group has a unique set of objects

²⁷ E.g. Prosymna Tombs 5, 11, 20 and 48

²⁸ Gallou 2004, 368, 371; Gallou 2005, 52-4 (see, also, Smith/Dabney 2012, 442).

²⁹ Prosymna Tomb 38, for example, a “Greece-1” grave dated to LHIIIA2, yielded two askoi and two juglets, in combination with seven terracotta figurines (Blegen 1937, 128-31). Tomb 29, another “Greece-1” grave, did not contain any typical “Greece-3” vases, nor were there any figurines found inside the tomb (*ibidem*, 75-80).

associated with it, including large piriform jars, unpainted and/or tinned kylikes and shallow angular bowls, gold beads and rosettes, and glass relief-beads. There are also a number of typical vase forms which can be linked to at least some of the groups using the “Greece-3” assemblages to express their respective identities. These include such pot forms as the small jug or juglet, the feeding bottle and the small mug.

6.2 The expression of identity in tombs in the south-eastern Aegean

In the previous section, the degree of deployment of material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record of Late Bronze Age Greece has been discussed. In what follows, the focus is on the manifestation of identity in tombs in the south-eastern Aegean. A comparison will also be made with the Greek mainland (see section 6.1 above). This section draws on the results of Chapter 5, in which I addressed similarities and differences between tomb assemblages from the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands.

6.2.1 The expression of identity in tombs on Rhodes

It has been possible to identify three different groups of assemblages in the archaeological burial record of Rhodes. They have been referred to as “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2”. In what follows, I will look at these groups of assemblages by focusing on their constituting relations of similarity and relations of difference. A similar approach was adopted to investigate the identity groups manifesting themselves in the funerary record of the Greek mainland (see section 6.1 above). On Rhodes, relations of similarity can be seen in the widespread adoption of the chamber tomb and its use for primary and/or secondary burials (see section 4.1.1). Furthermore, there are a number of pot forms which are common in all three groups of assemblages. The small piriform jar (Fig. 3 in Chapter 4) and the rounded alabastron (Fig. 5 in Chapter 4) are typical of LHIIIB-III A1. Both of these pot shapes, however, occur only rarely in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. In these phases, the large piriform jar (Figs. 9-10 in Chapter 4) and the stirrup jar, of which a variety of different types has been found, are very popular. The piriform stirrup jar FS 166 from LHIIIA2 is especially distinctive (Fig. 11 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.1.2). Two other pot shapes which are present in a relatively large

number of tomb assemblages from LHIII A2 are the incense burner or brazier with curled-up legs (Fig. 41 in Chapter 4) and the Rhodo-Mycenaean basket vase (Figs. 39-40 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.1.3).

The material traits that cross-cut the different groups of tomb assemblages on Rhodes (see above) may be seen as indicative of a collective, possibly ethnic, identity. In several respects, there appears to be a correlation with the communal identity being expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland (see section 6.1 above). In both areas, chamber tombs are used for primary and/or secondary burials and there are similarities in the pot shapes cross-cutting the different types of assemblages. The latter aspect, however, changes through time. Typical of LHII B-III A1 in both areas are the small piriform jar and the rounded alabastron. While both of these vessel types stay common on the Greek mainland, they occur only rarely in tombs on Rhodes in LHIII A2 and LHII B. Instead we see a regional habit being developed of placing large piriform jars, (piriform) stirrup jars, incense burners and basket vases in tombs. It should be noted that stirrup jars are common in both areas. The preferred type on Rhodes is, however, the piriform stirrup jar FS 166, which is comparatively rare in tombs on the Greek mainland. The globular stirrup jar FS 171 is popular in both areas. The basket vase is a purely Rhodian pot shape. The incense burner with curled-up legs can also be considered a locally developed shape.

It was suggested in section 6.1 above that there might be a relationship between the unguent containers (small piriform jars, rounded alabastera and stirrup jars) retrieved from the tombs on the Greek mainland and the funeral rituals performed (ceremonial cleansing with oil and other unguents). Beads, conuli and figurines may also have had a role in these rituals. It is interesting to speculate whether the changes observed in its pottery repertoire (see above) might have something to do with changes in the communal burial traditions on Rhodes. In this light it has to be noted that on the Greek mainland, the large piriform jar and the incense burner are relatively rare pot shapes and appear almost only in tombs containing “Greece-1” assemblages. In other words, they are used to mark social differences instead of similarities. We are thus seeing how differences in contexts may lead to different socio-cultural meanings (see section 2.2.2 and 2.3 on the contextual constitution of meaning). It is difficult to discuss beads and conuli in a similar way. Since most cemeteries on Rhodes were illicitly excavated and we only have a somewhat complete record of the pottery, no generalizations can be made about the role of beads and conuli in the funeral rituals performed. They are relatively common at Ialysos, however, appearing in all three different groups of assemblages. The same is not true for terracotta figurines. They are very rare at Ialysos and this also seems to

apply to the rest of the island. This is a major difference with the Greek mainland, where, despite some regional variations, terracotta figurines make up a typical component of the usual burial furniture.

Social differences are also expressed in the archaeological burial record of Rhodes. As noted above, it has been possible to identify three general groups of assemblages: “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2”. The “Ialysos-2” group is attested only in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. The other two groups are known from contexts dating from LHIIIB-III A1 to LHIIIB. The three groups are discussed below.

The “Ialysos-1 (1)” group is unique since, in contrast to the other two Rhodian groups, it has not been attested outside Ialysos, to which the identity of this group appears to have been closely connected. The number of graves belonging to this group is relatively limited. They are among the largest tombs of the Ialysos cemetery.³⁰ The assemblages are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (Fig. 18 in Chapter 5) and open vessels, including kraters, and undecorated and/or tinned kylikes (Figs. 26-7 in Chapter 5) and shallow angular bowls (Fig. 28 in Chapter 5). This seems to indicate a close link between the group identity being expressed through the “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages and the real or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs. Ritual vases, such as conical rhyta (Fig. 22 in Chapter 5), also regularly appear in association with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

A distinctive feature of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group is that the assemblages often include a variety of objects other than pottery, such as various kinds of jewelry, seals, gold beads and rosettes, bronze weapons and non-ceramic (e.g. bronze and glass) containers. Although some of these, such as glass and stone beads, can also appear in association with the other two Ialysos-groups (see above), there are several items which are (almost) only found in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages. These include glass relief-beads, in particular examples of the curled-leaf or bracket type (Fig. 34 in Chapter 5), gold beads (Fig. 120 in Chapter 5), rosettes and rings, bronze swords (Figs. 31 and 121 in Chapter 5) and bronze or copper vessels (Fig. 122 in Chapter 5). These items do not appear together in every “Ialysos-1 (1)” tomb, but their relative distribution is limited to this category of graves. What characterizes most of these artifacts is that they are made of exotic and rare raw materials, which probably had to be imported from elsewhere. It thus seems that the deposition and display of goods other than pottery played an important role in the funeral rituals through which the group identity associated with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages was expressed. Rather than

³⁰ E.g. NT 4, 5, 31 and 50

seeing the limited number of tombs in which these items are found as an indication that they should be interpreted as markers of high social or economic status, they are considered here in relation to group identity – of which social or economic status constitutes an integral part. The assemblages are first and foremost regarded as manifestations of identity in the funerary realm; they are conceptualized as constituted by the choices made by actors to express themselves in a certain way and from this perspective the presence or absence of rare items (cf. definition of “prestige items” by Voutsaki in section 6.1 above) cannot simply be equated with a particular group’s ‘wealth’ or ‘poverty’.

It is possible for the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group to be compared to the “Greece-1” group, of which the defining characteristics have been described in section 6.1 above. In both cases, a prominent role is played by the real or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs and the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. Moreover, it seems that in general the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials is largely limited to these two groups. Another striking correlation is represented by the relation between these groups and glass relief-beads, especially the beads of the curled-leaf or bracket type.

There are similarities and differences between the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group.³¹ Both groups are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (Fig. 19 in Chapter 5) and kylikes, from which it can be derived that there is a close link between the group identity expressed and the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids. Moreover, kraters and ritual vases, such as hydriae with pierced bottoms (Fig. 23 in Chapter 5), are also sometimes found in association with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. A notable difference is, however, that “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages mostly include pattern-painted kylikes (Fig. 29 in Chapter 5). The distribution of tinned kylikes is limited entirely to graves containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages, which comprise only few painted – mainly monochrome – kylikes. Note that on the Greek mainland, tinned kylikes also appear exclusively in tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages.

In general, the assemblages associated with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group comprise only a relatively small number of objects other than pottery, including some (glass and stone) beads and conuli. Items made of exotic and rare materials are generally absent. It thus appears that less emphasis is placed on the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. There is one category of items which can be considered as characteristic of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group: bronze weapons. It especially concerns spearheads, which often occur in combination with a

³¹ E.g. NT 7, 19, 27 and 59

rubber's stone. This marks a clear difference with the "Ialysos-1 (1)" group, with which spearheads are generally not associated. As discussed below, identities similar to the "Ialysos-1 (2)" group are also being expressed in tombs on Kos ("Kos-2" group) (see section 6.2.2 below), Astypalaia (see section 6.2.3 below), Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 below) and the Anatolian south-west coast ("Müskebi-2" group) (see section 6.2.4 below).

There are some similarities and differences between the "Ialysos-1 (2)" and the "Greece-2" group. The clearest similarity is that in both cases the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids played an important role in the funeral rituals through which these identities were expressed. Moreover, it appears that only little significance was attached to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. However, while no combinations of objects are typical of the "Greece-2" group, there are several items which can be considered characteristic of the "Ialysos-1 (2)" group. These are the co-occurrence of pattern-painted kylikes, bronze weapons, especially spearheads, and rubber's stones. This is a truly Rhodian or more generally south-eastern Aegean phenomenon (see above), for which there are no parallels on the Greek mainland. This applies to both the large number of bronze weapons³² and pattern-painted kylikes, of which the latter are found mainly in settlement contexts on the Greek mainland.³³

The "Ialysos-2" group occurs by itself as well as in graves containing "Ialysos-1 (1)"³⁴ and "Ialysos-1 (2)" assemblages.³⁵ Tombs that produce only assemblages of the "Ialysos-2" group are among the smallest of the Ialysos cemetery.³⁶ A notable feature of this group is that, in contrast to the other two Ialysos-groups, it does not appear until LHIII A2.

The assemblages consist mostly of closed pot shapes and have no or only a few open vase forms associated with them. A characteristic trait of the "Ialysos-2" group is that it usually includes one or more of the following small ceramic vessels: the small jug or juglet (Fig. 37 in Chapter 5), the feeding bottle (Fig. 17 in Chapter 4), the askos (Fig. 39 in Chapter 5), the rounded alabastron (Fig. 38 in Chapter 5), the small mug, the carinated conical cup and the stemless goblet. Kylikes, which are typical of the "Ialysos-1 (1)" and "Ialysos-1 (2)" groups, are comparatively rare, from which it can be derived that no real significance was attached to the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids. Besides some (glass and stone)

³² In this light, note the following statement by E.B. French (1986, 279): "the tombs . . . on Rhodes, where the overall number of weapons is, by mainland standards, usually high".

³³ The only region where pattern-painted kylikes are found in tombs in large numbers is Attica (Benzi 1992, 134; Mee 1982, 18; see, also, Shelton 2000, 38, fn. 10).

³⁴ E.g. NT 31 and 50

³⁵ E.g. NT 19 and 28

³⁶ E.g. NT 8, 18 and 25

beads and conuli, only a small number of other objects have been found. This seems to indicate that in the funeral rituals performed, there was only a minor role for the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. This, however, does not apply to situations in which examples of the “Ialysos-3” group are found together with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, which generally contain a large number and wide variety of objects other than pottery (see above). It is interesting to point out that there are similar identities being expressed in tombs at Eleona/Langada on Kos (“Kos-2” group) (see section 6.2.2 below) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (“Müskebi-3” group) (see section 6.2.4 below).

There are some interesting similarities between the “Ialysos-2” and the “Greece-3” group (see above). Both groups usually do not include any kylikes and have one or more of the following small ceramic vessels associated with them: the small jug or juglet, the feeding bottle, the askos, the small mug and the carinated conical cup. As stated in section 6.1 above, for the Greek mainland, it has been suggested that there may be a link between some of these vessels, especially the feeding bottle and the askos, and child burials. In this light note that at Ialysos on Rhodes we know of several “Ialysos-2” assemblages which were reportedly found in association with child or adolescent burials.³⁷ Another interesting parallel is that both “Ialysos-2” and “Greece-3” groups sometimes occur in combination with assemblages of a different type. A notable difference is represented by the relative popularity of terracotta figurines, which are very common in assemblages of the “Greece-3” type (see section 6.1 above), but appear only rarely in association with the “Ialysos-2” group.

Ialysos is one of the best documented cemeteries which have been excavated on Rhodes. Although many other chamber tomb cemeteries are known on the island, unfortunately, a large number of them has been illicitly excavated and/or no – or only very little – documentation has survived (see section 4.1.1). Despite the limited number of sites with which Ialysos can be compared, the available evidence shows that there are similarities and differences with the identities being expressed in tombs in other parts of Rhodes. It is important to stress that this pertains mostly to LHIII A2, since there is hardly any well-stratified material from LHII B-III A1 from sites other than Ialysos. Assemblages from LHII B are also few, but most do conform to the material patterns which have been established for LHIII A2 (see below).

With a few exceptions, which are mentioned below, only one group has been recognized in the archaeological burial record outside Ialysos. The assemblages associated

³⁷ E.g. NT 8, 18, 28, 49 and 51

with it make it evident that this group must have been familiar with the burial practices through which the identities of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” groups were expressed (see above). Ceramically, this manifests itself in combinations of medium or large jugs (Figs. 43-4 in Chapter 5) and considerable numbers of drinking vessels, especially plain and pattern-painted kylikes. Kraters (Fig. 45 in Chapter 5) and ritual vases (Fig. 46 in Chapter 5) also regularly appear. Such assemblages have come to light at sites, such as Kalavarda (Aniforo), Lelos, Kattavia, Passia, Pylona (Aspropilia) and Pylona (Ambelia).

It seems that the significance attached to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery was generally limited,³⁸ although there are also exceptions to this rule, of which a clear example is represented by the cemetery of Pylona (Aspropilia) (LHIIIA2) in southeastern Rhodes. At this site, there are several graves belonging to this group that contained bronze vessels, bronze weapons (Figs. 51-2 in Chapter 5), stone beads and glass relief-beads (Figs. 47-9 in Chapter 5). Moreover, in one tomb, a collection of gold relief-beads was found. Bronze weapons and/or glass relief-beads have also come to light at a number of other sites on the island, such as Lelos, Passia and Pylona (Ambelia). As noted above, the same types of objects also often appear in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages.

The “Ialysos-2” group appears to be more or less limited to Ialysos. Exceptions are few, but it seems that at least at Lelos³⁹ in the center of Rhodes groups existed which expressed themselves in a similar way. This manifests itself in the occurrence of combinations of such small ceramic vessels as small jugs or juglets and feeding bottles. In that sense, judging from the evidence, which is currently available, Ialysos with its rich diversity of groups represented is unique on Rhodes during the LHIIIA-B Palatial period.

6.2.2 The expression of identity in tombs on Kos

It has been possible to identify at least two groups in the archaeological burial record of Kos. They have been referred to as “Kos-1” and “Kos-2”. The identification of these groups is based on the evidence from Eleona/Langada, which is the largest cemetery on the island. Both the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group appear in tomb contexts dating from LHIIIB-III A1 to

³⁸ The possibility cannot be excluded that the image we have of a number of tombs is only partial. As noted in the main text, most sites were illicitly excavated and/or have only been documented in a very summary way.

³⁹ E.g. Tombs 2 and 7

LHIIIB.⁴⁰ In what follows, I will look at these groups of assemblages by focusing on their constituting relations of similarity and relations of difference.

Material traits which cross-cut the different types of assemblages are: subterranean chamber tombs were used for primary and/or secondary inhumations (see section 4.2.1) and unguent containers had been deposited in most graves. The corpus of unguent containers changed over time. Small piriform jars (Fig. 62 in Chapter 4; Figs. 8-9 in Chapter 5) and rounded alabastra (Fig. 63 in Chapter 4) are typical of LHIIIB-III A1. Both of these pot shapes had (almost) completely disappeared by LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. In these periods, there is a general tendency to place stirrup jars (Fig. 65 in Chapter 4; Fig. 137 in Chapter 5) inside the tombs.

The material traits cross-cutting the different groups of tomb assemblages at Eleona/Langada on Kos can be seen as marking a collective, possibly ethnic, identity. There are similarities with the communal identities being expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland on the one hand (see section 6.1 above), and, on the other, on Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above). This is especially clear in LHIIIB-III A1. During this period, in both areas, there existed a preference similar to Kos for small piriform jars and rounded alabastra. As noted above, both of these pot shapes have largely disappeared from Koan tombs from LHIIIA2 onwards. This is different from the Greek mainland, where small piriform jars and rounded alabastra stay common in tombs during LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB, but similar to Rhodes, on which a comparable development in the pottery corpus can be observed. Stirrup jars, on the other hand, are very popular in tombs on the Greek mainland and Rhodes. However, the piriform stirrup jar FS 166, which is typical of Rhodes in LHIIIA2 (see section 6.2.1 above), is very rare on Kos in this period. The same applies to the large piriform jar. As noted above, the (piriform) stirrup jar and the large piriform jar – together with the incense burner and the basket vase – constitute part of the collective identity that developed on Rhodes in LHIIIA2. Three other categories of objects cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages on the Greek mainland are beads, conuli and terracotta figurines (see section 6.1 above). Similar to Rhodes, figurines are extremely rare in tombs on Kos in the LHIIIA-B Palatial period. Beads and conuli are present in some graves at Eleona/Langada, but they appear much less frequently than on the Greek mainland and Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above). This overview thus shows that in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological

⁴⁰ The LHIIIC material was not studied, so no claims can be made here about whether or not the patterns established in Chapter 5 continue or cease to exist after LHIIIB.

burial record there are important similarities and differences between Kos and Rhodes on the one hand, and Kos and the Greek mainland on the other.

There were also differences between groups being expressed through the assemblages retrieved from the (chamber) tombs excavated at Eleona/Langada and other sites on Kos. As noted above, we identified two groups. The first one is represented by a relatively small number of “Kos-1” assemblages.⁴¹ They are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessels, especially (pattern-painted) kylikes (LHIIIB-III A1 to LHIIIB) (Figs. 53-4 and 138 in Chapter 5). It thus seems that the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs played an important role in the funeral rituals through which this identity was expressed.

In general, “Kos-1” assemblages include only a few objects other than pottery, indicating that no real significance was attached to the display and deposition of such items. One category of finds that can be considered characteristic of the “Kos-1” group are bronze weapons, especially spearheads (Figs. 55, 139 and 141 in Chapter 5).

Assemblages similar to the “Kos-1” group have also come to light at a number of other sites on Kos. A series of painted kylikes and a pair of bronze weapons – short sword and spearhead – have been reported from a (chamber) tomb at Pyli (LHIIIA2) in the center of the island (see below). One of the two tholoi discovered near the settlement of the “Serraglio” has yielded a similar assemblage (LHIIIA2). Apart from a bronze spearhead and short sword, it also produced some gold rosettes and glass relief-beads. This shows that for the identity being expressed here the display and deposition of objects other than pottery was more important than for the groups whose identities are manifested in the “Kos-1” assemblages at Eleona/Langada (see above).⁴²

The “Kos-1” group resembles strongly that being expressed through the “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages discussed in section 6.2.1 above. There are also some parallels from Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 below) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 6.2.4 below). With regards to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, it was argued that even though it has a number of features in common with the “Greece-2” group (use of open vessels and limited role of the display and deposition of objects other than pottery), it can best be understood as a regionally developed manifestation of identity. This is especially true for the

⁴¹ E.g. ET 21; LT 15-6, 37 and 51

⁴² Since there are no finds other than some pieces of gold jewelry published from the other tholos on Kos, no comparisons can be made with it here (see section 5.4.2.2).

defining connection between pattern-painted kylikes and bronze weapons, for which there are no convincing parallels from the Greek mainland.

Besides the co-occurrence of kylikes and bronze weapons, some tombs associated with the “Kos-1” group also resemble the identity through the “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages in a number of other ways. As noted in section 6.2.1 above, in most tombs on Rhodes, large piriform jars and/or (piriform) stirrup jars have been found. Because of this, they are regarded as constituting part of a collective identity, which was developed on the island in LHIII A2. By contrast, both of these vessel types appear only rarely in tombs on Kos (see section 4.2.2). Piriform stirrup jars have come to light in two “Kos-1” tombs at Eleona/Langada (Fig. 1 in Chapter 6).⁴³ One was found together with a large piriform jar (Fig. 2 in Chapter 6).⁴⁴ This shows that in a small minority of “Kos-1” tombs Rhodian relations of similarity were being expressed.

As noted in section 6.2.1 above, the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessels, especially kylikes. Medium or large jugs are not common in tombs on Kos. It is, therefore, striking that the only examples found occur in combination with assemblages of the “Kos-1” type. Consider Langada Tomb 51. Besides a stirrup jug, it also yielded a large piriform jar (Fig. 2 in Chapter 6), a piriform stirrup jar (Fig. 1 in Chapter 6), a (pegtop) rhyton and a kylix with two vertical handles below the rim. Medium or large jugs and kylikes typically occur in combination with “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages. The (pegtop) rhyton from Langada Tomb 51 is the only one that has so far been found on Kos. As noted in section 6.2.1 above, ritual vessels also relatively frequently occur in “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages. At Pyli in the center of the island another jug was found (LHIII A2) (Fig. 3 in Chapter 6). This “Kos-1” assemblage also included a large piriform jar, a large number of open vessels, among which there are a krater (Fig. 4 in Chapter 6) and four painted kylikes, and a bronze sword and spearhead (Figs. 58-9 in Chapter 5). Apart from the large piriform jar and the (stirrup) jug (Fig. 3 in Chapter 6), of which the Rhodian connection has already been discussed above, it is interesting to note that kraters are also quite common in “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages (see section 6.2.1 above). It is thus clear that a small minority of the groups who used the “Kos-1” assemblages to express their identity actively appropriated a range of ceramic vessels with a distinct Rhodian ‘character’ to it; in other words, they expressed themselves in a Rhodian way. Note that this applies mainly to LHIII A2,

⁴³ LT 16 and 51

⁴⁴ LT 51

since there are (almost) no typical Rhodian pots from LHIIIB. It should be pointed out, however, that some of the vessel types concerned, such as the piriform stirrup jar and the kylix with two vertical handles below the rim, also become rare – or even completely disappear – on Rhodes in LHIIIB.

The identities of different social groups are manifested in the “Kos-2” assemblages (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB). What characterizes these assemblages is that they consist mostly of closed pot forms and have no or only a few open vessels associated with them. Moreover, many, but not all, “Kos-2” assemblages include one or more of the following small ceramic vessels: the small jug or juglet (Fig. 52 in Chapter 5), the feeding bottle (Fig. 147 in Chapter 5), the rounded alabastron (LHIIIA2-B), the askos, the small mug and the carinated cup (Figs. 57 and 146 in Chapter 5). As a matter of fact, in LHIIIA2 small jugs are also found in the majority of tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages. For this reason, it was argued in Chapter 5 that, similar to the popularity of stirrup jars in this period, the widespread use of juglets in the funeral rituals performed can be seen in relation to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada. In LHIIIB, on the other hand, small jugs are restricted mostly to tombs with “Kos-2” assemblages. It thus seems that the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids did not play an important role in the funeral rituals through which these identities were expressed. The assemblages also typically have only a small number, if any, of objects other than pottery. Stone and terracotta buttons are the most common. Hence, no real significance appears to have been attached to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. Two notable exceptions are the assemblages from Langada Tombs 21 (LHIIIB) and 38 (LHIIIA2), of which the latter includes one rock-crystal and about three-hundred glass beads (see below). Langada Tomb 21 produced a set of bronze weapons, among which there are a spearhead and a (killed) sword.

The “Kos-2” identity resembles that being expressed through the “Ialysos-2” assemblages (see section 6.2.1 above). Both groups usually include only a small number of open vessels and have one or more small ceramic vessels associated with them (for a list of shapes, see above). Objects other than pottery also tend to be rare. As discussed in section 6.2.4 below, similar identities were also being expressed by groups (“Müskebi-3”) in tombs at the cemetery of Müskebi on Anatolian south-west coast. In section 6.2.1, it was argued that there are some similarities between the “Ialysos-2” and the “Greece-3” group. Both groups usually include only a small number of open vessels. The assemblages also often comprise one or more of the small ceramic vessels listed above. An important difference, however,

concerns the popularity of terracotta figurines in tombs containing “Greece-3” assemblages. As noted above, figurines are very rare in tombs on Rhodes and Kos in general.

Interestingly, there are two tombs within the “Kos-2” group of which the assemblages have a number of typical Rhodian features associated with them: Eleona Tomb 15 and Langada Tomb 38. There was a large piriform jar found in both graves. In Langada Tomb 38 it was associated with a (globular) stirrup jar. As discussed above, these shapes – together with a number of other pot forms – can tentatively be connected with the expression of a collective identity which was developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2. An interesting structural feature of Langada Tomb 38 is that inside of it there is a dry-stone built bench.⁴⁵ Raised benches are also known from a number of tombs containing “Ialysos-2” assemblages. An interesting parallel is that similar to Langada Tomb 38, in some of these “Ialysos-2” graves, there were stone and/or glass beads buried with the dead.⁴⁶ At Ialysos, based on the relative size of skeletons, some of these ‘bench-burials’ were identified as children or adolescents. No (infant) bones have been reported from the bench in Langada Tomb 38.⁴⁷ However, it could be postulated that since the assemblages through which the “Kos-2” and “Ialysos-2” identities are expressed usually include only a limited number of offerings other than pottery, the examples discussed here clearly deviate from this ‘norm’. It should be stressed that these ‘norms’ serve only to provide an overview of the features that most assemblages associated with a group have in common. This does not exclude the possibility of finding unique traits represented in only a small minority of the tombs classified as belonging to a particular group. Among the tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages an example of this are the graves that had specific Rhodian features associated with them (see above).

A final comment with regards to the “Kos-2” tombs containing notable Rhodian features concerns the relative location of Langada Tomb 38 (Map 19 in Chapter 5). Next to it lie Tombs 37 and 51, both of which have previously been classified as belonging to the “Kos-1” group. As noted above, the identity expressed through the “Kos-1” assemblages strongly resembles that of the Rhodian “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. On top of that, Langada Tomb 51 produced a combination of vessels which are rare in graves on Kos but common on Rhodes (see above). This clearly demonstrates the connection between the people who buried their dead in this tomb and the island of Rhodes.

⁴⁵ Morricone 1967, 178.

⁴⁶ NT 28 and 51

⁴⁷ It is important to point out that as discussed in Chapter 4, the funerary remains from Eleona/Langada were very poorly preserved. Some of the bones have, however, recently been identified in the storerooms of the Kos archaeological museum. These will be published as part of the Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project (SELAP) (Vitale 2012, 407-8).

6.2.3 The expression of identity in tombs on Karpathos and Astypalaia

The total number of tombs excavated on Astypalaia and Karpathos is limited. As a result, it is not possible to generalize about whether or not there are any elements which may be regarded as expressions of a possible collective identity. Despite this, it is worthwhile to point out that some of the material traits cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages on Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above) and Kos (see section 6.2.2 above) also appear in tombs on Astypalaia and Karpathos. In the first place, the dead are usually buried in chamber tombs. There is, however, also some (indirect) evidence for cremation burials in chamber tombs on Astypalaia (Synkairos) and Karpathos (Vonies (Arkasa)). Furthermore, a Minoan-style larnax has come to light in one of the tombs excavated on Karpathos (Vonies-Arkasa) (see section 4.4). The use of larnakes has also been attested at Ialysos on Rhodes (see section 4.1.1).⁴⁸ Another recurring feature on Rhodes and Kos is the placement of unguent containers in the tombs. The same trend can also be observed on Astypalaia and Karpathos. Typical of LHIIIB-III A1 are small piriform jars (Fig. 97 in Chapter 4). During LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB,⁴⁹ mostly stirrup jars (Fig. 107 in Chapter 4), including examples of the piriform stirrup jar FS 166, and large piriform jars (Fig. 108 in Chapter 4) are found. This ceramic pattern resembles that of Rhodes, where, as noted in section 6.2.1 above, we noticed a similar preference for placing (piriform) stirrup jars and large piriform jars in tombs. On Kos, on the other hand, we mainly see (globular) stirrup jars being left inside the tombs; large piriform jars are very rare (see section 6.2.2 above). It was argued before that together with a number of other vase types the piriform stirrup jar and the large piriform jar can be seen as expression of a collective identity, which developed on Rhodes in LHIIIA2. These other vessel types are the incense burner with curled-up legs and the Rhodian-style basket vase. It is interesting to note that of both of these vessel types there are examples from Karpathos (Figs. 112-3 and 115 in Chapter 4). They appear in separate tombs, but in combination with large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars. It is tentative to see this as an indication that on Karpathos there were groups with specific knowledge of Rhodian burial traditions. In this light, note that so far no incense burners or basket vases have been reported from Astypalaia.

⁴⁸ NT 81

⁴⁹ Note that this applies only to Astypalaia, since, as noted in section 5.4 there are no excavated tombs on Karpathos from LHIIIB.

This knowledge of Rhodian and Koan burial traditions also manifests itself in the only group identity which can clearly be recognized in the archaeological burial record of both islands. On Astypalaia, this group appears in contexts dating from LHIIIA2 to LHIIIB. We know of one (possible) example from Karpathos from LM/HIIIA1. The group is, however, much better attested on the island in LM/HIIIA2 (for comments on LM/HIIIB on Karpathos, see section 5.4).

The assemblages usually include a large quantity of open vessels. Cups, (painted) kylikes (Figs. 62-3 in Chapter 5) and kraters (Figs. 104-5 in Chapter 4) are especially common, from which it may be derived that the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids played an important role in the funeral rituals performed. The assemblages generally contain only a limited number of objects other than pottery. The only real exception to this pattern is represented by bronze weapons, especially spearheads (Fig. 61 in Chapter 5) and short swords (Figs. 60 and 66 in Chapter 5). The identities expressed resemble those of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Kos-2” groups, which are similarly characterized by combinations of open vessels, especially kylikes, and bronze weapons.

The archaeological burial record also shows some features that are more typical of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. Among the finds from a destroyed chamber tomb at Kambi (Diafani) in north Karpathos there are two pattern-painted kylikes (Figs. 62-3 in Chapter 5), two ritual vessels (Figs. 64-5 in Chapter 5) and a short bronze sword (Fig. 66 in Chapter 5). As noted in section 6.2.1 above, on Rhodes ritual vessels (almost) only appear in combination with “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages, which also typically have (painted) kylikes and bronze weapons associated with them. Features typical of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are also represented in the archaeological burial record of Astypalaia. Among the finds other than pottery was a set of glass relief-beads (Figs. 154-5 in Chapter 5). As discussed in section 6.2.1 above, such beads appear mostly in association with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” type. The only examples from Kos come from one of the tholoi discovered near the settlement of the “Serraglio”. It should be noted, however, that the assemblage from the tholos (though largely unpublished) seems to be similar to that from the tomb at Armenochori on Astypalaia, on the one hand, and that associated with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” groups on the other (for a discussion of this tholos assemblage, see section 6.2.2 above).

6.2.4 The expression of identity in tombs on the south-west coast of Anatolia

In south-western coastal Anatolia Mycenaean-style chamber tombs have been excavated at Müskebi, Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, none of these sites has been fully published. The observations presented below are based on the archaeological information that is currently available. I will mainly focus on the construction of group identity at Müskebi (Map 11 in Chapter 4). The main reason is that this is the only multi-tomb cemetery of which sufficient material has been published to enable a comparison between different tomb assemblages. Değirmentepe is also a multi-tomb cemetery, but based on the published information it is only possible to partially reconstruct the inventory of one of the in total eleven tombs excavated (Tomb 2 or D 33). At Pilavtepe nearby the settlement of Iasos only one chamber tomb has been localized. At the end of this section, a comparison between Müskebi on the one hand and Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe on the other will be made.

The Müskebi cemetery was mainly in use during LHIIIA2. Only few graves were in use in LHIIIB (see section 4.5). It has been possible to identify at least three different groups of assemblages in the archaeological burial record. These have been referred to as “Müskebi-1”, “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3”. It seems that all three groups have a chronological time span from LHIIIA2 to LHIIIB, although there are some difficulties in the dating of the “Müskebi-1” assemblages (see section 5.2.4).

The “Müskebi-1” group has as its most characteristic feature that it includes only a single ceramic vessel. The straight-sided alabastron and the small jug are the commonest. Similar groups are not known from anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean. Moreover, straight-sided alabastera are relatively uncommon as burial gifts on the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B Palatial period. The same applies to graves containing only one ceramic offering. The “Müskebi-1” group can therefore best be seen as a locally developed manifestation of group identity. It also differs significantly from the other two groups which are manifested in the archaeological burial record of Müskebi.

Regardless of the many differences that distinguish the “Müskebi-2” from the “Müskebi-3” group, they also have a number of important similarities between them. These

⁵⁰ In the summer of 2012, a new cemetery has been discovered at Kalabaktepe, which is located nearby the previously known site of Değirmentepe (Herda 2013, 434, fn. 52). Furthermore, in the summer of 2013, several chamber tombs were excavated at a new location in the Bodrum/Ortakent district, which is also where the Müskebi necropolis is situated (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/mycenaean-artifacts-found-in-bodrum.aspx?pageID=238&nID=51909&NewsCatID=375>).

include the use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary burials and the fact that the assemblages with which they are associated typically comprise a combination of one or several of the following pot shapes (in descending order of popularity): stirrup jars (Fig. 68 in Chapter 5) and/or large or small piriform jars (Fig. 69 in Chapter 5).⁵¹ In this light, it is notable that with one exception (Tomb 38), in none of the “Müskebi-1” tombs any of these vessel types have been found.⁵²

It was proposed in Chapter 2 that features cross-cutting different groups of assemblages may be seen as manifestations of a collective, possibly ethnic, identity. From this perspective, there are (at least) two different collective identities being expressed here: one through the “Müskebi-1” assemblages; the other through the “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages. As noted above, there do not seem to be any parallels for the “Müskebi-1” group, either from the Greek mainland or elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean. Some similarities can, however, be recognized between the collective identity that the other two groups at Müskebi have in common (see above) and the identity expressed in the majority of tombs on the Greek mainland on the one hand (see section 6.1 above), and Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above) and Kos on the other (see section 6.2.2 above). In all of these areas, chamber tombs were used for primary and/or secondary burials. Moreover, it was a common practice to leave unguent containers in tombs. There are, however, clear regional differences in the different types of vessels deposited within the tombs. This becomes especially apparent in LHIIIA2, which is also the period the Müskebi necropolis was most intensively used. Stirrup jars, small piriform jars and rounded alabastra were the most common on the Greek mainland. On Kos, on the other hand, there were almost only stirrup jars found. The tombs on Rhodes yielded mainly (piriform) stirrup jars and large piriform jars. The pattern at Müskebi thus most strongly resembles that of Rhodes (see above). A local trend is represented by the relative popularity of small piriform jars at Müskebi. As noted above, on Rhodes and Kos, this shape had largely disappeared by LHIIIA2.

Similarities with Rhodes and Kos on the one hand and the Greek mainland on the other are not only manifested in the relations of similarity, but can also be inferred from the relations of difference being expressed here. A characteristic feature of the “Müskebi-2” group is the presence of (decorated) kylikes (Figs. 70-1 in Chapter 5) and medium or large jugs (Fig. 5 in Chapter 6), from which it can be derived that in the funeral rituals performed

⁵¹ In this light it is interesting to note that exactly these vases – together with a few others – are visible in a picture of the (unexcavated) contents of a chamber tomb recently discovered in the Bodrum/Ortakent district nearby Müskebi (see fn. 50).

⁵² Tomb 38 yielded a globular stirrup jar.

an important role was played by the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids. Based on the available information, it seems that only little significance was attached to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. The only exception to this pattern is represented by bronze weapons, especially spearheads (Fig. 72 in Chapter 5), of which there are examples from a good many of the “Müskebi-2” tombs.

The identity expressed through the “Müskebi-2” assemblages resembles that of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group on Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above) and the “Kos-1” group on Kos (see section 6.2.2 above). As discussed in section 6.2.3 above, there are also some parallels from Astypalaia and Karpathos. The connection between these groups is especially apparent in the defining connection between (decorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, especially spearheads and/or short swords.

There is one tomb within the “Müskebi-2” group which stands out because its assemblage comprises several unique vases which have a distinctively Rhodian ‘character’ associated with them. Tomb 2 yielded a number of large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars, which, as argued above, is a combination appearing frequently in tombs on Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above), and a basket vase (Fig. 6 in Chapter 6) and a kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (Fig. 7 in Chapter 6). The latter two pot shapes are unique at Müskebi, but common on Rhodes (see section 4.1.2). The combination of these objects conveys a distinctively ‘Rhodian’ character to the identity being expressed here.

The third group identity which we can see manifesting itself in the archaeological burial record of Müskebi is represented by the “Müskebi-3” assemblages. As commented above, a feature common to both the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group is that the assemblages with which they are associated typically include one or more stirrup jars and/or (large) piriform jars. With regards to the relative distribution of stirrup jar types, it is interesting to note that with one exception “Müskebi-2” tombs⁵³ have yielded only examples of the globular stirrup jar FS 171. Within the “Müskebi-3” group, on the other hand, a clear preference for the piriform stirrup jar FS 166 can be detected, although there are also some tombs containing examples of both types.⁵⁴ To speculate about the meaning of this difference of association is beyond the aims of this dissertation.

Vessel types typical of the “Müskebi-3” group are the straight-sided alabastron (Fig. 74 in Chapter 5) and the small jug (Fig. 75 in Chapter 5). As noted above, both of these pot shapes are also common in assemblages of the “Müskebi-1” type. This is markedly different

⁵³ Tomb 2

⁵⁴ Tombs 32 and 45

from the “Müskebi-2” group, in combination with which both pot forms only rarely occur. The small jug constitutes part of a group of small ceramic vessels, of which the distribution is limited largely to the “Müskebi-3” group. Besides small jugs, this group comprises small mugs (Fig. 124 in Chapter 4) and carinated (conical) cups (Figs. 76 and 160 in Chapter 5). There are also single examples of the rounded alabastron (Fig. 77 in Chapter 5), the feeding bottle (Fig. 159 in Chapter 5) and the askos (Fig. 78 in Chapter 5). Most tombs containing “Müskebi-3” assemblages include one or more of these pot shapes. Since kylikes are generally absent, it seems that in the funeral rituals performed only little significance was attached to the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids. The same may apply to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery, but it is important to stress that besides the pottery there is only little published information about the finds from the individual tombs. All we know of are a terracotta button from Tomb 45; a bronze razor (?) from Tomb 32; and a stone blade and gold ring from Tomb 15. The finds other than pottery from Tomb 22, which included a necklace of glass relief-beads (Fig. 82 in Chapter 5), are discussed in more detail below.

There are similarities between the “Müskebi-3” group on the one hand, and, on the other, the “Ialysos-2” group from Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above) and the “Kos-2” group from Kos (see section 6.2.2 above). These include the predominance of closed pot shapes and the presence in most tombs of a combination of one or more of the following small ceramic vessels: the small jug, the feeding bottle, the askos, the rounded alabastron, the small mug and the carinated (conical) cup. As commented in section 6.2.1 above, there are specific traits which the “Ialysos-2” group from Rhodes and the “Greece-3” group from the Greek mainland have in common – but this argument can be extended to include the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group as well. This is especially apparent in the defining connection between these groups and the presence of small ceramic vessels. In the case of the Greek mainland, a relation between some of these vessels, especially the feeding bottle and the askos, and child burials has been suggested. As noted in section 6.2.1 above, we know of several instances in which skeletons identified as children or adolescents are associated with “Ialysos-2” assemblages. In this light, note that the archaeological burial record of Müskebi has yielded (at least) one example of a “Müskebi-3” assemblage associated with a child burial. The tomb concerned is Tomb 33 (LHIIIB). It yielded the following combination of small ceramic vessels: two juglets, a feeding bottle (Fig. 159 in Chapter 5) and two carinated (conical) cups

(Fig. 160 in Chapter 5).⁵⁵ A marked difference between the Greek mainland on the one hand and the south-eastern Aegean on the other is that tombs in the latter area generally do not include any terracotta figurines. As commented in section 6.1 above, such items do, however, frequently occur in “Greece-3” assemblages.

There are two graves within the “Müskebi-3” group of which the associated assemblages show similarities with groups on Rhodes: Tombs 22 (LHIII A2) and 32 (LHIII A2). The inventory of the former included two large piriform jars, a typical Rhodian-style incense burner with curled-up legs and a unique necklace of glass relief-beads (in the shape of curls-of-hair) (Fig. 82 in Chapter 5). As argued in section 6.2.1 above, large piriform jars and incense burners occur frequently in tombs of this period on Rhodes; together with a number of other vase forms they are seen as indicative of a collective, possible ethnic, identity, which developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2. Moreover, with some exceptions, including the tombs excavated at Armenochori on Astypalaia (see section 6.2.3 above) and Değirmentepe on the Anatolian south-west coast (see below), glass relief-beads have mainly been found on Rhodes (e.g. Ialysos, Lelos and Pylona (Aspropilia)).

The assemblage of Müskebi Tomb 32 included four piriform stirrup jars FS 166 (Fig. 68 in Chapter 5), a unique large beaked jug (Fig. 9 in Chapter 6) and two incense burners with curled-up legs (Fig. 8 in Chapter 6).⁵⁶ As discussed in section 6.2.1 above, the piriform stirrup jar FS 166 is typical of Rhodian burial practices in LHIII A2. It constitutes part of the same set of identity-marking vessels as the large piriform jar (see above) and the incense burner, of which there are also two examples from Tomb 32. Note that this is the largest concentration of piriform jars FS 166 in a single tomb at Müskebi; in other graves only single examples were found. The beaked jug also deserves to be mentioned, because medium or large jugs (as opposed to small jugs) are very rare in the Müskebi cemetery. Such jugs are, however, very in common in tombs on Rhodes, especially in graves in which “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” identities are being expressed (Figs. 18-9 in Chapter 5). At Müskebi, most medium or large jugs have been found in combination with assemblages of the “Müskebi-2” type (Fig. 5 in Chapter 6), which, as noted above, in a number of important ways, resembles the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. It thus seems that in both of the tombs discussed above (Tombs 22 and 32) through the material culture an active connection between the burying groups and Rhodes is

⁵⁵ Akyurt 1998, 31.

⁵⁶ There is one other tomb with an incense burner with curled-up legs which is not explicitly discussed in the main text. In Tomb 23, which is a “Müskebi-2” tomb, a medium or large jug, a stirrup jar and an incense burner were found. Besides the incense burner, the connection with Rhodes is also manifested in the “Müskebi-2” group itself, which, as noted in the text, in a number of important ways resembles the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group from Rhodes (see, also, section 6.4.1 below).

being signalled. In Tomb 2, a similar way of using material culture to indicate relations with Rhodes was observed (two large piriform jars, a piriform stirrup jar, a basket vase and a kylix with two vertical handles below the rim) (see above).

So far, in our discussion of the expression of group identity in tombs on the south-west coast of Anatolia we have concentrated mainly on the cemetery of Müskebi. Additional chamber tombs have been excavated at Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe.⁵⁷ Although the former, which is situated nearby the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus, is a cemetery consisting of more than eleven graves (see fn. 50), since the site is largely unpublished, only one tomb assemblage (Tomb 2 or D 33) (LHIIIB) could on the basis of the available literature be partially reconstructed. At Pilavtepe, only a single tomb has been excavated (LHIIIA2-IIIC). It is therefore in neither case possible to make a comparison with other tombs at the same site, which is necessary in order to be able to establish structural patterns of association and identify possible group identities. For that reason, in what follows the focus is on the similarities and differences between the assemblages from Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe and those from elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean.

Among the vessels that have been published from Tomb 2 or D 33 at Değirmentepe are a large piriform jar and a number of stirrup jars. These pot forms often occur together in tombs on Rhodes. For this reason, they are regarded as constituting part of a collective identity which developed there in LHIIIA2 (see section 6.2.1 above). Similar ceramic patterns have been observed on Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 above) and at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see above).

The assemblage from Değirmentepe Tomb 2 or D 33 also included several painted kylikes, a deep bowl and a krater. This seems to indicate that in the funeral rituals performed an important role was played by the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs. The same applies to the display and deposition of objects other than pottery. This can be inferred from the presence of a variety of different types of such objects in Tomb 2 or D 33. In it were found four bronzes, two spearheads and two short swords, a number of glass relief-beads (in the shape of curls-of-hair) and some gold rosettes.

The materials from Tomb 2 or D 33 at Değirmentepe are similar to those typically associated with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” groups from Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above). Comparable assemblages have also come to light on Kos, for example at Eleona/Langada (“Kos-1” group) and Pyli (see section 6.2.2 above). There are additional

⁵⁷ For a full overview of chamber tomb cemeteries, including recent discoveries, in south-western coastal Anatolia see fn. 50 above.

parallels from Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 above), and Müskebi (“Müskebi-2” group) on the Anatolian south-west coast (see above). The relation between these different regional groups is especially clear in the defining connection between open vessels, especially kylikes, and bronze weapons. There are, however, a number of elements which distinguish the assemblage from Tomb 2 or D 33 at Değirmentepe from most of the groups listed above. It included gold rosettes, glass relief-beads and a large collection of bronze weapons. In this respect, Değirmentepe Tomb 2 or D 33 most closely resembles the assemblages associated with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group from Rhodes. This is the only group we know of in the south-eastern Aegean that comprises both gold beads and rosettes and glass relief-beads. The same combination also appears in (at least) one of the two tholoi that have been discovered on Kos, but its assemblage is largely unpublished (see section 6.2.2 above). Moreover, although bronze weapons are common in all of the regional groups discussed above, the assemblages generally do not include more than one or two pieces. The only tomb with a group of weapons that is similar in size to that from Değirmentepe Tomb 2 or D 33 is New Tomb 4 at Ialysos (three bronze swords) (LHIIIA2), which has been identified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. Another possible example is Old Tomb 4 at Ialysos (LHIIIB), which had four bronzes, three spearheads and a sword, associated with it. However, although there were also gold rosettes and glass relief-beads present in the tomb, the only extant pottery vases were two large piriform jars (see section 5.4.2).⁵⁸

The chamber tomb at Pilavtepe was in use from LHIIIA2 to LHIIIC. No information has been published about the find spots of individual objects. Because of this, it has not been possible to separate out the objects other than pottery by period. The same applies to a number of ceramic vessels.

Among the pot shapes from LHIIIA2-B are a krater (Fig. 163 in Chapter 5) and three painted kylikes. This is similar to the materials we find in association with such groups as the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group from Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above) and the “Kos-1” group from Kos (see section 6.2.2 above). What connects these different regional groups is a shared emphasis on the actual or symbolic consumption of liquids and/or foodstuffs in the funeral rituals performed. Another link between these groups is that they often have bronze weapons associated with them. No weapons have been reported from the tomb at Pilavtepe. It did, however, contain some glass relief-beads. This combination is particularly well known from

⁵⁸ As noted in Chapter 5, it is unclear how ‘complete’ the assemblages from the Old Tombs excavated by Biliotti really are.

Rhodes: open vessels, especially kylikes, glass relief-beads and/or bronze weapons often occur together in “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages (see section 6.2.1 above).⁵⁹

In the tomb were also found three (globular-squat) stirrup jars from LHIIIA2-B. There were not any piriform stirrup jars FS 166 from LHIIIA2 or any large piriform jars from LHIIIA2-B.⁶⁰ As discussed above, both of these vessel types often occur in tombs on Rhodes (see section 6.2.1 above). Similar ceramic patterns have been observed on Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 above), and at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see above). A different picture emerges from the tombs on Kos, where there are almost only (globular-squat) stirrup jars found (see section 6.2.2 above). This seems to most closely resemble the finds from Pilavtepe.

In the previous sections, an overview has been given of the different group identities being expressed in tombs in the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean. They were compared with each other as well as with the groups – “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” – that have been defined on the basis of the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland, which was discussed in section 6.1 above. It has been demonstrated that there are important similarities and differences in the ways identities are expressed by specific groups between the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand, and between the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland on the other. Features the two areas have in common are the widespread use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary burials and the tendency to deposit unguent containers within the tombs. While this relates to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, also in terms of the expression of relations of difference we see similarities between the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand and the Greek mainland on the other. This is, for example, apparent in the specific traits the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Greece-1” group have in common, but also through the popularity of small ceramic vessels appearing in combination with “Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages on the one hand and “Greece-3” assemblages on the other. We, however, also noticed a number of differences. A striking example is represented by the combination of painted kylikes and bronze weapons which can be considered characteristic of the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA-B. As noted in Chapter 5, we also know of this

⁵⁹ It has to be stated, however, that since we are unable to separate out the objects other than pottery from Pilavtepe by period (see above), the possibility that the glass relief-beads are from a different period than the krater and the kylikes cannot be completely ruled out. At least part of the finds other than pottery has to be assigned to LHIIC. A clear example is represented by the bronzes from the tomb. The assemblage included a chisel, a spatula and a bodkin. They best parallels for some of these objects come from a LHIIC context on Rhodes (Karantzali 2001, 72).

⁶⁰ The large piriform jars found in the tomb, three in total, are dated to LHIIC by P.A. Mountjoy (pers. comm. 04.02.11).

combination appearing in tombs situated elsewhere along the west coast of Anatolia, such as at Panaztepe adjacent to the Gulf of Izmir, Beşiktepe in proximity to the settlement mound of Hissarlık-Troy and Archontiki on the islet of Psara (opposite Chios). By contrast, both painted kylikes and bronze weapons occur only rarely in tombs on the Greek mainland.

The insights gained in this section form the basis of the final part of this chapter, in which they are combined in order to construct a ‘new’ Late Bronze Age narrative for the west coast of Anatolia in general and the south-eastern Aegean in particular; one that goes beyond the opposition between Mycenaeans and locals (Chapter 1) by addressing the social dynamics which give this area its own unique character.

6.3 Synthesis: the ‘Mycenaeans’ in the south-eastern Aegean revisited

This dissertation started with a concise description of the archaeological record of the west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands. One inter-regional contrast immediately became apparent: that between the south-eastern Aegean and the areas to the north of it. The former has a strong Mycenaean ‘character’ associated with it, which manifests itself, especially, in the large number and wide variety of Mycenaean cultural traits represented in its archaeological burial record: chamber tombs, (decorated) pottery, weapons and jewelry (see section 1.1). To the north of the south-eastern Aegean a stronger local character was retained. Mycenaean culture did not penetrate into these areas as it did in south-western coastal Anatolia. Elements of Mycenaean material culture, especially pottery, do occasionally appear, but they are less numerous and there is less variety in them. It is clear that in the formation of the archaeological records of the areas which in Chapter 1 were referred to as the “central” and “northern zones”, a more central role was played by (material) cultural traditions of local origin.

Although in many studies the variety of Mycenaean object types found in the south-eastern Aegean is discussed, a contextual approach is adopted in only a few of them.⁶¹ For this reason, questions of whether it is possible to see any differences in the ways Mycenaean objects were ‘used’, inter-contextually, have so far not been addressed. Consequently, the performative aspect of Mycenaean material culture, i.e. what role it might have played in

⁶¹ Most studies treat the finds from the south-eastern Aegean as one single data-set. The finds per cemetery are not considered per tomb or context as in this PhD study. Examples are the work by Mee (1982), Georgiadis (2003), Kelder (2004-2005) and Niemeier (2005a; 2005b).

constituting social relations between people, has been largely ignored. In order to fill this void, it has been the main purpose of this dissertation to establish the degree of the deployment of Mycenaean material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean on the one hand, and that of the Greek mainland on the other. Previous approaches have had the tendency to divide the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in two opposing social blocs, with Mycenaeans on one side and local groups on the other. As argued in Chapter 1, this distinction is not supported by the archaeological evidence. For this reason, in this PhD study a different way of approaching “groups” in the archaeological record was proposed in order to develop a better understanding of the social dynamics characterizing the societies of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean. These social dynamics are central to this final synthesis. Points of attention are intra-regional dynamics, as well as the connections between the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland. These will be approached from two complementary perspectives, in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity (section 6.3.1) and difference (see section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Relations of similarity: the expression of collective identities

It was observed in section 6.1 above that constitutive of the “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3” assemblages are two different types of social relations: relations of similarity and relations of difference. The first set of relations is regarded here as a way of expressing a collective, possible ethnic, identity. It connects the different groups with each other (communal). Social differences between groups which are contextually relevant and may be of a religious, economic or political nature are manifested in the second set of relations, the relations of difference (distinction). These assemblage-constituting social relations manifest themselves in specific traits of material culture that frequently occur together in the archaeological burial record.

We find several common traits in the way groups on the Greek mainland express themselves in funerary practice. Among the features most frequently encountered are the widespread use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary burials and the placement of unguent containers with the deceased (see section 6.1 above). This complex of traits is interpreted here as a manifestation of relations of similarity. We find the same complex in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean, where it is first attested in LHIIB-

IIIA1. In this period, its distribution is limited to only a few cemeteries on Rhodes,⁶² Kos⁶³ and Karpathos.⁶⁴ Chamber tombs with unguent containers are found at many more sites in LHIIIA2-B. On the islands listed above an increase in the number of sites is recorded. Furthermore, chamber tombs are now also constructed on Astypalaia and Samos, as well as on the south-west coast of Anatolia, for example at Müskebi and Değirmentepe.⁶⁵

Similar to the Greek mainland, chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean typically have unguent containers associated with them. Illustrative in this respect is that, along the west coast of Anatolia, the distribution of stirrup jars, which are typical of LHIIIA2-B, is almost completely limited to the south-eastern Aegean, which also happens to be region in which chamber tombs were in widespread use. To the north of this area, there are no Mycenaean-style chamber tombs and the archaeological burial record, mostly consisting of cemeteries with tombs of local type (e.g. pot or pithos and cist-graves), has yielded only very few stirrup jars. This pattern of association shows that chamber tombs and stirrup jars make up a fundamental part of the funeral culture of the south-eastern Aegean. As suggested in sections 6.1 and 6.2 above, there might be a connection between the use of unguent containers and the kinds of funeral rituals typically carried out in chamber tombs (anointing of dead bodies and bones).

From the perspective which has been developed in this PhD study, the widespread use of chamber tombs – for primary and/or secondary burials – and the placement of unguent containers with the deceased are conceived of as a meaningful complex of associated traits characteristic of the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland. It was proposed that this complex might be regarded as a material manifestation of a collective, possible ethnic, identity (see section 6.1 above). Since we see a similar complex – of associated traits – represented in the funerary record of the south-eastern Aegean (see above), this would mean that the people who buried their dead in chamber tombs here used material culture to associate themselves with the same (ethnic) collectivity as their ‘counterparts’ on the Greek mainland. I am not suggesting here that there were only persons of Mycenaean Greek descent buried in the chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, ethnic boundaries can be ‘crossed’. It is possible for a person to change his/her ethnic affiliation by adjusting his/her behavior so as to meet the criteria of inclusion of the group he/she wants to become a member of. Since ethnic identities are not primordial but can be

⁶² E.g. Ialysos, Vati (Apsaktiras) and Koskinou

⁶³ Eleona/Langada

⁶⁴ E.g. Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli)

⁶⁵ Chronological trends of each of these islands are described in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

behaviorally appropriated, it is impossible to establish with certainty what proportion, if any, of the ‘Mycenaean’ graves in the south-eastern Aegean belonged to immigrants from the Greek mainland.⁶⁶ What is clear, however, is that in south-western coastal Anatolia specific knowledge was in circulation of funeral or burial practices customary on the Greek mainland and that part of its population decided to express itself in a similar manner.

The (ethnic) connection between the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland, as manifested in the funeral or burial rituals performed, should, however, not be considered as immutable. As a matter of fact, it changes over time. This is especially apparent in differences in the types of ceramic vessels through which in both areas relations of similarity are expressed. A comparison of these vase types shows it is in LHIIIB-III A1 that south-western coastal Anatolia resembles the Greek mainland most closely. During this period, when the distribution of chamber tombs was limited to only a small part of the south-eastern Aegean, in both areas there are mostly small piriform jars and rounded alabastra found. In LHIII A2, we see a number of fundamental changes taking place in the south-eastern Aegean. In the first place, there is a strong region-wide increase in the number of chamber tomb cemeteries. Secondly, developments are noticeable in the vessel types through which relations of similarity are expressed. One such development clearly mirrors Greek mainland practices, i.e. the widespread use of stirrup jars. In other respects, we see a clear break with Greek mainland practices. This is especially clear in the (almost) complete disappearance in LHIII A2-B of the small piriform jar and the rounded alabastron from the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean. During this period, both of these pot shapes stay common in tomb assemblages on the Greek mainland. A development which is characteristic of the south-eastern Aegean in general and Rhodes in particular is the sudden rise in popularity of the large piriform jar (LHIII A2-B) and the piriform stirrup jar (LHIII A2). There is no parallel to this trend on the Greek mainland. As discussed in section 6.2.1 above, the rise in popularity of these vessel types – together with a number of other pot forms⁶⁷ – is attributed here to a ‘new’ collective identity which developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2. Similar trends in the pottery repertoire are also visible in other parts of the south-eastern Aegean; the same vases are found together in chamber tombs on Karpathos and Astypalaia (see section 6.2.3 above) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Müskebi and Değirmentepe) (see section 6.2.4 above). There is one notable exception to this. At Eleona/Langada, the largest cemetery on Kos, neither the

⁶⁶ Cf. discussion in sections 1.2 and 1.3 on the difficulty of distinguishing between ‘real’ Mycenaeans and ‘made’ Mycenaeans in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean.

⁶⁷ E.g. incense burners with curled-up legs and basket vases

large piriform jar nor the piriform stirrup jar ever became common. Here, (globular-squat) stirrup jars (LHIIIA2-B) represent the feature the different groups of assemblages have in common (see section 6.2.2 above). It should be noted, however, that this vase type also appears frequently elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean.

There thus seems to be a tendency in south-western coastal Anatolia in LHIIIA2 for people to identify themselves with Rhodes and the collective identity that was developed there in this period. As noted above, the only real exception to this pattern is represented by Kos. This is significantly different from the previous period, since in LHIIIB-III A1 the emphasis had clearly been on the Greek mainland and the collective identity expressed in tombs there. It should be noted, however, that, also after LHIIIB-III A1, Greek mainland influences remain visible in the identities expressed in chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean. This is, for example, apparent in the widespread use of stirrup jars (see above). Furthermore, some identity-groups in the south-eastern Aegean (e.g. “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-3”, “Kos-3” and “Müskebi-3”) have characteristic combinations of objects in common with groups on the Greek mainland. In contrast to the combinations discussed so far, rather than marking similarities (cf. relations of similarity) the combinations referred to here are to be seen as the manifestation of relations of difference. In other words, they can be understood as signaling the contextually salient differences between groups. These differences and the group identities associated with them are discussed in more detail in section 6.3.2 below.

Before leaving this subject, I want to call attention to a phenomenon which is typical of the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2-B, namely the (almost) complete disappearance from chamber tombs of the small piriform jar and the rounded alabastron. As noted above, both of these vessel types stay common in such graves on the Greek mainland in this period. Their disappearance in the south-eastern Aegean marks a clear break with communal practices customary on the Greek mainland in LHIIIA2-B. In relation to the previous discussion on the manifestation of collective identities in chamber tombs in south-western coastal Anatolia, I would argue that by LHIIIA2-B the small piriform jar and the (rounded) alabastron had (almost) completely disappeared, because they were being used to express an entirely different kind of identity. As noted in sections 4.20 and 4.21, both types of vessels – in both Mycenaean painted and local plain ware – appear frequently in this period in tombs of local, non-Mycenaean, type (e.g. pit and pithos graves) to the north of the island of Samos. This pattern thus coincides with the distribution of chamber tombs along the west coast of Anatolia, since the northernmost excavated is situated on Samos (Miloï). A reverse pattern is represented by the distribution of stirrup jars, which, as noted above, typically occurs in

chamber tombs, but not in graves of local, non-Mycenaean, type. Although the amount of published evidence is fairly limited,⁶⁸ it may be proposed that by placing small piriform jars and/or (rounded) alabastra, often in combination with vases of local origin, in tombs of local type identities opposed to that expressed in most chamber tombs were being constructed. In this light, it should be remembered that identities are principally defined in relation to ‘others’ (see section 2.1.1).

There is one notable exception to the pattern (lack of small piriform jars and (rounded) alabastra in chamber tombs in LHIII A2-B) described above. At Müskebi, where only Mycenaean-style chamber tombs have been discovered (see section 6.2.4 above), a strikingly large quantity of straight-sided alabastra was found. This pattern is not paralleled anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean. As discussed in section 6.2.4 above, this pot shape principally occurs in two groups of assemblages at this site: “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3”. For the former there are no parallels from any other sites in the region. It is tentative to see the popularity of this vessel form at Müskebi as a way through which the people burying their dead with it tried to associate themselves with groups who lived further north along the west coast of Anatolia. Other ‘confirmations’ of this might be that small piriform jars were also quite common at Müskebi in comparison with other sites in the south-eastern Aegean. The same conclusion may be drawn on the basis of the – though limited – occurrence of cremation burials at the site, which is usually regarded as ‘Anatolian’ in origin.⁶⁹ Cremations appear much more frequently in tombs of local type to the north of Samos, at sites such as Panaztepe (see section 4.16), Baklatepe (see section 4.15) and Beşiktepe (see section 4.17).

The contrast in LHIII A2-B between the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland on the one hand, and the south-eastern Aegean and the area to the north of the island of Samos (i.e. the “central” and “northern zones” from Chapter 1) on the other clearly demonstrates how important it is to approach the archaeological record from a contextual perspective. Similar types of objects may be used by different people in different locations to construct completely different contextually-contingent meanings. Consider the following example. Besides showing connectivity with communal Greek mainland practices, the widespread use of stirrup jars in chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean was also a way through which the people who buried their dead in this fashion were able to distinguish themselves from

⁶⁸ Only the cemeteries around Hissarlık-Troy have been completely published: Cemetery of Cinerary Urns in the Lower Town of Hissarlık-Troy and the necropolis of Beşiktepe.

⁶⁹ Jung 2007, 220-1, 229.

those who lived further north along the west coast of Anatolia, who had neither chamber tombs nor stirrup jars.

6.3.2 Relations of difference: the expression of different group identities

In the previous section it was asserted that, in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we see both similarities and differences between the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland. The similarities are strongest in LHIIIB-III A1, which also happens to be the period when the first chamber tombs appear on Rhodes and Kos. From LHIII A2 onwards, we see the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland developing along different lines or trajectories. In this section, the focus will be on how the two areas compare to each other when it comes to expression of relations of difference within tombs. The comparative analysis carried out in section 6.2 above demonstrated that, also in this respect, the two areas have a number of important features in common. These are most clearly illustrated by the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group from Rhodes and the “Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Müskebi-3” groups from Rhodes (Ialysos), Kos (Eleona/Langada) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Müskebi), respectively.

It was noted in section 6.2.1 above that the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group from Ialysos on Rhodes and the “Greece-1” group from the Greek mainland have several defining features in common. Among these are that the tombs in which they are found are usually among the largest of their respective cemeteries and that the assemblages, through which these identities were expressed, often have such items as tinned kylikes, gold beads and rosettes and glass relief-beads, especially examples of the bracket-type, associated with them. Most graves containing assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” type yielded pottery of both LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2 date.⁷⁰ They were not reused in LHIIIB, during which we see the construction of a number of ‘new’ “Ialysos-1 (1)” tombs.⁷¹

It has to be noted that the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group cannot be regarded as a ‘duplicate’ of the “Greece-1” group. There are clearly local circumstances at play here. A striking example is represented by the large piriform jar, which, on the Greek mainland, is essential to the definition of the “Greece-1” group. On Rhodes, however, this vessel type is not used to differentiate people from one another (i.e. relations of difference), but rather to connect them,

⁷⁰ E.g. NT 4, 31 and 50

⁷¹ E.g. NT 5 and 53

since large piriform jars are part of the set of ceramic vessels through which, from LHIIIA2, in tombs relations of similarity are expressed (see section 6.2.1 above). Two other pot forms which are quite typical of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, but generally do not occur in association with assemblages of the “Greece-1” type are the krater and the rhyton or ritual vessel. Thus, we see two phenomena at work here. On the one hand, we see material culture being used as a means to forge a connection between the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Greece-1” group. From a collective perspective, on the other hand, there are clearly elements represented in the “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages through which this group’s ties with Rhodes are emphasized.

A unique feature of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group is that its distribution is limited to the cemetery of Ialysos on Rhodes. As noted in section 6.2.4 above, one of the tombs excavated at Değirmentepe (Tomb 2 or D 33) nearby the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus bears a number of resemblances to it, but no further claims can be made until this site is completely published.

In contrast to the Ialysos-1 (1)” group from Rhodes, in different parts of the south-eastern Aegean we know of groups that have features in common with the “Greece-3” group. These are the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group from Rhodes (Ialysos) (see section 6.2.1 above), Kos (Eleona/Langada) (see section 6.2.2 above) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Müskebi) (see section 6.2.4 above), respectively. What these groups have in common with each other on the one hand, and, on the other, with the “Greece-3” group is that they usually include only a small number of open vessels, particularly kylikes, and there are often one or more of the following small ceramic vessels found: the small jug or juglet, the feeding bottle, the askos, the small mug and the carinated conical cup. It is interesting to note that on display in the Chios archaeological museum is a comparable – but unpublished – assemblage from the cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki on the islet of Psara (see section 5.3.6).

We also see clear differences, however. In general, the different groups of assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean with features in common with the “Greece-3” group are of LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIIB date. This does not correspond to the situation as observed on Greek mainland, where this group is attested from LHIIIB-III A1 onwards (see section 6.1 above). Another difference is that the assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean often include vases which never, or only rarely, occur in combination with the “Greece-3” group. This, for example, applies to the large piriform jar and the incense burner, which we frequently find together with the “Ialysos-2” group. The “Müskebi-3” group also regularly includes (large) piriform jars, as well as straight-sided alabastra, which are again rare in tombs on Rhodes. As argued above, these vessel types have been linked here to the manifestation of relations of

similarity in the archaeological burial record of Rhodes and Müskebi (for more details, see section 6.3.1 above). This reveals how these regional groups, despite showing similarities with a specific group on the Greek mainland, are tangled up with local traditions of expressing identity in funerary ritual. A similar point was made with regards to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group discussed above.

Another example illustrating the differences between the two areas is represented by the relative popularity of terracotta figurines. While common in association with assemblages of the “Greece-3” type (see section 6.1 above), they generally do not appear in combination with any of those from the south-eastern Aegean. Interestingly, the only instance known to me is Tomb 27 at Archontiki on Psara (see section 5.3.6),⁷² i.e. a cemetery located outside the supposed ‘Mycenaean’ southern zone (see section 1.1).

It should be clear by now that in the constitution of group identities in the south-eastern Aegean an important role was played by the Greek mainland. This, however, does not apply to all groups. There are several groups without any correlates from the Greek mainland. I will first pay attention to the “Müskebi-1” group, which comprises assemblages consisting of only one ceramic vessel; they either include a small jug or a straight-sided alabastron. We also often find the latter in combination with the “Müskebi-3” group. It has been suggested in section 6.3.1 above that the popularity of the straight-sided alabastron might be seen as the manifestation of a relation through which these two groups are connected to each other on the one hand and, on the other, to the different peoples that inhabited the areas to the north of the south-eastern Aegean (i.e. the area north of Samos) in the Late Bronze Age. As discussed in Chapter 4, (straight-sided) alabastra, although comparatively rare in tombs on Rhodes and Kos, are very common at sites such as Panaztepe, Archontiki (Psara) and Beşiktepe. Another similarity with these sites is that – albeit on a limited scale only – at Müskebi cremation was practiced. This might also hint at relations between the people burying their dead at Müskebi and the area north of the island of Samos, where the practice of cremation was much more commonplace. If this interpretation is correct, it demonstrates how Mycenaean-style objects may be used to express an identity of strongly local character, without any real ‘counterparts’ in the region, let alone on the Greek mainland.

The final group discussed here is represented by the following assemblages: “Ialysos-1 (2)” (see section 6.2.1 above), “Kos-1” (see section 6.2.2 above) and “Müskebi-2” (see section 6.2.4 above). Other assemblages resembling these are to be found on Astypalaia and

⁷² This tomb is dated to LHIII A2. On display in the museum are among others a small jug, a feeding bottle, an askos, a small carinated cup and a terracotta figurine of the Phi-type.

Karpathos (see section 6.2.3 above), and at Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 6.2.4 above). In other words, this group has the widest distribution of all groups that have been discussed in this PhD study. And since there are no parallels for it on the Greek mainland, it can be considered a truly south-eastern Aegean group. What characterizes it is the combination of drinking vessels, especially (painted) kylikes, and bronze weapons, particularly spearheads and/or short swords. The individual groups are not identical to each other, there are for example differences in the number of open vessels found,⁷³ but in all cases the same pattern of association is apparent.

This group is first attested in LHIIIB-III A1. From this period, there are (at least) two assemblages from Ialysos on Rhodes⁷⁴ and one from Eleona/Langada on Kos.⁷⁵ Most examples, however, come from LHIII A2 and LHIIIB, when, parallel to the number of sites with chamber tombs (see section 6.3.1 above), we also see the presence of this group in the south-eastern Aegean increasing. The widespread distribution of this group provides a clear illustration of the region's internal connectivity in LHIII A-B. Interestingly, its distribution is not limited to the south-eastern Aegean alone. Further to the north, at Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4), we know of a number of tholos graves in which, it appears, similar identities were being expressed in LHIII A2. Unfortunately, the site is largely unpublished. The same applies to the cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki on Psara (see section 5.3.3), where there is at least one grave⁷⁶ from the same period in which a similar pattern of association (kylikes and bronze spearhead) has been observed. Another site that should be mentioned here is Beşiktepe (LHIII A2) which is located nearby the citadel mound of Hissarlık-Troy (see section 5.3.5). Discovered here was a single built tomb containing an assemblage resembling the ones outlined above (e.g. "Ialysos-1 (2)", "Kos-1" and Müskebi-2"). The "Grabhaus" at Beşiktepe yielded a good many Mycenaean-style drinking vessels, especially pattern-painted kylikes, in combination with a bronze sword.

In this section an overview has been given of the different group identities that can be seen manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean in the LHIII A-B Palatial period. We see Mycenaean material culture being used as a means through which different groups of people, in their own distinctive way, express themselves in funerary ritual.

⁷³ This is most clearly illustrated by the "Müskebi-2" tombs from Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast and the assemblages included in this general group from the island of Karpathos, some of which comprised more than forty open vessels (Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) (Chapter 5).

⁷⁴ E.g. NT 37 and 74

⁷⁵ ET 21

⁷⁶ Tomb 42

One aspect which has not yet been addressed in this final synthesis is that most of the groups discussed here comprise some assemblages through which, by the inclusion of specific object types, a special link or connection with Rhodes is being expressed. In section 6.3.1 above, I already discussed the popularity of large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars in the south-eastern Aegean outside Rhodes in this respect. The sudden rise in popularity of these two vessel forms in LHIII A2 seems to signal a ‘reorientation’, in most parts of the south-eastern Aegean (Kos is the exception here), from a collective identity that was inspired by the Greek mainland to one most closely resembling that developed on Rhodes in this period (cf. relations of similarity). What characterizes the objects on which I will focus in the next section is that they appear in only a very limited number of graves within their respective cemeteries. They, therefore, do not serve as markers of communality, as was the role of the pot shapes discussed in section 6.3.1 above, but rather as markers of social distinction, by which individual graves through their constructed connection with Rhodes distinguish themselves from the other graves within the same group on the one hand and the rest of the cemetery to which they belong on the other. I will discuss these, what I call, Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ in the next section.

6.4.1 Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ in the south-eastern Aegean

At a number of sites outside Rhodes it has been possible to identify individual tombs through the assemblages of which, by the inclusion of specific object types, a stronger link or connection with Rhodes than in most other graves is expressed (for discussion of large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars as markers of communality, see section 6.3.1 above). As argued below, most of the ‘fingerprints’ found appear to be related to the either one of the two “Ialysos-1” groups. We will discuss them per region in the following order: Kos, Astypalaia and Karpathos, the south-west coast of Anatolia and the area north of the island of Samos.

The number of large piriform jars and piriform stirrup jars found in tombs on Kos is very limited. In section 6.3.2 above, I mentioned Langada Tomb 51 (LHIII A2). This “Kos-1” assemblage yielded examples of both (Figs. 1-2 in Chapter 6) in combination with several other vase forms which are rare on Kos, but common on Rhodes, in particular in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages: medium or large jugs, ritual

vessels and kylikes with two vertical handles below the rim. Another tomb from the same “Kos-1” group⁷⁷ produced a piriform stirrup jar, a large domestic stirrup jar and a medium jug (LHIII A2). These are the only two piriform stirrup jars that have been found at the cemetery of Eleona/Langada. This is also the only large domestic stirrup jar discovered at the site. As argued in Chapter 5, at Ialysos on Rhodes the distribution of this vessel type is limited almost entirely to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. Another similarity is the presence of a bronze spearhead in this tomb (Fig. 55 in Chapter 5), which is a feature typical of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group.

We also have Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ from a tomb situated elsewhere on the island. The assemblage from Pyli (LHIII A2) included a large piriform jar, a linear stirrup jug (Fig. 3 in Chapter 6), a krater (Fig. 4 in Chapter 6) and two bronze weapons (Figs. 58-9 in Chapter 5). The relation between the first two pot shapes and Rhodes was mentioned in connection with Langada Tomb 51 above. The krater, however, is also very rare in tombs on Kos,⁷⁸ but occurs relatively frequently in association with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” type. We also often find bronze weapons in combination with “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages.

Among the “Kos-2” tombs, we also find a few that have Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ associated with them. For example, Langada Tomb 25 included a large piriform jar (Fig. 81 in Chapter 5) and a large decorated beaked jug (LHIII A2). This overview makes clear that in the “Kos-2” group, but especially in the “Kos-1” group, there are tombs in which, by the inclusion of specific object types, a higher than usual connectivity with Rhodes is being expressed. Most of these ‘fingerprints’ are related to either one of the two “Ialysos-1” groups.

On Karpathos and Astypalaia we do not have large cemeteries, such as Eleona/Langada on Kos and Ialysos on Rhodes. Therefore, it is not possible to see whether some tombs contained more Rhodian-style items than others. Nevertheless, on both islands we do have tombs with assemblages including large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars (see section 6.2.3 above). In addition, there are a few tombs on Karpathos and Astypalaia that also have other Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ associated with them: from Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) come two Rhodian-style basket vases (LM/HIII A2) (Fig. 112 in Chapter 5) and from Vonies (Arkasa) two Rhodian-style incense burners with curled-up legs (LM/HIII A2) (Fig. 113 in Chapter 5). The two ritual vessels from Kambi (Diafani) (LM/HIII A2) (Figs. 64-5 in

⁷⁷ LT 16

⁷⁸ Another krater has been reported from one of the tholoi discovered outside the settlement of the “Serraglio”. This assemblage is, however, largely unpublished (see section 6.2.2 above).

Chapter 5) also have to be mentioned here (see section 5.2.3). The finds come from a destroyed tomb, so the assemblage is incomplete. We know of no other ritual vessels from Karpathos from this period and as noted in connection with Langada Tomb 51 above ritual vessels are quite common in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages. Another similarity between the Kambi (Diafani) assemblage and these two groups is the presence of a bronze weapon in the former (Fig. 66 in Chapter 5).

On Astypalaia we find Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ among the finds from the tombs excavated at Armenochori. Apart from large piriform jars (LHIII A2-B) (Fig. 108 in Chapter 4) and piriform stirrup jars (LHIII A2), its assemblage also included a unique narrow-necked jug (LHIII B), a number of kylikes (LHIII A2-B), a bronze spearhead and a group of glass relief-beads, comprising a rosette and three curls-of-hair (Figs. 154-5 in Chapter 5). Kylikes, medium or large jugs and glass relief-beads are common features of assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” type. Bronze spearheads are typical of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group.

There are three cemetery sites on the south-west coast of Anatolia containing tombs with Rhodian ‘fingerprints’: Müskebi, Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe (see section 6.2.4 above). At Müskebi, we have examples from tombs within the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. A “Müskebi-2” tomb with several Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ is Tomb 2 (LHIII A2), which, apart from two large piriform jars (Fig. 69 in Chapter 5) and one piriform stirrup jar, also produced a Rhodian-style basket vase (Fig. 6 in Chapter 6) and a kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (Fig. 7 in Chapter 6). More Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ can be found in Tomb 39. This “Müskebi-2” grave contained a large piriform jar and a unique cutaway-necked jug with curved stripes (Fig. 5 in Chapter 6). The latter pot shape is very common in assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” type. Tombs with Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ from the “Müskebi-3” group comprise: Tombs 22 (LHIII A2) and 32 (LHIII A2). Aside from a pair of large piriform jars, the former yielded a Rhodian-style incense burner with curled-up legs and a unique necklace of glass relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair (Fig. 82 in Chapter 5). As noted above, such beads are especially common on Rhodes, particularly in combination with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” type. Finally, Tomb 32 contained four piriform stirrup jars (Fig. 68 in Chapter 5), the largest single concentration of this vessel type from this site, two Rhodian-style incense burners (Fig. 8 in Chapter 6) and a large beaked jug (Fig. 9 in Chapter 6). Large (decorated) jugs, although often found in association with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, occur only rarely at Müskebi. The only other example, as noted above, comes from a “Müskebi-2” tomb (Tomb

39) which also has a large piriform jar associated with it.⁷⁹ This overview shows that similar to Eleona/Langada on Kos, at Müskebi there are several tombs in which, through the inclusion of specific object types, a strong connectivity with Rhodes is being expressed. Whereas the large piriform jars, piriform stirrup jars, incense burners and the basket vase are related to the communal identity that developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2, the other items mentioned – medium or large jugs, kylikes with two vertical handles below the rim and glass relief-beads – mostly occur in combination with “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages.

The other two cemetery sites on the Anatolian south-west coast are Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe. At the former was discovered a tomb (Tomb 2 or D 33) containing (at least) one kylix, a krater, a large piriform jar and a number of stirrup jars, in combination with a set of bronze weapons and a group of glass relief-beads and gold rosettes. Kylikes, kraters, bronze weapons, glass relief-beads and gold rosettes are especially common in “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages; gold rosettes mostly in the former. We also have a pair of kylikes and a krater in combination with a collection of glass relief-beads from the chamber tomb excavated at Pilavtepe nearby the Bronze Age settlement site of Iasos.

The distribution of Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ is not limited to the supposed ‘Mycenaeanized’ south-eastern Aegean. Among the tombs published from the area to the north of the island of Samos, we know of at least three in which such traits can be discerned: Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) (LHIII A2) (see section 5.3.2), Panaztepe (LHIII A2) (see section 5.3.4) and Archontiki (Psara) (LHIII A2-B) (see section 5.3.3). The (extant) assemblage from Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) comprised a large piriform jar, a krater and a conical rhyton. Although large piriform jars are generally common on Rhodes (cf. relations of similarity), kraters and ritual vessels almost only occur in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages. At Panaztepe, several small tholoi have been excavated. Although most had been disturbed and the cemetery as a whole has not yet been published we know of the following object types occurring in some of them: large piriform jars, kylikes, pattern-painted jugs and glass relief-beads.⁸⁰ Kylikes, medium or large jugs and glass relief-beads frequently appear together in combination with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)”

⁷⁹ In this light, note that there is another “Müskebi-2” grave, Tomb 23, which contained a plain jug and a Rhodian-style incense burner with curled-up legs. In general, medium or large jugs are rare at Müskebi, thereby mirroring the situation at Eleona/Langada where a similar pattern was observed. Here, we also see most medium or large jugs appearing in combination with assemblages of the “Kos-1” type (see section 6.2.2 above).

⁸⁰ Another small tholos in the vicinity of Panaztepe is located at Kolophon (see section 5.4.7). It had been completely robbed. Among the extant finds, however, there was a glass relief-bead. It is tentative to speculate about whether this tholos would have had an assemblage similar to that recovered from the tholoi at Panaztepe.

type. We noted the same combination at Armenochori on Astypalaia (see above). Finally, the largely unpublished cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki on the islet of Psara has yielded one grave of which the contents included the following relevant objects: a large piriform jar, a large number of stirrup jars and kylikes, a conical rhyton and a bronze spearhead. Whereas it is through large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars that we see the collective identity developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2 manifesting itself in the archaeological burial record, kylikes, ritual vessels and bronze weapons are mostly found in combination with “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages; spearheads are typical of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group.

The above overview shows that dispersed throughout the south-eastern Aegean and beyond there are specific groups that identified with Rhodes more strongly than others. Indeed, this comes on top of the general ‘reorientation’ in most parts of the south-eastern Aegean (with the notable exception of Kos) from a collective identity inspired by the Greek mainland to one that more closely resembled that developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2 (see section 6.3.1 above). Most of the ‘fingerprints’ discussed above can be related to either one of the two “Ialysos-1” groups (e.g. medium or large jugs, kraters, ritual vessels and glass relief-beads). In this light also note that most of the tombs considered yielded assemblages of the type characterized by the combination of open vessels, especially kylikes and bronze weapons, in particular spearheads and/or short swords (e.g. “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2”). We find the same traits represented in the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” groups.

We can only speculate as to the reason why these groups decided to associate themselves so explicitly with Rhodes in this period in general and with the two “Ialysos-1” groups in particular. One scenario which will be explored in the final section of this chapter is that this might be interpreted as an indication that Rhodes was the center of a regional power, whose influence in LHIII A2-B extended from Rhodes in the south to at least Miletus/Değirmentepe in the north. Was it through these specific groups of people that Rhodes was able to extend its influence in LHIII A2-B? Could this be the power the Hittites called “*Aḫḫiyawa*”?

6.4.1 Rhodes and *Aḫḫiyawa*

The previous discussion has shown that in the south-eastern Aegean Mycenaean material culture was used in different ways, by different people, at different times. The evidence reveals an enormous social dynamism. On a regional level, this is, for example, reflected by the ‘switch’ in LHIII A2 from a collective identity based, to a large extent, on the Greek

mainland to one which resembled most closely that developed on Rhodes in this period. This collective, possible ethnic, identity was, however, not accepted by all groups, as indicated by the situation on Kos, where it seems that Rhodian connections remained the prerogative of the ‘privileged’ few (“Kos-1”). Also on the local level, it was possible for specific groups to say ‘resist’ particular frameworks of identification, of which a good example is represented the “Müskebi-1” group from Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. As suggested in section 6.3.2 above, the members of this group may have used Mycenaean material culture to associate themselves more closely with the more northern parts of the west coast of Anatolia. This behavioral aspect also manifests itself in how in the south-eastern Aegean different forms of connectivity are expressed. On the one hand, we see a strong internal connectivity or connectedness through the identities expressed through, for example, the “Ialysos-1 (2)”, “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2” assemblages. On the other hand, the assemblages show a pronounced external focus, through connections with the Greek mainland.

A good way to demonstrate that the south-eastern Aegean should be understood in terms of its own internal social dynamics rather than as an extension of the Greek mainland proper is that the relation between both areas as reflected in the tomb assemblages was not fixed but changed over time. In the south-eastern Aegean, a unique collective identity was developed (see above). It does not seem that on the Greek mainland there was any resistance to this, since the majority of vases on the basis of which this identity was formed (e.g. large piriform jar and (piriform) stirrup jar) were imported from there (see section 4.1.2). Although the Greek mainland continued to play an important role when it came to the expression of differences between groups (cf. relations of difference), the ‘roots’ or basis of these groups lay with the newly formed collective, of which the emergence can be traced back to the second half of the 14th century BC, LHIIIA2 in pottery terms. As argued in the previous sections, I believe that in the formation of this collective identity a pivotal role was played by groups of people on Rhodes. This is reflected in the extent to which this newly developed collective identity overlaps with that associated with Rhodes. Another indication of this is represented by the Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ discussed in section 6.4.1 above. Although these ‘fingerprints’ appear in different kinds of assemblages, we mostly find them in the regional groups characterized by the presence of open vessels, especially kylikes, and bronze weapons. These ‘fingerprints’ occur predominantly in assemblages that to some extent resemble the two “Ialysos-1” groups. As argued in section 6.3.2 above, assemblages characterized by the presence of open vessels, especially kylikes, and bronze weapons, some also containing Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ are found throughout the south-eastern Aegean. As noted in section

6.4.1 above, we even have examples from more northern sites, such as Panaztepe nearby the Gulf of Izmir and Archontiki on the islet of Psara adjacent to Chios. This group, even more so than that constituted by the “Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages, is what the internal connectivity or connectedness of the south-eastern Aegean is based on (see above). For this reason, it may be hypothesized that in ‘creating’ this connectivity or connectedness, an important, if not leading, role was played by people on Rhodes. This may also be reflected in the extent to which from LHIIIA2, there was an overlap between the collective identity of the south-eastern Aegean and that associated with Rhodes in this period. Even though our argument is based almost completely on evidence from tombs, I believe that it shows that the south-eastern Aegean should be seen as a distinct political entity and that its center, at least in LHIIIA2, is to be situated on Rhodes. As discussed in Chapter 1, there have been quite a number of scholars who believed that Rhodes was the center of the state the Hittites called “Aḫḫiyawa”, although there is now a growing group of scholars in favor of a location on the Greek mainland (see sections 1.2 and 1.3). In the remainder of this section, I will make a brief comparison between what we know of Aḫḫiyawa and the political scenario that has been developed for the south-eastern Aegean in this dissertation.

Focusing on the period coinciding with LHIIIA2, i.e. the second half of the 14th century BC, which is when I believe Rhodes established itself as an important regional center, there are several Hittite texts containing information that could be relevant to our discussion of Aḫḫiyawa. Mention should be made of the “Ten-Year Annals” and the “Extensive Annals” of *Muršili II*, whose reign is dated from ca. 1321 to 1295 BC.⁸¹ From these documents, we learn of several local kingdoms who had switched their allegiance to the king of Aḫḫiyawa. Among them are *Millawanda*, which, as noted in Chapter 1, can be identified with the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus and the nearby (later) necropolis of Değirmentepe, and *Arzawa*, with its capital city at *Apaša*, later Ephesus.⁸² Other texts attributed to Muršili, which on the one hand indicate good or at least peaceful relations between the king of *Ḫatti* and the king of Aḫḫiyawa, and, on the other, that – in the eyes of the king of *Ḫatti* – Aḫḫiyawa had developed itself into a power of some importance in the region, include an oracle report, a prayer and a letter. The oracle report informs us that the king of *Ḫatti* had become ill and that he had summoned for the “god of Aḫḫiyawa” to be brought to him. From the prayer we learn of the banishment of someone, generally assumed to be a Hittite queen, to the “Land of Aḫḫiyawa”. The third text, which has been only fragmentarily preserved, contains the expression “we the

⁸¹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 8, Table 2.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 271-2.

brothers”. If this applies to the writer and the addressee, this would imply that the king of Ḫatti considered the king of Aḫḫiyawa as his equal.⁸³

Although it is impossible to know how representative the historical record is, judging from the available evidence, it is only in the reign of Muršili II that we find Aḫḫiyawa appearing *relatively frequently* in the Hittite texts. Before that time, we know of one episode in western Anatolian history in which a man called *Attariššiya*, described as a ruler of *Aḫḫiya* (old writing for Aḫḫiyawa), was involved.⁸⁴ In any case, what is notable here is that, as indicated by the analysis in this research, it is also during this period (i.e. LHIII A2) that Rhodes established itself as an important center in the south-eastern Aegean. Considering that in the Annals of Muršili II mention is made of local kings siding with the king of Aḫḫiyawa, it is interesting to note that we find assemblage groups resembling the two “Ialysos-1” groups, with Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ associated with them, as far north as Panaztepe on the Anatolian west coast and Archontiki on the islet of Psara. As a matter of fact, from Ephesus, the Bronze Age capital of Arzawa (see above), of which the king – a man called *Uḫḫaziti* – is explicitly mentioned as having allied himself with the king of Aḫḫiyawa, we have a tomb assemblage (Ayasoluk Hill) with a number of typical Rhodian features associated with it (e.g. large piriform jar, krater and ritual vessel).

As noted in Chapter 1, it is during the subsequent LHIII B period or the 13th century BC that the king of Aḫḫiyawa is once called “Great King” by the then Hittite king *Ḫattušili III*. Historically speaking, the texts from this period in which Aḫḫiyawa is mentioned are concerned mainly with troubles caused for the Hittite king in south-western Anatolia by a Hittite renegade named *Piyamaradu*.⁸⁵ From the so-called “Tawagalawa Letter”, we learn that Piyamaradu was the father-in-law of a man called *Atpa*, who at the time was in charge of Millawanda, which during this period fell under the overlordship of the king of Aḫḫiyawa.⁸⁶ A final text that I want to draw the attention to is a letter sent to a king of Ḫatti, which is concerned with a gift that was to be prepared for the king of Aḫḫiyawa. In it are listed two ritual vessels, one of silver, the other of gold.⁸⁷ With regards to Millawanda being under the control of the king of Aḫḫiyawa, mention has to be made of the cemetery excavated at the nearby hill of Değirmentepe, which, although largely unpublished, included a tomb (Tomb 2 or D 33) resembling the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” groups from Rhodes. Finally,

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 272-3.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 271.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 274-7.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 276.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 276.

what is of interest in the text referring to the shipment of two ritual vessels to the king of Aḥḥiyawa is that ritual vessels (e.g. conical rhyta, hydriae with pierced bottom, ostrich egg rhyton) are known to have played an important role in the funeral rituals through which the identities associated with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages were expressed. On top of that, assemblages resembling these, including ritual vessels, have been found on Karpathos (Kambi (Diafani)), Kos (Eleona/Langada) and Psara (Archontiki), as well as in the central part of the Anatolian west coast (Ephesus (Ayasoluk)).

There will never be a full concordance between the historical and the archaeological data, but I believe that the evidence from both disciplines in this case fits the interpretation developed in this dissertation well, namely the center of Aḥḥiyawa was on Rhodes. This also offers a more satisfying explanation for the islands which are often mentioned in texts as being under the control of the Aḥḥiyawan king (see section 1.2).

Scholars working from a “colonialist perspective” (see section 1.2) believe that Rhodes and the south-eastern Aegean were controlled by one – or several – of the Mycenaean states on the Greek mainland.⁸⁸ Regardless of whether the localization of Aḥḥiyawa, as proposed in this PhD study, is correct, I do not believe that the archaeological evidence from the south-eastern Aegean can be used to prove that the area was under the control of the Greek mainland. The correspondence between both areas in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference might be interpreted as an indication that in the south-eastern Aegean there were at least some people from the Greek mainland. In particular, however, the archaeological burial record shows that there were strong ties between groups in the south-eastern Aegean and the Greek mainland. The existence of such close relations, which can, for example, also be inferred from the large number of imported ceramic vessels (Chapter 4), however, need not mean that one was under the control of the other. It is interesting that even though from an archaeological perspective most regions of the Greek mainland appear to be very similar, with a few exceptions, the *communis opinio* is that, politically, it was fragmented into a number of independent palace-centered territorial states.⁸⁹ In other words, cultural homogeneity need not equal political unity. It is therefore possible to see the south-eastern Aegean as its own independent unit within the larger Mycenaean world which was the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

In the end, the evidence is incapable of excluding either one of these scenarios. Even the existence of groups in the south-eastern Aegean without convincing ‘counterparts’ on the

⁸⁸ Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 289.

⁸⁹ Shelmerdine/Bennett 2008, 289; Shelton 2010, 144; Tartaron 2013, 16-7.

Greek mainland does not suffice as an argument to disprove external control. As a matter of fact, as noted in section 1.2, from a post-colonial perspective, one might argue that this is actually what one expects to find in a situation where new communities are created by people from colonial (i.e. Mycenaean Greek) and local descent. In any case, it should be stressed that this was also not the aim of this PhD study. Our focus has been on the different ways group identities were expressed in tombs. Since by far the majority of evidence available for the study of the Late Bronze Age in the south-eastern Aegean is funerary in nature, it is important to emphasize that this category of evidence does not unequivocally support any hypothesis of Mycenaean Greek supremacy. The story ‘told’ by these identities is that with the rise of Rhodes in LHIII A2 as the central power in the south-eastern Aegean, it was not the alleged colonial homeland (i.e. the Greek mainland) but the local environment most people collectively identified with. Although we can only speculate as to the reason(s) why this sudden ‘reorientation’ occurred, it is striking because not only Rhodes was flourishing in LHIII A2, but so were the palatial centers on the Greek mainland (Chapter 1). What this shows and what is also one of the main lessons to be learned from this study is that the meaning of “Mycenaean” is not fixed but contextually contingent. We see different groups of people using Mycenaean material culture to convey different meanings at different times. They used Mycenaean material culture to express themselves in their own distinctive way in funeral ritual. This applies to the Greek mainland as much as it does to the south-eastern Aegean – and beyond. In other words, there is no such thing a ‘real’ Mycenaean.

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Summary

The main subject of this dissertation is the Mycenaean archaeological evidence from the south-eastern Aegean. The term “Mycenaean” is typically used to refer to the dominant archaeological culture of the central and southern Greek mainland during the Late Bronze Age, which is dated between about 1700 and 1050 BC. The main aim of this dissertation is to establish whether Mycenaean culture, which had strong influence on the south-eastern Aegean (see below), was used to express different group identities in the archaeological burial record of this region.

Background to the research (Chapter 1) and methodology (Chapter 2)

In this research attention has been paid to the south-west coast of Anatolia and adjacent islands, including Rhodes, Kos, Astypalaia and Karpathos. With regard to chronology, the focus has been on the period from the 14th to 13th centuries BC. In this period, strong Mycenaean influences are visible in the archaeological record of the south-eastern Aegean. These are especially clear from the large number of Mycenaean finds which have come to light in settlements and tombs. A wide variety of Mycenaean goods is represented, comprising different types of pottery vessels, bronze weapons and tools, glass and stone jewelry beads, and stone seals and implements. Pottery (sherds and intact or restorable vessels), however, is clearly the most abundant type of archaeological material (see Chapters 1, 4 and 5).

Mycenaean finds also appear elsewhere on the west coast of Anatolia other than the south-eastern Aegean. The geographic area in which Mycenaean goods have been found stretches from the settlement mound of Hissarlık-Troy in the north to the burial site of Ialysos on the island of Rhodes in the south (see Chapters 1, 4 and 5). The distribution of Mycenaean finds within this area is not homogenous: clear regional differences can be distinguished in the quantity of Mycenaean materials and in the different types of Mycenaean objects found. Let us consider the funerary record. A characteristic trait of the south-eastern Aegean is the popularity and widespread adoption of the Mycenaean-type chamber tomb from the 1st half of the 14th century BC onwards (LHIIB-III A1). Other tomb types are extremely rare in this region. These chamber tombs mostly contained different types of Mycenaean goods. Objects of local or ‘Anatolian’ origin occur only rarely in these contexts (see Chapter 1, 4 and 5). Mycenaean-type chamber tombs have so far not been attested anywhere else along the west

coast of Anatolia, where mostly tombs of local type are found: pot or pithos burials and cist-graves. Mycenaean objects occur in these ‘local’ contexts as well, but much less frequent than in chamber tombs in the south-eastern Aegean and they are usually found side-by-side items of local or ‘Anatolian’ origin (see Chapters 1, 4 and 5).

In the current debate there seems to be a tendency to interpret the archaeological evidence from the west coast of Anatolia in terms of the presence or the absence of actual ‘Mycenaeans’ (see Chapter 1). According to one school of thought the strong influence of Mycenaean culture on the archaeological record of the south-eastern Aegean is the result of the presence of migrants from the Greek mainland in the area. This perspective is here referred to as the “colonialist perspective”. Another influential perspective, which in recent years has gained popularity under the influence of postcolonial thought, is what in this dissertation has been called the “social constructivist perspective”. In the work of scholars operating from this perspective the focus is on the hybrid or ‘mixed’ character of Mycenaean culture in the archaeological record of the south-eastern Aegean. This hybridity manifests itself through the combination of Mycenaean traits with other cultural traditions (e.g. pottery styles and burial rites), which is interpreted as an indication that local groups employed Mycenaean (material) culture to produce unique hybrid identities of their own.

The debate between scholars working from the “colonialist” and the “social constructivist perspective” is the result of the tendency to discuss the population of the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age in terms of two opposing social blocs, with ‘Mycenaeans’ on one side and local groups (Anatolians, Rhodians, etc.) on the other. Problematic of both approaches is that groups – ‘Mycenaeans’ and locals – are identified on the basis of only a limited number of material traits occurring in the archaeological record. In the present study a different approach, labeled as “neo-culture history” (see Chapter 2), has been formulated. It is based on the assumption that identities should not be seen as natural ‘properties’, which are passively reflected in the archaeological record, but as social ‘constructs’, which are actively constituted and manipulated by actors via associations between objects, persons, ideas, signs, etc. This means that it is not possible to assign identities by considering objects in isolation or out of context. Therefore, in this study a contextual approach is adopted to investigate whether Mycenaean culture was used to express different group identities along the west coast of Anatolia in general and in the south-eastern Aegean in particular.

Identities may be expressed in different kinds of socio-cultural settings. In this research, the focus is on the construction of identity in tombs. Mycenaean-type chamber tombs are well suited for studying the construction and expression of group identities, because they were designed to be used for multiple inhumations, and could be used by one group for several generations (see Chapter 3). Moreover, in general, burial practices are often highly group-specific, related to ancient myths and legends, beliefs about the afterlife, gender (men versus women) and age differences, etc. It may be assumed that there was a close connection between a particular group or community and tomb.

One of the premises of this research is that if material culture is used to express group identities, this should manifest itself archaeologically in differently constituted tomb assemblages. These assemblages, therefore, are the key unit of analysis of the research. Differences in funerary practices are reflected in specific combinations of objects of which the distribution is confined to only a limited number of tombs in a particular cemetery. On the basis of these “relations of difference” different types of assemblages, characterized by their own distinctive combinations, can be defined. There may also be similarities cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. These similarities are to be understood as signaling a communal element in the different group identities visible in the archaeological burial record. There may be a connection between these “relations of similarity” and the expression of ethnic identity, which is usually based on common descent and shared feelings of belongingness.

In this study, a comparison has been made between group identities expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland on the one hand and the south-eastern Aegean on the other. The individual regions are considered in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, respectively. The inter-regional comparison is made in Chapter 6. The comparison is chronologically divided into three sub-periods: LHIIB-III A1 (1st half of the 14th century BC), LHIII A2 (2nd half of the 14th century BC) and LHIII B (13th century BC). In Chapters 3 and 5 the different groups recognized in the archaeological burial records of the Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean are described in terms of their most characteristic features. Every group was assigned a number, for example “Greece-1” and “Kos-2”.

The Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean compared (Chapters 3, 5 and 6)

The comparison in Chapter 6 showed that between the 14th and 13th centuries BC there are clear similarities and differences between the Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean

in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record. Let us first consider the manifestation of relations of similarity.

In Chapter 3 several traits were identified which most groups that are visible in the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland have in common: the use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary burials and the placement of unguent containers with the deceased. It was demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the same traits also cross-cut most of the groups which were recognized in the funerary record of the south-eastern Aegean. Whereas unguent containers continue to be placed with the deceased in both regions throughout the period under review in this dissertation (14th and 13th centuries BC), we do see that from the 2nd half of the 14th century BC (LHIIIA2) in the two regions different types of unguent containers are used for this purpose: in tombs on the Greek mainland small piriform jars, rounded alabastra and (globular) stirrup jars; in tombs in the south-eastern Aegean large piriform jars and (piriform) stirrup jars, but of a different type than on the Greek mainland. In the 1st half of the 14th century (LHIIB-III A1) a different picture emerged from the archaeological evidence. During this period in both regions the same types of unguent containers were used: small piriform jars and rounded alabastra. Thus, the widespread adoption of the large piriform jar and the (piriform) stirrup jar in the 2nd half of the 14th century BC (LHIIIA2) is a development characteristic of the south-eastern Aegean. The evidence indicates that during the 1st half of the 14th century (LHIIB-III A1) the collective identity expressed in tombs in the south-eastern Aegean was based on practices customary on the Greek mainland. However, in the 2nd half of the 14th century BC (LHIIIA2) a different collective identity was developed. In this dissertation it is argued that the origin of this identity can be traced back to the island of Rhodes.

In this study, I also consider the manifestation in the archaeological burial record of relations of difference. From the evidence it is clear that there are similarities and differences between the Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean. Similarities are visible, for example, between the “Greece-1” group and the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group from Rhodes. Assemblages associated with these groups often include (tinned) drinking vessels or kylikes (stemmed drinking vessels), gold beads and rosettes and glass relief-beads. We can also identify a number of differences between these groups. For example, assemblages associated with the “Greece-1” group typically comprise large piriform jars. In the south-eastern Aegean, on the other hand, this type of vessel is not limited to a specific group per se. For this reason

the large piriform jar has been interpreted as a feature through which in the south-eastern Aegean relations of similarity are expressed (see above).

The “Ialysos-1 (1)” group is not the only group which has particular features in common with a specific group on the Greek mainland. In the south-eastern Aegean there are several groups which may be compared with the “Greece-3” group. The groups concerned are the following: “Ialysos-2” from Rhodes, “Kos-2” from Kos and “Müskebi-3” from the south-west coast of Anatolia. Features the assemblages with which these groups are associated have in common is that they usually include only a small number of open vessels and one or more of the following small-sized ceramic vessels: the small jug or juglet, the feeding bottle, the askos, the small mug and the carinated conical cup. There are also differences between the two regions. For example, the “Greece-3” group is well known from contexts dating to the 1st half of the 14th century BC (LHIIB-III A1). However, in the south-eastern Aegean similar groups (“Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Müskebi-3”) are not found until the 2nd half of that century (LHIII A2).

What this comparison shows is that in south-western coastal Anatolia specific knowledge about burial practices customary on the Greek mainland was present and that parts of the population decided to express itself in a similar manner. There are also clear differences, however. I already pointed out the differences between the two regions in the different types of unguent containers placed with the deceased from the 2nd half of the 14th century BC (LHIII A2) onwards (see above). In addition, we also find groups for which there are no clear parallels on the Greek mainland. Examples are the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group from Rhodes, the “Kos-1” group from Kos and the “Müskebi-2” group from south-western coastal Anatolia. What characterizes these groups is the combination of drinking vessels, especially (painted) kylikes (stemmed drinking vessels), and bronze weapons, particularly spearheads and/or short swords. Similar assemblages have also come to light elsewhere in the region, for example on the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos, as well as at Değirmentepe and Pilavtepe on the Anatolian south-west coast. The presence of drinking vessels, especially kylikes (stemmed drinking vessels), and bronze weapons is not the only feature which renders these assemblage groups comparable. Many of them contain what in this dissertation are called Rhodian ‘fingerprints’: object types, mostly consisting of specific vessel types, of which the distribution is limited largely to chamber tombs on Rhodes. One example is given here to illustrate this: Langada Tomb 51 on the island of Kos. This assemblage, which dates to the 2nd half of the 14th century BC (LHIII A2), includes a large piriform jar, a piriform stirrup jar, a

stirrup jug, a (monochrome) kylix (with two vertical handles below the rim) and a ritual vessel. As noted above, the large piriform jar and the piriform stirrup jar may be linked to the collective identity which developed on Rhodes during this period. Most importantly, however, these vessel types are extremely rare in tombs on Kos. The same applies to the other vessel types from Langada Tomb 51. They do, however, occur relatively frequently in tombs on Rhodes.

These Rhodian ‘fingerprints’ demonstrate that specific groups in the south-eastern Aegean from the 2nd half of the 14th century BC onwards identified with Rhodes more strongly than others. If we consider this in connection with the general ‘reorientation’ in most parts of the south-eastern Aegean from a collective identity inspired by the Greek mainland to one that more closely resembled that developed on Rhodes in LHIII A2, I believe that this demonstrates that Rhodes played a dominant, or even leading, role in the south-eastern Aegean during this period. Since we learn from the contemporary Hittite cuneiform texts of a king of the land of Ahhiyawa being active along the west coast of Anatolia in this period, rather than to place this kingdom on the Greek mainland, as is often suggested, I would argue that the center of this kingdom has to be placed somewhere on the island of Rhodes. The main conclusion of this study, however, is that in the south-eastern Aegean we see different groups of people using Mycenaean (material) culture to convey different meanings at different times.

Samenvatting

Het hoofdonderwerp van dit proefschrift wordt gevormd door de Mykeense archeologische vondsten uit het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. De term “Mykeens” verwijst naar de archeologische cultuur die dominant was op het vasteland van Griekenland gedurende de Late Bronstijd (ca. 1700 tot 1050 v. Chr.). Het belangrijkste doel van dit proefschrift is om vast te stellen of de Mykeense cultuur, die sterke invloed had op het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden, aangewend werd om verschillende groepsidentiteiten in het archeologische bestand van deze regio tot uiting te laten komen.

Achtergrond van het onderzoek (Hoofdstuk 1) en methodologie (Hoofdstuk 2)

In dit onderzoek is aandacht besteed het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden Rhodos, Kos, Astypalaia en Karpathos.

Chronologisch gezien ligt de nadruk op de periode van de 14^e tot de 13^e eeuw voor Christus. In deze periode zijn er sterke Mykeense invloeden te herkennen in het archeologische bestand van deze regio. Deze invloeden komen vooral tot uiting in het grote aantal Mykeense vondsten dat is ontdekt in graven en nederzettingen. Een grote variëteit aan Mykeense vondsten is in het gebied aangetroffen, bestaande uit verschillende pottypen, bronzen wapens en werktuigen, glazen en stenen kralen, en stenen zegels en werktuigen. Aardewerk (potscherven en complete of te restaureren potten) is echter duidelijk de meest voorkomende categorie archeologisch materiaal (zie Hoofdstukken 1, 4 en 5).

Mykeense vondsten komen ook elders langs de westkust van Anatolië voor. Het geografisch gebied waarbinnen Mykeense vondsten zijn aangetroffen, strekt zich uit van de nederzettingheuvel van Hissarlık-Troje in het noorden tot het grafveld van Ialysos op het eiland Rhodos in het zuiden (zie Hoofdstukken 1, 4 en 5). De distributie van Mykeense vondsten in dit gebied is niet homogeen: er zijn duidelijke regionale verschillen in de hoeveelheid Mykeense materialen en in de verschillende typen aangetroffen Mykeense artefacten. Als voorbeeld bespreek ik hier de graven. Een onderscheidend element van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden is de populariteit en wijde verspreiding van het Mykeense kamergraf vanaf de 1^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIIB-III A1). Andere typen graven komen zelden in het gebied voor.

Deze kamergraven bevatten voornamelijk verschillende soorten Mykeense voorwerpen. Objecten van lokale of ‘Anatolische’ makelij komen slechts zeer zelden in deze contexten voor (zie Hoofdstukken 1, 4 en 5). Mykeense kamergraven zijn nog nergens anders langs de westkust van Anatolië aan het licht gekomen, waar met name lokale graftypen worden aangetroffen: pot- en pithosgraven en kistgraven. Hoewel Mykeense objecten ook voorkomen in deze ‘lokale’ contexten, zijn ze veel minder frequent dan in de kamergraven gelegen in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Daarnaast worden deze Mykeense voorwerpen meestal in samenhang met objecten van lokale of ‘Anatolische’ makelij aangetroffen (zie Hoofdstukken 1, 4 en 5).

In het huidige debat lijkt er een tendens te bestaan om het archeologische bewijs te interpreteren in termen van de aan- of afwezigheid van ‘echte’ Mykeners (zie Hoofdstuk 1). Er is één stroming die veronderstelt dat de sterke Mykeense invloed op het archeologische bestand van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden het gevolg is van de aanwezigheid in het gebied van migranten afkomstig van het vasteland van Griekenland. Dit perspectief wordt hier aangeduid als het “kolonialistische perspectief”. Een ander invloedrijk perspectief dat de afgelopen jaren, onder invloed van postkoloniaal denken, populairder is geworden, is wat hier wordt omschreven als het “sociaal-constructivistische perspectief”. In het werk van wetenschappers die vanuit dit perspectief opereren ligt de nadruk op het hybride of ‘gemixte’ karakter van de Mykeense cultuur in het archeologische bestand van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Deze hybriditeit komt tot uiting in de combinatie van Mykeense kenmerken met die van andere culturele tradities (bijvoorbeeld in aardewerk stijlen en grafgebruiken), wat geïnterpreteerd wordt als een indicatie dat lokale groepen de Mykeense (materiële) cultuur gebruiken om hun eigen unieke hybride identiteiten vorm te geven.

Het debat tussen het “kolonialistische” en het “sociaal-constructivistische perspectief” is het resultaat van de tendens om de bevolking van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden in de Late Bronstijd te bezien in termen van twee opponerende sociale collectieven, met ‘Mykeners’ aan de ene kant en lokalen aan de andere kant. Problematisch aan beide benaderingen is dat groepen – ‘Mykeners’ en lokalen – worden geïdentificeerd op basis van het voorkomen in het archeologische bestand van een beperkt aantal materiële indicatoren. In de huidige studie is een andere benadering, genaamd “neo-cultuurhistorie”, geformuleerd (zie Hoofdstuk 2). Deze

benadering is gebaseerd op de assumptie dat identiteiten niet gezien kunnen worden als natuurlijke ‘kenmerken’, die passief gereflecteerd worden in het archeologische bestand, maar als sociale ‘constructies’, die actief vorm gegeven worden en gemanipuleerd kunnen worden door actoren door middel van associaties tussen objecten, personen, ideeën, tekens, etc. Dit betekent dat het niet mogelijk is identiteiten toe te wijzen door objecten buiten hun vondstcontext te beschouwen. Om die reden is in deze studie een contextuele benadering gehanteerd om te onderzoeken of Mykeense cultuur werd gebruikt om verschillende groepsidentiteiten uit te drukken in het archeologische bestand van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden.

Identiteiten kunnen worden uitgedrukt in verschillende sociaal-culturele contexten. In dit onderzoek ligt de nadruk op de uitdrukking van identiteit in graven. Mykeense kamergraven zijn goed geschikt voor het bestuderen van de constructie en uitdrukking van groepsidentiteiten, omdat ze bedoeld waren voor meervoudige inhumaties en gedurende meerdere generaties door een groep gebruikt konden worden (zie Hoofdstuk 3). Bovendien zijn grafgebruiken vaak groepsgebonden en gerelateerd aan oude vertellingen, bepaalde ideeën en overtuigingen (bijvoorbeeld over het hiernamaals), man-vrouw relaties, leeftijdsverschillen, etc. Om die reden mag het worden aangenomen dat er een nauwe band bestond tussen een bepaalde groep of gemeenschap en een graf.

Eén van de vooronderstellingen waarop dit onderzoek is gebaseerd, is dat, als materiële cultuur zou zijn gebruikt om verschillende groepsidentiteiten uit te drukken, dit zich archeologisch zou moeten manifesteren in verschillend vormgegeven grafassemblages. Deze assemblages vormen om die reden de onderzoekseenheid die in dit proefschrift centraal staat. Verschillen in begrafenisgebruiken komen tot uiting in specifieke combinaties van objecten waarvan de distributie beperkt blijft tot slechts een klein aantal tombes in een bepaald grafveld. Op basis van deze zogenoemde “relaties van verschil” is het mogelijk om verschillende soorten assemblages, die gekarakteriseerd worden door hun eigen unieke combinaties, te definiëren. Er kan ook sprake zijn van materiële kenmerken die de verschillende groepen assemblages met elkaar delen. Deze overeenkomsten kunnen geduid worden als gemeenschappelijke elementen in de verschillende groepsidentiteiten herkenbaar in het archeologische bestand. Er zou een relatie kunnen bestaan tussen deze “relaties van overeenkomstigheid” en de uitdrukking van etniciteit, die vaak is gebaseerd op gedeelde afkomst en gevoelens van samenhang.

Het vergelijken van assemblagegroepen uit verschillende grafvelden in termen van hun relaties van verschil en overeenkomstigheid, kan een goede indicator vormen voor interacties tussen groepen en mogelijk zelfs het bewegen van ideeën en/of mensen. In deze studie is een vergelijking gemaakt tussen groepsidentiteiten uitgedrukt in graven op het vasteland van Griekenland en graven gelegen langs het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. De verschillende regio's zijn behandeld in respectievelijk Hoofdstuk 3 en Hoofdstuk 5. De inter-regionale vergelijking staat centraal in Hoofdstuk 6. De vergelijking is chronologisch geordend in de volgende drie subperiodes: LHIIIB-III A1 (1^e helft van de 14^e eeuw v. Chr.), LHIII A2 (2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw v. Chr.) en LHIII B (13^e eeuw v. Chr.). In Hoofdstukken 3 en 5 worden de verschillende groepsidentiteiten die zijn geïdentificeerd in de archeologische bestanden van beide regio's omschreven in termen van hun meest karakteristieke eigenschappen. Elke groep heeft een nummer, bijvoorbeeld "Greece-1" en "Kos-2".

Een vergelijking tussen het vasteland van Griekenland en het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden (Hfst 3, 5 en 6)

De vergelijking in Hoofdstuk 6 heeft aangetoond dat er, wat betreft de uitdrukking van relaties van overeenkomstigheid en verschil in het archeologische bestand, duidelijke overeenkomsten en verschillen zijn tussen het vasteland van Griekenland en het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Hieronder zal ik eerst aandacht besteden aan de manifestatie van relaties van overeenkomstigheid.

In Hoofdstuk 3 zijn een aantal kenmerken geïdentificeerd die de meeste groepen die herkenbaar zijn in het archeologische bestand van het vasteland van Griekenland gemeen hebben: het gebruik van kamergraven voor primaire en/of secundaire inhumaties en het plaatsen van aardewerken potten voor zalf of olie bij de overledenen. Het is aangetoond in Hoofdstuk 5 dat deze kenmerken ook zijn terug te vinden bij de meeste groepen die zichtbaar zijn in het archeologische bestand van het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Hoewel gedurende de gehele periode waarop dit onderzoek zich richt (14^e en 13^e eeuw v. Chr.) in beide gebieden zulke potten bij de overledenen werden geplaatst, is wel op te merken dat vanaf de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIII A2) in beide gebieden verschillende pottypen hiervoor gebruikt werden: in tombes op het vasteland van Griekenland kleine *piriform jars*, *rounded alabasters* en (*globular stirrup jars*); in tombes gelegen in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op

de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden grote *piriform jars* en (*piriform*) *stirrup jars*, maar van een ander type dan gebruikelijk op het vasteland van Griekenland. In de 1^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus zien we een ander beeld uit het archeologische materiaal naar voren komen. In deze periode werden in beide regio's dezelfde pottypen gebruikt: kleine *piriform jars* en *rounded alabasters*. Dit betekent dat de wijdverbreidheid van de grote *piriform jar* en (*piriform*) *stirrup jar* in de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus een ontwikkeling is die kenmerkend is voor de zuidwestkust van Anatolië en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Het archeologische materiaal lijkt er op te wijzen dat de collectieve identiteit die in de 1^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus in graven in dit gebied werd uitgedrukt, gebaseerd was op praktijken die gebruikelijk waren op het vasteland van Griekenland. In de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus ontwikkelde zich in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden echter een andere collectieve identiteit. In deze dissertatie is beargumenteerd dat de oorsprong van deze identiteit op Rhodos ligt.

In deze studie is ook aandacht besteed aan de manifestatie in het archeologische bestand van relaties van verschil. Uit het archeologische materiaal valt op te maken dat er overeenkomsten en verschillen zijn tussen het vasteland van Griekenland en het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden. Zo zijn er bijvoorbeeld overeenkomsten tussen de "Greece-1" groep en de "Ialysos-1 (1)" groep. Assemblages die met deze groepen geassocieerd zijn, bevatten vaak (met tin bedekte) drinkbekers of *kylikes*, gouden kralen en rosettes, en glazen reliëfkralen. Er zijn ook verschillen tussen deze groepen te benoemen. Assemblages behorend tot de "Greece-1" groep omvatten bijvoorbeeld meestal één of meerdere grote *piriform jars*. Zoals hierboven reeds is aangegeven, is dit pottype in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden niet beperkt tot een specifieke groep. Om die reden wordt de grote *piriform jar* in dit gebied gezien als het deel van het assemblage waarmee relaties van overeenkomstigheid tot uiting worden gebracht.

De "Ialysos-1 (1)" groep is niet de enige groep die bepaalde kenmerken deelt met een specifieke groep op het vasteland van Griekenland. Zo zijn er verschillende groepen in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden die te vergelijken zijn met de "Greece-3" groep. Het gaat hierbij om de volgende groepen: "Ialysos-2" uit Rhodos, "Kos-2" uit Kos en "Müskebi-3" van de zuidwestkust van Anatolië. Gemeenschappelijke kenmerken zijn dat de betreffende assemblages meestal alleen een klein aantal open pottypen bevatten en één of meerdere van de volgende kleine

vaasvormen: de kleine *jug* of *juglet*, de *feeding bottle*, de *askos*, de kleine *mug* en de *carinated conical cup*. Er zijn ook verschillen tussen de twee regio's. Zo komt de "Greece-3" groep regelmatig in contexten voor die dateren uit de 1^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIIB-III A1). De "Ialysos-2", "Kos-2" en "Müskebi-3" groepen komen daarentegen niet eerder voor dan de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIIIA2).

Wat deze vergelijking laat zien is dat in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden specifieke kennis in omloop was over begrafenisgebruiken die gangbaar waren op het vasteland van Griekenland en dat delen van de bevolking er voor kozen om zich op vergelijkbare wijze uit te drukken. Er zijn echter ook duidelijke verschillen. Ik heb de verschillen tussen de twee regio's wat betreft de verschillende aardewerken potten voor zalf of olie die vanaf de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIIIA2) bij de overledenen werden geplaatst, reeds genoemd. Daarnaast zijn er ook groepen die geen duidelijke tegenhangers op het vasteland van Griekenland hebben. Voorbeelden zijn de "Ialysos-1 (2)" groep uit Rhodos, de "Kos-1" groep uit Kos en de "Müskebi-2" groep van de zuidwestkust van Anatolië. Kenmerkend voor deze groepen is de combinatie van drinkaardewerk, in het bijzonder (beschilderde) *kylikes*, en bronzen wapens, vooral speerkoppen en korte zwaarden. Vergelijkbare assemblages zijn ook elders in de regio aangetroffen, bijvoorbeeld op Astypalaia en Karpathos, maar ook te Değirmentepe en te Pilavtepe op de Anatolische zuidwestkust. De aanwezigheid van drinkaardewerk en bronzen wapens is niet het enige kenmerk waardoor deze assemblages vergelijkbaar zijn. Vele bevatten, wat in deze dissertatie, Rhodische 'vingerafdrukken' worden genoemd: objecttypen, vooral specifieke vaasvormen, waarvan de distributie grotendeels tot tombes op Rhodos beperkt blijft. Eén voorbeeld wordt hier ter illustratie gegeven: Langada Tombe 51 op Kos. Deze assemblage, die dateert uit de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIIIA2), omvat o.a. een grote *piriform jar*, een *piriform stirrup jar*, een *stirrup jug*, een *kylix (with two vertical handles below the rim)* en een *ritual vessel*. Zoals hierboven reeds is opgemerkt, kunnen de grote *piriform jar* en de *piriform stirrup jar* verbonden worden met de collectieve identiteit die zich in deze periode op Rhodos ontwikkelde. Beide pottypen zijn bovendien buitengewoon zeldzaam in tombes op Kos. Hetzelfde geldt overigens ook voor de andere vaasvormen afkomstig uit Langada Tombe 51. Ze zijn daarentegen wel gebruikelijk in graven op Rhodos.

Deze Rhodische 'vingerafdrukken' laten zien dat specifieke groepen in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche

eilanden zich vanaf de 2^e helft van de 14 eeuw voor Christus (LHIII A2) sterker met Rhodos identificeerden dan anderen. Als we dit in het licht beschouwen van de algemene ‘herorientatie’ in dit gebied van een collectieve identiteit gebaseerd op praktijken gebruikelijk op het vasteland van Griekenland, naar één die meer gelijkenis vertoont met die zich in de 2^e helft van de 14^e eeuw voor Christus (LHIII A2) op Rhodos ontwikkelde, ben ik van mening dat dit laat zien dat Rhodos in deze periode een dominante, of zelfs leidende, rol in dit gebied speelde. Aangezien we uit de contemporaine Hettitische teksten leren van het bestaan van een koning van het land van Ahḫiyawa die actief zou zijn langs de westkust van Anatolië, ben ik, in tegenstelling tot wat vaak gesuggereerd wordt, namelijk dat dit koninkrijk ergens in Griekenland zou liggen, van mening dat het centrum op Rhodos moet liggen. De hoofdconclusie van deze studie is echter dat in het zuidwestelijk deel van het Anatolische kustgebied en op de nabijgelegen Oost-Egeïsche eilanden verschillende groepen mensen Mykeense cultuur gebruikten om verschillende betekenissen op verschillende momenten uit te drukken.

Appendix 1: Agora tomb inventories (Athens, Attica)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Tomb type ³	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Find #	Offerings other than pottery
1	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	large piriform jar (P)		
1	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	14	krater (P)		
1	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	15	rounded kylix (M) (LHIIIA2?)		
1	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded kylix (M) (LHIIIA2?)		
1	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded kylix (M) (LHIIIA2?)		
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	large piriform jar (P)	16	large ivory pyxis and lid
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	large piriform jar (P)	17	small ivory pyxis and lid
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)	18	pair of ivory hair ornaments
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	stirrup jug (M)	19	set of ivory pins
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	rounded alabastron (P)	20	small ivory plaque
1	Chamber, group east bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	rounded alabastron (P)	21	wedge-shaped piece of ivory
1	Chamber, group north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	7	large piriform jar (P)	22	bronze lamp with long handle

¹ Tombs 1-41 are published in Immerwahr 1971 (158-247) and Graves J-K 2:2 and K 2:5 in Camp 2003 (254-73). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in the original publications.

² The groups/assemblages refer to distinct clusters of objects within the tombs (for descriptions see primary publications). The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 5 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in section 3.3, in which the assemblages from the Athenian Agora are discussed.

³ CT: chamber tomb; Pit: pit grave; Cist: cist grave

1	Chamber, group north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	8	Canaanite amphora (U)	23	bronze mirror
1	Chamber, group west bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	piriform jar (P)	24	copper wire from balance
1	Chamber, group west bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	piriform jar (P)	25	nineteen gold ivy-leaf ornaments
1	Chamber, group west bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (T)	26	four gold shell ornaments
1	Chamber, group west bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (T)	27	fourty-seven gold rosettes
1	Chamber, group west bench (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			29	eighteen gold discs
1	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT				gold leaf (frags.)
2	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	1	stirrup jar (P)		
2	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	2	piriform jar (L)		
2	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	3	closed pot (L)		
2	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	4	carinated kylix (T or U)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	stirrup jug (T)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	large piriform jar (U)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	shallow angular bowl (T)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (T)		
3	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	carinated kylix (T)		

3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	7	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (T)	23	stone conuli
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	8	rounded kylix (T)		
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	carinated kylix (T)		
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	carinated kylix (T)		
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	shallow angular bowl (T)		
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	conical cup (T)		
3	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	conical cup (T)		
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			17	bronze sword with gold rivets
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			18	bronze dagger with gold rivets
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			19	bronze razor
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			20	bronze bowl (corroded)
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			21	four rosettes and other ivory inlays (and frags.)
3	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			22	thirty-eight gold rosettes (and frags.)
3	Chamber (middle of floor) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	14	vertical flask (P)		
3	Chamber (middle of floor) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	15	large piriform jar (P)		
3	Chamber (middle of floor) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	16	conical cup (T)		
4	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	1	rounded kylix (U)		

5	Chamber, northwest corner (north skeleton?) (LHIII A2)	CT	1	rounded kylix (M)		
5	Chamber, earlier burial (?) (LHIII A2)	CT	2	rounded kylix (U)		
5	Chamber (middle of floor) (LHIII A2)	CT	3	stirrup jar (P)		
5	Chamber, northeast corner (LHIII A2)	CT	5	askos (M)		
5	Chamber, northwest corner (earlier burial) (LHIII A2)	CT	4	piriform jar (P)		
5	Chamber, northwest corner (earlier burial) (LHIII A2)	CT	6	one-handled footed cup (U)		
5	Chamber, northwest corner (earlier burial) (LHIII A2)	CT	7	amphora (U)		
5	Chamber, north skeleton (LHIII A2)	CT	8	amphora (U)		
6	Pit grave (LHIIC pottery only)	Pit				
7	Chamber, beneath skull I (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	squat jug (P)		
7	Chamber, skull II (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	rounded alabastron (P)		
7	Chamber, skull I and II (?) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	14	goblet with high-swung handle(s) (U)		
7	Chamber, burial III (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	19	jug with cut-away neck (L)		
7	Chamber, burial III (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	21	askos (L)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	rounded alabastron (P)	31	ivory comb
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	rounded alabastron (P)	32	bone pin (frags.)
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	rounded alabastron (P)	33	two stone (quartz) beads

7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	rounded alabastron (P)	33	sixty-eight glass beads
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	7	rounded alabastron (P)	35	stone conuli
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	8	rounded alabastron (P)	27	bronze razor
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	piriform jar (P)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	piriform jar (P)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	piriform jar (P)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	piriform jar (P)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	15	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (U)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	17	beaked jug (P)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	20	jug (U)		
7	Chamber, burial IV and V (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	26?	rounded alabastron		
7	Chamber, burial VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	16	rounded kylix (P)	28	tip of bronze weapon
7	Chamber, burial VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	rounded alabastron (P)	29	five bronze arrowheads
7	Chamber, burial VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			30	four obsidian arrowheads
7	Chamber, burial VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			35	stone conulus
7	Chamber, burial VI (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	18	jug with cut-away neck (M)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	rounded alabastron (P)		

7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	rounded alabastron (P)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	piriform jar (P)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		piriform jar (P)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded alabastron		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded alabastron (P)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded alabastron (L)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Rest of finds from lower stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT		rounded or carinated kylix (U)		
7	Finds from upper burial stratum (LHIIIA2)	CT	22	small jug (L) (LHIIIA2)	34	stone (steatite) bead
7	Finds from upper burial stratum (LHIIIC)	CT	23	deep cup (U) (LHIIIC)		
7	Finds from upper burial stratum (LHIIIC)	CT	24	deep conical bowl (P) (LHIIIC)		
7	Finds from upper burial stratum (LHIIIC)	CT	25	krater (LHIIIC)		

8	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	rounded alabastron (P)	6	gold signet ring
8	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	rounded alabastron (P)	7 to 8	two stone (amethyst) beads
8	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)	9	stone conulus
8	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	closed pot (L)	10	lead wire (frags.)
8	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
9	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	rounded alabastron (P)	2	gold bead
9	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			3	lead wire (frag.)
10	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	2	rounded kylix (M)	1	Phi-type terracotta figurine
10	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	3	shallow bowl (U)		
10	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	4	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)		
10	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	5	one-handled bowl (L)		
10	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	6	jug (M)		
11	Grave "A" (LHIIIA2)	Pit	1	rounded alabastron (P)	4	stone conulus
11	Grave "A" (LHIIIA2)	Pit	2	small jug (M)		
11	Grave "A" (LHIIIA2)	Pit	3	rounded alabastron (P)		
11	Grave "B" (LHIIIA2)	Pit	5	jug (U)	6	bronze needle
12	Unfinished chamber tomb (dromos reused as dump in LHIIIC)	CT				
13	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	2	spouted cup (L?)	1	small bronze bowl

13	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)	4	stone conulus
14	Chamber, back (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	1	piriform jar (P)	9	bronze knife or razor
14	Chamber, back (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	2	piriform jar (P)	10	gold bead
14	Chamber, back (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	3	conical cup (M)	12	stone conuli
14	Chamber, east side (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	4	piriform jar (P)	13	stone conulus
14	Chamber, west side (LHIIB- III A1)	CT			11	glass bead
14	Dromos, west niche (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	5	amphora (U)		
14	Dromos, west niche (LHIIB- III A1)	CT	6	feeding bottle (L)		
14	Chamber, top burial (LHIIB)	CT	7	feeding bottle (M)		
14	Chamber, top burial (LHIIB)	CT	8	jug (U)		
15	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	1	rounded kylix (U)	4	bronze dagger
15	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	2	jug (U)		
15	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	3	rounded alabastron (P)		
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	1	"The Lily Bowl" (P)	11	gold pendant
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	2	goblet with high-swung handle(s) (P)	11	stone (quartz) bead
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	3	piriform jar (P)	11	six glass beads
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	4	piriform jar (P)	12	ivory comb
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	5	rounded alabastron (P)	13	bone or ivory pin
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	6	rounded alabastron (U?)	14	group of sea shells
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	7	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	8	askos (P)		

16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	9	askos (U)		
16	Pit grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit	10	jug (U)		
17	Cist grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Cist	1	piriform jar (P)	3	bronze knife
17	Cist grave (LHIIB-III A1)	Cist	2	jug (U)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	1	piriform jar (P)	10	stone conulus
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	2	shallow cup with high handle (L)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	3	rounded alabastron (P)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	4	stirrup jug (U)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	5	stirrup jug (U)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	6	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (U)		
18	Chamber, skeleton, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	7	amphora (U)		
18	Finds from along wall of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	8	askos (U)		
18	Finds from along wall of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	9	small jug (M)		
19	Cist grave (LHIII A2)	Cist	1	beaked jug (P)		
20	Chamber (LHIIB)	CT	1	amphora (U)	3	Psi-type terracotta figurine
20	Chamber (LHIIB)	CT	2	miniature handmade mug (U)		
21	Chamber, bone pit (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	piriform jar (P)	10	stone disc or button
21	Chamber, bone pit (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	rounded alabastron (P)	11	steatite button
21	Chamber, bone pit (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	rounded alabastron (P)	12	seven glass beads (and frags.)
21	Chamber, bone pit (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	straight-sided alabastron (P)	12	gold bead

21	Chamber, bone pit (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	lid (L)	12	small seashell
21	Chamber, east side (skeleton) (LHIIIA2?)	CT			13	bronze mirror
21	Chamber, east side (skeleton) (LHIIIA2?)	CT			14	bronze implement
21	Chamber, east side (skeleton) (LHIIIA2?)	CT			15	bone pin
21	Chamber, swept-up skeleton (LHIIIA2)	CT	6	pegtop rhyton (L)		
21	Chamber, swept-up skeleton (LHIIIA2)	CT	7	stirrup jug (U)		
21	Chamber, skeleton at back of chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	8	small jug (L)		
21	Chamber, skeleton near door (LHIIIA2)	CT	9	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1)		
22	Dromos of chamber tomb (unexcavated)	CT		goblet base (LHIIIA)		
23	Chamber, southern skeleton (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	beaked jug (P)		
23	Chamber, southern skeleton (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)		
23	Chamber, southern skeleton (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	rounded kylix (M)		
23	Chamber, southern skeleton (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	beaked jug (P)	10 to 13	stone conuli
23	Chamber, middle of floor (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	rounded kylix (U)		bronze knife
23	Chamber, pit, north-east corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			7	ivory comb
23	Chamber, pit, north-east corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			8	three glass beads
23	Chamber, pit, north-east corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			9	terracotta button

23	Chamber, upper stratum (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	cup with high-swung handle (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	handleless jar (P)	22	five stone (amethyst and agate or carnelian) beads
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	carinated conical cup (M)	22	six glass beads (and frags.)
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)	22	bone pin (frags.)
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	4	piriform jar (P)	22	snail shell
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	5	piriform jar (P)	23	stone conulus
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	piriform jar (P)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	7	piriform jar (P)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	8	beaked jug (M)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	beaked jug (M)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	beaked jug (M)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	stirrup jug (L)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	deep-bowled kylix (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	deep-bowled kylix (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	14	deep-bowled kylix (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	15	rounded kylix (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	16	shallow spouted bowl (U)		

24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	17	conical cup (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	18	amphora (U)		
24	Chamber, finds from heaps (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	19	amphora (U)		
24	Chamber, 0.30 m above floor (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	20	straight-sided alabastron (P)		
24	Chamber, niche (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	21	askos (M)	24	stone slab (grave marker?)
25	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB)	CT	1	stirrup jar (P)		
25	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB)	CT	2	small mug (P)		
25	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB)	CT	3	shallow cup (L)		
25	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB)	CT	4	rounded alabastron (P)		
26	Chamber (incomplete) (LHIII A2)	CT	1	hydria (P)	4	Phi-type terracotta figurine
26	Chamber (incomplete) (LHIII A2)	CT	2	closed pot (P)	5	Phi-type terracotta figurine
26	Chamber (incomplete) (LHIII A2)	CT	3	stirrup jar (L)	6	lead wire (frags.)
26	Chamber (incomplete) (LHIII A2)	CT			7	lead wire (frags.)
27	Cist grave (?) (LHIII A2)	Cist	1	jug with cut-away neck (U)		
27	Cist grave (?) (LHIII A2)	Cist	2	open or closed pot (M?)		
28	Cist grave (LHIII A2)	Cist	1	straight-sided alabastron (P)	2	stone conulus
29	Narrow space in front of grave (LHIII A2)	Pit (?)	1	goblet (U)	3	stone mould for making beads
29	Grave (interior) (LHIII A2)	Pit (?)	2	jug (U)	4	steatite celt
29	Grave (interior) (LHIII A2)	Pit (?)			5	bone implement
29	Grave (interior) (LHIII A2)	Pit (?)			6	bone handle (?)

31	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	beaked jug (P)		
31	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	kantharos cup (P)		
32	Chamber, west skeleton (LHIIIA2)	CT	1	kylix (M)		
32	Chamber, west skeleton (LHIIIA2)	CT	2	cup with high-swung handle (U)		
32	Chamber, west skeleton (LHIIIA2)	CT	3	rounded kylix (U)		
33	Chamber (disturbed) (no finds) (LHIIIA)	CT				
34	Chamber (disturbed) (no finds) (LHIIIA)	CT				
35	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	1	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
35	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	2	rounded alabastron (P)		
35	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	3	piriform jar (P)		
35	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	4	stirrup jug (U)		
35	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIA2)	CT	5	jug (U)		
36	Pit grave (?) (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit (?)	1	piriform jar (P)		
36	Pit grave (?) (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit (?)	2	hydria (M)		
36	Pit grave (?) (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	Pit (?)	3	amphora (U)		
37	Cist grave (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	Cist	1	piriform jar (P)		
37	Cist grave (disturbed) (LHIIB-III A1)	Cist	2	beaked jug (P)		

38	Pit grave (?) (disturbed) (no finds)	Pit (?)				
39	Pit grave (LHIII A2)	Pit	1	kylix with high-swung handle(s) (U)	4	one-hundred-and-thirty-seven glass beads
39	Pit grave (LHIII A2)	Pit	2	small jug (M)		
39	Pit grave (LHIII A2)	Pit	3	feeding bottle (L)		
40	Chamber, burial B (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	1	amphora (with handles below rim) (M)		
40	Chamber, burial A (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	2	straight-sided alabastron (P)	4	stone conulus
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	3	krater (P)	5	bronze spearhead
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	8	amphora (M)	16	stone (amber) bead
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	9	shallow cup (P)	17	lentoid (carnelian) sealstone
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	piriform jar (P)		
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	krater (P)		
40	Chamber, burial D (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	rounded kylix (U)		
40	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	6	beaked jug (P)	18	scrap of ivory
40	Chamber, burial C (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	7	shallow cup (P)		
40	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	carinated kylix (U)	15	stone slab (grave marker?)
40	Dromos (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			14	stone conulus
41	Burial in disused well (LHIIB-C)		1	conical-rounded kylix (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	10	beaked jug (P)	27	bronze dagger
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	11	jug with cut-away neck (P)	28	bronze spearhead

Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	12	shallow cup (P)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	13	rounded alabastron (P)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	15	squat jug (P)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, north wall (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	17	amphora (M?)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, south-west corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	14	rounded alabastron (P)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, south-west corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	16	jug (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, south-west corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	19	amphora (M?)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, south-west corner (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	18	jug (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, middle of floor (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	20	jug with cut-away neck (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, middle of floor (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	23	jug with cutaway neck (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber, heap, middle of floor (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	22	amphora (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	24	amphora (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	25	amphora (U)		
Grave J-K 2:2	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	21	ring-handled cup (P)		
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	29	piriform jar (P)	40	bronze "axe" blade
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	30	piriform jar (P)	41	bronze dagger
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	31	piriform jar (P)	42	bronze dagger
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	32	rounded alabastron (P)	43	bronze blade
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	33	rounded kylix (U)	44	bronze shaft
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	34	rounded kylix (U)	45	proto Phi-type terracotta figurine
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	35	one-handled goblet (U)	46	seated female terracotta figurine

Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	36	handleless jar (P)	47	stone plaque or rubber's stone (?)
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	37	handleless jar (P)	48	stone (carnelian) scarab
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	38	ring-handled cup (U)	48	thirty stone (carnelian and quartz) beads
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT	39	small jar (P)	48	seven-hundred-and-thirty-nine glass beads
Grave K 2:5	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	CT			49	stone conuli

Appendix 2: Prosymna tomb inventories (Prosymna, Argolid)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Offerings other than pottery
16	Chamber, right side, niche (LHIIIA2)	203	shallow cup (P)	
16	Chamber, right side, niche (LHIIIA2)	201	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
16	Chamber, right side, niche (LHIIIA2)	202	small jug (L)	
16	Chamber, right side, niche (LHIIIA2)	205	stirrup jar	
16	Chamber, right side, niche (LHIIIA2)	204	conical cup (U)	
17	Chamber, 70 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)	393	small mug (P)	
17	Chamber, 70 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)	390	amphora (P)	
17	Chamber, 70 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)	392	small jug (U)	
17	Chamber, 70 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)	394	conical cup (U)	
17	Chamber, 45 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)	391	askos (P)	
17	Chamber, 45 cm above floor, rear (LHIIIA2)		feeding bottle	
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	1206	larnax (P)	six glass beads
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)			stone conulus
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)			
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	388	goblet (P)	stone conuli
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	398	straight-sided alabastron (P)	

¹ The tombs are published in Blegen 1937 (51-227). The order is the same as in Blegen's publication. The find numbers in the table correspond with those in the original publication.

² The groups/assemblages refer to distinct clusters of objects within the tombs (for descriptions see primary publications). The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 4 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in section 3.4, in which the assemblages from Prosymna are discussed.

17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, left side (LHIIB-III A1)	389	feeding bottle (P)	
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, beneath larnax (LHIIB-III A1)	879	bell cup (M)	
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, beneath larnax (LHIIB-III A1)	880	beaked jug	
17	Chamber, 25 cm above floor, center (LHIIB-III A1)	402	rounded alabastron (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	396	shallow cup (P)	bronze dagger
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	397	rounded alabastron (P)	a few glass beads
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	404	feeding bottle (P) (LHIIIA1)	bone pins (frags.)
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)		rounded alabastron (?)	terracotta buttons
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	395	goblet (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	497	conical cup (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	498	conical cup (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	403	conical cup (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	881	carinated kylix (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, rear (LHIIA-B)	405	carinated kylix (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	407	semi-globular cup (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	408	shallow cup (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	372	Vapheio cup (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	401	ring-handled cup (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	371	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	399	rounded alabastron (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	409	squat jug (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	373	goblet (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	400	goblet (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, right side (LHIIA-B)	406	goblet (U)	
17	Chamber, floor, left side (LHIIA-B)	412	piriform jar (P)	pair of bronze tweezers
17	Chamber, floor, left side (LHIIA-B)	440	rounded alabastron (P)	
17	Chamber, floor, left side (LHIIA-B)	218	shallow cup (U)	
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	207	small mug (M)	stone conuli
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	213	straight-sided alabastron (P)	terracotta buttons
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	212	straight-sided alabastron (P)	

18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	210	handeless jar (P)	
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	208	small jug (M)	
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	387	rounded cup (U)	
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	209	amphora (U)	
18	Chamber, right side (LHIIB-III A1)	211	jug (U)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	216	Vapheio cup (P) (LHIIA)	small bronze pin
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	217	ring-handled cup (P)	terracotta buttons
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	221	ring-handled cup (P)	stone conuli
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	222	ring-handled cup (P)	fifty-one glass beads
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	223	ring-handled cup (P)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	215	goblet (L)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	224	squat jug (P)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	214	squat jug (P) (LHIIA)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	225	askos (M)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	219	handeless jar (P)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	226	vertical flask (P)	
18	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	218	carinated cup (U)	
18	Chamber, inside door (LHIIB-III A1)	206	piriform jar (P)	
18	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	220	rounded alabastron (P)	
19	Chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	275	stirrup jar (P)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
19	Chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	287	stirrup jar (P)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
19	Chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	276	small jug (L) (LHIIIA2)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
19	Chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	274	amphora (U)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
19	Chamber, left side (LHIIIB)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
19	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB)	281	stirrup jar (P)	
19	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB)	280	stirrup jar (P)	
19	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB)	278	piriform jar (P)	
19	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB)	279	straight-sided alabastron (L)	
19	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIIIB)	275	stirrup jar (frags.) (P)	bronze ring (frags.)
19	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIIIB)			stone conuli
19	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIIIB)			one-hundred-and-twenty-eight glass beads (+ frags.)
19	Chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			stone conuli
19	Chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			stone pendant
19	Chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			glass bead and button

19	Chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			two seal shells
20	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIB)	227	stirrup jar (P)	
20	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIB)	228	stirrup jar (P)	
20	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIB)	229	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
20	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIB)	230	semi-globular cup (U)	
20	Chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			stone conulus
20	Chamber, right side, cist (LHIIIB)			three glass relief-beads (plaques)
21	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	231	stemmed krater (P)	
21	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	233	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
21	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	267	stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	268	lipless conical kylix (U)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	241	shallow cup (P)	stone pounder or grinder
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	258	shallow cup (P)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	270	kylix (P)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	235	dipper (L)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	239	rounded alabastron (P)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	240	small jug (P)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	237	stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	271	rounded kylix (U)	
21	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	238	carinated kylix (U)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	242	ring-handled cup (L)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	236	shallow cup (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	246	small one-handled bowl (M)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	234	deep conical bowl (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	265	piriform jar (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	256	beaked jug (L)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	257	beaked jug (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	386	beaked jug (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	244	small stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	247	stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	272	rounded alabastron (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	243	rounded alabastron (L) (LHIIIB?)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	245	askos in shape of hedgehog (P)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIA2)	248	cup with high handle (U)	

21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIII A2)	269	rounded kylix (U)	
21	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIII A2)	232	jug (U)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII A2)	261	conical cup (U)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	264	ring-handled cup (M)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	263	rounded alabastron (P)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	273	rounded alabastron (P)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	266	jug (L)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	260	conical cup (U)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	262	conical cup (U)	
21	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIII A2)	259	kylix with handles below rim (U)	
21	Chamber (from floor) (LHIII A2)			bronze ring (frags.)
21	Chamber (from floor) (LHIII A2)			stone (carnelian) bead
21	Chamber (from floor) (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
21	Chamber (from floor) (LHIII A2)			four glass beads
22	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	352	stirrup jar (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	353	feeding bottle (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	354	stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B?)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	357	feeding bottle (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	888	narrow-necked jug (P) (LHIII B?)	chariot group terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	362	feeding bottle (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	359	small stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B?)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	358	feeding bottle (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	363	feeding bottle (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	364	askos (L)	chariot group terracotta figurine
22	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)			stone conulus
22	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	369	piriform jar (P)	
22	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	410	piriform jar (P)	
22	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	370	stirrup jar (P)	
22	Chamber, inner right corner, cist I (LHIII A2)	411	carinated kylix (U)	
22	Chamber, north wall, cist III (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
22	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			glass relief-bead (curl-of-hair)
1	Finds from dromos (LHII A)	196	rhyton (P)	glass beads
1	Finds from dromos (LHII A)	1210	goblet (U)	stone conuli
1	Finds from dromos (LHII A)			bronze pin (frags.)

1	Finds from dromos (LHIIA)			bronze ring (frags.)
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	147	dipper (P) (LHIIA)	bronze knife
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	137	squat jug (P) (LHIIA)	
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	150	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	146	stirrup jar (P)	
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	149	stirrup jar (P)	
1	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	148	conical cup (U)	
1	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	152	piriform jar (U)	
1	Chamber, inside door, left (LHIIIB)	144	feeding bottle (P)	
1	Chamber, inside door, left (LHIIIB)	143	small mug (U)	
1	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	145	stirrup jar (P)	
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			bronze pin (frags.)
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			stone conuli
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			bone pin (frags.)
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			fourteen glass beads
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			two seal shells
1	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB)			terracotta button
30	Pottery from chamber exclusively dates from LHIIA-B			
29	Chamber, right side, bier (LHIIIA2)	350	spouted bowl with high handle (P)	bronze dagger
29	Chamber, right side, bier (LHIIIA2)	1049	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
29	Chamber, right side, bier (LHIIIA2)	1050	beaked jug (P)	
29	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	494	straight-sided alabastron (P)	stone conuli
29	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)			three glass beads
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIIIA2)	348	large piriform jar (P)	bronze mirror (with wooden handle)
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIIIA2)	347	beaked jug (P)	bronze dish with slanting high handle
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIIIA2)	351	rounded kylix (U)	ivory comb (frags.)
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIIIA2)	349	kylix (U)	stone spool
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIIIA2)			two glass beads

29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)			stone (carnelian) bead
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)			bronze pin (frags.)
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)			lead wire (frags.)
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
29	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)			stone (steatite) bead
29	Chamber, inside door, cist I (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)		kylix (U)	a number of glass beads
29	Chamber, inside door, cist I (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conulus
29	Chamber, inside door, cist I (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			fragments of bronze
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	1161	ring-handled cup (L)	stone (carnelian) pendant
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	425	goblet (P)	amber beads (frags.)
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	423	bridge-spouted jug (P)	a number of glass beads
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	878	jug with cut-away neck (P)	bone pin (frags.)
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	1156	rounded alabastron (P)	lead wire (frags.)
29	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIB-III A1)	1160	amphora (U)	
29	Chamber, outer left corner, cist III (LHIIB-III A1)	1157	goblet (U)	a number of glass beads
29	Chamber, outer left corner, cist III (LHIIB-III A1)	1158	amphora (U)	
29	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	1164	shallow cup (P)	numerous glass beads
29	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	434	stirrup jug (P)	fragments of bronze
29	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)		jug	
29	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	1165	rounded kylix (U)	

29	Chamber, left side, center, cist V (LHIIB-III A1)	422	ring-handled cup (M)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VI (LHIIB-III A1)			two terracotta female figurines
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VI (LHIIB-III A1)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	426	dipper (L)	furniture-shaped (bier) terracotta model
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	427	rounded alabastron (P)	terracotta female figurine
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	428	rounded alabastron (P)	a few glass beads
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	429	rounded alabastron (P)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	430	rounded alabastron (P)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	1163	stirrup jug (P)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	1155	goblet (U)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	1159	conical cup (U)	
29	Chamber, right side, rear, cist VII (LHIIB-III A1)	1162	jug (U)	
29	Chamber, left side, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	1154	shallow cup (P)	
29	Chamber, left side, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	424	goblet (P)	
29	Chamber, central part, cist IX (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conulus
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1115	bell cup (P) (LHII A)	terracotta button
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	341	rounded alabastron (P)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	340	miniature stirrup jug (P)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	334	stirrup jar (P)	

28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1114	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIB?)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1137	goblet (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1138	conical cup (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1132	carinated kylix (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1135	carinated kylix (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	330	amphora (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1141	jug (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	1133	bottle-necked jug (U)	
28	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	332	amphora (U)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	337	carinated conical cup (P) (LHII B)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1144	kylix (P)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1131	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	333	small jug (P)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	413	beaked jug (P)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1130	beaked jug (M)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	331	piriform jar (L) (LHIIIB?)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	335	straight-sided alabastron (L)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	346	jug (L)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1140	jug (L)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	339	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB?)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	877	conical cup (U)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	338	splaying conical cup (U)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1134	splaying conical cup (U)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1142	rounded kylix (U)	
28	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	1143	deep rounded cup (U)	
28	Chamber, south-west corner, cist I (LHIIA-B or LHIII A2)			terracotta button
28	Chamber, center, cist II (LHIIA-B)	1136	Vapheio cup (P)	bronze dagger
28	Chamber, center, cist II (LHIIA-B)	876	goblet (P)	
28	Chamber, center, cist II (LHIIA-B)	336	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIA?)	
23	Chamber empty of remains (except for one glass bead)			
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	315	deep-two handled cup (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	306	shallow cup with high handle (M?)	

24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	313	piriform jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	296	piriform jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	310	wide-necked jar (M)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	304	beaked jug (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	314	stirrup jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	297	stirrup jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	298	stirrup jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	307	stirrup jar (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	327	rounded alabastron (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	309	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	312	jug with cut-away neck (L)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	302	rounded kylix (U)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	308	conical cup (U)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	328	jug (U)	
24	Chamber, right side (LHIII A2)	290	jug (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	294	spouted shallow cup (L)	stone conuli
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	324	spouted shallow cup (L)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	293	spouted cup (P)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	305	piriform jar (P)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	320	rounded alabastron (P)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	325	horizontal flask (P)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	295	conical cup (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	318	shallow cup (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	322	shallow cup (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	311	carinated kylix (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	329	shallow angular bowl (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	319	brazier (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	317	piriform jar (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	323	piriform jar (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	316	amphora (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	303	amphora (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	289	amphora (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	291	jug (U)	
24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	288	jug (U)	

24	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	292	wide-mouthed pedestalled jug (U)	
24	Chamber, right side, cist I (LHIIIA2)	321	carinated kylix (U)	
24	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIIA2)		rounded alabastron	glass cylindrical seal
24	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIIA2)	326	carinated kylix (U)	bronze rivet
24	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIIIA2)			stone conulus
24	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIA2?)			pair of bronze tweezers (frags.)
24	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIA2?)			bone pin (frags.)
24	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIA2?)			terracotta buttons
25	Central chamber, 55 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	439	shallow spouted bowl with high handle (P)	bronze disc (scale pan?)
25	Central chamber, 55 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	885	piriform jar (P)	
25	Central chamber, 55 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	1123	rounded alabastron (P)	
25	Central chamber, 55 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	882	shallow cup with high handle	
25	Central chamber, 55 cm above floor, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	884	carinated kylix (U)	
25	Central chamber, floor, left central part (LHIIIA)			bronze dagger
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	1048	jar (P) (LHI?)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	377	Vapheio cup (P)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	378	Vapheio cup (P)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	376	rounded alabastron (P)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	374	hole-mouthed jar (P)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	375	bridge-spouted jug (P)	
25	Central chamber, floor, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	379	rounded alabastron (P)	

25	West chamber, blocking wall (LHIIIA2)	883	stirrup jar	
25	West chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)	487	feeding bottle (M) (LHIIIA1)	
25	West chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)		stirrup jar	
25	West chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)	455	side-spouted jug (U)	
25	West chamber, lower level (LHI)	489	semi-globular cup (P)	bronze dagger
25	West chamber, lower level (LHI)	488	hole-mouthed jar (P)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	874	spouted cup (P)	fourty-seven glass beads
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	456	stirrup jar (P)	three stone (carnelian and steatite) beads
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	887	stirrup jar (P)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	458	vertical flask (L)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	875	feeding bottle (L)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	886	shallow cup with high handle (U)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	457	amphora (U)	
25	North chamber (LHIIIA2)	490	hydria (U)	
25	North chamber, right side, cist (LHIIIA2?)			bronze sword
25	North chamber, right side, cist (LHIIIA2?)			bronze dagger
25	North chamber, right side, cist (LHIIIA2?)			two glass beads
25	East chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)	452	straight-sided alabastron (P)	bronze spearhead
25	East chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)	872	stirrup jar (P)	bronze mirror
25	East chamber, upper level (LHIIIA2)	869	stirrup jug (U) (LHIIIA1?)	
25	East chamber, lower level, right side (Skeleton I) (LHI)	496	semi-globular cup (U)	
25	East chamber, lower level, right side (Skeleton II) (LHI)	495	piriform jar (P)	
25	East chamber, lower level, rear (LHI)	453	piriform jar (P)	
25	East chamber, lower level, rear (LHI)	454	piriform jar (P)	
25	East chamber, lower level, rear (LHI)		rounded alabastron	
25	East chamber, lower level, inner left corner (LHI)	499	jar (P)	
25	East chamber, lower level, inner left corner (LHI)	870	rounded alabastron (P)	
25	East chamber, lower level, north-west corner (LHI?)			terracotta button
26	Main chamber, right of door (LHIIIB)	1173	kylix (U)	

26	Main chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIB)	433	ladle (U)	
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)	432	amphora (U)	bronze arrowheads (frags.)
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)	1174	kylix (U)	bronze rivet
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)			boar's tusks (frags.)
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)			bone object (frags.)
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)			stone conuli
26	Main chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB?)			fragment of obsidian
26	Main chamber, rear wall, cist II (LHIIIB?)			stone conuli
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1172	carinated conical cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	small gold bar with bronze attachment
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1166	deep bowl (P)	bronze rivet (with gold-plated ends)
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1199	jar (P) (LHIIA)	bronze dagger (with silver-plated rivets)
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1167	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIB)	bronze knife and fragments of another one
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1168	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIB)	bronze spearhead
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1169	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIB)	thirteen bronze arrowheads
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1170	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIB)	bronze ring (frags.)
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1171	jug (L)	ivory vessel (frags.)
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1175	carinated kylix (U)	boar's tusk
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1185	carinated kylix (U)	stone arrowhead
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1184	shallow angular bowl (U)	
26	Side chamber, platform, upper level (LHIIIB?)	1176	large jug (U)	
26	Side chamber, platform, lower level, right side (LHI)	385	rounded cup (P)	

26	Side chamber, platform, lower level, left side (LHI)	431	jug (P)	
26	Side chamber, center (LHI)	344	rounded alabastron (P)	terracotta button
26	Side chamber, center (LHI)	345	rounded alabastron (P)	
26	Side chamber, center (LHI)	343	squat jug (P)	
26	Side chamber, rear (LHI)	380	jar + goblet-base stopper (P)	two bronze scale pans
26	Side chamber, rear (LHI)	382	piriform jar (P)	
26	Side chamber, inner left corner (LHI)	381	jar + goblet-base stopper (P)	
26	Side chamber, inner left corner (LHI)	342	jug (U)	
27	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	1150	squat jar (P)	
27	Chamber, left side (LHIIIA2)	493	conical cup (U)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1149	spouted cup (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1153	small jug (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	491	askos (L)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1148	rounded kylix (U)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1147	carinated kylix (U)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1151	carinated kylix (U)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	492	jug (U)	
27	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	1198	low-necked jug (U)	
27	Chamber, left of door, cist I (LHIIIA2)			bronze rivet (from dagger or sword?)
27	Chamber, outer right corner (double cist) (LHIIIA2)	1152	feeding bottle (P)	four stone (carnelian, amethyst and pink-stone) beads
27	Chamber, outer right corner (double cist) (LHIIIA2)			terracotta button
27	Chamber, outer right corner (double cist) (LHIIIA2)			stone tools (grinders and whetstones)
27	Chamber, outer right corner (double cist) (LHIIIA2)			
27	Chamber, outer right corner (double cist) (LHIIIA2)			
32	Chamber, right of door (LHIIIA2)	1183	stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber, center (LHIIIA2)	1178	jug (L)	stone conulus
32	Chamber, center (LHIIIA2)	1177	narrow-necked jug (P)	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	435	carinated conical cup (P)	terracotta figurine

32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)		shallow cup	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	1180	squat jug (P) (LHII B?)	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	437	rounded alabastron (P)	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	873	small jug (P)	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	436	stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	1179	small jug (U)	
32	Chamber, left of entrance, cist I (LHII A or LHIII A2)			stone conulus
32	Chamber, inner right corner, cist V (LHII A)	1182	shallow cup (P)	small Phi-type terracotta figurine
32	Chamber, inner right corner, cist V (LHII A)	1181	rounded alabastron (P)	terracotta button
32	Chamber, inner right corner, cist V (LHII A)			stone conuli
32	Chamber, inner right corner, cist V (LHII A)			bone pin (frags.)
33	Chamber, left of door (LHIII B)	1061	carinated kylix (U)	
33	Chamber, left of door (LHIII B)		shallow cup (U)	
33	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII B)	1065	stirrup jar (P)	
33	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII B)	1063	carinated kylix (U)	
33	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII B)	1064	miniature cup (handmade) (U)	
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1074	shallow bowl (L)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	476	spouted shallow cup (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1068	kylix (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1075	small bridge-spouted jug (M)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	481	small beaked jug (P) (LHIII A2)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	480	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1067	feeding bottle (M)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1069	stirrup jar (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	470	small carinated cup (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1073	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	472	conical cup (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1077	spouted shallow cup (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1076	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	471	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	482	small stemmed cup (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	461	small stemmed cup (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
33	Chamber, right side (LHIII B)	1066	rounded kylix (U)	two-hundred glass beads

33	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	469	askos (U)	
33	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	451	deep bowl (P)	lead wire (frags.)
33	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	1070	rounded alabastron (P)	stone conuli
33	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	1071	stirrup jar (P)	
33	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	1072	large jug (L)	
33	Chamber, floor, from scattered fragments (LHIIIB)	1094	stirrup jar (P)	
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1078	ring-handled cup (P)	fifty-eight stone (carnelian) beads
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1081	ring-handled cup (L)	eighteen glass beads (lily and shells)
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	462 + 463	pyxis or box + lid (P)	two small ivory rosettes
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	485	rounded alabastron (P)	bone pin (frags.)
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1084	jug (L)	stone conuli
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1085	goblet (U)	
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1080	goblet (U)	
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1082	goblet (U)	
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1083	conical cup (U)	
33	Chamber, left side, rear, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1)	1079	jug (U)	
33	Chamber, inner right corner, cist III (LHIIIA2)	1087	piriform jar (P)	
33	Side chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	1093	one-handed bowl (L)	pair of bronze tweezers
33	Side chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	1090	stirrup jar (P)	
33	Side chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	1089	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
33	Side chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	1091	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
33	Side chamber, left side (LHIIIB)	1062	shallow angular bowl (U)	
33	Side chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIB)	484	beaked jug (P) (LHIIIA2?)	
33	Side chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIB)	1092	cup with high swung handles (U)	bronze chisel

33	Side chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIB)			bronze saw
33	Side chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIB)			two lentoid sealstones
33	Side chamber (from floor) (LHIIIB)			lead wire (frags.)
34	Dromos (LHIIIB-III A1)	1209	goblet (M)	
34	Dromos (LHIIIB-III A1)	614	piriform jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIA2)	674	ring-handled cup (U)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	664	ring-handled cup (L)	bronze knife
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	626	shallow cup (P)	lentoid (steatite) sealstone
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	683	spouted bowl with high handle (L)	two bronze arrowheads
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	861	deep bowl (P)	four stone arrowheads
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	650	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	stone conulus
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	1054	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1)	twenty-two glass beads
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	667	beaked jug (P) (LHIIIA1)	pierced sea shells
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	623	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	668	jug (L)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	862	narrow-necked jug (L)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	672	beaked jug (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	647	narrow-necked jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	669	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	622	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	651	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	673	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	726	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	1052	cup with high handle (U)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	684	amphora (U)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	665	jug (U)	
34	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	1055	stirrup jug (U)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	655	small mug (M) (LHIIIA1?)	thirty-five glass beads
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	670	ring-handled cup (L)	stone conuli
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	656	goblet (M) (LHIIIA1)	bronze pins (frags.)
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	688	spouted shallow cup (L)	bronze arrowhead
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	658	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1?)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	731	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIIIA2)	659	rounded alabastron (P)	

34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	654	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	648	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	653	small jug (L)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	666	stirrup jug (M)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	686	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner, niche (LHIII A2)	657	amphora (U)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	676	shallow cup (P) (LHIII A1)	five stone arrowheads
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	681	conical cup (L)	stone conulus
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	646	deep cup with high handle (P)	two glass beads
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	645	small stirrup jug (P) (LHIII A1)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	644	piriform jar (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	642	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	675	small horizontal flask (P)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	677	shallow cup with high handle (U)	
34	Chamber, outer left corner cist I (LHIII A2)	643	piriform jar (U)	
34	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHII A)	1145	semi-globular cup (P)	
34	Chamber, left side, cist III (LHIII A2)	680	deed conical bowl (L)	
34	Chamber, left side, cist III (LHIII A2)	682	stirrup jar (P)	
34	Chamber, left side, cist III (LHIII A2)	678	horizontal flask (P)	
34	Chamber, left side, cist III (LHIII A2)	679	conical cup (U)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	625	carinated conical cup (P)	stone conulus
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	621	piriform jar (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	624	piriform jar (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	1053	piriform jar (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	660	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	627	rounded alabastron (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	687	rounded alabastron (P)	

34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	685	small jug (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	662	feeding bottle (P)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	661	conical cup (U)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	663	jug (U)	
34	Chamber, outer right corner, cist IV (LHIII A2)	671	small jug (?) (U)	
34	Chamber, under doorway, cist V (LHIII A2)	696	small jug (L)	bronze arrowhead
34	Chamber, under doorway, cist V (LHIII A2)	1056	pegtop rhyton (P)	three stone arrowheads
34	Chamber, under doorway, cist V (LHIII A2)			one glass bead
52	Chamber, left side (LHIIB-III A1)	889	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze knife
52	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1?)			bronze ring (frags.)
52	Chamber, right side (LHI-II A)	810	cup (P) (LHI?)	terracotta button
52	Chamber, right side (LHI-II A)	914	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A)	
52	Chamber, right side (LHI-II A)	845	goblet (U) (LHI?)	
52	Chamber, right side (LHI-II A)	808	jug (U) (LHI?)	
35	Chamber, rear (LHIIB)	536	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
35	Chamber, left side, cist II (LHIII A2?)			Phi-type terracotta figurine
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)	519	carinated conical cup (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)	516	deep conical bowl (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)	538	jug with cut-away neck (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)	518	small beaked jug (P)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)	539	amphora (U)	pierced sea shells
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)			stone (steatite) pendant
35	Chamber, center cist III (LHIII A2)			bronze wire (frags.)
35	Chamber, right side, cist IV (LHIII A2)	540	small jug (U)	
35	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			stone (crystal) bead
36	Chamber, left door (LHIIB)	505	stirrup jar (P)	
36	Chamber, left door (LHIIB)	530	amphora (U)	
36	Chamber, center (LHIIB)	615	jug with cut-away neck (P)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
36	Chamber, center (LHIIB)	504	rounded alabastron (L)	Psi-type terracotta figurine

36	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	524	ring-handled cup (P)	pair of bronze tweezers
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	528	goblet (P)	bronze knife
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	564	rounded cup (L)	numerous glass beads
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	611	squat jug (P)	six stone (amethyst, crystal and carnelian) beads
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	562	squat jug (P)	stone conuli
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	596	small jug (P)	terracotta buttons
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	561	handleless jar (P)	bone spool
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	526	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA2?)	bone implement (frags.)
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	523	conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	594	ring-handled cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	593	miniature cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	597	carinated conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	525	goblet (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	595	conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	563	conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	527	conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	1059	conical cup (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	529	shallow angular bowl (tripod) (U)	
36	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	1058	perforated cup/burner (U)	
36	Chamber, middle, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)			a few glass beads
36	Chamber, middle, cist II (LHIIIB-III A1, LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)			stone conuli
36	Side chamber (LHIIIA2)	533	piriform jar (L)	
36	Side chamber (LHIIIA2)	532	feeding bottle (L)	
36	Side chamber (LHIIIA2)	509	stirrup jar (P)	
36	Side chamber (LHIIIA2)	535	stirrup jar (P)	
36	Side chamber (LHIIIA2)	534	amphora (U)	
37	Dromos, cist		shallow cup (U)	bronze knife
37	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIIB)	702	hydria (P)	
37	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIIB)	703	beaked jug (P)	
37	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIIIB)	721	strainer jug (L)	stone blade
37	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIIIB)	724	carinated kylix (U)	

37	Chamber, lower level, right side (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	722	carinated conical cup (P) (LHIII A2)	
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	706	piriform jar (P)	one glass relief-bead (nautilus)
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	705	beaked jug (P)	sea shell
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	708	feeding bottle (P)	stone conulus
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	707	large jug (L)	
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	711	carinated kylix (U)	
37	Chamber, lower level, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	710	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
37	Chamber, lower level, center, left (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	723	goblet (U)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	715	goblet (M)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	709	rounded alabastron (P)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	718	conical cup (U or T)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	719	conical cup (U or T)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	717	shallow angular bowl (U or T)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, front (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	720	rounded kylix (U or T)	
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	704	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2?)	bronze (cruciform) sword (with gold-headed rivets)
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	716	small jug (M) (LHIII A2)	bronze dagger
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	714	carinated kylix (U or T)	nine glass relief-beads (in shape of nautilus)

37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	713	carinated kylix (U or T)	one glass bead
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	712	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	stone conuli
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			fragment of worked bone
37	Chamber, lower level, left side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
37	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conuli
37	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			nine glass beads
37	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			fragment of bronze
37	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			one shell
37	Chamber (from floor?)			terracotta button
38	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	746	shallow cup (U)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	701	large piriform jar (L)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	747	beaked jug (P)	bronze cleaver
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	751	shallow cup (U)	bronze knife
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	750	rounded kylix (U or T)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	757	carinated kylix (U or T)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	752	carinated kylix (U or T)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	754	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	753	shallow angular bowl (U or T)	
38	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	745	askos (U)	
38	Chamber, north-east corner (child burial?) (LHIII A2)			lentoid (steatite) sealstone
38	Chamber, north-east corner (child burial?) (LHIII A2)			six stone (carnelian) beads
38	Chamber, north-east corner (child burial?) (LHIII A2)			one-hundred-and-fifty-eight glass beads (including one relief bead in the shape of a lily)

38	Chamber, north-east corner (child burial?) (LHIII A2)			bone bead
38	Chamber, north-east corner (child burial?) (LHIII A2)			three Psi-type terracotta figurines
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	755	shallow cup (P) (LHIII A1)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	693	small jug (M)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	690	small jug (P)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	728	stirrup jar (P)	bronze tubular casing
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	695	askos (U)	two bronze arrowheads
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	689	carinated kylix (U or T)	
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	727	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
38	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	749	shallow angular bowl (U or T)	
38	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			glass cylindrical seal
38	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			eight glass beads
38	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			three stone (carnelian and steatite) beads
38	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
38	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			one shell
38	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			stone (lapislazuli) bead
39	Dromos, under crosswall (LHIII A2)	599	small jug (P)	stone conulus
39	Dromos, inner end (LHIII A2)	509	small jug (P)	
39	Dromos, inner end (LHIII A2)	506	small jug (L)	
39	Dromos, inner end (LHIII A2)	510	amphora (U)	
39	Dromos, inner end (LHIII A2)	507	jug (U)	
40	Chamber, right-side (LHIII A2)	542	small jug (U)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	543	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1?)	stone conuli
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	546	piriform jar (P)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	544	rounded alabastron (P)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	541	vertical flask (P) (LHIII A1)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	547	small beaked jug (P)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	545	conical cup (U)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	1117	carinated kylix (U)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	1116	amphora (U)	
40	Chamber, left side (LHIII A2)	1118	amphora (U)	
49	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIII A2)	847	narrow-necked jug (P)	

49	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIII A2)			two glass beads
49	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIII A2)		coarse red cup (U)	amber bead
49	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIII A2)	846	hydria (U)	
49	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIII A2)	733	stirrup jar	
49	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIII A2)	732	stirrup jar (P)	
49	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIII A2)	768	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)	734	deep conical bowl (L)	gold bead
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)		jug	bronze arrowhead
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)			bronze wire (frags.)
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)			fragments of obsidian
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
49	Chamber, chamber, lower level, rear (LHIII A2)			glass bead
49	Chamber, lower level, right side (LHIII A2)	738	jug (L)	two glass beads
49	Chamber, lower level, right side (LHIII A2)	1124	stirrup jar (P)	
49	Chamber, lower level, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	737	ring-handled cup (M)	
49	Chamber, lower level, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	736	wide-necked jar (M)	
49	Chamber, lower level, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	735	rounded kylix (U)	
49	Chamber, lower level, outer right corner (LHIII A2)	1125	stirrup jar (P)	two glass beads
49	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHII B-III A1)	1126	rounded alabastron (P)	two bronze arrowheads
49	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHII B-III A1)			stone conulus
49	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHII B-III A1)			amber beads

49	Chamber, east, cist IV (LHIIB-III A1 ?)	1126	rounded alabastron (P) (frags.)	two bronze arrowheads
49	Chamber, east, cist IV (LHIIB-III A1 ?)			stone arrowhead
49	Chamber, east, cist IV (LHIIB-III A1 ?)			terracotta buttons
49	Chamber, east, cist IV (LHIIB-III A1 ?)			stone conulus
49	Chamber, east, cist IV (LHIIB-III A1 ?)			one glass bead
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)	1121	ring-handled cup (P)	gold ring
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			two silver pins
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			bronze bead
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			two stone (carnelian) beads
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			lentoid (crystal) sealstone
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			stone conulus
49	Chamber, rear, cist VIII (LHIIB-III A1)			glass beads
49	Chamber, lower level, from scattered frags. (LHIIIA2)	1129	rounded alabastron (P)	
49	Chamber, lower level, from scattered frags. (LHIIIA2)	1127	carinated kylix (U)	
49	Chamber, lower level, from scattered frags. (LHIIIA2)	1128	carinated kylix (U)	
49	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			bronze arrowhead
49	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			stone (crystal) bead
49	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			amber bead
49	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			four glass beads
49	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			terracotta buttons
50	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIB)	894	amphora (U)	
50	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	893	shallow cup (P)	stone (steatite) bead
50	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	809	rounded alabastron (P)	stone conuli
50	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	892	amphora (U)	glass bead
50	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	895	hydria (U)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB-III A1)	983	Vapheio cup (P)	glass bead

50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	986	goblet (M)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	981	rounded alabastron (P)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	985	rounded alabastron (P)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	987	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	984	collar-necked jar (M) (LHIIB?)	
50	Chamber, rear (LHIIB-III A1)	982	amphora (U)	
50	Chamber, outer right corner, cist (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIB)			stone conuli
41	Doorway (LHIIB)	790	large piriform jar (P)	
41	Doorway (LHIIB)		stirrup jar	
41	Doorway (LHIIB)	776	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	741	horizontal flask (P)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	740	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	785	carinated kylix (U or T)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	786	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	788	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	789	shallow angular bowl (U or T)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	784	carinated kylix (U or T)	
41	Chamber, inside door (LHIII A2)	787	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
41	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII A2)	780	rounded alabastron (P)	lentoid (carnelian) sealstone
41	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIII A2)	781	conical cup (U)	
41	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	779	shallow cup (P)	lead wire (frags.)
41	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	782	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIB?)	twenty-two (flat) gold disc-shaped beads
41	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	792	conical cup (U)	bronze cleaver
41	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	777	conical cup (U)	lentoid (carnelian) sealstone
41	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	739	conical cup (U)	
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	774	conical cup (U)	ivory comb
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	783	deep semi-globular cup (U)	two gold bracket-shaped beads
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	1103	carinated kylix (U or T)	two bronze javelin points
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	1107	rounded kylix (U)	lentoid sealstone
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	791	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	ivory handle
41	Chamber, rear, left side (LHIII A2)	775	shallow angular bowl (U or T)	lead disc
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	769	large piriform jar (P)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	771	straight-sided alabastron (P)	

41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	772	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	1102	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	793	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	1101	vertical flask (P)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	770	rounded kylix (U)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	773	carinated kylix (U or T)	
41	Chamber, rear right side (LHIII A2)	778	carinated kylix (U or T)	
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			two gold rosettes
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			twelve gold beads in the bracket shape
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			three gold lily-shaped beads
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			three gold-capped stone (crystal, malachite and carnelian) beads
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			two stone (carnelian) beads
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			amber bead
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			twelve glass beads (including nine rosettes and one relief-bead in the shape of a nautilus)
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			hollow bronze tube
41	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIII A2)			stone conulus
41	Chamber, right side, cist II (LHIII A2)			twenty-one glass beads (including three relief-beads in the shape of a nautilus)
41	Chamber, right side, cist II (LHIII A2)			bone pin (frags.)
41	Chamber, right side, cist II (LHIII A2)			bronze arrowhead (frags.)
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1109	small stirrup jug (P)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1112	small stirrup jug (P)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1104	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1111	stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1108	conical cup (U)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1113	conical cup (L)	

41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1110	kylix (U or T)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1105	small beaked jug (U)	
41	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	1106	stirrup jar (U)	
41	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			a few further beads of gold and paste
41	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIII A2)			stone conuli
42	Doorway (LHIII A2)	898	rounded alabastron (P)	
42	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	854	piriform jar (P)	
42	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	897	piriform jar (P)	
42	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	852	incense burner (U)	
42	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	908	small stirrup jug (U)	
42	Chamber, center (LHIII A2)	909	piriform jar (U)	
42	Chamber, center left (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	804	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2?)	
42	Chamber, center left (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	860	shallow cup (U) (LHIII A1?)	
42	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB or LHIII A2)	899	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
42	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB or LHIII A2)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
42	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB or LHIII A2)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
42	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB or LHIII A2)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
42	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIB or LHIII A2)	910	carinated kylix (U)	
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	853	shallow cup with high handle (L)	twenty-six glass beads in shape of octopus (plaques)
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	858	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	two hundred glass beads (+ frags.)
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	896	jug with cut-away neck (P) (LHIII A1)	a few stone (carnelian) beads

42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	851	small beaked jug (P) (LHIII A1)	two amber beads
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	859	vertical flask (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze mirror
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	850	small beaked jug (M) (LHIII A1)	bronze knife
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			pair of bronze tweezers
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conuli
42	Chamber, right side, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			bronze arrowheads (frags.)
42	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	856	ring-handled cup (L) (LHIII A1)	bronze dagger
42	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	849	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIII A1)	bronze pin
42	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	907	small beaked jug (P) (LHIII A2)	
42	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	857	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2?)	
42	Chamber, left side center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	901	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	pair of bronze tweezers
42	Chamber, left side center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	900	carinated kylix (U)	bronze dagger
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	803	conical cup (L)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	855	rounded cup (M)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	801	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2?)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	802	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2?)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	905	deep cup with high handle (U)	

42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	902	rounded kylix (U)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	904	rounded kylix (U)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	906	lid of incense burner (U)	
42	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	903	piriform jar (U)	
42	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	912	ring-handled cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	
42	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	911	miniature handmade cup (L)	
42	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			a few glass beads
42	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			stone conuli
42	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			lead wire (frags.)
42	Chamber (floor, after sieving) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			bronze arrowheads (frags.)
5	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	35	stirrup jar (P)	stone conuli
5	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	109	stirrup jar (P)	glass bead
5	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	36	stirrup jar (L)	
5	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)		small jug	
6	Dromos, niche (LHIIA)	98	straight-sided alabastron (P)	terracotta buttons
6	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	31	large jug (L)	
6	Chamber, center (LHIIB)	33	miniature handmade bowl	stone conulus
6	Chamber, center (LHIIB)	32	rounded alabastron (L)	lentoid (steatite) sealstone
6	Chamber, left side (LHIIB)		pottery frags. (no vases re-assembled)	one glass bead
7	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	85	shallow spouted cup (P)	fragment of bronze knife or cleaver
7	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	99	large piriform jar (P)	
7	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	84	stirrup jar (P)	
7	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	110	carinated kylix (U)	
7	Chamber, right side (LHIIB)	100	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	

7	Chamber, right side (LHIIIB)	86	shallow angular bowl (U)	
7	Chamber, inside doorway, cist (LHIIIB?)			bronze arrowhead
7	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB?)			lead wire (frags.)
7	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB?)			stone conuli
7	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB?)			amber fragments
8	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIB)	831	stirrup jar (P)	
8	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIB)	833	amphora (U)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	824	shallow cup (P)	stone pounder
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	844	stirrup jug (M)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	813	piriform jar (P)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	830	rounded alabastron (P)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	812	small jug (L)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	828	small jug (L)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	836	small jug (L)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	826	small jug (L)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	829	small jug (P)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	837	narrow-necked jug (P)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	825	small beaked jug (M)	
8	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	827	feeding bottle (M)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	838	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	821	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIIIA1)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	832	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIIIA1?)	one hundred-and-thirty-three glass beads
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	840	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIIIA1?)	two lentoid (steatite) sealstones
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	815	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	seven stone (steatite) pendants
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	820	deep handled cup (M)	stone spool
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	818	carinated conical cup (L)	stone conuli
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	841	rounded alabastron (P)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	823	rounded alabastron (P)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	816	small jug (M)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	822	small jug (M)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	1095	jug with broad neck (P)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	819	small stirrup jug (P)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	839	carinated kylix (U)	
8	Chamber, rear, niche, right side (LHIIIA2)	814	wide-necked jar (U)	

8	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIB-III A1)	842	feeding bottle (P)	
8	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIB-III A1)	834 + 835	pyxis and lid (M)	
8	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIB-III A1)	843	carinated kylix (U)	
8	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIB-III A1)	811	jug (U)	
8	Chamber, outer left corner, cist II (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone (crystal) bead
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist III (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			eighteen glass beads
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist III (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			four stone (carnelian and steatite) beads
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist III (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			terracotta button
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist III (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conuli
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist VI (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			twenty-three stone (carnelian) beads
8	Chamber, inside doorway, cist VI (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			nine glass beads
9	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIB)	1203	jug	glass bead
9	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB?)			stone (carnelian) bead
9	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB?)			stone conulus
9	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB?)			two glass beads
14	Pottery is mainly of LHIIA date			
15	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIII A2 or LHIIB)	153	deep bowl (P) (LHIIB)	
15	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIII A2 or LHIIB)	103	shallow angular bowl (U)	
15	Chamber, lower level, front (LHIII A2 or LHIIB)	157	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)	bronze cleaver

15	Chamber, lower level, front (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)	105	beaked jug (P) (LHIIIA2)	
15	Chamber, lower level, front (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)	106	conical cup (U)	
15	Chamber, lower level, rear (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)	104	rounded kylix (M or T)	
15	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)			stone conuli
2	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIB-III A1)	194	pithos (U)	
2	Chamber, inside door (LHIIIB-III A1)	193	pithos (U)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	172	shallow cup with high handle (L)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	168	shallow spouted cup (L)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	158	rounded alabastron (P)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	163	rounded alabastron (P)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	176	piriform jar (P)	
2	Chamber, outer right corner (LHIIIB-III A1)	159	rounded alabastron (P)	
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	167	ring-handled cup (L)	eighteen (?) stone (carnelian) beads
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	173	shallow cup (P)	seven (?) amber beads (+ frags.)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	175	piriform jar (P)	many fragments of ivory
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	178	large piriform jar (P)	stone (onyx or sard) cylindrical seal
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	161	rounded alabastron (P)	fifty-six gold beads (two necklaces)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	160	rounded alabastron (P)	bronze arrowheads (twenty? + frags.)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	165	rounded alabastron (P)	bronze knives (frags.)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	186	goblet with high-swung handle(s) (U or T)	bronze dagger (frags.)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	188	ladle (U)	four (gold-plated) bronze rivets (belonging to dagger?)
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	190	deep cup with high handle (U)	
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	170	shallow cup with high handle (U)	
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	185	goblet (U or T)	
2	Chamber, back, right side (LHIIIB-III A1)	184	goblet (U or T)	
2	Chamber, back, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	169	spouted shallow cup (P)	
2	Chamber, back, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	177	jar (P) (LHIIA)	
2	Chamber, back, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	166	rounded alabastron (P)	
2	Chamber, back, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	171	shallow cup with high handle (U)	
2	Chamber, back, left side (LHIIIB-III A1)	191	fragment of a basin (U)	

2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	162	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIA)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	164	rounded alabastron (P)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	189	stirrup jug (L)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	183	goblet with high swung handle(s) (U or T)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	182	conical cup (U or T)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	179	conical cup (U or T)	
2	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIB-III A1)	174	piriform jar (U)	
2	Chamber, left anterior part, cist (LHIIB-III A1)			some pieces of gold leaf
2	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1)	181	conical cup (U)	
2	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1)	180	conical cup (U)	
2	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1)	187	carinated kylix (U)	
2	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIB-III A1)	192	lid (U)	
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			bronze ring (frags.)
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			stone conuli
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			three stone arrowheads
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			ivory pommel (frags.)
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			three ivory buttons or discs
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			one ivory reel
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			worked bone (frags.)
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			six glass beads
2	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1)			terracotta button
3	Doorway wall (LHIIIB)	97	amphoriskos (P)	bronze rivet
3	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	135	spouted shallow cup (P)	stone (carnelian) sealstone (flattened cylinder)
3	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	122	large jug (L)	stone conulus
3	Chamber, back of chamber (skeleton) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			bronze arrowhead
3	Chamber, back of chamber (skeleton) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			stone conulus

3	Chamber, back of chamber (skeleton) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
3	Chamber, back of chamber (skeleton) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			bronze knife
3	Chamber, center (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)		piriform jar (?)	gold-plated rivet head
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)		palatial jar (P)	
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	125	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1?)	numerous (more than two hundred + frags.) glass beads
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	114	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1?)	fourteen (?) stone (carnelian and amethyst) beads and pendants
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	151	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)	gold chain
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	117	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze (gold-plated) rivets
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	112	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze arrowheads
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)	121	spouted shallow cup (U)	bronze dagger
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			fragments of bronze
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			stone conuli
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
3	Chamber, left side, inner corner (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	155	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIII A2)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	140	shallow cup (P) (LHIII A2)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	139	shallow cup (P) (LHIII A2)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	111	piriform jar (P) (LHIIB?)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	113	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIB)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	115	feeding bottle (M) (LHIII A1)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	154	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)	

3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	138	pegtop rhyton (P) (LHIII A2)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	124	small jug (P) (LHIII A2)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	130	stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	134	amphora (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	116	amphora (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	118	amphora (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	142	amphora (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	120	jug (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	123	jug (U)	
3	Chamber, left side, center (LHIII A2)	119	jug (U)	
3	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			lentoid (crystal) sealstone
3	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			three ivory fragments (inlays?)
3	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			fragments of bone (inlays?)
3	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIB-III A1 or LHIII A2)			terracotta buttons
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	922	ring-handled cup (P) (LHIII A1?)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	932	shallow cup (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	918	shallow cup (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	866	spouted shallow cup (L)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	929	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	965	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1?)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	924	piriform jar (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	925	piriform jar (P)	

43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	915	piriform jar (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	931	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	927	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	926	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	942	stirrup jar (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	923	stirrup jar (P)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	940	stirrup jar (L)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	941	stirrup jar (L)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	943	rounded kylix (U)	
43	Chamber, center and inner left corner (LHIII A2)	917	deep conical bowl (U)	
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	960	shallow cup (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze knife
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	937	carinated conical cup (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze dagger
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	944	ring-handled cup (L) (LHIII A1)	bronze cleaver
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	933	angular bowl (L)	three daggers
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	964	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1?)	bronze arrowhead
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	921	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	bronze rivets
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	890	rounded alabastron (L) (LHIII A1?)	fragments of bronze
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	963	piriform jar (P)	forty-seven stone (carnelian and crystal) beads
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	954	piriform jar (P)	amber bead
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	936	feeding bottle (M)	seventy-one glass beads (+ frags.)
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	962	jug (L)	one ivory rosette
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	891	jug (L)	fragment of ivory
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	920	jug (L)	silver spoon (frags.)
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	945	miniature handmade jug (L) (LHIII B?)	stone conuli

43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	991	strainer jug (L) (LHIIIB?)	fragments of obsidian
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	935	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB?)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	928	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	957	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	952	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	953	carinated kylix (U)	Phi-type terracotta figurine
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	919	stirrup jug (U) (LHIII A1?)	
43	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIII A2)	961	jug (U)	
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	951	deep conical bowl (P)	stone conuli
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	934	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB?)	
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	949	rounded alabastron (P)	
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	916	feeding bottle (P)	
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	948	stirrup jar (P)	
43	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	950	jug (U)	
43	Chamber, left side, niche (LHIII A2)	959	rounded alabastron (P)	
43	Chamber, left side, niche (LHIII A2)	938	stirrup jar (P)	
43	Chamber, left side, niche (LHIII A2)	979	stirrup jar (P)	
43	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)	958	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	stone conuli
43	Chamber, outer right corner, recess (LHIII A2)	930	jug (U)	small bronze disc
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	977	deep conical bowl (L)	
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	978	rounded alabastron (P)	
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	980	rounded alabastron (P)	
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	988	carinated kylix (U)	
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	990	conical cup (U)	
43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIII A2)	976	one-handed bowl (U)	

43	Chamber, from scattered fragments (LHIIIA2)	989	jug (U)	
4	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)	92	stirrup jar (P)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
4	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
4	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
4	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
4	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)			bovid animal terracotta figurine
4	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIIA2)	95	stirrup jar (P)	
4	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIIA2)	93	vertical flask (P)	
4	Chamber, outer left corner, cist I (LHIIIA2)	94	small jug (L)	
4	Chamber, middle, cist II (LHIIIA2)	96	rounded kylix (U)	
4	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIA2)			ten glass beads
13	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIIIB)	39	rounded alabastron (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIIIB)	38	stirrup jar (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, inside door (LHIIIB)	37	piriform jar (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	43	conical cup (U)	stone conuli
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	45	ring-handled cup (L)	terracotta buttons
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	41	shallow cup (P)	small bronze knife
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	63	shallow cup (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	42	squat jar (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	46	rounded alabastron (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	62	rounded alabastron (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, rear wall (LHIIIB-III A1)	40	conical cup (U)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	47	ring-handled cup (P)	lentoid (glass) sealstone

13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	48	small jug (P)	bronze dagger
13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	52	shallow spouted cup (L)	stone conuli
13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	49	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1?)	terracotta buttons
13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	50	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
13	Chamber, lower stratum, left inner corner (LHIIIA2)	51	hydria (P)	
13	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			bone button
13	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)			glass seal (flattened cylinder)
10	Dromos, outer end (LHIIIA2)	102	carinated kylix (U)	
10	Chamber, right side, stereo shelf (LHIIIB)	101	carinated kylix (U)	
10	Chamber, near door (LHIIIB)	79	miniature handmade bowl (L)	
10	Chamber, near door (LHIIIB)	83	stirrup jar (P)	
10	Chamber, center, front (LHIIIB)	72	small beaked jug (L)	
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	76	miniature handmade bowl (L)	bronze rivets
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	78	stirrup jar (P)	eight Psi-type terracotta figurines
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	67	stirrup jar (P)	bronze basin
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	64	rounded alabastron (P)	three bronze spearheads
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	71	miniature handmade jug (L)	bronze arrowhead
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	66	miniature handmade jug (L)	bronze knife
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)	65	amphoriskos (L)	bronze cleaver
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)			pair of bronze tweezers
10	Chamber, center (LHIIIB)			whetstone
10	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	82	shallow cup with high handle (L)	
10	Chamber, inner left corner (LHIIIB)	81	stirrup jar (P)	
11	Dromos, inner end, cist (LHIIIB-III A1)	27	ring-handled cup (P)	terracotta hedgehog
11	Dromos, inner end, cist (LHIIIB-III A1)	28	ring-handled cup (P)	a few glass beads
11	Chamber, center (LHIIIA2)	25	amphora (U)	stone conuli
11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIIIA2)	14	rounded cup (P)	fragments of worked bone

11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIII A2)	12	rounded alabastron (P)	
11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIII A2)	11	small jug (M)	
11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIII A2)	19	small jug (M)	
11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIII A2)	13	goblet (U)	
11	Chamber, center back, left (LHIII A2)	17	jug (U)	
11	Chamber, left wall, inner corner, heap 1 (LHIII A2)	20	piriform jar (miniature) (P)	bone pin
11	Chamber, left wall, inner corner, heap 1 (LHIII A2)	23	amphora (M)	lentoid (steatite) sealstone
11	Chamber, left wall, inner corner, heap 1 (LHIII A2)	21	small jug (M)	stone conuli
11	Chamber, left wall, heap 2 (LHIII A2)	15	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	stone conuli
11	Chamber, left wall, heap 2 (LHIII A2)	18	piriform jar (P)	
11	Chamber, left wall, heap 2 (LHIII A2)	22	shallow dish (U)	
11	Chamber, left wall, heap 2 (LHIII A2)	16	jug (U)	
11	Chamber, left wall, center, heap 3 (LHIII A2)	24	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1?)	stone conulus
11	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	26	small jug (L)	
11	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIII A2)	107	small jug (L)	
11	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			five stone (carnelian) beads
11	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			bone pin
11	Chamber (from floor?) (LHIII A2)			eighteen glass beads (+ twenty-five frags.)
12	Dromos (LHIII B)	450	carinated kylix (U)	
12	Chamber, upper stratum, left side (LHIII B)	200	conical cup (U)	
12	Chamber, upper stratum, left side (LHIII B)	199	amphora (P)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	444	shallow spouted cup (P)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	449	wide-mouthed jar or piriform jar (?) (L)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	448	large jug (L)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	443	shallow cup (U)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	442	shallow cup (U)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	445	carinated kylix (U)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	447	stirrup jug (U) (LHIII A2?)	
12	Chamber, lower stratum, right side (LHIII B)	446	jug (U)	
12	Chamber (from floor?)			stone conuli
12	Chamber (from floor?)			bone bead

44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1024	large piriform jar (P)	gold signet ring
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1025	domestic stirrup jar (L)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1026	domestic stirrup jar (L)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1029	triple composite vase (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1032	carinated conical cup (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1023	carinated kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1031	carinated kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1030	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1044	shallow angular bowl (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1040	shallow angular bowl (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1027	conical cup (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side (LHIIB)	1028	conical cup (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1009	jar (P) (LHIIA?)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1017	rounded alabastron (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1019	stirrup jar (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1018	rounded kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1011	rounded kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1012	carinated kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1014	rounded kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1013	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1010	shallow angular bowl (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1039	shallow angular bowl (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1016	three-legged cup (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1020	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center, right (LHIIB)	1015	beaked jug (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIB)	1046	dipper (L)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIB)	1043	stirrup jar (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIB)	1042	stirrup jar (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIB)	1041	carinated kylix (U)	

44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIIB)	1047	carinated kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, right side, from scattered fragments (LHIIIB)	1045	shallow angular bowl (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, outer left corner (LHIIIB)	996	stirrup jar (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, left side (LHIIIB)	998	rounded kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1034	bridge spouted jug (P) (LHIIA)	terracotta lamp
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1035	stirrup jar (P)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1036	carinated kylix (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	999	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1033	kylix with high swung handle(s) (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1037	shallow cup (U)	
44	Chamber, upper level, center (LHIIIB)	1038	piriform jar (U)	
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1000	carinated cup (P)	table of offerings
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1005	rounded alabastron (P)	ten bronze arrowheads
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1006	hole mouthed jar (P)	broken bronze knife
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1004	bridge spouted jug (P)	lentoid (amethyst) sealstone
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1001	jug (P)	bronze scale pan
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1002	conical rhyton (P)	fifteen gold beads
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1008	jug (P)	two bits of decorated gold leaf
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1003	jug or rhyton (P)	a small silver spoon
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1022	rounded alabastron (P)	twenty-two stone (carnelian, crystal and malachite) beads
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIA)	1007	conical cup (U)	two amber beads

44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIIA)	1021	amphora (U)	ivory bead
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIIA)			twenty-five glass beads (+ frags.)
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIIA)			fragments of lead wire
44	Chamber, burnt/lower level, inner left corner (LHIIIA)			stone arrowhead
48	Chamber, right side (LHIIIA2)	552	amphora (U)	
48	Chamber, inner right corner (LHIIIA2)		shallow cup	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	554	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1?)	stone conulus
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	556	piriform jar (P)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	618	small beaked jug (P)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	619	stirrup jar (P)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)		stirrup jar	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	555	conical cup (U)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)		shallow cup (U)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)		rounded kylix (U)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	553	amphora (U)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	598	amphora (U)	
48	Chamber, rear (LHIIIA2)	557	amphora (U)	
48	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIA2)	617	rounded alabastron (P)	
48	Chamber, outer left corner (LHIIIA2)	616	conical cup (U)	
45	Dromos, cist (LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	767	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1)	
45	Dromos, cist (LHIIIB-III A1 or LHIIIA2)	766	small jug (P) (LHIIIA2?)	
45	Chamber, inner right corner (skeleton) (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB)			stone (carnelian) bead
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	975	goblet (P) (LHIIIB?)	terracotta furniture model (bier?)
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	968	ring-handled cup (P) (LHIIIB?)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	638	shallow spouted cup (P)	stone (steatite) pendant
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	974	squat jug (P) (LHIIA)	stone conuli
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	639	stirrup jar (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	634	stirrup jar (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	631	stirrup jar (P)	

45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	966	rounded alabastron (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	636	rounded alabastron (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	970	rounded alabastron (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	973	jug (L)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	967	small jug (L)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	633	small jug (L)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	637	small jug (L)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	972	narrow-necked jug (P)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	969	shallow cup (U)	
45	Chamber, rear (LHIIIB)	971	shallow cup (U)	
45	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB)	640	stirrup jar (P)	
45	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIIB)	641	double composite vase (M?)	
46	Chamber, inner left corner	992	carinated kylix (U)	small bronze knife
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	608	shallow cup (P) (LHIIA)	bovid animal terracotta figurine
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	995	jug (P) (LHIIA)	lentoid (steatite) sealstone
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	602	jug (P) (LHIIIB)	terracotta buttons
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	601	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	607	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2?)	
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	606	shallow cup (U)	
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	605	shallow cup (U)	
46	Chamber, left side, cist I (LHIIA, LHIIIA1 and IIIA2)	604	amphora (U)	
46	Chamber, outer right corner, cist II (LHIIA)	933	straight-sided alabastron (P)	stone conulus
47	Dromos, cist (LHIIIA2)	520	wide-necked jar (M)	
47	Dromos, cist (LHIIIA2)	600	jug (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	1193	ring-handled cup (M) (LHIIIA1?)	bronze dagger
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIIIA2)	1197	rounded alabastron (P)	twelve glass beads

51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	794	small jug (P)	seven stone (amethyst and steatite) beads
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	1186	small jug (M)	eight amber beads
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	807	carinated conical cup (U)	glass ornament
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	795	conical cup (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	1196	shallow cup (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	1187	amphora (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	1195	wide-necked jar (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	765	jug (U)	
51	Chamber, left side, rear (LHIII A2)	796	jug (U)	
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	805	spouted cup (P)	pair of bronze tweezers
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1190	piriform jar (P)	six stone (carnelian, amethyst and crystal) beads
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	764	piriform jar (P)	seven amber beads (+ frags.)
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	762	piriform jar (P)	stone conuli
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	763	piriform jar (P)	female statuette of ivory
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1188	straight-sided alabastron (P)	four glass beads
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	761	straight-sided alabastron (P)	a spool of gypsum
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1192	jug (L)	
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	806	small beaked jug (P)	
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1189	conical cup (U)	
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1194	conical cup (U)	
51	Chamber, right side, rear (LHIII A2)	1191	jug (U)	

Appendix 3: Ialysos New Tomb inventories (Ialysos, Rhodes)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Tomb type ³	Chamber size according to Benzi's small-medium-large scheme ⁴	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Find #	Offerings other than pottery
1	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	N/A	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)	A	glass beads/ornaments
1	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	N/A	2	conical rhyton (P) (LHIII A2)	B	small piece of gold leaf
1	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	N/A	3	lid (P) (LHIII B)	C	large piece of gold leaf
2	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large			1	bronze arrowhead
2	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large			2	bronze arrowhead
3	Chamber, left of entrance (LHIII A2)	CT	large	2	amphoroid krater (P)	A	two small pieces of bronze
3	Chamber, southeast corner (LHIII A2)	CT	large	6	small stirrup jug (P)		
3	Chamber, southeast corner (LHIII A2)	CT	large	7	feeding bottle (L)		
3	Chamber, southeast corner (LHIII A2)	CT	large	8	feeding bottle (L)		

¹ The inventory lists published here are based on Benzi's republication of the New Tombs at Ialysos (1992, 233-403). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in Benzi's publication. An overview of the ceramic finds from the Old Tombs at Ialysos can be found in Mee 1982 (122-4).

² The groups/assemblages refer to distinct clusters of objects within the tombs (for descriptions see primary publications). The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 6 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in sections 5.1.1, 5.2.1 and 5.4.1, in which the assemblages from the Ialysos New Tombs are discussed.

³ CT: chamber tomb; Pit: pit grave; Cist: cist grave; Shaft: shaft grave

⁴ Benzi divided the New Tombs from Ialysos into three size classes based on the surface of the respective burial chambers in sq. m. "Small" refers to chamber with a surface of 0.40-3.00 m², "medium" to 3.00-7.00 m² and "large" to 7.00-15.70 m² (Benzi 1992, 229).

3	Chamber, southeast corner (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	5	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)		
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	4	rounded kylix (P)		
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	1	large piriform jar (P)		
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	3	domestic stirrup jar (P)		
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	a	piriform stirrup jar or stirrup jug (frags.)		
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	8	spouted krater (P)	18	bronze sword (Ci)
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)	19	bronze sword (Di)
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)	20	bronze short sword or dagger (Eii)
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	3	domestic stirrup jar (L)	21	bronze cleaver
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	13	spouted bowl with high handle (P)	22	lead stick
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	14	dipper (L)	23	gold rosette
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	4	conical rhyton (P)	26I	gold bead
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	5	jug with cut-away neck (P)	A	silver wire frags. (N=2)
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	6	stirrup jug (P)	24	twenty-two glass brackets
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	7	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1)	25-26A	thirty-seven glass plaques
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	9	squat stirrup jar (P)		thirty-one with design of rampant winged sphinxes
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	10	piriform jar (P)		two with design of seated winged sphinxes
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	11	rounded kylix (U)		four with ivy leaf design (dotted)
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	12	rounded kylix (U)	26H	glass relief-bead in the shape of a papyrus head
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	15	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (U)	26B	stone (carnelian) bead
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	16	carinated kylix (T)	26G	amber bead
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	17	carinated kylix (T)	26C-F, L-N	thirty glass beads
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium			26O-Q	stone conuli
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium			26R	stone button or pommel
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium			B	lead wire (frags.)
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	1	stemmed krater (P)	12	nineteen glass rosettes

5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	2	deep conical bowl (P)	13A	twenty-two gold beads in the shape of curls-of-hair
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	9	carinated conical cup (L)	13B	stone (onyx) bead (framed in gold)
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	3	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA2)	A	gold foil (frags.)
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	4	rounded kylix (T)	B	lead wire (frags.)
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	5	carinated kylix (T)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	6	carinated kylix (T)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	7	carinated kylix (U)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	8	shallow angular bowl (T)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	10	incense burner (U)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	11	incense burner (U)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	3	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIB)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	4	large piriform jar (P)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	5	large piriform jar (P)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	6	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	7	domestic stirrup jar (U)		
6	Chamber, along east wall (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	8	basket vase (P)		
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	a	large piriform jar (frags.)		
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	b	"vazo di terra grezza"		
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	c	"piccolo vaso di terra grezza"		
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	d	stirrup jar (frags.)		
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	1	conical rhyton (P)		
7	Chamber, right of door (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
7	Chamber, right of door (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	3	domestic stirrup jar (P)		
7	Chamber, right of door (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	4	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
7	Chamber, right of door (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	a	frags. of another vase (?)		

7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	rounded kylix (P)	10	bronze spearhead
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	rounded kylix (P)	A	lead wire (frags.)
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	carinated conical cup (P)	f	pieces of lead
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	b-c	two deep conical bowls (?)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (frags.) (P)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	straight-sided alabastron (P)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	d	large piriform jar (?) (frags.)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	f	frags. of another vase (?)		
7	Chamber, along south wall (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	e	incense burner (U)		
8	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	small jug (L)	A	lead wire (frags.)
8	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	2	globular stirrup jar (P)	B	two beads (material?)
9	Chamber	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
9	Chamber	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII B)		
9	Chamber, along south wall	CT	medium	3	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)	5	bronze cleaver
9	Chamber, along south wall	CT	medium	4	stirrup jar (P) (LHIII C)	6	rubber's stone
9	Chamber, along south wall	CT	medium	1 or 2	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2 or LHIII B)		
9	Chamber, southeast corner	CT	medium	a	frags. of another vase (?)		
9	Chamber, near skull on west side	CT	medium			7	bronze point
9	Chamber	CT	medium			A	bronze (frags.)
10	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	9	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B)	15	bronze (frags.)
10	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	11	shallow cup (L) (LHIII B)	16	stone conulus
10	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		

10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	2	large piriform jar (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	3	large piriform jar (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	4	large piriform jar (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	5	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIB)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	6	globular stirrup jar (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	7	globular stirrup jar (L) (LHIIIB?)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	8	squat stirrup jar (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	10	feeding bottle (P)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	12	conical cup (U)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	13	conical cup (U)		
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	14	incense burner (U)		
11	Chamber (completely destroyed)	CT		1	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA1)		
12	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	a	stirrup jar (?) (LHIIIA-B) (from dromos)		
13	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)	CT	medium				
14	Chamber (completely destroyed) (no finds)	CT	small				
15	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	medium	10	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2) (from chamber)		
16	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	small	3	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2) (from chamber)		
17	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	53	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIIA2) (from chamber)		
17	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	h	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1) (from chamber)		
18	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	3	one-handed bowl (M)		
18	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	2	small jug (L)		
19	Ante-chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)	24	bronze spearhead
19	Ante-chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	a	stirrup jar (frags.)		
19	Chamber, pit (cremation urn?) (LHIIIA2?)	CT	medium	23	small beaked jug (?) (M?)		
19	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	medium	8	small mug (P)		

19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	15	rounded kylix (P)	25	bronze spearhead
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	16	rounded kylix (P)	b	lead (frags.)
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	18	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (M)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	19	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (M)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	20	stemmed bowl (M?)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	hydria (with pierced base) (P)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	stirrup jug (P)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	11	globular stirrup jar (P)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	12	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	13	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A1)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	14	feeding bottle (L)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	17	rounded kylix (U)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	21	carinated kylix (U)		
19	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	22	incense burner (U)		
20	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	6	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2) (from chamber)		
21	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	8	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A1) (from chamber)		
21	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	7	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B) (from chamber)		
22	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P)		
22	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	2	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
22	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	a	straight-sided alabastron (?)		
22	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	3	rounded kylix (U)		

22	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	4	incense burner (U)		
23	Chamber, Burial A/B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial A/B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIB)		
23	Chamber, Burial A/B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	large piriform jar (?) (frags.)		
23	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	globular stirrup jar (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	small jug (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
23	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium		two large piriform jars (?) (1, 2 and/or a)		
23	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	incense burner (U)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	3	cup with horizontal handle (P)	A	a few glass beads
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2?)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	2	large piriform jar (shoulder fragment) (P)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	6	squat stirrup jar (P)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	a	squat stirrup jar (P)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	b	piriform stirrup jar (?) (LHIII A2?)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	5	small jug (with high-swung handle) (U)		
24	Ante-chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	c	incense burner (U)		
24	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	4	squat stirrup jar (P)		
24	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	small	7	incense burner (U)		
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)	8B	nine glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	large piriform jar (P)	8A, C-E	fifty-two glass beads
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	feeding bottle (M)	8F	stone conulus
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	globular stirrup jar (P)	A	shell (conus)
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)		

25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	spouted deep conical bowl (P)		
25	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	stirrup jar (with cylindrical lower body) (U)		
26	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII B)	4	bronze knife
26	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	2	large piriform jar (P)	5	rubber's stone
26	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	3	globular stirrup jar (P)	6B	five or more glass plaques with design of double rosettes
26	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	a	stirrup jar (frags.)	6A, C	five or more glass beads
27	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	stirrup jug (P)		
27	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	12	incense burner (U)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	amphoroid krater (P)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (M)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	large piriform jar (P)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	b	"oinochoe in frammenti" (stirrup jug?) ⁵		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	e-h	four large piriform jars (frags.)		
27	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	c	incense burner (U)		
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	d	kylix (?) (frags.)	13	bronze spearhead
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	stirrup jar (Minoan) (P)	14	bronze cleaver
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	piriform stirrup jar (P)	15	bronze razor
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium		piriform jar (?)	16	bronze arrowhead
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			B	rubber's stone
27	Chamber, Burial C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			A1-2	stone conuli
27	Chamber (close to entrance) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium		two large piriform jars (1-3, e-h)		
27	Chamber, south side (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	globular stirrup jar (P)		
27	Chamber, south side (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	globular stirrup jar (L?)		

⁵ Not all pottery vessels from all tombs were kept, mainly due to the fact that they were found in a fragmentary state. In the table the descriptions from the Italian manuscripts (either derived from the publications by Maiuri (1923-1924) and Jacopi (1930-1931) or from the original notebooks studied by Benzi) are used. Often the vessels to which these sherds belonged cannot be made out. Any suggestions are made in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned.

27A	Chamber (robbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	11	one-handled bowl (L?)		
27A	Chamber (robbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	a	globular stirrup jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	13	spouted cup (P)	24	eight gold rosettes (and two frags.)
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	7	vertical flask (P)	23	two glass plaques with spiraliform design (and seventeen frags.)
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	8	basket vase (P)	22A-C	one-hundred-and-fifteen glass beads
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	14	small jug (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	1	large piriform jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	6	globular stirrup jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	15	feeding bottle (M)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	16	feeding bottle (M)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	5	domestic stirrup jar (L)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	a	globular stirrup jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	b	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	10	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	9	incense burner (U)		
28	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	c	incense burner (U)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	11	small mug (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	17	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (M)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	18	stemless goblet (M)		

28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	20	shallow stemmed bowl (L)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	21	shallow stemmed bowl (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	2	large piriform jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	3	large piriform jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	4	large piriform jar (P)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	18bis	carinated kylix (T)		
28	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	19	carinated kylix (T)		
28	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A	12	carinated conical cup (P)	A	more than four beads (material?)
28	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	N/A			B	lead wire (frags.)
29	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P)		
29	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	CT	small	2	large piriform jar (P)		
29	Chamber, middle of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	8	stemless goblet (M)		
29	Chamber, middle of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	4	askos (P)		
29	Chamber, middle of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	5	trefoil-mouthed juglet (P)		
29	Chamber, middle of chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	small	7	feeding bottle (M)		
29	Chamber, northeast corner, near skull (LHIII A2)	CT	small	3	rounded alabastron (P)	A	three glass buttons
29	Chamber, northeast corner, near skull (LHIII A2)	CT	small			B-C	two glass beads
30	Chamber, west side (LHIII B)	CT	medium	4	stemless goblet (M)	A	glass beads (number?)
30	Chamber, west side (LHIII B)	CT	medium	5	stemless goblet (M)	B	glass pendants (number?)
30	Chamber, west side (LHIII B)	CT	medium	1	rounded alabastron (P)		
30	Chamber, west side (LHIII B)	CT	medium	b	incense burner (U)		
30	Chamber, west side (LHIII B)	CT	medium		"terza coppa con gambo frammentato"		
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	medium	6	deep bowl (= the above?) (P) (LHIII C)		
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	medium	2	squat stirrup jar (P)		
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	medium	3	feeding bottle (P) (LHIII A2)		
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	medium	a	jug (M or U)		

31	Chamber, from entrance (LHIII A2)	CT	large	6	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A1)	21	Cypriot terracotta bull figurine (Base Ring I-II) (LHIII A or LCIB to LCII A-B)
31	Chamber, from entrance (LHIII A2)	CT	large	25	incense burner (U)		
31	Chamber, from entrance (LHIII A2)	CT	large	26	incense burner (U)		
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	19	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (T)	27	ostrich egg (frags.)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	28	stone sword pommel
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	2	large piriform jar (frags.) (P)	29	twelve glass brackets
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	3	large piriform jar (frags.) (P)	30	twenty-one glass plaques with spirali form design
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	4	large piriform jar (P)	31D2	five glass plaques with ivy leaf design
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	5	large piriform jar (P)	31B1, L1, L3	twelve glass beads
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	7	stirrup jar (Minoan) (P) (LHIII A1)	31F2	glass pommel or button (?)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	8	large piriform jar (frags.) (P)	31L2	stone (steatite) bead
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	9	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A1)	31A	eight gold relief beads in the shape of lilies (and one frag.)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	10	jug with cut-away neck (P)	31B2	twelve gold beads
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	11	piriform stirrup jar (P)	31C, D1, 34	thirty-two gold rosettes (and nine frags.)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	12	globular stirrup jar (P)	31I2	four gold foil disks
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	13	horizontal flask (P)	31G	gold foil (frags.)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	14	vertical flask (P)	32	gold ring with filigrain decoration
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	15	small beaked jug (P)	33	gold earring
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	16	small jug (L)	31H, I1	bronze rivets (bronze with gold foil cappings)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	22	straight-sided alabastron (P)	B	copper (frags.)
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	23	basket vase (P)	31E, F1	stone conuli
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	24	basket vase (P)		
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	a-1	vases of unknown type (frags.)		
31	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	large	17	rounded kylix (U)		

31	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	18	rounded kylix (U)		
31	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	CT	large	20	carinated kylix (T)		
32A	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	N/A	1	piriform jar (L) (LHIIIA1)		
33	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)	CT	N/A				
34	Chamber (completely destroyed)	CT	N/A				
35	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	small	d	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)		
36	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	small	1	beaked jug (P) (LHIIIA1)		
36	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	small	2	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)		
36	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	small	a	kylix (foot and stem, lead repair) (LHIIIA1)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	9	shallow cup (P)	A	bronze (frags.)
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	10	shallow cup (P)	B	ivory (frags.)
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	11	rounded kylix (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	2	bridge-spouted jug (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	3	beaked jug (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	4	straight-sided alabastron (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	5	straight-sided alabastron (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	6	piriform jar (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	7	piriform jar (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	8	piriform jar (P)		
37	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1)	CT	medium	12	ovoid jar (with pierced base) (L)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	3	ring-based krater (frags.) (P) (LHIIIB)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	4	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIIB)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	14	one-handled bowl (P) (LHIIIB)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	1	narrow-necked jug (P) (LHIIIB)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	2	conical stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB)		
38	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	large	a	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2)		
39	Pit grave (pottery lost)	Pit		1	"vaso ollare grezzo"	4	bronze spearhead
39	Pit grave (pottery lost)	Pit		2	"piccolo bicchiere frantumato"	5	bronze knife
39	Pit grave (pottery lost)	Pit		3	"anforetta triansata"		

40	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	medium		LHIIIA-B fragments (from dromos)		
41	Pit grave (disturbed) (LHIIIB)	Pit		1	stemmed bowl (P)	A	glass (fags.)
41	Pit grave (disturbed) (LHIIIB)	Pit		2	rounded kylix (P)		
41	Pit grave (disturbed) (LHIIIB)	Pit		3	cup (frags.) (L)		
42	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	CT	medium		LHIIIA-B fragments (from dromos)		
43	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIB?)	CT	large	1	conical rhyton (P) (LHIIIB)		
44	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIIIC?)	CT	medium				
45	Chamber (completely destroyed)	CT	N/A	a	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	1	bronze short sword (Di)
45	Chamber (completely destroyed)	CT	N/A	b-c	two stirrup jars (LHIIIA-C)	2	bronze razor
45	Chamber (completely destroyed)	CT	N/A			3	bronze spearhead
46	Chamber (disturbed) (no pottery)	CT	medium			A	gold rosette
46	Chamber (disturbed) (no pottery)	CT	medium			B	bronze arrowhead
46	Chamber (disturbed) (no pottery)	CT	medium			C	copper (frags.)
47	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)	CT	small				
48	Chamber, Burial A (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	3	large piriform jar (P)	14	bronze razor or cleaver
48	Chamber, Burial A (LHIIIA2)	CT	small			15	bronze knife
48	Chamber, Burial A (LHIIIA2)	CT	small			A	stone conuli
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	11	rounded kylix (M)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	8	rounded kylix (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	9	rounded kylix (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	10	rounded kylix (M)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	2	large piriform jar (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	4	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIIIA2)	CT	small	5	globular stirrup jar (P)		

48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIII A2)	CT	small	6	globular stirrup jar (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIII A2)	CT	small	7	globular stirrup jar (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIII A2)	CT	small	12	basket vase (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P)		
48	Chamber, between Burial B and C (LHIII A2)	CT	small	13	incense burner with lid (U)		
49	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	small	1	piriform jar (P)	8	sixteen glass beads:
49	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	small	3	feeding bottle (L)	8A1	glass plaques with spiraliform design
49	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	small	5	small jug (L)	8A2	glass plaques with design of double rosettes
49	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	small	7	small jug (U)	8A3, A4	glass beads
49	Chamber, Burial B-C (LHIII B)	CT	small	4	small beaked jug (U)	9A	glass beads (number?)
49	Chamber, Burial B-C (LHIII B)	CT	small	6	trefoil-mouthed juglet (U)		
49	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	small	2	rounded kylix (M)		
49	Chamber (LHIII B)	CT	small	2a	rounded kylix (M)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	12	rounded kylix (M)	A	lentoid (agate) sealstone
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	19	carinated conical cup (P)	B	six gold plaques with design of double argonaut
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	1	large piriform jar (P)	E	bronze point (dagger ?)
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	2	large piriform jar (P)	D, F, G	three bronze arrowheads
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	3	large piriform jar (P)	C	stone conulus
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	4	large piriform jar (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	5	large piriform jar (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	6	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	7	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	8	domestic stirrup jar (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	9	conical rhyton (L)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	10	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A1)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	11	basket vase (P)		

50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	17	feeding bottle (M)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	18	globular stirrup jar (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	a	basket vase (P)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	b-1	vases of unknown type (frags.)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	13	kylix with high-swung handles (T)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	14	carinated kylix (T)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	15	carinated kylix (U)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	16	shallow angular bowl (T)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	20	incense burner (U)		
50	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	large	21	vat or tub (U)		
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	small mug (P)	6A	bronze razor or knife
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	vertical flask (P)	6B1-3	eighteen glass beads including some relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	horizontal flask (P)	6B4	a few stone (carnelian) beads
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	handleless jar (P) (LHIII A1)		
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	globular stirrup jar (P)		
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	13	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
51	Chamber, Burial A (bench) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	flask (type unknown)		
51	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	large piriform jar (P)	14A1-3	one-hundred-and-six glass beads including some relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads
51	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	large piriform jar (P)	14A4	stone (carnelian) bead
51	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			14B	silver diadem (?) (frags.)
51	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			14C	stone conulus
51	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			14D	terracotta button
51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	A	beads (material?)
51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	large piriform jar (P)		

51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	large piriform jar (P)		
51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	11	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	12	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
51	Chamber, Burial B or C (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	14	basket vase (P)		
52	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	large	3	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2) (from chamber)		
52	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	large	a	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2) (from dromos)		
52	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	large	b	flask (?) (LHIII A2?) (from dromos)		
53	Tomb (dromos) (LHIII B)	CT	medium	1	rounded kylix (P)		
53	Tomb (dromos) (LHIII B)	CT	medium	2	spouted cup (P)		
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	3	ring-based krater (P)	24	bronze (short) sword (Type G)
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	5	rounded kylix (P)	23	two-handled bronze basin
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	6	rounded kylix (P)	25	bronze (frags.)
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	14	deep bowl (P)	A1-5	forty glass beads
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	15	deep bowl (P)	B	one-thousand-and-seven-hundred-and-eighty glass beads
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	16	cup with horizontal handle (L)	A6	five stone (rock crystal) beads
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	18	deep bowl (M)	E	stone (agate) bead
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	4	narrow-necked jug (P)	A7	lentoid (amethyst) sealstone
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	8	conical stirrup jar (P)	A8	amber beads (frags.)
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	9	conical stirrup jar (P)	A9	beads (material?)
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	10	jug with cut-away neck (P)	C	two gold wire rings
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	22	straight-sided alabastron (P)	D	gold wire ring or earring
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	7	rounded kylix (U)	M1	two pieces of gold wire
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	17	shallow angular bowl (T)	M2	perforated silver disc
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	19	conical cup (U)	F-I	stone conuli
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	20	carinated kylix (T)		
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium	21	carinated kylix (T)		
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				

53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				
53	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII B)	CT	medium				
53	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII B)	CT	medium	11	basket vase (P)	L1	twenty-four glass beads
53	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII B)	CT	medium	12	incense burner (U)	L2	two glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads
53	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII B)	CT	medium	13	incense burner (U)	L3	four glass plaques with spiraliform design
53	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII B)	CT	medium			L4	gold plaque in the shape of a cuttlefish
53	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII B)	CT	medium			N	ivory/bone (frags.)
54	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	dipper (L)	3	rubber's stone
54	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	4	bronze razor or cleaver
54	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			5	two bronze arrowheads
54	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			A	stone conuli
54	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			B	stone (amethyst) bead
54	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			C	glass bead (frag.)
54	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			D	amber bead (frag.)
54	Chamber, Burial B (LHIII A2)	CT	medium			E	one or eight glass rosettes
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	stemmed krater (P)	F	glass beads (number?)
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	rounded kylix (P)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	11	rounded kylix (P)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	large piriform jar (P)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	beaked jug (P)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a-b	two large piriform jars (frags.)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	d	vases of unknown type (frags.)		
54	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	c	incense burner (U)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	spouted deep conical bowl (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	large piriform jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	domestic stirrup jar (L)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	stirrup jug (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	piriform stirrup jar (P)		

55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	11	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	12	globular stirrup jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	large piriform jar (P)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	b-c	kylix (?) (frags.)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	13	incense burner (U)		
55	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	d	incense burner (?) (frags.)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	dipper (?) (L?)	15A	two-handled copper basin
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	11	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (T over M)	15B	copper cup
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	12	stemless goblet (M)	A	rubber's stone
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	13	stemless goblet (M)	B	button made of animal horn
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	14	stemless goblet (M)	C	glass rosette
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)	F	small glass vessel
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	large piriform jar (P)	E	gold spiral (ring?)
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	jug with cut-away neck (P)	G	bead (material?)
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	stirrup jug (P)	D	stone conulus
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	hydria (P)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	globular stirrup jar (P)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	stirrup jug (P)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	b	large piriform jar (frags.)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	rounded kylix (U)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	10	carinated kylix (U)		
56	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	c	kylix (?) (frags.)		
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	piriform stirrup jar (P)	A1	glass plaques with design of double rosettes (number?)
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	globular stirrup jar (P)	A2	glass plaques in shape of curl-of-hair (?) (number?)
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	globular stirrup jar (P)	A3	glass beads (number?)
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	globular stirrup jar (P)	A4	glass bead
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	stirrup jug (L)	B	amber bead (frags.)
57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	8	small jug with cut-away neck (L)		

57	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	9	piriform jar (L)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	rounded kylix (M)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	stirrup jar (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	b	basket vase (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	c	cup (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	d	deep conical bowl (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	e	large piriform jar (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	f	cup (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	g	vase (unknown type) (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	h	large piriform jar (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	i	large piriform jar (?)		
57	Chamber (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	l	cup (?)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	6	shallow cup (P)	A	fifty glass plaques with spiraliform design
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	1	large piriform jar (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	2	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	3	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	4	globular stirrup jar (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	5	globular stirrup jar (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	a	small beaked jug (P)		
58	Chamber (disturbed) (LHIII A2)	CT	medium	7	carinated kylix (U)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	6 or	rounded kylix (P)	16	Phi-type terracotta figurine
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	7 or	rounded kylix (P)	17	Phi-type terracotta figurine
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	8	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (U) (LHIII A2?)	E	rubber's stone
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	3	stemmed krater (P) (LHIII A2)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	4 or	narrow-necked jug (P)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	5 or	jug with cut-away neck (P)		

59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	d	jug (unknown type)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	14	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	e	piriform jar or stirrup jar (?)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	12 or	incense burner (U)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	13 or	incense burner (U)		
59	Chamber, Burial A (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	a	incense burner (U)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	6 and/or	rounded kylix (P)	A	bronze spearhead
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	7 and/or	rounded kylix (P)	B	bronze knife
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	8	kylix with two vertical handles below the rim (U) (LHIII A2?)	C	bronze knife
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	10 or	globular stirrup jar (P)	D	bronze cleaver
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	c	stirrup jar (?)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	4 and/or	narrow-necked jug (P)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	5 and/or	jug with cut-away neck (P)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	d	jug (unknown type)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	11	basket vase (?)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIII B)	CT	large	12 and/or	incense burner (U)		

59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIIIB)	CT	large	13 and/or	incense burner (U)		
59	Chamber, Burial B (floor disturbed) (LHIIIB)	CT	large	a	incense burner (U)		
59	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	2	stemmed krater (P)	F	stone conulus
59	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	9	mug (P)	G	four glass beads
59	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	15	cup (P)		
59	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	18	Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask		
59	Chamber (LHIIIB)	CT	large	b	lid (U)		
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	2	amphoroid krater (P) (LHIIIA2)	5	stone (serpentine) lamp (?)
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	3	deep conical bowl (L) (LHIIIB)	A	bronze (frags.)
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	4	spouted deep conical bowl (P) (LHIIIB)	B1	gold foil (frags.)
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	a	mug (P) (LHIIIA2)	B2	gold disks (number?)
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA2)	C	small beads (material?)
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	c	jug (?)	D	glass rosette
60	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	large	b	incense burner (U)		
61	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)	CT	large				
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	13	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	20	stone conuli
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	1	basket vase (P) (LHIIIA2)	19	silver ring or earring
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	2	bottle in shape of conical rhyton (M) (LHIIIA2?)	21	three glass beads
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	5	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB)	A	twisted fine wire made of glass (?)
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	6	beaked jug (P) (LHIIIA1)	15	bronze razor or knife
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	7	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	B	glass vessel (frags.)
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	8	vertical flask (P) (LHIIIA2)	14	bronze spearhead
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	9	amphoriskos (P) (LHIIIC)	16	rubber's stone
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	10	stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)		
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	11	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2)		
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	12	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)		
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	a	small hydria		
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	b	jug (?)		

62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	4	kylix with high-swung handle (U) (LHIII A-B?)		
62	Chamber, Burial A	CT	medium	3	incense burner (U)		
62	Chamber, Burial B	CT	medium	17	large piriform jar (frags.) (P) (LHIII A2)		
62	Chamber, Burial B	CT	medium	10 or	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII C)		
62	Chamber, Burial B	CT	medium	11 or	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
62	Chamber, Burial B	CT	medium	12	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII C)		
62	Chamber, Burial B	CT	medium	18	rounded kylix (U) (LHIII A-B?)		
62	Chamber, Burial C	CT	medium			C	glass beads (material?)
63	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	small	1	large piriform jar (P)	5	stone conuli
63	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	small	2	basket vase (P)	A	glass beads (frags.)
63	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	small	3	globular stirrup jar (P)		
63	Chamber, Burial A (LHIII A2)	CT	small	4	incense burner (U)		
64	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	5	shallow cup (L) (LHIII C)	1	animal terracotta figurine
64	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	6	conical cup (?) (L) (LHIII C)		
64	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	2	multiple vase (P) (LHIII C)		
64	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	3	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
64	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	4	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII C)		
65	Chamber (disturbed) (no pottery) (LHIII A?)	CT	medium			1	bronze razor
65	Chamber (disturbed) (no pottery) (LHIII A?)	CT	medium			2	bronze pair of tweezers
66	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	4	dipper (L) (LHIII A2)		
66	Chamber (disturbed)	CT	small	1	stand (P) (LHIII B)		
67	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	large				
68	Chamber (?) (LHIII C pottery only)	CT (?)	N/A				
69	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	small	1	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A1) (from chamber)		
70	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	5	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2) (from chamber)		
71	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium				

72	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	2a	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2) (from chamber)		
73	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	4	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2) (from chamber)		
74	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	small	5	rounded kylix (P)	1	bronze sword (type Ci)
74	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	small	3	beaked jug (P)	2	bronze spearhead
74	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	small	4	rounded alabastron (P)		
74	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	small	6	piriform jar (P)		
74	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	small	7	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
75	Chamber (LHII B)	CT	small	2	mug (P)	A	lead wire (frags.)
75	Chamber (LHII B)	CT	small	3	kylix (P)		
75	Chamber (LHII B)	CT	small	1	large jug (L)		
76	Pit grave (LHIII A or or LCIB to LCII A-B)	Pit		1	Cypriot lekythos (Base Ring I)		
77	Chamber (no finds)	CT	small				
78	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	CT	medium	1	piriform jar (P) (LHII B) (from chamber)		
79	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	medium	3	piriform jar (P)	1	terracotta figurine in the shape of a throne
79	Chamber (LHII B-III A1)	CT	medium	4	piriform jar (P)	A	stone pommel (?)
80	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	large				
81	Shaft grave (robbed) (LHIII A)	Shaft			fragments of two painted larnakes		
82	Chamber (no finds)	CT	medium				
83	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	medium				
84	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	medium				
85	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	medium				
86	Chamber with two dromoi (LHIII A or LCIB to LCII A-B)	CT	small	1	jug (U)		
86	Chamber with two dromoi (LHIII A or LCIB to LCII A-B)	CT	small	2	Cypriot lekythos (Base Ring I)		
86	Chamber with two dromoi (LHIII A or LCIB to LCII A-B)	CT	small	3	Cypriot bull figurine (Base Ring I-II)		
87	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	large				
88	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)	CT	medium				

89	Chamber (LHIIC pottery only)	CT	medium				
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Appendix 4: Lelos tomb inventories (Rhodes)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date)	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Find #	Offerings other than pottery
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	6	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2)	9	stone conuli
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	1	goblet (P) (LHIIIA1)	10	shell
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	2	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIIA2)		
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	3	rounded kylix (U) (LHIIIB)		
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	4	spouted cup (P) (LHIIIB)		
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	5	ring-handled cup (P) (LHIIIA1?)		
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	7	incense burner (U) (LHIIIA2-B)		
1	Chamber (LHIIIA2-B)	8	one-handled cup (U) (LHIIIA2-B)		
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	2	small jug (L)		
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	1	rounded kylix (P)		
3	Chamber (robbed in antiquity)				
4	Chamber (robbed in antiquity)				
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA2)	23	shell
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	2	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIIC)	24	shell
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	7	trefoil-mouthed jug (M?) (LHIIIC?)	25	stone conulus
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	8	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)	26	small bronze knife
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	9	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	10	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIA2)		
5	Chamber (LHIIIA2-C)	11	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)		

¹ The inventory lists published here are based on Benzi's republication of the finds from the tombs at Lelos (1992, 422-31). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in Benzi's publication. .

5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	12	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	13	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII C)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	14	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	15	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	16	straight-sided alabastron (L) (LHIII B)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	17	horizontal flask (P) (LHIII C)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18	small jug (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	21	wide-mouthed jug (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	19	spouted cup (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	3	stemmed bowl (M) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	4	rounded kylix (M) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	5	rounded kylix (M) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	6	rounded kylix (M) (LHIII A2)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	20	deep bowl (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Chamber (LHIII A2-C)	22	spouted cup (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	1	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII B)	42	stone conulus
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	2	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	43	stone tool
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	3	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	44	glass relief-beads (in the shape of curls-of-hair?)
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	4	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	45	glass beads
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	5	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	46	lentoid (crystal) sealstone
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	6	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	7	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	8	horizontal flask (L) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	9	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	11	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	12	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		

6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	13	stirrup jug (P?) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	14	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	15	wide-mouthed jug (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	16	horizontal flask (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	17	small jug (L) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	18	small jug (L) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	19	feeding bottle (M) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	20	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIII C)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	21	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	37	basket vase (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	38	basket vase (P?) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	39	lid (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	40	incense burner (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	41	incense burner (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	22	shallow cup with high handle (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	23	dipper (L) (LHIII A2-B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	24	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	25	rounded kylix (M) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	26	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	27	stemmed bowl (M) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	28	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	29	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	30	stemmed bowl (M) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	31	goblet (P) (LHIII A1)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	32	stemmed bowl (M) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	33	one-handled bowl (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	34	deep conical bowl (P) (LHIII A2)		

6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	35	handleless bowl (P) (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (LHIII A2-B)	36	conical cup (U?) (LHIII A2-B)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	3	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	4	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	5	feeding bottle (M) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	6	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	7	straight-sided alabastron (L) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	8	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	1	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)		
7	Chamber (LHIII A2)	2	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2)		

Appendix 5: Pylona (Aspropilia) tomb inventories (Rhodes)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Find #	Offerings other than pottery
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16490	piriform stirrup jar (P)	1342	bronze spearhead
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16492	large piriform jar (P)	1343	bronze razor or cleaver
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16493	large piriform jar (P)	552	rubber's stone
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16483	beaked jug (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16481	small jug (U)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16489	conical rhyton (L)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16482	basket vase (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16484	incense burner (U)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16485	incense burner (U)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16487	torch holder (U)		

¹ The inventory lists published here are based on Karantzali's publication of the tombs at Pylona (Aspropilia) (2003, 14-22). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in Karantzali's publication.

² The groups/assemblages refer to distinct clusters of objects within the tombs (for descriptions see primary publications). The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 4 (pottery).

1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16491	amphoroid krater (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16473	rounded kylix (M)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16474	rounded kylix (M)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16475	rounded kylix (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16476	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIIB)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16477	rounded kylix (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16478	shallow cup		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16479	shallow cup		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16480	mug (P)		
1	Chamber (removed by bulldozer) (LHIII A2)	16488	dipper (L)		
1	Chamber, southeast corner (LHIII A2)	16486	incense burner (U)		
1	Chamber, southwest corner (LHIII A2)	16501	globular stirrup jar (P)	1350	bronze needle
1	Chamber, southwest corner (LHIII A2)			673	glass bead
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16497	straight-sided alabastron (P)	566	stone (carnelian) bead
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16502	piriform stirrup jar (P)	560	clay button
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16503	rounded kylix (U)		
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16504	rounded kylix (U)		
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16498	carinated kylix (U)		

	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16499	carinated kylix (U)		
1	Chamber, close to entrance (LHIII A2)	16505-16505A	basket vase (P)		
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)	16494	large piriform jar (P)	1345	bronze bowl
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)	16495	large piriform jar (P)	669	necklace of glass relief-beads (rosettes)
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)	16496	beaked jug (P)	670	necklace of glass relief-beads (rosettes)
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)	16500	one-handed bowl (L)	675	fifty-seven glass beads
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			676	one-hundred-and-eighty-three glass beads
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			677	twenty-five glass beads
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			677a	glass pomegranate bead
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			565	glass bead
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			561	stone (white agate) bead
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			562	stone (white agate) bead
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			563	stone (white agate) bead
1	Chamber, north section (LHIII A2)			564	stone (white agate) bead
2	Side-chamber 2A (LHIII A2)	16471	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
2	Side-chamber 2A (LHIII A2)	16472	two-handed cooking pot (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2A (LHIII A2)	16469	rounded kylix (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2A (LHIII A2)	16470	rounded kylix (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, northeast section (LHIII B)	17949	rounded kylix (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, northeast section (LHIII B)	17950	carinated kylix (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, southeast section (LHIII B)	17951	squat stirrup jar (P)		

2	Side-chamber 2B, southeast section (LHIII B)	17952	rounded kylix (P)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, southeast section (LHIII B)	17953	carinated kylix (U)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, middle of east side (LHIII B)	17954	conical stirrup jar (P)		
2	Side-chamber 2B, middle of east side (LHIII B)	17955	spouted conical bowl (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)	17960	one-handed bowl (M) (LHIII B)	1370	bronze ring
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)	17958	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B)	1371	bronze ring
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)	17963	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	1372	bronze ring
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)	17967	stirrup jug (P) (LHIII A2)	1369	pair of bronze tweezers
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)			696	ten glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)			695	three glass beads
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)			697	three glass beads
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)			698	one-hundred-and-twenty-four glass beads
2	Main chamber 2C, west side (LHIII A2-B)			671	bone bead
2	Main chamber 2C, center of chamber (LHIII A2-B)			669	stone conulus
2	Main chamber 2C, center of chamber (LHIII A2-B)			670	stone conulus
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17976	large piriform jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17977	large piriform jar (P)		

2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17978	large piriform jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17979	large piriform jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17969	piriform stirrup jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17962	globular stirrup jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17968	globular stirrup jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17970	globular stirrup jar (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17975	beaked jug (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17964	conical rhyton (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17971	horizontal flask (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17965	rounded kylix (P)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17957	rounded kylix (M)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17956	rounded kylix (U)		
2	Main chamber 2C, north/north-east side (LHIII A2)	17973	conical cup (U)		
2	Main chamber 2C, middle of east side (LHIII A2)	17961	globular stirrup jar (L?)		
2	Main chamber 2C, middle of east side (LHIII A2)	17959	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
2	Main chamber 2C, middle of east side (LHIII A2)	17972	conical cup (U)		
2	Main chamber 2C, middle of east side (LHIII A2)	17974	conical cup (U)		

3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16522	large piriform jar (P)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16520	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII B)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16510	feeding bottle (M) (LHIII B)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16514	rounded kylix (P)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16515	rounded kylix (P)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16513	carinated kylix (U)		
3	Chamber, west side (LHIII A2)	16518	incense burner (U)		
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16517	piriform stirrup jar (P)	1683	terracotta chariot figurine
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16516	piriform stirrup jar (P)	1349	bronze bowl
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16521	amphoroid krater (P)		
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16508	mug (P)		
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16509	dipper (L)		
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16511	rounded kylix (U)		
3	Chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2)	16519	incense burner (U)		
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)	16507	globular stirrup jar (L)	1346	bronze spearhead
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)	16512	bridge-spouted jug (P)	1348	bronze short sword (Eii)
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			1347	bronze razor or cleaver
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			668	rubber's stone
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			1344	fifteen gold beads in the shape of curls-of-hair
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			671	thirty-two glass plaques in shape of double spirals
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			672	thirty-seven glass plaques in the shape of double rosettes

3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			567a-e	five glass beads
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			678	nine glass beads
3	Chamber, east side (bier) (LHIII A2)			569	eleven clay beads
4	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)				
5	Main chamber 5B, southeast corner (LHIII B)	18639	spouted cup (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Main chamber 5B, southeast corner (LHIII B)	18664	domestic stirrup jar (U) (LHIII B?)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18654	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2-B)	730	shell
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18645	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18644	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18643	piriform stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18646	conical stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18658	conical stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18653	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18647	strainer jug (P) (LHIII C)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18640	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18642	rounded kylix (M) (LHIII A2)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18651	spouted deep conical bowl (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18648	large deep bowl (M) (LHIII C)		

5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18650	deep bowl (P) (LHIII B-C?)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18655	conical cup (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18656	small jug (U) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Main chamber, center of chamber (LHIII A2-C)	18657	small jug (P) (LHIII A2-B)		
5	Main chamber, northeast corner (LHIII A2-C)	18660	stirrup jug (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Main chamber, northeast corner (LHIII A2-C)	18641	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII C)		
5	Main chamber, north side (LHIII A2-C)	18659	small hydria (P) (LHIII A2)		
5	Main chamber, north side (LHIII A2-C)	18649	deep cup (L) (LHIII C)		
5	Main chamber, west side (bier) (LHIII C)	18661	amphoriskos (P)	1384	bronze knife
5	Main chamber, west side (bier) (LHIII C)	18662	amphoriskos (M)	728	stone conulus
5	Main chamber, west side (bier) (LHIII C)	18663	flask (M)	729	clay button
5	Side-chamber 5A (disturbed in Roman times) (LHIII A2)	18637	large piriform jar (P)		
5	Side-chamber 5A (disturbed in Roman times) (LHIII A2)	18636	stirrup jug (P)		
5	Side-chamber 5A (disturbed in Roman times) (LHIII A2)	18635	rounded kylix (P)		
5	Side-chamber 5A (disturbed in Roman times) (LHIII A2)	18652	torch holder (U)		
6	Chamber (completely destroyed)	18667	large piriform jar (LHIII A2)		
6	Chamber (completely destroyed)	18666	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A2)		

Appendix 6: Eleona tomb inventories (Eleona/Langada, Kos)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Offerings other than pottery
1	Chamber (pottery from LHIIIC only)			
2	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	302	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIB)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	301	small hydria (P) (LHIIIB)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	299	small jug (L) (LHIIIA2)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	300	flask (M) (LHIIIA2)	
3	Chamber (LHIII)	303	askoid vessel (M or U)	
3	Chamber (LHIII)	305	small cup or jug (U)	
3	Chamber (LHIII)	306	spouted cup (U)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	311	rounded alabastron (M)	bronze spearhead (from Eleona Tomb 4 or 5)
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	308	small jug (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	340	small jug (L)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	310	squat stirrup jar (L)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	317	askos (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	307	askos (L)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	315	low-stemmed cup (M)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	312	stemmed bowl (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	309	miniature kylix with two horizontal handles (M)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	313	mug (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	316	spouted cup (U)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	318	carinated kylix (U)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIB)	314	small dipper (U)	

¹ The tombs from Eleona are published in Morricone 1965-1966 (32-87). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in the original publications.

² No distinct between individual groups/assemblages can be made. The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 4 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in sections 5.1.2, 5.2.2 and 5.4.2, in which the assemblages from Eleona are discussed.

5	Chamber (LHIIB)	322	globular stirrup jar (P)	bronze spearhead (from Eleona Tomb 4 or 5)
5	Chamber (LHIIB)	325	truncated stemmed bowl (M)	
5	Chamber (LHIIB)	326	spouted mug (L)	
6	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	323	jug (P) (LHIIB or LHIIC?)	bronze short sword (Sandars type Di) (from Eleona Tomb 6 or 7)
6	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	324	small jug (L) (LHIIB or LHIIC?)	two bronze spearheads (from Eleona Tomb 6 or 7)
6	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	321	lekythos (P) (LHIIC)	
6	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	319	deep bowl (P) (LHIIB)	
6	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	320	cup (M + L) (LHIIC)	
7	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	328	rounded alabastron (U) (LHIII A1)	bronze short sword (Sandars type Di) (from Eleona Tomb 6 or 7)
7	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	1326	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	two bronze spearheads (from Eleona Tomb 6 or 7)
7	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	327	small jug (L) (LHIIC)	
7	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	330	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIC)	
7	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	329	cup (L) (LHIIC)	
8	Chamber (LHIIB-LHIII A1 and LHIIC?)	334	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	
8	Chamber (LHIIB-LHIII A1 and LHIIC?)	333	alabastron (P) (LHIIB)	
8	Chamber (LHIIB-LHIII A1 and LHIIC?)	332	feeding bottle (P) (LHIIC?)	
8	Chamber (LHIIB-LHIII A1 and LHIIC?)	331	incense burner and lid (U) (LHIII A?)	
10	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2)	337	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	
10	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2)	336	piriform jar (P) (LHIII A1)	
10	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2)	338	side-spouted jar (M) (LHIII A2)	
10	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2)	339	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII A2)	
10	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIII A2)	335	trefoil-mouthed juglet (U) (LHIII A2)	
11	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	1287	stirrup jug (shoulder frag.) (P) (LHIII A1)	
11	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	343	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIC)	
11	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	342	stirrup jar (Minoan) (P) (LHIIC)	
11	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIC)	341	cup (U?) (LHIIC?)	
12	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 (?) and LHIIC)	346	rounded alabastron (U) (LHIII A1)	
12	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 (?) and LHIIC)	344	small jug (P) (LHIIC)	

	LHIIC)			
12	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 (?) and LHIIC)	345	small jug (P) (LHIIC)	
12	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 (?) and LHIIC)	1327	askoid vessel (shoulder frag.) (LHIIIA1?)	
12	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 (?) and LHIIC)	347	cup (L) (LHIIC)	
13	Chamber (pottery from LHIIC only)			
14	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	354	rounded alabastron (P)	
14	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	352	rounded alabastron (P)	
14	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	349	rounded alabastron (P)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	353	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIB)	stone conulus
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	362	deep bowl (P) (LHIIC)	bronze knife
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	361	cup (M) (LHIIC)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	359	spouted cup (M) (LHIIB or LHIIC?)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	1328	mug (L) (LHIIB)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	355	alabastron (P) (LHIIB)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	365	large piriform jar (P) (LHIIB)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	394	jug (L) (LHIIC)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	357	lekythos (P) (LHIIC)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	360	feeding bottle (L) (LHIIB or LHIIC?)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	363	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIC)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	358	globular stirrup jar (LHIIC)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	1329	small carinated cup (U) (LHIIB)	
15	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	356	small jug (U) (LHIIB or LHIIC?)	
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	370	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIIIA2)	stone (carnelian) bead
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	369	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	stone conuli
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	366	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	1330	large piriform jar (?) (P) (LHIIIA2)	
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	371	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIIIA2)	
16	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1 and LHIIIA2)	368	small jug (M) (LHIIIA2?)	
17	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	367	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1)	bronze cleaver
17	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	376	Anatolian beak spouted jug (U)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	381	piriform jar (M)	

18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	372	piriform jar (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	378	piriform jar (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	375	piriform jar (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	377	rounded alabastron (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	373	rounded alabastron (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	379	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIIIA2)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	380	jug (M)	
18	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	374	conical cup (U)	
19	Chamber (LHIIB)	382	rounded kylix (P)	stone conuli
19	Chamber (LHIIB)	1331	miniature deep bowl (L)	terracotta button
19	Chamber (LHIIB)	384	small jug (M or L)	
19	Chamber (LHIIB)	383	small jug (M)	
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	1333	spouted cup (L) (LHIIB or LHIIIC?)	bronze (frags.)
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	391	large piriform jar/belly-handled amphora (P) (LHIIIC)	
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	1332	belly-handled amphora (P) (LHIIIC)	
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	385	amphoriskos (L) (LHIIIC)	
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	1288	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)	
20	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIIC)	1334	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIB)	
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	1337	rounded kylix (U)	stone blade
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	390	carinated conical cup (P)	bronze spearhead
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	1336	cup (M + L) (LHIIIC?)	bronze cleaver
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	388	piriform jar (P)	bronze knife (?) (frags.)
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	389	piriform jar (P)	
21	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	1335	small jug (U)	
22	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	1289	piriform jar (P)	stone (carnelian) bead
22	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)	387	small jug (L) (LHIIIA2?)	cylinder (steatite) seal
22	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)			amber beads (frags.)
22	Chamber (LHIIB-III A1)			two glass beads
23	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			

Appendix 7: Langada tomb inventories (Eleona/Langada, Kos)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Find #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Offerings other than pottery
1	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB) (?)	21	small jug (L)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	22	globular stirrup jar (P)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	23	globular stirrup jar (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
5	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
6	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
7	Chamber (LHIIIB-III A1) (?)	456	conical cup (U)	
8	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
9	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
10	Chamber (reused in LHIIIC)	1365	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIB)	
11	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
12	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
13	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
14	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)	398	rounded kylix (P)	lead ring
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)	396	rounded kylix (M)	terracotta button
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)	394	rounded kylix (M)	bronze spearhead
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)	393	rounded kylix (M)	bronze knife
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)	47	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC)	bronze needle
15	Chamber (LHIIIB)			bone handle (?)

¹ The tombs from Langada are published in Morricone 1965-1966 (88-268). The find numbers in the table correspond with those in the original publications.

² No distinct between individual groups/assemblages can be made. The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 4 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in sections 5.1.2, 5.2.2 and 5.4.2, in which the assemblages from Langada are discussed.

16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	53	rounded kylix (P)	bronze spearhead
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	48	spouted cup (P)	
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	51	deep conical bowl (P)	
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	1363	domestic stirrup jar (P)	
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	52	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	46	jug (U)	
16	Chamber (LHIII A2)	49	small jug (U)	
17	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
18	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
19	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	66	conical stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	
20	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	68	rounded kylix (P) (LHIII B)	
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	69	stemmed bowl (P)	stone (carnelian) bead
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	73	shallow cup (L)	three bronze rings
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	264	lipless bowl (P)	terracotta button
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	71	lipless bowl (P)	killed' bronze sword (Naue II)
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	265	feeding bottle (L)	bronze spearhead
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	72	globular stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	70	conical stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	74	squat stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber (LHIII B)	75	small jug (U)	
22	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	259	spouted cup (L) (LHIII B or LHIII C)	bronze spiral
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	78	small jug (P) (LHIII B or LHIII C)	
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	77	small jug (L) (LHIII B or LHIII C)	
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	258	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	257	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B or LHIII C)	
23	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	256	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	
24	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	82	deep bowl (M) (LHIII C)	glass bead
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	80	rounded alabastron (P) (LHIII A2)	terracotta button
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	83	large piriform jar (P) (LHIII A2)	bronze cleaver
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	84	belly-handled amphora (P) (LHIII C)	
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	86	jug (M) (LHIII C) (?)	
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	399	jug (L) (LHIII C)	

25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	85	beaked jug (P) (LHIII A2)	
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	81	flask (P) (LHIII C)	
25	Chamber (LHIII A2 and LHIII C)	273	small jug (U) (LHIII A2)	
26	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
27	Chamber (LHIII)	91	small bowl (U)	
27	Chamber (LHIII)	90	trefoil-mouthed jug (U)	
28	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII B)	89	globular stirrup jar (P)	
29	Chamber (LHIII A2)	96	globular stirrup jar (P)	
29	Chamber (LHIII A2)	93	small carinated cup (U)	
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	94	small jug (M)	stone bead
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	95	feeding bottle (M)	terracotta button
30	Chamber (LHIII B)	92	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
30	Chamber (LHIII B)			
31	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
32	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
33	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
34	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
35	Chamber (reused in LHIII C)	125	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	
36	Chamber (LHIII B)	126	conical stirrup jar (P)	bronze (frags.)
36	Chamber (LHIII B)	130	conical stirrup jar (P)	terracotta button
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	272	rounded kylix (P)	bronze axe
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	135	rounded kylix (P)	two bronze arrowheads
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	136	rounded kylix (M)	bronze ring
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	132	small jug (M)	bronze pin (frags.)
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	133	flask (M)	lead button (?)
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	134	globular stirrup jar (P)	rubber's stone
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)	131	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIII B)	stone conulus
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)			amber beads (frags.)
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)			three glass beads
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)			
37	Chamber (LHIII A2)			
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	144	large piriform jar (P)	bronze knife
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	142	straight-sided alabastron (P)	stone (rock-crystal) bead

38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	140	squat jug (P)	two-hundred-and-seventy-five glass beads
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	137	globular stirrup jar (P)	stone conuli
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	143	small carinated cup (U)	terracotta buttons
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	138	small carinated cup (U)	
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	139	jug (U)	
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)	141	trefoil-mouthed juglet (U)	
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)			
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)			
38	Chamber (LHIII A2)			knife
39	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
40	Chamber (LHIII B)	1338	one-handed bowl (P)	
40	Chamber (LHIII B)		jug (P)	
40	Chamber (LHIII B)	154	squat stirrup jar (P)	
41	Chamber (LHIII A2)	155	vertical flask (P)	stone conuli
41	Chamber (LHIII A2)	1284bis	globular stirrup jar (P)	terracotta buttons
41	Chamber (LHIII A2)	156	small jug (U)	
41	Chamber (LHIII A2)			
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)	158	small mug (U)	bronze knife
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			four stone (carnelian) beads
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			stone (incised) button
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			glass (incised) scarab
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			three glass beads
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			terracotta button
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			
42	Chamber (heavily disturbed) (LHIII)			
43	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	159	conical-rounded kylix (M) (LHIII B)	bronze pair of tweezers
43	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	160	deep bowl (M) (LHIII C) (?)	bronze point or awl
43	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	1285	globular stirrup jar (LHIII C)	rubber's stone
43	Chamber (LHIII B and LHIII C)	160	small dipper (U) (LHIII B) (?)	
44	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
45	Chamber (LHIII C pottery only)			
46	Chamber (LHIII B)	188	spouted cup (P)	bronze short sword (Sandars type Fii)

46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	180	truncated stemmed bowl (P)	bronze spearhead
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	187	truncated stemmed bowl (P)	bronze cleaver
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	185	deep bowl (P)	bronze knife
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	1364	dipper (L)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	1291	jug (P)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	184	horizontal flask (P)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	183	conical stirrup jar (P)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	182	conical stirrup jar (P)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	181	conical stirrup jar (P)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIB)	1321	stirrup jar (base preserved)	
47	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
48	Chamber (LHIIIB)	190	one-handed bowl (P)	stone conulus
48	Chamber (LHIIIB)	189	amphora with two vertical handles (M?)	
48	Chamber (LHIIIB)	191	squat stirrup jar (P)	
49	Chamber (LHIIIB)	195	truncated stemmed bowl (M)	
49	Chamber (LHIIIB)	194	trefoil-mouthed juglet (M)	
49	Chamber (LHIIIB)	193	squat stirrup jar (P?)	
50	Chamber (LHIIIC pottery only)			
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	206	spouted cup (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	200	spouted cup (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	204	shallow cup (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	208	large piriform jar (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	209	jug (local) (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	202	pegtop rhyton (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	199	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	207	globular stirrup jar (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	203	globular stirrup jar (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	1320	stirrup jug (shoulder) (P)	
51	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	201	kylix with handles below rim (U)	
52	Chamber (LHIIIB and LHIIIC)	210	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIIB)	bronze cleaver
52	Chamber (LHIIIB and LHIIIC)	211	deep bowl (P) (LHIIIC)	Psi-type terracotta figurine
52	Chamber (LHIIIB and LHIIIC)	213	kalathos (M) (LHIIIC)	
52	Chamber (LHIIIB and LHIIIC)		large piriform jar (not pictured) (LHIIIB or LHIIIC)	

52	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	212	jug (P) (LHIIC)	
52	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	214	small jug (M) (LHIIC)	
52	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)		small jug (U) (LHIIB or LHIIC)	
52	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	205	strainer jug (P) (LHIIC)	
52	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)		bowl (not pictured) (LHIIB or LHIIC)	
53	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	218	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIB)	short sword (Sandars type Fii)
53	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	217	straight-sided alabastron (M) (LHIIC)	bronze buckle (?)
53	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	219	straight-sided alabastron (P) (LHIIC)	stone conulus
53	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	216	globular stirrup jar (L) (LHIIC)	terracotta button
53	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	221	globular stirrup jar (L) (LHIIC)	
54	Chamber (LHIIA2)	222	rounded kylix (M)	stone conulus
54	Chamber (LHIIA2)	220	feeding bottle (M)	
54	Chamber (LHIIA2)	397	globular stirrup jar (P)	
55	Chamber (LHIIC pottery only)			
56	Chamber (LHIIA2)	231	straight-sided alabastron (P)	stone conuli
56	Chamber (LHIIA2)	228	juglet with perforated base (P)	terracotta button
56	Chamber (LHIIA2)	232	globular stirrup jar (P)	terracotta bead
56	Chamber (LHIIA2)	230	small carinated cup (frags.) (U)	glass bead
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	227	rounded kylix (P) (LHIIB)	two gold rings
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	230	straight-sided alabastron (L) (LHIIC)	four stone (carnelian) beads
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	233	amphoriskos (P) (LHIIC)	stone (steatite) bead
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	225	feeding bottle (P) (LHIIC)	amber beads (frags.)
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	226	askos (P) (LHIIC)	stone conuli
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	229	squat stirrup jar (P) (LHIIB)	two coral (?) beads
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	235	cup (U) (?) (LHIIB or LHIIC)	glass beads (frags.)
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	234	jug (U) (?) (LHIIB or LHIIC)	terracotta bead
57	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)			Psi-type terracotta figurine
58	Dromos (LHIIB) (chamber unexcavated)	1339	dolio or pithos (U)	bronze pin
58	Dromos (LHIIB) (chamber unexcavated)			bronze small scalpel (?)
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	244	spouted cup (L) (LHIIB or LHIIC)	stone conulus
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	237	amphoriskos (P) (LHIIC)	
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	238	conical stirrup jar (P)	

59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	242	conical stirrup jar (P)	
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	241	globular stirrup jar (P)	
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	243	globular stirrup jar (P)	
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	239	globular stirrup jar (P)	
59	Chamber (LHIIB and LHIIC)	240	small jug (U) (LHIIB) (?)	
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	255	large piriform jar (P)	stone conulus
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	236	piriform jar (P)	ivory button
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	248	globular stirrup jar (P)	terracotta buttons
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	246	globular stirrup jar (P)	
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	247	globular stirrup jar (P)	
60	Chamber (LHIIB)	250	globular stirrup jar (P)	
61	Chamber (LHIIC pottery only)			

Appendix 8: Müskebi tomb inventories (Müskebi, Anatolia)

Tomb # ¹	Group/assemblage (stylistic date) ²	Plate #	Pottery - patterned (P), monochrome (M), linear (L), undecorated (U) or tinned (T)	Offerings other than pottery
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	I, 2	large piriform jar (P)	bronze spearhead or cleaver (?)
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	II, 1	large piriform jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	VIII, 3	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 4	globular stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 6	globular stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIII, 2	globular stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIII, 3	globular stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVI, 1	globular stirrup jar (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXII, 4	horizontal flask (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXIII, 1	vertical flask (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXII, 5	basket vase (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 7	carinated cup (M)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 1	carinated cup (M)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 2	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 3	shallow cup (P) (LHIIIA1)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVII, 5	rounded kylix (P)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVII, 6	rounded kylix (U)	
2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVIII, 4	kylix with handles below rim (M)	

¹ The pottery from the tombs at Müskebi is published in Boysal 1969. The find numbers in the table correspond with the plate numbers in the catalogue of Boysal 1969 (Pl. I-XXXVIII). The bronzes are published in Akyurt 1998, 29-34. Sometimes there is confusion about which bronzes belong to which tombs. In several cases, object and plate numbers do not correspond (e.g. a cleaver in the text refers to a drawing of a spearhead). This is indicated in the table with a question mark in parenthesis behind the objects concerned (column 5: "Offerings other than pottery").

² No distinct between individual groups/assemblages can be made. The stylistic dates reflect the date of the majority of the pottery found. If there are any pots which are earlier or later than this, this is indicated in parenthesis behind the vessels concerned in column 4 (pottery). The stylistic dates in the table are the same as the ones used in sections 5.2.5, 5.4.5, in which the assemblages from Müskebi are discussed.

2	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIX, 6	carinated kylix (U)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XIV, 2	globular stirrup jar (P)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XIV, 3	squat stirrup jar (P)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XVII, 4	small jug (P)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XX, 3	truncated stemmed bowl (P)	
3	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXX, 2	carinated kylix (U)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIII, 1	globular stirrup jar (P)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVIII, 1	small jug (U)	
4	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 5	conical cup (U)	
6	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 2	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
7	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 3	straight-sided alabastron (P)	bronze knife
7	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 6	conical cup (U)	
9	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVIII, 2	small jug (M)	
10	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVII, 9	small jug (L)	
11	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	I, 1	large piriform jar (P)	bronze short sword
11	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	V, 2	piriform jar (P)	bronze spearhead
11	Chamber (LHIIIA2)			bronze needle
12	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVIII, 4	small jug (M)	bronze spearhead
12	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIX, 2	rounded kylix (P)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	II, 4	large piriform jar (P)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	VI, 4	collar-necked jar/amphoriskos (P) (LHIIIC)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	VII, 1	collar-necked jar/amphoriskos (P) (LHIIIC)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	VII, 3	collar-necked jar/amphoriskos (P) (LHIIIC)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XI, 9	squat stirrup jar (P)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXXIII, 2	flask (L) (LHIIIB-C)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXVIII, 5	rounded kylix (U)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXIX, 1	rounded kylix (P)	
13	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXX, 5	spouted bowl (M)	
14	Chamber (LHIIIB?)	XXV, 8	straight-sided alabastron (P)	bronze knife
14	Chamber (LHIIIB?)	XXX, 6	jar (U or M)	bronze knife
14	Chamber (LHIIIB?)	XXXI, 5	spouted deep conical bowl (P)	bronze spearhead

14	Chamber (LHIIIB?)			bronze spearhead
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	III, 4	large piriform jar (P)	gold ring (?)
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	VIII, 2	piriform stirrup jar (P)	stone blade (?)
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVII, 5	trefoil-mouthed juglet (L)	
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVIII, 6	small beaked jug (P)	
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 5	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
15	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 1	shallow cup (M)	
16	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 8	conical cup (U)	
16	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVII, 2	rounded kylix (M)	
16	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIX, 3	carinated kylix (U)	
17	Chamber (LHIIIA-B)			bronze spearhead
18	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XVII, 3	small jug (P)	
18	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XIX, 2	large jug (L)	
18	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXVII, 1	rounded kylix (M)	
18	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXIX, 4	rounded kylix (M)	
18	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXX, 1	carinated kylix (U)	
20	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIX, 4	jug (U)	bronze spearhead
20	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVIII, 1	rounded kylix (M)	
21	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIV, 1	globular stirrup jar (P)	
21	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVII, 4	rounded kylix (M)	
21	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVIII, 6	rounded kylix (P)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	I, 3	large piriform jar (P)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	II, 2	large piriform jar (P)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	V, 1	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1?)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	V, 3	piriform jar (P) (LHIIIA1?)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	V, 4	piriform jar (P)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXII, 1, 3	flask (?) (L)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXI, 3	small mug (L)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXI, 4	small mug (L)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXI, 6	small mug (L)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 6	shallow cup (M)	
22	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXI, 2	incense burner (U)	
23	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIII, 1	globular stirrup jar (P)	

23	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIX, 6	jug (U)	
23	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXI, 4	incense burner (U)	
24	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	VIII, 1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
24	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 8	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
24	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 9	rounded alabastron (P)	
24	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXII, 6	horizontal flask (P)	
24	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 3	shallow cup (P)	
26	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 9	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
27	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	II, 3	large piriform jar (P)	
27	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVI, 3	domestic stirrup jar (L?)	
27	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVII, 2	small jug (P)	
27	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 7	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
27	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 4	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
28	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XV, 1	squat stirrup jar (L)	
28	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XV, 2	globular stirrup jar (P)	
28	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XV, 3	squat stirrup jar (L)	
28	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XVIII, 7	small jug (U)	
29	Chamber (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC)	XVI, 2	globular stirrup jar (P) (LHIIIC?)	
29	Chamber (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC)	XVIII, 9	small jug (U) (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB?)	
30	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 8	carinated cup (M)	
31	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 6	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	IV, 4	piriform jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	IX, 1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	IX, 2	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	IX, 3	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XII, 2	globular stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XII, 3	globular stirrup jar (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIX, 1	beaked jug (L)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 6	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXII, 2	askos (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 4	conical cup (L)	

32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 7	conical cup (U)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXI, 5	mug (L)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 2	shallow cup (U)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 4	shallow cup (U)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 5	shallow cup (M)	bronze spearhead or cleaver (?)
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIII, 9	carinated conical cup (P)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXI, 1	incense burner (U)	
32	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXXI, 3	incense burner (U)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	IV, 2	large piriform jar (P)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XVIII, 3	small jug (U)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XVIII, 5	small jug (U)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXIV, 4	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXX, 3	feeding bottle (U)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXII, 1	carinated conical cup (P)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXII, 2	carinated conical cup (P)	
33	Chamber (LHIIIB)	XXII, 4	shallow cup (P)	
34	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	IV, 3	piriform jar (P)	bronze cleaver
34	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 3	globular stirrup jar (P)	bronze cleaver
34	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 7	globular stirrup jar (P?)	bronze spearhead
34	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVI, 3	rounded kylix (M)	
35	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	III, 3	large piriform jar (P)	
35	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVI, 4	domestic stirrup jar (L?)	
35	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVI, 2	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
35	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXII, 7	deep cup (P)	
35	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVI, 6	rounded kylix (M)	
36	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	I, 1	large piriform jar (P)	
36	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	X, 3	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
36	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVIII, 8	small jug (L)	
36	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXII, 9	one-handed bowl (P)	
37	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXV, 1	straight-sided alabastron (P)	
38	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 2	globular stirrup jar (P)	
39	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	III, 2	large piriform jar (P)	
39	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XI, 5	globular stirrup jar (P)	

39	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIX, 3	jug with cut-away neck (P)	
39	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVI, 4	rounded kylix (M)	
39	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXVI, 5	rounded kylix (M)	
40	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XIX, 5	small jug (P)	
41	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	VI, 2	piriform jar (P)	
41	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXII, 5	shallow cup (L)	
42	Chamber (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC?)	XVII, 6	small jug (L) (LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB?)	
42	Chamber (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC?)	XXIX, 5	conical kylix (?) (P) (LHIIIC?)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	VI, 1	piriform jar (P)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	X, 1	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XII, 1	globular stirrup jar (P)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVII, 7	small jug (P)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XVII, 8	small jug (P)	
45	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXI, 1	small mug (L)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XX, 1	small jug (L)	
46	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXII, 6	carinated cup (M)	
47	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	X, 2	piriform stirrup jar (P)	
47	Chamber (LHIIIA2)	XXIV, 5	straight-sided alabastron (P)	