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The collapse of palatial society in LBA Greece and the postpalatial period

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5 Settlements and population mobility in the Postpalatial period

Introduction

A comparison between the palatial and postpalatial periods reflects significant differences in the number of visible sites, and these differences are usually related to depopulation, mobility and migration, often in the context of flight from Greece altogether, or movement to other parts of Greece and the Aegean (Figure 5.1). Some of the problems with interpreting the evidence for population and depopulation were mentioned in chapter 1 and are discussed further below.
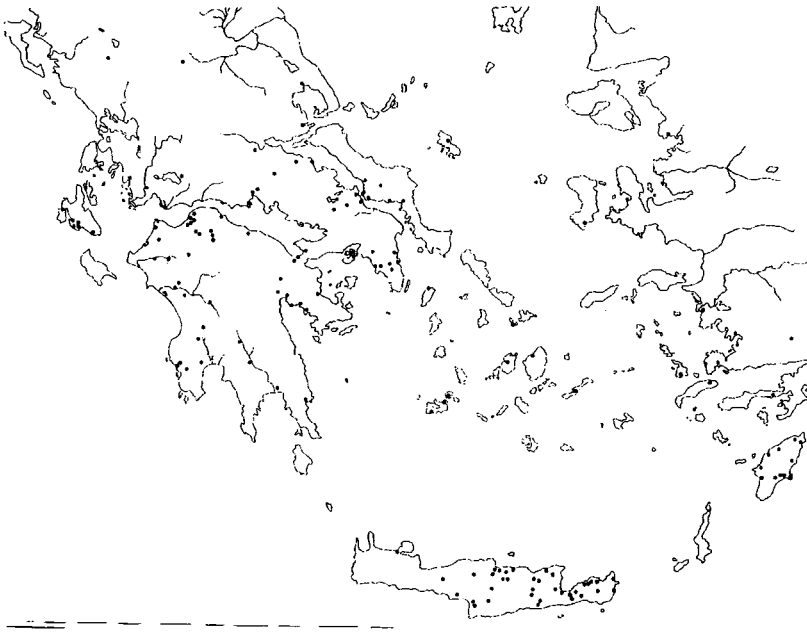
Figure 5.1 Sites and cemeteries of LHIIIB (top) and LHIIIC (bottom). Source: Popham 1994, 282-283.

As noted in chapter 3, migration and population movement have traditionally played an important role in explaining the collapse c.1200 and have been also been taken as characteristic features of this period in the eastern Mediterranean. Morris (2003, 8) recently stated of discussions of the collapse that 'the most consistent element involves the relocation of people in large numbers and the re-formation of social groups in new locales and new forms of communities.' Such explanations have often been thought able to integrate later Greek myths and traditions, such as Thucydides' (1.12) description of post-Trojan war Greece as 'in a state of ferment; there were constant resettlements, and so no opportunity for peaceful development,' and archaeological change.

As with collapse theory, explanations of culture change are also prone to changing trends in archaeological theory (discussed also in chapter 2). Renfrew and Bahn (1996, 36) note that already by 1948, there was some

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dissatisfaction with archaeology that seemed only capable of offering explanations couched in terms of migrations of peoples and 'influences'. Although a few scholars, recently Eder (1998; c.f. Voutsaki 2000), still seek to link later Greek myths such as the coming of the Dorians into the archaeological framework of the LBA/EIA transition, most scholars nowadays rightly conclude that such an exercise is fundamentally flawed, both in terms of the nature of mythic evidence and its supposed historical content (see Hall 1997) and in the resort to mass migration itself as an explanation of change (e.g. Dickinson 2006a, 54; Whitley 2001, 80; Renfrew 1987, 135). A more realistic scenario admits 'merchants and manufacturers, mercenaries and slaves – as a mobile army of diverse opportunists or victims of circumstances,' while there is no need 'to imagine the mass migrations that originally dominated modern reconstructions of this period, over-determined by more recent phenomena' (Morris 2003, 9).

This is not the only aspect of the period in which mass population movement is thought to play a part. A whole series of hypotheses have been developed suggesting Aegean origins for some Near Eastern populations, most notably the Philistines (Dothan and Dothan 1992), and these rely on the notion of mass migration from Greece attendant on the collapse c.1200. Cyprus plays a key role in these supposed events, as do the Sea Peoples, though while Cyprus became increasingly Greek from the beginning of the EIA onwards, Palestine did not. There is much debate and speculation concerning these theories and little general agreement. Nevertheless, while explanations of culture change that rely on mass migration may be out of favour, they are still present, and the

stability and mobility of populations and the nature and scale of movements of people in Greece, the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean require objective examination. This chapter will seek to examine the evidence for settlement, stability and movement in the population of Greece and the Aegean in postpalatial times and the nature of external contacts, including gift exchange trade and diplomacy. The discussion will also necessarily extend to the wider problems of Cyprus, the Near East and the Sea Peoples. Before turning to these matters, it is necessary to review briefly what survey archaeology can reveal about sites and settlement patterns and how these changed between the palatial and postpalatial period, as well as some of the problems in the interpretation of this data.

The contribution of survey

In the last three decades, survey has played an increasing role in the archaeology of LBA Greece (Shelmerdine 2001, 342-346). This technique has allowed some useful regional and diachronic comparisons of settlement patterns to be made, although 'it is not a substitute for excavation' (Shelmerdine 2001, 346). In this section, a brief summary from notable regional surveys will be given, and some of the problems in interpretation discussed with regards to numbers, distribution and categories of site.

One influential early extensive survey, the Minnesota Messenia Expedition (UMME; McDonald and Rapp 1972), determined that there were 168 habitation sites in LHI-IIIB in the territory they surveyed (McDonald and Hope Simpson 1972, 141). However, LHIIIC pottery was only found at 16 sites, with

three of those uncertain, while Submycenaean pottery was claimed at 9 sites (5 uncertain), although, as true Submycenaean pottery has not been found in Messenia, this pottery may belong later (McDonald and Hope Simpson 1972, 143). Following more intensive fieldwork in other parts of Greece, some doubt was cast on whether UMME's results were really representative of settlement patterns, as it seemed to differ from other regions (Davis *et al.* 1997, 395). However, more intensive survey work around Pylos, by the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP), again revealed only a very few finds of LHIIIC material (Davis *et al.* 1997 451-452). A scenario of postpalatial depopulation is usually presented. Since this region is one of the most intensively studied, especially with regards to the LBA, it is almost inevitable that this pattern has to some degree been accepted as representative of the whole of Greece at the end of the LBA.

The recent Asea valley (Arcadia) survey revealed little about LHIIIC; indeed, only single sherds of LHIII date have been found at four sites in the valley, two of which may in fact have been one site (Forsén *et al.* 1996, 89). Two of the sites are located on hill slopes, while the others are in the valley. The lack of earlier LHIII sites is reported by members of the survey team as 'difficult to grasp' (Forsén *et al.* 1996, 89), given that in other surveyed areas, at least in the Peloponnese, there seems to be an increase in the number of sites in this period (except perhaps in Lakonia, see Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 146). Nevertheless, Forsén *et al.* (1996, 97) comment that the area may often have been less densely settled than other areas, as it is mountainous and quite remote.

The Methana Survey (eastern Argolid) revealed three large sites (>1 hectare) and a total of 8 identified sites in the Mycenaean period (Mee and Taylor 1997, 52-53). Sites, including two 'classic Mycenaean' acropoleis (MS10 and MS67), seem ranged at approximately 2km distance from each other around the coastline of the peninsula, with one large site (MS 108) on the mountainside above 3 smaller sites, including one where excavation has revealed a notable shrine (MS13) (Mee and Taylor 1997, 52 figure 4.5). The 115 sherds collected seem mostly to belong to LHIII, with some specifically attributable to LHIIIA or IIIB, but there is no certain LHIIIC. Despite this, Mee and Taylor (1997, 53) comment that 'this does not necessarily imply that the LH period ended in catastrophe' since three of the sites have an EIA component; 'despite the lack of LHIIIC pottery there is evidence of continuity' (Mee and Taylor 1997, 54).

The Southern Argolid has been similarly surveyed, revealing the existence of two larger and several smaller sites during Mycenaean times, usually located in or near areas of deeper soil (van Andel and Runnels 1987, 97 Map 19). In this area, it is suggested that only four sites survived into postpalatial times, one being a fortified mountain top (van Andel and Runnels 1987, 98). Despite the problems in interpreting survey data, van Andel and Runnels (1987, 97 Map 19) state that 'the area became virtually depopulated' after c.1200. In fact, whether the 'few hundred years that are a blank in the record of the area' (van Andel and Runnels 1987, 98) really reflect a total absence of human activity, or something else, remains debatable.

A similar case could be made with regards to the Berbati-Limnes survey, in which Wells (1996, 207) suggested that this area was abandoned from the twelfth to eighth century. The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (Wright *et al.* 1990, 638, 641-642) also found that occupation in the region did not continue on any scale in LHIIIC; Tsoungiza, the most significant local site, revealed only a few traces of continued activity. In the Nemea area generally, the paucity of LBA pottery could seem surprising, given the proximity to Mycenae and the potential links between the two regions (Wright *et al.* 1990, 609, 641-642).

As for Lakonia, Cartledge (2002, 54-55 Figure 7)[16] noted some 35 sites with certain LHIIIB pottery, and another four less certainly identified. However, there are other sites that could not be precisely dated and he noted a total of 63 LHIII sites (Cartledge 2002, 58). These were concentrated in the Eurotas valley, but sites were also located at the sides of the valley and up into the mountains. Main sites seem to have been spaced at approximately 5km intervals, taking advantage of the local terrain. Cartledge (2002, 59-60 Map 8) notes only 7 certain LHIIIC sites known, with another eight possible. Demakopoulou, in a slightly later study (cited in Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 143 and n.131), identified 52 LHIIIB sites in Lakonia, with 9-16 of them occupied in LHIIIC. The LHIIIC sites were widely spread, including Epidauros Limera on the east coast, Pellana and Amyklai, some distance from

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[16] Cartledge (2002) is the 2nd edition of his book, originally published in 1979. Chapter 6, 'The Last Mycenaeans c.1300-1050', while useful, does not seem to have been updated – the latest source in the further reading section dates to 1977. Thus it ignores work such as Demakopoulou (1982), Dickinson (1992) and the Lakonia Survey (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002).

each other in the upper Eurotas valley, the Menalaion, where LHIIIC pottery was found on Aetos Hill, and Ayios Stephanos in the Helos Plain (possibly no later than transitional LHIIIB/C; Mountjoy 1993, 22) (Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 143).

The Mee-Cavanagh Lakonia survey (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002) focused on a small part of Lakonia (east of Sparta and north of the Menelaion), and counted ten sites as definitely Mycenaean, with most of the pottery found in the survey belonging to LHIIIA and B (Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 142-143). Mycenaean pottery was also found in small amounts at eight sites occupied in other periods; there were also isolated finds of Mycenaean pottery in nine areas and at three out of area sites (Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 143). Given the comments of Bintliff *et al.* (2000; see below), some caution must be exercised with these numbers, since isolated finds and 'off-site scatter' may actually indicate small sites. Cavanagh and Crouwel (2002, 145) state that 'it is difficult to establish numbers and sizes and to detect patterns among the LH sites'. Concerning the LHIIIC period and after, the survey has little to add to the picture outlined above and the impossibility of producing reliable population estimates is rightly emphasised by Cavanagh and Crouwel, although they do suggest that after LHIIIB or early LHIIIC the population level declined and that this was followed 'it seems, by a period of virtual depopulation' (2002, 147-148).

Fossey's work on Boeotia (1988), which summarised earlier work based on extensive rather than intensive research, suggested that there had been a

significant loss of sites at the end of LHIII, with around 40 sites present in LHIIIB, but only around 20 in LHIIIC (Bintliff *et al.* 2000, 125). LHIIIC sites known from survey seem to be located mainly along the Euboean Gulf, with a few inland, such as Eleon, as well as the sites of Thebes and Orchomenos. The intensive Cambridge-Bradford-Durham Boeotia project has to some extent forced a modification of Fossey's results. Whereas Fossey used his data to estimate prehistoric site density at around 1 site per 33km^2, intensive survey suggests a much higher density of around 1 site per 1.6 km^2, which raises the possibility that many sites are 'invisible' or have been missed (Bintliff *et al.* 2000, 126 Table 2). There seems to be a general absence of the small Mycenaean sites of LHIIIA-B prevalent in Messenia and in any case, of the whole survey, only one possible LHIIIB/LHIIIC sherd was found, at the major site of Hyettos.

In general, the data produced seem to suggest a decline in site numbers in LHIIIC, which in turn is often taken to indicate depopulation. Although the matter of making population estimates from survey or site counts is extremely hazardous and speculative, it nevertheless seems that the smaller sites visible in palatial times go out of use in the postpalatial periods, and the fewer sites that are used tend to be smaller, although they may still be substantial villages, which surely reflects a lower overall population, a feature that continued for some time (Dickinson 2006, 69-70, 88-89). While some sites could be large, it is not really possible, given the survey results, to be more precise than in distinguishing large, medium and small sites, all of which appear to be farming settlements (Dickinson *pers.comm.*). Ritual or cemetery sites are rarely

identified through survey. There is really very little evidence from the survey data on which to base any general statements on site distribution in the postpalatial period, though sites continued to be present both by the sea and further inland in areas that had been previously occupied.

One major problem is the nature of the diagnostic pottery, and its visibility in survey. The presence of a fragment of plain kylix stem or foot is taken to indicate settlement or activity in LHIII, but, as kylikes were popular types, without excavation the nature of activity can not be determined. However, to distinguish between the phases of LHIII, it is necessary to have either some distinctive decoration, such as banding on the rim or body, or, with some open vessels, a rim profile, and these are not very common in LHIIIC, and less so in the EIA. Some pottery, including plain kylix fragments, can also belong anywhere in LHIIIA2-B as well as LHIIIC Early. It is also often the case, as seen above, that pottery is found in very small quantities, and those belonging to LHIIIC in particular may be less easy to identify because the diagnostic material rarely appears on the surface, except at very large sites such as Eleon (Dickinson *pers.comm.*).

It has been suggested that survey data may fail to identify a highly dispersed population living in very small sites, and that even with intensive survey smaller sites remain difficult to identify, and finds may be relegated to 'off-site scatter'; small postpalatial sites that could have existed may thus be missed off any lists (Bintliff *et al.* 2000, 138-139). Rutter (1983) has discussed the existence of periods of low visibility in the archaeological record, and the

problems with the evidence must be taken seriously. Bintliff *et al.* (2000, 127-128) have also noted that, with regard to identifying Late Bronze Age sites:

> the poorer quality of the dominant coarse and domestic ware, coupled with a far longer period of weathering by cultivation and climate, and the further destructive effect of disturbance and destruction from reuse of the site area, have all acted to reduce the quantity of prehistoric finds compared to those of the Classical era.

However, it is doubtful that coarse pottery was dominant throughout Greece; plain or simply decorated wheelmade pottery was still produced in considerable quantities in LHIIIC Greece, and there is no particular reason why it should not have continued to be used at small sites, as in palatial times (Dickinson 2006, 96-97). Furthermore, Dickinson emphasises that there is no evidence that this category of very small sites existed.

All in all, the current data from survey archaeology have very little to add to a positive understanding of the postpalatial period: 'in no mainland region does the evidence allow the clear definition of a settlement pattern, let alone a site hierarchy' (Dickinson 2006, 90). The evidence for LHIIIC sites is clearly more limited than for the preceding LHIIIB period, but quite how this should be interpreted in terms of settlement patterns and population size is unclear. These changes on the mainland have been traditionally interpreted as representing flight and depopulation, and linked with apparent changes elsewhere, but this begs many questions. A coalescing of population at a few centres could reflect a decrease in population, and that it was now easier to

farm land around these sites rather than to be spread more widely; it could also reflect a desire for security, or both. It was evidently possible for large sites such as Tiryns, albeit an exceptional case on the mainland, to thrive in LHIIIC. Later site use in the EIA is sometimes taken as suggestive of continuity (as in the Methana survey), and a period of low visibility, rather than depopulation, is possible, as seems to have been the case in other places and periods.

Population and Mobility in the Postpalatial Period

While generally the population of Greece is assumed to have grown through the palatial period and to have been fairly sedentary, the population of the postpalatial period has traditionally been suggested to have experienced a significant decline and increased mobility. Growth itself may have been a consequence of the increased stability offered by the palace system and decline a consequence of its demise. Deger-Jalkotzy (1998a, 117) notes the common opinion that it is reasonable to assume 'that many people were killed during the violent events which brought to an end the period of the Mycenaean palaces' but also that the majority 'left their homelands for safer places of refuge'. However, it will be argued below that the latter scenario, seen as mass migration, is inherently implausible, and to assume that many people were killed directly in violent events presents its own problems. Over time, internecine warfare could be devastating for populations, eroding stability and agricultural production, and this could have long-term consequences for populations (Snodgrass 2000, 365). Also, the destruction of elites could have similar consequences for culture change. Needless to say, episodes of plague could also explain population decline over considerable periods.

These common opinions have led to a generalised impression of a largely deserted landscape in Greece after 1200, which characterised the Dark Age, until population began to grow again in the eighth century (Coldstream 1977, 367-368; Snodgrass 2000, 364-367). Although inferences about the levels of population are highly questionable, certainly there are far fewer visible sites in some areas such as Messenia, Eastern Boeotia and Thessaly (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998a, 117). However, other areas of Greece, such as Achaea (Vermeule 1960, 18) and several Aegean islands such as Paros, Naxos (Schilardi 1984, 202) and Rhodes (Mee 1982, 90), as well as Cyprus (Mee 1982, 90) have been thought to have experienced increases in population, often suggested to be refugees fleeing former palatial states. The notable LHIIIC cemetery at Perati was newly founded and Lefkandi became an important centre and 'there is no reason to suppose that they were without parallel', as recent work at Mitrou has demonstrated (Dickinson 2006a, 58; Iakovides 1970; Evely 2006; Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005).

Mobility and willingness to relocate were evidently more prominent in the postpalatial period, and the reasons for this must stem from the circumstances surrounding the collapse, including political fragmentation, instability, and changing trade patterns, and the nature of postpalatial society (Dickinson 2006a, 62-67). Migrations are often used to explain material culture derived from Aegean types in Cyprus and the Levant, as well as throughout the eastern Mediterranean more generally (Dothan and Dothan 1992; Yasur-Landau 2003a and b). The movement of the Sea Peoples is often cited as a related and

characteristic phenomenon, although the evidence is more difficult to interpret and less clear-cut than usually stated (Dickinson 2006a, 47). In fact, the traditional models of mass migration created to explain and describe the changed settlement patterns in this period and the population movements suggested are often simplistic, unrealistic and fail to stand up to scrutiny.

Mass migration

It seems appropriate initially to dismiss any kinds of organised mass migration from Greece (see also discussion of migration theory in chapter 3). Perhaps the most extreme proponent of this kind of movement is Lawrence Stager (1991; 1995), who proposed that some 25,000 Mycenaeans fled the palatial centres in hundreds of ships and invaded the Levantine coast. The notion of organised evacuation has also been advanced by Wachsmann (1998, 159-161), interpreting the Pylos Linear B tablets as indicative of this. However, on any practical consideration, such operations can be dismissed as logistically impossible.

Reynolds (1996, 330-331) discussed the variety and type of Aegean ships, ranging from earlier narrow, flat-bottomed vessels with 30-60 paddlers, a later (from c.2000) 8-12m ship with sail and oars to the 'optimum' merchantman of c.1700 and after, adopted by the Mycenaeans, which could have ranged from 10-14m up to 35m in length and were powered by either sail or up to 38 rowers. The two large ships in the Thera fresco have 42 and 46 rowers (Reynolds 1996, 331). More recently, Wedde (cited in Eder 2006, 550-551) has argued that the oared galley was a Mycenaean design and Crielaard (2006,

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279-280) has argued for innovations in ship design during LHIIIC, while both note that ship technology survived the collapse of the palaces. The pictorial representations used as evidence, for example the LHIIIC alabastron from Tragana tholos 1 and the LHIIIC krater fragments from Livanates also reveal that these ships could utilise sail power as well (Figure 5.2; Crielaard 2006, 279; Mountjoy 1999, 358).

a   b

c

Figure 5.2 Ships on LHIIIC pottery. (a) Tragana (b) Kynos and (c) Bademgediği Tepe. Sources: Mountjoy 1999, 357-358 (132); Raaflaub 1999, 201 Plate 2; Mountjoy 2005, Plate XCVI.

The Tragana ship was sizeable, having space for 50 oars (Eder 2006, 551) and the shipboard fighting scenes represented at Kynos, if not fanciful, indicate the

presence of a deck (Wachsmann 1998, 116). As well as merchant ships and warships, presumably a variety of smaller vessels, such as fishing boats, existed.

Considering the size of the biggest ships available, some 500 ships would have been needed Stager's 25,000 refugees, ignoring food and water supplies. Even if we assume that a 50-oared ship could carry 50 extra people that would still require some 250 ships. It is inherently unlikely that any such armada existed in any palace state of LBA Greece, perhaps not even all of them combined. Athens at the height of its naval power and due to suddenly increased resources, fielded between 200 and 400 triremes but had to import a vast amount of wood from Macedon in order to build and maintain them (JACT 1984, 245-246); similar problems would have confronted Mycenaean shipbuilders, if producing ships on a large scale. The rich and well-wooded state of Ugarit, a vassal of the Hittites, which may have played a vital role in supporting them at the end of the LBA, was asked to provide a fleet of 150 ships, but this was exceptional in size (Bryce 1998, 177, 366; Wachsmann 2000, 105). A letter from the last days of Ugarit shows that even 'seven ships of the enemy' could cause damage enough, and this may reflect more usual, or even high numbers.

A similar problem has confronted historians seeking to understand the success of Geiseric's invasion of Roman North Africa from Spain in AD429, which involved the transportation of warriors and non-combatants. It is worth quoting Heather's comments (2005, 268) in full:

First, on simple logistic grounds, it is nigh inconceivable that he could have got together enough shipping to move his followers en masse across the sea. Roman ships were not that large. We know, for example, that in a later invasion of North Africa, an east Roman expeditionary force averaged about seventy men (plus horses and supplies) per ship. If Geiseric's total strength was anywhere near 80,000, he would have needed over 1,000 ships to transport his people in one lift. But in the 460s the whole of the Western Empire could raise no more than 300, and it took the combined resources of both Empires to assemble 1,000. In 429, Geiseric had nothing like this catchment area at his disposal, controlling only the coastal province of Baetica. It is overwhelmingly likely, therefore, that he would not have had enough ships to move all his followers in one go.

If the difference in scale between the Western Roman Empire and a Mycenaean kingdom is considered, the naval resources that the latter could potentially have had should be regarded as significantly smaller. This must reinforce the view that any kind of mass migration event was extremely unlikely.

The level of navigational knowledge needed to successfully reach the eastern Mediterranean must also be considered. Since Mycenaeans did not necessarily undertake long-distance trade themselves, they may not have possessed accurate information for areas outside the Aegean itself. For what they are worth, later Greek myths recall that the Achaeans sailing for Troy initially attacked the wrong place (Iakovides 1999b, 203). Furthermore, such a number

of ships carrying such a vast human cargo would doubtless not have been welcome visitors anywhere *en route*; and it is questionable what kind of fighting force they would have been. Any hypothesis suggesting a wholesale migration from Greece to Cyprus and/or the Levant must confront these practical problems, rather than merely assume that similarities in material culture prove that such a migration was possible or plausible.

The realities of migration

Anthony (1990, 895) observes that 'migration is a structured and well-studied aspect of human behaviour.' To reject mass migrations as unrealistic and 'largely a convenience for the explanation of anomalous trait distributions' is not to reject the movement and mobility of people (Adams *et al.* 1978, 526). This must be admitted as a reality despite the difficulties in identifying movement and mobility archaeologically. Burmeister (2000, 542-543) has commented that 'the assumption that preindustrial people were largely immobile must be rejected,' and Farriss (1984, 199-223) notes that the lowland Maya 'seem to have been uncommonly restless for a people defined as 'sedentary'.' Thus even agrarian peoples, and not merely pastoral peoples, could be mobile to a degree. Thus it is not the reality of movement that is in question, but rather how and in what circumstances it took place.

In this context, a variety of factors affect migration, which are categorised as *push* and *pull* factors (Anthony 1990, 899-900). To these may be added a third category *stay* factors and a fourth factor *ability*. These operate together to affect the likelihood of migration events taking place. *Push* factors are made

up of stresses or negative factors including economic problems such as a shortage of resources, natural or anthropogenic disasters, political instability, population pressure and conflict (Anthony 1990, 899-900; Burmeister 2000, 543-544). *Pull* factors include knowledge of potential destinations, the presence of opportunity, stability, and familiar people such as kin or linguistic or cultural groups. *Stay* factors can be thought of primarily as the psychological and material factors which link a person with their home, such as family and other groups, cultural, economic and religious ties, lack of ability to move and inertia. *Ability* refers to the practical side of migration, the availability and expense of transportation.

To these can be added specific social factors governing views of migration as a pattern of behaviour (Burmeister 2000, 543), and these may be likely to change given changing circumstances, wherein migration could become more or less normal. An important factor that may encourage migration is the development of a migration stream. This might originate in a particular area and would, to some extent, be governed by the flow of information back and forth along the migration route (Anthony 1990, 903-904). Anthony (1990, 903) notes that the 'structure of many migrations resembles a stream more than a wave,' thus explicitly criticising the commonly assumed notions of 'waves' of migrants washing around the eastern Mediterranean.

Migration can have a variety of effects both in the departure and destination area and these depend on the specific conditions involved (Burmeister 2000, 544). There may be significant demographic consequences, such as a decline

in the birth rate or changing marriage patterns and social values, if more younger people or gender specific migrations occur (Burmeister 2000, 545). There may also be increased opportunities for those who remain, or a qualitative erosion in the quality of life, accompanied by increasing individualism and a weakened economy, with a shortage of human resources and abandonment of settlement structures. Return migrants, who may bring exotic goods and ideas, can also cause social change and conflict.

In destination regions, effects 'vary significantly with the power relations which are established between the immigrant and the native group,' but there need be no violence involved nor any noticeable differences in material culture or indeed in ethnic consciousness (Burmeister 2000, 545). On the other hand, disparities may be present, or develop, and these can lead to the development or reinforcement of ethnic identities, both from outside ascription and self-ascription (Burmeister 2000, 546).

It is commonly noted that most migrations in the present 'consist of short-distance movements within a local area' (Anthony 1990, 901; Burmeister 2000, 544). It is quite reasonable to suggest that this was similar in antiquity. This would seem to indicate that people usually seek to minimise their displacement and to remain in areas that are more familiar culturally, linguistically, economically, politically and socially. However, Burmeister (2000, 544) also notes that 'distance is a function not only of space but also of social significance' and that the social aspects of migration may play as important a role as cost in determining distance. While the social factor should not be

ignored, the practical aspects of movement must form some limitations. Nevertheless, the presence of familiar groups located at some distance and networks that connect them provide a real set of opportunities for movement, and this scenario perhaps characterised the postpalatial period of Greece and the Aegean and its relations with Cyprus.

Migration to the Aegean Islands

Many scholars have suggested a degree of migration to the Aegean islands and other sites (Figure 5.3) following the collapse of the palaces (Mee 1982, 90; Karageorghis 1998a and 2001), although the scenarios presented are certainly questionable and seem mainly to rely on an implicit focus on the mainland as a centre to the islands' periphery.

Figure 5.3 Map of the Cyclades. Source: Mountjoy 1999, 861 Figure 352.

Karageorghis (1998a, 130) states that 'when the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese started to dwindle, and the occupants of the palaces fled with their followers, some of them found a safe refuge in the Cyclades which they could reach easily in small ships and where they could settle in safe outposts.' Despite the fact that many former palatial sites were reused, often quite substantially and evidently with a high degree of organisation, as at Tiryns and Midea, he suggests that these migrations were led by mainland *wanaktes*, who fled for protection to remote sites such as Koukounaries on Paros (Karageorghis 1998a, 131-132; 2001, 5). Indeed, he suggests that Koukounaries may be taken as a general example of this type of fortified refuge site, located on islands or easily defensible sites, mentioning also constructions at Ayias Andreas on Siphnos, sites on Salamis, Teikhos Dymaion, as well as sites on Crete and Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos on Cyprus, all of which, he argues, form part of a pattern of short-lived defensive settlements in remote places near the sea (Karageorghis 1998a and 2001). This will be discussed below.
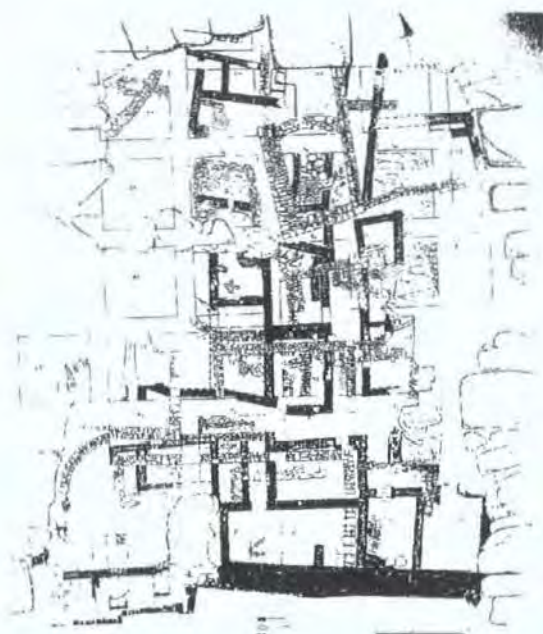
Figure 5.4 Plan of Koukounaries, Paros, with Mycenaean building shown in black. Source: Schilardi 1984, 185.

The acropolis of Koukounaries is thought to have been founded early in LHIIIC (Karageorghis 2001, 5), though could be earlier, and has substantial remains including a 'mansion' and cyclopean walls (Figure 5.4; Schilardi 1984, 187). Karageorghis (1998a, 131) argues that these features, and the clay bathtub, storerooms with large quantities of objects such as fine ware pottery, storage jars, weapons, tools, fibulae, a piece of ivory furniture, rock crystal and a piece of horse harness and other objects, recall the lifestyle of a mainland *wanax*, who had brought with him his kingly lifestyle. He maintains that refuge sites, such as Koukounaries 'could not be permanent' due to their inhospitable conditions, such as a lack of available land (Karageorghis 1998a, 130). The site was burnt and destroyed after LHIIIC Developed and Schilardi suggests it may have been attacked by pirates or Mycenaean refugees, but continued to be occupied until its abandonment early in LHIIIC Advanced (Schilardi 1992, 631, 634-635). Vlachopoulos suggests that, owing to the

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valuable nature of the finds at the site, which surely would have been looted, it may have been destroyed by a natural disaster (Dickinson *pers. comm.*). He has also recently questioned whether the cyclopean walls were defensive in nature and suggests they may rather have been terrace walls constructed to support the buildings. Such an interpretation throws doubt on whether Koukounaries can rightly be classified as a refuge site, and therefore whether it can be fitted into a hypothetical narrative based around Mycenaean refugees from the mainland.
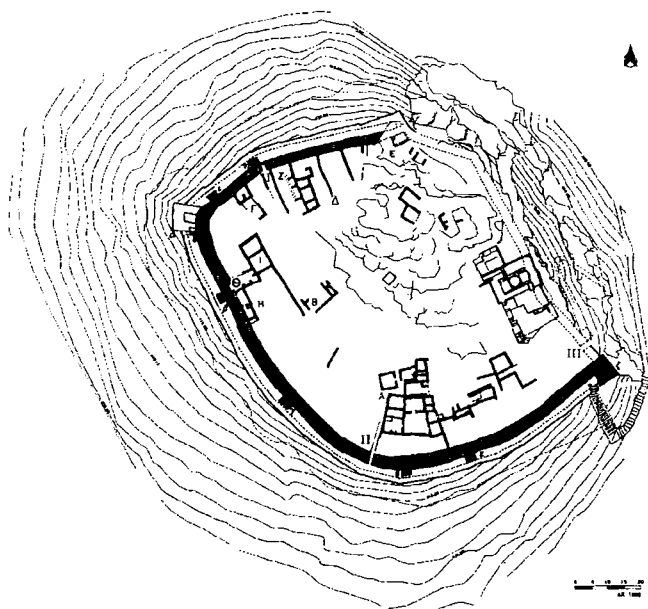
Figure 5.5 Plan of the acropolis of Ayios Andreas, Siphnos. Source: Televantou 2001, 193 Figure 2.

Ayios Andreas, unlike Koukounaries, is situated some distance inland and dominates the south-east of the island of Siphnos, with views over the Aegean and the gulf of Platys Ialyos, where an apparently 20m high tomb, possibly a tholos, is prominent in the landscape (Televantou 2001, 193, 207-208). The fortified acropolis (Figure 5.5) with its impressive defensive architecture,

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consisting of two walls and eight bastions and the characteristics of its construction and internal layout has been compared to the citadels of Tiryns, Gla, Mycenae and Athens (Figure 5.6; Televantou 2001, 197-198).

Figure 5.6 Plan of north-east acropolis area (left). Outer wall (right). Source: Televantou 2001, 196 Figure 4, 201 Figure 7.

Karageorghis (2001, 5) suggested that this impressive and well-organized site was perhaps constructed by mainlanders and contained a palace with a megaron in the north-eastern area, and was thus the seat of a *wanax*, although the excavator notes that this area is 'very difficult to understand' due to the robbing of stone to build the nearby church (Televantou 2001, 213). Stampolides and Kanta both argued that the site should be considered 'a proper Mycenaean citadel, and one which has nothing at all to do with 'refugees' although Televantou thought the local population incapable of constructing such a site (Televantou 2001, 213). The site is thought to have been abandoned before the end of LHIIIC (Televantou 2001, 205). As with Koukounaries, the only real reason to connect these developments with mainlanders is the hypothetical refugee narrative, and it is difficult to see why islanders would not have been capable of such projects, even if they may have been inspired by developments elsewhere.
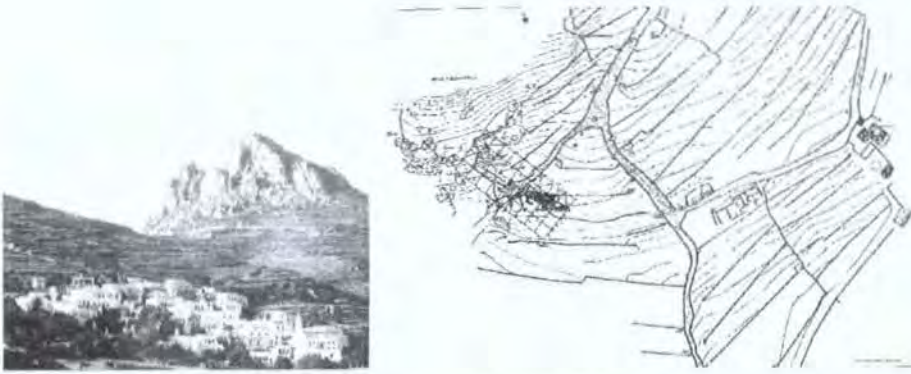
Figure 5.7 Xoburgo, Tenos. View from south-west (left). Topographical plan (right). Source: Televantou 2001, 174 Figure 3, 175 Figure 4.

The commanding site of Xobourgo on Tenos has also been thought to have functioned as a refuge site during the LBA/EIA (Kourou 2001; Karageorghis 1998a, 132-133). The site appears to have been occupied in late Mycenaean times and beyond, as shown by the presence of stone moulds of LCIII dateas well as pottery. A tholos tomb in the north of the island contained locally produced LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB pots as well as Mycenaean style gold ornaments. However, although Xobourgo seems to have been a long-lived site, from LCIII to Protogeometric and Geometric, in contrast with Koukounaries and Ayios Andreas, it is uncertain what happened there during LHIIIC. This is due to the difficulty in understanding Cyclopean Wall A, for which parallels have been suggested at Midea and other mainland citadels (Televantou 2001, 179, 185). Televantou (2001, 185), however, suggests that certain Dark Age megalithic fortification walls, such as those at Mythi on Crete, compare better.
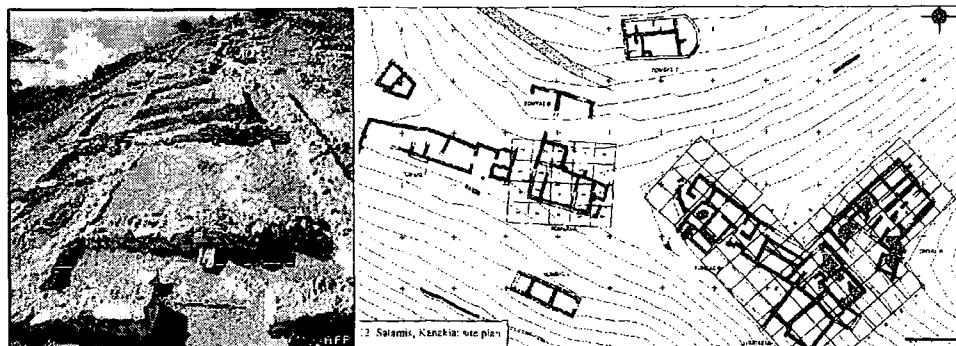
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Figure 5.8 Kanakia, Salamis. Sources: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4853332.stm (left); *AR* 2004, 9 Figure 23 (right).

It has become clear through recent work at Kanakia, that the island of Salamis was important in the thirteenth century, and the bulk of the pottery found there dates to LHIIIB and LHIIIB2/LHIIIC transitional (*AR* 2001, 14-15). This 12 acre site in the south-west of the island consists of a double acropolis, spreading over two peaks, where the main settlement was located, had two harbours and was well-organised with a street plan (Figure 5.8). There were also outlying settlements. The site appears to have had extensive external links, and a Cypriote ox-hide ingot similar to that from the Cape Gelidonya wreck was found. A double megaron unit with at least 20 rooms (complex Gamma), and the megarons are comparable to those of LHIIIB at Midea and the site seems to have had an industrial complex utilising murex (*AR* 2005, 10). The site appears to have suffered a destruction in the transitional LHIIIB/C phase, and the use in LHIIIC Early appears similar to that at Dimini, with the construction of barrier walls before the site was abandoned c.1150 (*AR* 2002, 15).

However, two Dark Age citadels have been identified at Ginani in southern Salamis and the pottery shows occupation in later LHIIIC, Submycenaean,

Protogeometric and Geometric, and this would appear to demonstrate essential continuity on the island (Lolos 2001, 121, 127). Even during the eleventh century, some contact with Cyprus is attested through the presence of a Cypriot bronze bowl from the Arsenal, and Lolos suggest that there may be some truth to the mythical links that suggest that the town of Salamis on Cyprus was founded from the island of Salamis (Lolos 2001, 132). While Wiener notes that 'we usually interpret the florescence of the added population of the Ionian islands in LHIIIC as new people coming in, and pushing the local population downwards' and has commented that these changes in Salamis could be viewed as 'people... finally giving up at Tiryns at the end of LHIIIC and moving to Salamis', Lolos (2001, 127-128, 135) argues that the changing settlement pattern on the island is similar to that on Crete (e.g. Haggis 2001; Nowicki 2001), and reflects

> the special needs and activities of the local population, rather than those of foreign refugees driven to Salamis from some other place, suggesting a more permanent state of organized life for the inhabitants of this island in these transitional years. It may be a case of local population shift.

In this case it has been suggested that clay analysis could be useful in demonstrating the origins of the pottery, but of course even this does not necessarily show the origins of those using it.

Although these and other sites have been argued to show evidence of population movement from mainland Greece to the Aegean following the collapse of the palaces, it is not at all clear that such an explanation best fits the

available evidence. It is debatable whether Xobourgo is best considered a refuge site to be associated with population movement and the end of the palaces, since the chronology and history of the site is so unclear. Rather than functioning as a refuge site for fleeing mainlanders, the site could equally have served as a local centre for the islanders themselves or may have been permanently occupied and the islanders were using Mycenaean culture much earlier than LHIIIC. With regard to chronology, the foundation of Koukounaries could still predate the collapse of the palaces; a LHIIIB Zygouries kylix stem was found (Schilardi 1984, 196 Figure 6e), and there seems no inherent reason for a local population not to be able to construct such a site, as at Ayios Andreas, as Deger-Jalkotzy suggests (1998b, 108), even if they had built no comparable centre previously. Ayios Andreas does seem to have been founded in LHIIIB, rather than after the destruction of the mainland palaces, although the second defensive wall may be later (Televantou 2001, 194, 213). As noted above, it is considered by some to be a true Mycenaean citadel rather than a refuge site. The developments on Salamis equally do not require any movement of population from the mainland.

Karageorghis (1998a, 130) states of refuge sites that:

> Such settlements could not be permanent; the lack of available land and often of water supply and the inhospitable conditions of the environment in general dictated only an ephemeral abode, suitable for the psychology of the refugee whose main preoccupation was safety, especially when fleeing in an emergency.

However, there are several problems with interpreting these sites as refuge sites. It is to be questioned how much investment refugees would make in settlements that were badly sited or intended to be only temporary in nature. Both Koukounaries and Ayios Andreas seem too substantially and carefully constructed to have been intended as temporary. Both sites also had water supplies; there was a spring on the northern side of Koukounaries and a drainage system and cisterns at Ayios Andreas (Karageorghis 1998a, 131; Televantou 2001, 213). Koukounaries was also located near fertile and well-watered land (Schilardi 1984, 184).

Elsewhere, Karageorghis (2001, 3) argues that local people would seek refuge from seaborne attack by retreating behind hills to places with ample supplies of water. But for mainland people, it would seem easier for them to remain on the mainland and seek more defensible locations rather than to flee to the islands, if that was their concern. Certainly this argument seems to ignore the evidence for continued activity at palatial centres like Tiryns, Midea and Mycenae after c.1200, as well as at sites like Perati, Lefkandi and Mitrou, unless the *wanaktes* are presumed to have fled and left a vacuum into which others attempted to step, which is possible. As for interpreting Teikhos Dymaion as a refuge site, this again ignores its use throughout the LH period and importance in LHIIIB, when it may have been fortified (Mountjoy 1999, 402). And, for mainland people in the Argolid, locations such as the eastern Argolid would surely have been easier to relocate to and quite defensible, yet there is very limited settlement there after c.1200, only 4 sites including a fortified mountain top (Van Andel and Runnels 1987, 98).

Given the likelihood that island sites were being developed from LHIIIB, during the palatial period and when fortifications at mainland sites such as Mycenae and Tiryns were being enlarged or improved, and given the generic similarities with mainland constructions, it seems more appropriate to suggest that the island sites were being modified in a similar way, rather than that they were constructed as a result of the mass migration of mainland Mycenaeans. In fact, they may have been taking part in new economic activities suggested by a widening access to trade routes (Sherratt 2001 and 2003). If we can detach their development from a focus on a hypothetical narrative of events on the mainland, we could recognise on the islands the presence of individuals and groups who no doubt had complex relations with the mainland, but equally could seek to take an active part in the world around them, rather than being passive victims of migrations.
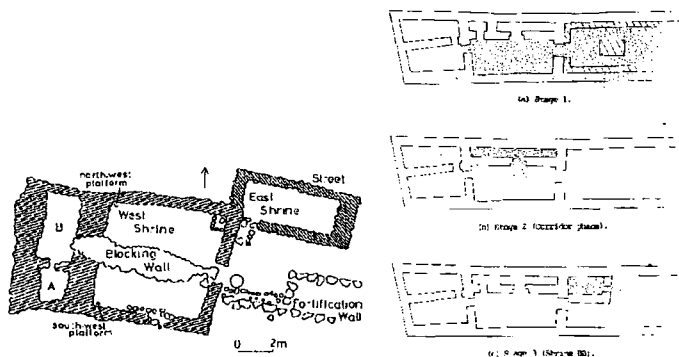

Figure 5.9 East and West Shrines at Phylakopi (left). 3 LHIIIC phases of the Temple at Ayia Irini. Sources: Mountjoy 1993, 154 Figure 378; Caskey 1984, 249 Figure 7.

This argument may be supported by evidence from other island sites, which testify to the richness and capability of island communities in Mycenaean

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times, such as Phylakopi on Melos and Ayia Irini on Kea (Keos).[17] Phylakopi was a long-lived site, founded in the EBA and the LBA 'third city' was built over the MH settlement and enclosed by a wall (Mountjoy 1999, 889). During LHIIIA1 a megaron was constructed over a LCI mansion, and possibly formed part of a 'proto-palace'. A new fortification wall was constructed in LHIIIB1 or Middle, which Deger-Jalkotzy links to the building of mainland fortifications (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 107). Two shrines were also constructed, the West shrine in LHIIIA2 and the East Shrine in LHIIIB1 and both were in use for the duration of Phase 2a, LHIIIB to LHIIIC Middle, until they were destroyed, perhaps by an earthquake or human agency (Davis 2001, 49; Mountjoy 1999, 889; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 107).

Although there is no secure date for the end of the town and the megaron, it has been suggested that they were destroyed at the same time as the shrine (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 108). There was no destruction around 1200BC but the later destruction has been associated chronologically with that of Koukounaries, and was followed by a short-lived reoccupation. Nevertheless, Phylakopi shows no hint of the population influx suggested for other sites but rather continuity in its traditions, with LHIIIC pottery being locally produced (Mountjoy 1999, 889).

At Ayia Irini on Kea, there was similarly a substantial LHIII settlement that experienced several destructions (Davis 2001, 31). However, although there is only a little evidence for use of the site in LHIIIC, following a destruction at

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[17] Needless to say, Kolonna on Aegina and Akrotiri on Thera demonstrate the early richness of island life, and the EBA Cycladic 'frying pans,' with oared-ship decorations, suggest that islands had a long tradition of shipbuilding and thus interaction.

the end of Phase 7, the temple demonstrates continuity through LHIIIC and

into Protogeometric times, with 3 LHIIIC building phases (Caskey 1984;

Mountjoy 1999, 865).
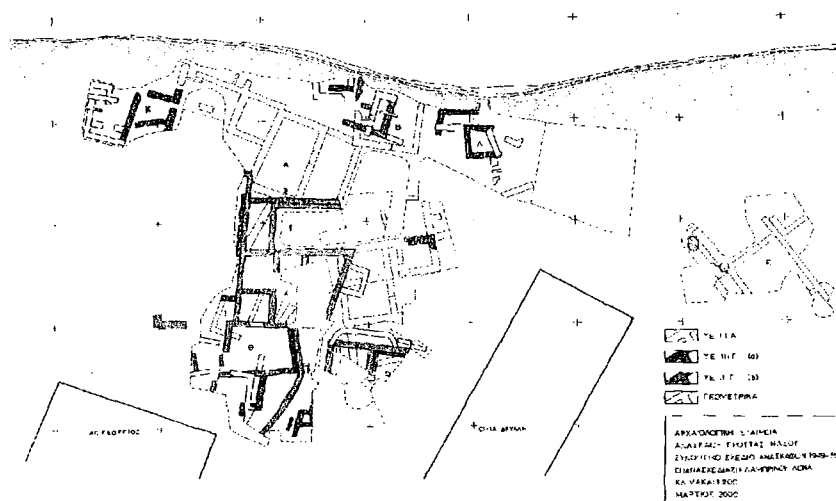
Figure 5.10 Excavated remains of Grotta, Naxos, Towns 1 (LHIIIA-B2) and 2 (LHIIIC). Source: Vlachopoulos 2003, 219 Figure 2.

Similarly, Naxos had long-lived sites, especially at Grotta (Figure 5.10), which

may have been occupied almost without interruption from the Neolithic

(Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001,157). The earliest

pottery from Grotta is LHIIA (Mountjoy 1999, 938-939). Mikre Vigla could

fit into Karageorghis' pattern of refuge sites, being situated on a headland, yet

the pottery suggests it was in use from LHI/II into LHIIIC, rather than a new

late foundation (Mountjoy 1999, 938). The acropolis of Rizokastelia may also

have been occupied into LHIIIB/LHIIIC (Mountjoy 1999, 938). The LHIIIA

to LHIIIB settlement at Grotta seems to have been the main settlement on the

island (Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 159) and while

it has been suggested that an increase in tomb numbers indicates immigration it

may equally suggest an increased concentration of population (Dickinson

2006a, 64). A new fortified settlement on a different orientation was built over the earlier settlement either in LHIIIC or just before, which lasted throughout the LHIIIC period until being abandoned except for use as a burial site (Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 159). This town and the nearby chamber tomb cemeteries of Aplomata and Kamini are suggestive of a sustained period of prosperity and prestige throughout LHIIIC, with widespread contacts throughout the mainland and Aegean to Crete and Cyprus (Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 160; Vlachopoulos 1998, 237). The presence of four gold plaques of LHIIIC date, with representations of an infant or goddess from a child's grave at Kamini, interpreted as a diadem or necklace, which may have come from or been influenced by Cypriot models, would support this (Karageorghis 1998c).

Although many scholars have more or less adhered to the notion that developments in the Aegean islands reflect the problems encountered by the mainland and the area acted as a refuge zone for mainland Mycenaeans, this fails to appreciate the region in its own right. It perhaps overplays the notion of the Aegean islands as a peripheral area rather than one actively engaged in regional interaction. The evidence from long-lived sites such as Phylakopi, Grotta and Ayios Andreas and the construction and settlement patterns that are visible suggest capable and organised groups asserting themselves. Whether the various defensive elements need be construed as responses to imminent threats or are better interpreted as bids for prestige is debatable, as it is for the mainland (Lambrinoudakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 164, 165). Vlachopoulos (1998, 238) has argued that the varied types of defensive wall

constructions in the Cyclades, built at different times, make it unlikely that they were constructed as a response to a common threat, and also that 'the lack of contemporaneity argues against the theory of a simultaneous establishment of 'refugee' settlements in the Cyclades.' While not discounting the possibility of some movement to the islands, he sees no evidence for a significant population rise and suggests the settlements present a varied picture. In fact, he suggests that the LHIIIC period was a peaceful one for the Cyclades and the Aegean as a whole, since there is a lack of evidence 'for violent and simultaneous catastrophes'. Although periodic destructions did occur, which show that it seems not to have been a completely peaceful period, these were a normal feature of life throughout Mycenaean times. Indeed, it is the *apparent* synchronicity of destructions and abandonments on the mainland, which rather forces such a dramatic notion of the collapse and its effects in the islands.

Rhodes

Rhodes is another island where refugee migration from the mainland has been claimed during LHIIIC in the form of either permanent settlers or those on their way to Cyprus (Georgiadis 2004, 66). Evidence appears to suggest a decline in population in LHIIIB, when there was a dramatic decrease in grave goods deposited in tombs at Ialysos and the west coast generally, which led Mee to suggest that Ialysos and other settlements were destroyed at this time, although the south and east of the island may have fared differently (Mee 1982, 88; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 109; Georgiadis 2004, 68). This is by no means certain, since tomb offerings generally became poorer during LHIII and in any case 'a break in the pottery sequence need not imply a break in the use of the

tomb' (Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 31). Marketou has suggested that the apparent decline was caused by serious flooding and notes the presence of an early flood control system at Ialysos, which may have failed (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 120). However, no settlements have been excavated, so it is unclear what happened and habitation certainly continued elsewhere on the island at both coastal and inland sites. Such pulsing in the visibility of local areas may reflect local power politics, or other phenomena related to trends in burial practice over time. By LHIIIC Middle the number of tombs and burials at Ialysos and the quantity of pottery deposited had increased significantly, leading Macdonald to suggest that population had increased to five times what it had been in LHIIIB (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998b, 110).

Scientific study of the pottery at Ialysos shows that imports from the Argolid formed almost 85% in LHIIIA2, almost 60% in LHIIIB, and less than 10% in LHIIIC, and this was key in the identification of migrations from the Argolid, with periodic migrations and migrants importing Argolid pottery (Georgiadis 2004, 64). The pattern seems to be similar at other Rhodian sites and is unparalleled elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean. To this must be added the possibility that Rhodes was under the influence of the Argolid, plausibly as a part of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa (Hope Simpson 2003). While strong links seem certain, even the political and military domination of Rhodes by the Argolid would not require migrations from the Argolid, although the knowledge of these places could have been important in inspiring migration streams, and here we should consider the mobility of elites and military forces. These need not have occurred at any one particular time, or at significant

levels. Furthermore, even though Mountjoy has suggested that Rhodes itself could have been the centre of Ahhiyawa, she notes the possibility that 'the Ahhiyawans were the local inhabitants who had undergone Mycenaean acculturation to varying degrees. There is no reason for them to have been Mycenaean colonists' (Mountjoy 1998, 51).

As noted above, there is always a danger in inferring population levels from burials, and therefore this evidence cannot necessarily be taken to indicate fluctuations in population numbers, whether increases or decreases. Georgiadis (2004, 69), while not rejecting the possibility of some movement of population into or within Rhodes in any period, argues that if this happened it played no significant role in the development of the island. Approaching the subject of migration to Rhodes from the perspective of tomb styles, he rightly notes that pottery style and clay provenance is no indicator of ethnicity. Rather, he suggests that the diverse burial styles on Rhodes retain a strong local character, while the pattern of goods deposited is somewhat different to the mainland (Georgiadis 2004, 69). In contrast to the mainland, he suggests that LHIIIC Rhodes enjoyed a period of stability or further development, with local burial traditions continuing (Georgiadis 2004, 69). This is similar to the view of Vlachopoulos concerning Naxos and the Cyclades, mentioned above.

Migration to Achaea and the Ionian Islands

As noted above, the postpalatial florescence of the Ionian islands, in particular Kephallenia and Ithaka, and Achaea has often been viewed in the context of incoming Mycenaean populations, perhaps from Messenia, although it is now

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recognised to have been well populated already in LHIIIA/B (Dickinson 2006a, 64). The region is rich in LHIIIC remains (Mountjoy 1999, 365-402) and the major fortified coastal site of Teikhos Dymaion, destroyed at the end of LHIIIB, was reoccupied and used until the end of LHIIIC when it again suffered a destruction (Mountjoy 1999, 402). Eder notes of the postpalatial period that in fact 'settlement patterns remained more or less unchanged, as implied by the continuing use of chamber tomb cemeteries' (Eder 2006, 557).

However, the region seems to have played a more important role in this later period, relative to former palatial areas, and had contacts with the Corinthian gulf region and southern Italy (Eder 2006, 557; Eder and Jung 2005). This seems to be due to the region's involvement in regional trade networks, which involved links with Crete and Cyprus, involving the movement of amber and Italian bronze-work, with Kephallenian chamber tombs containing the largest finds of amber in LHIIIC Greece (Eder 2006, 558). In this context, people may have been attracted into the region to benefit from these interrelations, although there is little evidence for, and no need to suggest any mass immigration.

Migration to and from Italy

During the early and palatial periods, a degree of contact between mainland Greece and parts of Italy is suggested by the appearance of Mycenaean pottery, for example in the Lipari Islands and in southern Italy at Capo Piccolo (Dickinson 1994, 249). The early pottery seems to have originated in several places and the mechanisms of exchange are unclear. Vagnetti (2003, 58) suggests the probability that 'different patterns of contact were operating side

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by side.' Trade routes of the palatial period linked the eastern and central Mediterranean regions and the Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks indicating a degree of international trade, with cargoes of mixed origins, including Egyptian, Syro-Palestinian, Mesopotamian, Cypriot, Aegean and Italian materials (Dickinson 1994, 250). In LHIIIA, Mycenaean pottery was widely distributed, reaching Sicily, Sardinia and the central Mediterranean and it has been suggested that during the LBA 'the central Mediterranean was the main area of Aegean interest' in Europe (Dickinson 1994, 250-251). Lo Schiavo (2003, 15, 17) notes that new sites with Aegean pottery continue to be discovered.

Vagnetti (2000, 312) notes that Mycenaean style pottery was produced locally at various Italian sites in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, as well as being imported. She suggests that, at least initially, this 'implies a movement of specialized craftsmen, possibly on a seasonal or temporary basis, from the Aegean to peripheral areas in the Mediterranean basin' (Vagnetti 2000, 312). The site of Broglio (Vagnetti 2000, 312) shows that the locals had an eclectic taste for pottery of different origins, manufacturing and using pottery of various foreign styles and incorporating both local and foreign shapes. This in itself serves as a warning about equating taste in pottery with ethnicity or politics. Even the appearance of locally produced Aegean style storage pithoi at Broglio need show no more than changes in farming and perhaps an increasing diversity of crops, but may testify to exchanges of information and ideas at a local level (Vagnetti 2000, 312).

Contacts evidently continued into the postpalatial period (Eder and Jung 2005), but Vagnetti (2000, 313) comments that there is no evidence for Mycenaean mass migration or settlements, as have been proposed for the eastern Mediterranean (discussed below). However, Punta Meliso and nearby Roca Vecchia have recently been suggested as possible 'refuge sites', similar to those proposed for the Aegean islands and Cyprus, although at Punta Meliso, the Mycenaean material is quite late LHIIIC (Benzi 2001). Locally produced Mycenaean pottery has been found, which strongly resembles mainland types, particularly from Achaea and Elis (Benzi 2001, 238; Eder and Jung 2005, 490-492). This is in contrast to the locally produced Mycenaean style pottery of other sites in southern Italy. Thus Benzi (2001, 238) has argued that a small group of Mycenaeans may have relocated to Punta Meliso. Nevertheless, he observes that the proportion of Mycenaean pottery was tiny in comparison to local wares and that what Mycenaean material influence there was was shortlived, suggesting that the newcomers merged into the local population (Benzi 2001, 233). At Roca Vecchio, there was Mycenaean LHIIIC material of all phases, though this is not usually interpreted as indicative of settlement (Dickinson *pers. comm.*).

However, while a hypothesis involving the movements of individuals or small groups is quite possible, it could equally be suggested that, given the proximity of Apulia to Achaea and Elis, continued contact resulted in up-to-date styles being known and available for local potters throughout the region to exploit, as long as there was a requirement for it (Eder and Jung 2005, 491-492). Eder and Jung (2005, 494) note of these two sites that the use of 'complete

Mycenaean vessel sets of north-western Peloponnesian style reflect a departure from local customs and an adoption of a foreign drinking habit for special occasions' which contrasts with the mixed features that blend Mycenaean and local characteristics elsewhere. They suggest that 'occasions of mutual hospitality helped to develop the basis for mutual respect and the understanding of the ideological concepts of the other.'
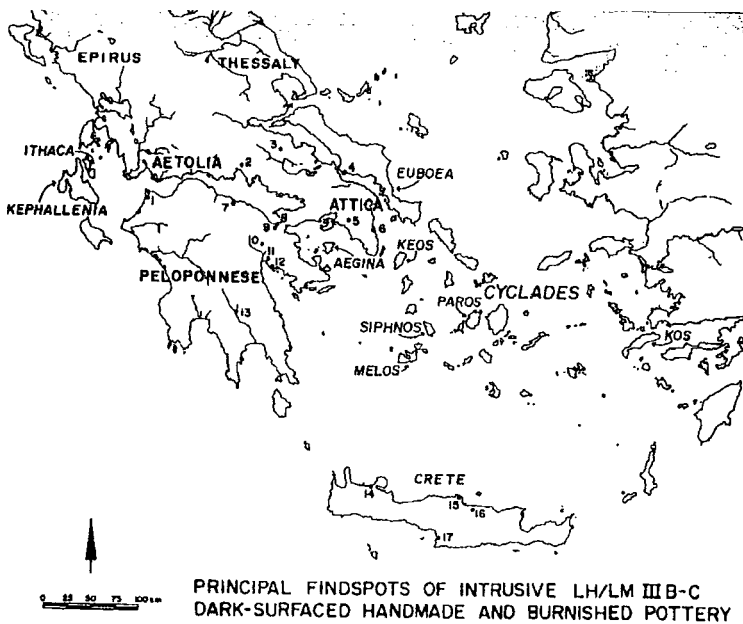
Figure 5.11 Principal findspots of HMB pottery (top). Findspots of Pseudominyan ware (bottom).[18] Sources: Rutter 1990, 49; Kilian 1988a, 126 Figure 7.

[18] HMB: 1) Teikhos Dymaion 2) Delphi 3) Kalapodi 4) Lefkandi 5) Athens 6) Perati 7) Aigeira 8) Korakou 9) Corinth 10) Mycenae 11) Tiryns 12) Asine 13) Menelaion 14) Khania 15) Agia

A degree of migration from Italy to Greece and Crete has also been suggested, as mentioned in chapter 3 (Popham 1994, 283, 288; Eder and Jung 2005,486-487). To a great degree, this relies on finding parallels for Handmade Burnished Ware (HMB), and Pseudominyan ware (Kilian 1988a, 127-133; Rutter 1990; Belardelli and Bettelli 2007; Figure 5.11). As stated, pottery need not serve as any indicator of ethnicity or origin in any case. While Cretan HMB, and that from Tiryns, Aigeira and Lefkandi, seems best paralleled in Sardinia and southern Italy, that from other sites may have links with north-western Greece, but other regions have also been suggested and any firm conclusions seem difficult (Rutter 1975 and 1990; Kilian 1988a, 127-135; Dickinson 2006a, 52). It has also been suggested that it was created as a type of household pottery, although given the small amounts found and the continuation of the fine ware tradition, into which some HMB features were absorbed, this seems unlikely (Small 1997; Dickinson 2006a, 52; Rutter 1975, 32). Eder and Jung (2005, 486) have suggested the presence of Italian bronze workers at Mycenae in LHIIIB. Catling has argued that new styles of weapons were introduced to the Greek mainland by hired Italian mercenaries working for the palaces, a view supported by Eder and Jung (2005, 486), and Popham (1994, 288, 290) notes the link to Italy of weapons and pottery, especially to Crete, although Dickinson (2006a, 205) notes a mismatch between the distribution of Italian bronzes and HMB.

Pelagia 16) Knossos 17) Kommos. HMB was also produced at Mitrou, East Lokris, in LHIIIC and into the Protogeometric period 'in great quantities' (van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 48). Pseudominyan ware: Iolkos (ie Volos), Dimini, H. Elias Etonias, Eleusis, Athens, Vourvatsi, Aegina, Prosymna, Argos, Kos, Khania, Knossos, Kommos, Gournia, Lipari, Torre Catellucia, Porto Perone and Satyrion, Scoglio del Tonno, S. Vito de Pisticci, Broglio di Trebisacce.

If the HMB and Pseudominyan ware do represent small non-Mycenaean groups, it should be noted that they were present in palatial and non-palatial areas, but seemingly not in the Aegean islands, although if foreign groups or individuals were present there, they need not be archaeologically visible. HMB has also been found in Cyprus, and is discussed below.

Thus quite specific types of population movement have been suggested between Italy and Greece, usually involving limited numbers or people with particular skills. Such hypotheses are inherently more plausible than any kind of mass migration, since reasonable motivation can be inferred, and in terms of scale such movements were practically achievable. Nevertheless, to suggest, as Eder and Jung (2005, 486) do, that Italian soldiers arrived 'and served as mercenaries in the Mycenaean army' does make the assumption that there were such forces, and we should recall that the ceramic evidence is not restricted to palatial areas alone. The Linear B texts suggest collections of weapons and military gear, but palaces may not have had standing armies as such, rather their may have been temporary or *ad hoc* war bands made up of the aristocracy, possibly with other followers, but this is speculation. That Italians may have served as mercenaries in Egyptian armies (Popham 1994, 288) does not provide an appropriate analogy with the situation in the considerably smaller scale societies of Mycenaean Greece. Near Eastern states did employ foreign mercenaries, as noted by Eder and Jung (2005, 486), which served in 'discrete corps' determined by their ethnicity, perhaps in a similar way to the textile workers at Pylos (Bienkowski and Millard 2000, 199). Furthermore, reinforcement could occur on quite a small scale, with LBA Canaanite rulers

requesting archers from Pharaoh in groups of tens (Bienkowski and Millard 2000, 199). Once some kind of contact had been established, it is more likely that migration streams could develop. Although it is impossible to generalise, these need not have been long lasting or have involved large numbers of people, nor need they have any particular cultural impact in the destination area.

It should also be said that Italian groups have been identified as forming part of the Sea Peoples, and in particular Popham (1994, 287-288) comments on the Sherden and Shekelesh in this context. He broadly suggests that they may have been present in Crete and then mainland Greece towards the end of the palace period but also that they may have been responsible for the destructions c.1200 (Popham 1994, 287-288). It is hard to guess why these groups would destroy their new homes, and, given the short-lived florescence of HMB, it could be wondered just to what extent the ethnic identity of immigrants would have been retained on any wide scale, in different widely spread sites. However, while these two groups have been associated with Sardinia and Sicily due to the similarity of the names, either as points of origin or destinations following the supposed massive population movements of the LBA/EIA transition, Italian archaeologists note no archaeological disruptions of the kind used to suggest such migrations in other areas (Lo Schiavo 2003, 28). However, a lack of visibility does not indicate that no movements took place.

Migration to Cyprus

Since at some point Cyprus became Hellenised to a degree, and the Greek language was adopted, it has been considered necessary and useful to point to large scale migrations from mainland Greece to Cyprus (e.g. Karageorghis 2001; Yasur-Landau 2003a and b). Of course, this process is likely to have taken place over some time: the Greek alphabet, for example, only appears in the sixth century and was not widely adopted until the late fourth century, and even then it was used alongside the traditional and long-lived Cypro-Syllabic script (Tatton-Brown 1997, 80-83). Although the Greek language, the Arcado-Cypriot dialect at least, was used in Cyprus at least from around 1050, as demonstrated by the bronze spit inscribed with a Greek name from Palaipaphos, dated to the eleventh or tenth centuries, other languages continued to be used until Greek became standard only in Roman times (Tatton-Brown 1997, 81, 83; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 11-12).

Cyprus must be regarded as a rather cosmopolitan island. and, given its location, a prime venue for interaction between different groups. Given that ethnicity is necessarily constructed in opposition to other ethnic identities and is negotiated between and within groups and individuals, and of course that it is only one aspect of identity which can be selected as a referent (Hall 1997, 26-33), interpretations of material culture on Cyprus are fraught with difficulty. It may be suggested that the construction of Greekness on the island was only one of many ongoing projects that individuals and groups may have engaged in to different degrees at different times.

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Karageorghis (1992) put forward what may be regarded as the traditional, though by no means unanimously agreed, interpretation of events on Cyprus around c.1200 and after. He noted the establishment of new centres in LCIIC (late 13th to early 12th centuries), which were sometimes short-lived, as well as destructions at and rebuilding of existing sites (Karageorghis 1992, 80). Novel features in site location, i.e. defensive or refuge sites, architecture, and artefacts have also been noted (Karageorghis 1992, 80-81). Some of these are taken to indicate new cultural, social and religious behaviour (Karageorghis 1998b, 276). Åström (1998, 80) too had considered that the beginning of LCIII marked 'an abrupt break with the past.' The explanation for these changes was sought in an Achaean colonisation and Karageorghis (1992, 83) cited Iakovides suggestion of a 'massive emigration to Cyprus, to the Dodecanese and to Asia Minor... [which] led to the depopulation of the mainland... [and] to the decline and gradual abandonment of the palaces.' In this view, some Mycenaeans are to be viewed as part of the Sea Peoples.

Karageorghis (1998a and 2001) has identified the Cypriot sites of Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, as well as Aegean sites, as defensive or refuge settlements occupied by Mycenaean refugees. In his reconstruction, he argues that Aegean island sites may have been first occupied by Mycenaean refugee *wanaktes* and their followers and then abandoned in favour of a Cypriot or Near Eastern destination (Karageorghis 1998a, 132). The Aegean islands were discussed above, and it was suggested that their development was not necessarily caused by the collapse of the mainland palaces or fleeing mainlanders and it should be noted here that Pyla-Kokkinokremos was

occupied before Maa-Palaeokastro, before the end of LCII (Karageorghis 1992, 80). While it may be tempting to link these chronologically with the mainland collapse, Karageorghis' own hypothesis (1998a; 2001) of refugees fleeing first to the Aegean and then to Cyprus does not fit this chronology, since the Aegean and Cypriot 'refuge' sites were roughly contemporary. A pattern of flee, found, flee, found, thus seems unlikely. Furthermore, it is unclear why refugees would need to flee so far to find safety or found refuge sites, and there was continued twelfth century activity at former mainland palatial sites; thus the motivation for such movements is questionable.

Yasur-Landau (2003a) also argues for a 'vast Aegean component' to the Sea Peoples, who are suggested to have moved to Cyprus and the Levant but he is somewhat more tentative than Stager, whose theories were mentioned above (Yasur-Landau 2003b). He notes two reasons why Aegean migrants to Cyprus may have been unable 'to perform forceful colonization' (Yasur-Landau 2003b, 50). In the first place, he rightly points out 'the limitations of maritime migration' in terms of the proportion of immigrant to native populations (Yasur-Landau 2003b, 50). Secondly he suggests that the Cypriot polities were comparatively strong, which will have affected the fortunes of any migrant group in terms of assimilation, integration, segregation or marginalisation. He suggests that the settlement of Maa-Palaeokastro may be an example of an independent Aegean community deliberately founded far from local Cypriot settlements. While this is a somewhat more realistic picture, Steel (2004, 190) has argued that sites such as Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos might well represent native Cypriot developments, which may be analogous to new

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foundations on Crete, and perhaps elsewhere in the Aegean, but which need not have been founded by new people. In fact, she characterises LCIIIA settlement as experiencing synoecism (Steel 2004, 190), something which has also been suggested for mainland Greece (Dickinson 2006a, 63).

Another aspect that must be mentioned is the HMB, which occurs as a novel feature in Cyprus in LCIIIA (Steel 2004, 194). It has been found at Maa-Palaeokastro, Sinda, Hala Sultan Teke, Enkomi and especially at Kition, and postdates the appearance of HMB in the Aegean although derivative wares continue in use into the eleventh century. As in the Aegean, HMB in Cyprus is connected with immigrants, however, since it appears at the same time as local painted LHIIIC pottery, it has been taken to represent 'elements of a displaced Aegean population settled in Cyprus' (Steel 2004, 194). Steel notes (2004, 195-196) that HMB on Cyprus could be related to household production, although it forms only a small percentage of any assembly, but it cannot be associated with the breakdown of the ceramic industry which intensified at this time. If the link between HMB and Italians is accepted, it may be that they were also present on Cyprus, and perhaps could have served on ships plying the Mediterranean, although they need not have had any particularly military role but could equally have had some saleable skill. Since HMB is generally taken to be an alien tradition in the Aegean, it is hard to see why it should indicate displaced Aegeans.

Some scholars even question the significance of the apparent LCII/LCIII break on Cyprus. Merrillees (1992) suggests that there was much continuity as well

as change, while Åström (1998) presents a similar view, although both suspect

the presence of new peoples. As noted above, Cyprus may be considered an

excellent venue for interaction between peoples, and Åström (1998) notes the

presence of Near Eastern (Hittite, Ugaritic, Syro-Palestinian/Canaanite),

Minoan, Egyptian and Mycenaean elements, so some regular connections, no

doubt involving some relocation, are not unlikely. Recently however, Steel has

rightly questioned the validity of what seemed to have become standard

interpretations of the end of LCII and the following LCIII periods, that the

destructions and cultural changes were due to a mass influx of Mycenaeans

(2004, 187-213).

She argues that 'despite increasing 'aegeanisation' of certain elements of the

cultural repertoire, most significantly the transformation of the ceramic

repertoire, there was no simple imposition of Mycenaean culture on the island'

(Steel 2004, 187). Towns destroyed in LCIIC were mostly rebuilt in LCIII and

burial areas continued in use, although tomb types changed from rock-cut

chamber tombs to shaft graves, but some chamber tombs continued to be used

and constructed into the twelfth century (Steel 2004, 187-188, 200). The

production of locally made Mycenaean pottery seems to have begun in the 13th

century, predating the LCIIC destructions, and although it becomes much more

common there is also continuity in Cypriot forms of pottery (Steel 2004, 191-

19-3). In fact, Steel (2004, 193) points out that the ceramic record has been

forced by modern scholars into a system of classification that would have been

meaningless to a contemporary user. Rather than any simple intrusion of

elements, 'a fusion of indigenous, Aegean and Levantine elements' seems to

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have taken place, forming a new 'cultural package' in pottery, as well as 'domestic architecture, weaponry and prestige symbolism' (Steel 2004, 188, 193). She suggests that 'rather than signalling a change in population, locally produced Mycenaean pottery instead illustrates the internal dynamics and changing trends in LC ceramic production' (Steel 2004, 193).

Sherratt (1998, 292) has also presented a novel interpretation, and suggests that by about 1100:

> the coastal urban centers of Cyprus were acting as a kind of institutionalised 'powerhouse' of the 'Sea Peoples' phenomenon, playing a central role in the creation and maintenance of an eastern Mediterranean coastally based economic and cultural community whose ostensibly 'ethnic' features are of structural rather than primarily genetic or linguistic significance.

Rather than focussing on ethnicity or origins, about which little can be gleaned from pots, she stresses the evidence for changing economic trends, viewing the evolution of the Sea Peoples as a result of the subversion of traditional long-term palatial trade practices (Sherratt 1998, 294). In this view, Cypriots were heavily involved in importing Aegean and exporting both Cypriot and Aegean pottery, and began to mass produce their own imitation 'Mycenaean' ware in the late 13th and 12th centuries (Sherratt 1998, 296-298). This pottery shows continued Aegean influence but is notably eclectic in what styles are copied and local elements abound. Sherratt (1998, 298) notes that none of the pottery looks like 'the transferred ceramic packages of any discrete groups of people.'

Some mobility is not ruled out, but it is no longer the focus or prime reason for change, and the unrealistic aspects of the mass migration of discrete ethnic groups or nations is usefully discarded in favour of a more active understanding of material culture.

Any hypothesis of Mycenaean migration to Cyprus is thus far from clear-cut (Leriou n.d.), whether connected to the mainland destructions of c.1200, which may nevertheless have spanned some 25 or more years, or later in LHIIIC (Coldstream 1994; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994), since the material changes in Cyprus around the end of LCII and in LCIII can be interpreted in a variety of ways. While it may be tempting to present a picture of connected 'events' with identifiable actors, as Karageorghis has done, such hypotheses are in fact highly questionable, not least since changes in material culture do not require any migration to explain them. The reality may involve much more long-term processes of migration streams from various parts of Greece at different times over a long period. At the same time, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that there were small groups of adventurers who could have settled far from home, but their material and cultural impact and identifiability through archaeology is problematic.

Migration to the Levant

Aegean migration to the Levant, after c.1200, has been suggested by many archaeologists, and it is bound up with the problem of the Sea Peoples phenomenon; some groups of Sea Peoples are often argued on the basis of linguistic and archaeological evidence to have Aegean origins (e.g. Dothan and

Dothan 1992; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2003a and b). As mentioned above, mass migration from the Greece to the Levant has been most dramatically suggested by Stager, who argued that 25,000 Mycenaeans fled Greece, becoming Philistines (1991 and 1995). The link between Greece and the origins of the Sea Peoples is prominent in two recent publications (Gitin *et al.* 1998 and Oren 2000) and in some views, the existence, nature and role of the Sea Peoples seems to have become historical fact without need for further explanation. It is necessary to remember, as Betancourt (2000, 297) does, that 'the [modern] label merely acts as a 'tag' or 'shorthand' to identify a series of peoples and cultural events involving those who attacked Egypt at the time of Ramesses III,' but even then it is commonly assumed that this can be extended to events around the eastern and central Mediterranean and further afield (Oren 2000a).

In fact, it seems that much that is suggested or assumed about the Sea Peoples phenomenon is based on circumstantial evidence and tendentious links between evidence that is far from straightforward, as well as the temptation to produce a 'joined up' historical narrative, amongst other issues. Kuhrt (1995, 386) soberly observes that 'the *only* sources for the role of the 'sea-peoples' in the crisis [in Anatolia and the Levant] are the accounts of two Egyptian campaigns.' Nevertheless, because these Sea Peoples, inferred from the texts, were active around the time of the Mycenaean and Hittite collapses, and other destruction events in the eastern Mediterranean, and because the Ramesses Year 8 inscription from Medinet Habu (see Redford 2000) has been taken largely at face value in relating widespread destructions to their activities, they

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loom large in discussions of the LBA/EIA transition and must be referred to here.

For many years the Sea Peoples have been assumed to be migratory peoples, although this was not always the case (Drews 1993, 53). Initially, they were viewed as mercenaries who were based more or less around the borders of Egypt or in the Levant, perhaps with additions from Sicily and Greece (Drews 1993, 51-53). Drews (1993, 48) has shown that 'the migrations hypothesis is based not on the inscriptions themselves but on their interpretation' and in particular notes the role of Gaston Maspero in creating this thesis in the 1870s. This was based on the apparent iconographical similarity of one of the groups, the *Peleset*, to other groups supposed to be Sardinians and Sicilians, whereas the *Peleset*, or Philistines, had formerly been assumed to be from just north of Egypt, where they were later on. It became necessary to suggest a migration in order to explain their presence in the Near East (Drews 1993, 55). Silberman (1998, 269) has also shown how archaeological theory changed with regards to migration theory, which developed in the 1870s in 'a radical departure from earlier romantic notions of unchanging ethnic connections to territorially contiguous homelands.' Most pertinent is the fact that Egyptian inscriptions themselves give no evidence for any kind of migration by sea, and the pictures of ox-carts, laden with women and children, long taken to indicate a migration, may in fact be, if not a stock theme, no more than locals, fleeing a punitive raid by Pharaoh's army in Djahi (Drews 2000).

Our concern is primarily with the Philistines, who have been identified as having an Aegean origin, inferred from the limited and problematic Egyptian evidence, and from apparent similarities of their material culture to Mycenaean material culture. In particular, the so-called Philistine pottery has been key in archaeological arguments for Aegean invasion and settlement around 1200BC (Oren 2000a, xvii). Similarities with Aegean pottery were noted from 1900 and in 1936 Heurtley argued from the pottery that the Philistines were Mycenaean (Oren 2000a, xvii). Furumark concluded that Philistine pottery was a local variant of Mycenaean (Oren 2000a, xvii).

While there are similarities, there are also differences (Sandars 1978, 166-167). Local shapes and matt paint are found and the popular motif of a backward looking bird is rare in the Aegean. Use of red, black and a white slip, and a greenish colour in later pots also belong to a local tradition beginning in the 16th century. In fact, Philistine ware may have largely been inspired by Cypriote LHIIIC:1b pottery, rather than mainland LHIIIC, and types such as the tripod cooking pots, storage stirrup jars and pithoi are absent from the repertoire, and it may have its origins in forms that predate the mainland collapse (Dickinson 2006a, 62-63). 'Aegean,' as so often used in the context of the Sea Peoples, strictly ought not to refer to Cyprus. Sandars (1978, 167-169) rightly notes that 'it is no good looking for a clue to the 'origins of the Philistines' in the pottery' and emphasises the mix of traditions present. Drews (1993, 67) links this local production with difficulty in obtaining LHIIIC pottery.

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A further link has been made with anthropoid coffins, thought to indicate the arrival of the Philistines (Drews 1993, 67). These have been supposed to combine Mycenaean and Egyptian traditions (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 58-63), although their appearance in a much earlier and purely Egyptian context (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries) at Deir el-Balah makes it difficult to associate them with the Philistines or any arrival of new people; in any case they do not belong in the Mycenaean tradition. Besides, any selective link with Mycenaean features based on basic similarities with the Shaft Grave death masks (Vincent in Dothan and Dothan 1992, 62) must deal with the chronological gap and cessation of this tradition in Greece, which seems to have been unique to early Mycenae.

Changing patterns of consumption and production have also been noted, an increase in the proportion of swine remains, the use of 'locally made Aegean-style cooking jugs', and loom weights, all argued to be 'Aegean cultural traits' (Yasur-Landau 2003a, 588 and 2003b, 49). Dickinson (2006a, 62-63) in fact notes that in the Aegean the 'pig is the least well represented domesticate in the bone material' while Steel's (2004, 191) comment regarding Cyprus that 'certain elements of the ceramic repertoire appear to illustrate changes in diet – both the preparation and consumption of food – but whether these are the results of internal change, acculturation or population change remains elusive. Moreover, changes in vessel form have not been related to economic data (faunal and botanical remains) that might illustrate novel additions to the... diet' is relevant here too. Migration is only one explanation for such features,

some of which are also novel in the Aegean (Dickinson 2006a, 63) and it is perhaps not the most likely.

As noted above, Sherratt (1998) has made a good argument for a novel interpretation of the 'sea peoples' phenomenon as 'an east Mediterranean coastal economic community.' This argument extends to changes in material culture in the Levant and she suggests 'very close economic and cultural ties' between the Philistine area and Cyprus (Sherratt 1998, 302). Whereas some archaeologists appear to view the Aegean as the source of Philistine culture 'in a general, and sometimes rather elusive way,' Sherratt (1998, 302) notes that these elements find parallels in Cypriot material from the 13th century, and that some types found on Cyprus have no Aegean link at all.

One example is the so-called 'Ashdoda' seated goddess figures, which are often suggested to have an Aegean origin (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 153-156; Yasur-Landau 2001). However, Cypriot LCII figures, where chair and body are merged, offer better parallels for these than Mycenaean figures, and the differences between Ashdodas and Mycenaean figures, as with Philistine and Mycenaean pottery, were already noted by Dothan and Dothan (1992, 156; Sherratt 1998, 302 n.17). Whatever parallels can be found for specific aspects of material culture elsewhere, little can be proved with regards to ethnicity or origins. Concerning the local production of 'Mycenaean' pottery in Philistia, Sherratt (1998, 302) argues that this was a Cypriot version of Aegean type pottery and which:

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far from being taken as some kind of conscious ethnic denominator with genetic race or language embodied in the fabric – can equally be seen as a continuation of the process of import substitution which saw the beginnings of such production on Cyprus in the 13th century.

Nevertheless, scholars such as Barako (2000) and Yasur-Landau (2003 a and b) continue to follow the traditional invasion/migration models, seemingly under the influence of those, such as Dothan and Stager, who have developed it (Barako 2000, 513). Barako (2000, 525) continues to conflate and exaggerate the limited textual evidence and place too much emphasis on its veracity (see Redford 2000, 2-3). Barako's (2000, 524) assertion that the archaeology indicates 'the influx of a diverse population group, culturally defined not by occupation but by a common geographic and, most likely, ethnic background' falls into the trap of expecting migration to be the most likely explanation, without dealing with the practicalities or motivations involved. It is difficult to understand how the diverse population he emphasises could have migrated by sea, and it assumes the existences of all kinds of social bonds and mutual interests, based solely on ethnicity. While such a scenario is not impossible, it certainly raises serious questions. Yasur-Landau is rather contradictory in his approach, acknowledging the difficulties and limitations on migration imposed by the necessity of travelling by sea (2003b, 50), while still suggesting the Sea Peoples included a 'vast Aegean component' (2003a, 590).

Given the arguments, it seems that there is little disagreement about the novel features of material culture and the diversity of inspirations that they seem to

represent. As with Cyprus, to present these changes as the result of mass migration by predatory Sea Peoples originating in the Aegean seems simply to follow a long standing tradition or need to present such changes as most easily explained in this way. However, new approaches, which admit the varied way in which material culture is used and what it does and does not represent, suggest a somewhat more realistic picture of people actively utilising material culture in a complex way for their benefit, rather than merely as a symbol of their ethnicity or origin. It would nevertheless be normal to expect that a degree of mobility existed, especially considering the wide circulation of goods.

Movements in mainland Greece

The traditional picture of massive depopulation and even total abandonment of regions in Postpalatial Greece seems unlikely, given the problems of interpreting the data provided by survey and tombs (Dickinson 2006a, 93-98). Nevertheless, some degree of depopulation and population movement seems likely within mainland Greece, since, as noted above, fewer sites seem to be occupied than before.

Messenia had been thought almost deserted and seems to have experienced the most significant depopulation with many sites abandoned (Mountjoy 1999, 301). Even so, it is possible to suggest a concentration of population in some areas and that a lack of evidence may be due to a lack of excavation of sites belonging to this period (Mountjoy 1999, 301). Evidently there were people in postpalatial Messenia, although most of the material comes from tombs. A

LHIIIC Middle pot apparently came from a chamber tomb at Aristomenes and Ramovouni: Lakkathela had LHIIIC Late pottery in a house (Mountjoy 1999, 303). At Pisaskion, 3km south of the palace at Pylos, chamber tomb T.K2 was in use from LHIIIA2-IIIC Late (Mountjoy 1999, 303). At Tragana, Tomb 1 was reused in LHIIIC Middle and Late and an early tholos at Koryphasion had a LHIIIC Early pot, suggesting reuse (Mountjoy 1999, 303). At Nichoria, there is a break in the pottery sequence, interpreted as a break in habitation, which continued again in Submycenaean (Mountjoy 1999, 305). The LHIIIC Late pottery shows links with the north-west Peloponnese and western Arcadia. Lakonia seems to have more activity visible in LHIIIC Early, with good evidence noted for Ayios Stephanos and Apidia (Mountjoy 1999, 246). Nevertheless, of the 52 sites occupied in LHIIIB, only 9-16 seem to show occupation in LHIIIC (Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002, 143). The number of sites reduces after LHIIIC Early and evidence is mainly from the Amyklaion, Pellanes, and Epidaurus Limera (Dickinson 1992, 114).

It is also possible to suggest concentrations of population in other areas. While many sites in the Argolid seem to have been abandoned, and there were few occupied sites in the eastern areas, expansion has been noted at major sites such as Tiryns, Asine and perhaps Argos, and this may reflect concentrations of people from outlying settlements (Thomatos 2006, 179; Dickinson 2006a, 63). Habitation also continued at Mycenae and Midea, and these sites, and Tiryns, are discussed in chapter 6. At Asine, LHIIIC habitation is attested in the Lower Town, on the northern slopes of the acropolis, where some new houses may have been constructed (Figure 5.12; Thomatos 2006, 196). Recent

work re-examining the pottery and architecture has suggested that Houses F, G,

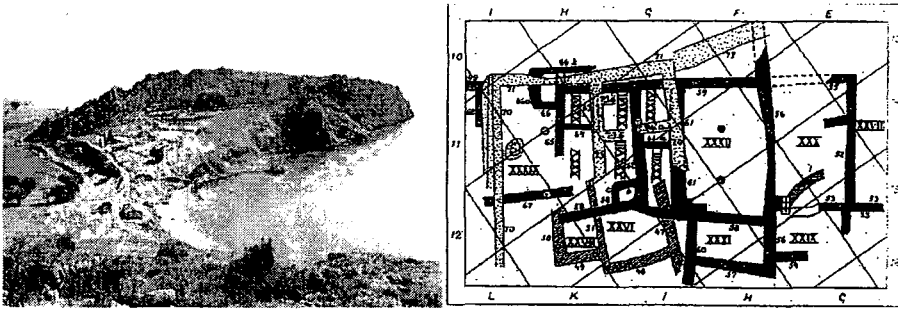H, I and K were occupied in LHIIIC, possibly the Middle and Late phase.

Figure 5.12 Asine (left) and Houses F-H (right). Sources: http://www.sia.gr/research/excavation_detail.asp?qID=145; Thomatos 2006, 196 Figure 3.16.

In Corinthia, there was also a reduction the number of sites visible between

Late Mycenaean and LHIIIC (Figure 5.13). There is evidence of LHIIIC

Middle use in House P at Korakou, which has a megaron type structure with a

square central hearth and a column base, suggestive of ritual activity, although

it may be a house with a variety of functions not limited to cult (Figure 5.14;

Thomatos 2006, 199-200). At Corinth, LHIIIC Middle pottery also comes

from the area of the Julian Basilica and LHIIIC Late material from the area of

the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, although architectural remains are

minimal, owing to later building (Rutter 1979). There is also some LHIIIC

from Tsoungiza and Zygouries, and other locations (Morgan 1999, 353-367).

Morgan notes (1999, 431) that the sanctuary at Isthmia was founded in LHIIIC,

as were others that continued in use through the EIA at Olympia (Eder 2001)

and Kalapodi (Felsch 1981) and the Amyklaion. She suggests that Isthmia

served as a convenient regional meeting place.

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a

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Figure 5.13 Sites in Corinthia (a) Late Mycenaean (b) LHIIIC. Source: Morgan 1999, 480 Figure 15.
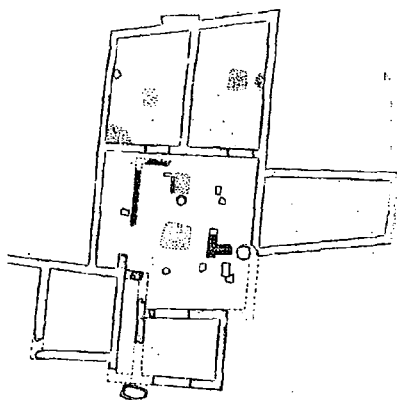
Figure 5.14 Korakou, House P. Source Thomatos 2006, 198 Figure 3.19.

The Euboean Gulf area is argued to have had considerable continuity of settlement through the LBA/EIA transition (Figure 5.15; Crielaard 2006). These sites (and those in the Aegean islands, noted above) in the postpalatial period pose a considerable objection to the notion that there was any kind of 'flight from the coast' either on mainland Greece or the Aegean islands, since clearly many of these sites were important during this period, perhaps more so than before.

Figure 5.15 Sites in the Euboean Gulf Region (a) LHI-IIIB (b) LHIIIC. Source: Crielaard 2006, 275 Figure 14.1.

There are three particularly significant sites in this region: Lefkandi, Mitrou and Perati, although the settlement for Perati is not known. Lefkandi was occupied in LHIIIB, although little is known about it in that phase (Sherratt 2006, 304). It became a major site with widespread contacts in LHIIIC, which
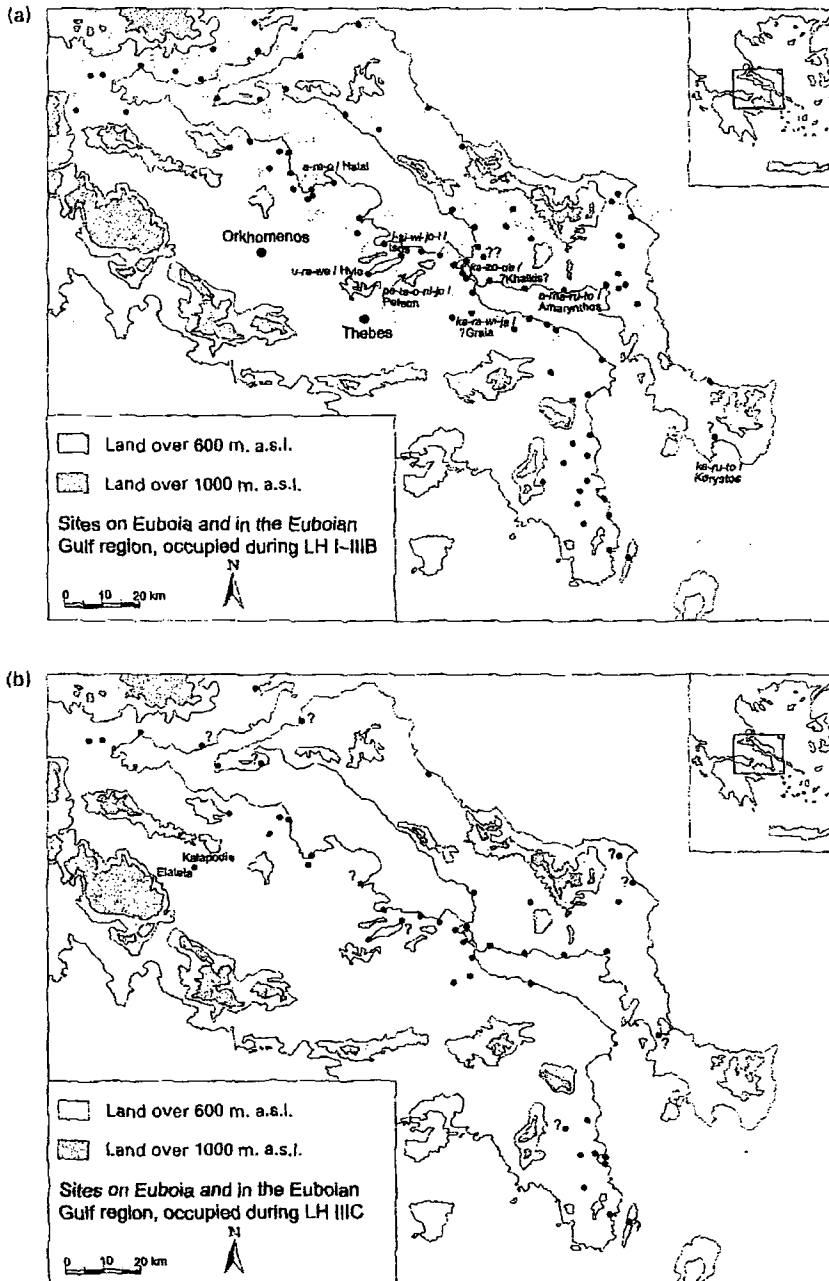
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has led to the suggestion that new people may have been attracted to the site and that the population expanded. Throughout the postpalatial period, the town experienced destructions and rebuilding. In LHIIIC Early, two building phases have been identified (Figure 5.16; Popham *et al.* 2006, 1).
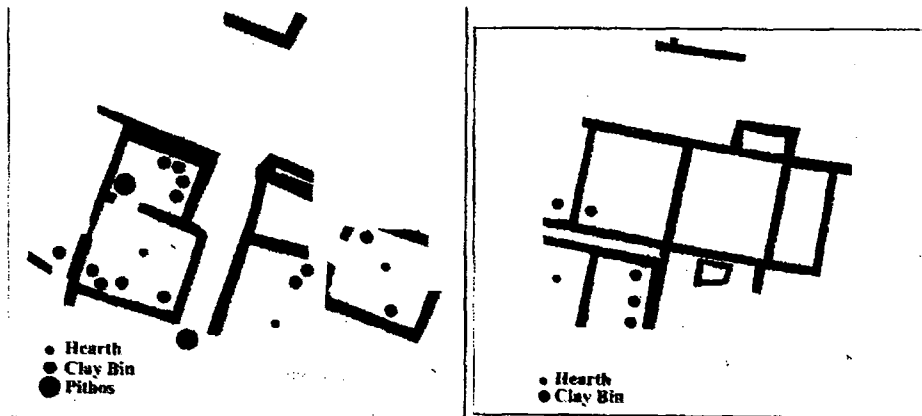
Figure 5.16 Lefkandi phase 1 (left) and phase 2 (right). Source: Popham and Sackett 1968 Figure 12.

Phase 1b follows some structural changes made to Phase 1a buildings, perhaps due to earthquake damage. Phase 1b came to an end when houses were destroyed by fire, after which they were cleared and levelled. Phase 2 was built in an orderly fashion, not following the lines of earlier walls but occupying similar positions. During LHIIIC Middle, when pictorial pottery was most popular, it too suffered some destructions followed by repairs in Phase 2b. The excavated parts of the site seem to have been abandoned at the end of 2b, but there are no certain signs of destruction. Intramural burial was practiced in phase 2 (Popham *et al.* 2006, 1, 52-55, 70-71). The evidence for Phase 3 now seems to indicate a continued settlement in LHIIIC Late; buildings that date to Submycenaean and PG also attest to clear continuity of occupation at Xeropolis, which was already suggested by burials (Lemos

2007b). Significantly, it seems that, as with Mitrou (discussed below), the EIA buildings, at least in the East sector of the site, often followed the alignment of LHIIIC buildings, with walls constructed either on or close to Mycenaean walls and observing similar orientations. Particularly notable in Region I is a PG megaron, constructed over an LHIIIC one (Lemos 2007c). It is now very clear that Lefkandi was continuously occupied throughout the postpalatial period and beyond.

Further up the gulf, Mitrou (see Figures 6.10, 6.12-6.13), now an island, which had already been occupied from the sixteenth century, also seems to have become an important site, with an elite building, possibly a megaron (Building B), being constructed in LHIIIC (*AR* 2005, 53). The second phase of the building seems to belong in LHIIIC Middle or Late, and wheel-thrown Submycenaean pots, one with piglet bones inside may belong to its last period of use (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 44 and 45 Figure 6). The excavators comment on the importance of this site in demonstrating strong continuity between the LBA and EIA in the area, which is emphasised by similar continuity at Kynos, Kalapodi and Elateia (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 48). They also note the different nature of the years c.1200 and after, in comparison with parts of southern Greece.

Figure 5.17 Perati. Source: Iakovides 1970, 44.

In Attica a new cemetery at Perati was founded early in LHIIIC and used throughout that period (Figure 5.17; Iakovides 1970, 467-468). 192 of the 219 excavated tombs were chamber tombs, but there were also 26 pit graves and one or two ossuaries (Iakovides 1970, 420-422). The finds from the graves demonstrate the relative wealth of the inhabitants at this time, including some swords, knives and other items, despite the lack of any settlement evidence, and show strong continued contacts throughout the Aegean with, Crete, and Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, with objects imported and exported (Iakovides 1970, 427-463, 469). Even in the third phase of the cemetery, in LHIIIC Late, these contacts were maintained, with some links to central Europe (Iakovides 1970, 470). 18 people, of various ages and both sexes, were cremated at Perati, and cremations occurred throughout LHIIIC (Iakovides 1970, 422). Nevertheless, cremated remains were in no way set apart from inhumations, but the custom itself may have been inspired by contacts with Italy and/or Asia Minor (Iakovides 1970, 423). Its use surely reflects the personal beliefs and wishes of individuals and families. In this context, it should be mentioned that HMB was found at Perati.

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Conclusions

It is difficult to reconcile the evidence for flourishing settlements in coastal areas of mainland Greece and the Aegean islands with any view that the seas held more danger in LHIIIC than it had in palatial times. The

> new boom settlements which characterise the immediate postpalatial
> world... probably owed at least some of their success to their position
> on or close to maritime and isthmus corridors which could link the East
> and Central Mediterranean via the Aegean (Sherratt 2006, 309).

The north-west Peloponnese and Ionian islands capitalised on links to southern Italy and into Europe, while the Euboean Gulf region and the Aegean islands maintained links between themselves and more widely to the eastern Mediterranean. Even the Argolid continued to maintain an important position in the postpalatial world. It is likely that between these areas, and internationally, there were movements of individuals and small groups, although there is no need or evidence for mass migrations. Movements must have been undertaken with a view to benefiting those willing to relocate, although it is likely that most of the population continued to farm at subsistence levels. Studies of migration show that most movements take place on a local, rather than international level, and are affected by a variety of factors. It is possible that, after initial movements migration streams could have developed, and these could have led to changes over the longer term. The beginnings of the Hellenisation of Cyprus should probably be seen in this way, and was most likely an unintentional consequence of the actions of many

individuals and groups, acting on their own varied motivations over a long period of time.

Migration and population movement are difficult to for archaeology to deal with. There is no clear correlation between material culture and ethnicity or identity and traditions are actively manipulated for a variety of reasons. Real migrations or population movements could be archaeologically invisible while changes in material culture can be due to local factors and active human agency. It must nevertheless be recognised that they are quite common features of human society. The traditional, and often implicit view of migration and population movement as a satisfactory explanation of change in material culture tends to be simplistic and certainly arguments for mass migration also tend to be difficult on practical grounds alone. Material and social culture are actively used and manipulated by people and groups for a variety of reasons, while sometimes no thought at all may be given to which pot (or other material item) is chosen for use. The Japanese practice of *iitoko-dori*, 'adopting the best parts of foreign culture' is one example of how a culture may deliberately borrow from other cultures, in terms of both material and non-material culture, without any significant migration taking place (Davies and Ikeno 2002, 127-131). Just such a picture of the active use of various material and perhaps even religious traditions may be observed around and after c.1200. Such traditions do not stick hard and fast to distinct population or ethnic groups and therefore inserting population movements as necessary for the movement of or change in material cultures is highly questionable.

Despite the successes apparent in some areas, it nevertheless seems difficult to avoid seeing some reduction in total population, owing to the significant reduction in the number of sites and the disappearance of the class of small sites that had existed in some areas in palatial times. As has been discussed, though, the evidence from survey archaeology is problematic. It is unlikely that nucleation at a few centres could explain all these losses, since most remaining sites seem fairly small, although some areas seem to have been more affected by apparent losses than others, and population may also have spread out more thinly in some places. This may have been a consequence of the failure of palatial systems that themselves probably influenced a rising population earlier on. The areas that did best in postpalatial Greece seem largely to have been those that were not part of palatial states, or at least not directly integrated in them. Whether the collapse itself promoted these changes in the relative importance of areas, or was perhaps a consequence of people in these areas seeking opportunities themselves, is a matter of conjecture.

It seems that the collapse of the Mycenaean palace states fits into the patterns of collapse noted for other societies. Elites could move site due to dynastic quarrels or warfare while elements of the population could be driven away from areas that were no longer stable and which they could no longer farm, and towards areas that were more stable or prospering. However, detecting these kinds of movements in the postpalatial period is difficult due to the absence of any textual evidence that illuminates the situation in other societies. Interpreting the Aegean island sites, Cyprus and the Near East simply as refuge

sites for fleeing Mycenaeans fails to take due account of parallel developments in those areas, although some movement, on a small scale is likely enough for those who were willing and able to attempt it.

6   Postpalatial rulership, elites and social structure

Introduction

As recently as 1985, Donlan (1985, 294) could state that:

> the almost barren archaeological record from 1200 to 1000 attests to a
>
> drastic decline... Given the extent of desolation and dislocation, little
>
> could have survived of earlier social institutions; and historians agree
>
> that whatever remained from the past (discontinuity is never total), the
>
> social history of Greece began anew after this violent chapter.'

Although the twelfth and eleventh centuries have been seen as the first two

centuries of a Greek Dark Age, such a position may have been unduly negative

even then, since Desborough (1964) had already demonstrated a final

flourishing of Mycenaean culture, which is now widely accepted as an

important and long-lasting phase in its own right (Thomatos 2006).

Since in material terms there are such clear cultural continuities from palatial to

postpalatial times (Rutter 1992), it will be argued below that there are likely to

have been other significant continuities in the sphere of non-material culture,

that is in the relationships between people and groups and in the existence of

stratified societies. Indeed, continuities in such visible arts as pictorial pottery,

which flourished in LHIIIC Middle, suggest that the postpalatial market for

such items shared its tastes with those in earlier, yet quite different times, and

we may suggest continuities in production skills, and networks of distribution,

although these may have been modified to connect with markets in LHIIIC.

Some of these relationships between people and groups will have been based

on pre-existing ones, however disruptive the collapse of the palaces was. In fact, accepting that the collapse was not instantaneous, but is much more likely to have occurred over some decades, gives much more allowance for the survival, adaptation and creation of networks and relationships through that period. This survival undoubtedly involved change, but this does not require any complete break.

The intention in this chapter is to examine the archaeological evidence for the existence of rulership and elites in the postpalatial period, as well as to examine the evidence for social structure and stratification more generally. In the first place, it will be necessary to discuss the terminology of power, since this provides one of the main arguments for continuity of rulership, in some form, from the palatial period into later Greece. Despite persistent valid criticism, it remains usual for this period to be discussed in relation to the Homeric poems, and the accounts of rulership and society that they provide. Needless to say, it is necessary to deal with these, in order to examine whether and in what way they can be useful. It will then be appropriate to turn to the archaeological evidence itself, and both settlement and funerary remains will be discussed, as well as other items of material culture, such as pictorial pottery. Finally, we will turn to a discussion of the *oikos*, before making some concluding remarks.

Wanax, qasireu and *basileis*

As noted in chapter 1, at least some Mycenaean palace states appear to have been headed by *wanaktes*. Although their precise role and duties are unclear, at Pylos, the *wanax* held the greatest amount of land recorded in the tablets,

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perhaps the basis of their power, and seems to have been involved in both military and religious activities. Although nothing is known of the arrangements for their succession or appointment, it seems generally presumed that these were the heads of royal dynasties, in a traditional sense. As to their style of rule, the layout and finds from palaces, as well as evidence from the Linear B tablets, would seem to suggest that they actively sought to involve and integrate members of the elite from around their kingdoms through feasting (Palaima 2004b), and thus it would seem that personal, face-to-face relationships were important in maintaining their authority. It seems they also sought to control and restrict access to certain resources, with the aim of maintaining their own status (Voutsaki 2001). *Wanaktes* were central to the palatial systems, which were presumably developed by their ancestors or forebears, and to some degree the success and survival of the polities as integrated units will have depended on the abilities and fortunes of individual *wanaktes* as well as the activities of others within and outside the kingdoms. In this, they will have faced similar difficulties to other rulers, as outlined in chapter 4.

The greatest consequence of the collapse of the palace states appears to be end of this system of palace based kingship, along with the rejection of *wanax* as a kingly title, to be replaced eventually by *basileus*, and this loss must have entailed the fragmentation of the relationships that had bound the systems together in particular regions. The word and derivative forms of it later appear only in a few particular usages. On Cyprus, it was retained for some members of the royal family, but not the king, who was termed *basileus* (Iacovou 2006).

In Homer, *anax* seems to retain some of its significance and is used, occasionally to refer to someone as lord of an area (e.g. Nestor as *anax* of Pylos, *Iliad* 2.77), or 'lord of men' (*Iliad* 1.506), but Yamagata argues (1997, 3-10) that, in the main, it occurs in the sense of 'master of the house', or as patriarch, patron or protector, or master of people or objects, and could be used in the vocative by a person to one of higher status or a god. She states that it is best seen, both in Linear B and in Homer, as denoting a relationship, rather than a function and notes that it later comes to be used only as a divine title (Yamagata 1997, 14).

It is difficult to give any chronology to these shifts because of the lack of textual sources, and it is not possible to conclude whether the use of derived forms on Cyprus is connected with any migration of Mycenaean royalty, or other Mycenaeans, who retained the title in their society. Given the likelihood that any migrations were most likely small-scale, and may be better placed in the eleventh rather the twelfth centuries, that would imply that *wanax* would have had to have remained in use as a title in Greece, and that small groups of Greeks on Cyprus would have been able to justify its use in their communities, which may often have been mixed, and in which they need not have formed a majority. Furthermore, some migrants may have come from non-palatial areas, where it is unlikely the term was used. The different usage on Cyprus is perhaps best regarded as a separate local development, and it need not necessarily be seen only in the context of a partial retention related only to the mainland palaces. It could nevertheless be the case that the title was not rejected immediately in Greece, and accepting that the collapse may have

happened over some decades, it could have been retained in a few places, perhaps claimed by those seeking power in order to legitimise their claims. This may be most probable at Tiryns, which is discussed below. In that context, it could have become progressively detached from the traditional palatial ideology in which it had been embedded, only to be discarded later on in favour of the term *basileus*, as the palatial world disintegrated.

The interpretation of the Mycenaean *qasireu*, as it occurs in Linear B, is far from clear-cut and this affects any argument for continuity of the term beyond c.1200 and its transformation into the *basileus* of later times (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 96). Like *wanax*, but unlike other terms for functionaries connected to the palaces, it seems to have a non Indo-European etymology (Palaima 1995, 122-123), although the inability to find an etymology need not hinder an interpretation of the function it designated (Lindgren 1979, 84). It is often suggested that it was incorporated from a pre-Greek language, and this may be significant (Palaima 1995, 125). Several interpretations of *qasireu* have been offered.

Ventris and Chadwick (1956, 172) suggested that it should be etymologically linked to the later Greek *basileus* and indicated local chiefs. However, as Lindgren (1979, 84) noted, 'the equation with the classical basileus may be more or less misleading as to the interpretation of the real functions of the Linear B official thus named.' Palmer (1963, 138, 227-228, 280, 283, 442) argued that since nearly all the instances of the term are connected with 'manufacture', it denoted a supervisor, 'an official responsible for

bronzesmiths' and that there was 'nothing in the evidence available to take us outside the semantic field of 'craftsmen'. However, he did note that a *qasireu* was also mentioned in Jo 438 as giving the same amount of gold as another palace 'official' a *po-ro-ko-re-te* (Palmer 1963, 228, 287). In any case, apart from the difference in meaning that he observes between the earlier and later terms, he stresses that the link with *basileus* is difficult on phonological and chronological grounds (Palmer 1963, 39; Morpurgo Davies 1979, 108).

Morpurgo Davies (1979, 98) avoided such a strict definition as Palmer, and suggested that the *qasireu* were very minor officers 'who depended on the central authority but did not necessarily reside in the capital and could be dispatched to various places.' In her view, *qasireu* were of a similar status to local officers *po-ro-ko-re-te* and acted as 'supervisors' (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 98-99 n. 40). Furthermore, despite Palmer's caveats, she accepts the identification of *qasireu* with *basileus* and suggests that after the collapse of central power it is easy to see how 'a minor officer could 'pull rank' and strengthen his authority' (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 96, 98). This would have been done presumably through their links with workers and peasants, and the title *qasireu* would have become more important, eventually taking over the paramount status of *wanax* (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 96, 98-99 n.40). Thus implicitly she denies the title was already significant in the LBA. Palmer (1963, 228), despite his misgivings, has accepted that such a semantic shift is possible and has historical parallels. Nevertheless, it is not clear from Morpurgo Davies' argument why it should have been the *qasireu*, rather than any other figure with authority, who was successful in arrogating power after

the fall of the palaces, for surely other officers would also have had networks connecting them to potential support groups.

Gschnitzer argued that *qasireu* could have a generic meaning of 'chief', and to this Ruijgh added that it may also have been used in Mycenaean times for local princes or kinglets, both of which could explain the later use of the term (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 98-99 n.40; Palaima 2006, 54). Palaima (2006, 68) accepts that 'the *qasireu* is a 'local chieftain' who is drawn into relations with the central palatial authority in specific circumstances.' This explains their absence from 'palatio-centric records... and ... the 'chain of administrative command'' set up in Messenia. Although he follows Morpurgo Davies (1979), she did not explicitly argue that the *qasireu* was a local chief and, as noted above, doubted the initial significance of the title (Palaima 2006, 68).

Palaima's arguments need to be considered more fully. He argues that *qasireu* was a non-Indo-European power term that became part of Greek when Indo-European speakers arrived and merged with the existing population (1995; 2006, 54). These figures 'understandably survived... at the village level of social, economic and political organisation' (Palaima 2006, 54). However one explains the Hellenisation of Greece, surely a long and complex process still going on in Archaic times, the argument for the continuation of *qasireu* as a pre-existing power term makes sense and helps to explain its uniqueness in comparison with terms for other officers more closely associated with the development of the palatial system and which lost their significance with the end of the palaces (Palaima 2006, 68; Morpurgo Davies 1979, 98). These local

figures would have been incorporated into palatial socio-economic structure structures in a two-way relationship, as is usual in expanding polities (Thomas 1995). Palaces will have relied on local authority figures and local figures may have increased their prestige due to links with palaces and participation in palatial ideologies. However, for much of the population, local figures may have remained far more visible and important than those from the palace, and these stronger local networks and relationships may be thought more likely to have survived the collapse of overarching palatial authority (Palaima 2004a, 269-270). Furthermore, whereas at least some palatial areas were headed by a *wanax*, other areas with important centres, such as Teikhos Dymaion, or Kanakia on Salamis, and other non-palatial areas may never have used the title. In many parts of Greece there had been no *wanaktes* to lose. It seems inherently likely, given the later use of the title and its use in Linear B, that *qasireu* were important local figures, who were already paramount in non-palatial areas, albeit on a smaller scale than the *wanaktes*, and whom in palatial areas had been absorbed into larger, more complex societies. This conclusion may be considered problematic by some, and is of course speculative, for there remains no way to prove such a hypothesis.

In summary, it seems plausible that the survival and significance of the unusual term *basileus* into later times in itself indicates that it was an important term earlier on, even if local *qasireu* in some areas were absorbed into an overarching palatial system and that in some areas their relative status in terms of the *wanax* was reduced. There is no contradiction in expecting these figures to have interacted with the palaces in palatial areas, fulfilling their obligations

to the *wanax*, while in other areas they continued as independent local chiefs. It should of course be remembered that the Linear B tablets do not reveal everything about Mycenaean society. They are palace focused and restricted to particular palatial areas. The occurrences of *qasireu* in Linear B must be accepted as partial statements that do not reveal the full scope of activities of a person or their status outside of the administration. It is likely that, as local chiefs even those under the *wanaktes* will have retained their local status and close connections with their people, and quite probably they had some degree of autonomy. The collapse of the wider social and political networks of the palaces, and the failure and rejection of large scale *wanax* kingship would have provided an ideal context for *qasireu* in palatial areas to reassert their status as local paramount, no longer answerable to a higher power, whereas in non-palatial areas they would have continued in importance as before.

In fact, viewing the palace states in this way, as venues of elite interaction and competition, these relationships between local and central powers form a cleavage point, familiar from the discussion in chapter 4. Thus, it is quite plausible to hypothesise that palaces may have been unable to manage or satisfy local *qasireu*, and this would have promoted instability in the system and increased the likelihood of the break up of the palace states. This adds a new dimension to the argument that the palace states could have collapsed due to internal conflict. In this regard, it seems undeniable that *qasireu* of the LBA survived into postpalatial Greece and beyond as *basileis*, and as will be seen below, they have been identified in different ways in postpalatial Greece and associated with several sites and regions.

Homer, *basileis, oikoi* and postpalatial Greek society

Although it seems that social complexity and rulership, albeit at more local levels, continued after the collapse of the palaces and in formerly peripheral regions, the precise nature of rulership remains problematic (Eder 2006, 572). In Muhly's words (2003, 24), what was missing was 'not really the palace itself, but the sense of order and security that had been the gift of the palace administrations. What was missing in the 'Dark Age' was state organization – the framework and the structure that palace or state administration had bestowed upon everyday life'. Although this statement is best understood in regard to collapsed palace states, non-palatial areas were already organised differently, and non-state areas need not necessarily be dangerously insecure, unstable or unsuccessful. It is also necessary to add nuance to his statement in terms of how the actual day to day operation of the palace states is understood, since the discussion above implies that there may have been varying degrees of local autonomy in palace states, presumably to be understood as existing within a network of mutual obligations and relationships. In this sense, rather than the palaces states imposing order and stability, a situation of more or less successful and harmonious relationships can be understood to have characterised the successful period of the palace states' existence.

It seems probable that the process of collapse and the eventual demise of the palaces states stemmed from a breakdown in this situation, probably for a variety of reasons, and this will have created a less stable situation, quite possibly a much more volatile one for a while at least, involving fragmentation

of states into more and smaller competing groups. This in itself could have led to a decline in population and a reduction in the standards of material culture, as is familiar from other collapses outlined in chapters 2 and 4. In order to explore the nature of postpalatial society and the style of rulership that may have operated in it, it has been traditional to turn to Homer to illustrate the nature of the *basileis*, and this warrants discussion here. The literature on Homer is vast, and a highly selective approach is necessarily taken here.

It is often still assumed that Homer can be used as a guide to Mycenaean Greece, yet this is fraught with difficulties. It has been pointed out by many scholars that the poems incorporate details from various periods, and that they cannot be simply taken as a reliable guide to any of them (Lorimer 1950; Dickinson 1986; Sherratt 1990). Certainly, even if there are accurate descriptions of artefacts that have been found in the archaeological record, these details go no way towards proving the veracity of the narrative, but arguably there is content of value in reconstructing social history (Finley 1964). Several scholars argue that there are quite convincing reasons for accepting that many parts of the poem best suit the archaeology of the postpalatial period and the Early Iron Age, and that this may be the period that contributed most to them (Finley 1977; Dickinson 1986; Sherratt 1990). In fact, it may be possible to accept some aspects of Homer's description of *basileis* and Homeric society as reflecting the realities of postpalatial society on the basis of analogy, rather than attempting any finer conclusions. The rest of this section will briefly outline something of the nature of Homeric *basileis*, before the archaeological evidence is discussed below.

In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon is referred to as *basileus* more often than any other character, but his position as leader of the Greek 'army' (not the Greek people), is due to his greater individual wealth and power, his patronage by the gods including his possession of a sceptre, and by the consent of the numerous other *basileis*, rather than any particular legal status (Yamagata 1997, 11; Dickinson 1986, 34). As such, *basileis* like Achilles were able to withdraw support if they felt slighted, since the relationship relied on mutual right treatment. Yamagata (1997, 10) rightly notes that *basileis* occupied a variety of levels, and this will have depended on their wealth, connections, and achievements, and to some extent on their lineage, and thus some were 'more *basileus*' than others. In fact, it may be better not to regard Homeric *basileis* as kings in any straightforward sense. For example, when Agamemnon left for war, he left behind no steward of his kingdom but rather only a minstrel to guard his wife, which led to plotting, faction, strife and murder (*Odyssey* 3.262-275). It might be supposed that Homer had little knowledge of kingship but was more familiar with a situation in which there was a group of more powerful individuals, whose power was based on the wealth of their household (*oikos*), their connections through gift-giving and receiving, their activities and abilities and who shared an elite culture. Such a picture of rulership may in fact fit the immediate postpalatial period quite well, as well as also being appropriate for the EIA (Eder 2006, 570-572).

The situation described on Ithaca reinforces the view of competing *basileis*. While some interpret Odysseus as king of Ithaca (Yamagata 1997, 11), his

position is clearly rather one of local supremacy amongst a group of competing *basileis* on the island and is directly comparable to the supremacy of Agamemnon amongst the leaders of the Greek army. While Odysseus' father Laertes had seemingly once been pre-eminent in the region (*Odyssey* 24.378), he is constantly referred to in the *Odyssey* as either hero or old man (e.g. *Odyssey* 14.9), and it is clear that Odysseus took over his position as *basileus* as Laertes became physically unable to fulfil that role. Equally, in the absence of Odysseus, Telamachus was not yet strong enough, physically or otherwise, to compete with the other *basileis*, who, in consuming his *oikos*, were undermining his potential status (*Odyssey* 1.248). Although one of the suitors, Antinous suggests that the 'kingship' (βασιληα) of Ithaca belonged to Telemachus by birth (*Odyssey* 1.386), his ability to occupy that role would have depended on his survival, and the survival of his *oikos*. It is perfectly plausible that one of the powerful suitors could have become pre-eminent by murdering Telemachus and/or destroying his household, or taking over his household by marrying Penelope. In a similar sense, Aegisthus was able to become pre-eminent while Agamemnon was absent, albeit temporarily, by marrying Clytemnestra (*Odyssey* 3. 263-275).

It seems clear then, that Homeric *basileis* were less than kings, but nevertheless were pre-eminent figures some of whom were more important than others (Halverson 1992, 181-183). Furthermore, these *basileis* did not seem to be vital for society to operate; despite their importance and influence, they did not govern in any kingly fashion and in their absence life seems to have carried on. In fact, there is an absence of any kind of notion of states in the Homeric

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poems (Halverson 1986), and the world is rather one of communities made up of different groups including slaves, peasants and a large class of nobles based in *oikoi*. This might well fit a view of postpalatial Greece, with competing households, without a monarchy, state or even the necessity for high politics in a formal sense, but nevertheless with successfully functioning communities. This could be squared with the archaeological evidence reviewed below.

Something more should be said of the roles, activities and interests of the Homeric *basileis*, for this too is thought to be applicable for rulership in the postpalatial period in representing what could be termed a heroic society (Eder 2006, 570-572). As noted above, the basis for the *basileis* was their individual wealth, based primarily on the *oikos*, or household. Land could be won for the *oikos*, either in a direct sense by farming it, or by receiving it as a prize of honour (*Odyssey* 24.205-212). Slaves also formed part of the household, and these could be purchased or won (*Odyssey* 1.429-433). A focus on accruing wealth in terms of gifts to increase the substance and prestige of the *oikos* and the individual was a vital concern (*Odyssey* 11.355-361). Gift-giving and hospitality played an important role in developing and maintaining relationships between prominent individuals and families, and giving and receiving reflected status (*Odyssey* 8.389ff). Another aspect of this is reflected in the recognition of heroic ancestry (*Iliad* 6.145-234). On the active side, *basileis* engaged in warfare and raiding, and this was perhaps the main way to win status and booty, which could be collected and redistributed through gift-giving. Trade is less prominent in the poems, though it is notable that there was perhaps little difference between trade and piracy (*Odyssey* 9.252-255).

This may suggest an opportunistic and adventurous approach to gaining wealth. Other reflections of elite status are found in a general concern with physical prowess both martial and athletic (*Odyssey* 8.159), in hunting (*Odyssey* 19.428ff.), as well as physical beauty and the possession of skills applicable to all aspects of life from farming and building to storytelling, intelligence, oratory and persuasion. The funeral of Patroclus (*Iliad* 23), with its athletic contests including a chariot race, boxing, wrestling, running and others, and his public cremation and the heaping up of a mound suggest yet another public venue for the interaction of the elite, combining many of the interests mentioned above. The funeral itself may be most reminiscent of the wealthy early tenth century burial at the Heroön at Lefkandi, with its cremation and deposition of the male's ashes in a bronze amphora, accompanied by horse sacrifices, although there are some differences, including the burial in a house replica and the female companion (Dickinson 2006a, 190-191). Earlier postpalatial cremations, including those associated with warrior burial (discussed below) could also be viewed in this way.

Eder (2006, 570-572) argues that there is significant continuity in elite lifestyle between 1200 and 700, and that this is reflected in the similarity of the themes in pictorial pottery of LHIIIC and LG. To some degree, this must also incorporate the notion that there were similarities between elite lifestyles and concerns before 1200, and this is not particularly surprising, even though the scale of power underwent a significant reduction. It should be noted that martial scenes and particularly scenes of ship battles, became more common in LHIIIC. Rystedt (1999) argues that these similarities between the LBA and

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EIA, specifically representations of the gesture of female lamentation and *apobates* games involving chariots and running, probably owe more to the maintenance of living traditions rather than inspiration from epic poetry. It is notable that some aspects of the lifestyle of the Homeric *basileis* can be illustrated by LHIIIC pictorial pottery, and incidentally the continued ideological importance of chariots is demonstrated by their retention as an important theme.

It seems then, that Homeric *basileis* can be plausibly interpreted as members of an elite, distinguished from others primarily by wealth, status and achievement and the social networks they participated in and also by membership of a prominent family. Much of the modern discussion has been focussed on the classification of *basileis*, as kings, chiefs, an aristocracy or as big men. As has been argued, it is difficult to view them straightforwardly as kings, in any proper institutional sense, or even ruling in a kingly way. Because of this, and the Homeric emphasis on achievement, some have favoured a big man model derived from the anthropology of Melanesia (Hall 2007, 122-125). This has been summarised as 'a state of being which people attain through their own deeds' (Thomas and Conant 1999, 52). As such, it is not ascriptive, not a hereditary or elective office, but an achieved status. Eriksen (2001, 166) describes this situation in Melanesia:

> Within every village there is competition between men who wish to be 'big men'; who aspire to make decisions on behalf of the village and wish to be respected and powerful. Such a status is acquired through the exchange of gifts with a large number of people, thereby creating

ties of mutual obligation with as many persons as possible. A 'big man' should therefore have many relatives and several wives as a starting-point for his networking. When an established 'big man' dies, a new group of younger men will start competing to build similar positions.

A big man may further seek influence in surrounding communities in similar ways although by doing this may risk losing his position by destabilising his local support base (Eriksen 2001, 166). These societies are argued to commonly occur when 'there is a low population and a relative abundance of land or other vital resources' (Thomas and Conant 1999, 52) although Eriksen (2001, 167) notes that an important distinction between big man societies and those with ascriptive, hereditary political power is the production of a big enough surplus 'to make a division of labour possible where a segment of the population does not need to engage in agriculture.' Thus it is the aims and level of agricultural production, that is subsistence or something more that is the point, with less intensive agriculture and an arguably more egalitarian society more likely to produce big men.

The Homeric poems, however, do place some emphasis on prominent ancestors, and the potential to inherit status, thus the big man model cannot be regarded as wholly accurate in describing the *basileis*. Since *basileis* survived the collapse of the palaces, some power structures and social networks will have survived with them. Postpalatial rulership was not a tradition without roots that developed in a society reduced to complete or near egalitarianism, and thus some principle of hereditary power was likely to have played a role.

Nevertheless, the postpalatial world may have been one in which big men could have arisen to compete with others, and *basileis* will have needed to compete and achieve to maintain their positions, whatever advantage their family heritage may have provided.

The *oikos* or household has been noted as the 'fundamental social unit' of Archaic and early Greek society (Donlan 1985, 300) and Rystedt (1999, 94 n.18) has likewise suggested that 'the family/*oikos* functioned as an important entity already in the Bronze Age'. Maran (2006, 125), following Kilian and Deger-Jalkotzy, supports the idea that the new architectural layout of The Lower Citadel and Town of postpalatial Tiryns, with their courtyard houses, represents the emergence of 'independent *oikoi* mentioned by Homer... immediately after the demise of the palace.' These are represented as 'strong and competing families' that dominated the political life of postpalatial Tiryns (Maran 2006, 125). This emergence is not to be seen as the creation of new groups but rather the emergence of these groups from under the shadow of the former palace authority (Maran 2006, 127). This case for continuity seems likely enough, especially at Tiryns, but also in former peripheral areas where no palaces collapsed and depopulation seems less severe (Foxhall 1995, 247-248). Small (1998, 289) has developed an interesting and unusual hypothesis which suggests 'much more structural continuity between Late Bronze Age Greece and the later periods of Greek social development than many assume.' He argues that the palace societies of LBA Greece, in particular Pylos, do not easily fit into definitions of chiefdoms, states, early state modules or feudal societies but rather resemble lineage units, some of which managed to become

dominant and influence other areas (Small 1998, 289; 1999). In his view this explains the lack of general taxation, a controlling administration and the failure to fully integrate lower centres (Small 1998, 285-286, 289). The collapse involved the reduction in scale of these *oikoi* and more significant changes in the leading units which 'lost their scribal recording systems... But all in all, the *oikos* remained. With its interest in its own estate and its need for retainers, the *oikos* spanned the collapse of the Late Bronze Age in the Greek Aegean' (Small 1998, 289).

The hypothesis that *oikoi* retained control of land through the collapse and later, in the terms argued by Small (1998), has been criticised by Dickinson (2006a, 248) who comments that this argument 'seems to underestimate the degree of disturbance associated with the Collapse and the Postpalatial Period.' However, while this may be generally true, especially in the long term, and in certain parts of Greece, perhaps Messenia and southern Greece and some other formerly palatial areas, it would seem likely that in some places this control was retained, although wider territorial control probably became less evident. Here a distinction can be made between the major palace sites and smaller sites. Foxhall (1995, 247) has argued for different kinds of postpalatial activity dependent on a site or area's relations with former palaces. She rightly suggests that 'political, economic and social relationships' to former palaces will have changed drastically but that 'underlying social values and political structures (especially notions of who could claim to be members of the elite) continued (Foxhall 1995, 247). In the postpalatial period, local elites may have fared best at retaining their own basis for survival. At least, such may have

been the case for a time, but the apparent increasing fragmentation and continued destructions late in LHIIIC pose problems in the transition to the EIA.

Since it seems unlikely that the Homeric epics actually represent a single historically operative society (Dickinson 2006a, 111), attempting to press them for a precise or entirely coherent picture of society or rulership is unnecessary. Similarly, attempting to categorise *basileis* too precisely is unlikely to be helpful, and classification is merely a tool for understanding. Even so, the variety and fluidity of positions may be best understood in the context of the postpalatial world, in which the renegotiation of relationships in a society that had undergone, and continued to undergo significant changes. The rest of this chapter will discuss the archaeological evidence for rulership and elites in postpalatial Greece.

Continuity and change at Tiryns

Despite the widespread destructions that mark the collapse there was no 'irreversible breakdown of society' and different sites show various degrees of activity in the aftermath (Dickinson 2006a, 60). Tiryns is notable in this regard, for continued research there has significantly changed the once accepted picture of postpalatial decline (Maran 2002, 223). In fact, Tiryns may have expanded in the twelfth century to rival any of the earlier palatial centres, covering some 25 hectares, although there is some suggestion that parts of the LHIIIB town may have been buried under flood deposits (Thomatos 2005, 78 and 81 fig. 3; Maran 2002, 223). Construction and rebuilding took place in

several areas (Figure 6.1). The fortification wall was repaired, and in the Lower Town, to the north and south of the acropolis, houses with paved areas and courtyards were constructed. These showed several occupation phases, 2 in LHIIIC Early, the second ending with fire, and at least 3 more, the last still falling in LHIIIC Middle (Maran 2002, 223). In the Lower Citadel more than 30 new rooms and buildings were constructed within a system of streets and courtyards with workshops, storage areas and a shrine (Kilian 1988a, 135).
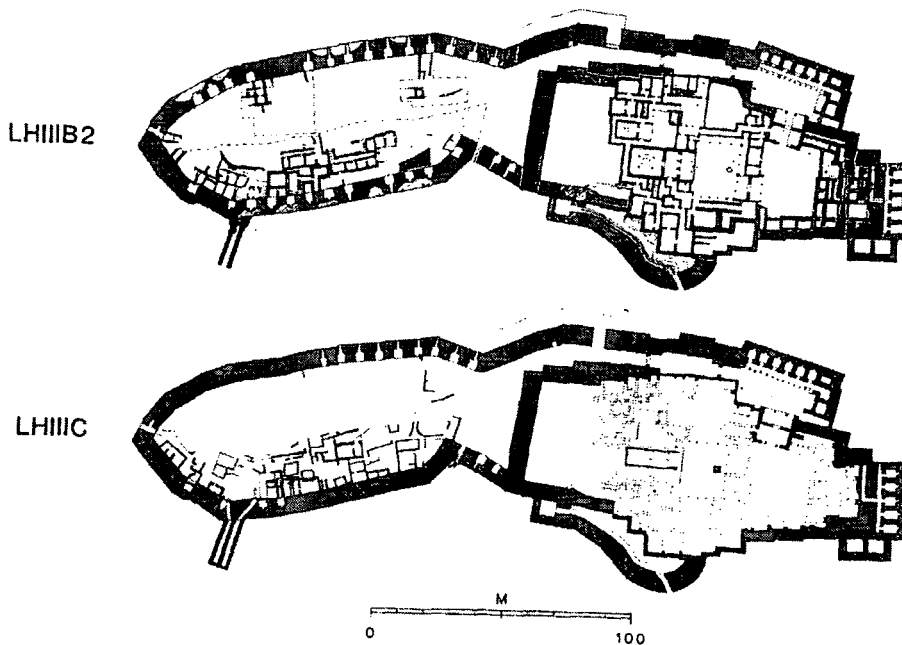
Figure 6.1 The citadel of Tiryns in LHIIIB2 and LHIIIC. Source: Kilian 1988a, 132 Figure 9.

Perhaps most significant in terms of rulership are the changes on the Upper Citadel, where a narrow megaron, Building T, was built over the eastern part of the earlier Great Megaron (Figure 6.2; Maran 2001). This building is now securely dated to the 12th century, although it is impossible to be more precise (Maran 2002, 114). At the same time, the round altar in the Great Court seems to have been partially dismantled and replaced by a square platform-like

structure (Maran 2002, 115). The recovery and continued activity at Tiryns certainly suggests the presence of a continued complex organisation that wished to retain the prominence of the site and their association with it. That this was possible suggests that there was no catastrophic drought or famine in the area that prevented continued habitation in the area.
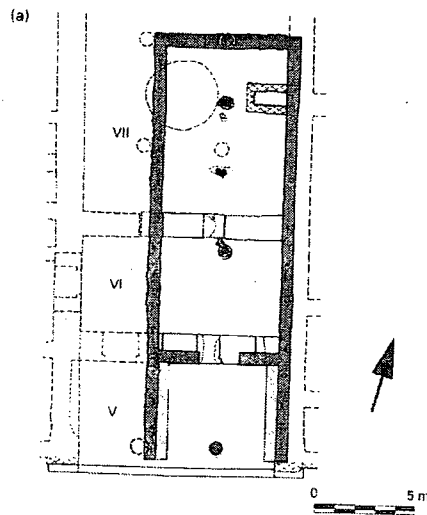
Figure 6.2 Building T, Tiryns. Source: Wright 2006, 40 Figure 1.16a.

Maran (2000; 2001; 2006) has noted the significance of Building T and other features of postpalatial Tiryns for the nature of rulership at this time and suggests a degree of continuity, based on the selective revival of palatial ideology, but also change apparent in the abandonment of some features. Building T reused the focal area of palatial power at Tiryns, the Upper Citadel and specifically the area of the Great Megaron, as well as the megaron form itself, although it was not identical to its predecessor (Maran 2000, 2; Maran 2001, 117). The room itself was shorter and narrower than the palatial megaron, although it conspicuously retained the earlier throne emplacement. The large central hearth with its four columns was abandoned and instead the

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room was divided into two aisles, separated by a new row of columns aligned with two of the earlier columns. A storage facility consisting of at least 12 pithoi has also been noted as probably belonging to the same period (Maran 2001, 118). There are two other buildings in the Lower Town at Tiryns, which have been interpreted as of high status (Maran 2006, 126; Thomatos 2006, 195). In the north-eastern sector, there is a LHIIIC Early-Middle building divided by multiple rows of columns and in the south-eastern sector, the LHIIIC Middle Megaron W. In the Lower Citadel, the LHIIIC Middle Room 115, which may have had cultic functions, has also been considered important (Maran 2006, 127; Thomatos 2006, 191). It is hard to underemphasise these developments for considering the nature of social complexity in postpalatial Greece.
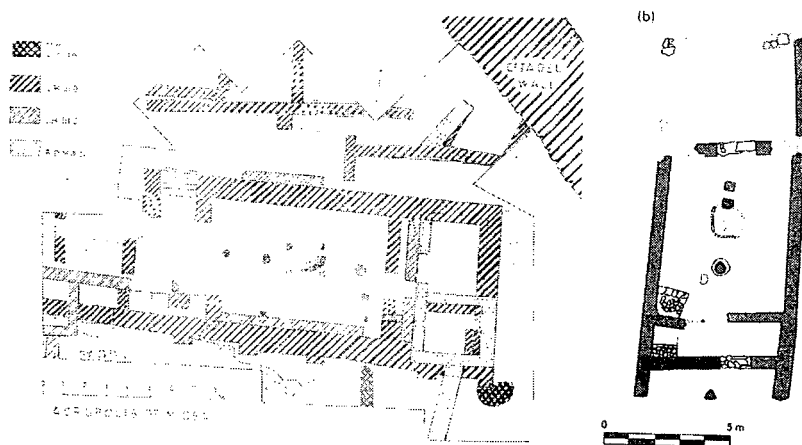

Figure 6.3 Midea megaron (left). Korakou, House L (right). Sources: Walberg 1995, 88, Figure 1; Wright 2006, 40 Figure 1.16b.

Although Tiryns offers the greatest insight into such developments due to the amount of evidence available, there are developments elsewhere that hint at a

more wide-spread, if selective continuity. At Midea, the megaron built in LHIIIB and destroyed by earthquake (part of the building sank by up to a metre) at the end of that period was repaired and reused in LHIIIC (Figure 6.3 left; Walberg 1995, 87). As at Tiryns, the LHIIIC megaron did not include a central hearth surrounded by four columns as it had in LHIIIB, but had a row of three central columns, dividing it into two. It is not known whether the earlier megaron had a throne emplacement but it seems that the LHIIIC megaron did not. There are fragments of fresco but it is unclear from the context whether these belong to LHIIIB or LHIIIC. House L at Korakou (Figure 6.3 right) follows a similar plan, although it has a central hearth. It is unclear, however, precisely which period this building belongs to. Walberg (1995, 89), following Hiesel, places it in LHIIIB with change and reuse in LHIIIC, as at Midea, while Wright (2006, 40) mentions it only in a LHIIIC context. Thomatos (2006, 199) follows Rutter in suggesting that this building, and Houses H (which also had an aisle) and O at Korakou were abandoned 'either just before or during IIIC early.' However, House P (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.14), with its central hearth, was in use in LHIIIC Middle, and may belong exclusively to this period. Megarons have also been identified at Ayios Kosmas, Mouriatadha, Asine, and Lefkandi (Wright 2006, 40).
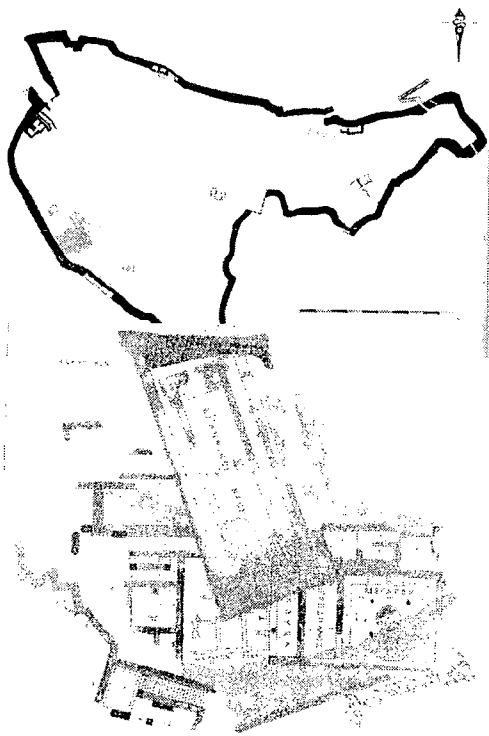
Figure 6.4 LHIIIC activity at Mycenae (left). Mycenae, Palace IV (right). Source: French 2002, 136, Figure 64; French 2002, 137 Figure 65.

At Mycenae there was also continuity of occupation in the citadel (figure 6.4 left), although due to later building this is less clear than at Tiryns (French 2002, 138). It is possible that there may be a high status building, Palace VI (figure 6.4 right), built partially over the remains of the earlier megaron and Great Court at Mycenae, although this did not incorporate the earlier buildings and was built on a different orientation to the palatial megaron (French 2002, 136-138). The identification of this building as a postpalatial structure is not certain, and it has been considered to date to the Geometric period. Tsountas noted that the pottery found appeared to be of *'geometric type* [his italics] with designs of animals and birds, but in the lower burnt layers and where there were no later walls all the finds were of the Mycenaean style,' but despite the

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contrast with Mycenaean style pottery French comments that in 1886 this could have meant he was describing pictorial pottery of LHIIIC Middle (French 2002, 137-138). In her view, the confirmation of a twelfth century date for Building T at Tiryns supports a postpalatial date for the structure at Mycenae. There are also fragments of fresco from the Hellenistic Tower Epichosis, south of the Citadel House, which French and Iakovides suggest belong to the postpalatial period, although this view is perhaps not widely accepted (Thomatos 2006, 184; Dickinson *pers.comm..*).

Nevertheless, there is LHIIIC material from several areas of the citadel, notably the Lion Gate, the Granary, the Citadel House area, the House of Columns, the House of the Warrior Vase, and Houses C, D, M, N and H (Figure 6.4 left), which attests to the continued use of the site, as does the continued use of the chamber tomb cemetery (French 2002, 135-140; Thomatos 2006, 179). The fact that postpalatial Mycenae experienced several destructions (the last being c.1075) could suggest that it remained important enough to be attacked, although earthquakes could have been responsible for these (French 2002, 10, 135, 140). While Thomatos suggests (2006, 186) that 'probably, given that no major LHIIIC building activities have been recognised, one can reasonably assume that no central governing body existed at Mycenae,' French notes (2002, 140) of the recuperation into LHIIIC Middle that 'it is clear that there must have been some kind of governance.'

The Hellenistic Tower Epichosis had five floor layers from throughout LHIIIC along with a LHIIIC Middle circular hearth and House M, with its storage facilities, courtyards and rooms was in use until the end of LHIIIC (French

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2002, 95; Thomatos 2006, 183-184). The finds of high quality pottery from the Citadel House, including pictorial pottery, area does suggest that 'the middle phase of LHIIIC [was]... of major importance at Mycenae' and the Khania tumulus, c.1125 may confirm the presence of some local power (Crouwel 1991, 32; French 2002, 10, 136, 140).

These sites and structures are undoubtedly significant, but in the absence of texts, and often with difficulties in clearly understanding the archaeology, their interpretation is somewhat unclear. Furthermore, it could be likely that there were different developments across Greece, as increased localism became a more prominent feature. Nevertheless, Walberg (1995, 89) notes that:

> While LHIIIB megara have a central hearth surrounded by four columns or roof supports, the LHIIIC megara have a row of roof supports along the central axis and the hearth, even though it exists in some cases, no longer seems to be important.

It has been argued that an important part of the ideology of palatial kingship was the focus on the megaron and large central hearth, which has been termed the 'Hearth-wanax Ideology' (Kilian 1988b; Maran 2001, 116). In Kilian's view, the throne emplacement formed the focal point of official Mycenaean religion and the megaron itself is usually considered as a venue for ritual action and feasting connected to the ruler (Maran 2001, 116). Walberg (1995) suggests that there was a significant change in the ceremonies that were carried out. In particular, she links the changes in architectural form and the unimportance of hearths with changes in drinking kits observed by Podzuweit,

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which he suggests indicate a change in ritual and perhaps in social structure (Walberg 1995, 90). Arguments that focus on the use of aisles to divide LHIIIC megarons into two halves, relating this to bipartite palatial megaron units are not convincing, since the it has been shown that many sites had one or three megarons and in any case the significance of secondary megarons remains unclear. Walberg has suggested (1995, 91) that it is more likely that each aisle was used for the cult of a particular deity, or as a reception hall for a dignitary, or perhaps both. On practical grounds, however, this could seem unlikely, given the narrowness of the megaron at Midea (7.5m), which might imply that the space was not subdivided. At Tiryns, Building T was narrower (c.5m) such an arrangement would ignore the throne emplacement, which rather awkwardly faced a column. Wright (2006, 40) suggests that only some, Midea, Tiryns and Mouriatadha, were the seats of rulers.

Kilian (1980) proposed that successors to the *wanax* continued to rule at postpalatial Tiryns and Maran (2001, 121) has recently reasserted this possibility, mainly on the basis of the continued focus on the throne emplacement in Building T. He suggests that a noble family was able to create 'a kind of dynasty' at Tiryns, although the ruler was weaker than before (Maran 2006, 144). In this context, Building T could have served as a communal hall, in which gatherings under the direction of a ruler took place (Maran 2006, 126). The association of Building T with the remodelled circular altar in the Great Court suggests some continued functional link with important ceremonies of some kind, although how similar these were to palatial era ceremonial cannot be known. The new postpalatial features on the Upper

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Citadel at Tiryns are unlikely to represent an inhabited palace, given that they were isolated buildings constructed amongst the remains of the earlier complex. Similar partial abandonments have been noted at Mycenae and Midea (Dickinson 2006a, 60). This is significant in itself since it could indicate the absence of a single ruling family, and while plausible, it is by no means clear that there was a single ruler at postpalatial Tiryns. The other changes in the site need to be taken into account since they must have some bearing on this.

The new constructions elsewhere at Tiryns, in the form of courtyard houses, have been interpreted as the creations of elite families, perhaps representing the emergence of competing independent and self-sufficient families or *oikoi* (Maran 2006, 125). However, there is no reason to suppose that these strong families were new features of the postpalatial era, although their existence may have been obscured by the dominance of the *wanax* in palatial times. It may be likely that they had something to do with the collapse of palatial power, for reasons set out in chapter 4. Maran (2006, 126-127) seems right to suggest that they represent an 'internal restructuring of occupation in Tiryns' in which an upper class 'claimed areas in the surrounding of the citadel for themselves, and articulated their new self-confidence by the construction of new, and in some cases, impressive living quarters.' Indeed, the difference is stark between a palatially monopolised centre and one that is multipally occupied.

The new LHIIIC building developments that benefited from the earlier construction of the Kofini dam seem to have 'followed a carefully planned lay-

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out', with simultaneous construction in different areas following similar orientations (Maran 2006, 126). While this suggests obvious organisation and mobilisation of resources and labour, it would seem to suggest a cooperative venture. If these were the new dwellings of an elite it does not exclude the possibility that there was a ruler, but would suggest some weakness, for it might be expected that a strong ruler would have sought to dominate the citadel. While Maran has suggested (2006, 142) that Megaron W, in the Lower Town, may have been the residence of the ruling family, it could be that rulership or the dominance of any particular family was temporary and not strongly dynastic. If that was the case, it would suggest a very decreased distance between members of the elite. It is not implausible that there may have been a more oligarchical rule that could have included periods of individual dominance. Building T, the altar and Great Court could have been a venue for communal elite activities. Such a situation could be thought to reflect the competitive situation of local *basileis*, outlined above, and seems to suggest a very deliberate rejection of the previous order.

The evidence outlined above demonstrates significant continuity from the palatial era into postpalatial times, although there were major changes including the end of large-scale kingship and *wanax* ideology and at Tiryns it seems this could have been replaced by a more oligarchical system. Walberg (1995, 91), focussing on Midea and the structural changes to LHIIIC megarons in general, also suggest 'the emergence of a new type of social organization, perhaps focussed on two persons or two groups in a leading position.' While specific aspects of *wanax* and palatial ideology do seem to have been rejected,

Wright nonetheless comments (2006, 41) that LHIIIC megarons show a concern with traditional social practices and there may be a continued link with religion. Shifts in local power relationships and the relative importance of sites may be visible in the seemingly increased relative importance of Tiryns, but it remains plausible to suggest that rulership continued on a smaller scale in various areas, and this could have contributed to continuing instability in the postpalatial period. It seems likely enough that prominent families would have vied for power and influence and perhaps that no single family was able to achieve any long-lasting dominance. In this context, it is quite possible that *basileus* became the title of choice, although *wanax* may have been retained in particular places and contexts, although that is speculation.

Warrior Burials, Tumuli and Cremation

The above section focussed on the palatial Mycenaean heartland, but as has been emphasised, in palatial times Mycenaean Greece was not entirely palatial. Though we might expect the existence and operation of palaces to have affected other areas, whether directly or indirectly, other social systems co-existed with the palaces within the Mycenaean cultural zone (Eder 2007; Dickinson 1994, 78). Nevertheless, Eder (2007) has proposed that the crisis that affected the palaces 'was of vital importance to the peripheral regions of the Mycenaean world.' Some areas, such as Achaea and the Ionian Islands, the Cyclades and the Dodecanese seem to have benefited from the demise of the palatial centres as demonstrated by an increase in deposited wealth (Voutsaki 2001, 208-210). Although both Eder (2007, 5,10 and Voutsaki (2001, 210-211) have argued for palatial control of some of these areas, even if there were

connections for specific reasons, which is likely enough, these areas cannot be considered as palatial in any meaningful sense, and no doubt had their own organisational and social traditions. In such places, where there had been no palaces and no *wanax* ideology, we should not expect to see similar strategies of rulership in the postpalatial period as at Tiryns and the Argolid, and it must be remembered that the term postpalatial in these areas simply refers to chronology. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify indications of social ranking and attempts at differentiation in the archaeological record.

Although 'there is no transformation in Mycenaean funeral practices when the palace system collapses,' one notable change in burial practice during the postpalatial period is the increase in the number of warrior or weapon burials (Figure 6.5; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 95, 135; Dickinson 2006a, 73-74). These are found concentrated in particular in Achaea, although they have also been found as far north as Hexalophos, at Perati in Attica, in the Cyclades, Dodecanese and Crete (Papadopoulos 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154-155, Figs 9.2-9.3; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 95). This distribution largely coincides with regions that never developed or adopted a palatial system. The discussion of warrior burials in this section will focus on those in Achaea, with other examples from the Aegean being discussed further below.
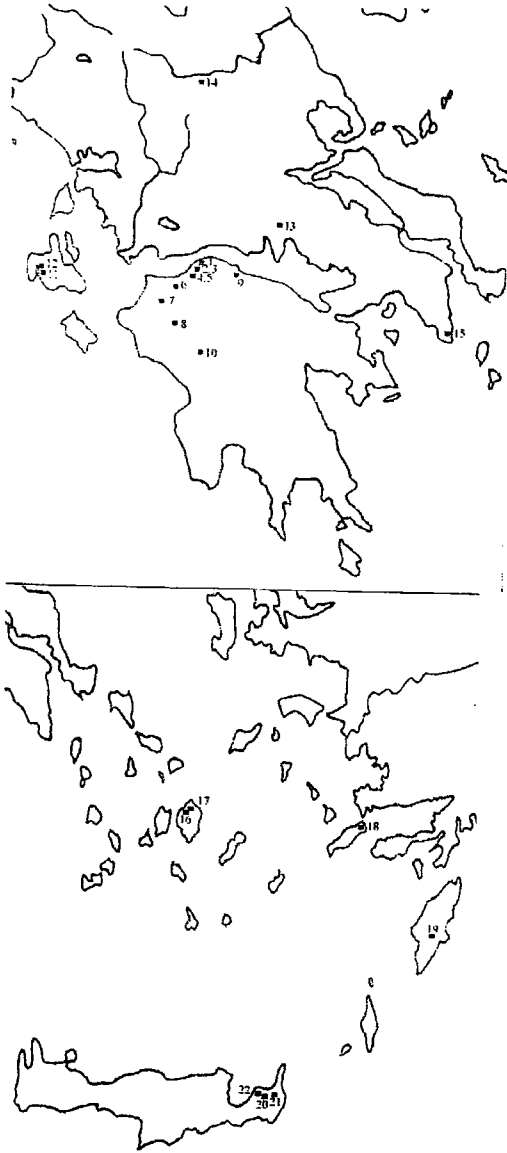
Figure 6.5 LHIIIC warrior tombs on the mainland (left) and in the Aegean (right). 1 Patra-Klauss; 2 Krini; 3 Monodhendri-Hagios Konstantinos; 4 Kallithea-Spenzes; 5 Kallithea-Langanidia; 6 Lousika-Spaliareika; 7 Kangadi; 8 Portes; Nikoleika; 10 Palaiokastro; 11 Kephallonia/Lakkithra; 12 Kephallonia/Dhiakata; 13 Delphi; 14 Hexalophos; 15 Perati; 16 Naxos/Grotta-Aplomata; 17 Naxos/Grotta-Kamini; 18 Kos/Langada; 19 Rhodes/Passia; 20 Crete/Mouliana; 21 Crete/Praisos-Foutoula; 22 Crete/Myrsini. Source: Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154-155, Figures 9.2 and 9.3.

Warrior burials are characterised by the deposition of goods with 'a pronounced military character and symbolism' and could include swords, often Naue Type II, at least one spearhead and a knife as well as bronze greaves,

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shield-bosses and plates of boar's tusk, that may have decorated helmets (Figure 6.6; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 152; Dickinson 2006a, 74).
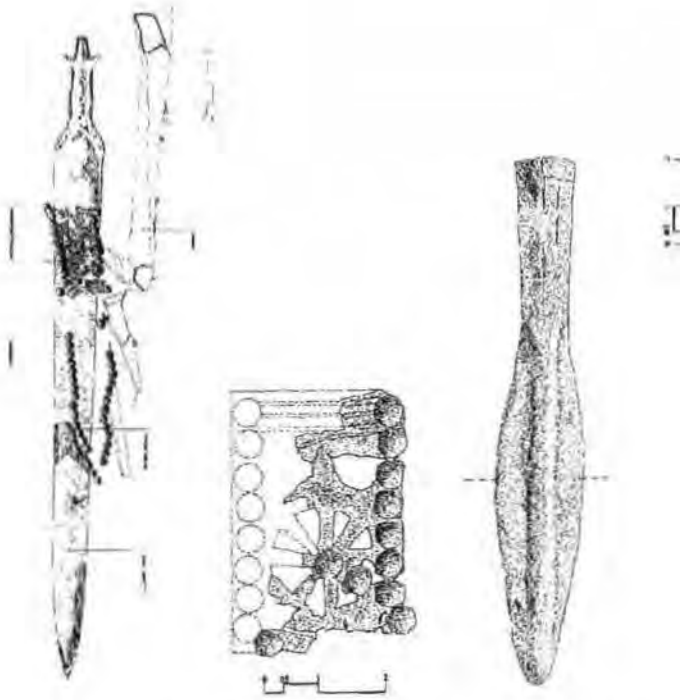
Figure 6.6 Warrior burial at Krini chamber tomb 3. Bronze sword in scabbard (left); bronze decoration on scabbard (middle); bronze spearhead (right). Source: Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 175 Figure 3, 181 Figure 6 and 183 Figure 7.

Burials took the form of inhumation or sometimes cremation and used traditional types of tomb, occurring with other burials. At Krini, for example, there were four bodies interred in the upper level of chamber tomb 3, but only one was a warrior burial (burial D) (Figure 6.7). Chronologically, they mostly belong to LHIIIC Middle or Late, although T.21 at Langada: Kos and T.2 Burial 1 at Lousika-Spaliareika date to LHIIIC Early (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 170-171, Table 9.3). It seems likely that these represent an 'attempt to assert status' (Dickinson 2006a, 181) in particular because they are a minority and

differentiated from the majority of burials by the type of goods deposited (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 152, 175). Deger-Jalkotzy argues (2006, 176) that 'LHIIIC warrior tombs may be viewed as the funerary monument of individuals who held, or were entitled to hold the title of *basileus* and to obtain the position of a political leader, if not of a petty king or prince.'
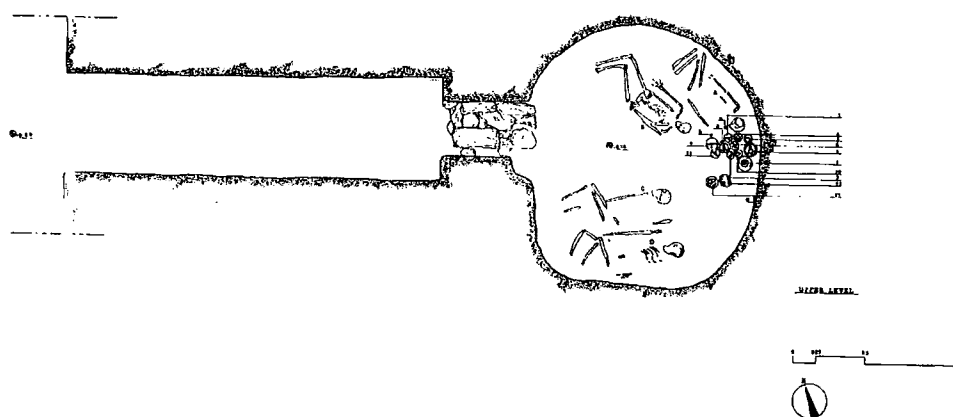
Figure 6.7 Chamber tomb 3, Krini. Four burials including a warrior burial (D). Source: Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 174 Figure 2.

LHIIIC warrior burials have been interpreted as reflecting 'the deep-rooted change in social organisation and economy caused by the demise of the palatial system' (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 173). Military prowess, actual or ideological, may have been a defining factor in the social and political arena and scenes of warfare, and other heroic pursuits, such as hunting, are depicted on pictorial pots, especially in LHIIIC Middle (Figure 6.8; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 174; Dickinson 2006a, 70; Eder 2006, 553-554).

Figure 6.8 LHIIIC Middle pictorial pottery. Hunting scene, Pylos (left). Warrior Vase, Mycenae (right). Source: Mountjoy 1993, 99-100 Figures 265 and 266.

These concerns in fact suggest a degree of continuity from palatial to postpalatial times and even chariots continue to be depicted. The major difference would seem to be an increased concern with depicting soldiers and naval battles, and this may reflect the reality of life or elite concerns in LHIIIC Middle. Certainly the production of this kind of pottery demonstrates a continued market whose tastes the pottery catered for. Pictorial pottery was produced at Mycenae, Tiryns, Lefkandi, Athens, Volos, Naxos and Kos and in western Asia Minor at Bademgedigi Tepe and has been found at other sites such as Kynos and in Messenia and Achaea (Mountjoy 1993, 98; Mountjoy 2005; Eder 2006, 554). This distribution covers formerly palatial areas as well as non-palatial areas and suggests some common ideological ground that may fairly represent the scope of activities of *basileis*.

Nevertheless, it is questionable to what extent warrior burials and the ideology that they represent owe specifically to the collapse of the palaces, as Deger-Jalkotzy has suggested. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, while some burials belong in LHIIIC Early, most were later. Second is their

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distribution in areas that were never palatial. So far, no warrior burials have been found in the Argolid, although Type II swords and pictorial pottery representing 'heroic' ideals were present (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 168). Deger-Jalkotzy (2006, 168) suggests that this is probably a reflection of the current state of research, rather than the absence of such practices. While this remains to be seen, it could be suggested that the absence of warrior burials reflects a different style of display and different political circumstances, and this is what may be expected. As Maran (2006) noted, at Tiryns, particular aspects of the palatial past seem to have been used to create a new elite identity, but in areas that had not been palatial there were no similar features to draw upon and we would not expect similarity as a matter of course. It is more natural to expect developments based on local traditions.

A similar explanation may fit for Messenia, Boeotia and the Volos area, rather than resorting to chronic depopulation as an explanation (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 167-168). For Messenia, the few signs of LHIIIC activity suggest clustering around the former palace, while pictorial pottery shows similar 'heroic' scenes as that from the Argolid and Achaea and the continued interest in and use of ships suggests continued organisation and mobilisation of resources (Eder 2006, 550-554), although this evidence is limited to one pot from one tomb. The reuse of the Tragana Tholos 1, near Pylos, for continuous burials from LHIIIC down to the tenth and ninth centuries may show a desire to arrogate status, although this tomb is noted for holding at least 30 burials, which may reflect a new pattern of use (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 96 and n.53; Eder 2006, 550; Dickinson 2006a, 180).

Weapons burials continued sporadically, outlasting the postpalatial period, and came to be used in different areas. At Tiryns, two iron daggers (the larger was 31cm in length) were found in tomb 28, and should date to before c.1050 and weapons burials also occurred at the Kerameikos in Athens (Snodgrass 2000, 221-222). The later spread of warrior burials into Messenia and other areas and their persistence into PG and G indicates the success and wider acceptance of this method of display, and this is especially likely as the memory of the palaces receded from those areas that had had them (Eder 2006, 564). Whitley notes (2001, 187) that warrior graves were 'one of the major features of Early Iron Age burial practices, ' although they disappeared from areas that developed polis societies in the eighth and seventh centuries, being retained in areas characterised by different forms of political organisation. It seems likely that their occurrence may indicate, even in LHIIIC 'a shared symbolic order where masculinity and warfare are closely connected' but nevertheless they do not seem to have ever been significant in number nor particularly lavish or wealthy, which could indicate something like a big man society, where status could be achieved (Whitley 2001, 97-98).

At Lousika-Spaliareika in Achaea, however, there were three generations of warrior type cremations in Tomb 2 from LHIIIC Early onwards, which has been interpreted as suggesting a possible hereditary status or at least a continued claimed prominence (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 158). This tomb was also unusual in that it was the largest of its group, although other graves were well furnished with other kinds of goods. However, it appears that while this

could certainly indicate the existence of a powerful and long-lived local family, this was not the norm for warrior burials. Furthermore, the burials may not represent a family, but individuals capitalising on the status of others. A safer conclusion is that this exceptional tomb indicates that situations in local areas could differ, and that sometimes status could be passed on in some sense, perhaps familial. This might be thought to fit with a view of Homeric *basileis*.

The concentration of warrior burials in LHIIIC Achaea has already been noted and requires some comment. It has been interpreted as reflecting a need for protection and defence following the palatial collapse and/or the rise of a new social class 'whose power was not inherited from the preceding period but was based on military preparation and organisation' (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 168-169). However, it is not clear that such an interpretation is necessary, in particular because it is uncertain what effects the collapse of the palaces would have had on the local elite. Although Eder (2007) has argued that the region may have been controlled by a palace, this remains speculative, and any kind of relationship that existed need not have been coercive or had any particular impact on local power structures. This area had its own systems of non-palatial organisation and although the increase in warrior burials may indicate a shift in how ranking was displayed in LHIIIC, it remains likely that tradition played its part. A tholos tomb used from LHII-LHIIIC at Kallithea: Laganida was the nucleus of a cemetery and presumably represents some status differentiation (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 62, 81). Continuity is further demonstrated by cemeteries such as that at Ano Sychaina, in use from LHIIIA1 to LHIIIC Late (Mountjoy 1999, 400), and Papazoglou-Manioudaki notes (1994, 200) that

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'relative prosperity and cultural unity were... maintained from the end of LHIIIB onwards and throughout the whole of LHIIIC.' Changing representations of power need not mean that power or structure itself has changed. Since the collapse of the palaces probably meant less stability in Greece in general, the increase of warrior burials as a reflection of martial prowess is understandable, but it should not be seen in terms of palatial heritage nor need it be seen as the rise of a new class, without links to preceding periods. In fact, given the limited number of warrior burials, Deger-Jalkotzy (2006, 170-171 Table 9.3) counts 21 for the whole of Greece, referring to them as representative of any class may be an overstatement.

The evidence of warrior burials in Achaea can be equated with that from settlements. The area around Patras, where most of the warrior burials are found has been noted as 'densely populated in Mycenaean times' while 'the population lived in scattered settlements, each with a corresponding cemetery' (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 199). However, few actual settlements are known, and it would seem likely enough that the city of Patras itself could be hiding some settlement evidence. Although there seems to have been no palace in Achaea, there were local centres. One of the most significant was the fortified site of Teikhos Dymaion, used from palatial to postpalatial times (LHIIIC Late) (Mountjoy 1999, 402). It suffered a destruction in LHIIIB2/LHIIIC Early and at the end of LHIIIC. Aigeira was also occupied in LHIIIA/B as well as seemingly throughout LHIIIC; it was fortified in LHIIIC Middle, possibly suffered a destruction then, and was subsequently reoccupied (Phase II) (Mountjoy 1999, 399). While the precise nature of these non-

palatial sites is uncertain, the evidence suggests continued development and adaptation in Achaea, with modes of display chosen for their aptness to local circumstances and interests. Again, it seems inherently more likely that these represent local developments in display and ideology and may be connected with the region's links with Italy and elsewhere at this time (Eder and Jung 2005).

Additional methods of burial display seem to have been utilised in some areas, in the form of tumuli and cremations. As noted above, a few warrior burials were cremations. In former palatial regions, evidence of cremation comes from Thebes, while in Argos, a tumulus held 36 pot cremations of LHIIIC Middle-Late, as well as 18 inhumations, and one at Khania near Mycenae contained 8 pot cremations only (Figure 6.9; Dickinson 2006a, 73, 180; 1994, 231).
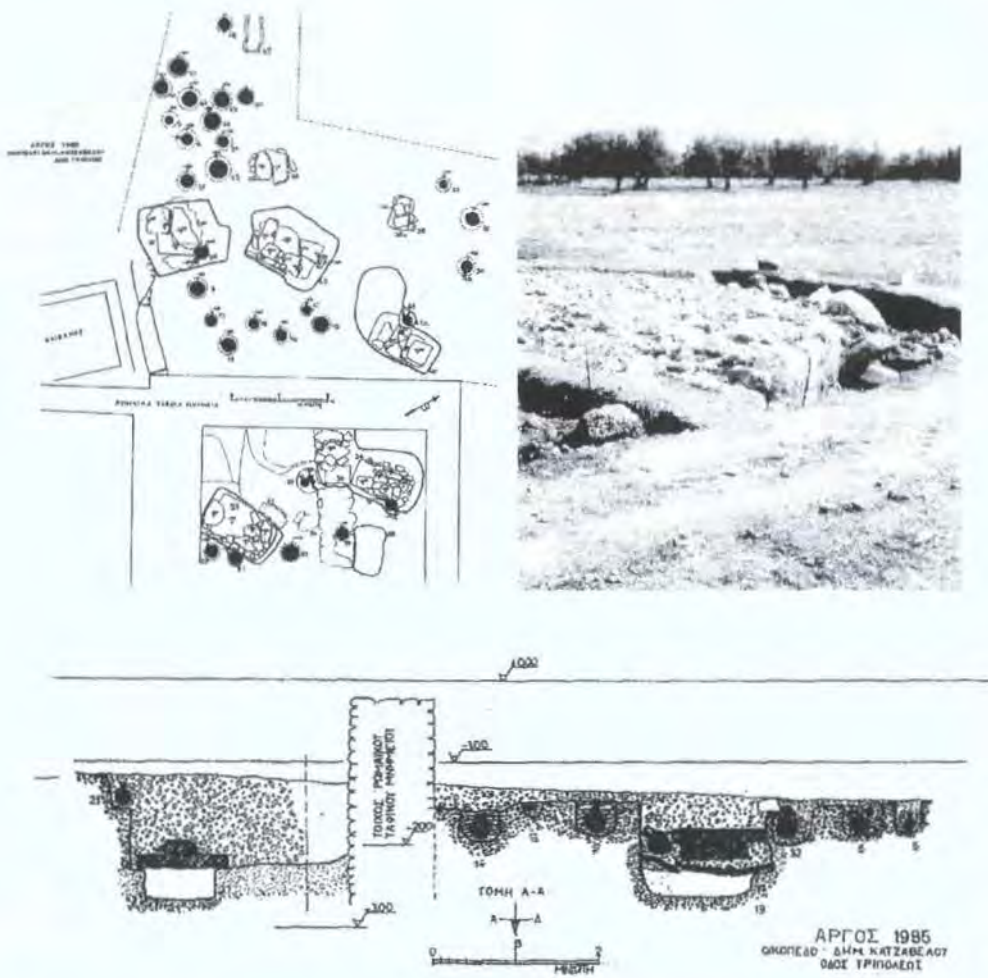
Figure 6.9 Tumulus at Argos, Tripolis Street (top left and bottom). Khania tumulus, near Mycenae (top right). Sources: Thomatos 2006, 151-152 Figures 2.2 and 2.3; French 2002 Plate 21.

As has been noted, cremation was more common in non-palatial areas, particularly the western Peloponnese: Achaea, Elis and Arcadia and the central Aegean koine, although it remained a minority rite (Dickinson 2006a, 73). Cremation itself was first used in the palatial period, perhaps inspired by contacts with Italy and Anatolia, via the Dodecanese, and would have been a particularly visible practice ideal for public displays of status (Snodgrass 2000, 187; Dickinson 2006a, 73, 181). It is also possible that cremation could have been inspired by the practice of making burnt animal offerings, which seems to

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have occurred in palatial times (Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004). In the new LHIIIC cemetery at Perati, discussed below, cremations tended to be of adult males with richer tombs (Dickinson 2006a, 181) and in the tumulus at Argos, infants appear to have been buried in pits, while the cremated remains were of adults (20) and children or young adults (8) (Thomatos 2006, 152).

It is highly doubtful that warrior burials, cremation or tumuli represent any influx of new people. Warrior burials of LHIIIC developed out of older traditions and reflected a different reality of life in the postpalatial period. They have been compared in kind to earlier Mycenaean weapons burials (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 152), and can therefore plausibly be linked with circumstances in the less politically stable early and late Mycenaean periods in palatial areas, where the practice was less visible during palatial times. Cremations, usually found in traditional Mycenaean tombs, are normally outnumbered by inhumations, often occurring in the same tomb as them, and there is no reason to regard them as anything other than a deliberate choice of ritual (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 73; Snodgrass 2000, 189-190; Dickinson 2006a, 180-181). Tumuli seem to have been used sporadically during the palatial period and earlier, notably at Orchomenos, Samikon, Koukounara and Chandrinou: Kissos in Messenia, Kephallenia: Oikopeda and Marathon (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 62-63, 80-81). While the Khania tumulus represents a novelty, the form was not completely unknown and the purely Mycenaean contents should be noted (Dickinson 1994, 231; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 91-92). Tumulus 3 at Marathon, with 3 cist graves, belongs to a tradition of tumuli at that site where it follows earlier examples (Cavanagh and Mee 1998,

91). In a later context, though relevant here, Georganas (2002, 295-296) has argued that the appearance of tumuli in Halos, south-eastern Thessaly, where there is a cemetery of 37, in fact represents the formation of new identities and a new social reality, rather than having anything to do with ethnicity or incoming people bringing novel cultural practices. Earlier tumuli should be seen in the same way. Novelty and experimentation fell within the boundaries of traditional practice and the coexistence of practices such as cremation and inhumation 'hardly suggests that adopting the rite entailed any basic change in beliefs, since it was the living users of these tombs who would have organised the cremations, so that any ideological element involved, must have been acceptable to them' (Dickinson 2006a, 180-181).

In summary, it seems likely enough that the practices discussed above have some link with the expression of power, status and identity, although they do not present a clear picture of well-established rulership. Deger-Jalkotzy (2006, 175-176) has argued that the warrior tombs are the tombs of *basileis*, and reflect a desire on the part of some families or lineages 'to establish some kind of monocratic rule, possibly following... the model of Mycenaean palace kingship,' but this seems unlikely, for there is a lack of clear expression of heredity,[19] strong rule and there is no pressing reason to link any postpalatial styles of rule in areas that had had no palaces, with the principles of palatial kingship.

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[19] Equally this could be said of *wanax* kingship, the principles of which are assumed, rather than known.

While it would seem likely that the disintegration of Mycenaean states would place more power in the hands of local elites and dignitaries, possibly the *basileis* of the Linear B tablets, it nevertheless remains that warrior burials seem to be primarily located in areas that had never been palatial. At Tiryns and other sites, a strategy of adopting some aspects of *wanax* ideology was pursued, although with significant differences, that could indicate the presence of a noble or powerful class. These differences in LHIIIC reflect the different heritages of particular areas.

Returning to the argument about the use and significance of the term *basileus*, it can be reiterated that the later use of the term presupposes its function in the LBA as indicating a local power, both in palatial and non-palatial areas. Although sharing parts of an ideology, advertised on pictorial pottery, the expressions of this seem to be different in different areas. It is not unlikely that the families at Tiryns were headed by *basileis* but equally, in Achaea, people with the same title may already have existed, and sometimes became visible through warrior burials. There seems no need to seek to trace a kind of linear progression or evolution of kingship or rulership into later times, but rather to consider that the title itself remained useful, and was used by those who thought themselves, and were thought important. Its use, and the extent and style of rulership exercised by any individual, will have reflected the local contemporary situation, the abilities and charisma of that individual, and may thus have survived from the LBA into much later times, without indicating any other particular similarities in rulership.

Basileis at Sea and in the Islands

Basileis have been identified according to other criteria connected to naval activity in areas of Greece that have not revealed warrior burials (Crielaard 2006). Crielaard (2006, 272-274) has adopted a regional approach, based on the Euboean Gulf to demonstrate this (see Figures 6.10 and Figure 5.15). This area, linked by the sea, possesses fertile coastal plains, which were good agricultural lands, and settlements tended to be on hills or mounds, often flanked by bays or beaches providing access to the sea (Crielaard 2006, 273). In the palatial period, Thebes had some influence in the area, which seems to have extended to southern Euboea. Theban Linear B tablets indicate wool being sent to Amarynthos and livestock from Karystos to Thebes (Crielaard 2006, 277). It is likely that Thebes had an interest in mainland coastal sites at least, due to its inland location. To the north, Orchomenos may have had a similar influence and perhaps had its port at Mitrou, then part of the mainland (Crielaard 2006, 277 and n.19; Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005). Further north lay the palatial site of Dimini, with its harbour at Pefkakia (Adrimi-Sismani 2006). To the south lies eastern Attica, which seems to have been a non-palatial area. However, a LHIIB-LHIIIA1 tholos tomb and LHIII tumulus at Marathon and a LHIIA-LHIIIB tholos at Thorikos may indicate the presence of local elites (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 82). This region thus reveals a mixture of palatial areas, sites that dealt with palaces and non-palatial areas and it is likely that there were differences in the scale, complexity and style of rulership and elite definition.
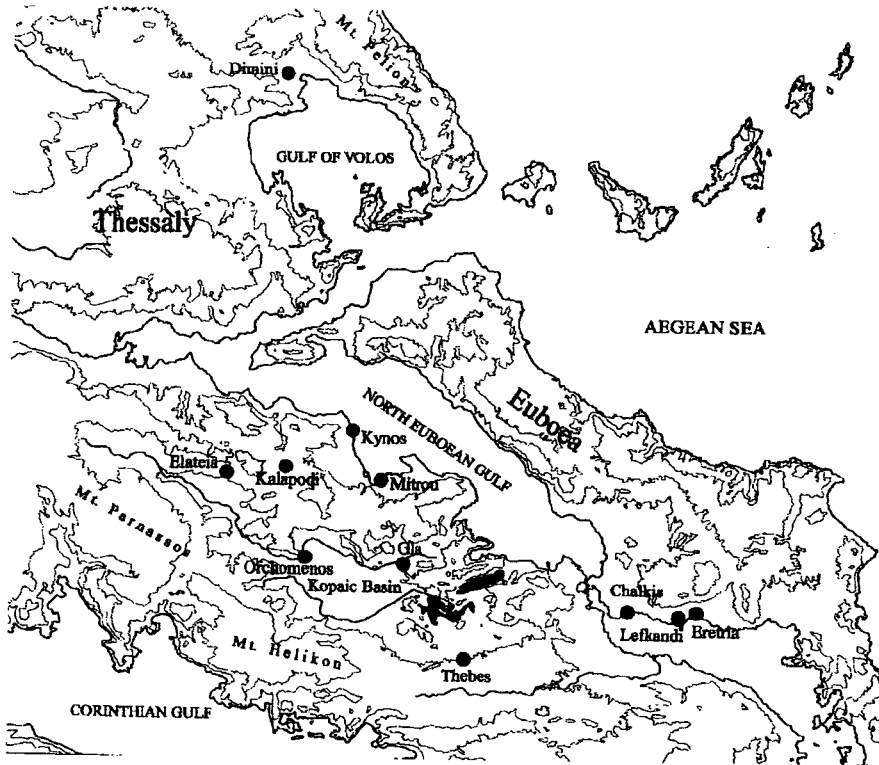
Figure 6.10 Central Greece. Source: Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 40 Figure 1.[20]

Destructions c.1200 appear to have affected the palaces of Thebes, Orchomenos and Dimini, as well as other sites, although there is some LHIIIC Early and Middle pottery from LHIIIC houses in Pelopidou Street (Flouda 2006) and the Kolonaki Tombs at Thebes, some pots possibly being imported from the Argolid, and there is LHIIIC Early from settlement deposits at Orchomenos (Mountjoy 1999, 647). There may also be some LHIIIC Late material from Orchomenos (Mountjoy 1999, 687). At Dimini there was some reuse of Megaron A in LHIIIC Early before the site was abandoned in that phase (Figure 6.11; Adrimi-Sismani 2006, 474-475).

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[20] Note that Chalkis and Lefkandi are slightly misplaced on this map (Sherratt *pers.comm.*).
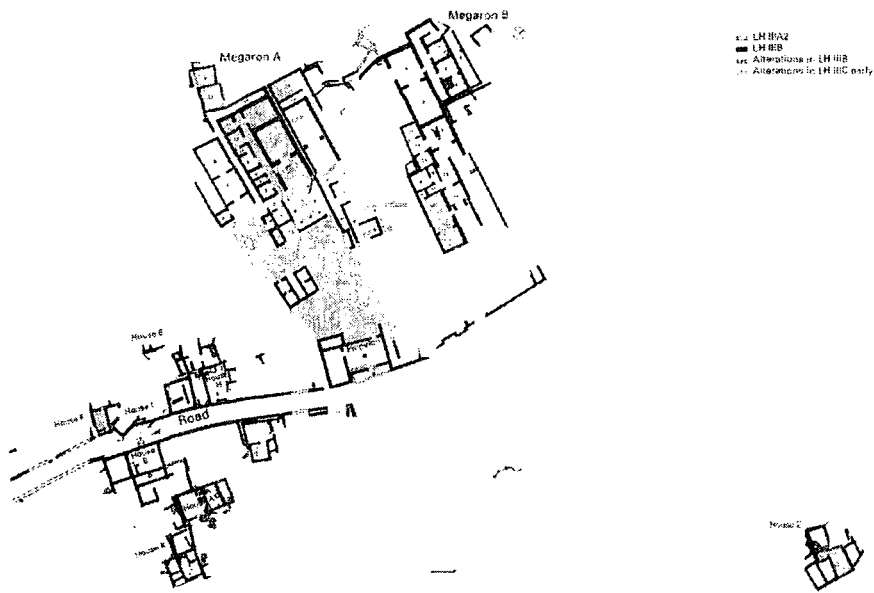
Figure 6.11 The palace at Dimini, LHIIIA2 to LHIIIC Early. Source: Adrimi-Sismani 2006, 469 Figure 25.2.

There was also some abandonment of sites in the Euboean Gulf region, although this was not as severe as in other regions (Crielaard 2006, 277). The decrease in sites indicated by Crielaard's maps (2006, 277 and Figure 14.1a and b; Figure 5.15) show a drop from around 90 sites to approximately 50, which can plausibly be explained by nucleation. Some sites that had experienced destruction by fire were reused and postpalatial occupation seems to have been prominent especially in coastal locations and he notes that no new sites became occupied at this time (Crielaard 2006, 278). A new cemetery at Perati in the far south of this region was founded, however (Iakovides 1970; Dickinson 2006a, 178). Some sites seem to have become more important than before.

While it has sometimes been suggested that there was a postpalatial flight from the coast in response to some threat from the sea, perhaps most visible in Crete

(Nowicki 2000; 2001), this is certainly not visible in the Euboean Gulf region, nor in Achaea or even the Argolid. Crielaard (2006, 278) notes rather that there was a shift towards coastal sites in various parts of Greece and that the coastal sites in the Euboean Gulf were unlike so-called refuge sites. He suggests that they may have relied on ships for defence, oared galleys, which figure in the pictorial pottery of the region (Figure 5.2b; Crielaard 2006, 280). Fighting is often present in these scenes and it seems likely that they represent contemporary activities 'speedy seaborne attacks on coastal settlements and... naval engagements at sea' (Crielaard 2006, 280). Other martial and elite activities are represented in locally produced pictorial pottery from the region during LHIIIC Middle from Amarynthos, Thorikos, Kynos, Kalapodi and Volos and Mycenaean pictorial pottery showing a sea-battle has recently been found in Asia Minor, at Bademgedigi Tepe (Crielaard 2006, 282-283 and Figure 14.4; Mountjoy 2005; Figure 5.2c). This suggests the existence of interrelated communities that engaged in a shared ideology, which may represent elite lifestyle or values. As noted above, there is evidence of this in other parts of postpalatial Greece.

Crielaard (2006, 281) argues that it is in sites such as Kynos, that 'we may locate individuals of the rank of *qasireu*, who at some point during the post-palatial period took over the power formerly held by the Mycenaean *wanax*.' The situation of Kynos in LHIIIB is unclear, but the buildings of that period may have been destroyed by earthquake while the LHIIIC buildings overlay them (*AR* 1998, 73). The excavated complex seems to include storerooms with pithoi and clay bins as well as two pottery kilns and an oven, possibly for

smelting metals and Kynos has revealed much pictorial pottery illustrated with warships (*AR* 1998, 73; Thomatos 2006, 141; Crielaard 2006, 281). Despite repeated destructions, the site continued in use throughout LHIIIC and in LHIIIC Late/Submycenaean there were baby burials in pits or cists in the floors (Dakoronia 1996, 42). While the claim that there was a *qasireu* located at Kynos during palatial times is speculative, it seems likely enough that this centre could have been the location of a postpalatial *basileus*. Depending on how we interpret the relationships between palaces and local centres, and how external trade was carried out, it could be thought plausible that this was a local centre utilised by the palace, though it remains probable that there would have been a local infrastructure present.

Lefkandi may also have been the seat of a palatial *qasireu*, although the same caveats mentioned above apply here too (Lemos 2006, 517). In postpalatial times, the site shows several planned building phases during LHIIIC, which were described in chapter 5, so some organisation was evidently achievable. As at Kynos, there were storage facilities and workshops and to Phase 2 belongs the pictorial pottery from which 'we assume that the inhabitants had a sophisticated lifestyle' and contacts with sites in Greece, the Aegean and elsewhere flourished (Lemos 2006, 518). Two sherds found in 2003 have scenes with warriors on ships (*AR* 2005, 51). However, although Lefkandi was undoubtedly a site of importance during LHIIIC, the evidence for rulership is unclear, although a PG megaron reusing the lines of LHIIIC walls is suggestive, as at Mitrou, discussed below. Since it was not itself a palatial site, the kind of continuities found at Tiryns would not be expected, but the pictorial

pottery does suggest that there was a market with an interest in the expression of values, which have been characterised as heroic, and that might befit *basileis* or an elite ideology. In Phase 2b there were a number of intramural burials of both adults and children, as at Kynos and Tiryns (Thomatos 2006, 202). One of these skeletons, which may belong to LHIIIC Middle or Late, appeared to have had a limb severed, although it cannot be determined whether this injury was caused by a sword in violent action or in perhaps in an accident. To base an interpretation of this injury solely on the assumption that the period was particularly violent does seem questionable but is not inherently unlikely.

It may be the case that at postpalatial Lefkandi there was a more egalitarian arrangement, which would not rule out the opportunity for individuals or families to exercise more influence at certain times, such as may fit at Tiryns. While the evidence for any single ruler is absent, again it could be suggested that a number of local *basileis* may have been present. This could reflect the situation on Ithaca, described in the *Odyssey*, with prominent families that had an agricultural base, but who also engaged in activities that brought them into contact with overseas areas.

Figure 6.12 Mitrou, now an island but formerly connected to the mainland. Source Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 41 Figure 2.
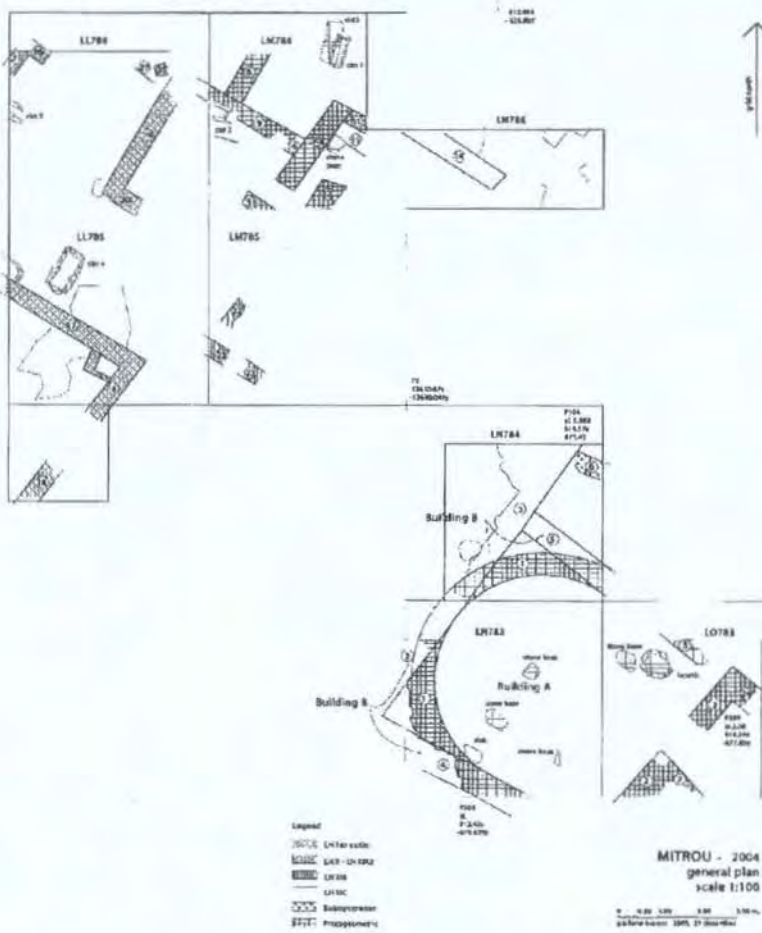

Figure 6.13 Plan of Mitrou showing various phases including apsidal Building A, constructed over LHIIIC Building B. Source: Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 43 Figure 4.

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As mentioned above, Mitrou (Figure 6.12) may have been the port of Orchomenos, and following the arguments of Crielaard (2006) and Lemos (2006) would also have been a likely seat of a palatial *qasireu*. This recently excavated site is, like Lefkandi, notable for the degree of continuity through the LBA/EIA transition (*AR* 2005, 53). Most of the excavated remains belong to LHIIIC and PG, although all LBA phases are represented and pottery and walls of the palatial period have been noted (*AR* 2005, 52-53; Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 40-41). Although there is no mention of pictorial pottery, Mitrou is notable for the presence of a large building, Building B, possibly a megaron, which appears to have been constructed in LHIIIC Early, with later modifications and to have gone out of use some time in LHIIIC (Figure 6.12; *AR* 2005, 53; Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 41). This building has been partially exposed over 9m and had rubble walls 0.7-0.8m thick. It appears also to have had a central row of columns, and thus appears comparable to the LHIIIC megaron at Midea, Building T, Room R115, Megaron W and Room 8/00 at Tiryns and Houses L and P at Korakou (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 44). Because of its size and similarities with these other buildings linked to postpalatial ruling elites, it is likely that this is an elite building and 'would be the first example of this new building type this far north' (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 44; *AR* 2005, 53). This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the PG Building A, a large apsidal building, was constructed within and seems to have reused Building B's walls (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 44 and 43 Figure 4; *AR* 2005, 53). Building A is comparable to other PG large apsidal buildings, including the Lefkandi Heroon (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 44-45 and n.6). 'The re-use of parts of an important final Bronze Age

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structure by an imposing Early Iron Age building provides an unprecedented example of architectural and spatial continuity across the Bronze Age – Iron Age divide' (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005, 45).

These developments are particularly significant considering that Mitrou did not have an LHIIIB palace, and is thought to have been subordinate to Orchomenos. The early date is also important, since specific dates for developments at Tiryns are less clear. It suggests that areas that may have fallen more under palatial influence than say in Achaea, might opt to make use of forms derived from palatial traditions. Equally of course, it may mirror contemporary changes elsewhere, for example at Midea. Mitrou may be a more plausible site to suggest the activities of an individual ruler, based at Building B. It must be said though, that this is not certain. The long-lived complex could represent a focal point in the community with a more religious or ceremonial function, even acting as a meeting place for a broader elite.

Further north, after the demise of Dimini and Pefkakia early in LHIIIC activity at other sites, notably Volos, continued. The site of Volos appears to have been significant in the palatial period. It has been thought to have been a palatial centre and was previously identified with Iolkos, although now Dimini is preferred, and Volos may have been an early, less successful competitor (Mountjoy 1999, 819; Adrimi-Sismani 2006, 476). The Kapakli tholos was built in LHIIIA1 and used for some 20 burials over several generations. The gold jewellery found in it suggest 'neither poverty nor provincialism' (Mountjoy 1999, 819). In 2004 another very impressive tholos tomb,

apparently with Linear B symbols carved into a stone beam above the relieving triangle (Figure 6.14),[21] was discovered at Kazanaki (*AR* 2005, 59-60).

Figure 6.14 Volos, Kazanaki tholos 7, with symbols. Source: *AR* 2005, 59 Figure 104.

It contained seven burials dated to LHIIIA1-LHIIIA2, although it seems that in LHIIIC the decayed bodies were burned, a practice that may have been carried out at other tholoi in this region and others (*AR* 2005, 61). It has been suggested that this secondary burning 'aimed to unburden those performing it from the dead, who in life were the main representatives of Mycenaean domination' although that is only one possible explanation (*AR* 2005, 61). Whatever the relative position of Volos before c.1200, it became the major regional site in the postpalatial period, and LHIIIC Middle pictorial pottery displays a 'lively local' style and there are links with southern Greece and the north-west Peloponnese (Mountjoy 1999, 826). Some krater fragments have military scenes including warriors with 'hedgehog' helmets and an archer, possibly in a chariot (Mountjoy 1999, 851). Pottery and settlement may continue through all phases of LHIIIC and Submycenaean (although there is no LHIIIC Early) (Mountjoy 1999, 826). At Pteleon, LHIIIC tholos tombs are associated with earlier tholoi and follow local traditions (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92).

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[21] It is not certain that they are Linear B symbols, and such an occurrence would be unique.

In the very south of the region focussed on by Crielaard (2006), lies Perati (Figure 5.16). As noted already in chapter 5, this was chosen as site of a new cemetery in LHIIIC and seems to indicate the existence of a fairly wealthy and well-connected community, with a similar lifestyle to those at Lefkandi. Three warrior burials have been identified in T.12, T.38 and T.123 (without a sword but with a spearhead), belonging to LHIIIC Middle or Late, LHIIIC Late and LHIIIC Middle respectively (Figure 6.15; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 172 Table 9.3).

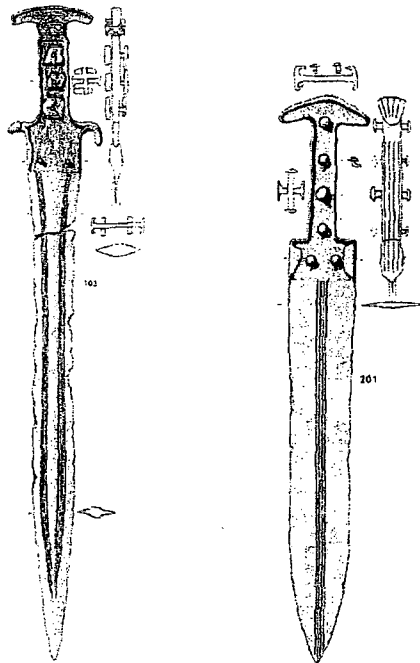**Figure 6.15 Swords from Perati. T. 12 (left) and T.38 (right). Source: Thomatos 2006, 243 Figures 6.1 and 6.2.**

Deger-Jalkotzy (2006, 156) interprets the LHIIIC Late T.38 as 'the burial place of an important family or clan of whom one member (individual II or individual III) had attained warrior status.' Apart from the warrior burial, she suggests that individual II was of important status because of the kylix placed

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near the skull, and that individual IV, who was cremated and whose ashes were deposited in a pot along with those of a goat and sheep and some gold wire, was also of some rank. T.12 is more difficult to interpret, and may have been ceremonially abandoned, with the sword and knife deposited at that time as a memorial, but she suggests that it too belonged to an important family. Various silver rings, a mirror and large pots may indicate this. As for T.123, built and abandoned in LHIIIC Middle, as well as a spear, this contained a large krater and drinking vessels, a razor, tweezers and a whetstone (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 156-157).

Without the settlement that accompanied Perati, it is more difficult to contextualise the evidence from the cemetery, just as at Lefkandi, a contemporary cemetery would aid in interpreting the settlement. It seems not unlikely that the warrior burials again represent a desire to distinguish individuals in a particular way, but the warrior burials seem too few to represent any strong rulers, and evidently other ways of marking distinction were acceptable. That T.38 had a warrior burial followed by a cremation may indicate the changing and experimental methods of display. They may nevertheless represent individuals who became pre-eminent for a time, and as Catling has suggested (1995), this could have something to do with their overseas links. Regarding warrior status, it does not seem clear that warrior burials can possibly represent all those who would have been involved in fighting, and being so few in number, call into question the martial nature of the period, at least in so far as it was reflected in burial practice. Generally, Perati, like Lefkandi, seems to reflect a lack of very significant or wide

distinctions within the community, although it is probable enough that there were more prominent members of the community.

Turning to the Aegean, it is also likely that local rulers and elites were present. Koukounaries, on Paros (Figure 5.4), is a prime candidate, with its planned monumental building 'designed to facilitate the customary functions of a Myceanaean palace' Schilardi 1984, 202). This has been interpreted as the seat of a fleeing mainland *wanax* but the development can perhaps more plausibly be seen as a local event, 'a local dynast doing the Mycenaean thing' (Dickinson in Barber 1999, 139). The site was rich in finds displaying its integration into postpalatial trade networks. Although the site was destroyed violently in LHIIIC Middle, as was Kanakia, it continued to be inhabited till the end of LHIIIC at least (Schilardi 1984, 204).

The settlement of Grotta, on Naxos, may be another likely place that elites connected with the sea and trade existed and which flourished during LHIIIC (Vlachopoulos 1998). This site revealed three warrior burials, in two different but nearby cemeteries, Aplomata and Kamini, dating to LHIIIC Middle (Figure 6.16; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162).
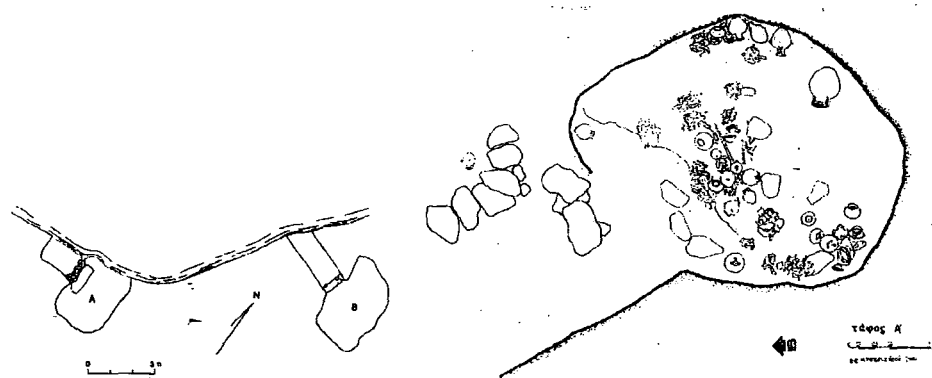
Figure 6.16 Naxos Aplomata Tombs A and B (left) and Kamini Tomb A (right). Source: Thomatos 2006, 160-161 Figures 2.16 and 2.18.

A sword was associated with Tomb A at Aplomata, which may be of LHIIIC Middle date, and either one (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162) or two swords (Thomatos 2006, 160) with the LHIIIC Middle Tomb A at Kamini. Another warrior burial on the north-eastern edge of Kamini has been identified by Vlachopoulos (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162). He suggests that there was a very visible open air ceremony, with the body inhumed over a pyre of sacrificed animals. Tomb B at Aplomata has been suggested as containing the burial of a royal female, the counterpart to the male warrior burial of Tomb A (Kontoleon, cited in Thomatos 2006, 160). The presence of these warrior burials, associated seemingly as the focus of two different cemeteries, may indicate a competitive situation rather than presence of a single ruler. It may be that they represent two competing oikoi, headed by *basileis*, though this is not to suggest that there was any institutionalised or hereditary monarchy. The relative wealth of the two cemeteries at Grotta has also been noted (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162) and as such, it seems that the warrior burials indicate a particular kind of distinction, within and amongst other types of burial.

The site of Kanakia on Salamis (Figure 5.8) also seems to have been an important site, destroyed or abandoned in LHIIIC Early and deserted after c.1150 (*AR* 2002, 14-15). Unit IA parallels buildings at Mycenae, Tiryns, the Menelaion and Iolkos, and comprised storerooms and workshops and fragments of bathtubs. Finds indicate local and more distant trading contacts. Building IB was in use during LHIIIB and LHIIIC and may demonstrate continuity through c.1200. The site appears to have had strong defences and perhaps to have been destroyed in a siege or battle, indicated by an arrow straightener and slingstones in the destruction layer. This major site, with industrial and military concerns seems a good candidate for the presence of a local authority, perhaps a local *basileus* at least until the middle of the twelfth century.

Crielaard (1998, 190; 2006) has argued that an elite culture is visible in LHIIIC and that postpalatial *basileis* may be identified in the Euboean Gulf region as well as elsewhere. These can be distinguished by the ideals displayed by LHIIIC Middle pictorial pottery, in particular the naval and martial themes, and in some areas by architectural constructions. By these criteria, elites can be identified in areas that were formerly palatial, such as Tiryns, or hypothetically under the influence of palaces, such as Mitrou, whereas other areas are linked to this ideology by pictorial pottery and/or burials. These elites have been seen as emergent (Crielaard 1998, 190), but this is not necessarily the case (Crielaard 2006,282-283) since many of the elite activities appear to have been popular in palatial times (Rutter 1992, 68) and it is likely that members of the elite, perhaps local elites in particular, survived the collapse, especially in some

areas. A loosening of central power in formerly palatial areas may have increased the autonomy of local figures, but it could also be the case that the increasing independence of local figures could have weakened the centre.

Elites in non-palatial areas could also have become more important, with the knock-on effect of weakening palatial authority. It was mentioned above that Thebes had some influence over Euboea in palatial times. Precisely what the relationship was, whether control, cooperation and so on, is problematic. Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 64, 82) have suggested that the small tholoi at Velousia, Katakalou: Ayia Paraskevi and Oxylithos: Evrimia in southern central Euboea may have belonged to 'petty chiefs' and if that is the case, then the level of direct 'control' by Thebes must be doubted, unless these chiefs were incorporated into palatial hierarchies in some way, possibly as *basileis*. It is necessary not only to consider the interests of palaces as possibly expanding and ambitious entities, but also to note that local areas and elites could choose to interact with them and perhaps to stop interacting with them, or to expand their own interests unilaterally. There are many ways for these interrelations to have occurred and they have a direct bearing on developments in postpalatial Greece, but it does seem inherently likely that local elites continued to exist after the collapse of the palaces and could plausibly have been involved in undermining the palaces.

Conclusions

It should be clear from this chapter the postpalatial period was one in which rulers and elites continued to function, although there was no longer any large

scale kingship in areas that had been palatial. With the loss of the overarching political structures of the palaces, some local elites may have retained their own localised influence. At Tiryns, leading families may have sought to fill the vacuum created at the centre by appropriating the citadel and the area of the former palace for themselves; it is quite plausible that faction may have created that vacuum in the first place. In this sense, other aspects of social structure, such as the existence of *oikoi* must have continued from palatial times, as the basis of wealth, for some at least. Other former palatial centres, Mycenae and Midea, may have experienced similar changes. In non-palatial areas, rulers and local elites continued to rule but some seem to have adopted particular styles of funerary display, which can be seen as reflecting developments based on existing circumstances in those regions, as well as the contemporary situation. In these areas too, it is likely that many aspects of social structure continued, since they experienced no collapse. At Mitrou, the development of major buildings and their continuity is notable.

This period should be thought of as one in which there were still rulers of different levels, as there had been in palatial times, but also one in which position could be achieved through action and charisma, and was not necessarily institutionalised or hereditary. In many areas, rulership as such may have been very limited and dependent on the influence of more prominent families, perhaps similar to the portrayal of Ithaca in the *Odyssey*. Some aspects of rulership and social structure inevitably derived from local conditions in the palatial period, but the strife of the period and the loss of bigger political and social networks will undoubtedly have caused changes and

a degree of fluidity. It is likely that material changes were a consequence of the new realities of the postpalatial world, and in turn, a lack of major power in the hands of rulers could mean continued instability and change.

There were still links throughout Greece and further afield in the postpalatial period, and the elites shared in displaying their particular interests, in war, hunting, ships and chariots, on pictorial pottery. Continued social organisation is evident through building programmes and town planning, but also through the ability to build and crew ships and to field military forces. Rulership at some centres like Kanakia and Koukounaries may have eventually failed during the twelfth century, but at Grotta, Perati and especially Mitrou and possibly Lefkandi, it is likely that it continued to develop in new ways relevant to the local communities. In all areas, rulership may have become a more shared activity, in the sense that oligarchies could have replaced single monarchies, in a situation where no one was able to impose lasting dominance. Destructions continued throughout the postpalatial period and this suggests continuing instability and warfare, perhaps consequent on bids for power, the presence of more groups to fight for it, and the loss of any unity that may have been offered in some form by the existence of palatial structures. In this context, the continued use of the term *basileus* and the abandonment of the position of *wanax* shows the disintegration of these structures and a localisation of power, which may itself have become a continued source of strife.

7   Conclusions

Introduction

This thesis has attempted to outline the salient points of Mycenaean palatial and non-palatial society, and to examine the destructions and abandonments c.1200 that mark the collapse of palace based society. Recent literature on collapse theory was discussed and criticised in order to contextualise theories of Mycenaean collapse. These theories were then analysed thematically and recent trends identified. In the absence of historical texts from palatial Greece, other societies that experienced collapse were examined in order to identify some of the processes involved. These were used to suggest that similar processes were at work in the Mycenaean collapse. Evidence for settlement and population mobility in the postpalatial period was examined, as was the evidence for rulership and social structure.

This concluding chapter will attempt to draw together some final points, firstly evaluating the Mycenaean collapse and discussing the nature of the postpalatial period and especially LHIIIC Middle. It will also offer a brief discussion of the situation on Crete. It will then set the Mycenaean collapse in the context of general collapse theory and attempt to summarise what may have been the specific causes of the Mycenaean collapse. Some comments will then be made about what could help us to understand the Mycenaean collapse more fully. Finally some remarks about the notion of continuity will be offered before final comments are made.

Evaluating the collapse of Mycenaean palatial society

The Mycenaean collapse, as was observed in chapter 2, has figured in several contributions to general collapse theory (e.g. Tainter 1988, 202; Diamond 2005, 14), and some aspects of this general theory can be usefully applied to its evaluation. In particular, the manifestations of collapse outlined by Tainter (1988, 4) provide a useful way of summarising aspects of the preceding discussion of the evidence from Greece, and this has been done below. To some degree the criteria overlap and some repetition is unavoidable. However, by summarising the data in this way, it is also possible to note the important differences between palatial and non-palatial areas.

1. *A lower degree of stratification and social differentiation*

This is one of the most visible aspects of the collapse, since it involved the abandonment of overarching regional power structures based on palaces and *wanaktes*. Both the *wanax* and other roles in the palace hierarchy seem to have disappeared, although this suggestion relies on the absence of the texts that showed their existence, whereas it may be that local *basileis* remained. It could be thought that some other figures or groups, perhaps based on local aristocracies also continued for a time. Though rulers and elites continued to be present, they were locally based and burials generally indicate less differentiation than before in terms of wealth or investment, although in some areas new forms of differentiation were adopted. Some high status buildings were in use. Some of these partially maintained palatial traditions, as at

Tiryns, and a new building at Mitrou may show a new local leader and an important local centre. In non-palatial areas there seems to be no similar reduction and this may indicate continuity at the same level of social complexity. Some non-palatial areas may have experienced an increase in social complexity based on new roles in trade routes and a lack of competition from palaces.

2. *Less economic and occupational specialisation, of individuals, groups and territories*

The degree of specialisation during the palatial period is difficult to determine, although regional specialisation is doubtful. However, in the absence of palaces and the support structures they offered to particular groups and individuals, even when partial, there would be less likelihood of continued specialisation, for example in textile production, and dedicated groups may have ceased to exist. Potters and others may already have been free agents, although palaces will have stimulated production. In the postpalatial period there is essential continuity in the pottery tradition, although certainly with pictorial pottery there seems initially to have been a considerable reduction in production c.1200 and in LHIIIC Early, but pottery production need never have been a specialist or full-time activity. The increase in production and movement of pictorial pottery in LHIIIC Middle indicates the presence of skilled individuals and groups, as well as social networks, and the existence of a possibly market for goods decorated in a style that may reflect elite concerns.

Agriculture may never have been specialised in a general sense; it certainly was not centrally controlled or directed by palaces. Crops grown remained similar in the postpalatial period and at a subsistence level there may have been fewer changes. Shipbuilding also seems to have continued without a break, indicating complex organisation and the ability to mobilise wealth and resources. This is also apparent in the use of ships, which had to be crewed, and it may be that there was some degree of military specialisation in terms of the presence of standardised infantry and soldiers, as may be indicated on pictorial pottery. Non-palatial areas may have continued much as before, although developments in some areas may have stimulated increased specialisation in some skills, such as metalworking in Achaea.

3. *Less centralised control; that is less regulation and integration of diverse economic and political groups by elites*

The degree to which palace societies were centralised states, each focussed on a single palace, has been questioned, and a more minimal interpretation seems favourable. Palaces' interests were selective and the nature of the 'control' they exercised is problematic. While they had influence on and knowledge of distant places, and goods and resources flowed in and out within their territory or area of interest, it is not clear that these were formally controlled, or directed, rather than resting on traditional ties and mutual advantage. However, palaces did integrate and regulate some production and consumption, as well as

having staff that performed particular duties, and they acted as venues for the interaction of elites in a central place.

The demise of the palaces must have seen a reduction in these activities as well as changes in the social, political and economic networks focussed on them. However, the points made about pictorial pottery above are relevant here, and LHIIIC Middle in particular may have developed an elite culture, which exercised some control or influenced the focussing of activities, albeit without the habit of recording such activities in Linear B. In this context, activities such as shipbuilding suggests a continued ability to integrate resources, labour and skills, but it is possible that these were more cooperative ventures, and they are likely to have continued into the Geometric period. As for political groups, in the absence of large-scale central elites, based in palaces, localisation would have ensued, although all areas of Greece remained in contact with each other. A consequence of this may have been increased regionalisation of material culture and increased conflict and competition between smaller groups.

4. *Less behavioural control and regimentation*

Those who argue that Mycenaean palace society was bureaucratic, rigid, oppressive and burdensome, argue that the postpalatial period marked the lifting of these negative aspects. However, it is questionable that the Mycenaean palace societies should be characterised in that way, or that they exercised any excessive direct

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control over most people's day to day lives, excepting what may have been some dependent or semi-dependent specialised workers or slaves that were part of palace workforces. It has been noted that many of the general population, surely mostly small-scale farmers, even in palatial areas, will have come into contact with local elites far more than with the representatives of palace centres. It is true to say that palaces will have played a role in socialisation, and certainly exercised a degree of ideological control over a long period of time, moulding a particular kind of society in some parts of Greece. However, this may have affected some parts of society more than others and there is always some degree of choice and consent in the relationship between local elites and central powers, which is always reciprocal; thus 'control' again is a difficult term. Even so, it is likely that the absence of the centre may have given more freedom to local elites, and thus the upper stratum of society was smaller in scale and less differentiated from the majority of the population. In this way, as palaces were no longer present to act as a socialising force, the very nature of society and the experiences and social realities of those within it will have changed. These more localised elites may have been unable to prevent the apparently increased mobility of population, which could have been a consequence of internecine warfare and depopulation, but also could have resulted from positive motivations on the part of individuals and groups.

In some ways, there may have been more regimentation in the postpalatial period, at least in a limited sense, since specialised military groups may have been developed or at least become more prominent, as could be indicated in pictorial pottery. This would apply in palatial and non-palatial areas and would suggest novel social developments that could have had serious social implications. Behavioural control and regimentation are not merely top-down strategies, imposed on a passive population, but can equally reflect wider changes in society. Continuity in some rites and traditions, such as those related to mourning, even just if in physical form rather than meaning, suggests that some social processes continued at the level of the general population, ensuring a continuity in some behavioural patterns. As it is, it may have been certain parts of the elite related to the palaces who were most directly and immediately affected by collapse.

5. *Less investment in the epiphenomena of complexity, such as monumental architecture, artistic and literary achievements etc*

Monumental architecture was a characteristic feature of palatial and to some extent non-palatial Greece. At the palace centres this is largely absent in postpalatial times and the structures created were on a smaller scale. A lack of major architectural projects may reflect a change in style as much as a lack of central power to mobilise resources in some areas, but some projects were certainly undertaken throughout Greece, e.g. at Tiryns, Teikhos Dymaion, Mitrou and Grotta that reflect continued ability. Artistic achievements in pictorial pottery continue

and even flourish and there is some possible evidence of a continued fresco tradition, albeit very limited. The limited literacy of the palatial era appears to have ceased in mainland Greece. The tradition of epic poetry may have originated in some form in the palatial period, and arguably the postpalatial period was important for the development of the epics eventually attributed to Homer. Many aspects of culture remain invisible, but it would be unwise to ignore the possibility of a rich and lively oral culture even when impressive material remains are lacking.

6. *Less flow of information between individuals, between political and economic groups, and between a centre and its periphery*

According to the Linear B tablets, palaces had been able to gather significant amounts of information relating to their interests in people and things located at some distance from the palace itself. Although this interest was selective, it was nevertheless real. Since Linear B is of course absent in the postpalatial period, it is more difficult to ascertain flows of information. Continued contacts and exchange of goods within Greece and the Aegean, and further afield, do suggest that information will have continued to flow back and forth, and some areas, especially non-palatial ones, may have been more involved than before. Regional pottery styles and other objects suggest such contact. In former states, it might be suggested that the capacity to gather and store information was reduced, and that this in turn will have weakened any centre's ability to influence the surrounding territory. It seems that

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formerly peripheral sites and regions became centres themselves, although on a smaller scale than palace centres had operated. Tiryns remained an important centre, though possibly on a much more local basis, but as at other sites, such as Perati, there were still international contacts.

7. *Less sharing, trading and redistribution of resources*

The overall volume of trade seems to diminish with the transition into the postpalatial period, and beyond. Nevertheless, there may have been wider access to traded goods than before, which in palatial areas may have been more centrally controlled. Trading of different kinds of less easily detectable goods, such as people, may have become more common, although seems to have been present in palatial times. As concerns redistribution, the end of the palaces, which had redistributed specific items rather than been general centres of redistribution, may have allowed wider access to goods, although their demise in all likelihood reduced the stimulus for some kinds of production, which would have reduced the range of material culture.

8. *Less overall coordination and organisation of individuals and groups*

Even a minimalist model of the palaces must accept their role in coordinating such things as large-scale building projects and their organisation of some people into working groups with specific tasks, and their coordination, if not control, of other individuals and their products/skills. They redistributed some commodities, such as bronze

or copper, possibly wine, and sent offerings to shrines. The loss of this must have resulted in some reduction of coordination and organisation in particular areas, palatial centres themselves and attendant sites. However, some aspects of coordinated and organised behaviour continues, as is evident in the continued production and circulation of pottery. A likely increase in the importance of ships to elites, also suggests coordination of resources, skills and labour, as does the probable existence of military groups.

9. *A smaller territory integrated within a single political unit.*

The extensive reach of the palaces does not seem to continue into postpalatial times, in which local areas and small centres probably became autonomous. In non-palatial areas, where political boundaries are unclear, there was likely continuity.

According to Tainter's criteria (1988, 4), collapse can be defined as 'a rapid, significant loss of socio-political complexity.' This would seem to be an accurate description of what the Mycenaean palace societies experienced, since rapid can mean several decades. What came to an end was a specific political and organisational style that had been attempted in a few areas and had developed over the preceding two centuries, leading to the dominance of certain major sites over their surrounding areas and possibly in some cases further afield, even into the Aegean. Collapse entailed the breakdown of the particular relationships that bound palace societies together in their own regions and that maintained them as ideological and socialising constructs. It

is nevertheless likely enough that some social relationships continued, although they may have been expressed differently.

There is no pressing reason to see the collapse of all palatial regions as occurring actually or nearly simultaneously, that is, for example, within the same year, and in fact this may be thought quite unlikely. Even with the physical destruction or abandonment of individual centres, organisational powers and infrastructures could have continued. Such a situation is evident with regard to the Hittite monarchy and their relationship with Hattusa, which they were forced to abandon on occasion while maintaining their rule, as well as among some Maya groups, who fled older and more established centres for safer locations. Such actions, however, may have undermined the authority of such ruling groups.

The collapse of any one palatial region, for any reason, whether rooted in environmental factors or caused accidentally or deliberately through human agency, could have created an environment where the other palace societies were more likely to collapse. Some may counter this by suggesting that other palaces would surely become stronger and more able to expand into a power vacuum, and in some ways this is valid. However, if we consider the palaces and the operation of palace society as forms of interregional elite competition, the loss of any competitor may have weakened the symbolic value of the form of expression and created, or encouraged the creation of new forms of competition. Such a scenario could have weakened the validity of overarching styles of power and encouraged the fragmentation of formerly more unified

areas. It could be suggested that, as palaces were lost over time, they were eventually replaced as symbols by a more martial or heroic elite ideology, expressed especially in LHIIIC Middle in pictorial pottery and weapons burials and maintained by elites concerned with infantry and sea battles, who chose not to build or rebuild impressive and permanent palaces on the scale of earlier constructions. This process would have meant some restructuring of society, especially in formerly palatial areas. To some extent, this will have brought palatial and non-palatial areas closer together again, in terms of complexity, and in the postpalatial period they shared these aspects of material expression.

The collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies by no means signified the end of Mycenaean culture itself, since Mycenaean culture, as opposed to palatial culture, existed more widely and collapse was only directly experienced in parts of Greece. In material terms, Mycenaean culture continued throughout the postpalatial period. Even in some palatial areas socio-political complexity did not wholly disappear and society certainly was certainly not reduced to a blank: the postpalatial period was no dark age. Even in the so-called Dark Age, village societies could be expected to have retained social complexity belied by the archaeological record. This pattern confirms that the Mycenaean collapse most likely represents the fragmentation of overarching power structures into smaller units. This must be considered at the level of personal relationships, which formed the basis of social organisation. The collapse indicates the failure and rejection of palace centres and large-scale rulership, and this reflects changes in the relationships between those at the centre and the rest of society, especially local elites. It is possible to envision such a

scenario by reference to the Maya polity of Copán and the failure of kingship there, as discussed in chapter 4, although that is not to suggest that any Mycenaean palace society experienced exactly the same scenario.

Nevertheless, a great degree of continuity in material culture and social practices would be expected, especially where they were not inextricably linked with the palace centres themselves. The loss of Linear B is thus no surprise, but neither is continuity in ceramic production or burial practices. The most profound long-term effects, leading to the transformation of Mycenaean culture, may have been caused by the demise of the major centres. These had had influence within larger regions, and had promoted the development and maintenance of complex networks within them. They had acted as stimuli to production and had probably promoted a degree of stability, at least for a time, as well as cultural norms displayed in material culture.

The nature of LHIIIC Middle

The material evidence from the postpalatial period has been taken to imply a revival or recovery of Mycenaean society, particularly evident in LHIIIC Middle, approximately the second half of, or the later twelfth and early eleventh centuries (Desborough 1964; Popham 1994, 295-302; Dickinson 2006a, 56-76; Thomatos 2006). It is usually suggested that this followed a period of instability at the end of the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries, brought about by the collapse itself, with some initial attempts at recovery, and was followed by failure or decline in the mid to late eleventh century (Popham 1994, 303-304; Dickinson 2006a, 76-77). In this way, a narrative of the

postpalatial period is presented, which relates it qualitatively to the preceding palatial period. However, there are several problems with this approach.

Firstly, it is often noted that much of the evidence for LHIIIC Middle comes from the pictorial pottery produced and found in many parts of the mainland and across the Aegean to the Anatolian coast (Rutter 1992, 62; Popham 1994, 295-297). This style of pottery had largely ceased to be produced c.1200, and is rare in LHIIIC Early, but became more popular than ever in LHIIIC Middle (Crouwel 1991, 31; Popham 1994, 296). At Mycenae, for example, 36.7% of pictorial pottery is dated to LHIIIC Middle while only 25.4% is dated to LHIIIB (Crouwel 1991, 4 Table 1). Only 0.6% was dated to LHIIIC Early and production declined again in LHIIIC Late, with again only 0.6% of pictorial pottery dated to that phase.

The variation in the popularity of pictorial pottery should not be taken to suggest that changing proportions of pottery reflect an inability to produce it, but rather that the demand for such pottery fluctuated according to circumstances. In LHIIIC Middle, the absence of palaces was no bar to the production, circulation and use of pictorial pottery in various locations, and to what extent this should be seen as a recovery, rather than a specific development related to the culture of LHIIIC is questionable. Various shapes, the most popular being the krater, were used for decoration in LHIIIC, as before, however some of the themes do change (Crouwel 1991, 7-12; Rutter

1992, 63). For example, bulls, boxing[22] and perhaps wrestling no longer appear as themes (Rutter 1992, 63) and while chariot scenes remain important, peaceful chariot scenes may also cease to be represented, although some racing and or athletic scenes may be present (Dickinson *pers.comm.*). Although Rutter suggests (1992, 63) an 'earlier indebtedness to Minoan forms of sport... may have given way to a more Helladic emphasis on horse and chariotry' there is no need to see this change in terms of putative ethnic, racial or cultural characteristics as opposed to changing forms of ideological concern in a world without palaces.

This last point highlights the problem of perspective. To view the achievements of people in LHIIIC in relation to the palatial period, in other words as recovery, success or failure, ignores the differences between the societies that existed in the palatial period. To view LHIIIC Middle as a period of recovery may be valid enough for some areas in simply material terms, but the nature of this recovery should not be viewed as if it reflects a will to recreate earlier palatial forms and culture. The process of collapse in palatial areas, taking place across the end of LHIIIB and in LHIIIC Early marked a considerable chronological and experiential gap: an individual born in c.1300 or c.1250 and living at Mycenae, Tiryns or Pylos for 50 years, would have had a considerably different worldview than an individual born in c.1200 or c.1170, say. Despite the certain cultural continuities ensured by the existence of successive generations, each passing on their cultural tales and their own personal stories of life and society, the different socialisation experienced by

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[22] Crouwel suggests (1991, 16) that armoured figures depicted on a LHIIIA2-B1 krater may in fact be saluting each other rather than boxing, as has been suggested.

these generations will have formed the basis for change across time. A similar situation would have been apparent for people in non-palatial areas, where a changing view of the wider world may have been engendered, but it is as likely that the degree of change and continuity experienced was both less than in formerly palatial areas and different in nature.

Nevertheless, it would seem that in LHIIIC Middle, conditions were appropriate to allow the flourishing of a Mycenaean culture across mainland Greece and the islands, in which the evidence suggests that there was again some degree of stability and prosperity in some areas, widespread contacts and interrelations, as well as elements of an elite culture and social differentiation. But this positive picture should not be overstated. Given the reduction in the number of occupied sites, many of which had been in use for a considerable time, this world was fundamentally different. This is the case whether the changes are a matter of visibility for archaeologists, since they reflect changing styles of expression, or real population decline. While some features, such as pottery, weapons and jewellery suggest a common culture, there were also regional variations in pottery, as well as in the specific manifestations of differentiation, either in architectural forms or in funerary practices. At this time, societies across Mycenaean Greece seems to have been less differentiated than in palatial times, with no palatial/non-palatial divide, and the hierarchical distance between individuals in formerly palatial societies was probably reduced. Generally, there may have been more scope for individual action and the achievement of status in a myriad of smaller scale societies. Such a

situation may already have been present in non-palatial societies before the collapse.

Crete

As noted, Crete lies outside the scope of this study. However, it is appropriate to make some remarks about Crete in the twelfth century. After the end of palatial administration on Crete, in the late thirteenth century, early archaeologists had envisioned a Neolithic style 'life of terror' for the inhabitants, characterised as refugees cowering in the mountains (Pendlebury quoted in Rehak and Younger 2001, 458 n.513). As on the mainland, such an extreme and simplistic characterisation is now rejected, although some maintain it in a modified form.

The settlement evidence reveals some similarities with mainland Greece and the islands, with a reduction in identifiable sites often taken to indicate a falling population, but there are also many new sites (Rehak and Younger 2001, 458; Dickinson 2006a, 90-93 and Figure 4.3). It is often noted that settlements appear to have been located away from the coasts, and that this was a precautionary measure against piracy or raiding; Nowicki thus argues (1998, 217) that 'some left Crete, but most of those who survived fled to the places in the mountains that could be defended' and he likens this to the Neolithic settlement pattern with a population nucleated at certain sites such as Karphi. He further argues that this tactic did not work and that later, in the twelfth century, more people fled by sea, or into the mountains. However, tombs may show occupation of the Knossos area in LMIIIC and there is some LMIIIC

pottery from Kommos, while Phaistos, Mallia, Chania, and Kastri, also near the sea, show some signs of activity (Rehak and Younger 2001, 459-461; Dickinson 2006a, 64-66).

Nowicki's characterisation of the period is somewhat debatable (Dickinson 2006a, 65), and some sites do appear to show a degree of prosperity (Rehak and Younger 2001, 459). At Chania, settlement was extended and a Cypriot import and Italian style HMB have been found, and in LMIIIC, following a destruction with fire, there was reuse and new construction. No LMIIIC destruction is apparent, although the site was eventually abandoned, to be reoccupied much later. Figurines of Mycenaean type were also present in IIIC, but snake tubes and other Minoan features suggest local continuities. At Halasmenos, a settlement was founded near the sea in LMIIIC Middle and appears to have founded by locals, who had some familiarity with Mycenaean material culture, which, as at Chania, shows a mix of Minoan and Mycenaean features (Tsipopoulou 2001).

The pattern of change and site abandonment and foundation should be regarded as much more gradual, and may have been relatively peaceful (Rehak and Younger 2001, 463). What changes there were may have been more connected to lifestyle, agricultural practices (as suggested for Kavousi Kastro and Kavousi Vronda) or the seasonal occupation of sites, as still occurs in Greece today, with some of the most inaccessible sites perhaps being refuge sites (Rehak and Younger 2001, 460; Dickinson 2006a, 65-66). Even so, it may be unwise to make general statements about the motivations for such changes on

an island wide basis. As on the mainland, cremations become slowly more common, as does the use of iron, and some continuity is thought likely in social customs. The 'Eteo-Cretan' language is also a likely survival, showing the complex interrelations of material culture, language and ethnicity (Rehak and Younger 2001, 464).

Similar problems confront any who seek to interpret the Cretan evidence, including the spectre of the Sea Peoples and the desire to frame the evidence into a narrative that is interlinked with evidence from other areas. However, this task is too complex to be attempted within the scope of this work.

The Mycenaean collapse and general collapse theory

Chapter 2 reviewed trends in general collapse theory and it was suggested that a tendency towards environmental explanations and away from monocausal theories is now prevalent, with a few exceptions. Several authors have focussed on anthropogenic damage to the environment, and natural environmental factors such as megadroughts, as major causes of collapse, although often other arguments had to be brought in to make them more convincing. However, in some instances this was argued from a monocausal perspective. In general, arguments of this type have been widespread in explanations of the Mycenaean collapse since the 1960s, and include scenarios of drought and earthquake. Drought and earthquake hypotheses usually rely on arguments that palatial society was unable to cope and so they are in fact theories of systems collapse. Drought hypotheses especially rely on particular interpretations of palatial society as rigid, inflexible and often oppressive and

unable to cope with stress, which are in fact highly questionable given the new appreciation of what Linear B cannot illuminate. They also fail to appreciate the active strategies of the experienced subsistence farmers who must have made up the bulk of the population. In fact, megadrought hypotheses do not really need to suggest inherent weaknesses in society, since a megadrought would in itself be catastrophic. However, while periodic droughts or climatic fluctuations are likely enough, there is no positive evidence of serious climatic problems that are not beyond serious question, and it is usual that scientific evidence is drawn from areas often far outside the areas affected.

It was also observed that there are difficulties in determining causes and effects. Although this thesis has consistently argued against mass migrations, it can be noted that these have often been cited as a cause and consequence of collapse. The Sea Peoples are a prime example of this. They have been blamed either directly or indirectly for causing the collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies but also some see the origins of some of the Sea Peoples in the dislodging of elite Mycenaeans, and thus as a result of the collapse. In invasion scenarios, it has also been suggested that invasions can be successful because a collapse has already occurred, and thus that invasions can masquerade as causes of collapse. Thus economic or political reasons are often argued as underlying causes, which other groups can take advantage of consciously or benefit from accidentally. Natural catastrophes or disasters such as earthquakes cannot be effects of collapse, although they are a popular cause or factor. It should be clear that these would not have had the same effect at different times and thus while in some circumstances a polity could

survive and recover from an earthquake intact, at other times this may not have been possible. This could be evident at Mycenae. As for economic and political factors, these too can be cited either as cause or effect. Factional in-fighting or civil war could cause political collapse and consequent changes may be evident, but equally, if a collapse occurred for other reasons, political and economic change might follow as a result. This is difficult to ascertain without texts and even then may not be clear, since they must be interpreted. Economic changes too could present new circumstances to a society, and be a cause of collapse due to the breakdown of traditional practices, especially where a prestige economy operated, but also it could result from central collapse, which would cause changes in economic circumstances. It seems unlikely that there was any understanding of economics in the modern sense, and this could have caused problems in itself in determining appropriate responses in maintaining larger social and political structures.

It remains extremely difficult to evaluate these different possibilities or to know how to relate them to one another and how any emphasis should be placed in determining ultimate causes. However, it seems unlikely that any general theory of the cause of collapse will be found. Considering this, it seems ultimately best to conclude that collapse occurs for many reasons, determined by specific factors affecting individual societies. A better understanding of collapse is achievable, but is best considered in reference to the relationships between individuals and groups, especially in terms of central and local elites, and the problems in maintaining these to the satisfaction of all. By examining processes common to societies and groups, and the

development, maintenance and fragmentation of these relationships, common themes can be identified, and in these human experiences and motivations, collapse is understood primarily as a social process. In a sense, this reduces the need to identify particular causes, about which it is often difficult or impossible to be conclusive. Nevertheless, something must be said of the possible causes of the Mycenaean collapse.

The specific causes of the Mycenaean collapse

The preceding discussions have presented some conclusions on the nature of the Mycenaean collapse, and discussed it in light of general collapse theories and the notion of causes. As has been outlined, there are many competing theories to explain the collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies and as stated in the introduction, this thesis does not seek to add a new one. However, some plausible causes can be outlined, although it is unlikely that any can be proved.

Overstretch

In seeking to dominate or extend their influence politically or/and militarily, one or more palaces may have made themselves more vulnerable to collapse. If defensive capability at the centre was diverted, enemies could have taken advantage of this and destroyed the centre, causing collapse and political fragmentation, and a possible increase in instability and warfare. This could be especially likely for the Argolid, if it sought to dominate some of the Aegean islands. Equally, in an extended overarching political system, vassals and local power groups could have split off from the centre, either seeking new alliances, independent power or to take over the centre for themselves. This too could

have resulted in fragmentation and an increase in warfare and instability. These factors could have caused collapse over time and led to changing settlement patterns and a decrease in population, as occurred among the Maya. Areas that were non-palatial may not have been directly affected and non-palatial areas that may have come under palatial influence could also have benefited. However, an increase in instability with more small competing groups could have lead to prolonged problems and significant changes over time.

Economic changes

Changing trade routes and access to prestige goods could have undermined palatial authority and the foundations of their existence, as could a lack of markets for actual Mycenaean goods overseas, with these able to produce their own Mycenaean style goods locally. Non-palatial areas and local elites in palatial areas could have benefited from this increased access to goods, perhaps causing a waning of central authorities, whether actual or ideological. Equally, elites in non-palatial areas could perhaps have influenced a change in trade routes. Palace centres would have suffered from redundancy if the goods they produced were no longer required. Without any need for palace centres as sources of authority that may have derived from control over prestige goods, local groups could perhaps have claimed more authority and independence, causing conflict. Palace centres could have attempted to continue to dominate in other ways, perhaps leading to an increase in militarism and warfare that could have resulted in collapse and as their system could no longer function, they would not have been rebuilt.

Internal problems

These could stem from the problems outlined above, but could also have occurred independently for very individual and specific reasons not reducible to processes, such as personal ambition. Given the likelihood that the Mycenaean palace states were dynamic social systems based on personal networks between elites, conflict is not unlikely, with groups and individuals seeking their own advantage. We cannot dismiss the notion of local elites resentful of central authorities, nor their own ambitions to dominate in the wider sphere of internal palatial state politics. The creation of overarching institutions that expanded to include local elites could easily have resulted in this.

Rivalries and competition between local areas and elites inside these larger political units is also not unlikely. These potential cleavage points could be exacerbated by other factors. Likewise, the hypothetical dynasties that ruled palace states may have faced problems common to other royal families, such as problematical successions, rivalry and faction. If there is any validity to the notion of overstretch outlined above, the presence of rival members of the ruling family governing other areas, with their own authority and power base, could have caused serious problems in maintaining the stability of polities. Such a scenario of breakdown could be plausible for the Argolid and its influence, or attempts at influence, in the eastern Aegean. With breakdown comes fragmentation and instability, as already outlined.

Plague and epidemics

If serious enough, these are obvious potential causes of social and political change and collapse. They could affect the ability of a society to operate successfully due to high mortality and this could have seriously affected the relatively small-scale palace societies, whereas larger and perhaps more institutionalised societies that have also suffered from these could survive intact. Classical Athens, perhaps a fair comparison with a LBA palace state in this regard, did not collapse when it experienced a plague, and equally other serious plagues seem not to have led to the collapse of any major political units. A prolonged effect on population levels would have been normal and areas that had particularly high or dense populations could have suffered more than other areas. If elites were affected, then governance would have suffered and instability increased, but the general effects on agriculture and social norms would have pervaded society. There would have been more scope for social change within such a society, and it is reasonable to suggest that it could have led to collapse, even if there is a lack of evidence for this in other societies.

Discussion

From the research undertaken in this thesis, it is suspected that the above factors of overstretch, economic changes and internal problems are in some combination, and with the possibility of other factors playing a part, the most likely explanations of the Mycenaean palatial collapse. Rather than being based on questionable interpretations of Mycenaean society, later Greek myths, modern myths about the Sea Peoples, or politically charged contemporary

debates about the environment, these have the advantage of being grounded in historical realities and also of admitting the role of human agency in collapse. It also becomes clear that collapse can happen quite unpredictably, as an accident of particular circumstances. It need not be a matter of groups seeking to destroy a society and no decline in that society need be real or apparent. Plagues and epidemics remain a possible factor, but there is a lack of positive evidence for them, and depopulation itself, perhaps the most attractive reason for suggesting plague, can have social causes.

These conclusions reflect and reinforce the current consensus of scholars, outlined in chapter 3. This consensus rightly rejects the wholesale or mass migration of population groups, whether drawn from myths or archaeological evidence. On the other hand, that there were smaller groups of whatever origin present, that could have raided sites in Greece or the Aegean islands, or disrupted trade elsewhere, where they could not be dealt with, must be admitted as real possibility. Whether this could have caused collapse is perhaps doubtful, although it could have been a contributing factor. While admitting the likelihood that environmental factors played a part, as they do in all societies, as an explanation of collapse these alone are not enough, but must be combined with other factors.

The consensus appears to favour economic explanations and considers competition between palaces, to which perhaps non-palatial regions should be added, and links with the Near East to be significant. Competition or disruption of existing systems could easily have undermined either a prestige

economy, a vital foundation of the palatial system, or even problems in subsistence production could have been a stimulus, and these could have had several causes. Equally, palaces could have become redundant as other areas gained in importance, or because of import substitution. Trade routes could have changed as a result of this, or could have been a cause of changes. Since the interactions and motivations of many disparate groups would have been involved in these relationships, it is impossible to determine the precise nature of events and any single hypothesis may not cover all the possibilities. Any such changes could easily have been a stimulus for increased warfare, either for physical resources, political or economic advantage or dominance, or as an alternative form of competition between or even within societies. The consensus view suggests the importance of warfare in the collapse. This was directed against palace centres plausibly by groups within palatial territories, perhaps local elites and their followings, or by other palatial or important centres. Since there is no way to reconstruct the political geography of Mycenaean Greece in palatial times, we can only speculate that there were networks of alliances and enmities, which could have extended into non-palatial areas, or even caused divided loyalties of local elites within palatial territories, and suggest that these too could have played a role in the collapse and fragmentation of palace states.

To some degree it is perhaps inevitable that any research reflects contemporary trends in interpretation, and this thesis is no exception. However, it is suggested that this thesis, by not seeking to support one particular theory of collapse at the expense of all others, and with the advantage of the changing

understanding of the relation of myth to archaeology and history, as well as by identifying common processes in historic societies that collapsed, has been able to present an objective analysis of the collapse, which also admits the role of agency, motivation and chance. This may be inexact, and sometimes rather generalised or vague, but it is unlikely that any more precise picture can be developed, given the available evidence.

What would help us to understand the Mycenaean collapse?

Understanding of the collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies is undoubtedly hindered by problems with the evidence. The limited literacy of the palaces is a particular problem, but in itself is not the major problem. The Hittites, Romans and Maya left a wide range of texts that can be used to reconstruct their society and history yet the causes of their collapse remain hotly debated. The main benefit of these texts is that they allow us some insight into historical events and social processes, and from these hypotheses can be developed, but they do not provide a narrative of collapse and must be interpreted. This lack of texts in Greece has led to attempts to force particular interpretations of Linear B records into a narrative where they reflect economic or military problems and thus foreshadow the collapse. Given that we have such a limited amount of data, it is difficult to recognise what is normal and what is unusual in the texts, and to interpret them in light of the collapse is questionable.

Furthermore, it has also led to giving prominence of Egyptian evidence for the activities of the Sea Peoples, and other Near Eastern textual evidence

concerning warfare and raiding in the Eastern Mediterranean. This has been used to fill the gaps in the Aegean evidence and to attempt to provide some kind of historical narrative. However, the few Sea Peoples texts in particular offer many problems of interpretation and discussions of them have become so laden with assumptions about who they were and what they were doing that a far greater significance may have been placed on them than is deserved. This is especially true for Greece itself, for while some of the Sea Peoples may have originated in the Aegean, this in itself does not explain the collapse of the palaces. In order to understand the collapse more clearly, we must remain very aware of this imbalance in the textual evidence and avoid interpretations of the Linear B texts based on hindsight. Likewise, where evidence from overseas is difficult to interpret, and of questionable relevance to Greece itself, this must be admitted; it should not be used merely to create a convenient, if attractive narrative. This approach may mean dismissing some evidence for the collapse and limiting the data even more, but to misuse evidence or to admit evidence that has no clear direct link may be a more serious problem.

While the texts hint at palatial interconnections and show the interest of palaces in particular areas, and the archaeology adds to this especially through scientific analysis of pottery, the nature of these relations, and those between palatial and seemingly non-palatial areas remain largely unknown. That said, a number of relations, including palatial control of non-palatial areas have been proposed, but remain problematic for reasons that have been discussed. Without texts, it is only possible to speculate about them and to suggest analogies, as this thesis has done, and this may be an effective way to approach

an interpretation of the palatial period itself. Undoubtedly, this is a serious gap in our understanding of LBA Greece and one that affects any interpretation of collapse. Although it is quite plausible to suggest that there were interconnections between the states and the non-state regions in terms of trade, marriage and alliance and military confrontations this remains speculative. We are unable to ascertain any accurate political geography that might hint at alliances or enmities, although by analogy with the Maya, we could expect that major sites might seek to dominate others and that this could cause problems that had more widespread effects. Both the Hittites and the Maya had problems maintaining stability in terms of controlling vassals both politically and militarily. Similarly, there is a problem in understanding the internal dynamics of the palace states. Again, analogy with the Maya suggests that internal relations between elites could be a source of instability and cleavage in states, while the Hittite evidence shows the vulnerability of the ruling group to faction and infighting. These are likely but unverifiable sources of instability in the Mycenaean palace states. However, a lack of specific positive evidence renders this likely source of instability and potential cause of collapse one that is difficult to pursue.

From an archaeological perspective, there are other problems. It will have been noted that many difficulties in understanding the collapse and postpalatial period seem to be related to population levels and generally a decrease in population throughout the postpalatial period is noted. Overpopulation has been feature of explanations for the Mycenaean collapse and that of the Maya, usually linked with consequent climatic and agricultural problems. However,

understanding population from burials and surveys is no more than informed estimation, since with burials we cannot be clear whether they are representative of the total population, and survey may not reveal all habitation. Given the application of different formulae to this data, a variety of figures can be arrived at, although they can never be verified.

It must be admitted that we cannot estimate the population of palatial Greece with any degree of accuracy and while the significant changes, particularly in regions such as Messenia, do seem to indicate population decline in the postpalatial period, given the problems of interpreting the data, we cannot be sure of the extent of this. It may be that populations became less archaeologically visible for a time, which is attested in 'little dark ages' in archaic Crete. In practical terms, explanations that rely on overpopulation are questionable, and in fact it should not be forgotten that populations can survive and even grow despite bad diets and agricultural problems. Underpopulation caused by warfare, epidemics or famine could have played just as significant a role, as has been suggested for the Western Roman Empire and the Hittites. Although depopulation may be expected as a consequence of political instability and collapse, it must be admitted that the levels of population and demographic change are impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy, and thus it is difficult to draw precise comparisons between the palatial and postpalatial periods.

Another major problem, basic to understanding the collapse, is the chronology of destructions at particular sites. There has been a tendency to imagine a basic

synchronicity to these, leading to a vision of collapse as a universal and catastrophic event. Since events require actors, this assumption has promoted explanations that require invaders of some sort, although natural catastrophes can also serve this function. Accepting that the collapse most likely occurred over a longer period of some decades may favour more process-based explanations such as changing economics and trade patterns as the fundamental reasons for the failure of a system. However, whether collapse should be seen as either a process or an event is the wrong way to set the question, since a process is punctuated by events. Changing circumstances, ie processes, interact with events, such as destructions, to cause different responses and abilities to act at different times. The perspectives of the people involved also change over time, reflecting the realities of the situation at any given moment, and these interact with their goals and motivations, as well as how society is reflected in material culture. This is what causes change. If the chronology could be understood better than at present, our understanding of the collapse could be improved, but in the absence of internal accurate dating, something which aids interpretations of the Maya collapse, and the reliance on interpretation of ceramics, this can be taken only so far.

The meaning of continuity

Another aspect of this thesis has dealt with issues of continuity and change from the palatial period. An attempt has been made to examine these in relation to whether the area was formerly palatial or non-palatial, since this will have played a part in shaping postpalatial culture in each area. However, while the issue of continuity is of importance to archaeologists and historians, it

needs some clarification. For example, continuity in the form of palaces, as they developed through time, does not indicate that social forms remained static, nor does it give any indication of the events or experiences of individuals: the lived reality of the past. In a similar way, the evident material changes between palatial and postpalatial Greece promote a notion of change that may ignore social continuities that are not visible. The material continuity of Mycenaean traditions is visible into the postpalatial period, and the continuation of shipbuilding, weapon styles, mourning ritual and aspects of elite life has also been identified, and this is significant. However, it must also be considered that individuals were uniquely located in time and space, and were affected uniquely by the environment and communities that they were socialised by. Although it is only possible for archaeology to provide a broad and quite impersonal impression, this level of consideration must not be forgotten. What seems certain is that a quite specific way of life in palace societies ended, and in the new realities of postpalatial Greece a quite different 'lived reality' was experienced. In areas that had not been palatial, this may have been less so.

In considering the continuity of rulership and elites, as well as the *oikoi*, it has been suggested that this is likely enough, particularly in some areas, but on a local and quite varied scale. *Wanax* style rule certainly ended, but the fragmentation of palatial systems need not have meant the fragmentation of local systems. In terms of the continuity of *basileis* from LBA Greece, it has been argued that these could already have been local notable figures, and that the term *basileus* indicated this in palatial times throughout Greece, although in

palatial areas they were subsumed into an overarching system and subordinate to *wanaktes*. While the term may have survived, showing it must have been continuously applicable to people, it does not seem to denote kingship as such, rather than a particular kind of elite personage. It seems unlikely to have denoted any institutional kingship until (possibly well) after the postpalatial period. Postpalatial elites may have been unable to exercise as much power as the *wanaktes* and it seems that a more level situation, largely without strong single rulers was prevalent. In this scenario, some comparison may be appropriate with the situation of *basileis* described in the Homeric poems. Rulership itself might have been quite a vague notion, perhaps better considered as the ability to wield influence rather than govern. In this context, postpalatial society could have been quite unstable politically as well as having a more military nature, in which heroic ideals were espoused.

Final comments

The postpalatial period was significantly different from the palatial period, but these differences are more apparent in certain parts of Greece than others. As a significant and long-lasting phase, with particular characteristics, it must be considered important in itself and no mere footnote to the palatial period, nor only as a prelude to a dark age. It is encouraging that recent general textbooks on Greece (e.g. Osborne 1996; Whitley 2001; Hall 2007) begin their coverage at 1200, and that monographs (Dickinson 2006a; Thomatos 2006) and edited volumes (Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006) reflect this, and treat the period with more nuance and sophistication than earlier work.

The end of the Mycenaean period, the end of the postpalatial period, saw gradual changes in material expression at different paces in different regions, although local areas could retain earlier traditions and incorporate them into a new culture (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 136). The worlds of archaic and classical Greece were fundamentally different to the Mycenaean palace societies, and owed little to any direct continuities of tradition, which would have undergone several transformations (Dickinson 2006b). This is well summarised by Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 136), who state that:

> The process of change, which has sometimes been portrayed as sudden and abrupt, should, at least from the perspective of Greece as a whole, be understood to have taken generations.

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