

Durham E-Theses

The dorian dilemma: Problems and interpretations of social change in late Helladic iii c and dark age Greece with reference to the archaeological and literary evidence

Dierckx, Heidi

How to cite:

Dierckx, Heidi (1986) *The dorian dilemma: Problems and interpretations of social change in late Helladic iii c and dark age Greece with reference to the archaeological and literary evidence*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6880/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

ABSTRACT

Early Greek history, i.e. Greek history prior to about the mid-sixth century B.C., is as obscure to modern historians as it was to the ancient ones. One of the events which has been mentioned and described by ancient sources and is supposed to have happened during this period is the "Dorian Invasion". The question whether it did or did not happen in reality, and when, has puzzled modern scholars since the nineteenth century and still is a controversial issue today.

The problem is approached by examining both the available literary and archaeological evidence. In Part I the literary evidence in general and its limitations is discussed (Chapter 1), i.e. to what extent it can be relied upon as a source of information about the past: the historicity of events described and the assessment of the duration of the past. The theoretical implications are applied to the events surrounding the "Dorian Invasion" in Chapter 2. It has been suggested that the tradition of the invasion, as reported by ancient historians has been conflated and distorted and the given date for it may be wrong, but it is possible that it contained a historical kernel, i.e. that the actual event of a "Dorian Invasion" did happen. The archaeological evidence is discussed in Part II; Chapter 3 deals with the limitations in general, both the technical and interpretative aspects. Chapters 4 and 5 describe the archaeology of the areas related to the "Dorians" in mainland Greece and the Aegean from the Mycenaean III C and post-Mycenaean periods. It has been concluded that no archaeological features can be detected which may be linked to an invasion of people.

The different hypotheses put forward regarding the "Dorian Invasion" are discussed in Part III, Chapter 6, and in the conclusion of Chapter 6 the view is expressed that it is impossible to be certain if there was a "Dorian Invasion". The "Dorian Dilemma" still remains.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
 No quotation from it should be published without
 his prior written consent and information derived
 from it should be acknowledged.

T H E D O R I A N D I L E M M A

Problems and Interpretations of
 social change in Late Helladic III C
 and Dark Age Greece with reference to
 the archaeological and literary evidence

A Thesis submitted for the Degree
 of Master of Arts at the University
 of Durham, Department of Classics

by

Heidi Dierckx

- 1986 -

Copyright: The copy of this thesis rests with the author.
 No quotation from it should be published
 without her prior written consent and informa-
 tion derived from it should be acknowledged.



Dedicated to my parents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
List of Figures	viii
Introduction	1
<u>PART I : LITERARY EVIDENCE</u>	
Chapter 1. Limitations of oral tradition and literary evidence	6
Chapter 2. Early Greek oral tradition and interpretation	32
<u>PART II : ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE</u>	
Chapter 3. Limitations in archaeology	54
Chapter 4. Archaeology of mainland Greece (Dorian)	69
Chapter 5. Archaeology of the Dorian Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor	137
<u>PART III : INTERPRETATION</u>	
Chapter 6. Was there a "Dorian Invasion"?	163
Map A. The Dorian Aegean (excluding Crete).. .. .	191
Map B. Crete	192
Map C. Greece	194
Bibliography	195

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most of all I would like to express my sincere thanks to my Supervisor, Dr. O. Dickinson, for his invaluable guidance, comments and willingness to offer information whenever sought throughout the writing of this thesis and keeping me up-to-date with the archaeological evidence of Greece and the Aegean islands.

I am very grateful to my father for his financial support during this period, making it possible for me to write the thesis. I also would like to thank my parents, Mrs. Hall, Caradoc Davies and all my other friends for giving me moral support whilst doing my research.

University of Durham,
May 1986.

Heidi Dierckx

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Series

AA	Archaeologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
AD	Arkhaiologikon Deltion
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AR	Archaeological Reports
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici

Archaeological Periods and Cultural Phases

LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
S.Min.	Sub-Minoan
S.Myc.	Sub-Mycenaean
DA	Dark Age
PG	Protogeometric
"PG"	Material termed Protogeometric but having little or no link with the Attic style
G	Geometric
ELH, EPG, EG	Early Late Helladic, Protogeometric, Geometric (similarly for M (Middle) LH, PG, G and L (Late) LH, PG, G)

List of Abbreviations (cont...)

Ancient Historians

Apoll.	Apollodorus
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Her.	Herodotus
Paus.	Pausanias
Thuc.	Thucydides

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.1	Development of oral tradition	8
1.2	The royal lines in Herodotus	25
1.3	The Eurypontid line according to Herodotus and Pausanias	27
2.1	Migrations of Dorians (and Heracleidae) as in the literary evidence	33
4.1	Chronological timetable	74
4.2	Number of sites occupied during Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Greece ..	79
4.3	Suggested correlation of selected Late Mycenaean and "Sub-Mycenaean" deposits ..	83
4.4	Late Helladic III C pottery	110
4.5	"Sub-Mycenaean" vases	112
4.6	Protogeometric pottery	113
4.7	"Barabrian Ware" from various sites in Greece	115
4.8	Dress and personal ornaments	121
4.9	Weapons	126
4.10	Distribution of cists and pits, c.1125-900 B.C.	130
4.11	Distribution of cists and pits, c.1500-1125 B.C.	132
5.1	Number of sites in Melos, Thera and the Dodecanese	139
5.2	Distribution of Cretan sites	144
5.3	Patterns of the Cretan Fringed Style ..	146
5.4	Sub-Minoan and PG pottery from Knossos (Ayios Ioannis)	147
5.5	Plan of the Knossos area	149
6.1	Distribution of the west Greek dialect ..	165

List of Figures (cont...)

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
6.2	Motifs characteristic of the "Boubousti Keramik", taken over by the "Dorians", according to Schachermeyr	178
6.3	Distribution of the pithos burial in the PG and G period	188

INTRODUCTION

Twenty years later, the Dorians with the descendants of Heracles made themselves masters of the Peloponnese.

(Thuc., I, 12)

Thucydides in his "History of the Peloponnesian War" describes Greece, in the time before the seventh century B.C., as being "in a state of ferment" and "many years passed by and many difficulties were encountered before Hellas would enjoy any peace or stability, and before the period of shifting populations ended" (Thuc., I, 12). One of the population movements that he mentions was that of the Dorians, who entered and became masters of the Peloponnese eighty years after the fall of Troy, twenty years after "the Boeotians were driven out by the Thessalians and settled in what is now Boeotia." In modern terms this event has been called the "Dorian Invasion". Herodotus, Diodorus and Apollodorus have given a more detailed account of events surrounding this migration and occupation of the Peloponnese. The question to be asked now is: was there really a "Dorian Invasion"?

Most scholars/historians in the first half of the twentieth century and previously did not doubt the stories and history of Greece written in the ancient literary sources, including the movement of the Dorians. To prove the existence of the Dorians, they interpreted and manipulated the available archaeological evidence according to the supposedly historical events mentioned in the literary sources. So, the destruction of many

Mycenaean palaces at the end of the pottery phase

Late Helladic IIIB and the decline of the Mycenaean civilization afterwards led to the suggestion that the Dorians entered Greece at about that time. This could be made to satisfy the literary evidence by further manipulation.

Yet one man, K. J. Beloch, in 1913, an extreme sceptic, had denied its very occurrence. He gave good reasons for such a viewpoint, that the literary evidence was far removed from the "Dorian Invasion" in time and distorted according to the bias or ignorance of the writer. Moreover, suspiciously coherent stories describing the event and the conflicting elements within the story told by several ancient historians put doubt on the truth concerning the event itself.

Recently, many hypotheses have been put forward, some of which still claim that the Dorians entered Greece at the end of the Mycenaean destruction period and that they came from the north, even though it is recognized that there is little or no archaeological evidence to support that idea. Others placed an invasion about a century or more later; whether it was the Dorians or another people is the problem. At the other end of the scale, there are those historians who reject the literary tradition and therefore do not believe in the "Dorian Invasion" but formulated other causes to explain the evidence as we see it archaeologically. Doubt concerning the ancient literary sources must not be carried too far by rejecting or disregarding its contents totally. All the evidence has to

be taken into account and examined independently before coming to a definite conclusion. Once this has been done, one can try to make sense of the whole problem with all the evidence taken together.

My thesis is based entirely on the evidence from all those archaeologists/historians who have been concerned about this "Dorian Dilemma".

I shall be dealing with two kinds of evidence, the literary and archaeological, in order to discuss the problems involved, when looking at the dilemma concerning the "Dorian Invasion" (much discussed in the past and still being discussed).

Both kinds of evidence have their limitations as to what they can tell us. As regards the literary evidence, the problems concern the historicity of the events described by ancient historians surrounding the coming of the Dorians into Greece. At this period Greece was illiterate; thus its history was based on oral tradition. During the process of transmission from generation to generation, many factors may have distorted the true chain of events such as the failure of memory and personal biases of the informant. Another aspect to the problem is the way in which the ancient writers assessed the duration of the past.

In archaeology, the fact that not all the evidence has survived materially and the problems involved in producing a relative chronology, let alone an absolute one of a site, are only part of the archaeological limitations. Another aspect involves the interpretation of the material evidence itself. The evidence can be very ambiguous and therefore

many interpretations are possible according to what kind of evidence the archaeologist or historian regards as more important. This applies to the literary sources as well. Every hypothesis has its arguments for and against it and as P. Cartledge expresses it, "our position is of honest agnosticism."

I will examine both kinds of evidence separately, first in general terms and afterwards with reference to the migrations of the Dorians into Greece and later across the Aegean. The main questions asked will be: was there a "Dorian Invasion"? Can it be traced archaeologically? If not, how do we interpret the evidence, both literary and archaeological?

PART I
LITERARY EVIDENCE

1.

LIMITATIONS OF ORAL TRADITION AND
LITERARY EVIDENCE

Introduction

The Dark Age of Greece was a period of illiteracy, a period in which its history is as obscure to us as it was for the Greek ancient historians. Thucydides (I, 1) states this explicitly:

I have found it impossible, because of its remoteness in time, to acquire a really precise knowledge of the distant past or even of the history preceding our own period.

Oral tradition was during this period the means by which the people were able to transmit their past and present history or any other information to their descendants. A long time elapsed before these traditions were actually recorded in written form. This occurred at the earliest at the end of the period, but many probably were not recorded until Classical times, during which time their preservation depended on the powers of memory of successive generations of human beings.

The way in which the Greek traditions have been approached by certain modern historians, e.g. Hammond, Huxley, Forrest, in the last twenty years, has not been critical enough. The traditions have been generally taken at face value, which is especially true of Hammond and Huxley. Virtually every statement about the events and chronology relating to the events of the Dark Age traditions has been believed. From all the evidence available in the different historical sources, Hammond especially creates a coherent story of the historical Dark Age, including the individuals who participated,

complete with names and description, although in order to do this, he must ignore the contradictions in the sources. Archaeological evidence is used to support the literary evidence and has been interpreted and manipulated in such a way as to match the supposedly historical events described in the sources.

Traditions are transmitted orally and no doubt processes of corruption have taken place and critical analysis has to be carried out. My approach therefore, in this chapter, is to discuss, firstly, oral traditions and their literary form in general and theoretical terms. This means their nature as sources of information about the past in order to find out the limitations of the information they report, to what extent they have been distorted and by what means and in which circumstances that could have happened. Secondly, I will look at the Greek literary evidence in general, how it developed from the time oral traditions were first put into writing, to see the way the people thought and how it might have affected their writings. By trying to determine their cultural and social background, it may be possible to detect the extent to which their evidence is a reliable source of their past history, i.e. their history in the Dark Age period of which they had no first hand experience, with reference to the Spartan king lists and the Parian Marble. In the next chapter I will apply the general points made more specifically to the traditions surrounding the events of the conquest of the Peloponnese by the Dorians and their movements overseas

1.1 Nature of Oral Tradition

Oral traditions consist of all verbal testimonies which are reported statements of the past (Vansina 1973 : 19). In

dealing with evidence from oral traditions of African societies still without writing, Vansina¹ approaches the matter theoretically. The development of oral tradition until it is finally recorded onto paper can be shown diagrammatically (Figure 1.1).

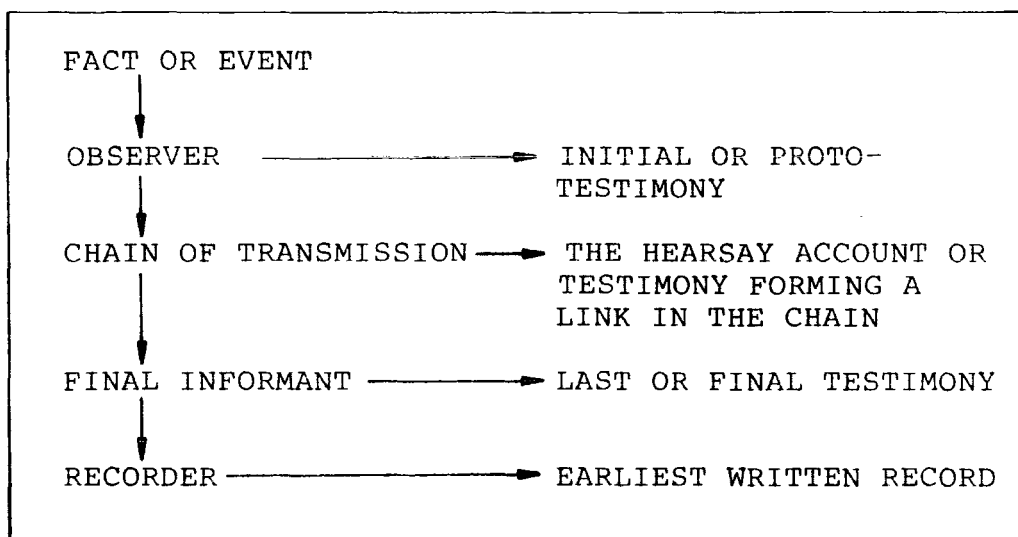


Figure 1.1: Development of oral tradition
(taken from Vansina, 1973:21)

In other words, in verbal testimonies there exists a relationship between the informant and his testimony. The nature of the testimony is therefore primarily determined by the informant; i.e. the informant may colour the testimony by making additions, by failing to include all traditions which have gone into the making of it, or by his personality. He may have heard several traditions, merging them into one single tradition, or the traditions themselves may have become incomprehensible to the informant who relates them - because perhaps the matters spoken of no longer exist - in which case the narrator forgets them or invents some explanation which he incorporates in the traditions themselves.

The individual psychology of the informant is one of the three reasons the traditions may become distorted. The

others are distortions made in defence of private interests, which are ultimately accounted for by the social structure, and distortions made under the influence of cultural values, which relate to the culture and social structure concerned.

As regards the distortions made in defence of private interests, a major source of error is the influence exerted on the contents of a testimony and the purposes of the informant. These derive ultimately from the social structure of the society to which they belong. Every tradition exists in the interests of the society in which it is preserved and does serve, either directly or indirectly, the interests of an informant, for instance his prestige. As to the purposes and functions of texts, Vansina classifies them into testimonies mainly aimed at recording history and testimonies in which the recording of history is only a secondary aim. The occurrence of distortion therefore depends on the extent to which informants give a historical content to their testimonies. He has suggested that the most reliable testimonies are those aimed at recording history, because the informant has no reason for falsification; for their secondary aim - often that of enhancing the informant's prestige or perhaps of an artistic nature - is not likely to lead to intentional distortion of any historical facts contained in them. But this is questionable, for it is quite possible that people will try to enhance their prestige given the chance. In any case, only a contemporary will be in a position to know the "true" history. Thereafter, at best a tradition-repeater can only repeat accurately what he has heard. Texts in which the main aim is not a historical one, Vansina postulates, are likely to be falsified, for, with some aim in view, they tend to

attempt to prove their case by supplying historical evidence of legal precedents. They are in fact less reliable than the previously mentioned class of testimony. It is useful therefore to find out the purpose or function of a tradition in order that certain distortions may be detected. The distinction made between these testimonies according to their purpose and function is a useful one, but many other factors, which may be involved, have to be taken into account as well, some of which we may be ignorant of.

Cultural values colour testimonies in three main ways: the first informant determines the choice of what events to record and the significance attached to them; through the medium of certain cultural concepts concerning time and historical development, they distort chronology and historical perspective (this will be discussed below); the values make testimonies conform to cultural ideals, thus turning them into examples to be followed.

There are several types of oral tradition. I am concerned here with the historical type, which is presented either in a fixed form such as official poetry or as lists or as free text. It can be generally said that as a historical source, poetry's psychological function and its aesthetic qualities distort the facts described. The historical information is usually of a rather vague, generalizing nature and it is impossible to attribute it to a definite period of the past. It is used for propaganda purposes, for instance, certain political aims, which give rise to major distortions in the account of facts. Poetry may also be full of allusions which can no longer be interpreted. Lists generally form an official tradition, intended as a historical record and used for compiling

a chronology. Being used to support political, social, or economic rights, they lend themselves readily to falsification especially when it concerns persons. So their main aim is not historical and therefore strongly influenced by the social structure. The free text is of intentionally historical nature. It alone contains a detailed account of a series of events. But it is extremely prone to distortion in defense of social interests.

So all oral traditions are to a greater or lesser extent linked with the society and culture which produces them. All are influenced by the culture and society concerned, upon which their existence depends. Therefore, the approach needed to evaluate the reliability of a tradition is the historical method. First the information on which a testimony is based must be closely examined, for example by analysing the society and the culture in which the traditions have arisen. Then the comparative method must be applied for the purpose of controlling and supplementing the information already obtained by other means. This is the best way of establishing the extent to which a tradition is a true reflection of the events described. The historian can, furthermore, overcome the limitations and biases of oral traditions by making use of other historical sources or auxiliary disciplines such as archaeology, cultural history, linguistics and physical anthropology. It has to be remembered, though, that these disciplines have their own limitations. The ideal aim of the historian, to discover the "truth" about history and the exact sequence of past events, is impossible to achieve. He can only arrive at an approximation of the truth.

Let us now look specifically at the chronological aspect of oral tradition, dealt with in detail by Henige.² This is very important when trying to recount the past. But in most cases the historian is seeking information that these sources were never meant to provide. Finley (1975: ch.1) indeed declares that the greatest deficiency of oral traditions is the inability to establish and maintain an accurate assessment of the duration of the past they seek to recount. I shall refer to those societies which measure their past in terms of genealogies or reigns of rulers of the state (as Greeks apparently did, especially Spartans), in the course of which chronological distortions can occur, which in turn have direct chronological implications. The facts recorded are mostly used to support claims to political, social, or economic rights. The main media used are the 'telescoping' and 'lengthening' process.

As regards the process of telescoping, traditions of monarchical societies are designed for legitimation: this implies that king lists and royal genealogies of these societies must assume specific patterns designed to appear uncontaminated. This often necessitates the omission of usurpers, interregna, and periods of foreign rule from the traditions. For example, a polity's self-image usually requires a past free of such embarrassments. And, if remembered, an extended period of foreign control may be interpreted in a tradition as nothing more than a raid. Another example of telescoping the past is to regard a single-archetype figure as the personification of an entire epoch of uncertain duration. In short the impetus for telescoping derives from the legitimizing and regularizing functions it serves. Thus it seems to be

a response to factors inherent in the nature of the office of the ruler.

Artificial lengthening, on the other hand, is more a response to external considerations, for example, seeking to justify claims to land, and indicates a product of a period of indifference and neglect. The processes concerned consist of, among other things: contemporary rulers being remembered as successive, inclusion of spuronyms (a collective name for eponyms, toponyms and patronyms) as rulers; the crediting of early rulers with exaggerated regnal lengths. Examples for the last two processes can be found in the Spartan king lists: for the second one there are kings with the names Soðs (the safe), Prytanis (the president) and Eunomus (the law-abiding); for the third one Pausanias (III, 2.4) mentions two kings, Doryssus and Agesilaus, whose reigns were cut short by death, yet after critical analysis of the king lists as a whole, their reigns appear to be as long as the others (more details under Section 1.3).

With the advent of literacy, several changes in the content of the traditions may have also taken place, in the form of coalescing variant accounts into a single standardized version. The more coherent, more circumstantial and more consistent results were more readily accepted. Traditional information and chronologies which seemed to fit into a coherent and persuasive pattern were accepted as more valid accounts of the past, because they corresponded more closely to the biases of their literate interpreters.

Another external factor which affected mostly the chronological aspects of traditional accounts is the adaptation of a culture to a foreign one and to indirect rule, in order

to make them confirm to the expectations of the new rulers, leading to the falsification of the facts.

From a theoretical point of view, the oral traditions, whether still oral or taken over by written documents, do not seem to be very reliable. Many social, political, economic, or personal factors are involved in the forming of the traditions and these may lead to the distortions of some elements within a tradition, as we have seen above. However, to disregard the traditions a priori on the whole is hypercritical. The traditions concerning historical matter must, in my opinion, have developed around a core of useful and reliable information. As time passed, this core probably was enlarged and altered according to the circumstances in which it developed by the different processes which have been described above. And the chronological aspects of the traditions are, as Henige states, the elements least likely to be authentic. The problem is how to pick out the reliable elements. No one has established rules for assessing reliability. One can guess at some of the distortions and falsifications which may have occurred, but that is all. Even the ancient Greek historians, as well as the modern scholars found difficulties in distinguishing fact from fiction. It is a matter of subjectivity, leading to different interpretations of the evidence concerned.

I will turn to Greek literary evidence in general, how it developed from the time oral traditions first were put into writing, to see what the people thought and how it might have affected their view on past history and even their contemporary history.

1.2 Greek Literary Evidence

No written documents are known to us from Greece between c. 1200 - 800 B.C. During the eighth century, Greek writing was introduced to Greece from the East and this is the time when Homer and his successors enter the picture. But it is only in the middle of the fifth century that we start having accounts of the history of Greece, both the past and the present, more or less in the modern sense of the word. By this I mean "a written narrative constituting a continuous methodical record, in order of time, of important or public events, especially those connected with a particular country, people, etc..." (Oxford Dictionary). In short, there was no writing of Greek history from c. 800 - 450 B.C., even though there was a mid sixth century B.C. geographer, Hecataeus, who included passages of history and ethnography in his writings; however, writing history was not his main aim.

A very important point to be made first concerning the literary evidence about the past is, quoting Forsdyke (1957: 7), that "literary statements are explicit, but unauthentic in the sense that they were not contemporary with the events they describe." This applies especially to early Greek accounts. This was a main point made by Beloch in the early twentieth century,³ which led him to disbelieve the traditions and deny the very occurrence of the "Dorian Invasion". The fact that the events described in the literary sources were removed in time from the period in which they might have happened is a strong argument against taking the traditions at face value. However, it must be stressed that they must neither be totally rejected nor totally accepted, but must be analyzed critically.

Homer is the first known Greek poet, to whom was attributed the two epic poems, the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey", dealing with the story of the Trojan War and its aftermath. They are not history books. Epic was not history, even though it might contain some kernels of historical fact. It is generally agreed today that there is a profound discontinuity between the world in which the events described in the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" could have occurred, the date of which depends on the time when the Trojan War supposedly occurred, and the world in which Homer lived, probably the eighth century. The formation of the tradition probably took place in the intervening period and may have taken its origin in a historical event. If so, in its final version, which occurred much later, the historical matter may be very scanty or even entirely absent. For example, a defeat may be transformed into a victory.

The decision by certain historians not to regard the Homeric poems as history is shown mainly by archaeological evidence, however ambiguous that seems. It is interesting to see that the historical models for each archaeological feature can be looked for either in the Bronze Age, the Dark Age, or later, in the poet's own time. At the same time, both the period in which Homer set his story and the period in which he himself lived cannot be shown to be Homer's society on other grounds. Snodgrass⁴, arguing against the existence of an historical Homeric society, states that Homer does not refer to any historical period, because it involves a certain derogation from Homer's artistic standing. If he had given an image of a historical society, he would have adopted a society from his predecessors of a certain period and made his characters behave as they should. If

he had created certain elements in that society, then he would have obliterated his own tracks and would not have given a name to his work. But the Homeric poems are attached to a name. The poet admitted the fact of depending on predecessors of many periods - through the inconsistencies which have been detected - so he could select, conflate and idealize. This argument seems to me very subjective and strained. I find it difficult to accept and I think that the fact that epic poetry is or is not attached to a name does not prove anything. Nevertheless, the epic tradition, as recorded by Homer, was probably prone to distortions and alterations and its historicity has to be doubted.

Furthermore, like all myth, Finley⁵ states, epic was timeless, i.e. the facts were, though not entirely, detached and therefore ahistorical. They were put in a setting of a sequence of generations. However, the relationship to Homer's present is not made clear. The interest lay not in the chronology. This timelessness is reflected also in the individual characters. Death is one main topic of their lives and fate is often the chief propelling power. So they live in time, i.e. the characters do not grow older as time passes. They are timeless as the story itself.

Hesiod was not historically minded either. His historical achievement was no more than to provide the Greeks with a mythical past from the Creation of the Gods to the unexplained Race of Heroes. The myth element is an important part of Greek thought. The past is an intractable, incomprehensible mass of uncounted and uncountable data, and with myth they could make the past intelligible and meaningful, by focussing on a few parts of the past which thereby

acquired permanence, relevance and universal significance.

Yet everyone accepted the epic tradition as fact and from the fifth century onwards, when the writing of history developed, history was always half-smothered by myth and legend. At first there was no development of historical consciousness beyond the tendency to use personal experience as a yardstick to measure the plausibility of many stories. History was still saturated with myth.

The past described by Herodotus was bound into a sort of chronology, the end points being 400 years before his own time, when Homer lived, and about 800 years before his own time, the event of the Trojan War ("From Heracles to the present day is about 900 years and Pan not more than 800 years, a shorter time than has elapsed since the Trojan War" [II, 145]). But Herodotus was unable to fit into his chronology the events which happened in between. He made no efforts to assign dates to undatable myths, yet he incorporated them as something detached, occurring once upon a time. So the epic tales and myths were believed to be true, but at the same time remained timeless.

Not even Thucydides, even though warning his readers that his own work will not cater to the demands for exaggeration and poetic adornment, but relating the facts free from romance, proceeded to outright scepticism about the "historical kernel" in the epic and surely not to outright denial. He states that the details are uncertain both about the remote past and period before the Peloponnesian War, but the general trends are clear and reliable. The fact is that the Classical Greeks knew little about their past history before c. 550 B.C. What they thought they knew was a jumble of fact and fiction, some miscellaneous facts and much fiction about most of the details.

Herodotus and Thucydides are regarded as the first great Greek historians. Both took a new look at the past. The impulse from the Classical "city-state" introduced politics as a human activity and then elevated it to the most fundamental social activity. So the new look had to be secular, political, but certainly not mythical. Their history dealt mainly with contemporary history. The past was not really relevant except for the fact it was used to support the conclusions drawn from the present. Therefore the past may still be treated in the timeless fashion of myth. Their knowledge of the past was as poor as that of their predecessors. Because there was lack of information, it was impossible for any Greek to write a proper history of early Greece and proof of it is seen in the failure of those historians in later centuries to write annals and histories from the Trojan War to their own day.

Thucydides' approach to history was more rigorous than that of Herodotus. He formulated a theory, in which the Hellenic power and greatness emerged only in consequence of a development of navigation and commerce. It was derived from a prolonged meditation about the world in which he lived, not from a study of past history. He himself says that one cannot achieve certainty about ancient times, but there are signs which made him formulate this general historical theory where he applied power and progress to the past. Among those signs he describes are few concrete events and only four dates, which refer to the migrations of the Boeotians, those of the Dorians, the construction of the first triremes and the first recorded naval battle. So, if

we take Herodotus' date for the Trojan War, he describes a dateless period between c. 1170 - 700 B.C. Thucydides used archaeological evidence to support his theory, but his arguments reveal his ignorance and misunderstanding of the past on the following points: he was unaware of the major disaster which struck the Mycenaean civilization and the discontinuity between that period and Greek civilization. Secondly, he thought of Agamemnon's and fifth century Mycenae as one city throughout this period. It was not a fault of his (nor of Herodotus) but it followed inevitably from the nature of the material concerning past history. The same is valid for the Greek historians who succeeded him and for modern scholars. Like Thucydides, they too cannot write a history of early Greece.

Now I will turn in more detail to the contents of early Greek tradition. Knowledge of the past is determined mainly by the degree of interest in the past and the human memory.

Interest in the past has a social and psychological function in a community, that is, it gives a society cohesion and purpose by strengthening morale and encouraging patriotism. This does not require a systematic account of the past. Greek thinking divided the past into the Heroic Age and post-Heroic period. The Heroic Age was described by mythmakers. The interest was not historical. The Greek concepts of pan-Hellenic or regional consciousness and pride, aristocratic rule and the aristocratic virtues, the meaning of cult-practices were all interests served by the continual repetition of old tales. The past was created out of elements differing in character and accuracy, which had their origin in widely

scattered periods of time. So, as Finley (1975:25) writes, "tradition did not transmit the past, it created it", in a shape which sometimes looks like history. That is not to say that there might not be some historical core within the tradition, but the tradition as a whole - the historical core and its development afterwards - was widely accepted as history.

Memory plays an important role in the content of traditions. All memory is controlled by relevance. Irrelevant memories are short-lived. This is true of genealogies, unless some powerful interest intervenes. They are often distorted, disputed or wholly fictitious. In relation to this, I shall discuss the Spartan king lists at a later stage.

It is very likely, as Finley believes, that from post-Heroic times up till the fifth century, the survival of Greek tradition is to be credited largely to poets often employed by the noble families in the various communities and the priests of the shrines. They alone had both the interest to remember events and incidents that mattered to them and the status to impress that memory so as to convert it into public tradition. The objective was not a historical one, but a practical one and that was the enhancement of prestige or the warranty of power or the justification of an institution.

As regards the chronology of the ancient Greek historians, it was not until the fourth century that they worked within a specific chronological framework, using published lists of Olympic victors, or archons in the case of Athens. Before that, the dates given in the sources are rather vague. If Herodotus mentions dates, he writes "x years ago", by which is meant x years before his own time, for instance in

Book II, 54, "Homer lived 400 years ago" and Book II, 145, "From Heracles to the present day is about 900 years and Pan not more than 800 years, a shorter time than has elapsed since the Trojan War." However, Herodotus lived approximately for sixty years, so to calculate the date, which period of his life does one take as a starting point?

Thucydides dated a few events in the same way; for example, he remarked that Sparta, after being in a most disordered state for longer than any other Greek city, adopted a stable form of government about 400 years before his own day (I, 18, 1). He dates the colonization of Melos by the Dorians "700 years" before the Athenians took it in the Peloponnesian war (the 16th year of the war (V, 112, 2)). What sources did both Herodotus and Thucydides use to calculate these events? Nowhere do they mention them, and although they do not write in terms of generations, it is a most probable suggestion that they used a system of chronography based on the generations in a pedigree (Snodgrass 1971: 10, with reference to Forsdyke 1956: ch.2). They would have used the genealogies of certain leading families, of which the most important were the ones of the two Spartan royal houses. To judge from most Herodotean dates, the average length of a generation is assumed to be 40 years per generation, but many contradictions occur within his writings: some of Herodotus' dates seem to assume a 33 year length per generation. He himself reckons three generations to a century (III, 142).

So before the use of a more accurate and reliable method of chronology, the historians did not express the prehistoric dates in precise and absolute terms. By about 400, lists had been published of Olympic victors by Hippias of Elis, of

victors at the Spartan Carneia by Hellanicus of Lesbos, of Athenian archons by the state. The events could be now securely tied to a victor or archon, but the lists themselves covered only a part of the past: the longest list, that from Olympia, goes back to 776 B.C., the earliest date to which the name of a victor could be attached plausibly. So the lists were accepted but for the vital centuries previous to it, generations remained the only tool.

The Spartan royal genealogies described in Herodotus were transformed into king lists, in which son succeeded father, by later historians, e.g. Eratosthenes. This was followed by Pausanias, enabling him to date events roughly with reigns but led to chronological distortions in early Greek history, which will be discussed in Section 1.3.

Furthermore, if good historical tradition is to be preserved, an undisturbed life both in regard to settling and to civilization is an absolute condition.⁶ As regards Mycenaean Greece, the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization was a most stormy and turbulent age, and its turmoils, which mixed up the Greek tribes and changed their places of settlement, mixed up and confused their traditions, too. So three main points can be made concerning the Greek oral traditions.

Firstly, the losses and the number of facts which were forgotten by everyone must have been many. Much depended on the fortunes of the individual families, as to whether their particular memories became public memories and then as to the duration and purity of the tradition in succeeding generations, which depended on the circumstances of the period in which they occurred or developed.

Secondly, the surviving material has the appearance of a

random scatter, that is, of a large number of individual facts which bear no visible connection with one another. They did not have a close chronological connection until one was imposed upon them. And given the scatter and paucity of the tradition, it becomes least likely to construct an accurate chronological framework. Most systematic calculations seem to be post-400 B.C.

Lastly, individual elements of the tradition were conflated, modified and sometimes invented. Family rivalries, conflicts between neighbouring communities and regions, new values and beliefs, all these factors shaped tradition which is possible to detect even in Homer. Where vital interest was affected, corrections were likely to have been made. This process is not difficult to achieve especially when tradition was transmitted orally and not yet recorded. Truth was not important, only acceptance and belief in the traditions counted.

So knowledge of the past was embedded in poetical or prose narratives handed down through the generations, partly sheer fiction and imagination. So how far is it possible to distinguish historical fact among the mass of material, of which traditions consisted? As we have seen, neither Herodotus, Thucydides nor any of their successors were able to do so. And even in their writing of contemporary history, there are inconsistencies and elements which have been left out or falsified to protect someone's interests. So it is reasonable for Grote in the late nineteenth century to state:

With what consistency can you require that a community which either does not command the means, or has not learned the necessity of registering the phenomena of its present, should possess any knowledge of the past?

(Grote 1873: 87)

1.3 The Spartan King Lists and the Parian Marble

As evidence for the arguments discussed above, the Spartan king lists and the Parian Marble will be discussed.

Ancient Sparta was a dyarchy. The two lines of kings, the Agiads and the Eurypontids, claimed descent from Heracles through the twin sons of Aristodemus. The sources which have recorded the information of the early Spartan kings are Herodotus and Pausanias. The two royal lines as given by Herodotus (Book VII, 204 and VIII, 131) is shown in Figure 1.2 below.

<u>Agiads</u>	<u>Eurypontids</u>
Heracles	Heracles
Hyllus	Hyllus
Cleodaeus	Cleodaeus
Aristomachus	Aristomachus
Aristodemus	Aristodemus
Eurysthenes	Procles
Agis	Eurypon
Echestratus	Prytanis
Leobotes	Polydectes
Doryssus	Eunomus
Agésilas	Charillus
Archelaus	Nicandrus
Telecles	Theopompus
Alcamenes	Anaxandrides
Polydorus	Archidamus
Eurycrates	Anaxilaus
Anaxandrus	Leotychides
Eurycratides	Hippocratides
Leon	Agésilas
Anaxandrides	Menares
Leonides	Leotychides

Figure 1.2. The royal lines in Herodotus.

Before discussing the probable distortions in the lists, a question to be asked is what these lists represent. Are they king lists, as the ancient historians thought they were? Henige⁷ argues they were not king lists, although it may have been Herodotus' belief that they were so. His account of the ancestors of Leonidas and Leotychides can be seen as no more than an effort to give the kings a Heraclid line. This can be shown by two passages in Herodotus in which he says that Leotychides is a descendant of Heracles (VIII, 131), whereas he also says that Leotychides supplanted Demaratus, a cousin of his (VI, 65). Nowhere did Herodotus purport to be presenting a list of Spartan kings. Pausanias (III, 2; III, 3; III, 7) provided a more detailed account of the early Spartan kings than Herodotus. The lists were transformed into king lists by adding that each individual had ruled and had succeeded his father. Unlike the Agiad line, Pausanias' Eurypontid line differed from that of Herodotus (see Figure 1.3).

Both the lists of Herodotus and Pausanias could be right as Herodotus (VI, 65) makes clear that Leotychides, a cousin of Demaratus, supplanted him. He also attests to Anaxandrides and Ariston having reigned together (I, 67). However, a reason for disbelieving Pausanias is that Alcman (c. 600 or later) refers to an older Leotychides as king (in Herodotus' list, marked * in Figure 1.3). Yet there remain discrepancies in the Eurypontid line. The fact that historians differed on this point, according to Henige, is another indication that Herodotus' genealogy was not a king list at all. However, Pausanias' lists were meant to be.

<u>Herodotus</u>	<u>Pausanias</u>
Procles	Procles
Eurypon	Soös
Prytanis	Eurypon
Polydectes	Prytanis
Eunomus	Eunomus
Charillus	Polydectes
Nicander	Charillus
Theopompus	Nicandrus
Anaxandrides	Theopompus
Archidamus	Zeuxidamus
Anaxilaus	Anaxidamus
* Leotychides	Archidamus
Hippocratides	Agesicles
Agesilaus	Ariston
Menares	Demaratus
Leotychides	-

Figure 1.3. The Eurypontid line according to Herodotus and Pausanias.

So, granted that we have access to the Spartanking lists, how far can we accept them as true records of the dyarchy? What role are they likely to have played in forming the Spartans' view of their past and in determining the way that their past was presented to outsiders?

The function of the Heraclid connection was to legitimate Spartan supremacy in Laconia. Within Sparta, it had other functions: serving to affirm the superior

blue-bloodedness of the Agiads and Eurypontids against the claim of other aristocratic families and distinguish aristocracy from the commons.

The descent from Heracles is probably fictitious for the following reasons. The story of the twins has the appearance of a fable produced to explain two dynasties and some of the earlier names are not above suspicion. Several of the Eurypontid kings have names which are more symbolical than personal, e.g. Soös, who is not even recognized by Herodotus; Prytanis (president) and Eunomus (legal - related to the Eunomia in "Lycurgus' reforms") are too political to be true. There were also doubts as to the relation of the first ancestors to the moment of the Return, i.e. Aristodemus, father of the twins, was a vague personality, if not mythical. When we look at the evidence from a chronological point of view, Herodotus' first secure date is the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston, who reigned together before 546 B.C. Both lines go back twenty-one generations. He assigns three generations in one century indicating that Heracles would have lived c. 1180 B.C.; on the other hand, in a different passage, he states that Heracles lived 900 years before him, that is c. 1350 B.C. This suggests that Herodotus does not give his own estimate but contradicts himself. He takes the opinion from Hecataeus of Miletus, who seems to have assessed a generation at 40 years. Eratosthenes made the same mistake as regards the length of reigns. The Spartan kings were provided with regnal years and he

brought them into an acceptable relation with the first Olympiad. This indicates he had an average of 40 years per reign. These long reigns and generations are wholly at variance with ordinary possibilities and analogies of later history. Pausanias (III, 2.4) mentions two kings, Doryssus and Agesilaus, whose reigns were cut short by death. Moreover the average reign of Spartan kings is about 23 years and that of a generation about 30 years, which implies that the regnal years were fictitious, the regular succession of generations from father to son in the earlier series was improbable and artificial and therefore the lists, recorded orally, can have had no value as a measure of time (Forsdyke 1956: 34-5). If Herodotus had applied his rate of three generations to a century, he would have dated the Trojan War about 100 years later. This is a result of the Heraclid distortion. So what happened was that these pedigrees were stretched in order to give their contemporaries a respectable ancestry going back to the Heroic Age, a case of artificial lengthening. Extra generations were needed and fictitious names were added. So the method of chronography by pedigree in Greece failed to illuminate the large period of twilight at and after the fall of Mycenae.

So also did the information recorded on the Parian Marble. The Parian Marble is an inscribed chronicle set up in 264/3 B.C., recording a chronology of prehistoric and historic events starting with Cecrops (c. 1582 B.C.), the first king of Athens, down to the archonship of Diognetus at Athens (264/3 B.C.). The chronological information was much more abundant for the sixteenth to the twelfth century

than for the eleventh to eighth century: 26 epochs were allocated to less than 400 years against four events recorded in the next four centuries, which were:

- c. 1087 : Ionian migration
- c. 937 : Hesiod's lifetime
- c. 907 : Homer's lifetime
- c. 895 : Pheidon's institution of coinage

All dates are by modern lights unacceptable. Here the tendency to push down events upwards or downwards into the gap to achieve a more evenly spread series of dates is seen and this indicates that by the third century there must have been an awareness in Greece that the post-Heroic Age was suspiciously and intolerably empty (Snodgrass 1971: 14-15). Moreover, the recorded Athenian kings seem mainly or wholly mythical, which suggests that the Athenians had no prehistoric memories at all. In addition the fact that one event is given different dates in different sources suggests strongly that it is manifestly futile to look for chronological reality in estimations on prehistoric legend.

1.4 Conclusion

In the traditions in general and related to Greek history, a complex process of corruption has been observed. In the next chapter, I will apply this general discussion specifically to the tradition centered around the Heraclids and the Dorian migrations. By exploiting the contradictions and incoherences, and elements pushed aside and overshadowed by the main line of the story, it might be possible to detect which parts of the tradition were original or fabrications.

Notes

1. Vansina 1973.
2. Henige 1974.
3. K.J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte I, 1893.
4. Snodgrass 1974.
5. Finley 1975: ch.1.
6. Nilsson 1932: 4.
7. Vansina 1973: Appendix C.

2.

EARLY GREEK ORAL TRADITIONIntroduction

The Dark Age of Greece was reputedly a time of several migrations within Greece, perhaps as a result of population movements from outside the boundaries of Greece entering the country at that time. The literary evidence gives us a picture, even though fragmentary, of the events. The Thessalians left Thesprotia and moved into the country of Aeolis (Herodotus VII, 176). Thucydides (I, 12) mentions the Boeotians, who sixty years after the fall of Troy, were driven out of Arne by the Thessalians and settled in what is now Boeotia, driving out the previous inhabitants

(III, 61, 2). Twenty years after that, the Dorians with the descendants of Heracles migrated to the Peloponnese. The events surrounding that, which modern authors term "Dorian Invasion", are described in legend and tradition as follows (Figure 2.1).

2.1 Heraclid-Dorian connection

The earliest source which mentions the Heraclid/Dorian Invasion is Tyrtaeus, a Spartan poet during the second Messenian War in the seventh century B.C.:

For the son of Kronos, Zeus, gave this city
(i.e. Sparta) to the Heracleidai. Together
with them, having left windy Erineon we came
to the wide island of Pelops.

(frag. 2, 12-15 in Strabo VIII, 4, 10)

By the fifth century, the story was told by Herodotus and Thucydides as follows. As already mentioned, Thucydides (I, 12) writes that eighty years after the Trojan War the Dorians with the descendants of Heracles made themselves



Figure 2.1. Migrations of Dorians (and Heracleidae) as in the literary evidence.

Figure 2.1. Migrations of Dorians (and Heracleidae) as
in the Literary Evidence

Key to numbers:

1. Oeta Mt.
2. Parnassos Mt.
3. Naupactos
4. Phlius
5. Argos
6. Sparta
7. Lindos
8. Ialysos
9. Cameiros
10. Cos
11. Calymnos
12. Nisyros
13. Halicarnassos
14. Cnidos
15. Syme
16. Carpathos
17. Casos
18. Thera
19. Melos
20. Corinth

Dorian Movements

- > Return of the Heracleidae (second)
- > First Return - Hyllus killed in Battle (✕)
- > Oxylus' Expedition
- > Aletes to Corinth
- > Dorians Overseas

masters of the Peloponnese. The Dorians' original homeland was Doris, containing the towns of Boeon, Cytinion, and Erineon (I, 107, 2). Herodotus (VIII, 31) equates Doris with Dryopis, a region lying between Malis and Phocis, whence the Dorians finally migrated to the Peloponnese. Prior to that, they were constantly on the move: their home in Deucalion's reign was Phthiotis and in the reign of Dorus, their country was known as Histiaeotis in the neighbourhood of Ossa and Olympus. Driven from there, they settled in Pindus, from where they migrated to Dryopis (I, 56).

Before the Dorians entered the Peloponnese, the sons of Heracles, hoping to escape slavery under the king of Mycenae, were refused shelter by all the Greeks except the Athenians. Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, took action against them and the Athenians, but was defeated and killed (Her. IX, 27; Thuc. I, 9, 2). The Heracleidae then proceeded with an attack against the Peloponnese under Hyllus, a son of Heracles. At the Isthmus they were opposed by Atreus, successor of Eurystheus, with a Peloponnesian army, including Achaeans, Ionians, and Tegeans. Instead of a battle, Hyllus proposed a single combat, on the agreement that, if he lost, the Heracleidae would not return to the Peloponnese for 100 years. Echemus, who led the Tegean contingent, met the challenge and killed Hyllus (Her. IX, 26-27).

By the fifth century, the link between the Heracleidae and the Dorians already existed, as seen in Tyrtaeus, Thucydides, and Pindar as well:

And the sons of Pamphylus, and verily of the
Heracleidae also, are willing to abide forever,
as Dorians, under the ordinances of Aegimius.

(Pythian Odes, I, 65)

Even for the sake of Lacedaemon, he (Apollo)
 planteth the valiant descendants of Heracles
 and Aegimius in Argos and in hallowed Pylos.
 (Pyth. Odes, V, 69)

The tradition was expanded and developed by later sources - which were Strabo, Diodorus, Apollodorus, writing in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., and Pausanias in the mid-second century A.D. - from disparate elements, sometimes leading to conflicting and contradictory stories. In particular Diodorus, Apollodorus and Pausanias gave a harmonized view of the story as much as possible. The Heraclids' "First Return" under Hyllus and the "Dorian Invasion" are reported to be connected. Heracles was resident in Mycenae, where Eurystheus assigned him twelve labours. After many adventures and having conquered the Thesprotians, he finally settled in Trachis. After that, he conquered the Dryopes and drove them out of their land. Some of them migrated to Euboea, others to Cyprus, others moved down to the Peloponnese and founded Asine, Hermione and Eion. Then he fought as an ally of Aegimius, king of the Dorians, who inhabited Histiaeotis, against the Lapiths. In return, he acquired one third of the land of Doris and of the kingship (Diod. IV, 36-37 ; Apoll., Bibliotheca II, 7; Paus. IV, 34, 9). Strabo (427/IX, 4, 10) tells us of the Dorians living in Doris, but later called Histiaeotis, and how Heracles helped Aegimius regain his throne with the result that Aegimius adopted Heracles' eldest son, Hyllus, and his descendants became successors to the throne. The way in which the Heraclids/Dorians were linked has been described, but in two divergent stories, and contradictions

with earlier sources appear, as to the homeland of the Dorians: where is Doris and when did the Dorians occupy the region?

The general outline of the story surrounding the First Return in the later sources is basically the same as the earlier ones, but was developed into a more detailed episode. After Heracles' death, Eurystheus, because of the enmity he bore to Heracles and afraid that his descendants might drive him out of his kingdom, banished his sons. They fled to Trachis. Not long after, Eurystheus exiled them from the whole of Greece. So the Heracleidae left Trachis and it was only Athens of all Greek cities who accepted them. There they were settled in the town of Trikorythos, in the district of Marathon. After some time, Eurystheus took action against the Athenians and with the aid of Heracles' sons, he was killed (Diod. IV, 57; Apoll. II, 8). The Heracleidae then attacked the Peloponnese under Hyllus. They made their move and captured all the cities, but a year later, there followed a great plague, with the result that they withdrew back to Marathon. The Delphic Oracle, however, had told them to "wait till the third crop", for them to be successful. So three years later, as the Heracleidae had interpreted the oracle, misled by the oracle of Apollo, Hyllus led the Heracleidae back to the Isthmus of Corinth (Apoll, II, 8). There, Hyllus was killed in single combat and a truce was made. Consequently, the Heracleidae went back again to Marathon. Unlike Herodotus (XI, 26), who tells us of a truce lasting 100 years, Diodorus records a 50 year truce (Diod. IV, 58, 3). Some of the Heracleidae came to Aegimius, demanding the land which their father had entrusted to him

and made their home among the Dorians. The actual meaning of the oracle was to wait for three generations, so when, together with the Dorians, they returned once more, they were successful and became masters of the Peloponnese. This is known as the "Return of the Heracleidae".

The basic story-line has been conflated. Furthermore, there is also disagreement on the length of time the truce, after Hyllus' death, should last.

The tradition has associated the Dorians with Heracles and his descendants, most likely in order to legitimize their conquest of the Peloponnese. Two major nuclei in the Heraclid/Dorian tradition may be detected, which may suggest two different stories conflated into one. The first one is the Heraclids' "First Return", in which Hyllus and the Heracleidae, after having been exiled from Greece, attempted to invade the Peloponnese, but failed. The Dorians played no part in this. The second nucleus consists of the Dorian Invasion, in which the Dorians became masters of the Peloponnese led by Heracles' sons. In order for the Dorians to legitimize their conquest, the Heraclid connection is a necessary link, as the Heracleidae are said to be attached to the Perseid royal family of Mycenae, and especially because of their withdrawal from the Peloponnese after the "First Return", as the story goes. Alternatively (and more probable) Heracles was attached to the Perseids later, so that the Heracleidae had the right to claim back their land in the Peloponnese. Tyrtaeus, in the seventh century B.C., felt no need to legitimize the Heracleidae by Perseid descent, whereas by the time of Cleomenes (late sixth century B.C.) the story goes that, when Cleomenes entered the Athena Temple, where no Dorian was permitted to come in,

he said, "I am an Achaean, not a Dorian." (Her. V, 72), indicating that the story of Perseid descent was current. So, was there a real connection between the two?

It is possible that the story concerning the first Return is original, that there was dynastic trouble in Mycenae in which some men were exiled, found refuge in Athens and attempted to return to their own country. The fact that the Dorians were connected with the Heracleidae is less likely to be true. Once masters of the country, the Dorians could make the people believe that they legitimately took possession of the land by linking themselves with the famous Heracleidae.

If there was a link between the two, it would have been irrelevant whether or not the Heracleidae attempted and failed to return to the Peloponnese the first time, especially as the Dorians did not take any part in that expedition. Part of this legitimation process was to link Heracles with Aegimius, king of the Dorians, who had adopted Heracles' son Hyllus as his own son. An indication of the artificiality of the link is the fact that in the different versions the Dorians are said to have been, at the time of the event, in one or the other of their homelands, Histiaeotis or Doris.¹

Furthermore, the main narrative tells us of Tlepolemus, another son of Heracles, who, not long after the "First Return", fled to Rhodes because of his killing of his great-uncle Lycymnius, in fear of the other sons and grandsons of the mighty Heracles. There he founded three cities, Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros (Homer, Iliad II, 611f). Homer does not locate the event. Pindar (Olympian Odes, VII, 27-30) makes him flee from Tiryns, whilst Diodorus (IV, 58 7) from Argos. Strabo (XIV, 2, 6) uses Homer as his source, but also adds the possibility

that he escaped from Tiryns and Argos, as others say. That Tlepolemus dwelt in Argos could derive from a later divergent tradition, in order to attribute the colonization of Rhodes to Argos for specific reasons. Homer, being the oldest source, is the most reliable and if it is believed that Tlepolemus fled in fear of his own brothers, it suggests to me that some of the Heracleidae must have settled peacefully in the Peloponnese after their first attempt to come back, assuming of course that they did invade the Peloponnese in the first place. Homer might not even have known this whole story of exile and return. This detail is overshadowed, however, by the main narrative and would destroy the belief of the coming of Dorians as legitimate, because if some of the Heracleidae settled at that stage in the country (remembering that the Dorians had played no part in that expedition), the Dorians would no longer have been able to link themselves with them, when they invaded the Peloponnese some time later. The Heracleidae had to withdraw and come back with them and settle. In that case, one might ask why the tradition included the story of the "First Return", when it was not necessary for the Heracleidae to attempt a return and fail. In my opinion it could be an event which did happen and because it was necessary to link it with the Dorians, the success of the first return might have been turned into a failure.

2.2. Dorian Invasion

It was with the Dorians that the descendants of Heracles, after the years of promise, returned to the Peloponnese. As to how the conquest was achieved, only the later sources describe it, mainly Apollodorus and Pausanias. It was in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, that the children

of Heracles came back, under the leadership of Temenus, Cresphontes, and the twin sons of Aristodemus, who was killed by a thunderbolt before entering the Peloponnese (Apoll. II, 8, 2; Paus. II, 18, 6). On their way down, Oxylus, a descendant of Aeolus and a friend of the Heracleidae, was their guide (Apoll. II, 8, 3; Paus. V, 3, 5-6; Strabo, 357/VIII, 3, 33). He made suggestions regarding the conquest of the country, one of which was to enter it by sea, which they did, not to attempt the Isthmus with a land army again. In return, the Heracleidae helped him return to Elis, his ancestral land, whence he had fled on account of a murder. Their expedition was made ready at Naupactos, on the gulf of Corinth (Paus. VIII, 5, 6). Pausanias (IV, 3, 3) places the event two generations after the Trojan War, while Apollodorus (II, 8) puts it three generations after Hyllus made his attack on the Peloponnese.

This invasion proved successful. The Heracleidae gained possession of east and south Peloponnese. This they divided into three: Temenus acquired the Argolid; the sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, won Laconia and Messenia went to Cresphontes. The story is told by Pausanias in even more detail. "They claimed Argos and the Argive kingdom quite rightly it seems to me," as he writes (II, 18, 6-7), "since Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but they were descended from Perseus; they argued that Tyndareus was driven out by Hippocoön, and Heracles had killed Hippocoön and his sons handed back the kingdom to Tyndareus on trust. They brought the same argument about Messenia: that it had been handed over on trust to Nestor when Heracles took Pylos."

So they expelled Tisamenus, Nestor's family, Melanthus and his followers. Melanthus went to Athens, where he became king. The Achaeans under Tisamenus, driven out from Sparta and Argos by the Dorians, told the Ionians, who lived in what is now Achaea, that they would settle with them without fighting. But fighting broke out between the two peoples. Tisamenus was killed, but his people won. Consequently, the Ionians came to Attica and were received by its king, Melanthus (Paus. VII, 1, 3-4). Apollodorus (II, 8, 3) has Tisamenus killed by the Dorians when they invaded the Argolid.

Arcadia, of which the king was Cypselus, was left untouched, through the marriage alliance with Cresphontes. He married Merope, Cypselus' daughter, and so the Arcadians had nothing to fear from the Dorians (Paus. IV, 3, 6; Diod. VII, 9).

There are other parts of the story, recorded again mainly by Pausanias. He writes how Temenus came to the Argolid, making his base at Temenion for the advance on Argos against Tisamenus (II, 38, 1). He states also how the Dorian Rhegnidas, grandson of Temenus, made an attack on Phlius and took it with an army from Argos and from Sicyon (II, 13, 1), and how the Laconians under Teleclus, a much later Spartan king of the Agiad line, fought and captured the provincial cities of Amyclae, Pharis and Geronthrae, which were still Achaean then (III, 2, 6; III, 12, 9). Another exception to the three-fold division of the Peloponnese was the territory of Corinth, which according to Diodorus (VII, 9) was handed over to Aletes. Pausanias (II, 4, 3) records that Aletes got the kingship of Corinth and expelled the Corinthians, except for the two kings at the time. Aletes was one of the Heracleidae, but

descended through a different line from that of the sons of Aristomachus, who invaded the Peloponnese. It was from him that the kings of Corinth were descended.

From the above description, it can be seen that Pausanias very definitely gives a harmonized view of the whole tradition. It is rather strange that Amyclae, Pharis and Geronthrae were only captured much later than most of the Peloponnese. Was it actually part of the Dorian Invasion or just internal warfare, in which the three towns were involved and submitted to the victor? It is possible that two different traditions were blended together, in order to make sense of the events. Amyclae's capture was linked with the main conquest by the Dorians, in which case Amyclae, Pharis and Geronthrae still had to be Achaean, but this does not mean that it was necessarily part of the original story.

As regards Dorian Corinth, its foundation was also attributed to the Heracleidae. But it seems that the story was fitted into the main account with difficulty and at a later stage. The alleged founder was Aletes, who in some sources (Paus. II, 4, 3; Schol. Pindar, Olympian Odes XIII. 17C) lived in the fifth generation after Heracles, whilst others placed him a generation later (Velleius Paterculus, I, 3, 3). Didymus (ap. Schol. Pindar, idem) even denied Aletes was the founder of Corinth but claimed that he ruled 30 years after the arrival of the Dorians and another version (Schol. Pindar, Nemean Odes, VII, 155a) gave no connection between Aletes and the Return. Perhaps this is a result of a conflation of one system in which Corinth was founded at the time of the Return and in which Aletes belonged to a generation later.

The artificial link of the story with the Dorians is also shown by the fact that the Temenids in Argos, the Aepytyds in Messenia and the Agiads and Eurypontids in Sparta all traced their descent back to Heracles through Aristomachus (shown in chapter 1.3). The Corinthian list reaches back to Heracles quite differently: Aletes, son of Hippotas, son of Phylas, son of Antiochus, son of Heracles (Paus. II, 4, 3). Moreover, the story in itself, including the fact that Corinth was handed over to Aletes, is rather vague, unlike the narrative connected with the return to the Peloponnese under the leadership of the two sons of Aristomachus and the twin sons of Aristodemus. The Corinthian legend is different and her foundation does not seem to me an integral part of the Dorian Invasion. It was probably added later on and linked with the Heraclids' second return, intending to explain the fact that certain Peloponnesian cities spoke a Doric dialect and shared certain institutions.²

The general picture presented of the actual "Dorian Invasion" is that of a swift, well organized action, involving Dorian armies and the three Heraclid leaders who divided most of the Peloponnese among themselves. However, there are other parts of the story, which suggest a gradual and sporadic movement into the Peloponnese. The motif of a long drawn out struggle between a small group of invaders and the local inhabitants is recurrent: Argos was conquered after a war effort in which the invaders had fortified Temenion, from which they fought; the Phliasians capitulated to an army from Argos under Rhegnidas; Messenia seems to have been settled in a peaceful fashion by Cresphontes; Amyclae was taken after some resistance when Teleclus was king of

the Laconians; Corinth was taken by Aletes, who claimed descend from Heracles; lastly, to judge from the story of Oxylus of Aetolian descent, who helped the Heracleidae into the Peloponnese, and received Elis in payment (Paus. V, 3, 5-6; V, 4, 1-4), the Aetolians were also partly involved in the conquest.

These more detailed accounts within the main story-line suggest rather the opposite of a strategically organized expedition described in the conflated versions. This is a natural result of various factors which operated on the tradition: firstly, the superior ethnic identity of the Dorians; secondly, the desire to glorify the conquest which resulted in the establishment of the great Dorian cities; and lastly, to legitimize the conquest by laying a prior claim to the land and providing a link with the glorious heroic past, which does necessitate the invention of a co-ordinated expedition under the leadership of the Heracleidae.³

An analogy can be found in the Bible concerning the Israelites' settlement in Palestine. The conception suggested by the Book of Joshua is that the land west of Jordan was rapidly occupied by "all Israel" under the command of a single leader, Joshua. Yet in the Book of Judges, it is recorded that after Joshua's death, the individual tribes set out from Gilgal, near Jericho, to take possession of the districts west of Jordan, allocated to them by lot. Eissfeldt⁴ argues that the conception underlying the Book of Joshua is not historical, that it was only the house of Joseph who entered Palestine, but they came to be attributed to "all Israel", owing to a secondary development of the tradition. Very likely, some Hebrew tribes were already

settled when Joshua and his followers entered Palestine, which strengthened their position against the Canaanites. In the course of time, all these tribes did come to take military action against their Canaanite neighbours. These wars lasted a long time, and came to an end only when the tribes were united under Saul and David. Moreover, there is explicit evidence that certain tribes came to their area of permanent settlement some time after the settlement of the Tribe of Joseph, i.e. the tribes of Dan and Benjamin (Book of Judges). In other cases, there are examples which indicate that some Israelites migrated from west to east of Jordan, i.e. the tribe of Reuben.

The Israelites adopted not only the material civilization of the Canaanites, but also the ideas and practical arrangements in social and legal affairs. They adopted their means of writing. All in all, the Canaanites handed on to them a rich heritage. Thereby it is quite understandable that Israel might be in danger of surrendering its individuality and becoming indistinguishable from its neighbours in its new surroundings. Therefore it is very likely that in the main narrative they portrayed the conquest of Palestine as being the achievement of Joshua in command of "all Israel", which overshadows the actual run of events described in parts of the sources.

2.3 Dorian Colonization

The Dorians colonized several islands in the Aegean, which include Crete, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, Cos, Nisyros, Calymnos, Syme, Carpathos and Casos, and two Asiatic mainland sites, Halicarnassos and Cnidos. The accounts of the overseas foundations probably derived from divergent traditions.

As regards Crete, Homer (*Odyssey*, XIX, 177) lists all the different races inhabiting the island (Homer's context is the period of the Trojan War): the Achaeans, the genuine Cretans, the Cydonians, the Pelasgians and the Dorians with their three clans. Strabo (475/X, 4, 6) mentions the same peoples, of which the Dorians occupied the east part of the island and were foreign, coming from Histiaeotis, previously known as Doris. Elsewhere he states (653/XIV, 2, 6) that some of the Dorians, who founded Megara after the death of Codrus, son of Melanthus, took part with Althaemenes, the Argive, in the colonization of Crete. Diodorus on the other hand (IV, 60, 2; V, 80, 2), writes that Tectamenus, son of Dorus, sailed to Crete with Aeolians and Pelasgians and became king of the island. Strabo very likely reflects a later tradition, in that he places the event after the Dorians had already moved into the Peloponnese, fitting it in with the main story-line. The statement that they colonized the east part of the island is rather dubious, as evidence shows that the Eteocretans survived in the east part of the island and continued to speak their own tongue in historical times. Moreover, the Cretan Doric dialect was found in Central Crete, whence the Dorians spread their influence throughout the island.

Shortly before the Trojan War and after Hyllus' defeat at the Isthmus, Thepolemus fled to Rhodes and founded three cities, Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros. At the same time, Cos, Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos and Calymnos were colonised (Homer, *Iliad*, II, 653-676). Strabo (653/XIV, 2, 6) follows Homer. Calymnos and Nisyros were taken by

Thessalus, son of Heracles, according to Diodorus (V, 54). The colonization of these islands has been regarded by most of the Greek historians as Dorian because of the association with the Heracleidae, but Strabo (*ibid.*, see above) stresses the fact that it took place before the Return of the Heracleidae and comments that therefore the colonization could not have been Dorian, rather Aeolian, based on the names of Pheidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus.

Carpathos is said by Diodorus (V, 53-54) to have been colonized a few generations later by Demoleon, an Argive by ancestry, unlike Nisyros and Calymnos, settled by Thessalus. Syme as well was settled at a late stage by Lacedaemonians and Argives, under a certain Hippotes, who had already colonized Cnidos. Cnidos was supposedly founded by Lacedaemonians, according to Herodotus (I, 174). It can be shown by these examples that different traditions on the foundation of certain colonies existed.

Two more islands have to be mentioned as having been settled by the Dorians, Melos and Thera. Only Thucydides (V, 112, 2) mentions the colonization of Melos, which he dates 700 years before the Athenians took it during the Peloponnesian War. Theras, son of Autesion, founded a settlement on Thera. He was the maternal uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles and acted as regent for the boys. Once Eurysthenes and Procles took over, he established a colony on Thera, which at that time was known as Calliste (Her. IV, 147; Paus. III, 1, 7-8).

The coming of the Dorians, according to both ancient and modern scholars, happened after the sack of Troy. Yet in the Catalogue of Ships, Homer's account of the forces accompanying

Agamemnon to Troy, two island contingents, Cos and Rhodes, are led by the descendants of Heracles. As Heracles was later a Dorian hero with the tribe of the Hylleis claiming descent from his son Hyllus, this might imply that the population of the islands at that time of the Trojan War was already Dorian. Crete at this time also had Dorians among its population (see above). Since this contrasts with Homer's general picture of a Greece without Dorians, it creates a complicated problem. The tradition of early Dorian habitation in Crete appears also in Diodorus, that Tectamenus, son of Dorus, coming from Thessaly founded a new regime in Crete, placed well before the Trojan War. There are the accounts of Tlepolemus and the sons of Thessalus, in which there are other indications pointing to an early Dorian presence, related to the Dorian organization into three tribes. The division into three tribes, the Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi, recorded at the earliest by Tyrtaeus (frag. 19, 8) was one of the most characteristic features of Dorian communities. The three sons of Aegimius were Hyllus (adopted from Heracles), Dymas and Pamphylus, who bear the eponymous names of the tribes. This tribal organization appears to be adopted in most places where the Dorians settled. It cannot be proved absolutely at Megara, Corinth, Phlius and Epidauros. Homer's description of Rhodes, where Tlepolemus' people "settled in three divisions by tribes" (τριχθὰ καταφυλαδόν, Iliad II, 668), seems to give a clear reference to the three tribes. And if we consider that the tribes were generally used in Dorian states as units for military organization, it is interesting to notice that the islands send their ships to Troy in multiples

of three (nine from Rhodes; thirty from the Coan coalition). Other Homeric evidence for the early Dorian presence is Crete. The Dorians form part of the mixed population of Crete, with stress on the three-fold organization (τρυχάλλες, *Odyssey*, XIX, 177).⁵

The point made by Strabo that the colonization of Rhodes and its neighbouring islands was not Dorian is his personal opinion, giving inadequate reasons, probably trying to explain the anachronistic feature of the Dorians colonizing the South Aegean before they actually came to the Peloponnese.

Moreover, it has been argued that the line concerning the Dorians in Crete and also those implying the presence of Dorians in Rhodes and the rest of the islands, were interpolated in the passages at a later stage.⁶ Craik, however, gives a strong argument against this view, pointing out the lack of answers to the questions why, when and by whom the passages might have been added. Only Rhodes was later powerful enough to wish to foist a change on the Catalogue, but a Rhodian interpolator would certainly not have given his island such an ignominious place, contributing a mere nine ships.⁷ Yet this makes a lot of assumptions about the Catalogue's development. If it was a continual accumulation, Rhodes and its neighbours could have been added at any time in the process. In any case, although modern scholars imply the presence of the Dorians on Rhodes, this does not prove that the Catalogue actually refers to the Dorians.

2.5 Conclusion

There tends to be disagreement among the sources: Thucydides disagrees with Homer and Herodotus takes him with a grain of salt; Herodotus' description of the Dorian wanderings has not been mentioned anywhere else; Dorian settlement before the Return is implied in Homer; and other contradictions in the sources for instance concerning the actual place from which the Dorians led their expedition, Doris, the agreed time of truce after the first return, and lastly the leader in the colonization of Crete, Althaemenes or Tectamenus, and the date in which each of them colonized the island.

I want to add other possible elements in this complex narrative, which are rather suspicious, too much like romance and fairy tale, for example, the single combat of the champions, Hyllus and Echemus, at the Isthmus and the truce of withdrawal that followed, whether it was 50 or 100 years; the three brothers dividing the Peloponnese, once conquered, the explanation of the dual kingship at Sparta through the twin sons of Aristodemus, who acquired the share of Laconia. These elements could be affected by the deliberate desire to alter tradition to make it conform to posterity's idea of what should have happened, rather than the reality. A possible example of this I have mentioned above (section 2.1) concerning the failure and withdrawal of Heracles' descendants after their first return.

Theories dismissing the existence of a "Dorian Invasion" have been proposed, based on the literary and dialect evidence alone. To these theories I will return in a later chapter. One needs to examine carefully the archaeological

evidence as well, to see what it can tell, how it ties up with the literary and dialect evidence. With internal evidence alone, it is not possible to tell which of the versions may be right or even whether it all may be a fabrication. Some conflations and contradictions can be detected as I have pointed out. The chronological aspect of this early Greek tradition is rather vague. The relative dates given to various events differ in each of the sources and are the least reliable information in the tradition. Archaeology can give information which the literary and dialect evidence does not contain. But it is important to note that if invaders are not definitely present in the archaeological record, one cannot assume from this that there were actually no invaders at all, for the archaeological evidence has its own limitations. It is this evidence which will be described in the next part of the thesis.

Notes

1. Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming).
2. Salmon 1984: 38-9.
3. Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming).
4. Eissfeldt 1975.
5. Craik 1980: 27-31; Willetts 1965: ch.2.
6. References in Craik, *ibid*, to A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, 1921-35; H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 1950; D.L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 1959.
7. Craik 1980: 27-31.

PART II

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

3.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIMITATIONSIntroduction

The inclusion of this chapter in my study may seem irrelevant at first sight, as it will deal mainly with general points concerning archaeology, and more precisely prehistoric archaeology. For the Aegean Dark Age is a prehistoric period, in the sense that it deals with an extinct non-literate society; even though later sources contain references to what would supposedly be this period, it remains the case that, during the actual period, the society itself was illiterate. I shall be discussing the limitations involved when using archaeological evidence, in order to show the extent of its use, and the extent to which it is possible to describe and explain the past. These must be taken into account when the archaeology of the Dark Age in the Aegean is examined and interpreted.

An important fact to bear in mind is that prehistoric archaeology suffers from the difficulties imposed by its very definition, i.e. societies with which it is concerned are extinct and have left an incomplete record of their organization and activities.¹

There are two sides to archaeology, the technical and interpretative side. Archaeology is a technique, recovering and manipulating data that can yield information on human behaviour in the past. Beyond this, attempts can be made towards the ultimate "revivification" of the data through the prehistorian's imagination.

3.1 Archaeology as a technique

The problems of the archaeologist can be simply summed up in the law of diminishing returns.² The evidence of past human behaviour does not survive intact and is reduced by four major elements. Firstly, the preservation of ancient artifacts depends upon their composition, upon the type of deposit in which they came to be buried, and upon the natural processes of decay. Much of the organic matter may have vanished, e.g. wood, and with it evidence of clothing, shelter, food and equipment, so that absence of, for example, wooden remains from most sites tends to diminish the importance of wood and woodworking in the mind of the prehistorian. Moreover, natural geological processes may disturb ancient sites through wind or water erosion or earth-movements, so that even surviving inorganic material may get lost to the archaeologist. Also it should not be forgotten that possibly inadequate treatment of objects after recovery will have removed large bodies of material that would illumine the character of a community.

Secondly, the archaeological processes or recognition and recovery of the evidence may be inadequate for the material that has survived. The archaeologist may miss finds of importance through lack of observation in the field or incomplete excavation. Techniques of recovery, i.e. conservation of material from sites, may not be adequate. Conservation of material includes not only the objects themselves, but also the structures, deposits and the records of them made during the excavation.

Thirdly, as already suggested in the introduction, it recovers evidence of anonymous people, either personal

or tribal. No record survives of their language or music, little of their religion, less of their leisure activities. Lastly, the archaeologist may not understand the evidence available to him or her or may not interpret correctly that which has been found.

In other words, what I have outlined above may be summarized as follows:

Total evidence > surviving evidence > recorded evidence > understood evidence = archaeological evidence of past human behaviour.

To be able to make sense of archaeological evidence, the chronological aspect of it is of great importance. However, in archaeology, chronological control is fuzzy, in that the means by which the material is deposited is not deliberate, except in the case of burials. Even so, the dates assigned to burials, as any other features, through dating techniques such as carbon-14, are related to a range, not a specific point in time. Moreover, pottery sequences present a relative chronology and are a subjective means of dating any feature. However, the sequence of developments in pottery is likely to be the best means of producing a chronological framework, if only rough, particularly when based on stratigraphical sequence. With these relative dates it is still difficult, though, to relate reported historical events (taking place at specific points in time) to archaeological remains.

Most of these difficulties can be reduced if extensive or large-scale excavation takes place, involving the accurate recording of the material and later its full publication.

3.2 Viewing the past

The main goal of archaeologists is to describe the world of the past. The past is gone and only recognisable as such through inference. As Binford³ argues, they cannot use a "direct" strategy of describing the past, because all their experience lies in the present. "Models" are built of what the past may have been like by using largely implicit assumptions as to how the world is in general. So certain conceptualizations made about the past are at least based minimally on conditions in the present, of which some elements can be assumed also to have characterized the past. Whether the archaeologists are in a position to put themselves in the position or the mind of the people who lived in the past is questionable.

Firstly, there is little concern with the actual methods of inference, which permit one to move from descriptive statements about the archaeological record to descriptive statements about the past. Secondly, those who are building a model of the past may be totally unselfconscious of the assumptions inherent in the method they used. The character of such assumptions needs to be examined. Thirdly the assumptions are "historical" in character, in that inferences are made through the understanding of "human nature" itself. It should be clear therefore that the assumptions being made are about our own psychic inclinations under differing conditions. Today's people's feelings, ways of thinking, ways of responding to the world are conditioned by today's cultural context. Therefore it would not be possible to project the responses of people today onto actors in different cultures at different times or under changes in cultural conditions. So this whole approach of viewing the past is idealistic, not real.

The interpretation of archaeological material may be influenced by personal ideas and a country's political situation, giving a biased and subjective view, for example, marxism or nationalism. The latter emphasizes the origin of a country's own people and may lead to interpreting falsely the evidence to achieve their goal.

3.3 Interpretation of the archaeological evidence

The actual interpretation of archaeological material is problematic and complicated and leads to many disagreements among archaeologists. The surviving evidence can be very ambiguous and different hypotheses may be produced.

In reconstructing the past, we are dealing with people belonging to a society and culture. Before the factors and causes involved in cultural change and the question whether they can be detected in the archaeological record are examined, the concept of an archaeological culture has to be discussed.⁴ Archaeological cultures have generally been regarded as products of people sharing a common way of life, that is, as cultures in the same sense as ethnologists define them. They have often been equated with particular "tribes" or "peoples". Childe⁵ formulated a definition of culture as follows:

A culture is an assemblage of artifacts that recur repeatedly associated together. The objects are assumed to be the concrete expressions of the common social traditions that bind together a people.

Others have given more objective definitions based on the amount of formal similarity among the artifacts found in the components being compared (e.g. Willey and Phillips⁶) - a component is a unit of comparison which delineates cultural patterns in assemblages of artifacts. Both sorts

of definition have their problems.

Firstly, it is obvious that internal variations can and do characterize certain cultures. If the archaeological concept of a culture is to meet the ethnological requirement of representing the total way of life of a people who share a common historical tradition, then the definition must be flexible enough to embrace the variations in style of life found within such a pattern. This eliminates the possibility of all archaeological cultures being defined in terms of only the formal similarities among their components.

Secondly, in complex societies, life styles are likely to be strongly differentiated along class lines. In archaeological terms, however, the surviving remains may relate very largely to one class, e.g. "The Wessex Culture", which is actually a misnomer. Another problem is that of defining external boundaries. On the basis of superficial survey, the excavator may define an archaeological culture, which on closer investigation turns out to be a whole series of related cultures.

It is clear therefore that no purely formal grouping of sites containing similar assemblages of artifacts will necessarily produce archaeological units that are equivalent to the ethnologist's idea of a culture. Social factors have to be taken into account. Moreover, archaeological cultures cannot be correlated in any mechanical fashion with societal groupings such as tribes, bands or nations. The reason is not simply a technical one, e.g. insufficient data, but because the distribution of material culture does not necessarily conform with social and political configurations.

Furthermore, there are limitations to attempting to define cultures in archaeological terms and interpret historical events merely by comparing the formal similarities and differences among artifacts recovered from different components. For economic and cultural reasons, the historical significance of different types of artifacts may vary from culture to culture, and the historical significance of particular categories of material culture is not necessarily the same in every culture. Therefore we need to know the functional role of artifacts within the society studying. To illustrate this point, among the Ojibwa Indian tribes in Northern Ontario in the seventeenth century A.D., there was lack of a native pottery tradition, indicating that pottery was unimportant to them. In contrast, among the Iroquois Indians, the local traditions were very strong indicators of ethnic divisions.⁷

It is generally believed that the three concepts of invention, diffusion and migration can be applied in the study of cultural change in the archaeological record.⁸ Invention is defined as a creation of any new idea. It is a "mutation" that comes about through the modification of an idea in the light of experience or combination of old ideas to produce a new one. Ideas from an external source are excluded. Diffusion means a spread of ideas from one person or group to another. It is a process by which an invention gains social acceptance and is to be distinguished from a spread of goods as a result of trade or warfare. As a trait moves from one culture to another, it is rare if all of its attributes move with it. The general

principles, rather than all of the details associated with a complex invention, are diffused. This is called stimulus diffusion by the American anthropologist Kroeber. Migration indicates a movement of people and can be an important agent of cultural diffusion, but it must be pointed out that cultures can diffuse without migration or people can move without diffusion.

Evidence of the act of invention is rare in the archaeological record. Where it occurs, it most often takes the form of idiosyncratic creations that are distinguishable because of their uniqueness but which, because they did not gain acceptance in any culture, are historically inconsequential. Attempts have been made to provide historical explanations for trait distributions, which is only partly looking at the material evidence, disregarding other aspects of the archaeological evidence, in order to distinguish between diffusion and independent development. If a trait has a continuous distribution over a wide area, it probably had a single origin, followed by diffusion, and the process of diffusion is therefore a historical one. If a trait is not found outside the area of diffusion, there is a tendency to assume that it originated within the area. The weakness lies in the nature of the evidence that is needed to prove that similar traits in two cultures are historically related. However, using distributional evidence alone (using the criteria of quantity and quality of the material, and ease of communication between zones) may lead to wrong conclusions. Even close formal similarities in traits or trait-complexes do not necessarily indicate

a common origin. The limitations of possibilities through various functional constraints, and the similar needs and nature of man, all conspire to make repeated invention, parallel development, and convergence possible. Inferences must be based on other more archaeological criteria in order to determine whether similar objects in non-contiguous cultures are historically related. It must be demonstrated that the objects or traits in question are genuinely similar in form and function and have enough non-functional criteria in common to suggest, at least, that the similarities between them are likely to result from a common origin. However, most traits are not clear-cut. It must be shown that objects which may share a common origin are not products of convergent evolution/independent invention. Detailed archaeological evidence is needed. In case of diffusion, objects should leave traces of their existence whilst passing from area to area. Hence continuous distribution must be shown in the form of sites which mark the route along which the trait moved and the dating of these sites. Again, it is not possible most of the time to find any archaeological evidence for many traits and sometimes the evidence will be very scanty, in which case proof of historical connections cannot be ascertained. The chronology of the sites may be hard to define.

3.4 Archaeological evidence for diffusion and migration

Clear-cut evidence of diffusion or migration is frequently lacking in the archaeological record. Movements of people and traits at times take place quite independently of each other and there is a variety of situations in which cultural

change through movements of population and of cultural traits can and do occur. There are various types of organized invasions, casual immigration and the different modes of trait diffusion, which can come about through raiders, foreign visitors, or local groups being in contact with neighbouring cultures. The difficulties involved in distinguishing the two are not only the insufficient data and imprecise chronology that archaeology provides, but also the great problem that some changes in population may take place with little or no corresponding change in material culture at all. Population movements of this sort are as significant as those which bring about major cultural changes. Five types of population movement can occur:

- 1) The total replacement of one population by another. If it happens between adjacent and culturally similar groups, cultural change is minimal. If the invaders are culturally different, the break is usually quite apparent, but cannot always be detected easily in the archaeological record. Certain aspects such as evidence of destruction and the origin of the new culture replacing the old one can be detected. However, there might be a temporal gap between the departure and arrival of a population. A failure to note this could result in a misunderstanding of the relationship between the cultures of the region and might even result in interpreting the same local tradition at two stages in its development as being two unrelated cultures. This problem can be reduced by a careful study of stratigraphic and chronological evidence.

- 2) The movement of an organized group of people into a new area and its settlement alongside the native population. The incoming group may preserve its sense of ethnic identity or blend with the native population. The problem of proof in this situation is more difficult than it is with total replacements, as almost any new trait could be attributed to the intrusion of a new people, and cultural continuities in the same culture could be ascribed to the survival of the native population, while some changes could result from internal developments or trait diffusion. Again, the dating of the evidence is important and certain elements may be shown to be indicating movement or diffusion (see above).
Moreover, if the cultural change occurred quickly it will be hard to detect in the archaeological record, and this type of explanation may be ruled out for lack of evidence.
- 3) Organized migration, but characterized by little cultural change. In this case the intrusive population accepts the material culture of the area it moves into. Clues that suggest such an intrusion would be signs of war and cultural decline. But this sort of evidence is rarely sufficient. Moreover such archaeological signs are not necessarily indicative of an intrusion of people adopting the local culture. They could indicate trouble within the culture itself. In this case, other evidence, such as linguistic evidence might reveal such a movement.

- 4) An influx of outsiders who enter a culture as individuals or families, and find a place for themselves within the existing social order, some of whom may acculturate quickly, while others may seek to preserve some aspects of the old culture. Such people can be important agents of diffusion. The main characteristic of this type of change is that all the various traits being introduced do not appear at the same time, nor does it interrupt the essential continuity of the indigenous culture. For this reason, as in the second type of movement, it is extremely difficult for the archaeologist to distinguish between this sort of cultural change and the result of a simple trait diffusion.
- 5) Unorganized migrations which have no marked effects on the recipient culture. It is obvious in this case that it is very difficult to find evidence of such movements.

There is a historically well-documented example for the third type of movement, the European Celtic tribes that settled in Turkey in the third century B.C., in particular those within Galatia.⁹ Winter used this as a suggested analogy for the Dorian movement in Greece. From literary evidence we know that the European Celtic dialect continued to be spoken until at least the fourth century A.D. (St. Jerome, *Comm. on Galatia* 11.3). They still held council at Drynemeton (a place name which has a Celtic ending) judging criminal cases (Strabo XII, 5, 1). Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 13 & 16) does not separate religious

and judicial functions, suggesting that at Drynemeton the settlers maintained ancestral language and European derived religious practice as well. However, they did not hold themselves in total isolation from the indigenous population.

In contrast to this literary evidence, material manifestations are lacking; there are only ten fibulae which are of European La Tène Celtic type, dating late second or first century B.C., but it is difficult to imagine that these pins can be cited as convincing evidence for the resettlement of over 20,000 individuals (Winter 1977: 61) and political domination of a large area. As pre-historians have generally maintained that Dorian settlement must result in some artifactual evidence, so also Hellenistic archaeologists have made similar false assumptions and have doubtfully attributed artifacts such as coins, pottery and burials to Celtic settlers. It has been said that the Galatians used coins, those of Tarcamus of Tarsus (380 - 360 B.C.) and Euthydemus of Bactria (222 - 187 B.C.) But if this was the case, some would expect that examples would be found at Gordion, which is within the Galatian territory on the Anatolian plateau; but they have not.

A class of Hellenistic pottery found was suggested to have been derived from painted pottery of La Tène Celtic Europe. Yet local Anatolian and East Mediterranean - Pontic elements appear and the pottery is limited to East Galatia. Like the pottery, the local (or Galatian) Hellenistic burial practices, stone cist graves and pithos burials, are derived from local Anatolian or East Mediterranean Hellenistic tradition and the earliest known are from the Bronze Age. It was

suggested that a false-domed and corbelled roof which appeared on Hellenistic stone-built burial chambers in this area had been introduced by the Celts, but it had clear antecedents in Archaic Asia Minor and fourth century pre-Celtic north-west Turkey and Thrace. It is also clear that noble Celts were buried in tombs reflecting a purely local tradition.

So there is nothing in the archaeological record to suggest a non-indigenous population occupying this area: it is thoroughly Hellenistic in character, in contrast to the literary evidence, which indicates a Celtic population, acting as political overlords, dominating the native people. This has been generally agreed upon, nor can the assertion by Winter that "it cannot be assumed that the presence of foreign settlers like the Hellenistic Celts and Bronze Age Dorians will be manifest in archaeological materials of the kind that have been in focus of study in the past" (Winter 1977: 65) be refused. However, to make an analogy between these Celts in Anatolia and Dorians is questionable. The evidence available to the archaeologist for the Celts and for the Dorians, is too different for anyone to make a comparison between them. In the case of the Dorians, there is a decline in the number of settlements in the twelfth century and even more so in the eleventh century, and none of them can be said to be the settlements of the newly-arrived Dorians. As for the Celts, however, it is possible to locate surviving sites and new settlements (e.g. Castella), which can be attributed to the Celts (through common elements in Celtic place-names)¹⁰. Moreover, the Celts moved into an area of high civilization, truly urban and literate. The Dorians, on the other hand,

may not have been so radically different in culture from the people among whom they settled.

3.5 Conclusion

Even though the picture I have presented on the archaeological limitations seems to be negative, most of the problems discussed can be reduced by the continual improvement in archaeological methodology both in excavation and interpretation, which in the last twenty years has been the case. However, one archaeological pattern may still be interpreted different ways. Uncertainties will always remain: it would be fallacious to suggest that certainty can be achieved.

Notes

1. Coles 1972: 1.
2. Coles 1972: 3-4; 234-5.
3. Binford 1982.
4. Trigger 1968: 16-18.
5. Reference in Trigger, *ibid*, to V.G. Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: the Interpretation of Archaeology Data*, 1956, p.2.
6. Reference in Trigger, *ibid*, to G.R. Willey and P. Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, 1958, p.22.
7. Trigger 1968: 23-5.
8. Trigger 1968: ch.2.
9. Winter 1977.
10. Thomas 1980.

4.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MAINLAND GREECE (DORIAN)Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the archaeological material found in the mainland regions of Greece, mainly those related to the "Dorians". The general historical interpretations of the evidence will be reserved for a later chapter. The areas concerned consist of the Corinthia,

Argolid, Laconia, Messenia and Triphylia, Elis, Arcadia and Achaea in the Peloponnese. Relevant material will also be described from north and north-west Greece, i.e. Epirus, Aetolia, Thessaly and Macedonia.

The period I shall examine covers the end of the Bronze Age and subsequent Dark Age, from the end of the thirteenth century until roughly the ninth century B.C. This time range of about 300 years is divided into four main ceramic phases, which give their name to the respective periods covering this range. These are late LH III B, LH III C, "Sub-Mycenaean" (if accepted as a period of occupation - this phase is only apparent in certain areas) and Proto-geometric, the latter being the stylistic forerunner of the Geometric phase (hereafter abbreviated as PG and G).

First I shall discuss the chronological framework of the period. Secondly, a description of the sites, both settlements and graves, but mainly the latter, and their period of occupation will be given. Lastly I will turn to the material evidence itself on the sites and their implications.

4.1 Chronology

In the period that concerns us, the best aid to determining a chronological framework, that of well-stratified occupation sites, is scantily represented. Graves make up most of the archaeological evidence. The chronology of this period relies mostly on the classification of pottery styles. However difficulties are increased by another factor, the prevalence of regionalism in Greece at this time. Pottery provides our relative chronology and the internal relationship is established mainly by cross-references between pottery of one region and that of another. But problems arise when it fails us, due to the regionalization of pottery styles within Greece. This is the case especially in the twelfth to ninth centuries B.C. For instance, an agreed series for Attic PG gives no indication of the dating of pottery series in those regions which are independent of Attic influence and only very vague ones for the schools whose relationship to Attic PG is of debatable nature. An example appears in Laconia: there is no known previous style to which to attach what is called Laconian PG and there are no obvious links with the main area, Attica, where the pottery gives us a fair sequence. The style which follows, Laconian G, can hardly be dated earlier than 800 B.C., so how much of Laconian PG can precede 900 B.C. and if it does, how can one tell how long before? For many regions it is even difficult to tell whether or not there are gaps in the pottery series.

Even though a completely valid relative chronology for Greece in this period will not be achieved, one can aspire

to one. It is usually possible to draw a distinction between each main style, its predecessor and its successor (i.e. horizontal divisions between the periods). But longitudinal divisions, by locality, break up the horizontal lines into shorter or longer sections and are often set at different levels. It is hard to decide where to draw these lines of division. They divide the known from the unknown. Evidence for absolute chronology is used to attempt to extract an absolute dating scheme for the different areas in Greece, consisting of three main classes independent of each other: the first group derives from the finding of Greek objects in dated contexts on Eastern sites and Oriental objects in Greece; the second is based on similar cross-finds and stylistic links with Cyprus; the third arises from Greek material on colony sites in south Italy and Sicily.

Snodgrass¹ gives a detailed chronological framework for this period. There are ultimate dates at both ends of the period, which are fairly closely fixed. At the upper end the LH III C period starts c. 1200 B.C., give or take 10 years, which is a t.p.q. date. This has been calculated² by means of Mycenaean pottery found on coastal Philistine sites in Palestine or Mycenaean influence on Philistine pottery: at Tell Sukas, LH III C pottery occurred before it was destroyed by the "Sea People" before the eighth year of Ramesses III's reign; at Beth Shan, it was found on level VI which was constructed for the Egyptian army about the eighth year of Ramesses III's reign; at Lachish, a LM III B krater was found burned near a scarab of Ramesses III's reign in destroyed debris of early twelfth

century date; locally made LH III C1 pottery occurred together with Philistine pottery at Ashdad, when newly occupied; and lastly, Tell Deir 'Alla provided a vase of the same date associated with a cartouche of Queen Tawosret (c. 1209 - 1192 B.C. according to "low chronology" - the dates differ depending on the place in Egypt from which the astronomical observations were calculated), destroyed not much later than 1200 B.C. Moreover there is evidence at Enkomi (Cyprus) of scarabs belonging to Ramesses II subsequent to a destruction level which had early LH III C pottery and at Perati (Attica), two faience cartouches of Ramesses II were associated with pottery of LH III B/LH III C date (by the time they were put into the tombs, Ramesses II's reign must have been over). From this evidence the date suggested for the start of LH III C/LM III C is c. 1190 B.C. and possibly even lower, a few years after the accession of Ramesses III which was in c. 1198 (high chronology) or 1193 B.C. (low chronology).

At the lower end, a t.a.q. date of 720 B.C. is to be found in a group of sherds from an Attic krater of MG II date and Cycladic LG sherds from Hama in Syria, which is associated with the destruction by Sargon II of Assyria in 720 B.C., suggesting that MG II and LG were already in use some time before the destruction of Hama.

Between these two dates therefore there was a period lasting 400 - 450 years for the duration of LH III C till MG II. The following hypothesis was made as to the duration of the pottery styles with these two limits: c. 150 years for the residue of LH III C including "Sub-Mycenaean" in

some areas; c. 150 years for the Attic PG style and 50 years each for Attic EG, MG I and MG II. Then, by using the evidence for an absolute chronology, for Attica LG ended by 700 B.C. (from indirect evidence of Sicilian sites which produced LG wares associated with Protocorinthian pottery as the earliest material, together with Thucydides' foundation dates, if they are correct), MG began by c. 850 B.C. (dated by means of sherds of early MG from levels at Megiddo, which are of that date according to the excavator) and PG started c. 1050 (from Cypriot influence on Attic PG). So the dating scheme of Attic pottery styles is as follows:

LH III C	:	c. 1200
S. Myc.	:	c. 1150/1125
PG	:	c. 1050
EG	:	c. 900
MG	:	c. 850
LG	:	c. 770/60 - c. 770/700 B.C.

Regional PG styles are then dated relative to the Attic style where possible and the three classes of evidence named above. One must bear in mind that the dating scheme is provisional. The conclusions which could be drawn on absolute dates in the different areas in Greece to be discussed are shown in Figure 4.1 in diagrammatic form (taken from Snodgrass 1971: 134-5; Coldstream 1977: 385 [concerning Melos and Thera]; Kanta 1980: 5 [concerning Crete]).

4.2 Archaeological Evidence

I will now proceed with the archaeological evidence of the areas in Greece, mentioned in the introduction, from

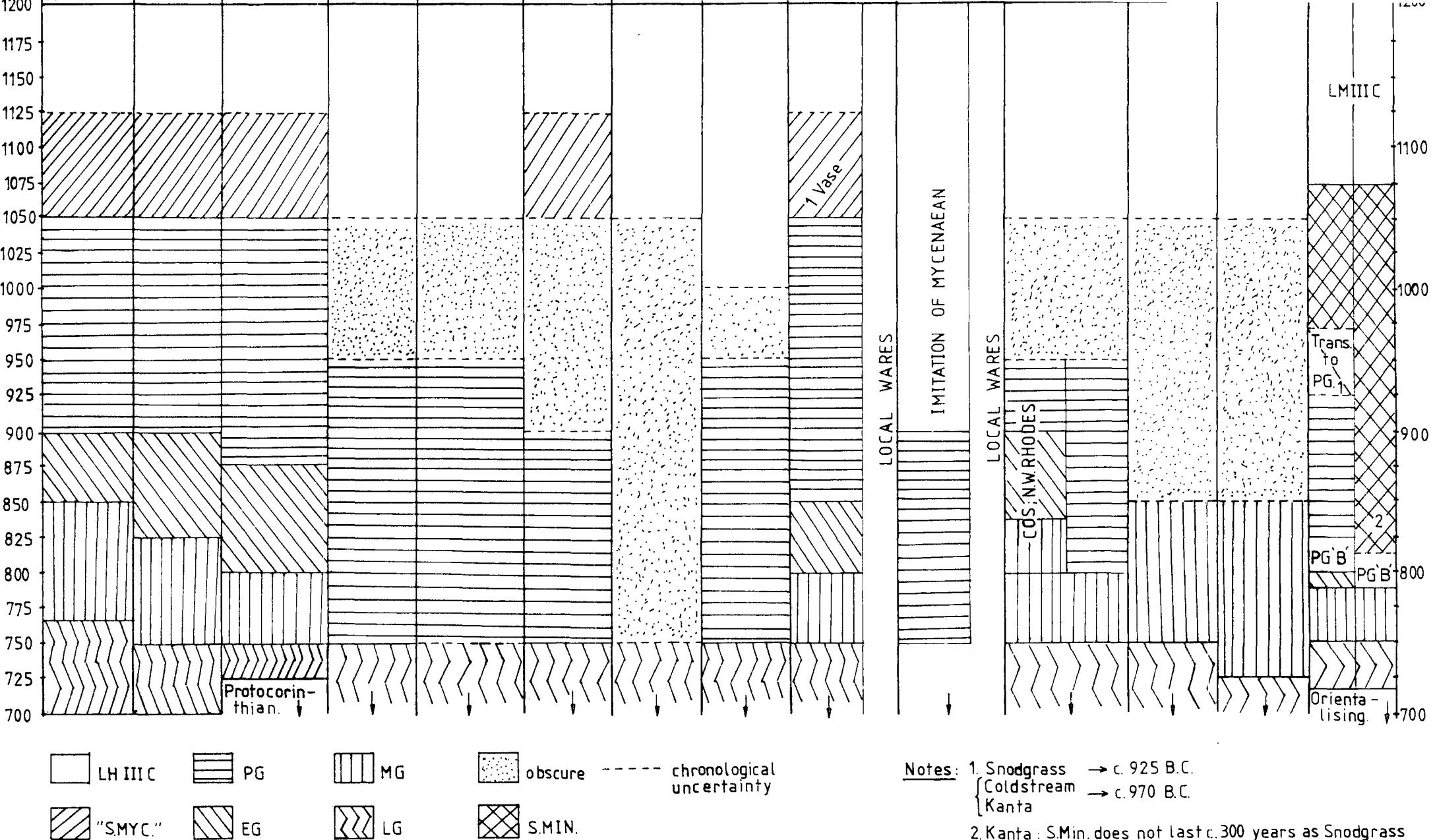


Figure 4.1. Chronological timetable.

the LH III C period onwards into the DA. LH III C is marked as the beginning of the decline of the Mycenaean civilization and is strongly related to the preceding LH III B period, the peak of Mycenaean civilization. Thus I think it is necessary to give a brief description of the situation over the whole of Greece in that period, the thirteenth century during which the Mycenaean civilization was still in full flower and its institutions intact.

The centre of the Mycenaean culture was situated in the Peloponnese, Attica and Boeotia. Great palaces were built, the greatest being Mycenae, to which Tiryns was probably subsidiary, both in the Argolid. Less important seem to have been the palace centres Pylos (Messenia), Thebes and Orchomenos (Boeotia), and perhaps Volos or ancient Iolkos (Thessaly) - there is no complete certainty on the palace here. Athens was clearly a substantial centre. The Menelaion site in Laconia could be said to resemble a palace indicating that at least part of Laconia was also an important region. During this period, the Mycenaean world was at the height of its prosperity. The number of settlements recorded is the highest ever reached in the prehistoric period, especially within the territories of the major palaces. Not only do the great palace centres show the prosperity but also the large chamber tomb cemeteries found in many parts and their contents. There is evidence of other great works of construction such as fortifications, dams, dykes and road systems, i.e. in Messenia, the Argolid and Boeotia. Overseas trade and connections were at their

most extensive. Mycenaean crafts were at a high level of skill: the painted pottery was unrivalled; the bronze and precious metal objects and fine ivory work displayed no less skill and technique; the painters produced lively coloured fresco. Moreover, the architects and stonemasons showed their skill in the use of "hammer-dressed" masonry for the foundations and walls of palatial buildings and the use of stone facing with interior rubble fillings for the fortifications.

The impression given by the remains is of a stable, even a static world, but there is evidence of insecurity. The original erection of fortifications at Mycenae and Tiryns may have been more a statement of power than an indication of a need for defence but the extension and the erection of others in the thirteenth century, i.e. at Dendra (Argolid), Athens (both built probably between 1250 - 1200 B.C.), Gla (Boeotia), Crisa (Phocis) and especially the incomplete Isthmus wall during the latter part of LH III B, seem signs of trouble. In this context, the securing of water supply within the walls at Mycenae, Tiryns and Athens fits well. Certain centres, however, Pylos, Orchomenos and Iolkos, did not provide themselves with fortifications at this time or any other time. It seems that the latter part of LH III B was a troubled time for the Mycenaean world. And indeed by the end of LH III B, just before 1200 B.C., various calamities overcame the Mycenaeans: all the great mainland centres, especially sites where there were palaces or comparable large buildings or fortifications, had been destroyed by fire, several being deserted thereafter. Many other sites apparently were deserted

now, some even before in mid-LH III B. It is not certain when the palaces of Pylos and Thebes were destroyed, but probably earlier than those in the Argolid. Athens escaped destruction at this time but uncertainty remains on the destruction of the palace at Iolkos, either late LH III B early LH III C (conclusive dating evidence is as yet unpublished).

Few sites can be proved to have survived the LH III B disasters, fewer still to have continued into the DA. In order to give a very rough estimate of figures, I have examined the list of sites from the most recent publication by R. Hope Simpson and O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age, Vol.1: The Mainland and Islands" (1979). Its survey covers the whole of the Greek mainland, the Aegean and Ionian Islands (Crete excluded). I have omitted in the figures given in the chart below the areas in the Aegean (to which I will refer in my next chapter) and the regions of Epirus and Macedonia. Some sites newly occupied in the post-Mycenaean period are not listed in the Gazetteer and are not included in my survey. They are only a small category and should not make any difference to the general inferences one can draw from the figures. In my survey, I have also used Papadopoulos' Ph.D. thesis on Mycenaean Achaean, Demakopoulou - Papantoniou's thesis on Laconia and "The Minnesota Messenian Expedition" (eds. McDonald and Rapp, 1972) on Messenia. Figures are given for each ceramic period covering the whole period I am discussing. The figures in brackets and the question-mark (i.e. [+4?]) are sites which possibly belong to the period concerned. The figures I have obtained are shown in Figure 4.2

The figures cannot be precise, as a lot of them depend on surface survey only. Moreover, they involve many uncertain factors such as the occurrence of pottery of a transitional phase and questionable sites are included where the presence of "Sub-Mycenaean" or Early PG material (unpublished) is debatable. The thirteenth century and to a certain extent the twelfth century figures may be increased by many sites where undifferentiated LH pottery is recorded, which I have put in a separate category.

Even so, general inferences can be made. There was a considerable decline in the number of sites in LH III C in most areas, especially the Peloponnese, in comparison with the palace period. It was a decline which, according to the figures, was not reversed until at least the later tenth century. However in Achaea and the Ionian Islands, i.e. Kephallenia and Ithaca, there was no decrease in the number of sites, rather the opposite. A number of new sites were occupied in addition to those which continued to be occupied from the previous period. The reason for this may have been people escaping from the troubled regions to these areas. There were other parts of the mainland to which people probably fled. These were mainly coastal sites which give evidence of expansion: Epidauros Limera (east Laconia), Asine and Tiryns (Argolid), Lefkandi (Euboea), and Perati (east Attica). Large numbers are thought to have gone overseas across the Aegean, i.e. Crete, Cyprus, but these areas, specifically the "Dorian" overseas settlements, will be reserved for the next chapter.

	LH III B	LH III C	LH of undefined period	S. Myc.	PG	G
Attica	34	11 (+2?)-2*	3 (+1?)	1	7	20
Salamis	2	1 (+2?)	-	2	-	-
Aegina	4	1 (+1?)	-	1	4	7
Argolid	34	9	5 (+3?)	5	9	19 (+1?)
Corinthia	25	4 (+1?)	9 (+3?)	-	4	5 (+3?)
Laconia	47 (+1?)	16	2	1 (?)	5 (+1?)	6
Messenia	105 (+2?)	7 (+2?)	17 (+19?)	2 (?)	9 (+3?)	10 (+3?)
Elis	26 (+1?)	4 (+3?)	1 (+2?)	1 (+1?)	3	7
Achaëa	26 (+3?)	27 (+5?)- 5* + 3?*	13 (+11?)	9 (+4?)	1 (+2?)	5
Arcadia	16	1*	1 (+3?)	-	2 (+2?)	5 (+3?)
Euboea	24 (+1?)	7 (+4?)-1?*	8 (+1?)	1 (?)	11 (+1?)	13 (+3?)
Boeotia	44 (+1?)	3 (+6?)	9 (+1?)	2	5 (+1?)	9 (+1?)
Phocis	16 (+2?)	2 (+4?)	1 (+1?)	1	4 (+1?)	3 (+2?)
E. Locris	4 (+1?)	2	1	-----	(1?)-----	2
W. Locris	2	1	1	-	-	1
Malis	7 (+1?)	1 (+3?)	1 (?)	-	-	1
Aetolia/Acarmania	10	5	3	-	4 (+1?)	5
Ionian Islands	19 (+4?)	7 (+3?)-4*	3 (?)	-	3 + (1?)	3
Thessaly	48 (+1?)	4 (+10?)-1*	8 (+4?)	-	18 (+6?)	19 (+1?)
Total	499 (+19?)	87 (+47?)	76 (+43?)	14 (+3?)	83 (+18?)	138 (+14?)

Figure 4.2. Number of sites occupied during Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Greece.
(* = newly occupied sites)

The possible causes of this disaster at the end of LH III B are a matter of dispute. Whether or not the disaster was caused by the "Dorians" will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.3 The "Sub-Mycenaean" Problem

Before I proceed to describe the archaeological evidence of post-Mycenaean Greece, a brief discussion of "Sub-Mycenaean" is necessary. Until 1964, the term was used for a ceramic phase between that of the latest Mycenaean from the Argolid and the beginning of Attic PG (Skeat, Wace, Kraiker and Furumark - even though he preferred to describe the pottery as LH III C2, he was not averse to using the term). At that time Desborough (1964) proposed that only in West Attica the "Sub-Mycenaean" style took over, which was contemporary with the latest Mycenaean in other areas. In other words, "Sub-Mycenaean" pottery represented more a geographical variant than a separate chronological entity. Two years later Deshayes (1966) argued this for Argos and was followed by Styrenius (1967). In 1972, Desborough broadened its meaning in artifactual terms by associating metal finds (i.e. long pin, arched fibulae and double spiral finger and hair rings) and a different tomb type (i.e. the single cist-grave burial) with its pottery, making it a separate culture, "Sub-Mycenaean culture", not only in the areas named above, but also in the rest of the Argolid, Elis, Corinth, Thebes, Lefkandi and possibly Phocis and Locris. However, the term "Sub-Mycenaean Greece" as related to an archaeologically distinct culture has been rightly dismissed as an archaeological concept by Snodgrass³, since all of its features can be found elsewhere in non-"Sub-Mycenaean"

contexts. Pottery and metalwork of types which have been called "Sub-Mycenaean" cannot be exclusively associated with cist cemeteries. Moreover, cists were not unknown in previous periods (more detailed discussion later in this chapter). But like most archaeologists and historians he retained the term "Sub-Mycenaean" for the type of pottery subsequent to LH III C on the sites in the geographical area concerned.

Recently, however, the question has arisen whether we can regard the "Sub-Mycenaean" pottery style as a different style from LH III C, i.e. whether "Sub-Mycenaean" is the appropriate term to be used or has to be abandoned. Rutter⁴ makes two important points, first, that the style is strictly defined in terms of a funerary assemblage, and second, that it is applicable to only a part of the Mycenaean culture sphere of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, as the style is bad and a small number of vases are involved, it is difficult to make regional distinctions as well as to recognize developments or progressive variation. Trying to date some settlement deposits from Corinth, which in some way looked like "Sub-Mycenaean", Rutter came to some problems, in that there were no published settlement deposits of this "culture" with which to compare his Corinth deposits. The pottery deposit was of a later date than the latest LH III C phase (phase 4 in Rutter's terms) and earlier than the end of the "Sub-Mycenaean pottery of earlier date, comparable with the latest phase of LH III C at Lefkandi (phase 3 as named by Popham and Milburn⁵) with few patterns usually encountered in "Sub-Mycenaean" pottery. Having compared the material with

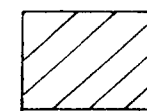
the pottery at Lefkandi, both the latest LH III C phase 3 from Xeropolis and the late Sub-Mycenaean phase from Skoubris cemetery, he suggests an addition to the four LH III C styles, LH III C phase 5, represented at Corinth. This phase is contemporary with Lefkandi phase 3 and early "Sub-Mycenaean" at Salamis and Kerameikos, following Desborough, thus abandoning the term "Sub-Mycenaean" altogether. To this he adds that the "Sub-Mycenaean" phase at the Skoubris cemetery, contemporary with late Sub-Mycenaean at Athens, is only a brief interval transitional to PG (see Figure 4.3, taken from Rutter 1978: 65). However, this late "Sub-Mycenaean" phase would not be such a brief period as he claims, i.e. the end of phase 5, c.1100/1075, until the beginning of Attic PG and its influence in Euboea, c.1050/1025, which adds to the problems involved.

Furthermore, Smithson⁶ points out that the pottery from the three "Sub-Mycenaean" wells in and around the Athenian Agora possibly represents a local Athenian last phase of LH III C, lasting till the lower end of early PG, in which case the term "Sub-Mycenaean" becomes redundant for domestic deposits. This strengthens Rutter's conclusion, as he does point out that, if the "Sub-Mycenaean" domestic deposits in Athens are indeed LH III C in character as well as in date, then the former term is superfluous indeed.

I am inclined to agree with Rutter in denying the validity of the term "Sub-Mycenaean". But until more analysis and publication of the pottery concerned is done, nothing more can be said and it will be easier to continue to use the term "Sub-Mycenaean" for the moment, however loosely, to distinguish the pottery style of Rutter's phase 5 and late "Sub-Mycenaean".

CERAMIC PHASE	DEPOSITS FROM SELECTED AREAS					YEARS B.C.
	Western Attica	Eastern Attica & Cyclades	Euboea (Lefkandi)	Corinthia (Corinth)	Argolid	
LH III C Phase 4 (Early)	Athens, cuttings under Klepsydra (Agora XIII 261-2)	Perati, phase II	Xeropolis, phase 2a		Mycenae, Granary destruction deposit	-1160
(Late)	↓ ?		Xeropolis, phase 2b	Demeter Sanctuary, major Myc. building		
LH III C Phase 5 (Early)	Salamis cemetery; Agora wells	Perati phase III; A. Irini, latest BA material from temple	Xeropolis, phase 3	Demeter Sanctuary, wash deposits (2 SM tombs in west forum)	Argos, latest finds in Deiras tombs	-1125
(Late)	Athens, Pompeion cemetery				↓ ?	
			Skoubris cemetery, early graves	Weinberg's house west of Museum	Mycenae & Argos, cist graves and "SM" settlement deposits	-1075
Proto-geometric						-1050

Figure 4.3. Suggested correlation of selected Late Mycenaean and "Sub-Mycenaean" deposits (after Rutter 1978: 65).



= "Sub-Mycenaean"

A description of the sites in the Peloponnese, north and north-west Greece in subsequent periods, LH IIIC and the DA (Sub-Mycenaean, c.1150/25, until the end of PG, c.900 or later), follows, after which a description of the objects associated with the sites will be discussed. Each region will be examined separately. The lack of a homogeneous pottery - sequence makes correlation of the material from different areas a matter of conjecture; the bulk of the material comes from tombs.

4.4 The Peloponnese

Argolid

A small number of sites survived the LH III B destructions. These consisted of settlement and/or tomb evidence from Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Asine, Nauplia, Iria and Kandia, and LH chamber tombs which continued in use into the LH III C period at Ancient Epidaurus and Phychtia. There is also recent evidence for LH III C occupation at Dendra and Kephalaria.

At Mycenae, settlement continued on the upper citadel and its slopes. Beyond the citadel, some settlement sherds were found, but mainly graves, two of which lay on top of the Cyclopean Terrace foundations (one is a pithos burial), and some chamber tombs continued in use west and north east of the acropolis. A larnax burial was found on the west wing of the Lion Gate after the destruction of the Granary, towards the end of the period. Associated with the destruction level at the Granary was pottery of the "Granary class" (as called by Wace, see Figure 4.4,D) and was in part contemporary with the Close style of the Argolid, described below. Recent excavations at "Tsountas' House" indicate that the

LH III C period at Mycenae lasted longer than thought, roughly two or three generations after the destruction of the Granary, c. 1120 B.C. Evidence for the "Sub-Mycenaean" period is not much. Occupation of the upper citadel is apparent and only two tombs of cist variety have been found of late date, built within the ruins of earlier Mycenaean houses, one of which contained seven vases and a number of bronze metal objects: a ring with double-spiral terminals, three arched fibulae and two long dress pins.

Tiryns, on the other hand, remained a major site in LH III C. Reoccupation in LH III C after the (fire) destruction of the whole citadel in LH III B2, was mainly on the lower citadel and its underground passages. It extended around the citadel over a large area, where a chamber tomb cemetery continued in use into the LH III C period. Only towards the end of the period did the settlement shrink. The only evidence there is is at the West Gate: a room with remains of an oven and a narrow hut, together with a "Sub-Mycenaean" or PG pithos was discovered. The post-Mycenaean cemetery overlay the Mycenaean settlement, of which five tombs were "Sub-Mycenaean", either cist or slab-covered pit-graves, containing objects typical of this period. The most important find is still the "Warrior Grave", belonging probably to the transitional phase towards Attic PG, within which were placed mainly a number of weapons and armour: two daggers, a spearhead, a shield-boss and a helmet, the decoration of which may indicate northern, specifically central European, origin or influence.

Scarcity of settlement evidence during the "Sub-Mycenaean"

period at Mycenae and Tiryns contrasts to the material found at Argos, where it seems that the settlement extended from the Aspis slopes (acropolis) down into the plain for quite a large area. The main cemetery, founded at least as early as LH III A, in the Deiras, contained chamber tombs, most of which were reused in late LH III C and the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, and some pit-graves. A break in occupation after LH III C has been suggested, indicated by the fact that the areas where LH III C and "Sub-Mycenaean" pottery occurs (settlement and burials) do not coincide. Yet this division can no longer be accepted. Some of the chamber tombs in Deiras cemetery contained both LH III C and "Sub-Mycenaean" pottery. And it is difficult to divide the material attributed to these periods: there is no clear break visible between LH III C and "Sub-Mycenaean". Groups of "boulder-cists" and pits of LH III C - "Sub-Mycenaean" date have been excavated in Tripolis Street (in the modern town). The objects associated with all these tombs are "Sub-Mycenaean". Atypical of this period is the continued use of chamber tombs. There is one other feature of particular importance, not evidenced elsewhere at this time: the presence of a furnace probably for extracting silver from lead, which belonged to the late "Sub-Mycenaean"/early PG phase.

Another important site is that of Asine, which grew in size in LH III C. Habitation is marked by a couple of house-foundations and habitation layers. A chamber tomb cemetery on Mt. Barbouna, going back to LH II A, continued to be used in this period. Continuity into "Sub-Mycenaean" can only be assumed from minor unstratified deposits found on

the site to the east. A decline in population is possible during this period, but there is an increase again in the PG period.

These are the four major sites. Minor sites occupied in LH III C include Iria, which survived the LH III B destructions but was abandoned early in the period after a fire destruction; Phychtia and Ancient Epidaurous, both chamber tomb sites; Kandia, where trial excavations indicate continuous habitation from EH to LH III C; and Kephalaria, where building remains of LH III B - C date have been discovered

(AR 1979-80: 28), suggesting possible continuity of the site. There remain two more sites, Nauplia and Dendra. At Nauplia, the LH chamber tomb cemetery on the north-east slope of the Palamidi contained one or two LH III C vases and at least one "Sub-Mycenaean" stirrup jar indicating continuity. Recent excavations on the site of Dendra revealed LH III C pottery and a LH III B2 date for its fortifications and their destruction (which is later than previously supposed) probably by an earthquake (AR 1983-4: 22; 1984-5: 20).

Of unusual interest is the discovery last year of a twelfth century funerary tumulus at Khandia, not far from Mycenae (AR 1984-5: 21). Inurned cremations were found in a tumulus. The most unusual feature is the combination of the tumulus mound with single burials. Parallels can be found in the Vergina cemetery of the early Iron Age in Macedonia. But, until this recent discovery, nowhere further south than Macedonia could this feature be matched, except for an example of cists under a tumulus at Hexalophos (Thessaly) and a group of cists which are likely to have

been sunk in a tumulus at Kafkania (Elis), both contemporary in date with that of Khania. Moreover, cremation was very rare in the Argolid, so far one case of LH III C date at Argos. Inhumation was the rule.

Generally speaking it can be said that mid - late LH III C represents a strong recovery for a short time on the sites in the Argolid with the development of a pottery style, named "Close Style" and the vast extent of the site at Tiryns. The "Close Style" can be described as a sort of intricate symmetrical doodling (see Figure 4.4,A). Contemporaneous with this style are the "Octopus Style" in the central Aegean, the "Fringed Style" in Crete and the lively and varied pictorial representations at Lefkandi and other sites.

Between the end of LH III C and the "Sub-Mycenaean" phase, the question of continuity in the Argolid is problematic. The problem lies in defining the different phases within the pottery style in the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, with which to date the settlements' occupation, whether they belong to an early or late stage. A small gap may have occurred, but unfortunately one or two years of abandonment on a site cannot show up in the archaeological record. But even with the small amount of evidence there is, it can be argued that a gap never existed and the sites probably were never completely abandoned. So one can say there was continuity or near-continuity at Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Asine and perhaps Nauplia.

Even though the earliest stage of Argive PG is nebulous, in that Athenian or other ceramic innovations had not yet made an impact on the Argolid, it seems likely that there was an overlap between "Sub-Mycenaean" in the Argolid and Attic PG. The time-lag of the Argive PG behind the Attic is likely to

have been small and continuity can be assumed on all major sites and probably Nauplia as well (even though here PG is hard to identify).

Traces of settlement are represented by scattered sherd material (Mycenae), stratigraphical levels (Argos) and house-foundations (Tiryns and Asine). During this period, the Argolid shows a remarkable retention of the standard types of single grave. At Argos a large number of scattered tombs were found. The great majority were cists, still the most popular tomb type throughout the PG period, alongside the much less common pit, belonging early in the period. Inhumation continued to be practised. Objects, except pottery, were rare. Pithos burials started to appear in the transition period to G and became a more regular occurrence in the full G period. Tomb evidence elsewhere is the same. The cist became popular at Mycenae, Tiryns and Asine. As at Argos, Tiryns provided many tombs, the earliest being pits, cists then becoming the fashion. There is also one possible instance of a pithos burial, more examples occurring during the G period. Of interest is the fact that the PG cists at Tiryns were reused in the G period, whereas at Argos the oldest graves to be reused were EG, sometimes for two or three successive burials. Both at Tiryns and Mycenae, areas of previous Mycenaean habitation were used. Finally, at Asine, there was a sizeable cist tomb cemetery of 46 tombs scattered about, 16 of which contained pottery and metal objects belonging to this period. The rest, it has been assumed, belong to the same period. As regards the orientation of the burials on these four sites during the PG period, the impression given is that it did not matter very much, but

generally speaking, it can be said that, except for Asine, the eastern direction was avoided.

During the PG period, the grave goods associated with the tombs were mostly pottery and a small number of metal objects. As regards the metal objects, the long dress pin was the most common, both of bronze and iron. At Mycenae, these occurred together with three bronze arched fibulae in a "Sub-Mycenaean" cist. Later graves produced pins with an iron shank and bronze knobs and bronze finger rings. Bronze rings were also found in later tombs at Tiryns, in one case even together with two gold spiral hair rings. A grave at Argos produced two further iron pins with bronze globes attached and in another tomb was found an iron dagger.

Unstratified PG finds were also discovered at Halieis, and at Lerna the next datable material after LH III B was LPG, indicating possible reoccupation of the sites. It is only in the G period that a considerable number of sites in the Argolid were reoccupied.

Corinthia

Occupation into advanced LH III C is evidenced at Korakou: several buildings belong to this phase, but during it the site seems to have suffered disaster, and reoccupation was soon followed by the final abandonment of the site. Surface finds at Loutraki and possibly at Aietopetra also suggest LH III C occupation. But only at ancient Corinth, does occupation seem to have continued into the DA. LH III C sherds were found beneath the Sanctuary of Demeter and on the slopes of the Acrocorinth. For the subsequent period traces have been discovered of a rather poor house, as well as sherds. As regards tombs, there were two pit-graves with child-inhumations,

which contained pottery, arched fibulae, a fragment of a bronze pin and an oval bezel of bronze. Evidence for PG is slight: only a handful of sherds for the early phase and a later cist tomb, containing five spindle whorls, two bronze rings and two bronze pins of the time of transition to the G period.

At Isthmia, a single sherd of the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, but may well be PG in date, has been recovered, but was unconnected with any preceding Mycenaean pottery. Few sherds of PG date constitute the next period, indicating possible continuity of the site. Some sherds were also reported from Ancient Phlius, and at Vello there were vases from a child's tomb of late PG. It is only from the G period onwards that more evidence, predominantly funerary, can be found.

Unlike the other Peloponnesian PG styles (except for Argolid), Corinthian PG is closely connected with the Attic PG style, especially during the later part of the period.

Laconia

In spite of a decrease in population which occurred after the end of LH III B, about 16 of the 50 sites of the preceding LH III B period continued to be occupied, the most important being the religious site at the Amyclaion, the cemeteries at Epidauros Limera and Pellanes, Asteri, Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion site.

Occupation into early LH III C has been revealed at the Menelaion site at Sparta (AR 1980: 16-19). After its destruction in LH III B2, squatter occupiers had roughly reconstructed the terrace and at least one or two buildings were constructed on the destruction debris.

The site was abandoned before the end of LH III C. At Ayios Stephanos, it has been reported recently that the latest material on the site is early LH III C,⁷ and at Asteri, during trial excavations on the hill, Mycenaean sherds, including early LH III C, were found, but more evidence is needed for certainty. Early LH III C is also represented at Apidia and Goritsa.

Occupation until advanced LH III C has been established at Epidauros Limera in the Mycenaean chamber tombs of individual type, as well as in the chamber tomb cemetery at Pellanes. The pottery of the advanced LH III C stage at Epidauros Limera included vases decorated in the Close Style, the Granary Style and the Aegean Octopus Style, suggesting that the settlement represented by this cemetery was an important survivor in that period and that Laconia was not isolated during this whole period, but had close connections with Central Greece and the Aegean. It has been said that some of the vases at Epidauros Limera might be classed as "Sub-Mycenaean".

Important was also the sanctuary site, the Amyclaion. The finds connected with the Mycenaean shrine, apart from LH III C pottery, including one fragment of the "Close Style", consist of numerous votive figurines, the majority being of psi-type and wheelmade animal figurines. They date from late LH III B to about the end of LH III C, as does the pottery. The next datable evidence at this last site and other sites in Laconia is "Laconian PG" pottery, apparently contemporary with Attic LPG, which cannot be placed higher than the mid-tenth century. Thus there is a gap of more than a century in which Laconia enters into obscurity.

The Amyclaion provides the main evidence for the PG period. The material does not come from the actual sanctuary building, but from pottery and objects thrown away from the sanctuary. The type of pottery and votive offerings were quite different from those of Mycenaean times. The offerings consisted of a few metal finds: an iron sword, bronze spearheads and double axes. The pottery is of local individual style and appears to belong to a western Greek koiné which is, particularly in decorative motifs, different from the traditionally considered PG style.⁸ It continued unchanged for at least a further two generations after its appearance c. 950 B.C.

In spite of the gap between the end of the Mycenaean and the following PG period at the Amyclaion, Demakopoulou-Papantoniou has suggested that religious continuity can be taken as almost certain,⁹ even though it cannot be materially proven. At Amyclae, Hyacinthos, who is assumed to be a male god of vegetation, is said to have been worshipped, whose memory lived on after the Mycenaean period, as can be shown by the annual festival of the Hyacinthia, which took place at the same time as the established cult of Apollo in historical times. Thus, religious continuity can be considered, for the fact that the memory of Hyacinthos in historical times survived as a cult alongside that of Apollo and remained sacred. Moreover it is possible that the shrine was not abandoned at all, but that the offerings during this obscure period consisted only of simple libations, which left no trace. Therefore, Demakopoulou-Papantoniou conjectured that, until more evidence is available, religious continuity at the

Amyclaion site suggests unbroken use and habitation in Laconia in the early post-Mycenaean period, even though the evidence is non-existent. However, continuity of use of a sanctuary, such as has been supposed above, does not necessarily prove continuity of the deity worshipped. Change in dedications might suggest the opposite, such as seems to be the case at the Amyclaion (see above). Therefore, Hyacinthos, who has been associated with the Mycenaean cult at the Amyclaion is not necessarily a "Mycenaean" god. There is no evidence he is Mycenaean and one cannot assume this from his name. It is always hazardous anyway to conjecture the identity of deities at certain cult places due to the nature of the evidence.

Besides the material at the Amyclaion, the only other evidence for the PG period is represented by a few vases and sherds from Sparta, Mavrovouni (from a tomb), Anthokhorion and Apidia. Unlike the latest Mycenaean period, Laconia seems to have been rather isolated from the rest of Greece, except maybe the north-west Peloponnese.

Messenia and Triphylia

The picture presented of LH III C is slight and uncertain. Of the two tholos tombs at Tragana, T.1, was clearly reused for inhumation burials from LH III C into "Sub-Mycenaean" and probably into the tenth century. However, for the later period, i.e. PG, evidence is scanty, represented by a small group of sherds with a shape and decoration not found elsewhere, but certainly not preceding the tenth century.

The inland site of Malthi seems to have been occupied in LH III C, based on one tholos tomb which, although not

wholly LH III C, appears to have material of this date. Post-Mycenaean pottery fragments, ribbed and swollen kylix stems, were found on the acropolis and the low hill at the foot of the acropolis, probably of the late twelfth and early eleventh centuries and possibly even later. From the acropolis comes also a dagger and a knife of iron, suggesting a date not earlier than 1050 B.C. So it is possible that this site was continuously occupied into the DA. There is evidence of LH III C on five other sites: a chamber tomb continued in use at Pisaskion close to Pylos; one sherd from a cave at Velika; and two settlements at Kato Melpia and Mila: Ramovouni; and a deep bowl of "Granary type" was found in a deposit at the LH III settlement at Koukounara.

One further important site has to be mentioned, Nichoria, now the main Dark Age site because only here has large-scale excavation taken place. Like most of the other settlements in Messenia it came to an end, unassociated with destruction, at the end of LH III B. A very few sherds in mixed contexts were originally attributed to mid or late LH III C, but these have been classified by Coulson as DAI. After reoccupation no later than early DA, the site continued until the late eighth century. The main evidence comes from tombs, some of which were Mycenaean tombs reused, others were inhumations in cist and pithos burials, containing local PG pottery and bronze pins (only in the cists). There was also a rather small tholos tomb, constructed in DA II, in which lay four inhumations, and a small number of cremations, which were later in date according to the excavator. Only one vase was associated

with the cremations. Pottery connected partly with Attic PG, partly with Ithacan and Laconian "PG", and iron objects were associated with the inhumations. Later DA building levels and a LG pithos burial on the site indicate occupation until the late eighth century, after which it was abandoned.

Coulson¹⁰ set up a chronological framework for the DA of Nichoria, which he divided into three phases: phases 1 and 2 correspond roughly with the "Sub-Mycenaean" and PG periods in other regions:

DA I - c. 1075 - 975 B.C.

DA II - c. 975 - 850 B.C.

DA I is the most elusive of the phases, because of the meagre nature of the pottery and uncertain stratigraphical contexts. Therefore its date range depends on comparative material, which is equally uncertain, i.e. Nichoria's material appears to be slightly later than the late LH III C material from Ramovouni which has been mentioned earlier and the burials of later date (late LH III C - "Sub-Mycenaean") in the Tragana T.1, indicating an early eleventh century date. As for DA II, comparative material came mainly from the sites of Kardamyle, Rizes, Antheia and the Pylos tholos, all of which will be mentioned below.

Snodgrass, in his review of "Excavations at Nichoria in S.W. Greece, Vol.III" (eds. McDonald, Coulson, Rosser, 1983) in *Antiquity*, 1984, does not believe the dates are well-founded, pointing out that Coulson's DA phases may well be set too early. He believes the parallels with other sites is too uncertain, especially during DA I. Moreover, for DA II, the local Ithacan and Laconian "PG" styles, from which certain decorative motifs are paralleled, are themselves vaguely

dated and seldom stratified. Snodgrass does not give any alternative dates; he only points out that it would be hard for Coulson to argue against the proposal that the chronology of his phases is set between 50 - 200 years too early.

Local DA sherds have been reported at Kaphirio and compare with the DA II period at Nichoria. A number of sherds published from Kardamyle were said to be "Sub-Mycenaean" but they now also seem to be local PG/DA II. Apart from the sites occupied during PG/DA II, mentioned above, there are several other sites where reoccupation not earlier than the tenth century and fitting in the DA II phase at Nichoria is indicated. There are small traces of settlement at Volimnos and Ellinika (ancient Thouria); a small tholos tomb near Pylos; a pithos burial containing nine vases at Rizes; a grave group, said to have come from the vicinity of Tsoukaleika; another grave group at Petrochori together with some scattered sherds; a PG burial at Antheia; and lastly, sherds of this period may be identified among the sherd material from a collapsed cave at Kokkinokhomata.

The "PG" pottery elsewhere in Messenia, then, is not earlier than the tenth century on Coulson's chronology, showing slight contact with Attica but more with the Ithacan and Laconian "PG" styles. Therefore it seems that on none of the sites so far known providing PG pottery is full continuity from LH III C to PG to be inferred, even though at Malthi continuous occupation throughout the period is possible, also at Tragana (as here there seem to be sufficient inhumations to cover the whole of the period). As regards Nichoria, it has already been said that the site seems to have been reoccupied in the early DA.

Other than pottery, the metal finds consisted of bronze and iron dress pins (the bronze ones mainly of roll-top type), scrappy remains of an arched fibula, bronze rings of plain and spiral type, an iron bracelet and part of a stabbing/thrusting weapon from Nichoria. Belonging to the Pylos tholos are one iron pin, an iron knife, a bronze ring and two buttons. Other sites produced a small number of bronze pins, and Malthi, as noted, an iron dagger and knife.

Elis

The main site in this region, that of Ancient Elis, provided 14 pit-graves, which are probably survivals from a much larger cemetery. The pit-graves are assigned to the "Sub-Mycenaean" phase, each containing one to three inhumations. Finds consisted of pottery and the usual pattern of metal objects: rings, arched fibulae, long bronze dress pins, as well as two bronze swords, both survivals of Mycenaean times, and two amber beads. Whether the burials belong to the early or late phase of the period is as yet unclear. There are two other possible "Sub-Mycenaean" sites: one vase from a cist tomb at Ayias Andreas looks "Sub-Mycenaean" (Desborough 1964: 91), and of two pithos burials and a cist grave discovered at Keramidia, the cist grave contained a single inhumation with a "Sub-Mycenaean" amphoriskos (AR 1977-8: 34).

This is in contrast with the rest of the sites where continuity into LH III C is evident, situated mainly in the Olympia region. Traces of occupation are present at Olympia itself. There was probably a break in occupation afterwards. Both LH III C and PG phases, however, are poorly represented

and it is debatable whether the site had any religious importance during this time. Surface survey indicates possible occupation in LH III C at Goumera and Ayios Yeoryios and from Miraka:Rema, two vases are attributed to the transition phase LH III B - C, but may perhaps be LH III A2. Other survivals in this period are shown in the continued use of chamber tombs at Kotrona, in which there was at least one LH III C cremation whose pottery seems to be of advanced style, - this might indicate the reuse of the tomb; two chamber tomb cemeteries at Kladheos (Stravokefalo and Tripes) continued in use into LH III C; of the three chamber tombs at Dhiasela, one continued into early LH III C; lastly, eight cists which are likely to have been sunk in a tumulus, containing LH III C pottery, were discovered at Kafkania.¹¹

Evidence for the PG period onwards is very slight. Continuity of occupation is possible at Olympia - the vases appear to be of poor workmanship, but links with the Attic series are evident. The only other site, Salmoni, produced a pithos burial with four vases, which can only be dated early ninth century, leaving a gap in occupation for most of Elis. An increase in sites appears only in the G. period.

Arcadia and Achaea

Arcadia has produced so far one site, that of Palaiokastro, an extensive chamber tomb cemetery, containing exclusively LH III C fine pottery from the examples excavated, including pieces of the Close Style and one or two vases which may be as late as "Sub-Mycenaean" as well as weapons of the preceding Mycenaean type. The cemetery appears to represent

a new and substantial LH III C site. Little can be said of the developments in the DA. So far very little material of the PG period has been found, only two or three sherds from Tegea (the Alea Temple) and a lekythos, probably part of the group of five vessels found in a tholos tomb near the site of Alea-Palaiokhori. Two sherds from a surface collection, one from Khotoussa and the other from Pikernis-Gortsouli, look as though they could be PG. This concludes the evidence from Arcadia.

The bulk of sites in Achaea are Late Helladic cemeteries. Many were founded pre-LH III C, but continued into the twelfth century and some even into the eleventh century. It is difficult to estimate to what extent they grew in this period, although there is little doubt that there was an increase. An important settlement known is Teikhos Dymaion. The acropolis was reoccupied after it suffered destruction at the end of LH III B. The final destruction of this citadel is dated at the end of LH III C, after which it was deserted. There was only one settlement, that of Aigeira, which was continuously occupied from the LH III A period. A possible settlement near Leontion has been identified and three LH III B - C bronzes and a jar probably from a tomb have been reported from Profitis Elias near Mitopolis. The rest of the sites are mostly chamber tombs, containing inhumations associated with metal objects of Mycenaean type, e.g. the cut-and-thrust swords. The fibulae and long pins found in "Sub-Mycenaean" central Greece were never accepted in this district, except for at least one fibula from Kallithea.

Most chamber tomb cemetery sites continued from the preceding period, examples being Aigion, Aroe, Samakia, Lopsi and Gerokomeion in the Patras area, Koukoura, Tsaplaneika, Katarraktis, Leontion, Ayios Vasilios near Chalandritsa and Kallithea, which is rich in goods. T.A at Kallithea contained a pit burial together with a sword, a spear, bronze fittings from a corslet and a pair of bronze greaves dated LH III C, T.B had another sword and boar's tusk plates from a helmet and recently a cremation of LH III C date associated with a large bronze fibula of violin bow type has been found in T.O, apparently the first LH cremation recorded in Achaea (AR 1981-2: 27). Achouria¹² and/or Trapeza are two other sites, as it is not clear to which site, either one or both, the LH III C pottery found belongs.

Cemeteries of chamber tombs in use for the first time in this period were situated at Vromoneri, Mikros Bodias, Drosia (Prostovitsa), Sarochorion, Kertezi (one tomb), and Kanghadi (the chamber tombs here may go back to the earlier period). It is not certain whether three tholos tombs (they are not shaped like true tholoi either) from Troumbes and one, containing three pithos burials, at Bartholomio are of the latest Mycenaean phase of later (see below).

It is not easy to determine the length of time that the LH III C tombs remained in use, for the pottery is difficult to date. Nevertheless, there is evidence that at least eight of the sites mentioned survived into the eleventh century, the period contemporary with the "Sub-Mycenaean" period in central Greece, c. 1050 and possibly even extending



to 1000 B.C. (Papadopoulos 1979: 185). This is based mainly on the presence of "duck vases" - "duck vases" are dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century at Athens, Lefkandi and Cyprus - at Kangadhi, Koukoura, Aroe, Samakia, Ayios Vasilios, Drosia and possibly Teikhos Dymaion. Perhaps the tombs at Achouria and/or Trapeza were only reused at a late stage of LH III C, since certainly late material has turned up.

External relations during the LH III C period with the rest of the Peloponnese weakened, especially with the Argolid, Elis and Messenia, but were not interrupted totally (except for Laconia). Links with Aetolia and the Ionian Islands strengthened and new links are suggested with Central Greek areas and Thessaly.

Evidence for the subsequent local PG pottery style is inadequate and comes from a pithos burial from Derverni, probably of the early ninth century. Continuity from LH III C to PG cannot be shown. The local "PG" pottery (from Derverni) mainly shows links with Ithaca and some connections in decoration have been noted with Laconia and Aetolia. This style probably persisted through most of the ninth century, after which hardly anything is known of the local style until the LG phase in the eighth century (Coldstream 1977: 180-1), to which belong cists and pithos burials at Pharai, Chalandritsa and perhaps the tombs at Troumbes and Bartholomio mentioned above. A group of cist burials at Agriapidies close to Chalandritsa and two cemeteries with pithos burials at Drepanon (in the Patras area) may be earlier in date, possibly as early as PG.

After a long-lasting LH III C period, Achaea seems to enter into obscurity until well into the G period.

Thessaly

Thessaly can be divided into three main regions, the coastal, the border and the frontier zones, which I will discuss in turn starting with the coastal zone.

The building, which may have been a palace, at Ancient Iolkos (Volos) appears to have been inhabited into LH III C. The "Palace" did suffer destruction but it is not clear yet whether it happened in LH III B2 or early LH III C. According to the excavator, there seems to have been no gap between LH III C and the PG period, which started c. 1050 B.C. as in Attica. A thick LH III occupation layer was also dug at Sikouri, the latest material being LH III C, but the bulk of material belonged to earlier periods. Some of the tholos tombs at Gritsa were continuously used from earlier times into the twelfth century. Finally, late Mycenaean pottery types, but not clearly LH III C, have been reported from Ancient Pherae.

In contrast to the coastal region of Thessaly, the interior plain (the border zone) seems to have retained at a lower level a greater continuity from Middle Bronze Age traditions. When Mycenaean cultural influence had its effect during the LH III A - B periods, the local Thessalian handmade pottery probably coexisted with the Mycenaean pottery, which was locally manufactured. Another source of evidence for the adoption of Mycenaean cultural traits is the Mycenaean burial practices, represented mainly by the tholos tomb and a few examples of chamber tombs. There were also some cist tombs, which occurred as a form of burial

already in the Middle Bronze Age. However, the Mycenaean culture does not appear to have been as deeply rooted, and with few exceptions, did not linger into the early Iron Age as in the coastal area. Surface pottery of LH III C was found at Argyropoulis and possible continuity has been suggested at several sites: a LH settlement was located at Bara, apparently including LH III C sherds; and continued occupation is claimed at Marmariani, Rakhmani and Gonnos.

Beyond the border zone, into the frontier zone, an abrupt drop-off in Mycenaean artifact types is evident. The only site at which Mycenaean pottery has been found in any quantity is at Trikkala in the west, alongside the local handmade pottery. Possible continuity into LH III C at this site has been claimed. Otherwise Mycenaean objects are restricted to three sites, Hexalophos in the west, a nearby site in the village of Fiki, and Agrilia in the far north, but their interest lies in the fact that they provide material of more than one cultural tradition.

Ten cist tombs at Agrilia contained Mycenaean weapons (bronze daggers and spearheads), local Mycenaean pottery (the straight-sided alabastron), jewellery of central European types, a spearhead with flame-shaped blade, probably of Albano-Epirote origin (Harding 1984: 167), and handmade local pottery, one group of which belonged to a ceramic tradition similar to central Europe or the northern Balkans and the other of undetermined origin. There is insufficient evidence to establish a firm date for these tombs, but given the time ranges of the datable ceramics and weapons, they could not be earlier than LH III A2 or later than LH III C, though most likely towards the latter end of this range.

At Hexalophos there were two cist tombs under a tumulus of LH III C date, containing Mycenaean handmade pottery imitations (kylikes, the shape of which is common to Kephallenia and Achaea), a short sword with square shoulders, a bronze ring with spiral terminals and a leaf-shaped spearhead.

Two other cist graves were discovered by chance recently in the village of Fiki near Hexalophos (AAA 1984: 74-87), containing pot-types comparable to Hexalophos and Agrilia (the straight-sided alabastron and kylikes) and Vergina in Macedonia. The tombs contained also two bronze long pins and a gold spiral hair-ornament. The tombs are dated to the first half of the tenth century, but the basis for such a late date is not clear.

The PG period in Thessaly shows not only evidence of continuity from the local Mycenaean tradition, mainly in the coastal areas, but also influence from Macedonia. The Macedonian elements are strongest in north-east Thessaly, i.e. pottery of Macedonian type, alongside local PG pottery, from tholos tombs at Marmariani and from Rakhmani, was found and indicates a possible influx of population from that area.

The evidence for PG is unsatisfactory and owing to insufficient information of the few sites there are, fewer still are of significance. The settlement at Iolkos was inhabited during this period, producing evidence of a major building that included stone blocks with incised signs, and a cist cemetery; two cists at Theotokou, one which may have been slightly earlier in that it contained a "Sub-Mycenaean" lekythos; other cist tombs at Retziouni (containing

native pottery), Halos, and Palaiokastro; tholos tombs at Kapakli on the outskirts of Iolkos, Gritsa (reuse of the tomb), Sesklo and the already mentioned tholos tombs at Marmariani; and multiple burials in rock-cut chamber tombs at Homolion. The cists appear to have been favoured for child-inhumations.

The PG period in Thessaly probably started soon after that of Attica, c. 1050. The local EPG style shows features shared with Euboea yet its eventual origin may be local Mycenaean pottery, as seen at Halos, Iolkos and Theotokou. By the late tenth century, existence of a strong Athenian ceramic influence is clear, which indicates that the culture and customs of this period may have spread from the south, but it is not certain yet if this is the case for the earlier period, even though similarities exist between the local PG ware and Euboean EPG and also can be seen in the metal objects. Diffusion from the south appears likely but is not provable. The objects of metal are fairly standard for the DA in the Aegean: iron rings, arched fibulae, knife blades and (only at Iolkos) the use of an earlier type of fibula, the violin-bow type.

The PG sites mentioned are confined to the eastern coastal district, extending marginally inland and to north-east Thessaly, since the central inland plain and western districts are virtually unknown as yet.

Aetolia, Epirus and Macedonia

The Mycenaean civilization extended as far as the coastal area of Acarnania and Aetolia. In Aetolia, the coastal site of Kato Vasiliki (based on surface finds only) and the inland sites of Ayios Ilias and Ancient Thermon,

as well as Astakos in Acarnania, continued to be inhabited in LH III C. Of these, the settlement site of Thermon can be dated from LH I to LH III C. Much of the pottery was "native". It may have been inhabited continuously throughout the DA, for local Iron Age pottery can be distinguished. At Ayios Ilias, two of the four tholos tombs and possibly the chamber tomb continued in use in the twelfth century; however, to what extent into the twelfth century they remained in use is uncertain. It is unlikely, though, that they persisted into the DA. At Astakos, on the acropolis, surface pottery and material in the fill of a cave on the east flank indicate continued occupation in this period. Again, few sites represent the next datable period: most interesting, belonging to a period not earlier than late tenth century, are the pithos burials at Calydon and Kaloyeriko in Aetolia.

Both the regions of Epirus and Macedonia fall outside the Mycenaean sphere of culture. The native population was, to a certain extent, aware of Mycenaean culture and development (in Macedonia there existed a local style of Mycenaean pottery and certain Mycenaean types of bronzes were common in Epirus), but had a rather backward culture of its own. Some of the sites in these regions are of significance for some of the material evidence they provide.

In Epirus, several cists, said to be of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries (the evidence for the dates is not certain as it consists of some imported pots and less closely datable bronzes) were found at Kalbaki, Kastritsa, Mesopotamon and Mazaraki and a pit-grave of similar date at Paramythia. Four cist tombs at Elaphotopos have been attributed to the

twelfth century but could be considered later (c. 1000 B.C. is suggested by Wardle¹³).

Cists are one of the types of single-burial characteristic of the "Sub-Mycenaean culture" of central Greece, but appear in Epirus at a slightly earlier date. Could this indicate a possible origin for the cist tombs in central Greece? Desborough discusses this in connection with possible newcomers into Greece in the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, which will be discussed later in this chapter. No other links with the "Sub-Mycenaean" area are apparent in Epirus, except for the bronze finger ring with double spiral terminals from a cist tomb at Elaphotopos, the same type as found at Athens and Tiryns.

Of similar interest is the cemetery site of Vergina in western Macedonia. The cemetery consists of a large number of mounds, each of which contained several pit-graves, invariably inhumations, and a few pithos burials, boulder-cists and urn-cremations, ranging from c. 1000 - 700 B.C. (Snodgrass [1971: 132-3] gives a lower date for the earliest burials). The finds of interest include the presence of several dress pins with a slight swelling on the shaft and a small head and a few rings with double spiral terminals. The rings at least form part of the central European-inspired tradition which characterized many bronze objects at this site.

4.5 Material Evidence

After this description of sites in the different regions inside and outside the Mycenaean area, I will discuss the individual categories of material evidence, starting with the pottery.

Pottery (wheelmade)

LH III C exhibits two main features: first, there is less uniformity than in the LH III B period. A number of districts produced highly individual styles. Second, there was a gradual change in the manner of decoration. By mid-late LH III C the manner of decoration was a much closer one than what had been current before: there was a tendency to cover more areas with paint and to conventionalize and elaborate the decorated areas. This resulted in two main styles: the Close Style found in the Argolid and the Octopus Style in the Central Aegean (see Figure 4.4, A-B). Human and animal representations were also found on vessels, mainly at Lefkandi, Mycenae and Tiryns (see Figure 4.4, C). These innovations were found only on a small proportion of the pottery, the rest being simply decorated in an increasingly geometrical manner. In spite of local individualities, at the broadest level common features both in shape and decoration are detectable. Yet the pictorial styles did not last very long. By the end of LH III C the Close and Octopus styles had deteriorated and the figured vase representations at, for example, Lefkandi and Mycenae disappeared. The quality of the fabric and technique of vase-making deteriorated. And even more than in early LH III C, in late LH III C stylistic homogeneity diminished and decoration became simplified, triangles, concentric semi-circles and wavy lines being the main motifs, or was abandoned altogether.

The next pottery phase is the "Sub-Mycenaean" phase. The pottery is almost wholly Mycenaean in tradition (see



Figure 4.4. Late Helladic III C pottery.
 A-C] (reproduced from Desborough 1972: Plate 1, p.31),
 A] Argive Close Style ; B] Octopus Style ; C] Pictorial
 representation on a pyxis from Lefkandi.
 D] Bowl of the Granary Class (reproduced from
 Snodgrass 1971 : fig. 9, p. 39.)

Figure 4.5). The standard of the LH III C style had been reduced to a low level. As in late LH III C, the quality of the vases had deteriorated and the paint and decoration was the simplest and was carelessly applied.

By the end of the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, some improvement is visible at Lefkandi and Athens, due to contact with Cyprus. New vase types and a new decorative technique was introduced: the use of a compass and dividers with a multiple brush (in order to paint concentric circles and semicircles). At Athens, this led to the development of a style, called Protogeometric, in which a faster wheel was also used (see Figure 4.6, A-B). By this time, all other Cypriot influence had been rejected. The ovoid closed shape becomes the standard closed vase type and the main decoration tends to move upwards to the shoulder and is grouped in series of horizontal zones, but unlike the previous period, it accentuates the division of the pot into its component parts, covering less than one third of the surface. Decorative motifs consisted mainly of concentric circles and semi-circles and some rectilinear motifs. The Athenian PG style was adopted not long after its rise in Corinth and probably Thessaly, although it has been argued that it grew independently there. The evidence is uncertain. Contemporary with late EPG and MPG, the Argolid developed its own local PG style (see Figure 4.6, C-E), mainly dark-ground with predominantly rectilinear motifs (e.g. cross-hatched triangles) and perhaps took over certain features of the Athenian PG style (i.e. direct Attic influence) such as painting sets

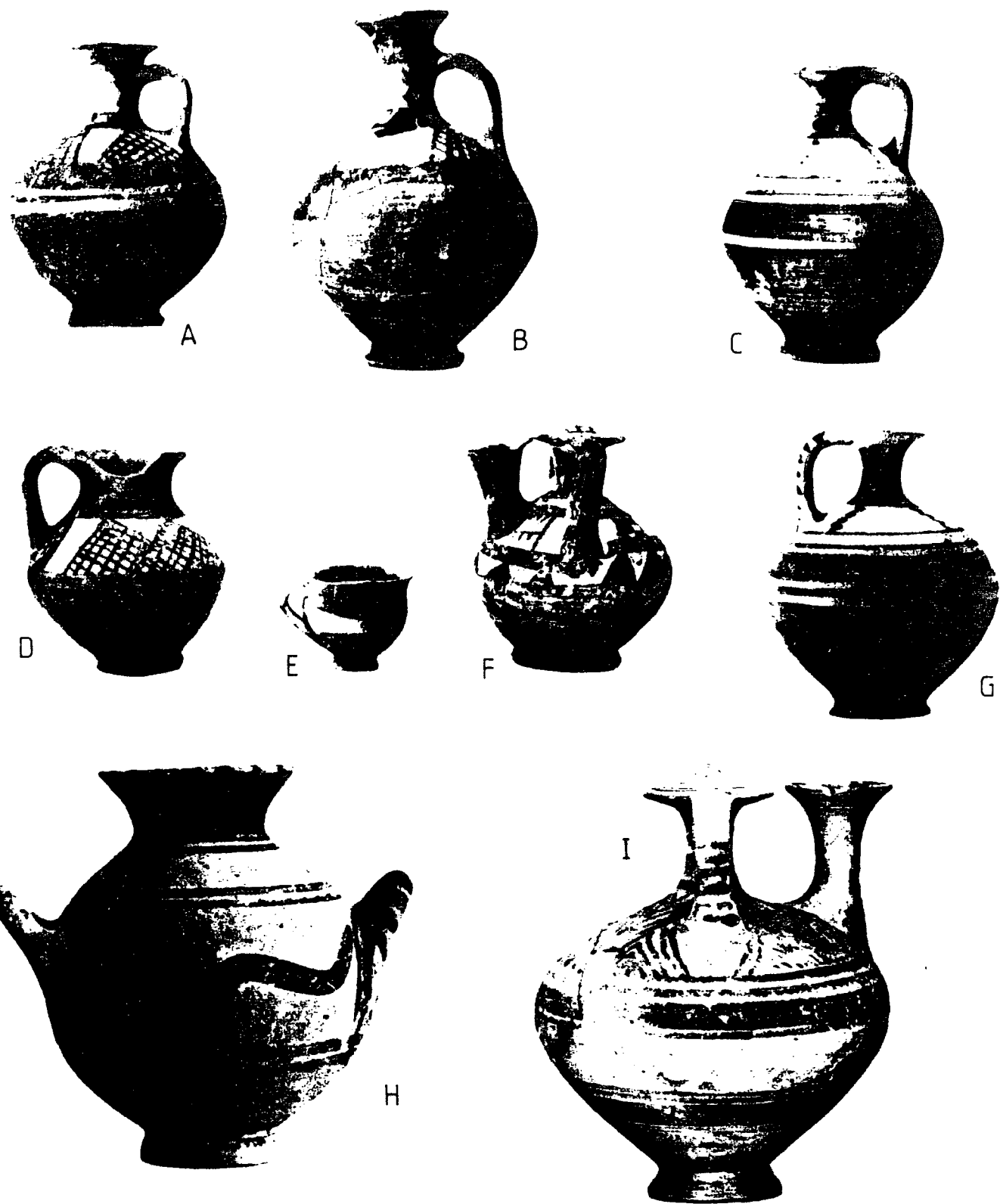


Figure 45. "Sub-Mycenaean" vases
 A-G] from Mycenae (reproduced from Desborough 1972 :
 Plate 9, p.70) ; H] from the Kerameikos, Athens (reproduced
 from Snodgrass 1971: fig. 3 , p.35) ; I] from Argos [Deiras]
 (reproduced from Snodgrass 1971: fig. 2 , p.33).

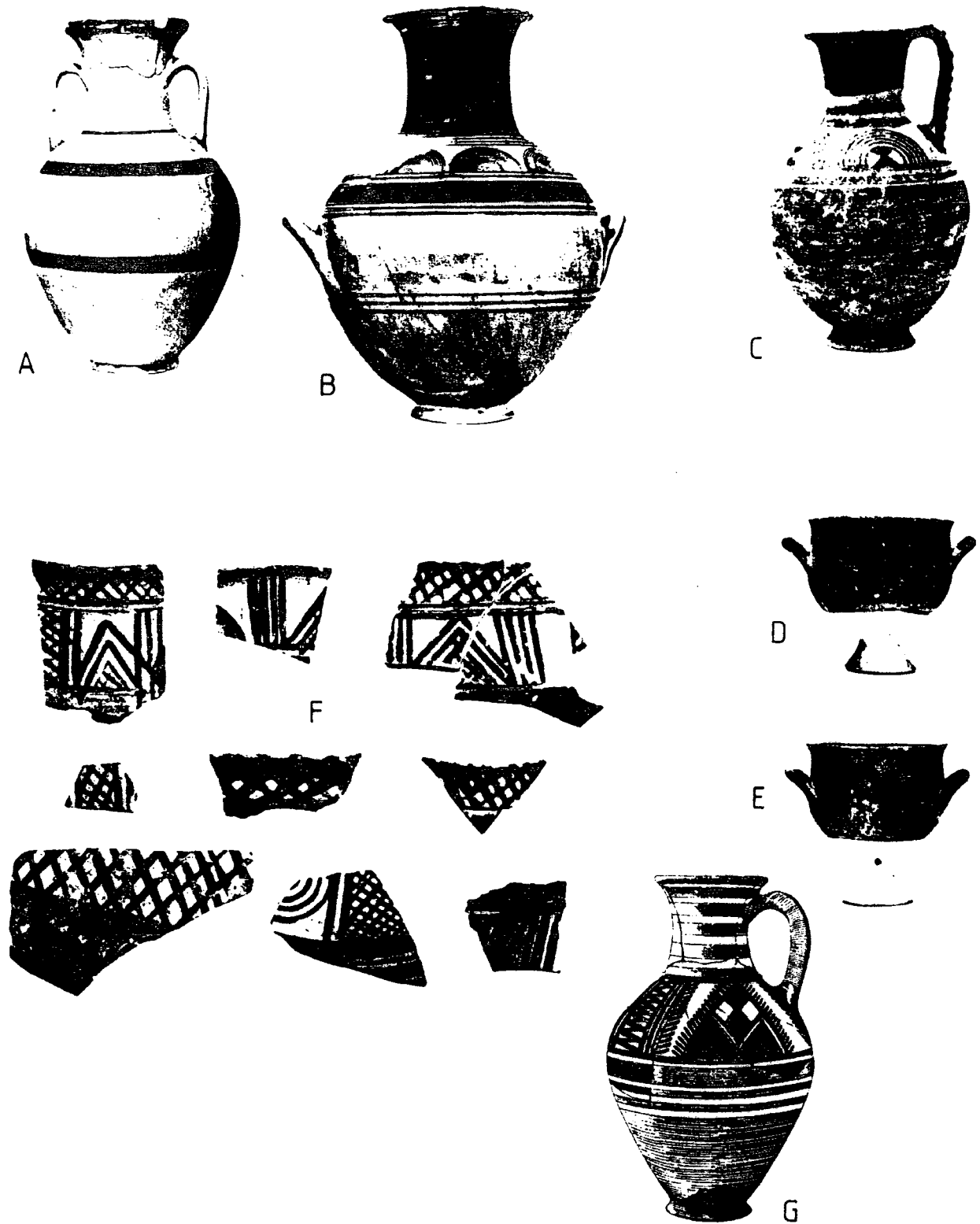


Figure 4.6. Protogeometric pottery

A-B] from Athens (reproduced from Desborough 1972 :Plate 27, p.149) ; C-E] from Argos (reproduced from Desborough 1972 : Plate 32 ,p.167) ; F] sherds from Amyclae and Sparta (reproduced from Desborough 1972 :Plate 55 ,p.242) ; G] from Aetos ,Ithaca (reproduced from Desborough 1972 : Plate 57 ,B ,p.248).

of concentric circles. Much of the borrowing, however, was adapted to local shapes, whether old or new (e.g. the high conical foot was added to previously used shapes). For the other areas of the Peloponnese, i.e. Elis, Messenia, Achaea, Laconia and Arcadia, the early phases of PG are obscure; the "PG" or local DA sherds found in these areas seem to belong to the late phase, contemporary with Attic LPG. The "PG" or local DA styles in the Peloponnese have little or no influence from the Athenian style. These local styles continued into the ninth century. Aetolia, Elis, Achaea and Messenia have, to some extent, links with the Ithacan local "PG" style (the only style which has a LH III C predecessor) such as can be seen in decoration: the cross-hatched interlocking triangles, steep zigzags in a vertical panel and fringed triangular motifs (see Figure 4.6, G). Laconian "PG" not only is completely divorced from any Mycenaean antecedent but also from other contemporaneous styles - slight connections in decoration can be seen with north-west Peloponnese and Aetolia, i.e. the practice of enclosing cross-hatched triangles in metope panels (see Figure 4.6, F).

It is during this latest phase that Athenian influence became stronger in the Argolid and its local PG style disappeared. The "PG" style in these regions continued to be used, while EG had already started in Attica and the Argolid (see Figure 4.1).

Handmade

Of interest in the twelfth century context is a type of handmade pottery, named "Barbarian Ware" (see Figure 4.7). It has been interpreted as being introduced by a new wave

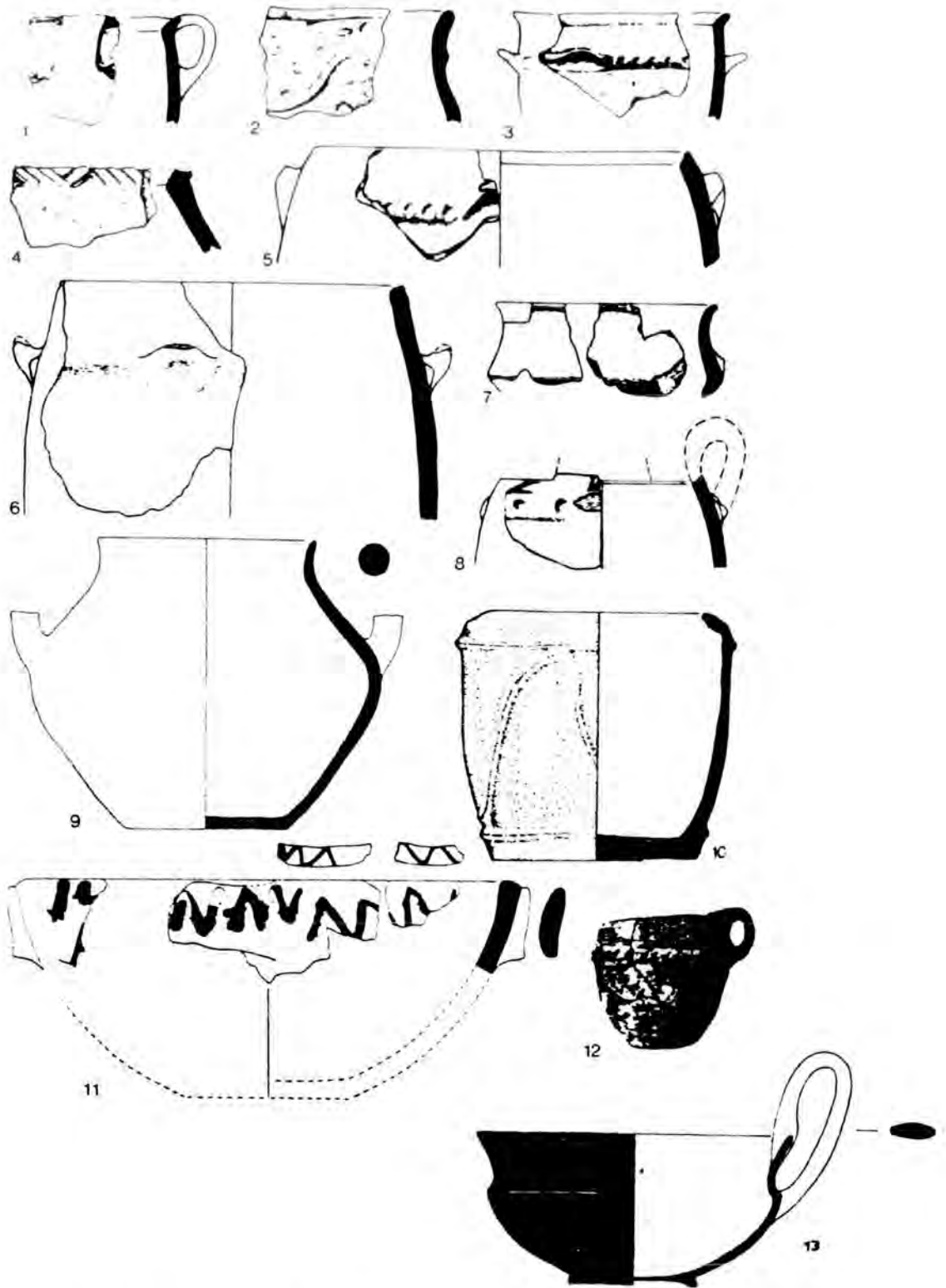


Figure 4.7. "Barbarian Ware" from various sites in Greece (1-12] reproduced from Harding 1984: fig.5.2, p.218 ; 13] reproduced from BSA 1971, fig. 3,6 , p.338) : 1-4] from the Menelaion, Sparta; 5-8] from Tiryns; 9-11] from Korakou; 12-13] from Lefkandi.

of people at the beginning of LH III C. Whether this could be the case will be discussed below. The pottery is of a handmade ware with a lustrous surface on which the marks of a burnishing tool are visible. The most common shapes are deep jars and bowls with horseshoe lug or long horizontal handles and the small open shape with high-swing vertical handles. The decorative technique is plastic (i.e. applied clay) ornamented with incisions and/or finger-impressions. The pottery is mainly of domestic kind and is found mainly on coastal sites of mainland Greece, Euboea and Crete. A few are inland in the vicinity of the coast. The sites are Korakou, Perati, Tiryns, Mycenae, Aigeira, Menelaion, Asine, Teikhos Dymaion, one piece only from Nichoria and some from Ayios Stephanos¹⁴ on the mainland, Lefkandi on Euboea, and Kommos and Khania in Crete. This pottery appears in small quantities and accounts only for a minor part of the ceramic evidence represented on the sites.

Rutter¹⁵, basing his argument on evidence from Korakou, traced the handmade burnished ware via Troy (phase VIIb 1 and 2) back to the Late Bronze Age Coslogeni culture of Rumania and further south to Bulgaria and Thrace. He mentioned parallels with south Italy as well, but left it at that. He concluded that the pottery was intrusive, made by people entering Mycenaean Greece from the north, probably Rumania, Bulgaria or Thrace, and that the same cultural group entered the Troad at about the same time. French¹⁶ supported his conclusions on the evidence from Mycenae, but Popham and Milburn¹⁷ concerning the carinated

cup at Lefkandi, Kilian¹⁸ on the Tiryns material and Shaw and Hallager¹⁹ on the Cretan material, compared their evidence with south Italy, i.e. the Sub-Apennine pottery. Kilian also mentions certain connections with north-west Greece as regards the Tiryns material.

S. Sherratt²⁰ is right in disagreeing with the over-emphasis of Trojan parallels suggested by Rutter, because he does select only certain features from various alien assemblages. She writes: "It is rather dubious to select what fits and disregard the rest." Rutter himself, in fact, does not deny the existence of parallels with south Italy and Popham and Milburn put forward a convincing case for the Italian parallel of their carinated cup with high-flung strap handle and ring-base.

I do not dispute the similar parallels found in central Europe by Rutter, but one cannot disregard the Italian parallels either. In other words, the distribution of this pottery seems to be widespread and so also is the chronological range. Kommos in Crete provided the ware from LM III A-B contexts, Khania and Tiryns from LM/LH III B-C contexts and the one piece from Nichoria was found in a LH III B2 context, though the majority of instances belong only to the LH III C period. Some examples in Italy may be even later. In my view it throws doubt on a search for a single origin and especially the fact of a new population into Greece.

As was detailed in Chapter 3 concerning population movements, the "pottery-people" equation is generally archaeologically unprovable, though not necessarily discredited.

But in this case, the widespread distribution and chronological range of the pottery make this rather doubtful. Moreover, apart from the pottery, some archaeologists/historians have associated certain metal objects (i.e. Type II swords and other bronzes) with a population intrusion into Greece at this time. If this is so, the likelihood for a migration into Greece would increase, but as will be discussed later under the heading "Armour and Weapons", it is unlikely. Furthermore, difficult questions remain to be answered²¹: Why is the "Barbarian Ware" present in such small quantities of the total ceramic assemblages? Why is it mainly restricted to the coarser end of the range? Why are the better products not also represented if it truly does represent migration of a new population?

These arguments against the supposition of a population intrusion led to the suggestions of two other hypotheses. An internal explanation has been suggested by G. Walberg²² i.e. a change in the condition of pottery production. Due to pressure in the pottery supply system after the fall of Mycenaean civilization, small workshops could have been set up and people started making their own domestic pottery. Burnishing was used because it had technical advantages: the pots would be watertight and burnishing goes hand in hand with low firing temperatures. The main snag to this suggestion is that not all "Barbarian Ware" found in the Aegean can be said to have been produced locally, so far only the sherds from the Menelaion site near Sparta with certainty, though Rutter argues for local production of the Korakou material. Also it is hard to imagine, though

conceivable, that this pottery would be preferred to the usual Mycenaean ceramic range.

B. Hallager²³, writing on similar pottery found at Khania, has sought parallels in south Italy and Sicily. This is supported by the material from Kommos, also associated with south Italian and Sicilian sites, even though of a different date. She suggests that the burnished pottery in Khania indicates traders from Italy settling in this area, where they found a market. The settlers made their own cooking pots according to the tradition but still used the fine pottery made by the Cretans alongside it. As this is a possibility, like any, for the site of Khania, it could possibly have occurred on the mainland as well. But the evidence is too slight in order to give an answer.

According to Rutter, the pottery disappears at the end of the initial stage of middle LH III C (based on the sherds found at Korakou, which he claims are from an early LH III C context). He argues that by that time, once the pottery had been introduced in Greece by the invading people, some of its features were absorbed into the local Mycenaean ceramic range. Again, this can be explained in a different way. Such features can easily be absorbed within the local culture by means of diffusion from one area to another i.e. by travelling traders or nomads, if they are accepted by the local population. However, the disappearance of this pottery after early LH III C is not matched in the case of Mycenae, where it occurs in the advanced stages of this period.²⁴ With further evidence at other sites in the future, this may well be the case.

As Harding²⁵ rightly states, the problems of interpreting "Barbarian Ware" are currently insoluble. It is not a homogeneous group. The features are unspecific and of widely occurring forms. Parallels can be found in the north Balkans, north-west Greece and Italy. Whether solutions to its interpretation should be sought in intrusive populations, in special purpose vessels, in the inability of the Mycenaean pottery industry to supply all sectors of society or in trade is problematic. Discovery and publication of more groups of this ware may answer certain questions such as: Was "Barbarian Ware" a unitary phenomenon all over Greece and elsewhere? What is its true time-range? In addition, a very fundamental question to be asked is whether this pottery on the sites should all be treated as belonging to the same group.

Metalwork

It is not known what people wore during the Dark Ages, but a number of metal dress accessories, used to fasten up whatever kind of dress they wore, survived in the archaeological evidence: the long dress pins and the fibulae.

The long dress pins (see Figure 4.8, A-F) make their first appearance some time within the LH III C period (from Argos), but became most common in the DA. They are distributed mainly in "Sub-Mycenaean" mainland Greece and in Crete. Except for three found in a Kephallenian tomb (at Diakata) they have no place in the north-west Greek districts. There are four main types: the short roll-top pin and one with a flat and slightly wider upper part of the shaft, both rarely found, are of near Eastern origin. The other two main types are named "A" and "B". The type "A" pin has a small nail-like head with a globe at the upper head of the shaft and is

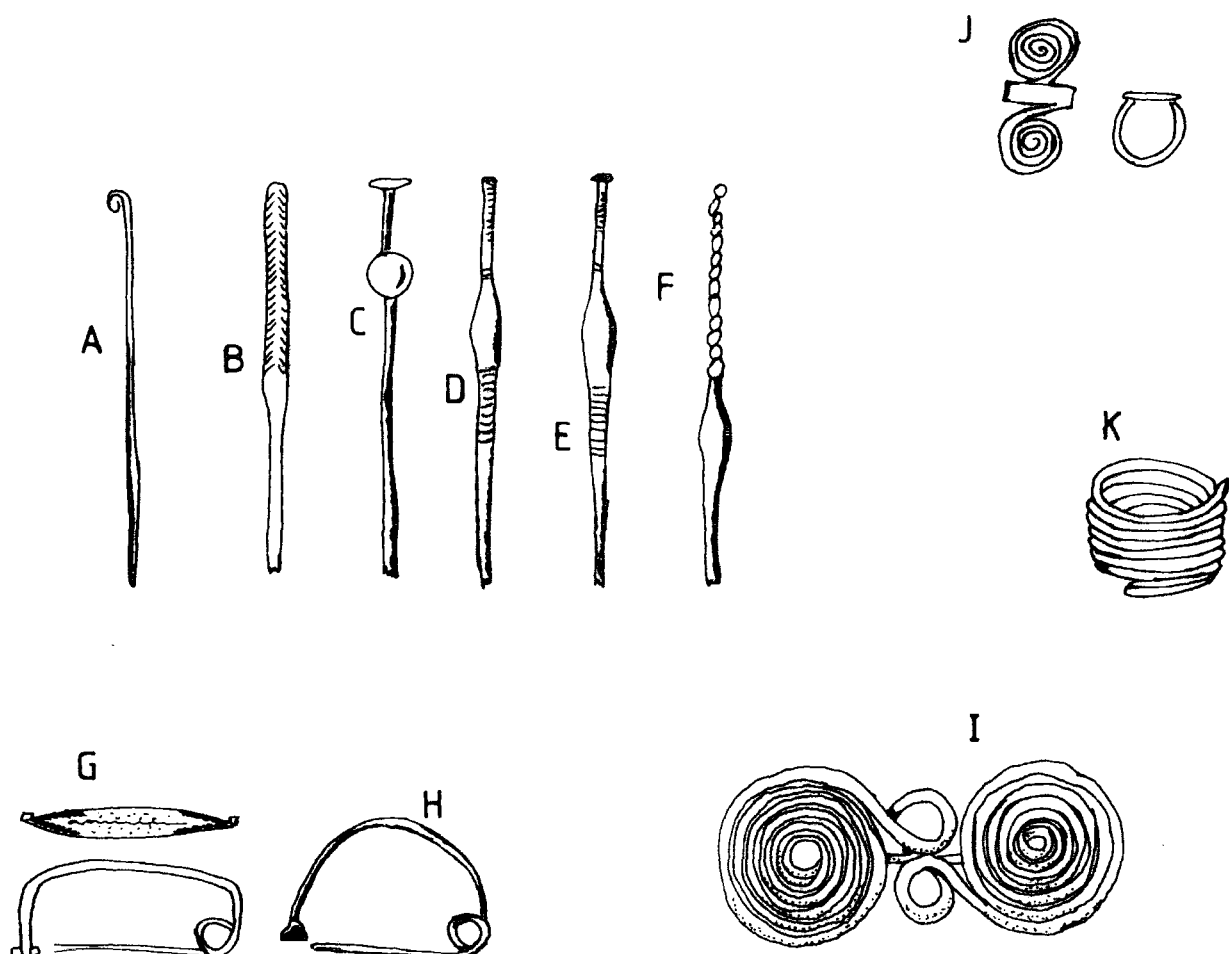


Figure 4.8. Dress and personal ornaments

A-F] Long dress pins, A] roll-top type ; B] flat and slightly widened upper part of shaft ; C] Type A ; D-F] Type B (taken from Desborough 1972: figs. 32,33 , p.205-6)

G-I] Fibulae , G] violin bow type ; H] arched type (taken from Desborough 1972: fig.34,B&C, p.300); I] spectacle type (taken from Desborough 1972: fig. 22,B , p. 220)

J] Ring with double-spiral terminals (taken from Desborough 1972 : fig.21, B , p. 219)

K] Hair spiral (taken from Desborough 1972 : Plate 60, C , p.303)

confined to the central "Sub-Mycenaean" area. It has been suggested that the source was in the large bronze pin with crystal globes of the Mycenaean Shaft-Grave period²⁶. This seems rather unlikely as this pin belongs to the end of the MH period, c. 400 years earlier. The suggestion that it might be a locally evolved and efficient development of the second variety of type "B" (see below) sounds more plausible²⁷. Type "B" has three varieties: a pin with a slight swelling at the top of the shaft (found in Crete); one with a small nail-like head and bulbous swelling at the top of the shaft (from central Greece); and the one with no head but ring-like mouldings above an elongated swelling. The first and third variety are claimed to have originated in the East; however, the origin of the second one is not certain. It resembles the third variety of Type "B" and possibly is of East Mediterranean origin, but it cannot be proved to be so. Nor can a northern origin for this pin be proved. They have been found in the Vergina cemetery in Macedonia, but their date is later, the tenth century. Bronze was universally used until the end of the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, when iron replaced bronze until the end of the DA, roughly early Geometric, at least for the shaft of the pin - this combination is suggested to have originated in Athens, but it cannot be proved.

Fibulae (see Figure 4.8, G-I), even though not of Mycenaean origin, had a Mycenaean background. The violin-bow type was replaced by the arched fibula after LH III C. The derivation of the former is not certain, either north Italy or central Europe. The arched type is either a creation within the "Sub-Mycenaean" area, i.e. local development from the

previous type or an introduction from the north (Desborough), but most likely from Italy (Snodgrass). All were of bronze, except for iron ones at Lefkandi from the late "Sub-Mycenaean" period onwards and Athens in the PG period. It is interesting that no fibulae were found in Athens in the latest "Sub-Mycenaean" and EPG times, after which an improved design of the arched fibula type became current - the bow was stilted at the catch-plate end and thickened in the middle and the spring was double rather than single. In Thessaly, all types, including the violin-bow fibula, were in use during the Dark Age, in addition to which another type of fibula was introduced in the PG period, the spectacle fibula, and for the first time of iron (found at Marmariani), indicating contact with the north. The evidence from the Peloponnese is most surprising, in that with four exceptions there are no fibulae assignable to the PG period. One bronze fibula comes from Nichoria and is of the arched type, the other three exceptions are of bronze of PG Athenian type and come from a tomb, simply said to have come from somewhere "in North Peloponnese" (location is not known). Of the personal ornaments, finger rings were most common. There were those with overlapping ends, circular ends and those of wire or a thin strip. A type of ring of particular interest is the one with spiral terminals of bronze (see Figure 4.8, J) which has been found, belonging to the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, at Athens (in the Kerameikos), Mycenae, Lefkandi and recently in a chamber tomb at Amphikleia (Phocis). These rings have central European connections (the Urnfield Culture) and have been also found at Vergina (Macedonia), at Hexalophos (Thessaly), dated to c. 1100 B.C., and in a cist burial at Elaphotopos in Epirus, attributed

to the twelfth century, but could be considerably later (c. 1000 is suggested by Wardle as already noted). All the ring types are predominantly of bronze. Iron rings from late "Sub-Mycenaean" contexts are known from Athens, Corinth and Theotokou and from sites north of Athens of PG date. No rings have been found belonging to the PG period at Athens and Lefkandi, unlike in the Argolid and Messenia.

Other types of ornament are hair rings or spirals of gold (see Figure 4.8, K), mainly found in the central mainland area. Of interest is the type made of double wire known from Athens and Tiryns dating mid eleventh century. They are the only objects of gold assignable to the early period of PG on the mainland. Bracelets and necklaces are rare and have no chronological or geographical limitations: the beads of faience are of interest and either indicate contact with the east Mediterranean or they may be Mycenaean survivals.

As regards armour, little is known. The only evidence is a bronze helmet with embossed and impressed designs from the warrior grave at Tiryns, indicating possible northern i.e. central European connections, and a number of metal fittings, i.e. bosses which form the centre of a shield, the earliest from Mouliana in Crete of late twelfth century date. At Athens and Tiryns were found a few of late "Sub-Mycenaean" date and two from Athens were of PG date. Their origin is obscure, but possibly Cypriot. It is probable that a head covering of leather was more common than a metal helmet, which would have had a leather backing anyway.

The weapons consisted mainly of short swords, daggers

and spears. There are few finds of arrowheads. Finally there are a number of knives, which will be briefly discussed, even though they were probably not used for offensive purposes. Little can be said about them: they were of both bronze and iron and few in number. There is one class of knives, which were of iron with bronze handle rivets, found in the late Mycenaean III C material at Perati and Lefkandi, that were probably imports from the east Mediterranean.

The latest Mycenaean swords were, with one or two exceptions (i.e. the long version of the Type F sword), of Naue II type, known as the "Griffzungenschwert", with which one could both cut and thrust (see Figure 4.9, A, C). It is likely that they were introduced to the Mycenaean world from central Europe or Italy and probably before the great destructions of LH III B2. These were of bronze. Iron swords of this type were made later in the DA. Prior to these and notable for their relationship to the above mentioned Type II swords are iron daggers of the same cut and thrust type (see Figure 4,9, B). There were very few of these found and none occurred before the "Sub-Mycenaean" period. In addition there was the common Type F short sword or long dagger with square shoulders (see Figure 4.9, D), of which examples were found in certainly LH III C contexts at Hexalophos (Thessaly), Perati (Attica), also perhaps on Kephallenia. But this type did not survive beyond the Mycenaean period, except for one from Elis of "Sub-Mycenaean" date (probably a survival). At Elis, of similar date, another survival from the Mycenaean period, a long sword of Type G was found: the same as found at Perati in the latest

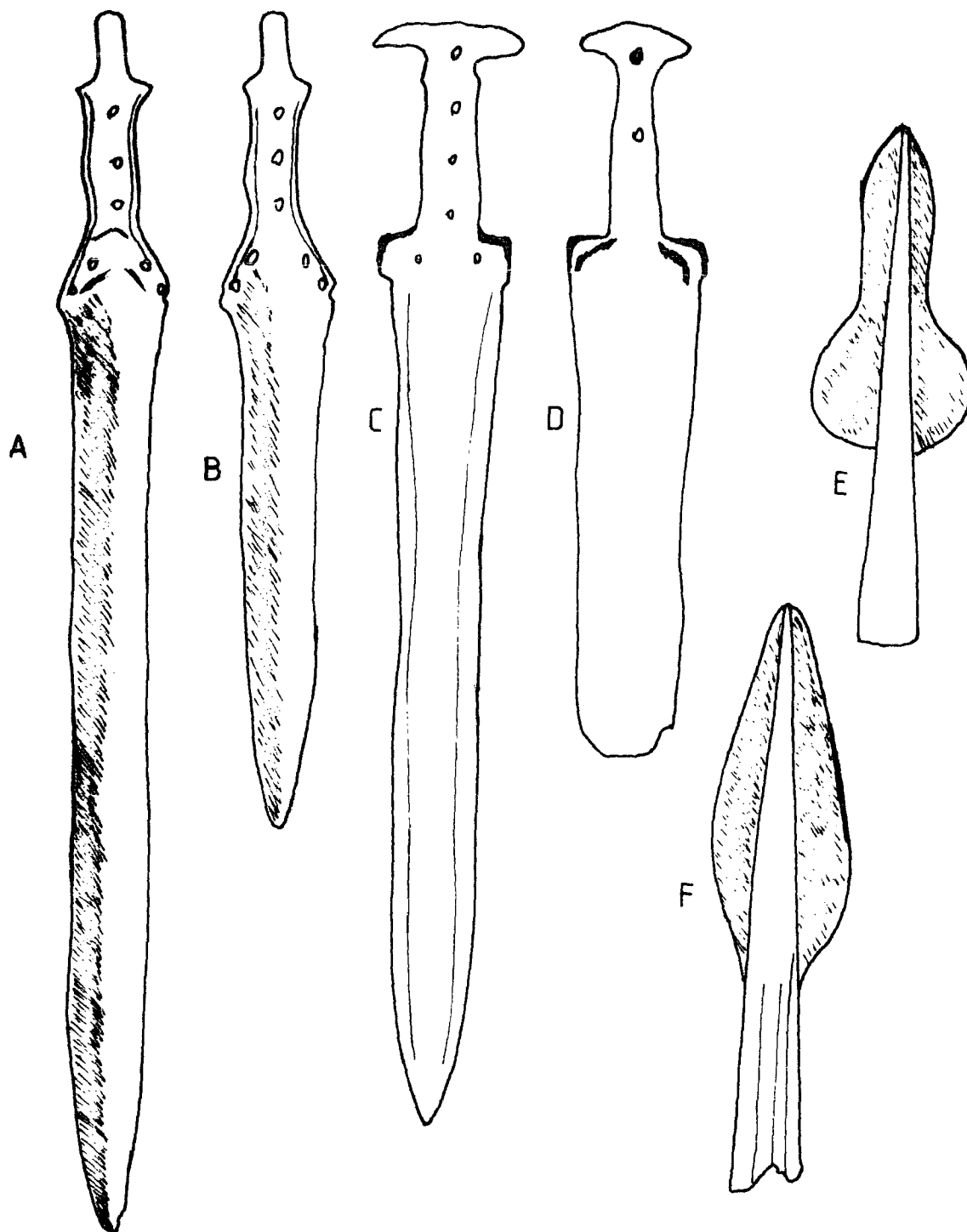


Figure 4.9. Weapons

A, B] Naue Type II sword and dagger (taken from BSA 1968, fig.2,2, p.93) ; C,D] Type F sword and dagger (taken from BSA 1968, fig.1,1 & 1,5, p.91) ; E] Concave-sided spearhead (taken from Harding 1984: fig.45,2, p.168) ; F] Leaf-shaped spearhead (taken from Harding 1984: fig.45,3, p.168)

Mycenaean context. There is also the flange hilted "Peschiera" dagger, probably reaching Greece from Italy before the end of LH III B.

The Mycenaean bronze spearhead with a flame-shaped blade or as Harding (1984: 166-7) calls it a "concave-sided" spearhead (see Figure 4.9, E), has mainly a north-west Greek/Albanian geographical distribution (one has been found further south at Kangadhi, Achaea) and chronologically seems to date exclusively from the LH III C period and is probably of Albano-Epirote derivation. Although there are not many other spearheads on the latest Mycenaean sites, they seem to have been the predecessors of some found in the DA. They are of the "leaf-shaped" type (see Figure 4.9, F). They are not a standard Mycenaean type and can be compared to Balkan types.

The DA array of weapons is very meagre and scattered, but includes mostly iron swords and daggers, which are Naue Type II variants and have Cypriot associations. The spearheads continued to be made mainly in bronze, iron ones replacing them but later than in the case of daggers, the earliest occurring at Athens in MPG.

Several of the metal types mentioned above, which are claimed to be derived from central Europe or Italy, i.e. the Naue Type II, the spearhead with flame-shaped blade, the "Peschiera" dagger, the violin-bow fibula, including the one-edged bronze knife, have been associated with invaders after the LH III B destructions. However, the Naue Type II has been shown to have reached Greece and the east Mediterranean generally before the destructions and represents a local development thereafter. The same is probably also true for

the fibula and the dagger, even though that cannot be conclusively shown. Moreover, for those objects which seem to be intrusive to the Aegean area at this time, their sources are very scattered geographically and their local incidence in Greece is slight. An invasion or immigration of people at this time is not likely to explain these new elements. Other explanations such as diffusion by means of trade are more probable.

The same is true for the small assemblage of objects claimed to be foreign of "Sub-Mycenaean" and PG date, i.e. the helmet (Tiryns), shield-bosses, rings with spiral terminals and gold hair rings or spirals. They cannot possibly be taken to represent a new and extraneous population element in Greece in the "Sub-Mycenaean" period, as it will also be shown below to be the case regarding the cist tomb, with which some of these objects have been associated.

Burial Customs

Over two-thirds of the sites for the LH III C, "Sub-Mycenaean" and PG periods are tombs. After the end of the Mycenaean civilization, two main changes in funerary rites are evident, distinguishing Iron Age Greece from what had gone before: the mass-acceptance of single burial, predominantly in cists (although some cists have two or three burials, e.g. at Elis); and the adoption of cremation, appearing sporadically at first in LH III C at Perati, Kallithea, Kotrona, Mycenae and on the islands of Naxos, Rhodes and Cos, and in the "Sub-Mycenaean" period at Athens and Lefkandi. Yet the practice of burying inhumations singly was no stranger to Greece. Several chamber tomb cemeteries and tholos tombs from the period did, however,

remain in use or were reused for single or more often multiple burials, both outside and within the "Sub-Mycenaean" area.

The cemeteries during the "Sub-Mycenaean" period displayed no homogeneity in custom: of the single burial types, cists, pits, a couple of examples of pithos burials and larnax burials occurred; cremation occurred at Athens and Lefkandi (here a unique custom combining both cremation and inhumation was used); and lastly the use of some chamber tombs and tholoi continued.

Nevertheless, many of the "Sub-Mycenaean" sites are pit and cist cemeteries in new positions, whereas earlier burials were in chamber tombs. This there seems to be a change. Desborough²⁸ argued that this change, which took place then, was such a radical break that he explained it in terms of the intrusion of a cist-using population from the north, specifically Epirus. He associated with them the introduction of new dress ornaments, i.e. long dress pins and arched fibulae and objects of northern origin; suggesting the existence of a new culture in certain areas. Discussion regarding the objects of northern origin and dress accessories has already been outlined above. As regards the main feature, the cist tomb, the change from burying the people in chamber tombs to cists is illusory.

Firstly, even though the cist tomb is the commonest and most distinctive type of single grave in the early DA, its appearances in purely Mycenaean contexts are quite widespread (Figures 4.10 and 4.11). The cist tomb was characteristic of the preceding Middle Helladic period and never altogether died out in the Mycenaean world, occurring

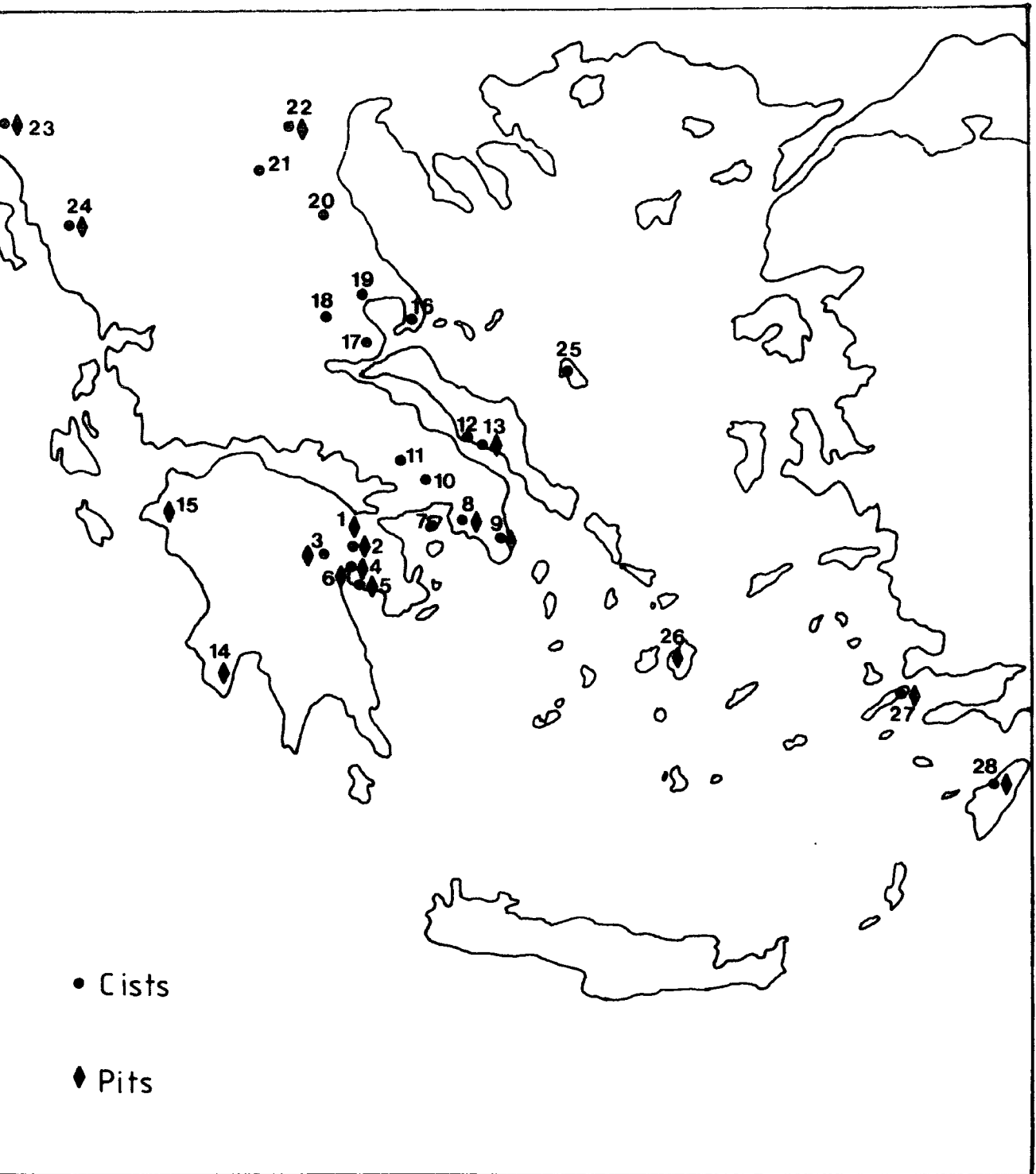


Figure 4.10. Distribution of cists and pits, c.1125-900 B.C. (after Snodgrass 1971, 178)

Figure 4.10. Distribution of cists and pits,
c. 1125 - 900 B.c.

Key to numbers:

1. Vello
2. Mycenae
3. Argos
4. Tiryns
5. Asine
6. Nauplia
7. Salamis
8. Athens
9. Perati
10. Orchomenos
11. Thebes
12. Chalkis
13. Lefkandi
14. Nichoria
15. Elis
16. Theotokou
17. Halos
18. Palaiokastro
19. Iolkos
20. Retziouni
21. Kozani
22. Vergina
23. Vajzë
24. Vodhinë
25. Skyros
26. Naxos
27. Cos
28. Cameiros

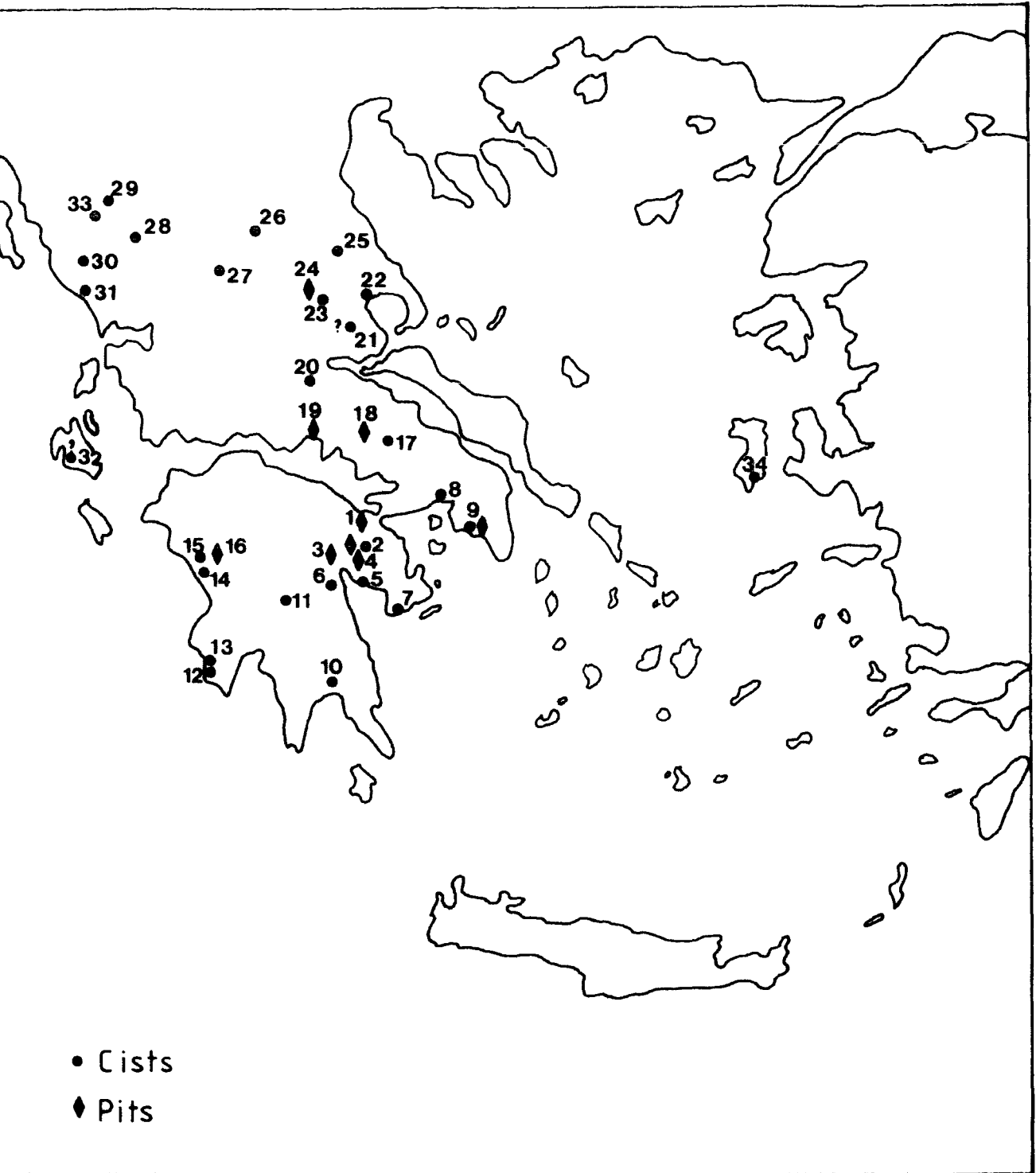


Figure 4.11. Distribution of cists and pits, c. 1500-1125 B.C. (after Snodgrass 1971, 181)

Figure 4.11. Distribution of cists and pits,
c. 1500 - 1125 B.C.

Key to numbers:

1. Korakou
2. Mycenae
3. Argos
4. Berbati
5. Asine
6. Lerna
7. Karakasi
8. Eleusis
9. Ayios Kosmas
10. Ayios Stephanos
11. Asea
12. Papoulia
13. Routsis
14. Klidhi
15. Kafkania
16. Olympia
17. Gla
18. Orchomenos
19. Delphi
20. Vardhates
21. Zerelia
22. Dimini
23. Pharsalos
24. Ktouri
25. Soufli
26. Agrilia
27. Hexalophos
28. Kastritsa
29. Kalbaki
30. Paramythia
31. Mesopotamon
32. Kokkolata
33. Mazaraki
34. Emborio (Chios)

alongside the chamber tomb. Secondly, The cist was not in exclusive use in the late BA in Epirus, nor unknown at the same date further south, and in Thessaly the cist seems to have been preferred for child burials (as only child burials have so far been found).

Thirdly, it has to be noted that the single type of tombs were simpler forms of tomb than chamber tombs. They could be constructed easily anywhere and would be especially practical in a period of decline. And finally, the pottery and metalwork which has been termed "Sub-Mycenaean" cannot be exclusively associated with the cist and pit cemeteries. All these points disprove the proposal of an incursion of "cist-using people" in post-Mycenaean times. It has been suggested therefore that the cist tomb, rather than being an intrusive feature from the north, probably is a feature of revival of the old MH customs²⁹. But how would it be known to be the old custom of at least 400 years before? The suggestion that the cist and pit, because they are simple tomb types, became popular in the period of decline after the end of Mycenaean civilization, seems more likely. As I quote from Dickinson (1983: 67),

It is an example of the tendency towards economy of effort that I think is characteristic of the start of the Dark Ages.

One other point of interest is the sporadic appearance of the pithos burial during the PG period in the west of the Peloponnese, which became more widespread in the G period. To this point I will return in Chapter 6.

4.6 Conclusion

As can be shown generally from the archaeological evidence described above, LH III C and the Dark Ages exhibit a general decline. All ancient civilizations known have experienced a rise and fall, and regarding the Mycenaean civilization, this is evident also. After the destructions of LH III B, the culture gradually fell apart. The number of sites decreased drastically. In central regions, however, mid-LH III C represents for a short time strong recovery, after which the material evidence deteriorated in quality and reduced in quantity. The riches of the past had disappeared. However, from the evidence, especially the pottery, weapons and tomb structures, it can be tentatively inferred that the Mycenaean heritage during the DA seems not to be in doubt. There is non-Mycenaean material evidence, but it remains doubtful whether it could be the result of population intrusions, i.e. Dorians or others.

Notes

1. Snodgrass 1971: ch.3.
2. Hankey and Warren 1974.
3. Snodgrass 1971: 28-34.
4. Rutter 1978.
5. Popham and Milburn 1971.
6. Smithson 1977.
7. Dr. O. Dickinson passed this information on to me from his colleagues prior to publication.
8. Coulson 1985.
9. Demakopolou-Papantoniou 1982.
10. Coulson, McDonald, Rosser (eds.) 1983.

11. Dr. O. Dickinson gave me this information, which is published in L. Parlama, "Mykenaika Eleias" (in Greek), AD 29, 1974, pp.25-58.
12. A stirrup jar of "Sub-Mycenaean" appearance was found at Achouria (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979: 85, B38).
13. Wardle 1972.
14. Dr. O. Dickinson passed this information on to me from his colleagues prior to publication.
15. Rutter 1975, 1977.
16. French 1969.
17. Popham and Milburn 1971: 338.
18. Kilian 1981: 165-6, 204-5.
19. Hallager 1983; Shaw 1984.
20. A paper privately circulated to Dr. O. Dickinson.
21. Harding 1984: 226.
22. Walberg 1976.
23. Hallager 1983.
24. I have received this information from Dr. O. Dickinson, as reported by S. Sherratt.
25. Harding 1984: 226.
26. Snodgrass 1971: 226.
27. Desborough 1972: 297.
28. Desborough 1972: ch.3.
29. Snodgrass 1971: 177-84.

5.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE "DORIAN" COLONIZED ISLANDS
AND THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR

The Aegean islands said to have been colonized by the Dorians include Crete, Melos, Thera, and the Dodecanese: Rhodes, Cos, Nisyros, Calymnos, Syme, Carpathos and Casos. Dorians are also recorded to have settled the mainland peninsulae of Cnidos and Halicarnassos on the coast of Asia Minor.

5.1 Central Aegean islands (excluding Crete)

The Central Aegean islands provide little archaeological evidence, as can be seen in Figure 5.1 below, listing the number of sites surveyed or excavated on the various islands, especially in the LH III C and Dark Age periods.

The main evidence for LH III C continuity of occupation comes from Rhodes, Cos, Calymnos and the Melian site of Phylakopi. At this latter site, the latest Mycenaean pottery, covering early to advanced LH III C, comes from a pair of shrines, the street and previous excavations. The pottery illustrated fits into the advanced LH III C phase at Mycenae (Granary destruction) and the end of Rutter's phase 4, justifying the dating of the corpus as a whole from LH III C. The religious cult at this site can be said to have continued into the LH III C period.¹ Recently LH III pottery, including possible LH III C, has been reported from Monolithos on the east part of Thera, suggesting possible continuity of occupation at least on that part of the island (AAA 1979:232-6). On Melos, occupation

starts again possibly in the PG period (contemporary with Attic LPG).² Only two sherds of this period have so far been found, one at Ayios Konstaninos and one from the cemetery of Ancient Melos at Phaneromeni. EG is not much commoner and the evidence comes from the just mentioned site at Phaneromeni. But by MG/LG pottery sherds were found at Phylakopi and Ayios Ilias; a much plundered cemetery at Trypiti offers little information except for traces of cremation burials. By this time there is evidence on Thera as well: here two cemeteries at Ancient Thera, Mesavouno and Sellada, consisting of urn-cremations in chamber tombs belong to the MG and later periods.

During the Mycenaean III B period, settlements, whose existence is deduced mostly from cemeteries, had spread over the whole of Rhodes and Cos. Most of these were still in use in the LH III C period, but they were not necessarily continually used from the previous periods. Some of the tombs were reused in LH III C. On Rhodes³ there are the settlements of Lindos and Trianda and tomb evidence from Ialysos, Cameiros (Kalavarda), Soroni, Kritinia, Lardos, Pilonia, Arkhangelos, Apollakia and Vati. One jar of LH III C from each of the cemeteries at Siana, Apollonia and single tombs at Koskinou and Mandriko: Melissaki has been reported. Vases of LH III C have also been reported from Phanes and Lakhania. From Cos evidence comes from settlement material at Serraglio, the cemeteries in the Serraglio area and possibly a tomb at Pyli. And from the site of Pothia on Calymnos, 30 LH III B- C vases have been recovered from chamber tombs and some from a cave nearby.

Figure 5.1

Number of sites in Melos, Thera and the Dodecanese

Period	Melos	Thera	Rhodes	Cos	Nisyros	Calymnos	Syme	Carpathos	Casos
LB	1(+3?)	2(LBI)	2	-	1(?)	-	-	-	1(?)
LH III (A-B)	4	-	7	3	-	1	1	3	-
LH III (?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
LH III B (?)	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
LH III (A-C)	1	1(?)	13	2(+1?)	-	1	-	-	-
PG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
PG + G	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	-
G	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-

As on the mainland, most of the evidence comes from tombs, mainly chamber tombs, few rock-cut chambers and shafts and a group of cists and pit-graves found at Soroni. Some of these were reused during the LH III C period, e.g. at Cameiros, Ialysos, Arkhangelos and Koskinou. All the sites prospered in the first half of the twelfth century and had other features in common. Unlike the mainland sites, none suffered from the LH III B disasters with the possible exception of the settlement at Serraglio on Cos, although some of the sites were abandoned. Contacts with the east were maintained, for golden objects and other artifacts of eastern origin were still found in the tombs. Few cremation burials appeared in the chamber tombs at Rhodes and Cos. Lastly a different style in pottery decoration, influenced by Crete, superseded the previous Mycenaean style, the "Octopus Style" (see Figure 4.4, B). It was mainly confined to stirrup-jars. It developed at the same time as the Close Style in the Argolid and the Fringed Style in Crete (see below).

By the second half of the twelfth century, however, the Mycenaean civilization on the islands seems to have disappeared completely, as there is no evidence at all for the subsequent eleventh century period, "Sub-Mycenaean" and Early Protogeometric. According to Desborough (1972: 113) a possible reason for this might have been the situation on the mainland from which the Mycenaean appear to have fled to Crete and Cyprus and subsequently the Cretans to Cyprus. Even though this is an old-fashioned concept and questionable, it is difficult to believe that the two

major islands were deserted totally at this time, such as the evidence seems to suggest.

The next datable evidence belongs to the LPG and G phases. The material comes mainly from tombs and the main sites were Ialysos, Cameiros, Lindos, Exokhi and Vroulia on Rhodes, the Serraglio site on Cos, Pothia on Calymnos and Polin on Casos. These sites, except for Pothia and Polin, provide the nucleus of the evidence. (Polin has only produced some PG or Sub-PG sherds and Pothia some PG and G sherds). On Cos, the Serraglio cemeteries cut into the ruins of the Mycenaean town ranged from the second half of the tenth century to the end of the eighth century and consisted of 99 tombs, all inhumations. At least 20 of these belonged to the PG period. The varying types of tombs included burials in cists, pithos burials, and pit-graves, of which a great proportion were children. In some cists, pots were found inside and outside the grave, as was also the custom in the Argolid. The offerings include necklaces of faience, iron knives, bronze and golden hair and finger rings, iron pins with bronze bulbs (as found in Attica and the Argolid) and bronze fibulae. The LPG pottery was of local and individual style, closely related to that of Rhodes. Cross-hatched motifs were prominent as pottery decorations. Attic influence on the pottery appears only in the G period.

As regards Rhodes, cremations became more numerous. At Ialysos, three pithos burials can be assigned to LPG

or the subsequent period: one is an infant burial, one an adult partially cremated, and no information is given on the third burial. By the G period, two adult and 23 child pithos burials are identifiable besides over 30 adult cremations. At Cameiros, three burials are of late tenth century date, one of which was a child-inhumation in a pithos, alongside cremations in urns or open graves which continued into the G period. The contents of the tombs are similar to those from the Serraglio cemeteries on Cos. G cremations also made their appearance at Exokhi and Vroulia. Lindos produced LPG and later sherds indicating a settlement area, the only one on Rhodes so far for these periods.

5.2 Coast of Asia Minor

Only two sites need discussing. These are Assarlik and Dirmil, both lying within the peninsula of Halicarnassos. At Assarlik, a stirrup jar of "Sub-Mycenaean" date is the earliest vase in the cemetery which remained in use until the G period. The cemetery contained cremations within circular enclosures, which were originally covered by a mound of earth, and small tholos tombs. Strong Athenian influence together with few local peculiarities is seen in the pottery style. A single tomb of rectangular type with a corbelled roof and dromos was found at Dirmil. No bones were discovered, so it is very likely that cremation was used. Offerings consisted only of six vases, showing strong Attic LPG influence.

5.3 Crete

Late Minoan III C and post-Minoan material on the major "Dorian" island of Crete is relatively abundant.

Before I start to describe the archaeology, a brief word on the chronology. Kanta gives the following chronology for Crete: LM III C ranges from 1200 - 1075 B.C. (for the end of III C, both Snodgrass and Desborough have an earlier date c. 1100 B.C.); Sub-Minoan ranges from 1075 - 950 B.C. She does not believe that Cretan PG (central Crete) started as late as c. 925 B.C. (Snodgrass) but roughly contemporary with Attic LPG, and that Sub-Minoan in east Crete did not last for 300 years as has been suggested by Snodgrass and Desborough.

As on the mainland of Greece, there was a partial recession towards the end of LM III B, as can be judged from the abandonment of several sites, e.g. Katsamba, Mallia, Palaikastro. Gournia, and at Knossos two of the cemeteries went out of use as did most cemeteries in the Siteia area in east Crete except for, e.g. 12 chamber tombs at Myrsini (see Figure 5.2). Until this time, the material culture remained purely Minoan; however by the end of the century early Mycenaean III C features influenced the locally made pottery. The Mycenaean influenced pottery on certain Cretan sites has been suggested to represent Mycenaeans escaping from the chaos of their homeland to the island (Desborough, 1972: 113). However, this is questionable as cultural features cannot be exclusively related to nationalities.

As on Rhodes and Cos, the first half of the twelfth century was a period of revival with the development of a local style known as the "Fringed Style", manifesting the octopus motif (as also applied to the Rhodian stirrup jars) as well as animals and birds together with curves and

Figure 5.2Distribution of Cretan sites

Period	Central	East	West
LM III B	57	22	32
LM III C only	12	15	5
Sub-Minoan only	3	8	2
Both periods, LM III C & Sub-Minoan	12	2	2
LM III indeterminate	48	22	37

(Calculated from the survey on LM III Crete by Kanta ⁴)

fringes (see Figure 5.3). The material culture over central and east Crete was fairly homogeneous, except for the burial customs.

As can also be seen in the rest of the Aegean, decline set in in the second half of the twelfth century. The site at Kastri and others were abandoned together with the deterioration of the pottery styles. Even though the Fringed Style was still in use during this time, a pottery style termed "Sub-Minoan" appeared.(see Figure 5.4,A-C). According to Desborough, it was partly influenced by the "Sub-Mycenaean" style of the mainland and apparently suggested a second intrusion of Mycenaeans into the island. However, it is likely that Sub-Minoan like "Sub-Mycenaean" developed independently from previous sources. Both styles of pottery exhibit the same features of simplicity in its general design and linear motifs. The Sub-Minoan style, however, is more varied. But this does not make them new styles or have Sub-Minoan influenced by "Sub-Mycenaean". I rather see them as a reduction of the previous Mycenaean and Minoan styles.

Nevertheless, continuity in occupation of sites, burial customs and religious practice from Late Minoan times, LM III B or LM III C, into the post-Minoan period can be shown.

In central Crete, Knossos and Phaestos were occupied early in the twelfth century; both sites had been in part occupied during LM III B, and at least at Phaestos (it is not clear at Knossos) the standard of occupation then was low. Continuity from LM III B can be seen at the settlements at Tylissos, Kavrokhori, Arkhanes, Ayia Triadha (material on this site is as yet unpublished)

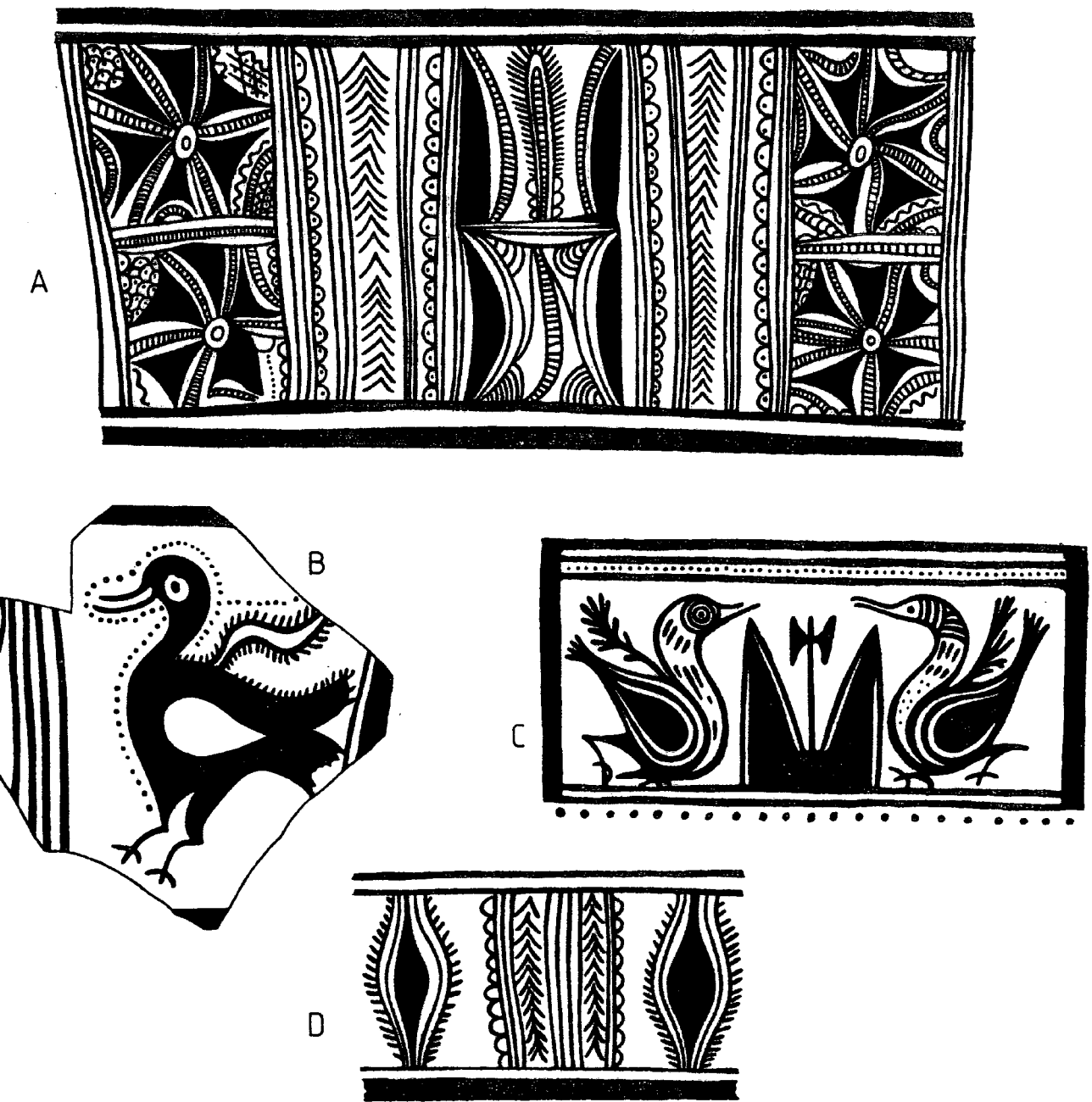


Figure 5.3. Patterns of the Cretan Fringed Style (taken from BSA 1960 : fig.23, a1 & c, p.33 (A, D) ; fig.25, g, p.35 (B) ; fig.24, a2, p.34 (C)).



Figure 54. Sub-Minoan and PG pottery from Knossos (Ayios Ioannis)
 A] Sub-Minoan amphora (taken from BSA 1968, Plate 53, a);
 B-C] Sub-Minoan stirrup-jars (taken from BSA 1968,
 Plate 54, b-e); D-F] PG stirrup-jars and a thelaston (taken
 from BSA 1960: Plate 37, viii. 5, 7, 9).

and possible continuity has been reported at Kastro Kephala Almyrou (AR 1981-2: 54). New settlements were founded at Gortyn and Erganos. All sites except for Kastro Kephala Almyrou, Erganos, Arkhanes and possibly Kavrokhori mentioned continued unbroken into post-Minoan times. Chamber tombs were still most common during LM III C and can be found in the Gypsades cemetery at Knossos, the Liliانا cemetery at Phaestos, at Erganos and several tombs at Herakleion which were in continued use into the beginning of LM III C. A tholos was reused at this time in the Kephala area at Knossos.

Knossos was the main site (see Figure 5.5). There was no break in occupation from the LM III C to Sub-Minoan period, which can clearly be seen at the Stratigraphical Museum excavations (AR 1982-3: 69-87). LM III C levels were extensive, represented by fragments of clear grey earth-levels and building remains including an apsidal building. Below the floor level of another building was set a large plain lekane or tub of III C type beneath which was a baby burial. This may be dated provisionally to the LM III C period and appears to be a Mycenaean mainland characteristic. Moreover some of the pottery associated with the LM III C levels shows Mycenaean influence, as mentioned above. The material appears to be roughly contemporary with the settlement at Kastri, within the first half of the III C period. On this site occupation continues into the Sub-Minoan period and south east of the building settlement levels of this date are subsequent to LM III C levels, indicating that the term "Sub-Minoan"

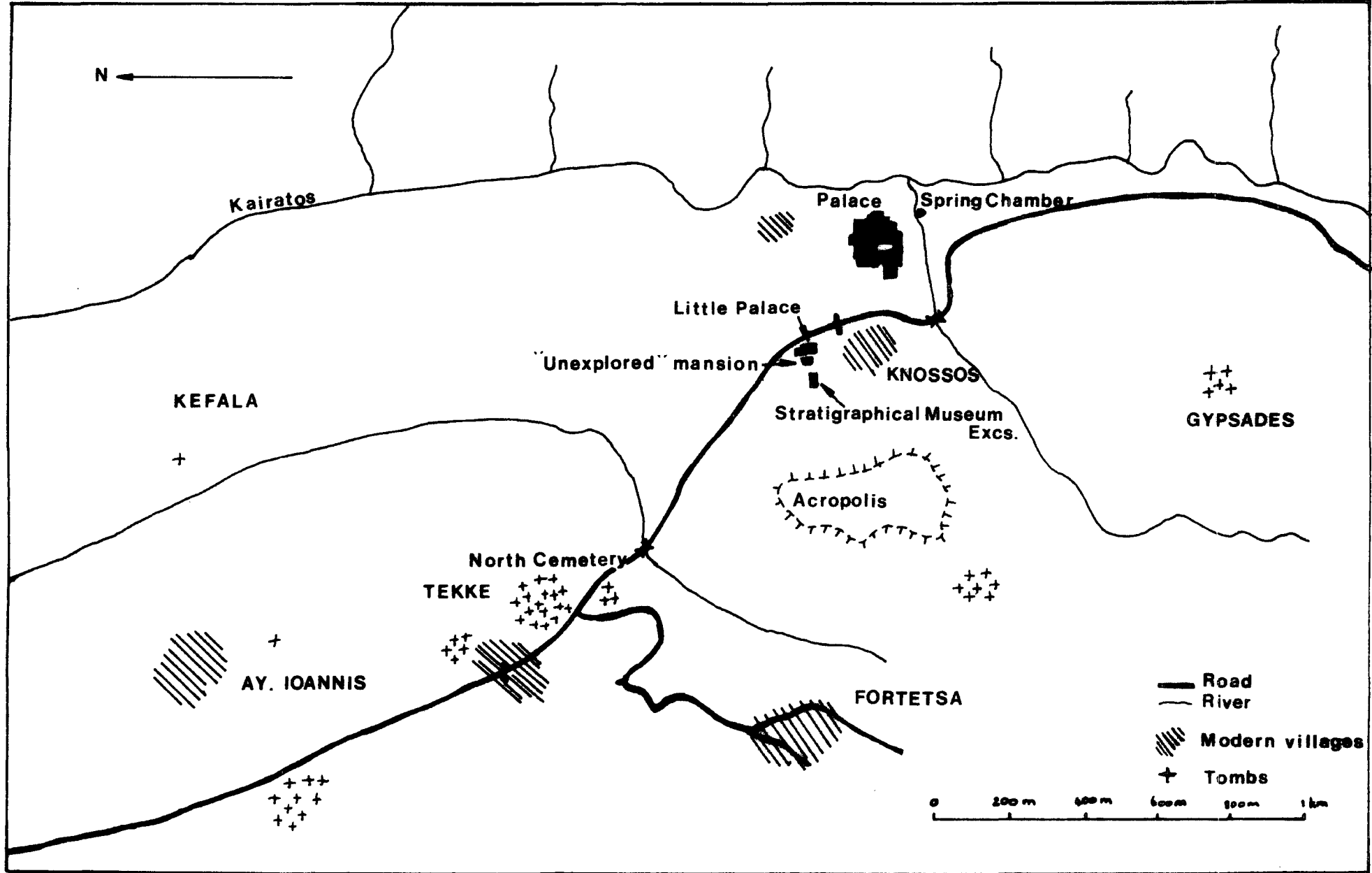


Figure 5.5. Plan of the Knossos area.

can be shown to be a separate chronological phase, whereas doubts remain whether this is the case with its counterpart "Sub-Mycenaean" (see chapter 4). Sub-Minoan material consists of a sequence of walls and other features such as sub-floor infant burials and pits disturbing a cobbling wall. The building in this section of LM III C was enlarged to the north during this period. Occupation levels ranging from Sub-Minoan times and also found above the Unexplored Mansion behind the Little Palace (AR 1972-3: 62-71), represented by isolated deposits and levels of silt accumulated in a large depression.

The other evidence of Sub-Minoan date at Knossos comes from two chamber tombs in the Gypsades cemetery, one from Ayios Ioannis, another from Tekke, a couple of stirrup jars from tombs at the main Ayios Ioannis cemetery and several vases from a secondary deposit in the tholos tomb at Kephala. The objects associated with the tombs were similar to those found on the mainland: bronze and iron dress pins, bronze and iron rings, iron knives with bronze rivets and some beads. South-east of Tekke a new cemetery (AR 1978-9: 43-58) called the North Cemetery, has been uncovered with over 300 tombs, some of which were of the Sub-Minoan period, the rest belonging to subsequent periods. The Sub-Minoan graves were clustered in an east-west line in the south of the cemetery and represent a number of different burial rites: inhumations in chamber tombs, large shaft-graves, and a cremation in a pit-cave. Of significant interest is that these are the three types of tomb found

in earlier Knossos cemeteries showing continuity in burial customs. Grave objects include decorated stirrup jars, bronze arched-bow fibulae, iron knives with bronze rivets, a bronze pinhead and weapons: bronze spearheads, shield bosses, iron daggers and swords and bronze arrowheads. Some golden and ivory objects were also found. Finally, there is Sub-Minoan pottery from the shrine of the underground Spring Chamber south of the Palace of Knossos built around a sacred spring, including a hut-urn and a terracotta sphinx.

Two other sites in central Crete with early twelfth century origins continued into the eleventh century. The settlement at Phaestos continued on part of the Palace ruins until the G period. There are also four chamber tombs of this period in the cemetery of Liliانا, at Phaestos, as well as four trenches, all containing clay larnakes. There is one other tomb, perhaps a chamber tomb, on the slopes of the acropolis of Phaestos, whose contents fall within the first half of the eleventh century, i.e. a hairpin, two bronze arched fibulae and a steatite button. The second site is the small settlement at Gortyn. In addition to sherds there were also two bronze arched fibulae. Lastly, a Sub-Minoan cremation burial was found in a limestone lidded ash-urn at Kanari, Arkhanes (AR 1979-80: 50). Gravegoods included a stirrup jar, bronze and iron spearheads and two iron swords.

From the tenth century onwards the pattern of sites is similar with the addition of new sites.

At Knossos, the only settlement material comes from deposits of PG pottery at the Unexplored Mansion, overlying the Minoan terrace (AR 1972-3: 62-71). A number of wall fragments of G date survived but there is no complete architectural unit. The main evidence consists of small chamber tombs in the Fortetsa and Tekke areas and the main Ayios Ioannis cemetery and recently discovered North Cemetery (see above). According to the excavator, the latter named cemetery must have been the chief necropolis of DA Knossos, the others being either offshoots of the main nucleus of settlement or family burial plots. Cremation, invariably in urns of some kind becomes universal from the PG period onwards, but inhumation is still known such as at Ayios Ioannis and Tekke. The settlements at Phaestos and Gortyn are said to have continued throughout the tenth century. At Phaestos on the Palace Hill there is a tomb of a type which is unclear and another tomb at Petrokephali, near Phaestos, a square shaft of one meter deep, both containing a number of cremation burials, but in which the bones were half-burnt, as in a number of cases in the Knossos tombs. At Gortyn, several PG urn-cremations were found in a tholos tomb.

It is interesting to note that tholos tombs have been usually confined to east Crete up to this period and were still the main type of tomb in the tenth century (as shall be seen below), except for the one at Gortyn and a group of tholos tombs at Kourtais and Rotasi, both central Cretan sites as well, the earliest burials being of tenth century date. Chamber tombs with cremations

placed in a bronze bowl have also been discovered at Tylissos and more have been revealed at Mastabas (AR 1984-5: 58), both lying in the Herakleion area. Other settlement sites in central Crete at this period were Amnisos, Kalokhorio Pedhiades and PG pottery has been reported from Arkhanes. Of importance also is the site of Kommos (AR 1980-1: 45-6). Two temples have been excavated below the Classical temple. The first phase of the earliest temple dated to EPG, the second phase a short time later and the second temple belonged to the G period.

The PG pottery in the central region of Crete illustrates continuation of the Sub-Minoan tradition and influence from Attic LPG (see Figure 5.4, D-F). Artifacts other than pottery included bronze and iron dress pins, bronze arched fibulae, bronze rings, a bronze armlet and a belt. Links with the East are indicated by gold, silver and ivory objects, faience beads and a lion of lead. These were mainly found in the tombs in the Knossos area, for few were found in the south of the central region. Only a few beads and a bronze violin-bow fibula came from the Phaestos tombs. Weapons on the other hand were plentiful in both north and south central Crete consisting of bronze spearheads, iron swords and spears.

West Crete provides far less evidence than either central or east Crete. Occupation at the LM III site of Khania continued into the twelfth century (AR 1977-8: 67; 1980-1: 47; 1982-3: 60; 1983-4: 67-8; 1984-5: 65-6). Hence at Kastelli on the Plateia Ayia Aikaterini site, several LM III C rooms, one of

which contained an oven and a hearth, have been uncovered overlying LM III B floors and pits, as well as other LM III C levels at another plot nearby have been examined. Of importance are the significant quantities of handmade black-burnished pottery, "Barbarian Ware", intrusive in the LM ceramic series, found in the LM III B-C horizons. (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5). According to B. Hallager⁵ this material was imported from Italy by settling traders. Sherds of the same type have also been found at Kommos⁶ in central Crete, which was deserted in the LM III B period, although a few sherds of a later date than most of the LM III B wares on this site have been recovered, not indicating with certainty use of the site during LM III C.

Another site is found at Khamalevri, said to be probably a LM III B-C sanctuary site and one at Mesi, where recently a larnax burial with a LM III C vase within a chamber tomb has been discovered (AR 1984-5: 65). For the subsequent Sub-Minoan/PG period, even less is known, only of the presence of chamber tombs at Khania and Vrises, as the reports on these two sites are uncertain, and of other burials of the same period, which have been reported from Timios Stavros. The only other site of interest in west Crete is that of a group of tombs at Modi. Several types were represented: two rock-cut chamber tombs, a burial under an overhanging rock, four rectangular shafts and isolated pithos burials. Both inhumation and cremation was practised. Although most of them belong to the ninth century, it is likely that some may go back to

the tenth century, the inhumations in the pithos burials (Snodgrass 1971: 167). The grave offerings consisted of pottery with individualistic decoration, bronze arched fibulae, iron tools and iron weapons.

The picture presented for east Crete is as follows. The settlement sites of Vrokastro and Kato Zakro were reoccupied early in the twelfth century, the former site continuing into the post-Minoan period and new sites were founded, that of Karphi and Kastri, successor of the deserted settlement of Palaikastro, and possibly Mouliana, where walls of this date were found during trial excavations. Two other settlements in the area of Andromyloi seem to have continued into LM III C from the previous period. Of these sites, the site of Karphi is worth describing in more detail, providing most of the east Cretan settlement evidence: a settlement associated with a sanctuary and below the hill two groups of small tholos tombs of either rectangular or circular shape. Until recently it was said that Karphi was founded in the mid-twelfth century; however, the evidence now points to an earlier occupation of the site, from early LM III C and continuing into Sub-Minoan. Then the town was abandoned. Part of the settlement so far excavated consists of one level of building and floor constructions. The material evidence from the site gives us a picture of a mixture of Minoan and intrusive Mycenaean traditions. Among the building constructions there was a megaron-type building said to be Mycenaean in character. On the other hand,

the pottery, although the shapes show a mixture between Minoan, Mycenaean and Cypriot influence, indicates strong Minoan tradition as seen in the twelfth century Fringed Style, less however in the later Sub-Minoan style. The cult-objects found at the sanctuary, the terracotta figurines, are evidence of survival of Minoan religion; however, the presence of hut-urns, even though not a widespread feature, is alien to the Minoans but their origin is not known. There are few weapons, all being either survivals of the preceding period or common to the whole of the Aegean. The dress ornaments indicate a similar pattern to that of Central Greece: rings, four of which were multiple spiral hair rings, and fibulae mainly of the arched type. External contact has been shown by dress pins possibly of Cypriot origin and swivel pins of fibulae found only in Italy and Sicily.

The site of Karphi was short-lived and lay in a defensible position. Was it just an ordinary settlement, like Knossos, or a seasonal refuge settlement? It seems likely that Karphi was the latter, as Desborough points out, but who were its inhabitants? This is hard to answer, as the material represents a number of different cultural features. As already mentioned above, Desborough suggests that there was an intrusion of Mycenaeans into Crete at this time and might have inhabited the site, as the presence of Mycenaean features named above indicate. However, the pottery with certain Mycenaean aspects, personal ornaments as found in central Greece and the

presence of some megaron-like houses do not necessarily imply an actual presence of mainlanders, but they show an influence and awareness of mainland developments. The megaron-like houses are not unparalleled in LM III A-B. Similar buildings have been discovered at Ayia Triadha (LM III A), Khania and Gournia (LM III B). As for the personal ornaments, they are likely to have been part of the general Aegean fashion at the time. Thus one cannot necessarily link certain cultural features with particular cultures.

As for tomb evidence, there is the already mentioned cemetery at Myrsini and some of the tombs, both of tholos and chamber type, at Praesos, both sites continuing in use into LM III C from previous periods. Of LM III C date belong also one rock-cut tomb at Milatos, one chamber tomb at Kritsa, a tholos tomb containing a larnax and vases at Vasiliki and two tholos tombs at Mouliana, one of which provided a cremation in an urn, the other inhumations. Funerary objects at Mouliana consisted of fibulae, a pin, a gold ring, a golden face mask, ivory pieces, swords and spearheads. At Dreros, there is one tomb of LM III C date as part of a group of tholos tombs, which belonged to the later Sub-Minoan/PG period and at Epano Zakro, a burial pithos used as an ash-urn cremation was found by chance, containing a decorated pyxis of LM III C date (AR 1978-9: 41). Moreover, a very recent group of tombs at Krya Siteias (AR 1981-2: 57; AR 1984-5: 64) of LM and PG date has been discovered. The tombs are of two types: small square tholoi with burials and pithoi

laid on their side over which was built a false tholos. There was one case where a combination of a pithos within a square built tholos was used. Both inhumation and cremation was practised.

To the subsequent Sub-Minoan and successive PG period belong five tholos tombs at Panayia and the tomb group mentioned below from Dreros. Even though no Sub-Minoan sherds nor stratification has yet been identified at Vrokastro, it is likely to have been continuously occupied for several centuries, since its reoccupation early in the twelfth century. However, there is cemetery evidence, consisting of seven chamber tombs, four of which are wholly or partly within the eleventh century, the rest belonging to the tenth and ninth centuries. Partial cremation was practised in two of these, but inhumation was still the main burial rite. The type of objects associated with them is the same as those found in the Knossos and Phaestos chamber tombs and the Karphi settlement. There is also settlement evidence at Praesos. A number of tholos tombs at Kavousi and others alongside a cave-burial in the Siteia district belong to the eleventh century going on into the ninth century and belonging to the same periods is a small group of tholoi of square plan at Liopetri (AR 1977-8: 67). In addition to these are two tholos tombs from Kritsa, reported to belong to the PG period and the cemetery of this date at Krya Siteias, discussed above. Inhumation remained the normal manner of burial although cremation was not unknown, occurring alongside inhumation at Vrokastro and Berati (Siteia district). Objects include iron weapons and the usual range of artifacts

found in the previous period: fibulae, pins and rings.

Lastly, I want to mention the cemetery at Olous. At least 15 - 22 urn-cremations occurred and three cases of partial cremations in larnakes against 26 inhumations of various kinds including three pithos burials of children (Snodgrass 1971: 168). Desborough (1964: 188) states 26 larnax burials, three of which were partially cremated and 25 pithos burials, 15 of which were cremations. These graves extend down into the ninth century but began long before, as the larnax burials were of LM III B date. As for the pithos burials, Desborough suggests a PG date. However Kanta⁷, revising the published evidence from this site, which had given these dates to the burials, states that part of the pottery can be dated as early as LM III A1 and that much if not all of the material from the pithos burials containing cremations must be attributed to late LM III A. LM III B is the final use for the cemetery according to her. Pithos burials of LM III A date have also been found at Pakhyammos.

Unlike central Crete, the Sub-Minoan tradition as seen in the pottery style in east Crete lasted longer, but it is doubtful that it lasted as long as 300 years, as Desborough (1972: 235) and Snodgrass (1971: 134-5) believe.⁸ The question of how long it did last cannot be resolved at the moment as more published evidence is needed. The PG pottery shows near complete absence of any sign of Attic LPG influence, as a result of which it is often difficult to distinguish between the eleventh and tenth centuries. Nevertheless, the prevalent custom of using

tholos tombs and their continued use into the tenth and ninth centuries can be seen at Panayia, Dreros, Kavousi, and Liopetri all mentioned above. Throughout post-Minoan times, Late Minoan burial customs in chamber and tholos tombs continued to be favoured. But the Sub-Minoan period evidences a change in burial rite in the east, dividing east and central Crete, in that central Crete retained the use of chamber tombs whilst the use of tholos tombs was preferred in east Crete. And it is interesting to notice that the single burial type, the cist, which had become widespread on the mainland, is not to be found at all on Crete, even though Kanta has reported a cist tomb with no date at Nipidhitos in central Crete. It is worth mentioning an unusual group of pithos burials, perhaps with cremated remains whose date may in part be Sub-Minoan (Snodgrass 1971: 165) at Atsipadhes in the west of Crete. However Miss Mavryiannaki re-published the material from this cemetery of LM III B - Sub-Minoan date and suggests that it may in fact have largely consisted of in-urned child cremations (AR 1977-8: 67).

5.4. Conclusion

It has been shown that Crete, especially central and east Crete, presents a picture of continuity from Minoan to post-Minoan period as regards occupation of sites and burial customs. Continuity can also be shown in the practice of cults. Most of the sanctuary sites were caves and can be found mainly in central Crete. Examples of such sites in central Crete are the Dictaeon and Amnisos caves, the sanctuary sites at Juktas and Kato

Syme Viannou,⁹ and evidence of cult at Karphi and the Spring Chamber at Knossos should not be forgotten. In the east, LM III and Sub-Minoan sherds have been discovered in the Katophygi cave at Karydhi. Cult objects included pottery, figurines, both of human and animal type, and weapons.

The picture of twelfth to tenth century Crete, at least provided by central and east Crete is one of a peaceful and fairly flourishing coexistence with probably a gradual increase in population.

Notes

1. Mountjoy 1984; Renfrew 1985: 82.
2. Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.
3. Mee 1982.
4. Kanta 1980.

Note to Figure 5.2: Included in the figures are sites where one or two objects of this date have been found. These sites will not be mentioned in the text, only the most important sites.

5. Hallager 1983.
6. Shaw 1984.
7. Kanta 1980: 129.
8. Kanta 1980: 5.
9. References to Juktas and Kato Syme Viannou:
AR 1983-4: 62; 1977-8: 63; 1978-9: 38.

PART III
INTERPRETATION

6.

WAS THERE A DORIAN INVASION?Introduction

Having described and discussed the literary and archaeological evidence in Mycenaean III C and post-Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean in the previous chapters, in this concluding chapter the interpretations of the evidence will be dealt with, specifically whether or not there was a Dorian Invasion during this period of early Greek history. But before I start discussing the different hypotheses, which have been expressed on this subject, I think it is important to give a definition of the Dorians, appearing as a distinct group in the literary sources: how can the Dorians be identified?

6.1 What are the Dorians?

Herodotus (I, 56, 2) says the Dorian name was received from Doris, their last stop before coming to the Peloponnese. Even though some think this is correct (Hammond 1975: 688-9), there is no evidence to indicate that Doris was "Dorian": it is neither seen in the dialect evidence nor does its calendar include the Dorian month names.

However, Dorians can be characterized by their Doric dialect. The main philological classification of the dialects in Greece has conventionally been into East and West Greek. The East Greek dialect-group consisted of Ionic, Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot and the West Greek dialect-group of Doric and North-West Greek. Once the Peloponnese was reached, the Dorians are stated to have conquered the areas they occupied in Classical times, as shown in the distri-

bution of the Doric dialect. The Doric/north-west Greek group ran from Aetolia and Acarnania through Phocis and Locris into the Peloponnese, and then the Doric dialect specifically spread across the Aegean via Crete and the southernmost Cyclades, to the Dodecanese and south-western Asia Minor (see Figure 6.1).

Another feature associated with the Dorians is their three-fold tribal system. The three Dorian tribes were named the Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi. From the evidence of inscriptions and other documents this tribal system is found in most Dorian communities (it cannot be proven absolutely at Megara, Phlius, Epidauros and Corinth), even though some places in later times changed the tribal names or instituted new tribes.¹ It was the non-Dorian inhabitants who sometimes were enfranchized into tribes, such as happened at Sikyon and Argos, where a fourth tribe, constituted of former serfs, was added. At Corinth the number of tribes changed to eight, which probably included the three Dorian tribes, the rest belonging to a non-Dorian stock. In Crete, it was the free citizens, a ruling class of landlords forming a minority of the population, who were also organized on a tribal basis and from which the government élite was recruited. Outside the tribal system, there were also classes of subject-people in certain Dorian states. In Crete, there were the "Apetairoi", who were free in the sense that they were not bonded or enslaved, but they were deprived of full political rights, and the serf classes, whose names were "Aphemiotai" and "Chrisonetoi" or "Mnoai". In Laconia and Messenia, another subject-class were the



Figure 6.1. Distribution of the West Greek dialect.

"Helots". The name derived from a root meaning "capture" and this is a powerful hint that the status of Helots was acquired through conquest, as was probably the case for the other originally serf-like populations (including the ones who were later enfranchized into tribes) mentioned above.² In these cases, it could be suggested that the Dorians were the conquerors.

A feature which is also characteristic of the Dorians is that they celebrated the Carneia and Hyacinthia festivals.³ Carneius was regarded by the Greeks as a peculiarly Dorian title of Apollo and particularly associated with Sparta (Pausanias III, 13, 3) and the month was regarded as a sacred period for the Dorians (Thuc. V, 54, 2; Schol. Theocr. 5, 83). The Carneia was their most important festival. Its frequent occurrence is proved by the name of the month, Carneios (usually in August/September), which is common to the calendar of Dorian states. Inscriptions about the Carneia have been found on Cnidos and Thera. Moreover, during the period of the festival, war could not be waged, which had serious consequences for the military actions of Argos and Sparta on several occasions, notably during the Persian Wars: it resulted in Leonidas being sent with a small contingent to Thermopylae (Her. VII, 206). The Dorians gave the festival a specific meaning: the aetiological legends connect the festival variously with the taking of Troy and the Return of the Heraclidae. Common to the versions is the idea of a conquering expedition. For example, it is said that on Mt. Ida near Troy, cornel-cherry trees (Craneiai) growing in the grove of Apollo were cut down by the Greeks to make the Wooden Horse. When they noticed

the god was angry with them, they propitiated him with sacrifices and called him Apollo Carneius (Paus. III, 13, 5, cf. Schol. Theocr. 5, 83d). The wilful word-play Craneiai-Carneius shows that, however artificially, the Dorian festival had to be rooted in the truly heroic Trojan tradition; although it must be noted that the source is pretty late.

The Hyacinthia was a Dorian festival, as the common Dorian month-name Hyacinthios indicates. Yet by some historians it has been attributed solely to Amyclae, as Hyacinthus was connected with Amyclae in the sources (Paus. III, 1.3, 19.3). Because it contains the -nth- suffix, it has been taken as a pre-Dorian cult and has been attributed to the archaeologically attested cult at Amyclae during late LH III B/LH III C, which was then amalgamated in the Dark Age (or at the end of the Bronze Age) by the incoming Dorians with that of Apollo, supposedly the chief deity of the Dorians. However, Apollo was an Olympian god and was not worshipped exclusively by the Dorians, so the peculiarly Dorian affiliation of Apollo has been exaggerated. However, the distribution of the month Hyacinthios in historical times indicates a Dorian rather than Mycenaean Greek attachment. In other words, Hyacinthus is more likely to be "Dorian" than Apollo. Furthermore, given the nature of the evidence for Mycenaean religion - inferences from archaeological material and some Linear B tablets - it is always hazardous to conjecture the identity of Mycenaean deities, as has been done for Amyclae.

Furthermore, there is the institution of the Apellaia, annual gatherings of the tribal or phratry organization such as are attested in Delphi and Laconia, which from the month-name Apellaios can be inferred to be characteristic of the entire Dorian/North-West area.⁴

6.2 Was There a Dorian Invasion?

Were the Dorians the cause of the destructions and decline of the Mycenaean civilization at the end of LH III B? If not, when did the Dorians invade Greece, if they did at all?

Many opinions have been expressed. There are three main schools of thought among the historians. Those with the traditional viewpoint draw on the literary tradition to explain the Mycenaean decline, i.e. by the coming of the Dorian invaders. However, there is an element of disagreement amongst them: some have the Dorians arriving at the end of LH III B, others at the end of LH III C, depending on which data they establish for the Dorian Invasion, using either literary or archaeological evidence or both. Others disbelieve the literary evidence as a whole on the grounds that there is no positive archaeological evidence for an invasion, and seek other explanations for the disasters at this time. A third group, whilst not totally disregarding the literary evidence and finding some truth in it, look at how Greek tradition developed and was conflated from the actual course of events; some of these do not believe there was a "Dorian Invasion" as such, others put the invasion much later when archaeological data can perhaps be interpreted to suggest the arrival of new people.

Invading Dorians

The explanation associating the Dorian arrival with the Mycenaean collapse at the end of LH III B has long been attractive to some historians. Archaeology shows widespread and roughly contemporary destruction of some

Mycenaean sites and the abandonment of others at this time. Some interpret this as indicating an armed invasion from outside the Mycenaean world followed by the settlement of the invaders. Therefore, as one would expect the Dorians to have left traces in the form of intrusive cultural features, new metal types introduced around this time have been associated with the invaders, e.g. the Naue Type II sword.

Most prominent of the historians who still believe in the Dorian Invasion is Hammond, whose interpretation of events at and after the end of LH III B seems extreme and far-fetched. He relies heavily on the Greek oral tradition and manipulates the archaeological evidence to fit his theory, thus approaching the whole question of a "Dorian Invasion" in a naive manner.

In 1932⁵, he stated that the literary evidence for a "Dorian Invasion" was valid and consistent. The invasion was bipartite: on the one hand, there were the Dorians proper (i.e. the Hylleis tribe or group of tribes) who followed the traditional route as recorded by Herodotus (I, 56) inhabiting South Epirus and living among the North-West Greeks before they invaded "Dorian" Peloponnese, whilst on the other hand the Western Greeks, who spoke a North-West Greek dialect, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi, who consisted in his interpretation of the North-West Greek Aenianes, Dolopes and Dryopes, followed the route of invasion to Elis (Oxylus' story). He does not mention any dates at this stage.

Recently⁶, however, he has abandoned this division of the "Dorian Invasion" and suggested that it consisted

only of the Dorians (Her. I, 56) invading "Dorian" Peloponnese c. 1120 B.C., 100 years after the pre-Dorian invasion under Hyllus. At the same time, the Eleians, who were North-West Greeks, migrated to Elis (Oxylus' story). Wherever the Dorians broke through the fringe of the Mycenaean world, it carried other tribes, i.e. the Aenianes, Dolopes and Dryopes, ahead of it (which to me seems to indicate that they took no part in the invasion). But there is no evidence for any but the Dryopes in the Peloponnese. Moreover, this does not explain what happened to the Dymanes and Pamphyloi he mentioned in 1932. Perhaps he means the Eleians or else who were they? He does not mention nor explain this.

The Dorians proper invaded the Peloponnese gradually, first settling in the Argolid ("Sub-Mycenaean" period - the Temenus tradition) and by PG/G times they inhabited Messenia (led by Cresphontes), Laconia (led by the two sons of Aristodemus) and Corinth (led by Aletes). At this time, he also mentions the migration of the main group of North-West Greeks to Achaea (led by Tisamenus) till then occupied by refugees from the Argolid. Once settled in the Peloponnese, some of the Dorians migrated overseas to Crete and other islands in the Central Aegean (led by Althaemenes or Tectamenus (Crete), Tlepolemus and the sons of Thessalus (the Dodecanese) and Theras (Thera) .

How does the archaeology fit with his theory? Hammond does not deny that there is virtually no archaeological evidence for invaders, but since the Dorians' way of life was, in his view, semi-nomadic with stockraising, hunting and perhaps raiding as their main activities,

basically a primitive lifestyle, he believes that no archaeological remains of such people would be detectable. Therefore, he explains, there are no remains to be found for roughly 200 years in, for example, Corinth and Laconia. The Dorians and fellow invaders seized inland plains and hill-pastures, not coastal sites. They lived in the open air during the summer or huts during the winter. The destructions at the end of LH III B he associated with the pre-Dorian Invasion and the destruction at Mycenae in LH III C with the Dorian movement into the Argolid.

There are other archaeological features which he has associated with the Dorians and North-West Greeks: the "non-Mycenaean", as he believes, burial types, i.e. cists (which are of main importance), pithos and pit graves and tumuli; and the principles involved in the formation of the Geometric pottery style. The latter they acquired in south-west Macedonia, their habitat before they moved to south Epirus (Her. I, 56), to which they subsequently spread it. This style he calls the "North-West Greek Geometric". As regards the cist tombs, they occurred in the Argolid together with the old burial customs, the Mycenaean chamber and tholos tombs: the Dorians settled here with the remaining Mycenaeans. In Elis, the only cemetery found contains cists and is dated to the eleventh century indicating migration of the Eleians. In contrast to this, he continues, Achaea and the coastal sites of Laconia and Messenia continued their Mycenaean burial customs. The Dorians only occupied the inland areas, but not until the PG period when the local PG style appears, influenced by the North-West Greek pottery, and it was then

for the first time that the cists and other single burial types were introduced in Achaea and east Messenia (i.e. Nichoria). By the Geometric period, the Dorians and surviving Mycenaeans had integrated and settled everywhere; the cist and other burial types were used alongside the Mycenaean chamber and tholos tombs. Several towns had grown in size and old settlement and burial sites were reoccupied in the Argolid (i.e. Argos, Dendra) Laconia (i.e. Sparta) and Messenia.

As for the Aegean islands, said to have been colonized by the Dorians, he does not give any archaeological evidence, but he believes in the Dorian migration overseas on the basis of the literary evidence and the Dorian three-fold tribal system as reported by Homer (*Iliad*, II, 668; *Odyssey*, XIX, 177) and from the evidence from inscriptions.

Summarizing all the evidence Hammond puts forward a complete dislocation by the Dorians took place, but not complete occupation. Parts of "Dorian" Peloponnese remained independent for some time: the Isthmus and inland areas of Laconia, Messenia and Achaea until the PG period, West and south Messenia and south and east Laconia until the G period, circa eighth century B.C. And Arcadia probably remained Mycenaean even longer. Hammond presents the archaeological evidence in such a way that it does conform with the course of events as described in the Greek oral tradition, disregarding some material evidence.

The first main objection to his theory is, as I have discussed in chapters 1 and 2, that the literary evidence is not a very reliable source of information and that the stories in the tradition probably have been conflated to

suit the political, economic and social situation of the Greeks at the time.

As regards the archaeological evidence, the appearance of cist tombs can be shown not to have been necessarily introduced from the north, but to be very likely a reappearance of a previously known local feature - cist tombs were characteristic in the MH period and not unknown in the LH period (for details see chapter 4, Section 4.5). Moreover, Hammond does not account for the cists of "Sub-Mycenaean" and/or PG date found in Salamis, Attica, Euboea, Naxos, Andros and Skyros where the Dorians never penetrated at all. Concerning the PG pottery style, he does not mention the possibility of its origin in Athens (influenced by Cyprus), where it appeared earlier than in the Peloponnese, hence it could have spread (presumably he does not believe this). Corinth, unlike the other regions of the Peloponnese did not develop its own local style, but was closely related to Attic PG. In short, Hammond uses the archaeological evidence at a superficial level only to conform with the literary evidence.

There is also no certain evidence for an invasion: the destructions of the Mycenaean citadels do not tell us who their destroyers were, if any. They could have been caused by other factors, e.g. natural disasters. Besides the possibility of destructions, there is no other evidence for a warlike cause. The "intrusive" metal types, as has been shown in chapter 4, are too scarce and could have entered Greece by other means, such as diffusion by means of trade. The same is true of the "Barbarian Ware" found on several mainland sites in early LH III C, which

can be interpreted in more ways than just an invasion (see chapter 4). Moreover the culture after LH III B destructions remained Mycenaean, even though at a lower level. Thus positive archaeological evidence of a new culture invading Greece at this time is very slight, if not non-existent. This leads to the third criticism, which is the narrow approach to archaeology of relating destructions with invasions, known as the "Invasion Hypothesis", to which Clark drew attention in *Antiquity* (1966: 172-89). As I quote from Nandris (*Antiquaries Journal* 1978: 178), this

thinks in terms of single-factor explanations, of events rather than processes, typologically rather than statistically, and in general fails to look behind the archaeological data to the relationships which created them. The result is a failure to observe the long-term processes of change which are the peculiar province of archaeology.

The pattern of material evidence at this period need not be explained in terms of an invasion by a new population.

Having concluded that nowhere are the destructions at the end of the thirteenth century B.C. followed by signs of a new culture, a second possibility has been suggested as most probable by Desborough⁷ and Snodgrass⁸, i.e. of foreign raiders from the north who either went on elsewhere or immediately retreated, therefore leaving no archaeological traces. It could be suggested that these plunderers were in fact the Dorians, in which case the Greek tradition would be incorrect, in that they did not settle, but I think this is not possible. Why would the Greeks tell the story of the Dorians settling in the Peloponnese when in fact they did not? It is more likely that either Greek tradition never recorded such a raid,

if there was one, as it would not have been of any significance - the stories, taking place in the past, were usually told in order to validate the political and social conditions of the present - or another explanation is needed for the LH III B destructions. Moreover, there is the possibility that the date implied in the literary tradition of a Dorian Invasion at this time is wrong and that the Dorians came later, as some historians have suggested.

One such historian is F. Schachermeyr⁹. Schachermeyr, as can be seen in Hammond's approach above, takes the "catastrophic" view of events (Hooker 1985: 26-29), i.e. invasions with a clash of mighty forces. He adopts some of Hammond's ideas, yet he does not use the literary evidence as closely and does not attribute the LH III B destructions to a Dorian Invasion. Moreover his chronology of the period is later than the generally accepted chronological framework of the period, i.e. LH III C lasts from c. 1180 - 1050/1000 B.C., "Sub-Mycenaean" from c. 1050/1000 - 1000/950 B.C. and PG from c. 1000/950 - 900 B.C., then comes the G period. His argument goes as follows: a "Sea Peoples" invasion of Greece c. 1200 B.C., followed later by that of warlike shepherds, the "Hirtenkrieger", from north-west Greece and later again by the Dorians. His hypothesis about the Dorian Invasion will be considered at length, but first I think a brief discussion on the "Hirtenkrieger" is necessary.

Greece was invaded at the transition period from LH III C to "Sub-Mycenaean" by warlike shepherds from the North-West, whom Schachermeyr associated with what he calls "Zwischenware", the origin of which he places in Aetolia

and Epirus. The main features of this ware are the black monochrome surface background together with light contour lines or decorated with zigzag and triangular patterns on the top of the vase. With the coming of these north-west Greek shepherds, the custom of single burial, mainly in cists, was revived in Greece. He regards the legend of Tisamenus as representative of the north-west Greek hegemony in the Peloponnese. Schachermeyr is really adducing for the "Hirtenkrieger" most of what others, such as Hammond, have adduced for the Dorians. The evidence is often the same, e.g. the cist tombs, only the interpretation is different. This hypothesis is thus clearly vulnerable to similar objections: the "Zwischenware" provides little warrant for an intrusion of invaders and none for identifying these as "Berghirten" (mountain shepherds). Moreover, difficulties arise concerning his chronological framework. His ware is down-dated and would be early PG in the generally accepted chronological framework. Furthermore, some of the motifs found in west Greece which he relates to this ware would be late PG and even late G (from a burial at Palaio-manina in Aetolia, which is dated by Coldstream to LG I).¹⁰

As regards the Dorians, Schachermeyr suggests that they invaded the Peloponnese in the PG period. They were "North-East Greeks" (under the name of Hylleis and Dymanes in the literary sources) who had drawn away from the north-west Greeks and united as the Dorian tribe, still living in the mountains at the time when the north-west Greeks moved on. They are characterized by pottery which Schachermeyr names "Boubousti Keramik" and derives from the style represented at Boubousti in central north Greece and Malik and Tren in Albania, and contributed to the development of the PG/G

ceramic styles. He derives the pottery from the Neolithic culture of Starčevo in the Balkans. As evidence for the Dorians in the Peloponnese and their movements overseas he mentions an increase in occupation of sites, especially the increased importance to Argos, Asine, Sparta and Nichoria, together with new decorative motifs in the local PG styles, specifically "Laconian PG" and the styles from Crete and the Dodecanese, e.g. rhombi in horizontal and vertical chains, the chequered, zigzag and ladder ("Leitermotiv") pattern, meanders in a flowing or peak form ("Lauf und Zinnenmäander"), the multiple peak pattern ("Zinnenmuster"), cross-hatched triangles (a "Zwischenware" motif, but they occurred in panels and/or were filled with the chequered pattern), and the ribbon cross ("Ordenskreuz") motif with four triangles. These motifs (see Figure 6.2), including the preciseness of pottery decoration, influenced the Attic PG style either by direct influence or by means of refugees to Attica who had probably taken them over, and eventually also influences the PG/G style in the Argolid. Schachermeyr doubts that the Dorians came in one movement as described in the legend of the Return. It lasted throughout the PG period and into the beginning of the G period, by which time they had made their way also to Crete, Melos, Thera and the Dodecanese.

This hypothesis is attractive, but he seems to assume too easily the association of new decorative features on the pottery with newcomers. Reservations must be allowed when Schachermeyr traces the Boubousti ceramics back to the Neolithic period in

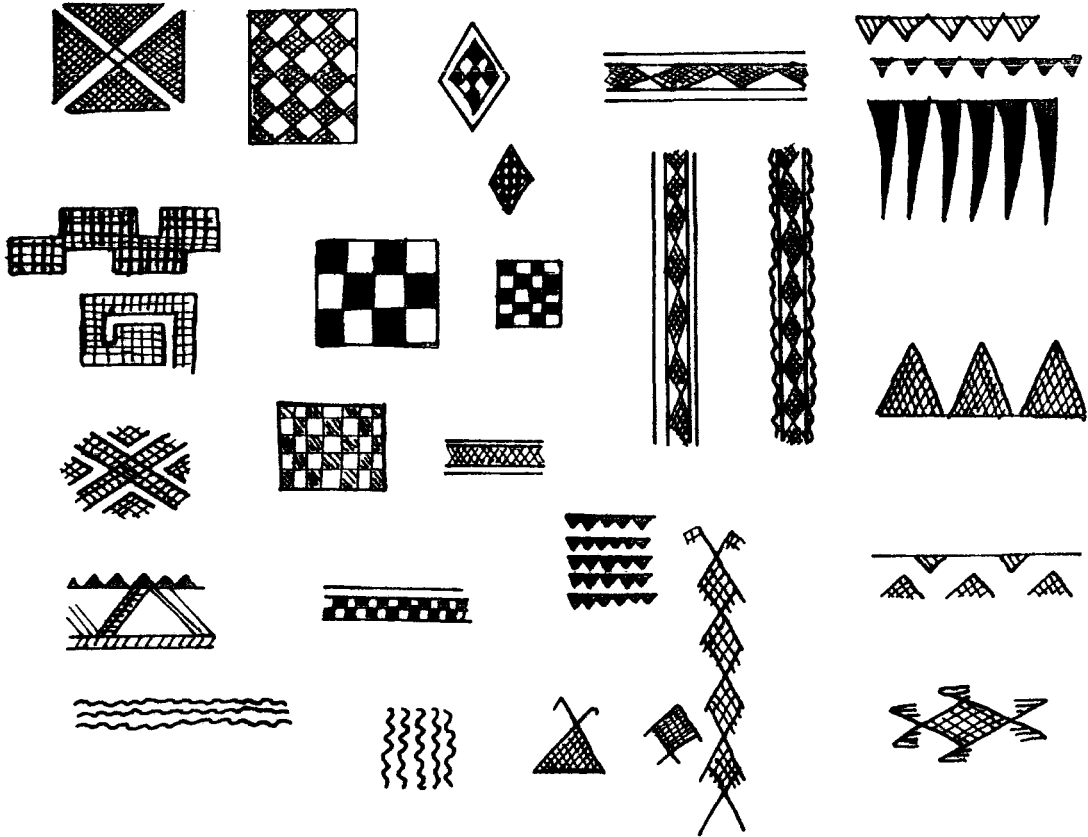


Figure 6.2. Motifs characteristic of the " Boubousti Keramik",
 taken over by the "Dorians", according to Schachermeyr.
 (taken from Schachermeyr 1980: Abb.88, p. 282.

the Balkans, disregarding about three thousand years of Balkan prehistory during which many cultures and traditions followed each other in the region.¹¹ Moreover, underlying his interpretation of early Greek history is the old-fashioned view of seeing all evidence as indicating an invasion, like Hammond. Nevertheless one can only as yet regard his suggestions, if not all of it, as another possibility.

P. Cartledge¹² also suggests "Dorian" newcomers entering the Peloponnese during the PG period, based on the pottery evidence of Laconia and western Greece. The main decorative features of "Laconian PG" were at first filled cross-hatched triangles, vertical rhombi motifs and the system of panelling, later the meander and multiple peak pattern. Single triangular motifs and cross-hatched triangles, sometimes in metopes, were found in the west Greek PG style (includes Elis, Messenia and Achaea), the style which Schachermeyr relates to the "Hirtenkrieger" with their "Zwischenware", but this style is a derivative of the Local LH III C style, whereas the origins of Laconian PG are not found in any local LH III C or "Sub-Mycenaean" styles. As "Laconian PG" cannot be nearly slotted into the west Greek group, its origins are not found in any contemporary PG style, but some influence from western Greece is necessary but not sufficient for its origin. Cartledge suggests, therefore an influx of newcomers of Epirote or Illyrian origin who, when they passed through the west Greek area, became acquainted with the techniques of the PG style in general, with particular local shapes and decorative motifs and presumably learnt the Greek language. Thus, in respect

of pottery, there seems to have been a cultural break between LH III C and "Laconian PG" (contemporary with Attic LPG). However at Amyclae, stratigraphically, direct continuity may be implied between the two periods.¹³ The stratigraphy at Amyclae is formed by debris of sanctuary material and by hill-wash. Therefore there is less chronological and sequential value than a settlement site. Moreover, the Mycenaean and PG strata are not pure, but contaminated: material of each phase is found in association with the other. If there was a break, there would have been a sharper spatial division between the two periods. So if there was a gap, it certainly cannot have been long. However, I think this is a dubious argument archaeologically speaking, as two succeeding strata can be disturbed by wind or water erosion or other earth-movements. This can result in a blurred spatial division, even if there was a break.

As there is very little material evidence in Laconia between LH III C and Laconian PG (some pots at Epidaurus Limera have been thought "Sub-Mycenaean"), it looks as if Laconia was uninhabited during this time, after which the formative period of historical Laconia, especially Sparta, began. However, this is hardly credible. Cartledge's chief reason for believing in the survival of a remnant of the Mycenaean population is that this seems to explain most plausibly the origin of the Laconian Helots, who acquired their status through conquest soon after the Dorian settlement of Sparta. Thus the Dorians, in his view pastoralists, came to Laconia, which was in a state of political vacuum after the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization early in the tenth century and gradually settled down. Cartledge does

make the point that it is simplistic and misleading to relate ceramic change and population movement (a point I have made in discussing Hammond and Schachermeyr), but it seems to him the most likely explanation for this ceramic change.

Coulson¹⁴ mentions that Cartledge in his discussion of DA pottery in Laconia barely considers the criterion of shape. Several shapes have Mycenaean antecedents, but it is unclear whether this reflects internal development within Laconia or as a result of an influx of newcomers. The evidence of the pottery concerning continuity is thus unclear. Chronologically speaking, however, it appears to narrow the gap between LH III C and "PG", but does not remove it entirely. Coulson believes that, even though continuity may be implied stratigraphically, a gap still must be postulated in the occupation at Sparta and Amyclae in the early eleventh to early tenth centuries. Thus Cartledge's suggestion of an influx of people is reasonable. Like Schachermeyr's hypothesis, this one is also a possibility. Both are based on the same evidence, certain decorative motifs in the Laconian PG style and, as Schachermeyr states, also in the Cretan and Dodecanesian styles. The difference lies in the origins of the decorative features: Schachermeyr traces them back to the "Boubousti Keramik" whereas Cartledge partly to western Greek PG. Cartledge's suggestion seems more plausible, as Schachermeyr considers western Greek PG to be "Zwischenware" in his chronology, which is too late and contemporary with the generally accepted chronology of the period.

Indigenous Dorians

Two of the hypotheses as to what may have happened at the end of LH III B are related to the supposed existence of Mycenaean Dorians who were a subjected element of the

Mycenaean population and became the masters of part of the Peloponnese at the end of the period concerned (Chadwick, Hooker¹⁵). They are mainly based on the dialect evidence and reinterpretation of the literary evidence.

Chadwick has asserted the existence of a dialect ancestral to the Doric or West Greek dialects in the Mycenaean Age. Instead of the traditional view that Greek was formed outside Greece before 2000 B.C. and three waves of Greek speakers superimposed themselves over the other over a period, he proposed the view in which the Greek language was formed inside the borders of Greece by the imposition of an Indo-European dialect upon a substrate of some other language. He has developed this from suggesting a geographical division between an original East and West Greek dialect to suggesting that West Greek, being more primitive according to him, is the basic form, and that East Greek became the upper class dialect in the Mycenaean period, developing under Minoan influence. Thus, during the palatial period, two dialects coexisted: the Mycenaean dialect spoken by the palace-based aristocracy and the proto-Doric dialect, which in later times became Doric, spoken by the rest of the population. There exist, according to him, traces of proto-Doric in the Linear B tablets. The Dorians therefore do not appear in the archaeological record because they are present all over Greece throughout the Mycenaean period. They became dominant from a submerged status. Yet he still believes that the Dorians were not the cause of the destruction of the Mycenaean cities, which was instead administered by a force outside Greece and the Dorians took advantage of the disasters to the palaces. No "Dorian Invasion" from

outside Greece took place. His own interpretation of the literary tradition reflects civil strife. Heracles does not act in his own right. His exploits are performed on behalf of someone else: he is the servant of the king Eurystheus and attacks several neighbouring kingdoms. Elis and Pylos suffer under his assaults. Moreover, Eurystheus gets killed in Attica by Heracles' sons and the Athenians, all of which reflects, according to Chadwick, later Dorian successes in replacing their masters. But in fact Heracles' attacks are his own idea, so I think Chadwick is wrong in this instance. As regards the Dorians in Crete, Chadwick explains that there is no need to have the Dorians arriving in Crete after the Mycenaean collapse, for when the Mycenaeans, in his view, invaded Crete around the mid-fifteenth century, the forces employed must have included large numbers of lower classes and within two generations there would have been a substantial Doric-speaking population in Crete, which led to the early fourteenth century revolt against the central authority at Knossos. However, this is impossible: the culture of late palatial and post-palatial Crete is not even Mycenaean, but Minoan, as Chadwick does not seem to appreciate. His ideas of a massive migration into Crete are highly suspect.

The reactions to this philological hypothesis are not favourable.¹⁶ It is dangerous to draw far-reaching inferences of a dialectological nature from Linear B. The preservation and information of the Linear B tablets is fragmentary. There are two prominent arguments against Chadwick (in the form of questions). If proto-Doric/West Greek was the general non-palatial dialect, why was it not universal in Classical times? In archaeological terms, there were violent destructions in Boeotia, if not in Attica, and the Mycenaean civilization did

collapse everywhere. And, if the Dorians are the generalised lower classes, how come they have such specific features, e.g. the tribal system and the festivals, as discussed in section 6.1? Further objections, both historical and archaeological ones need mentioning. Firstly, the Dorians could have invented the idea of immigration into the Peloponnese to hide their subjection to their Mycenaean overlords, but the hypothesis does not explain why the myth of the Return would have been invented, if the Heraclids could have claimed hegemony as a just reward for their revolutionary efforts. Secondly, the Dorians are not Heracleidae (Thucydides I, 12, 3 and Tyrtaeus frag.2, 13-15) and they are not reported by tradition as being in the Peloponnese before the Trojan War. Thirdly, in order to validate this hypothesis, continuity of settlement between the Mycenaeans and historical Dorians must be shown. In the Argolid, it maybe can be shown, but not elsewhere in the Peloponnese. There is a cultural gap after c. 1050 B.C. Most important of all, the "Laconian PG" style does not seem to develop out of the Mycenaean style (it is unclear) nor can settlement continuity be proven. Lastly, there is an overall decline in population which accompanied the widespread destructions (in non-Doric areas also!). If there was a local rising, why and where would the mass of people, speaking the non-palatial dialect, have fled, who are bound to be more numerous than the palatial upper class?

Hooker, like Chadwick, does not identify the Dorians archaeologically, because they were in the Peloponnese all the time. As he says,¹⁷

These Dorians were the people upon whom Mycenaean civilization had been imposed from the top. The subject people, in destroying the palaces, brought to an end the Mycenaean cultural and political system of which they formed part.

This hypothesis is vulnerable to the same objections as Chadwick's.

6.3 Conclusion

The reason I chose "The Dorian Dilemma" for the title of my thesis is not difficult to imagine. Having discussed all the evidence available, it is still impossible to know whether or not there was a Dorian Invasion.

With regard to the disturbances which overtook the Mycenaean civilization at the end of LH III B, no Dorian Invasion or indigenous Dorian class uprising explains the archaeological evidence. Yet the sources talk about a Dorian Invasion and I believe there must be some truth in this. It is likely that the sources have the dates wrong and the Dorians did invade the Peloponnese at a later time, perhaps during the PG period, which has been suggested by Schachermeyr and Cartledge, but it has to be taken into account that their arguments, in addition to Hammond's, are based on the acceptance, yet critical in the case of Cartledge, of the equation of a culture or a cultural feature with people. Is it necessary though to look for cultural features which might represent the Dorians, as historians/archaeologists have always done? It is perfectly plausible that they were culturally indistinguishable (see chapter 3, section 3.3). Some sources report that they came from Thessaly, which is quite possible. If this is the case, there would be no cultural differences with

that of the Mycenaeans and they might have entered Greece at the end of LH III B or a short time thereafter. One just cannot know. I can see no reason why the Greeks would tell the story of a Dorian Invasion, if it never occurred. Hooker¹⁸ does offer an explanation: the reason is first to legitimate the dual kingship of the Spartans and second, to explain the world as it appeared to the Greeks of the Archaic period, i.e. the linguistic situation to be observed, and its differences from the world of the Heroic age. However, Hooker is trying to support his hypothesis of the existence of indigenous Dorians in the Peloponnese, with which I do not agree. I have specified the objections to his and Chadwick's opinion under section 6.2.

I do agree that the tradition concerning the Return/Dorian Invasion probably has been conflated, a process which is inevitable when information is passed on orally and adapted to the historical, economic and social situation of the country, but one cannot wholly disbelieve it. I think that the tradition has been developed around a historical event. I do not believe that the Greeks invented the existence of an invasion in order to explain the legitimization of the dual kingship of the Spartans. There could have been an invasion, as the Dorians were not Heracleidae, to whom the dual kingship of the Spartans is said to go back. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the story linking the Dorians with the Heracleidae could have been fabricated not only in order to legitimate the Spartan dual kingship, but also to legitimate the conquest of the Dorians themselves in the Peloponnese, thus not implying that there was actually no invasion. In this case, Hooker's second reason for

inventing the story of an invasion becomes irrelevant. Furthermore, the Dorians in the historical period can be characterized by certain features, which have been discussed in section 6.1 and which can be attributed to them alone. So, there must be some reality to the concept "Dorian".

An interesting archaeological feature, which I would like to mention, is inhumation in pithos burials. Few examples occurred late in the PG period in West Greece, i.e. at Pylene (Aetolia), Salmoni (Elis), Nichoria, Rizes and Kalamata (Messenia). By the G period this custom became more numerous and can be found mainly in Central and East Greece, especially in the Argolid (see Figure 6.3). Is it possible to link the early DA western Greek examples with the late DA examples in the east and suggest that the custom spread from west to east Greece? If it is, it would strengthen the case for a Dorian Invasion at this time, taken together with the individual "PG" style in Laconia, discussed by Cartledge, and believing the sources that there was such an invasion. It must be remembered though that the pithos burial is only one of several burial forms in use in the Peloponnese in the G period and none have yet been found in Laconia. Moreover, critical analysis must be applied before linking any cultural feature with a new people.

There are still too many problems to be able to interpret all the evidence as it stands. I am inclined to believe though that a Dorian Invasion did occur, as the sources have reported. But whether the Dorians came into the Peloponnese at the end of LH III B (being culturally

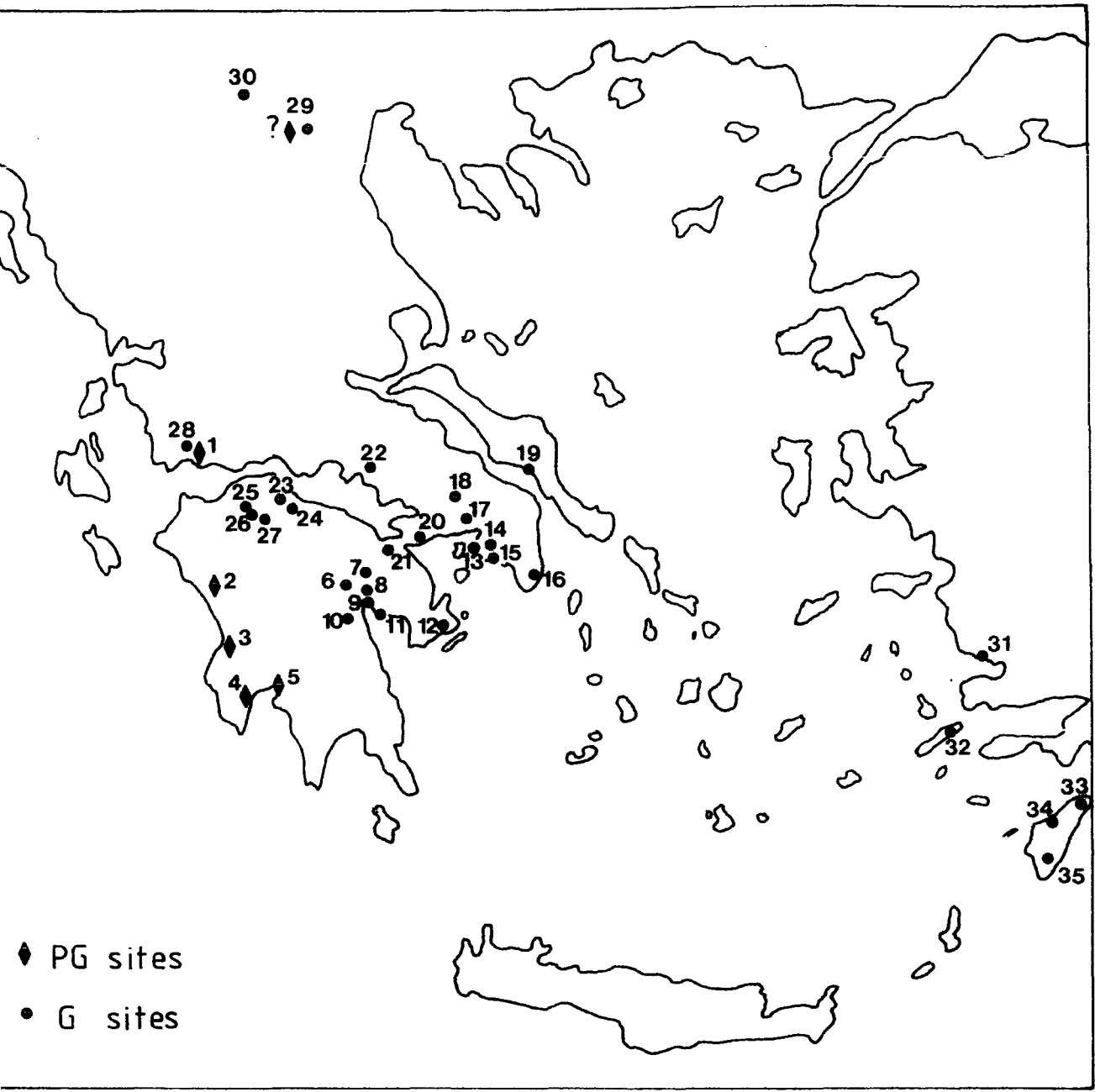


Figure 6.3. Distribution of the pithos burial in the PG and G period.

Figure 6.3. Distribution of the pithos burial in the PG and G period

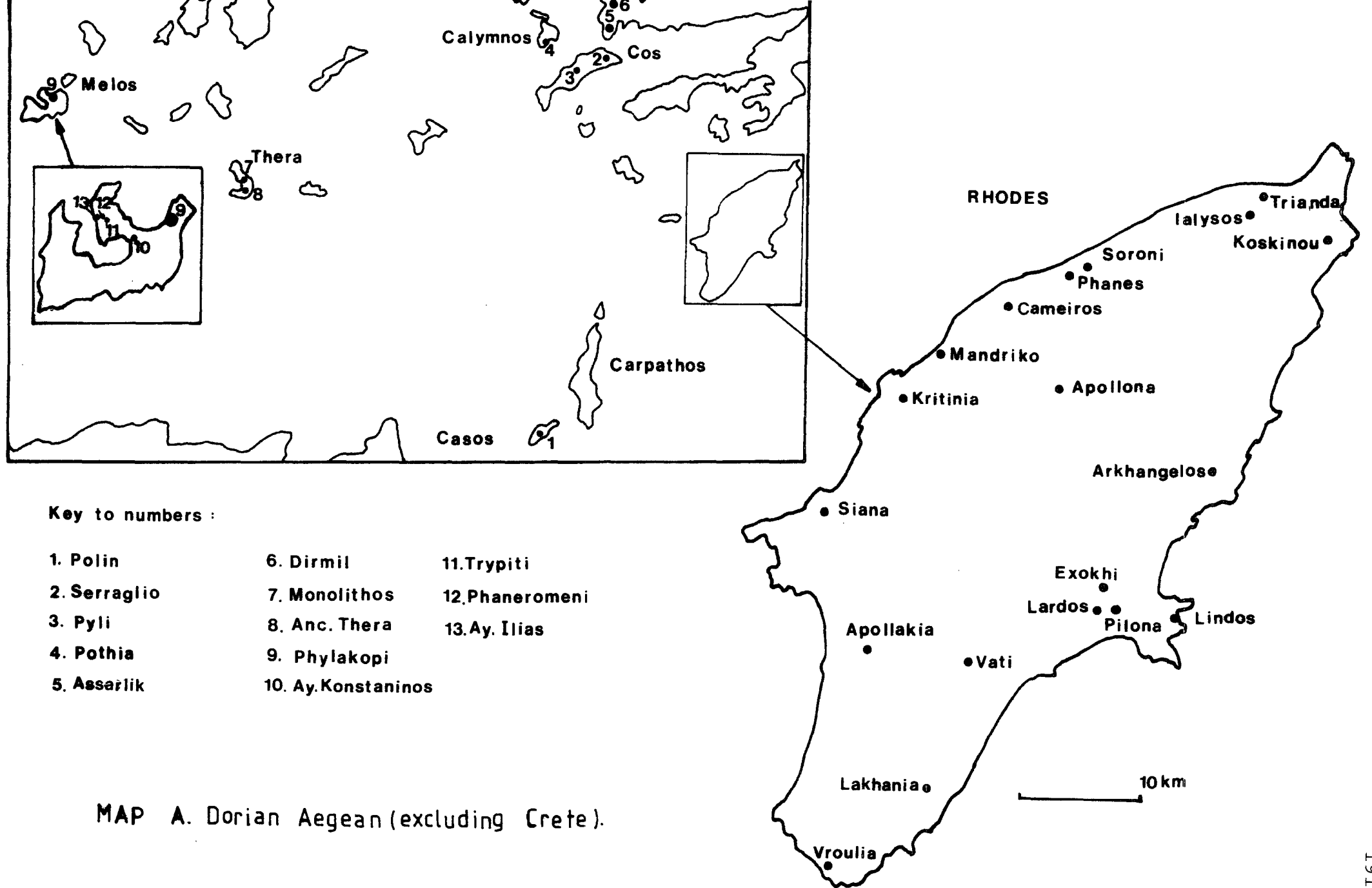
Key to numbers:

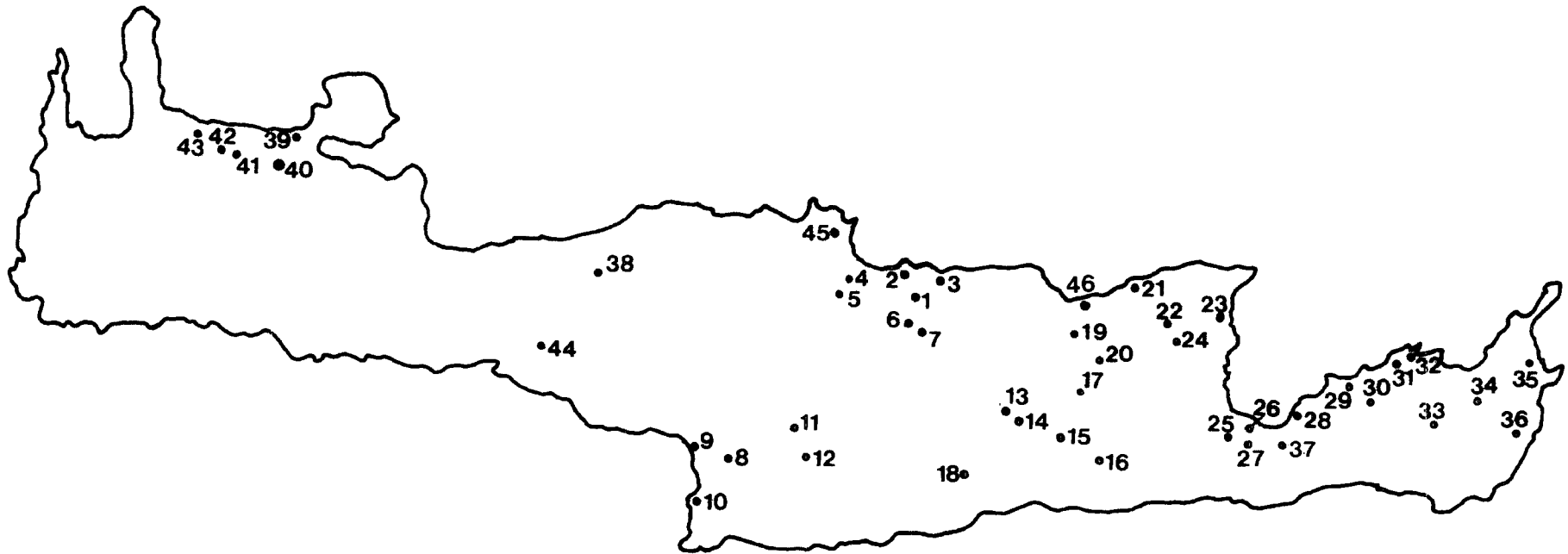
1. Pylene
2. Salmoni
3. Rizes
4. Nichoria
5. Kalamata
6. Argos
7. Mycenae
8. Tiryns
9. Nauplia
10. Lerna
11. Asine
12. Troizen
13. Kokkinia
14. Athens
15. Phaleron
16. Thorikos
17. Eleusis
18. Thebes
19. Eretria
20. Ayios Theodorio
21. Corinth
22. Medeon
23. Derveni
24. Vovodha
25. Chalandritsa
26. Bartolomio
27. Katarrakhtis
28. Calydon
29. Vergina
30. Pateli
31. Iasos
32. Serraglio (Cos)
33. Ialysos
34. Cameiros
35. Exokhi

indistinguishable from the Mycenaeans) or during the PG period (as suggested by Schachermeyr and Cartledge) is problematic. The dilemma concerning the "Dorian Invasion" still remains.

Notes

1. Hammond 1982: 722-4; Willetts 1955: chs. 3, 4, 5; Willetts 1965: 85.
2. Cartledge 1979: 97.
3. On the Carneia cf. Burkert 1977: 234-6; on the Hyacinthia cf. Burkert 1977: 19, 144, 236; Cartledge 1979: 79-81.
4. Burkert 1977: 144.
5. Hammond 1932.
6. Hammond 1975; 1982.
7. Desborough 1972: 21.
8. Snodgrass 1971: 312.
9. Schachermeyr 1980, 1983; Hooker 1985.
10. Snodgrass 1984.
11. Sandars 1984.
12. Cartledge 1979: ch. 7.
13. Coulson 1985.
14. Coulson 1985.
15. Chadwick 1976; Hooker 1977: ch.7.
16. Cartledge 1979: 77-8.
17. Hooker 1977: 179.
18. Hooker 1977: 169-70.



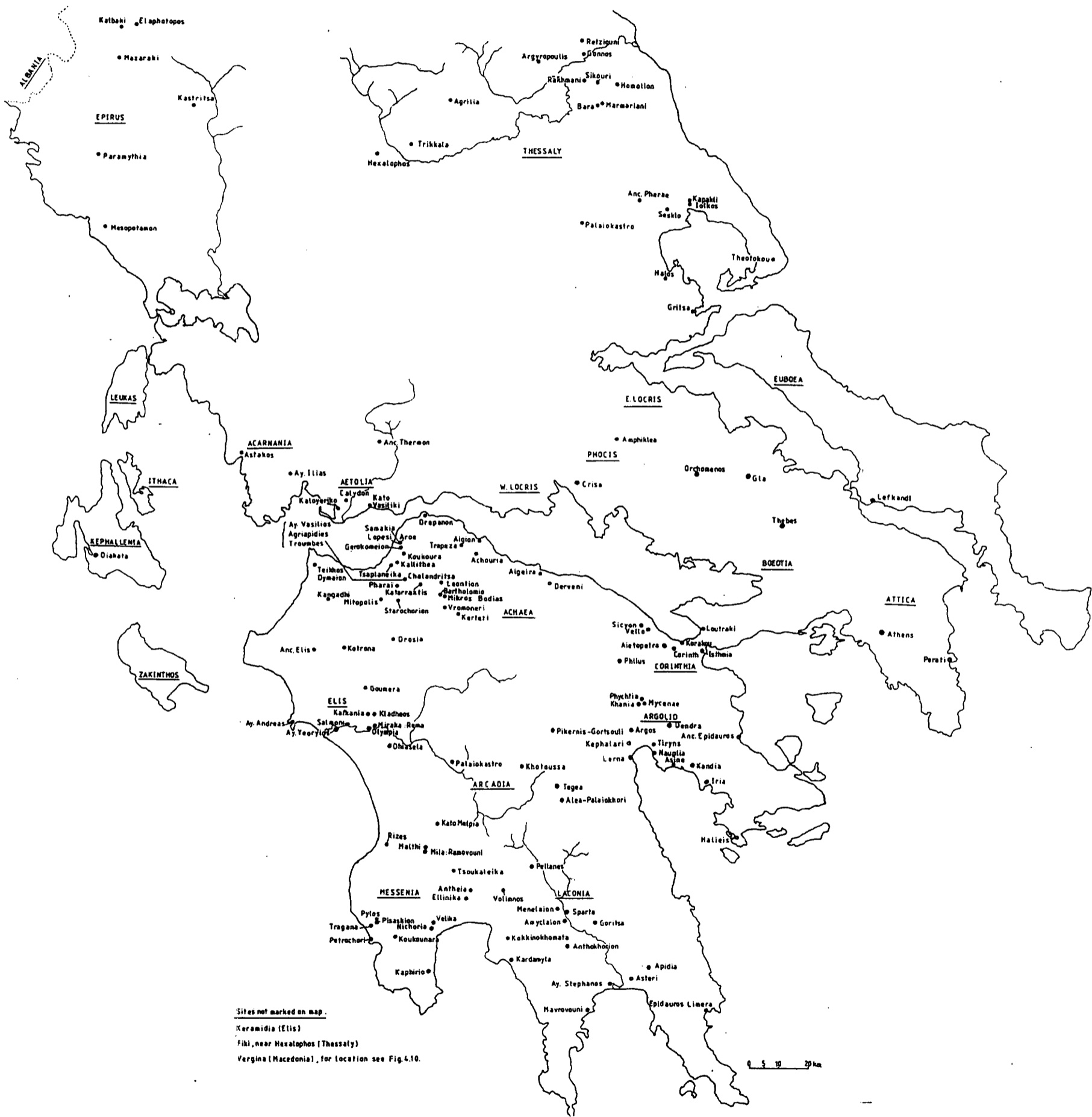


MAP B. Crete.

Map B. CreteKey to numbers:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Knossos | 24. Kritsa |
| 2. Heracleion (Katsamba and
Mastabas nearby) | 25. Vrokastro |
| 3. Amnisos | 26. Gournia |
| 4. Kavrokhori | 27. Vasiliki |
| 5. Tylissos | 28. Kavousi |
| 6. Juktas | 29. Myrsini |
| 7. Arkhanes | 30. Mouliana |
| 8. Phaestos | 31. Liopetri |
| 9. Ayia Triadha | 32. Berati |
| 10. Kommos | 33. Praesos |
| 11. Kourtais | 34. Karydhi |
| 12. Gortyn | 35. Kastri |
| 13. Nipidhitos | 36. Zakro (Kato, Epano) |
| 14. Panayia | 37. Pakhyammos |
| 15. Erganos | 38. Mesi |
| 16. Kato Syme Viannou | 39. Khandia |
| 17. Dictaeon Cave | 40. Khamalevri |
| 18. Rotasi | 41. Timios Stavros |
| 19. Kalo Khori Pedhiades | 42. Vrises |
| 20. Karphi (Palaikastro nearby) | 43. Modi |
| 21. Milatos | 44. Atsipadhes |
| 22. Dreros | 45. Kastro Kephala Almyrou |
| 23. Olous | 46. Mallia |

The site of Krya Siteias in east Crete is not marked on the map.



MAP C. Greece.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter 1

Cartledge, P. (1979), *Sparta and Laconia: A Regional History 1300-362 B.C.*

Finley, M.I. (1975), *The Use and Abuse of History.*

Forsdyke, J. (1956), *Greece before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology.*

Henige, D.P. (1974), *The Crhonology of Oral Tradition.*

Nilsson, M.P. (1932), *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology.*

Snodgrass, A.M. (1974), "An Historical Homeric Society?", *JHS* 94, pp.114-25.

Vansina, J. (1961), *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology.*

On the Spartan king lists and the Parian Marble:

Cartledge, P., *op.cit.*, Appendix 3.

Forsdyke, J., *op.cit.*, Chapter 2.

Henige, D.P., *op.cit.*, Appendix C.

Snodgrass, A.M. (1971), *The Dark Age of Greece*, pp.13-5.

Chapter 2

Passages from: Appolodorus, Book II.

Diodorus Siculus, Books IV, V, VII.

Herodotus, Books I, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX.

Homer, *Iliad*, Books II, IX; *Odyssey*, Book XIX.

Pausanias, Books I, II, III, IV, V, VII, VIII.

Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, Book VII;

Olympian Odes, Book VII;

Pythian Odes, Books I, V, X.

Strabo, Books VIII, X, XI, XIII, XIV.

Chapter 2 (cont...)

Passages from: Thucydides, Books, I, II, III, IV, V.

Tyrtaeus, Fragments 2, 19.

Craik, E. (1980), *The Dorian Aegean*.

Eissfeldt, O. (1975), "The Hebrew Kingdom", CAH II/2, 3rd ed., pp.537-87.

Hammond, N.G.L. (1975), "The End of Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Age: (b) The Literary Tradition for the Migrations", CAH II/2, 3rd ed., pp.678-712.

Salmon, J.B. (1984), *Wealthy Corinth*.

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (forthcoming), "The Problem of the Dorians in Tradition and Archaeology", *The Sea Peoples*, R.A. Crossland (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory* (Sheffield, 1973).

Willetts, R.F. (1965), *Ancient Crete: A Social History*.

Chapter 3

Binford, L.R. (1982), "Meaning, Inference, and the Material Record", *Ranking, Resource and Exchange*, C. Renfrew and S. Shennan (eds.), pp.160-3.

Coles, J. (1972), *Field Archaeology in Britain*.

Thomas, C.G. (1980), "The Celts: A Model for the Dorian Invasion?", SMEA 21, pp.303-8.

Trigger, B. (1968), *Beyond History: The Methods of Prehistory*.

Winter, F.A. (1977), "A Historically Derived Model for the Dorian Invasion", *Symposium of the Dark Ages in Greece*, E.N. Davis (ed.), *Archaeological Institute of America*, pp.60-76.

Chapter 4

Archaeological Reports, 1977/8 - 1984/5.

Batziou-Efstathio, A. (1984), "Protogeometric Tombs in West Thessaly", AAA 17, pp.74-87.

Burkert, W. (1985), Greek Religion.

Coldstream, J.N. (1977), Geometric Greece.

Coulson, W.D.E. (1985), "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta", BSA 80, pp.29-84.

Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, K. (1982), "The Mycenaean Shrine of the Amyclaion and the LH IIIC Period in Laconia", English summary, pp.172-77.

Desborough, V.R.d'A. (1964), The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors 1200-1000 B.C.

---, (1972), The Greek Dark Ages.

---, (1973), "Late Burials from Mycenae", BSA 68, pp.87-101.

---, (1975), "The End of Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Age: (a) The Archaeological Background", CAH II/2, 3rd ed., pp.658-77.

Deshayes, J. (1966), Argos, les Fouilles de la Deiras (Etudes Peloponnésiennes IV).

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. (1973), Review of A.M. Snodgrass, The Dark Age of Greece (1971), Antiquaries Journal 51, pp.100-2.

---, (1983), "Cist Graves and Chamber Tombs", BSA 78, pp.55-67.

Dietz, S. (1982), Asine II: Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-4.

Feuer, B. (1983), The Northern Mycenaean Border in Thessaly, BAR Int. Ser. 176.

Hägg, R. (1980), "Some Aspects of the Burial Customs of the Argolid in the Dark Age", AAA 13, pp.119-26.

- Hankey, V. and Warren, P. (1974), "An Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age", BICS 21, pp.142-52.
- Harding, A.F. (1984), *The Mycenaeans and Europe*, Chapter 6.
- Hope Simpson, R. and Dickinson, O.T.P.K. (1979), *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age*, Vol. I: The Mainland and Islands , SIMA 52.
- Howell, R. (1970), "A Survey of Eastern Arcadia in Prehistory", BSA 65, pp.79-127.
- Kelly, T. (1976), *A History of Argos up to 500 B.C.*
- McDonald, W.A., Coulson, W.D.E. and Rosser, J.(eds.) (1983), *Excavations at Nichoria in South-West Greece*, vol.III.
- McDonald, W.A. and Rapp Jr., G. (eds.) (1972), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing Bronze Age Regional Environment*.
- Mylonas, G.E. (1966), *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*.
- Papadopoulos, T.J. (1983), *Mycenaean Achaea*, Vol. I , SIMA 55.
- Popham, M. and Milburn, E. (1971), "The Late Helladic III C Pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi): A Summary", BSA 66, pp.333-49.
- Rutter, J.B. (1978), "A Plea for the Abandonment of the Term 'Sub-Mycenaean'", *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 3, pp.58-65.
- Smithson, E.L. (1977), "'Sub-Mycenaean' and LH III C Domestic Deposits in Athens", AJA 81, pp.78-9.
- Snodgrass, A.M.(1971), *The Dark Age of Greece*.
- , (1984), Review of W.A. McDonald, W.D.E. Coulson, J. Rosser (eds.), *op.cit.*, Antiquity 57, pp.152-3.

Chapter 4 (cont...)

Styrenius, C.-G. (1967), Sub-Mycenaean Studies.

Taylor, W. D. (1972), "Excavations at Ayios Stephanos",
BSA 67, pp.205-63.

Waterhouse, H. and Hope Simpson, R. (1960), "Prehistoric
Laconia I", BSA 55, pp.67-107.

---, (1961), "Prehistoric Laconia II", BSA 56, pp.221-60.

On "Barbarian Ware":

Catling, H.W. and E.A. (1981), "Barbarian Pottery from the
Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion, Sparta",
BSA 76, pp.71-82.

French, E. (1969), "The First Phase of LH III C", AA,
pp.133-6.

Hallager, B.P. (1983), "A New Social Class in Late Bronze
Age Crete: Foreign Traders in Khandia", Minoan Society:
Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981,
O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon (eds.), pp.111-9.

Harding, A.F., op.cit., Chapter 8.

Kilian, K. (1981), "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1978-9", AA,
pp.149-256.

Popham, M. and Milburn, E., op.cit.

Rutter, J.B. (1975), "Ceramic Evidence for Northern
Intruders in Southern Greece at the beginning of
the Late Helladic III C Period". AJA 79, pp.17-32.

---, (1977), "Late Helladic III C Pottery and Historical
Implications", Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece,
E.N. Davis (ed.), Archaeological Institute of America,
pp.1-20.

Rutter, J.B. and French, E. (1977), "The Handmade Burnished
Ware of the LH III C Period: Its Modern Context", AJA 81, pp.111-1

Chapter 4 (cont...)

Shaw, J.W.(1984), Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1982-3", Hesperia 53, pp.251-87.

Sherratt, S. (privately circulated to Dr. O. Dickinson), "Concerning the Note in AJA (1976) by G. Walberg in reply to J.B. Rutter in AJA (1975)".

---, (1979), Review of S. Deger-Jalkotzy, Fremde Zuwanderer im Spätmykenischen Griechenland: zu einer Gruppe handgemachter Keramik aus der Mykenischen III C Siedlungsschichter von Aigeira (1977), JHS 99, p.200.

Walberg, G. (1976), "Northern Intruders in Mycenaean III C? and reply from Rutter, J.B. , AJA 80, pp.186-8.

Chapter 5

Archaeological Reports, 1972/3 - 1984/5.

Desborough, V.R.d'A. (1972), The Greek Dark Ages.

Doumas, C. and Warren, P. (1979), "Thera: A Late Cycladic III Settlement at Monolithos", AAA 12, pp.232-6.

Hallager, B. (1983), "A New Social Class in Late Bronze Age Crete: Foreign Traders in Khania", Minoan Society: Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981, O. Krzyszkowska and L.Nixon (eds.), pp.111-9.

Hope Simpson, R. and Dickinson, O.T.P.K. (1979), A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age, Vol.I: The Mainland and Islands, SIMA 52.

Kanta, A. (1980), The LM III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution", SIMA 58.

Mee, C. (1982), Rhodes in the Bronze Age.

Mountjoy, R.A. (1984), "The Mycenaean III C Pottery from Phylakopi", Prehistoric Cyclades, J.A. MacGillivray and R.L.N. Barber (eds.), pp.255-41.

Chapter 5 (cont...)

- Renfrew, C. (1985), *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*.
- Renfrew, C. and Wagstaff, M. (1982), *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*.
- Shaw, J.W. (1984), "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1982-3", Hesperia 53, pp.251-87.
- Snodgrass, A.M. (1971), *The Dark Age of Greece*.
- Burkert, W. (1985), *Greek Religion*.
- Cartledge, P. (1979), *Sparta and Laconia: A Regional History 1300-362 B.C.*, Chapter 7.
- Chadwick, J. (1976), "Who were the Dorians?", La Parola del Passato 31, pp.103-17.
- Coulson, W.D.E. (1985), "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta", BSA 80, pp.29-84.
- Desborough, V.R.d'A. (1972), *The Greek Dark Ages*.
- Hammond, N.G.L. (1932), "Prehistoric Epirus and the Dorian Invasion", BSA 32, pp.131-79.
- , (1975), "The End of Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Age: (b) The Literary Tradition for the Migrations", CAH II/2, 3rd ed., pp.678-712.
- (1982), "The Peloponnese", CAH III/1, 2nd ed., pp.696-744.
- Hooker, J.T. (1977), *Mycenaean Greece*, Chapter 7.
- , (1985), Review of F. Schachermeyr, *Die Griechische Rückerinnerungen im Lichte neuer Forschungen* (1983), Gnomon 57, pp.26-9.
- Sandars, N. (1984), Review of F. Schachermeyr, *Die Agäische Frühzeit: die Ausgrabungen und ihre Ergebnisse für unser Geschichtsbild*, 4 Band (1980), AJA 88, pp.411-13.

Schachermeyr, F. (1980), Die Agäische Frühzeit: die Ausgrabungen und ihre Ergebnisse für unser Geschichtsbild, 4 Band-Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der Mykenischen Ära bis auf die Dorer.

---. (1983), "Die Zeit der Wanderungen im Spiegel ihrer Keramik: Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der Dark Age", Akten der Symposions von Stift Swettl (NÖ) 11-14 Okt. 1980, S. Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), pp.241-56.

Snodgrass, A.M. (1971), The Dark Age of Greece.

---, (1985), Review of F. Schachermeyr, Griechische Frühgeschichte (1984), Gnomon 57, pp.242-5.

Willetts, R.F. (1955), Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete.

---, (1965), Ancient Crete: A Social History.