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**After the palace and before the polis: study cases
from the centre and the periphery**

**The transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
in the Argolid and Central Greece (Phokis-East Lokris)**

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To my parents

Abstract

The thesis examines the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, i.e. the periods from Late Helladic IIIC (LHIIIC) to Protogeometric (PG) (1200-900 BC) in two areas of the Greek Mainland, the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris. The Argolid, and in particular the Argive plain, which included among others the citadel of Mycenae, could be described as the core area of the Mycenaean world *par excellence*, while Phokis -East Lokris could be conventionally thought to belong to the Mycenaean periphery, since no palatial establishment was ever developed in the area. Through the comparative study of the evidence from the two areas, the different course of their post-palatial development is studied, and the factors that affected this development are carefully examined and discussed. In particular, the thesis investigates whether and how the different Mycenaean past of the two areas, and more specifically the different role of each one of them in the Mycenaean world affected their evolution in the period not only immediately after the palatial collapse but also in the transition to the Early Iron Age. The analysis of all the published evidence from LHIIIC to PG period (settlement remains, burials and cult evidence) offers a detailed view of the occupation of the areas in each phase of the transitional period and helps us gain a general, long-term understanding of settlement patterns, burial customs, cult practices and material culture. The study of continuity and changes in all these aspects also allows us to follow the socio-political evolution. In general, it is shown that the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age was experienced very differently in each of the two areas under examination. The long-term view of the evidence as adopted by the present study, bridges the divide that scholarly literature has created between the two eras, while at the same time places the two areas in the general context of the Aegean. It also takes into account the significant role that external factors such as trade contacts or population movements played in this crucial period. Overall, this study stresses the individuality of each area and of each site of the Greek mainland, and demonstrates the complex historical reality of the transitional period and its many different components. The final aim of the thesis is to enlighten the transformation process that two different areas of the Greek mainland underwent from the post-palatial times until the beginning of the Early Iron Age, a process believed to carry the seeds for the rise of the most typical political formation of ancient Greece, the *polis*.

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Introduction

The transition from the LBA to the EIA constitutes a very crucial period beginning with the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces at the end of LHIIIB2 and lasting throughout the LHIIC, SM and PG periods. This is an era of major changes and transformation in every aspect of life, the socio-political organization, the economy, the culture. After the destruction of the palaces, the centralized administration system collapses, causing a chain of side effects in the Mycenaean heartlands. Large part of the population flees the Mainland, the countryside is largely abandoned, the palatial hierarchy dissolves, and several kinds of specialized crafts as well as the skill of writing are irreversibly lost. However, the end of the Mycenaean world has not come yet, and a last revival is achieved especially during the middle phase of LHIIC, but not with great duration. A new phase of decline follows in the end of the LBA, accompanied by a new wave of population movements. The following SM period is therefore generally known as a period of very much reduced population or even depopulation of areas, impoverishment and detachment from the Mycenaean past. The PG period finally, is marked with the first signs of recovery, which will be intensified in the subsequent phases of the EIA, leading into the Archaic and Classical world.

Although the above description largely fits the evidence from several areas of the Mycenaean world, it by no means applies to all parts of Greece, and the post-palatial and post-Mycenaean reality proves to have been much more complex on closer scrutiny. For the past thirty years, since the publication of the pioneering works of Vincent Desborough and Anthony Snodgrass, scholars have gained great interest in the transitional period from the LBA to the EIA, the relevant research has been intensified and a rich corpus of evidence has been added to that collected in the early 1970's by the two eminent scholars. Nevertheless, the darkness of the period still haunts modern research, and many of the subjects discussed in *The Greek Dark Ages* and in the *Dark Age of Greece*, such as the reasons behind the palatial collapse, the Dorian invasion, the Middle Helladic revival, are still the matter of endless dispute. Although these are all very crucial issues, the richness of the material that has come to light over the years inevitably leads research away from questions of general nature, and instead directs it to the acknowledgement of the multiplicity and variety of the LBA-EIA transition, and consequently to specialization. Scholars nowadays choose to concentrate their studies on a certain phase of the transitional period, a certain area of Greece or a certain kind of material culture or archaeological remains.

In the present study it is attempted to narrow down the geographical focus, without however losing the bigger picture, while at the same time retaining a broad chronological

spectrum, aiming mainly to transcend the largely artificial divide of the Dark Ages. In order to stress and study the variety that characterizes the period, two areas of different Mycenaean ‘identity’ are selected: the Argolid, the core area of the Mycenaean world *par excellence*, and Phokis-East Lokris, an area most often characterized in scholarly literature as periphery. The Argolid, and especially the Argive plain that hosted the citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea, is probably the most characteristic Mycenaean heartland. It is also one of the areas that fit the narrative cited in the beginning of the introduction, and therefore will give us the chance to explore the complexity hidden behind what is thought to be common knowledge. In addition, the Argolid has been the focus of excavations and surveys for more than a hundred years, guaranteeing us a rich corpus of material and a relatively good knowledge of the area. Phokis and East Lokris, although constituting two separate regions in ancient Greek geography, are perceived and treated conjunctionally in this study as one peripheral area with several different parts, lying in close proximity to the Mycenaean core area of Boiotia. Our LBA-EIA knowledge of the area has been remarkably enriched over the last twenty years largely thanks to the intensive research of the local archaeological authorities, and the evidence points to a prosperous area, which in no way fits the model of post-palatial revival – decline – SM depopulation – PG recovery. Therefore, the comparative approach of the two areas of the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris will help us follow their different evolution in the transitional period and examine the different factors that affected it, as well as contemplate on the issue of centre-periphery relationships in the Mycenaean world.

A parenthesis should be opened at this point, in order to discuss and define the terms centre/core and periphery themselves. Although this categorization seems simple and straightforward, the meaning of the terms, their defining criteria and the core-periphery relationship are major questions under discussion among scholars.

The semantic scheme core/centre-periphery has its origins in social science and in particular in the world-system model that I. Wallerstein invented in order to interpret the rise and development of the modern world from the 16th century onwards.¹ This model has generated many discussions among ancient historians and archaeologists, who have tried to apply it to the ancient world.² With reference to Mycenaean Greece, the terms have been occasionally adopted but are not always given the meaning that is dictated by Wallerstein’s world-system model. As Birgitta Eder explains, the terms should have the following meaning according to the model: the periphery signifies the province that is dependent on

¹ Wallerstein (1974)

² Cf. for example Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen (1987).

and exploited by the centre, and their relationship is one of power and control on behalf of the centre, submission and dependency on behalf of the periphery. The periphery provides raw materials and human resources to the centre, which in return supplies the local elites with manufactured goods. Eder herself believes in the heuristic value of the model and supports its application to the Mycenaean world.³

According to an opposite view by Bryan Feuer, the core-periphery model is not appropriate for Mycenaean Greece in political terms, since it is created for and typically applies to large states or empires. Instead, Feuer prefers to use the model in cultural terms, and proposes the following ‘working definition’: “the periphery comprises those areas outside the core which yet contain cultural elements that are recognizably Mycenaean” – provided that we agree on what is ‘recognizably Mycenaean’. He goes on to point out the existence of cultural differentiations even within the core area. Regarding the relationship between Mycenaean periphery and centre, he stresses how different its nature can be, depending on the differing cultural processes that might have brought these two in contact (-invasion, peaceful migration, trade and stimulus diffusion), under the influence of “environmental factors, the nature of indigenous cultural groups, Mycenaean goals and motivations (e.g. trade, conquest, etc.), needs and desires of indigenous cultures and the history of relations between Mycenaean and other cultures.”⁴ He has also more recently stressed the ‘variation and diversity’ that can be noted within the periphery, and more specifically the different levels of diffusion of cultural elements from the core to the several areas of the periphery, as well as the resulting different degrees of acculturation.⁵

The above disagreement on whether and how the core-periphery model can be applied to the Mycenaean world derives in fact from a direct opposition on the political structure of this world, i.e. on whether or not all areas sharing the Mycenaean culture should be perceived as parts of the same political system, of one ‘state’.⁶ This issue is too extensive and does not need to be discussed in this study. Instead, the terms core/centre and periphery will be used here in purely archaeological sense, meaning that Mycenaean core/centre will signify any area that has produced palatial establishments, while all other areas of the Mycenaean world will be considered as parts of the periphery. This seemingly simple but

³ Eder (forthcoming b): “World system analysis offers a structural framework, which may also be applied to societies smaller than of global scale. The dynamics between centre and periphery effect world empires as well as smaller centralised polities, and in the present context I make use of this model in applying it to a rather local level of investigation.” She also distinguishes the ‘marginal areas’, which are not economically or politically dependent on the centre, but still have contacts and exchanges with the centre and its peripheries.

⁴ Feuer (1999) 7-10

⁵ Feuer (2003) 15-21

⁶ Cf. for example discussion in Wright (1984) 58-70.

also straightforward definition is based on Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy's view, according to which areas described as 'Mycenaean periphery' are those which did not acquire palaces because of unfavourable geographical conditions, or restricted agricultural resources, or due to their peripheral location, or even for other, not self-evident, perhaps political reasons, such as the exercise of power or at least influence by palatial centres over areas beyond their territories, preventing the emergence of other palaces.⁷

By following the above definition, it is deliberately avoided to clarify the relationship between the centre and the periphery, so as to allow space for contemplation on regional differentiations and for clarifications. It must be first of all acknowledged that the currently unequal availability of archaeological and especially written evidence prevents us from defining the relationship between a palace and its peripheral areas in all cases with the same certainty. To give an example, it is well known thanks to the rich corpus of Linear B tablets from Pylos that the peripheral area of Nichoria was under administrative palatial control.⁸ Due to the fragmentary corpus from the Argive citadels, however, it is very difficult to specify the nature of their relationship with a peripheral area such as the Southern Argolid. It could be generally said that it is the centre that establishes the cultural trends, and the periphery that follows, and also that the palace monopolizes economic enterprise and international relations, while the periphery stays in its economic shadow.⁹ The exact degree of power or control exercised by the centre is not however easy to specify, and therefore, whenever the available evidence is not conclusive, it is possible to contemplate on this issue and also to make speculations and suggestions, but it is not possible to draw firm conclusions, while applying our knowledge from one area to all other areas of Mycenaean Greece without any hesitation could prove to be misleading.

On the above basis, the present study will attempt to shed some light on the question of the core-periphery relationship and to propose a potential method for approaching this question by adopting a long-term view starting from the post-palatial period and reaching into the EIA, combined with the comparative approach of two different areas of the Mycenaean world. With this aim in mind, focus will be placed on the socio-political evolution of each of the two areas under examination throughout the transitional period from the LHIIC to the PG period, as much as this is possible to trace on the basis of the available archaeological evidence, with the help of course of earlier research on this issue and against the existing theoretical background. In this way, a general picture of the LBA-EIA transition

⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (1995) esp. 374

⁸ Chadwick (1976) 35-48 still remains the basic reference-work for the political geography of Pylos.

⁹ Deger-Jalkotzy (1998) 124

in each area will emerge, and the comparison of their different courses of development will help us appreciate the effects of their Mycenaean past and LBA-EIA transformation onto their later evolution into *poleis* and *ethne*. While neither imposing an artificial continuum nor ignoring the major changes that took place in the post-palatial and post-Mycenaean world, this study aims to demonstrate the significance of the long-term study of the evidence and to discard any notion of the ‘Dark Ages’ as a gap in historical sequence standing in between the Mycenaean and the Early Greek world.

Finally, a short note should be made here as regards the structure of the thesis. In order to study the transition from the LBA to the EIA in both areas, a twofold approach is necessary. First, one needs to study the transition from the palatial to post-palatial times, i.e. the situation in the LHIIC period, after the collapse of the palatial system and in comparison with it. At the next stage one should work on the transition from LHIIC to the beginning of the EIA, i.e. the SM and PG periods. This gradual approach is necessary in order to get a better understanding of the evidence and of the information they could provide us with. It is necessary to overcome the old trend of broad comparisons between the glory of the Mycenaean palatial world and the poverty of EIA finds, which is besides what has led in the past to misconceptions such as the generalized and vague notion of the “Dark Ages”. In order to reconstruct the transition from the LBA to the EIA, we need to proceed phase by phase throughout the time-period from the end of LHIIB until the PG period.

While following the same chronological approach for both areas, the different corpuses of the available evidence from each one of them also calls for a different treatment. Therefore, in the first chapter on the Argolid, focus is placed on the five main sites of the Argive plain, i.e. Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Argos and Asine. Each of the main sites is discussed separately, and then a general summary and discussion on their development follows. The results of the surveys that have been undertaken in the ‘Argive periphery’, the Southern Argolid and the Methana peninsula, presented in Appendix I, are also taken into account. The detailed archaeological evidence from each of the major sites, entailing settlement finds, cult remains and burials, is presented in Appendixes II-VI.

In the second chapter on Phokis-East Lokris, a gazetteer of all LBA-EIA sites of the area is presented, accompanied by the related finds, while the evidence from the major excavated sites of Elateia, Kynos, Kalapodi, Medeon and Delphi is presented in detail in Appendixes VII-XI. In addition to the LBA-EIA development of each site, emphasis is also placed on the topography of the area, so as to address questions of interrelations and

communication. In the end of this chapter, a phase-by-phase reconstruction of each part of the area is presented and issues of continuity and change are discussed.

Finally, in the third chapter, the development of the two areas is examined from the viewpoint of socio-political evolution and within the wider context of the Aegean, and in the end, a general comparative synthesis leads us into the later history of the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris.

Chapter I

The Argolid

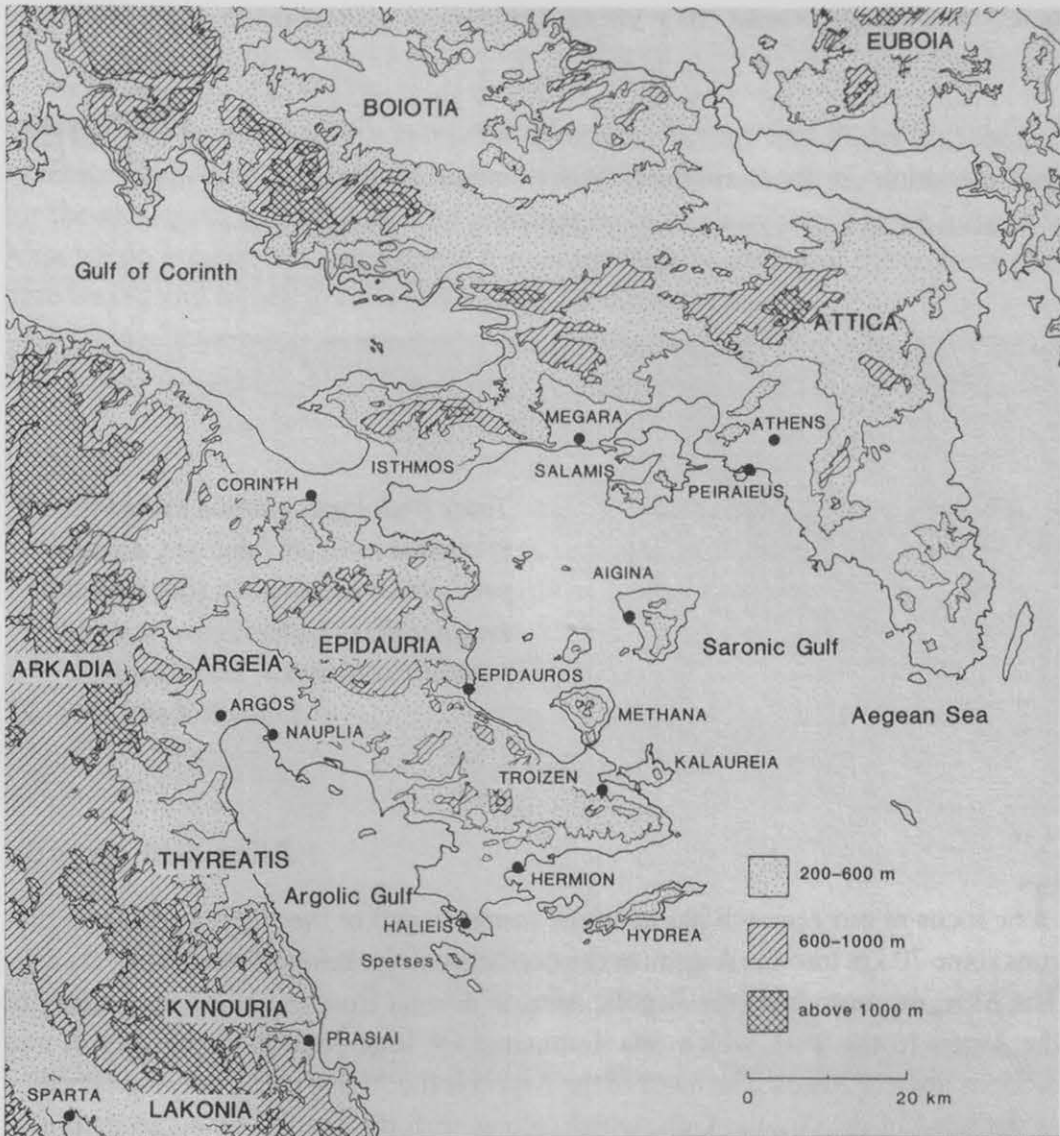


Fig.1
The North-
eastern
Peloponnese
and surrounding
areas

1. Introduction

The Argolid is the peninsula that runs some 70km into the Aegean at the north-east edge of the Peloponnese (fig.1). The region is dominated by mountains. The basic lowland area is the coastal Argive plain, which has always been the most fertile and productive of the region (fig.2). The plain has a triangular shape defined to the North by the ridges of Megalovouni and Tritos, to the West by the Artemision ridge and to the East by Arachnaion,

while to the South it looks out to the deep and sheltered bay of Argos.¹⁰ The plain is naturally supplied with subterranean water resources, which however need to be artificially irrigated in order to bring the land into full production. Two rivers, which are actually winter torrents, Inachos and Xerias/ Charadros, flow from the west part of the plain, unite to the North of Argos and then turn towards the Argive gulf, where they deposit rich alluvial sediments close to the coast. However, “in practical terms they contribute nothing to the watering of the Argive plain”, since they only flow in the winter as a result of the season storms. “The only river that flows constantly is the Erasinos, South of Argos, which emerges as a full-grown stream from springs at Kephalarion, at the west foot of Megavouni, fed by unseen, underground reservoirs under the mountains.”¹¹



Fig.2
The Argive
plain

The rest of the Argolid, to the East of the plain, is known as the Argive Akte and comprises the areas of Epidauria to the North, Troizenia to the South-east – including the Methana peninsula – and Ermionis to the South-west – the most southern part of the region (fig.3).¹² The Akte has been characterized as “an island moored to the mainland”.¹³ It is a

¹⁰ The plain is 14 km wide at base, that is, the coast, and some 21 km long, from the coast to its apex at the pass over to Corinth – cf. Tomlinson (1972) 7-14 for geomorphology and topography of the Argive plain.

¹¹ Tomlinson (1972) 10

¹² Tomlinson (1972) 8: “the eastern mountains isolate the plain from the rest of the promontory, Akte.”

¹³ Jameson *et al* (1994) 13

larger communities, but the patterns of relationship have not been studied much¹⁵, as Dickinson has pointed out in regard to the whole of the Mycenaean world.¹⁵ On the basis of Linear B texts and inscribed sealings, the plain appears to have been organized under a palace economy. The questions of how this world was politically and economically organized and what the relationship was between the citadels touch upon vast topics that have troubled a great number of scholars for a long time and still remain open to discussion.¹⁶

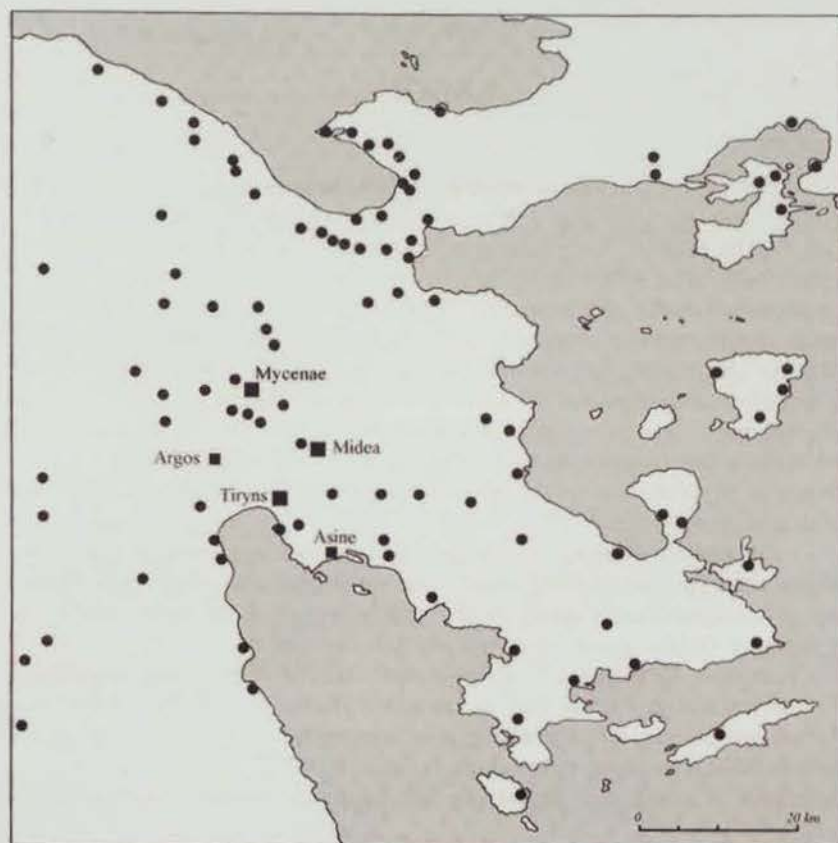


Fig.4
Distribution
of LBA sites
in the Argolid
and
neighbouring
areas

Towards the end of LHIIIB, the palatial system appears to have collapsed. In LHIIIC, the number of settlements was largely reduced in the plain. Most of the smaller or medium-sized settlements were abandoned, and the settlements of Mycenae and Midea appear to have been reduced in size; only Tiryns grew to an unprecedented extent. The old palatial society must have been radically altered. No evidence of Linear B texts has survived from the post-palatial world, and a new socio-political order must have emerged. A gradual or sudden decline appears to have befallen on all the LHIIIC centres towards the end of the period, while the transition from this stage to the beginning of the EIA is in general quite obscure. In order to try and clarify this picture, we first need to study the transition from the LBA to the EIA in the case of each settlement that managed to survive the collapse of the

¹⁵ Dickinson (1994) 78

¹⁶ Cf. chapter 3: 1.1 for discussion on these issues.

palatial world separately and then try to have an overall look at the whole Argive plain. The study of the major palatial centres, Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea should come first, and then the other settlements that were of medium size and lower status in LHIIIB, such as Argos, Asine and Nauplion, will follow.

2. Mycenae

At the end of LHIII B, the citadel of Mycenae had reached its most extended form and developed stage of occupation (fig.5).¹⁷ The palace, lying at the highest point of the citadel of Mycenae, very close to the summit of the hill, is of course considered to be the

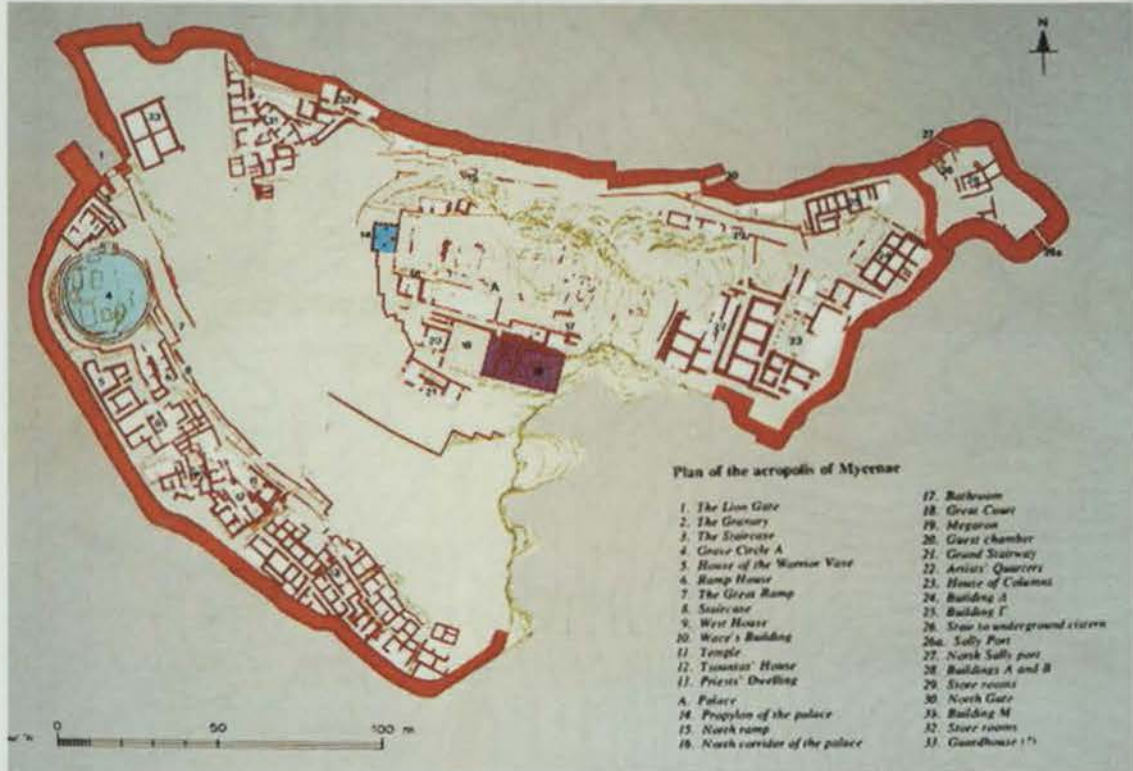


Fig.5
The citadel
of Mycenae

centre of the political, administrative and religious power that ruled over Mycenae, and the heart of the palace, i.e. the megaron, must have been the seat of the ruler, the *wanax*. All other parts of the citadel were occupied by several kinds of buildings serving as residential quarters, storerooms and workshops. Most significant is the complex of the Cult Centre, built on three successive terraces next to the west fortification wall and connected with the palace through the Processional Way.¹⁸ Several kinds of remains have also been found around the citadel of Mycenae: residential and commercial complexes have been excavated, and more evidence has been revealed through surface surveys. It has been estimated that the settlement outside the fortification walls stretched to an area of *ca.* 32 ha.¹⁹ Twenty-seven chamber tomb cemeteries have also been identified on the hill slopes around the citadel, to the West,

¹⁷ For earlier LHIII B phases of the citadel cf. Wace (1921-23) 40, Mylonas (1962) 113-129, Iakovidis (1983) 26; (1986) 241 and n.65, Wright (1987) 181, n.41, Mountjoy (1993) 145, French (2002) 52-57.

¹⁸ Mylonas (1981)

¹⁹ French (2002) 64-69, 71-74; (2003) 22
Shelton (2003) 35

North and South, and over two hundred and fifty chamber tombs, both excavated and unexcavated, have been located (fig.6).²⁰

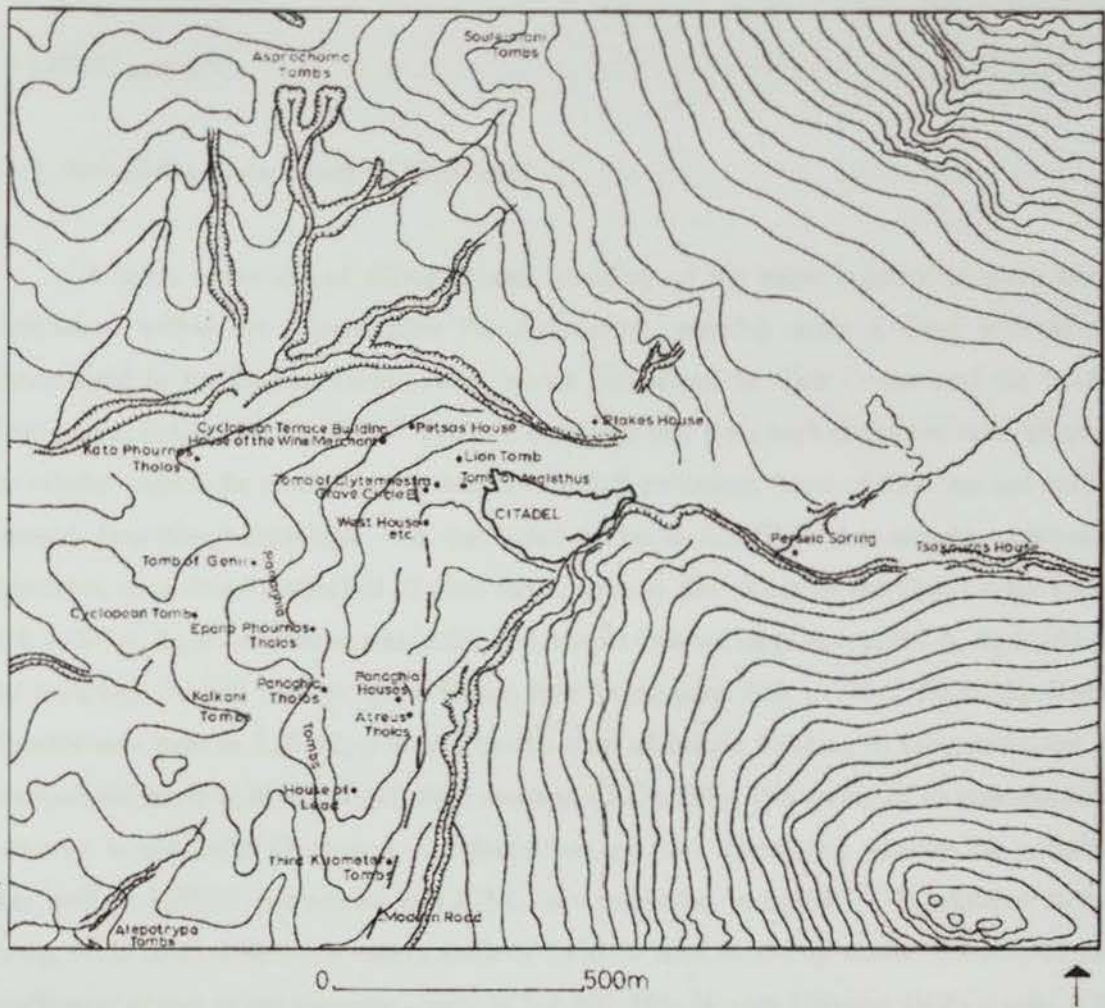


Fig.6
Plan of
the area of
Mycenae

A destruction of great scale appears to hit the citadel at the very end of LHIIIB2.²¹ There are still questions regarding the exact nature, extent and cause of this seemingly whole-scale destruction. According to the most popular theory an earthquake was the cause for this destruction.²² Scientific evidence has also been brought forward to support the theory that a series of recurrent earthquakes might have hit the Argolid in the LHIIIB period.²³

²⁰ Shelton (2003) 35

For presentation of the cemeteries cf. Alden (1981), Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985), Mountjoy (1993) and Shelton (2003)

²¹ Cf. Iakovidis (1986) 236-237 for the palace; Taylour (1981) 10 for the Citadel House Area; Moore-Taylour (1999) 2 for the Temple Complex; Mountjoy (1976) 77-80 and Iakovidis (1986) 242 for the South House; Mylonas (1968b) 11-27 and Iakovidis (1986) 238-239 for House A (of the High Priest); and Iakovidis-French (2003) 16 for the lack of conflagration evidence from the South-west Quarter.

²² French (1998) 3-4

²³ Maroukian *et al.* (1996) 191-194

However, voices have also been raised against this theory, and it has been observed that not all buildings inside and outside the citadel appear to have suffered concurrently from the same kind of destruction.²⁴

2.1 LHIIC period²⁵

2.1.1. *Re-building of the citadel: LHIIC-early*

A great operation of filling-in and levelling of the ruins appears to have been undertaken within the citadel after the destruction, possibly after a short interval as documented in the Citadel House Area, which comprises the Cult Centre and the South House (app. II.4, p.299, fig. II.3).²⁶ The new buildings that were built above the ruins all over the citadel seem to be much simpler than the LHIIB structures. Most of them are not multi-roomed, two-storey buildings – as they used to be in LHIIB – but simple, one-room structures, occasionally attached to each other, such as the rooms in the Cult Centre (app. II.4, p.300-4, fig.II.4-5), the rooms in the South-west Quarter (app. II.7, p.307-8, fig.II.10) or the buildings Psi and Omega in the Palace East Wing (app. II.9, p.308-9, fig.II.12). If the Granary was built in LHIIC, it would be the most elaborate building to be constructed in post-palatial times at Mycenae (cf. fig.5 and app. II.2, p.298). The dating of its construction, however, is still under discussion, and thus it has not been made clear whether the building was built in LHIIB and reused in LHIIC or constructed in LHIIC.²⁷ In addition to the newly built structures, some others built in LHIIB were probably reused (houses in the south-west corner of the enceinte – app. II.7, p.307-308; Houses Gamma, Delta – app. II.9, p.310, fig.II.13; Beta – app. II.11, p.311, fig.II.4; casemates and other rooms in the area of House M – app. II.12, p.311, fig.II.15).

In general, activity was resumed to one extent or another in most areas of the citadel in LHIIC-early. Although the available evidence does not present us with a clear picture of all the LHIIC structures and phases of habitation, it could anyway be suggested that the

Nur and Kline (2000). Cf. also earlier study by Papadopoulos (1996) 205-209.

²⁴ Cf. for example Tournavitou (1995) 298-299 in reference to the Ivory Houses outside the citadel.

²⁵ For a detailed presentation of the published evidence for the LHIIC and EIA occupation at Mycenae and references to excavation reports and publications cf. Appendix II.

²⁶ Cf. Taylour (1981) 1-2: it was named as such by Professor A. Wace, in order to distinguish this area from his other excavations outside the acropolis.

²⁷ Iakovidis (1986) 240-241: built at the same time with the construction of the Lion Gate

French (2002) 79: built after the devastation of 1200 BC

In Iakovidis-French (2003) 18, its dating is not cleared out, and it is only mentioned that because of its constructional details in relation to the citadel wall, "...it was built at a late date".

concept behind the buildings rebuilt in LHIIC was not to restore the LHIIB settlement plan but to re-occupy as much of the area possible depending on the condition of the ruins. The plan and orientation of each newly built room seems to be dictated by the ruins of the pre-existing buildings that were possible to reuse in each area and not by a general plan.

It is also quite doubtful whether the new buildings or the old, reused ones continued to serve the same function as before the destruction. Besides, it is difficult to pin down the exact role and function of most of the LHIIC buildings on the basis of the available information. Only the Granary can be discussed with safety in this respect, being apparently used as a storeroom of agricultural produce and also possibly as a guardhouse.²⁸ However, the still unresolved issue of its dating does not allow us to discuss whether its function changed or not after the great destruction at the end of LHIIB2.

On the other hand, the LHIIC-early complex of the two rooms in the Cult Centre, which are called here A and B (app. II.4, p.300-301, fig.II.4), seems to take over and to continue the religious role of the LHIIB buildings in this area, while the rich floor deposit found in room B, containing items such as ivory fragments and bronze tools, presents significant analogies to the contents of the deposit sealed in this same area after a destruction at around 1230 BC (app. II.22, p.323).²⁹ Although the room in LHIIC appears to have been roofed and not to be an open-air space, as it used to be in LHIIB (fig.II.3, room 36), it constitutes a quite probable case of function continuity in the Cult Centre from palatial to post-palatial times. This means, however, that the reservations that have been expressed for the function of this area as a workshop in LHIIB should also apply to the LHIIC period.³⁰ In the absence of material that would clearly constitute workshop residue, it is difficult to attribute this function to room B. The suggestion that it was instead used as a storeroom of cult implements or offerings sounds more possible.³¹ In any case, its function would

²⁸ Iakovidis and French (2003) 18

²⁹ The LHIIB floor deposit in this area contained pottery as well as precious items, such as tools of bronze and antler, numerous tiny disc beads, steatite spindle whorls, little strips of ivory, and a steatite mould for jewellery, “one of the finest and best preserved of its kind” – cf. Taylour (1981) 40: floor 2 and Megaw (1966/67) 9

³⁰ According to Taylour (1981) 40, area 36 might have been used as a workshop for the production of objects of high quality. Nevertheless, it has also been noted that the mould found here might be out of its primary context, because of the complete absence of associated working debris. In addition, “there is no indication that ivory was worked here either.” The absence of debitage, i.e. tiny chips and trimmings, not only from this room but also from the whole area of the Cult Centre has been stressed – cf. Krzyszkowska (1997) 148 and n.26, but also Voutsaki (2001a) 197, n.7, who underlines “the notorious problem of how to define a workshop because of the problems of preservation, the recycling or removal of prestige items and raw materials, the uncertainty surrounding the precise manufacturing processes, etc.” Alternatively, it has been suggested that the Cult Centre was visited by “artisans who left as offerings either artefacts from their tool kit or unwanted fragments of their materials” – cf. Evely (1992) 22.

³¹ Albers (1994) 51

probably have been related to that of room A, and thus these two rooms could be regarded as a religious complex potentially carrying on a tradition rooted in palatial times.

The floor deposit of room B also shows that luxurious items were still in circulation in post-palatial times. An elite class must have still existed, which could distinguish itself through the possession and use of such items or through their dedication as offerings. If the room with the deposit actually functioned as a storeroom of cult items, as it has been suggested, we could also assume that cult in post-palatial times was still embellished with luxury denoting prestige and power to those who performed it and those who controlled it. Therefore, it might be true that “the level of material investment in cult [...] was reduced to a disproportionate extent”,³² when seen in the context of the dense LHIIC settlement at Mycenae and in comparison to the wealth invested in the LHIIB Cult Centre. On the other hand, however, the combination of cult with luxury and consequently with prestige and power was still valid to some extent.

In spite of the possibly continuing cult function, the plan of the LHIIC-early rooms in the Cult Centre does not appear to repeat the architectural plan of the LHIIB cult buildings. In addition, the newly built structures over the Processional Way point to a significant change in the approach of this area (app. II.5, p.305-6, fig.II.6-7). The Processional Way is obviously no longer in operation, and the previous official connection between the Cult Centre and the ruling authorities, i.e. the palace, is now inevitably lost. It seems that in post-palatial times, cult played a different, less elaborate role in the life of the community than before.

Nevertheless, continuity of plan and function has been claimed for the buildings Psi and Omega in the East Wing of the palace (app. II.9, p.308-9, fig.II.12). In particular, it has been noted, “it seems that in rebuilding the destroyed central unit the later builders followed in general the arrangement of the previous unit with the two contiguous megara, eliminating the entrance and corridor of the older structure, but using the lime floors of the older structure wherever they survived.”³³ The LHIIC structures in this area, however, do not really follow the arrangement and organization of the LHIIB House of Columns, which actually was a very elaborate building, consisting of several rooms organized around a central court lined with columns and in direct contact with the Artisans’ Quarters to its West. Besides, it should not be considered insignificant that in LHIIC the door to the workshop was walled up. The vital relationship between the two units had disappeared. Although it is difficult to pin down the significance and function of the LHIIC structures in the area, they

³² Morgan (1996) 50
Morgan (1999) 384-385

³³ Mylonas (1968b) 38

still do not seem to play the role of replacing the LHIIB House of Columns, as it has been argued.³⁴

In conclusion, significant work was undertaken in LHIIC-early to deal with the ruins and to re-occupy the citadel wherever it was possible, but this does not seem to be done according to a single plan of re-organization, but in a rather fragmentary way. It has been suggested that the central palatial administration was no longer in charge.³⁵ Nevertheless, some kind of political power must have still been in the lead so that all the rebuilding operations could be organized, and especially so that two main aspects of life could still be cared for: the storing of agricultural produce, pointing to organized economy, and the construction of a cult edifice within the old Cult Centre, possibly betraying a wish to preserve a link with the past.

In addition, habitation continues outside the citadel too. The information is very fragmentary, but still points to re-occupation of areas inhabited since LHIIB: the Panagia Houses (app. II.15, p.314), the Plakes House (app. II.16, p.315), and, most importantly, the House of the Tripod Burial (app. II.14, p.313). The latter seems to constitute the only case of restoration of the same more or less ground plan with that of the LHIIB phase. It is worth wondering whether this building acquired some special significance in LHIIC – and for this reason was partially restored to its palatial-times plan – and if this could in any way relate to the choice of this particular area for the rich Tripod Burial, that took place here probably after the abandonment of the building (app.II.20, p.320-21, fig.II.21-3).

There is also evidence for continuous use of chamber tombs in LHIIC-early, but because of problems relating to research methods and the lack of publications it is impossible to reach precise conclusions regarding the exact period or patterns of use of all tombs (app. II.19, p.316-8).³⁶ It has been in general observed regarding the use of the chamber tomb cemeteries in LHIIC at Mycenae that “burials of this period occur in cemeteries fairly widespread in the north, central and south areas” and that “no new cemeteries were established at this time. This seems to support the argument for continuity of the settlement at Mycenae during LHIIC, and not simply reuse of the tombs.”³⁷

³⁴ Mylonas (1968b) 37 argued for building Omega in particular: “its proportions, its capacity, and its character indicate that it was one of the important structures of the IIC period; apparently a building erected to replace the destroyed central unit of the East wing of the palace.”

³⁵ French (1998) 4

³⁶ Shelton (2003) 35

For problems relating to the study of the material from tombs excavated by Tsountas, due to imprecise descriptions in the diaries and lack of cataloguing cf. Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985) 316-319.

³⁷ Shelton (2003) 38

2.1.2 Changes in LHIIC-middle

The occupation of the citadel continued in LHIIC-middle too, but some areas seem to be abandoned, such as that of the House of Columns and the South-west Quarter. In the Citadel House Area, most of the LHIIC-early buildings were abandoned sooner or later in LHIIC-middle, and rebuilding was possibly undertaken in a less organized manner than before (app. II.4, p.302-4, fig.II.5). Nevertheless, the use of a well-thought-out storage facility such as the Granary indicates that a controlled and organised society carried on living at Mycenae in LHIIC-middle too (app. II.2, p.298). Besides, other areas of the citadel have also produced evidence for LHIIC-middle activity. Such is the area of House M (app. II.12, p.311), the South House (app. II.4, p.302) and the *epichosis* next to the Hellenistic Tower (app. II.6, p.306-7), where several succeeding floors of LHIIC-early and LHIIC-middle have been excavated, with the last floor producing fresco fragments, one of which depicted the head of a woman, the so-called 'Lady with the Lily'.³⁸ It has been suggested that this floor must have belonged to a cult room, succeeding the richly decorated with frescoes House A, which stood here in LHIIB and might have too hosted a cult room.³⁹ According to Mylonas, House A might have been the house of some important person such as the High Priest in charge of the Cult Centre.⁴⁰ In addition, the material that washed down from higher up the slope and accumulated over parts of the Citadel House Area against the west fortification wall contained many excellent examples of pictorial pottery dating to LHIIC-middle (app. II.4, p.304).⁴¹ A famous example of pictorial decoration, the Warrior Vase, was found in the area of the homonymous house, but because of the lack of excavation details it cannot be considered as a safe indication of the re-use of the building (app. II.3, p.298-9).

LHIIC-middle date has also been suggested for the structures in the court of the palatial megaron (fig.7). The complex of rooms that Tsountas revealed in 1886 in this area has been generally considered to date to the G period on the basis of G pottery that Tsountas reported to have found within these rooms. More recently, however, Mazarakis-Ainian agreed on the one hand that "the plan and the finds (only sherds were reported) suggest a household complex which was certainly in use during the LG period", but also tentatively suggested that this complex might have been built "earlier than the 8th century, perhaps even in the LHIIC or the DA period." He noted that according to Tsountas, "not all the walls descend down to the level of the Mycenaean courtyard, which implies that some of them

³⁸ Mylonas (1968a) 10-11; (1970) 120-121; (1971) 146-147

³⁹ Albers (1994) 52

⁴⁰ Mylonas (1981) 319

⁴¹ Crouwel (1991) esp.31-32

(fig.7). Finally, she suggested that Tsountas' description of the pottery found between the walls as of "geometric type with designs of animals and birds" could actually refer to LHIIIC-middle pottery. Besides, "when the structures over the Great Court were taken down in 1920 no sherds later than LHIII were found".⁴⁴

These suggestions are indeed very interesting and thought-provoking, but because of our incomplete information on excavation details, they are very difficult to prove. However, it is perhaps worth paying attention to a photograph from the archives of the German Archaeological Institute, which Nancy Klein has published (fig.8 – compare with the photograph of the court after Wace had cleared the area: fig.9).⁴⁵ This photo, which probably dates from Rodenwaldt's work in 1914 (as French has suggested),⁴⁶ shows the court of the palace and is apparently taken from inside the *prodomos* of the megaron, i.e. from East facing West. We can see the vestibule's walls standing to a considerable height on either side of the entrance threshold, and inside the court one of the walls of the "geometric houses" of roughly North-South orientation resting on a fill. Next to it is the deep fill, upon which stood the terrace of the later temple that was built on the summit of the citadel hill, following an East-West direction.

Fig.8
View of the
megaron
court before
the removal
of the
'geometric'
walls



Fig.9
Photo of
the
megaron
vestibule
and court
after its
clearing

The house walls (at least most of them) were reported lying on a 0.30m thick layer of earth above the floor of the court, as can also be seen in this photograph.⁴⁷ This kind of stratigraphy indicates that some time had certainly elapsed between the destruction of the palace and the construction of these houses. On the other hand, this period of time must have not been very long and the walls of the palace, reaching higher than the 0.30m fill, must have

⁴⁴ French (2002) 136-138

⁴⁵ Klein (1997) pl. 49b

⁴⁶ French (2002) 136-137

⁴⁷ Cf. above n. 42

still been visible.⁴⁸ This lends even more credibility to the suggestion that the builders chose the area which was still free of ruins, i.e. the court. They neither made any effort to level off the ruins of the megaron and other rooms of the palace nor re-used any of the standing walls.⁴⁹

This, however, echoes a totally different way of re-inhabiting an area from that followed in the LHIIC re-occupation of the Citadel House Area. There, ruins were levelled and walls were re-used. A similar pattern of levelling ruins and re-using LHIIB walls can also be observed in the House of Columns. Thus, if the walls in the court of the palace were indeed built in LHIIC, they would reflect a totally different way of re-habitation from that noticed in the rest of the citadel. On the other hand, the rebuilding in the Citadel House Area and the House of Columns is dated to LHIIC-early, while in LHIIC-middle the occupation of the Citadel House Area was much less organized and the LHIIB ruins were not re-used as much as before. Therefore, the date of the structures in the court to LHIIC-middle, as suggested by French, might fit with the changed attitude that can be noticed for the area of the Cult Centre in this phase.

It should be noted, however, that signs of continuity still exist within the citadel in LHIIC-middle, as observed in the case of the alleged House of the Priest (House A), whose memory was apparently preserved until this phase, as indicated by its successor, a building with a possibly similar function. Thus, I would suspect that the total lack of concern towards the palace ruins, as exemplified by the structures in the court, should date later than the LHIIC-middle phase. As for a LHIIC-late dating, the general impression from other areas of the citadel in this phase is of gradual withdrawal, abandonment and destruction, as we will see shortly, which does not easily come in terms with a decision to try at this stage to settle down at a new place inside the fortification walls.

In any case, it should be stressed that the evidence does not allow us to draw any parallels between the post-palatial building in the court of Mycenae and Building T in Tiryns, which will be discussed in details further on, in the respective section (chapter I: 3.1.2, p. 33-34). There is no similarity in the treatment of the LHIIB palace ruins at the two places. In Tiryns it has been convincingly argued that they deliberately build on the LHIIB walls and follow the latter's alignment in order to include again the same throne-place that

⁴⁸ Most of the walls of the palace stand to a considerable height even today: the north wall of the vestibule is preserved to a height of over 2m and the north and west walls of the megaron stand to a height of about 3m – cf. Wace (1921-23) 237-240.

⁴⁹ Klein notes that the photo “shows that there was a sizeable accumulation of collapse from the Mycenaean palace below these rubble walls. Although the walls of the earlier palace were visible, the later building appears to have been opportunistically built within an open area, but was not a rebuilding or reoccupation of the palace itself.” – Klein (1997) 277.

existed in the Megaron before the destruction. Building T might have had a much simpler architectural plan than its predecessor, but it definitely drew on old symbols, an attitude that has been interpreted as a claim for legitimacy.⁵⁰ The building at Mycenae, on the contrary, betrays a purely opportunistic wish to make use of an area relatively free of ruins as compared to its surroundings, and seems to reflect ignorance of or indifference towards the ruins of the Great Megaron.

On the basis of the scanty and imprecise information on the remains in the court of the palace, it seems that the only possible way of examining them and suggesting a date for them is by comparing them to the rest of the citadel's remains and by trying to see in which chronological context they fit better. It could be argued of course that this is not a valid process, because in every set of patterns there are also exceptions to the rule. To establish an exception, however, one needs data, which are not available in this case. In such a case, it would probably be safer to look at the bigger picture, which seems to indicate that the building in question does not fit in the general context of LHIIC Mycenae, and therefore its dating to this period does not seem to be entirely convincing, however tempting this suggestion might sound.

The evidence for habitation outside the citadel was reduced in LHIIC-middle, with the House of the Tripod Burial and the Panagia Houses no longer inhabited in this phase. The area, however, was not completely deserted, as indicated by sparse evidence from the area to the West of the House of the Tripod Burial (app.II.14, p.313). Some significant changes also appear to occur in this period. First, none of the chamber tombs used continuously into LHIIC-early appears to receive LHIIC-middle burials. Instead, four other tombs are being re-used in this phase (app. II.19, p.316-8). However, due to the problems faced in reconstructing the exact use-sequence of the chamber tombs at Mycenae, not too much emphasis should be put upon this point. It seems to be more important a change that single burials started taking place in the ruins of Mycenaean buildings outside the citadel in LHIIC-middle, such as one burial in the Cyclopean Terrace Building (app.II.20, p.319), as well as probably the Tripod Burial and the other burials in the remains of the homonymous house (app.II.20, p.320-21). Another significant cultural innovation is the tumulus with the nine cremation urns at Chania, even though the contents are "purely Mycenaean" (app. II.20, p.321).⁵¹

⁵⁰ Kilian (1981a) 160; (1981b) 51-53
Maran (2000) 14-15

⁵¹ Dickinson (1994) 231

All these points – the reuse of chamber tombs, the single inhumations in old ruins and the cremations – have been linked to the arrival of newcomers – either Mycenaeans coming from other sites or outsiders.⁵² The people reusing chamber tombs appear to share the local burial traditions, and thus indeed could be perceived as Mycenaeans coming from other places, which they had to abandon. The people practising cremations, however, or burying their dead in the ruins, show such a strong divergence from the local, Mycenaean customs that it is tempting to think of them as people coming from outside the Mycenaean world, even though they use the typical Mycenaean vases as offerings or urns.

To give an example, the person buried in the Tripod Tomb might have been a bronze smith who came to Mycenae to exercise his craft at a time of need for craftsmen, and brought with him his bronze wedge-like tool, which is rare in the Aegean and might have a central or even Northern European origin (app. II.20, p.320-21). This is indeed a very plausible scenario. To play the devil's advocate, however, I would suggest that he might have instead been a native, possibly member of the local elite, who was buried with a quite astonishing exhibition of wealth for his time (twenty unused bronze double axes) and a rare, prestigious item, acquired through his interregional contacts, and with two tripods placed upside down to mark his tomb's location and to advertise his social status, gained through personal achievements and not as a result of his family lineage (fig.II.22-23). Could it not have been sociopolitical reasons that urged people to discard the importance of descent, and thus to stop burying their dead in chamber tombs, but instead to bury them in single tombs close to where they lived, in the surrounding ruins of old houses? This question will be more analytically discussed further on, in the General Summary and Discussion on the LBA-EIA transition in the Argolid.⁵³

2.1.3 LHIIC-late

A serious destruction has been documented for the end of LHIIC-middle in the west part of the citadel, but it is still uncertain whether one, extended destruction hit all the structures that bear traces of fire or many isolated events should be identified in the ruins. In order to solve this problem, it would be necessary to have in our disposal a thorough and detailed publication of the material coming from the excavated areas. For the time being, it could only be tentatively suggested that the destruction that has been identified in the case of

⁵² Desborough (1972) 106-11
Cavanagh-Mee (1978) 40-44
Lemos (2002) 185-186
French (1998) 4

⁵³ Cf. Chapter I: 9.2.8, p.93-6.

the Granary (app. II.2, p.298) and in the stratified deposits in the Staircase fill (app. II.1, p.297-8, fig.II.2) and dated to the end of LHIIC-middle might have actually affected a larger area than that of the Granary and the Lion Gate. Destruction probably caused by fire has been reported to occur at the end of LHIIC-middle in the Citadel House Area too (app. II.4, p.304). In addition, evidence of fire has come up in the last layer of LHIIC in the fill next to the Hellenistic Tower (app. II.6, p.307). Judging by the Granary Class skyphos that was found in this layer, this destruction too might be contemporary to the one that hit the Granary. Finally, destruction has also been reported for the LHIIC remains on the Corridor of the Processional Way (app. II.5, p.306) as well as for the houses in the South-west Quarter (app. II.7, p.308). The imprecise dating of these events towards the end of LHIIC, however, does not allow us to reflect on their potential relation to the destruction of the Granary.

Anyway, the conflagration that hit the Granary at the end of this phase and might have spread to other areas on the west slope, must have been a decisive blow for the society of Mycenae. Abandonment came about in LHIIC-late, but it was not absolute. Pottery of this phase has been found in the Staircase deposit (app. II.1, p.297-8, fig.II.2), in the debris over the Granary (app. II.2, p.298) as well as in wash levels accumulating over the buildings of the Citadel House Area, indicating habitation in parts of the citadel higher up the slope. Insubstantial terrace walls in the Citadel House Area might also belong to this period (app. II.4, p.304). Burials continued taking place outside the citadel, in the cemeteries and within the remains of buildings (app. II.19-20, p.316-21). Three chamber tombs actually appear to be reused in this phase after being abandoned for some time, while a couple of others might have been continuously used since LHIIC-middle. Burials also started appearing inside the citadel too towards the end of this period, such as the Bath Grave in the Staircase deposit and the cist tomb of a child under the staircase of the Processional Way (app. II.21, p.321-2). Thus, the closure of the LBA came gradually upon Mycenae, and no significant event appears to mark the transition to the EIA.

2.2 SM and PG periods

No settlement remains dating to the SM and PG periods have come to light at Mycenae. There has been found, however, SM and PG pottery stratified in wash layers over the Citadel House Area, against the West fortification wall.⁵⁴ This has been considered indicative of occupation of areas higher up the slope, which were probably unoccupied in the

⁵⁴ Taylour (1981) 11: phase XII
Cf. also Mounjoy (1988) 3, fig. 2, n. 9

LBA and therefore were free of ruins.⁵⁵ Habitation of such areas must have started already since LHIIC-late, as it was mentioned earlier on. The SM pottery from the fill next to the west wall, found in settlement context and moreover in clear stratification above the LHIIC-late layers, also testifies against the theory that wants the SM pottery to be the funerary equivalent to the LHIIC-late settlement material.⁵⁶ So, although no EIA settlement remains are preserved, which probably relates to the flimsiness of the structures and points to the existence of a very humble settlement somewhere on the citadel⁵⁷, the mere establishment of a SM phase at Mycenae has a great significance by itself. PG pottery has also been found in the fill of the upper Archaic terrace on top of the acropolis (app. II.24, p.326-8).

Most EIA evidence from Mycenae comes from burials. A very small number of about five SM child burials have been found dug in the Citadel House Area and in the buildings to the North-east of the Lion Gate. Other SM burials must have also been in existence, as indicated by well-preserved SM vases of unknown provenance (app. II.23, p.325-6). The same areas of the Citadel House and North-east of the Lion Gate also appear to have received burials in the PG period (app. II.26, p.328). Around ten or more PG tombs have been found outside the citadel (app. II.27, p.329-30). Almost all of them, apart from those lying South of Grave Circle B, were dug in ruins of Mycenaean buildings, thus continuing the practice that was initiated in the LHIIC-late period.

To sum up, the small EIA population at Mycenae apparently chose to live in areas free of ruins or at least not in the areas that were most densely occupied in the Mycenaean times, while they dug their tombs inside the ruins of the Mycenaean houses. There are, of course, various factors that could have contributed to the disappearance of EIA remains from many areas of the citadel, such as the Hellenistic re-occupation and extended levelling, the heavy ground erosion, as well as the inadequate recording of early excavations. However, on the basis of the scarce evidence available, it is reasonable to imagine the EIA population occupying those areas of the citadel that were less densely packed with ruins.

⁵⁵ Desborough (1973) 91

Hägg (1974) 65 and Eder (1998) 56 refer to a SM wall (P) very close to the Tsountas House. This wall, however, which was found above the corridor of the Processional Way, dates to LHIIC. Their wrong dating is due to a misunderstanding caused by Mylonas: when he first excavated this wall – wall “P” – he said that it dated to a later phase in LHIIC (LHIIC-2? – *his question mark*) than the other LHIIC remains found on the corridor, under this wall (Mylonas 1966, 110). When he carried on the excavation here, however, he found more remains of the room to which this wall belonged, and confirmed that on the basis of pottery, it should date to LHIIC (Mylonas 1971, 152-153).

⁵⁶ Cf. the relevant discussion in Mountjoy (1988) 2-4

⁵⁷ Hägg (1974) 65

One might object to this suggestion by saying that the whole plain was at the disposal of EIA people, so there is no reason why they should have to struggle for a free space in the crowded with ruins citadel. Not to mention that the access to water was also more restricted inside the walls than outside. Reasonably, the answer to this has to be the need for security, which the standing Mycenaean fortification could have still managed to provide.⁵⁸ Those were not peaceful and secure times and the inhabitants of Mycenae – survivors, newcomers or even a mixture of both – could not have felt safe.

However, as time passed by, it seems that people might have felt more relaxed. The evidence of burials, which take place outside the walls too in PG times, probably reflects a tendency of the inhabitants to move outside the citadel and inhabit the plain around them, something that has been observed at Tiryns as well. Most of the PG tombs have been found outside the citadel of Mycenae, dug in groups of two to three and dispersed in a large area. As Hägg points out, a distance of c. 400m stretches between the most northern and the most southern tomb. Therefore, the tombs do not form a cemetery, but probably belong to small groups of people, organized on the basis of family ties and scattered in the area in and out of the citadel.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Desborough (1973) 101

⁵⁹ Hägg (1974) 68

Lemos (2002) 188

3. Tiryns

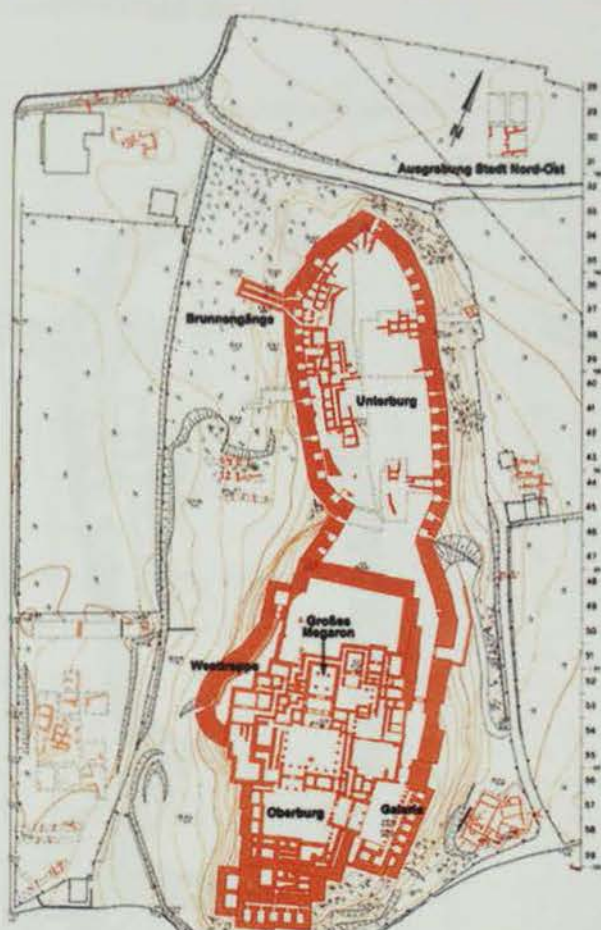


Fig.10
Plan of
LHIIIB
Tiryns

The centre of the Mycenaean settlement of Tiryns was the acropolis, which consisted of three parts: the Upper (*Oberburg*), the Middle and the Lower Citadel (*Unterburg*) (fig.10). The Upper Citadel was the palace area, the centre of power and administration of Mycenaean Tiryns, and its heart was the Great Megaron, in front of which stretched the main court with the round altar. The Lower Citadel was used in several ways. It served not only for habitation, but also for accommodating storage rooms, workshops as well as religious

activities. Around the acropolis lay the outer settlement of Tiryns, the Lower Town.

A great destruction hit the settlement of Tiryns at the very end of LHIIIB2. It is believed that it was caused by an earthquake responsible also for a contemporary destruction at Mycenae.⁶⁰ Afterwards, a transitional period followed, during which a few temporary structures were erected among the ruins, including a provisional cult room (R.119 – fig.III.17).⁶¹ The repair of the fortification walls was also undertaken at that time and many of the LHIIIB chambers in the city-wall (casemates) were filled-in.⁶² Some of the casemates, however, remained open and were re-used in LHIIIC for storage and daily needs.⁶³

⁶⁰ Kilian (1979) 404; (1981a) 192; (1982) 399

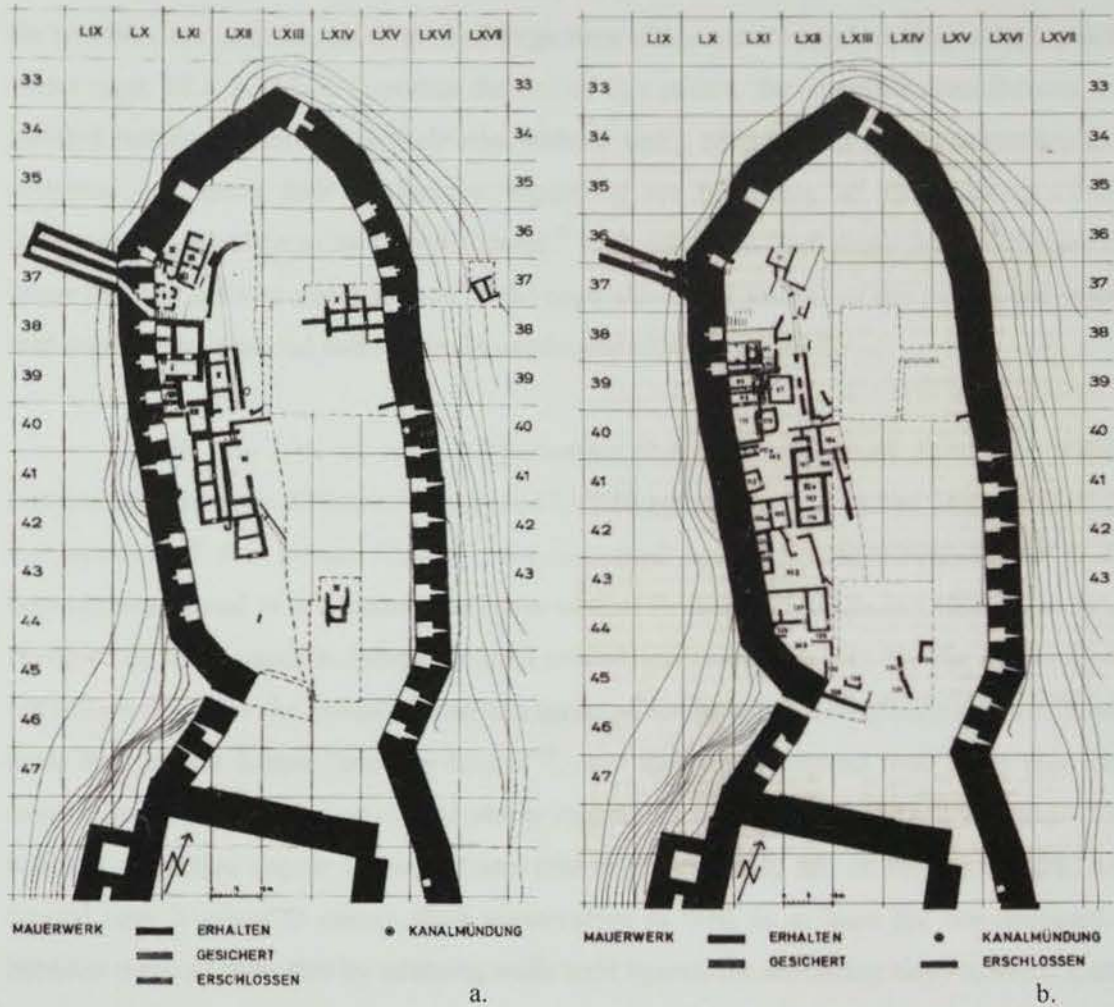
⁶¹ Kilian (1981a) 164-166

⁶² Cf. for example Kilian (1988a) 121-122 for casemate Kw 2a.

⁶³ KW 14: Kilian (1982) 397-399; KW 11: Kilian (1981a) 162; KW 10: Kilian (1981a) 160-161; KO 4: Kilian (1983a) 291-293

3.1 LHIIC Settlement⁶⁴

3.1.1 Lower Citadel (fig.11b)



After the short transitional period at the beginning of LHIIC-early, extensive levelling followed and new buildings were erected around a court (H1) on the west terrace of the Lower Citadel, including Building VIa, which was built upon the foundations of its LHIIB predecessor (Building VI), and the cult room 117 (app. III.1, p.331-2). At the end of this phase, destruction occurred and a new levelling of the west terrace followed. In LHIIC-middle, at least two sub-phases of building operations have been identified (app. III.2, p.332-4). Building VIa appears to have remained in use throughout LHIIC-middle. In the first sub-phase, the previous cult room 117 was replaced by a new one, room 110, and new buildings were built to its North and South around court H1. More buildings were constructed around

⁶⁴ For a detailed presentation of the published evidence for the LHIIC and EIA occupation at Tiryns and references to excavation reports and publications cf. Appendix III.

two other courts (H2 and H3) further to the South. Not many changes appear to take place in the next sub-phase, which ended with a fire-destruction. The latter is thought to be contemporary to that of the Granary at Mycenae. After this destruction, a LHIIC-advanced/late phase followed, during which a new cult room 110a was built in the place of the previous one, and the rest of the buildings were either repaired and re-used or replaced by others (app. III.2, p.334-5). Towards the end of this period, the so-called *Einzelbauten*, i.e. isolated buildings standing on their own without being connected to others according to a common plan make their appearance, signifying the beginning of abandonment of the settlement organization in the Lower Citadel.⁶⁵ In general, this final phase is characterised by lower building activity and reduction of the population.⁶⁶ At the end of the period, the whole area seems to be deserted and to remain uninhabited for some time.⁶⁷

Overall, the type of spatial organisation that can be deduced from the LHIIC remains appears to be different from that of LHIIB (-compare fig.11a and 11b). In LHIIB, the terraces of the Lower Citadel were occupied by the corridor-houses that could occasionally extend to two terraces, as in the case of Building VI, while in LHIIC they were occupied by many small buildings grouped around open-air courts (H1-3). The buildings do not follow any more the extended plan of a series of rooms set on a longitudinal North-South axis; they are no longer “corridor-houses”⁶⁸, and thus never expand over more than one terrace, but they consist of small, one-storey rooms, occasionally attached to each other. The open-air areas also appear to play greater role in the everyday life of the community, and special care is taken to ensure their preservation as well as to ease the communication between them, as indicated by retaining walls built against the ascending slope towards East.

Difference in spatial organisation can also be observed in terms of the road network. Although there is still a main street following a North-South direction, this now gives access to several other smaller roads, which intrude among the buildings of the west terrace, without following an organised, orthogonal plan.⁶⁹ Emphasis seems to be placed upon providing access to all courts and buildings, which now seem to function as autonomous units rather than as a group of intercommunicating buildings, as they used to in palatial times. Besides, this is also reflected in the multifunctional nature of certain LHIIC rooms,

⁶⁵ Kilian (1980) 186

⁶⁶ Kilian (1980) 186; (1981a) 193

⁶⁷ Eder (1998) 40

⁶⁸ Kilian (1988b) 134

⁶⁹ Kilian (1981a) 193; (1982) 395

which served as living spaces, workshops and storerooms at the same time (rooms 127, 106/106a).

The rather simple way in which the buildings are planned and built in LHIIC, as well as the fact that most of them have only one floor, are typical characteristics of this period. Some of them, however, are differentiated from the usual trend that was just described. Such examples are the LHIIC-early cult room 117 with its rather elaborate façade (fig.III.19) and the LHIIC-middle room 115, which is distinguished through its two parallel rows of columns (fig.III.3).⁷⁰ Another distinguishable building is the LHIIC-middle room 127, which was the biggest one of the settlement (fig.III.2).

In spite of all the above changes in the spatial arrangement of the Lower Citadel, certain features appear to be deliberately preserved from LHIIB to LHIIC, a fact that appears to be even more significant in view of all the alterations mentioned above. One of these preserved features is the location of the cult place, which is preserved more or less in the same area in both periods, and the other is Building VI.

Regarding the first feature, there seems to be a deliberate intention behind the erection of the successive cult places of LHIIC very close to Casemate 7, which must have functioned as a cult place in LHIIB (app.III.13, p.351-3, fig.III.16).⁷¹ Casemate 7 had been built-in after the destruction at the end of LHIIB and was therefore no longer accessible in order to be used as a cult place in LHIIC. The open-air area in front of it to the East, however, might have also been connected with the cult practices in LHIIB, especially if the hearths that were situated there were involved in cult preparations, as it has been suggested.⁷² It seems that this area retained its cult character in LHIIC as well, since it was here that the elaborate cult room 117 was built in the first phase of the new settlement-organisation in LHIIC-early (fig.III.19), followed by its successors, rooms 110 and 110a in the next phases (fig.III.20-21).⁷³ Apparently, the cult area had not been forgotten in the transitional phase that followed the destruction at the end of LHIIB, during which cult took place further to the North, in the provisional room 119.⁷⁴ Another proof of this might be the figurines that were found underneath room 117, in the first habitation layer following the destruction at the end of LHIIB and before the construction of the room. It has been suggested that if the figurines

⁷⁰ Hiesel (1990) 23 stresses how exceptional the plan of room 115 is in the context of Mycenaean house-architecture.

⁷¹ Kilian (1981a) 170-171; (1981b) 49-53; (1988a) 142-145

Catling (1983-84) 24

⁷² Albers (1994) 106

⁷³ Kilian (1978) 460-465; (1981b) 53-56

Iakovidis (1993) 20

⁷⁴ Kilian (1981a) 162-164; (1981b) 53

were not related to cleaning operations of the provisional cult room 119, then they could indicate the continuation of a palace-times tradition in the immediate vicinity of the abandoned Casemate. They might have been laid there, in the open air, as cult votives.⁷⁵

Although this area evidently retained its general cult character even after the destruction at the end of LHIIB and the re-building of the settlement, it was not incorporated in exactly the same way in both pre- and post-destruction settlements. In palatial times, it appears to have been accessible on a more limited scale than later. The court-area in front of Casemate 7 was broadly accessible in LHIIB only from the South, through a wide opening between the west wall of Building VI and the city-wall. One could reach it from the North only through a very narrow opening between Buildings VII and VIII, while there was also a way-out to it from the inside of Building VI and in particular through the west entrance of room 121, which was, however, blocked in the last phase of LHIIB (fig.11a). It has been, therefore, concluded that this court was not so much in communication with the settlement of the Lower Citadel as it was with the Upper Citadel, with which it would have been connected through a road leading from the court's south opening to Corridor 50 (fig.III.5).⁷⁶

The court that extended in front of the LHIIC cult places, on the other hand, seems to have been much more easily accessible not only from the surrounding buildings, most of which had direct access to it, but also from all buildings of the Lower Citadel, through roads leading to it from North and South (fig.III.11b). It does not seem though to have been in an equally direct contact with the Upper Citadel.⁷⁷ It could be therefore observed at this point that the features of the cult places' location and the related court are not identically preserved from LHIIB to LHIIC. The change in interaction between the buildings and the open-air court must have also affected the cult use of the area lying under casemate 7. Although the use of the area for religious practices continued in LHIIC, the character of the cult must have somehow changed since access to the area became less restricted than in LHIIB. Cult activities were possibly now less tightly connected to the Upper Citadel and more involving for the population of the Lower Citadel.

The other feature that was preserved from LHIIB to LHIIC is Building VI, which was partly rebuilt after the destruction.⁷⁸ Building VIa, as it is called in LHIIC, did not have the exact same architectural outline with Building VI, but it still preserved its North-South

⁷⁵ Albers (1994) 108

⁷⁶ Albers (1994) 104-105

⁷⁷ Albers (1994) 104-105

⁷⁸ Kilian (1983a) 279

orientation, as well as the LHIIB concept of a series of rooms set on a longitudinal axis, now adapted to a smaller scale (compare fig.11a and 11b). The most evident difference between the two successive buildings is that the LHIIB one extended to two terraces, while the LHIIC building was restricted only to one, as all other buildings of the same period were. It could be said that only the east part of Building VI was actually preserved in LHIIC, while the west part was levelled and as a result the west court became more spacious. The east annex, which now constituted Building VIa, was also shortened. Despite all these differences, however, it still represents the main case of architectural continuity from LHIIB to LHIIC in the Lower Citadel.⁷⁹

This building must have played some prominent role in the settlement both before and after the destruction, and this does not seem to have been unrelated to the single other feature of the Lower Citadel that was preserved, i.e. the cult area. The suggestion that these two, Building VI and the cult place, composed a traditional complex that had to be preserved, seems very reasonable and is also supported by the finds made inside the building, especially the altar found in room 123 and the cult implements that had fallen from the upper storey. Under the light of all the alterations that occurred in the settlement after the destruction, the identification of Building VI with the residence of a very important person in the community, such as the priest – as the excavator has suggested – appears even more probable.⁸⁰

Another newly discovered feature that seems to be repeated in the LHIIC period is the building flanking the inner side of the North Gate (app.III.2, p.332). Although the currently available evidence is of preliminary nature, since the building was recently discovered, it seems that the reactivation of the North Gate in LHIIC-middle also demanded the rebuilding of this structure. Until more information is available about the contents and the function of the building, however, it can only be assumed that it was necessary either for safety reasons or for providing services to people coming in the citadel or for both, and it was for such reasons re-established some time after the destruction.

In sum, the survivors of the destruction at the end of LHIIB uninterruptedly continued to live in the Lower Citadel, in a newly planned and constructed settlement, which apparently corresponded to their needs and means in this new phase of their lives. The new settlement consisted of smaller and simpler buildings, but was well provided with open

⁷⁹ Kilian (1981b) 58

⁸⁰ Kilian (1981b) 58; (1982) 400-403; (1983) 304

spaces. At the same time, they chose to show respect to certain features of the old settlement, which were apparently of special importance for them. It has also been observed that the Lower Citadel retained in general the same plan and organisation throughout LHIIC. In spite of the occasional filling-in and levelling of areas, there were certain features that were intentionally and repeatedly preserved, such as the courts (H1-3), the road-network, Building VIa as well as the location of the cult room.⁸¹

3.1.2 *Upper Citadel*

The only architectural remains of the Upper Citadel that could actually be dated to LHIIC and have survived until today belong to the rectangular Building T, the *Antenbau* that was built at some point above the Great Megaron (app. III.4, p.337-8 figs.III.6-7). The dating and function of this building has been the focus of a long controversy, which started soon after it was discovered in 1884, and has involved many scholars.⁸² New evidence has come up recently and has quite convincingly shown that this building should indeed be dated to LHIIC (app. III.4, p.337). This enables us to reach certain significant conclusions. The Upper Citadel apparently continued being the centre of power that ruled over post-palatial Tiryns. Not only is the location of the LHIIB Great Megaron preserved, but also some of its features are repeated in its successor. Building T is not accidentally aligned with the Megaron's east wall, but deliberately so, in order to include again the same throne-place that also existed in the Megaron before the destruction.⁸³ In this way, one of the key-elements of power symbolisation that was used in LHIIB Tiryns is repeated and retained, denoting moreover "the continuing focus of social hierarchy on one person".⁸⁴

This leads us to the discussion about the other basic symbol that was used and displayed in the Great Megaron, namely the hearth. At a first glance, the hearth seems to have disappeared in the post-destruction phase. It has been suggested, however, that the limestone plaque A, lying in front of the throne (app. III.4, fig.III.6), might have actually served a similar purpose, perhaps as a base for a portable hearth. Alternatively, the plaque could be interpreted as a base for a roof-supporting post, but its smoothed upper surface might have rendered it insufficient for a column-base, as suggested by Maran. In case the plaque indeed served as some kind of hearth-installation, this would mean that the symbolic

⁸¹ Kilian (1980) 177; (1981) 159-160

⁸² For a comprehensive report on this controversy, cf. Maran (2000) 3-4.

⁸³ Kilian (1981a) 160; (1981b) 51-53

Maran (2000) 14-15

⁸⁴ Maran (2001) 115

scheme of the hearth lying exactly in front of the throne was preserved from the LHIIB Megaron to Building T.⁸⁵ Admittedly, it is impossible to prove this hypothesis on basis of the available evidence. On the other hand, even if the feature of the hearth had been preserved in LHIIC, it would have lost the greatness of the LHIIB period, during which the large, circular hearth was set in the centre of a large room and was surrounded by four columns. In LHIIC, when a simpler ground plan of an elongated room divided into two aisles was applied to the megaron, the central hearth was no longer the focus of attention. “The Hearth-Wanax Ideology” would not have been of the same significance any longer.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the preservation of the symbol of the throne and potentially of the hearth too indicates that Building T continued to have the same function and role in the community of LHIIC as its predecessor did in LHIIB. The person in power, who took over after the destruction, was apparently centred in Building T, as his predecessor had been in the Great Megaron. Moreover, since the Megaron was not only a political but also a religious centre, Building T could claim the same role as well. Besides, the altar that was situated in the court in front of the megaron appears to have continued to be used in LHIIC as well. If the LHIIC dating of its square enclosure is correct, then the official cult must have carried on in the court and in relation to the megaron.

All these signs of continuity are contrasted however with the significant changes, which can be noticed in the simpler architectural plan, the degeneration of the Hearth-Wanax Ideology and the general appearance of the Upper Citadel in LHIIC, where the narrow megaron most probably stood “in the midst of the remaining levelled debris of the former palace”. It seems therefore that “the post-palatial elite did not have nearly the same power at their disposal as their predecessors in the 13th century BC”, and that they were no longer capable of restoring the Great Megaron and the palatial order to its previous glory. “Although the fortifications were repaired and the approaches to the Upper Citadel as well as the Great Court were reactivated, there is scant evidence, that after the destruction besides the narrow Megaron other buildings were constructed on top of the ruins of the former palace.” Nevertheless, it was still crucial for the elite to repeat the old symbols, “because by doing so they could claim their legitimacy as successors to the kings of the glorious past”.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Maran (2000) 5-6, 11-12, 15

⁸⁶ Cf. Wright (1994) esp.56-60 for the term ‘Hearth-Wanax Ideology’, its significance and architectural expression.

⁸⁷ Maran (2001) 118-121; cf. also Maran (2000) 15

3.1.3 Lower Town

The outer settlement of Tiryns most probably reached the peak of its expansion in LHIIC-early, covering an area of over 24.5 Ht (app.III.9, p.342-3. fig.III.12). This expansion was interpreted by Kilian as the result of a *synoikismos*, which occurred when people abandoned many of their old settlements in the Argolid at the end of LHIIB and moved to the area around the citadel of Tiryns, probably in order to seek protection and security.⁸⁸ Maran has recently suggested that the reason for the expansion of the Lower Town was not only a rise in population, but also, and more likely, a deep change in the social structure. He has argued that a new upper class rose after the collapse of the palaces, and that this class rejected the acropolis for habitation and, freed from the old constraints of the palatial control, preferred to settle down around the citadel.⁸⁹ It should be pointed out that there seem to be a couple of distinguishable buildings in the Lower Town, i.e. the LHIIC-early building with the rows of columns to the North-east (app. III.8, p.341-2, fig.III.10-11) and the LHIIC-middle Megaron W (app. III.6, p.338-9, fig.III.8) in trench H to the East of the citadel.⁹⁰ They both stand out and offer us an insight to the stratification of the LHIIC society of Tiryns.

In general, it has been possible to suggest that all the LHIIC buildings of the Lower Town followed a single, new plan dictating common orientation and arrangement of the structures (app.III.9, p.342-3).⁹¹ The need to rebuild the settlement according to a new plan must have derived from the great destruction that occurred at the end of LHIIB2 and would have had a serious impact on the Lower Town too. Destruction layers probably relating to this event have been found in trench H, underneath Megaron W, as well as in two trenches to the West of Megaron W, on the slope of the citadel,⁹² and in the trench dug by the Greek Archaeological Service 150m North-west of the citadel.⁹³ The rebuilding and expansion of the Lower Town also appear to be related to the construction of a protective dam at a site 3.5 km East-North-east of Tiryns, which caused the diversion of a stream that used to flow near the citadel and to flood the area around it (app. III.10, p.343-4, fig.III.13). The construction

⁸⁸ Kilian (1978) 468-470; (1980) 172-173; (1988b) 135

⁸⁹ Maran (2002a) 11

⁹⁰ Cf. Maran (2002a) 10 and Gercke-Hiesel (1971) 10-17, Gercke *et al* (1975) 8-10 respectively.

⁹¹ Kilian (1978) 468; (1980) 172-173

⁹² Gercke *et al* (1975) 8-10

⁹³ Dimakopoulou-Valakou (1982) 85

of the dam secured the Lower Town from flooding and thus must have contributed to its expansion.⁹⁴

At the end of LHIIC-early the Lower Town was apparently destroyed, probably as a result of an earthquake. After that, the outer settlement was not completely re-built.⁹⁵

3.2 LHIIC Burial Practices

The inhabitants of Tiryns appear to have followed in general the typical Mycenaean funerary customs by using the chamber tomb cemetery of Prophitis Ilias and also to have continued to do so in LHIIC (app. III.11, p.348-9). Most unusual is, however, their custom to bury a number of their dead inside the Lower Citadel (app.III.12, p.349-50). It should be first pointed out that this special custom of “intramural” burials was practiced already since the palatial period at Tiryns and continued in the LHIIC settlement as well. This is very important not only because it indicates continuity in the practice of a certain cultural custom, but also because it shows that all these people were not the victims of a disease or some natural destruction, who had to be buried hastily.⁹⁶ They were intentionally and repeatedly buried inside the citadel, while it also seems important that they were interred in simple pits and almost never accompanied by burial gifts. The evidence seems to point to the differentiation of a certain group of people, who for some reason could not be buried in the chamber tombs. It could be speculated that these people received a different treatment after death because they belonged either to a certain social group of lower status or to a distinguishable population group.⁹⁷

3.3 LBA-EIA transition

The gradual reduction of building activity and the population decrease noted in LHIIC-late ended in the temporary abandonment of the area of the citadel for settlement purposes.⁹⁸ A destruction-layer (Horizon 22) spread over the Late Mycenaean settlement in

⁹⁴ Cf. app.III.10, p.343-8 for a thorough discussion on the different theories regarding the reasons for and the date of the construction of the dam and the related flooding of the Lower Town.

⁹⁵ Kilian (1985) 77

Deger-Jalkotzy (1995) 376, n.63: she suggests that the Lower Town was reduced in size in LHIIC-middle because part of the population might have moved away (perhaps to Cyprus).

Eder (1998) 40, 42-43

⁹⁶ Kilian (1981a) 174

⁹⁷ Kilian (1979) 386-387; (1980) 176-177

⁹⁸ Kilian (1981a) 193

almost all of the Lower Citadel, and indicates that no building activity was undertaken for a short period of time.⁹⁹

The Lower Town of Tiryns also appears to enter into a declining process towards the end of the LBA. The LHIIC-late remains are limited to the small, one-room House O in trench H to the South-east of the citadel (app.III.6, p.339, fig.III.8) and to stray finds in the areas to the West and to the North-west of the citadel.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the burial of 'the Tiryns treasure' in the ruins of a house to the South-east of the citadel has been regarded as one more indication of the uneasy and dangerous atmosphere towards the end of the LBA (app.III.6, p.339).¹⁰¹

3.3.1 *Settlement organisation and social implications*

At Tiryns, the neglect of settlement organisation towards the end of LHIIC and the gradual abandonment of both the citadel and the Lower Town finally led to total desertion for a short probably period of time. The SM layers found above the grey layer of disuse that spread almost all over the Lower Citadel (Horizon 22) testify to the re-occupation of the Lower Citadel (app.III.14, p.353-4). SM pottery has also been found outside the citadel, to the West (site Stadt-West) and to the South (trench E). Eight SM tombs lay at three different locations to the South and South-east of the acropolis: in the area of the prison, in the south-west cemetery and in trench H. Finally, SM burials might have also taken place in the chamber tomb cemetery of Prophitis Ilias (app.III.15, p.354-5, fig.III.26-28).

Regarding the PG evidence, only pottery has been found inside the citadel in non-stratified deposits, while more substantial settlement remains have been recovered at three sites outside the citadel: to the West of the Upper Citadel (site Stadt-West), where remains of houses were found; to the West of the Lower Citadel, close to the fortification wall, where EPG pottery was found inside an apsidal building and LPG and SPG in the layer above it; and to the South (trench E), where EPG remains were recovered (app.III.16, p.358-9).

Around forty PG tombs have also been found around the citadel. Apart from some tombs found scattered and isolated at sites to the South-west or the North-east (app.III.20, p.362), the rest lay in three organised burial groups: in the so-called south-west cemetery (app.III.17, p.360, fig.III.28), in the prison area (app.III.18, p.360-1, fig.III.27) and to the

⁹⁹ Kilian (1978) 458; (1988a) 107

¹⁰⁰ Podzuweit (1988) 223

¹⁰¹ Gercke-Hiesel (1971) 2

Eder (1998) 43

Maran (2006)

West of the Upper Citadel (site Stadt/West – app.III.19; p.361, fig.III.37). The first two of these burial grounds had already started receiving burials in the SM period.

Although it is difficult or even impossible to reconstruct the picture of the EIA habitation at Tiryns, the evidence leads us to imagine that it was rather poor and hesitant. However, the material culture of these people shows that they were not unrelated to the Mycenaean inhabitants of the place. According to Papadimitriou, the steady development of pottery and metal objects confirms the cultural continuity after the end of the Mycenaean period.¹⁰² Their burial customs, however, do not seem to follow the typical Mycenaean norms, and thus point to the occurrence of changes as well.

The population group/s, that hesitantly re-inhabited the destroyed and most likely deserted site of Tiryns at the beginning of the EIA, settled down and grew in number in the following years. It is also possible to discern some change of habitation preference in the PG period towards the area outside the citadel rather than to the area inside, although it is not easy to reach such conclusions on the basis of the scarce evidence available. It is also possible to see that the same burial grounds (site A and prison cemetery) continued to be used from the SM to the PG period and also that they gradually developed into organised cemeteries. PG burials were also dug at sites that had not been used before for the same purpose, and at least one of these burial grounds developed into an organised cemetery in the PG period too (site W/Stadt-West).

By combining the data regarding habitation and burials, it is possible to discern the formation of a similar pattern in a couple of cases, in which burials were dug right next to settlement nuclei. One such case is the grave that was found next to the apsidal house to the West of the citadel and that was proven to be contemporary with the house's last phase of habitation. Another case is that of the site Stadt-West, where twelve PG tombs have been discovered next to habitation remains. A third probable case is to be found in trench E, North of the prison cemetery, where the discovery of EPG pottery probably indicates that this area was also used for habitation and could probably be related to the tombs found in the prison cemetery.¹⁰³ It should be reiterated here, however, that not all habitation remains were accompanied by burials. It has been securely shown, for example, that people also inhabited the citadel during both the SM and PG periods, but still, no EIA burials have been discovered inside the walls. It is very difficult, though, to reach any conclusions based on this remark.

¹⁰² Papadimitriou (1998) 126

¹⁰³ Papadimitriou, who suggests this connection, also refers to three tombs that were found in trench E itself – cf. Papadimitriou (2003) 720, n.31.

On the other hand, the repeatedly close connection between habitation and burial grounds and their dispersion in the area outside the citadel gives us a picture of the EIA inhabitants of Tiryns living in small groups scattered in some distance the one from the other, and burying their dead right next to their habitation areas. The distribution of the EIA tombs around the citadel has actually led to the suggestion that the several small groups of inhabitants chose to live at sites lying next to four specific roads, which would lead from Tiryns towards the four neighbouring sites of Argos, Nauplion, Asine and Mycenae (fig.III.26).¹⁰⁴ The reconstruction of these groups sounds plausible as small population units that lived primarily upon agriculture and preserved their internal unity on the basis of family or kinship ties. At this point, it should also be mentioned that the anthropological examination of the skeletons of the Stadt-West group has probably led to the identification of the people who were buried there with members of the same family.¹⁰⁵

There follows the question about the relation between these groups. The distance, in which they lay from each other, has been considered long enough to suggest that these small population units were self-sufficient and independent from each other.¹⁰⁶ The fact that these people did not choose to live and bury their dead all together indicates that they were not organised at that point into one single community and they apparently did not need each other in order to survive.

Although the groups did not form one single settlement unit, it is impossible to imagine that there was no interaction between them, since they lived in walking distance the one from the other. In addition, the burial offerings seem to reflect a certain level of economic differentiation within and between the groups. The south-west cemetery appears to be the poorest of all burial groups, and the presence of handmade pottery only in the tombs of this group might not be irrelevant to its economic and social status. The Stadt-West group and the prison cemetery, on the other hand, were both quite rich, while some differentiations could be noted between them too. The Stadt-West group produced more in quantity and better in quality pottery, and also included a tomb with an Attic amphora as a marker or receiver for libations, while the prison cemetery included an impressive warrior burial and contained more metal offerings.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that all these differentiations might actually reflect a competition among the groups for economic and social rise, and might be the first

¹⁰⁴ Papadimitriou (2003) 725

¹⁰⁵ Papadimitriou (1998) 125, n.36: the data of this analysis were presented in the conference «Αρχαιολογία και Ερρίκος Σλήμαν», which took place in Athens in 1990; the proceedings have not been published yet.

Papadimitriou (2003) 726

¹⁰⁶ Papadimitriou (2003) 725

¹⁰⁷ Papadimitriou (2003) 724

signs of social complexity, possibly inherited from the LBA past and passed on to the next generations of the G and Archaic periods.

4. Midea

The citadel of Midea is located on a steep hill on the east side of the Argive plain. The fortification wall surrounded the north-east and west slopes of the hill, while the south-east and south-west slopes are so steep that they did not need to be fortified (fig.12).¹⁰⁸ Systematic excavations at Midea have been undertaken in the areas of the East and West Gate, as well as on the north-east terraces, called Lower Terraces, where a megaron complex has been revealed, and more recently on the north-west terraces. Severe signs of destruction have been observed in all excavated areas.¹⁰⁹ According to Demakopoulou and Åström, who excavated the West and East Gate areas respectively, this destruction occurred at the very end of LHIIIB2, while according to Walberg, the excavator of the Lower Terraces, it must have taken place in, or just after, the middle of LHIIIB.¹¹⁰ All three scholars appear to agree on the cause of the destruction that they have observed and assigned to an earthquake, but

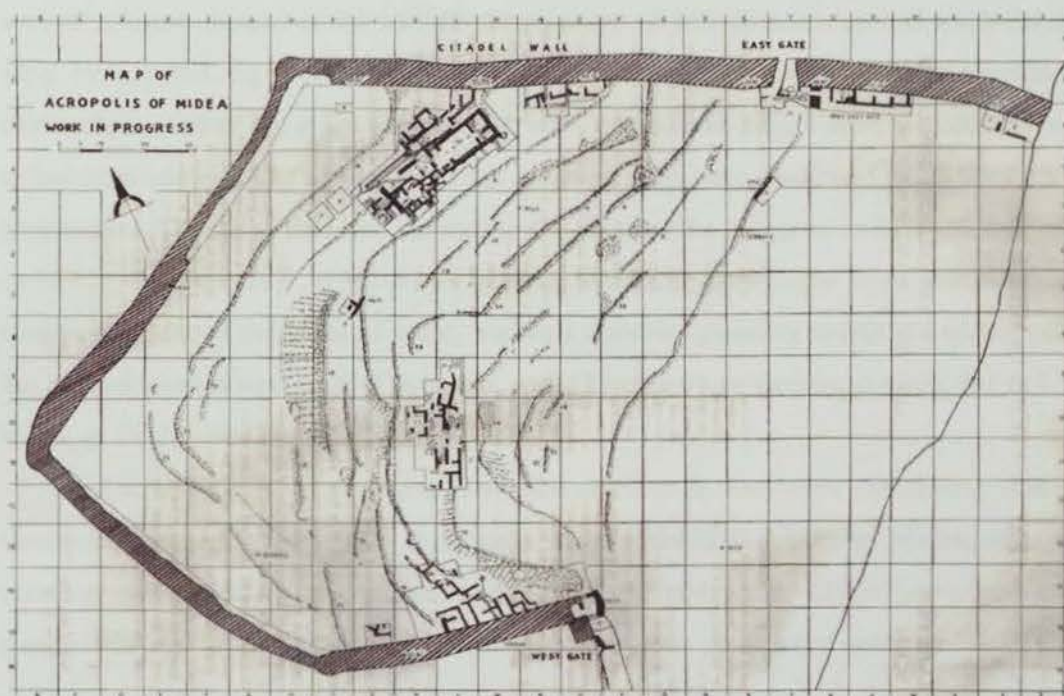


Fig.12
Plan of the
acropolis of
Midea

¹⁰⁸ For position of the citadel and description of the fortification cf. Demakopoulou (1995) 153 and Walberg (1998) 176.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Åström and Demakopoulou (1996) 39 for destruction in East and West Gate areas and Walberg (1998) 176-177 for destruction on the North-eastern terraces. Cf. also Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou (2003) 11 for the “same picture of destruction, due to earthquake” and “pronounced traces of fire” in the area of the more recently excavated complex of buildings on a plateau North of the West Gate, on the south-west slope.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Demakopoulou (2003) 77 and Walberg (1998) 177

insist on dating it differently. Their disagreement seems to derive from different ways of dating.¹¹¹ As Maran has argued in his review of the publication of the 1985-1991 excavations on the Lower Terraces of Midea, the methodology followed for the dating of the destruction to LHIIB-middle seems to be somewhat problematic, therefore, it seems more probable that in all excavated sectors of the citadel the same destruction dating to the end of LHIIB2 has been observed rather than two successive events.¹¹²

4.1 The Citadel in LHIIC

After the destruction, not all of the citadel areas were rebuilt and re-inhabited. The East and West Gate areas were left buried under masses of debris.¹¹³ It is also interesting that no reference has been made to a LHIIC phase in the more recently excavated area on the south-west slope.¹¹⁴ The megaron, however, on one of the Lower, North-east Terraces was rebuilt, but some period of time passed before its rebuilding, as indicated by the absence of pottery dating to the earliest phase of LHIIC-early.¹¹⁵ It followed the same external plan as its LHIIB predecessor, but the internal arrangement was altered: there was now an internal row of columns instead of the LHIIB arrangement of four columns around a central hearth (app. IV.1, p.363, fig.IV.1-2). Another addition in the megaron was the niche located along the southern wall of the megaron, in which were found three large sword pommels as well as a few other objects. The rear room of the megaron must have continued being used for food preparation. The niche that was situated to the West of the megaron in LHIIB, was re-used in LHIIC too (app.IV.1, p.363-4). In general, the whole area to the West and North of the megaron produced evidence of reuse, and cult activities possibly continued taking place in the area of room II next to the Cyclopean wall (Terrace 9), as they supposedly did in LHIIB too (app. IV.2, p.364, fig.IV.3).

On the basis of stratigraphical observations it has been concluded that some destruction must have occurred at an early stage of LHIIC-middle at Midea, after which clearing and rebuilding took place, resulting into the mixture of LHIIC-early and -middle material in the same strata.¹¹⁶ The habitation at Midea must have continued into the last

¹¹¹ Cf. Demakopoulou (2003) 81-90 and Giering (1998) 119-132

¹¹² Maran (2002b) 531

A similar approach has been followed by Voutsaki in her review of the Midea publication - cf. Voutsaki (2001b) 356.

¹¹³ Demakopoulou (2003) 80-81

¹¹⁴ Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou (2000-20001) 48-50; (2002) 33-38; (2003) 11-20; (2004) 9-21

¹¹⁵ Walberg (1998) 147-148

¹¹⁶ Walberg (1998) 148, 178

phase of LHIIC, but Roman clearing and building activities disturbed the upper LBA layers and therefore do not allow us to reconstruct the settlement in its last phases.¹¹⁷

The LHIIC rebuilding and re-arrangement of the megaron on the Lower Terraces of Midea reminds us of Building T on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, while “the closest parallel for the plan and interior arrangements in the LHIIC period is the so-called Megaron W at Tiryns.”¹¹⁸ All the above three megara have in common the internal division in two aisles by a row of columns, and Megaron W also shares the feature of the small rear room with the megaron at Midea. The change of the megaron’s plan at Tiryns and Midea and the replacement of the four columns in two rows with a central row of roof supports must have been related to the general socio-political and economic changes after the palatial collapse. The new arrangement was much less elaborate than the previous one, and so it probably suited better the needs of the new social order. In addition, Hiesel has shown that the axial placement of internal supports was common in Late Mycenaean house architecture, while the arrangement of four columns in two parallel rows, as in the palatial megara of Tiryns, Mycenae, Midea and Pylos was exceptional and related to the great span in width of these rooms.¹¹⁹ Therefore, it could be said that after the destruction of the palaces, the plan of the megaron returned to a more common architectural form.

A relevant question to the above issues is the role and function of the megaron of Midea before and after the major destruction that hit the citadel. In LHIIB, if not the megaron itself, the nearby area at least must have served some kind of public, bureaucratic and administrative purposes, as indicated by the Linear B inscriptions and seals found very close to the North of the megaron, suggesting that “record keeping and inventory control were used at the site”.¹²⁰ Moreover, it has been suggested that the megaron might have been used for cult purposes, as indicated by the platform on the landing to its West, which is thought to be reminiscent of the platform in the Room with the Fresco in the Cult Centre of Mycenae.¹²¹ Evidence for cult practices has also come up in one of the rooms to the West of the megaron (Room XX – fig.IV.1), where a semicircular platform or altar was found together with spouted bowls, lead vessels and figurines, including the head of a small

¹¹⁷ Walberg (1998) 149

¹¹⁸ Walberg (1996) 31

¹¹⁹ Hiesel (1990) 225-228: he interprets the appearance of similar arrangements in other Mycenaean buildings (Mouriatada, Krisa and Malthi) as the result of imitation. He also considers room 115 in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns with its parallel colonnades to be a rare oddity without any counterparts. The discovery, however, of a similar building in the north-eastern sector of the Lower Town runs against this theory and requires another interpretation of this architectural form in the context probably of the needs of a new, post-palatial elite.

¹²⁰ Walberg (1998) 177

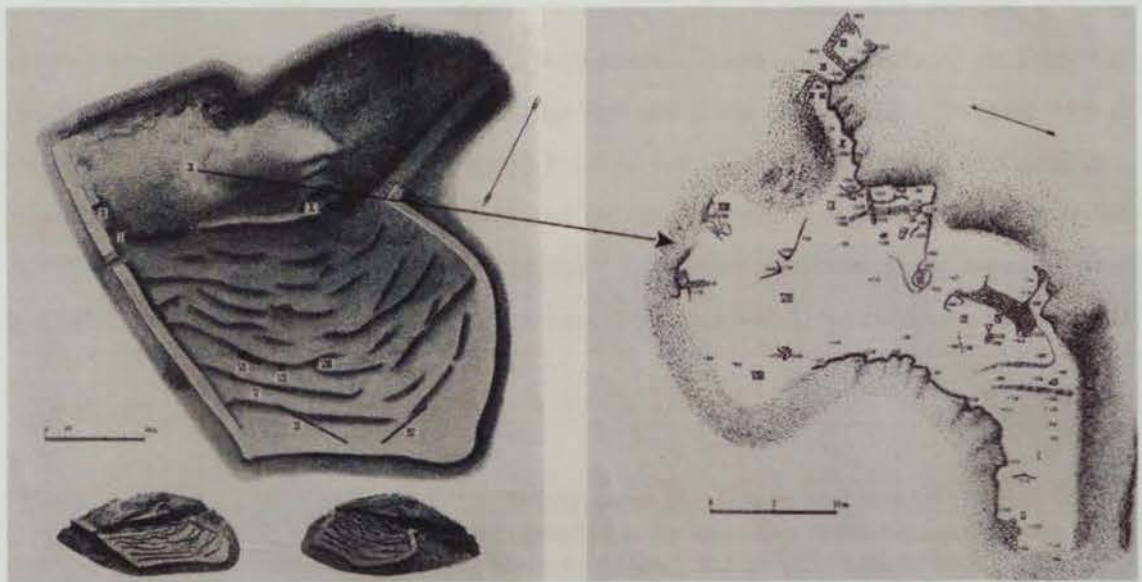
¹²¹ Walberg (1996) 28

terracotta snake. These have led the excavator to suggest that Room XX might have been part of a sanctuary, but more information is needed in order to figure out the relation of this assemblage to the megaron.¹²² Finally, it has also been suggested that cooking or some kind of food preparation would have taken place in the rear room of the megaron, where pounders and other household artefacts have been found.¹²³ It seems therefore that the megaron was a significant, multifunctional building.

The location of the megaron on a lower terrace of the citadel might also help us appreciate its role. Similar examples for this location are Megaron W at Tiryns, although this was situated outside the fortification walls, and several megaron-type structures in the southern part of the citadel at Mycenae.¹²⁴ Therefore, on the basis of its location the megaron at Midea should probably be regarded as an important building, but perhaps not the major centre of power in the citadel. If there was a palace at Midea, it would be expected to be on a more prominent position, and our megaron might have been ancillary to it.

However, Walberg seems to favour the idea that the megaron of Midea was the main megaron and not an ancillary one. She stresses the extent of the whole megaron-complex and compares it to the main megaron at Mycenae, which was also placed below the summit and not on top of it – but still very close to it, we should add. She therefore believes that “the situation of such a building on a lower terrace rather than on the top of the acropolis is not surprising” and she adds: “In his study of Mycenaean citadels, Iakovidis estimated that there was no room for a major building on top of the Midea acropolis”.¹²⁵ This, however, is difficult to accept or reject due to the extensive erosion of the area of the summit. The

Fig. 13
a. Plan and two different views of the model of Midea's citadel with the L-shaped area designated (IX).
b. Plan of the L-shaped area



¹²² Walberg (1997-1998) 92: (5) and 86-87

¹²³ Walberg (1997-1998) 82

¹²⁴ Walberg (1998) 53

¹²⁵ Walberg (1998) 53

summit itself was not built over, but in 1939 Persson excavated a level L-shaped area immediately below it (fig.13a), which was “not large enough for a palace building, however modest, but it was extended to the East and to the North by terracing”.¹²⁶ The preserved foundation walls from this area were too fragmentary to yield a ground plan (fig.13b). Persson’s belief that a palace existed on the summit, “about 50m East of its highest point” could not be confirmed or dismissed on the basis of the surviving evidence.¹²⁷

Whatever building stood close to the summit, it was probably deserted at the end of LHIIB, according to the pottery that was collected in 1939.¹²⁸ If we supposed that this was actually a palace, then we could entertain the idea that the people who survived the destruction did not choose to rebuild the old major centre of power, but an ancillary one. Such a choice might have been of course dictated by the level of destruction of each building and of the effort required for their restoration. If we took under consideration, however, that the megaron on the north-eastern terraces was devastated by the destruction, and that a lot of work was needed for its repair, then it would seem possible that there were other reasons of social and ideological nature that led to the abandonment of the potential “palace” and the rebuilding of the megaron on the lower terraces.¹²⁹ Such a scenario sounds of course interesting and intriguing, but it remains very much hypothetical. Future investigation inside the citadel might help us appreciate better the role of the megaron.

In any case, the megaron’s public role was apparently carried on after the destruction too, at least in its religious aspect. This has been indicated by the niche found inside the megaron, which contained a deposit of several valuable objects, including the three unusually large – ceremonial – sword pommels.¹³⁰ As Walberg has pointed out, “a ceremonial use of swords is indicated by a well-known fresco in the Room of the Fresco in the Cult Centre at Mycenae which shows the feet and dress of a female (?) figure who is holding a very large sword point down in front of her. A sword pommel was found in a bench against the wall beneath the fresco and the bench ended at a platform similar to the platform found outside the building at Midea.”¹³¹ Another function of the megaron that continued in LHIIC is that of food preparations in the rear room. No evidence, however, of

¹²⁶ Iakovidis (1983) 22

¹²⁷ Persson (1942) 6-12, 16

¹²⁸ Walberg (1967) 161-175, esp. 174-175: “No Mycenaean sherds were later than Myc.IIIB... It would thus seem that the Palace of Midea was deserted, at the same time as the necropolis to the West of Midea, at the end of Myc.IIIB, like most Mycenaean sites.” She underlines the notable quantity of figurines found on the terrace of the ‘palace’; they are mostly of the phi-, psi- and kourotrophos types.

¹²⁹ Walberg herself finds it worth noting that “the upper part of the acropolis was not resettled after the LHIIB destruction”, but she does not attempt any interpretation. Cf. Walberg (1998) 178.

¹³⁰ Walberg (1996) 30

¹³¹ Walberg (1996) 30-31

administrative activities has been reported from the LHIIC levels, although this might be difficult to pin down in this period, due to the lack of Linear B inscriptions in LHIIC.

Finally, another area where continuity from LHIIB to LHIIC has been noted is that on Terrace 9, where the cult activities that probably took place in Room II carried on after the destruction too, although the LHIIC structure has not survived. This is of course the general problem at Midea, i.e. that “the late Roman occupation significantly disturbed the LHIIC remains” and this “makes it impossible to determine if the LHIIB rooms reused in LHIIC had the same functions in both periods”. Overall, however, the building activities that have been observed in LHIIC suggest “a certain amount of cultural continuity at the site”.¹³² Further research and future publications will hopefully illuminate the current picture.

4.2 The Dendra Cemetery

To the North-west of the citadel and close to the village of Dendra a cemetery has been excavated, which comprised MH tumuli, a tholos tomb and chamber tombs (fig.14). Sixteen of the tombs have been excavated. This cemetery has produced amazing finds testifying to the richness and power of the area in the LBA. Inside the tholos tomb were

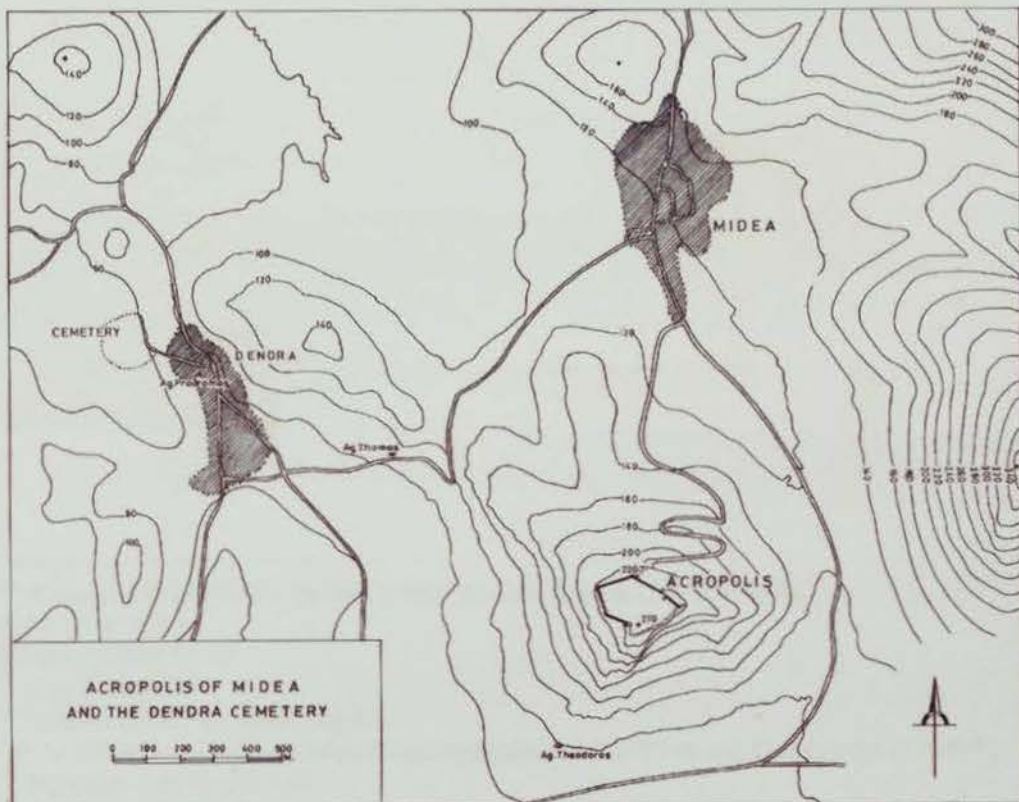


Fig.14
The area of Midea and the Dendra
Cemetery

¹³² Walberg (1996) 177-178

found the well-known Octopus Cup and two silver cups, while one of the chamber tombs produced a complete bronze cuirass dating to the early 14th century BC. Seven of the chamber tombs have produced LHIIB evidence.¹³³ However, no traces of use of the chamber tombs during LHIIC have been attested, and so doubts have been raised about the connection of the cemetery with the citadel of Midea.¹³⁴ Only one LHIIC amphoriskos has been found beneath the collapsed roof of the tholos, “immediately above the lowest layer which contained the principal finds”.¹³⁵ It has alternatively been dated to the SM period.¹³⁶

4.3 EIA evidence

Nothing of EIA date has been reported from the citadel. The only possible evidence of SM or PG date comes from the Dendra cemetery, but it is limited to a couple of dubious cases. One case is a pit burial in the entrance of chamber tomb 2, apparently found on a much higher level than the floor of the doorway. It was accompanied by spindle-whorls and a long bronze needle, which apparently urged Persson to date the burial to the SM period.¹³⁷ Another EIA burial took place in the tholos. It was accompanied by a vase, which was initially thought to be of PG date, but should rather date to the EG period.¹³⁸

¹³³ Persson (1931); (1942); Deilaki (1990) 85-106; Åström (1977); (1983)

Alden (1981) 262

Walberg (1998) 15-17

¹³⁴ Eder (1998) 45

¹³⁵ Persson (1931) 31, 66-67, fig.47

For the dating to LHIIC cf. Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 40 and Desborough (1964) 77.

¹³⁶ Styrenius (1967) 129, 133

¹³⁷ Persson (1931) 73-74

Cf. also Wells (1990) 126; and Antonaccio (1995) 28

¹³⁸ Persson (1931) 11, 41-42, fig. 24: PG date

Hägg (1962) 98-99

5. Argos

Before embarking upon the examination of the LBA-EIA transition at Argos, it should be pointed out that the organisation and development of the LBA and EIA settlement have not been satisfactorily cleared out yet in scholarly literature. The area of the city of Argos has been continuously occupied to this day, and as a result most ancient remains have come to light during rescue excavations, which are not often systematically and fully published. Therefore, most of the relevant information comes from short preliminary reports, which cannot lead to a safe reconstruction of the settlement's early history. The intensive, later re-use of the area of Argos in Hellenistic and especially in Roman times, which has caused great disturbance of earlier remains, has also played significant role in this. Nevertheless, Hägg has pointed out that the area of Argos has been investigated almost in its entirety through rescue and systematic excavations, and therefore the currently available material could be considered representative of the original habitation as a result of an unintentional sampling process.¹³⁹ On this basis, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the early stages of habitation at Argos.

5.1 Mycenaean settlement

The Mycenaean settlement of Argos must have been rather prosperous and well organised, although it does not seem to have developed around a palatial centre. The evidence found in the main area of the Mycenaean settlement, at the south and south-east foot of Aspis hill, such as fresco fragments, seal stones, golden jewellery and megaron-type architecture, indicates that the settlement of Argos enjoyed a rather good level of prosperity and sophistication in the quality of life.¹⁴⁰ Mycenaean remains have also been found in the south quarter of the modern city, in the area at the foot of Larissa.¹⁴¹

The top of the rocky outcrop of Larissa, which rises to the West of the city of Argos, is thought to have hosted the Mycenaean acropolis.¹⁴² However, the complete absence of any

¹³⁹ Hägg (1982) 298

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Deilaki (1971) 79-80; (1973) 95-96, 97, 100-102, 103-105, 112; (1973-74) 208; Morou (1981) 107-109 for substantial but not precisely dated Mycenaean remains.

¹⁴¹ Courbin (1956b) 207-210

Daux (1968) 1030; (1969) 991-992

Croissant (1974) 761

Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 12

¹⁴² Vollgraff, who excavated the site in 1928, reported that apart from Mycenaean pottery, a Cyclopean fortification wall was partly preserved on Larissa – cf. Vollgraff (1928) 478, 479 and Bépaignon (1930) 480; also Piérart and Touchais (1996) 18; Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 11; and Piteros (2003) 369-378, esp. 375-378 for a more recent, thorough study of the Mycenaean wall remains.

other remains than the Cyclopean terrace wall does not allow us to specify the exact nature and use of this establishment with safety. It has been suggested that it was the seat of the ruler of Argos.¹⁴³ The height difference of the Larissa hill from the Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns and its less direct relationship with the settlement at its foot, on the other hand, could potentially discourage us from reconstructing an acropolis on Larissa functioning in the same way as the other citadels. It could even be suggested that it was fortified only to be used as refuge in fear of an imminent danger. Nevertheless, the impressive gate that Piteros has reconstructed, and the Cyprominoan cylinder seal found on



Fig.15
Plan of the
modern
town of
Argos with
the most
significant
ancient
monuments

¹⁴³ Piteros (2003) 377

Larissa might point to its function as the administrative centre.¹⁴⁴ On the basis of the current state of evidence, it is unfortunately impossible to address this question.

5.2 Transition from LHIIB to LHIIC¹⁴⁵

As already noted, the transition from LHIIB to LHIIC at Argos is not easy to reconstruct. No major-scale destruction appears to have taken place. There is only one reference to an ash-layer above the floor of a storage building in the area of the Mycenaean settlement to the South of Aspis, but neither the building nor the ash-layer has been precisely dated (app.Va.2, p.367). Another destruction layer, which intervenes between the two phases of occupation of the small settlement unit in the south area of the city might also date to the transition from LHIIB to LHIIC, but again this has not been ascertained (app.Va.3, p.368). Besides, this seems to be a separate habitation unit, quite remote from the main settlement area at the south foot of Aspis, and thus its destruction might have been a single, isolated incidence. It was anyway reoccupied and rebuilt in LHIIC, and contemporary burials took place in four nearby cists (app.Va.5, p.370-1, fig.Va.4). In addition, habitation seems to continue uninterrupted in the area to the South-South-east of Aspis, with LHIIC remains lying above LHIIB layers in at least three plots (app.Va.2, p.367). Nevertheless, after the latest revision of pottery from the Deiras cemetery, no tomb seems to be a certain case of continuous use from LHIIB to LHIIC (app.Va.4, p.369-70). Thus, the evidence seems to be contradictory.

It can be said with some reservation that although no major destruction is documented at Argos itself, a certain impact of the destructions occurring at all other Mycenaean centres in the Argolid at around 1200 BC must have been felt here too. Nevertheless, Argos must have quickly recovered in LHIIC, and it even prospered in LHIIC-middle and especially LHIIC-late. First, it is possible that the settlement lying at the foot of Aspis might have extended further to the South in the late phases of LHIIC, as indicated by the recently excavated habitation unit in this area (app.Va.2, p.367-8). In addition, six chamber tombs appear to be re-used in LHIIC-late, and two new ones are probably constructed in this period (app.Va.4, app.370). The tumuli with the cremations and single burials of LHIIC-middle and -late date found in the south area of Argos should also be brought into the discussion here (app.Va.5, 371, fig.Va.5). All things considered, the population seems to have increased towards the end of LHIIC.

¹⁴⁴ Piteros (2003) esp. 375-377

¹⁴⁵ For detailed presentation of the LHIIC evidence from Argos cf. Appendix Va.1-5, p. 365-72.

The re-use of chamber tombs and the construction of two new ones have been interpreted as indications of a new, small group of settlers, probably Mycenaeans from other parts of the Argolid, who came to seek refuge at Argos.¹⁴⁶ The appearance of new burial grounds in the case of the tumuli as well as the innovation of cremations have also been interpreted as signs pointing to the arrival of new population groups, which are however familiar with the traditional Mycenaean custom of inhumation and also use locally-made, Mycenaean pottery of good quality, as well as handmade ware.¹⁴⁷ The evidence indeed seems to indicate the mingling of old and new population elements, preserving the Mycenaean traditions but also introducing innovative features. In addition to the increase of population, other evidence, such as the occurrence in tombs of LHIIC-late vases imported from other parts of the Argolid or areas further away such as Achaea, shows that the society of Argos participated in the network of interregional contacts developing in the end of the LBA throughout the Aegean.

5.3 Transition from the LHIIC to the SM period¹⁴⁸

Argos also survives successfully through the transition from the LBA to the EIA. Although there is not much SM evidence, some of it points to continuity from the LHIIC-late period. Such might be the case of the organised cemetery of cist tombs on Tripolis St. (app.Va.5, p.372, fig.Va.6 and app.Va.8, p.376), as well as the possible SM cist in the LHIIC tumulus (app.Va.8, p.376). Around five chamber tombs at Deiras also received burials in the SM period, three of them having also been used in LHIIC-late, and the other two re-used in the SM period after some period of abandonment (app.Va.7, p.375-6). Finally, SM pottery found over the LHIIC remains to the South of the Mycenaean settlement area might testify to continuous occupation at this location (app.Va.6, p.375).

However, other SM settlement remains have been recovered in areas that did not produce any Mycenaean remains (app.Va.6, p.374), while the rest of the SM burials were found scattered in the south-west area of the city and in the centre, in the area of the museum, in no direct relation to either burials or remains of the LBA past (app.Va.8, p.376). It seems therefore, that the settlement centre of the Mycenaean period at the south and south-east foot of Aspis was abandoned in the transition from the LHIIC to the SM period, and preference was shown mainly towards the south area of the city of Argos (fig.Va.7).

¹⁴⁶ Cavanagh and Mee (1978) 43-44

Eder (1998) 47

¹⁴⁷ Piteros (2001) 115-116

¹⁴⁸ For detailed presentation of the SM evidence from Argos cf. Appendix Va.6-8, p.373-6.

According to Hägg, this should represent a break in settlement continuity at the end of the Mycenaean period.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the south area of the city had started growing in popularity already since LHIIC and especially towards its end, as indicated by the appearance of new burial grounds. Thus, the break in settlement patterns seems to have occurred gradually already before the end of the LBA, along with other changes in material culture and burial customs.

Emphasis should also be placed on the seven LHIIC-late-SM cist tombs that probably belonged to a cemetery, and, therefore, indicate some level of organisation and sense of kinship for a part at least of the small SM population of Argos (fig.Va.6). A silver cupellation workshop that functioned in the SM period (app.Va.6, p.374, fig.Va.8) also points to early development and high standard not only of metallurgy¹⁵⁰, but also probably of quality of life. This cannot really be a run-down society, struggling to survive, as we would expect it to be in those times. On the one hand, the rest of the evidence gives us the picture of a very much-reduced population, living scattered in small habitation units.¹⁵¹ On the other, the production of luxuries shows that the most essential, survival-related needs of part at least of the population had been covered, a social ranking had developed and some kind of local elite must have emerged. On the basis of the remarkable find of the silver cupellation workshop, Hägg has warned us against treating the economy of the EIA society as of low standard and based entirely on agricultural resources. However, he has also pointed out that silver is very rarely found in assemblages of those early times. Judging by the occurrence of silver products alone, one would never imagine that this metal was actually being produced on the Greek mainland.¹⁵² Therefore, the discovery of this workshop should perhaps be treated with some caution. Nevertheless, the evidence leading to the identification of its function and to its dating seems to be valid.

5.4 Settlement and social evolution from the SM to PG period

The reconstruction of an economically developed and socially rank society at Argos already since the SM times would also probably provide us with the necessary background in order to comprehend the expansion of the settlement and the great increase of the population noticed in the PG period (fig.Va.9).¹⁵³ Not only do all the sites that produced SM material

¹⁴⁹ Hägg (1982) 298

¹⁵⁰ Foley (1988) 25

Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 14

¹⁵¹ Eder (1998) 63

¹⁵² Hägg (1982) 300

¹⁵³ For detailed presentation of the PG evidence from Argos cf. Appendix Va.9-17, p.377-83.

continue to be in use in PG times as well, but there is also evidence for PG activity in about five new locations (app.Va.9, p.377-9). The silver cupellation workshop continues to function in the EPG period, and other evidence of possible workshop activity has been found in the south area of the city, where hearths and kilns have been recovered (fig.Va.10-11). SM activity had possibly taken place here too.

If we tried then to reach to conclusions about settlement organisation, we could notice perhaps that half at least of the PG settlement find-spots are gathered in the south-west area of the city, at the south-east foot of Larissa (fig.Va.9). It has also been pointed out, however, that even in this area the find-spots are quite distant from each other, with no remains other than burials lying in between them, and therefore it is improbable that these settlement units belonged to an organised settlement.¹⁵⁴ As for the rest of the find-spots, they are scattered all around the city of Argos, in the centre, to the East and South-east, and to the North. It has been claimed, therefore, that the same settlement pattern of the small, scattered units – probably farmsteads – which we saw in the SM period, continues in the PG period as well.¹⁵⁵

The distribution of burials also supports this kind of reconstruction. Apart from the two PG burials that possibly took place at Deiras – one in a chamber tomb and the other in a cist (app.Va.10, p.379), the other burials, more than one hundred in number, are scattered all over the city of Argos (app.Va.11-17, p.380-3, fig.Va.9).¹⁵⁶ Because of their recovery mostly through rescue excavations in random, private plots, it is not possible to reconstruct the initial distribution of burial grounds with accuracy. Nevertheless, supposing that we do have a representative sample at hand, as suggested by Hägg, some tendency for tombs to concentrate in certain areas is possible to discern. However, it should be stressed that this grouping is based entirely on the available preliminary reports, and thus is subject to revision whenever new information on old or recently discovered tombs comes out. No strict borders can be drawn to delineate the groups of tombs, since any new discovery in an in-between plot – or even an old one that has never been published – could change the current picture. The most recent report on a burial ground excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in the central part of Argos, for example, is the first report ever to record PG burials in this part of the city (app.Va.17, p.383). This probably shows that the lack of other tombs from this part cannot be taken to mean that this area was not used for burials in contrast to the other

¹⁵⁴ Hägg (1982) 300

¹⁵⁵ Foley (1988) 25

Eder (1998) 65

¹⁵⁶ For detailed presentation of the published evidence from the PG burials of Argos, cf. Appendix Vb, p.386-95.

areas, but rather that it needs more investigation and especially documentation of finds. Nevertheless, I believe that it is worth attempting to 'read' the distribution of burials, as we know it at the moment, and to reach some tentative conclusions.

It is possible to reconstruct three groups of PG tombs in the northern part of the city: one in the area of the Mycenaean settlement at the foot of Aspis, another to the North of the modern market place, and a third to its West-North-west (app.Va.11-13, p.380-1, fig.Va.9). The limits between these groups are in fact quite elusive, and it cannot be excluded that future investigation might show this whole northern area of Argos to be covered by scattered tombs.¹⁵⁷ This does not mean, however, that the emerging reconstruction for the northern area of Argos should necessarily be that of a huge cemetery, but it could be that of a well populated area, with inhabitants living in small, scattered units and burying their dead nearby. Habitation traces have actually been found in one case in proximity to burials, that is in the area North-west of the modern market place, South of the main Mycenaean settlement area, where EIA domestic pottery was found over a LHIIIC house, possibly testifying to continuous occupation at this location. Six cists and one pithos were found close to these remains, possibly buried in a common burial ground (app.Va.13, p.381). Seven other cists and a pithos might have belonged to another burial ground in the area to the North of the market place (app.Va.12, p.380, fig.Va.12). Thus, there seem to have been many habitation units in the northern part of Argos, each one with its own burial ground, possibly grouped together in clusters of two or three.

Another, easier distinguishable group of tombs was in the centre of the city, around St Peter's Square (app.Va.14, p.381). Around twenty tombs lay here in very close proximity to each other, some of them possibly forming smaller groups, maybe on the grounds of family- or other kinds of social bonds (fig.Va.13). This area had experienced intensive activity already since the SM period, as indicated by the recovery of burials and the silver-cupellation workshop, and apparently continued to do so in the PG period too. The workshop had gone out of use in LPG period, but people apparently continued to live nearby and to bury their dead here.

Another, smaller group of burials appears to be located in the eastern part of the city (app.Va.15, p.383). The *ca.* ten burials found here were scattered in two plots with some distance from each other, while settlement remains were also found in this area in a third plot somewhat further to the North (app.Va.9, 377). It might be relevant to note, however, that two cremations probably dating to the beginning of PG period were found in one of the plots,

¹⁵⁷ Lemos (2002) 157 notes that "it appears that at least from LPG onwards the north-western area of the modern town was occupied by burial grounds".

while the settlement remains also dated to the EPG period – if not to the SM. Thus, the two at least of the three units in this area seem to have been contemporarily occupied.

Finally, in the southern part of Argos, where most of the PG settlement remains have been recovered, around fifteen burials have been found scattered in nine different plots, four of which were already used for burials since the SM period (app.Va.16, p.383). One of them was actually the tumulus, which had been in use since the LHIIC-middle period. The continuity in the use of certain burial grounds could probably be interpreted in terms of family groups. Therefore, this area too appears to be dotted with small habitation units, some of which must have had a long history of occupation.

On the basis of the above evidence, it could be suggested that PG Argos was occupied by small, scattered habitation units, possibly belonging to families, which were occasionally grouped together in clusters. These clusters would not have been tightly organised, and each unit would still have its own burial ground. The proximity of the units of each cluster, however, suggests that they were kept together through some kind of internal bonding possibly of kinship or other social nature. It would also be logical to assume that all these clusters of habitation units could not have been completely unrelated to each other. They would probably have economic and social transactions with each other, possibly resulting into economic and social differentiations between and even within the population groups.

Although a lot of details are missing as regards the contents of tombs, it could be noted that some burials are distinguished from others in terms of richness in offerings (app.Vb.ns.38, 62, 69, 93, 114 and fig.Va.9: ns.101, 174, 77, 103 and 52 respectively). Each of these burials seems to correspond to each one of the burial groups, with the exception of the most northern group lying within the remains of the Mycenaean settlement, for which however the available information is very synoptic. It is tempting to suggest that this distribution of rich burials might reflect some kind of competition between the habitation clusters and social ranking within the groups. It is also interesting to note that most of them have been attributed to women, which possibly stresses the importance of family lineage for social status.¹⁵⁸

Overall, the number and distribution of PG burials at Argos should lead us to the reconstruction of small and not tightly organised clusters of habitation units. In spite of the specialised workshop and of the first signs of social complexity, it could be said that Argos

¹⁵⁸ Lemos (2002) 158 and n.74: “A helpful indication of gender is the presence of pins in a grave. According to Kilian-Dirlmeier, in the Argolid, as in Athens, pins were found only with female burials.”

still had a long way to go before getting organised as one single settlement and reaching the status of a polis.¹⁵⁹

6. Asine

LBA and EIA settlement remains have been found at three locations at Asine: in the so-called Lower Town on the hill of the Acropolis (Kastraki), in the Levendis sector at the south-eastern foot of Barbouna Hill, which rises to the West-North-west of the Acropolis, and in the so-called Karmaniola sector to the East of the Acropolis, which is divided into the Main and East Areas.

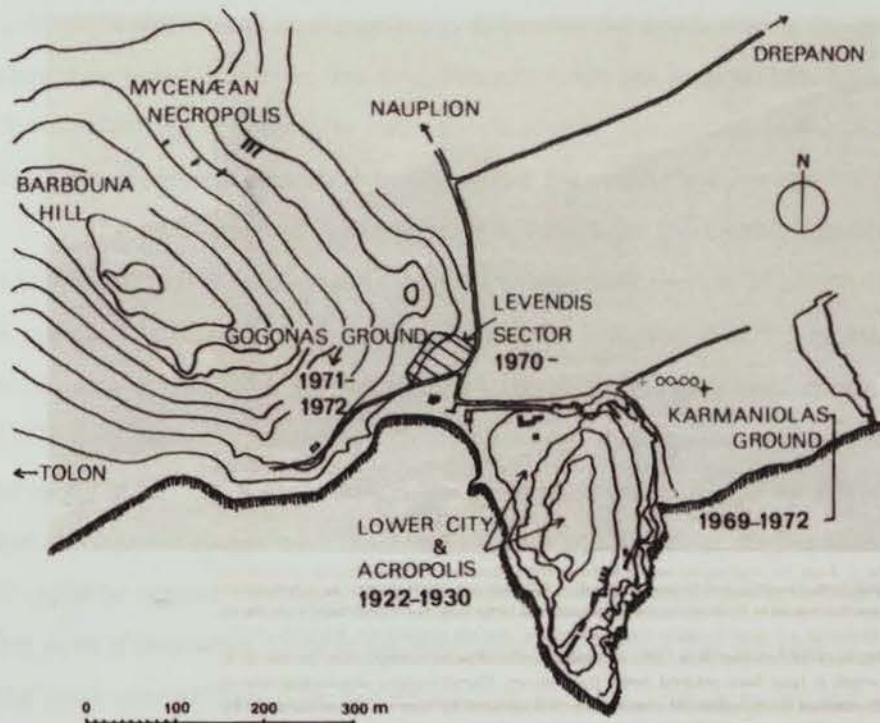


Fig.16
Map of
Asine with
the several
excavation
sectors
marked

Sparse LHIIIB evidence has been found in all three areas, somewhat more substantial being the remains in the Levendis sector, while it is believed that future studies might expose more material in the Lower Town, since "...it is possible that the excavations conducted in this area did not reach the levels for LHIIIA and LHIIIB habitation".¹⁶⁰ In

¹⁵⁹ Hägg (1982) 300

Papadimitriou (2006): "The settlement of the Early Iron Age must have consisted of small groups that gradually expanded through time with the increase in population but which did not form a city-state until the very end of the G period."

¹⁶⁰ Sjöberg (2004) 41

Cf. Hägg (1973) 27, 42-43, 48, 74, 81; (1975) 151-152; Frizell (1978) 90-91; Hägg and Nordquist (1992) 59-68 for the Levendis sector; Dietz (1982) 68-69 for the Karmaniola area; and Frizell (1978) 91: "the LHIIIB is almost absent" among the material coming from the old excavations at the Lower Town – "a rather unusual feature in Mycenaean settlements".

addition, the LHIIB evidence from the cemeteries is very thin. In general, the sparse LHIIB traces of habitation found at Asine as well as the poor LHIIB material from the chamber tombs seem to point to “a site in decline” in this period.¹⁶¹

6.1 LHIIC period

6.1.1 *Transition from LHIIB to LHIIC*

LHIIC is in general a flourishing period at Asine (cf. app.VI.1-5, p.396-407). The evidence, however, dating to the early phase of LHIIC is meagre and it is believed to indicate “a short break or discontinuity following the destruction at the end of LHIIB2”.¹⁶² It should be noted, however, that this destruction has not been archaeologically documented at Asine, although it appears to have struck several settlements in the Argolid. On the other hand, the settlement appears to be thriving in the middle and late phases of LHIIC.

The settlement of Asine appears to have been quite small and not very significant in LHIIB and LHIIC-early, while it seems to gradually recover in LHIIC-middle and to reach a peak in LHIIC-late. It should be noted here, however, that this reconstruction of Asine’s settlement evolution is for the moment largely based on burial evidence. With regard to LHIIB in particular, settlement data are mostly missing, and whatever is there has not been properly published. Consequently, too much emphasis is put on the burial evidence, whereas not all chamber tombs have been investigated and far fewer are published (app. V.4, p.402). It could be argued, therefore, that the available data should not be considered representative, but even if they were, there is the alternative suggestion that the lack of LHIIB pottery from the tomb assemblages does not necessarily indicate a break in the use of the cemetery and might simply be the result of a change in burial customs, which would have dictated that it was not important for a certain period to deposit pottery – or other burial gifts – in the tombs. Instead, social or economic status might have been exhibited through burial ceremonies, which leave no archaeological traces, or/and through earlier deposits of burial offerings serving as heirlooms.¹⁶³ Therefore, the impression of a small and poor LHIIB community, although difficult to overcome at the moment, might in fact be wrong.

¹⁶¹ Sjöberg (2004) 41
Cf. also Dietz (1982) 101-102

¹⁶² Sjöberg (2004) 42

¹⁶³ Sjöberg (2004) 105

6.1.2 Flourishing in LHIIC-middle and -late

Yet, it is true that in LHIIC-middle and especially in LHIIC-late the settlement of Asine appears to be very dynamic. It is to these phases that most of the “houses” in the Lower Town have been re-dated, while their size and layout strengthen our impression of a prosperous settlement (app. VI.1, p.397, fig.VI.1-2).



Fig.17
View of the
Acropolis
hill and the
Lower
Town from
North-west

Houses G/H and I, whose period of use started in LHIIC-middle and continued in LHIIC-late, appear to have been rather large dwellings, which gradually expanded “from a basic concept with a room of megaron type at the core of the house” (app.VI.1, p.398-9). They were probably destined to house “extended families with high economic and social status” and to serve multiple functions.¹⁶⁴ Significant cult activities have also been attested here, testifying to the identification of House G either with a large and conspicuous cult building or with an impressive private house equipped with a domestic altar (app. VI.5, p.404-6). The architecture of the main room XXXII of House G, especially its large size and its furnishing with a central row of columns and benches along the walls should be underlined. Whether of primarily religious or profane character, this must have definitely been a significant building, potentially serving a public role in either case.

¹⁶⁴ Sjöberg (2004) 39-40

In addition to the impressive architectural arrangements of the buildings in the Lower Town, several other kinds of evidence from these houses further testify to the existence of an active and dynamic community. Such are the two kilns, one found in room XXXIX of House H (actually located in an open-air space, outside the walls of the house, according to a more recent reconstruction) and the other in room XLII of House I, the mould for jewellery production from room XXXII of House G and the deposit of bobbins used for textile production from room XLVI of House I (app. VI.1, p.398-9). Moreover, the good quality and rich shape-variety of the pottery found in the Lower Town and in the chamber tombs also add to the impression of prosperity (app. VI.4, p.403). The rich, LHIIC-late settlement accumulation found on the east slopes of the acropolis not only testifies to habitation on the hill in other parts than the Lower Town, but also confirms the picture of a flourishing settlement (app. VI.1, p.400). Besides, the settlement seems to have expanded towards the end of LHIIC-late to the East of the acropolis hill too, in the Karmaniola area, where a rectangular building was constructed (70Q-T – cf. app. VI.3, p.400-1, fig.VI.7).

6.2 Transition from the LBA to the EIA

The transition from the LBA to the EIA, i.e. from LHIIC to the SM period at Asine seems to have been an uninterruptedly gradual process. Apart from the abandonment of most of the chamber tombs (app.VI.12, p.414-4), no significant event appears to have occurred at the site at this stage, no great destruction or abandonment of the place has been documented. Continuity of habitation has been attested in all three areas of excavation, but not with equal certainty. In the Lower Town, first, it has been suggested that Buildings G, H and I were continuously inhabited from LHIIC-middle/late to the SM and PG period on the basis of pottery that Birgitta Sjöberg has reported seeing among the unpublished material from the excavations kept in the storerooms at the University of Uppsala (app. VI.6, p.407 and VI.8, p.408-9).¹⁶⁵ This is of course a significant testimony, but the material needs further study in order to lead us to more secure conclusions.

The report in the initial publication of a destruction layer covering House G up to the level of House H seems to contradict the idea that this building remained continuously in use into the EIA.¹⁶⁶ Sjöberg has shown, on the other hand, that the publication is fraught with problems and simplifications: the information from the final publication is not always consistent with that from the field-notes and the original drawings, while sometimes it is

¹⁶⁵ Sjöberg (2004) 33, 36, 37

¹⁶⁶ Westholm (1938) 98

even self-conflicting.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the published information should not be taken at face value. The SM pottery testifies to some kind of activity in this area, which might have even entailed the re-use of walls and could have resulted to disturbance of earlier layers and thus to the deposition of SM sherds in LHIIC-late contexts.¹⁶⁸ It is not safe, however, to speak of continuous habitation of the buildings themselves.

An alternative interpretation could be that the SM material came from destroyed burials, as it has been suggested for PG pottery found in the same context. Besides, the area of House I in particular was densely occupied by PG tombs (app. VI.8, p.408, fig.VI.13). This building must have been deserted, and the PG pottery found here should indeed be interpreted as coming from destroyed PG tombs. On the other hand, only four PG tombs have been found mostly to the East of Houses G and H. Thus, it could at least be thought possible that the area of these houses, but probably not the buildings themselves, was indeed inhabited in the beginning of the EIA, and not used as burial ground.

In the Levendis sector, to the North-west of the Acropolis, the transition from LBA to EIA is more obscure, mainly because of the preliminary state of the publication (app. VI.9, p.409). On the basis of the currently available information, it seems that there is evidence for use of the area throughout the transitional period, but no clear remains of a settlement have been found. Finally, the remains found in the area to the East of the Acropolis provide us with a very good insight of the settlement of Asine during the transitional period.

The excavations in the Karmaniola area testify to continuous occupation from LHIIC-late to SM and into the PG and the G period (cf.app.VI.7, p.407-8 and app.VI.10, p.409-13). The most characteristic example is the rectangular building 70Q-T, which was most probably continuously inhabited from the end of LHIIC-late until into the EPG period (app. VI.7, p.407-8). At that time, it was replaced by another rectangular or oval building (71I-IJ) following more or less the same orientation (app.VI.10, p.411, fig.VI.15). Later on, however, a noticeable change occurred: the site continued to be inhabited, but a new, apsidal building was erected (app. VI.10, p.411-3, fig.VI.15). The same sequence of rectangular LBA buildings being reused in the EIA and then succeeded by curvilinear buildings has also been observed at Nichoria and Koukounaries. It has been suggested that whenever the EIA

¹⁶⁷ Sjöberg (2004) 29-30

¹⁶⁸ Sjöberg (2004) 65 notes that according to Furumark (1944) 210-211, fig.4: 3, SM pottery (i.e. a cup) was found at the location of Houses G-H, but on a higher level, "above the house". She adds that "the few boxes [with material] identified so far [from this area] indicate that an even later period of construction than LHIIC is not to be excluded".

inhabitants built entirely new buildings, they chose the curvilinear plan instead of the rectangular.¹⁶⁹

Wells suggests that the “reintroduction” of this plan was due to influence from a north-westerly direction, “with or without settlers”. Eder too believes that it must be related to some external factor, and she is even firmer on the arrival of newcomers, who chose to settle down at the site to the East of the acropolis. Both Wells and Eder also connect the appearance of hand-made pottery with the arrival of newcomers.¹⁷⁰ The connection of hand-made pottery and apsidal buildings with new population elements is indeed a very interesting and complex issue. For the moment, however, it should be noted that internal, constructional reasons have also been claimed for the change from rectilinear to apsidal plan.¹⁷¹ Besides, at Asine, innovative elements were closely combined with other features, whose roots can be traced back in the Mycenaean tradition. Most characteristic is of course the wheel-made pottery. Frizell, who published the SM pottery from the Karmaniola area has put great emphasis on the impression of continuity from the Mycenaean to SM pottery, and Wells appears to take this further down to the PG times. Besides, both agree for reasons related to this continuous development on using the term Final Mycenaean instead of SM.¹⁷² Thus, a combination of continuity with changes characterises the material culture of EIA Asine – and potentially testifies to a mingling of locals with newcomers.

6.3 Reconstruction of the PG settlement and distribution of PG burials

In spite of the verified continuous habitation at Asine from the LBA to the EIA and onwards, the reconstruction of the EIA settlement is a very difficult task. Unfortunately, the extent of the PG settlement in the Karmaniola area cannot be fully estimated due to the limitation of investigations within a certain land piece, which actually had to be excavated before being used for a camping establishment. Consequently, as clearly stated by Wells, “we do not know for certain if the buildings datable to the PG period represent merely a succession of farmsteads or a small village”. Therefore, although “there are indications that

¹⁶⁹ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 98-99

¹⁷⁰ Wells (1983) 117-118, 122

Eder (1998) 69

¹⁷¹ Mazarakis Ainian (2001) 140-143 notes that “the use of mudbrick, *pisé* or wattle-and-daub for the superstructure of the walls necessitated pitched roofs projecting over the sides. In this way the exterior sides were adequately protected from the weather conditions. The curved short sides of oval and apsidal buildings provided the best solution”.

¹⁷² Frizell (1986) 85

Wells (1983) 118-120

the inhabited area stretched beyond the limits of the present main area of excavation”,¹⁷³ it is impossible to discuss how the settlement was organised on the basis of habitation remains.

We should instead turn to the distribution of burials. The area to the East of the Acropolis is characterised by a close relationship of burials and houses (app. VI.15, p.417-8, fig.VI.19). On this basis, the child burials that were found here have been characterised as “intramural in the sense that they are placed within the settlement but not within the buildings themselves”.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the largest concentration of PG tombs was found among the Mycenaean ruins of the Lower Town (app. VI.13, p.415-6, fig.VI.13). The main related question is whether the Lower Town was still inhabited in the EIA or not. Until recently it was thought that the Lower Town was abandoned at the end of Mycenaean times, and thus it was concluded that the EIA inhabitants of Asine “generally buried their dead, except for the infants, in burial plots removed from the settled areas”.¹⁷⁵ According to the latest evidence as presented by Sjöberg, however, the assemblages from the areas of Houses G, H and I contained EIA pottery too, thus possibly testifying to continuous occupation of the area. As discussed earlier, such an interpretation could not possibly apply in the case of House I, but might apply to the area of Houses G and H, and would thus mean that there was one more settlement nucleus in the Lower Town, occupied by people burying their dead in the nearby area. The PG burials found in the Levendis sector should in turn point to one more settlement unit in this area, although no clear remains of a settlement have been preserved, but only traces of use (app. VI.14, p.416).

In general, it has been suggested that we should not think in terms of “intramural” and “extramural” burials, since these are basically terms belonging to later historical periods and applied anachronistically to the EIA.¹⁷⁶ If we, therefore, looked at the evidence from a different point of view and took into consideration Sjöberg’s suggestion as well as the situation in other sites of the Argolid, e.g. Argos and Tiryns, we could probably favour a reconstruction of small, scattered settlement nuclei, which were in close proximity to each other but still retained such a degree of independence as to bury their dead separately, each one next to or inside its habitation area. It should also be admitted, however, that this reconstruction is partly based on negative evidence. Due to the limited investigations in the Karmaniola area, it is actually impossible to confirm or reject any settlement reconstruction at Asine, since it cannot be ascertained whether there was a village here whose inhabitants

¹⁷³ Wells (1983) 34

¹⁷⁴ Wells (1976) 30

¹⁷⁵ Wells (1983) 122

Hägg (1974) 89

¹⁷⁶ Papadimitriou (2003)

buried their dead among their houses or they reserved this “privilege” only for infants and interred the rest of the dead in a separate area – which might, after all, seem to be the simplest and most plausible interpretation of the evidence.

Besides, if this latter reconstruction were correct, this would not be the only example of Asine’s differentiation in the Argolid. As Hägg has pointed out, “a striking peculiarity” can be noticed in the case of Asine as far as the burial customs of the PG period are concerned. In particular, most of the dead people buried there lay in supine position, while all other dead in the Argolid, except for two at Mycenae, lay in a crouched or contracted position. Another special characteristic of the Asine burials is that they have a strong tendency to an easterly orientation, while at the other sites the orientation was not consistent, but the easterly orientation was almost completely avoided.¹⁷⁷ Special, distinctive features have also been attested at Asine in relation to cult and other rituals. The PG pithos found in the Karmaniola area, potentially used in religious ceremonies such as sacrifices and feasts, constitutes the single case of EIA cult in the Argolid at such an early date (app. VI.11, p.413-4, fig.VI.14a-b). Moreover, the performance of rites in relation to the dead (evidence for libations – app.II.15, p.418, tomb altars – app.VI.13, p.416, fig.VI.18) and not only (libations in connection with the founding of the apsidal building – app.VI.10, p.412) is remarkable and was also going to continue in greater frequency and variety in the G period.¹⁷⁸ All these special customs of Asine could perhaps enhance the idea of an organised settlement, populated by inhabitants with a potentially strong self-identity and with their own traditions.

Besides, this picture fits well with the literary tradition, according to which the Asineans belonged to the tribe of Dryopes from the Parnassos area, and were not Dorians, like most of the other inhabitants of the Argolid. Even if this tradition were a purely mythological invention, it would still testify to a strong intention on behalf of the Asineans to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Argive population, an intention with its origins possibly in the PG period.¹⁷⁹ If a well-organised community occupied the site of Asine already since PG times, the settlement’s later development in the G period, as indicated by the plentiful G settlement remains, would be better understood. Finally, Asine even managed to become a threat to Argos, which as a result destroyed it at the end of the 8th century, and thus did not allow it to reach the point of becoming a *polis*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Hägg (1998) 132

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Hägg (1974) 54-55, Foley (1988) 26-27, 142-143 and Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 70-72.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Hägg (1998) 133 for the literary tradition.

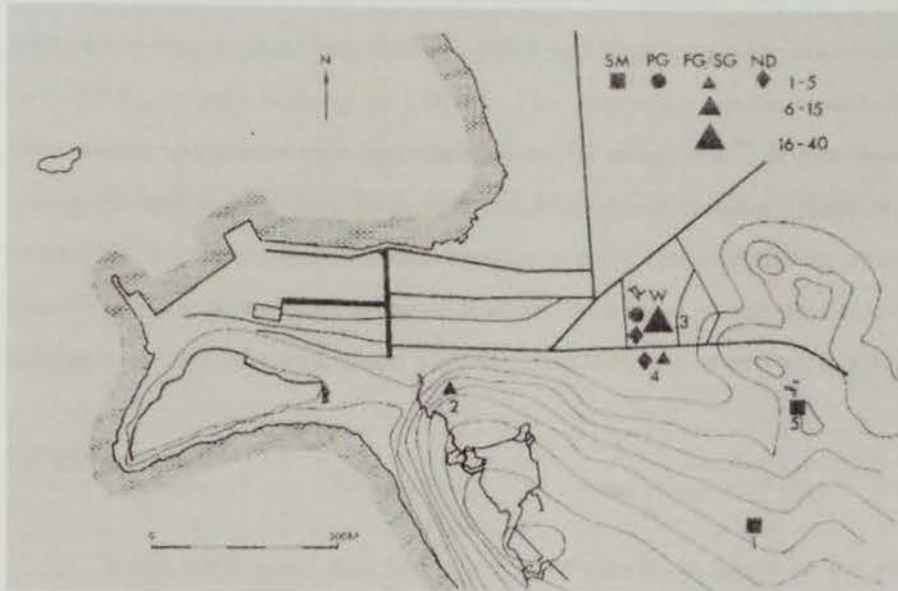
Hall has also recognised in the material culture of Asine what he calls “active praxis, intended to signal an identity self-consciously distinct from other neighbouring sites” – cf. Hall (1997b) esp. 137.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Ratinand-Lachkar (2004) 73ff for a different view suggesting that Asine was not destroyed by Argos, since the latest finds show that it was not completely abandoned in the 7th century BC, contrary

7. Nauplion

7.1 LBA evidence

Nauplion appears to have been a rather significant site in the LBA, but unfortunately the available information is very limited and only comes from rescue excavations. The



Mycenaean settlement appears to have been located to the North of Palamidi and possibly to the North of the acropolis of Ancient Nauplia (Akronauplia)

Fig. 18
Map of Nauplion
1. Chamber tomb cemetery.
2. Palamidi.
3. Modern city-area of Pronoia.
4. Eikostis Pemptis Martiou St.
5. Evangelistria hill.

or even on the acropolis itself.¹⁸¹ The burial ground of this settlement stretched on the north-east slopes of Palamidi as well as on the Evangelistria hill to the North of Palamidi (-East of the modern city-area of Pronoia).

According to the preliminary reports, a rescue excavation to the North of Palamidi (on the south bank of Eikostis Pemptis Martiou St) revealed remains of buildings and deposits of vases; the complex was interpreted as belonging to an area of private houses. Two pits (of 0.70m and 0.90m dm) were also revealed here in a distance of 3.50m the one from the other. The one pit contained sherds and a few animal bones; the deposit was blackened by fire. In the other pit, apart from sherds, animal bones and stones, a few small finds were also found, including non-pierced or non-fully-worked beads of alabaster and steatite, which led to the suggestion that these were probably the remains of a small lapidary workshop. This was the first time that settlement remains were recovered in the area of

to Pausanias' testimony (Paus.II.36.4-5). However, the fact that it was not completely abandoned does not need to mean that it had not been destroyed.

¹⁸¹ Deilaki (1969) 104 referred to the frequent occurrence of obsidian fragments and prehistoric vases on the North slope below the acropolis, as well as to the recovery of a part of a wall that seems to be of cyclopean structure under the Hellenistic walls. She noted, however, that more systematic research would be required in order to verify this dating.

Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) 48-49 also consider the acropolis as a possible site for the main LH settlement, although they find it very unlikely that it covered the whole of this very large area.

Nauplion.¹⁸² Additional material was more recently found in the deposits laid by the Venetians in order to expand the lower city of Nauplion towards the sea, North of the inner Venetian fortification wall. This assemblage comprised in addition to later material, LHIIIA and LHIIIB domestic-type pottery, probably originating from the Mycenaean settlement deposits on the North slopes of the acropolis of Ancient Nauplia (Akronauplia).¹⁸³

Regarding the LBA burial evidence from Nauplion, more than one hundred tombs have been excavated on the north-east slopes of Palamidi and the Evangelistria hill. The preliminary reports show that this was a rich and large cemetery, which was in use from LHI to LHIIIB2, mostly thriving in LHIIIA. The excavated tombs, which had fortunately not been looted, contained rich and variable burial offerings.¹⁸⁴ It has been pointed out that among the still unpublished finds from the Mycenaean cemetery there is also pottery dating to LHIIIC, but it remains uncertain whether it truly comes from the chamber tombs.¹⁸⁵ The quantity of this pottery and whether it could be treated as substantial evidence for LHIIIC habitation is also unknown. Hope Simpson mentions one or two vases only.¹⁸⁶

7.2 SM period

It has been noted that SM vases have also been found in the area of the chamber tombs, but the same reservations about their exact origin applies here too.¹⁸⁷ It has also been reported that four SM cist tombs were found in the area of the chamber tombs on Evangelistria hill.¹⁸⁸

7.3 PG period

The PG remains that have been discovered at Nauplion are very limited in quantity but they are of quite interesting nature. In the Pronoia area, four paved stone layers of elongated, irregular shape were found along with pottery of all phases of the G period, while PG pottery appeared in the deepest layers. While uncovering the second before the last layer,

¹⁸² Kritzas (1973-74) 247-248

¹⁸³ Piteros (1997) 144-145

¹⁸⁴ Deilaki (1973) 90-93: it was estimated that the total number of tombs must have exceeded 500.

Deilaki (1973-74) 202-203

Hägg (1974) 71

¹⁸⁵ Hägg (1974) 72

¹⁸⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) 48

¹⁸⁷ Hägg (1974) 72

One SM vase is pictured in Styrenius (1967) fig. 51.

¹⁸⁸ Deilaki (1973) 91

a round pit of 2m in diameter was found nearby, filled with stones and soil. On the basis of a groove running along its upper edge and stone plaques found on top of that, it was thought that the pit was actually a tomb of a type succeeding the chamber tombs, covered with a wooden ceiling and above that a stone roof. The pottery that was found in the tomb dated to LPG and included many conical feet of open vases.¹⁸⁹ Since no bones were found in the pit it remains uncertain whether it was actually a tomb or some other kind of structure.¹⁹⁰ What is anyway interesting is that the pit had cut through an older wall, which appears to have been Mycenaean because of its structure and pottery found in the area, while the stone pavement nearby – possibly a roadbed – was re-laid repeatedly in the G period. So, although the evidence is very scanty and unpublished, it seems that the Pronoia area was busy in both the LBA and the EIA. It is, however, impossible to tell whether the use was continuous and of what nature it actually was.

¹⁸⁹ Charitonidis (1955) 233-235

¹⁹⁰ Hägg (1974) 72

8. Other sites and the Berbati-Limnes survey

8.1 Other sites in the Argive plain

Apart from the major sites of the Argive plain, other sites too have produced evidence for LHIIIC activity, but on a much smaller scale. A chamber tomb found 800m to the East of the cemetery of Kokla, where one tholos tomb, nine chamber tombs and five pit graves have been excavated, was apparently re-used in LHIIIC. Its first use dates to LHIIA2.¹⁹¹ Further to the South, LHIIIB and LHIIIC building remains were reportedly found in a rescue excavation at Kephalaria, and more LHIIIB-LHIIIC sherds were reported from a small hill close to Kephalaria (Magoula).¹⁹² At Lerna, on the west coast of the Argive bay, at the south-west edge of the plain, there is little evidence from the Mycenaean period, and only two sherds collected from the surface dating to LHIIIC.¹⁹³ "A sprinkling of sherds of all major periods from PG to Late Roman" is also reported from this site.¹⁹⁴



Fig.19
The LHIIIC sites in the Argive
plain and its immediate periphery

¹⁹¹ Banaka-Dimaki (1992) 92

¹⁹² Kritzas (1973-1974) 242, 246

¹⁹³ Hägg (1974) 62 and n. 214

¹⁹⁴ Caskey (1969) iv

8.2 Berbati-Limnes Survey

Finally, very didactic for the evolution of settlement patterns in the Argive plain in the LBA has been the survey conducted in the Berbati-Limnes area, situated to the East of Mycenae and comprising the valley by the modern village of Prosimni – known archaeologically as Berbati – and the mountainous region around the village of Limnes further to the East (fig.20).¹⁹⁵ In this area, increased settlement activity was detected during LHIIIA2 and LHIIB1. Since this coincides with increased activity at Mycenae itself, and “together with the fact that Berbati is situated such a short distance away from Mycenae, [it] makes it likely that the farmers produced their crops on Mycenae’s orders and that they were dependent on the palatial economic system.”¹⁹⁶

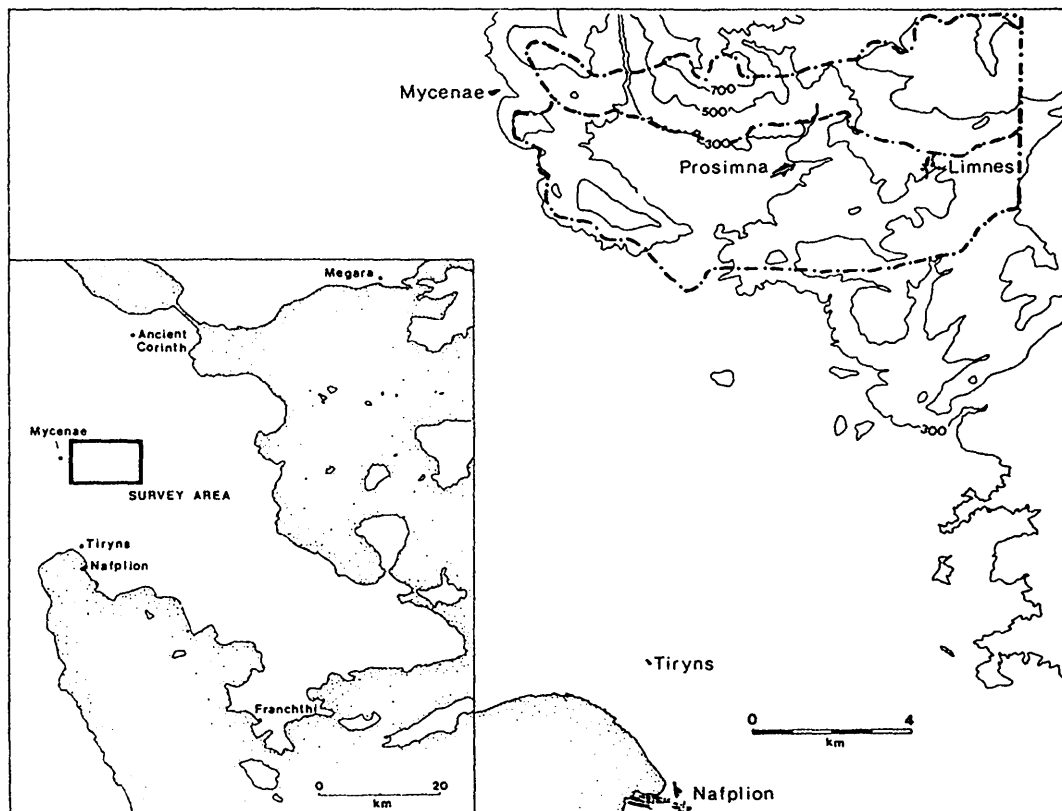


Fig.20
The Berbati-
Limnes
survey area

However, this extensive use of the area seems to have ended rather abruptly, since the LHIIB2 finds are relatively sparse and only a few LHIIC sherds could be identified. This reduction of activity in the area has been interpreted as a result of the “breakdown of the Mycenaean economy”.¹⁹⁷ As for the use of the area in the EIA, only one or two PG sherds

¹⁹⁵ Wells (1996a) 9-12

¹⁹⁶ Schallin (1996) 172

¹⁹⁷ Schallin (1996) 173

were picked up in the survey.¹⁹⁸ It has been pointed out, however, that “the small area of decoration relative to black-glazed or unglazed areas on PG pottery” makes it highly difficult to identify PG pottery collected in survey.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, a drop in activity from LHIIB2 and especially LHIIC period onwards is ascertained. Therefore, this survey has shown how much interrelated the evolution of habitation in the Argive plain was to the rise and collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system.²⁰⁰

9. General Summary and Discussion

9.1 LBA

LHIIB was a very significant period for the Argolid. In this period, the Argive Mycenaean settlements apparently reached their peak of power and glory, but they also went through the ordeal of recurrent destructions, which finally led to the end of this era. The two citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns were engaged in major building programs and challenging architectural undertakings at that time. Midea and possibly Larissa of Argos were also fortified in this period. In addition to these major sites, many other medium-sized and smaller ones dotted the distribution map of LHIIB.

After the major destructions at the end of LHIIB2, the three citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea appear to have been rebuilt and reoccupied. The revival of previous features and the introduction of new elements in settlement organisation, burial customs and material culture indicate that this was a dynamic new era. A new socio-political order, which unfortunately still remains obscure, replaced the collapsed palatial system, and a new power balance emerged in the Argolid. This of course did not signify the end of the Mycenaean civilisation, but the end of the typical Mycenaean *status quo*, as it is reflected in the Linear B tablets and as it has been crystallised in the sense of one or more Mycenaean states organised under the hegemony of the *wanax*.

9.1.1 Mycenae

In LHIIC, most of the areas of the citadel of Mycenae were put back into use, while the area outside the citadel was sparsely inhabited. Additional evidence for the LHIIC

¹⁹⁸ Wells (1996b) 177

¹⁹⁹ Foxhall (1995) 249, n.46

²⁰⁰ Foxhall (1995) 245: “...it is probable that much of the exploitation of the agricultural resources of this area were straight from Mycenae itself... It is perhaps not surprising, then, that when the palace administration crumbles after LHIIB there is no evidence of continued settlement of this hinterland...”

occupation of Mycenae comes from the continuous use and re-use of chamber tombs in the surrounding cemeteries.

The community that continued to live at Mycenae in LHIIC was apparently dynamic, active and organised enough to carry out the rebuilding operations. In addition, a rather high level of prosperity is reflected in the floor deposit found in the Citadel House Area and testifies to the existence of an elite class. The LHIIC-early society of Mycenae was well organised and socially stratified. The palace, however, was no longer in charge. As already discussed, the suggestion that the later structures in the court of the megaron might have actually been built in LHIIC does not seem to be entirely convincing in the general context of LHIIC Mycenae. Even if they date to LHIIC, they do not seem to reflect an attempt to restore the previous palatial order. Cult authorities, on the other hand, most possibly retained a high social status in post-palatial times too.

Following the above description of a prosperous and well organised society, one inevitably wonders how the LHIIC settlement reached the point of being destroyed at the end of LHIIC-middle and most importantly, of not managing to recover after that. The LHIIC-middle evidence might actually indicate a very slow, gradual process of decline, which had begun before the disaster struck at the end of this phase – provided that this disaster actually occurred on a large scale, a possible but not certain scenario. In particular, some of the areas were probably no longer inhabited in LHIIC-middle. Such are the areas of the House of Columns and of the south-west corner of the enceinte. Due to the publication problems, however, which have been discussed repeatedly, it is not possible to place too much emphasis on this point. Sound conclusions could only potentially be reached on the basis of the Citadel House Area, which has been thrown somewhat more light in the publications, in spite of the still missing details. It has been noted that in this area most of the LHIIC-early buildings were abandoned in LHIIC-middle, and rebuilding was possibly undertaken in a less organised manner than before.

Nevertheless, certain features contradict this impression of decline. Such is the Granary, which apparently served a combination of purposes as a storage facility and as a guardhouse too.²⁰¹ The continuous series of floors in the *epichosis* next to the Hellenistic Tower is also significant. Besides, the last floor deposit produced the fresco fragment depicting a woman's head, "similar in style and quality to the earlier examples, showing that the art of wall painting continued to be practised successfully to the very end of the Mycenaean period".²⁰² In addition, the pictorial pottery of this period has led to the

²⁰¹ Iakovidis-French (2003) 18

²⁰² Iakovidis-French (2003) 16

characterisation of the middle phase of LHIIC as being “of major importance at Mycenae”.²⁰³ There is also the ‘Warriors Stele’ from one of the chamber tombs of the Kalkani Cemetery, which has been attributed to the painter of the Warrior Vase. This kind of evidence shows that arts were still practiced at Mycenae, presupposing a certain level of prosperity and security.

Therefore, even if there was in LHIIC-middle some kind of withdrawal from ambitious building projects and maybe some reduction of the population – if the abandonment of some areas is interpreted as such – the level of destruction and desertion in LHIIC-late is still in great contrast with the general prosperous conditions of the previous phase. For these reasons, it is difficult to attribute the demise of post-palatial Mycenae to an internal process of decline.

On the other hand, significant changes appear to take place in LHIIC-middle, such as the abandonment of the potential cult room, the abandonment of the chamber tombs that had been used continuously until into LHIIC-early and the re-use of others, the single burials appearing in this phase in the ruins of buildings outside the citadel, as well as the atypical for Mycenaean standards practice of cremation at Chania. Such features might reflect the arrival of newcomers, as well as changes in social structure.²⁰⁴ It is possible that the strong social bonds, which had helped the society recover in LHIIC-early, were gradually loosened. Without the tight control of the palace it might have been difficult for the society to retain its identity and internal structure for long. Such subtle social factors, which are difficult to trace archaeologically, might have played a major role in the final demise of Mycenae. If some slow process of social dissolution had been under way during LHIIC-middle, the weak internal defences of the society would have collapsed at the next stroke of disaster. Of course, there must have been other external factors too, which did not allow the LHIIC society of Mycenae to recover and re-organise itself after the destruction at the end of LHIIC-middle.

9.1.2 *Tiryns*

At Tiryns, rebuilding was undertaken in the Lower Citadel right after the major destruction at the end of LHIIB2, Building T was most probably built upon the Great Megaron at some point, the Lower Town reached an expansion of 24 hectares in LHIIC-early, and the chamber tomb cemetery of Profitis Ilias continued to be used.

²⁰³ Crouwel (1991) 32

²⁰⁴ Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 135 have stressed that the fragmentation of burial customs in LHIIC is “a sign of society in dissolution”.

In particular, activity was resumed immediately in the Lower Citadel in order to render the place inhabitable again. Another significant remark is that the re-building operations were very well organised right from the start. There was a new plan for the buildings, mostly unaffected by the previous, LHIIB spatial organisation. Apart from building VIa, which followed the orientation of its LHIIB predecessor and re-used its foundations, all other buildings were built from scratch over the levelled ruins. The differences in spatial organisation, in the buildings' plans as well as in the road network between the LHIIB and the LHIIC Lower Citadel have already been discussed in details.

Regarding the settlement evolution throughout the LHIIC period, it has been said before that the same pattern of spatial organisation in the Lower Citadel was followed in all LHIIC phases. The organisation of buildings around courts on the West terrace was applied continuously since LHIIC-early. It should be noted here, however, that the buildings in LHIIC-early seem to be relatively few as compared to the previous LHIIB period and to the following LHIIC phases. Apart from some rooms located in the northern part of the west terrace (93-96, 97), to the South there were only the cult room 117 and Building VIa. In the following phases, however, the occupation of the Lower Citadel was going to expand further South with the formation of the second and the third court and the construction of more buildings and terrace walls around these courts.

Nevertheless, the most significant features of the Lower Citadel had appeared already since LHIIC-early and were going to be preserved throughout LHIIC: the location of the cult room and Building VIa. Their potential significance as a complex that carried on the LHIIB cult tradition of the area has been thoroughly discussed. At this point it should be stressed that in LHIIC-early there were probably only these two significant buildings and a few other rooms in the Lower Citadel. In the Lower Town, on the other hand, the settlement reached its greatest expansion in this phase.

As for the Upper Citadel, it could be considered possible that Building T was actually built in this same phase of LHIIC-early, soon after the destruction of the Great Megaron at the end of LHIIB2. Although its exact dating remains unknown, such a dating fits in well not only with the boom of activity in LHIIC-early, but also with the tight architectural relationship between Building T and the Great Megaron. It has been noted that the builders of Building T apparently knew its predecessor in all its architectural details.²⁰⁵ This is perhaps not only an argument against the new building's dating to the EIA, but also for its dating to the period right after the great destruction, in LHIIC-early, i.e. in the life-

²⁰⁵ It is indicative that while removing the debris of the burnt-down Great Megaron in order to build Building T, the builders had in mind the megaron's stucco floor and wanting to preserve it, they paid great attention so as not to scratch it in the least – cf. Maran (2000) 13

span of the same generation that experienced both the end of the palatial period and the following recovery.

Let us, therefore, keep in mind that the single re-established building on the Upper Citadel after the destruction was most probably the megaron together with the altar lying in the Great Court, and that this possibly took place in LHIIC-early. If we combined this piece of information with the priority given apparently to the re-establishment of the traditional cult complex (Building VI and cult room) in the Lower Citadel, while in the Lower Town the expansion of the settlement reached an unprecedented extent, it would perhaps be possible to discern some pattern in the rebuilding of the Tiryns settlement. It seems that the bulk of the population chose to live outside the fortification walls after the destruction, while inside the citadel only the buildings of a special symbolic – religious or political – significance were initially put back into use. As it has been mentioned before, Maran has suggested that a new social class rising after the collapse of the palace, intentionally rejected the acropolis for habitation and, freed from the old constraints of the palatial control, preferred to settle down around the citadel.²⁰⁶ As a consequence of this idea, the expansion of the Lower Town could also be explained. According to Maran, there was still only one person on top of the social hierarchy, as indicated by the preservation of the throne in Building T.²⁰⁷

On the other hand, the occupation of the Lower Citadel gradually expanded to the South of the West terrace during LHIIC-middle. While in LHIIC-early the buildings were organised around court H1, the two other courts H2 and H3 were formed in LHIIC-middle, and more buildings were erected around them. In the Lower Town on the other hand, the occupation must have been gradually restricted in LHIIC-middle. It seems that after the destruction at the end of LHIIC-early, more effort was put into rebuilding the citadel than the Lower Town. It is indicative that the building with the multiple rows of columns in the north-east sector of the Lower Town was not rebuilt, although the habitation of the area and, moreover, the same spatial organisation carried on until the end of the 12th century BC. As for the north-west sector, it was abandoned at the end of LHIIC-early, and with it terminated the workshop activity that had taken place here. Nevertheless, a new impressive building was erected to the South-east of the citadel, namely Megaron W.

It could be suggested that after the destruction at the end of LHIIC-early, the inhabitants of Tiryns needed to gain an increased feeling of security, which the fortification wall could probably provide them with. Possibly for this reason a larger number of inhabitants settled down in the Lower Citadel in LHIIC-middle, and a greater range of

²⁰⁶ Maran (2002a) 11

²⁰⁷ Maran (2001) 115

activities started taking place inside the walls, as indicated by the construction of storage rooms and workshops, as well as the refuse found in the courts. Another point indicating a concentration of activities within the citadel in LHIIC-middle is the reactivation of the North Gate and the rebuilding of the structure flanking it on its inner east side in this phase.

In social terms, on the other hand, it could be suggested that this focus of activity in the Lower Citadel might represent a change in social dynamics, although it is probably quite tentative to reach such a conclusion based on the currently available evidence. We would need to have a more detailed picture of the habitation in the Lower Town in order to trace the social evolution with safety. Nevertheless, if the expansion of the Lower Town in LHIIC-early were equated with the rise of a new social class, while the citadel were thought to be devoted to buildings only of political or religious significance, the gradual reduction of the settlement outside and the increase of domestic and work-spaces inside the fortification could signify a change in the former socio-political *status quo*, and possibly a failure of the post-palatial society to preserve the political organisation and complex social stratification that it had developed in LHIIC-early. The citadel might have no longer functioned exclusively as the religious and political centre, as it probably did in LHIIC-early. Balance problems deriving from competition among and inside the social classes might have emerged under the pressure of outer factors, as is possibly indicated by the appearance of impressive buildings in different areas during LHIIC-middle, such as Megaron W in the south-east sector of the citadel and room 115 with the double row of internal columns inside the Lower Citadel. The stratified society of Tiryns, which dynamically emerged out of the collapse of the palatial system and thrived in LHIIC-early, did not manage to survive for long, and the closure of settlement organisation in LHIIC-late appears to have been the natural end of a gradual process of socio-political instability and deformation.

9.1.3 *Midea*

The citadel of Midea continued to be inhabited in LHIIC too. In this case, however, there seems to have been some period of abandonment after the destruction of the citadel, followed by reoccupation at some point late in LHIIC-early.

Although the investigation of the citadel of Midea is still under way, and future discoveries might change the current picture, some tentative conclusions regarding its LHIIC reoccupation could be drawn at this point. First, the gap of activity after the major destruction that hit Midea in LHIIB seems to be quite significant, if compared to the immediate LHIIC reoccupation of the other two citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns. It shows

that the community of Midea could not get immediately re-organised after the destruction. On the other hand, the devastation at Midea does not seem to have been any graver than the recurrent destructions at the other two citadels. Therefore, it must have not been the extent of damage that prevented the inhabitants of Midea from recovering as quickly as the inhabitants of Mycenae and Tiryns did, but rather the lack of a powerful socio-political authority.

After a short period of time, however, the area of the megaron at least was reoccupied. The latter's rebuilding and the preservation of the same spatial organisation around it, as well as the function continuity of most of the rooms on the Lower Terraces point to a direct link with the LHIIB past. This is even more strongly emphasised by the intervening gap of activity, which rules out the possibility that a new population group took over Midea and accidentally or for reasons of convenience reused some of the previous structures. The people in charge in LHIIC were well aware of the former spatial arrangement and the role of the megaron area, and could restore it more or less to its previous condition, in spite of the ruins that would have probably covered it. Although it is uncertain whether this megaron was the main centre of power in LHIIB or not, it most probably had some public, political or/and even religious significance. Thus, its rebuilding would have most probably been dictated by the strong wish to re-evoke its socio-political importance. The megaron niche containing among other things three ceremonial sword pommels, might have actually served the same purpose, i.e. the enhancement of the building's socio-political role, whether interpreted as a treasury or as a religious deposit. Therefore, its rebuilding also testifies to the restoration of political power.

Nevertheless, the internal spatial organisation of the Megaron was altered in LHIIC. Although its size was preserved, the focus on the central hearth and its symbolic significance were now gone. The new arrangement of a row of columns dividing the building in two aisles finds a remarkable parallel in the LHIIC Building T on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, as it has already been discussed. Although practical reasons might have also played a role in this parallel development of the two buildings, it is tempting to suggest that it might actually represent a parallel socio-political situation; meaning that the re-building of the megaron at Midea could be interpreted in the same context as the construction of Building T over the Great Megaron at Tiryns. The evocation and enhancement of the socio-political role of the megaron at Midea in LHIIC could actually reflect an attempt on behalf of the new community leaders to establish a link with the past and thereby assert their power and legitimacy. The new, modest internal arrangement, on the other hand, might signify the less powerful role of the leader in LHIIC than in LHIIB.

Besides, as suggested in the relevant chapter on Midea, the rebuilding of the megaron could have had an additional meaning if there had been some other building in LHIIIB functioning as the major centre of power – potentially a palace that has not been preserved on top of the acropolis. The intentional choice to rebuild the megaron instead of the potential palace building could even be related to the abandonment of the cemetery of Dendra: we could speculate that there were still several undiscovered burial grounds, used by groups of the population, and that the group burying their dead at Dendra, supposedly related to the palace, did not survive or return to Midea after the destruction. This scenario of course is purely hypothetical, but it is useful in making us think how much valuable information we might be missing. In general, more extended investigation of the citadel is needed for the reconstruction of an overall picture of the LHIIC occupation at Midea, which would help us approach the social organisation and appreciate the role of the leader. Future research will hopefully bring more evidence to light.

9.1.4 *Argos*

The LBA evidence from Argos is obscure and insufficient as compared to that from the above three citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea. It is possible that Larissa was also fortified in LHIIIB, but nothing is known about the nature and function of the establishment on the hilltop. In addition, no major-scale destruction appears to have occurred during or at the end of LHIIIB, although the fragmentary nature of the available evidence might have also played its part in shaping this impression. Nevertheless, there are isolated indices of destruction, which might date to the end of LHIIIB, and in spite of the continuous habitation of the settlement, most of the chamber tombs appear to be abandoned in LHIIC. This indicates that the impact of the destruction that hit the Argolid was apparently felt here too.

Argos, however, seems to have gradually recovered during LHIIC, possibly thanks to the return of people that had temporarily fled away or the coming of new settlers, considered to be responsible for the building of the two new chamber tombs at Deiras and the reuse of six others in LHIIC-late. New burial grounds are also used in the southern area of Argos in LHIIC-middle and -late, while the innovative feature of cremations is introduced and practised side-by-side with inhumations in cists and pits. All these signs point to population increase, as also supported by the expansion of the main settlement area further to the South of the foot of Aspis. It is actually quite remarkable that the LHIIC settlement of Argos appears to have reached its peak in the late phase of the period, at a time when the three major Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea were going through a

process of decline and abandonment. Moreover, the gradual progress of Argos – provided that this interpretation of the rather scanty and fragmentary evidence is correct – was not accomplished without any obstacles. Twice was the new LHIIC habitation unit to the South of the main Mycenaean settlement area at the south foot of Aspis destroyed by fire and rebuilt, while the LHIIC unit in the south quarter was also burnt down, but not rebuilt. Therefore, problems occurred at Argos too during LHIIC, but not of the large scale observed at the three citadels of the Argive plain.

Overall, Argos appears to have been a Mycenaean community with certain individual features distinguishing it from the palatial sites. It definitely belonged to the Mycenaean world, as indicated by the chamber tomb cemetery of Deiras. In addition, it must have been quite prosperous and sophisticated. On the other hand, it was not organised around a palace, the fortification on Larissa was much more distant from the settlement than the other Argive citadels from their lower towns, and some kind of fluidity has been observed in the settlement organisation and the burial customs. The habitation unit in the south quarter was rather cut-off from the main settlement area, and the pit tombs found in the cemetery of Deiras deviate from the typical Mycenaean burial ways. Although it is very probable that Argos belonged to the sphere of control of one of the major citadels in the Argive plain, its social organisation might have not been entirely dependent on the palatial system. Thus, the community of Argos might have found it easier to adjust to the new conditions of the post-palatial era in the long run. Being a minor centre, Argos probably did not inherit the complex socio-political hierarchy of palatial times, as it probably happened to Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea, and thus, it managed to stay out of all the social and political turbulences that would have tired the other settlements. As a result, it might have even ended up being a pole of attraction for Mycenaean abandoning the destroyed citadels in LHIIC-late, as well as for newcomers.

9.1.5 *Asine*

Asine appears to be another peculiar and interesting case. As already discussed, it is very difficult to make any comments on this settlement's social organisation and evolution in LHIIC and especially in comparison to LHIIB. With the latter being quite elusive in the case of Asine, it remains an open question whether the LHIIC prosperity came about as a continuation from the previous period, as a gradual evolution or as a kind of resurrection from a dead-end situation. It is true that the last version seems to be closer to the truth, but without enough evidence, it is still difficult to establish it as a certainty.

In the discussion of continuity/discontinuity at Asine, major role inevitably plays the absence of LHIII B pottery from most of the chamber tombs, even though this emphasis on burial evidence is not without problems, as it was earlier pointed out. On the basis of the present state of evidence, this temporary absence of pottery either means the coming of new population groups or the change of burial traditions. According to Sjöberg, “changing burial traditions may be a plausible explanation, as perhaps it was no longer appropriate to exhibit worldly status. [...] it was not important to deposit pottery and this, therefore, did not necessarily imply a break in the use of tombs.” A reason for such a change in burial customs might have been the weakened “dominance of Asine as a transmitter of commodities between the region and the foreign partners”.²⁰⁸ If this role and consequently the hierarchical position of Asine in the Argolid were diminished as a result of the predominance of the Mycenaean citadels in this sector of activities in LHIII B, then the access to goods and especially to elite items would be so much restricted that it might have led to the above change in burial customs, i.e. to the banning on exhibitions of worldly status. When on the other hand, Asine regained “her position as an intermediary of goods traded over long distances”²⁰⁹, the society returned to the custom of exhibiting social status through the burial offerings. Consequently, the absence of LHIII B offerings from the tombs does not need to signify population changes.²¹⁰

The lack of LHIII B settlement data does not allow us to confirm or reject the above scenario, while it could alternatively be suggested that the absence of LHIII B pottery from the chamber tombs does not reflect a change in burial customs, but in fact fluctuating numbers and shifting groups of population. It might have been the case that the settlement’s size and rank were radically reduced in LHIII B, supposedly as a result of the rise of some other trade centre, such as the port of Tiryns, as well as of the palatial control, which probably did not allow much space for competition and free enterprise. After the palatial collapse, however, it might have been possible again for a place like Asine to develop and advance freely and independently of any outer control. After such a long-lasting contraction, however, it would probably not manage to recover by its own means alone, and it might have received some kind of boost from an external source, possibly in the form of newcomers – Mycenaean for example coming from other places of the Argolid. Thereby the re-use of chamber tombs could also be explained. Besides, if the newcomers wanted to establish themselves in their new place of residence as part of the existing community, the re-use of old chamber tombs might have been a fitting way to achieve it.

²⁰⁸ Sjöberg (2001) 144

²⁰⁹ Sjöberg (2001) 57

²¹⁰ Sjöberg (2001) 144

Nevertheless, it should also be pointed out that both scenarios are very tentative, not only because of the lack of the LHIIB evidence, but also because too much emphasis is probably put on the trade factor, while “the commodities found do not show that an extensive trade was conducted [...]”.²¹¹ Yet, in our attempt to understand what made the settlement of Asine grow in LHIIC-middle and –late, at a time that gradual decline was under way for most of the Mycenaean sites in the Argolid, Asine’s coastal position does not seem to be insignificant and has been characterised as “the obvious welfare” of the site.²¹² Besides, it is possible to reconstruct the interregional connections of Asine on the basis of its pottery, as will be discussed further on.

9.1.6 *Other sites and survey areas*

Apart from the above major and medium-rank Mycenaean centres, only a few of the smaller-size sites in the Argive plain and its immediate periphery managed to survive in LHIIC. Such sites appear to have been located either by the coast or upon routes leading to other areas. It is characteristic that in the Berbati-Limnes area, to the East of Mycenae, where increased settlement activity was detected during LHIIIA2 and LHIIB1, only a few LHIIC sherds have been found. It could be said that all the efforts of the LHIIC population seem to have been concentrated on rebuilding the major centres, while the hinterland was more or less abandoned to its fate. Sites lying on or near the coast, on the other hand, were probably not so much affected and could survive by their own means, potentially thanks to their trading activities, which might have in fact been favoured by the palatial collapse and the termination of palatial control over trade and sea routes. In contrast, the sites lying in the countryside might have been so dependent on the palatial system of a centralised economy that they could not survive after the collapse. The LHIIB wide dispersion of settlements in the Argive plain must have been related to the extra need for cultivation on behalf of the palace centres.²¹³ When this need was gone, there was no reason for such an extensive exploitation of the plain. People must have been left dispersed and confused, with no central authority to help them re-organise.

The above pattern of most of the medium- and small-size sites being abandoned and only a few major, mostly coastal sites surviving in LHIIC has also been observed in the rest

²¹¹ Sjöberg (2001) 144

²¹² Penttinen (1996) 166

²¹³ Shelmerdine (2002) 343: “Increased population and intensified land use correlate with a wide dispersal of sites across the landscape and a settlement hierarchy of villages and smaller satellites”. Cf. also further on discussion in Chapter 3: 1.1 on political and economic organization in the Argolid in palatial times.

of the Argolid, beyond the Argive plain. This has become most evident through the survey project in the Southern Argolid, where there was a sharp contraction in site numbers in LHIIC (app.I.1, esp.p.287-9). Those surviving included the three most important sites of the LBA (Profitis Ilias in the Fournoi area, Mases and Ermioni Magoula) and three other small-sized ones lying very close to the tiers, as well as three upland sites, which indeed seem to fall out of the pattern. The LHIIC occupation of upland sites might represent the need for refuge places, and in fact the one lying on the peak of Mount Profitis Ilias North of Kranidhi might have been fortified. On the Methana peninsula, on the other hand, the survey did not produce any LHIIC pottery, but it is believed that the three major LH sites (Palaiokastros – i.e. the ancient polis of Methana, Oga and Ay. Georgios), which continued to be inhabited in the EIA, must have been occupied in LHIIC too (app.I.2, p.292-3). The lack of pottery should probably be attributed to the difficulties in dating precisely the collected sherds. All three sites were located close to the sea. A significant question to ask is whether the change in settlement distribution in the Southern Argolid and the Methana peninsula is also to be attributed to the impact of the palatial collapse on the countryside, in the sense that all the small sites were abandoned after the former demand on behalf of the palaces for excessive agricultural exploitation had been lifted. As discussed in Appendix I (p.288-9, 295), this seems to be the case for the Southern Argolid, but not for the Methana peninsula, which might have not been under direct palatial control, as reflected especially in the long-term survival of its major sites into the EIA. This issue will be analytically discussed later on (cf. ff. p.261-3).

9.1.7 *The Argolid in LHIIC*

Overall, significant population movements and major social upheavals appear to have taken place after the collapse of the palaces in the Argolid. First, it should be noted that the three citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea apparently recovered soon after the destruction at the end of LHIIB2, and significant effort was undertaken for their socio-political re-organisation. Tiryns seems to have been in the lead in this new era. On the basis of the current state of evidence, it must have been the first centre to recover and take up extensive levelling and rebuilding operations. As it has been pointed out, no gap of activity has been documented in the case of Tiryns. In addition, it is possible to attest here for the first time a conscious attempt to restore the socio-political order, not exactly along the lines of the previous *status quo*, but in such a way as to combine the traditional concentration of power in one person with the new social stratification that developed after the palatial

collapse. Besides, the expansion of the Lower Town might have not only been due to the rise of a new social class that chose to settle down outside the citadel, but also to the increase of inhabitants caused by population movements within the Argolid. Therefore, Tiryns emerges as a very active and dynamic centre in LHIIC, acting potentially as a pole of attraction for people from the surrounding areas, which could not recover that soon or equally successfully.

In the case of Mycenae the socio-political order must have been more radically changed, and the effort to create bonds with the past was much less intense. Rebuilding was here too undertaken over part of the palace and in the area of the Cult Centre, but not with the aim of restoring buildings to their previous condition. The differences with Tiryns are predominantly evident with reference to the palace area, which was left in ruins, apart from the House of Columns, which was replaced by much more modest structures. Even if the buildings in the court of the palace dated to LHIIC-middle, as French has suggested, their opportunistic construction in a free-of-ruins area and in no relation to the palatial structures would still testify to a very different attempt of reoccupation from that attested at Tiryns. Nonetheless, the LHIIC society of Mycenae did not break off completely from its LHIIB past, since some kind of cult tradition was apparently carried on after the destruction too. The settlement of Mycenae outside the fortification walls, on the other hand, was not reoccupied, while its abandonment had already started in LHIIB2. Only the House of the Tripod Burial was rebuilt to a certain extent, and sparse evidence of reoccupation has been found in the Panagia Houses area. In general, the population of Mycenae must have been significantly reduced in LHIIC. Yet, this centre too experienced a relative prosperity in this period, as reflected in the rich floor deposit of the Cult Centre as well as in the works of art produced in the field of pottery and fresco paintings. As for Midea, a real gap of activity was noted here before the citadel was reoccupied. At that time, an attempt to restore the old spatial organisation in the megaron area was made, possibly for similar purposes as in the case of Tiryns, i.e. in order to create links with the past and to help legitimise the new socio-political order.

Yet, in spite of all the efforts to rebuild the citadels and to become re-organised, the three citadels were gradually being abandoned in LHIIC-late. Recurrent destructions, the reasons for which remain unclear, have been documented at Tiryns and Mycenae throughout LHIIC, with the event at the end of LHIIC-middle being too grave for the communities to recover from. Social factors were traced in the preceding discussion as the main reasons that probably did not allow the citadels to overcome the LHIIC series of destructions. The gradual social dissolution reflected in the evidence at Mycenae, and the instability and

competition among the ranks of the newly emerged, stratified society of Tiryns must have constituted the inside factors that brought the LHIIC recovery to an end. The major effort invested in restoring part of the previous social order and at the same time in working out a new power balance should no doubt be considered indicative of the unstable conditions which the new leaders had to deal with, and which did not allow the LHIIC recovery to last for long. Other, especially external factors must have also played significant role in this decline, but they are more difficult to pin down.

Therefore, the three citadels, after starting off so dynamically in LHIIC, failed to survive throughout the new series of destructions. Most of their inhabitants must have deserted them towards the end of the period, and possibly part of the population fled to other nearby sites, such as Argos and Asine. These sites apparently now started re-developing after the destruction at the end of LHIIB2. As it was analysed earlier on, because of the seemingly minor importance of these sites in LHIIB, they were probably not so severely affected by the devastation that hit the Argolid at the end of that phase, although they too felt its impact. Being also smaller communities and possibly of lower rank in palatial hierarchy, they might have not suffered from the social upheavals of LHIIC as much as the major Mycenaean centres. Because of their less tight connection to central administration, they could probably adjust more easily to the new conditions. It cannot be a coincidence that these two sites started growing up towards the end of LHIIC, at a time when the major Mycenaean centres were entering their path of decline. Argos and Asine might have not only received a population boost as a result of the abandonment of the citadels, but they also probably found the chance to take up economic activities previously run mostly by the former centres of power, such as trading. In general, agricultural exploitation of the plain must have been more restricted in LHIIC than in LHIIB, as indicated by the reduction of small and medium-size sites. Trade on the other hand, must have continued playing a significant role in LHIIC economy, but it probably did not reach such far destinations as before and the main centres must have no longer kept a tight control over it. This is indicated by the distribution of small LHIIC sites mainly close to the coast or on roads connecting the plain with other parts of the Argolid.

9.2 EIA

A similar kind of pattern can be observed in the following SM and PG periods. The sites of Mycenae and Tiryns continued following the same path of decline in which they had already entered since the LHIIC-late phase, and Midea appears to have been abandoned,

while Argos and Asine have produced comparatively more evidence dating to these first two phases of the EIA.

9.2.1 *Mycenae*

To judge by the sparse evidence, the decline befallen on Mycenae after the destruction at the end of LHIIC-middle carried on in the beginning of the EIA too. Only a very small number of inhabitants seem to have continued living in the citadel, probably in flimsy edifices erected in areas that were free of ruins and could be, therefore, reoccupied without too much effort. On the basis of the scanty EIA evidence available, it seems that people gradually moved outside of the citadel in the PG period and especially towards its end, and probably scattered – potentially in family groups – in the surrounding area. There does not seem to have been an organised community here at any stage after the destruction at the end of LHIIC-middle, and the living conditions must have been quite poor, as indicated by the assemblages of burial offerings, usually comprising two or three vases and a couple of bronze and iron items. Another indication of the population's poverty and lack of organisation might be their choice to inhabit areas free of ruins inside the citadel, so as to avoid levelling and rebuilding. Anyhow, the impression of general poverty is prevailing and does not allow us to discuss any sort of social differentiation at EIA Mycenae.

9.2.2 *Tiryns*

Tiryns appears to have been abandoned at the end of LHIIC-late, but shortly afterwards it was reoccupied both inside and outside the citadel. To judge by the sparse evidence, this reoccupation seems to have been quite hesitant and on a low level in the SM period, but it is very significant that settlement remains of this phase have survived and complement the burial evidence. On the basis therefore of the settlement and burial evidence, it is deduced that while people lived both in and out of the walls, they only buried their dead outside.

The same pattern continues in the PG period, although now they seem to prefer the area outside the citadel for habitation too, as indicated by the meagre PG evidence from inside. This tendency was also noticed in the case of Mycenae, and it might be connected to some growing feeling of security in this phase, in combination probably with the relatively easier accessibility to free-of-ruins land outside the walls, as well as the emerging social structure. It is quite apparent that the EIA population of Tiryns does not constitute an

organised society with strong internal bonds, as the situation was in Mycenaean times. Instead, to judge by the distribution of burial grounds, it seems that the inhabitants are formed into small groups, probably on the basis of family or kinship ties, scattered in the area outside the walls in some distance from each other. These groups have been reconstructed as self-sufficient agricultural units, living upon the cultivation of fields in the area. In such a social context it is logical to see most of the population eventually moving out of the citadel, where the groups could settle and develop separately from one another.

Another interesting point to highlight is the continuity in the choice of living and burial grounds from SM to PG in a couple of cases, as in the area to the South of the citadel (trench E and prison cemetery), at the Stadt/West site and in the south-west cemetery. Of course, the population must have increased in PG, and with people presumably moving from inside the citadel to outside, new areas uninhabited in SM times were now occupied – such as the area to the West of the Lower Citadel, where the apsidal building as well as a LPG burial was found.

Overall, some kind of stability can be discerned in life conditions at Tiryns, enabling the family nuclei to continue living and developing at the same place where they initially settled down at the very beginning of the EIA. This could also probably explain the relatively high quality and richness of offerings found in the PG tombs, as well as the social differentiation that is discernible in the grouping of richer or poorer burials. It seems that since living conditions started to stabilise, it was possible for the population to overcome the stage of dealing with survival problems and to improve their life standards. Relative prosperity and access to precious goods – metal jewellery or imported pottery – would engage the population groups in social competition urging them to exhibit status through the offerings in their tombs. As a result, the burial assemblages appear to reflect an economic and consequently social differentiation between the groups, with the warrior burial being the most characteristic example of special status ascribed in death.

9.2.3 *Argos*

In comparison to the EIA evidence from Mycenae and Tiryns, much more has been found at Argos, testifying to the population's significant recovery especially during the PG period. Besides the function of a specialised workshop, most impressive is the great population increase, as reflected in the number of burials. In addition, quite exceptional offerings were found in certain tombs, such as metal jewellery, including a few made of gold, or imported goods – either exotic ones such as faience beads or pottery. No warrior

burial was found at Argos, and it seems that the richest tombs belonged to women, thus pointing to a potential connection between social status and family lineage. Besides, the continuous use of settlement sites as well as of three burial grounds from SM to PG period points to stability in living conditions, leading to prosperity and social complexity. As rightfully noted, “the site was important even after the end of the LBA and before its flourishing in the Geometric period.”²¹⁴

As for the organisation of the population, Hägg has suggested that in spite of the existence of a very specialised workshop in the area, the settlement of Argos had not yet reached the status of an organised settlement. Judging by the distance separating the known occupied sites, he concluded that these sites should not be regarded as parts of one single settlement, but as small villages or rather farmsteads. He is led to this reconstruction mostly by the evidence found in the south area of the city, where the three sites with the longest PG occupation lay in some distance from each other and with no remains other than burials in the area between them (cf. fig. Va.9: nos. 150, 168 and 52). As for the PG burials in this area, he underlines that their small number further supports the reconstruction of small settlement units.²¹⁵

However, one should probably not reconstruct the EIA settlement of Argos by studying the distribution of settlement remains and their relation to burials, because the very fragmentary character of the available remains might be misleading. I would prefer to follow the same method for Argos as in the previous cases of Mycenae and Tiryns, i.e. to study the distribution of burial grounds, supposing that it corresponds more or less to the distribution of habitation clusters, and to use the burials’ numbers and contents as indications of the clusters’ size and status. Such a study actually leads us to a reconstruction of small hamlets scattered in the area, same as the one that Hägg himself suggested by studying the distribution of settlement remains. While Hägg, however, used the very small number of burials in the southern area as a confirmation of his reconstruction of small-sized settlement nuclei, I would see it as contradictory to the abundance and longevity of settlement remains in this area: most of the discovered PG settlement remains are actually concentrated in this southern area of Argos, which later developed into the centre of the ancient city. Thus, I would expect richer settlement remains to equal denser habitation and consequently more tombs here than in the other parts of Argos.

It appears paradoxical that most of the preserved PG settlement layers are located in this area, while a relatively small number of burials (around fifteen burials in eight plots)

²¹⁴ Lemos (2002) 138

²¹⁵ Hägg (1982) 300

have been retrieved here. Could it potentially mean that this area was not used in exactly the same way as the other areas of Argos were, i.e. that people here did not simply live in small groups and bury their dead nearby, but also used the area for some other kind of activities not accompanied by burials, e.g. as a working or meeting place – although not exclusively, since burials were still intermingled with settlement remains in this area too? If this southern area had started acquiring a somewhat different character from the other PG sites of occupation at Argos, this would explain the small number of burials here, as compared to the more frequent appearance of burial grounds in the central and northern parts, and it might also offer an interpretation for the ampler preservation of PG settlement remains in this area. As it has been pointed out, there is not much chance for the very poorly built mudbrick dwellings of PG period to survive to this day after the continuous occupation of Argos throughout the centuries. It could be therefore suggested that the relatively rich remains in the southern area could not have derived from the usual, everyday living activities, but rather point to the area's intensive and of different nature use. Besides, two of the sites in the southern area have produced kilns, i.e. indications of workshop activity. On the other hand, the very important, silver cupellation workshop was not located in this area but further away to the North-east. Yet it should be reminded here that this was also abandoned at some point in the PG period, which might have not been totally accidental if there were truly some preference for workshop activities to concentrate in the southern area.

It could of course be argued that the picture of 'rich' settlement remains in this area is simply the result of the French systematic excavations here, and their lack in other areas might be due to the rescue excavations conducted there, usually imposing a hastier pace of work and briefer documentation of the finds. Yet, it could be argued back that the EIA remains in the southern area must have suffered much more by the intensive and continuous use of the area in Classical and Roman times, as compared to the rest of the city. Therefore a lot of EIA material must have gone missing here too, despite the systematic character of the excavations, but still more has survived here than in other areas. Therefore, the currently available finds could still be considered representative of the original situation.

Of course it must be admitted that this reconstruction is very tentative on the basis of the available evidence. Even if, however, the suggestion for some kind of more intensive and communal use of the southern area is considered unsubstantiated, it is still true that this area has produced a different proportion of settlement remains and burials from other parts of Argos. Besides, it was going to develop into the main centre of the settlement in G times, and here first was noticed the attempt towards the end of the G period to push the burial

grounds to the edges of the living space.²¹⁶ The area's location in the southern 'entrance' of the settlement of Argos, where the roads coming especially from the sea led, must have surely played a significant role in the area's development.

It might also be relevant to note that in Homer, the local smithy appears to be used alternatively with the so-called *lesche*, the public building, as a place to find shelter. The smithy also appears to serve as a meeting place during cold winter days in Hesiod.²¹⁷ It could be suggested that in the EIA, before the settlements had reached the point of organisation of the *polis*, with its *agora* and *lesche*, when they still consisted of an agglomeration of scattered groups of houses or farmsteads, people might have met and interacted at places such as the workshops, which would probably attract and serve inhabitants from all groups.²¹⁸ A survival of this stage of development in communal interaction might be reflected in Homer's and Hesiod's presentation of the local smithy as an alternative, preferable in cold days, shelter and meeting-place. Therefore, the potential concentration of workshops in the southern area of Argos in the PG period might have contributed to the development of this part into a communal area and later on into the centre of the settlement that was subsequently going to host the agora.

9.2.4 *Asine*

The case of Asine presents us with a contradictory picture. Although the most complete EIA settlement sequence in the Argolid has been found here, it is not possible to reconstruct the settlement and its social organisation. Although we have an uninterrupted sequence of buildings lasting from the end of LHIIC down to the PG period and beyond – since there have also been G walls found in the Karmaniola area right above the PG remains, occasionally using the latter as foundations²¹⁹ – we cannot really reconstruct the status and position of these buildings in the settlement due to the limited investigation in only one plot in this area.²²⁰

Even so, the sizeable dimensions of the apsidal building in combination with the impressive bench of about 0.70m width (provided that it was a single building with a bench set along its inner side) have led to the suggestion that “the building served communal

²¹⁶ Hägg (1982) 300-302

²¹⁷ Homer 18.328-9

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 493-495

²¹⁸ *Lesche* is only once mentioned in Homer in the passage cited above (cf.n.217), therefore it should probably not be regarded as a standard feature of Homeric settlements, as Van Wees regards it to be – cf. Van Wees (1992) 30 and n.14.

²¹⁹ Hägg (1974) 53

²²⁰ Wells (1983) 34

functions”.²²¹ Besides, a libation rite appears to have taken place when its foundations were laid, and could be a further indication that the building had some special significance. Such a suggestion could also be supported by the LG circular pavement that was built over it probably in order to serve for the veneration of ancestors.²²² The tomb 1970-15 should also probably be brought into the discussion at this point: a cist partly built of mudbricks, containing the burial of an infant born prematurely, has been dated to LPG, the same phase with the apsidal building, and it was the richest tomb in the area, possibly relating to the building’s status. Although the lack of other houses of the settlement does not allow us to compare the apsidal building with contemporary dwellings at the same site, it still seems possible that it had some special significance – perhaps as the ruler’s or a very important family’s dwelling.²²³

Besides, it is possible to compare the apsidal building to its ‘predecessors’, referring to the two earlier buildings that stood in this area. Being much simpler in plan and smaller in size, it would be difficult to imagine that they too might have had some special status in the settlement. Therefore, it seems that although the apsidal building was built in the same more or less area, it did not serve the same function with the earlier edifices. Mazarakis-Ainian has also stressed the difference between the second of the two small buildings, which he describes as a curvilinear hut and interprets as a normal house, and the apsidal building. Although the latter could also be described as a ‘hut’, it belongs among the EIA dwellings of the nobility: the latter “are not very impressive but the differences in scale and design in relation to the dwellings of the common people are fairly clear”.²²⁴

One could even be tempted to suggest that this is the reason why this building was built according to such a different plan, i.e. that the apsidal plan might have been chosen in order to denote and enhance the building’s special status.²²⁵ The discussion about the change of architectural planning from rectilinear to apsidal - and later on the other way around - is

²²¹ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 70

The preserved length of the outer socle is 11.50m, while Mazarakis Ainian has reconstructed a length of at least 15m on the basis of the arch of the inner apse. The building’s width is about 8m. – cf.

Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 68, n.233.

²²² Hägg (1988) 193

Wells (1988) 265

Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 70

²²³ The only other PG (-possibly) apsidal building in the Argolid is the one found at Tiryns to the West of the citadel, measuring 4-6m in width, while there is no suggestion about its length – cf. Kilian (1988a) 107-108. Because only a small part of it was investigated, it has been suggested that instead of apsidal it might have been oval in shape – cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 98, n.558.

²²⁴ Mazarakis Ainian (2001) 149

²²⁵ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 99-100 notes that “several among these early apsidal structures were of monumental proportions”. He also notes that the number of apsidal buildings in the 11th and 10th centuries BC is not great, and suggests that people would also be living in Mycenaean ruins and in huts of perishable materials.

of course a long one and cannot be presented here in great depth. It should be briefly mentioned though that the (re-)appearance of the apsidal plan is usually connected with the coming of new population elements from North-west Greece, as is also the handmade pottery. At Asine, however, the handmade pottery had appeared in an earlier phase than that of the apsidal building. In addition, reservations have been expressed as regards the connection of the apsidal building with the arrival of newcomers, and the appearance of curvilinear plans may alternatively reflect an internal, structural change.²²⁶ Besides, the change from rectilinear to apsidal in the Karmaniola area seems to have been peaceful. No layer of destruction has been reported in relation to any building. Therefore, if we wanted to entertain the possibility of ‘newcomers’, the evidence would lead us to imagine them peacefully mingling with the locals already since the beginning of PG.

To conclude, it is certain that the site appears to have been doing very well in the opening phases of the EIA, as compared to other Argive sites such as Mycenae. This relative prosperity apparently came to Asine as a continuation from the LHIIIC-middle and –late phases, since no destruction or desertion of the site interrupted habitation here. Some population reduction must have occurred here too in the SM period. In fact, no SM burials have been located, apart from a possible one in chamber tomb I:1, which of course seems to contradict the continuous use of structures in the Karmaniola area. Therefore, it looks as if we are again missing pieces of the jigsaw. No matter whether there was a small or significant reduction of the population in the SM period, a full-blown recovery has been noticed in the PG period. Sea trade must have continued being a significant factor in local economy since the post-palatial period. Contacts with the Cyclades, Crete and even Cyprus have been suggested for the SM and the beginning of the PG period, while contacts with neighbouring areas such as Attica are thought to have been “of a more lasting nature”.²²⁷ Since there seem to be problems with the exact dating of finds from the Karmaniola area, however, it is perhaps difficult to reach such precise conclusions with certainty. Nevertheless, sea contacts are certain for the EIA in general, and could have helped the population recover in the PG period.

9.2.5 *Other sites in the Argive plain*

The citadel of Midea was abandoned in the EIA. The only possible evidence of SM or PG date comes from the Dendra cemetery, but it is limited to a couple of dubious cases of

²²⁶ Mazarakis Ainian (2001) 140-143

²²⁷ Wells (1983) 121

Cf. also Penttinen (1996) 166, n.14

re-used tombs. Nauplion, on the other hand, has produced both SM and PG evidence. PG evidence also comes from Lerna, but it is very scanty. Only one or two PG sherds were also picked up in the Berbati-Limnes survey. In general, it is very difficult to trace the SM and PG occupation of the Argive plain beyond those few sites that have been intensively excavated, while even in those cases the discovered remains are very fragmentary and mostly consist of tombs. Overall, the Argive plain seems to have been largely deserted in the opening phases of the EIA, but it cannot be excluded that some minor sites have not been located yet, because they were not major centres in the Mycenaean period, and for that reason may have not attracted the excavators' attention.

9.2.6 *Southern Argolid and Methana peninsula*

As for the rest of the Argolid, there is evidence of EIA activity at two or possibly three new sites in the Southern Argolid and at four sites occupied since the LBA on the Methana peninsula. The two new sites in the Southern Argolid are Sambariza Magoula, a coastal low mound, "primarily PG", but also continuing until the LG period, with strong affiliations with Attica on the basis of pottery, and Ermioni, which has produced four cist tombs of PG and G period and was probably occupied continuously since the EIA. Finally, it is possible that PG evidence was also found at Halieis. All are coastal sites (app. I.1, p. 289-91). On the Methana peninsula, the three of the sites were already main habitation centres in the LBA (Palaiokastro, Oga, Ayios Georgios), and the fourth was probably dependent on the settlement at the site of Oga, and was going to host the latter's Archaic sanctuary. All of them were close to the coast, but mainly two of them, Palaiokastro and Ayios Georgios had access to the sea, while Oga had the advantage of a fertile plain stretching to the South (app.I.2, p. 293-5).

In general, external contacts must have been very important in the EIA for both areas of the Southern Argolid and Methana peninsula, as indicated by the distribution of sites. The Southern Argolid seems to have been in very close contact with Attica, while the Methana peninsula was closer culturally to the Argive plain. Overall, it seems that the changes in site distribution and culture were much more radical in the Southern Argolid than on the Methana peninsula in the EIA, which might relate to their location. The peninsula is more distant and less easily approachable from the plain; it might have therefore felt the impact of the palatial collapse and of the changes in the transition from the LBA to the EIA on a much smaller scale.²²⁸

²²⁸ Cf. Foxhall (1995) 246-248 and app.I.2, p. 295.

9.2.7 *Distribution of EIA settlement remains and burials*

Overall, the Argolid appears to be devastated in the very beginning of the EIA. All of the surviving sites suffered a significant population reduction. Some of them, such as Tiryns and Mycenae, had already started being gradually abandoned since the closing stages of LHIIC. At Tiryns, in particular, it has been possible to trace stratigraphically a short period of complete abandonment, after which recovery started at a slow pace. Other settlements, however, such as Argos and Asine do not appear to have seriously felt the impact of the palatial collapse. The population was reduced, but the sites were never abandoned.

As regards the distribution of settlement remains in the EIA, Asine is a unique case, since some of the LBA structures here remained in use uninterruptedly. At Argos, on the other hand, the population apparently moved away from the Mycenaean habitation centre, although it is difficult to trace the very last stages of the LBA settlement. At Mycenae and Tiryns, there seems to have been a tendency in the SM period to continue inhabiting the citadels, although with no reuse of or any relation at all to the LBA remains.

At the next stage, i.e. in the PG period, population increased at all sites. In respect to the distribution of settlement remains, Asine and Argos appear to be more stable than the other two sites of the Argive plain. People continued to occupy the same locations at which they had settled already since the SM period, and also expanded to other parts of the area too. At both Mycenae and Tiryns, on the other hand, a tendency to move outside the citadels and settle down in the areas around them has been noticed, possibly indicating that their inhabitants had felt insecure up to this point. This is possibly one more indication of what great impact the LBA series of destructions had on these two sites.²²⁹

Regarding the distribution of burials in the very beginning of the EIA, the chamber tomb cemeteries appear to have possibly received one or two burials in the SM period at all major sites except Mycenae. Argos has even produced the case of a tomb being reused in the PG period, as well as a couple more examples of continuity from the LBA, i.e. the burial ground with LHIIC-late and SM cists in the south area and the LHIIC tumulus that was

²²⁹ According to Mazarakis Ainian, “it is far from certain that the Dark Ages was a ‘peaceful period’, as indicated by the reuse of already existing fortification systems of the LBA, as at Athens, Mycenae, Tiryns, Kantia, Ag. Andreas, Koukounaries, as well as the defensive periboloi at northern Greek and Cretan sites and the position of settlements at or near hilltops which were natural strongholds” – cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 376. This is stated in opposition to the view of Calligas, according to whom the EIA was a “uniform peaceful period characterised by a socio-economic system of dispersed and loosely woven habitation” – cf. Calligas (1992) 44-45.

also possibly used in the SM and certainly in the PG period. Overall, however, the EIA burials take place at new locations probably lying close to house clusters, and very often in the ruins of Mycenaean buildings. In many occasions, PG burials take place at the same locations that had already started being used for this purpose in the SM period, and sometimes these burial grounds develop into some kind of organised cemeteries. The most representative examples of such cases have been found at Tiryns, where people buried their dead only outside the walls already since the SM period. At Mycenae, on the other hand, the burials were scattered both in and out of the citadel in both the SM and PG periods and do not seem to form organised groups at any point. Most of the organised burial grounds all over the Argolid date from the PG period onwards, such as the one succeeding the silver cupellation workshop at Argos in LPG, the Stadt-West ‘cemetery’ at Tiryns starting since EPG and the Lower Town ‘cemetery’ at Asine. Yet, an organised burial ground with cists following roughly the same orientation had developed at Argos already since the LHIIC-late-SM period.

The distribution of settlement remains and burials has led in most cases to the reconstruction of settlements consisting of small, scattered house clusters, with burials taking place nearby. On this basis, the population appears to have been organised in small groups, probably held together by family or kinship ties and not yet socially developed to the point of forming a single community.²³⁰ Nevertheless, some kind of social ranking is discernible in the cases of Tiryns and Argos on the basis of differentiation in burial offerings. At Tiryns, in particular, it has even been possible to talk about social differentiation between the population groups. At Argos too the population seems to have been relatively advanced in both economic and social terms. The silver cupellation workshop is of course the most remarkable find testifying to the practice of complex economic activities even since the SM period. At Argos, moreover, it has been possible to suggest that a certain area started acquiring a special communal character, potentially as a meeting place for the settlement nuclei of the area. At Mycenae, on the contrary, the finds are so poor that no such reconstruction is possible. Asine, finally, might be a totally different case from all the other sites, with the population gathered in the main settlement area and the burials taking place at another location, lying not too far away but especially designated for this purpose.

To conclude, while also taking into account the distribution of EIA sites in the Southern Argolid and on the Methana peninsula, two main factors appear to have affected the recovery and further evolution of the Argive sites. One is the impact of the devastation

²³⁰ Cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 393: “in the EIA the settlements were usually small and would have been composed either by a single extended family or nuclei of several such families.”

that hit the Argolid at the time of the palatial collapse and struck again repeatedly in the following years, and the second is the access to the sea and the exploitation of sea contacts. The first one relates to the past and depends on how strongly each site belonged to and relied on the Mycenaean palatial system for its survival and status. The second factor, on the other hand, could offer the settlements a place in the future Greek world, a world of many antagonistic settlements, depending not on the local resources alone but also on their capacity for external contacts and trading.

9.2.8 *EIA burial customs*

With regard to burial customs, single burials mostly in cists and pits and rarely in pithoi and vases appear to have replaced burials in chamber tombs all over the Argolid in the EIA. As already noted, the cases of reuse of chamber tombs in the SM period are very few, and only once was a burial deposited in a chamber tomb in the PG period, at Argos. In addition, single burials were often buried within the ruins of old Mycenaean houses at all major sites – Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos and Asine. At all sites, with the potential exception of Asine, people choose to bury their dead next to their habitation areas, while there does not seem to be any separate, designated area to be used for this purpose by the whole population, as the situation most probably was in Mycenaean times.

Therefore, it could be concluded that the EIA population distanced itself completely from the typical Mycenaean burial customs. This is a significant observation, which has been interpreted in several ways. It has been considered as an indication of a break-through from the Mycenaean traditions related to the arrival of newcomers, who did not have any connection to the Mycenaean past and practiced their own customs.²³¹ In addition, the fact that EIA burials were dug within the ruins of Mycenaean houses has been interpreted “either as an example of symbolic disrespect for what was considered in the past living space, or as simply showing the ignorance of the newcomers of what was there before their arrival”.²³² It would not be unexpected from a population group composed by newcomers to ignore and/or show disrespect for the ruins of the old inhabitants’ houses. According to another

²³¹ This is the well-known interpretation suggested by Desborough, who argued that the newcomers would have come from North-west Greece, especially Epirus – cf. Desborough (1972) 106-11. His interpretation has had many followers over the years. Cf. for example more recently Eder (1998) 62; Lemos (2002) 185-186: “Desborough’s theory of newcomers should not be completely rejected, since it may explain some other changes that appeared together with the new rite of single burials in cist tombs”. She also suggests that the idea of single burials might have come from areas in Thessaly and Pieria too. “The rite was then adopted even by the successors of the surviving Mycenaean, perhaps because it was more economical and more suitable for the social and political structures of the period.”

²³² Lemos (2002) 185

interpretation, the introduction of single burials was simply the revival of Middle Helladic customs, which had remained dormant and were only sparsely practiced in the Mycenaean heartland for about five hundred years, while they were more systematically followed in peripheral areas of the Mycenaean world.²³³

According to a different suggestion, the change that is reflected in the abandonment of the LBA multiple burials and the use of single burials in the EIA could simply be interpreted as a response to the new economic and social conditions.²³⁴ Since people were in general organised in small groups consisting of one or more extended families, lived in clusters of houses and had not developed yet socially to the point of forming one single community, they would also choose to bury their dead in small, separately located burial grounds. It has also been suggested that if each group of dead people could be identified with members of the same family, then the general concept of burials in the EIA might have not really differed much from what dictated the use of chamber tombs in the LBA.²³⁵ So, the basic concept was probably retained in general terms, but the economic and social conditions had changed. Chamber tombs could not be used any more because they were probably too costly and laborious for the EIA people to construct or to reopen, and the idea of one single cemetery was abandoned because it did not apply to the new social structure.

In order to approach and interpret these significant changes in the EIA burial customs, we should start from the LBA so as to bridge the divide between the two eras. It should be mentioned first that in spite of the prevalent tradition of inhumations in chamber tombs, the burial customs of the Mycenaean world should not be thought of as absolutely uniform throughout the Mycenaean world, and more specifically in this discussion, throughout the Argolid.²³⁶ Diversions from the rule have been observed at all sites already since LHIIIB. At Tiryns, intramural burials took place within the Lower Citadel since LHIIIB and continued in LHIIIC too, and two children burials dating to LHIIIA and LHIIIB have been found

²³³ Snodgrass (1971) 177-184, 314-316; cf. more recently Snodgrass (2002) esp.5-9 for elaboration on the idea of MH customs being preserved in peripheral areas, but with somewhat manipulative treatment of the archaeological evidence.

²³⁴ Dickinson (1983) esp. 66-67

Mee and Cavanagh (1984) esp. 58-62: "The transformation of burial customs at the close of the Mycenaean period need not be explained in terms of immigration or the emergence of a suppressed class. The changed conditions of life can account for the gradual transformation of tomb types; and as conditions varied from one province to another so the response may have varied...".

Vanschoonwinkel (1991) 182-191, esp. 190

Papadimitriou (1998) 125

²³⁵ Papadimitriou (2003) 725-726, n.59

²³⁶ Cf. Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 95 and 134 on uniformity in funeral practices but also different regional traditions.

Cf. also Lewartowski (2000) 63-92 for a catalogue of 'Mycenaean simple graves', i.e. non-monumental types of tombs throughout Mycenaean Greece.

outside the citadel in trench H, which was occupied by the LHIIB House M and its predecessors.²³⁷ At Argos, single burials in pits took place in between the chamber tombs at Deiras, which has been interpreted as a sign of conservatism²³⁸, and children were buried within the settlement area. Cremation urns were buried side-by-side with inhumations in the tumulus in the southern area of Argos in LHIIC-middle and -late, and single burials in cists also took place in this area towards the end of LHIIC-late. At Asine, children's burials probably took place within the Lower Town at some point in LHIII, and at Mycenae too children were buried under the floor of Mycenaean houses, especially in LHIIC.²³⁹ Besides, cremations also took place at Chania South of Mycenae in LHIIC-middle, and single burials started taking place in the ruins of houses outside the citadel in LHIIC-middle and mainly in LHIIC-late. Inhumations buried in ruins also appeared within the citadel towards the end of LHIIC-late. This brief account of different kinds of burials in the LBA Argolid shows that signs of divergence from the typical Mycenaean customs, although rare, were not absent before the EIA, while they became all the more diverse and frequent during LHIIC, and especially towards its end.

Although the appearance of such divergent customs as the cremations has been attributed to newcomers arriving in the Argolid in LHIIC-middle, other factors relating to the significant socio-political changes that occurred in LHIIC might have also contributed to the deviation from Mycenaean traditions. As previously stated, the collapse of the palatial system brought about significant upheavals in social structure, which, as best documented in the case of Tiryns, possibly promoted the rise of formerly subordinate social classes, and more importantly led to competition between the new elite members. It is possible that throughout this process the social ideals and consequently the criteria defining status were also altered. And while at Tiryns and probably also Asine, the links with the palatial past and the ancestors were apparently still perceived as a way of defining status, it is possible that at other sites, such as Argos and Mycenae, part at least of the population discarded the palatial past and chose different ways of ascribing social status in death. The introduction of cremations could possibly be interpreted as such, i.e. as a means for newly rising families to

²³⁷ Gercke *et al* (1975) 11-12: tombs 1971,3 and 1971,4, dated to LHIIIA and LHIIB respectively on the basis of the pottery they contained.

²³⁸ Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 125

²³⁹ Cf. the child burials found by Mylonas under the LHIIC houses of the South-west Quarter: Mylonas (1974) 89. Mylonas also refers to a LHIIB child burial found under the floor of room 8 in Panagia House II – cf. Mylonas (1963) 104–106. Mylonas-Shear, however, notes that it is not certain that the tomb dates to this period, since it contained no gifts; only a Mycenaean bull figurine was found on its cover slabs, but it might have got there by chance or the buriers could have found it accidentally while digging the grave and placed it on top. She refers, however, to another child burial in room 21, which was clearly Mycenaean – cf. Mylonas-Shear (1987) 3.

claim and advertise their new social rank.²⁴⁰ It might even be tentatively suggested that this new status had been acquired through interregional contacts, which they wanted to underline by introducing such an exceptional custom as that of cremation. It is in general thought that cremations were introduced to the Mycenaean world from Asia Minor, and in particular Troy, where the custom was widely practiced in LHIIIA2-B.²⁴¹ If cremation were combined in social consciousness with such a far-off descent, it might have been thought suitable for the traders and seafarers of LHIIC – no longer acting under palatial commands but on their own initiative – to adopt it in order to mark out their new status. The choice of single burials, on the other hand, might relate to the rejection of family lineage and the promotion of personal achievements as the new major status criterion, as also discussed earlier in the case of the Tripod Burial. The lack of stability towards the end of the LBA has also been regarded as a significant factor that urged people to stop building chamber tombs and to re-use others or to turn to the custom of single burials in cists or pits.²⁴²

The predominance of single burials in the EIA could be seen as the end of a slow process of social change, competition and in the end dissolution that had started unfolding since the end of the LBA. Cavanagh and Mee have also stressed that the “break between the old and the new” in burial customs was ragged and not as sudden as usually thought.²⁴³ It is obvious that towards the end of LHIIC the population of the Argolid was significantly reduced. The ‘successors’ of the Last Mycenaean, who stayed on, lived through the process of decline and managed to survive through the turbulent times of LHIIC, apparently did not feel the need to return to the old Mycenaean burial customs, apart from very few, occasional exceptions. The previous generations had attempted to restore the past and in the end had failed. The new generations, transcending the divide between the LBA and the EIA, would need to find their own ways of getting socially re-organised and to develop new burial

²⁴⁰ Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 123: “Since the construction of a pyre would have entailed more effort than simple inhumation, it is possible that cremation might have been a mark of status”. However, they doubt that this was the case with the sporadic Mycenaean cremations that were placed beside inhumations in tholos and chamber tombs or with the multiple cremations at Perati. The cremations at Chania (Mycenae) and at Argos, on the other hand, are clearly separated from the chamber tomb cemeteries; therefore they could be reflecting a choice made for status reasons. As for the multiple cremations placed in urns at Perati, they might relate to the wish to ascribe special status to the members of the same family. Cavanagh and Mee have also stressed that “the occasional practice of cremation implies that the power of tradition had been undermined.” This confirms the idea that the people practicing cremation had adopted a new set of values – cf. Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 135-136.

²⁴¹ Cf. Iakovidis (1970) esp.53-57

Lemos (2002) 186, n.390 with references

²⁴² Cavanagh and Mee (1984) 59-60: “...if the new settlers were less assured of their security of habitation, they would be less inclined to invest a good deal of labour in cutting a new family sepulchre – it was easier to use somebody else’s”.

Vanschoonwinkel (1991) 190

²⁴³ Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 136

customs to express their ideals and beliefs.²⁴⁴ By getting gradually re-organised on the basis of family and kinship ties, they would slowly re-develop the idea of burial groups and burial grounds, which much later would be pushed at the edges of living space and thus mark the step forward to the ultimate political scheme of ancient Greece, the *polis*.

²⁴⁴ Morris (2000) 204-207 also thinks that it was a matter of different mentality in the EIA that separated the population from the LBA past; he underlines the ideological reasons for this change but does not put emphasis on the socio-political and economic reasons that would have led to the creation of a new ideology.

Chapter II

Central Greece: East Lokris-Phokis



Fig.21
Map of Central Greece

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the area largely defined in ancient geography as East Lokris (-divided into Epiknemidian and Opountian Lokris) and Phokis (cf. borders of ancient districts on fig.22-23). It should be noted here that these terms will be used conventionally to designate parts of the area in the following discussion, but they should not be regarded as corresponding to a political, social or ethnic reality of the LBA and the EIA. Although the area under study falls within the borders of these two ancient districts, the boundaries of the present research are in fact defined by geographical features in combination with certain key elements of the Mycenaean political geography of Central Greece. Alternatively, the area under study could be described as the 'northern periphery of Mycenaean Boiotia', consisting of the Kephissos valley in the centre and its sea-gateways to the East, to the Euboian Gulf, and South, to the Corinthian Gulf, i.e. the coastal area of the bay of Atalante and those of the bay of Antikyra and the gulf of Itea.

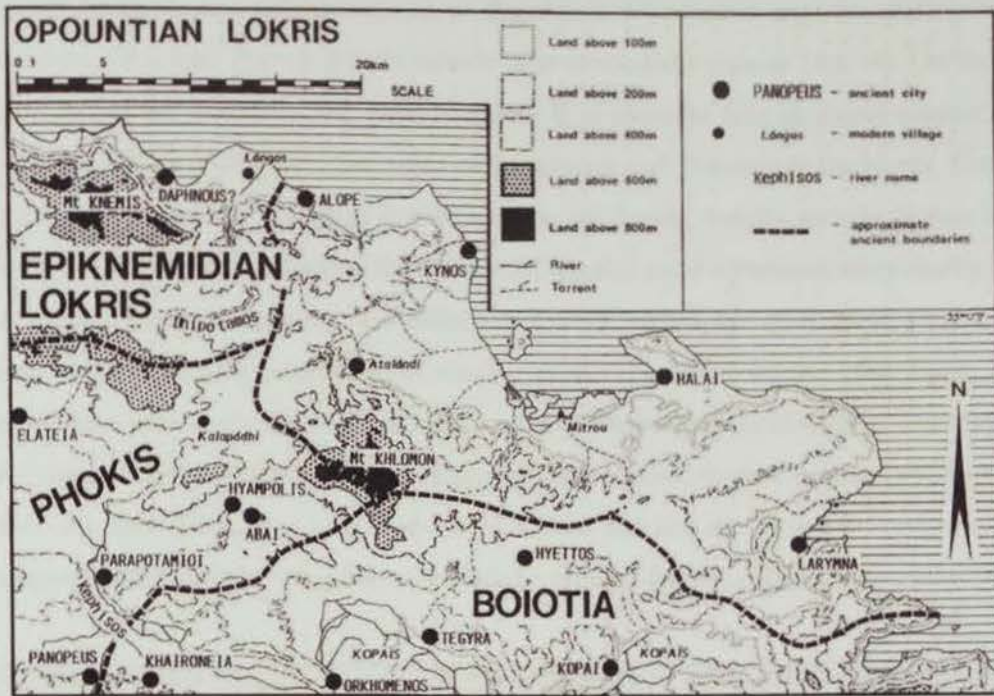


Fig.22
Map of Opountian Lokris
and neighbouring districts

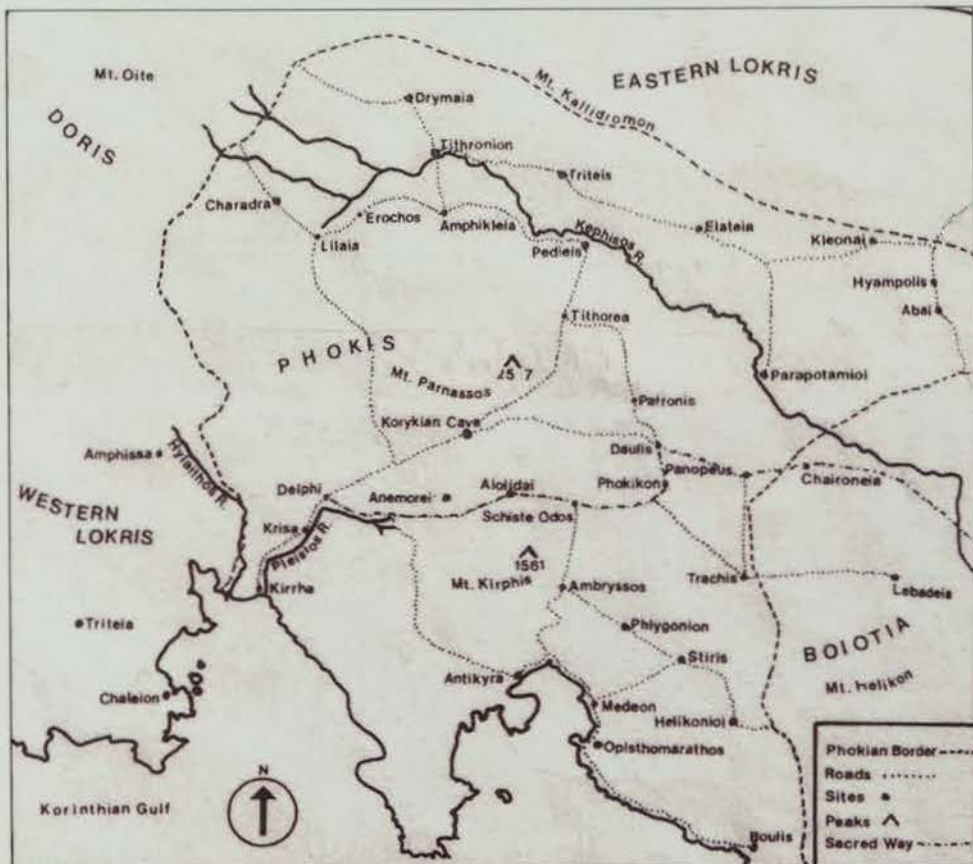


Fig.23
Map of Phokis and
neighbouring districts

The area defined above combines diverse features that are essential to this study. Although being in the neighbourhood of the major Mycenaean centres of Boiotia, i.e. Orchomenos, Glas and Thebes, it falls outside their immediate vicinity (fig.24). On the other hand, it is not isolated from the outside world. It is more or less in direct contact either through sea or land routes with the valley of Spercheios and Thessaly to the North, Euboeia to the East, Boiotia and the Northern Peloponnese to the South, Aetolia and the Ionian islands to the West. Moreover, in spite of the chequered terrain, good communication routes would have enabled contacts between the different regions within the area itself, thus we can perceive it as one entity consisting of smaller units. The latter, on the other hand, are so different from one another in terms of environmental features and land setting, that they offer us the chance of studying the varying effects of such factors on development within several parts of one area. Thus, East Lokris and Phokis form an ideal study case for research on the development of a 'peripheral' – but not isolated – region after the palatial collapse.

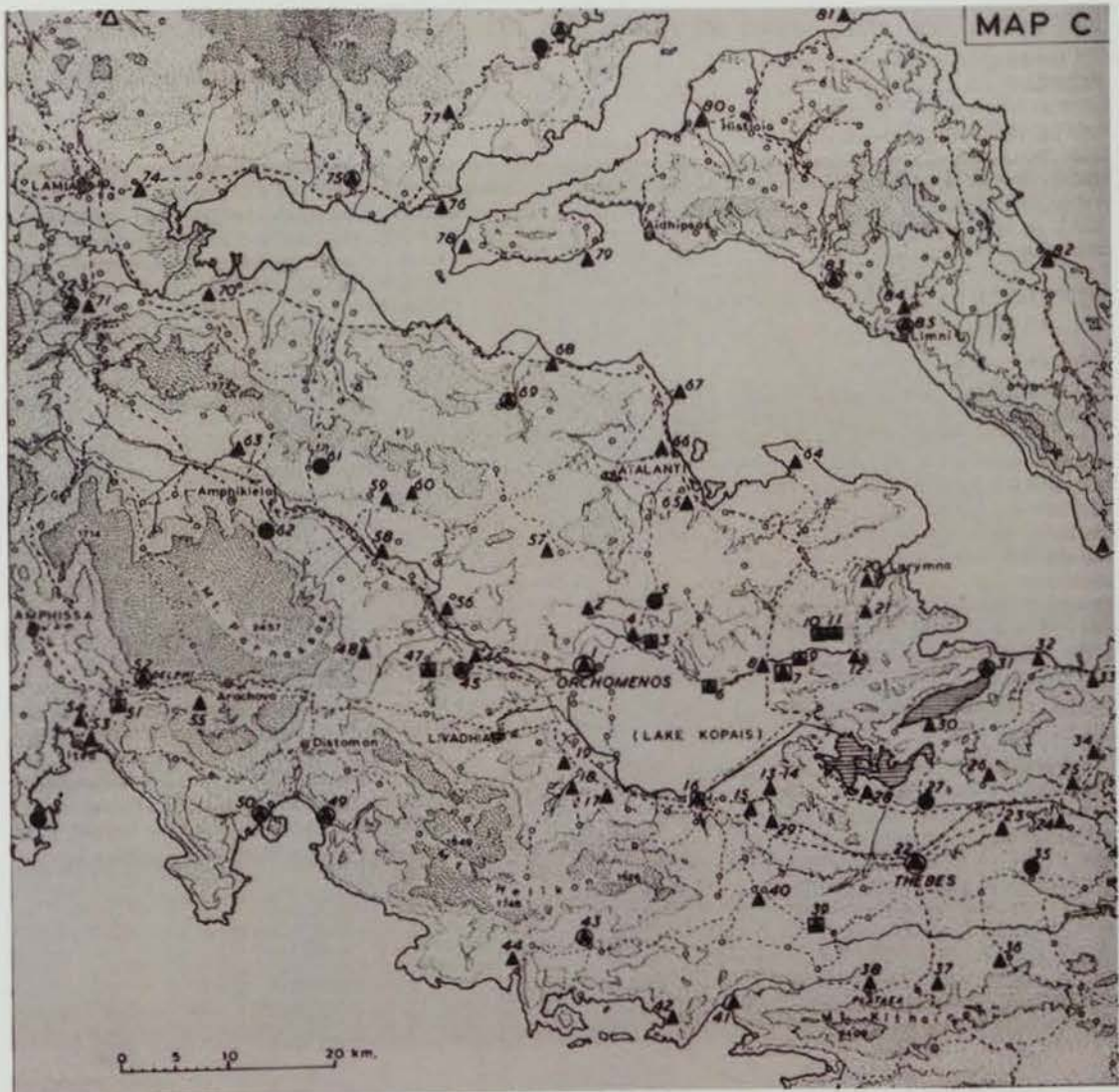


Fig.24
Map of Central Greece:
distribution of Mycenaean sites
after Hope Simpson

The area under study is dominated by mountain ranges dividing it into coastal plains and inland valleys (fig.21 and 25). The mountains of Kallidromon and Parnassos flank the valley of Kephissos on either side without, however, cutting it off from the surrounding areas. A passage connects it with the coastal plain of Atalante to the East, which is surrounded by the foothills of Knimis, Kallidromon and Chlomon, and other passages lead out from the valley to the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, either to the bay of Antikyra or the gulf of Itea. One such passage runs along the valley of Pleistos river, which stretches to the South of Parnassos and ends up to the coastal plain of Itea. More plains and valleys stretch on top and in between the mountains, thus creating passages that interconnect the several parts of the area in multiple ways. The aim of this chapter is to present first the LBA and EIA archaeological evidence from the whole area and then to discuss the question of its political, social and economic organization as it developed in the periods following the palatial collapse, on the basis of the spatial distribution of sites, their cultural identity and their topography. The evidence and the subsequent discussion will be presented as follows: firstly treatment of the valley of Kephissos, followed by the coastal parts, and leading onto the inter-connecting passage-areas.

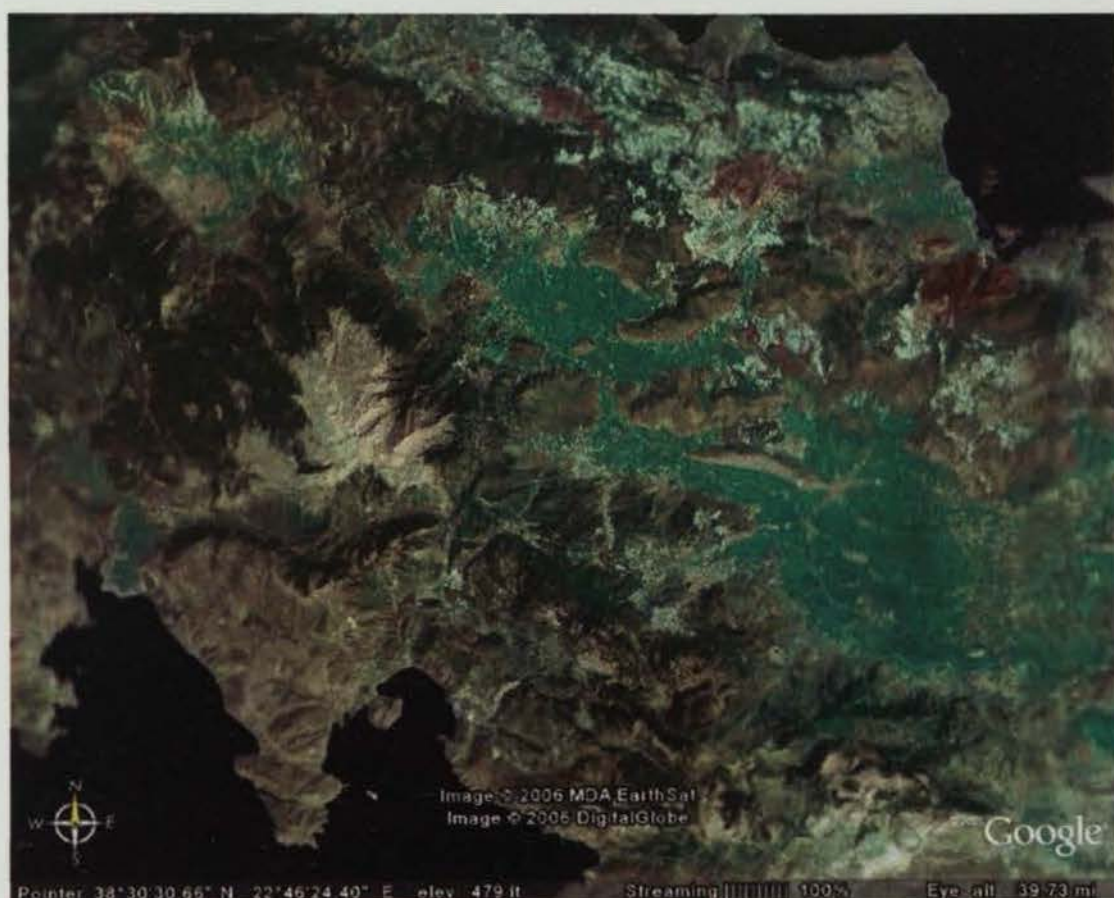


Fig.25
Satellite photo of Phokis –
East Lokris

A short note should be made here on the subject of the valley of Spercheios. Although it shares certain common features with the area under study, its topography and cultural identity distinguish it considerably from the other parts. Although it is, too, part of Central Greece and belongs to the Mycenaean periphery, it falls in the vicinity of the Mycenaean centres of Thessaly, and constitutes – geographically and culturally – a ‘middle-land’ between Central and Northern Greece.²⁴⁵ It thus deserves to form the object of a separate research project, which would also take into consideration the routes and the impact of communication with Thessaly, an issue falling outside of the present study.

²⁴⁵ For LBA-EIA evidence from the valley of Spercheios, cf. Marinatos (1940) 334; Dakoronia (1978) 136-137; (1980) 244, 253; Hope Simpson (1981) 82; Onassoglou (1981) 213-214; Pantos (1981) 212-213; Dakoronia (1982) 261-266; Papakonstantinou (1983) 180; (1984) 132; Dakoronia (1991b) 70-72; Wallace (1991) 48; Dakoronia (1992a) 190-191; Papakonstantinou (1992) 186; Dakoronia (1993a) 200; (1994) 236, 240-241; Papakonstantinou (1994) 34; Stamoudi (1994) 301-305; Bougia (1995) 328; Dakoronia (1996b) 311; Stamoudi (1996) 314-315; (2000) 39-50; (2003) 263-279.

2. Valley of Kephissos

The valley of Kephissos is divided into three parts, the upper, the middle and the lower valley. The latter part stretches between the Akontion and Elikon mountains and reaches out to the lake of Copais. It mostly belongs to the area of Boiotia, and thus will not be examined here in particular detail. This study will focus instead on the northern parts of the Kephissos valley that form a separate, 'peripheral' geographical unit, flanked by the mountains of Kallidromon to the North-North-east and Parnassos to the South-South-west. As the river flows in a North-west-South-east direction, the valley is divided into two parts, the north-western, upper part which extends from the west end of the valley until a North-east-South-west line of hills stretching to the East of Amphikleia, and the south-eastern, middle part, which reaches East to the passage between the Philoviotos and the Idilion mountains, through which one moves South to the lower Kephissos valley. Our examination here of the LBA-EIA sites will follow a North-South course throughout the upper and middle valley.

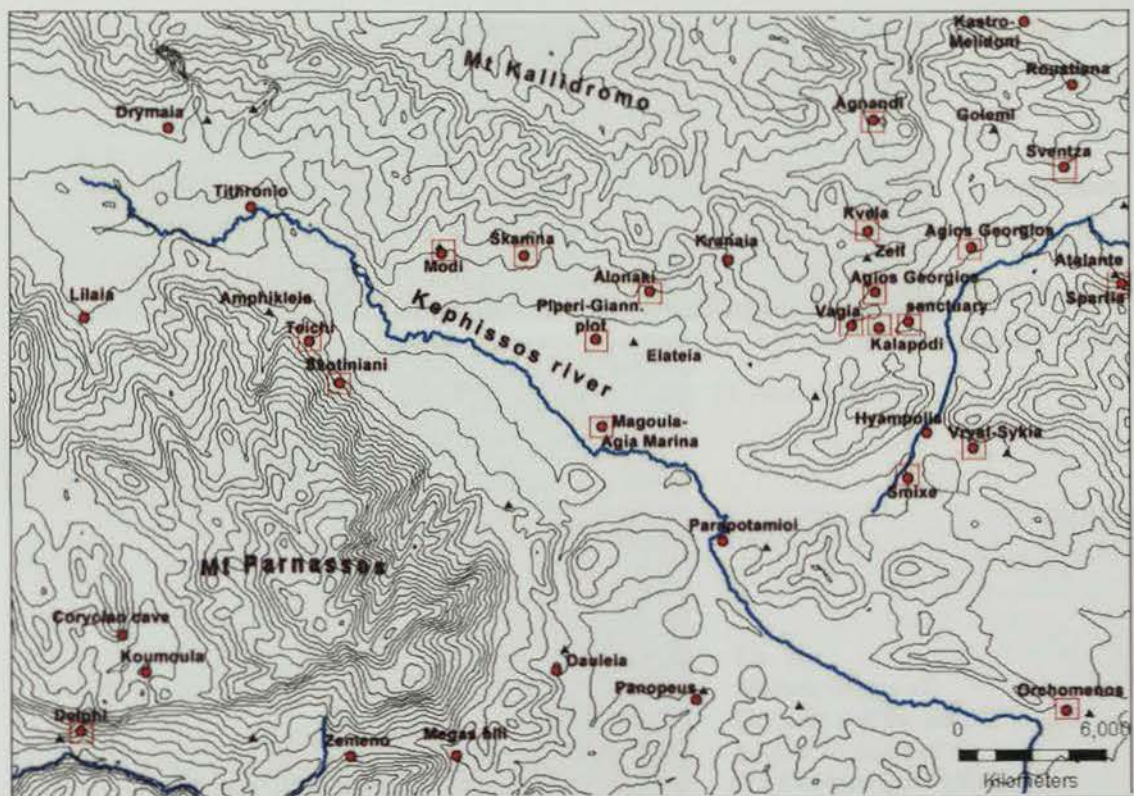


Fig.26
Kephissos valley
in the LBA

- LBA sites
- ◻● LBA sites with LHIIIC phase
- ▲ modern towns

2.1 LBA

The valley of Kephissos has produced quite rich LHIIIB material coming mainly from the excavation of chamber tombs and from surface surveys. Excavation has also been undertaken at a couple of settlement sites, but the results remain unpublished and unclear for the LHIIIB period. The LHIIIC evidence is reduced as compared to LHIIIB, and mostly comes from burials. Nevertheless, whenever more precise dating is provided for the tombs, these mainly date towards the end of LHIIIC and to the SM period. This is also the period that the cemetery of Elateia, the only systematically excavated site, reaches a flourishing peak (cf. app. VII). It seems that a peak of this date applies to the whole region of the valley.

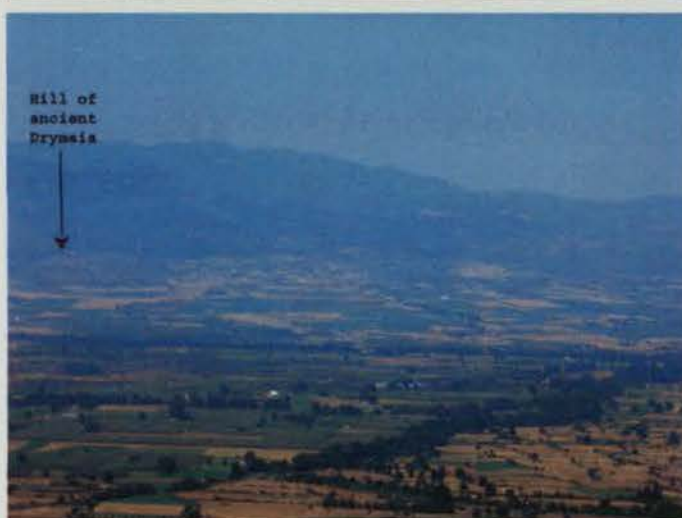
2.1.1 Lilaia

In the upper valley, Mycenaean pottery was found on Theotokos hill to the North of the classical fortifications of Lilaia, located at the North foot of Parnassos.²⁴⁶ There are also remains of a mostly polygonal fortification wall on the hill; parts of it are trapezoidal and others are of cyclopean structure, thus implying that it went through several phases.²⁴⁷ The

Fig. 27
View of
Kephissos valley
stretching North-
North-west of
Lilaia from Agios
Dimitrios hill
towering over the
modern village



site has a
very good
view of the
Kephissos
valley
(fig.27) and



is in direct eye
contact with
Drymaia (fig.28).

Fig. 28
Modern village of
Drymaia and the hill of
ancient Drymaia to its
West as seen from Lilaia
(Agios Dimitrios hill)

²⁴⁶ Hope Simpson (1981) 80: C63A

Cf. also Wallace (1991) 53 for test trenches excavated here by the Phokis-Doris Expedition team and a short report on their finds in Hope-Simpson (1981) 212.

²⁴⁷ Dassios (1992) 29: 3

2.1.2 Drymaia

The site of Drymaia lies opposite Lilaia, on the northern side of the valley and at the south foot of

of Kallidromon (fig.29), at a position with excellent view over great part of the upper Kephissos valley, from the Toichos hill to the East (fig.30) until the western end of the valley, where Oite meets Kallidromon and creates an impressive natural barrier. LH pottery was possibly

Fig.29
a. View of the hill of Drymaia from South-east



found at this site too.²⁴⁸



Fig.30
View of the valley of Kephissos from Drymaia: the Toichos hill and the modern village of Amphikleia at the foot of Parnassos

2.1.3 Palaiokastro/anc. Tithronion

Further to the South-east of Drymaia, a few Mycenaean sherds (said to include LHIIIB) were found through surface survey at Palaiokastro (ancient Tithronion), a broad low

²⁴⁸ A hill at the location Amorianon next to the acropolis of Drymaia was excavated by Soteriadis in 1909 and produced EH, MH and possibly LH sherds – cf. Soteriadis (1909) 130 and (1910) 166; Syriopoulos (1968) 23, 113; Dassios (1992) 28

hill on the northern flank of Kephissos. The site occupies a strategic position and was fortified in the Classical period.²⁴⁹ Located at the southern foot of Kallidromon and surrounded by other hills, it is actually quite difficult to reach, although not at a high altitude.



With streams flowing along its east and west sides and the river Kephissos to its South, it is only accessible from North. At the same time, it has a very good view over the valley towards Amphikleia, and thus it must have offered protection to its inhabitants without isolating them from the neighbouring sites (fig.31).

Fig. 31
View of Amphikleia
and Toichos hill
from Tithronion

2.1.4 Skotiniani

Moving on to the middle valley, an extensive chamber tomb cemetery has been found on the south side of the valley, at a location called Skotiniani (Agioli Anargyroi) 4km South-east of Amphikleia. The tombs here were dug on the lower slopes of Parnassos, at a site overlooking the valley. Twenty tombs were excavated. They have been described as carelessly dug.²⁵⁰ The exact period of use of the cemetery is not known, but it seems to have been in use from LHIII B to LHIII C and mainly in the SM period.²⁵¹ Two steatite seals were found in one of the tombs.²⁵² The location of a settlement was reportedly identified through surface finds a bit further to the North of the cemetery, near the church of Agioli Anargyroi (fig.32).²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Mastrokostas (1956) 25-26

Spyropoulos (1970) 237-238

Hope Simpson (1981) 79-80, C63: LHIII A2-B

Dassios (1992) 33, no. 14

²⁵⁰ Spyropoulos (1970) 237-239; (1971) 231-232

²⁵¹ Cf. Hope Simpson (1981) 79, C 62: "To judge from the description of the pottery and other objects found in the tombs, the burials may belong mainly to the SM phase, although the cemetery is likely to have begun earlier."

²⁵² Aravantinos (2004) 547: they belong to the Mainland Popular Group

²⁵³ Spyropoulos (1971) 232

Dassios (1992) 38

Fig.32
View of middle
Kephissos
valley from
Agioi
Anargyroi,
Skoteiniani



2.1.5 Teichi

Fig.33
View of
Toichos hill
from
Skoteiniani,
Agioi Anargyroi



Three more chamber tombs constructed after the middle of LHIIIC and used until into the SM period have been found at another location near Amphikleia, at Teichi, around 2km North-west of the site of Agioi Anargyroi, on the south slope of the prominent hill Toichos (fig.33-35).²⁵⁴

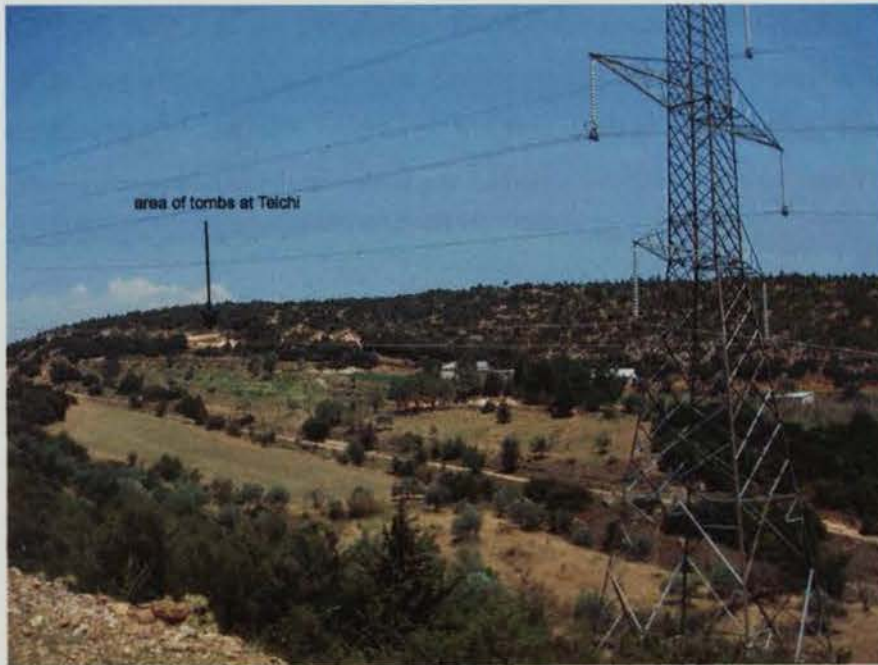


Fig.34
View of
Toichos hill
from South-east

²⁵⁴ Dakoronia (1995) 342-343



Fig.35
Tombs at
Teichi,
Toichos hill

2.1.6 Modi - Skamna

Another chamber tomb cemetery has been found on the north side of the middle valley, East of Modi (ancient Triteis), at the location Skamna, at the south foot of Kallidromon: sixteen tombs were excavated, most of them disturbed and looted already since antiquity.²⁵⁵ The site is quite isolated, up on the foothills of Kallidromon (fig.36), but it is at the end of the so-called Fontana passage, which leads from Thermopyles, over the mountain of Kallidromon, to the valley of Kephissos (cf.fig.122).²⁵⁶ It also has very good view of the passage to the lower Kephissos valley (fig.37). The cemetery was reportedly in use from LHIIIA2 until into the SM period. Two of the tombs were found at an isolated location, 180m East of the rest: one of them did not contain any burial remains, but on the basis of its small, ellipsoid chamber, short dromos and careless construction, it is comparable to the small-sized tombs of Elateia, dating to LHIIC-late-SM period (cf.app.VII.6-7).²⁵⁷



Fig.36
View of the area
of Skamna from
North (from
Kephala hill)

²⁵⁵ Dakoronia (1989) 173-174; (1990) 175; (1991a) 193; Dakoronia-Dimaki (1999) 370-372

²⁵⁶ Pritchett (1982) 128-130

Dakoronia (1989) 173

²⁵⁷ Dakoronia (1989) 173-174

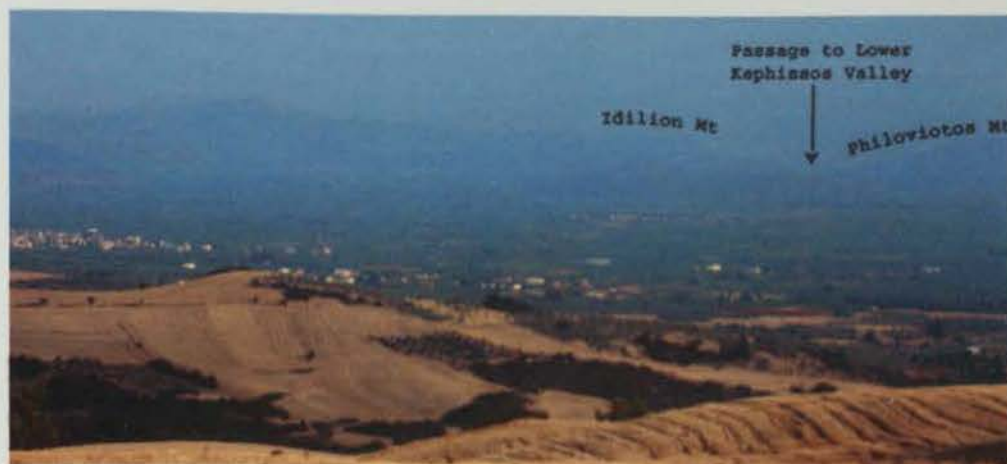


Fig.37
View of
Kephissos
valley to the
South-South-
east of Skamna

2.1.7 Modi - village

Five more tombs were found at a plot (Liaraki), at the south end of the village of Modi (fig.38). They were reportedly used from LHIIIB1 to LHIIC-late and SM.²⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that quite rich finds were found in association with LHIIC pottery, although they might be the remains of earlier burials. In a group of re-deposited burial remains in one of the tombs (I), three soft-stone and one glass pressed seal were found together with bronze jewellery, beads of glass, steatite, rock-crystal and cornelian, a sickle-shaped steatite pendant, four steatite buttons and pottery of LHIIC-early and -late date. Amber beads were also found in the tomb.²⁵⁹ In another tomb (IV), a seal made of cornelian – possibly an import from Crete – was found together with boar tusks from a helmet, a steatite pendant, beads of cornelian and glass, tweezers, rings and a fibula of bronze, as well as handmade vases and LHIIC-middle wheel-made pottery. Another handmade vase was found in another corner with re-deposited burial remains and offerings, including a glass pressed seal, bronze jewellery, glass beads and one bead of gold. The third tomb (III) contained among other offerings – glass and steatite beads, a steatite pendant, steatite ‘buttons’, bronze rings and a steatite seal – three LHIIC-late vases as well as three possibly SM vases.²⁶⁰ Three more chamber tombs had been identified probably in a looted state in the same area of the village, which is called Avlaki-Pouri, by Schober. He mentioned that he was shown three Mycenaean stirrup jars coming from these tombs.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Dakoronia (1993a) 205, pl.68b-c; (1995) 343-344

²⁵⁹ According to Eder (2003) 47, n.83, they were found in LHIIC context.

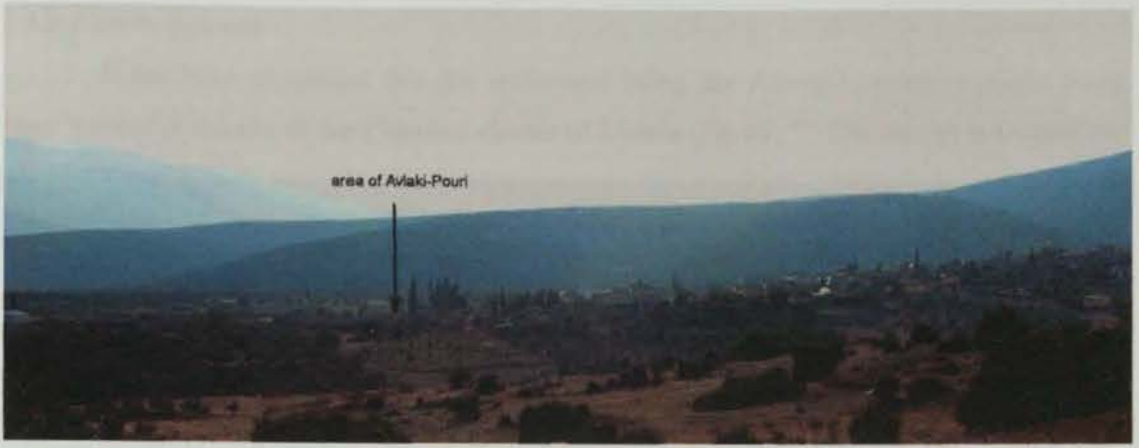
²⁶⁰ Dakoronia-Dimaki (2004) 144-145

²⁶¹ Schober (1941) 478

Hope-Simpson (1981) 79: C61: LHIII(A2-B)

Dassios (1992) 40

Fig. 38
Village of
Modi from
East



2.1.8 Elateia-Alonaki

Fig. 39
View of
Alonaki
cemetery
from ancient
Elateia



An extensive chamber tomb cemetery has been found further East, at the south foot of Kallidromon, at the location Alonaki, around 2km North of modern Elateia/Drachmani (fig.39). This cemetery was excavated systematically and has, therefore, produced very

rich material and significant information for both the LBA and the EIA. It was in use since LHIIIA until the end of the 9th century BC. After an increase in the number of tombs in LHIIIB, a short phase of decline probably followed, and then the cemetery went through a flourishing phase marked by great population increase from LHIIIC-late to the SM period (cf. app. VII for details). Prehistoric remains of all periods have been found scattered in the area of Elateia,²⁶² but the location of the settlement to which the cemetery belonged remains unknown.

²⁶² Dassios (1992) 44, no 38: a hill 1km North-east of the village (Heva plot), a tumulus North of the village, and another tumulus 1.5km West of Drachmani (Giannakopoulou-Piperi plot) were excavated by Soteriadis in 1909-1910 – cf. Soteriadis (1909) 127-128 and (1910) 160-163. The hill in Heva plot has only produced Neolithic remains, as confirmed by later research in the area – cf. Weinberg (1959) 282, while the tumulus North of Elateia produced a MH burial – cf. Dimaki (2003) with all the relevant bibliography. Only the Giannakopoulou –Piperi hill has produced Mycenaean evidence.

2.1.9 *Elateia-Kranaia*

It has been suggested that the settlement using the Alonaki cemetery might have been located at the site of the Classical citadel of Elateia (fig.40).²⁶³ The citadel is located on



Fig. 40
View of the Alonaki cemetery and the hill of ancient Elateia from South

the foot of Kallidromon, with an excellent view over the middle valley and in particular of



Fig. 41
View of the passage between Idilion Mt and Philoviotos Mt towards the Lower Kephissos Valley from ancient Elateia

a prominent hill within easy reach from the cemetery, around 1.5km to the East, at the passage between the Idilion and Philoviotos mountains towards the lower Kephissos valley (fig.41). The excavations on the citadel have not produced any evidence for LBA/EIA habitation, but their very early date (-end of 19th century) and inadequate



Fig. 42
View of the hill of the Athena Kranaia temple from ancient Elateia

recording enables us to wonder whether all phases of occupation have actually been revealed. On the other hand, one or more LH sherds were found during excavation of the

²⁶³ Dakoronia (1993c) 28

Temple of Athena Kranaia, located on a much higher and isolated hill c. 3km North-east of modern Elateia (fig.42). An illustrated sherd has been assigned to LHIIIB.²⁶⁴

2.1.10 Piperi-Giannakopoulos plot

Evidence for Mycenaean occupation has been found 1.5km West of the village of Drachmani (modern Elateia), on a low mound, in the plot of Piperi-Yannakopoulos. According to the report by Soteriadis, who excavated here in 1909-10, most of the mound consists of Neolithic deposits, and only the upper half to one metre contained BA material. He also reported the remains of a long wall and a 'tower' of apparently cyclopean masonry as possibly belonging to the Mycenaean period.²⁶⁵ The Mycenaean pottery was later studied by Mountjoy, who noted, "the bulk of the material is LHIIIA2 but there are a few fragments from other periods", among which LHIIIB and LHIIC are "sparsely present".²⁶⁶ Thus, it seems possible that the settlement here did not come to an end "either during or just before the early part of the LHIIIB period", as it was earlier thought.²⁶⁷

2.1.11 Ag. Marina/Magoula

Another site that has produced prehistoric remains in the middle valley of Kephissos is the low mound of Ag. Marina/Magoula, located further South of Elateia, on the north flank of the river (fig.43). Soteriadis excavated here in 1910-11 and noted that he found Late Mycenaean pottery in the upper layers of the site, but put more emphasis on the earlier phases of habitation.²⁶⁸ According to a later report on the Late Mycenaean material, it included LHIIIA-LHIIC pottery.²⁶⁹



Fig.43
The hill of Ag. Marina/Magoula from South; houses of modern Elateia barely visible behind the hill at its far eastern edge

²⁶⁴ Paris (1892) 283, fig.21

Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 260, G63

Dassios (1992) 45: Kastro Lazou

²⁶⁵ Soteriadis (1909) 127-128; (1910) 160-163

²⁶⁶ Mountjoy (1983) 47 and 53-57: around 12 sherds dated to LHIIIB and only 6 to LHIIC

²⁶⁷ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 259-260, G62 and Hope Simpson (1981) 79, C59

²⁶⁸ The site is 1.5 km North-east of Ag. Paraskevi (formerly the Kalyvia of Ag. Marina). Cf. Soteriadis (1912) 270-299; Hope Simpson (1981) 79, C58; G; Syriopoulos (1968) 113, no 32; Dassios (1992) 43

²⁶⁹ French (1972) fig. 16d

2.1.12 Parapotamioi

Further South-South-east, another site that has produced Mycenaean evidence is the Levendi hill at Anthochori, the site of ancient Parapotamioi. The hill is located on the east side of the defile separating the middle valley of Kephissos from the lower valley and hence from the Chaironeian plain and Boiotia in general. It is a naturally defensible site and has mainly produced Classical and Hellenistic surface finds, but also some BA coarse ware and a fragment from a LHIIIB kylix. Wall masonry, resembling Cyclopean, was noted on the east side of the hill (fig.44).²⁷⁰ Its location is of great strategic importance, allowing the inhabitants to control the lower and part of the upper Kephissos valley, as well as part of the Assos valley to the East (fig.45-47).



Fig.44

a. Parapotamioi: part of eastern citadel wall

b. Detail of possible Cyclopean masonry in eastern citadel wall



Fig.45

View from the hill of Parapotamioi towards South: the Lower Kephissos valley



Fig.46

View from the hill of Parapotamioi towards North: the Middle Kephissos valley

²⁷⁰ Hope Simpson (1981) 78, C56: LHIIIA2-B
Dassios (1992) 54, no.51



Fig.47
View from the hill of
Parapotamioi towards East-
North-east: the Assos
Valley

2.2 SM period

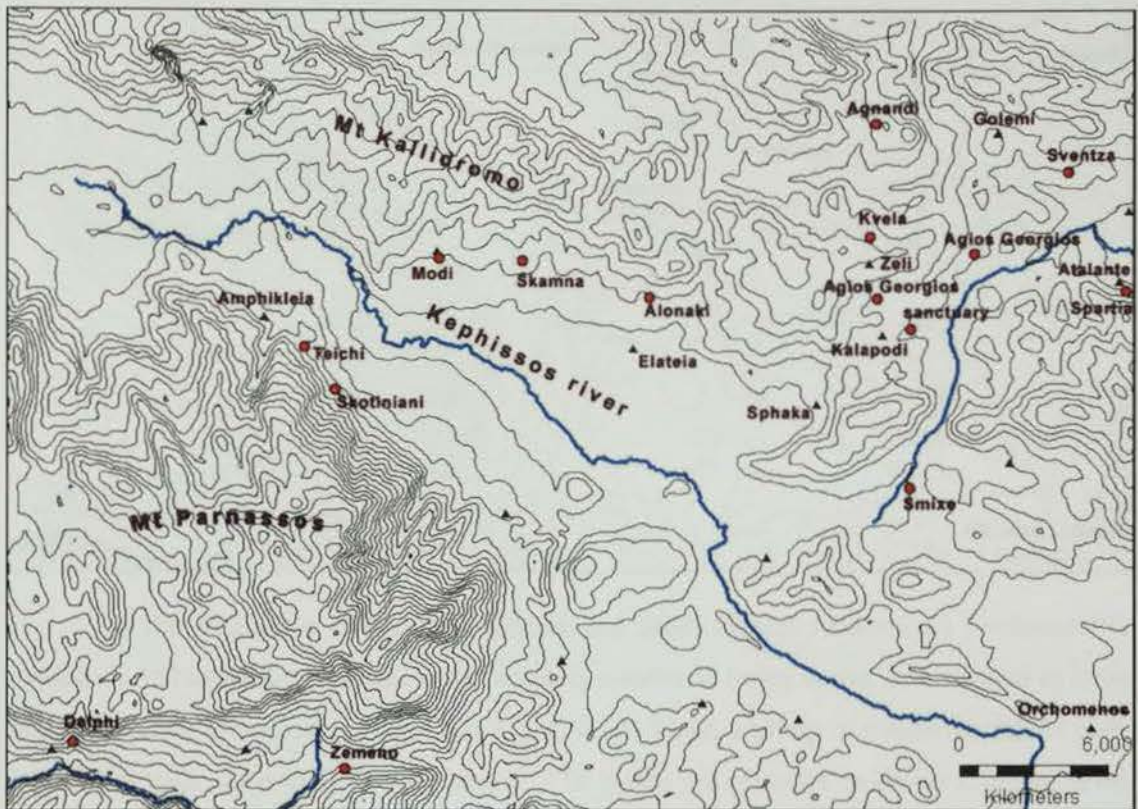


Fig.48
Kephissos
valley in the SM
period

● SM sites
▲ modern towns

As already noted, the cemetery of Skotiniani near Amphikleia (Agioi Anargyroi) appears to have mainly been in use in the SM period.²⁷¹ It has in fact been suggested that some of the tombs might have been of the small tomb type with a cave-like chamber and short dromos that also appears at Elateia from LHIIC-late onwards.²⁷² The three chamber tombs at the nearby location of Teichi were also still in use in the SM period.²⁷³ SM evidence has also been found in the chamber tombs at Modi (Liaraki plot) and at Skamna near

²⁷¹ Spyropoulos (1970) 237-239; (1971) 231-232

Hope Simpson (1981) 79, C 62

²⁷² Lemos (1999) 21, 23

²⁷³ Dakoronia (1995) 342-343

Modi.²⁷⁴ One of the tombs at Skamna might also belong to the small-type chamber tomb. Finally, as already mentioned, the cemetery of Alonaki at Elateia flourishes in the SM period (app.VII.5-6, p.424-6).

2.3 PG period

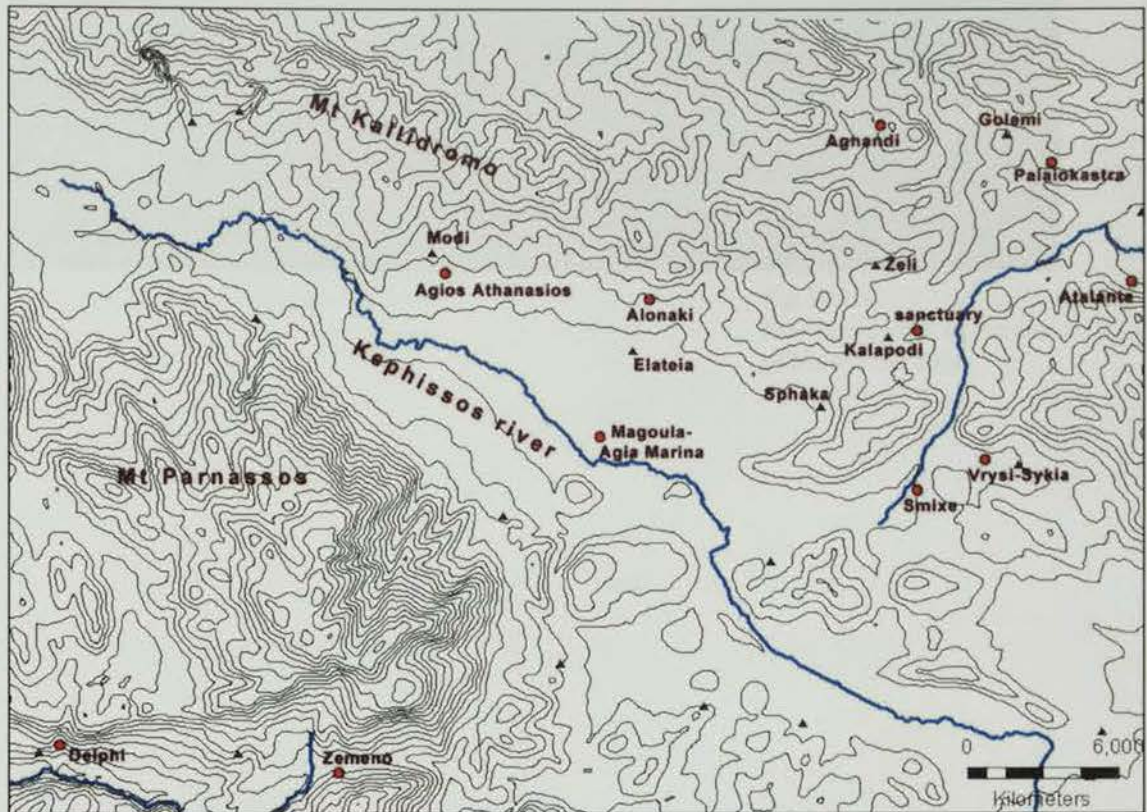


Fig.49
Kephissos valley
in the PG period
● PG sites
▲ modern towns

In the Kephissos valley, only Elateia and Modi (Agios Athanasios) produced PG evidence. At Elateia the chamber tomb cemetery continued being in use, but it seems to have entered a phase of decline (cf. app. VII.9, p.429). At Modi, a group of twelve burials in cists and pithoi took place in LPG/SPG period. The pithoi are reported to lie on a higher level than the cists, and most probably date to the SPG period. Both handmade and wheel-made pottery was found in the tombs. One of the cists (IV) seems to be more exceptional than the others: it has produced two golden earrings, four bronze rings and three iron pins.²⁷⁵ The site of Agios Athanasios is around 500m to the South of the chamber tombs found at Liaraki plot and Avlaki-Pouri, closer to the river (fig.50). Finally, according to Dimaki, who has recently

²⁷⁴ Skamna: Dakoronia (1989) 173-174; (1990) 175; (1991a) 193; Dakoronia-Dimaki (1999) 370-372
Liaraki plot: Dakoronia (1993a) 205, pl.68b-c; (1995) 343-344

²⁷⁵ Dakoronia (1992a) 200-201; (1993a) 205

undertaken the study of the material from Soteriadis' excavations at the site of Ag.Marina, PG pottery is included in this assemblage too.²⁷⁶



Fig.50
Panoramic view of the area
of Modi from East

²⁷⁶ Personal communication with S. Dimaki at Volos (2nd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece 2003-2005) on 17/03/06.

3. Bay of Atalante

The plain of Atalante is the easiest approachable coastal area from the valley of Kephissos. The triangle-shaped plain is a flat and fertile area stretching out to the bay of Atalante, well-watered by streams flowing down from the surrounding mountain foothills of Knimis to the North, Kalliromon to the West and Chlomon to the South. Another, smaller coastal plain, the plain of Tragana further South-South-east of the plain of Atalante, looks out to the same bay.



Fig.51
The bay of
Atalante in the
LBA

3.1 LBA

LHIIB material has been found in the area of the coastal plains not only in surface survey and rescue excavation of tombs, but also in the systematic excavation of two settlements, Kynos and Mitrou. In LHIIC, the number of sites is overall reduced. Nevertheless, significant material has been recovered at several sites, and especially at Kynos and Mitrou.

3.1.1 Agnandi

On the foothills of Mt Knemis rising to the North-North-west of the Atalante plain, one large chamber tomb cemetery has been identified at Agnandi. It might have been in use continuously since LHIIIA until the SM-PG period and could have belonged to Kastri, a site on a hill 1km further to the North-east, which has produced material dating to EH, MH and Mycenaean period. It was in fact reported that most of the finds coming from the tombs date to LHIIC, although the practice of clearing out earlier contents on the occasion of new

interments might have influenced the formation of the assemblages.²⁷⁷ It should be noted that although the site of the cemetery lies at a quite remote location up on the foothills, the area looks directly down to the small plain of Logos to its North and has access to the coast through the route of the Xerias stream, which flows from the mountains towards the sea (fig.52-54).²⁷⁸ At the easternmost end of the plain of Logos, the fortified rocky spur of Kastro-Melidoni (ancient Alope) rising right on the coast (fig.51) has produced Mycenaean (LHIIIA-B and possibly LHIIIC) pottery in surface survey. Remains of a circuit wall in rough masonry on the east side may possibly be Mycenaean.²⁷⁹ Additionally, South of Agnandi stretches a mild terrain of foothill slopes, which one can easily cross and head towards Zeli and from there to Kalapodi (fig.53).



Fig.52 Logos plain and Xerias stream ravine from Agnandi. In the back, the North Euboian coast

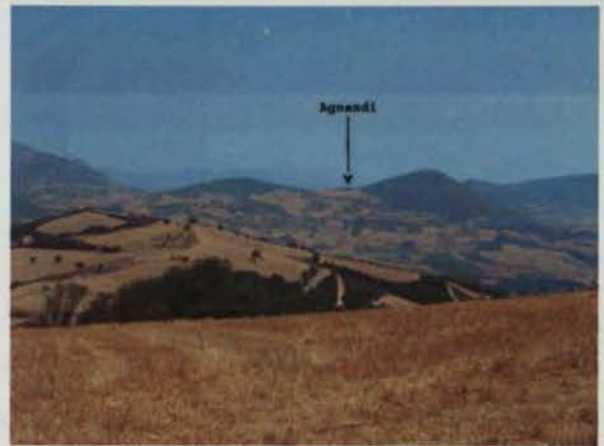


Fig.53 View of the hilly area South of Agnandi from Zeli (South to North)

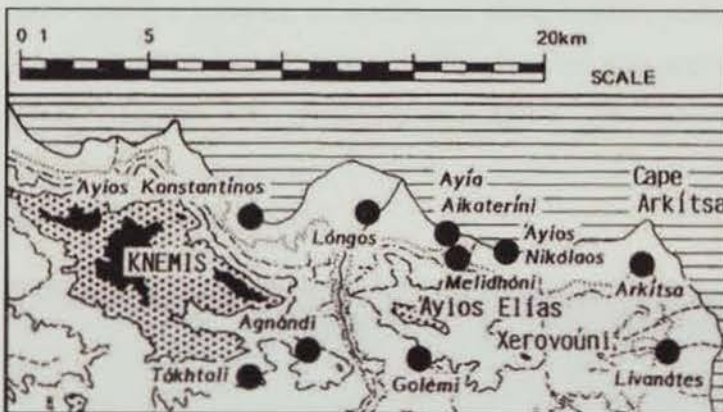


Fig.54 Map of area of Agnandi and the Logos plain

²⁷⁷ Spyropoulos (1970) 236-237

Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1981) 81, C69: Kastri

Dakoronia (1990) 182: the hill Tachtali, at the north-east foot of which the cemetery of Agnandi was excavated, was declared to be an official archaeological site; she notes that the cemetery was in use from LHIIIC to the SM period.

²⁷⁸ According to the elders of the modern village, the Xerias stream used to be the main route that people followed to reach the coast from Agnandi before the construction of modern roads – personal communication on 27.7.05.

²⁷⁹ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1981) 81, C 68: LHIIIA-B pottery

French (1972) fig. 16d: LHIIIB and LHIIIC pottery confirmed, LHIIIA claimed

3.1.2 Roustiana

Plenty of Mycenaean pottery has also been found in surface survey on a fortified hill at Roustiana (fig.55), a mountainous and wooded area on the easternmost foothills of Mt Knemis, which rise over the coast to the South-east of Logos plain and the site of Kastro-Melidoni.²⁸⁰ Although the northern slopes of the foothills in the area of Roustiana fall quite sharply down to the coast, the milder slopes of the hills rising to the West of Roustiana could have hosted a path leading North towards the sea, to the site of Kastro-Melidoni. At the same time, a longer but perhaps easier to follow path would lead from Roustiana towards East, to the coastal plain of Atalante.



Fig.55
Fortified hill
in the area of
Roustiana –
view from
South

3.1.3 Livanates: Pyrgos/Kynos

At the north-east edge of the plain, East of the modern village of Livanates, the site of Pyrgos, identified with the ancient city of Kynos, has been systematically excavated by the local archaeological authorities. The site has produced rich LBA material. It appears to have hosted a complex of storerooms since LHIIB, and to flourish especially in LHIIC-middle. It went through several destructions but was apparently continuously occupied into the EIA (cf. app. VIII for detailed discussion).

3.1.4 Kokinonyzes

A chamber tomb found at the location Kokinonyzes, up on the hills to the West of Kynos (around 1km West of modern Livanates: fig.56), has been described as large and grandiose, with an



Fig.56
View of the
coast of
Atalante plain
from North-
west, from
Kokinonyzes

²⁸⁰ Dakoronia (1993b) 126

unusual feature: the secondary burials were deposited in an oblong pit dug in the middle of the chamber, along the axis of the entrance and the dromos. Skeletal remains of earlier burials were also found pushed aside at the edges of the chamber. The pottery from the tomb in the illustration of the preliminary report dates to LHIIIA1 and LHIIIC-middle, while the tomb was also used in LHIIIB.²⁸¹ An amber bead was reportedly found with LHIIIB pottery in this tomb.²⁸² Another chamber tomb was also excavated here, but it had been looted.²⁸³

3.1.5 *Farmaki stream*

A chamber tomb cemetery of LHIIIB-IIIC date has also been found at another location close to Livánates, in the ravine of Farmaki stream (-around 1km South-west of the village).²⁸⁴

3.1.6 *Sventza-Megaplatanos*

On the hills rising at the west edge of the plain, at the location Sventza in the area of Megaplatanos, a group of seven Mycenaean chamber tombs have been excavated. They were



Fig.57
View of
Atalante Gulf
from Sventza,
Megaplatanos

most likely in use from LHIIIB to the SM period. They were of the typical chamber tomb type. They produced vases, buttons, beads, seals and a ring with spiral ends. The remains of earlier burials were pushed aside at the edges of the chambers.²⁸⁵ It should be noted that the location has a very good view

over the plain and the gulf of Atalante (fig.57).

3.1.7 *Spartia, Atalante*

Two more chamber tombs have been found 2km South-west of Atalante, at Spartia, on the northern slopes of the foothills of Chlomon rising to the South of the modern town. They were disturbed by the construction of Classical tombs on top of their chambers and dromoi. They belonged to the typical chamber tomb type, furnished with niches on the sidewalls of the dromoi. One of them (IV) also had pits in the floor of the chamber and the

²⁸¹ Dakoronia (1980) 244-245, pl.105: dimensions of chamber 3.70x2.70m; L. of dromos 8.50m and w. 1.50-1.90m; (1996d) 1168-1170; for the dating of the pottery cf. Mountjoy (1999) 810, fn. 28.

²⁸² Dakoronia (2003b) 341

²⁸³ Dakoronia (1993b) 125-126

²⁸⁴ Dakoronia (1992a) 203, pl. 62b-c

²⁸⁵ Dakoronia (1985) 176-178; (1993b) 122; (1996d) 1168-1170; (1997) 436

dromos for the secondary deposition of burial remains. This tomb contained LHIIIA2, LHIIIB1/2 and LHIIC-early pottery as well as a steatite seal and a glass bead. The other tomb (VIII) produced three more steatite seals and pottery mostly dating to LHIIIB2-LHIIC.²⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that in a discussion concerning the tombs at Kokinonyzes, Sventza and Spartia, it is reported that the majority of the finds date to LHIIIB1-2 and LHIIC-early and – middle, with only a few finds dating to the latest phase of LHIIC and the SM period.²⁸⁷

3.1.8 *Agios Nikolaos, Skala*

LHIIIB pottery was found in surface survey on the low mound of Agios Nikolaos, just West of Skala Atalantis.²⁸⁸

3.1.9 *Kyparissi, Kastraki hill*

At the south-east end of the plain, close to the modern village Kyparissi, on the foot of the named Kastraki hill (fig.58),



Fig.58
Kastraki/
Kokinovrachos hill
near
Kyparissi
from East

erosion has revealed a deposit of Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, and Classical sherds.²⁸⁹ The deposit might have also included LHIIC pottery.²⁹⁰

3.1.10 *Mitrou*

Exactly on the coast of the plain of Tragana, is the site of



Fig.59
Islet of Mitrou
from East, with
Palaioakstra/
Kokinovrachos
hill in the back

²⁸⁶ Dakoronia (1990) 178, pl.84b; (1996d) 1168-1170

Dakoronia-Dimaki (2004) 139

²⁸⁷ Dakoronia (1996d) 1170

²⁸⁸ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1981) 80: C66

The site has now been officially declared as an archaeological site – cf. Dakoronia (1990) 182, no 14.

²⁸⁹ Hope Simpson-Dickinson 1981, 80: C 65

Fossey suggests that the circuit-wall on the hill of Kokinovrachos might be the rebuilding of an earlier Cyclopean wall. He goes on to stress, however, that although a strong natural acropolis was later to be exploited at Kyparissi, the Mycenaean material has been found on the lower hills at its North foot – cf. Fossey (1990) 62 and 104.

²⁹⁰ According to Dakoronia (1993b) 117, the deposit contained sherds ranging from LHIIIB-C through PG and G to Archaic period.

Mitrou, a small island nowadays that would have probably been a peninsula in the LBA, considering the rise of sea-level over the centuries and also that even now it is still possible to walk to the island at low tide (fig.59-60). Extensive survey was undertaken here by Cornell University in 1988-89.²⁹¹ On the basis of her study of the surface finds, Kramer-Hajós has concluded that “Mitrou was extensively settled throughout the BA with occupation continuing into the EIA, after which there was little human activity”. The artefacts collected from the surface dated from EH to G times, and included obsidian cores and various stone tools, Mycenaean anthropomorphic and theriomorphic figures, and high-quality Mycenaean pottery.²⁹² Excavation followed in 2004-2005 by the University of Tennessee in cooperation with the local archaeological authorities, and produced quite



amazing LHIIC and EIA material. Most impressive is the discovery of a PG apsidal building constructed within a large LHIIC rectangular building. It is also possible that two rows of bases that were used in the PG building originally belonged to the

rectilinear LHIIC building. All three phases of LHIIC (early, middle and late) are represented in the pottery material from the site. The forthcoming seasons of excavation will certainly reveal much more detailed evidence that will help us appreciate the role of the site in the LBA, which already seems to be very significant.²⁹³

3.1.11 Tragana

At nearby Tragana, a chamber tomb cemetery has been located; eight tombs have been investigated by the Greek Archaeological Service at the



Fig.61
View of
Tragana
plain and
Mitrou islet
from South,
from the
location of
the Tragana
chamber
tomb
cemetery

²⁹¹ Coleman (1988) 236

²⁹² Kramer-Hajós (2002) 278

²⁹³ Personal communication with Aleydis Van de Moortel on the occasion of visiting the site as member of the Lefkandi project team in summer 2004.

Cf. Van de Moortel and Zachou (2003-2004) 44-45, 48, Zachou and Van de Moortel (2004-2005) 53-54.

northern foot of the hills rising to the South of the plain of Tragana (fig.61-62). The tombs must have mainly been in use from LHIIIA1 to LHIIIB2.²⁹⁴ Three of them contained seals – two steatite seals and one made of achate.²⁹⁵



Fig.62
Entrance of chamber tomb
at Tragana

3.1.12 *Proskynas*

Further to the East, at the most eastern edge of the plain, settlement remains of all prehistoric phases have been found on a low hill opposite the modern village of Proskynas (fig.63). The Mycenaean remains consisted of a retaining wall supporting a terrace at the west edge of a natural plateau on the top of the hill. Due to the small size of the excavated area and the later, ancient and modern disturbances of the area, it was not possible to retrieve any more information on this settlement. The pottery from this area was dated to LHIIIA1-B2, while it has been noted that the last phase of LHIIIB and LHIIIC are absent.²⁹⁶ A chamber tomb has also been found on the west slope of a nearby hill, but it was disturbed in Byzantine times and, consequently, produced no finds.²⁹⁷



Fig.63
View of
Tragana plain
from Proskynas
hill

²⁹⁴ Dakoronia (1992a) 205-206, pl. 62ζ

Dakoronia (1993a) 209-210: tomb V was re-used in the SM period

Dakoronia (1997) 436-437: location Ag. Triada

²⁹⁵ Dakoronia (2004a) 145-146

²⁹⁶ Kyriazi (2003) 281-283

²⁹⁷ Dakoronia (1978) 141

3.2 SM period

The cemeteries of Agnandi, Sventza-Megaplatanios²⁹⁸, Spartia-Atalante²⁹⁹, and Tragana³⁰⁰ received burials in the SM period. SM pottery was also possibly included in the deposit found at the foot of Kastraki hill, at Kyparissi. At Mitrou, a small group of SM vases, including one wheel-made jug and four miniature handmade vases, has been found.³⁰¹ Kynos has also produced SM evidence (app.VIII.6, p. 444-6).

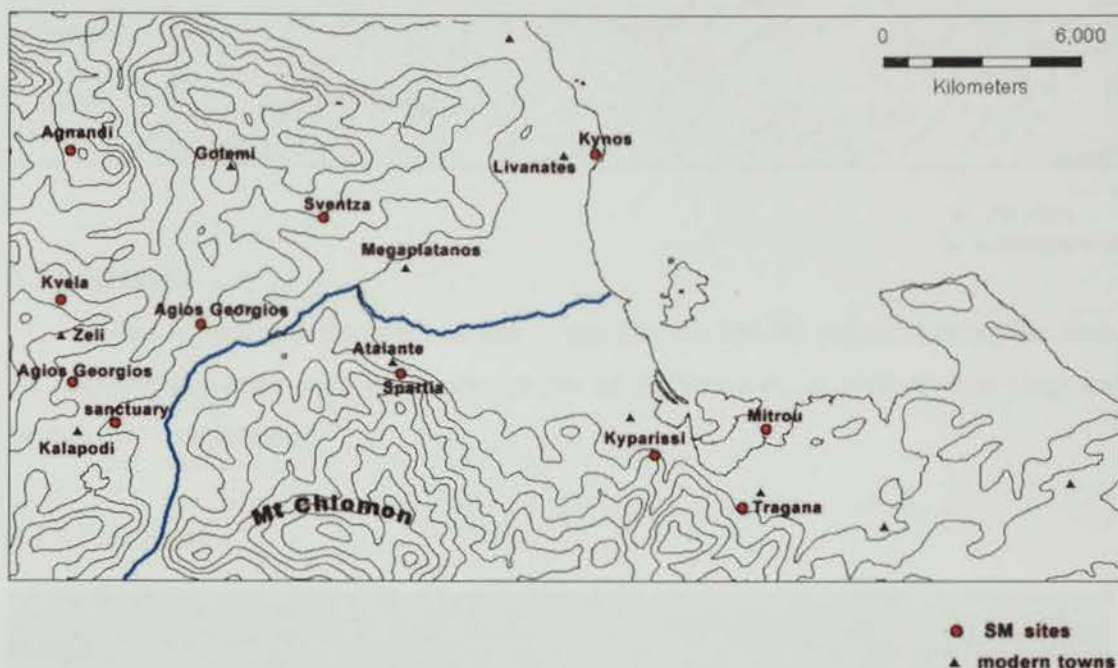


Fig.64
The bay of
Atalante in the
SM period

3.3 PG period

The chamber tomb cemeteries in East Lokris appear to have been largely abandoned in PG. On the other hand, Kynos continues to be inhabited – albeit in a probably impoverished state (-cf. app.VIII.7, p.446-8), and PG evidence has occurred at other sites too. Mitrou is clearly the site that has produced the most substantial PG remains. LPG and SPG evidence also comes from the site of Atalante.

²⁹⁸ Dakoronia (1985) 176-178; (1997) 436

A jug and a bird-shaped askos found in two tombs date to LHIIC-late – SM according to Mountjoy (1999) 810, fn.25

²⁹⁹ Dakoronia (2002a) 47-48: the one of the two tombs appears to have received a burial in the SM period furnished with a bronze pin, which is categorized as one of the earliest examples of its kind, the first indication of use of pins in Lokris.

³⁰⁰ Dakoronia (1993a) 209-210: tomb V was re-used in the SM period as indicated by an amphoriskos. Dakoronia (2002a) 46-47, fig. 24

³⁰¹ Van de Moortel and Zachou (2003-2004) 44
Zachou and Van de Moortel (2004-2005) 53

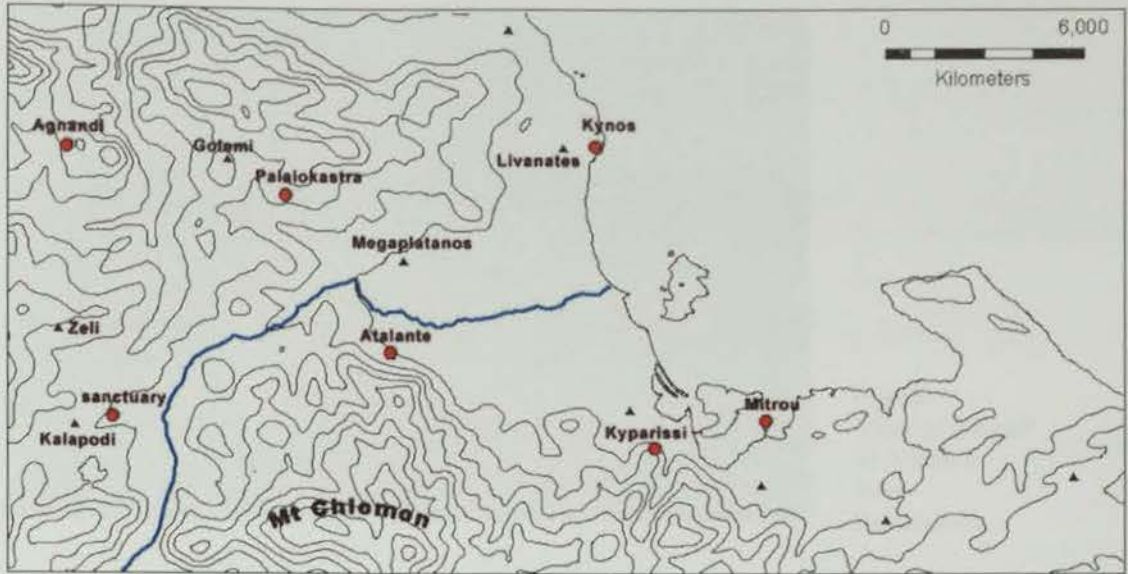


Fig.65
The bay of
Atalante in the
PG period

3.3.1 Agnandi

This cemetery is the only one still in use into the SM-PG period. Among the finds, an amphora decorated with concentric circles on its shoulder, as well as iron rings and bronze pins, was reported.³⁰²

3.3.2 Palaioikastra



Fig.66
The hill of
Palaioikastra
from North with
the passage of
Hyampolis to
the South-west

The excavation of a small Classical acropolis on a hill known as Palaioikastra (fig.66) to the North-west of the cemetery of Sventza, Megaplatanos has produced some PG pottery.³⁰³ The hill has excellent view over the plain and the gulf of Atalante (fig.67).

³⁰² Spyropoulos (1970) 236

³⁰³ Dakoronia (1993b) 122-124



Fig.67
View of the gulf
of Atalante
from
Palaiokastron

3.3.3 *Kyparissi-Kastraki hill*

The deposit at the foot of Kastraki hill near Kyparissi might have also included PG sherds.³⁰⁴

3.3.4 *Mitrou*

As previously mentioned, a quite large apsidal building has been found set within and abutting onto the walls of an LHIIC-middle rectangular building. Additionally, the two rows of bases of the LHIIC structure were possibly re-used in the apsidal building. A circular hearth with a stone border has been found and probably also belongs to the PG floor. The building went through two architectural phases, and a substantial deposit of MPG pottery was found on its floor, including examples with parallels in the pottery from the Toumba building at Lefkandi. The floor deposit was found buried under a layer of many burnt cobbles, whose presence or function has not been possible to interpret yet (-possibly used originally for flooring or internal dividing walls of an upper storey). Five PG cist tombs in which children were buried were excavated in the first excavation season. One of them contained three individuals. More PG tombs were excavated in the second season, including an adult burial. In general, it seems that all three phases of Early, Middle and Late PG pottery occur at the site, but it is too early to reconstruct the precise sequence of activity as yet.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the MPG deposit on the floor of the building buried under the layer of burnt corbel stones seems to indicate the abandonment of the building in that phase. It is also known since the surface survey that the Geometric material is comparatively little. Thus, it

³⁰⁴ Dakoronia (1993b) 117

³⁰⁵ Van de Moortel and Zachou (2003-2004) 44-48
Zachou and Van de Moortel (2004-2005) 53-55

seems to be the case that Mitrou entered a declining phase since LPG, marked by the abandonment of the excavated building.

3.3.5 *Atalante*

A total of forty-three tombs have been found in two neighbouring plots in the south-



Fig.68
View of the
EIA cemetery
at Atalante

west part of the modern town, all of them most likely belonging to the same extensive cemetery. Inhumations took place in twenty-four cists, two sarcophagi of limestone, fifteen pithoi or large vases and two pits.³⁰⁶ It seems to be the case that most, if not all of these burials date to the SPG rather than the LPG period.³⁰⁷ Overall, burials

here were quite rich in bronze, gold and other kinds of metal and precious offerings, as well as in pottery, which points to contacts with Thessaly and Euboa.

Particularly, the two burials of a man and a woman in limestone sarcophagi were most exceptional with reference to the combination of artefacts they contained, as well as to the tomb type. Among other metal offerings, the man was also buried with three weapons (an iron sword, an iron knife and a shield with a bronze omphalos), as well as a bronze bowl and a thick and heavy iron artefact with a spherical head, which could be interpreted as some kind of tool or sceptre. The tomb of the woman contained several metal objects (-pins and rings), including a bronze bowl, an iron sickle and a pair of gold earrings, as well as a rock crystal bead and a steatite spindle whorl, that have been interpreted as heirlooms.

A third exceptional burial was in a cist tomb containing a large amount of bronze and gold jewellery, as well as an iron knife and faience and glass beads, and some very special items: a bronze pendant of a rare form resembling a club that occurs in shrines, especially in Thessaly, a bronze diadem with a pending double axe worn on the head, and a bronze cylindrical (-apparently hollow) object that has been interpreted as the sheathing of a sceptre of probably organic material. The three tombs have unfortunately not been given an exact dating and the pottery they contained has not been published, the result of which is that it is not possible at this point to comment on their relative sequence or to place them in their

³⁰⁶ Dakoronia (1985) 165; (1987) 225-227; (1993b) 119-120; (forthcoming)

³⁰⁷ Lemos (2002) 171, n.235 and 172

chronological context. In any case, they have been rightly attributed to higher-status members of the local elite. It has also been pointed out, however, that other tombs too of this cemetery contained weapons or many metal offerings.³⁰⁸

Generally, the site of Atalante seems to have been thriving in this period, and although it is not yet possible to comment on its potentially gradual development, it seems to be the case that the cemetery reaches its peak in the SPG period, since most of the tombs should rather date to this phase than the LPG. A connection of Atalante's prosperity with the Euboian *koine* that is in full speed in the SPG period is probably inevitable, as is also dictated by the pottery connections.

Finally, PG pottery has also been found in another plot in Atalante, while another LPG/SPG cist tomb containing a trefoil-lipped oinochoe, a bronze phiale and four bronze pins has been found at Veryki, lying on the road from Livanates to Megaplatanos.³⁰⁹ It can be speculated that the area of East Lokris has much more to reveal for this period.

³⁰⁸ Dakoronia (2006)

³⁰⁹ Dakoronia (1991a) 190-191: Kioulafa plot, Oileos St.

For Veryki cf. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni (1984) 135; dated to SPG in Dakoronia (1992b) 293, fig.2, pl.66b.

4. Passage area between the plain of Atalante and the valley of Kephissos

In between the coast of the Euboian Gulf and the valley of Kephissos rise the mountains of Kallidromo and Chlomo. A natural passage carved between these two mountains by streams flowing down from the foothills towards the plain of Atalante and the sea constitutes the main route-way linking the valley with the coast.

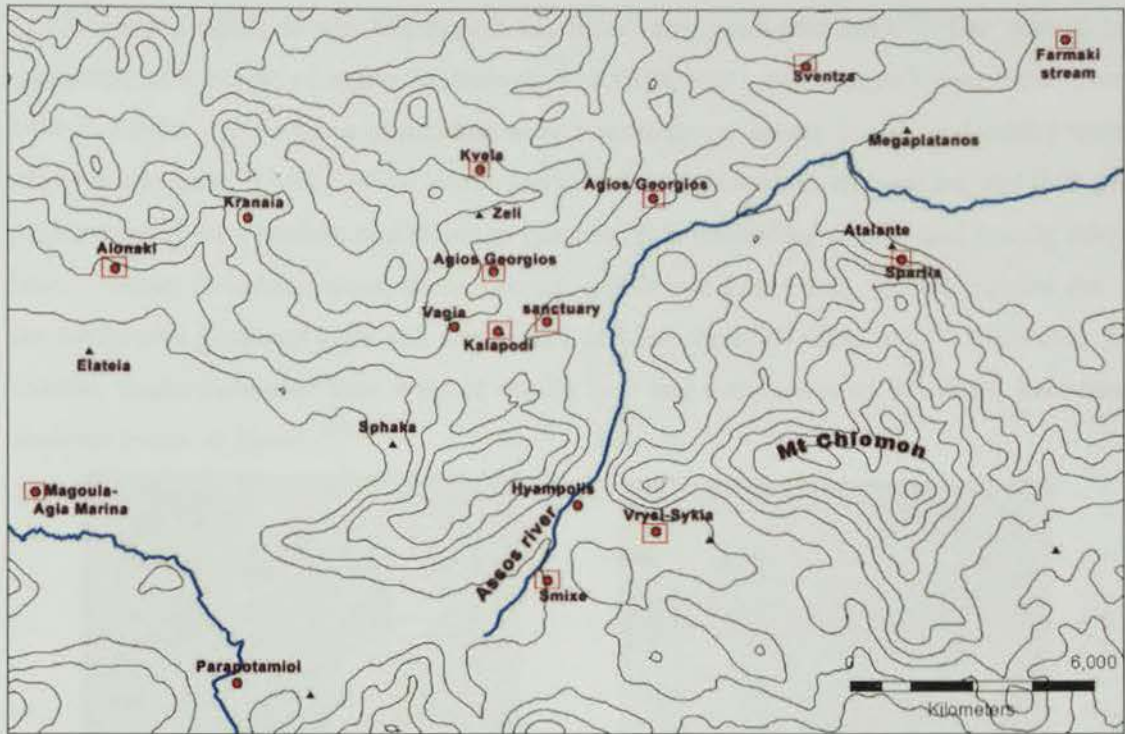


Fig.69
The area of
Kalapodi in
the LBA

4.1 LBA

Rescue excavations in the area lying in between the plain of Atalante and the valley of Kephissos have revealed many Mycenaean chamber tombs. Either due to later disturbances (clearance and looting) or because of the brief reports, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact period of use of each cemetery. Most of the cemeteries seem to be in use already since LHIIIA – if not earlier – and continue into LHIIC or later, while a couple of them (Smixe and Vrysi-Sykia) probably make their appearance in LHIIC. Besides the burial evidence, surface survey has also pointed to one or two settlement sites (Hyampolis and possibly Exarchos), while the systematic excavation of the sanctuary of Kalapodi has shed significant light on its cult use since LHIIC-early onwards (cf. app. IX).

4.1.1 *Agios Georgios (Zeli-Golemi)*

One chamber tomb cemetery has been investigated around 4km East of Zeli, at the location Agios Georgios, on the modern dirt road leading from Zeli and Kalapodi to Golemi. The site is actually located within a very short distance to the North of the modern road Atalante-Kalapodi, which follows the natural passage between the foothills of Kallidromo and Chlomo. Around thirty chamber tombs dating probably from LHIIIA to the end of LHIIC and possibly to the SM period too have been excavated here.³¹⁰ The dating, in particular, of a couple of tombs exclusively to LHIIC-early might signify that these were built in LHIIC, while some other ones were reportedly no longer in use, and others were continuously used.³¹¹ Many of the tombs had been looted before the excavation, and thus the peak period of the cemetery is difficult to pinpoint. It is interesting to note that among other finds – bronze jewellery, glass, stone, faience, amber and gold beads, steatite buttons etc – the tombs also produced eight soft-stone seals and one moulded glass seal.³¹² According to Dimaki, tombs excavated here were of similar type and dimensions as the small, cave-like chamber tombs of Elateia.³¹³



Fig.70
Chamber
tombs at
Agios
Georgios
(Zeli-Golemi)

4.1.2 *Zeli*

At Zeli, located on the eastern foothills of the Kallidromon mountain range, twenty-four chamber tombs have been found at one location (Agios Georgios) to the South of the

³¹⁰ Dakoronia (1985) 169; (1988) 225; (1989) 170; (1991a) 193; (1992a) 207-208; (1996b) 322-323; Dakoronia-Dimaki (1999) 377-378: here the location is called Agios Ioannis and not Agios Georgios, although it is certain that the report refers to the same cemetery.

³¹¹ For example, tomb XVII was in use from LHIIIA2 to LHIIB2; tomb XVIII in LHIIB1; tomb XIX in LHIIB1-LHIIC-early; tomb XXII in LHIIC-early and tomb XXIII possibly in LHIIC-early – cf. Dakoronia (1989) 170 and pl. 102c left for a vase from t. XXIII. Tomb XXVI was reportedly used in LHIIB1-2 – cf. Dakoronia (1992a) 207-208.

³¹² Dakoronia and Dimaki (2004) 140-141

Amber beads were found in possibly LHIIC context in one of the tombs (XXV) - cf. Dakoronia (1991a) 193-194 and Eder (2003) 47, n.83: she reports finds from two more tombs (I-II), which are not however mentioned in the preliminary reports.

³¹³ Dimaki (2003) 324, n. 29

According to Dakoronia and Dimaki (2004) 140, the tombs were reported to belong to the regular type, but four of them were described as small.

village, and eight at another (Kvela: fig.71), on the slope of one of the hills further to the North.³¹⁴ It should be noted that these two locations, Agios Georgios of Zeli and Kvela lie on the route leading from Kalapodi to Agnandi (fig.72 and 73). The periods of use of the cemeteries were not precisely dated in the preliminary reports – especially since most of them were looted – it seems however that they had a long history lasting from around LHIIIA1 to LHIIIB and possibly even LHIIIC and SM.³¹⁵



Fig.71
Chamber
tombs at
Kvela, North
of Zeli

Fig.72
View towards
South-east
(Hyampolis
passage) from
Zeli, Agios
Georgios
cemetery



Fig.73
View
towards
North from
Kvela: dirt
road
leading to
the hilly
area South
of Agnandi

4.1.3 Kalapodi

Two Mycenaean chamber tombs have been found at Vagia, North-west of the village of Kalapodi at the east foot of Kallidromon. One of them was looted. The other one was apparently used in LHIIIA2.³¹⁶ Four more chamber tombs apparently belonging to a cemetery were excavated in two neighbouring plots in the north-western part of the modern village of Kalapodi. The tombs were of the regular Mycenaean type. Three of them had rectangular chambers, while the fourth was circular in plan. The latter and one of the

³¹⁴ Ag. Georgios: Dakoronia (1977) 104; (1978) 139; (1979) 186; (1980) 240-242; Lambropoulou (1982) 189; Dakoronia (1985) 171; Dakoronia and Dimaki (1999) 369.

Kvela: Dakoronia (1986) 68; (1987) 234

³¹⁵ LHIIIC sherds were reportedly found in a looted tomb at Agios Georgios – cf. Lambropoulou (1982) 189, and Lemos (1999) 24, n. 9 confirms that according to her personal communication with Ph. Dakoronia, the pottery from Agios Georgios near Zeli (as well as that from Golemi) dates from LHIIIA1 to SM.

³¹⁶ Dakoronia (1980) 242: Plakia field; illustrated pottery dates to LHIIIA2 according to Mountjoy (1999) 809

rectangular chambers also contained one pit each used for secondary burials as well as a side niche. Apart from a looted tomb, the other three produced very rich finds including pottery, bronze weapons (knives, arrowheads, spearheads, a dagger with ivory pommel and a gold ring on its hilt) and other bronze items such as tweezers, a bezel ring, a mirror, discs and foils, as well as gold jewellery – among which were two seal rings depicting an animal and a religious scene respectively – several beads of precious and semi-precious stones as well as glass, five semi-precious stone seals, ivory plaques, silver implements, three tinned vases etc. The tombs were in use from LHIIA-B to LHIIC.³¹⁷ Rich evidence of LHIIC date has also been found at the sanctuary of Kalapodi, which appears to have been continuously used from

LHIIC-early onwards (cf. app.IX).



Fig.74
Hyampolis
hill from
North-
North-east

4.1.4 *Hyampolis*

Ancient Hyampolis (around 3km West of modern Exarchos), the city later controlling the sanctuary of Kalapodi, is located on a low hill

rising at the south end of the passage between Chlomon and Kallidromon foothills (Kalogria hill and Proph. Ilias hill respectively), and dominating the route along Assos River towards South-South-west, to the Kephissos valley (fig.74). During surface survey, some BA sherds, including EHI and LHIIB, and obsidian chips were found on the eroded slope outside the walls.³¹⁸

4.1.5 *Smixe*

Additionally, at another location further to the South-west of Hyampolis, at Smixe, in the Assos valley, MH structures and sherds dating from Late Neolithic to Mycenaean times have been reportedly found.³¹⁹ Six chamber tombs have also been found here, but most of them were looted. Nevertheless, in a pit dug in the dromos of one tomb and used for secondary burials, two conical, steatite buttons, a jug possibly of LHIIC-late/SM date and half a handmade juglet were found.³²⁰ The only tomb that was not looted contained eighteen

³¹⁷ Dakoronia-Dimaki (1998) 394-395: Daliani and Bakandritsou plots Dakoronia-Dimaki (2004) 141-142

³¹⁸ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 259, G60; cf. also Fossey (1986) 72 and Dassios (1992) 48, no 46

³¹⁹ Dakoronia (1979) 186

³²⁰ Dakoronia (1993a) 213: compare pl. 69a with Mountjoy (1999) 850, fig.344, no.117

burials deposited in four layers dating from LHIIIC-late to LPG. The upper layer even contained a Protocorinthian lekythos.³²¹ According to Dimaki, tombs excavated here were of similar type and dimensions as the small, cave-like chamber tombs of Elateia. It is not made clear whether all of the tombs at this site were of this type.³²²

4.1.6 *Vrysi-Sykia*

At Vrysi-Sykia, a location 2km South-east of Hyampolis, at the south foot of the Kalogria hill that flanks the passage of Hyampolis from the East, two more chamber tombs have been found: they were both disturbed later in antiquity and looted in modern times, but

Fig.75
Tombs at
Vrysi-Sykia



still contained some finds (fig.75). The one contained LHIIIC sherds as well as a steatite conulus and bronze and gold jewellery, while the other one's chamber contained LHIIIC sherds as well as

two EPG vases and one glass bead; a few coarse-ware sherds and small finds, including five

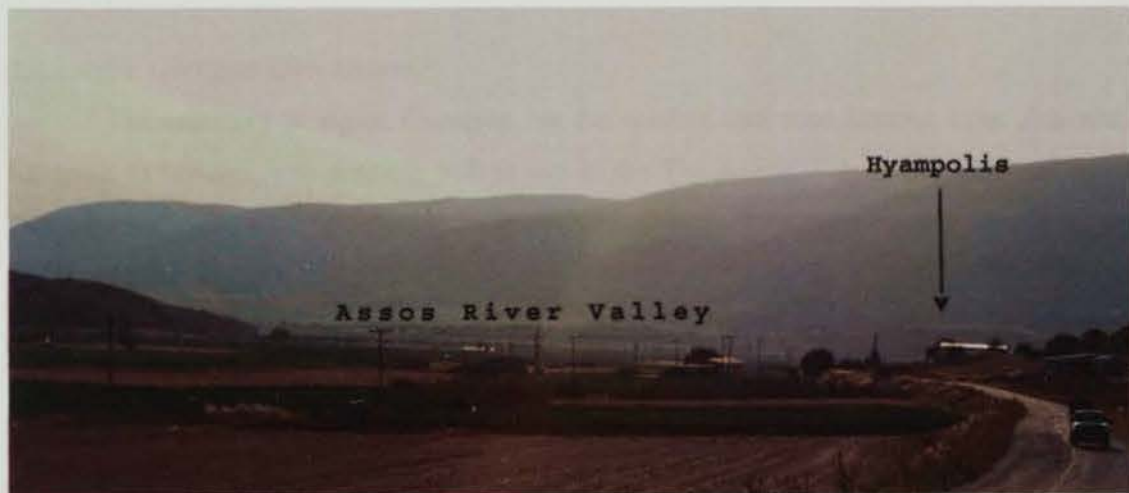


Fig.76
View towards West-South-west from Vrysi-Sykia: the hill of Hyampolis with the valley of Assos river stretching at its foot to the South

³²¹ Dakoronia (1996b) 316-317

Cf. also Dassios (1992) 47

³²² Dimaki (2003) 324, n. 29

bronze rings and a bronze spiral, were found in a pit in the dromos.³²³

4.2 EIA

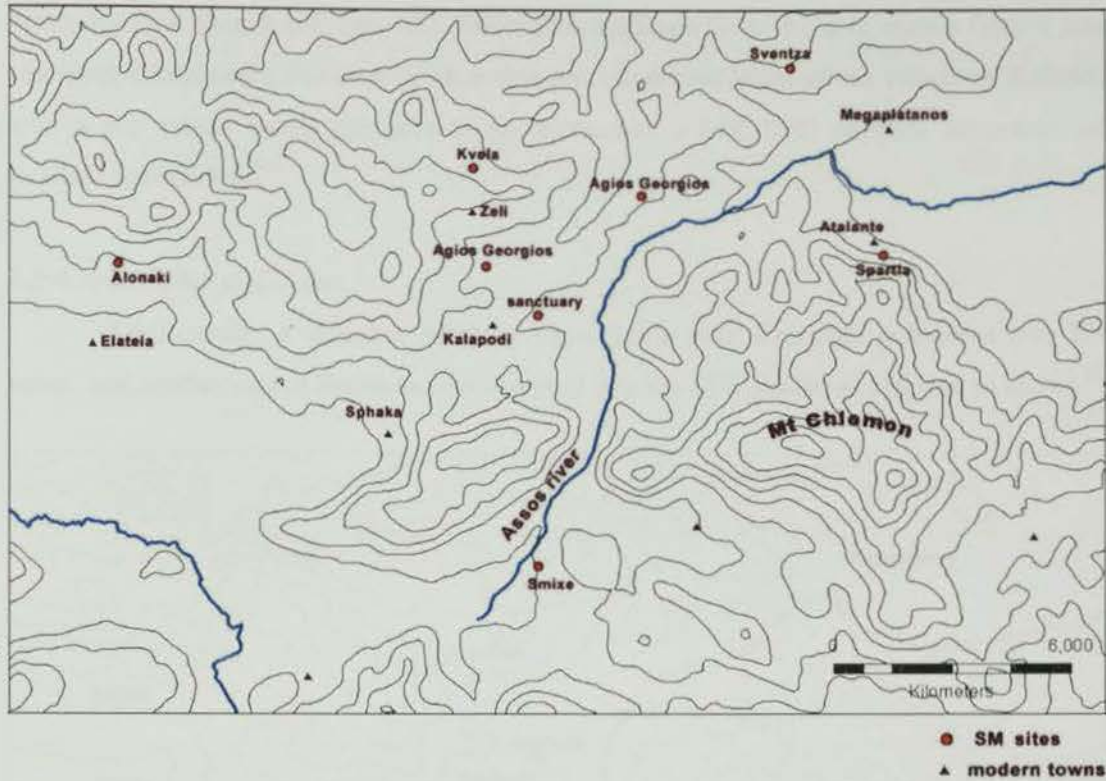


Fig. 77
The area of
Kalapodi in the
SM period

4.2.1 Zeli

The cemeteries at Agios Georgios to the South of Zeli and at Kvela to the North were probably still in use in the SM period.³²⁴

4.2.2 Agios Georgios (Zeli-Golemi)

The cemetery at Agios Georgios, on the modern dirt road leading from Zeli and Kalapodi to Golemi, was possibly still in use in the SM period.³²⁵ It is interesting to note here that one of the tombs produced handmade-ware pottery.³²⁶

³²³ Dakoronia (1978) 140-141: a parallel example for a bronze ring with spiral endings comes from Perati. Cf. also Dassios (1992) 48.

It is interesting to note that Dassios (1992) 47 reports LHIIC evidence from the site of Paliochori at Exarchos, which has been identified with ancient Abai. He does not explain, however, where he draws his information from, while his references do not record any prehistoric finds. His report must be the result of his own research.

³²⁴ Ag. Georgios: Dakoronia (1977) 104; (1978) 139; (1979) 186; (1980) 240-242; Lambropoulou (1982) 189; Dakoronia (1985) 171; Dakoronia and Dimaki (1999) 369.

Kvela: Dakoronia (1986) 68; (1987) 234

Lemos (1999) 24, n. 9 confirms that according to her personal communication with Ph. Dakoronia the pottery from Agios Georgios near Zeli (as well as the pottery from the cemetery on the road Golemi-Zeli – cf. further on) dates from LHIII A1 to SM.

³²⁵ Dakoronia (1988) 225

4.2.3 Kalapodi

Continuous cult activity from the LBA to the EIA has been documented at the sanctuary of Kalapodi (cf. app. IX). Other EIA evidence from the area comes from a small cist tomb containing a PG amphoriskos that was excavated West of the village of Kalapodi, after a plot owner found and gave to the authorities a LPG/SPG skyphos decorated with pendent semicircles.³²⁷

4.2.4 Vrysi-Sykia and Smixe

Additionally, a chamber tomb at Vrysi-Sykia near Exarchos contained two EPG vases, and another one at Smixe was in use until into the LPG period as referred to above.³²⁸

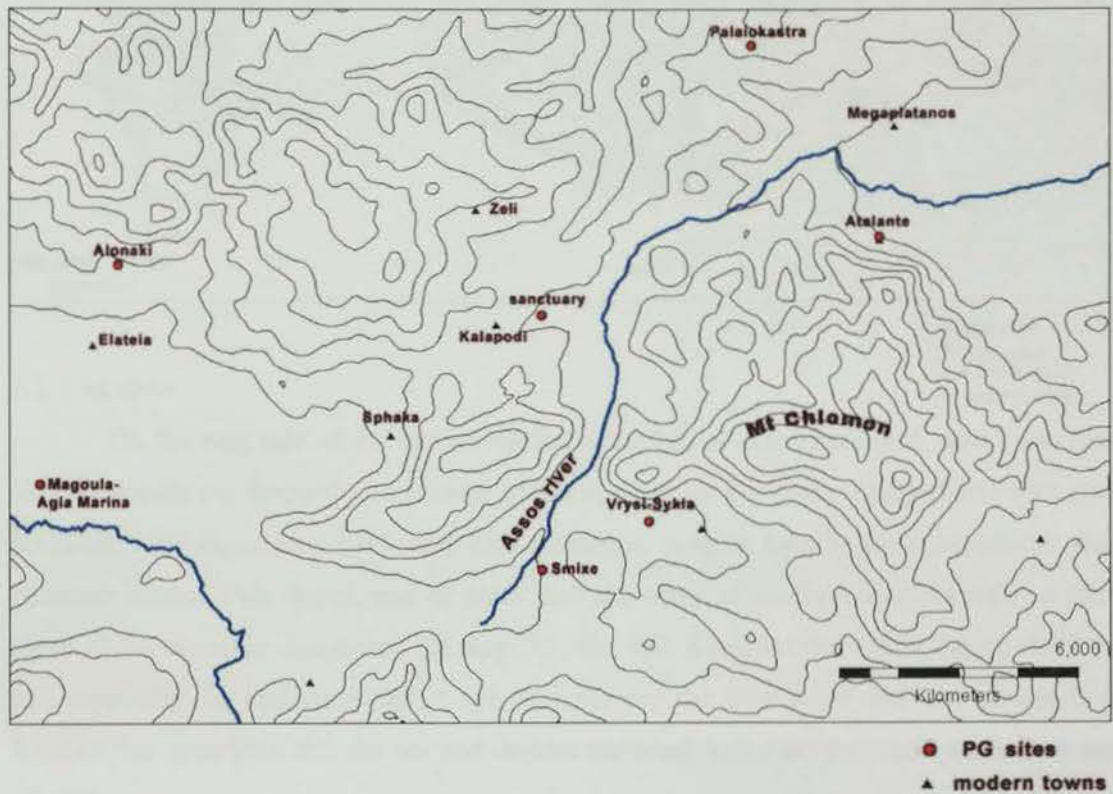


Fig.78
The area of
Kalapodi in the
PG period

³²⁶ Dakoronia-Dimaki (2004) 140: tomb V

³²⁷ Dakoronia (1987) 234-235, pl. 135e

³²⁸ Vrysi-Sykia: Dakoronia (1978) 140-141

Smixe: Dakoronia (1996b) 316-317

5. Bay of Antikyra

5.1 LBA



Fig.79
The bay of
Antikyra in the
LBA

5.1.1 Medeon

On the east side of the bay of Antikyra, the hill of Ag. Theodoroi, which has been identified with the acropolis of ancient Medeon, rises on the coast. Excavations here have revealed very significant LBA and EIA evidence, coming mostly from burials in built chamber tombs. Two tholoi, one of small and the other of medium size, as well as other kinds of burials were discovered (cf. app. X). The hill overlooks the whole bay of Antikyra and especially the east coast until Cape Mounda and the west coast until the peninsula of Kephali that protrudes into the sea and divides the coast into a northern and a southern part (fig.80).



Fig.80
Panoramic view
from Medeon
towards South:
Gulf of Antikyra

5.1.2 Palatia

Another site that has produced LBA evidence in the Gulf of Antikyra is the so-called Palatia, an area of the modern town of Antikyra lying very close to the shore, opposite

Medeon. Excavations have also revealed many remains of a Classical-Early Christian settlement in this area.³²⁹ A dump deposit found here contained pottery of several periods, the earliest being a few sherds of LHIIIB date, mostly from kylikes, as well as a lentil-shaped seal of black steatite depicting a ship and a steatite conical loom-weight.³³⁰

5.1.3 *Kastro of Steno*

Kastro of Steno, a low hill overlooking a small harbour 1.5km South-west of Antikyra, on the other side of the peninsula of Kephali, was also inhabited in the LBA. LHIIIB and possibly LHIIIC Mycenaean sherds were found on the west slopes of the hill, and Mycenaean cist graves were discovered a short distance to the South-west, in the plain between the hill of Kastro and the sea.³³¹

5.1.4 *Kastrouli of Desphina*

Further inland to the West-North-west of Antikyra stretches the upland plain of Desphina. One Mycenaean site has been identified in the area, on a hill called Kastrouli overlooking the south-east part of the plain (fig.81). Remains of a 'cyclopean' fortification (fig.82) and a possible built chamber tomb inside the walls are still visible on the hill.³³² The plain is quite broad and fertile. It is, however, surrounded by high hills and mountains that fall steeply on either side of the peninsula to the sea, i.e. to the Antikyra bay to the East and to the gulf of Itea to the West, as well as to the Pleistos valley to the North, and thus it is



Fig.81
View of the south-eastern part of Desphina plain from hill of Kastrouli

³²⁹ Fossey (1986) 23

Dassios (1992) 76: he records a LHIIIB and a PG phase
Palatia lies at the North-east foot of Soros Hill.

Cf. also Baziotopoulou-Valavani (1988) for a short report on all periods of habitation at Antikyra.

³³⁰ Baziotopoulou-Valavani (1980) 261 and pl.114a: Christodoulou plot: it is noted that the seal is similar to one from tomb 29bis at Medeon. The deposit also contained archaic-classical material and mostly 4th and 3rd century BC sherds. It was found under a Hellenistic wall.

³³¹ Mastrokostas (1956) 24-25, fig. 6: he notes that inhabitants of Desphina kept houses and cultivated plots at Stenon at his time

Hope Simpson (1981) 77, C50

Müller (1995) 44: the site of the cist tombs is called Agios Sotiris

³³² Dassios (1992) 83, no. 109: the tomb is described as «τάφος θαλαμωτός με λίθο»; as I could see on my visit at the site, it is in a quite disturbed state, with stone walls partly ruined; its roof seems to have collapsed too.

quite isolated from its neighbouring areas (fig.83). According to the elders of the village, the



Fig.82
Kastrouli of
Desphina:
possible
'cyclopean'
wall

path leading to Antikyra was the easiest and closest route of communication with the outside world in the years before the construction of modern, asphalt roads.



Fig.83

View of the upland plain of Desphina from North-North-east, from the road climbing over Arachova towards Livadi, with the Pleistos River Valley visible at the foot of the steep mountain rising to the North of Desphina, and the Gulf of Itea discernible to the South-west.

5.1.5 *Sykia*

A short note should be made here of the Mycenaean evidence found at Sykia, a rocky hill in a small bay further to the South of the plain of Desphina. Although the bay looks out to Itea Gulf, it is included here because the steep mountains rising over it to the North would only allow it to be in inland communication with the coastal sites on the bay of Antikyra or, perhaps with greater difficulty, with the upland plain of Desphina. The evidence consists of Mycenaean sherds on the surface of the hill and of a Mycenaean tomb with dromos, entrance and a square chamber to the South-east.³³³

³³³ Dassios (1992) 83, no. 108

Müller (1995) 37, 40-41: she characterizes the tomb at Sykia as built chamber tomb and believes that it shows connections with Medeon.

5.2 EIA

The EIA evidence from the areas examined above is limited to the coastal site of Medeon that has produced many significant burials, treated separately in the discussion of the site (cf. app.X.4-5, p. 471-4).³³⁴ Dassios also reports a PG phase for the site of Palatia.³³⁵

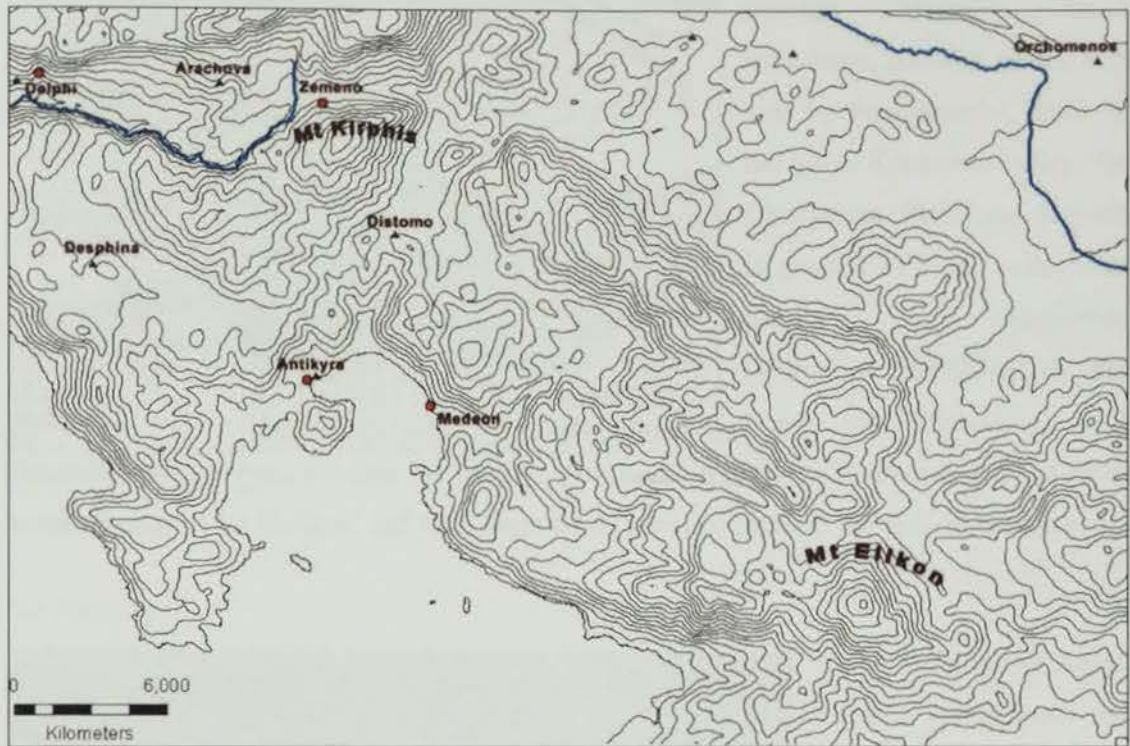


Fig.84
The bay of
Antikyra in the
EIA

³³⁴ Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) 256, G52 report a PG sherd from Kastro Stenou, illustrated in Mastrokostas (1956) 25, fig. 6b. This is, however, a sherd decorated with free-hand and not compass-drawn concentric circles, in which case an EIA dating could be accepted.

³³⁵ Dassios (1992) 76: he records a LHIIIB and a PG phase

6. Passage-area from the valley of Kephissos to the Bay of Antikyra



Fig.85
The area connecting the valley of Kephissos with the bay of Antikyra

● LBA sites
▲ modern towns

The middle valley of Kephissos is bordered to the South-east by an East-West line formed by the Idilion and Philviotos mountains. The passage through these mountains, guarded on the east side by Parapotamioi, leads to the lower Kephissos valley, the Chaironean Plain and Boiotia in general. A broad valley of a tributary of Kephissos (Platanias) stretching to the South of Philviotos Mt

functions as an avenue towards the passage that leads in between Parnassos and the most northern edge of Mt Helikon, and from there heads towards South to the gulf of Antikyra.

6.1 Panopeus



Fig.86
The hill of Panopeus from East with the village of Agios Vlassis at its foot

The hill of Agios Vlassis, which hosts the acropolis of ancient Panopeus, is located at the south-east edge of the Platanias Valley (fig.86). Remains of a 'Cyclopean' circuit wall

have been identified on the hill (fig.87-88), possibly once enclosing "the whole of the rocky summit and much of the upper slopes on the east side. MH and Mycenaean sherds (LHIIIA-B from deep bowls and kylikes) were found in the south-east part of the hill, near the Cyclopean wall, and remains of small cist graves, apparently associated with Mycenaean sherds. Obsidian was also plentiful here."³³⁶

³³⁶ Hope Simpson (1981) 76: C47; cf. also Hope Simpson – Lazenby (1970) 42; Fossey (1986) 63-67; Dassios (1992) 55, no.53

Fig.87
Panopeus:
south-east
corner of
fortifications



Fig.88
Possible
remains of a
'Cyclopean'
wall under
south-east
corner of
fortifications

The site has an excellent view of its surroundings, the Platania valley and the hill of Daulis (fig.89), the passage from the upper to the lower Kephissos valley (fig.90), and the Chaironeian plain all the way to Orchomenos (fig.91).



Fig.89
View from Panopeus towards North-North-west



Fig.90
View from Panopeus towards North



Fig.91
View from Panopeus towards East-South-east: Lower Kephissos Valley

6.2 Daulis

At the west edge of the Plataniás valley stands the acropolis of ancient Daulis (modern Davleia) on a prominent hill (fig.89). This site also has a very good view of the Plataniás Valley and of a passage between Parnassos and Philoviotos Mt to the North that connects the middle Kephissos valley with the area of Davleia (fig.92). Mycenaean pottery, possibly including LHIIIB, as well as mainly MH sherds, obsidian blades and stone whorls were found in a well that was cleared on the acropolis in 1881. Some worn LHIII sherds have also been found on the surface of the hill.³³⁷



Fig.92
View of the modern village of Dauleia and the passage to the Upper Kephissos Valley from the acropolis of Daulis

6.3 Megas hill

Further to the South of Daulis, at the south end of the passage between Parnassos and Elikon lies a very significant point of crossroads, the famous *schiste odos*. Three routes meet at this point, one coming from North, from the area of Daulis (fig.93), another coming from South, from the coast of the bay of Antikyra and a third from West, from the area of Delphi. At that particular location, which controls this very significant point of crossroads,



Fig.93
View of the passage connecting Daulis with Megas Hill (along Parthenorema streambed) from South

risers the so-called Megas hill (fig.94), which has mainly produced EH and MH remains, but also a bronze sword of "Naue II" type. However, the dubious circumstances of its recovery and the lack of any accompanying finds do not allow its exact dating.³³⁸

³³⁷ Hope Simpson – Lazenby (1970) 42 and Hope Simpson (1981) 76-77, C48: LHIII(A-)B Müller (1995) 43 refers to a chamber tomb, which according to Fossey (1986) 46 can be seen "just outside the gate, on the north side of the modern path". Cf. also Dassios (1992) 55, no.54

³³⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) 255: C50: it could hardly be earlier than late LHIIIB. It is illustrated in Tsountas (1897) 110, fig.1, and reported as found at *schiste odos*, allegedly in a tomb. Cf. Snodgrass (1971) 241 and Kilian-Dirlmeier (1993) 101: PG dating Fossey (1986) 44: LHIIIB or PG or G Cf. also Dassios (1992) 60, no.66



Fig.94
Megas Hill
from East

6.4 *Distomo*

On the route from Megas Hill to Antikyra Bay lies the site of Distomo (ancient Ambryssos). In one of the plots at the west foot of the acropolis hill, rescue excavation has revealed many successive phases of habitation. G pottery was found in mixed contexts, while a MH phase, as well as LHIIIA and LHIIIB pottery were revealed in the lowest layers.³³⁹ It should be noted that although the terrain in the whole area from Distomon to the seacoast is quite mountainous, ancient Ambryssos could benefit from a plain that stretches to its North-North-east, offering ample land suitable for cultivation (fig.95).



Fig.95
View of the
area
connecting
Megas Hill
with Distomo
from North

³³⁹ Kyriazopoulou (1982) 219: P. Trakaniari plot, Anapafseos and Th. Kokkini St. Dassios (1992) 74 records a LHIIIC phase too

7. Gulf of Itea

7.1 LBA

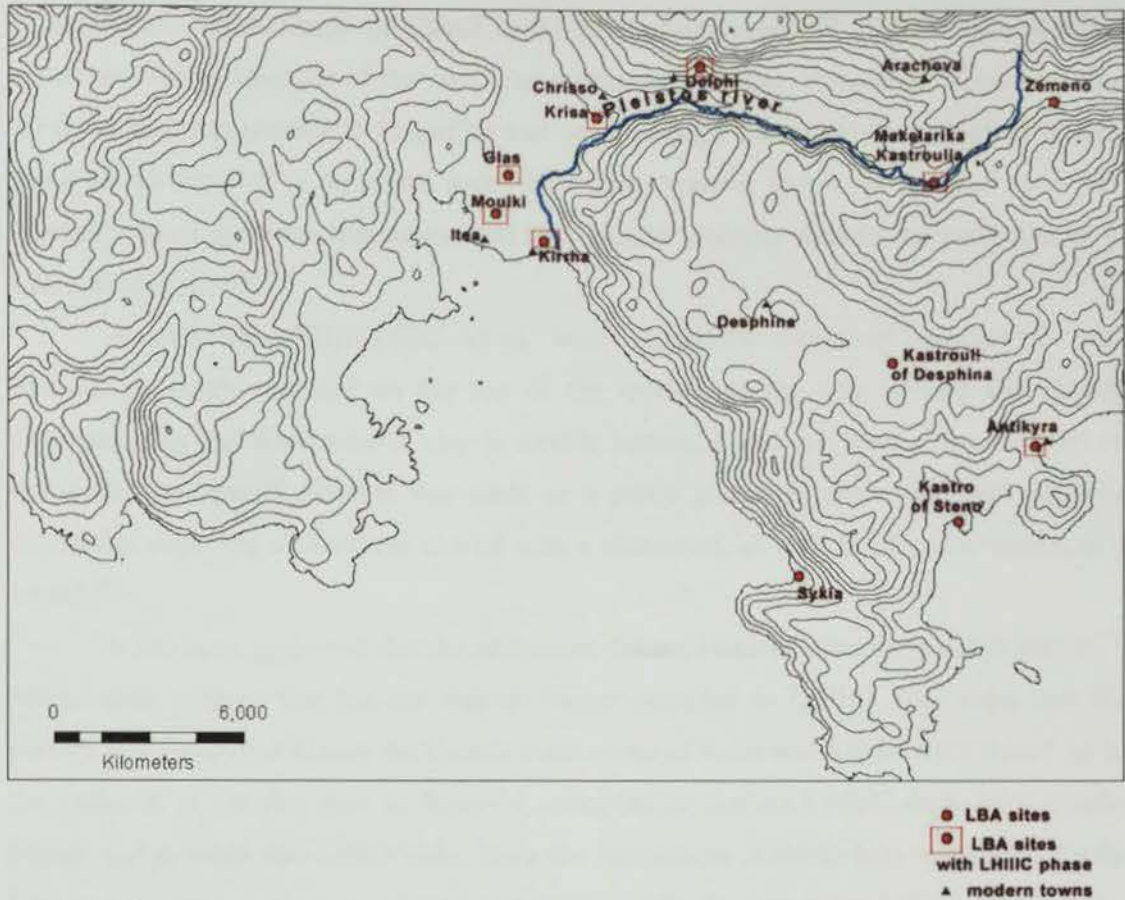


Fig.96
The Gulf of
Itea in the
LBA

7.1.1 Kirrha

Kirrha is located on the coast of the Gulf of Itea, on the east side of the mouth of Pleistos river. Occupation starting already since EHII was attested through excavations on a low mound called Magoula. The settlement was very prosperous in the MH period, while the first signs of decay are reported to appear since LHI. Occupation continued into LHIII, but these upper levels have been much disturbed. Only scant LHIII wall remains were reported, and LHIIIB pottery was sparsely found.³⁴⁰ Recent rescue excavations at Magoula, however, have revealed more substantial Mycenaean remains, which seem to follow an organized plan of a common North-South orientation. Four megaron-shaped buildings have been excavated, while the remains of other buildings have been partly revealed. Seventeen cist tombs were found in relation to these buildings, some of them containing burial offerings – mostly pottery, but also bronze weapons and jewellery in two cases.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Dor *et al.* (1960) 33, 35, 42, 95, 97-98

³⁴¹ Skorda (1981) 235-236 and (1982) 220: Krissis street, P. Karra plot

Unfortunately, the remains have not been precisely dated in most of the preliminary reports. It was only reported that two ‘megara’ in the northern part of Magoula represented the last phase of habitation in this area, dating to LHIIIA1 and LHIIIA2.³⁴² One other ‘megaron’ found in the court of the church on top of Magoula had gone through three phases of habitation, unfortunately not dated in the preliminary report.³⁴³ Until a more detailed report or a full publication of the rescue excavations comes out, it remains unclear whether all these building remains belonged to and went through the same chronological phases. They are all reported to be buried under quite thin deposits, and to be founded upon MH remains, which gives the impression that they should probably date to the early phases of LH, if at all to LHII.³⁴⁴

Nevertheless, LHIIIB-IIIC vases were reportedly found in relation to wall foundations partly revealed on the top of the mound, in the area around the church. Figurines, clay and stone whorls, clay or steatite buttons, beads etc. were also recovered on that occasion. Special mention was made of a partly preserved open vase with pictorial decoration depicting a one-horse chariot with a charioteer, as well as of a clay model of a tripod.³⁴⁵

It has been suggested that the settlement did not continue after the LHIIIB period.³⁴⁶ Müller also believes that the site was no longer occupied in LHIIIC. She notes that the pottery lots assembled during the French excavations at Krisa and Kirrha were mixed up in the museum of Delphi; they do however undoubtedly contain LHIIIC-early and -middle sherds, and possibly also LHIIIC-late. Since the excavations of the Delphi ephorate at Kirrha have mostly uncovered pottery dating up to MH and the first phases of LH, while only once is the presence of LHIIIB-C pottery noted, with no illustration, she believes that the LHIIIC pottery in the museum must come from the excavation of Krisa and not Kirrha.³⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the reported LHIIIC pottery from the rescue excavation on the top of the

Skorda (1989) 208: Ag.Polykarpou and J.Cennedy street, Skoura plot

Skorda (1989) 209 and fig.11: Krissis street, Mourtou plot – western part of Magoula

Skorda (1996) 327: Mandrou plot – northern part of Magoula

Skorda (1997) 447: in the court of the church on the top of Magoula

³⁴² Skorda (1996) 327: Mandrou plot

³⁴³ Skorda (1997) 447

³⁴⁴ When not dated any more precisely, the remains are referred to as ‘Mycenaean’, which is quite confusing, considering that remains of the very early phase of LH are also called as such. A well-preserved kiln, for example, probably dating to the transition from MH to LH or very early in LH, was initially characterized MH (Skorda (1989) 205), then early Mycenaean (Skorda (1995) 351) and in the end Mycenaean (Skorda (1998) 401).

³⁴⁵ Petrakos (1973) 318-319, fig. 1, pl. 273

³⁴⁶ Hope Simpson (1981) 78: C53

Cf. also Dassios (1992) 89, no 128

³⁴⁷ Müller (1992) 453-454, n. 28; also in Müller (1995) 44, no. 12, the habitation at Kirrha is dated from MH/LHI to LHIIIB.

mound cannot be so easily overlooked. It is also supported by the description of a few characteristic examples by Skorda, who concludes that the site was abandoned at the end of LHIIIC.³⁴⁸ Mountjoy, on the other hand, notes that the pottery described does not seem to be later than LHIIIC-early.³⁴⁹ The evidence is unfortunately too fragmentary to allow a firm conclusion on the question of Mycenaean habitation at Kirrha and on its duration.

7.1.2 Glas

Fig.97
Panoramic
view of the
Gulf of Itea
from Glas



Further to the North-west of Kirrha and c. 1200m North of Itea is Glas, a rocky hill protruding from the foothills flanking the plain of Itea on its west side (fig.98). This is a naturally defensible site, accessible only from the West (fig.99). It has excellent view over the Gulf of Itea and the Krisaian plain (fig.97).

Fig.98
Acropolis of
Krisa,
Krisaian plain
and Gulf of
Itea from
North-east
(modern
Delphi)



Fig.99
Hill of Glas
from South,
from Moulki

In 1956 stone foundations were first observed on the surface and LHIIIB sherds were collected. A trial excavation was carried out in 1974/75 at three spots on the hill and brought to light a Mycenaean terrace, the floor of a room of the same dating made of hard soil and part of a building comprising three rooms set in a row as in a megaron.³⁵⁰ In 1978 systematic excavation was undertaken by Themelis and Skorda. The megaron-shaped building was re-excavated and part of a building complex consisting of ten rooms was brought to light 20m further to the South, on a higher terrace on the east side of the hill (fig.100). The megaron apparently went through two chronologically close phases in

³⁴⁸ Skorda (1992) 42-43

A trial trench in another plot at Kirrha is also claimed to show continuous habitation throughout the Bronze Age – cf. Skorda (1982) 220: Krissis street, P. Karra plot.

³⁴⁹ Mountjoy (1999) 742, fn. 32

³⁵⁰ Cf. Themelis (1993) 18 with references

LHIIIB. The building complex consisted of rectangular rooms, orientated in the same way as the megaron and apparently belonging to two different houses. In the one house, comprising eight rooms, two building phases were again discerned. Of the other house only two rooms were partly exposed. Part of a strong wall was revealed 9.50m to the East; it functioned as a terrace wall for the plateau and possibly also as fortification for the settlement. A cist tomb containing a child burial but no offerings was found in contact with the inner west side of the wall. In a small distance to the South-west, an amphora, a jug and a stirrup jar dated to LHIIIB were found in a thick ash layer inside a rectangular pit, surrounded by large stones.³⁵¹

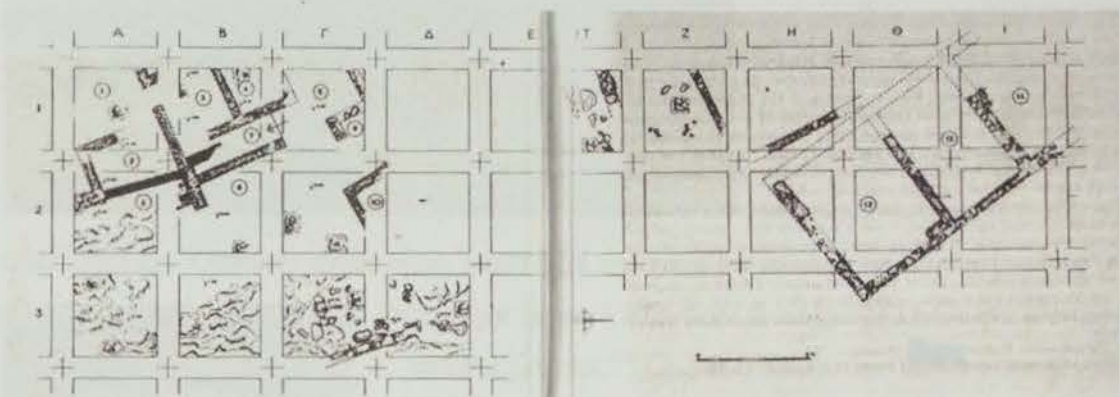


Fig.100
Plan of the
megaron and
other buildings
on Glas

The first phase of habitation has been dated to LHIIIB1 and the second to LHIIIB2, with destruction marking its end.³⁵² A layer containing ash and charcoal, burnt lumps of clay originating from dissolved mudbricks, many seashells and a few animal bones, pithos fragments and many LHIIIB sherds of cups, skyphoi, high-footed kylikes and a few obsidian and pyritolith flints, covers the ruins of the second phase and testifies to the destruction. In brief, this Mycenaean settlement was founded and destroyed by fire during LHIIIB.³⁵³ Themelis notes that there was some effort of re-habitation marked by insignificant changes and repairs but that it did not last long and did not leave any significant remains.³⁵⁴ Skorda on the other hand notes that the few LHIIIC sherds found on the surface might point to the gradual abandonment of the site.³⁵⁵ One is led to wonder whether the insignificant changes and repairs noted by Themelis actually correspond to the LHIIIC phase of occupation that Skorda attested through surface survey.

³⁵¹ Themelis (1993) 18-22

³⁵² Skorda (1992b) 43-44

³⁵³ Themelis (1993) 22-23

³⁵⁴ Themelis (1993) 23

³⁵⁵ Skorda (1992b) 43-44

Hope Simpson also mentions among surface sherds fine quality LHIIIA2-B and some probably LHIIIC – cf. Hope Simpson (1981) 78: C54

According to Themelis, the activities of the population must have been mostly related to the sea, as indicated by the location's proximity to the coast and the abundance of seashells at the site. People must have also been involved in agriculture and farming, as indicated by animal bones. The great number of pithoi and high-footed kylikes of local production as well as the absence of close style pottery have been underlined.³⁵⁶ A large number of conical and biconical loom-weights of black steatite have also been noted, possibly testifying to textile production or other related economic activity.³⁵⁷

Fig.101
The hill of
Moulki from
North, from
Glas



7.1.3 Moulki

A Mycenaean cemetery is located at the nearby location of Keramos, at the foot of the hill of Moulki, around 1km South of

Fig.102
Entrance of
chamber tomb
at Keramos, at
the foot of
Moulki



Glas (fig.101). Chamber tombs were found here and were reported to be similar to those at Delphi, but larger. Vases from these tombs are of the LHIIIB-C and PG periods.³⁵⁸ Chamber tombs are still visible on all sides of the hill (fig.102). Lerat describes three vases that were inventoried in the catalogue of the Museum of Delphi as coming from this location, as well as eight more vases, which were not inventoried but only inscribed with the word "Itea" and which he believes to be of the same origin on the basis of clay, style and the soil covering some of them. He dates five of them to the SM period.³⁵⁹ On the basis of Lerat's illustrations, Desborough dated the pottery to LHIIIB and

Fig.103
Three LHIIIC
vases and a
LPG oinochoe
from tombs at
Moulki



LHIIIC – including a vase reflecting influence of Achaean

³⁵⁶ Themelis (1993) 23-24

³⁵⁷ Skorda (1978) 149

³⁵⁸ Hope Simpson (1981) 78: C54

³⁵⁹ Lerat (1952) 163-166, pl. LI and LII

LHIIIC (fig.103a) – and only one vase, a trefoil oinochoe, to LPG (fig.103d).³⁶⁰

7.1.4 *Krisa*

Further to the North-east of Glas is the acropolis of ancient Krisa, at the site of Agios Georgios, South of the modern Chrisso village (fig.104).³⁶¹ The acropolis “occupies the tip



Fig.104
The hill of Ag.
Georgios (ancient
Krisa) and the
Krisaian plain from
North-west

of a long rocky spur projecting South from Mt. Parnassos, and ending in precipices overhanging the Pleistos valley.”³⁶² The site has a very good view over the Pleistos valley (fig.105), the Gulf of Itea, and the Amphissa plain (fig.106-107). The south and east sides of the acropolis are so steep that they did not need to be fortified, but on the north and west sides there are remains

of extensive Cyclopean circuit walls attributed to the LHIIIB period (fig.108-109). It was probably occupied from the MH to the LHIIIB periods, and possibly in the LHIIIC as well. Destruction hit the site towards the end of LHIIIB. The vast area enclosed by the fortification



Fig.105
View of the passage
towards East
(Pleistos River
Valley) from the
area of the chamber
tomb cemetery of
Krisa

(about 350m by 300m) appears to be larger than the area covered by the settlement. Müller notes that this is a feature also encountered at Eutresis and Gla in Boeotia, with

fortifications destined to protect the whole population of the region in case of war. She believes that this common feature points to privileged connections between the plain of Itea and that of Boeotia.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Desborough (1964) 126

Themelis (1983) 226 dates the same oinochoe to LG.

³⁶¹ The site was excavated by the French School – cf. Jannoray and Van Effenterre (1937) 299-326 and Jannoray and Van Effenterre (1938) 110-148.

³⁶² Hope Simpson (1981) 77: C51

³⁶³ Müller (1992) 455

Fig.106
View of the northern fortification wall of the acropolis of Krisa and the Gulf of Itea in the background from the area of the chamber tomb cemetery



Fig.107
View of the Amphissa plain from the hill of Agios Georgios (ancient Krisa)



Fig.108
The western fortification wall and the village of Chrisso in the background from South – South-east



Fig.109
Closer view of the western fortification wall

According to Müller, Krisa must have survived until the end of LHIIIC, as indicated by pottery found at the site and the chamber tombs found at Chrisso. As noted above, she believes that the LHIIIC-early, -middle and -late material from the French excavations in the museum of Delphi comes from Krisa and not Kirrha.³⁶⁴ Mountjoy too dates vases from Krisa to LHIIIC-early, middle and late.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ Müller (1992) 453-454, n. 2: she refers to Jannoray and Van Effenterre (1938) 138, fig. 19 nos 10 and 24 for LHIIIC evidence from Krisa.

³⁶⁵ Mountjoy (1999) 770-796: she dates one vase illustrated in Jannoray and Van Effenterre (1938) 140, fig.21d, as well as six more vases, for which she gives no reference, to LHIIIC-early – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 777-781, ns 196, 206, 208, 228, 233, 235, 239; two more vases with no reference date to LHIIIC-middle – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 783-785, ns 256 and 261; and one more vase illustrated in Jannoray and Van Effenterre (1938) pl. XXIV:2 dates to LHIIIC-late – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 785, no 268: she notes that this last one is recorded as coming from the settlement of Krisa, but “it is much later than anything else in the settlement, although there is now comparable material from the cemetery.”

7.1.5 Chrisso

A chamber tomb cemetery was discovered after a rescue excavation by the local archaeological authorities at the east borders of the modern village of Chrisso, at a distance of 200m from the northern wall of the cyclopean fortification. Due to the urgent nature of the excavation, the cemetery was explored only partially: three tombs were excavated, the chambers and dromoi of which had been partly disturbed during the works for widening a nearby street. Nevertheless, some burials had been left undisturbed. Their offerings show that these tombs were in use throughout LHIII, as well as in the SM period and in Roman times. All the phases of LHIIIC are said to be equally represented.³⁶⁶ The LHIIIB-C pottery



Fig.110
LHIIIC-middle
stirrup-jar from
the cemetery at
Chrisso

assemblage consisted partly of imports (fig.110).³⁶⁷ The tombs also produced nineteen seals: fifteen steatite seals and four of semi-precious stones, accompanying both LHIIIB and LHIIIC burials. It is also interesting that all three burials of one of the tombs were dated to LHIIIC. The partly disturbed state of the tombs, however, does not allow us to date its use exclusively to LHIIIC.³⁶⁸

7.2 EIA

7.2.1 Moulki

Some SM and PG pottery has been possibly found in the chamber tombs of Moulki.³⁶⁹

7.2.2 Chrisso



Fig.111
SM vases from
tombs at
Chrisso

SM pottery has been found in the chamber tombs at Chrisso, possibly pointing to continuous occupation of Chrisso. In particular it has been noted that the SM period is represented by a series of small vases

covered by black paint and often with neglected execution (fig 111).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Skorda (1992b) 44-45

³⁶⁷ Mountjoy (1999) 746 and 783 notes that the illustrated vase is a Close Style stirrup-jar imported from the Argolid.

³⁶⁸ Nikopoulou-de Sique (1975) 257-258

³⁶⁹ Lerat (1952) 163-166, pl. LI and LII; Desborough (1964) 126

³⁷⁰ Skorda (1992b) 44-45, photos 6-7

8. Passage area between the valley of Kephissos and the Gulf of Itea

In between the valley of Kephissos and the gulf of Itea stands the mountain barrier of Parnassos. In order to get from the one area to the other, one would either have to climb over the mountain or follow the route bypassing it to its East and South. The route bypassing the mountain heads from the area of Daulis towards South, reaches the location of Megas hill – the *schiste odos*, and then turns towards West and follows the passage between the mountains of Parnassos to the North and Kirphis to the South. Between the west end of this passage and the plain of Itea further West stretches the upper valley of Pleistos river. In this part of the valley, the river flows along a South-east-North-west course among the steep slopes of Parnassos to the North and the mountains to the South (Mt Anthimos and Koutsouras). After crossing the narrow passage between the mountains, the river turns



Fig.112
The LBA sites in the area between the valley of Kephissos and the Corinthian Gulf

southwards and flows towards the sea; at that point the valley broadens and stretches out to the Gulf of Itea (lower Pleistos valley). In such a steep and hilly terrain as that of the area South of Parnassos, the valley would have constituted the main natural route leading out to the coast for anyone coming from the East.

8.1 LBA



Fig.113
View of the ascending slope to the South of Kastrouli Zemenou. In the front, remains of the elliptical fortification wall on the top of the hill.

8.1.1 *Kastrouli of Zemenou*

Kastrouli of Zemenou is a low hill at the west end of the passage between the mountains of Parnassos and Kirphis. It was apparently fortified and hosted a settlement in Mycenaean times. Surface survey has produced many sherds reportedly dating to the

SM and EIA period, as well as a steatite button and pyritolith flints. The fortification wall is of elliptical plan and protects the settlement that occupies the plateau on the hill's peak,



Fig.114
View of passage between Parnassos and Kirphis from Kastrouli Zemenou

while a vast free space on the ascending slope to the South is bordered by two circuit walls, which abut on the wall of the settlement in perpendicular angle (fig.113).³⁷¹ The location of the hill is very strategic. It lies at the west end of the passage between Parnassos and Kirphis (fig.114), at the point where the path would

start descending down to the valley of Pleistos (fig.115), and thus controls the entrance to the valley and also overlooks the passage between the mountains to the East.

³⁷¹ Skorda (1989) 213; reference to SM and EIA pottery from surface survey Skorda (1992b) 47: Zéméno: here dated to the Mycenaean period Müller (1995) 45, no. 19 dates the habitation to LHIIIA-B.



Fig.115
View of the passage
leading down
towards South-east
to the Pleistos
Valley from the area
of Kastrouli
Zemenou

8.1.2 *Makelarika Kastroulia/Kastrouli Arachovas*

At the eastern end of the upper Pleistos valley, a prominent hill called Makelarika Kastroulia or Kastrouli Arachovas rises on the escarpment above the northern bank of the river (fig.116). Large MH cist tombs and remains of Mycenaean buildings have been



reported from this site, which was excavated at small scale in 1936.³⁷² Terrace walls are preserved on the southern slope of the hill, and cist tombs are visible on the northern and western slopes. Part of a fortification wall preserved on the northern slope was attested through surface survey.³⁷³ In addition, a

LHIIC-late stirrup jar from a tomb at Kastrouli has been described as an exact parallel to a vase from a tomb at Delphi. No more details are available about its provenance.³⁷⁴

³⁷² Dor *et al.* (1960) 20

Hope Simpson (1981) 78, C55

Dassios (1992) 87, no 117: LHIII (A-B)

³⁷³ Skorda (1989) 213; (1992b) 47-48

³⁷⁴ Müller (1992) 465, and 466, fig.10: 7465; (1995) 44-45: no.9 Kastrouli Arachovas

8.1.3 Delphi

The next site to record on the route along the upper Pleistos valley is Delphi, a most significant site not only for the later, better documented periods of its use as a sanctuary, but also for its LBA and EIA phases. The site apparently hosted a settlement throughout the LH



Fig.117
View of the Upper Pleistos Valley from ancient Delphi (i.e. from North-west). A path leading to the passage between Parnassos and Kirphis Mt starts East of Kastroulia.

period, and it seems to flourish especially in LHIIIB2 and LHIIIC-early, and also to be continuously occupied into the EIA (cf. app. XI). It is located high up on the steep slopes hanging over the valley. It should be noted here that it has an excellent view of the upper Pleistos valley, all the way to the path leading

East to the passage between Parnassos and Kirphis mountains (fig.117).

Two sites further inland to the North-east from Delphi should also be mentioned here.



Fig.118
Upland plain of Livadi from South

8.1.4 Koumoula

Koumoula first is a low hill dominating the upland plain of Livadi that stretches in between the ridges of Parnassos at a quite high altitude (fig.118-119). Excavation here has revealed remains dating to the

transition from MH to LH, while the site appears to be no longer inhabited in LHIII.³⁷⁵ Müller points out, however, that only the South foot of the hill was excavated, and that those terraces had no chance of preserving a complete stratification. The top of the hill, on the other hand, consists of several terraces where the archaeological layers must be better

³⁷⁵ Touchais (1981) 193, n 304: it is pointed out here that the absence of remains dating later than the transition from MH to LH might be due to erosion and modern agricultural exploitation of the site. Dassios (1992) 87, no 120

preserved. She reports that traces of a rampart, numerous remains of dry-stone foundations



Fig.119
Koumoula hill
from East

of buildings and an access path on the South slope are still visible. The surface

pottery probably belongs to EH-MH, but only a new excavation would provide a dating for the architectural vestiges on the hill.³⁷⁶

8.1.5 *Corycian cave*

The other significant site in this area is the Corycian cave to the North of Koumoula, at the south foot of Paliovouna Mt rising to the West of the upland plain of Livadi, at an altitude of 1360m. The cave has produced LHIIIA1-2 material (around two hundred sherds, out of which several vases were restored, and a clay figurine), and then again LG.³⁷⁷ The Mycenaean material, found scattered all over the excavated area and in several layers due to later activities, testifies to some kind of primary use of the cave. It has been suggested that it might have actually been used for cult purposes, since the pottery assemblage only contained drinking and pouring vases and no cooking pots that would be expected if the cave had been used for habitation.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Müller (1992) 452, n.23

³⁷⁷ Hope Simpson (1981) 78

Lerat (1984) 3-25 and Amandry (1984) 396

Dassios (1992) 87, no 119

According to Müller (1995) 43, the site has also produced LHIIIB material; she refers to Lerat (1984) 3-25; in fact Lerat only comments that the type of two deep bowls from the cave continues in LHIIIB too, but he chooses to date them to LHIIIA1-2 along with the bulk of the material, and does the same for a hydria type, which is usually dated to LHIIIB, but is also known since LHIIIA2 – cf. Lerat (1984) 8, fig.5, 15-16, figs. 15-16 and 23-24.

According to Mountjoy (1999) 742, “the earliest pieces are LHIIIA1, but most of the restorable pottery dates to LHIIIA2...”

³⁷⁸ Amandry (1984) 396. Cf. however Mountjoy (1999) 742 and n.26: “the fact that some vessels can be almost completely restored suggests that the material was not a rubbish dump, but was in primary use in the cave, perhaps the debris of short term habitation”; “there is no mention of sherds from the necessary cooking pots, but these may not have been kept.”

8.2 EIA

EIA pottery has been reportedly found on the surface at Kastrouli of Zemeno, in the passage between the mountains.³⁷⁹ Delphi has also produced EIA material of both SM and PG periods, mostly in burial contexts but also recently in stratified habitation layers (cf. app. XI).

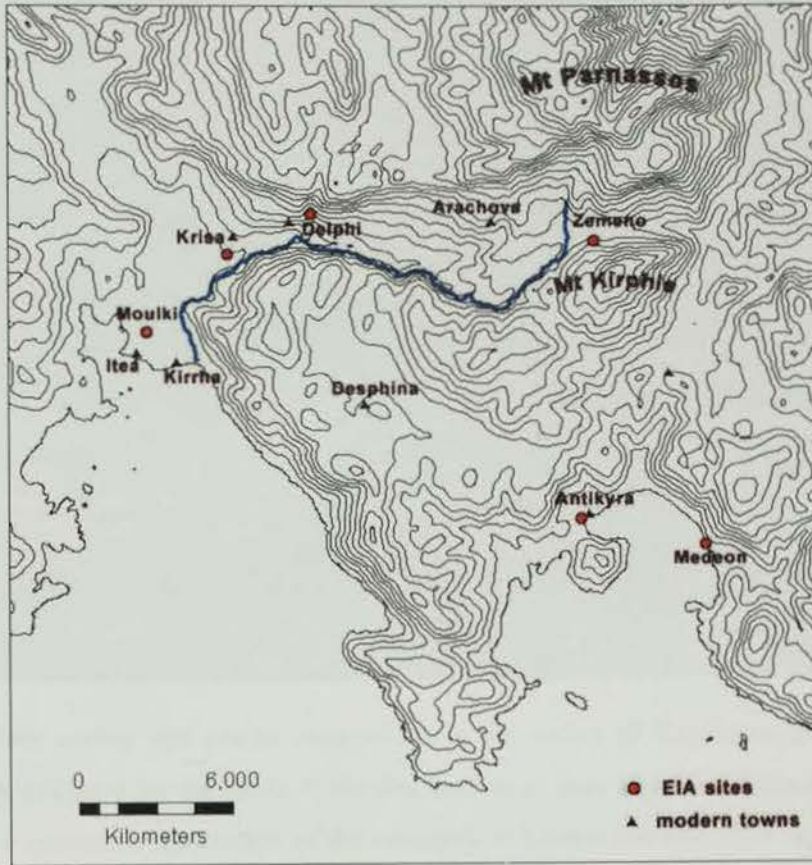


Fig.120
Bay of Antikyra
and Gulf of Itea
in the EIA

³⁷⁹ Skorda (1989) 213; (1992b) 47: Zéméno

9. General Summary and Discussion

9.1 Valley of Kephissos

9.1.1 Distribution of LBA sites

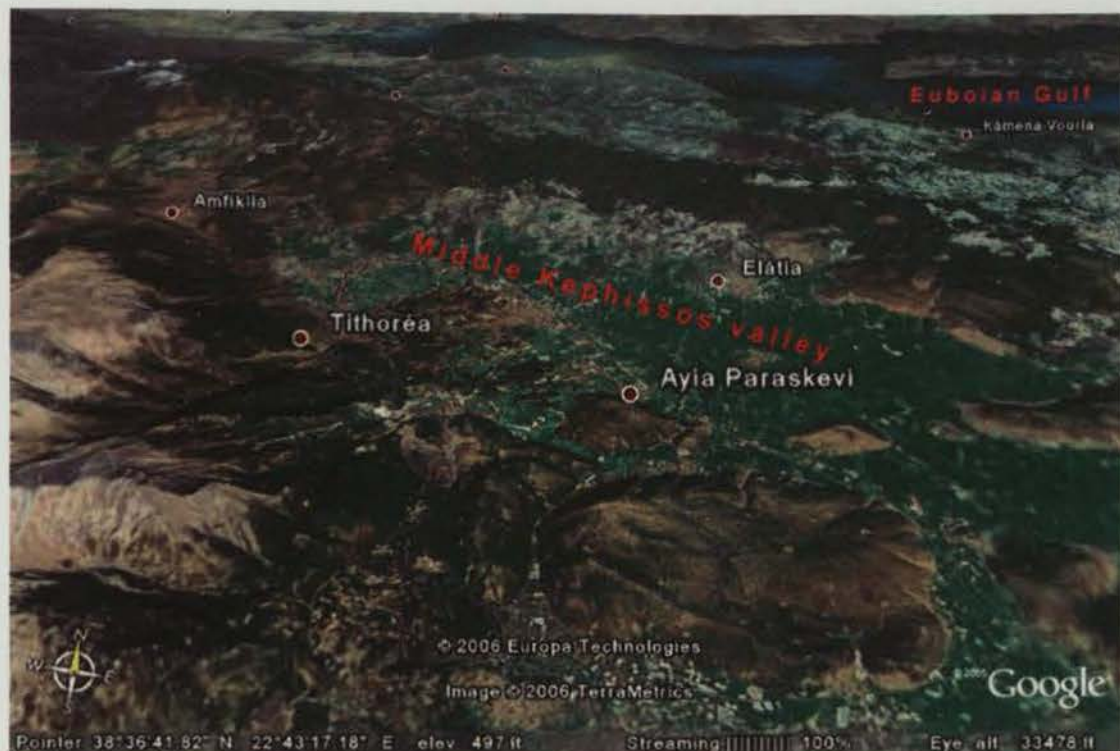


Fig.121
Satellite photo of
the Middle
Kephissos valley
Note: the dots
mark modern
towns

Surface survey and rescue excavations in the valley of Kephissos have produced enough LBA evidence for the study of the distribution of sites and the settlement patterns in the area. The systematic excavation of the cemetery of Elateia has also shed significant light to the local history, and the ensuing publication of results will certainly help us appreciate it better.

On the basis of the currently available evidence, it seems that the LBA settlements were mostly distributed at the edges of the valley, at the foot of the mountains rising to the North and South of the river of Kephissos – except for the sites of Palaiokastro/anc.Tithronion and Magoula-Agia Marina, low hills located on the northern flank of the river. The sites appear in general to occupy naturally defensible locations, mostly low hills (Lilaia: Theotokos hill, Drymaia: Amorionon hill, Palaiokastro/anc.Tithronion, the mound North-west of Elateia in Piperi-Gianakopoulos plot, Agia Marina and anc.Parapotamioi/Levendi hill), or the lower spurs of Parnassos (Skoteiniani-Agioi Anargyroi) and Kallidromon (Modi and Elateia).

The distribution of the LBA sites at the foot of the mountains flanking the valley is probably dictated by economic factors relating to the exploitation of all potential local resources. In addition, it seems to reflect need for security and relative isolation. Thus, a general picture of small, autonomous settlements emerges from the distribution of sites, which is also supported by the geographical/climatologic conditions in the valley. As McNerney has shown in his study of the distribution of Archaic and Classical settlements, the local topography favoured the existence of small, autonomous, self-subsistent units. The valley is naturally divided into smaller districts, bordered by the foothills and projecting spurs of Parnassos or Kallidromon and the river of Kephissos to their North or South; these districts could retain their independence and did not actually need one another, since each one enjoyed “the same combination of agriculture, arboriculture, viticulture, and grazing”.³⁸⁰

In addition, the location of some of them seems to relate to routes leading to and away from the valley. These routes would run along natural passages crossing in between or leading over the mountains and mountain hills that flank the valley. The use of these passages until recent times, before the construction of modern roads, demonstrates their significance as naturally dictated routes for the communication of the valley with other areas. Lilaia, for example, seems to guard the northern entrance of a passage that would ascend on top of Parnassos and lead towards South, to the upland valley of Livadi and from there, down to Delphi and the Pleistos valley (fig.137).³⁸¹ Tithronion is right below the end of the



Fig.122
Passages
connecting the
Kephissos valley
with the coastal
areas to the North

³⁸⁰ McNerney (1999) 47-57, esp. 51-53

³⁸¹ Old inhabitants of Arachova still remember taking this path to reach Lilaia and the valley of Kephissos for trading purposes in the mid-20th century – personal communication with G. Dimitrelou, local inhabitant born in 1943.

Kleisoura passage, and Modi is at the end of the so-called Fontana passage, both leading from the valley of Kephissos over Kallidromon, through upland valleys, to the area of Thermopylai – or other locations on the northern side of the mountain (fig.122).

Elateia too is located at the end of such a route, leading through the upland of Vasilika North of Elateia and then through the upland valleys of Kallidromon to the North, to the seacoast (fig.122).³⁸² It is also very close to a passage leading to the area of Kalapodi and from there to the coast (fig.123). The possibly fortified hill of Parapotamioi does not only dominate the route leading South, towards the Chaironean plain, but is also at the ‘entrance’ of the route leading up the Assos valley towards the passage of Hyampolis and further on to the plain of Atalante. At this point Hyampolis itself should also be mentioned, at the upper end of the Assos valley, controlling the eastern ‘exit’ of the valley of Kephissos.

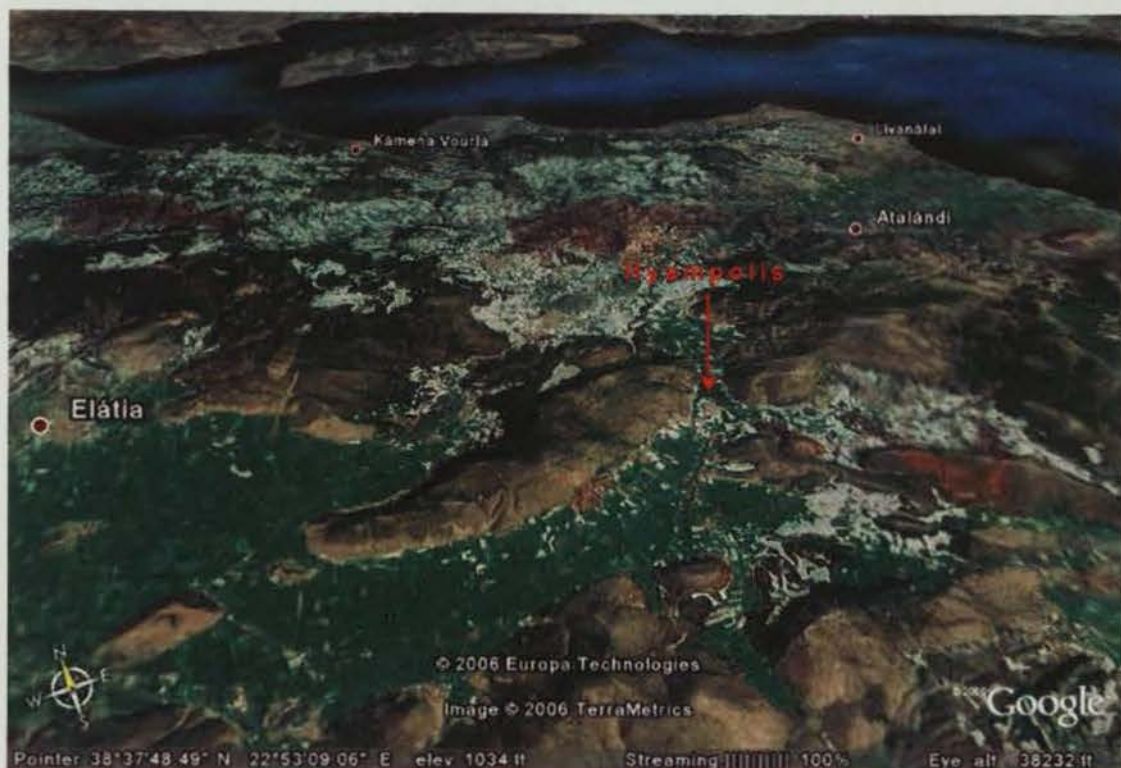


Fig.123
Satellite photo of
the passage area
connecting the
middle Kephissos
valley with the
plain of Atalante

³⁸² For the three passages (Kleisoura, Fontana, Vasilika) and their significance in antiquity cf. Pritchett (1982) 125-138, 170-175: “It seems very clear that the Fontana and Vasilika passes, rarely mentioned in the classical literature of the twentieth century, carried the brunt of the traffic between Lokris and Phokis in ancient times.”

Dimaki notes that there are remains of a paved Roman road on this passage from Elateia, which was in fact still in use in the beginning of the 20th century. She also suggests that the settlement using the cemetery of Alonaki would have been located on the route passing West of the cemetery and leading to Vasilika, and more precisely, on the low and naturally defensible hills of Toumbanos, a site with view over the passage to the plain of Atalanti. She adds that Elateia also controlled the passage of Parapotamioi to Boiotia and the passage of Davleia to the Corinthian Gulf. At Toumbanos, a MH tumulus was excavated by Soteriadis in the early 20th century. The tumulus contained a burial accompanied by golden earrings and MH pottery – cf. Dimaki (2003) 326 and n.40 with references.

Its western counterparts are the sites of Davleia/anc.Daulis and Agios Vlassis/anc.Panopeus – the latter possibly fortified – both situated at key locations on routes leading from the valley of Kephissos to the West, i.e. the gulfs of Itea and Antikyra South of Parnassos (fig.134-5).

The occurrence of Mycenaean evidence at key locations on the routes towards East, West and South points to the significance of outer contacts for the valley of Kephissos in the LBA. The valley is in fact a crossroad of routes leading across Central Greece to all directions – from the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf northwards to the Malian Gulf and further on to Thessaly or eastwards to the Euboian Gulf and vice-versa.

9.1.2 Connection with the Great Isthmus Corridor Route (northern part)

In addition to the passages over Kallidromon, guarded as noted by LBA sites, another possible route connecting the valley of Kephissos with the valley of Spercheios is the so-called ‘Great Isthmus Corridor route’, traced by the Phokis-Doris Expedition team under the direction of Edward Kase (fig.124). This route consists of two parts: a southern part passing between the mountains of Giona to the West and Parnassos to the East and leading from Amphissa to Gravia, and a northern part passing between Mt Oiti to the West and Kallidromon to the East and leading from Gravia to the valley of Spercheios. The southern part, connecting the upper Kephissos valley with the Gulf of Itea, will be examined at the end of this chapter, after the discussion on the area of the Gulf. At this point, it is of interest to focus on the northern part and examine its significance



Fig.124
The Great
Isthmus
Corridor
Route

as a possible alternative route to the passages over Kallidromon. It is quite unfortunate that

the findings of the Phokis-Doris Expedition team along this route have not been fully published yet, while the synoptic form of the first available publication volume leaves many questions open. Perhaps as a result of this, the conclusions of Kase's team have been thought to be quite controversial and have inflamed extensive discussions and counter-arguments.

Doubts have been raised about the frequency of use of the Corridor's northern part, which passes through quite difficult terrain. Alternative routes leading over the passage of Kalapodi to the east coast (and from there either overland along the coast or by boat along the North Euboian Gulf towards North) or through the Fontana or Kleisoura passage over the mountain of Kallidromon to Thermopylai might have looked more welcoming.³⁸³ This discussion involves the question whether or not the passage of Thermopylai was actually open in the LBA. The Phokis-Doris expedition team argues on the basis of geological research that the passage was not open until Archaic times. This is a too extensive issue to treat here in detail, but it should be acknowledged that not everyone is convinced that the geological results show conclusively that the passage was closed until the time of the Persian wars.³⁸⁴

Thus, it still seems possible that alternative routes that were easier to follow – possibly via Thermopylai – would have been favoured in comparison to the difficult crossing through the mountains of Kallidromon and Oite. It should also be noted that there is no site in the upper Kephissos valley guarding the entrance of this route – in contrast to sites located at the entrances of the alternative routes over Kallidromon. On the other hand, the Phokis-Doris expedition team has identified one at least significant LBA site on the route leading along the passage between Kallidromon and Oiti, i.e. Kastro Orias (fig.125: no.19), which is described as “a citadel comparable in extent and defensibility to that of Acrocorinth”.³⁸⁵ The LH sherds collected on the slopes of the citadel, however, have not been precisely dated, and the chamber tombs to its West were unfortunately looted. Mycenaean evidence was also found at other sites on the route traced by Kase and his team (Vromovrisi, Dhema, Ilia –

³⁸³ McNerney has collected all the historical literary sources which indicate that the passages leading from East Lokris to Phokis and vice-versa were favoured in military operations from Archaic to Roman times, as opposed to the much more rarely crossed Dhema Pass, leading from Spercheios to Kephissos valley through quite more difficult terrain – cf. McNerney (1999) 333-339.

³⁸⁴ Regarding Thermopylai being closed in the Archaic period and the core samples drilled in the vicinity of the Middle Gate, McNerney (1999) 334 notes: “the geologist supervising the core samples claims no more than that during the Archaic period ‘there might have been an actual physical close-off of the pass.’ He can claim only this much because the core samples were taken 300m West of the Middle Gate. This may seem close enough to warrant Szemler’s confident claim that the Middle Gate was closed, but since Herodotos states that the pass was only wide enough to allow through a single wagon, any sampling missing that precise spot can only demonstrate what we already know from Herodotos, namely that the pass was a bottleneck.”

³⁸⁵ Wallace (1991) 49-50

fig.125: nos.6, 7 and 9 respectively),³⁸⁶ as well as at a few sites at the south edge of the Spercheios valley, serving as entrances to the 'corridor' (Frantzi, Monasteri, Vardhates, Rakhita, Herakleia – fig.125: nos.1, 3, 5, 12 and 13 respectively)³⁸⁷. Thus, it should probably be agreed that this route was indeed in use in the LBA, at least in order to connect all these sites. Its importance, however, should not be overstressed, and it should not be regarded as the only route connecting the valley of Kephissos with that of Spercheios.³⁸⁸

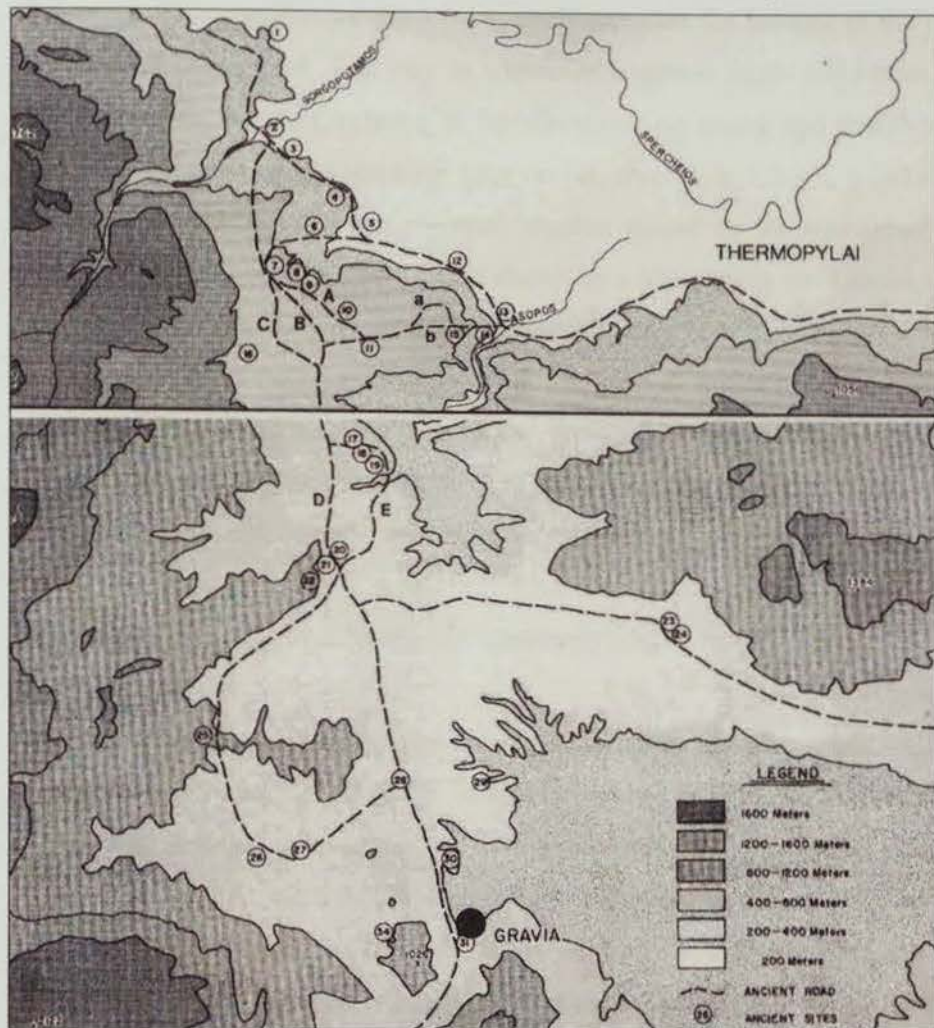


Fig.125
The northern part
of the Great
Isthmus Corridor
Route

³⁸⁶ Ālin (1991) 67; Szemler (1991) 74; Wallace (1991) 46-47

³⁸⁷ Monasteri and Frantzi: Wallace (1991) 46-47; Ālin (1991) 67, 69; Kraft (1991) 12

Rakhita: Hope Simpson (1981) 81: C72 (: LHIII A2-B LHIII C?) – surface finds; Wallace (1991) 48: surface finds and trial excavations

Herakleia: Hope Simpson (1981) 81: C71: LHIII B(?)

Vardhates: Marinatos (1940) 334; Hope Simpson (1981) 81: C73; Mountjoy (1999) 808 and 813-815

³⁸⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) stresses the significance of the upper Kephissos valley as a by-route of the Great Isthmus Corridor Route. She argues that the latter would function in the LBA as a route along the western border of the Mycenaean world, enabling the communication with the non-Mycenaean peoples living beyond the mountain-range of Pindos, in today's South Albania and Northern Greece. I am not sure, however, if that is a safe connection to make. The Corridor Route, if perceived as a route used indeed for regular traffic, should rather be seen in connection with Thessaly than with Epirus, which would have probably been easier approached by sea than overland from the South. Cf. also Eder (2003) 43 for contacts between Epirus and the Mycenaean South "possibly by sea".

9.1.3 *Hierarchy of sites*

In any case, the geographical significance of the Kephissos valley as a crossroad of routes connecting the east and west coasts of Central Greece, as well as the South (Boeotia) and the North (Thessaly), remains a fact, which must have strongly affected the development of the area. This significance must have surely attracted the interest of the nearby centre of Orchomenos in the LBA. The way in which Orchomenos might have been involved in the area is a crucial question, relating to the discussion on centre and periphery relationships, which will be presented extensively later on (cf. chapter 3: 1.2.2-4, p.211-5). At this point one could wonder whether the potential benefits gained by the significant location of the area, possibly intensified by the interest shown by a Mycenaean stronghold, also affected the local power balance and perhaps led to a hierarchy of sites.³⁸⁹ The increase in the number of tombs in LHIIIB at the cemetery of Alonaki, as well as the richness in finds and especially the large corpus of seals spring to mind (cf. app. VII.1), but the unequally focused research in the area does not allow us to take into consideration the evolution of other sites and firmly decide on the role of Elateia in the valley.

9.1.4 *LHIIIC and transition to the EIA: continuity and changes*

The number of sites that have produced evidence of occupation in the valley of Kephissos is reduced in LHIIIC. It should be pointed out, however, that all the excavated cemeteries continued to be in use, while the settlement sites, for which a LHIIIC phase has not been ascertained, were mostly identified through surface survey. In addition, not enough information is available for the occupation of sites excavated in the late 1890s or early 1900s: the material from the 1909-10 excavations of Soteriadis on the mound West of the modern village of Elateia (Piperi-Giannakopoulos plot) appeared to contain some LHIIIB and LHIIIC pottery upon closer examination, and the Late Mycenaean material from Agia

³⁸⁹ In Classical times, the settlements are said to have “conformed to a pattern of peer polity; there was no hierarchy of communities defined by territorial size, economic power, or administrative importance, and no one community dominated the rest. Eventually Elateia would emerge as the most important city in this region, but throughout the Archaic and Classical period, the topography of the upper Kephissos valley contributed to a persistent tendency toward separatism and the independence of these micro-regions” – cf. McInerney (1999) 54. In comparison to this situation of the Archaic and Classical periods, it could be said that in the LBA, factors such as the vicinity of Orchomenos, the importance of the area as a crossroad of routes and the potential wish of the Boeotian centres to control the traffic in the valley might have affected the local hierarchy, favouring possibly one site more than the others. Thus, it is difficult to imagine that they would have managed to retain a “peer-polity balance”.

Marina has also been shown to contain LHIIB-LHIIC pottery. In addition, Sonia Dimaki, who has recently undertaken the study of the material from Soteriadis' excavations at these two sites, supports that the LHIIC pottery from both Piperi-Giannakopoulos and Agia Marina is in fact plentiful.³⁹⁰ Thus, there is still a lot to learn from this material, and its future publication will certainly help us appreciate better the significance of these sites, while further research on the Classical citadel of Elateia might prove illuminating for the earlier history of this site too. For this reason, it is difficult to talk with certainty about changes in the overall distribution of sites in the transition from LHIIB to LHIIC.

On the other hand, the evidence from the excavated cemeteries seems to point to a peak in LHIIC, and especially towards the end of LHIIC and into the SM period.³⁹¹ In particular, the cemetery of Elateia, of which we have a more detailed picture, appears to witness some kind of decline in LHIIC-early, which could tentatively be related to the palatial collapse and its impact on the area. Deterioration – but not complete disruption – of overland communication possibly occurring at that time due to the politico-economic upheavals and the resulting sense of insecurity might have affected the economy in the Kephissos valley.³⁹² Recovery followed, however, in LHIIC-middle/advanced, as indicated by the fluctuation in the number of tombs in use at the cemetery of Alonaki.³⁹³ In addition, the contacts of Elateia with Euboea, Perati and Thessaly, as reflected in LHIIC-early pottery, were apparently intensified in LHIIC-middle, and also reached more distant areas, such as the Argolid, Achaea and also Crete and the Cyclades. An idiosyncratic, localized pottery style was developed in LHIIC-middle and -late, reflecting influences from other areas, especially Thessaly, Skyros, Euboea and Achaea. Located in an area of crossroads, Elateia apparently enjoyed the benefits from the new contacts that appear to develop in the Aegean in LHIIC-middle. As reflected in the exotic finds from the tombs, such as amber, and the richness in metal offerings, the leading group of Elateia managed to exploit the area's

³⁹⁰ Personal communication with S. Dimaki at Volos (2nd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece 2003-2005) on 17/03/06.

³⁹¹ For all the information on Elateia cf. app. VII.

³⁹² Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 63, n.118 notes that the currently available evidence does not allow us to say with safety whether the overland communication was resumed soon after the destruction of 1200 BC or went through a period of stagnation in LHIIC-early.

³⁹³ Without any corresponding settlement evidence and because of the long use of the cemetery and the practice of clearing earlier burials from the tombs on the occasion of new interments, we cannot take the decline in the number of tombs for face value. Nevertheless, their reduction in LHIIC-early to about 1/3 of the LHIIB2 total number could still be considered significant. There is no reason to believe that LHIIB2 burials were less affected by later disturbances and tomb clearings than what LHIIC-early burials were, and still, many more burials were possible to date to LHIIB2 than to LHIIC-early. LHIIC-early numbers also appear small in comparison to LHIIC-middle burials, which too were disturbed by later clearings. Thus, a reconstruction of LHIIC-early decline and LHIIC-middle recovery for the history of the cemetery of Elateia still seems possible. This was also Deger-Jalkotzy's opinion in our discussion in Oxford on 25/3/05, for which I am most grateful.

geographical significance and thus to participate in the network of prestige goods exchange that was in operation among the elites of the Aegean in that period.³⁹⁴ Being at the same time away from the sea, it might have also managed to stay unaffected by potential rivalries breaking out among newly emerging coastal centres over seafaring routes and access to wealth resources (raw materials and prestige goods). Thus, it appears to continue prospering in LHIIC-late and reaches its peak at the end of this period and in the SM. Other sites in the valley also seem to participate in this flourishing phase.

Thus, the prosperity of Elateia is reflected both in population increase and in richness of finds, especially bronzes. It is also in the LHIIC-late/SM period that the new, degenerated type of chamber tomb appears at Elateia, and also possibly at Skoteiniani (near Amphikleia) and Skamna (near Modi/anc.Triteis). The cultural innovations of handmade pottery and cremations also make their appearance now. The wheel-made pottery, on the other hand, shows adherence to the Mycenaean tradition, in combination with influences mainly from Thessaly and also Attica.

All these different kinds of evidence compose a quite confusing and even self-conflicting synthesis of material culture. The continuous use of old chamber tombs and also the construction of new ones of the typical, Mycenaean type, as well as the wheel-made pottery seem to point to preservation of local traditions and attachment to the past, while the handmade pottery and cremations are indications of strong external influences and openness towards cultural innovations. The new, small type of chamber tomb itself is a combination of traditional and innovative elements. Therefore, the interpretation of newcomers mingling peacefully with the locals, as suggested by the excavators of Elateia, sounds indeed very possible. Overall, the transition from the LBA to the EIA appears to be a vibrant period at Elateia and in the valley of Kephissos in general, possibly involving population movements and intense cultural interactions.

Besides, this was probably a period of swift changes in the local hierarchy of sites for the whole Central Greece. The palatial collapse had led to the significant loss of a stabilizing factor, and allowed the rise of new centres in LHIIC-middle. The LHIIC-middle state of affairs did not last long, however, and a new power balance probably developed towards the end of LHIIC and into the SM period. The peak of Elateia coincides with this period, and thus it could perhaps be suggested that its safety distance from sea-related turbulences and its inland, crossroad position helped it develop into a leading centre for the area at that time. If that were the case, we could imagine that people came to settle here not

³⁹⁴ Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 58-63 for contacts within the Aegean in LHIIC and the prestige goods exchange, and esp. 63 for Elateia.

only from faraway places of North-west Greece, but also from neighbouring areas, drawn to Elateia by its rise in significance for the region. Consequently, the population increase noted on the basis of burial evidence could partly have been the result of nucleation.

Dimaki has also recently suggested that the evidence from Elateia and its surrounding area might point to a process of nucleation. She has noted that several sites in the area of Elateia and especially those lying not at the edges of the valley but close to the river appear to be inhabited until into LHIIB, with almost no trace of LHIIC occupation. At the same time, the cemetery of Alonaki is expanding. Her conclusions include that some kind of change occurred in the area towards the end of the LBA and forced the inhabitants to move from the exposed and weak parts of the valley to the foot of Kallidromon, and in particular to a site with commercial and strategic control over the passage towards the sea. She sees the development of the cemetery as a reflection of this process, which led to the creation of a powerful centre.³⁹⁵

9.1.5 PG period: changes and decline

The PG period in the valley of Kephissos seems to be a period of decline. As we have already seen, the number of tombs in use at Elateia gradually decreased, while new tombs of the small type were still constructed. The only other certain PG evidence in the valley comes from a site near Modi (Agios Athanasios), where a LPG/SPG cemetery with cists and pithoi was excavated. Our information is too fragmentary to allow any conclusions. This being a period of intense variability in burial customs, the abandonment of many of the chamber tombs of Elateia cannot be taken to signify population reduction with absolute safety. An alternative interpretation could be that part of the population chose to abandon the traditional burial customs and to follow the new custom of single inhumations in cists or pits, which appears to gradually spread throughout Central Greece in the PG period. In that case, the location of burials could have also altered.

According to a different suggestion, it might have been the settlement location that changed. Deger-Jalkotzy has noted the example of Modi, where the EIA cemetery of Agios Athanasios is closer to the river than the chamber tomb cemeteries at Skamna and Liaraki

³⁹⁵ Dimaki (2003) 326: the riverside sites to which she refers are Giannakopoulou/Piperi, Ag. Marina-Kaluvia, magoula at Matsouka plot and Toumbanos. The first two were apparently still inhabited in LHIIC, but the sherds from the first one at least are very few. The Matsouka magoula is a site identified by the ephorate through surface survey a few kilometres to the East of Ag. Marina-Kalyvia. It has mostly produced Neolithic finds but also EH, MH and LH – cf. Alram-Stern (1996) 308. No more precise report on the LH finds is available at the moment. At Toumbanos, a MH tumulus was excavated by Soteriadis – cf. Soteriadis (1912) 254-256.

plot.³⁹⁶ If this were the same community moving from one place to another, it seems that they changed both their location and the type of burial. If such a scenario was applied to PG Elateia, however, it would mean that the population was for some reason divided into two groups: one group breaking completely free from the local traditions and moving possibly from the edge to the centre of the valley, and another group continuing to use the ancestral cemetery and showing a strong adherence to the past customs. It is not clear why something like that might have happened at Elateia, but it might be tentatively related to social tensions mounting since the end of LHIIC-late and the SM period due to population increase, possibly resulting into internal conflict and segmentation of the community.

In addition, the PG period was in general marked by significant cultural changes not only in the valley of Kephissos but also in the whole of Central Greece, while a new power balance gradually emerged, as reflected in the PG/SPG network of sites that mainly developed in the area of Central Greece, Euboia and Thessaly, the so-called Euboian *koine*. Although apparently receiving influences from the *koine*, Elateia does not seem to have been a major member of it. It might be the case that it was once again sites closer to the sea that could develop into significant centres, while Elateia – and in fact the whole valley of Kephissos – were in some way left behind in this new era. If the potential move of sites from the edges to the middle of the plain were possible to prove in the future, it could perhaps point to a loss in significance of the passages over the mountain of Kallidromon, from which the communities had probably benefited at times of more intense inland communications and trade.

9.2 Coastal area of the Atalanti bay

9.2.1 *Distribution of sites*

The coastal plains in the bay of Atalanti have produced quite rich evidence for the LBA and the EIA. In addition to sites identified through surface survey or rescue excavations, significant information has been gained through the systematic excavation of the settlement of Kynos on the coast of the Atalante plain, as well as the very recently initiated excavation on the islet of Mitrou. Apart from Kynos and Mitrou, other LBA sites located on the coast are Kastro-Melidoni and Skala-Ag.Nikolaos. LBA sites have also been found further inland: some of them are located at the foot of the hills that rise at the ‘inner’ edges of the plains, such as Sventza-Megaplatanos, Spartia-Atalante, Kyparissi, Tragana and

³⁹⁶ Personal communication (25/03/05)

Proskynas, and others are upland sites, on the foothills of the mountains of the area, quite distant from the coastal plains, such as Agnandi and Roustiana.



Fig.126
Satellite photo
of the bay of
Atalante

The above distribution of sites seems to reflect varied forms of habitation, corresponding to the several different resources of the area: the sea with its obvious advantages of trading and fishing, the fertile coastal plains, and the uplands, which could have offered several benefits, such as access further inland, a certain degree of isolation providing security, as well as suitable land for animal husbandry in the summer, while also being fertile enough to sustain a local population throughout the year. It could be suggested that the several communities of the uplands, the lowlands and the coast exchanged goods, supplies and services, so that all of them could benefit from the various local resources – as is pretty much done today too between the modern town of Atalante and the seaport of Skala.

9.2.2 Hierarchy of sites

Thus, each of the coastal plains could be thought of as the core of an entity potentially comprising sites by the sea, sites in the plain and sites in uplands. In the plain of Longos, for example, the site of Kastro-Melidoni would have controlled the sea-access, but also possibly the plain resources – considering the small size of the plain and the absence of

other sites, which could however be entirely accidental – while the sites of Agnandi and Roustiana would provide the benefits of uplands.

In the larger plain of Atalante, on the other hand, there are at least two sites on the coast (Pyrgos and Skala-Ag. Nikolaos), and more towards the edges of the plain (Kokinonizes, Megaplatanos, Spartia-Atalante, Kyparissi). Due to the fragmentary nature of our information, it is not possible to discuss accurately the relationships between all these sites or to talk about their potential hierarchy in LHIIIB. Even the settlement of Kynos, which has been systematically excavated, has not produced a clear picture for the LHIIIB period. There is no specific information about the complex of storerooms that apparently occupied the excavated area in that period. As Dakoronia has noted, her policy to avoid removing the remains of previous phases while digging made it impossible “to obtain a clear plan of the site preceding the LHIIIC Middle buildings.”³⁹⁷ Thus, we cannot pinpoint the significance of Kynos in LHIIIB. The site of Skala-Ag. Nikolaos has not been excavated at all. However, it has been declared as an archaeological site, meaning that fortunately it will be protected and future investigations will be able to illuminate its role and relation to Kynos. The LHIIIB site of Kyparissi has also been identified only through surface survey, meaning that we lack any specific information about its status or role.

The chamber tomb cemeteries that have been excavated at the edges of the plain, on the other hand, do not allow us to understand much about the settlements to which they would have belonged, other than that their inhabitants generally followed similar burial customs. The architecture of the tombs conforms to the typical Mycenaean standards, and the usual custom of pushing aside the remains of earlier burials at the edges of the chambers or in pits dug in the floors of the dromoi or the chambers is also practiced. Overall, the burial finds are relatively modest in quantity, while in terms of quality the tombs reportedly contained good quality pottery as well as imported goods, such as amber beads, and other small finds that are typical for the area of Central Greece in this period, i.e. steatite conuli, glass seals etc., but not many bronzes.³⁹⁸

There is, however, one exceptional tomb, the one at Kokinonizes, which stands out due to its larger size in comparison to the area’s average tomb size, as well as its special feature of a corridor-like pit for secondary burials.³⁹⁹ This tomb and another robbed chamber

³⁹⁷ Dakoronia (2003a) 38-39

³⁹⁸ Dakoronia (1996d) 1168-1171

Dakoronia (2003b): comparison between North-east Phokis and East Lokris showing that the latter was poorer in metals, seals, fayence, amber etc.

³⁹⁹ Its contents were not exceptional: 10 vases, a few glass and ivory beads and a steatite conulus. It was, however, partly disturbed in recent years, although it is not made clear in what way – there is no

tomb were found very close to the hill of Palaiokastra, 2km South-west from Livanates, which was apparently the acropolis of a large and important Classical town, as indicated by the rich cemeteries around it. On the basis of literary sources, Dakoronia has suggested that this was actually the town of Kynos, while the site of Pyrgos served only as its port in Classical times.⁴⁰⁰ Our knowledge of LHIIB, however, is too scanty to allow us to define the status of the settlement to which the 'grandiose' tomb of Kokinonizes would have belonged – which might have too been located on the hill of Palaiokastra. In fact, Dakoronia believes that the settlement would have been so important that Kynos would have served as its port already since Mycenaean times.⁴⁰¹ Even if this hypothesis were true for the LHIIB period, however, it does not seem very probable for the post-palatial times. In the LHIIC period, with a political landscape characterized by small, self-sufficient and autonomous settlements, it would be more logical to assume that the hill of Pyrgos was not only occupied by the excavated complex of storerooms and workshops but also used for habitation. Besides, only a very small part of the hill has been excavated.

In the plain of Tragana, finally, the site of Mitrou appears to have been quite significant in the LBA, as the extensive surface survey has shown. Its status in LHIIC was further illuminated by the finds of the first two years of excavations, but even before that, the results of the survey had already indicated the importance of the site 'for much of the BA'. It has been suggested that "Mitrou was probably the biggest (ca. 3.6 ha) and most important centre in East Lokris for much of the BA and may have served as a port for Orchomenos." It has also been suggested that the cemetery of Tragana might have belonged to this settlement.⁴⁰²

It should be noted, however, that the cemetery on the foothills above Tragana, around 4km South of Mitrou, seems to be too distant to belong to the settlement on the island. More plausible is that it belonged to a settlement lying at the southern edge of the plain. The tombs here also conform to the Mycenaean type of chamber tomb with long dromos, while the relatively small size of the chambers has been attributed to the hardness of the local bedrock. The contents of the non-looted ones (six out of ten) were again relatively modest, but included perhaps a few more bronzes than those found in the plain of Atalante.

Overall, Mitrou appears to be the primary site in the plain of Tragana, and a very significant settlement in the whole bay of Atalante and coastal Lokris in general. As for the

reference to looting. The tomb had also been re-used in the 2nd century BC, but it seems that the buriers of that period had not reached the Mycenaean burial layers. Cf. Dakoronia (1980) 244-245

⁴⁰⁰ Dakoronia (1993b) 125-126

⁴⁰¹ Personal communication with Dakoronia at Volos, 2nd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece, 17.3.06.

⁴⁰² Kramer-Hajós (2002) 278

suggestion for its role as the port of Orchomenos, new evidence to be gained in the forthcoming years of excavation will hopefully help us appreciate it better. It should be noted, however, that the site of Larymna further South in the bay of Larmes has also been suggested as a potential port for Orchomenos.⁴⁰³

9.2.3 LHIIC changes and development

Almost all of the sites that have produced LHIIB evidence in the coastal area of Lokris continued to be occupied in LHIIC too. A couple of sites, such as Kastro-Melidoni and Skala-Ag. Nikolaos, have not produced any LHIIC evidence in surface survey, but more systematic investigation is probably needed to rule out any possibility for LHIIC occupation. Nevertheless, the chamber tombs at Tragana were certainly no longer in use in this period. Although the cemetery has not been wholly excavated, it is perhaps indicative that all ten investigated tombs had been abandoned by LHIIC. Proskynas also appears to have been deserted by the end of LHIIB, at least on the basis of the currently available evidence.⁴⁰⁴

As for all the ‘continuing’ sites, it could probably be said that the same distribution of sites, as described above for LHIIB, continues in LHIIC too. Nevertheless, the sites on the coast seem to gain in significance in this period, although it must be admitted that purely accidental preservation of evidence might have influenced this general impression. Kynos, for example, appears to enter a flourishing phase since LHIIC-middle, but this might simply be generated from our lack of knowledge of the previous phases. As already discussed, the LHIIB period and especially the LHIIC-early phase remain largely unknown. It might even be the case that there was a gap or at least decline in activity between LHIIB and LHIIC-middle, perhaps in relation to the impact on the region of the palatial collapse.

⁴⁰³ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1981) 69: C20

Fossey (1990) 23 describes the masonry of a stretch of walling of over 80m found on the west side of the peninsula of Larymna as comparable with the Cyclopean walling at many Mycenaean sites in the nearby Kopais (e.g. Gla and Ag. Ioannis). LHIIB sherds found among the stones of the wall suggest a *terminus post quem* for its construction.

Oldfather was the first to suggest that Larymna might have functioned as a port for Orchomenos on the basis of this stretch of walling and the remains of an ancient road passing in its vicinity, which he thought should date to the Mycenaean period, since Larymna was not important enough to have a road leading to it in historical times – cf. Oldfather (1916) 41-43. Jansen (2002) 20 however, points out that there is ‘substantial evidence for a great deal of activity in the area of Larymna during the 4th century BC’, and that “the gauge of the wheelruts seems more appropriate to the classical period”.

⁴⁰⁴ Kyriazi (2003) 283: there were no skyphoi of type B, a phenomenon observed at Thebes too and possibly related to the collapse of the palaces in LHIIB. Neither the last phase of LHIIB nor the LHIIC period was documented in the excavated area.

Prosperity is anyway ascertained for LHIIC-middle. As previously discussed, the finds from Kynos show that the site had large storing capacity, which indicates that this community, in addition to access to the sea and sea-related activities, also had control over agricultural produce. A very crucial point made by Deger-Jalkotzy should be noted here. Storerooms like those of LHIIC Kynos should not be viewed as evidence for the storing of staple produce destined to be exchanged in trade. The small 'states' of postpalatial times were evidently self-subsistent economies, and thus trade in agricultural produce would not have survived the palatial collapse. Such storerooms should instead be regarded as evidence for political organization.⁴⁰⁵ Thus, Kynos might have been the ruling centre of the area, from which the agricultural produce stored in its storerooms came – either by force on behalf of a ruling authority or by corporate will of the area's inhabitants.⁴⁰⁶

With Kynos playing a dominant role in its own area, it is not surprising that it also appears to participate in the network that developed among new and old, surviving sites after the palatial collapse. By establishing contacts with each other, mostly coastal sites throughout the Aegean managed to gain access to wealth resources and flourished. This network of contacts is possible to trace in the archaeological record mostly through common elements in pottery shapes and decoration.⁴⁰⁷ The 'membership' of Kynos in such a network is indicated, for example, by its pictorial style pottery, which finds its best parallels in warrior scenes on vases from Euboea, Thessaly and the Argolid (app.VIII.4, p.442). Thus, Kynos might have been in close and regular contact with these areas, while its strategic position at a point dominating the northern Euboian gulf must have helped it develop into a probably significant site of this particular network.

This new state of affairs did not last long. The naval fighting scenes on the kraters as well as the models of war-ships⁴⁰⁸ from Kynos appear to reflect a general atmosphere of unrest, while the local elite ideals, as depicted on the kraters, promote the fighting skills to a highly appreciated quality. One serious factor affecting the standards of life and leadership in that period would have been the lack of centralized control after the palatial collapse, turning seafaring into quite a dangerous endeavour. It is possible that coastal sites were also engaged in non-peaceful maritime activities, such as raiding and piracy, after the breakdown of the palatial control. At the same time, the rise of emerging elites at the small, coastal sites now

⁴⁰⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 58, n.73

⁴⁰⁶ According to Crielaard (2006), "presumably this was a small but independent redistributive centre and the seat of a local or regional ruler of some importance".

⁴⁰⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 55, 58-62

⁴⁰⁸ Dakoronia (1996c) 159-162: one of those models has been described by the excavator as "a deep, roomy, heavy merchant ship of the so-called kaiky type", as opposed to the other two models that have different characteristics and should be regarded as war-ships.

gaining access to sea routes, and their common interest into restricted resources of wealth (metals and prestige goods) would have probably led to competition and rivalries among them. It seems that the new, diffused power balance in the Aegean could not be preserved for long, especially under the additional pressure of physical destructions or external threats. In the case of Kynos, in particular, the destruction at the end of LHIIC-middle (-believed to be caused by an earthquake) was followed by a partial recovery, which did not however entail the resumption of industrial activities. If that were indeed the case – and not that the kilns were simply moved to some other place on the hilltop – we could imagine that such a setback must have upset the economic chain of activities at Kynos. It might be indicative that after a second wave of destruction hit the site at the end of LHIIC-late, the settlement did not manage to recover to the point of rebuilding the storerooms.

Mitrou also appears to be very significant in LHIIC, as indicated by the discovery in the first excavation season of a substantial rectangular building with two rows of columns in one of its rooms, as well as material dating to LHIIC-early, -middle and -late. Although it is too early in the investigation of the site to appreciate as yet the extent and character of occupation at Mitrou, I would speculate that it would have played a very significant role for the area in this period. Specific questions concerning the status of the settlement in LHIIB and how this evolved in post-palatial times will have to be addressed and hopefully will be resolved in the long run. If Mitrou had indeed functioned as a port for Orchomenos in LHIIB, it would be interesting to examine how it survived the palatial collapse, whether and to what extent it was affected by it, what kind of power shifts occurred and whether its trading activities continued and in what way in LHIIC.

It would not be surprising if the site proved to develop new sea-contacts in LHIIC and to participate in the LHIIC-middle Aegean network of mostly coastal sites that apparently helped them gain access to wealth resources. If the future study of the pottery proved that Mitrou can qualify for ‘membership’ to this network, it would be interesting to see how its proximity to Kynos would have been negotiated in this context. It is tempting to assume that it would probably mean competition between the two sites over seafaring routes and access to wealth resources. This argumentation line is of course purely speculative at this point of research, but it still shows us what significant implications the status of Mitrou must have had for the LHIIC history of the area.

9.2.4 *Transition to the EIA*

Mitrou appears to continue successfully into the EIA too. The forthcoming years of excavation will certainly help us gain a better understanding of the LBA-EIA transition at the site, but the discovery of a PG apsidal building within the LHIIC rectangular complex of walls and the reuse of the latter's rows of columns have already created the impression of continuity. The SM period has also been securely attested at the site. It might be relevant to note here that one of the chamber tombs at Tragana was probably reused in the SM period. PG burials of children, on the other hand, took place at Mitrou in cists, which seem however not to have been used only for single burials. In one occasion at least, four burials had taken place in one cist.

In comparison to the evidence from Kynos, Mitrou appears to go through the transition from the LBA to the EIA under overall better conditions. It should be stressed of course that Kynos also continues to be inhabited in the EIA; it seems, however, to lose its LHIIC status. The flimsily built walls and poorly furnished tombs point to a general state of decline. On the other hand, both sites seem to experience the introduction of children burials in cist tombs at more or less the same time. Cremation, however, has not been attested at Mitrou yet, while it might have been practiced at Kynos since the end of the SM period. Thus, in general, the two sites seem to react differently to the influx of cultural innovations and to follow different routes of development in the EIA. Our overall impression is that Kynos 'falls behind', while Mitrou marches on. One is led to think whether this could be the result of the competition, which the two sites might have had to face from each other when they both seemed to enjoy high status, i.e. in LHIIC-middle.

Regarding the other sites of the coastal area of Lokris, SM use of chamber tombs appears to have been documented in almost all of the cemeteries that were in use in LHIIC. In addition, the deposit found at Kyparissi might have too contained SM and PG pottery. According to the preliminary reports, it seems that only the large tomb at Kokinonizes and the cemetery at Farmaki stream were not at all used or re-used in the EIA. Thus, in general, the occupation map of the area does not seem to have changed much in the transition from the LB to the EIA, although it is impossible to determine any potential reduction of population on the current state of evidence.

9.2.5 *PG changes*

The situation, however, seems to change in the PG period. Only the cemetery of Agnandi was apparently still in use in this period. This, however, does not have to signify

change in settlement patterns, but only in burial customs. If we judged by the settlement evidence from Kynos and Mitrou, we could speculate that it was the new custom of cist burials within or close to habitation quarters that prevailed in the area in this period. Due to the lack of settlement evidence from other sites, this speculation cannot be tested out for the time being. LPG/SPG evidence, however, seems to corroborate such a suggestion: many single burials in cists have been excavated at Atalante and one at Veryki. At Atalante in particular, in spite of the lack of LBA and EIA settlement remains, we could still suppose that the same area was actually inhabited in both periods, but due to the change in burial customs and the abandonment of chamber tombs, the location of the burial ground changed too and was moved from the foothills of Spartia to the south-west part of the modern town, where inhumations in pithoi, pits and two limestone sarcophagi were excavated. In the absence of published evidence, however, the exact dating of each type of tomb remains unknown. Another potential example of change in burial customs but possibly not in the area of habitation is found at Sventza. The tombs here were apparently abandoned after the SM period, but the area continued to be inhabited, as indicated by PG pottery found at Palaiokastra, a hill very close to the chamber tomb cemetery. In general, it seems that the new custom appearing at Kynos and Mitrou had been established by the end of the PG period in the whole plain of Atalante.

The tombs of Atalante, very richly furnished as already discussed, also testify to the rise of this centre in the LPG/SPG period. On the basis of the currently available evidence, it seems that the weight of significance shifted from Mitrou to Atalante towards the transition to the 9th century BC. Of course, it is still very unclear what the LPG period might have been like at Mitrou, although the rich MPG deposit found on the floor of the apsidal building, buried under the layer of burnt corbel stones, appears to signify its abandonment. What is known, however, already since the surface survey is that the volume of Geometric material is comparatively small. The site of Atalante, on the other hand, seems to keep pace with the new developments in the area, most significantly with the rise of the Euboian *koine* network, and successfully enters the 9th century BC, during which it seems to play a major, possibly leading role in the history of the plain.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁹ Atalante is identified with the city of Opous, the most important city in Opountial Lokris. For its identification and related discussion cf. Dakoronia (1993b) esp.119-120. Morgan (2003) 28: "It is clear that the city of Opous played a dominant regional role."

9.3 Passage-area between the valley of Kephissos and the plain of Atalante

9.3.1 Distribution of sites

The area between the mountains of Kallidromon to the North-west and Chlomon to the South-east, which hosted the sanctuary of Kalapodi from LHIIIC-early onwards, evidently had special topographical significance as the passage between the valley of Kephissos and the plain of Atalante. Additionally, this was “the easiest route between Orchomenos and the sea”,⁴¹⁰ and consequently, a major thoroughfare between Boiotia and the northern parts of Central Greece, as well as Euboea and Thessaly. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the passage has produced quite rich LBA material, as a result of the systematic excavation of the sanctuary as well as of surface prospection and the rescue excavations of chamber tombs by the local archaeological authorities.

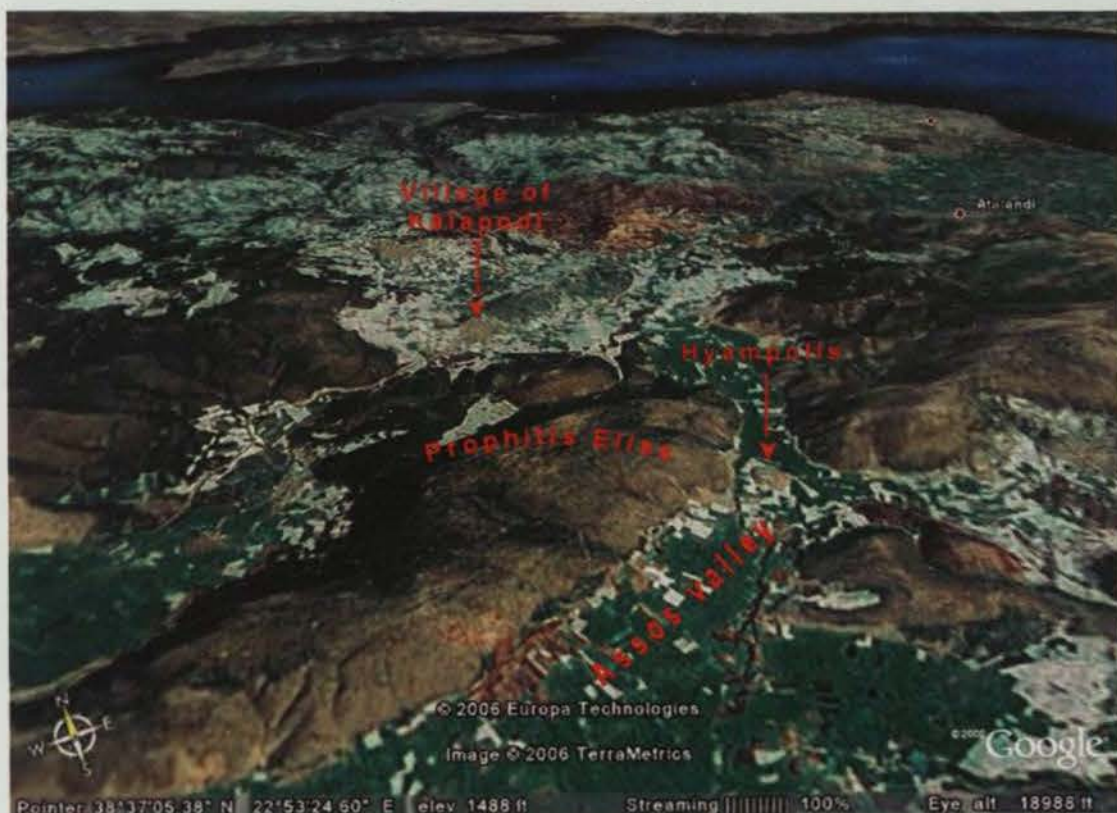


Fig.127
Satellite photo
of the area of
Kalapodi

The evidence currently available from Kalapodi itself and its vicinity (three cemeteries close to Zeli) points to the existence of a couple of settlements in the area of Kalapodi, while a couple more existed in the area of Hyampolis (Hyampolis itself, Smixe, Vrysi-Sykia). It should be stressed that Kalapodi and Hyampolis appear to be on key locations on the route leading through the passage from the valley to the plain. As already

⁴¹⁰ Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 259, G60

noted, this route follows the natural passage between the mountains of Kallidromon to the North-west and Chlomon to the South-east. A foothill, however, of Kallidromo (Prophitis Elias) projecting at the south-east edge of the mountain, stands in the way of this route before it reaches the valley of Kephissos (fig.127). Thus, the route is forced to bypass the foothill on its north-western or south-eastern side. The first by-route passes over the saddle between Prophitis Elias and the other foothills to its North-west, and reaches the valley of Kephissos at the location of the modern village Sphaka. The other route leading to the valley on the other side of the foothill runs along the broad Assos valley stretching in between Chlomon and Prophitis Ilias, and ends up at the south-eastern corner of the middle Kephissos valley.



Fig.128

Panoramic view from Ag. Taxiarches, North-west of Kalapodi, towards South-South-east; in the middle stands the hill of Prophitis Ilias, on either side of which a route leads to Kephissos valley: the Hyampolis passage to the East of the hill and the Sphaka route to the West

The tombs at Vagia and Kalapodi are located on the Sphaka route, but also very close to the passage between Prophitis Elias and Chlomon, while right in the middle of this passage stands the hill of Hyampolis (fig.128). It should be stressed that the passage of Hyampolis and in particular the point where the slopes of the foothills of Chlomon and Kallidromon drop on either side of the Assos valley, constitutes a very distinctive landmark clearly visible from the surrounding area, as well as from other areas further away: not only



Fig.129
View of the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis Elaphebolos at Kalapodi with the passage of Hyampolis visible in the background



Fig.130
View of the passage of Hyampolis from the cemetery at Kalapodi, Bakandritsou plot

from Kalapodi (fig.129-130) and Zeli (fig.72), but also from the uplands to the North of the Atalante plain – as for example from Palaioakastra hill (fig.66).

The other sites close to Kalapodi are located on the foothills rising to the North and North-east, without being, however, isolated. As already noted, the two cemeteries at Ag.Georgios of Zeli and at Kvela lie on a potential route leading from Kalapodi to Agnandi, thus possibly pointing to the significance of communications not only with coastal but also with inland sites. The Agios Georgios cemetery on the modern dirt road Zeli-Golemi is located very close to the natural passage leading from the plain of Atalante to the valley of Kephissos. Regarding the area of Hyampolis, special note should be made of the cemetery of Smixe, which is located at the foot of a hill on the eastern side of Assos river, and at the starting point of a route leading through an area of low hills towards East-South-east, to the valley of Melas river, a very fertile area stretching right to the North of Orchomenos (fig.131).



Fig.131
Satellite photo
of the area
North of
Orchomenos

Although the evidence from Hyampolis and its vicinity is very fragmentary, it could be assumed that the settlements existing here would have somehow been influenced – possibly in a beneficial way – by their “strategic position on the easiest route from Orchomenos to the coastal plain of Atalanti”.⁴¹¹ Besides, the significance of the whole area of the passage to the seacoast of the Euboian Gulf is also probably reflected in the contents of the tombs excavated at Kalapodi (two tombs at Vagia and four North-North-west of

⁴¹¹ Hope-Simpson (1981) 78-79

Kalapodi). In spite of their relatively small number, these tombs have produced the richest finds not only in the area of the passage, but also in the valley of Kephissos and the plain of Atalante. It must have surely been the particular location of the site in the middle of the passage that benefited its inhabitants so much in Mycenaean times, as it was again this location that probably generated the establishment of the sanctuary in LHIIC-early and later marked its significance.

9.3.2 *Continuity into LHIIC*

It is also interesting to note that all cemeteries in the area were in use in LHIIC. The tombs at Zeli and Kalapodi were apparently used since LHIIIA1 until into LHIIC at least, with all three cemeteries around Zeli continuing into the SM period too. The period of use of the tombs near Hyampolis (Smixe and Vrysi-Sykia) cannot be specified, due to extensive looting, but it has been possible to establish their use in LHIIC on the basis of the remaining contents. One non-looted tomb at Smixe has produced material dating from LHIIC-late to LPG, but it was probably built earlier than LHIIC-late, since bones from older burials were found pushed aside and deposited in a pit dug in the floor of the tomb; the accompanying offerings might have been removed on the occasion of new burials. The acropolis of Hyampolis itself has not produced any LHIIC finds in surface prospection, but its exact period of occupation has to remain open to question until further research. In general, the passage from the valley of Kephissos to the plain of Atalante appears to be continuously inhabited from LHIIB to LHIIC, and the establishment of the sanctuary of Kalapodi in LHIIC-early betrays the special significance that the area acquires at that time.

The current state of evidence does not allow us to identify the potential ‘patron’ settlement of the sanctuary, and what mainly emerges from the study of its LBA-EIA history and of the area in general is its function as a communal meeting place for the surrounding populations. Many pieces of the puzzle are of course still missing, and the recent report on the rich contents of the chamber tombs of Kalapodi has come to underline the fragmentary character of our current knowledge. These finds shed a new light on the site, and indeed make it the most possible candidate for the ‘patron’ settlement of the sanctuary.⁴¹² The exact date of abandonment of these tombs, however, has not been specified, and although they do

⁴¹² Epigraphic and literary evidence shows that the sanctuary later belonged to the nearby city Hyampolis. Although the site of Hyampolis has produced some BA sherds, including EHI and LHIIB, no LHIIC or EIA evidence has come to light as yet. Certain evidence of occupation found at Hyampolis dates from Classical times onwards – cf. Fossey (1986) 72 and Dassios (1992) 48, no 46 with all the relevant bibliography.

not seem to continue in the SM period, this cannot be applied to the corresponding settlement without any other burial or habitation evidence in hand. In any case, the history of the sanctuary cannot be correlated to that of any particular settlement on the basis of the available evidence. Besides, even if the sanctuary had initially belonged to a 'patron' settlement, such as Kalapodi itself, its local 'radiation' might have spread quickly due to its proximity to the route from the valley of Kephissos to the plain of Atalanti, and thus its nature would change from a sanctuary attached to one site to that serving a more expanded area. In this way it could have survived the potential decline of the site, which initially founded it. Even in such a case, the decisive factor in the sanctuary's history would be the communal aspect that would have at some point endorsed it.

9.3.3 The regional significance of the sanctuary of Kalapodi throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA

It is indicative that the history of the sanctuary corresponds to that of the wider area of the valley of Kephissos, the plain of Atalante and the passage in between. The essential cult use of the site is dated from LHIIC-middle/advanced onwards, which was a flourishing period for sites in the plain of Atalante and in the valley of Kephissos too (esp. Kynos and Elateia). In addition, the sanctuary continues to be visited uninterruptedly into the SM and the PG periods, as also do most of the sites in the vicinity and in the wider area of the plain and the valley.⁴¹³ On the basis of "steady burial numbers and a peak in the wealth and diversity of offerings" from the 12th to 10th centuries BC in this area, Morgan has suggested that it was local communities within this radius, from either side of the later Phokian-Lokrian border, that initiated activity at Kalapodi as ritual meetings involving sacrifice and dining.⁴¹⁴ The material culture of the area also finds parallels in the offerings deposited at Kalapodi throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA. The presence of LHIIC-middle pictorial pottery may indicate links with the production centre of Kynos and shows contacts with other sites too in the areas of East Lokris, Euboea, Thessaly and East Attica; small metal votives found at Kalapodi are similar to those found in graves of the area, and PG fine ware pottery from the sanctuary has close parallels at Elateia and other sites.⁴¹⁵ Kalapodi is not

⁴¹³ In its vicinity, in particular, the chamber tombs around Zeli were still in use in the SM period; at least one of the tombs at Smixe might have been in use from LHIIC-late to LPG; and one of the tombs at Vrysi-Sykia has produced LHIIC and EPG evidence.

⁴¹⁴ Morgan (1997) 176-179

⁴¹⁵ Lemos (2002) 221

Morgan (2003) 114-118: regarding the association of pictorial from Kynos and Kalapodi, she notes that it is 'conjectural pending the results of fabric analysis'.

only important for the area in its immediate vicinity and the wider area of the valley and the plain, but it also participates in the LHIIC-middle Aegean network of sites, and later on in the Euboian *koine* of PG and SPG, and receives offerings and influences from other members of these networks too.

Due to its crucial topographical location, the sanctuary manages to stay unaffected by all the local power shifts and turbulences occurring in the area, and by retaining its sociopolitical role as a communal meeting place, it continues to be visited uninterruptedly throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA. It only seems to be affected by destruction at the end of MPG period, after which it appears to be abandoned for a couple of generations' time. It has been remarked that this incident coincides with the destruction of the apsidal building at Mitrou – as well as of the *Heroon* at Lefkandi – but it is not possible to trace the potential connection between these events, at least not for the time being. Lemos has pointed out that “the same gap may be seen in the material from the burials at Elateia”,⁴¹⁶ and it is worth remembering that a general decline was noticed in the valley of Kephissos in the PG period. In the vicinity of the sanctuary, in particular, the cemeteries around Zeli seem to have been abandoned, but at least one tomb at Smixe was used until into LPG, and the new type of cist tomb makes its appearance West of Kalapodi in LPG/SPG.

In general, some significant changes in the material culture and power balance of the area appear to be taking place throughout PG, probably in relation to the new network of sea-sites that emerges at that time, i.e. the Euboian *koine*. It should be underlined, however, that the sanctuary overcomes this difficult stage too, and after the short gap in its use, a rearrangement of the area is undertaken, while the old cult place above the LHIIC-middle shrine continues to be revered. This indicates that Kalapodi regains its significance as a meeting place in the new context of the Euboian *koine*.

In general, if we examine the sanctuary's history within its regional context, Kalapodi emerges to be the only 'stable' site with such longevity in the area. It too experiences changes, destructions, ups and downs, but still does not seem to lose in significance. Looking at its long-lasting history from the viewpoint of all the power shifts and vibrant local dynamics that took place in the area in the LBA and the EIA, stresses, I think that this was probably or primarily not a sanctuary linked to any particular settlement, but a communal meeting place for the surrounding populations.

⁴¹⁶ Lemos (2002) 221, n.156

9.4 Bay of Antikyra

As already discussed, the area of East Lokris and the valley of Kephissos were interlinked through the passage of Hyampolis and Kalapodi, which offered easy access to the coast of the North Euboian Gulf. This was not, however, the only “way-out” from the valley to the sea. Other routes, of greater length but not much more difficult to follow, would lead to the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, to the Bay of Antikyra and to the Bay of Itea. In keeping with the same methodology as before, the following discussion will first treat the coastal areas and then the areas serving as passages between inland and coastal Phokis.

9.4.1 *Distribution of sites*



Fig.132
Satellite
photo of the
bay of
Antikyra

Three coastal sites have produced LBA evidence in the Bay of Antikyra – Medeon, Palatia (at Antikyra) and Kastro of Steno. The richest and most secure evidence comes from Medeon, since this is the only of the three sites that has been somewhat systematically investigated. Settlement evidence is, however, lacking from Medeon too, and its cemetery has only been partially excavated. Our knowledge of LBA Palatia, on the other hand, is limited to the contents of a dump deposit discovered in rescue excavation; as for the hill of

Kastro, it was only once hastily explored, and the cist tombs on the coast had already been looted by the end of the 19th century.

All three sites occupy ideal locations for the undertaking of maritime activities. They all overlook small and safe harbours, and can at the same time enjoy the benefits of fertile coastal plains, well watered by streams flowing down from the surrounding mountains to the coast. Medeon seems to be the most privileged of the three sites, with a broad plain to the hill's South-South-east (now occupied by the bauxite factory) and with an excellent view over the whole Gulf of Antikyra. Additionally, it is the only LBA site on the coast of the bay that was furnished with a fortification wall and two tholos tombs. For these reasons, in spite of the fragmentary character of the available evidence and the unbalanced research in the area, Medeon still seems to be the most important site on the coast of Antikyra Bay.

Before discussing any further the status of the settlement of Medeon, one more site should be taken into consideration, the site of Kastrouli in the upland plateau of Desphina. It is unfortunate that this site has only been identified through surface survey without any further exploration, and thus the possibly LBA remains that are visible on the hill, although seemingly of some importance, cannot be placed in their proper context. LHIII sherds have been reported, but the precise dating of the occupation on the hill remains unknown. Equally non-datable are the 'cyclopean' fortification and the tomb inside the walls. The short description of the tomb in the report as a chamber tomb of stone and its apparently disturbed state – as far as I could detect on my visit at the site – do not allow any safe comments on its architecture without any further research. Could this too have been a built cist- or chamber-tomb, similar to those found at Medeon?

As already noted, Kastrouli of Desphina could benefit from a broad and rich upland plain – much broader than the small plains along the coast. In addition, although not very easy to reach, it was not isolated. In fact, the most convenient and shortest routes of communication would lead from the plain of Desphina towards the coast and most interestingly to Antikyra and Steno. It is worth contemplating whether these two sites actually served as seaports for the settlement of Kastrouli. In addition to sea access, Kastrouli would thus also gain coastal land, more suitable for cultivation in the winter than the upland plain, which would at that time of the year experience harsher weather conditions. The fact that people of modern Desphina used to keep and cultivate plots at both Antikyra and Steno in recent times should also be taken into consideration.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ I was informed about the plots at Antikyra on my visit at Desphina in the summer of 2005 (29.7.05). For the information about Steno cf. Mastrokostas (1956) 24-25.



Fig.133
Satellite
photo of the
Desphina
plateau

In view of the fortification wall and the possibly built chamber or cist tomb on the hill of Kastrouli, as well as its natural orientation towards the western coast of the Bay of Antikyra, Kastrouli appears to have been a significant settlement in the LBA, interacting most possibly on an economic level with the coastal sites of the bay. On the other hand, the built tomb on the hill – in apparently close proximity to the habitation area, since it was found inside the fortification – might be an indication for cultural interaction with Medeon. The built chamber tomb found at Sykia, on the eastern coast of Itea Bay, has also been thought to indicate cultural relations with Medeon.⁴¹⁸

Although our information is fragmentary, a LBA network of sites seems to emerge in the Bay of Antikyra, comprising not only coastal sites, but also one at least upland settlement. The status of each site and their inter-relationships cannot be precisely or in detail reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence, but judging by the distribution of settlements it could be said that a mixed economy combining agriculture and trade must have been in operation.

⁴¹⁸ Müller (1995) 37, 40-41

9.4.2 *The role of Medeon in the area*

Although future investigation might throw a new and different light onto the area, our current impression is that Medeon probably had a leading role in the local economy in Mycenaean times, at least in the realm of trade. Luxurious objects imported from faraway places and deposited in the tombs, such as gold jewellery, beads of amber, cornelian and glass as well as ivory items, reveal the intense trading activities of the people of Medeon. In addition, the large corpus of moulded glass and soft-stone seals of the Mainland Popular Group from the tombs of Medeon, and the distribution of similar or even identical seals in other places of Mainland Greece, and especially in the area from Northern Peloponnese to Thessaly, might show that Medeon was on the route of itinerant craftsmen/merchants traveling in the area.⁴¹⁹ It should be reminded here that a probably LHIIB lentil-shaped seal of black steatite depicting a ship was also found in the dump deposit of Antikyra. Besides, Medeon stands on a significant point of crossroads controlling two routes: the East-West route along the Gulf of Corinth and the North-South route from Northern Peloponnese to Central Greece and onwards to Thessaly.⁴²⁰

It has been suggested that Medeon itself might have hosted a workshop of glass seals, in which case it would have more actively participated in their production and trade.⁴²¹ The need for raw glass would have either brought the craftsmen in contact with long-distance traders or made them travel themselves across the Eastern Mediterranean. “As a harbour town, Medeon would suit the needs of people involved in such activities.”⁴²² Pushing this line of reasoning even further, Müller has suggested on the basis of “Near Eastern affinities traceable at Medeon in the funerary architecture of the large built tombs, as well as in some of the burial deposits” that these tombs might have in fact belonged to people involved in long-distance trade with the East.⁴²³ The claim for such external influences on the architecture of Medeon’s built chamber tombs, however, has been challenged, and it has been supported that their individual features derived from a local

⁴¹⁹ Müller (1995) 348, 476-477

⁴²⁰ Müller (1995) 41-42

⁴²¹ Müller (2003) 89: “...the distribution map of identical glass seals seems to designate Medeon as their production centre.” 93: “...the hypothesis of a glass seal manufacture at Medeon remains of course questionable as long as the settlement site has not been excavated. Anyhow, this hypothesis does not rule out the possibility that one or several other small workshops did function in the same region...”

⁴²² Müller (2003) 93

⁴²³ Müller (2003) 90, 93; for a detailed analysis of the suggested Near Eastern affinities of the built chamber tombs cf. Müller (1999) 223-232

tradition.⁴²⁴ Such regular transactions with the East are indeed quite difficult to prove, but it should at least be stressed that the location of Medeon would have surely enabled it to get involved into long-distance trade throughout Mainland Greece.

Another parameter of the corpus of seals found at Medeon is their potential sphragistic and consequently administrative value. This is not the right moment to delve into this complex subject, which is treated in more detail in the discussion on centre-periphery issues (cf. chapter 3: 1.2.3, p.212-3). It should be mentioned, however, that if the seals were indeed endorsed with such a value, their occurrence at Medeon in such great numbers would show that in addition to being a significant economic centre, this settlement must have also played an administrative role in the area. With particular regard to the identical and/or resembling seals found in the cemetery of Medeon and in other places of Central Greece in particular, Müller suggests that they might have been used by the associated members of a political/economic group, who were possibly the delegates of a common administrative system that ruled over the area throughout which such seals were dispersed.⁴²⁵ Müller has also suggested that the seals point to links of Medeon with the palatial administration, and has put emphasis on the occurrence of a Linear B inscription on an ivory seal found in tomb 239. She also suggested that if we should point to a central site as ‘capital’ of Medeon, it would have to be Orchomenos, because of its proximity and the occurrence of tholos tombs in both places.⁴²⁶

If we indeed accept that the seals belonged to the delegates of a central palatial administration, and were used to authorize documents or to seal products destined for the palace, it would probably be contradictory to believe at the same time that these seals were in fact produced not by the palace but at Medeon itself or by itinerant craftsmen, as Müller has also suggested. If, in addition, the distribution of identical/similar seals could point to sites functioning under the same central administration, then Medeon, Elateia and Kato Mavrolophos in Thessaly would all have to belong to the same territory.⁴²⁷ Such a scenario could easily enough be accepted for Medeon and Elateia, but probably not for a site in

⁴²⁴ Papadimitriou (2001) 119, 172-173: “The only feature in common between the tombs of Medeon and Ras-Shamra is the stepped dromos. This is too little to allow for the reconstruction of contacts between the two areas. Stepped dromoi are not known from other built chamber tombs but they *are* from many chamber tombs and, in any case, they constitute but only a minor detail in the construction of a tomb.... in addition, the contents of the tombs provide very little, if any at all, evidence for contacts between the two areas, either in LHIIA or later. It is far more probable, then, that the Medeon tombs have developed from MH cists, following a local tradition.”

⁴²⁵ Müller (2003) 91-92

⁴²⁶ Müller (1995) 40

⁴²⁷ Cf. Pini (1999) 332 and fig. 6a-e for five glass seals most probably pressed in the same mould: three examples from Medeon, one from Kato Mavrolophos and one from Elateia.

Thessaly too. In general, the corpus of seals found at Medeon, although seemingly of some special significance, is probably not satisfactorily ‘deciphered’ as yet.

Nevertheless, the existence of two tholos tombs at Medeon still distinguishes it from its neighbouring sites, since tholoi have not been found anywhere else in Phokis and East Lokris. The nearest tholos has been found at Orchomenos, indicating a possible link between the two sites, supported by the presence of a side-chamber in both the larger tholos of Medeon and the Treasure of Minyas.⁴²⁸ Papadimitriou sees the large tholos tomb of Medeon as representative of the Mycenaean palatial authority, which would have radiated most probably from Orchomenos and taken over the ruling of the settlement from LHIIIA onwards. He believes that the burial architecture of Medeon suggests “a clear juxtaposition between the local *elites* (which are represented by the built chamber tombs) and the (imposed?) Mycenaean palatial authority (which is represented by the large tholos).” The local *elites*, on the other hand, which were in power before the subordination of the site to a palatial centre, “were not deprived of their economic privileges and their right to participate in commercial activities alongside the suggested ‘palatial delegates’”, as indicated by the continuous use and the rich furnishing of the built chamber tombs during LHIII.⁴²⁹

For Orchomenos, the Antikyra Bay would have constituted a very convenient ‘outlet’ to the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, and Medeon might have been the ideal site from which Orchomenos could gain access to and control the trade routes along the east-west axis of the gulf and the traffic from and to Northern Peloponnese.⁴³⁰ However, only an imaginary Linear B tablet appearing at Orchomenos and referring to Medeon would manage to clear out the exact nature of the relationship between the two sites. The available archaeological material, such as the seals, is unfortunately quite ambiguous. The construction of tholoi could also be thought of as the result of Mycenaean acculturation rather than an indication of subordination to a palatial centre.⁴³¹ Thus, it can only be tentatively assumed that there was some kind of special relationship between the palace of Orchomenos and the seaport of Medeon, which possibly contributed to the latter’s prosperity and social complexity, as reflected in its burial architecture. Such a relationship might have endowed Medeon with a special status among its neighbours, and the tholoi might have also functioned as a visible demonstration of Medeon’s privileged links to the nearest palace.

⁴²⁸ Papadimitriou (2001) 121

⁴²⁹ Papadimitriou (2001) 122

⁴³⁰ Cf. also Papadimitriou (2001) 122: “It was probably the strategic position of the site for commercial purposes that attracted the attention of a Boeotian palatial centre (Orchomenos?) which, in LHIIIA, brought Medeon under its authority.”

⁴³¹ Besides, there is the problem of the dating of the Orchomenos tholos to LHIIIB, which implies that the tholoi of Medeon were built earlier than that of the palatial centre, under which Medeon was supposedly subordinated – cf. Papadimitriou (2001) 121 with references.

9.4.3 *Change of interaction zone in LHIIC*

As already noted, the fluctuation of pottery frequency in the tombs of Medeon has also been considered indicative of its links with a palatial centre, and the reduction of LHIIB and especially LHIIC-early pottery has been attributed to the impact on the site of palatial turbulences. This approach, however, is not without problems. The style of the pottery, on the other hand, might be a more reliable indication of the relationship of the site with a palatial centre. Müller has noted that the pottery from Medeon conforms in general to the typical Mycenaean standards, as these are defined in the Mycenaean centres of the Argolid and also of Boeotia, while in LHIIC-middle a special, local style makes its appearance at Medeon.⁴³² Many imports from Attica, Thessaly, Achaea and Cephallonia also date to this phase, while in LHIIC-late the imports from areas of Western Greece (Achaea, Elis, Cephallonia) are even more than the locally produced vases.

It seems that the zone of Medeon's interaction changed during LHIIC, and it became gradually more orientated towards its western neighbours. The imported pottery and other luxurious goods accompanying LHIIC burials show that Medeon's trading activities were resumed some time after the palatial collapse and helped it flourish again. The change in its zone of interaction and the creation of its own, local pottery style in LHIIC-middle most possibly indicate that after the palatial collapse Medeon stopped belonging to a trade network functioning under the control of the palaces, which had earlier accordingly influenced its pottery production. It probably became involved in a new trade network developing in that period in Western Greece,⁴³³ and started acting on its own initiative, as also expressed in its special pottery style.

The last phase of LHIIC sees a further diversion from Mycenaean traditions at Medeon, i.e. the introduction of single burials in pits, while the older custom of interments inside built chamber tombs and the small tholos continues as well. Gradual decline also seems to befall Medeon in LHIIC-late. As already noted, the relatively small pottery assemblage is dominated by imports, the local production seems to be in decline, and the burial offerings in the pits are not very rich. It might be the case, however, that the

⁴³² Müller (1995) 37, 476

⁴³³ Cf. Eder (1999) 266: "The finds from ancient Elis demonstrate the existence of contacts between the areas of western Greece from LHIIC onwards through the Dark Ages. Pottery and metalworks refer to products known from Phokis, Epirus, Kephallonia, Achaea and Messenia. Influences from outside this world don't seem to have left lasting impressions."

Mountjoy (1999) 747: "Indeed there are so many shared elements in the pottery as to suggest that the West Mainland Koine, comprising Messenia, western Arcadia, Elis and Achaea, extended across the gulf to Phocis and Aitolio-Akarnania."

introduction of the new burial custom resulted into change of burial ground too, which remains unidentified, and thus the available corpus of evidence might not be representative.

9.4.4 *Transition to the EIA*

The transition to the EIA is also quite problematic. New, radical changes occur in the PG period, but the lack of published material restricts the understanding of the site's development. Nevertheless, the fact that Medeon continues successfully into the G period and onwards indicates that it must have always played a significant role in the area and thus was never abandoned. In spite of the fragmentary evidence, it could be assumed that the site managed to carry on thanks to its trading activities. It is interesting to note here that according to Desborough two of the three PG illustrated pots show close similarities with the pottery style of Western Greece.⁴³⁴ This might signify that Medeon's contacts with the trade network of western sites, as established since LHIIC, continued into the EIA. The many changes of burial customs might have also been the result of multicultural influences that Medeon received as a significant trading centre – if not the result of mingling populations attracted to it because of its special location and role in the area.

9.5 **Passage between the valley of Kephissos and the bay of Antikyra**

9.5.1 *Distribution of sites and interconnecting routes*

Generally, external contacts through the sea routes must have contributed significantly to the development of the coastal sites of the Bay of Antikyra, as reflected in the evidence from Medeon. In addition, inland communication must have also seriously affected the history of the area, as already discussed. The site of Distomo appears to be on such a route of communication. Although the available LBA evidence only consists of pottery recovered in rescue excavation, it could be speculated that the settlement existing here must have benefited from its location on a significant route leading from the coast further inland to Central Greece. This must have not only been a route connecting sites such as Medeon and Orchomenos, but also an important route for traders and goods traveling across Mainland Greece, from the North Peloponnese to Central Greece and onwards to

⁴³⁴ Desborough (1972) 206: the third vase is “a fine trefoil-lipped oinochoe with sets of semicircles with hour-glass filling on the shoulder, which is typically Athenian LPG but could have come from Corinth”.

Lemos (2002) 204

Thessaly – and vice-versa. The route would most likely run along the milder, western slope of the valley that stretches in between Distomo and the coast, and would then lead further North to the passages between Mt Kirphis/Parnassos to the West and Mt Elikon to the East.⁴³⁵

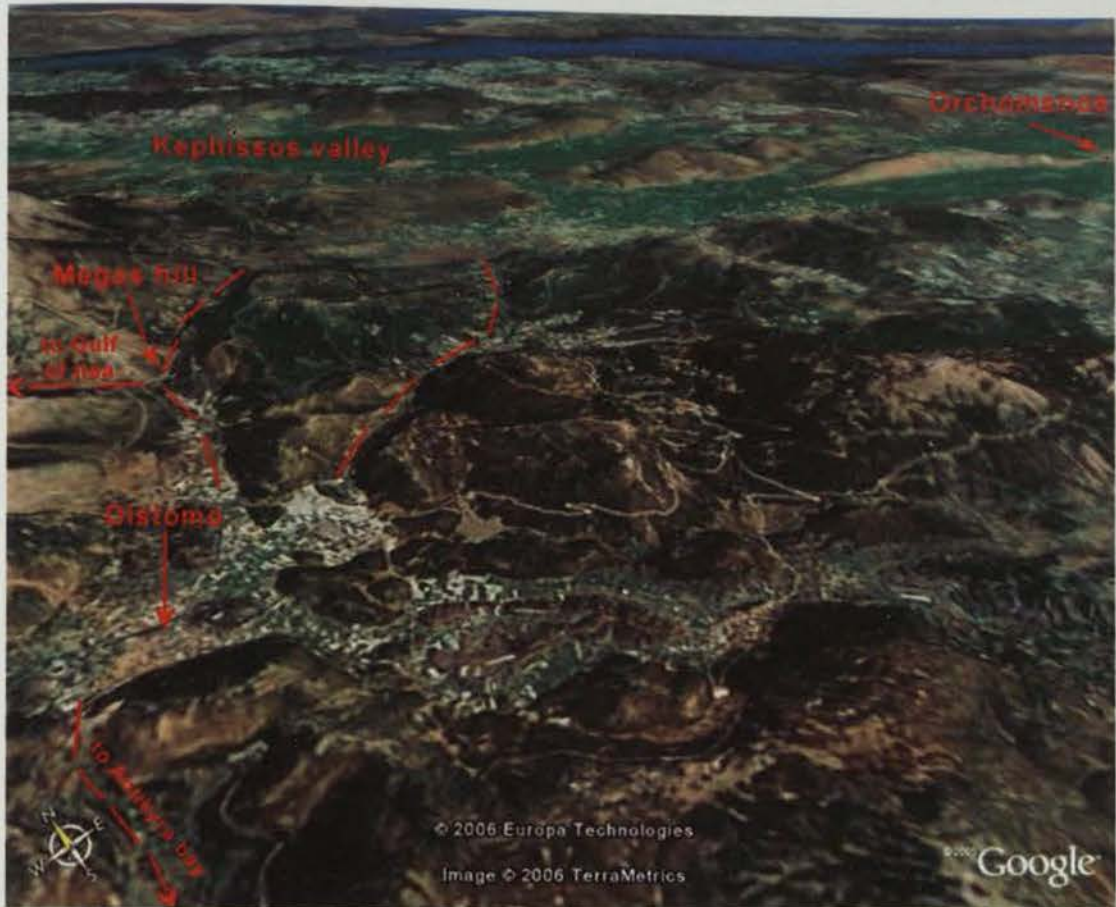


Fig.134
Satellite
photo of the
area of
Distomo

Two possible routes open up from Distomon towards North (fig.134). One route would lead to the North-North-east, along the Plataniis streambed, and end up in between the sites of Daulis and Panopeus, and the other route would head towards North, along the Parthenorema streambed at the east foot of Mt Parnassos, and end up to the West of Daulis. The route of Plataniis stream passes through somewhat more hostile terrain, but is the shortest way of the two to the lower valley of Kephissos and the area of Orchomenos. The route of Parthenorema, on the other hand, is easier to follow and shorter for anyone heading to the middle valley of Kephissos. It is possible that both routes were in use during the LBA, depending on one's destination.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ According to Baziotopoulou-Valavani (1988), the ancient road leading from the coast, from the small valley of Aspra Spitia to Distomo probably ran along the west slopes of the valley, as indicated by a *fryktorion* found on this side, at the location Bardaneika. A path passing nowadays in front of the *fryktorion* used to be the main route connecting Antikyra and Distomo until recently.

⁴³⁶ Both routes were probably in operation in Classical times too, as indicated by the evidence from Megas Hill and from the Phokian federal sanctuary, the Phokikon, standing on the Parthenorema and

The sites of Daulis and Panopeus guarding the northern end of these passages have both produced Mycenaean pottery, including LHIIIB sherds; Panopeus might have also been fortified, as indicated by the remains of a possible 'cyclopean' wall that are visible on the hill. Although both sites have only been briefly investigated, and nothing is practically known about their significance in the LBA, it seems quite possible that their occupation might have been related to their location not only close to the fertile Platania valley, but also at the entrance of the two most convenient passages towards the coast of the Corinthian Gulf. In addition to this entrance, Daulis also controls the traffic towards and from the middle Kephissos valley through a passage between Parnassos and Philoviotos Mt to its North, while Panopeus has clear view of the route leading from the middle to the lower Kephissos valley, the Chaironeian Plain and all the way to Orchomenos.



Fig.135
Satellite
photo of the
area of Daulis

Another site that has produced LBA/EIA evidence on the route leading from the coast of Corinthian Gulf to Central Greece is that of Megas hill. The evidence from this site is too fragmentary to allow us any comments on its occupation, but the significance of its

Platania route respectively. In Hellenistic times, "the loss of the Megas Monument site may imply that traffic between Distomon and Davleia took the lower, and easier, though slightly longer route through the Phokikon valley... the use of this route is perhaps hardly surprising since it would include the federal sanctuary... The route itself would appear to have remained the same during the Roman imperial period..." – cf. Fossey (1986) 116-117. Besides, it is the route of Platania that Pausanias follows too, as indicated by his reference to the Phokikon, which has been identified on this route (Paus. X, 5, 1-2).

location on a very important crossroad should be stressed. It stands at the point where the route of Parthenorema meets with the route coming from Distomo, and also with that leading to the gulf of Itea; it is the famous *schiste odos*. Although the dating of the sword found in a tomb at this site is problematic, it is interesting to note that a person buried at such a strategic location was offered the status of a warrior.

9.6 Gulf of Itea

9.6.1 *Distribution of sites and settlement hierarchy*

The Bay of Itea was the other 'gateway' to the Corinthian Gulf for Central Greece. The terrain here is quite different from that of the Bay of Antikyra. The coast is not dominated by mountain foothills only allowing the formation of small coastal plains. Instead, a very fertile, broad and oblong plain stretches out to the North of the coast of Itea, watered by two rivers, Ylathos river coming from the North-east, from Amphissa, and Pleistos river flowing from North-west, from the valley South of Parnassos.



Fig.136
Satellite
photo of the
gulf of Itea

The most significant LBA evidence comes from two sites in this plain: Glas and Krissa. The site of Kirrha on the coast has also produced LBA evidence, but it was either found in very disturbed layers or is so briefly reported that it is impossible to reconstruct the

habitation phases and the site's significance in the LBA. According to the excavators' initial impression, this settlement had entered a declining phase already since the beginning of LH period. It was in fact suggested that the inhabitants moved at that time to the more defensible site of Krisa possibly under some military threat, as indicated by the proximity of the two sites and the stylistically related material.⁴³⁷ Buildings excavated more recently at Kirrha, however, produced evidence for a destruction most probably caused by earthquake.⁴³⁸ Besides, other recent finds indicate that the settlement was rebuilt at some point in the LH period, possibly in LHIII, while habitation is even claimed to continue into LHIIIB and LHIIIC. Due to the vagueness and briefness of the preliminary reports, however, and possibly also because of loss of evidence by soil erosion, it is very difficult to follow the development of Kirrha's settlement in the LBA.

Krisa, on the other hand, seems to be quite important in LHIIIB, as indicated by the fortification wall that was supposedly built on the hill of Ag. Georgios in that period. It is quite unfortunate that the two preliminary reports on the excavation of Krisa cannot really help us reconstruct the habitation phases and pinpoint its status and role on the basis of settlement remains. Nevertheless, the location of the site, enabling it to control the Amphissa plain, the Krisaian plain all the way to the coast and the upper valley of Pleistos, supports the idea that this site played a significant role in the area.⁴³⁹ Besides, the decision to build the fortification wall in such a way as to protect not only the occupied area but also the whole hill of Ag. Georgios, in order to provide a refuge for the inhabitants of the region in case of danger, suggests that Krisa was in control of and thus also responsible for the local population.

The settlement established on Glas in LHIIIB might be another indication of Krisa's power and control. The location of Glas right opposite and in direct eye contact with Krisa makes it difficult to believe that these two settlements were not in some way related. Its short distance from the coast and its excellent view over the whole Gulf of Itea, all the way to the opposite coast of North Peloponnese, could lead to the suggestion that Glas might have been settled as a 'satellite' of Krisa.⁴⁴⁰ The short-lived but prosperous settlement of Glas might have been established there by the neighbouring, ruling centre, in order to control the sea trading routes. The recovery of a great number of pithoi might point to the existence of

⁴³⁷ Dor *et al.* (1960) 33, 95, 98

⁴³⁸ Skorda (1992a) 215-216: not only had the walls collapsed into the rooms, crushing their contents, but also the foundations were dislocated and severely tilted.

⁴³⁹ Hope Simpson (1981) 77: C51 believes that the site "was obviously important, and probably the chief site in this region".

⁴⁴⁰ Themelis has also stressed the strategic position of Glas and suggested that it might have been closely related and depended on the important Mycenaean centre of Krisa – cf. Themelis (1993) 23-24.

facilities suitable for storing agricultural or other kinds of surplus produce of the local economy, possibly destined to be exchanged in sea trade.⁴⁴¹ Additionally, the megaron and the accordingly orientated buildings next to it point to the existence of central administration, possibly subordinate to that of Krisa.⁴⁴² Besides, the history of the two sites is parallel: they were both destroyed in conflagration at the end of LHIII B.

Kirrha could have potentially served as a seaport too, but because of being easily accessible, it might not look very advantageous at a time when defensibility was obviously a major concern – as indicated by the fortification wall of Krisa and the naturally defensible location of Glas. Some kind of habitation might have existed at Kirrha too, but Glas would have surely been preferred as an outpost of Krisa.

If I were allowed to suggest a tentative scenario, I would dare say that the settlement of Krisa grew in political and economic power in LHIII B, possibly through intensified maritime activities – for which a naturally defensible site on a strategic position close to the sea was needed. The potential intensification of Krisa's trade activities in LHIII B might be related to “the apparent decline in eastwards traffic in the later 13th century [...] compensated for by an increase in activity westwards. Contacts with the central Mediterranean, particularly Sardinia, where the earliest identifiable Mycenaean pottery is LHIII B, may have intensified in the 13th century”.⁴⁴³ If contacts with the West were indeed intensified in this period, the importance of the sea routes along the Corinthian Gulf would have also increased, thus enhancing the power of sites controlling these trade routes. It was probably this power that enabled but also forced Krisa to fortify itself: its power and wealth might have attracted enemies or competitors. On the other hand, a deterioration of contacts with the West towards the end of this period has also been noted, and although the communication was never interrupted, its decline might have contributed to the fall of a centre like Krisa.⁴⁴⁴

9.6.2 *Krisa versus Medeon?*

It is tempting to assume that Medeon was a possible competitor with Krisa. Due to their location, they might have shared similar interests: they could both control the East-

⁴⁴¹ Themelis has suggested that the great number of pithoi might be the result of the need to store products because of an imminent danger – cf. Themelis (1993) 24.

⁴⁴² Themelis points out that the megaron of Glas resembles the building i-j-k-l of the complex F of Krisa, as well as other megaron-shaped buildings (–from Korakou, Phylakopi, Karphi) – cf. Themelis (1993) 19.

⁴⁴³ Dickinson (1994) 254

Cf. also Sherratt and Sherratt (1991) 372 and Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 50-53 for deterioration of eastwards trade.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 65 for discussion on changes in westwards trade in the 13th cent. BC.

West traffic in the Corinthian Gulf and the access to Central Greece from the opposite coast of Northern Peloponnese. Their topography, however, differs distinctively. Krisa has a much larger plain at its disposal, and its topography offers the ideal conditions for the development of an important centre ruling a rich, dynamic and autonomous area.⁴⁴⁵ It needs however an outpost to control the sea access. Medeon, on the other hand, is a port itself, probably acting on its own, without being isolated at the same time. As already discussed, its routes of communication with Central Greece might have led Medeon to develop a special, apparently beneficial relationship with Orchomenos. It could then be suggested that the Krisaian plain fulfills the topographical requirements of a miniature Mycenaean state, with Krisa controlling the area and gathering staple produce in order to trade it for commodities lacking from the local economy, such as metals or exotics and luxury items. Medeon, on the other hand, could not have sustained this kind of economy. A role of ‘emporium’, i.e. a “centre of supply for a whole region, and as such of a complicated network of collection and distribution involving many communities”⁴⁴⁶ could be easier envisaged for this site. Thus, we should not think of the two sites as of equal status or playing the same role in their areas.

Their interest in land trade-routes would have also differed. Krisa would have controlled the access to the area of Amphissa and from there to the so-called ‘Great Isthmus Corridor’ as well as the route leading over Parnassos to the upper Kephissos valley and from there to the valley of Spercheios and onwards to Thessaly. Medeon, on the other hand, would control the access to the route Distomo-Daulis, which could lead to the lower Kephissos valley and Boeotia or the middle Kephissos valley. Therefore, Krisa’s natural orientation would be towards the northern part of Central Greece, and further North, while Medeon would mostly be orientated towards the southern part, in which Boeotia would have probably been the most attractive ‘destination’.

It is appropriate to contemplate at this point what kind of relationship Krisa might have had with the Mycenaean palatial authority. Should we imagine it as being under the control of a palace, of Orchomenos for example, or having at least some kind of special relationship with it? The evidence is quite problematic, as it also was in the case of Medeon. Seals have been found at Krisa too, although of a much smaller number than that of Medeon: fifteen steatite seals and four seals of hard stone were found in three tombs. The occurrence of both soft-stone/glass- and hard-stone seals at one site has been thought to indicate subordination to central palatial administration.⁴⁴⁷ On the other hand, the absence of a tholos tomb from the area of Krisa, especially if compared to the area of Medeon, might show lack

⁴⁴⁵ Müller (1992) 449

⁴⁴⁶ Dickinson (1994) 238

⁴⁴⁷ Eder (forthcoming b)

of integration in the political system of a Mycenaean palace.⁴⁴⁸ As already pointed out, however, neither the seals nor the presence or absence of tholoi is a safe criterion for deciding on the question of palatial administration. The seals, in particular, can only indicate with certainty that Krisa too participated in a certain network of sites, throughout which seals were distributed for certain reasons, although not necessarily for administrative purposes. Another point drawn into this discussion is the fortification of Krisa, which shows resemblance to that of Eutresis and possibly Glas, and supposedly points to privileged connections between the plain of Itea and that of Boeotia.⁴⁴⁹ Krisa's pottery style, on the other hand, has been characterized provincial, not following faithfully the developments of Boeotia or the Argolid.⁴⁵⁰

Thus, in view of the lack of written evidence and the contradictory archaeological evidence, it is perhaps safer to attempt a tentative approach on the basis of topographical and economic criteria. It could be suggested that due to its distance from Boeotia, the plain of Itea might have formed a small, autonomous geographical unit. Due to its proximity to Medeon, however, which might have been in the service of palace-orientated trade, and because of their possibly common interests in trade routes along and across the Corinthian Gulf, it is difficult to believe that Krisa would have managed to develop its trading activities independently of its neighbour. It is instead quite possible that Krisa might have had to pay a certain price to ensure a good relationship with Medeon and Orchomenos, such as cooperation in trade or contributions to the central administration. It remains doubtful, however, whether we should regard it as fully integrated into the palatial system. In addition, the unpublished or very briefly reported evidence from the settlement and the burials of Krisa and Glas force us to treat the trade activities of this area as still unproved. If their future publication were to discard them, Krisa would probably seem even more distant from the palatial world.

9.6.3 *The inland communication route over Parnassos and the settlement of Delphi*

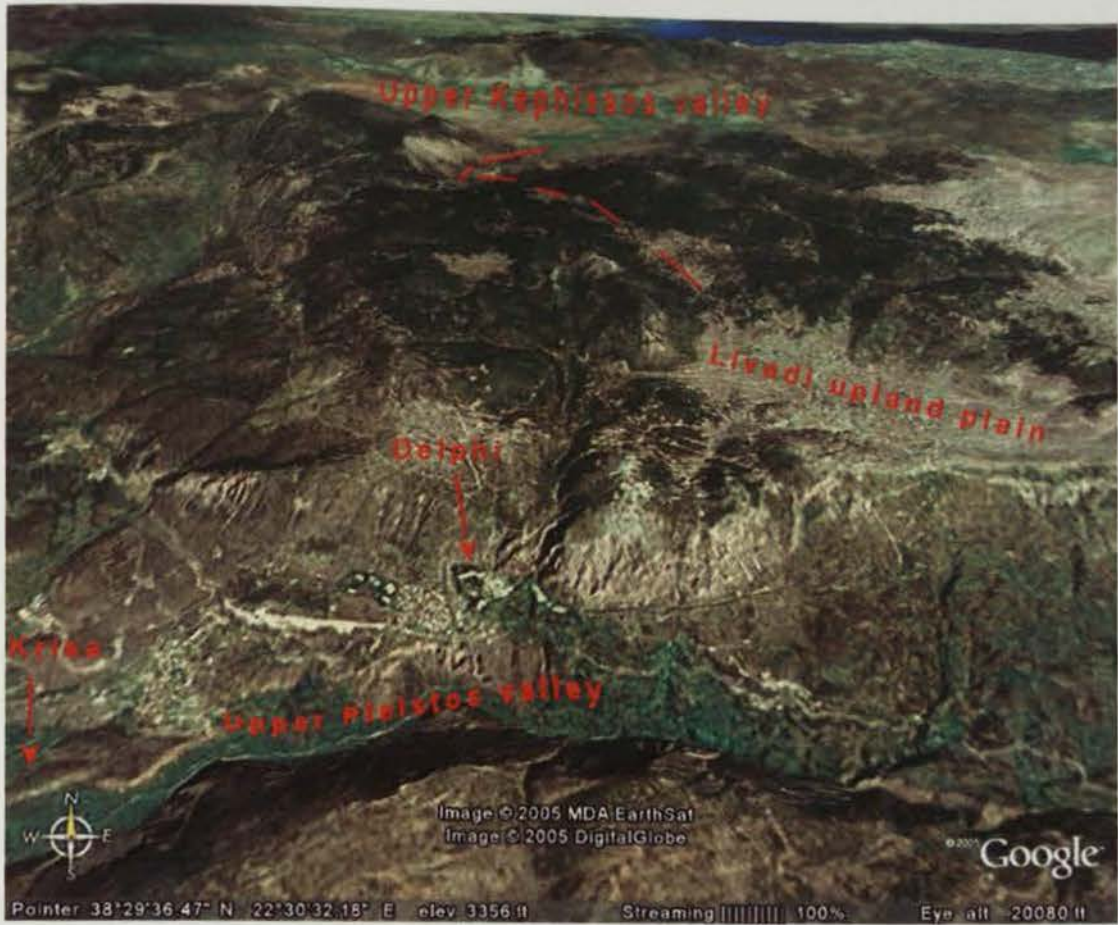
The topography of the plain of Itea as well as the distribution of neighbouring sites do not leave much doubt for the contacts of Krisa and its area with the outside world. As already discussed, these would not have taken place only through the sea but also through land routes. The upper valley of Pleistos would have actually constituted one such route, as discussed further on. Another route would lead over Parnassos to the upper Kephissos valley.

⁴⁴⁸ Müller (1992) 454

⁴⁴⁹ Müller (1992) 455

⁴⁵⁰ Müller (1995) 37

Fig.137
Satellite
photo of Mt
Parnassos



Its importance should not be underestimated. Although not an easy route, since it included climbing over the top of Parnassos, it probably constituted the most direct and, therefore, shortest way from the plain of Itea to the northern part of Central Greece. Its difficulty should not be overestimated either. Pausanias informs us that it only takes one winter day's journey to get from Delphi to Lilaia, on the other side of the mountain, in the upper Kephissos valley.⁴⁵¹ Besides, paths passing over Parnassos and leading from Arachova and Delphi to Lilaia were in operation until recently for trading purposes.⁴⁵² The route would ascend from Ktisa to Delphi, then climb on top of the mountain and reach the uplands of Livadi.⁴⁵³ From then onwards it would pass through relatively broad and flat terrain, until it would descend to modern Agoriani and then along the Agorianitis stream valley to Lilaia.

⁴⁵¹ Paus. X, 33, 3

The route over Parnassos would leave the highest ridges of the mountain to the East and run along the milder, western slopes – cf. Papachatzis (1981) 426, n.2: he also notes that it took the early 19th century traveller W.M. Leake six and a half hours to cover the whole distance on mules.

Pausanias also describes the route from Delphi to Tithorea over Parnassos (Paus. X, 32, 8).

⁴⁵² Personal communication with locals at Arachova.

Papachatzis (1981) 421, n.1 refers to the mountainous donkey-track leading from Delphi to Lilaia, which used to be in frequent operation until the construction of the modern road network.

⁴⁵³ McInerney (1999) 338: "Given the topography of Mt Parnassos, with its concentration of steep peaks on the East side, it is probable that Pausanias's road probably followed the same general route as the modern road across the mountain. It, too, stays to the West side of Parnassos and avoids the

The occurrence of finds dating to the beginning of LH period at Krisa, Delphi and Koumoula in the Livadi plain draws a connecting line between these three sites, which were most probably in contact with each other. Müller sees Delphi and the upland plain of Livadi as forming one territorial entity, consisting of a valley (Pleistos) exploited in the winter, a highland plain (Livadi) exploited in the summer, and a site (Delphi) in between.⁴⁵⁴ This is a very interesting suggestion. It reconstructs a complex, multileveled economy, exploiting all the available different kinds of resources, as dictated by the local environment. However, a powerful site needs to act as coordinator in order to make such a complex economy work and to make the most of such a chequered terrain as that of the area of Delphi. I would suggest that Delphi might have played this role in the Late Mycenaean period on behalf, most probably, of Krisa.

The fact that Koumoula has not produced any LHIII evidence – although it might only be due to the lack of investigation on top of the hill – does not necessarily mean that the upland plain of Livadi was not economically exploited at that time. If the exploitation of this plain and of the valley of Pleistos were at some point integrated into a common economic system, a permanent mid-way settlement would suffice for its control. People coming up in the summer to the uplands in order to herd their flocks, would perhaps live in temporary, seasonal dwellings, which might have left no substantial archaeological remains.⁴⁵⁵

If Delphi had played the role of the permanent mid-way settlement, Krisa might have adopted it as its mountainous outpost, especially during its flourishing period, i.e. in LHIIIB, so as to exploit the natural resources of the Livadi plain and upper Pleistos valley, but also to control the route leading over Parnassos to the upper Kephissos valley. The pottery from Delphi shares certain common elements with pottery from neighbouring sites, including Krisa, which constitute a special regional style, and thus show that Delphi was not isolated but belonged to a local network throughout the Mycenaean period.⁴⁵⁶ The increase of LHIIIB2 material at Delphi, as well as the potential expansion of the settlement towards East in that phase, could perhaps relate to its closer attachment to Krisa, which seems to have grown strong during LHIIIB. All in all, there is good reason for a settlement to exist and

higher elevations. Above Delphi the ancient road crossed the broad mountain plain of Livadi, at 1100m, below the Corykian cave.”

⁴⁵⁴ Müller (1992) 451-452

⁴⁵⁵ Transhumance does not need to mean lack of a permanent settlement; it should rather mean careful choice of the settlement's location. I would not take the LHIIIA1-2 pottery assemblage from the Corykian cave as evidence for permanent habitation. Due to its difficult access and the harsh weather conditions it experiences in the winter, it would have rather served as a short-term dwelling during the summer (Mountjoy (1999) 742 and n.26). The absence of domestic ware, however, is problematic and makes the suggestion for cult activities sound rather possible (Amandry (1984) 396).

⁴⁵⁶ Müller (1992) 464-465

even thrive at Delphi in the Mycenaean period, and we do not need to project its later religious significance back to the LBA in order to interpret its location.⁴⁵⁷

9.6.4 Alternative inland routes and the distribution of sites

Before moving on to examine the evolution of the area of Krisa and Delphi in LHIIIC and in the EIA, we should first refer to the other land routes leading to and away from the Gulf of Itea. As mentioned earlier, the upper valley of Pleistos would have constituted one such passage leading from the plain of Itea towards East.



Fig.138
Satellite
photo of
Pleistos
valley

⁴⁵⁷ Skorda (1992b) 60 thinks that the location of Delphi is so awkward (*à un endroit des plus élevés de la haute vallée, mal desservi de routes*) that only by relating its choice to the existence of a cult place already since the Mycenaean period can she explain the presence of a settlement at this site.

Fig.139
Satellite
photo of the
upper Pleitos
valley



The route would probably run along the northern, milder slopes of the valley along a North-west-South-east axis and would thus reach the point where the prominent hill of Kastroulia rises on the northern escarpment of the river (fig.139). From that point onwards, the route would ascend towards North-east and reach the passage between the mountains of Parnassos and Kirphis. Right at the western end of this passage stands the low hill of Kastrouli of Zemeno. At the eastern end of the passage is the famous *schiste odos*, the crossroad of routes leading towards South, to Distomo, and towards North, to Daulis.⁴⁵⁸ The significance of the location of Makelarika Kastroulia and of Kastrouli of Zemeno is evident. They occupy key points of great strategic importance, which also explains why they were both fortified. The control of these two sites would have been vital for the ruling centre of Krisa, since it would enable the latter to have access to and control the traffic to and from the southern part of Central Greece, i.e. Boiotia and the lower Kephissos valley.

⁴⁵⁸ Müller (1992) 452
Skorda (1992b) 58-59



Fig.140
Satellite photo
of the passage
between Mt
Parnassos and
Kirphis

An alternative route leading to and away from the area of Krisa is thought to be the ‘Great Isthmus Corridor Route’ (fig.141). As regards the part of the route which is of interest here, i.e. the southern part passing between the mountains of Giona to the West and Parnassos to the East and leading from Aphissa to Gravia, the most controversial point is that it has been claimed to be a major road “with a stone or gravel packed surface... built for trade, wheeled, and military traffic during Mycenaean times”.⁴⁵⁹ Not only is the Mycenaean dating of the surviving segments of this road very problematic, but also the very idea of a long-range Mycenaean highway is shown to be unrealistic.⁴⁶⁰ Paths connecting the small sites traced in the Vinianni plain North of Amphissa and in the plain South of Gravia would have certainly been in use, but these do not constitute proof for a major road connecting the area of Krisa with the valley of Kephissos along this route.⁴⁶¹ Kase replied to the arguments that draw attention to the absence of any significant Mycenaean centres in this part of the

⁴⁵⁹ Kase (1991) 32-33

⁴⁶⁰ Hope Simpson (1981) 81

Jansen (2002) 21-22

⁴⁶¹ Mycenaean sites have been identified at Paleokhorio (no.41), in the south-east part of the Vinianni valley, and at Dhragasia (no.35) in the plain to the South of Gravia. At these two sites, Mycenaean finds are reported to have continued after LHIII B, thus implying that the sites were probably occupied already since LHIII B – cf. Ålin (1991) 69.

'Great Isthmus Corridor route' by saying that the distance between Amphissa and Gravia was not long enough to need a stopping point between the two sites.⁴⁶²

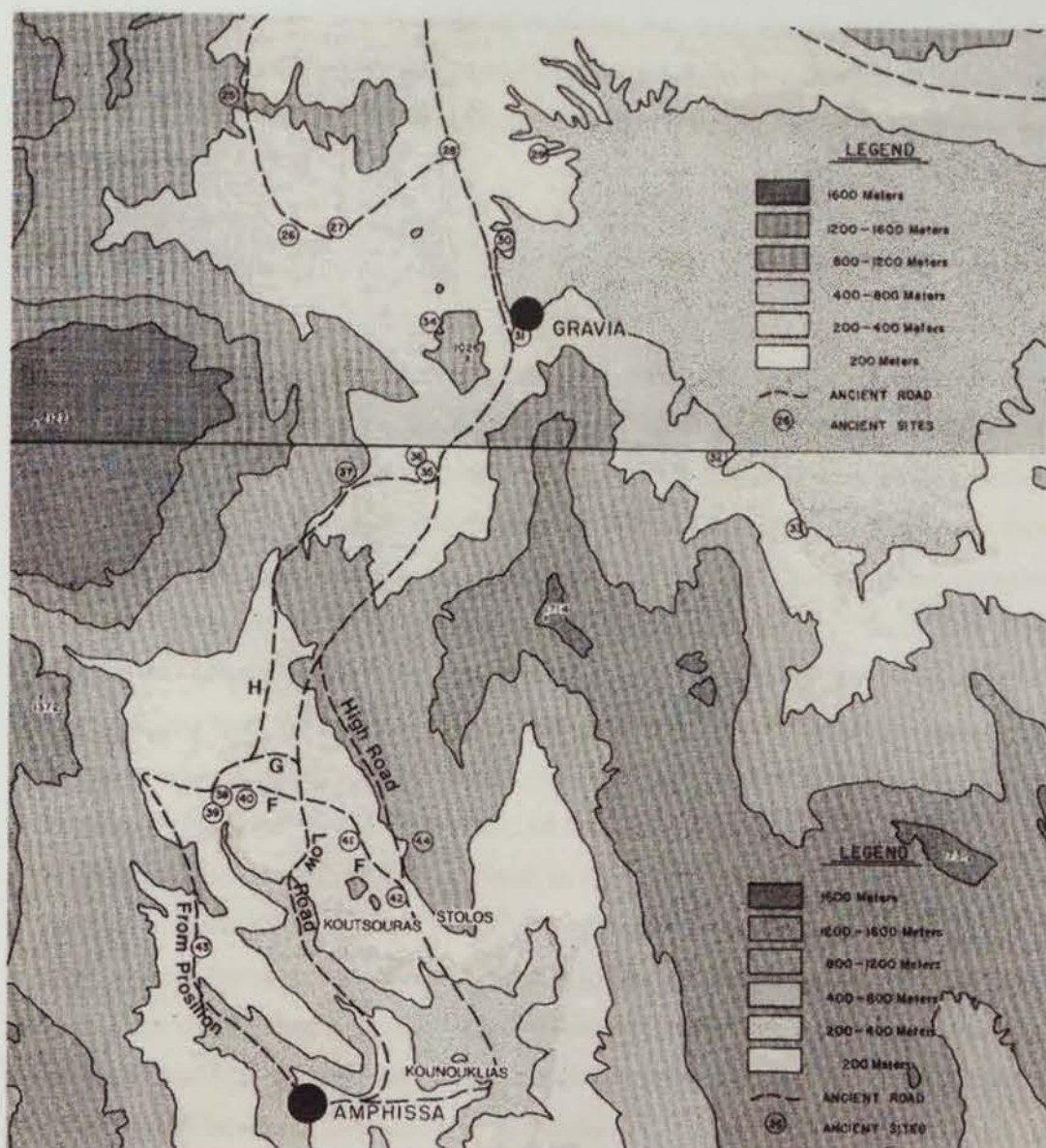


Fig.141
Southern part
of the Great
Isthmus
Corridor
Route

Nevertheless, Amphissa and Gravia would probably be expected to be important sites controlling the access to this route in the Mycenaean period, if that were a major road enabling Krisa to communicate with the valley of Kephissos. Gravia, however, has not produced any Mycenaean evidence, while Amphissa has only once produced pottery in a mixed context, in spite of the many rescue excavations that have been taking place in the area of the modern town for the last thirty years and more.⁴⁶³ Although this absence of evidence might only be accidental, the rich Mycenaean evidence from Delphi and the pottery

⁴⁶² Kase (1991) 32

⁴⁶³ Kyriazopoulou (1982) 210

from the hill of Theotokos at Lilaia – as well as the possible cyclopean phase of the fortification on the hill – support the idea that the route connecting these two sites over Parnassos was quite significant. Nothing excludes that both routes might have been in operation, but it seems that the shorter and more direct route from Delphi to Lilaia would have been favoured for the purposes of communication between the upper Kephissos valley and the plain of Itea.⁴⁶⁴

9.6.5 LHIIC development

In spite of Delphi's topographical and economic significance, however, the settlement does not appear to be struck by the destructive event that hit Krisa and Glas at the end of LHIIB. Its relatively remote location high up on the slopes of the Pleistos river valley might have secured its escape from the danger.⁴⁶⁵ Moreover, Delphi does not only survive the destruction but also flourishes in LHIIC-early. Krisa and Glas were not completely abandoned either, but the scant evidence seems to point to decay of these two sites in LHIIC. It has been suggested that the settlement of Krisa actually moved to some other nearby location, since the tombs at Chrisso continued to be in use. The site of Keramida has been suggested as a possible refuge site for the inhabitants of Krisa. It is at the foot of an escarpment protruding from the steep slopes of Parnassos some 3km to the North of Krisa at a quite high altitude (800m), and it is difficult to approach. The slope here was terraced with walls built in crude polygonal style, and sherds of handmade, burnished tiles and domestic-ware vases were found on the surface. According to Skorda, the type of the tiles and the style of the terrace walls indicate an early date for this settlement.⁴⁶⁶ A population movement to some other nearby location could also be suggested for the inhabitants of Glas, since the tombs at Moulki have also produced LHIIC pottery.

It should also be kept in mind that both sites have only been partially excavated, while the early date of research on Krisa and the brief reports do not really allow us to reconstruct the LHIIC phase of habitation or the extent of the assumed decay and abandonment. Besides, the fact that the cemeteries of Chrisso and Moulki continued to be in

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. similar criticism regarding later periods in Pritchett (1996) 207-212: "Ancient roads were direct. Any army marching on Delphi from the upper Spercheios would use this route rather than one by Amphissa through the Gravia pass." and McNerney (1999) 337-338: "The existence of a road between Mt. Ghiona and Mt. Parnassos is interpreted by the Phokis/Doris Project as evidence for the 'Great Isthmus Corridor'. Pausanias, however, says nothing of such an arterial road, and his description of Parnassos suggests that traffic from the Korinthian Gulf to the Kephissos valley regularly went directly over the mountain."

⁴⁶⁵ Müller (1992) 488

⁴⁶⁶ Skorda (1992b) 49-50 and 61

use probably means that the population did not move very far away. In addition, the existence of imported vases among the LHIIC pottery assemblage from the tombs of Krisa shows the continuation of external contacts, which would have probably been quite difficult to achieve from a site of such difficult access as that of Keramida.

In any case, only Delphi flourished in LHIIC-early, most probably because it had escaped the destruction at the end of LHIIB. It probably became the new important centre in the area, since the two destroyed sites in the lower valley of Pleistos and the plain of Itea had lost their former significance. It could even be suggested that Delphi itself functioned as a refuge site for part of the population fleeing the other sites.⁴⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the settlement of Delphi also experienced turbulences in LHIIC. Although the evidence is far from clear, it seems that destruction came upon it at the end of LHIIC-early. It appears to have recovered from this potential destruction by the end of LHIIC-middle, however, and to have developed external contacts too, as indicated by pottery imported from Attica and the Argolid. Delphi thrives again in LHIIC-late, and contacts across the Corinthian Gulf with Achaean and Western Greece (Cephalonia) are also exemplified in the pottery assemblage. Thus, Delphi appears to join in the network of sites developing in this period in Western Greece, to which Medeon belonged too, as discussed earlier. Although quite far from the coast, Delphi might have grown to be an important site of this network thanks to its location on the route leading further inland over Parnassos to the upper Kephissos valley, which also hosted significant sites in this period (e.g. Elateia), and from there onwards to Thessaly, with which the area of Phokis was apparently in contact, as indicated by common pottery elements.

The reason why Krisa does not seem to continue successfully in LHIIC, while the sites of Delphi and Medeon manage to overcome any periods of decline and carry on until the end of LHIIC and into the EIA, should probably be looked for in the economic and political organization of Mycenaean times. As already discussed, LHIIB Krisa might have functioned as the 'capital' of a miniature Mycenaean polity, controlling the trading activities and the agricultural production of a certain area and hence growing in wealth and power. Its destruction must have affected the whole area under its control and disrupted all the activities of which it was in charge. Once this complex economic system had collapsed, Krisa would have also probably lost its political power, and although not abandoned, it could have no longer regained its previous status.

Delphi and Medeon, on the other hand, although somehow attached to a powerful Mycenaean centre before the palatial collapse (Krisa and Orchomenos respectively), did not depend on it to the degree of not being able to sustain their own, local economy. Thus, the

⁴⁶⁷ Müller (1992) 455

collapse of the ruling centres and of centralized economy possibly gave them the opportunity to act on their own, free of any previous control, and to benefit from their key geographical locations by participating in the new network of sites developing in Western Greece. The little available evidence from Medeon and that mostly from Delphi seem to point to continuation in the EIA of these external contacts with Western Greece – and with Thessaly in the case of Delphi.

The burial customs at both Delphi and Medeon could also support the above line of reasoning. The tholoi of Medeon and the single proper chamber tomb with a dromos at Delphi could be regarded as indications of the attachment of these two settlements to a ruling Mycenaean centre, which partially influenced them in the cultural realm. Their individual burial customs, however, i.e. the built chamber tombs at Medeon and the small dromos-less chamber tombs at Delphi seem to point to differentiation from prevalent Mycenaean customs, possibly also to adherence to local traditions, and thus to a certain degree of cultural independence from the typical Mycenaean trends.

9.6.6 *Transition to the EIA*

As already discussed, Medeon appears to strongly diverge from the Mycenaean customs in LHIIC-late with the introduction of single inhumations in pits outside the small tholos, and even more with the cremations in the PG period. The large chamber tomb at Delphi, on the other hand, continues to be in use until into the SM period, while the local version, i.e. the small, dromos-less chamber tomb carries on into the PG period, and there is only one possible case of a secondary cremation in a pit dating to EPG. This different response of the two sites to the introduction of new burial customs at the end of the LBA and in the EIA should probably be attributed to their different location: coastal Medeon must have been much more exposed than highland Delphi to the radical changes of this period, and thus the latter would have been slower in dismissing the Mycenaean past and adopting new customs. Nevertheless, Delphi too caught up with the developments of the EIA, and, probably through its already established contacts with Central Greece and Thessaly, also participated in the PG Euboian *koine*. It is indicative that the single potential urn from Delphi finds its best parallel in a MPG vase from Lefkandi.

Chapter III

Comparison of LBA-EIA transition in the Argolid and Central Greece (Phokis-East Lokris)

1. The Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris: core and periphery

1.1 Argive plain: a core area

1.1.1 *Hierarchy of Argive centres*

The Argive plain is generally perceived as a core area of the Mycenaean world. It is not only characterised by a “recognizably Mycenaean” culture,⁴⁶⁸ but it is also evidently organised according to the centralised, palatial system. However, when looked upon more closely, even the Argive plain does not constitute such a straightforward case. Instead of being organised around one palace, exerting its power and influence over a certain territory, the plain comprises several Mycenaean centres. The political and economic organisation and the inter-relationships of these centres involve very complex issues, and have been in the focus of extensive discussions. The fragmentary corpus of Linear B tablets from the Argive centres has unfortunately not allowed the reconstruction of the area’s political geography on the basis of written evidence, as is the case for example with Pylos.⁴⁶⁹ Instead, scholars have used the presence or absence of features such as fortifications, palaces and tholos tombs, to suggest a hierarchy of sites within the Argolid, while also drawing information from the rich assemblage of written tablets found at other sites, and especially Pylos. Besides, certain common features characterising all the Mycenaean major centres in terms of palatial and funerary architecture, as well as the appearance in all of them of Linear B records sharing common elements, have led to the assumption that the Mycenaean palatial world was in general organised according to the same basic social, political and economic principles, in spite of any regional differences.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Feuer’s criteria for core and periphery in Introduction, p.3.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Melena and Olivier (1991) 9, n.1: twenty-four tablets from Tiryns, sixty-five tablets and eight nodules from Mycenae. Four nodules have been more recently found at Midea – cf. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou (1994-1995) 328.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Darcque (1996) 709-713 for comments on the seeming uniformity of the Mycenaean world and the regional differentiations from the common pattern; and Shelmerdine (1999) for a comparative examination of archaeological evidence and written records from several Mycenaean centres.

Two main hierarchical models have been suggested for the Argolid, both based on the generally accepted notion of a strongly centralised, redistributive type of political and economic organisation, as emerging from the written evidence.⁴⁷¹ According to the Settlement Hierarchy model, as suggested by Bintliff, there were three basic categories of settlement in the Mycenaean world: the minor, the medium-sized and the large and important, or of uncertain status settlements, scattered at regular intervals over the landscape. A fourth level was not as frequent: “the supercentres that we identify as the locations of provincial administration”, such as Mycenae and Pylos, were in control of ‘kingdoms’ enclosing all the other settlement categories. The status of each settlement apparently depended on the richness of arable land to which it had access, with the exception of certain sites that would “compensate for a location lacking in extensive excellent soils, and achieve thereby major status”, either by enlarging their territory or by exploiting favourable harbour locations. Thus, according to Bintliff, Mycenae would compensate for its lack of a central location to the densest and richest arable cells of its kingdom by dominating not only the Argos plain but also the immensely fertile Corinth plateau.⁴⁷²

A parenthesis should be opened at this point, since Bintliff’s suggestions raise another complex issue, the extension of Mycenae’s power and control to the North. Not wanting to delve deeply into this subject, it would suffice to note here that the preliminary results of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, examined in combination with the available evidence for the rest of Corinthia, suggest a different course of LBA development for the south-west and north-east parts of the region, which points to a special link of the former with the Argolid, while the same cannot be reconstructed with safety for the latter part.⁴⁷³ Another aspect of this discussion is whether the link of South-west Corinthia with the Argolid, as reflected in the appearance, spread and increase of Mycenaean sites as well as in pottery should be thought to signify subordination to Mycenae or simply “coexistence of mutual interests”.⁴⁷⁴ The answer to this question has to remain speculative on the basis of the available evidence and to depend on one’s view on the function of Mycenaean palatial economy. Accepting centralisation and agricultural exploitation of extensive lands as key features of Mycenaean economy, for example, Cherry and Davis believe that it was very important for Mycenae to settle and control the Nemea Valley, since this would have led to “a quantum leap in the productive capabilities of the polity as a whole”, and “those in power

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Killen (1985) esp. 250-255 for the basic concept of Mycenaean redistributive economy; and Shelmerdine (2001) 358-362 for a more recent overview of economic and political administration.

⁴⁷² Bintliff (1977) 10-11

⁴⁷³ Morgan (1999) 347-367, esp. 351-353, 358-361

⁴⁷⁴ Morgan (1999) 361

would have profited greatly by exacting a surplus agricultural product from farmers of the area”.⁴⁷⁵ This view is in agreement with Bintliff’s Settlement Hierarchy model, which is not, however, incontestable.

A different model has been put forward by Kilian, who opposed to the idea of the plain being one single ‘kingdom’ under the control of Mycenae, and instead suggested that each major site – Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Argos, Nauplion – was in administrative control of a peripheral area comprising groups of settlements with a certain degree of autonomy in their internal organisation. These were large, unfortified settlements, such as Iraio, small fortified sites with lower towns outside the walls and often with a tholos tomb (e.g. Berbati, Prophitis Ilias), small unfortified villages (Phicthia, Monastiraki) and isolated farmsteads.⁴⁷⁶ The leading figure on top of this hierarchy of sites was the *wanax*.⁴⁷⁷

It is truly very difficult to decide upon either of these two models. Shelmerdine has eloquently expressed the problems of both of them: “if the three citadels of Tiryns, Midea and Mycenae were separate kingdom centres, each would be quite small; if they are part of a single kingdom, the multiplicity of citadels is quite different from the situation in Messenia or Boeotia, at least on present evidence.”⁴⁷⁸ Other scholars, however, have shown adherence to one or the other model. French, for example, has recently concluded on the basis of the almost total absence of pottery imports from Mycenae, and the opposite situation at Tiryns, that the whole Argolid might have indeed composed one Mycenaean state, with the several sites playing a different role: “we may well suppose that the Argolid was by palatial times a “kingdom” with a complex of centres under the ultimate control of one, perhaps the richest”. Thus, Mycenae would have been the ruling centre, Tiryns the port, and Argos the visual link, “for it is the only major site from which all the others are visible”.⁴⁷⁹

1.1.2 *Economic organisation and centralisation*

In addition to the problems regarding the geographical scope of each Argive centre and the resulting hierarchy of sites, the generally accepted notion of a strongly centralised, redistributive economy, on which both models of settlement hierarchy in the Argolid are based, has also come under scrutiny. It has been argued that not all economic functions of a certain area would have been under the control of the palace, since many of them – such as

⁴⁷⁵ Cherry and Davis (2001) 154

⁴⁷⁶ Kilian (1984) 64-67

⁴⁷⁷ Kilian (1988c) esp. 296: “...in the Argolid, unlike Messenia, we encounter a plurality of kingdoms rather than a single one.”

⁴⁷⁸ Shelmerdine (1999) 560

⁴⁷⁹ French (2005) 127

the production, circulation and trade of pottery – are not at all or only partially recorded in the Linear B archives, which solely reflect the palatial interests and involvement in economic life. The Mycenaean economic system seems to be much more complex than initially thought, and in addition to redistribution, which was organised by the palace and mobilized resources for the ultimate benefit of palatial elite, goods and services would have also moved between the palatial and non-palatial sectors, and within the latter as well, on a basis of exchange that would allow economic activities to develop beyond direct palatial control.⁴⁸⁰ In this way, a certain degree of decentralisation could be achieved in Mycenaean economy, and a respective degree of power should probably be expected to emanate from the palatial centre to the local, peripheral centres.

Nevertheless, other evidence, such as the burial customs and settlement patterns before and after the palatial collapse, point to strong centralisation in the Argolid. As shown by Voutsaki, a process of restriction of tholoi to the palatial centres and of overall decline in wealth and elaboration of the chamber tombs outside Mycenae was under way in the Argolid since LHIIIA and intensified in LHIIB, thus pointing to “a successful centralised system where wealth and labour are channelled exclusively towards the palatial centres.”⁴⁸¹ Thomas in turn has pointed out how different the Argive process of centralisation was from the situation in Messenia. This is reflected not only in the different distribution of tholoi but also in the development of settlement patterns after the great destruction at the end of LHIIB. While habitation in the Argolid continued in the major centres but not at most of the outlying towns (Cleonai, Zygouries, Prosymna, Vreserka, Magoula hill, Berbati), in Messenia Pylos

⁴⁸⁰ Halstead (1992) esp. 72-74; cf. also Shelmerdine (2001) for a synopsis on this discussion. Cf. Sjöberg (2004) 144 for total rejection of a controlled and centralised economy based on redistribution in the Argolid and for support of “a diversified and decentralised exchange pattern”, not backed however by the most convincing argumentation. She overcomes for example the occurrence of Linear B tablets in the houses outside Mycenae, such as the Ivory Houses, which point to centralisation and palatial control over the respective economic activities, with the argument that “the locations of the houses... point in the direction of a function that need not have been of an official and palatial character” – Sjöberg (2004) 76. However, the idea that writing and record-keeping were freely practiced in a private, non-palatial sector is strongly contradicted by the evidence on Linear B use coming from all other Mycenaean citadels. Cf. also Shelmerdine (1999) 569-573 for analytical discussion on tablets found in the Ivory Houses, and the information gained from them as regards palatial administrative practices.

Mylonas Shear also believes that the houses outside Mycenae were primarily residential buildings, and that all economic activities documented in their remains were of private nature, with no direct involvement of the palace. One of her main arguments is that literacy was widely spread within Mycenaean society, and thus the occurrence of Linear B tablets in a variety of contexts does not need to imply palatial control. Her argumentation, however, is circular, since she supports that it is this occurrence of tablets in a variety of contexts, which “suggests that writing had spread beyond the confines of the palace administration.” – cf. Mylonas Shear (2004) 23-27. Besides, if literacy had been so widely spread among Mycenaean, and if Linear B had also been used for private purposes, and not only in relation to palatial administration, then its loss after the palatial collapse would have been very difficult to explain.

⁴⁸¹ Voutsaki (1995) esp. 62

was deserted, while sites such as Nichoria survived into the EIA. She believes that we witness “something unusual occurring at Mycenae: a single authority succeeding in subduing those near peers who were acknowledged leaders in local regions. The success was uncharacteristic of other parts of Greece where the force of centralisation had not prevailed.”⁴⁸² However, it should be pointed out that it was not only major sites that survived after the collapse in the Argive plain (e.g. Asine), and not all sites immediately vanished from its periphery, as for example from the Southern Argolid. Therefore, although centralisation appears to have been strong in the Argolid, different degrees of dependence of peripheral sites on the centre should not be excluded. Such questions will be addressed extensively in the following pages.

At this point, it could be said that centralisation was a key feature of Mycenaean life in the Argolid, and that is what mostly affected the later evolution of settlement patterns in LHIIC. Once the centres collapsed, life could no longer continue in the same way as before in the rest of the Argolid. The side effects of the disaster that hit the centres are evident not only in the reduction of inhabited sites within the Argive plain, but also through the surface surveys in other parts of the Argolid, as already discussed. In general, the further development of surviving sites and of the whole area in post-palatial times was directly linked to their earlier relationship with the major centres and their degree of dependency upon them, as we will see more analytically further on.

1.2 Phokis-East Lokris: periphery

1.2.1 *Decentralisation and regionalism*

On the contrary, the areas of Phokis-East Lokris were characterised by lack of centralisation, as indicated by the examination of the LBA evidence. As previously discussed, the only area that shows a certain degree of centralisation is Krisa in the Gulf of Itea, although, even here, the evidence is not overwhelming. Besides, after the destruction at the end of LHIIB it was a peripheral site such as Delphi and not the centre of Krisa that flourished, showing that Delphi could retain and develop its own local economy and had not been entirely dependent on the centre of Krisa. The occurrence of tholos tombs at Medeon seems to identify this site too as an important centre. As discussed earlier, however, the topography of the area would have probably allowed Medeon to play the role of an ‘emporium’, i.e. of a significant trading centre, an outpost possibly of Orchomenos, rather

⁴⁸² Thomas (1995) esp. 353-354

than the role of a ruling centre. Therefore, instead of centralisation, the areas of Phokis-East Lokris were marked by regionalism. Each small geographical unit had its own different development, and probably included several autonomous or semi-autonomous settlements, potentially grouped around the most significant one among them. This description fulfills Deger-Jakotzy's criteria for the characterisation of the area as periphery.⁴⁸³

1.2.2 *Relationship with the centre*

The next question to address is what kind of relationship this peripheral area might have had with the nearest core area, i.e. whether the local settlements were simply under the cultural influence or under the administrative, political and economic control of a Mycenaean centre such as Orchomenos, which is the closest candidate. Although no certain palace remains have been excavated at Orchomenos, there are quite strong indications, the strongest being the 'Treasury of Minyas' – "the finest tholos tomb outside Mycenae", that this site hosted a powerful, possibly palatial centre.⁴⁸⁴ The drainage of the Copais lake and the construction of the fortress of Gla for the storing and protection of a great amount of agricultural produce are supposed to be the works of the ruler of Orchomenos, who apparently owed his wealth and power precisely to the cultivation of the lake.⁴⁸⁵ However, the precise status and role of the centre of Orchomenos in the area are still questions open to discussion.⁴⁸⁶ Under these circumstances and with no textual evidence at hand, it is very difficult to reconstruct its relationship with its neighbours in Phokis and East Lokris.

⁴⁸³ Cf. discussion in Introduction, p.4

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Hope Simpson (1981) 61 for summary of the finds and references on excavations; Spyropoulos has claimed that the buildings he excavated in front of Skripou church, below the 'acropolis' (eastern spur of Mt Akontion) composed part of the Mycenaean palace – cf. Spyropoulos (1974) 313-324. This suggestion has not been met with general agreement, and instead the structures in question have been interpreted as "outbuildings of a palace" – cf. Iakovidis (2001) 153. Nevertheless, Kilian (1988c) 296 had thought that Spyropoulos' megaron and another building excavated in the early 20th century by Bulle displayed the same pattern of architectural organisation as other Mycenaean palatial megara of LHIIIA.

⁴⁸⁵ Iakovidis (2001) 149-157: Gla was destroyed and abandoned a little before 1200 BC

⁴⁸⁶ Shelmerdine (1999) 560 notes that Orchomenos "may well be a palatial centre in its own right, but other sites are prominent too", and refers to Krisa, Eutresis and Gla. Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (2001) 357 suggest on the basis of names of localities identified on Linear B tablets from Thebes that the latter was in charge of eastern Boiotia, while western Boiotia would have probably belonged to the alleged palatial centre of Orchomenos.

1.2.3 *The evidence of seals*

Eder has attempted to investigate the problem by studying the distribution of two kinds of seals, the pressed/moulded glass seals and those of the Mainland Popular Group, which are produced from LHIIIA onwards and occur in great numbers in ‘peripheral’ areas such as Phokis and East Lokris – but also in palatial centres too. On the basis of stylistic affinities appearing within those groups as well as similarities in decoration to seals made of hard stone, which are more confidently linked to palatial administration, Eder argues that the pressed glass and Mainland Popular Group seals would have been used similarly to the hard stone seals, i.e. within the context of central palatial administration. Consequently, their distribution in areas such as Phokis and East Lokris is taken to show that these areas were not simply under the influence but directly under the administrative control of the palace – supposedly of Orchomenos. Additionally, the occurrence of hard stone seals in the periphery and occasionally in the same context – in tombs – with the other types of seals is thought to point to the same conclusion.⁴⁸⁷

Eder’s suggestion is indeed very interesting, even if hypothetical to a certain degree, and proposes a new methodology for the investigation of relationships between Mycenaean centres and peripheries. One objection to her idea might be that “the production of Mainland Popular Group seals could hardly be controlled or curtailed, for they were made in local materials, using simple non-specialized tools” – contrary to the seals made of hard stone or precious metal, whose production palace-based elites could easily curtail, “thereby ensuring that the remaining seals in circulation would acquire greater value as status markers”.⁴⁸⁸ Thus it could be suggested that Mainland Popular Group seals were not necessarily produced and used within the context of palatial control but were instead destined to be used by local elites as prestigious objects – exactly because of their affinities to the hard-stone, ‘palatial’ seals – and not as administrative tokens. “Their prevalence in ‘peripheral’ areas, sometimes still in mint condition when deposited in graves (occasionally alongside seals of hard stone or precious metal) suggests that their owners used them to negotiate status at local level by emulating perceived norms of behaviour in the Mycenaean heartland”.⁴⁸⁹ It has also been suggested that the soft-stone and pressed glass seals could not be used sphragistically nor served any economic function but were “partly used as amulets and/or jewels, and partly as special offerings for the gods and for the dead”.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ Eder (forthcoming a); (forthcoming b)

⁴⁸⁸ Krzyszkowska (2005a) 275

⁴⁸⁹ Krzyszkowska (2005a) 274

⁴⁹⁰ Pini (1990) 115-116; (1996) xxii; (1999) 333-335; cf. also Younger (1987) 65.

However, opposite views have also been put forward,⁴⁹¹ and the recently recovered sealing with the first certain impression by a Mainland Popular Group seal at Thebes is thought to indicate “that seals of this group played in fact a role in administrative procedures controlling the local flow of goods”.⁴⁹² On the other hand, a detailed, comparative study examining the distribution and tomb contexts of the Mainland Popular Group seals in different areas could only conclude that in peripheral areas, such as Phokis and East Lokris, “the regular combination of late seals of soft stone and pressed glass in rich burials with – on most occasions – seals of hard stone ... indicates their relation to an upper class imitating the representational forms of the Mycenaean centres.” It could not conclude, however, whether they had sphragistic and, consequently, clear economic function or were mostly of symbolic, social value.⁴⁹³

1.2.4 *Indirect ways of influence and control: the centre-periphery politics*

The discussion on this subject is only just beginning, and for the time being one can only hope for more conclusive results in the future. The possibility, however, of direct palatial control over the areas of Phokis-East Lokris is still worth keeping in mind. Even if it is not possible to prove a dependency upon the palace in precisely the way Eder has pictured it, a milder, less exploitative relationship between the local elites and the palatial centre, based on mutual interest and influence, can instead be assumed. It might have been the case that the local populations, represented by their ruling elites, were in contact with the Mycenaean strongholds of Boiotia in the means of trade or gift exchange or even agricultural contributions that would serve to ensure a good relationship with their powerful neighbours. In such a context, the local elites probably looked up to and imitated the cultural trends that were established and followed by the palatial elites, however, not in a passive way – simply because they “had no share in the cultural developments”⁴⁹⁴, but deliberately so, in order to enhance their own status and power. Indications for such a trend might be the large size and careful architectural layout of some of the tombs at Elateia, the tholos tombs at Medeon, the

⁴⁹¹ Cf. Müller (1995) 355-356 and (2003) 91 as regards pressed glass seals.

⁴⁹² Eder (forthcoming b)

For the sealing cf. Pini (2004) 36: no.373.

⁴⁹³ Dickers (2001) 109-120: she makes a distinction between East and West Phokis. Only in West Phokis are Mainland Popular Group seals found in contexts containing other kinds of seals too; in East Phokis and Lokris they occur in greater numbers than in the Mycenaean centres, but not in combination with other types of seals. Exceptions are Elateia and one of the tombs at Vagia, Kalapodi.

⁴⁹⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy (1998) 124: “...the famous cultural *koiné* of LHIIIA and B may also signify that many regions of Mycenaean Greece...were reduced to cultural provinces in the disparaging meaning of the word, while the palaces set the trends.”

extensive fortification wall at Krisa, as well as the seals that were deposited in the tombs as tokens of prestige, whether they had first served for administrative purposes or not.

It must be stressed that it is very difficult to firmly decide on the precise nature of relationships between Mycenaean centres and peripheries when there is not enough archaeological and, in particular, textual evidence. In addition, the possibility that not all parts of the periphery of a Mycenaean centre had the same exact relationship with the palace, depending on their proximity as well as their geographical or economic significance for the central administration, should be seriously taken into consideration. The areas of Phokis and East Lokris, in particular, must have surely attracted the attention of the Mycenaean centres of Boeotia, since they fall within significant routes leading to the North and to the West overland or by the sea, along the North Euboean Gulf and the Corinthian Gulf respectively. On the other hand, other areas lying on the route to the Eastern Mediterranean for example might have been of greater significance, considering the intense palatial communications with those parts, and thus it might have been more important for a Mycenaean centre to have them under its total control. It is indicative that Thebes was mostly interested in South and East Boiotia, so as to control the ports of the Southern Euboean Gulf, enabling the communication with the Aegean and the East Mediterranean, while Orchomenos appears to have mainly been an inland centre, probably drawing its power from the cultivation of the drained lake.⁴⁹⁵

Nevertheless, Orchomenos too would have needed ways-out to the seacoast to the East and the West. A less dominating relationship with the peripheral area of Phokis and East Lokris, which would nevertheless secure the access to the sea but also to inland routes to the North on the basis of mutual interest and such subtle social tactics such as gift exchange, could be more easily envisioned in this case.⁴⁹⁶ On the other hand, it is possible

⁴⁹⁵ Aravantinos (1999) 235

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Voutsaki (2001a) 206-207 for remarks regarding the role of gift exchange and conspicuous consumption in the process of centralisation of resources and the emergence of the centralised palatial system: she describes how the conspicuous consumption that the centre demonstrates, leads the gift exchange system to become asymmetric, since “goods no longer move among points of the periphery, but from the periphery to the emerging centre”, and “the relations between the exchange partners change from equality or quasi-equality to relations of dependence”. “Asymmetric gift exchange is therefore a subtle, but forceful way to exert indirect political influence and ensure the loyalty of a lesser exchange partner. The weaker partner also gains by this exchange as he is placed under the protection of the central elite and acquires status by his proximity to them.” Thus, “the foundations for a centralised, tributary system are laid”. The point where the relationship between the peripheral and the local elites changes and the former becomes subordinate to the latter comes “when the primarily social and moral constraint becomes institutionalised and can, therefore, be accompanied by the use of force”. Voutsaki examines the case of the Dodecanese, which she considers to have been under ‘institutionalised’ palatial control, as indicated by the distribution of valuables before and after the collapse of the palatial system, showing that “in the palatial period, control over the exchange of prestige items and raw materials had been achieved” – Voutsaki (2001a) 209-211.

that not all parts of this peripheral area were equally related to the palace, since the coastal parts, in particular, would have probably been of greater significance. As it will be shown further on, such differences in centre-periphery relationships might be possible to trace through the comparison of LBA-EIA transition in different parts of the same area.

The above line of argument agrees, to some extent, with Sherratt's idea of defining Mycenaean palatial territories, not in the traditional way of "regionally based territorial states", but in the sense of centres controlling segments of route networks.⁴⁹⁷ Sherratt considers this control to be the primary motivation for the formation of Mycenaean 'territories' – thinking, as she says, "more in terms of routes rather than regions". I would, however, prefer to see the control of routes combined with the more traditional notion of control over core regions, which the palaces economically exploited and politically controlled. Such a combination of motivations allows a reconstruction of several different degrees of control exercised by the palaces over different areas and for different reasons, which might have been closer to Mycenaean reality than either a reconstruction of 'imperial', super-power states or one of 'hillforts', rising in power simply because they happened to be "in the right place at the right time in the history of Mediterranean maritime interaction".⁴⁹⁸

2. Socio-political changes after the palatial collapse: LHIIC-early

2.1 Changes in the core area: who succeeds the wanax?

After the palatial collapse, the major centres in the Argolid continued to be occupied. Substantial works of levelling the ruins, clearing off the debris, restoring previous buildings and building new ones were soon undertaken in the three citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea. As already discussed, this type of activity indicates the existence of a central, ruling authority in charge of each centre that could organise the restoration project, mobilize resources and see to the plans' execution. The following questions emerge: who succeeded the *wanax* and his elite entourage? Was there still a *wanax* and an elite class? How powerful

According to an opposite view by Sherratt, however, "that there was regular traffic between the North-eastern Peloponnesian region (including the Saronic and Argive gulfs) and Rhodes seems clear, but all that was needed to facilitate this was an absence of mutual hostility or direct competition ... and a recognition that allowing the ships of others to use one's ports was likely to benefit one's interests." – cf. Sherratt (2001) 223-224, n.17.

⁴⁹⁷ Sherratt (2001) 215-238, esp. 230-234

⁴⁹⁸ Sherratt (2001) 238

were the new rulers in comparison to palatial times and how did the power structure change from palatial to post-palatial times?

2.1.1 *The qa-si-re-u theory*

It has been in general suggested that after the destruction at the end of LHIIIB, the ruling of the communities was taken over by former palatial officials, functionaries of palatial administration and subordinates to the *wanax*. One such palatial functionary is identified in the Linear B tablets and is also known from Homeric and later texts, and as a result is believed to have been ‘inherited’ into Greek political life from Mycenaean times. This is the *qa-si-re-u*, the well-known *basileus*. According to the Linear B tablets, *qa-si-re-u* was an official title in palatial times, belonging to more than one person, whose role and responsibilities could not be precisely defined, but who seem to be responsible for groups of bronze smiths or for communities in areas lying further away from the palace.⁴⁹⁹ It has been argued that the differences in the role and function between the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* and the probably higher in social rank Homeric *basileus* are due to changes that the role of this palatial official underwent in post-palatial times, when from a “team-leader” of some sort he became the ruler of a community and was attributed all the appropriate characteristics of leadership, which were important for that period, and also appear in the Homeric texts. Most distinct among these virtues is the military prowess, which was apparently highly esteemed in those times of destructions, population movements, instability and insecurity, as also indicated by the depictions of warriors on LHIIC-middle pictorial vases and the warrior burials.⁵⁰⁰

The suggestion that after the palatial collapse, ruling authority passed on to the hands of former palatial officials, who were now elevated in social rank and transformed, as

⁴⁹⁹ The title has appeared nine times in Linear B tablets from Pylos: one tablet recorded the allocations of bronze to twenty-one groups of smiths; three *qa-si-re-we* were responsible for three of the groups. One of them is mentioned with his son, which suggests that the title and his role might have been hereditary. One *qa-si-re-u* also appears with other officials on a tablet recording redistribution of gold. The term *qa-si-re-wi-ja* also appears in four texts from Pylos; it seems to mean a fixed economic entity dependent on the *qa-si-re-u*, which is difficult to define more precisely. The title has also occurred ten times at Knossos and once at Thebes. Their social position appears to vary, and their only common point is the exercise of authority – cf. Carlier (1984) 108-116. According to Bennet (1997) 521, “the local level of palatial administration seems to have been in the hands of titled officials (the *ko-re-te*, and the *po-ro-ko-re-te*, perhaps ‘X’ and ‘vice-X’). The function of the *qa-si-re-u* may have been as a truly local official, not appointed by the palace, but recognized by the community”.

⁵⁰⁰ Deger-Jalkotzy (1991) 62; (1994) 16; (1995) 376

Foxhall has put it, from ‘second-order’ to ‘first-order’ elites, is indeed very interesting.⁵⁰¹ To be able to trace such a sociopolitical change through the survival and transformation of a Mycenaean title, as it has been suggested, is truly remarkable. Let us see now whether the archaeological evidence from the Argolid could possibly verify the linguistic indications.

It should first be stressed again that the LHIIC communities of the major Argive centres must have been politically organised and socially stratified. Luxury items found in LHIIC contexts point to status differentiations and the existence of elites, and there are quite strong indications in the cases of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea of a deliberate attempt on behalf of the new rulers to reactivate certain already existing symbols of power and thus to create a link with the palatial past in order probably to legitimise their authority. Therefore, the people who took over and were now in charge of these three sites appear to show respect towards the palatial past, and, as a result, it seems possible that they might have themselves originated from the elite classes of palatial officials, to which the *qa-si-re-u* would have also belonged. The relatively rich evidence from Tiryns allows us to approach even closer to these new rulers and elite members.

2.1.2 *The evidence from Tiryns: qa-si-re-u or wanax?*

As already discussed in detail, it is believed that there was one person, a ruler, on top of the LHIIC social hierarchy at Tiryns, as indicated by the preservation of the throne in Building T. On the other hand, the re-organisation and expansion of the Lower Town point to the existence of a newly rising social class, which, freed from the old constraints of palatial organisation and social hierarchy, chooses to settle down outside the fortifications. While the uprising social class is very dynamic and powerful, the ruler himself and probably his immediate circle are much weaker than the ruling class of palatial times. Indications of power of the uprising social class are the impressive building with the multiple internal rows of columns in the north-east sector of the Lower Town, as well as the finds recovered in the destruction layer of this building, betraying commercial contacts with Crete and Cyprus.⁵⁰² Such long-distance contacts were apparently in the hands of the new uprising social class in this new era. The ruler and his supporting elite, on the other hand, did not have “nearly the same power at their disposal” as their LHIIB predecessors, as it is reflected in the simpler

⁵⁰¹ Foxhall (1995) 247: “... the new hegemony might well have been the equivalent of ‘second-order’ elites of the old structures.”

⁵⁰² Maran (2002a) 10

architectural plan of the *Antenbau* and in their inability to restore the palace to its previous glory.⁵⁰³

Thus, it seems that the idea of ‘second-order’ elites replacing the ‘first-order’ officials of palatial times is verified in the LHIIC remains of Tiryns. It is less clear, however, what the relationship actually was between the new ruler and the new ‘first-order’ elite members, i.e. whether the ruler originated from this class or not, and if yes, whether he still belonged to it or if he and possibly his immediate circle were considered to be higher in social rank once they gained the rulership. It is still not clear whether he is a *wanax*, albeit with very restricted authority as compared to palatial times, or a *basileus* with a council of *basileis* around him.

Maran suggests that the new ruler actually originates from and belongs to one of the new elite families, and because of the strong competition he is facing from the other elite families, his position is weakened and he is thereby forced to use the old palatial symbols in order to legitimise his power by linking it to the tradition. For the justification of his rulership, the post-palatial ruler must prove himself through individual accomplishments and must also claim noble descent from the kings of the past through the “monopolization of fixed and moveable symbols of kingly power”, such as the megaron on the Upper Citadel and the ‘Tiryns treasure’, which Maran interprets as an assembly of *keimilia* in the possession of one of the post-palatial ruling families, passed down from generation to generation so as to perpetuate power within the same family and to create a kind of ruling dynasty. In addition, he suggests that the megaron was probably not re-established as the ruler’s residence but as “a communal hall, where an assembly of members of noble families convened under the direction of the ruler”. Herein lies another possible reason for the choice not to restore the rest of the palace. Besides being a very ambitious project, such a restoration was probably neither needed nor wanted, since the ruler would have resided in the Lower Town, possibly in a building like Megaron W. In sum, the uprising social class rejected the palatial past and moved outside the citadel in order to advance freely in this new era, but the ruler and his family, although originating from this class, still needed to affiliate with the past, in order to claim their power and retain their role.⁵⁰⁴

Maran’s suggestions are highly interesting and bring us ever closer to the nature and origin of post-palatial rulers. The crucial question arising from the LHIIC evidence is, in his own words, whether the survival of built structures and symbols of the palatial period “should be explained as an attempt to actually restore the social order of the palatial period

⁵⁰³ Maran (2000) 15

⁵⁰⁴ Maran (2006)

or rather as an effort to gain legitimacy under new social and political circumstances through the reference to the past”.⁵⁰⁵ His opinion, as presented above, corresponds of course to the latter interpretation. However, some observations might point to a deliberate restoration of the palatial political order, in spite of the radical social and economic changes. The strongest indication, which seems to contradict Maran’s interpretation of the evidence, is the clear differentiation between the LHIIIIC-early occupation within and outside of the citadel – as this is at least possible to discern on the basis of the currently available evidence. As discussed in the relevant chapter, while the works of restoration and rebuilding within the citadel were selective and partial and show interest mostly in buildings of some special political or religious significance, the area outside of the palace was occupied according to a new plan of spatial arrangement, with units of domestic and working spaces organised around central courts. Therefore, while all religious and political activities were concentrated within the citadel, the economic activities took place outside, as indicated by workshop- and trade-related evidence.

This differentiation in spatial organisation and corresponding activities could be interpreted in the following way: political power was still attached to the palace and potentially to the survivors of palatial elite, while economic power was now taken over by the new uprising class, possibly consisting of former lower officials, who had been in charge of economic activities before the palatial collapse too – acting of course in those times on behalf of palatial authorities – and, thus, possessed the know-how of workshop production or commercial transactions, but now used their knowledge and capacities for their own benefit – and for that reason also chose to reside away from political authorities, outside the citadel: centralisation would no longer characterise the economic life of Tiryns. Such a social change should probably be envisaged like the rise of a middle class, consisting of entrepreneurs acting on their own initiative rather than under the control of the ruler. However, in this transitional phase of economic and social changes, political power might have not been usurped yet by the rising ‘middle-class’ members, who probably could not break completely free from tradition and choose their ruler from among their ranks. Ruling authority might still be in the hands of a surviving palatial elite, which however would no longer be strong enough to control the economic activities and to restrain the new, rising elite.

Kilian too had stressed the opposition between the patterns of spatial organisation within and outside the citadel, and also thought that it corresponded to a differentiation between the leading group and the subordinate population residing in the Lower Town.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ Maran (2006)

⁵⁰⁶ Kilian (1988b) 135; also Kilian (1983b) 77-81; (1985) 80-81

Deger-Jalkotzy has also addressed the question whether the LHIIC ruler would have been a *qa-si-re-u* now elevated to the status of a real *basileus*, or a new *wanax*, claiming for himself the title of the great palatial past. She suggested that in the case of Tiryns, the restoration of Building T and its dominant position on the Upper Citadel, distinguishing it from the elite houses at the foot of the citadel (e.g. Megaron W), point to a monarchical structure of power. However, she stressed that the small extent to which the power of LHIIC rulers would have reached, is not compatible with a truly monarchical position of the ruler, whether called *basileus* or *wanax*.⁵⁰⁷

Besides, one is led to wonder where the ruler's and his circle's power actually derived from, if they had lost control over trade and if the "middle" class was growing so powerful. The response should be looked for again in the exploitation of the palatial symbols, aiming to underline the links with the past and enhance the ruler's power.⁵⁰⁸ It could even be suggested that the ruler originated from a family with genealogical links to the rulers of palatial times. Such a noble descent – or at least the claim of it – would probably have significant effect on the population, including the uprising social class, since it would add up to the rise of the ruler to a higher social rank, differentiating him from the rest of the population. The ruler at Tiryns would not be a *qa-si-re-u* acquiring the status of a *basileus*, but a degenerated *wanax*.

His degenerated status is also evident in the new, different relationship between the ruler and his subordinates in comparison to palatial times, as reflected in the architecture of the new megaron, testifying to a reduced distance between the ruler and the followers. As Maran has pointed out, "the elongated hall may now have given the ruler the possibility to demonstrate and to advertise his prowess through feasts and gatherings."⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, while an attempt was made to restore the palatial order in political terms, the changes in social and economic life marked by the rise of the new elite families would inevitably affect the political organisation too. The ruler might possess the noble descent, but he would now have to somehow prove himself and his abilities; his authority was no longer unquestionable, as it must have been in palatial times. He must have also lost his deified character. Although the secular power must have still been connected to the religious sphere, as the re-establishment of the altar in front of the megaron shows, the cult performances would have become less mysterious and more involving for the population. This conclusion has been based on changes in the orientation and spatial organisation in the Lower Citadel, which rendered the new cult place more accessible and less tightly connected to the Upper Citadel. In addition,

⁵⁰⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (1995) 376

⁵⁰⁸ Maran (2000) 14-15; (2001) 119-121

⁵⁰⁹ Maran (2001) 118

the architecture of the new megaron also points to the degeneration – or even complete loss – of the hearth-wanax ideology, as discussed in Chapter 1: 3.1.2 (p.33-4). The centripetal organisation that James Wright reconstructed on the basis of palatial architecture is now becoming centrifugal.⁵¹⁰ In sum, the ruler must have been much weaker in LHIIC as compared to his LHIIB status, and as he weakened in power, his subordinates must have gained more control over the political running of the community. According to Kilian, this was “a more levelled society” than that of palatial times, a “city society”: “apart from the leading group... there should be some political power inherent in these paratactical social groups.”⁵¹¹

Although this interpretation agrees in many points with Maran’s, it differs in essence, in that instead of seeing the political change occurring radically after the destruction at the end of LHIIB, it suggests that it occurred gradually throughout LHIIC. According to this view, there was initially an attempt to restore political power in the face of a *wanax*, but this was hindered by the social and economic changes, which made lower officials grow in power, gain political consciousness and force the ruler to share the ruling of the community with them. This process would have been characterised by strong competition, culminating probably in LHIIC-middle, the phase during which the former differentiation between the use of space outside and inside the citadel is obscured, economic activities also start taking place within the walls, and impressive buildings appear at the same time in the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town.

2.1.3 *The evidence from Mycenae: wanax or lawagetas?*

The post-palatial succession of power at the other Mycenaean centres in the Argolid is even more difficult to reconstruct. The resumption of cult activity in the area of the Cult Centre of Mycenae constitutes the strongest evidence pointing to continuity at this site, and the recovery of possibly rich offerings or luxurious cult implements in this area might indicate an attempt on behalf of the new elite to associate itself with the palatial past. However, the evidence as regards the reuse of palace buildings is not as strong as at Tiryns. As already discussed, rebuilding was undertaken over part of the House of Columns, but probably not with the aim to restore the LHIIB building. Thus, the claim that the LHIIC building might have taken over the role and function of its predecessor seems unsubstantiated in this case.⁵¹² However, it is worth pointing out here that according to

⁵¹⁰ Wright (1994) esp.59-60

⁵¹¹ Kilian (1988b) 135

⁵¹² Mylonas (1968b) 37-38

Kilian, the House of Columns might have been the residence of a high-ranking official such as the *lawagetas* in palatial times, in analogy to a similar role suggested for the Lesser Megaron at Tiryns and the South-west Building at Pylos.⁵¹³ Although reservations have been expressed against this suggestion,⁵¹⁴ it would be interesting to entertain the possibility that this building was truly the seat of a high-status palatial official, probably in charge of the workshop activities taking place in the neighbouring Artisans' Quarters,⁵¹⁵ and it can be suggested that its partial rebuilding in LHIIC might point to the continuing role of this official in post-palatial times too – albeit with much restricted authority, if judging by the new plan of the building. If the House of Columns had been the seat of a palatial official, could the construction of new rooms on top of it signify that this official took over the ruling of the site in LHIIC-early, and replaced the *wanax*, whose seat – the megaron – lay in ruins? A parenthesis should be opened at this point: even if French's suggestion for the post-palatial dating of the 'geometric' building in the palace court were accepted – in spite of the problems discussed in the relevant chapter – this should not be chronologically placed, always according to French, earlier than LHIIC-middle. Therefore, the restoration and rebuilding project undertaken at Mycenae right after the destruction, i.e. in LHIIC-early, included the House of Columns – the potential *lawagetas*' s residence, but not the Great Megaron.

Even if French's suggestion was correct, no attempt to restore the palatial order, either right after the destruction or later, would be documented at Mycenae on the basis, at least, of the surviving building remains. The allegedly LHIIC-middle building in the court of the palace does not share any common features with the palatial structures either in plan or in orientation. It does not even reuse any of the old walls, as the LHIIC rooms over the House of Columns do. The *lawagetas* might have survived, cult activity in the area of the Cult Centre seems to continue, luxury items are still offered or used in cult, and fresco paintings still decorate the walls of a building in the South-west Quarter, but the *wanax* is not even symbolically restored. There is a ruling elite, but it does not seem to claim genealogical or symbolic connections with the palatial monarchy. It is probably very much weakened in

⁵¹³ Kilian (1987) esp. 28-32

⁵¹⁴ Dickinson (1994) 154

Cavanagh (2001) 129: "it may be that the 'Lawagetas' House' at Mycenae was located on the brow of the acropolis hill, an area whose eroded and fragmentary remains still defy a definitive reconstruction."

⁵¹⁵ Iakovidis (1977) 121 describes it as "the biggest and stateliest building of the East wing of the palace... perhaps the residence of the palace intendant".

power.⁵¹⁶ The post-palatial change of political order at Mycenae appears to be more radical than at Tiryns.

2.1.4 *The evidence from Midea*

At Midea, on the other hand, the pattern we saw at Tiryns seems to be repeated. It is not absolutely certain, however, that the restored megaron on one of the lower, north-eastern terraces at Midea should be regarded as equal in significance and function to the Great Megaron of Tiryns. If there had been, in fact, a palace on top of the hill of Midea, which has not survived, then the megaron would have been a subsidiary building. In that case, its restoration might signify the usurping of political power by former palatial officials who might have been in charge of the ceremonial and administrative activities that probably took place in the area of the megaron in LHIIIB. The abandonment of the cemetery at Dendra could also support the idea that the *wanax* and his entourage were no longer in charge, if it could be identified with the 'royal' cemetery, as besides indicated by the rich contents of the tombs. Thus, although the evidence from Midea points to deliberate continuity aiming probably to the creation of a link with the palatial past, it is possible that here too no attempt was made to restore the political order of palatial times, and instead, lower palatial officials took over the ruling power. However, it should be stressed that the absence of remains on top of the hill does not allow us to draw certain conclusions about the succession of power at Midea.

2.1.5 *Argos and Asine*

The evidence from the other two major Mycenaean centres of Argos and Asine does not allow many comments on the issues of power structure and succession of power before and after the palatial collapse. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that while our knowledge of the LHIIIB status of these two settlements and of their transition to LHIIC is deficient, it is at least known that in LHIIC-middle and especially LHIIC-late Argos and Asine seem to experience population increase and prosperity. In fact, the general impression we get from the evidence is that the two sites, probably for different reasons, did not manage to get reorganised and to recover immediately after the palatial collapse. It could be suggested that

⁵¹⁶ Maran (2006): "... in spite of the still existing outstanding artistic abilities documented by the 'Lady with the Lily', the use of pictorial wall-painting in the post-palatial period for certain reasons became a much more restricted phenomenon than in palatial times... the abandonment of the central hearth and the changed significance of fresco-painting may go back to the same cause, namely the altered position of rulership in LHIIC."

they had been politically and economically dependent on or exploited by the Argive palatial centres during LHIIIB, and that after the palatial collapse no attempt was made on behalf of the now weakened centres of power to re-establish the political order in their former 'outposts'. The situation, however, changed from LHIIC-middle onwards, as will be discussed later on.

2.1.6 Summary of LHIIC-early changes

In general, power most likely passed on to the hands of lower officials in the former palatial centres of the Argolid, who tried to establish links with the palatial past in order to legitimise their new status. At Tiryns in particular, it is possible that the ruler still claimed the title of the *wanax*, but here too the rise of lower officials may have restricted his power. Decentralisation characterised now the political, social and economic life of the former palatial centres, and the extent of their power must have been greatly reduced. The rest of the Argolid that used to be under their control, including probably Argos and Asine, was abandoned to its fate, without any governing body in the position to coordinate the situation right after the collapse. As a result, population movements must have taken place and probably led to depopulation of areas within and around the plain (e.g. Berbati-Limnes area) and the concentration of people around the surviving centres, and especially Tiryns. In areas further away from the plain, such as the Southern Argolid, the major settlements survived in LHIIC, probably under the rule of local elites, but the countryside was largely abandoned, while part of the population might have moved to upland sites for reasons of security. A more distant area, such as Methana, was probably much less affected by the palatial collapse, as indicated by the long-term survival of its major centres into the EIA. The areas of Southern Argolid and Methana, however, should be considered as parts of the periphery of the Argive core area, and thus their development will be better understood after the discussion on the Phokis-Lokris periphery.

2.2 Changes in the periphery

It is now time to examine how the power structure might have been affected by the palatial collapse in peripheral areas such as those of Phokis and East Lokris. The suggestion that ruling authority passed down to the hands of officials formerly subordinate to the palace, could possibly apply to the periphery too. These officials should be envisaged as local elite members, whose ancestors had exercised "regional, largely independent power" before the

rise of the palatial centres, and they themselves continued to do so in palatial times on a local level “at the king’s command”.⁵¹⁷ It has been suggested, for example, that at places like Kynos “we may locate individuals of the rank of *qa-si-re-u*, who at some point during the post-palatial period took over part of the power formerly held by the Mycenaean *wanax*”.⁵¹⁸ Thus, it could be assumed that after the palatial collapse self-governing carried on without serious interruptions.⁵¹⁹

Whether this model can be applied to a certain area and to what extent depends on the degree of centralisation in the respective region and on the relationship between the centre and its periphery. In our earlier discussion on the complex issue of centre-periphery relations, it was suggested that the areas of Phokis and East Lokris were not necessarily dominated by a palace, but might have nonetheless retained a subordinate relationship with it, based on mutual interest and social tactics such as gift exchange. If that had been the case in palatial times, the local elites would have preserved their ruling power, while also interacting with the central, palatial elites in a possibly unequal way that served the need of the core area to have open access to routes towards North and West, as well as the need of the periphery to have smooth relationships with its powerful neighbours. Besides, this interaction must have added to the prestige and power of the local elites, as reflected in the adoption of Mycenaean status symbols and customs.⁵²⁰ The question, however, whether the areas were administratively controlled by a palace cannot be firmly answered on the basis of the current evidence. Another interesting question, as noted above, is whether all parts of the peripheral area would have had the same sort of relationship with central administration. It should anyway be noted that the local rulers in such a peripheral area could have also been called *qa-si-re-we*, since it is believed that the office of the *qa-si-re-u* was not appointed by the palace but recognized by the community.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Thomas (1995) 349

Cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 375: “The dissolution of the palatial administration appears to have been the cause for the rise of these local chieftains who in the LHIII B period may have been local governors dependent on the central authority.”

⁵¹⁸ Crielaard (2006)

⁵¹⁹ Cf. Foxhall’s suggestion for Nichoria: “...it is likely that this elite had maintained its eliteness, its special position, in local terms independently of the palace to some extent. In other words, the local worthies were considered worthy in large measure because of their integrated socio-political relationships (e.g. patronage, kinship, and the like) with people in Nichoria, not because of relationships imposed by the palace from outside ... Hence, when palace control declined, the status of these local elites in provincial centres may actually have been enhanced...” – Foxhall (1995) 248.

⁵²⁰ The model that Thomas has suggested for territorial ‘officials’ in the Mycenaean kingdoms should perhaps apply even more so to elites of peripheral areas: “the regional, largely independent power they already exercised in their own names brought legitimisation by a ‘king’ seeking wider authority.” Her suggestion is based on evidence provided by Linear B tablets, physical remains and settlement patterns – cf. Thomas (1995) 349-354.

⁵²¹ Bennet (1997) 521

2.2.1 *LHIIIC-early: stabilization of local elites*

In any case, the collapse of the palatial world would not be without any impact on the peripheral areas of Phokis and East Lokris, and in particular on the power structure. If not affecting the local economy to a devastating degree – since this might have been functioning quite autonomously, without being dependent on central redistribution or agricultural production techniques controlled by the palace – the palatial collapse would have nevertheless cut off any benefits that came out of the local elites' attachment to a palace, such as participation in the running of palace-orientated trade. Additionally, it must have caused disturbance of social dynamics, since it meant the loss of a stabilizing factor, which contributed to the prestige and power of the local ruling elites.

The impact of the palatial collapse on the area might be reflected in the general drop in the number of sites from LHIIIB to LHIIIC, the possible reduction in the number of tombs at Elateia and the drop in burials at Medeon. However, all these points are not without problems. In the cases of Elateia and Medeon in particular, although a reconstruction of LHIIIC-early decline and LHIIIC-middle recovery for the history of the cemeteries seems possible, the lack of corresponding settlement evidence does not allow us to confirm the impression we get from the burials. As regards the drop in the number of sites, a more systematic research in the area and especially at sites recovered by surface survey might change the current picture.

In spite of the above problems in tracing and estimating the impact of the palatial collapse in the areas of Phokis and East Lokris, it could at least be said with certainty that LHIIIC-middle appears to be a much more successful period for the region. Evidence from Kynos, Mitrou, Elateia and Medeon shows LHIIIC-middle to be a period of prosperity and interregional contacts. In the cases of both Elateia and Medeon in particular, in which more precise information is available, this period of recovery does not seem to start before the latter half of LHIIIC-middle, i.e. LHIIIC-advanced, as indicated by the dating of pottery. Thus, although it is difficult to pinpoint the graveness of the impact of the palatial collapse on the region, it still seems to be the case that some time elapsed before the local populations managed to get re-organised, to accommodate any changes that might have occurred in their economy and socio-political world, to discover the potentials of the new situation, to exploit them and prosper.

2.2.2 *The role of the sanctuary of Kalapodi*

This intermediate phase of adjustment is also probably reflected in the evidence from the sanctuary of Kalapodi itself. It should be pointed out here that only one stratigraphical layer containing relatively little pottery has been dated to LHIIC-early, and in particular to its advanced phase, as opposed to the following LHIIC phases, each one of which corresponds stratigraphically to at least two layers.⁵²² It has been said that only with the second layer, which marks the beginning of LHIIC-middle, does the essential use of the site begin, while LHIIC-middle/advanced is considered to be the flourishing phase of the period.⁵²³ It is also in this phase that the stone shrine is built, the first of a series of hearths is installed nearby, and the assumed 'official' attributes of religion make their appearance (cf. app.IX.9, p.459-463, esp.463). This probably indicates that the newly founded sanctuary did not have an established form right from the start and probably did not immediately attract many visitors – or at least not the elite, but only after some time did it become 'official' and architecturally embellished, and gain a firm position on the religious map of the area. This two-phase evolution of the sanctuary seems to coincide with our general impression of an initially numb and later dynamic reaction of the local populations to the palatial collapse.

The establishment of the sanctuary of Kalapodi should be placed in the context of this period of adjustment. After the links of the area with the palatial centres had been dissolved because of the palatial destruction at around 1200 BC, the local populations must have initially felt isolated and cut off from their common reference point. They no longer belonged to the periphery of a palatial centre nor did they have to act under its influence or control – depending on our definition of the periphery and its relationship to the palace. They could now act for themselves, but they would first need to get reorganised. Any benefits that they might have formerly enjoyed as part of the palatial periphery, such as participation in trade, status, stability, possibly protection from outward sources of threat, were lost. The local elites would now have to take over and cover up for the sudden lack of palatial 'guidance'. Their status might have been, however, jeopardized, since it was no longer legitimised by a higher power.

In this context, the newly founded sanctuary seems to replace the role of the palatial centre as a common reference point, and most probably becomes the new meeting place where the local populations would not only fulfil their religious needs but also interact with

⁵²² Jacob-Felsch (1996) 91-92

⁵²³ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 93-97, esp. 93 and 96

their neighbours and secure the safety and stability of the area.⁵²⁴ We can imagine that it was the local elites who would play a primary role in such gatherings, carrying out the assumed political action that took place – if not the religious as well. It might have also been through such meetings at the sanctuary that the local elites legitimised themselves in the eyes of the local communities.⁵²⁵ In this way, the sanctuary would have served multifaceted purposes.

2.2.3 *The role of Delphi*

The only site that appears to strongly diverge from the pattern of decline in LHIIC-early, corresponding to a phase of adjustment after the palatial collapse, and subsequent rise in LHIIC-middle, is Delphi. As already discussed, Delphi has produced rich LHIIC-early evidence, while it seems to experience turbulences or some kind of decline in LHIIC-middle, from which it recovers towards the end of this phase and especially in LHIIC-late. It could perhaps be suggested that the community of Delphi, and especially the elite in charge, had not become subordinate in any way to a palace during palatial times, and, therefore, was not at all disturbed by the political, social and economic changes that followed the palatial collapse. It was suggested earlier that Delphi might have played a significant role as

⁵²⁴ Morgan has discussed the different cases of several ‘transitional’ sanctuaries that appear at some point in the period from LHIIC to EPG, and has concluded, “the appearance of new shrines from LHIIC onwards marked the start of a process of re-appraisal of community identity as palatial authority crumbled and shifted, and regions became more isolated” – cf. Morgan (1996) 57, esp. 47-48 for Kalapodi. Lemos (2002) 224 has also noted that the location of sanctuaries “in areas which have not necessarily been associated with the Mycenaean past suggests that those which were established in the LHIIC might have partly replaced some of the functions of the palaces. Kalapodi was one such sanctuary... These early sanctuaries were founded to serve as communication centres rather than to define and mark boundaries of specific communities, as perhaps was the case in later periods. During this period it was more important to uphold or re-establish communication which was partly interrupted by the loss of the palace administration and the movement of population. There were perhaps no better centres than the extra-urban sanctuaries where interaction could have been accomplished in sacred surroundings”.

⁵²⁵ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 393 has suggested that “one of the main means [for the post-palatial chiefs of the expanded oikoi or villages] of maintaining their leading position” would have been “the management of communal cult practice”. As also indicated by his general theory about rulers’ dwellings functioning also as cult places in the period of the ‘Dark Ages’, he considers the connection between power and religion to be very strong, especially in such a period of social change and power shifts as that following the palatial collapse. Morgan (1996) 45 has also discussed the relationship between ritual, which she defines as “a means of transmitting cultural regulations about ethical relationships within the community and between humans and the divine”, and power. She has shown that as ritual tends to change throughout time, whoever is in position to define these changes is also in power of defining normal conduct, and is, thus, in control of the population. “Although ritual need not change predictably in step with political developments, it is reasonable to expect there to be some relationship”. Cf. also Knapp (1996) 13: “Although rituals are linked to tradition and the sacred, and are thus often regarded in static terms, at the same time rituals serve as ‘acts of power’ that associate authority with some non-secular source, and are thus potent forces for change. When people engage in ritual action, they express a strong, symbolic attachment to a particular point of view; the conservative nature of such actions or rituals gives them formidable power in reaffirming the old or legitimising the new political situation.”

coordinator in the local economy of the area encompassing the valley of Pleistos and the upland plain of Livadi, and it might have actually played this role on behalf of or at least in cooperation with the centre of Krisa. It would have not been dependent on it, however, to the degree of not being able to carry on its role after Krisa's destruction. It could also be suggested that the site of Delphi, having escaped destruction – possibly thanks to its relatively remote location – took over from Krisa the role of the region's focal point in LHIIC, and might have even attracted people from other sites too. If we also thought of the religious activities that seem to have taken place at Delphi since LHIIB, we might want to consider for LHIIC Delphi a role parallel to that of Kalapodi: the practice of cult might have been perceived here too as a common reference point for the population of the area and could have contributed to the survival and well-being of the settlement, consequently endorsed with the role of a regional centre.

2.3 Comparison of impact and socio-political changes after the palatial collapse in the centre and the periphery

To sum up, the impact of the palatial collapse appears to have been much graver in the core area of the Argolid than in the periphery of Phokis and East Lokris. In the Argolid, depopulation of areas and population movements took place, possibly resulting in nucleation around the former palatial centres. Extensive works of levelling and rebuilding were undertaken in the centres of Mycenae, Midea and especially Tiryns, while ruling authority seems to pass down to formerly lower officials, who preserve certain traditional features of political or religious symbolic significance in order to legitimise their power. The local power balance changes and Tiryns seems to take Mycenae's place as the most significant centre in the Argolid. It may not be irrelevant that evidence for any possible restoration of power has only appeared at Tiryns in the face of a new, degenerated *wanax*. Besides providing the strongest indications for political recovery, Tiryns has also produced the most certain evidence for resumption of interregional contacts in LHIIC-early, and in particular for exchanges with Crete. As noted, the fact that Minoan transport vessels in the LHIIC Argolid are only known from Tiryns could indicate that “this site, thanks to its position as a major harbour and one of the dominant settlements of its time, participated more intensively in the supra-regional relations than other sites.”⁵²⁶

In the region of Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, settlement patterns do not seem to alter significantly in post-palatial times. A certain political, social and economic

⁵²⁶ Maran (2005) 427

impact is probably felt here too, and a transitional phase of adjustment to the new conditions might be reflected in the evidence. Ruling authority, however, seems to remain in the hands of the same elite class as before. Nevertheless, with the palatial collapse, a new focal point is needed – a role taken up by sites such as the sanctuary of Kalapodi or the settlement of Delphi (possibly because of its religious aspect), which become the new meeting places and legitimising means for the local elites.

3. Socio-political changes: LHIIC-middle

3.1 The Argolid

3.1.1 *Mycenae: competition among old and new elites*

The Argolid witnesses further changes in power structure and regional power balance in LHIIC-middle. At Mycenae, the abandonment of the building over the House of Columns and of some of the LHIIC rooms in the area of the Cult Centre, as well as the less organised rebuilding that took place in this area might point to a detachment from the palatial past. Nevertheless, the evidence from the Granary as well as the fresco fragments from the upper layer of the *epichosis* show that the community of Mycenae was still economically organised and socially stratified, and that the use of power symbolization originating from palatial times, such as that of fresco painting, continued to a certain extent. Besides, it has been suggested that the LHIIC-middle room that was decorated with the ‘Lady with the Lily’ carried on the cultic function of House A standing at the same spot in LHIIB.⁵²⁷ If not the cult function, at least the official character of the building must have survived in post-palatial times, thus denoting continuity and a link with the glorious past.

Nevertheless, significant changes took place in burial customs with the appearance of cremations and single burials in old ruins outside the citadel. As already discussed, such phenomena might point to the arrival of newcomers or to a deliberate attempt for dissociation from the palatial past and especially from the significance of old family lineage. The adoption of new and exotic customs and the deposition of unusual burial offerings might wish to underline the significance of personal achievements especially in the realm of interregional contacts and trade, which plays a special role in this phase, as will be discussed further on. The parallel phenomena of use or reuse of chamber tombs and appearance of new types of burials might reflect the competition among old elite families, i.e. degenerating

⁵²⁷ Albers (1994) 52

families with noble, possibly palatial descent and the newly rising families of humbler descent – possibly descendants of lower palatial officials – who were now in charge of economic activities and especially interregional contacts.⁵²⁸ These new burial customs are anyway signs of social dissolution.

3.1.2 *Tiryns: elite competition and dispersed habitation units*

At Tiryns, a significant change appears to occur as regards the distribution of settlement remains. After the destruction that hits the site at the end of LHIIC-early, more effort is put into rebuilding the Lower Citadel than the Lower Town. Besides, habitation in the Lower Citadel is now expanding and more economic activities appear to be concentrated within the walls; the North Gate is also put back into use in this phase. The building with the internal colonnade in the north-east sector of the Lower Town is not rebuilt, while other impressive buildings appear elsewhere, within the fortification (room 115) and outside (Megaron W). This change in distribution of settlement remains is not easy to interpret. The increase of building activity within the Lower Citadel and the expansion of domestic and work-spaces organised around courts seems to be a repetition of the pattern noticed in LHIIC-early in the Lower Town. It could signify that for possible security reasons, part of the population moved inside the walls in LHIIC-middle. This, however, seems to reflect a significant change in the attitude of these people, who previously wanted to distance themselves from the citadel in order to mark out their new social status.

How could this change in attitude be explained? According to the socio-political reconstruction suggested earlier for LHIIC-early, the competition among the economic power of the newly rising elite and the ruling power of the degenerating *wanax* was inherent in the restoration of political order after the palatial collapse. This competition must have gradually escalated, and might have led in the end to the displacement of the ruler, thus resulting into the easing off of the formerly clear distinction between the inner and the outer settlement. The reasons for such a distinction would have eclipsed once the initial attempt to restore power in the face of the *wanax* had failed, and he and his class had lost even their mere symbolic power and status.

Nevertheless, not everyone moved inside the citadel. Habitation in the north-east sector of the Lower Town continued – albeit not in the building with the internal colonnade – and Megaron W was built to the South-east of the Upper Citadel. Could this kind of evidence actually point to the beginning of the settlement's dissolution into several small enclaves of

⁵²⁸ Sherratt (1990) 815 believes that cremation is one of the means used for “self-definition of sectors of society especially in periods of social and political fluidity and change”.

habitation, caused by the lack of central administration and the possibly intensified competition among new elite families coveting the ruler's position? The scatter of habitation units throughout the area of Tiryns in LHIIC-middle – inside the citadel, to the North-east or to the South-east – might indicate the looseness of the complex ties of an organised society, and the formation of several small groups of internally bonded households. It should be stressed, however, that there are still common reference points for the whole community, such as the cult place and possibly Building T, signifying that the several households still partake in a common religious life and are ruled by an overarching political power.

3.1.3 *Recovery of Argos and Asine*

To sum up, signs of social dissolution might be possible to detect in the centres of Tiryns and Mycenae in LHIIC-middle. Argos and especially Asine, on the other hand, appear to recover in this phase. Argos possibly starts receiving newcomers, as indicated by the new burial tumulus with the cremations and inhumations in the southern part of the town. The evidence from Asine is much richer. The excavated part of the settlement points to an organised, active and probably socially stratified community. House G, probably built in this phase, is the most impressive of all structures in the Lower Town of Asine, thanks to the architectural 'embellishment' of the central room (XXXII) with an internal row of columns. The building might have belonged to a member of the elite. Workshop activities are testified in neighbouring buildings.

3.1.4 *LHIIC-middle koine and interregional contacts: the role of Asine and the former palatial centres*

In addition, studies of LHIIC-middle pottery have indicated that Asine participated in inter-regional contacts in this phase, but also distanced itself from other Argive sites such as Mycenae and Tiryns. In particular, the pottery from Asine is different from the main pottery trends prevailing in the LHIIC-middle Argive production, and shares more common features with areas such as Attica, Naxos and the Dodecanese.⁵²⁹ It appears to develop intensified contacts with a certain network of sites, one of several of this kind traced on the basis of shared pottery trends and other cultural features in the LHIIC-middle Aegean. All these networks appear in fact to be in contact with each other, and thus form part of a wider circle of cross-links encompassing all of the Aegean. The term *koine* has often been used to

⁵²⁹ Sherratt (1981) 507-510
Thomatos (forthcoming)

describe such phenomena in pottery and culture in general. Although the use of the term is quite controversial, and its defining criteria have often been the subject of discussion, it could perhaps be used here conventionally to describe the network of LHIIC-middle sites, throughout which a common culture and inter-regional contacts developed.⁵³⁰

Asine's membership in one of the smaller *koines* indicates that it apparently developed intense seafaring activities in this phase, exploiting probably the absence of palatial control over sea routes and trade. On the other hand, the study of common patterns in LHIIC-middle Aegean pottery shows the rest of the Argolid to be closer to Corinthia, Attica and Euboea than to other faraway areas. In addition, although it is not isolated from the main pottery developments, the Argolid no longer seems to play a major role in the formation of new popular trends.⁵³¹ This should not be taken to mean of course that only Asine participated in inter-regional contacts in this phase. Besides, objects of distant origin have been found at both Mycenae and Tiryns – such as the enigmatic bronze tool of probably European origin found in the Tripod Burial at Mycenae, the amber beads of distinct LHIIC type on the golden wheels from the Tiryns 'treasure' or the Cypriote tripod stand from the same 'treasure'.⁵³² Nevertheless, it is possible that the former palatial centres no longer played a leading role in exchanges and trade. It could be indicative that the Minoan stirrup-jar sherds, which testified to contacts of Tiryns with Crete in LHIIC-early, have not appeared in LHIIC-middle contexts.⁵³³ It seems that the most active role in the exchange network was now carried out by newly rising coastal sites, such as Asine or Perati on Attica, which in turn supplied other centres such as Mycenae and Tiryns with the required prestige goods or raw materials. The crucial changes taking place in the Aegean economic and

⁵³⁰ Cf. Thomatos (forthcoming) for the term *koine*, an overview of the debate on LHIIC-middle *koine*, and an examination of the criteria defining the subsidiary *koines* throughout the Aegean. She concludes: "Whilst there is a general *koine* encompassing most of the Mycenaean world during this period, smaller, *miniature koines* or subsidiary *koines* also emerge, differentiating this period from the previous periods of LH IIIA and LH IIIB. The regions which form subsidiary *koines* share many common features with other areas, but the intensified contacts with one other, primarily via the sea, distinguishes them from the larger geographical world of the Mycenaean culture."

⁵³¹ Sherratt (1981) 509-510

Thomatos (forthcoming)

⁵³² Maran (2005) 426 notes as regards the Tiryns treasure: "Some of its constituents are certainly earlier than LHIIC, but others, like the golden wheels with the attached amber beads, the Cypriot tripod stand and the iron knife belong to the postpalatial period and demonstrate that through exchange networks major products of craftsmanship still reached Tiryns." For the LHIIC dating of these items cf. Maran (2006) with references. Maran also points out that "the Tiryns treasure seems to suggest an availability of this material [ivory] in LHIIC perhaps through relations to Cyprus"; it cannot be ascertained however that the ivory pieces contained in the treasure had not been kept as heirlooms since the palatial period – which besides fits Maran's interpretation of the treasure as a collection of *keimilia*. The ivory pieces interpreted as raw material could have been kept as precious because of the rareness of the material itself – cf. Maran (2006).

⁵³³ Maran (2005) 420-425

political map after the collapse of the powerful Mycenaean centres potentially allowed coastal mostly sites previously cornered into a minor, peripheral position by the monopolizing large-scale trade of the palaces, to now gain access to the sea, and to develop their own, small-scale, entrepreneurial contacts.⁵³⁴

To make this point more explicit, it should be noted that trade probably did not continue in this period in the same way as during the palatial rule. It has been suggested that exchanges were no longer undertaken as established economic activities, but by means of ‘gift-exchange’ between local ruling elites. Instead of agricultural staples or luxury artifacts produced in specialized palatial workshops, other kinds of goods were in circulation: decorated vases, personal ornaments and especially ‘antiques’ and exoticas, such as amber beads, functioning as prestige goods and status symbols. Their circulation would be mostly achieved through a chain of personal contacts and inter-regional alliances – and to a lesser extent with non-friendly means, such as war or piracy.⁵³⁵ At the same time, the possibility of small-scale entrepreneurs trading in raw materials and also in luxury items should also be taken into consideration. Based on the much wider distribution of amber in LHIIC than in palatial times, for example, Harding suggested that “the exchange of amber in this period was not so much a prestige affair as before, and more related to the activities of entrepreneurs.”⁵³⁶ Trades in fine oil or other specialized products have also been suggested for this period on the basis of the wide distribution of elaborate stirrup jars.⁵³⁷

Whether interpreted as small-scale entrepreneurial activities or ‘gift-exchanges’ between elites – or, in fact, both – the intensified LHIIC-middle trade led to the development of the Aegean *koine* and the subsidiary *koines*, serving to keep the sea and overland routes open and safe for travel and to help the circulation and exchange of the required commodities.⁵³⁸ The former palatial centres of the Argolid, however, with their gradually destabilizing social structure and their potential attachment to old forms of inter-

⁵³⁴ Sherratt and Sherratt (1991) 373-376

Eder (2003) 37-54, esp. 37, 49: “The end of the Mycenaean palaces was accompanied by the collapse of the large-scale inter-regional trading systems and favoured a new pattern of small scale trade activities in the hands of private individuals and entrepreneurs.”

⁵³⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 58-61

⁵³⁶ Harding (1984) 87

Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (1998) 124, who also refers to “the distribution of amber and of bronze objects in LHIIC which demonstrate that all Mycenaean provinces of that period had free access to the trade of raw materials and of finished goods between the eastern and the central Mediterranean”.

⁵³⁷ Dickinson (1994) 255

⁵³⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 61-62

regional contacts (as possibly indicated by the initial attempt of Tiryns to carry on the trade with Crete)⁵³⁹ could probably no longer reach very far in the Aegean.⁵⁴⁰

3.2 Rise of local elites in the periphery and involvement in interregional contacts

The LHIIC-middle rise of sites in the peripheral areas of Phokis and East Lokris should also be placed in the same context. It seems that by the middle phase of LHIIC, the period of adjustment to the new conditions after the palatial collapse had ended: the ruling elites had managed to re-stabilize their status and could now benefit from the new economic situation that was characterised by the absence of palatial control and the ‘liberation’ from contributions to the palace. The ending of the palatial world, however, also had its drawbacks. The exchange routes and diplomatic contacts formerly established for the purposes of palatial trade, in which the peripheral areas would have participated due to their location and not against their own benefit, would have now eclipsed. Consequently, the ruling elites of the several communities would have to take up the former role of the palace and establish new inter-regional contacts if they did not want to lose the resulting benefits, and especially the acquisition of prestige goods needed for the rise of their status within their own communities and among their neighbours.

Coastal sites, such as Kynos in East Lokris would have probably played a very active role in the LHIIC-middle network, while inland sites, such as Kalapodi and Elateia also participated in the inter-regional contacts and exchanges, showing that both sea and overland routes were being intensively used. A combined study of the newly discovered pottery from all sites of Central Greece would be required in order to pinpoint the networks in which these sites participated and the areas with which they were more regularly in contact. Judging by pictorial decoration alone, and especially by the depiction of characteristic warriors on the famous kraters from Kynos and Kalapodi, it would seem that

⁵³⁹ It is interesting to note that according to Maran, the flow of Minoan coarse ware stirrup jars to the Mainland during the later 14th and 13th centuries BC might have been the result of a ‘feudal’ system, in which Cretan vassals of Mainland palaces had to send a share of the agricultural production as a tribute. He also suggests that postpalatial Tiryns might have still profited from this relationship. Although the idea of continuing tribute in the 12th century is difficult to accept, given also the absence of Linear B inscriptions from the LMIIC stirrup-jars (cf. Day (2005) 438), the possibility that “certain families in Tiryns managed to re-establish the special relationship with certain regions of Crete” should be taken into consideration – cf. Maran (2005) 428.

⁵⁴⁰ Sherratt (1981) 510: “There is [in LHIIC-early] a much greater emphasis, on the Mainland, of maritime connections at the expense of overland links with adjacent regions; though the Argolid still appears to remain isolated, to some extent, from these maritime links”.

intensive contacts were established with the Argolid and especially with Euboea.⁵⁴¹ Elateia, being more centrally located, also had contacts with the West, and especially Achaea, as well as with the North, i.e. Thessaly, and also with areas lying further away, such as Crete and the Cyclades; and Medeon, lying even further West, received imports from both western and eastern mainland Greece, as well as from Thessaly. Pottery from Attica and the Argolid even reached Delphi.

Although signs for inter-regional contacts already appear in the Aegean during LHIIC-early, it was their intensification in LHIIC-middle that probably helped sites such as Kynos, Elateia and Medeon to flourish in this phase, since they participated actively in the new networks. It seems that contacts with areas outside the Aegean were also intensified in LHIIC-middle. Cyprus's interest into high-value metals was apparently re-activated, and as a result benefited Aegean sites lying close to areas with metal resources, as well as others being accessible from or stopping points along the major East-West sea lanes, leading to the metal resources of Sardinia, Sicily and Italy. It is possible that the argentiferous lead deposits of Laurion also attracted Cypriot traders, who would have consequently enriched the local 'gift-exchange' with prestigious goods from the East – or even raw materials such as bronze.⁵⁴² The prosperity reflected in the chamber tomb cemetery of Perati is thought to relate to these lead deposits,⁵⁴³ and it could perhaps be suggested that other LHIIC-middle flourishing sites on the shores of the Euboian Gulf, such as Kynos, might have also gained from the re-activation of trade with the Eastern Mediterranean in the area.

The flourishing of sites in the Corinthian Gulf, on the other hand, such as sites in Achaea as well as Medeon on the opposite coast, appears to be related to the intensification of transadriatic contacts.⁵⁴⁴ It has been suggested that these contacts too took place in the

⁵⁴¹ Crielaard (2006) underlines the similarities in pictorial pottery of LHIIC-middle found at Lefkandi, Amarynthos, Thorikos, Livanates, Kalapodi and Volos, and speaks of a "small *koine* centring on the Euboian Gulf and adjacent regions".

⁵⁴² Sherratt and Sherratt (1991) 374-375

Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 68-69

⁵⁴³ Dickinson (1994) 255: "Perati...may have controlled the Laurion mines, which were evidently still in production."

It has been suggested that the Cypriot imports found in the cemetery of Perati point to contacts with Cypriot merchants from cities such as Enkomi and Kition, now partly taking over the role of earlier major centres such as Ugarit in Mediterranean trade – cf. Sherratt and Sherratt (1991) 373-375, esp. 375. On the other hand, however, it has been pointed out that most of the imports at Perati cannot be dated with safety to the 12th century, and should be regarded as *keimilia* that were in circulation among elite groups in the Aegean – cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 61, 66, 69. Nevertheless, a group of Egyptian amulets found in tomb 30 of Phase II (LHIIC-middle) are so exceptional that they are thought to reach Perati in this phase through Cyprus – cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 68.

⁵⁴⁴ For the participation of Achaea and the Ionian islands in an active network connecting the West with Central Greece as indicated by the distribution of certain types of artefacts including amber cf. Eder (2003) 43-49, esp. 46. Based on Harding's suggestion that the amber beads of 'Tiryns type' were worked at Fratessina in the Po Valley of North Italy, she argues that "the material as well as finished

context of ‘gift-exchange’ among elites.⁵⁴⁵ Alternatively, they have been interpreted as “small scale trade activities in the hands of private individuals and entrepreneurs”, whose main motive for contacts with the West was the search for raw materials, especially metal resources – “although direct evidence still remains scarce” – but who, as a supplement, also traded in bronze ornaments, weapons, pottery and amber in small quantities.⁵⁴⁶ As for inland sites such as Elateia in the Kephissos valley, they benefited from intense contacts with both categories of sites, those involved in the Cyprus-orientated trade and those in contact with the West. They might have also developed contacts with the north and north-west areas of Greece, from which many cultural elements appearing especially in the next phase of LHIIC-late and later are thought to derive.

3.3 Comparison: different roles and power shifts

To sum up, the rise of local elites in peripheral areas after the palatial collapse created the need for their supply with prestigious goods, which led them to establish inter-regional contacts and as a result to create a network of sites in LHIIC-middle. Besides their interregional contacts and ‘gift exchanges’, decisive role in their flourishing must have also played the termination of palatial control and interference, which allowed them to benefit from the re-activated international trade. They could now control routes and access to resources themselves, without having to act as ‘middlemen’ for the palace. These elites also developed common ideals and lifestyles through their contacts and of course under the influence of common experiences, and created an ‘aristocratic’ mentality, as depicted on the pictorial decoration of vases, especially kraters, with the military prowess as its main characteristic.⁵⁴⁷ The old palatial sites in the Argolid also participated in this network of elites and the exchange of prestige goods, as indicated for example by the warrior’s vase from Mycenae and the Cypriot tripod stand from the Tiryns ‘treasure’, and in fact by the whole collection of the ‘treasure’, interpreted as an array of “*keimilia* in the possession of one of the ruling families of Tiryns in the 12th century BC”.⁵⁴⁸ The meticulous analysis of pottery has shown, however, that it was a non-palatial, coastal site, Asine, that got more actively engaged in the LHIIC-middle network and developed contacts with areas further away. This element, in combination with the signs of strong social competition and possibly

beads were negotiated via Italy, and the diffusion of amber beads strongly suggests that LHIIC amber reached Greece along the Adriatic route.” – cf. Harding (1984) 68-87, esp. 82-87.

⁵⁴⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 65-66

⁵⁴⁶ Eder (2003) esp. 49

⁵⁴⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (1995) 376; (1999) 130; (2002) 59

⁵⁴⁸ Maran (2006)

dissolution that were detected at Tiryns and Mycenae seem to point to a new power shift beginning in the Argolid in LHIIC-middle.

4. LHIIC-late

4.1 Argolid: population movements and power shifts

In LHIIC-late this change in power balance in the Argolid was intensified. The destruction at the end of LHIIC-middle is believed to have been caused by an earthquake and resulting fires that burnt down, among other buildings, the Granary at Mycenae, the elaborate room 115 with the double internal colonnade and the large multifunctional room 127 in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns. All of which led to the decline that encumbered the two sites. At Tiryns, an attempt to rebuild the Lower Citadel is evinced, but the remains in the Lower Town are much reduced: Megaron W was succeeded by a small, one-roomed building (O), and the north-east sector was abandoned. Towards the end of this phase, the settlement organisation was abandoned inside the citadel too. It is characteristic that a room was built over part of Building VIa, thus cutting the last link with the palatial past and perhaps signifying the collapse of political power. It could be suggested that it was in this period that the ‘treasure’ was also buried to the South-east of Megaron W. The ruling elite family, to which this collection of *keimilia* would have belonged, – providing we accept this interpretation – might have abandoned Tiryns, and for some reason could not or did not want to carry all these precious items with them.⁵⁴⁹ At Mycenae too, habitation appears to be scattered and disorganised, while the appearance of burials inside the citadel next to the habitation area probably points in the direction of social dissolution. The community is probably broken down into groups of people, who are possibly no longer united by a common ruling power. The social structure would have been simplified and possibly reduced to its most basic component unit, the family.

Habitation at Asine on the other hand, continues to be organised. The impressive building with the hypostyle room in the Lower Town was partly rebuilt and extended, while its cult function should probably be dated to this phase. Most of the chamber tombs also continued to be used throughout LHIIC and into LHIIC-late. Occupation also expanded to the East of the acropolis hill, in the Karmaniola area, at the very end of this phase. It is worth contemplating whether this area was occupied by newcomers attracted to Asine by the

⁵⁴⁹ Maran does not see any reason to date the treasure later than the 12th century BC on the basis of the iron sickle it contained: “...the piece could very well belong to the earliest horizon of iron tools in the eastern Mediterranean” – cf. Maran (2006) n.30 with references.

stability and prosperity that characterised it since LHIIC-middle. Mycenaean identity should probably be ascribed to these hypothetical newcomers, as indicated by their culture. It could even be tentatively suggested that they were Mycenaean from the declining citadels of the Argolid.

Argos also experiences a similar phase of continuity in occupation and of population increase, as indicated by the re-use of chamber tombs and the construction of two new ones. The arrival of newcomers, possibly Mycenaean abandoning the other citadels, has been suggested in this case too. It is also interesting that vases from Epidauros Limera, Perati, Achaea and Crete have been found in the chamber tombs, thus pointing to interregional contacts. The burial customs of Argos are characterised by variety, with the first organised burial ground of single burials in cists appearing probably towards the end of LHIIC-late. It is noticeable that these burials have produced relatively rich offerings for Argive standards of this period, including a vase imported from Achaea and two rock-crystal pinheads. All these points probably reflect a dynamic community, expanding and undergoing a phase of significant social and cultural changes.

4.2 Phokis-East Lokris: stability and prosperity versus decline

4.2.1 *Elateia: prosperity and expansion*

In contrast to the power-shifts and population movements occurring in the Argolid in LHIIC-late, the peripheral areas of Phokis and East Lokris show signs of stability and prosperity. Elateia, characterised by increase in the number of burials and in richness of burial offerings in this phase and especially towards its end, is the most distinctive example. The community seems to expand and prosper, while many kinds of evidence point to a strong presence of the local elite members, who apparently wished to advertise their status with burial offerings such as bronzes, steatite pendants and other jewellery, as well as with *keimilia* – e.g. the boar tusks from a helmet – reflecting a desire to retain a link with the past. Family lineage and elite descent must have been very important criteria ascribing social status, and it could be suggested that ruling power was retained within the same elite families that were in charge already since palatial times. It is indicative that the biggest and richest tombs were among the earlier built ones. Thus, it might have been at sites like Elateia that the title of *basileus* survived throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA.

4.2.2 *Medeon and Delphi: participation in West Mainland koine*

Continuity of occupation and prosperity have also been observed at Medeon and especially Delphi, whose settlement area has produced a significant amount of good quality LHIIC-late pottery. As indicated by imported vases, as well as influences on local pottery, these sites were in regular contact with other areas of Western Greece, and therefore appear to participate in the so-called West Mainland *koine*, which mostly developed in this phase and included Achaea, Elis, the Ionian islands and apparently also extended across the Corinthian Gulf to include Aitolo-Akarnania and Phocis. As already discussed, it is possible to trace this *koine* through the distribution of pottery, metalwork types and other goods such as amber, and it has been argued that it developed thanks to its significant role “in mediating contacts between the Adriatic region and the Greek mainland”, which were apparently intensified towards the end of LHIIC.⁵⁵⁰

4.2.3 *Signs of decline in East Lokris and the problems in the Aegean*

In spite of these elements of prosperity in Central and Western Phokis, certain signs of unrest and turbulence make their appearance in coastal Lokris. After the destruction that hit Kynos at the end of LHIIC-middle, the resumed activity was somewhat restricted, and the interruption of industrial activities probably reflects a certain decline in local economy. It has also been noted that the contents of the tombs at Kokinonyzes, Sventza and Spartia in the plain of Atalante were reduced in LHIIC-late.⁵⁵¹ Although we lack precise information about the occupation of the plain in this phase, it seems that the prosperity of LHIIC-middle did not last for long.

As it has already been tentatively suggested, the LHIIC-middle conditions of intense seafaring and contacts throughout the Aegean and the lack of centralised control might have caused competition among the several members of the *koine* and among the local elites, and thus also changes in the distribution of power. More detailed information to be gained in the future from the excavation at Mitrou will hopefully illuminate the occupation of this site and possibly help us appreciate any potential changes in local power balance. It has been generally observed that many sites participating in the LHIIC-middle *koine* suffered destructions or were abandoned at the end of LHIIC-middle, and the phase of LHIIC-late has been described as “a period of unrest and movement marked by further

⁵⁵⁰ Eder (2003) esp. 43, 49

Cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 66

⁵⁵¹ Dakoronia (1996d) 1170

destruction and abandonment of settlements”.⁵⁵² These were not peaceful times, as reflected in the famous sea-battles decorating the LHIIC-middle kraters from Kynos, and a combination of internal competition and external pressures might have not allowed all participants of the *koine* to flourish for long.⁵⁵³

Nevertheless, interregional contacts carried on in the Aegean in this phase too. White-Ware kraters of the ‘wavy-line style’ found at Elateia betray contacts with Lefkandi, while the decoration, and even possibly the ware itself might be stylistically and technologically related to respective pottery from Cyprus. Similar pottery has also been found at Kalapodi, and as it has been suggested, it might come from the same workshop as the kraters from Lefkandi – and also possibly from Elateia.⁵⁵⁴ Thus, while contacts throughout the Aegean continued, they were probably not as intense as before, and not all sites could recover after the LHIIC-middle destructions and participate.⁵⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that it is a coastal site like Kynos that cannot recover, and an inland site like Elateia that expands and prospers. It seems as if both the profits and the imminent danger of LHIIC-middle came from the sea, whether as a natural disaster – for example an earthquake-caused tsunami according to Dakoronia – or as the result of a general situation of turbulence and insecurity that had only temporarily been stabilized.⁵⁵⁶ Besides, it might have been these new conditions in the Aegean that urged Elateia to turn to the North and the West for acquisition of new kinds of metal artefacts, such as fibulae and new ring-types, probably used as prestige items in the context of elite competition.⁵⁵⁷ It might have actually been this new phase of destabilization in the Aegean that made the requirements from other, western or northern sources increase, and thus the respective contacts to intensify and the West Mainland *koine* to develop especially in LHIIC-late.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵² Lemos (1998) 45-46

⁵⁵³ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 48 notes that not all destructions could be ascribed to natural causes, and conflicts can be assumed on the basis of the demonstration of military prowess in the pictorial world and the culture of LHIIC.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Bächle (1996) 15-18 with references; and Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) for connections of this pottery with Cyprus.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 48-49, fig.1-2 for destructions throughout the Aegean, not all necessarily occurring at the same time.

⁵⁵⁶ On the basis of the homogeneous development of LHIIC-late pottery, pointing to a degree of isolation between areas at this time, Sherratt has noted in reference to the formerly flourishing Aegean sites that “in the long run, the independence of individual communities may have made them particularly susceptible to further destruction or attack by various agencies such as earthquake, drought, piracy or inter-regional strife” – cf. Sherratt (1981) 511-514 and esp. 528.

⁵⁵⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 70 notes an increase in artefacts from the N and W in LHIIC-late at Elateia.

⁵⁵⁸ “The effective (though not total) collapse of inter-regional trade for part of the eleventh century”, as described by Sherratt and Sherratt (1992) 364, cannot be applied to the trans-Adriatic contacts of western Greece, which as Eder has shown, were intensified in LHIIC-late – cf. Eder (2003). The 11th century, especially its first half, was apparently a period of significant changes on Cyprus itself and also in its external, trading relations with the East and the West – “a significant slow down, if not

5. EIA: the aftermath of LHIIC socio-political changes

5.1 The Argolid

5.1.1 *The EIA society and evolutionary theories based on Homer and anthropological models*

The SM period for the Argolid was in general a period of population reduction, abandonment and decline. All the efforts of the major palatial sites for recovery and socio-political reorganisation had failed by the end of the LBA, and possibly the main reason for this failure was the heavy legacy of complex hierarchy since palatial times, leading to intense competition among old and newly rising elite members and in the end, under the extra pressure of natural disasters and/or external threats, to gradual social dissolution and abandonment of settlement organisation. It could be suggested that a process of social deformation had been under way throughout LHIIC at Mycenae and Tiryns, followed in the EIA, mainly from the PG period onwards, by a reverse process of social reformation that is possible to detect in the case of Tiryns. The meagre EIA evidence from Mycenae, on the other hand, does not allow any such theoretical reconstruction of social evolution. In order to approach and gain a better understanding of the process of social changes that began after the

altogether a break, in communications and commerce” – Iakovou (1994) 159. These changes, in combination with the fact that “our earliest evidence [from the Aegean] for long distance contacts comes at the end of SM and at the beginning of the PG stage, say around 1000BC”, reflect a period of general disturbance – albeit not interruption – of wide-ranging contacts in LHIIC-late – cf. Popham (1994) 12-14. Cf. also Kourou (1997) 218-219 for sparse evidence of contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean in the 11th century BC, but for more intense contacts with Crete. According to Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 69, on the other hand, the contacts between Greece and Cyprus were enlivened in the second half of LHIIC-middle and in LHIIC-late. As regards the LHIIC-late phase, however, although not interrupted, contacts seem to have been mostly directed from Greece to Cyprus than the other way around, possibly corresponding to people moving to Cyprus. Deger-Jalkotzy’s examples of the bird-vases or the Late Cypriot IIIA clay figurines of Aegean inspiration seem to fit this model. Cf. Lemos (1994) 234: “The real bird vase was made first in the Aegean and then reached Cyprus in the course of the 11th century. It then ‘revisited’ the Aegean at the end of the century together with other Cypriot features”; and Kourou (2002) for introduction of Aegean figures on Cyprus. As for the iron objects that Deger-Jalkotzy presents as examples of LHIIC-late contacts, these were either found on Crete, with which Cyprus apparently retained strong contacts, or in the rest of Greece in contexts dating to the SM period – cf. Sherratt (1994) 74-75: “...the 11th century is a period in which increasingly close links with Crete have been identified accompanied, before the end of the century, by growing links with Attica, Euboea and some other regions”; and 91-92 for list of artefacts. Thus, it seems that the contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean were indeed disturbed in LHIIC-late, and their revitalization did not start before the end, probably of the SM period. Western Greece, however, preserved, and in fact intensified its external contacts in LHIIC-late.

palatial collapse and into the EIA, it might be helpful to examine two main trends that have been followed in scholarly literature for the study of EIA social evolution.

According to the one trend, the study of Homeric society can help us reconstruct the EIA society and its evolution. On the basis of Homeric texts in combination with linguistic indications and anthropological parallels, Donlan suggests the following course of development for the Homeric *oikos*, which is thought to represent the basic particle of EIA communities. The primitive *oikos* is believed to have been ‘a fairly extensive kin/residential unit’, or else “a compound-family ‘*oikos*’, a large living unit, which devolved into the single extended family, and eventually into the nuclear-family *oikos*, already standard in Homer.”⁵⁵⁹ In the primitive *oikos*, kinship would have been the main means of social integration, while at the next evolutionary stage, alliance ties would also develop alongside kinship bonds, and thus the kinship groups would gradually evolve into groups of extended families encompassing not only relatives but also friends and allies. Such social and personal bonds are represented in the Homeric context of the *oikos*, and correspond to a primary form of political power.⁵⁶⁰ At the next stage of evolution, the *oikoi* would reach the stage of the nuclear family, which allows the development of complex, institutionalised political relations, bonding the members of the society alongside and above kinship and alliance ties. The nuclear family is a feature of the *polis*, and although it is known to Homer, extended families are still “portrayed as the desirable norm”.⁵⁶¹

According to another trend, it is possible to interpret the evolution of EIA society through the use of an evolutionary model based on anthropological studies.⁵⁶² According to this model, social evolution follows a certain course of development leading from the egalitarian stage to the rank and eventually to the stratified stage. In the egalitarian society, “all adults of the same age and gender perform the same tasks”⁵⁶³, property is not recognized as privately held, and political power can be in the hands of as many people as “can yield power – whether through personal strength, influence, authority or whatever means”.⁵⁶⁴ At the next stage of social evolution, i.e. in the rank society, positions of power become

⁵⁵⁹ Donlan (1985) 300; (1989) esp. 23-24

⁵⁶⁰ Donlan (1985) 302-303: “Kinship and neighborliness were important focuses of social unity in the early DA. But the social networks formed by autonomous household and kindreds, scattered among isolated hamlets, were fluid and amorphous. Such a loose arrangement of overlapping ‘communities’, with their diverse and frequently conflicting interests, could not constitute a unified political system by itself. All the evidence at our disposal points to a third axis of social interaction as the primary integrating force. The political dynamic [...] is explicit in our sources. According to Homer, personal alliance, which generated reciprocal bonds of loyalty between equals and between inferiors and superiors, was the dominant structuring mechanism of DA society.”

⁵⁶¹ Donlan (1989) 11-12

⁵⁶² Cf. Tandy (1997) with references

⁵⁶³ Tandy (1997) 88-89

⁵⁶⁴ Tandy (1997) 89

institutionalised, but social hierarchy is not yet firmly established and thus competition breaks among the 'qualified' members of the population for the still many in number status positions. Kinship relations also appear to play a significant role in grouping people and controlling social behaviour.⁵⁶⁵ In the stratified society, not only are the positions of power institutionalised but also a social hierarchy develops and ensures that critical economic activities remain in the hands of a certain, elite portion of the population; there are also laws that enforce obedience to officials and dictate social behaviour.⁵⁶⁶ The next stage of evolution after the stratified society is the formation of the state.⁵⁶⁷

Before attempting to follow either of the two trends or a combination of both, it should be acknowledged that they have certain deficits, and none of them can be used as a flawless guide for the reconstruction of EIA social evolution. Any use of the Homeric texts for the reconstruction of historical reality is directly related to the extensive and still debated problem of the dating of the texts as well as the dating of the reality that they represent.⁵⁶⁸ The social evolutionary theories that are based on anthropological studies, on the other hand, have been strongly criticised for transferring to the ancient world models of evolution, whose several phases are inspired from several different contemporary cultures and cannot be truly shown to have succeeded each other in any real culture but only in the constructional schemes of the anthropologists. In other words, "...while evolutionary theory is a proper subject of archaeological investigation, ethnographic stages are merely metaphysical constructions. No processes of long-term changes in the past can be adequately modelled on the basis of short-term observations in the present."⁵⁶⁹ These theories are also accused of trying to reconstruct social evolution as a linear, teleological process, which is rather a modern construction of western historical thought than a true representation of complex historical reality.⁵⁷⁰

Therefore, the use of any such models based on the reading of the Homeric texts or on anthropological studies for the understanding of EIA social evolution must always be done with great caution and critical mind. It is very dangerous and potentially misleading to adopt a certain model and then try to adapt the evidence to it. What is first required is meticulous study of the archaeological record, which will by itself lead to a certain reconstruction with its own limitations. From that point onwards, the study of the Homeric

⁵⁶⁵ Tandy (1997) 89-90

⁵⁶⁶ Tandy (1997) 92-94

⁵⁶⁷ Tandy (1997) 88

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Sherratt (1990) esp. 807-809 for a summary of different views.

⁵⁶⁹ Yoffee (1993) 63

⁵⁷⁰ Shennan (1993) 53: summary of criticism on social evolutionary approaches as "fundamentally ideological"

texts or of anthropological parallels could selectively and very carefully play the role of confirmation or assistance in interpretation, but should not be used as guidance in advance.

5.1.2 LHIIC: a gradual process of social devolution for Tiryns and Mycenae

In the present discussion on the socio-political changes that took place at Mycenae and Tiryns after the palatial collapse, the reconstruction to which the evidence has led us appears to correspond to the reverse of the process that has been suggested for the evolution of the EIA society on the basis of Homeric texts and anthropological studies. As already discussed, it seems that at these sites the society devolved throughout the LHIIC period from a single, organised community consisting of many small family units interconnected through complex social and political relations, into a gradually loosing agglomeration of several competing family groups; and then, because of population reduction and through the strengthening of internal ties, the groups reduced in size and family ties possibly grew even more in significance.

The first stage through which the LHIIC society progressed appears to correspond to the description by Donlan of Homeric society as of many autonomous *oikoi* tied together with non-kin bonds. In fact, the spatial arrangement of courts surrounded by buildings with several kinds of functions (domestic spaces, storerooms and workshops) appearing in the Lower Town of Tiryns since LHIIC-early, has been thought to point to the organisation of the community into *oikoi*, i.e. family-based, self-sufficient households of the Homeric type.⁵⁷¹ An exact parallel between LHIIC Tiryns and the Homeric *oikos* should not be expected of course, given the palatial past from which the LHIIC community had not been yet entirely detached and which still affected political and social life. The economic structure would have been inevitably simplified after the collapse of the centralised palatial system, but complex social relationships would still crosscut the society and link the several family units in multiple ways. Besides, the common orientation and single plan of the Lower Town in LHIIC-early indicate that the several *oikoi*, if defined as such, still composed a very tight and complex community, which has even been described as a “city society”.⁵⁷² Thus, we should not think of the component households as entirely self-sufficient and independent from each other, interrelated only on the basis of kinship ties or personal alliances, as

⁵⁷¹ Kilian (1985) 80: “...economia di piccole dimensioni o l’immediato precedente dell’economia domestica omerica”

Kilian (1988b) 135

Deger-Jalkotzy (1991) 59

Maran (2006) also agrees with the “existence of strong and competing families”.

⁵⁷² Kilian (1988b) 135

Homer's *oikoi* are usually perceived – at least not in LHIIC-early.⁵⁷³ Political power must have also played a significant, unifying role in the life of the community.

The LHIIC-early society also appears to correspond to the stratified stage of the evolutionary theory, whose main features are the existence of a clearly defined social hierarchy and the downplaying of kinship ties. It seems quite possible, as especially reflected in the archaeological record of Tiryns, that the LHIIC-early society had inherited the features of a complex stratified society from palatial times. In particular, power positions were probably still institutionalised at Tiryns, as exemplified by Building T, and a certain social hierarchy was retained after being adjusted to the new conditions. In this context, a new elite class, i.e. the newly rising elite that resides in the north-east sector of the Lower Town, appears to hold the most critical economic activities, the running of interregional contacts, in its hands. Signs for political power and social hierarchy surviving since palatial times have been traced at Mycenae too: such are the rebuilding of the House of Columns and the rich deposit in one of the new rooms in the Cult Centre.

The next social stage of LHIIC appears to correspond to the extended family, an intermediary between the autonomous *oikos* and the extensive kin/residential unit, the 'compound-family *oikos*' of Donlan's sequence. At this intermediate stage, a mixture of kinship and alliance ties would group people together in several sub-groups, as reflected in the scattering of habitation units at several locations in and out of the citadel of Tiryns. This stage could also possibly correspond to the rank society, since the social hierarchy seems to be loosened, as indicated by the loss of the formerly clear differentiation in habitation between the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town at Tiryns, and the elite members grow in power within each sub-group and compete with each other for leadership, as indicated by the appearance of impressive buildings at several locations both in and out of the citadel. The diversity of burial customs that appears in this phase at Mycenae might also testify to the segmentation of the community into sub-groups and to the looseness of social hierarchy.

At the next stage towards the end of LHIIC-late the population of Tiryns is reduced, and after a short phase of abandonment, the area is occupied in the SM period by small and scattered groups of people, possibly now corresponding to Donlan's 'compound-family *oikoi*' and no longer composing a single community. The same can also be suggested for

⁵⁷³ Donlan (1985) 300-301

Donlan (1989) 12: "...*oikoi* in Homer and Hesiod, whether large or small, stood alone."

According to a different reading of Homeric texts, however, "far from autonomous, the Homeric household is part of an extensive political structure". According to Van Wees's reconstruction, the *oikoi*, instead of standing alone, are numerous and grouped relatively close together within preferably walled towns, and partake in a common social, economic and political life - Van Wees (1992) 28-58, esp. 41-44.

Mycenae on the basis especially of the dispersal of burials within and outside of the citadel. Nevertheless, it seems possible that the society never reached a purely egalitarian stage; because of the poverty and population reduction, however, any possible hierarchical distinction might have been at such a low level that it is difficult to discern it in the archaeological record.⁵⁷⁴ Besides, according to the anthropological model of social evolution, “egalitarian societies are usually hunting, fishing and gathering communities”, while agriculture starts with the shift to the rank society.⁵⁷⁵ However, to apply this to EIA Greece embeds the danger of ignoring the local environmental conditions and distorting the archaeological evidence.⁵⁷⁶ There is nothing in the evidence from EIA Argolid that could indicate a sudden abandonment of agriculture and reversion to more primitive forms of subsistence.

Through the above reconstruction of social devolution of postpalatial centres in the Argolid and its correlation to the stages of Homeric or anthropological evolution it is shown that such evolutionary theories can be useful if selectively and critically applied to the evidence and not unconditionally followed. Such an approach also underlines how mistaken it is to believe in an evolutionary theory without any reservations, while the evidence so clearly shows that societies not only evolved but also devolved and declined and did not necessarily go through all of the assumed anthropological stages or necessarily in the prescribed order.⁵⁷⁷ In his attempt to correlate the evolution of the Homeric *oikos* with the LBA-EIA social changes, for example, Donlan adopted the concept of linear development as dictated by the evolutionary theorists, and thus was apparently led to mistakenly associate his first phase of social evolution, i.e. the compound-family *oikos* with the Mycenaean *oikos*, which was consequently interpreted as an extended kinship group, a clan. He also suggested that “rapid splintering into smaller primary units” – i.e. into extended and then nuclear-family households, followed after the palatial collapse due to the subsequent problems, and especially the population reduction.⁵⁷⁸ However, the compound-family *oikoi* presuppose the existence of very strong kinship ties, which according to the evolutionary theories do not survive in organised and centralised states such as the palatial states. It seems more fitting to the evidence to suggest that the post-palatial society first went through certain devolutionary stages, throughout which the political ties of the palatial state were loosened and replaced by

⁵⁷⁴ Shennan (1993) 53: “...patterns of inequality, power differentials, and situations of domination and resistance arise in all societies, including those conventionally regarded as (relatively) egalitarian.”

⁵⁷⁵ Tandy (1997) 89, 90

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. for example the interpretation of Nichoria evidence by Foxhall supporting the continuation of agriculture in the transition to the EIA – Foxhall (1995) esp. 244-245.

⁵⁷⁷ Yoffee (1993) 72: “many different evolutionary trajectories can exist and not all known human societies fall on the progressive steps of a social evolutionary ladder.”

⁵⁷⁸ Donlan (1989) 24

kinship and alliance ties, than to reconstruct a linear course of evolution starting from Mycenaean times onwards. The stage of compound-family *oikoi* would have been reached after the population reduction and the collapse of state-level organisation had led to the strengthening of kinship and family bonds and the formation of small, purely kinship groups, i.e. in the SM period. From that point onwards the evidence fits better to Donlan's social evolution.⁵⁷⁹

To sum up, the archaeological record suggests a different time frame for Donlan's social evolution, which should be transferred from the SM period onwards. After society had reached the level of compound-family *oikoi*, i.e. after it had devolved into scattered family groups no longer bonded into one unified community and with no archaeologically visible social hierarchy, the gradual recovery and population increase of the EIA would lead to the downplaying of kinship ties and the formation of alliance ties among extended families, and much later to the institutionalisation of central political power over a community consisting of nuclear families.

5.1.3 *The process of social evolution in the EIA: from kinship groups to oikoi*

Therefore, after the LHIIC social devolution and the very impoverished conditions of the SM period, strong indications for a rank society become visible again in the archaeological record of Tiryns from the EPG period onwards. Stability apparently gradually prevails; the population increases and relatively precious burial offerings are deposited in the tombs. It is possible that power positions are now firmly established in each kinship group, and the 'qualified' members compete with each other, as indicated by the efforts to exhibit status in death, most typically exemplified in the case of the warrior burial. The special status of this person, as well as the possible exclusion of a certain group of the population from the distribution of wealth – if the relatively poor offerings in the south-west cemetery could be interpreted as such – might also point to the beginnings of a stratified society. In the case of Mycenae, however, the evidence is too sparse to allow us detect any signs of social evolution.

⁵⁷⁹ Thalmann (1998) 249-250 has also suggested a similar succession of "alternating phases of evolution and devolution" for the transitional period from the LB to the EIA; he also sees LHIIC as a devolutionary phase – "a continuation of Mycenaean culture on a lower level", while "the succeeding 'DA' was characterised by development in the direction of more centralised settlements and established ranking". However, he is against "the reversion to a kin-based form of social organisation". He believes that "hierarchy – at least in the simple form of a line between elite and commoners – evidently persisted".

At Argos and Asine, on the other hand, society does not appear to have followed the same path of devolution throughout LHIIC as that traced at Tiryns and Mycenae. Because of the different conditions that Argos and Asine experienced in post-palatial times and especially in LHIIC-late, characterised by population increase in the case of Argos, prosperity and settlement expansion at Asine, and interregional contacts for both, their societies must have not reached the same stage of devolution as those of Mycenae and Tiryns at the end of the LBA. Changes, however, appear to occur in social structure in the EIA.

5.1.4 *Asine: continuity and changes*

Asine was an organised and most probably stratified community in LHIIC-late, with a member of the elite, possibly the leader of the community himself, also acting as the chief-priest and offering his residence for the celebration of communal ritual meals – provided that room XXXII of House G indeed served a communal cult function and was not simply a private room with a domestic altar.⁵⁸⁰ The transition to the EIA at Asine is somewhat enigmatic. On the one hand, the chamber tomb cemetery is abandoned – with the exception of a SM burial in one of the tombs, and on the other the small, rectangular building to the East of the Acropolis hill is continuously occupied, continuous activity in the Lower Town is possible, and interregional contacts carry on even during the SM period.

In addition, Asine shows strong signs of social organisation in the PG period. The use of a common burial ground in the Lower Town, in which tombs seem to be arranged in family groups, points to the existence of an organised community. Although burial ground and habitation space are not strictly separated from each other, the use of a common burial ground probably shows that the community is not divided into many small groups, and the kinship ties are probably downplayed in favour of other kinds of social and political ties. Family still has a strong social significance, but it is interesting to note that the family burial grounds that Hägg discerned in the Lower Town, provided that his suggestions are correct, include a very small number of tombs and might belong to small, nuclear families – a social unit that, as discussed above, corresponds to a high level of social evolution.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸⁰ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 383 suggests that Asine might represent one of the cases where “domestic cult practice seems to have gained in importance” in the LHIIC period. However, his theory that “the *basileis* of the DA acted also as chief-priests and on certain occasions would have offered their residence for the celebration of communal ritual meals” seems to fit with the evidence for LHIIC-late cult activity at Asine.

⁵⁸¹ Hägg (1974) 51-52: a group of three cist tombs (n.23, 24, 25) is interpreted as the burial space of a family consisting of two adults and a child.

The appearance of the apsidal building in the area to the East of the Acropolis in LPG should also be taken into consideration. If that were a ruler's dwelling, possibly used for communal purposes, as it has been suggested, its appearance in LPG, in place of former, simpler structures, might signify that the family living in this part of the settlement rose in status in this phase. The construction of the building, in combination with the libation ritual that supposedly took place when the foundations were laid, seems to reflect a conscious effort on behalf of the owners to advertise and establish their social status. Thus, Asine's society could be tentatively reconstructed as a rank society consisting of several families competing for the power positions.

Several burial customs that have been observed at Asine, including the use of a Mycenaean jug for libations in the area of the tombs to the East of the Acropolis, might in fact reflect similar attempts to define status through burial, and especially to stress the significance of family lineage, a possibly powerful tool in the competition for power and the demonstration of social status. Besides, the use of the Mycenaean jug, possibly an heirloom preserved only for the sake of its ancestry, since it was of no intrinsic value, might indicate the wish of the inhabitants to act "as if they were the descendants of the people who lived in the same area in the LBA".⁵⁸²

5.1.5 *Big Man model versus low-level chiefdom*

Whether they truly were Mycenaean descendants or not is of little importance in the context of the present discussion. More important is that, in order for this stress on descent to have an effect on contemporary society, an established social system of inheritable status must have been in operation. Such a system of values is of course in opposition with the 'Big-Man' model that has been suggested for the EIA communities of Greece, according to which power is not inheritable but gained through the mobilization not so much of resources or land but of people – i.e. through the expansion of one's power beyond his own kinship group by recruiting supporters from other groups, whom he convinces to follow him by advertising his leadership skills (military prowess, speech competence etc), and who stay loyal to him through social tactics such as "guest-friendship, ritual gift-giving, and redistribution disguised as generosity".⁵⁸³ Instead, power and status in EIA Asine might have

⁵⁸² Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 361-362

⁵⁸³ Thomas and Conant (1999) 54

Donlan (1985) and (1989) esp. 24-26 adopts the big-man model to reconstruct the first social and political structures in post-palatial Greece; Whitley (1991) 348-352 combines the big-man model with his theory for stable and unstable settlements; Thomas and Conant (1999) 53 support "a transformation from a Big Man order, characteristically unstable, to a stable chiefdom quite early" at

approached the ‘low-level chiefdom’ model, according to which a hereditary system is in operation but at the same time, social status and especially ruling power are being challenged by competitors, and thus status and power need to be confirmed and occasionally reasserted.⁵⁸⁴ Different kinds of material evidence pointing to emphasis on family lineage on the one hand and to power shifts on the other seem to fit such a model.

This model also appears to fit better the Homeric world, in which the two contradictory elements of hereditary ruling and challenge by peers are combined and have led to the formation of two opposing trends in scholarly literature: one supporting that the Homeric *basileus* is a hereditary king,⁵⁸⁵ and the other arguing that he is a Big-Man with no birth-rights, in constant need to affirm his position.⁵⁸⁶ Antonaccio seems to offer the solution by interpreting the emphasis on descent in Homer purely as a means to reinforce and naturalize claims to power, since “*basileia* as seen through Homer was not strictly an inherited status, but based on competition and a certain degree of shared power”.⁵⁸⁷ Thus, she insists on applying the Big Man model to Homer and EIA communities. However, it is difficult to understand how the appeal to descent could have a serious impact on a society for which inheritable status is unknown, and in which any member of the society, independently of his descent, can claim for himself a position of power, such as that of Big Men. Besides, if the appeal to descent in any society has such strong results as to assert status, then status in such a society becomes – if it is not yet – practically inheritable.

Relevant to this opposition is the argument over the meaning of the word *basileus*, i.e. whether it truly means king, and is only applied to other people collectively, i.e. to the elders of the community, when they meet with the king and thus in a way share some of his power⁵⁸⁸, or whether it is applied to all the leading members of the community who compete for power, i.e. to each petty leader of a kinship group striving to become the most powerful Big Man in the area.⁵⁸⁹ These issues are very complex and extensive, but it should at least be

Nichoria, in the 11th century. Cf. also Lemos (2002) 217-219 for a change from the Big-Man model to an aristocratic ruling at Lefkandi at the end of MPG period.

⁵⁸⁴ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 358 supports the model of ‘chiefdom’ for EIA Greece in the sense of “a system between hereditary kingship and the Big Man system, in which power is vested on the chief on a hereditary basis but is constantly challenged by peers.” Cf. also Mazarakis Ainian (2006).

According to Thomas and Conant (1999) 53, however, a chief cannot be challenged: “the chief can lose status and even behave shamefully without necessarily ceasing to be a chief. A chiefdom has an institutional quality that is totally lacking in a Big Man society”. Thus, the model in-between hereditary kingship and the Big Man system should rather be called a *low-level* chiefdom.

⁵⁸⁵ Carlier (1984) esp.187-190

Van Wees (1992) esp. 293-294

⁵⁸⁶ Qviller (1981) esp. 116-120

⁵⁸⁷ Antonaccio (2002) 14

⁵⁸⁸ Carlier (forthcoming)

⁵⁸⁹ Gschnitzer (1965) 107-109

noted that even those who believe that the *basileus* is a hereditary king, have accepted the possibility of power shifts in Homeric society. Van Wees, for example, has argued that a power shift is possible to happen when the *basileus*, whom he prefers to translate as prince, dies without an adult heir, creating a power-vacuum “until a son or relative of the prince grows up and asserts his rights, or failing that, some other family somehow manages to acquire the sceptre”.⁵⁹⁰ Thus, a more fitting suggestion for Homeric society seems to be that “both birth and personal prowess work together to establish position and maintain it”.⁵⁹¹

Although this description fits the ‘low-level chieftom’ model that was suggested before for the society of Asine, the use of the term chieftom for the Homeric society has been disputed on the grounds of the social and economic stratification that we see in the texts and is thought to be of a higher degree than that of a chieftom.⁵⁹² However, the entirely opposite view arguing that Homeric society is more egalitarian than a chieftom society has also been put forward.⁵⁹³ Given the complex problems that concern the interpretation of Homeric texts and since it is not the place here to deal with them, this question should be left open for Homerists to contemplate upon. It suffices for the purposes of the present discussion to use the term ‘chieftom’ conventionally as a description of the PG society of Asine, which according to the available evidence and with the support of the Homeric texts can be reconstructed as a rank society with established positions of power but also characterised by competition for status drawing on descent. It should anyway be stressed that the limitations of the archaeological evidence do not allow us to specify the exact nature of the society with absolute safety, but only to try to approach it and make some tentative suggestions.

⁵⁹⁰ Van Wees (1992) 293-294

Carlier (forthcoming) points out that *basileus* does not mean monarch.

⁵⁹¹ Thalmann (1998) 269-270 ascribes this not only to positions of power but to all positions of elite class: “...position is established, and those born into elite households are usually thought to display certain corresponding inborn and inherited qualities... At the same time those qualities are revealed through action, whether in warfare, through successful competition in the social arena, or through managing the household...so as to produce wealth.”

For a combination of birth-right, merit and status cf. Lenz (1993) 238-248, esp. 242: “The conjunction of birth and personal qualities seems to be a way of justifying the existence of hereditary rule (by arguing that those who rule on these grounds deserve to, because they are in fact the best) rather than of challenging it”.

⁵⁹² Thalmann (1998) 259-271, esp. 263

According to Donlan, however, who reconstructs Homeric society as a low-level chieftom, “reciprocity...is the basic standard for all kinds of social relationships in Homeric society” – Donlan (1999) ix.

⁵⁹³ Precisely for this reason Donlan characterises Homeric society as a ‘low-level’ or ‘immature’ chieftom, “because it has elements of a less centrally organised, more segmental, and more egalitarian form than the advanced chieftom” – cf. Donlan (1982) 3.

5.1.6 Argos: social evolution and population increase

In the case of Argos, society also appears to have devolved from the stratified to the rank stage in the transition from the LBA to the EIA, as indicated by the abandonment of the organised settlement at the foot of Aspis and the dispersal of habitation units all around the modern town. The scatter of population in small groups probably internally bonded through kinship and alliance ties, the stress on family lineage on certain occasions of continuous use of burial grounds – chamber tombs, the cremations tumulus or burial grounds with single burials starting in LHIIC-late/SM period – and the need for prestige goods, as indicated by the silver cupellation workshop – all constitute features of a rank society. As previously discussed, the distribution of burials might roughly correspond to clusters of habitation units dispersed throughout the modern town. Considering the steep rise in population in the PG and especially the LPG period, it seems quite possible that newcomers came to Argos from other places of the Argolid or even from further away. As a result, the groups of habitation units would have expanded and more complex kinship and alliance ties would have developed.

It could be suggested that the close grouping of small numbers of tombs in a few cases might reflect the existence of nuclear-family burial grounds. If that were the case, this would signify the downplaying of kinship ties and the prevalence of some established form of political power. Besides, the appearance of certain distinguishable tombs as regards burial offerings seems to reflect the existence of elite members who interacted, competed with each other for positions of power and followed similar methods in showing off status in death. As it has been tentatively suggested, it is even possible that the southern area of the modern town started acquiring some kind of communal function in the PG period. If that were correct, it would point to an even stronger interaction between the several population groups, gradually leading to the formation of a single, tight community, and eventually to the *polis*. Thus, PG Argos too might have been a rank society in the process of becoming stratified.

5.2 Phokis-East Lokris

5.2.1 Elateia: socio-political continuities and change from the *qa-si-re-u* to the *basileus*

The SM period in the areas of Phokis and East Lokris is characterised by general continuity in occupation, and even increase in population and wealth in the case of Elateia, which contradicts all preconceived notions of DA Greece. Not only is the chamber tomb

cemetery continuously in use, but also it expands and receives very rich offerings, notably metal artefacts of non-Mycenaean origin, possibly pointing to the continuation of contacts with the North and West, which were already intensified since the LHIIIC-late period.⁵⁹⁴ The continuous use of the cemetery points of course to the continuous existence of an organised and apparently socially stratified community, as indicated by the deposition of prestigious items, probably aiming to enhance the status of the elite. Nevertheless, significant cultural changes occur in the SM period, related probably to an influx of new population groups from North and North-west, as well as possibly to a process of nucleation.

On the other hand, the people who continued to bury their dead in the cemetery of Elateia in the PG period demonstrate a strong adherence to the past, not only by reusing old chamber tombs and building new ones – albeit of the small type – but also by reusing heirlooms as burial gifts, which they might have come across while clearing earlier burials, as well through new offerings adhering to the Mycenaean tradition, such as the three characteristic clay figurines. Without being cut-off from the surrounding world and the significant cultural changes occurring in that period – as indicated by imported pottery or the use of urns, possibly introduced under external influence – the PG community of Elateia shows strong cultural links with the Mycenaean past, which might also concern the realm of social structure and political ruling. It could be suggested that certain features of the community of Elateia, such as its social stratification, were preserved throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA – hence the attachment to past customs and the emphasis on links with the ancestors, possibly signifying the important role that descent and family lineage continued to play for the establishment of social status, probably also for access to power.

It could be tentatively assumed that power was preserved in the hands of the same elite group at Elateia throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA, which would support the idea that the EIA *basileus* was a descendant of the LBA *qa-si-re-u*. Due to the sudden population increase in the transitional period, however, the former socio-political *status quo* might have been upset. One could imagine that through a process like this the status of the *basileus* would change and he would potentially acquire the Homeric characteristics, meaning that he and his entourage, the council of *basileis*, would no longer be able to rely only on their descent and the demonstration of ruling insignia (prestige items) in order to assert their status, but would also have to prove their power and merit by advertising their ruling skills and using other social tactics (e.g. gift-giving) similar to those found in Homer. Such changes in the character of the ruler are very difficult to pin down in

⁵⁹⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 70

the archaeological record, especially when there is only burial evidence available. The introduction of the custom of cremations, however, could be perceived as an indication of the efforts on behalf of rising elite members to establish their status.⁵⁹⁵ Power shifts within the community might also point to socio-political turbulences. Such indications are the abandonment after the SM period of the two earliest-built, biggest and richest tombs of the cemetery, as well as the decline in the number of tombs and burials, possibly reflecting the community's segmentation – whether it means that part of the population started using the new, popular burial custom, the single burial or a shift in settlement location, possibly from the edges to the centre of the valley, as discussed earlier.⁵⁹⁶ To sum up, it seems possible that the social changes occurring in the SM period at Elateia eventually led to the disintegration of the community and to its segmentation into groups hypothetically centred around several aspiring *basileis*, and potentially to the relocation of part of the population. It could be suggested that the PG evidence from Elateia reflects an old society with great past that tries to retain its social stratification, but at the same time devolves into a rank society.

5.2.2 SM East Lokris: continuity and decline

Continuity of occupation in the SM period has also been observed in the plain of Atalante. Most of the chamber tomb cemeteries were still in use, and both Kynos and Mitrou have produced SM evidence. However, the decline noticed in the area since LHIIC-late also carried on in the following years. The burials in the cemeteries are very few and the evidence from Kynos points to general deterioration of the living standards. It is also interesting to note that some of the cultural changes appearing at Elateia in the transition from the LBA to the EIA also make their appearance at Kynos at the same more or less time (handmade ware and possibly practice of cremation), while single burials of children start taking place too.

In spite of these changes and the general decline, the distribution of finds and the continuous use of chamber tombs do not point to any changes in settlement patterns, and thus life in coastal Lokris appears to have continued along the same general lines as before. The same has also been noticed for the passage-area between the plain of Atalante and the valley of Kephissos, most notable example being the continuous activity at the sanctuary of

⁵⁹⁵ Crielaard (1998) 189 suggests that “top-ranking individuals in Cyprus and Greece adopted cremation [...] as a differential or even privileged burial practice” i.e. as a ‘means of social distinction’. He also argues that the interment of cremation remains without use of urn in the Subminoan period at Knossos might reflect that the concept had not yet fully crystallized – as it seems to be the case in SM Elateia too. On the other hand, the choice to cremate mostly women and children at Elateia might relate to the need to underline family lineage.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Chapter 2: 9.1.5, p.166-7

Kalapodi. On the other hand, the changes occurring in the SM material culture in the surrounding areas (Euboia, Boiotia, Attica, Thessaly) were not unknown to the inhabitants of East Lokris and Phokis, as indicated by their share of new pottery styles and metal artefacts.⁵⁹⁷ However, with the exception of Kynos, which as a coastal site might have been more prone to external influences, no other community shows any tendency to abandon the traditional burial in chamber tombs and to try the newly spreading custom of single burials. I think that this is a very significant feature, possibly pointing to the survival of old communities preserving the same socio-political organisation.

5.2.3 Influences from PG Euboian koine and changes

In the PG period, however, the overall situation appears to change. The chamber tomb cemeteries in the plain of Atalante are abandoned, and chamber tombs only receive burials at more inland sites, such as the upland site of Agnandi, and others in the passage from the plain to the valley of Kephissos, as well as the inland site of Elateia. Nevertheless, the coastal area of Lokris is still inhabited, as indicated by evidence of PG occupation from Kynos, Mitrou and a couple of other sites in the plain of Atalante. Therefore, it is possible that people continued to live in the area, but abandoned the chamber tomb cemeteries and started burying their dead in single graves. The new custom has been mostly documented for the LPG period, and it also appears to have spread by that time to sites further inland, such as Kalapodi or Agios Athanasios/Modi in the valley of Kephissos. Until single burials of the intermediate EPG and MPG phases are recovered, however, a decline in population cannot be excluded for the plain of Atalante, in spite of the continuous occupation of sites such as Kynos and Mitrou. An alternative suggestion for potential nucleation around a significant site like Mitrou also has to wait for testing through future discoveries.

It could be suggested that the change in burial customs might be the result of influence coming from surrounding areas, and especially Euboia, where single burials were attested since the SM period. Through the re-intensification of contacts throughout the Aegean in the PG period within the context of the Euboian *koiné*, the sites in the plain of Atalante apparently got re-engaged in seafaring activities, and also received new cultural influences. Irene Lemos notes that one of the reasons for the formation of this *koiné*, and the participation, we could add, of the sites of East Lokris and Phokis, might be “that a similar

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. bird-shaped askos from chamber tomb at Sventza and other vases of the same ‘unusual shape’ appearing in the transition from SM to PG at Athens and Lefkandi and possibly betraying contacts with Cyprus – cf. Lemos (1994) and (1998) 47-48. Cf. also a bronze pin from a SM burial in a tomb at Tragana – the earliest pin appearing in East Lokris according to Dakoronia (2002a) 47-48.

koine was also formed in the middle stage of LHIIC". In spite of the problems experienced by many of the members of the LHIIC-middle *koine* at the end of LHIIC, i.e. destructions and population movements, contacts were probably preserved among the surviving sites at places like Kalapodi or the sanctuary of Poseidi in Chalkidike. "It was at these and similar cult places that, through common beliefs and symbolic interaction, bonds were recognized and secured. It is possible that, as a result of these patterns of prolonged interaction, people forming the *koine* came to believe that they belonged to a loosely defined cultural group."⁵⁹⁸ Thus, it might have been a matter of prestige for the sites surviving since the LBA in Phokis and East Lokris to abandon their old customs and endorse the new general trend of variety in burials. In order to interact and to compete with the elites participating in the network of the Euboian *koine*, the local elites of Phokis and East Lokris – old or newly rising – needed to find new, contemporary ways to make their own statement about prestige and status.

The large, apsidal building erected upon and within the LHIIC-middle rectangular building at Mitrou might in fact reflect a similar attempt on behalf of the local elite to enhance and advertise its status. The choice of the apsidal plan seems all the more conscious and deliberate in the case of Mitrou. As Mazarakis-Ainian has pointed out, people in the EIA either reused old Mycenaean buildings or built new structures of apsidal plan.⁵⁹⁹ At Mitrou, however, although they do reuse an old building, they adjust it to the new plan. In a way, this choice seems to betray a two-fold wish, to preserve a link with the past while at the same time breaking free from tradition and making a social statement by applying a revolutionary plan, which might have in fact been introduced to Mitrou through its contacts in the context of the Euboian *koine*.⁶⁰⁰ The future excavations at Mitrou will hopefully shed more light on the settlement and the significance of this particular building within it. Besides, its construction might reflect a shift in power within the local community, as that assumed in the case of Asine.

Finally, the impact of the new contacts within the Euboian *koine* is most evident in the LPG/SPG burials of Atalanti. The elite using these tombs shows amazing similarities in the choice of burial offerings with the elite of Lefkandi, which indicates that a common pattern of exhibiting status and advertising power prevailed in the area. One of the three pre-eminent tombs contained weapons and thus the dead was ascribed the status of a warrior,

⁵⁹⁸ Lemos (2002) 215

⁵⁹⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 98-99

⁶⁰⁰ Lemos (2002) 214 notes that the shift from a rectangular to an apsidal plan might have taken place in Northern Greece already since the transition from the LBA to the EIA, as indicated by the SM/EPG building at Poseidi in Chalkidike; this site had close links with the members of the *koine* and especially with Euboea, and thus the apsidal plan might have been introduced to sites in the South "due to influence from the North".

another female burial was accompanied with a great quantity of metal jewellery as well as two heirlooms, and the third burial, in addition to many pieces of bronze and gold jewellery, was offered a few special items that seem to be status insignia, as well as imported faience beads. Since Lefkandi seems to be according to the currently available evidence the site that “became more involved in providing links with regions outside the *koine*” in order to “meet the demands of their local aristocracy and their followers in the Aegean”,⁶⁰¹ we could speculate that it was also the Lefkandiot elite that set the pattern for what a person of high social status should be buried with, and also supplied other members of the *koine* such as Atalante with the appropriate prestige goods.⁶⁰²

5.2.4 Summary of continuity and changes in Phokis-East Lokris

To recap, a general state of decline seemed to have set in since LHIIC-late in the area of East Lokris. For the most part of the 11th century BC, conditions had probably not been very favourable for seafaring activities throughout the Aegean, at least not on the same regular basis as before, while certain sites such as Kynos could not recover after a series of recurrent destructions. Although the area was not abandoned, part of the population might have moved away to find better living conditions.⁶⁰³ The remaining population, on the other hand, carried on living according to the same social organisation as before, as the continuity in use of chamber tomb cemeteries probably indicates, but then, through the participation of sites such as Mitrou in the PG *koine*, significant socio-political changes must have occurred. The elites would now need to redefine their status and to get hold of all these new exotic items that were in circulation, and it is possible that in such a dynamic period power shifts occurred as well. As already suggested for SM Elateia, it is possible that the swift changes in material culture and the intense contacts between the local communities and with the outside world also affected the power structure, and as a result the *basileis* underwent significant changes in their role and status, thus approaching all the more to the Homeric standards.

Central and West Phokis, on the other hand, might have been favoured by the LHIIC-late disturbances in the Aegean, possibly leading to an intensification of contacts

⁶⁰¹ Lemos (2002) 216

⁶⁰² Cf. Crielaard (2006) for the social significance of imported, exotic goods and their circulation in regional networks.

⁶⁰³ Cf. Lemos (1998) 46-47, 48 for movements of people in the Aegean in the SM period, possibly settling in small, mixed settlements in the Northern Aegean (Torone, Koukos) or along the western coast of Asia Minor (Asarlik in Caria), or even possibly at Lefkandi on Euboea: “...part of the population which resettled Lefkandi in the SM period may have actually come from Attica, while others may have arrived from Thessaly, Boeotia and East Lokris: regions which had close connections with Euboea during the LHIIC period”.

with the West and North. If the Aegean sea-routes had been temporarily disrupted or at least had become more dangerous, the demand for metals and prestige goods on behalf of non-affected sites, such as Elateia, would have turned to different directions.⁶⁰⁴ Sites that probably benefited from this change are Delphi and Medeon, as already discussed. Although the evidence is very fragmentary as regards their SM period of occupation, and decline cannot be excluded – but not easily confirmed either, both sites continued to be occupied in the PG period. Medeon apparently joined the current trend of new burial customs, as indicated by the practice of primary cremations, while a tendency to preserve a link with the past might be reflected in the location of cremations around old Mycenaean tombs. The community of Delphi, on the other hand, seems much more attached to the old customs, and continues to use the old chamber tombs – of both the ‘proper’ and the small type – without however being cut off from the rest of the world, as indicated by pottery showing links mostly with the Euboian *koine* (especially with Thessaly) but also with Western Greece. Thus, Delphi appears to resemble Elateia in its combination of traditional customs and external contacts.

5.3 Comparison of EIA socio-political evolution in the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris

To sum up, the social structure at the old palatial sites seems to be gradually taken apart and to return to the basic form of compound-families by the end of the LBA, and from that point on, with the gradual stabilization of life conditions in the EIA, to be restructured and to re-evolve into higher, more complex forms of organisation. At the other surviving sites of the Argolid, however, society probably never reached the same stage of devolution. Although socio-political organisation was obviously simplified after the palatial collapse at the sites of Asine and Argos, a high level of social ranking seems to be preserved throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA, and society gradually evolved and tended to become stratified throughout the PG period, although it did not reach that stage yet.

At sites in Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, society probably did not stop being stratified in LHIIC, while it is possible that the status of local elites, of the local *qa-si-re-we*, rose even more in social scale, and their power and jurisdictions increased. The same social structure seems to be overall preserved into the EIA, but it is possible that in the SM

⁶⁰⁴ Harding (1984) 283 talked about the “disruption to existing trading patterns” with the Near East at the end of the Greek Bronze Age and suggested that “the switch to the movement of goods to the North, particularly the Adriatic, might even be an effect rather than a cause of this disruption.” With much more material available today, this connection between the switch to the North and West and the disruption of eastern trade can be more precisely dated to LHIIC-late.

period, due to different factors such as the population decrease or in other cases the arrival of newcomers, the established social hierarchy was disturbed. Significant changes possibly occurred in the power structure, and the character of the *basileus* might have gradually transformed and moved towards the Homeric prototype. The radical cultural changes and the development of new interactions in the SM and especially the PG period should probably be placed in a wider context of population movements and socio-political transformation, with a new social hierarchy developing through elite competition within and among the several sites, and distance growing from the Mycenaean past.

6. LBA-EIA transition: overall summary and concluding discussion

6.1 Summary of the LBA-EIA transition in the Argolid

6.1.1 *Two-tiered development in the post-palatial period: Tiryns-Mycenae versus Argos-Asine and the Southern Argolid versus Methana peninsula*

In sum, the transition from the LBA to the EIA in the Argolid was marked by major changes in every aspect, in the socio-political organisation, the economy, the culture. After the collapse of the centralised palatial system, attempts were made by the settlements of Mycenae and Tiryns to get re-organised. Although it was not possible to restore the glorious past, the surviving populations managed to establish a new social and political order, which appears to have especially benefited newly rising elite members. Due to the lack of powerful centralised authority, however, and the much simplified economy, probably now functioning at the level of the *oikos*, centrifugal tensions developed in social and political structure, and as a result it was not possible for the post-palatial communities to cope with the new disasters that occurred in LHIIC. Society possibly followed the path of devolution that was described earlier, being gradually divided into kinship groups and with competition rising among the elite members of each group. Under the prevailing circumstances of instability and social dissolution, large part of the population must have fled away towards the end of the LBA, while new cultural phenomena such as the cremations or single burials started appearing. In general, these two sites were depopulated and impoverished by the end of LHIIC-late.

Argos and Asine, on the other hand, in spite of the impact of the palatial collapse, managed to recover throughout LHIIC and thus to enter into the EIA under more favourable circumstances. Because of not being major palatial sites in LHIIB, they were probably not

as much affected by the palatial collapse as Mycenae and Tiryns were in the long run. It could be suggested that exactly for this reason they managed to retain their socio-political organisation possibly under the rule of former delegates of the central authority, now rising in status and power; and, as a result, they could survive the LHIIC turbulences with greater success than the former palatial centres. Argos in particular seems to have become a pole of attraction for newcomers either reusing old chamber tombs or introducing the new custom of cremations, and Asine appears to have actively participated in the LHIIC-middle network of interregional contacts.

An attempt was also made to restore the socio-political order at Midea, but it did not last long, and the site was abandoned in the EIA. Signs of LHIIC activity have also been traced at a few other sites in the Argive plain, but in general it seems that significant population reduction and abandonment of the countryside took place in this period. It should be noted of course that due to the lack of detailed publications from sites such as the cemetery of Nauplion for example, and because of the focus of research on the major palatial sites, we could not claim to have full and accurate knowledge of the post-palatial occupation in the Argolid. Our current impression is, however, that in the general context of population movements after the palatial collapse, most of the medium and smaller-size settlements were abandoned, while even less survived into the SM and PG periods. This impression is also confirmed by the results of the surface surveys in the Berbati-Limnes area, in the hinterland of Mycenae, where only a few LHIIC and one or two PG sherds were identified, as well as in the periphery of the Argive plain, i.e. in the Southern Argolid and on the Methana peninsula. In both of these areas, abandonment of most of the sites other than the larger ones occurred in LHIIC, but in the EIA, occupation seems to follow a different pattern in each area: all LBA sites were abandoned in the Southern Argolid and new sites appeared on the map, while on the Methana peninsula the same sites were occupied in the EIA.

This different pattern seems in fact to correspond to the different development of occupation within the Argive plain. As noted above, it was sites of comparatively lower rank in palatial hierarchy that managed to survive successfully the LHIIC turbulences in the plain, while it was the most significant palatial sites that were severely depopulated and impoverished by the end of the LBA. Similarly, it was in the more distant area, the Methana peninsula, that the same sites survived into the EIA, while in the neighbouring to the palaces area, the Southern Argolid, which might have been more successfully integrated in the palatial system, the pattern of occupation changed completely in the EIA. To summarise, the sites that had not hosted palaces in the core area, and the more distant sites in the periphery

survived under better conditions into the EIA, possibly because they retained their internal socio-political organisation in spite of the palatial collapse.

This analogy could lead us to the following suggestions. The fact that the most significant sites in the Southern Argolid were not abandoned immediately after the palatial collapse but continued to be inhabited in LHIIIC might suggest that initially a successful attempt was made to carry on, possibly under the rule of former palatial delegates who now took over authority. However, a variety of factors could have led to them losing control of the situation. Disruption of trade at the end of the LBA was suggested earlier as a significant factor for the abandonment of the coastal sites (app.I.1, p.289), but other factors of political and social nature must have also contributed to the failure of the LBA settlements. If the area had been subordinate to and entirely dependent on the palaces in the Argolid before their collapse, then the local rulers might have grown to become entirely dependent on central administration for the legitimisation of their authority. If that had been the case, then it could be suggested that it would not have been easy for them to retain the power and control for long after the collapse, and a process of political competition and social dissolution similar to that traced in the evidence from Tiryns and Mycenae might have led to the abandonment of the LBA settlements and to the occupation of new ones. In the more distant area of the Methana peninsula, on the other hand, the degree of integration in the palatial system might have been lower, and thus the settlements might have retained their autonomy and for this reason might have not been equally affected by the palatial collapse on a socio-political level.⁶⁰⁵ It should be stressed of course that our knowledge of the areas is based entirely on the results of surface surveys, and as a result, it is not possible to determine for how long in LHIIIC the surviving sites were occupied in the Southern Argolid, while the EIA change or continuity in occupation must not lead us to conclusions without any reservations, considering the low visibility of PG sherds collected in surface survey.⁶⁰⁶

In any case, the general patterns of settlement distribution and development in the LBA and EIA Argolid appear to suggest that the long-term survival and progress of any settlement were closely related to the degree of economic and socio-political dependence on the palatial system. The higher a settlement stood in palatial hierarchy within a core area or the more dependent a peripheral site was on central administration, the more difficult the transition into the EIA would be for it.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Foxhall (1995) 245-246: she points out that the closest palace to Methana would have been Athens, by sea, "though the pottery finds suggest LBA connections with the Argolid and Aegina as well". Therefore, Methana could be considered to belong to the periphery of both the Argive and the Athenian palace.

⁶⁰⁶ Foxhall (1995) 249, n.46

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Foxhall (1995) esp. 247-248 for a similar approach.

6.1.2 *Radical changes throughout the Argolid in the LBA-EIA transition*

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that even for those sites that appear to survive with greater success throughout the LHIIC turbulences, life conditions did not remain unaltered during the transitional period. Significant changes occurred in the settlement arrangements, burial customs and material culture at all surviving sites of the Argive plain, no matter whether they had seriously suffered from the LHIIC destructions or survived through them without too severe effects. At all sites – Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos and Asine – EIA burials took place in the ruins of old Mycenaean buildings, the chamber tomb cemeteries were sooner or later abandoned and the custom of single burials prevailed. Material culture was also gradually detached from the Mycenaean past, with characteristic examples being the increase of handmade pottery and the use of the apsidal plan in EIA architecture.⁶⁰⁸ The evidence in general seems to point to new population movements in the EIA, possibly related to the general instability and insecurity resulting from the recurrent LHIIC destructions and the failure of the major centres of Tiryns, Mycenae and Midea to retain their socio-political organisation and survive.

Therefore, the transition to the EIA appears to be a significant turning point for all the sites of the Argolid, even for the sites of Argos and Asine, which have produced the most substantial SM evidence as well as strong signs of continuity from the LBA. Although the population of Argos was increased towards the end of the LBA, reduction appears to follow in the SM period. It is indicative that around five of the chamber tombs that were in use in LHIIC-late were now abandoned, while two other tombs were re-used in the SM period after not receiving burials for quite some time. Also at Asine, usage of almost all of the chamber tombs, apart from one, ended in the SM period.

Of course, it should be stressed again that significant changes such as single burials in cists and the handmade pottery had started appearing at Argos in particular already since LHIIC. Therefore, a tendency to deviate from the typical Mycenaean customs and cultural features existed here already since post-palatial times, and with the new population movements that took place towards the end of LHIIC, this tendency might have been intensified. Social changes occurring in the transition from the LBA to the EIA at Argos also appear to relate to changes in settlement arrangements and burial customs, as already discussed, and in particular to the dispersal of the population into small groups potentially

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. discussion further on p.277-9.

bonded through kinship ties and to the prevalence of the custom of single burials deposited close to the habitation areas.

At Asine too the transition from the LBA to the EIA was marked by changes, in spite of the continuity in occupation of the same building to the East of the Acropolis from LHIIC-late to the EPG period. The most significant change is the abandonment of almost all of the chamber tombs and the new custom of single burials within the Lower Town. Although no SM burials have been found – other than one in a chamber tomb – it is valid to suggest that the transition from the multiple to single burials took place in this period, at the same time as the abandonment of the chamber tombs. There is also the possibility that at least part of the SM pottery found in LHIIC contexts in the Lower Town came from burials interred within the Mycenaean buildings, as already discussed in the relevant chapter (cf. I: 6.2, p.59). Besides, the custom of single burials in the ruins of the Lower Town seems to be well established by the PG period, during which the tombs appear to be organised in groups, and tomb-altars are used for the veneration of the dead. Other changes take place in material culture, such as the increase of handmade pottery to the point of dominating the coarse-ware assemblage already since the SM period and becoming the standard type of coarse-ware in the PG period, and the appearance of the apsidal plan in the PG period.⁶⁰⁹ Another important change falls within the religious sphere. A transformation seems to take place in cult practices at Asine from the LHIIC-late to the PG period. While in the end of the LBA cult was apparently housed inside a building, possibly the house of an elite member, in PG it takes place in the open-air, and the only focus of the cult place is a pithos used for discarding the debris after the ceremonies. First it should be noted that drinking and dining, as well as libation, might have been involved in cult in both periods.⁶¹⁰ On the other hand, the EIA remains testify to simplification of the religious assemblage, since no cult figures or figurines of any kind were found in relation to the pithos. In addition, the open-air location of the cult place in the PG period seems to point to practices of more communal nature than

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. also discussion further on p.277-9. Regarding handmade pottery, it is interesting to note that according to Frizell (1986) 83, the relevant pottery from the SM phase is different from that found at Asine in a LHIIC layer, which is characterised as of the same type with the pottery from Tiryns. Cf. also Frizell (1986) 86: “The relationship and possible connections between the so-called ‘Barbarian’ or ‘Dorian’ ware and the Final Mycenaean [i.e. SM], Handmade Burnished pottery is, however, obscure. It is not clear if there is a continuous tradition. The ceramic evidence from Asine suggests that Handmade Burnished was manufactured locally side by side with the traditional coarse ware and that it then gradually took its place.” According to Wells (1983) 122, on the other hand, the effect of the ‘North-west Greek Ware’, i.e. the handmade pottery found in Mycenaean context “can be traced all through PG handmade burnished”. She refers in particular to Frödin and Persson (1938) 306, fig. 210.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. the evidence in app.VI.5, p.404-6 and app.VI.11, p.413-4.

those taking place within the LHIIC-late building and probably involving a restricted number of persons – if not being of purely domestic nature, as it has been suggested.

The evidence from Asine points in general to changes in the population structure, including probably the abandonment of the site from part of the population and the arrival of newcomers, possibly from other sites of the Argolid. In the context of such population movements, social transformation would have also taken place, as discussed earlier, and changes in settlement arrangements, burial customs and cult practices would have followed. Newcomers most possibly arrived at Asine in the SM period, and it is quite probable that it was social rather than cultural or ethnic factors that urged them to discard the Mycenaean customs and way of life.

6.1.3 *EIA recovery and the later evolution of the Argolid*

In spite of the population movements, the reduction of the population and the related instability, disorder and insecurity, which apparently affected all Argive sites at the end of the LBA, Argos, Asine and Tiryns appear to have recovered soon. The most impressive features of prosperity at Argos are the steep rise of the population and the silver cupellation workshop, and at Asine distinctive the spacious apsidal building, the use of an apparently common burial ground for the whole community pointing to advanced social organisation, as well as the many indications for cult activities. Tiryns too, in spite of its short-term abandonment at the end of the LBA, has produced exceptional EIA evidence, such as the warrior burial and the organised burial grounds, but its population is smaller than that of Argos and probably less socially advanced than that of Asine. At Mycenae, the EIA evidence is very thin and points to a small population and a low level of social evolution.

It could be therefore observed that all the Argive sites went through the same turbulences throughout LHIIC and in the transition to the EIA, all of them experienced major changes in social organisation, material culture and in general in the way of life, while most of them preserved traits from the glorious Mycenaean past, including elements of social and political complexity, as it was transformed after its devolution in post-palatial times. Yet one of them grew more powerful than the others. Argos was the most populated site in the PG Argolid, and later on, in the 8th century BC, it shows the first clear signs of differentiation between the space for the living and the space for the dead, with the burials being pushed at the edges of the habitation area in the south part of the modern town, in the area where the *agora* was later going to be located.⁶¹¹ By the end of the 8th century BC Argos

⁶¹¹ Hägg (1982) 300-302

has grown so powerful that it achieves the destruction of Asine (Paus.II.36.4-5). This, however, shows that Asine too was powerful enough to become a threat for Argos. Tiryns and Mycenae, on the other hand, would not become its target until much later (Her.6.83), after they had fought against Argos' wishes on the side of Athens at Plataia in 479 BC (Her.9.28.4 and 31.3; Paus.V.23.2).⁶¹²

Therefore, Argos and Asine appear to have been the true competitors in the Argolid in the EIA. These two sites were not of the highest rank in palatial hierarchy, but managed to survive the post-palatial turbulences and flourish towards the end of LHIIIC, as well as show strong signs of continuity into the EIA. In spite of participating in the major changes that took place in the transitional period, they apparently managed to preserve some degree of stability in their socio-political organisation. In this way they became a pole of attraction for newcomers, possibly fleeing from other sites in the Argolid.

Tiryns, on the other hand, managed to get re-organised in the PG period but did not reach the point of competing with the other two sites in terms of power and control of the plain during the EIA. Although it had reached the same stage of social evolution with Argos in the PG period, and the population at both sites was organised in dispersed groups most probably interacting and competing with each other for status and power, Tiryns does not appear to take the next step and to become a unified community until later in the Archaic period. The picture of dispersed habitation units both in and out of the citadel appears to continue into the G period.⁶¹³ The only sign of group identity at Tiryns in the G period is the evidence for cult, i.e. the deposit (*bothros*) that was found to the East of the megaron on the Upper Citadel and contained votives dating from the mid 8th to the mid 7th cent. BC.⁶¹⁴ Then, at some point in the course, most probably, of the Archaic period, the dispersed settlement units of Tiryns must have somehow been united into a single community, as indicated by the

⁶¹² Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou (1975) 190-192
Foley (1988) 31

It is interesting that according to Morgan and Whitelaw, these historical facts are reflected in the stylistic pottery analysis: "by LG II, it is clear that Asine was able to sustain stylistic relations with Mycenae and Tiryns that appear comparable to, if not more intense than, those of Argos. At a time when Argos was attempting to expand and consolidate her influence on the plain, it therefore seems that Asine may actually have had the competitive edge...the act of conquest implies that Asine must have been perceived as uncontrollable" – Morgan and Whitelaw (1991) 107.

⁶¹³ For G pottery and burials found at several parts of the citadel cf. Hägg (1974) 84-85; Jantzen (1975) 99; Kilian (1982) 427, 429. For remains of rectangular buildings inside the citadel cf. Kilian (1978) 458. For G tombs and settlement remains outside of the citadel cf. Hägg (1974) 85; Kilian (1978) 467-468; Chatzipouliou (1980) 123-125; Dimakopoulou and Valakou (1982) 85; Jahresbericht (2000) 640.

⁶¹⁴ This *bothros* was the reason to identify Building T with a Late G/Early Archaic temple. For the discussion on the dating of Building T and the possible cult of Hera cf. Foley (1988) 145-147 and Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 159-161; for attribution of the cult to Athena cf. Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou (1975) esp.199-201.

inscribed 'sacral law' of late 7th century date that was recovered on the north-western side of the Lower Citadel and referred to a *damos*, who was in charge of deciding the meeting place for a public assembly, an *aliaia*, as well as to a number of magistrates and officials.⁶¹⁵ Nevertheless, Tiryns would not become a threat to Argos until much later, in the 5th century BC.

As for Mycenae, the EIA evidence is too scant to allow us discern any signs for socio-political organisation or even to suggest a reconstruction of the settlement's evolution.⁶¹⁶ This is largely due to the Hellenistic reoccupation of the citadel as well as to the clearing of EIA layers during Schliemann's excavations without serious documentation of finds. The complex of rooms that was built in the court of the megaron should be brought into the discussion at this point. If this building indeed dated to the LG period, as Tsountas had initially suggested, it would constitute the only G settlement remains to be somehow recorded.⁶¹⁷ In any case, there is relatively rich evidence for cult activity dating to the Archaic period both inside and outside of the citadel of Mycenae. The cult activity on the summit of the citadel, in particular, might have initiated in the late 8th century BC.⁶¹⁸ In addition, inscriptions of the 6th century BC referring to magistrates (IG IV.492, 493), and the literary evidence reporting that Mycenae sent eighty hoplites to the battle of Thermopylai in 480 BC (Hdt. 7.202) and also fought against the Persians at Plataia in 479 BC indicate that by the end of the Archaic period the settlement, however small, was socio-politically organised.⁶¹⁹ Until the 5th century, however, it had not reached the point of competing with and consequently provoking Argos.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁵ Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou (1975) esp. 195-199, 201-203
Hall (1997a) 92

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Hall (1997a) 100-101 for a summary of G and Archaic evidence

⁶¹⁷ Cf. discussion on the dating of these structures in chapter 1, 2.1.2 and fig.6.

⁶¹⁸ Klein (1997) 279

⁶¹⁹ Hall (1997a) 101

⁶²⁰ The exact nature of political situation in the Argive plain in G and Archaic times is not of our concern at this point. It suffices to mention that different views are shared by scholars. According to Piérart (1997) 336, both Mycenae and Tiryns would have probably been under the political control of Argos by the end of the 7th century, as indicated by the cultural identity of the traditions of the three sites as well as the diffusion of the alphabets in North-east Peloponnese. Folley (1988) 127-128 also supports that Tiryns was an Argive satellite. Morgan and Whitelaw examine the archaeological evidence from the plain, as well as the evolution of cult activities, and with the support of stylistic pottery analysis, allowing them to trace the evolution of interaction between the Argive sites, they argue that "the hegemony of Argos on the Argive plain was to all effects established by the end of the 8th century, and that the Iron Age was a most important period in the formation of this political ordering" – cf. Morgan and Whitelaw (1991) 86.

According to Hall (1997a) 92, however, "the belief that Argos engaged in a policy of aggressive expansionism at an early date is divined from much later literary testimony which fails to stand up to closer scrutiny".

It is not accidental that it was Argos and Asine that grew in power in the EIA in the Argive plain and not Tiryns or Mycenae, but it is most probably related to the advantageous position in which they had been after surviving throughout the post-palatial turbulences under better conditions, and consequently preserving their socio-political organisation during the transition to the EIA, which enabled them to increase in population size and advance in power during the PG period more than the other sites. Therefore, to conclude, the long-term view of the evidence suggests that the evolution of the Argive sites in the EIA was very much related to their Mycenaean and post-palatial past. The rise of a site such as Argos was not a matter of a sudden 'renaissance' of the 8th century BC, but it was the result of a long and slow process of social transformation and evolution, as also was the formation of the *polis*.

6.2 Summary of the LBA-EIA transition in Phokis-East Lokris

6.2.1 *The multivariate nature of LBA-EIA transition in Phokis-East Lokris: changes versus continuity*

In Phokis and East Lokris, the LHIIC period was in general marked with prosperity, but all parts of these areas did not experience the aftermath of the palatial collapse in exactly the same way. As already discussed, the areas were characterised by regionalism and decentralisation, in the sense that each part of them was affected by individual factors, such as the local topography, socio-political organisation and economy, as well as the relationship with the Mycenaean centres of Boeotia. The area of the gulf of Itea, for example, was earlier described as a Mycenaean microcosm, with Krisa functioning as the centre and its surrounding region as the periphery. It is interesting that the area's long-term development throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA seems to correspond to the chain reactions that took place in the Argolid after the destructions at the end of LHIIB2. The centre survives in LHIIC, but it is a site of lower rank in local hierarchy, i.e. Delphi, that flourishes and successfully continues into the EIA.

The other parts of Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, seem to react as a palatial periphery with apparently varying degrees of attachment to the centre, possibly of Orchomenos, as it will be explained further on. As already analytically discussed, they first seem to experience the impact of palatial collapse, but then they get re-organised, participate in the new network of contacts that develops in LHIIC-middle and flourish. This period of contacts and prosperity appears to last into LHIIC-late for the sites of Phokis, but not for

those of East Lokris too. The disruption of trade in the Aegean in the last phase of LHIIC was earlier noted as the main external factor that affected the different evolution of the two areas at that time. Other, internal factors should have also played a significant role, but they are more difficult to pin down. It could be tentatively suggested that the area of East Lokris had been fully integrated into the palatial system because of its vital topographical importance for an inland site such as Orchomenos, which would have needed to gain access to the Euboian Gulf; consequently, while the local centres in this area initially benefited from the palatial collapse, which granted them free and unrestrained participation in trade, in the long run they could not cope with the instability that derived from the lack of central authority. The recurrent LHIIC destructions that have been documented at Kynos must have been an additional test for the ability of these communities to remain unified and the competence of their rulers to retain their power and lead the settlements to recovery without any external palatial support.

In contrast, sites such as Elateia in the Kephissos valley, not being of so vital topographical importance for a Boeotian palace as the coastal sites, might have managed to preserve a higher degree of autonomy in palatial times, and thus could retain their socio-political organisation intact and survive the transition to the EIA with greater success. This and other factors, such as the inland position of the site, possibly protecting it from rivalries over sea routes among newly rising coastal centres, as well as its crucial location for contacts with the North and the West, which were apparently intensified in LHIIC-late and carried on into the SM period, as discussed earlier, must have attracted large numbers of newcomers to Elateia, which experienced a sudden population increase and prosperity in the transitional period to the EIA.

In the case of Medeon, on the other hand, the situation is more complex. Although it might have served as a trading post of Orchomenos due to its location, it appears to have preserved certain individual features, as reflected in its burial architecture, so that local elites are thought to have retained power alongside palatial authority.⁶²¹ Although any such reconstruction of the evidence is largely tentative, the hypothesis of a powerful local elite is supported by the indications for continuing trade and contacts during LHIIC-late. However, significant changes also occur in this phase in burial customs (single burials in pits), and are followed by others in the EIA (cremations).

Such changes in burial customs and material culture start appearing since LHIIC-late at other sites too in Phokis and East Lokris. Cremations and small-sized chamber tombs destined only for one or two interments appear at Elateia, and infant burials take place within

⁶²¹ Papadimitriou (2001) 122

the house floors at Kynos. Handmade pottery is also introduced at Elateia in this phase, and shortly afterwards at Kynos. It should be reminded here, however, that handmade pottery had appeared at Kalapodi already since LHIIC-early. It could be tentatively suggested that people using this kind of pottery, started visiting the sanctuary already since the beginning of its establishment, but the use of this pottery spread in the area only later in LHIIC.⁶²² The new cultural features continue in the SM and the PG periods too, and also appear at other sites. Single burials in cists within the habitation area for example also appear at Mitrou in the SM period and continue into the PG.

It should be stressed, however, that while all these changes are introduced, the chamber tomb cemeteries continue to be used. As already discussed, this most probably signifies the preservation of the settlements' social organisation. Therefore, if the new cultural features were ascribed to population movements, these should not be thought to have radically upset or changed the life of the communities that received newcomers, such as that of Elateia. However, not all cultural changes should be attributed to newcomers, and other, possibly social or economic factors should be taken into account too.⁶²³ In any case, Elateia in particular appears to have managed to accommodate the changes into the already existing cultural and social context of its community. At Kynos, on the other hand, the changes appear to be accompanied by impoverishment, which possibly relates to population movements, potentially including the abandonment of the site from large part of the population.

6.2.2 *PG variety: coastal and inland parts*

In the PG period, however, radical changes occur at most of the sites in Phokis and East Lokris. Most of the chamber tomb cemeteries are abandoned, apart from that of Elateia and a couple of others at inland and upland sites (Agnandi, Smixe, Vrysi-Sykia, Delphi). Even at Elateia, however, for which our knowledge is more detailed, the number of chamber tombs in use is reduced. It could be assumed that the custom of single burials prevails in this period, as indicated by the evidence from Kynos, Mitrou and sporadic tombs at other sites (Kalapodi, Agios Athanasios at Modi), as well as by the cemetery of Atalante. In addition, the innovation of the apsidal building is introduced at Mitrou in this period. Judging mainly from the abandonment of chamber tomb cemeteries, it could be assumed that the life of the communities, their socio-political organisation and economy also changed in the PG period.

⁶²² Cf. discussion further on p.277-9.

⁶²³ Cf. discussion on changes at Elateia in app.VII.8, p.428-9.

As discussed earlier, decline seems to encumber the Kephissos valley, while it is possible that there was a shift in the location of the settlements at that time, pointing to a general disturbance of life conditions. In the coastal area of East Lokris, on the other hand, the population movements and the cultural changes seem to lead to the formation of a new power balance. Atalante seems to be in the lead by the end of the PG period as indicated by its external contacts and rich burial offerings. Kynos is still inhabited, but the remains appear to point to continuing impoverishment, while Mitrou seems to acquire a special status, but the very recently initiated research does not allow us to appreciate its role in the area as yet. As it was earlier suggested, a major factor affecting this different development of the plain of Atalante and the valley of Kephissos, and possibly also leading to such cultural changes as the widespread adoption of single burials, might be the influence from the renewed contacts in the context of the Euboian *koine*.

According to Catherine Morgan, this differentiation of the two areas, which becomes evident already since the PG period and appears to carry on in the G period as well, constitutes the initial stage of the process that finally led to the formation of two separate regional structures, Phokis and East Lokris, and to the establishment of a boundary in between them through the 8th and 7th centuries BC.⁶²⁴ Through this process the location of the sanctuary of Kalapodi also came to be perceived as a frontier between the two areas, and consequently the sanctuary would be later embellished with special importance for the Phokian *ethnos*. Several scholars have shown on the basis of literary sources that the sanctuary of Kalapodi played a very significant role in the consolidation and preservation of the Phokians' ethnic identity from Classical times onwards. Being located on the frontiers of Phokis with East Lokris, the sanctuary became linked with the most important events of the national history of the Phokians, usually fighting against the Thessalian threat from the North. The great celebration of Elaphebolia, held in honour of Artemis at the sanctuary of Kalapodi, was introduced to commemorate the legendary event of the so-called Phokian despair, which was probably inspired by their liberating victory over the Thessalians at the battle of Keressos c.571 BC.⁶²⁵

Radical changes also occurred in the PG period in the coastal area of Phokis, at Medeon, which adopted a different burial custom at that time, the primary cremation. Taking into account the scant SM evidence from the site and the radical change of burial customs, it could be assumed that Medeon was significantly affected by the population movements in

⁶²⁴ Morgan (1997) 179-184; (2003) 118: she also believes that the Euboian contacts possibly led to the differentiation in development of the two areas.

⁶²⁵ Cf. Ellinger (1987) 93-96 for references to literary sources; also Morgan (1997) 179-184 and McInerney (1999) 156ff, esp. 177-8.

the transitional period from the LBA to the EIA, and that it might have been abandoned and re-inhabited by a different population group. According to Morgan, “there was almost certainly a hiatus in settlement until EPG times”.⁶²⁶ However, the lack of settlement evidence makes any such suggestion quite tentative. Instead, a radical transformation of burial customs possibly under external influence and due to socio-political reasons could be suggested. The identification of a new burial custom with a new ethnic group has been shown to be a dangerous and possibly misleading endeavour,⁶²⁷ but any other alternative interpretation should also have the support of evidence, which is in fact not available for either of the two scenarios in the case of Medeon. Anyhow, it is certain that the community at this site was still active in interregional contacts in the EIA, and continued to prosper in the G period. Only since the 7th century has there been some contraction in burials, and possibly some decline of the settlement. As Morgan says, “Archaic and Classical burials are comparatively few in number, and we hear little of Medeon until its Hellenistic renaissance and subsequent *sympoliteia* with Stiris”.⁶²⁸

Finally, the settlement of Delphi does not seem to be radically affected by the changes in the EIA, although this cannot be said without any reservations due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. The large chamber tomb with the dromos continues to be used until into the SM period, while PG burials are placed in the small-type chamber tombs, a type of tomb that had appeared at Delphi since the LBA – one of them at least has been dated to LHIII B. It is also interesting that their use continues into the G period. The only possible innovation that could be traced in burial customs at Delphi is the occurrence of a cremation; if the amphora found in a PG pit tomb were indeed an urn. Handmade pottery also occurs in the EIA, but it had appeared already since LHIII C. It is not clear, however, when it first appeared at the site, whether it became more popular in the EIA, and if its type changed from the LBA to the EIA.⁶²⁹ It should be stressed that in spite of the recurrent natural disasters that appear to hit the site in LHIII C, the settlement is probably continuously inhabited throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA, and also carries on its inter-regional contacts, while in the subsequent G period it expands and prospers. In this period, at the end of the 9th or in the beginning of the 8th century BC, the first EIA evidence for cult activity makes its appearance too, and also intensifies towards the end of the century.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁶ Morgan (1990) 119, n. 19: she believes that SM pottery at Medeon dates closer to LHIII C than to PG.

⁶²⁷ Hall (1997b) esp. 120-131

⁶²⁸ Morgan (1990) 125

⁶²⁹ Cf. Pilides (1994) 27 with references to finds and discussion.

According to Müller (1992) 463-464, it was found in great quantity in the Mycenaean village.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Morgan (1990) for the beginnings of the sanctuary at Delphi.

From that point onwards there starts the history of development of the panhellenic Delphic sanctuary.

6.2.3 Reconstruction of palace-periphery relationships through the prism of LBA-EIA transition: model and limitations

Generally, as a summary of the LBA-EIA development in the area of Phokis-East Lokris, it could be said that the coastal parts were more radically transformed than the inland parts by the changes that occurred throughout the transitional period. The trade and the sea contacts played of course significant role in this, as already extensively discussed. The wider changes in trade patterns in the Eastern Mediterranean towards the end of the LBA and in the beginning of the EIA had chain effects on interregional contacts in the Aegean and also on all coastal sites of the Greek Mainland that participated in the respective networks of communication. However, as already observed, inland sites such as Elateia and Delphi also participated in wide-ranging contacts, but still they appear to be less affected by the population movements and the new cultural influences of the EIA than East Lokris or Medeon. Although reduced in number, the chamber tombs at Elateia continued to be used into the PG and G periods. At Delphi the settlement continued to be inhabited most probably with no interruption throughout the EIA, and repeated use in PG and G times is attested in one of the small chamber tombs.

Therefore, from the viewpoint of long-term development since post-palatial times onwards, it could be suggested that the coastal parts of Phokis and East Lokris were more prone to suffering radical changes in population size and structure, way of life and socio-political organisation, not only because of their geographical location, but also because they had been more successfully integrated into the palatial system. Being of major importance for the Mycenaean centres of Boiotia, since they provided excellent ports to the Euboian and the Corinthian Gulf, they might have been under more direct and intensive palatial control than the inland parts of the area. And although the whole area appears to have initially benefited from the palatial collapse, only the inland parts seem to succeed in retaining their integrity and stability, so as to preserve or even increase their population throughout the LHIIIC turbulences, population movements, disruptions and alterations in trade patterns. Therefore, the evidence from Phokis and East Lokris seems to verify the model that was suggested earlier on the basis of the LBA-EIA evidence from the Argolid, i.e. that the long-term development of a site and of an area throughout the LBA-EIA transition was very much

influenced by its Mycenaean past; more specifically, that the more dependent a site had been in the LBA on the palatial system, the more difficult the transition to the EIA would be for it.

However, this model, and in fact any model, albeit constructed on the basis of archaeological evidence, cannot be applied in a blindfolded manner and without any reservations to all cases, but factors relating to local conditions, internal structures and external influences must always be taken into account. In the case of Phokis and East Lokris, in particular, the further development of EIA Elateia appears to refute the model. Although the chamber tomb cemetery remains in use in the EIA, the number of tombs is reduced already since the PG period, which points either to population reduction or to change of burial custom and/or of location and possibly to some disruption of the former social cohesion. Internal factors such as the impact of the LHIIIC-late/SM population increase on the socio-political organisation were examined earlier. In addition, a general decline has been noted in the PG period for the whole valley of Kephissos, and, as already discussed, the major contributing factor must have been the development of a new local power balance under the effect of the Euboian contacts. Elateia too participates in the Euboian *koine*, but it is a site in coastal Lokris that appears to benefit mostly from these contacts, as indicated by the imported burial offerings in the cemetery of Atalante. Crielaard suggests that it seems to have been “a matter of prestige to participate in networks that included a growing variety of increasingly distant regions”.⁶³¹ It could be additionally suggested that it might have also been a matter of prestige in the context of local competition to control the flow of the most exceptional goods and especially the imports, and to exclude neighbouring areas from their circulation. Such factors, as well as potential, internal reasons of social and economic decline might have not allowed a site such as Elateia to gain access to prestigious items and preserve its status for the local population.

In the area of Delphi, on the other hand, no such factors of competition appear to affect the site’s participation in the new Euboian network and the local power balance. The pottery from Delphi points to contacts with Euboia, as well as with other areas (Thessaly, Western Greece), and there is no site in its neighbourhood that would need to control Delphi’s access to networks of communication. Medeon is the closest site to Delphi that has produced EIA evidence, and it too develops inter-regional contacts, but they seem to be mostly orientated towards the coast of the Corinthian Gulf and Western Greece. However, it should be stressed that only a very limited number of vases from Medeon have been publicised, and therefore it could not be excluded – but not assumed either – that Medeon too participated in the Euboian *koine*. It is interesting to note that eventually Delphi too will be

⁶³¹ Crielaard (2006)

included in the network of sites in the Corinthian Gulf, and the influences from this area will replace those of the Euboian *koine* since the 9th century BC.⁶³² Through this shift of orientation, which is in fact logical to expect considering the geographical position of the site, Delphi will gradually develop intensive contacts with Corinth, and as a result the right conditions will emerge for the growth in inter-regional significance of the newly established sanctuary in the 8th and especially the 7th century BC.⁶³³

6.2.4 EIA contribution to the later development of the area

Therefore, it could be said that already since the PG period, the first indication of the later development of the area of Phokis and East Lokris made its appearance, and that is the borderline that gradually developed between the plain of Atalante and the valley of Kephissos through the different participation of each area into the Euboian *koine*. The creation of a virtual borderline signals the early stages of separation between the populations living in the Kephissos valley and those on the west coast of the Euboian gulf, and will appear to play a crucial role in the long run for the development of the two *ethne* of the Phokians and the Lokrians. The changes of the PG period also resulted in the rise of sites such as Atalante (later Opous) that was going to play a dominant role in the history of the region.⁶³⁴ On the other hand, other features that would play a crucial role in the development of the area, such as the interregional radiation of the sanctuary of Delphi – one of the two main impetuses for the consolidation of Phokian identity (the other being the Thessalian occupation of the 6th century BC) – and in fact the sanctuary itself, would not appear until later in the G period.⁶³⁵

As Jeremy McInerney and Catherine Morgan have excellently showed, the conditions were not yet suitable and mature enough for the creation of ethnic coalitions in

⁶³² Lemos (1998) 50

⁶³³ Cf. Morgan (1990) 112-125 for EIA contacts of South Phokis with Corinth and their influence on the development of the area; also Morgan (2003) 213-222, esp. 217-218 for the regional interconnections in the Corinthian Gulf and the participation of Delphi.

⁶³⁴ Morgan (2003) 30

Cf. also Nielsen (2004) 670 for literary evidence.

⁶³⁵ McInerney (1999) 156ff, esp. 177-8: "...the domination of Phokian territory by Thessaly in the course of the 6th century cemented the loose ties that had existed previously between the communities of the region. A common enemy provided the communities of the Parnassos district with the impetus to unite. The vehicles would be myth and religion."

Morgan (2003) 25-27: "In the case of Delphi, the steady growth in foreign involvement with the shrine and oracle through the latter part of the 8th and 7th century created not only an increasingly varied and complex collection of vested interests, but also considerable economic demand for services and consumables. Here too, the resulting conflict had lasting implications for the economic and territorial development of Phokis as a whole."

the EIA, and the *ethne* of Phokis and Lokris were not early creations formed out of the unification of tribal communities, and consequently political forms of a more primitive nature than that of the *polis*.⁶³⁶ Instead, the meticulous examination of LBA-EIA evidence from the area has shown that most local communities retained a high degree of socio-political organisation throughout the transition into the EIA and did not devolve to a stage of tribalism. Those that were affected by the population movements and the unsettled conditions of the transitional period, soon redeveloped economically and socio-politically through their network contacts and the resulting competition and stimulation to advance, and thus gradually moved towards the direction of the *polis*.⁶³⁷ As modern research has shown, the *polis* was not a static political formation, nor did it always derive from the same processes, but instead the characterisation *polis* could apply to several kinds of city-states, including those that would at some point coalesce into *ethne*.⁶³⁸ In the case of the area under examination, in particular, it has been shown that the evolution of each site was not a linear, straightforward process, but the result of many contributing factors. A significant factor was the legacy from the Mycenaean past, in certain cases helping a site to survive the LBA-EIA transition without serious changes in its organisation, in others exposing it to the wave of transformations that swept the area in the beginning of the EIA – depending, as it was argued earlier, on the degree of autonomy from or dependence on the palatial system. In either case, a multitude of other factors, and especially the complex effects of inter-site contacts would influence the further development of each site and determine its status and role within the much later formations of the *ethne*.

⁶³⁶ Cf. McInerney (1999) esp. 8-22 for summary of earlier views on *ethne*, tribalism and *poleis*. He notes that “the evolutionary model, which sees the Greeks developing from tribe to city-state, *ethnos* to *polis*, is fundamentally flawed and does not reflect the reality of Greek social organisation”.

Morgan (2003) esp. 4-10, 24-31

⁶³⁷ Morgan (2003) 212 emphasizes that we should “avoid retrojecting our expectations of later *poleis* on to early big sites”, and when using the term for earlier times, it should not carry specific implications for the mode of political organisation. As she states, “in using the term ‘polis’ here, I simply reflect the fact that at least by Archaic times, Greeks themselves used it for a place community with a settlement centre”.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 14: “the Hellenic world of Archaic and Classical periods comprised more than one thousand *poleis*, and apart from some regions on the fringes, all Hellenes lived in *poleis*”; also 39-43 for different meanings of the word in ancient texts; 86 for the concept of dependent *polis* as opposed to autonomous *poleis*.

Cf. also Nielsen (2004) 664-673 for the *poleis* in East Lokris and Oulhen (2004) 399-430 for those in *Phokis*, always in reference to ancient texts.

6.3 Differences and similarities of the LBA-EIA transition in the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris

Overall, the LBA-EIA transition was experienced very differently in the core area of the Argolid and in the periphery of Phokis-East Lokris. In the Argolid the palatial collapse was on the one hand followed by reduction of population and abandonment of most of the small sites that were dispersed in the plain as well as in the peripheral areas (Southern Argolid and Methana peninsula), while on the other there followed the last revival of the Mycenaean civilization in the former palatial centres of Tiryns, Mycenae and Midea. In the last phase of LHIIC, however, decline and population reduction hits these sites, followed by short-term abandonment at Tiryns and the final abandonment of Midea. The sites of Argos and Asine, on the other hand, survive throughout LHIIC-late under much better conditions.

In Phokis and East Lokris, the settlement patterns do not appear to have changed much after the palatial collapse, and prosperity follows at many sites especially in LHIIC-middle. However, this does not seem to last into LHIIC-late for the coastal parts of the area. Nevertheless, such decline as that noted in the former palatial centres in the Argolid does not appear anywhere in Phokis and East Lokris in this phase: the chamber tomb cemeteries remain in use, and in fact certain inland sites, such as Delphi and Elateia flourish in the end of the LBA.

The LHIIC period is also marked with significant cultural changes – single burials, cremations and changes in material culture – that appear in both areas, but not simultaneously. Of all the changes in material culture, focus will be placed here only on the pottery production, and in particular on the handmade ware, which is probably the most characteristically intrusive element in Mycenaean material culture. The subject is of course too extensive and complex to treat here in detail, and only a short discussion will follow so as to give a general picture of the distribution in the two areas.

Handmade ware, in particular, had already made its appearance at Tiryns and possibly also at Mycenae since before the destructions at the end of LHIIB2. In LHIIC, however, it spread to other sites of the Argolid too, such as Argos and Asine. In Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, its first appearance probably was in LHIIC-early at the sanctuary of Kalapodi, while its percentage in the total pottery assemblage gradually increased throughout LHIIC, and it eventually reached the point of equalling the wheel-made ware in quantity in the SM period. Among the habitation sites, Elateia, Medeon and Delphi have also produced such pottery in LHIIC (Elateia in LHIIC-late, Delphi at some imprecise date, Medeon in LHIIC-early or -middle), at least on the present state of evidence,

while in the SM period it is also known to appear at Kynos and possibly other sites too (as for example in the cemetery of Agios Georgios on the route from Zeli to Golemi).⁶³⁹

The significance of this cultural innovation as well as its provenance are very crucial and complex questions that have been and still are the focus of many discussions and research projects. A final and conclusive interpretation of its appearance has not been agreed upon yet, while the variety of the material in question makes it seem all the more possible that no general answers applying to all areas of Greece can be given to the questions pertaining to the handmade pottery. Although different suggestions have also been made, the most popular one seems to be that the handmade ware originates from an area – or more – outside of the Mycenaean world, and thus its appearance is connected with the arrival of newcomers.⁶⁴⁰ It seems, however, that people from such areas had already infiltrated into the palatial world before the collapse, which in fact might have paved the way for more to come and spread in many areas after the destruction of the palaces. In this way, the ‘newcomers’ are no longer viewed as hostile groups of warriors, who came to destroy the palaces and to take over the land, but as peaceful wanderers. Although it is not the place here to present all the different theories and discussions on this complex issue, nor by any means to give a final solution to the related problems, it seems at least quite plausible to believe that in the context of general population movements starting with the palatial collapse and continuing into the EIA, people living on the outskirts of the Mycenaean world might have felt welcome to move to areas that were formerly under palatial influence or control, after the latter had been lifted. This does not need to mean, however, that the prevalence of handmade pottery in PG coarse-ware assemblages signifies the dominance of newcomers, but instead that “perhaps, after its initial introduction in the Mycenaean period by a non-Mycenaean population, handmade pottery became part of the pottery production used both by locals and newcomers”.⁶⁴¹

As previously emphasised, not all cultural changes occurring in the transitional period should be attributed to newcomers.⁶⁴² Socio-political and economic changes in combination with the movements of people within the post-Mycenaean world – and not necessarily from outside – have been examined in this study as possible reasons for the change in burial customs and settlement arrangements. These kinds of changes appear to

⁶³⁹ Cf. Pilides (1994) 11-17 for a summary of the evidence from the Argolid, and 27-28 for Phokis-East Lokris.

⁶⁴⁰ For a summary of the evidence and related views cf. Pilides (1994) 1-9 and Lemos (2002) 84-85. For emphasis on the PG material and comments cf. Lemos (2002) 85-97.

⁶⁴¹ Lemos (2002) 97

⁶⁴² Cf. discussion in Chapter 1: 9.2.8, p.92-6 for the changes in burial customs; also app. VII.8, p. 428-9 on changes at Elateia.

occur both earlier and more radically in the Argolid than in the periphery of Phokis-East Lokris. The custom of single burials appears to have replaced the multiple burials in chamber tombs in the Argolid already since the SM period, while in Phokis and East Lokris, such a prevalence of single burials does not take place until the PG period, and even then not in all parts of the area. In fact, chamber tombs of large or small type continued to be in use until into the G period at both Elateia and Delphi. In addition, the custom of burying the dead within the ruins of former Mycenaean houses has not been attested yet in the peripheral area under examination, although this might be accidental since not many settlements have been excavated. Cremations, finally, do not appear in the periphery until LHIIC-late (Elateia), while they have appeared in the Argolid since LHIIC-middle; and most importantly, the cremations at Elateia are incorporated in the already existing context of the chamber tomb, while in the Argolid they are introduced in a more revolutionary fashion; within tumuli.

The SM period is also experienced very differently in the two areas. In the Argolid, the SM period is in general marked not only by the intensification of the cultural changes that were discussed above – with the exception of cremations, which survive very sparsely only in EIA Argos – but also by very much reduced population and a general impression of poverty and decline, and only with very few signs for the subsequent recovery, such as the silver cupellation workshop at Argos. The organisation of habitation seems to change radically too, with the citadels and the Mycenaean settlements only sparsely inhabited, with no re-use or rebuilding of the LBA remains, and with people living in scattered groups. In this context, the case of continuous occupation of the LHIIC-late building to the East of the Acropolis of Asine is a truly exceptional case.

In Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, no such prevailing impression of impoverishment is attested. On the contrary, the evidence from Elateia points to continuing prosperity and population increase. The sanctuary of Kalapodi is continuously visited. The settlement of Delphi is also probably uninterruptedly inhabited, as indicated by the re-use of Mycenaean walls for the new buildings after the LHIIC-late destruction that hit the site. Only at the coastal parts of the area are there some indications for population decline, as it was earlier analytically discussed.

The two areas also differ very much in their PG development. In the Argolid the features of dispersed habitation units and single burials deposited nearby carry on into the PG period, while signs for more intense social differentiation and organisation within and among the groups of the population are gradually increased. In Phokis and East Lokris, on

the other hand, the evidence does not point to continuous progress from the previous period, but to radical changes in the former *status quo* and in the power balance of the area, a transformation that should be viewed against the background of the Euboian *koine*, as already stressed. Variety in burial customs is intensified all over the area, with single burials in cists or pits prevailing in East Lokris and also spreading further inland, but also with multiple burials in chamber tombs continuing into this period too at inland and upland sites, as well as cremations at Medeon. It is interesting to point out that in both areas the innovation of the apsidal building makes its appearance in this period. As already discussed, this novelty too has been associated with the arrival of newcomers, but other internal, structural or even social reasons should be taken into account too.⁶⁴³

Another significant difference between the Argolid and Phokis-East Lokris in the LBA-EIA transition can be found in the religious sphere. In the Argolid the available evidence from both the LBA and the EIA testifies to the existence of cult places attached to particular settlements, while in the area of Phokis-East Lokris there is a sanctuary apparently serving the religious needs of a wider area from LHIIC-early onwards – as well as a sanctuary attached to the Late Mycenaean settlement of Delphi. This difference must surely relate to the different Mycenaean past of the two areas. In the Argolid, religious life in palatial times was apparently centred in the citadels, and it consequently carried on in the same context after the collapse, albeit not without changes in material investment and architectural setting. Only the case of Asine seems to be somewhat more complex. The cult deposit found here dates to LHIIC-late, but it is not known whether there was another cult place at the site, at the same or at another location, in earlier times. If, however, no former cult place existed at Asine, the establishment of a new one in LHIIC-late could be related to the prosperity of the settlement at that time and possibly to the new needs of the rising local elite. In the area of Kalapodi, on the other hand, it seems that after the palatial collapse the former religious context had been entirely lost, and, therefore, a new cult place was needed, not only to serve the religious needs of the population, but also to act as a venue for interaction among the elites of the area, now rising in power and needing a new ‘institution’ to play the role of legitimisation formerly undertaken by the palace, as discussed earlier.

In addition, the LHIIC cult evidence from the Argolid is distinctively different in paraphernalia and locale from that of the EIA, while at Kalapodi the same cult place is continuously visited from the LBA to the EIA, although here too differences from the one period to the next are noted in the cult remains. This striking difference between the two

⁶⁴³ Cf. discussion in Chapter I: 6.2, p.60.

areas is of course easily understood in the context of all the other differences noted above. The Argolid seems to be much more severely affected by population movements, socio-political, economic and cultural changes, and thus any sign of religious continuity in this area would probably be very surprising. In the area of Phokis-East Lokris, on the other hand, the continuity of the sanctuary can be much more easily understood in the general context of continuity in settlement patterns and burial customs, despite the emerging changes.

Finally, in spite of the many differences between the two areas under examination, the PG period appears to be a period with great importance for the further development of both of them. In both areas, whether through a linear progressive process or through transformation, the foundations are laid and the right conditions are created in this period for the rise of the later *poleis*. In the Argolid, the main contribution of the PG period towards this direction was the prevailing stability that led to population increase, and consequently to increase of social differentiation, competition and interaction among the dispersed population groups of each settlement, which would later generate social cohesion and the creation of a single, organised community. In Phokis and East Lokris, on the other hand, the cultural variety of the area was intensified under different influences received from the outside world in the context of the Euboian *koine*. Consequently each community developed its own identity, and through the changes in the local power balance the later *poleis* of the area, such as Atalante (ancient Opous), gradually arose. The rise of each *polis* in any area was of course a complex process, and no general model can be applied even to one area alone. In the Argolid, for example, Asine seems to follow a different route of evolution from Argos, and in Phokis, Delphi appears to differ from other sites. Besides, in the latter case, the evolution of the settlement is made even more complex by the establishment of the sanctuary, whose radiation soon spread beyond its immediate scope.

In addition, the PG period carries the seeds for the later historical evolution of both areas. In the Argolid, the PG growth of the two sites of Argos and Asine will later on, in the end of the G period, translate into competition and direct confrontation between the two sites, a prerequisite for the domination of only one of them and the beginnings of the Argive hegemony of the plain. In Phokis and East Lokris, the different PG development of the valley of Kephissos and the plain of Atalante will generate the creation of a borderline between these two parts of the area, a necessary step towards the later coalition of the *poleis* into two different *ethne*.

6.4 Final note: from core and periphery to *polis* and *ethnos*

In summary, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces generated a long process of changes and transformation that was experienced very differently in the core area of the Argolid and in the peripheral area of Phokis-East Lokris. In spite of the revival that followed the LHIIB2 destructions at the former palatial sites of the Argolid, the impact of the collapse seems to have eventually been more devastating in this area than in Phokis-East Lokris. In the latter, the socio-political organisation of the communities seems to be preserved without serious alterations throughout the LHIIC and into the SM period, and the economy appears to prosper. Although this description fits the whole area in general, local variations also appear, as it is of course expected due to the natural division of the area into smaller geographical units, each one with its own past and evolution. The coastal parts of the area, which might have been more significant for and consequently more dependent on the palatial system, seem to be caught up in the end by the long-term impact of the collapse and the loss of central administration, as the former palatial centres in the Argolid also appear to be. Poor conditions seem to prevail in the coastal parts of Phokis and East Lokris in the SM period, while the inland parts continue to prosper. In the Argolid on the other hand, this period seems to be overall quite 'dark', although the first signs of the later recovery start making their appearance. The following PG period is marked with population increase and social evolution in the Argolid, and with cultural variety, transformation of the local power balance and participation in the Euboian *koine* in Phokis-East Lokris. Through these different processes, and out of population movements, radical cultural changes and socio-political transformation, the old Mycenaean world gradually gives way to the new Greek city-states, each one with its own identity and aspirations. And although the birth of the *polis* is still far from achieved at the end of the LBA-EIA transition, the foundations are already in place, and the basis is built for the later history of the Argolid, characterised by confrontation among its *poleis*, and for that of Phokis-East Lokris, marked with the division into *ethne*.

In conclusion, the long-term view of the evidence that has been adopted in this study, in combination with the comparative approach of two different areas of the Greek Mainland, has led to a better understanding of the different processes of change and evolution that took place in the central and peripheral areas of the Mycenaean world after the palatial collapse and into the EIA. In addition, the above methodology has contributed not only to the understanding of the EIA development of the two areas but also to that of the Mycenaean past, by leading to a probable reconstruction of the complex and multivariate relationship of a peripheral area with a palatial centre based on the periphery's manifold

patterns of survival and evolution throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA. Most importantly, this study has shown how significant it is to bridge the artificial divide of the 'Dark Ages' by trying to reconstruct the route that each area and each site followed after the palatial collapse – the true breakthrough in Early Greek times – and onwards into the EIA, in order to shed light on the beginnings of the later historical development. As it has recently come to be understood in scholarly literature, neither was the *polis* the result of a 'Greek Renaissance' of the 8th century BC, nor the *ethnos* "a purely tribal or cantonal state...embracing a region without any major urban concentration", and surviving from a dark age.⁶⁴⁴ Instead, they were both complex social and political formations, whose emergence can be better understood when viewed through the prism of the transition from the LBA to the EIA.

⁶⁴⁴ Snodgrass (1971) 419