Communication Uneven.

Acceptance of and Resistance to Foreign Influences

in the Connected Ancient Mediterranean

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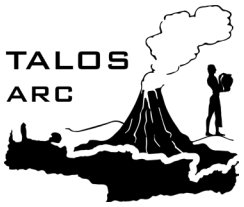

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1. Communication Uneven

Acceptance of and Resistance to Foreign Influences in the Connected Ancient Mediterranean

Preface

Alessandro Vanzetti
Jan Driessen

Throughout history, the Mediterranean Sea was intertwined with human societies and their relations. Communication was globally enhanced as soon as coastal and island communities developed networks with each other, and emporia or hubs. The sea was crucial for leaps in the relational universe, with cultures getting in contact over wide distances, with different political and social structures. A first International Age emerged, peaking in the Late Bronze Age, during which people intensely moved and ideas, technology and objects spread. Through time, the Mediterranean Sea acted either as barrier or as facilitator of exchanges, contact, conflict and power, with warriors often changing into traders and *vice versa*. The traditional excitement scholars experience over enhanced communication processes asks, however, for a proper analysis, as communication was never an even and pervasive given – to the contrary! Local communities made decisions as to which foreign objects to adopt, adapt or reject, and how to react to connectivity. Bordering regions, but also proximate sites, sometimes show drastically different records of long-distance contact. This agency and decision should be dependent on a variety of criteria: if processes of innovation and connectedness reflect the normal situation within a shared seascape, how can we explain the opposite?

These ideas formed the backbone of a session, similarly entitled, organised at the 24th Annual Meeting of the *European Association of Archaeologists* in Barcelona in 2018 of which this volume forms a reflection. Its specific aim was to measure acceptance of and resistance to outside influences within Mediterranean coastal settlements and their immediate hinterlands, with an open time range, but with a particular focus on the processes not reflecting simple commercial routes, but taking place at an intercultural level, in situations of developed connectedness.

Following a general discussion of the theoretical and long-lasting facets of the discussion on communication, and of some of the reasons for its unevenness (Vanzetti), the papers presented in this volume give a wide and stimulating view of the ongoing debate about Mediterranean interaction and communication. They span in chronology from the Late Neolithic of Crete, in the 5th-4th millennium BCE (Todaro), to the Macedonian conquest of Thrace, in the 4th century BCE (Kallintzi *et al.*). Most of the papers focus, however, on the Middle to Late Bronze Ages, as this is a phase of particularly intense communication, and clearly also because it matches well the interests and connections of the Editors. The geographic frame extends from the Central Mediterranean (Levi *et al*., Militello) to Thrace (Kallintzi *et al.*), Cyprus (Coenaerts *et al.*) and the Levant (Pucci *et al.*), with an important focus on Crete and Mycenaean Greece (Todaro, Driessen, Gheorghiade, Zeman). Three papers (Papadopoulos, Pullen, Murray), more than specific areas, instead discuss the figures of some of the actors of the intra-Mediterranean interregional communication, and the nuances of their roles: warriors and merchants.

Vanzetti proposes to trace the continuity and compatibility of many of the approaches to interaction and communication developed since the years of the New Archaeology, through Post-Processualism and present Post-Postprocessualism, which combines with the so-called Third Scientific Revolution in archaeology. Trade and communication have often been seen as strictly connected. His major point is that communication is basically a result of specific interaction, and that the different directionalities result in different types of unevenness appearing in the archaeological record. Any situation, enhanced and made more direct through maritime communication in the Mediterranean, requires analyses considering the actors of communication properly and their social capacity to improve and transform, or deflect and remove, exchange of goods and information or messages. Human mobility is another factor that has come again to the fore recently, and it can be discussed in the perspective of social interaction and communication as well.

1. Central Mediterranean

The two papers on the Central Mediterranean refer to Sicily and the Aeolian islands, and on the phase of the 'Mycenaean connection'. Both heavily refer to A.M. Bietti Sestieri's papers on the subject (Bietti Sestieri 1988; 2014). In fact, Levi *et al.* provide a first and targeted analysis of the interconnections inside the local interaction zone around the Aeolian islands of the Capo Graziano archaeological facies, during the Sicilian Early Bronze Age. This is precisely the main area through which Bietti Sestieri defined the "long-lasting tradition of systematic [...] coast to coast sailings between southern Italy, northern Sicily and the Aeolian islands" (Bietti Sestieri 1988: 39-40), predating Mycenaean contacts, and determining the way these contacts were inserted in the Central Mediterranean web. Pottery decorative styles and pottery production, determined through thin section petrography, are used by Levi and colleagues in order to disentangle the communication/exchange networks between the different islands and the nearby coast. For the first time, we can grasp some details of the interaction in local exchange circuits in this area of the Mediterranean and the emerging image is one of different directional relations corresponding to different short- to mid-distance sea-routes and connections.

Militello considers the crucial area of southeastern Sicily, where the presence of Mycenaean/Minoan, together with Maltese and Cypriot pottery, marks a special interaction zone, in particular during LH IIIA-B. Foreign pottery is imported and not produced locally, and it rather frequently occurs in collective burials, a rather rare circumstance in Italy and the Central Mediterranean but typical of Sicily. The architectural features of settlements, as that at Thapsos, and of chamber tombs have also been repeatedly assumed as markers of the presence of Aegean or Eastern Mediterranean residents (*e.g.* Bietti Sestieri 2014: 75: "Aegean–eastern Mediterranean groups systematically present in this area"). Furthermore, some pottery shapes and decorations have been invoked as hybrid products deriving from strong eastern interaction and communication (*e.g.* Alberti 2004). Militello suggests that these aspects of local material culture are the result of processes of incorporation and transformation of inputs by 'small groups of visitors from distant Aegean cultures', probably thanks to the leading 'role of key entrepreneurial figures', acting as mediators, on the side of local communities. This is a clear example of directional communication, likely explaining the experienced unevenness.

2. Crete and Greece

Coming to Crete, Todaro, for the Late and Final Neolithic, and the beginning of the EBA, highlights the relevance of human mobility for the definition of patterns of uneven communication. Phaistos is seen as a 'place of encounter' in its earliest phases, a place suitable for hosting seafarers exploring the Mediterranean islands and the Cretan hinterland, in search of raw materials. She further remarks how the apparent lack of equilibrium in the exchange between the Cyclades and Crete could be dependent on the absence from the record of perishable items, such as the likely exports of textiles from Crete. This could explain, she argues, why Crete appears as a recipient from the Cyclades more than a symmetrical source of products for the Cycladic islands. In any case, she guesses that it is more likely that asymmetrical (and hence uneven) relationships are better explained as a result of limited relocations of populations from the Cyclades to Crete, with forms that can be compared with later 'enclave colonies'. This would be the real producer of unevenness in the record and in communication.

Driessen argues for a case of deliberate resistance exerted by Cretan protopalatial society, in terms of limitation in the use of exotica, which could be used to express vertical social differentiation. While such products were used before the construction of the First Palaces, as part of a strategy of self-representation in the funerary domain, Minoan palatial society chose instead to 'advertise[...] more egalitarian principles, corporatism and collective identity'. At the same time, harbours, such as Kommos, Poros and Mochlos did absorb exotica, but apparently exhausted them in their proximate coastal zone, with a profound fall-off in their distribution inland. The stronger communication is apparently concentrated at the interface and not in the inland centres of power, but at the same time, exchange should have taken place in the harbours, and likely exchanged products, such as copper or perishable materials, but also ideas, technologies, and even human traffic and trafficking, found their way to the inland palaces, such as *e.g.* Knossos, Phaistos, Gournia or Zakros. This selective communication would be the result of a precise agency prompted by Minoan elites.

Gheorghiade targets the LBA, or the advanced 2nd millennium BCE on Crete, and evaluates interaction at local, regional and interregional scales through ceramic assemblages. This paper resounds some considerations developed also by Driessen, such as the inner force of Cretan tradition, where the 'Minoan' character of products has a much higher importance than the 'ebb-and-flow of long-distance commodities'. Knossian influence is overwhelming all over Crete, and partly beyond, but the way in which this influence is received changes from site to site, *e.g*. between Kommos, more connected to Knossos, and more distant Palaikastro. Furthermore, also the way in which imported open and closed shapes are accepted in the local repertoire changes. In Kommos, open shapes of Cretan provenance prevail over closed shapes, while extra-insular closed shapes (likely coming as transport vessels) prevail over open shapes. The reverse happens in Palaikastro, where Cretan imports are mainly closed shapes, and extra-insular imports, not abundant, are predominantly open shapes. In this last site, the range of provenance of imported items is anyway wide enough, encompassing the central and eastern Mediterranean as well, but at a minor scale. Both Gheorghiade and Driessen remark that the western and eastern Mediterranean imports at Kommos and Palaikastro do not substantially cross the coastal line, but get exhausted in the sites. Local and intra-regional exchange, and influences, display a clear difference between sub-regions and single sites: local distribution networks, as seen in the paper by Levi *et al*., maintain peculiarities even if partially overlapping. Inner Cretan ties were eventually stronger than interregional 'weak ties', which did not strongly affect Minoan tradition and identity.

The relation between 'Mycenaean Culture' and Crete is the subject of Zeman's paper, in particular debating the genesis of palatial Mycenaean architecture and the development of urban features. The traditional view that the relations with Crete are seen as crucial in the genesis of Mycenaean palatial architecture and the growth of urban features is scrutinised: the term 'urban' is defined by the author as a matter of both complexity in the central settlement, and organisation of settlement hierarchy and the landscape (Woolf 1993). Even if many aspects of each single major Mycenaean site have to be defined more precisely, such as the density of buildings outside the citadels and the ensuing population estimates, or the relations between settlement areas and intermingling graves, both factors for the proposed definition of urbanisation (core site complexity and system structure) are met by Mycenaean centres. Interaction and communication between Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, possibly involving the movement of some people, is suggested for the elite, warrior, administrative and craftsmen spheres, and the contribution of Minoan society in the development of Mycenaean palatial society is highlighted. In any case, it is constantly remarked that the Mycenaean version of a palatial society was apparently more hierarchical, and not simply adopted, but re-framed by applying a significant local transformation, and embeddedness.

3. Cyprus and Levant

The 'integration of Cypriot sites in international trade networks' since MC III-LC I is the subject of the paper by Coenaerts *et al.*, with a detailed analysis of the evolution of the settlement system of the Tremitos valley, extending from the lagoon in front of Hala Sultan Tekke upstream to the mining areas in the Troodos foothills. A relevant role is attributed to the external inputs from Levantine elites, whose warrior self-representation came to be adopted, or mimicked in rituals, in Cyprus too. The development of a dendritic trading system (Hirth 1978), connecting the inland area to the harbour of Hala Sultan Tekke coincides with a growth in local hierarchy. The harbour site, defined as a gateway community, is likely paralleled, in the presence of imports and in relevance, by one or two inland sites, which could be the leading core of the system (Arpera Chiftlik and Klavdia-*Tremitos*), like in central place theory, or – as somehow typical of Cyprus – reflect a heterarchical system. Another dendritic system can be observed in the Diarizos valley, while at Enkomi the level of hierarchy is even higher; in other areas of the island, *e.g.* at Kalavassos, where the mining area could be controlled directly from the main site, hinterland hierarchy was not developed. Comprehensively, Cyprus is seen as a case of heterarchic power centres, with Enkomi anyway emerging for its hierarchical structure of the landscape, and as the likely seat of a general leader, in charge of keeping international relations. In this process, communication is widespread, and flows past the coastal harbour sites, as the Tremitos valley system shows. The external stimulus sets the basis for an internal development of a located warrior elite, and a growing economic power.

Pucci *et al.*, in their lavishly illustrated paper, focus on the relations of the Amuq Plain with Cyprus and Greece, and in a more limited way with other areas of the Levant, from the mid-15th to the mid-10th century BCE. The

harbour sites here depend on 'main centres' located in the inner Plain, and the system corresponds to a rather typical central place situation. The authors try to interpret the apparent scarcity of foreign pottery during certain phases (*e.g*. LH IIIA1; LH IIIB): they attribute this situation to the lack of stratified deposits, while disfavouring a conscious rejection of contact and communication. The Mycenaean pottery is instead generally accepted and comes to play a relevant role in the wine-bound happenings and ceremonies, with the acquisition of pictorial kraters in LH IIIA2. Cypriot pottery is even more constant in its presence throughout the various phases, with a relevant role for imported Cypriot monochrome ware. In LH IIIC, a major change takes place: Mycenaean pottery, particularly abundant, is now locally made (as checked by autopsy), keeping pace with the Mainland stylistical evolution, and hybrid shapes develop. This is interpreted as an agency of potters and not of objects, depending on the relocation of groups of Aegean populations during the 12th c. BCE crisis. Communication and trade are clearly seen as two sides of a single coin, and the Amuq represents another case, such as Thessaly, or Southern Italy, for the development of local Mycenaean productions.

The paper by Kallintzi *et al.* is the only one discussing later phenomena, framed in a colonial milieu: Thrace and the Abdera colonial process, in relation to the Macedonian power, from the 7th c. BCE to the Macedonian conquest by Philip II in 341 BCE, and the following decades of contested power. Even if data are growing in the region, the authors recognise that the analysis is somehow hindered by a lack of archaeological information on the Thracian side. In any case, Abdera seems to be much involved in the Northern and Eastern Aegean trade, and less intensively connected to the Black Sea and Ionian area. After the Persian wars, in the early 5th c. BCE, the city shifted from a Persian domination to the Athenian political sphere of influence, until the Macedonian conquest. The numerous imports typically drop in distribution rapidly outside the city, and it is likely that traditionalism (such as in building architecture and pottery production) and 'cultural resistance (or in some cases, indifference?) to Greek influence was [...] an important aspect of local [*i.e.* Thracian] identity'. Evidence of conflicts can be deduced from the presence of defensive works at Abdera, while communication and exchange were likely limited to the upper elite, as in the case of the Nestos site. The incorporation in the Macedonian realm progressively brought along a wider integration, still happening mainly through elite assimilation; architectural use of tiles in Thracian sites arrives during this period or only after the Roman conquest. The typical colonial environment of Abdera seems therefore to have generated a very selective communication with the hinterland Thracians.

4. Actors: warriors and merchants

Finally there are three papers that discuss some of the figures of mediators for communication across the sea. In his paper, Papadopoulos notes the differences that the warrior figure shows in the different socio-political groupings, or states and empires, of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, during the phase of booming interaction in the 14th-13th c. BCE. He remarks a crucial difference in the relation between warriors and gods, as exemplified by the use of a figure such as the smiting (warrior) god in the Egyptian and Hittite empires, and in Near Eastern kingdoms and empires. This imagery, albeit also present through imports on the Greek mainland, is not adopted by the Mycenaeans for their warriors, but they produce less martial, action scenes, such as can be seen in the palace of Pylos. Cyprus is somehow in-between, as the Ingot god figurine from Enkomi is a case for the inclusion of the gesture in the sacred landscape. On the contrary, in Cyprus, warrior's imagery is substantially limited to the chariot scenes on pictorial kraters. Crete only has a minor inclination toward warrior's imagery, particularly during the phase of the Mycenaean palaces. The shared level of communication about the centrality of the ruler, and the political use of the representation of violence, is common to the entire area, but the social and ideological milieu dictates the way these expressions are translated into local identity: messages are mediated and filtered, even across the Mycenaean world, made of different palaces and political entities.

The papers by Murray and Pullen refer instead to the merchant figures and to trade and market exchange. Communication is seen as both a pre-requisite for trade to take place and an outcome of these relations. Both are embedded in the present-day modernist trend of interpretation, substantially rejecting the Polanyian criticism of the mechanisms of the market economy in the ancient world of that age (Polanyi 1944). Obviously data have grown, but also interpretative attitudes have changed much in the last 30 years or so, *i.e*. after the fall of the Eastern bloc: even if Polanyi wasn't a Marxist, his basic argument of non-foreverness, or the late development of the market as price regulator was stronger when an alternative to capitalism in political economy was in existence

in the real world. Both authors show in fact similar positions in respect to merchant connectivity. They assume from recent research developments that 'economies were not palatially-controlled, or perhaps not even palatially dominated' (Pullen) or that 'scholars [...] have increasingly emphasised the role of merchants in mediating trade and interregional communication in the Mediterranean at both large and small scale' (Murray). A contrast is noticed with long-held interpretative attitudes, as 'non-royal exchange, especially local or medium-distance exchange, has not received as much interest by scholars' (Pullen) and 'the mechanisms of long-distance exchange and transaction that facilitated merchant-centred interactions remain undertheorised' (Murray).

Murray, relying on later written and epigraphic sources, proposes that merchant transactions were basically fraught, 'especially when they require communication across cultural boundaries'. While states could help in providing security and legal contexts, through written records and a convergence of standard weighing systems, the efficiency of trade in the postpalatial Mediterranean shows that relational systems defined through Bourdieu's 'communities of practice' could sustain such an intense web of communication (Bourdieu 1990); neo-institutional economic theory is seen as contributing to the comprehension of the process (Brousseau & Glachant 2008). These communities of practice were possibly in operation at an underground scale even before, when Palaces oversaw the trading process and our view is deflected by the marked palatine role. 'In the absence of formal rules for transacting it makes sense for commercial enterprise to revolve around individual relationships, where trust [was] based on experience with an individual'. In the Early Iron Age, direct communication involved therefore *homophilous* people creating solid communities of practice: 'tight-knit merchant communities serv[ed] as primary intermediaries of communication'. From here to the market as self-regulating system for the definition of price (the Polanyian mantra for market economy) the distance is short.

Pullen remarks the relevance of 'local or medium-distance exchange', in front of the attention attributed so far to the long-distance and highly structured exchange, such as taking place between kingdoms and empires. The author supports the existence of an important role for market exchange, and of a multiplicity of opportunities for markets, whose unifying factor is set in the notion of 'equivalent value, that allows for the exchange of two different commodities'. Standardised weights (Rahmstorf 2018), and their appearance in elite graves, are seen as crucial proofs of the existence of equivalence and markets. The evolution of trade in the Saronic Gulf and across the Corinth strait (and at Tiryns) is accurately described as a good example a) for the relevance of limited scale exchange and b) for a wide difference existing in mechanisms and relations of trade, acting with and without the central palatial institutions. Such differences support the need for an advocated wider spectrum of models and theoretical definitions of exchange, involving the market as a crucial factor. Distance from palaces is seen here as a factor loosening control and enhancing development through the agency of merchants. Similarly to Murray, and quoting her (Murray 2017), in postpalatial times, elites-being-merchants could keep access to commodities and 'manipulate the market to maintain their power, forging new networks of economic exchange'.

5. Trade and communication

Looking at the collected papers in synthesis, it is clear that the concept of communication is seen as strongly connected to, and sometimes overlapping with, that of trade (Vanzetti). In fact, trade is here generally seen as the prime mover of communication. Anyway, also warriors, and other high level mediators (ambassadors and merchants-acting-as emissaries) could expand communication. The papers in this volume consider the existence of a dual level of trade, and communication, one being the high- and middle- level actors, formerly described, and the other being local networks, with more frequent and less formal interactions, bringing around goods and information and connecting people (Levi *et al.*, Gheorghiade). The role of the market is stressed in some papers (Murray, Pullen), in connection with the interpretative trends in contemporary archaeology. Indeed, the high-level communication active between empires and kings is not treated in detail, and this is again a matter of contemporary research, in reaction to the centrality they traditionally held.

The view of unevenness of communication depending on specific human mobility (Todaro) and interaction is basically shared, with a role recognised to individual relations and attitudes. A frequent acknowledgment is the quick drop in evidence for trade in foreign items, and likely communication, as one moves from the coastal harbours, or colonies, inland; but there are cases in which the hinterland sites act as proper central places, receiving goods filtering past the coastal interface (Coenaerts *et al.*, Pucci *et al.*). The cases of coastal exhaustion of foreign

goods can correspond to strong cultural differences, such as in 1st millennium Thrace (Kallintzi *et al.*), or to a likely resistance developed by the local elite in order to preserve the social structure from power struggles based on contacts, such as proposed for Crete (Driessen, Gheorghiade).

Cases of hybridisation or local redefinition of practices and products have also been described (Militello, Papadopoulos, Pucci *et al*., Zeman): as the archaeological record and contexts are more and more detailed and well-known, encompassing interpretations are definitely more difficult to propose. While generalisations are not our goal, it can anyway be remarked that directionality and unevenness of communication emerge as factors to be considered, more than the contrary.

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2. The Interconnected Mediterranean Sea

Alessandro Vanzetti[1]

It is only recently that the Mediterranean has begun to be approached as a comprehensive and interconnected space, and overviews such as those by Horden & Purcell (2000) and Broodbank (2013) are both a consequence and a cause of this increasing trend. More generally, interaction is now much prised in general interpretations from Prehistory onwards and particularly during the Bronze Age. This grand narrative is presently very strong and has a direct influence on research (Drews 1993; Cline 2014). As such, it can be seen as the result of different theoretical, methodological and empirical factors, which we attempt to summarise here, even at the risk of being over-schematic. It is useful to pinpoint three theoretical bundles as relevant to this discussion.

Contextualism, the driving principle of post-processual research, has been adopted as a necessary basis for the production of raw data, rooted in each specific archaeological site (Hodder 1986). At the same time, the connective elements resulting mainly from archaeometry and analytical research stimulate and demand a wider perspective.

Core-periphery models, developed as a formalised recognition of a long-held historical attitude related to Braudel (1949), with a strong functionalist or Marxist foundation, were first adopted, then criticised, but in practice continue to inform most present-day research (Galaty *et al.* 2014).

The development of agency theory (Dobres & Robb 2000) and the influence of postcolonial thought (González-Ruibal 2010)[2], as well as the contemporary idea of humans as free entrepreneurs (Thomas 2004; Knapp & van Dommelen 2008), have recently encouraged a view of people and individuals as free movers and actors. This approach is very different from that driving traditional archaeological research, where enculturation was seen as an overwhelming principle (*e.g.* Manning & Hulin 2005: 18), reducing individual variability and choice (ultimately frustrating agency).

These theoretical factors, while alive and active, apply in a modern context characterised by a degree of dissatisfaction with archaeological theory that has led to a widespread theoretical eclecticism and in many cases to a supremacy of methodology (Bintliff & Pearce 2011). Therefore, methodological arguments and the accumulation of data presently have a strong influence in orienting interpretations, instead of being seen as a by-product of theoretical explanation, as they generally were during full-fledged post-processualism (*e.g.* Hodder 1986). Some of these methodological issues, and their theoretical consequences, are listed here.

Environmental research has supported the proposal of Mediterranean-wide environmental causal factors linking the whole area, like the hypothesis that drought was one of the triggers for the crisis phase around 1200 BCE (Kaniewski *et al.* 2013).

Genetic and isotopic studies are now being produced and result in an interpretive view of widespread mobility and migration, whilst these processes were underestimated by research since the 1960s and the New Archaeology (Anthony 1990; Kristiansen 2014).

Methodological tools, such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) or Social Network Analysis (SNA), contribute to a synthetic approach (Crabtree & Borck 2019). On the one hand, using GIS we are able to dominate the whole Mediterranean on a large scale in a way resembling the global and shrunken world of modernity that we observe day by day. On the other hand, the approximation of data at the large scale, their simplifications and the resulting blurred evidence all come to seem more acceptable using a fashionable tool like SNA.

More generally, the increase in published data and the challenge of using big data, as in all aspects of modernity, encourages global perspectives. At the same time, a critical aspect of the ensuing modelling is that, while global perspectives may comfortingly seem to downsize errors due to sampling inhomogeneity, the sampling problem is often overlooked today[3].

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2 For a critical evaluation of the entanglements of Postcolonialism and Capitalism that may also apply to some use of archaeological postcolonial agency, *cf.* Dirlik (1994; 2003).

3 Processual research placed a strong emphasis on sampling and sampling problems, as it was required by the search for overall

To sum up, different research factors contribute to a comprehensive view of Mediterranean interconnectedness as a highly significant perspective. But how does connectivity relate to communication?

1. Communication, inter-societal connections and diffusion

At a general level, an archaeological approach in terms of 'communication' is a traditional one, as communication is implied in any study of the diffusion of cultural elements with or without human mobility; we will return to this argument shortly. It is also customary, since processual archaeology, to equate or at least relate interaction with communication, in tribute to the theory of information flow (Shannon 1948; Weaver 1949). This theory defines information flow as a linear process consisting of six steps/components, in the following sequence: the *Information Source* activates a *transmitter*, emitting a *signal*, while the *received signal*, through a *receiver* arrives at the *Destination*, with different degrees of loss or distortion of information, also caused by the system's seventh factor, *noise*. Eventually, in this view, the diffusion and sharing, or similarity, of objects ultimately equates to the transmission/sharing of information (or communication)[4].

The implicit or explicit influence of such models has been considerable, as is clear from the following example. Colin Renfrew's seminal paper on trade (1975) and his study on the emergence of civilisation (1972) both include the concept of communication as strictly integrated with information and trade: "Let us for the moment divide the totality of 'goods' exchanged over a given period into material goods [...] and information, defined as a constraint or stimulus upon present or future behavior. [...] This approach leads us to contrast two extremes: exchange of goods without a wide range of accompanying information, and exchange of information without goods" (Renfrew 1975: 6). Furthermore: "The trade situation is an exchange situation, and an exchange situation is an information flow situation [...] The enormous complexity of the communication of information during trading exchanges makes it understandable that in the past the whole process has been swept under the carpet by using the term diffusion" (Renfrew 1975: 24).

This discussion is embedded in the view held by Renfrew at that time, that is, that local change was more important than the movement of people and habits, as a criticism of the concept of diffusion (and migration) applied by the late V.G. Childe (*e.g.* Childe 1958). In fact, Renfrew downplays communication as the transmission of ideas or concepts with respect to trade, while we are now recognizing that the spread of imitated/reinterpreted goods or elements is a crucial aspect of past communication (*cf.* above, Kristiansen 2014). It is typical, in the Mediterranean, for modern approaches to instead value mobility and constantly consider the human relocation factor, that is: is the transcultural sharing of original, similar or connected archaeological materials a fact of acculturation without the movement of people, or rather a consequence of the relocation of people? For instance, what are the causes of the start of the production of Philistine pottery in the Levant and of its cultural affinities with Aegean and Cypriote productions? The movement of people or the acculturation of local settlers?

Views of acculturation, trade and diffusion, as assumed by Childe, may all imply a homogeneous spread of shared practices and materials through the societies and areas involved. Indeed, this is typical of our general

'scientific' patterns, in order to align with the harder sciences (Mueller 1975). Contemporary research methodologies were aimed at the accuracy of sampling (as in survey sampling strategies and intra-site flotation sampling), but it is more difficult to understand to what extent our recorded sample can be really representative of past activities (Orton 2000: 40-42). The contextual approach, assuming relevance in each case *per se*, pays scarce attention to proper sampling strategies, as it was also typical of traditional archaeology rooted in historical interpretation (Orton 2000: 43). The recent return to a broader perspective, and big data processing, assumes that the mass of data somehow itself represents a guarantee of the result, as the outcome of all we know; as a consequence, procedures are more aimed at the verification of internal data coherence than at the eventual meaningfulness of the sample; *e.g.* Stoddart *et al.* (2019): "the data from sub-regions [...] possess enough data to produce indicative rather than statistically significant trends".

4 In fact, the archaeological theory of communication that presents most formal affinities with the Shannon & Weaver model is that developed by M.B. Schiffer in the framework of his 'Behavioral Archaeology', together with Andrea Miller (Schiffer & Miller 1999). This theory recognises the significant archaeological role of material objects and remains, and *de facto* attributes agency to artefacts (or things), as a human product bearing messages: artefacts bear signals that are received and require/determine interpretation. In a certain way, it seems clear that the sequence of three elements proposed by M.B. Schiffer & A. Miller (sender, emitter, and receiver) recalls Shannon & Weaver's sequence of six, where the emitter, being a material object with agency, conflates the sequence represented by transmitter + signal + received signal in Shannon & Weaver's model. A similar view is expressed by D.L. Clarke (1978: 468-469).

attitude to the definition of archaeological cultural groupings: as they share some cultural traits they are assumed to be basically homogeneous. This is for instance the case both for Clarke's classical definition of cultures as information systems characterised by a dynamic state of equilibrium and therefore of regularity, encompassing different subsystems, including material culture (Clarke 1978: 88-89), and for the recent reappraisal by Roberts & Vander Linden (2011: 2) who explicitly refer to Childe's definition of 'archaeological culture': "certain types of remains [...] constantly recurring together" (Childe 1929).

To reach a better, albeit simple, definition of communication and to define its relation to the diffusionist perspective more accurately, it is useful to refer to E. Rogers' basic definitions in his masterwork on the *Diffusion of Innovations* (1983, first edition 1962), a book that in its second edition (1971) was entitled *Communication of innovations*.

Rogers (1983: 17) adopts a direct definition: "*Communication* is a process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding"; therefore, communication is not unidirectional, a consideration that overcomes the linearity of the Shannon & Weaver model. In this sense, "diffusion is a special type of communication, in which the messages are concerned with a new idea" (Rogers 1983: 6) and, therefore, communication does not fully coincide with diffusion.

Rogers goes on to establish one of the basic premises for the specificity of communication: "An obvious principle of human communication is that the transfer of ideas occurs most frequently between two individuals who are alike, similar, or homophilous". *Homophilous* means "the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, education, social status, and the like" (Rogers 1983: 18).

Furthermore, he adds, in society there is a formally defined social structure, and "an informal type of structure that exists in the interpersonal networks linking a system's members, determining who interacts with whom and under what circumstances" (Rogers 1983: 25). And finally, "A *communication network* consists of interconnected individuals who are linked by patterned flows of information" (Rogers 1983: 28).

Thanks to these definitions – perhaps overly simple for the archaeological record, which consists of material traces – we can in any case better define the relation between communication and diffusion (which is not a simple mirror effect). Furthermore, communication is relatively unlikely to spread in a homogeneous way, but is conditioned by a series of filters in terms of *homophilia*, social boundaries, personal connections, which are often interlaced. And these actors have the power to (try to) deflect communication, or reject it completely.

Within a community, these are the persons who maintain international contacts or who are entrusted with specific tasks. In any case, even in a more open society where multiple individuals may develop relationships with outsiders, only some have the will and the capacity to deploy their connective agency. What is lacking is the idea that communication can take place in a relation of 'one-to-many' or 'few-to-many' or even 'many-to-many'. In any case, such instances would likely have been rather limited as forms of contact in ancient times, depending on the degree of social control of past societies. If we have elements that suggest the existence of a highly structured society, with hierarchical roles, communication might be effectively conveyed by a few *cultural mediators*.

In this paragraph, we have moved from a preliminary view of communication as potentially spread in a simple way through adhering societies, to a sounder definition of communication as channelled and selectively driven by agents between societies.

2. Communication, adoption and intra-community hierarchy

When we come to the act of communication at the borders of a community, and to the spread of communication within a specific community, it is important to define the potential *cultural mediators*. Indeed, it is generally argued that special forms of communication, like international communication, may be the monopoly of a restricted number of persons, likely of high status, who filter dangerous or upsetting messages; the mediators may be also specialists of some kind, like merchants, or priests, in a position to develop contacts and sustain communication. These mediators provide the narrative to be transmitted more widely inside the community, transforming the information flow or communication as a result of decision-making processes, and thence reflecting leadership deployment inside the society: cultural mediators cooperate with, or are themselves, opinion leaders.

The selection of messages or gradients in the transmission of communication are to be expected. Once again it is useful to refer to Rogers' book on the diffusion of innovations, in terms of the adoption process of any innovation,

that we can in some ways equate with communication here. Adoption is affected by a number of factors, among which 'relative advantage' is prominent, in terms of economic impact (in economic-based societies) and social status, or approval. Compatibility with the existing system of values and beliefs, with the society's existing ideas and with specific needs is another crucial aspect, that may frequently lead to rejection. Also significant is the potential to try out an innovation before finally adopting it, to manage its complexity and to observe its effects. A last, important aspect is that an innovation (but also communication) can be spread not as a single element, but as a meaningful cluster of elements, taken on as a viable package (Rogers 1983: 15-16).

Obviously, communication also implies the fuzzy or intentional transformations introduced into the message, from that which is emitted to that which is perceived, and all the shifts in meaning that can operate within the recipient society.

At the inter-societal level, we thus frequently find discussions among scholars of archaeology about the 'kind of communication' or the 'level of communication' that might occur between different actors; many doubts are raised and cautions applied in the case of communication between societies or individuals with a different cultural background or different social structure[5]. Often, this depends on their presumed different position on a scale of societal complexity. For instance, given the interaction between polities of differing complexity and power in the Eastern Mediterranean (Liverani 2001: 38-45; 166-169), can we expect more, or more substantial, communication between the Great Kingdoms than between these and the Lesser Kingdoms? Likely, only official communication at the highest level took place between the Great Kings; by contrast, hierarchical relations between the Pharaoh and the Lesser Kings, like that of Ugarit, implied a greater sharing of information through communication. And was there a high degree of communication, and of shared information, between Cretans or Mycenaeans and Egyptians? Or between Mycenaeans and the less complex societies of Bronze Age Italy? And what was the degree of reciprocal understanding? Rogers (1983: 275-277) again provides us with some help: he remarks that, while *homophilia* is relevant for communication, if the *homophilous* persons are simply the elite and are detached in some way from the commoners, communication tends to remain restricted to the elite. Therefore, the filtering of communication through the hierarchical levels of a society, and through societies with different levels of complexity, is a crucial factor.

In practical terms, as the archaeological evaluation of communication depends on connections defined through material culture and contexts, it is the similar use of material culture, or alternatively its misuse or re-configuration in a different cultural milieu, that can inform us in terms of sharing or deviation in communication. For example, does the use of Mycenaean vessels in settlements but their absence from cemeteries indicate a gap in communication, likely due to an existing system of beliefs that did not accept this type of pottery in mortuary rituals? And was this perceived as a significant rejection? This latter question is rather difficult to answer and is generally tackled in terms of similarity/dissimilarity with parallel situations in contiguous regions. For instance, in most of Southern Italy, as far as we know, Mycenaean pottery is absent from cemeteries, but in parts of Apulia and in Sicily it does appear. Whether this indicates a movement of people and the presence of Aegean settlers, or selective acculturation processes is debated case by case (*e.g.* Bietti Sestieri 1988).

3. Communication as movement of people

At the start of this paper, we remarked that communication can occur as the diffusion (or reinterpretation) of cultural elements with or without human mobility. Hitherto we have mainly discussed information flows, or communications that may take place without individual displacement or population relocation. By contrast, modern research has reconsidered and positively evaluated human mobility through compelling data, both isotopic signatures and aDNA distributions. Therefore, without taking into account massive migrations/relocations, we should seriously consider the possibility that even the movements of small groups of people drove the sharing of material culture (*e.g*. Mycenaean pottery). Is the presence of Mycenaean pottery at Ugarit mainly the effect of trade, and were such materials adopted in the local sets of vessels for a wide range of functions (ritual,

5 Cazzella & Recchia (2018: 14-15): even if exchange with "some degree of economic symmetry" took place, "it could be argued that [Aegean-Mycenaean agents] did not regard the indigenous communities [of Italy] as peers, but rather considered them to be 'barbarians'".

representation, practical use, *etc*.: van Wijngaarden 1999: 22-23)? Or is this presence – at least in part – the marker of a substantial resident enclave of Mycenaeans, using their proper culturally determined objects (*e.g.* Steel 2013: 32-37)?

And how should the evidence from Sicily in the period contemporary with the LH IIIA-IIIC be interpreted? Many scholars, starting with L. Bernabò Brea (1957), followed by numerous others (Bietti Sestieri 1988; D'Agata 2000; Alberti 2004; Tanasi 2005), have variously proposed that the common earthenware pottery of the Sicilian Middle to Final Bronze Age was significantly influenced in its shapes (and to some extent its decorations) by Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean productions. Nonetheless, this happened without fully copying the repertoire and without adopting the complete technological package of Eastern Mediterranean pottery, such as the use of levigated clay and painted decorations.

It is again difficult to decode what kind of communication exchange is implied by the Sicilian instance, but likely contextual information, pottery associations, other cultural aspects subject to change and a further consideration of cultural transmission, will help to refine the various proposals. For the present, we should probably assume that basic integration and communication across the Mediterranean was sufficiently strong to give rise to this Sicilian adherence to Eastern Mediterranean morpho-functional characteristics of basic products such as pottery, without assuming that a genuine dependence on Eastern Mediterranean communities ever developed.

4. Peer polity interaction as communication without movement of people

Peer polity interaction is a well-known mechanism proposed by Colin Renfrew (1986)[6] for the interpretation of changes in the material and immaterial aspects of a society (a polity), where a strong impact in terms of migration, domination or trade cannot be identified as the mover. Nor can shared affinities be explained simply as an effect of endogenous change. For instance, local elites might react to symbolic entrainment generated by the development of a political structure or of new forms of social display in a nearby autonomous community, in a competitive effort to keep apace of the changes in self-representation in the social arena. Therefore, peer polity interaction implies connectivity, at more or less an equal (*i.e*. peer) social level between interacting polities and social units, and a widely shared socio-political arena. This is again a model proposed in the research context of the 1980s, which downplayed mobility and migration as well as diffusion or 'exogenous change'. Nonetheless, independently of the scholarly perspectives of the time when it was proposed, it remains a very strong model for the interpretation of situations such as the political organisation or competitive displays arising in the competing Mycenaean polities[7]. It is also extremely important for interpreting the effects of royal gifts and tributes, as a way of defining the competitive display that will drive symbolic entrainment. One of the consequences of peer polity interaction is the advancement of technology and crafts as well as trade in order to raise the standards of each polity willing to compete in this symbolic confrontation. We could also imagine that peer polity interaction might, especially in complex and in market societies, have a more generalised effect, which can also drive non-wealth-based economic developments. For our purposes, it is important to note that this type of interaction requires strong communication of a generally directional, selective type.

5. Agency theory, embodiment and communication as performance

It will have become clear that the literature quoted so far was either developed in the framework of the New Archaeology or is connected with sociology, as was the case for Rogers; a few nods were also made towards post-processualism. In fact, though post-processualism has devoted numerous studies to symbols and their meanings, and to non-verbal communication, since the founding books – written or edited by Ian Hodder – *Symbols in Action*

6 The process of peer-polity interaction is in some ways a significant development of the concept of 'emulation', already used by Renfrew in the Trade paper (1975: 33) as an alternative model to the traditional 'diffusion' concept. In any case, in this paper, 'emulation' takes place between societies at a different level of complexity; furthermore, Renfrew also considers 'implantation' as the insertion of a 'colonial enclave'.

7 Unless one accepts the existence of a unified hierarchical system, as has recently been proposed again by some authors (*cf*. Kelder 2010).

(1982a) and *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (1982b), attention shifted from communication to semiotics, that is, from the process of information exchange to the meaning of information segments. This certainly reflects the general post-processual rejection of attitudes that claim to measure information flow without necessarily interpreting it. This is aptly captured by Hodder's (1982c) criticism of a paper by M. Wobst (1977) on *stylistic behavior and information exchange*: [in that paper] "material items are simply passive bits of information in a communication system. They simply carry information from transmitter to receiver. This highly functionalist stance does not allow for symbols to act back upon society within an ideological framework" (Hodder 1982c: 192). Furthermore, communication is a "situated" fact (Hodder 1989: 256). The argument is certainly relevant, as it introduces a correct attention to transformations during cultural transmission, which Rogers simply registered as 'noise'. This noise can be meaningful and contextual analysis can help to interpret it. Shifts in meaning and acceptance are significant, as is the repositioning of artefacts and practices when inserted into a different social context, but we find only a few more detailed discussions of the communication process in the writings of Hodder and his fellow post-processualists.

Things have changed recently with the introduction of Agency Theory into archaeological discourse, and post-colonial studies have driven the concept of hybridity as a significant descriptor for situations of cultural contact. Agency theory (Dobres & Robb 2000), implying the active role in cultural interaction of both the transmitter and the receiver (*sensu* Rogers 1983) of exchange or communication, is a good explanation for the transformations in meaning and reception advocated by contemporary post-post-processualists. Hybridity, as constructed by Agents, can be seen both as a direct result of "interaction and negotiation" between human groups (Voskos & Knapp 2008: 661) and as a "strategy of the subaltern in contexts of colonial oppression" (Stockhammer 2012: 53, quoting Bhabha 2007). The final outcome may be more or less 'active' and militant, but here it is the actual result that seems more significant: communication as choice and the creation of a new hybrid cultural entity.

Another aspect of contemporary post-post-processual trends is the view that sees communication as performative embodiment (Streeck 2015). While we might suspect that such individual-based attitudes to the interpretation of the past may be largely reliant on present-day concepts of humans as free beings and movers with strongly individualised entities and thence agency, it is absolutely appropriate to recognise that performative aspects were important in social interaction and communication. Wall paintings and other human representations continuously speak of the significance of performative behaviours, and again and again underline the fact that much communication took place in actual encounters, with roles and personal attitudes warranting, or limiting, communication.

6. Contact zones in contemporary perspective

The perspective on communication has therefore shifted from a more traditional view of independent subjects coming into contact and transferring messages/signals, to an interactive view. By establishing a proper perspective through agency theory, performative interaction and hybrid spaces, the trend is now to speak of interaction more than communication: that is, not a transmission of messages/signals, but a creative act of new signification.

In this framework, we can locate the proposal made by Stockhammer & Athanassov (2018) in the context of their study of cultural interactions between the Aegean Bronze Age world and South-Western Bulgaria. They deem it appropriate to identify a proper situation for cultural interaction by defining "'contact space' as instantaneously produced social spaces where human actors meet, perceive and constitute otherness, clash, and grapple with each other". Interestingly, the authors stress the importance of three different outcomes of cultural interaction that may occur in this 'contact space', that is "acceptance, appropriation and ignorance/rejection" (Stockhammer & Athanassov 2018: 106). The authors further state that "studying cultural encounters at a predefined place always has to acknowledge all three cultural practices. The first two can be identified in the archaeological record quite easily [...]. The identification of ignorance/rejection is more difficult and requests the study of processes of homogenisation, essentialisation and traditionalisation" (Stockhammer & Athanassov 2018: 106-107).

The authors' acceptance of a basic core-periphery perspective and the implications of these different 'cultural practices' are in keeping with the problem set out in the present volume: that is, the unevenness of communication.

7. Summing up: communication uneven

This survey of studies on communication has highlighted the strong differences in scholarly approaches. On the one hand, considerable attention is dedicated to the phenomenon of communication by processual archaeologists (Renfrew 1975; Clarke 1978), within a framework defined by sociologists (Rogers 1983) who adopted a functionalist and rationalist view of the issue. On the other, post-processual and contemporary studies point to the need to redefine communication in a different interpretative framework, stressing agency, embodiment, performative behaviours and shared interaction or active statements, necessarily resulting in a hybrid redefinition of culture (Dobres & Robb 2000). In any case, the directionality of communication is confirmed as a basic tenet.

In a historical perspective, and adopting the eclectic attitude advocated by Bintliff (2011), we can identify some shared points in this wide range of proposals.

Some sort of communication is a matter of fact, as the circulation of items and hybrid products are clearly present in the Mediterranean space, linked to the strong connectivity permitted by this enclosed sea and its extensive coastline.

Communication has been defined as generally being a directional process, involving socially *homophilous* subjects, and this has consequences for its channelled development. It is likely that unevenness of communication in the ancient Mediterranean depends significantly on this directionality, supported by reciprocal and traditional knowledge, trust and informal or formalised gift-exchange.

The operational definition of 'contact spaces' can help to focus attention on specific interactions.

Contact and interaction can result in some sort of trade, *i.e.* the movement of goods without people (from gift-giving to market exchange), as well as in the movement of individuals and the relocation of large populations, bringing with it significant quantities and varieties of communications across the sea, mostly targeting specific places.

The adoption or rejection of products and practices, as well as the creation of hybrid products and practices, are important consequences of interaction and communication. Furthermore, new meanings and cultural significances can be attributed to traded or hybrid objects and practices; peer polity interaction may play a significant role in hybridisation when this was not caused by the relocation of people.

But all these arguments can be seen either from a more individualistic perspective, that assumes every communicative interaction to be a singleton, or from a patterned view, mostly informed by enculturation, social constructs and etiquette. The latter perspective is more likely to fit with the unevenness of communication described in the present volume.

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3. Looking for Codes and Paths into the Capo Graziano Decoration (Untitled #2)

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Pottery has always been one of the sources through which archaeologists studied change and communication (van der Leeuw & Pritchard 1984). More precisely, the Mediterranean is an area where such kind of interaction markers provides information both at a local and a wide-range scale. The Aeolian islands represent a peculiar area, where it has been suggested that the Mycenaean wide-ranging interaction began as insertion into a functioning local maritime network, which included the islands themselves and the southern Tyrrhenian area during the Capo Graziano culture phase of the first Bronze Age (Bietti Sestieri 1982). Capo Graziano pottery has two characteristics that make it suitable for a detailed study of local connectivity. It has a peculiar set of shapes and a selection of typical incised decorations. In spite of the general uniformity of the decorative repertoire (a basic set of motifs and the technical solutions adopted in their realisation), it is possible to distinguish various codes ranging from abstraction to representation, and to develop a detailed classification. Furthermore, pottery has been extensively studied in terms of its petrographic composition, allowing to cross-check style and production location. The diffusion of the types combined with the data about pottery origin and circulation allows a much more articulated reconstruction of the peculiar landscape of the Archipelago, the core-periphery social dynamics and the communication patterns as expressed by the incised decorations. It is therefore an ideal case for the study of complexity in interaction across local seaborne communication systems, as well as their evenness or unevenness, at the outset of the wider Mediterranean Mycenaean connections.

1. Introduction[6]

The Aeolian Archipelago is formed by a group of seven volcanic islands strategically located to the immediate north of the Straits of Messina on an important Mediterranean navigational route (**Fig. 3.1**). The islands have been included in the *UNESCO World Heritage List* because of their unique and outstanding volcanic environments. Throughout the prehistoric and protohistoric phases, the islands sustained a vibrant and virtually unbroken occupation from the 6th to 1st millennium BCE. The rich archaeological heritage has been investigated since the 1950s by Bernabò Brea and Madeleine Cavalier (Bernabò Brea 1978; 1985; Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1957; 1960; 1968; 1980; 1991a; 1991b; 1994; Cavalier 1981) and is represented by at least 50 known sites (Martinelli & Lo

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4 ArchEOLogIE project.
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6 We are very grateful to the *Museo Archeologico Regionale Luigi Bernabò Brea* and to the *Soprintendenza di Messina* for the continuous support to our research: Annunziata Ollà, Assuntina Sardella, Gabriella Tigano, Madeleine Cavalier, Maria Amalia Mastelloni, Riccardo Gullo, Rosario Vilardo, Sebastiano Tusa, Umberto Spigo. We are also grateful to the many friends and scholars who shared with us ides about this topic, among them John Williams, Daniele Brunelli, Richard Jones and Alessandro Vanzetti. The project is supported by Associazione Preistoria Attuale.

Cascio 2018 with bibliography therein). In brief, the Aeolian Islands are a hotspot for Mediterranean archaeology due to their strategic position in the Southern Tyrrhenian sea, the presence of obsidian and the extensive and detailed archaeological investigation.

FIG. 3.1 THE AEOLIAN ISLANDS IN THE SOUTHERN TYRRHENIAN SEA (DRAWING BY A. DI RENZONI)

2. Capo Graziano: the Aeolian golden age

Against the background of this vibrant insular cultural development, the Capo Graziano facies has been recognised as a long archaeological period, lasting approximately 700 years (23rd-15th c. BCE) corresponding to the Early and Middle Bronze Age 1-2 phases in the Central Mediterranean. The facies, peculiar of the Aeolian Islands, reflects a general uniformity in pottery styles, settlement organisation, architecture and other cultural choices even if there were particular aspects, which characterised each island in each of these sectors. It has been proposed that the islands were involved in a tight local communication network (Bietti Sestieri 1982). During the 17th c. BCE, the beginning of an interaction with the Aegean world can be noticed, with LH I-II Mycenaean pots imported (mainly from Peloponnese) to the majority of the Capo Graziano sites (Martinelli 2012; Jones *et al*. 2014; Levi *et al*. 2017; Martinelli *et al*. in press).

Capo Graziano also represents the peak of the occupation of the Archipelago: six out of seven islands show occupation, totalling more than 20 archaeological sites (Martinelli & Lo Cascio 2018 with bibliography therein). The peripheral Alicudi island was only occupied during this phase, whilst at the opposite periphery – Stromboli – this is the last phase of protohistoric occupation (with two areas located at the opposite sides of the island) followed by a long abandonment. Filicudi island shows a long and complex occupation pattern in two different areas. On the Salina and Panarea islands, where this archaeological phase is relatively less known, there is evidence for settlements and other activities in two or three geographically distinct areas on each island. On the 'central place' island Lipari, Capo Graziano is attested at six different sites, located in the three main areas of the island. Only on Vulcano, seat of intense later volcanic activity, ancient occupation is so far missing. The occupational pattern is summarised in **Table 3.1**. It is worth noting that due to the long duration of the facies, it is likely that all sites were not simultaneously inhabited, but for the specific scope of this paper we consider the facies as a whole. We also have to underline that the traditional distinction between Capo Graziano 1 and 2 (corresponding to the Early and Middle BA 1-2 respectively) was mainly based upon the presence (or abundance) of the pottery decorations

in the last phase (Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980). However, this trend is not so clear now, following new finds at Filicudi (Martinelli *et al*. 2010; Martinelli 2016; Martinelli & Speciale 2017), Lipari (Martinelli & Giordano 2017) and Stromboli (Bettelli *et al*. 2016; Cannavò *et al*. 2017; Levi *et al*. 2017; Vidale *et al*. 2018). A finer chronological evaluation and subdivision with new stratigraphic, radiometric (Caracuta *et al*. 2012) and cross-dating evidence is in progress but will be discussed in a separate paper.

island	location	asl	site	type
Stromboli	Norht-East	65/70	San Vincenzo	S
	West	140	Ginostra Timpone del Fuoco	S
Panarea	North	1	Calcara	R
	East	25	Piano Quartara	S
		10	Punta Peppamaria	S
	South	20	Punta Milazzese	S
Lipari	South-East	40	Acropoli	S
		20	Civita	S
		10	Piazza Monfalcone	S
		15	Contrada Diana	S N
	East	-20/42	Pignataro di Fuori	U
	West	135	Pianoconte San Calogero Tholos	R
	North-West	380/410	Quattropani Castellaro	S
Salina	North-East & East	300	Portella	N R
		150	Serro dei Cianfi	S
		55	Serro dell'Acqua	S
		40	Policastro	N?
		100	Serro Brigadiere	S
	South	25/50	Punta Megna	S
Filicudi	East	20/170	Montagnola	S N
	South	22	Filo Braccio	S
Alicudi	East	40	Fucile	S

TAB. 3.1 SUMMARY OF CAPO GRAZIANO SITES. S SETTLEMENT; R RITUAL; N NECROPOLIS; U UNDERWATER

3. Pottery production and circulation

Capo Graziano pottery belongs to the traditional pre- and protohistoric *Impasto* ware, technologically similar to the Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW) of the Eastern Mediterranean: coarse, hand-made and burnished. An extensive program of petrographic[7] and microchemical analysis allowed the identification of different production centres and circulation networks inside the Archipelago and in the southern Tyrrhenian (Brunelli *et al*. 2013; Levi *et al*. 2019a; 2020). Almost 700 Aeolian pottery samples, dating from the Neolithic to the Final Bronze Age, have been analysed. Among them, approximately 200 samples belong to Capo Graziano (decorated and undecorated) pottery from the sites on Lipari (Acropoli, Contrada Diana and Pignataro di Fuori), Stromboli-San Vincenzo,

7 The petrographic investigation, started in the 1960s by John L. Williams, marks the first introduction of this analytical approach to the study of the pre- and protohistoric pottery in Italy (for example Williams 1967; 1980; 1991; 2018; see complete bibliography in Levi *et al*. 2019a).

Filicudi-Filo Braccio and Montagnola, and Salina-Serro dei Cianfi. Other samples, relevant for this discussion, have been analysed from the island of Vivara-Punta Mezzogiorno near Naples and from sites on the north-east coast of Sicily: Messina (various sites), Milazzo-Viale dei Cipressi and Tindari[8].

A series of typically Aeolian Capo Graziano fabrics with effusive components has been identified: one originated in Lipari and characterises the entire pre- and protohistoric sequence since the Neolithic (fabric ED101 with volcanic glass and pumice); several others originated in Filicudi/Stromboli with different compositions (among them, fabric EA103 with andesite and plagioclase being the most frequent) (**Fig. 3.2**).

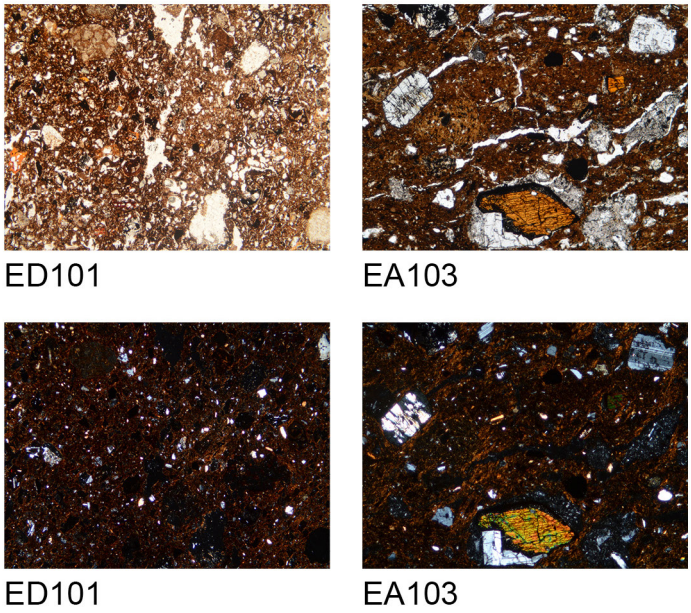

Fig. 3.2 Microphotographs of the main Capo Graziano fabrics, ED101: Lipari origin; EA103: Stromboli/Filicudi origin. Horizontal dimension 5.5 mm, PPL (above) and XPL (below) (photo by V. Cannavò)

The production of decorated pottery in Capo Graziano style is attested at Lipari, Stromboli, Filicudi, but also at Tindari and Milazzo on the northern coast of Sicily. At the same time, Lipari products were exported to the other islands and outside the Archipelago, as testified by the Pignataro di Fuori underwater deposit, a cargo of standardised pots with the Lipari ED101 fabric. Recovered close to the eastern coast, it has been interpreted as a shipwreck of a boat ready for pottery distribution (Bernabò Brea 1978; 1985). In fact, the export of pottery toward the Archipelago is attested at Stromboli[9], Salina and Filicudi, but whilst imports from Lipari to Filicudi are rare (about 5 % of the 57 analysed pots, all from Montagnola), at Stromboli more than 20 % of the 67 analysed pots were imported from Lipari[10].

Decorated pots from Lipari have also been found at Messina, in Sicily, and at Vivara-Punta Mezzogiorno.

Filicudi and Stromboli products circulated between the peripheral islands but were apparently not shipped to the 'central place' Lipari, thus reflecting an asymmetrical relation between Lipari and the other islands. This circulation network also includes Sicily, where large undecorated pots (pithoi and cooking pots) from Filicudi/Stromboli have been found at both Milazzo and Tindari (*cf.* **Fig. 3.1**), two locations where Capo Graziano decorated pottery is locally produced.

8 Some results are in Cazzella *et al*. 1997; Levi 2000. The complete list of the samples is in Levi *et al*. 2019a with also bibliography therein.

9 During the Bronze Age, obsidian also circulated from Lipari to Stromboli and probably also to the other islands (Levi *et al*. 2019b).

10 Not enough analyses have been made on Salina pottery to quantify the relevance of the Capo Graziano phase imports from Lipari and to characterise the local production, but the existence of a local manufacture is well established during the following Milazzese phase.

In the opposite direction, Impasto pottery produced on the Southern Tyrrhenian coast, mainly belonging to the Rodì-Tindari facies, is abundant at Stromboli but rare at Lipari and Filicudi.

Finally, Aegean pottery from the Eastern Mediterranean is abundant at Lipari, Filicudi and Vivara and present at Stromboli, Salina and probably also at Milazzo.

The production and circulation networks are summarised in **Table 3.2.** Summing up, two different circulation networks can be identified. Network A, encompassing Stromboli/Filicudi and extending to other close-by locations, such as the islands and the Sicilian coast, but not Lipari; this network may have had something like a reciprocity relation with the coast, as indicated by the frequent Southern Tyrrhenian pots found on Stromboli.

Network B, originating in Lipari, the decorated pottery of which reached the islands, the Sicilian Coast, and other faraway locations, such as the Vivara trading post in the Gulf of Naples. This network may well have been a precursor of a wider network on which the Aegean connections were later grafted.

area	*island*	*site*	*suggested origin*	Stromboli/Filicudi	Tindari	Milazzo	Lipari	Central Mediterranean	Eastern Mediterranean	*network*	*circulation*
Sicily	Sicily	Tindari		i	P					Stromboli / Filicudi network A	from Filicudi/Stromboli (not decorated) to extra archipelago
		Milazzo - viale dei Cipressi		i		P			i		
Aeolian	Filicudi	Filo Braccio		P				i			
		Montagnola		P			i	i	ii		from Lipari to the other islands
	Stromboli	San Vincenzo		P			ii	ii	i		
	Salina	Serro dei Cianfi					i		i	Lipari network B	
	Lipari	Acropoli					P	i	ii		
		Diana					P	i	i		
		Pignataro					T				
Sicily	Sicily	Messina					i				from Lipari to extra archipelago (decorated)
Peninsula	Vivara	Punta Mezzogiorno					i		ii		

Tab. 3.2 Capo Graziano pottery production and circulation. P = production; T = transportation; I = imports; II = abundant imports

4. The incised decorations: between abstractism and figurativism

Capo Graziano pottery has a very distinctive and typical set of incised decorations, currently interpreted as linked to the maritime landscape. In fact, the connection with the maritime landscape has been strongly supported by the presence, on a recently found pot from Filicudi, of a combination of figurative and abstract motifs, suggesting a narrative representation (the *Michelangelo* style in this paper, *cf.* **Fig. 3.3**; Levi *et al.* 2014; Martinelli 2018).

Stylistic analysis of the production adopts modern concepts as abstraction and figuration, as useful extremes for a classification, applying a long-established perspective on visual elements and categories as proposed by Munn (1966) as well as an encoding-decoding process as proposed by Hardin (1983).

A systematic classification of 68 well-preserved bowls – the most characteristic shape of the facies – from Lipari, Filicudi, Salina, Stromboli and Milazzo, makes a comprehensive observation of the decorations on the entire body of the vases possible. This allows the identification of the main motifs and of six styles, with an internal variability or 'sub-styles' (**Fig. 3.3**). The styles have been defined on the basis of the combination of the motifs and their spatial organisation/layout but also on the basis of some technical characteristics, such as regularity and depth of the incised signs. The names of the styles – *Michelangelo*, *Boetti*, *Seurat*, *Klee*, *Fontana* and *Kandinsky* – refer to modern artists and evoke a specific figurativism/abstractism in the decoration (Levi *et al.* 2014).

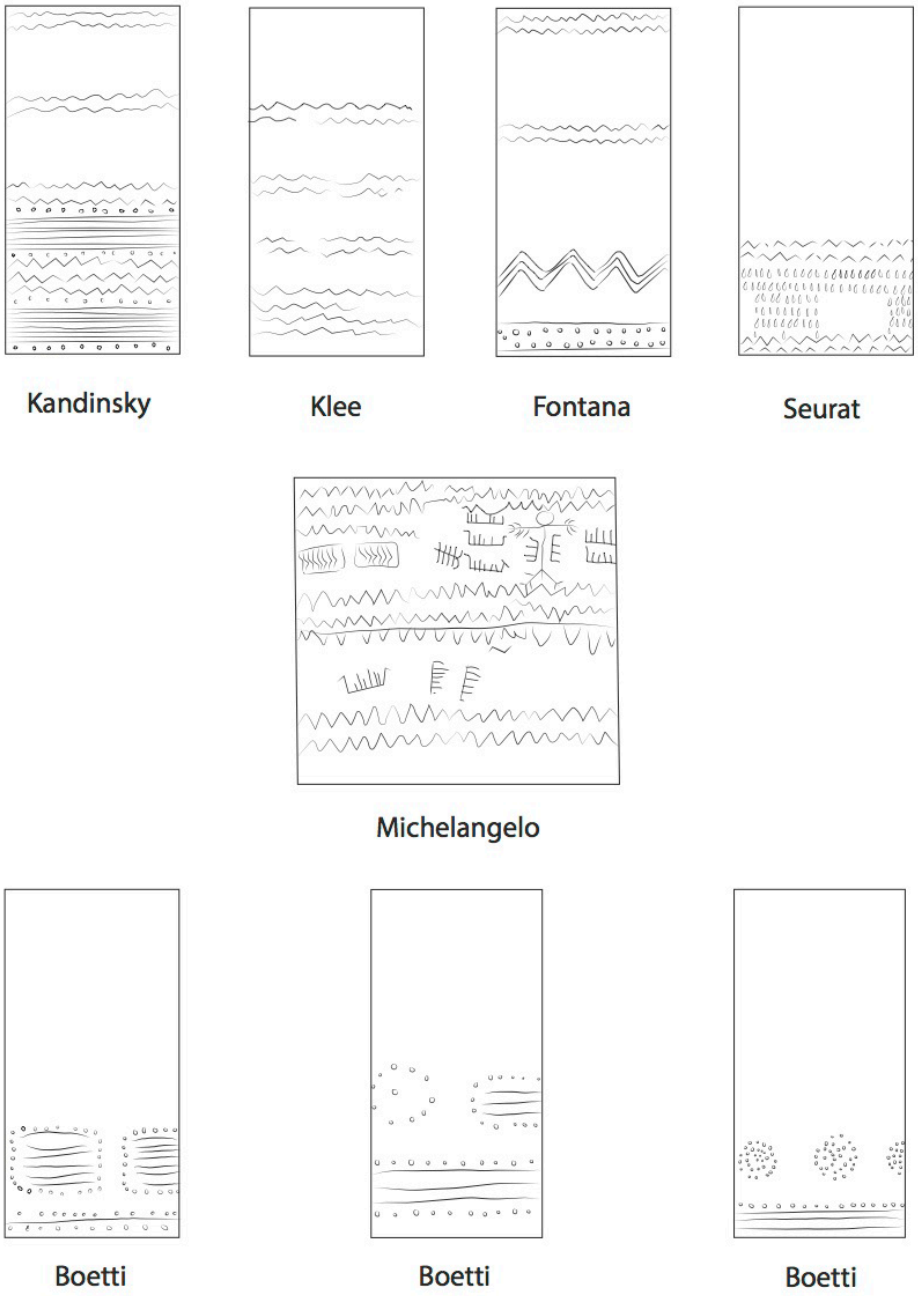

FIG. 3.3 THE MAIN STYLES ON CAPO GRAZIANO BOWLS (DRAWING BY P. VERTUANI)

While our team is preparing a wider, semantic study of Capo Graziano decoration that will be presented elsewhere, the purpose of this paper is a preliminary presentation of the decorative modes (or codings) adopted in the different decorative styles:

- 'abstract': vertical repetition of the following basic motifs (or elements): undulating lines or 'waves', lines and alignments of dots; this is the most typical mode and it is exemplified by the *Kandinsky*, *Klee*, *Fontana* and *Seurat* styles;
- 'narrative': occurrence of stylised figurations sometimes organised in apparent scenes, exemplified by the *Michelangelo* style. The figures on the now famous pot from Filicudi-Filo Braccio have been interpreted as boats and a 'humanoid' figure, hinting at a proper narration or 'tale' (Martinelli 2018: figs 4, 7).
- 'geographic': specific motifs, such as 'metopal' sub-rectangular elements or circular 'island'-like elements have been interpreted as potential evocations of the maritime landscape of the Archipelago (Levi *et al.* 2014). They are exemplified by the *Boetti* style (typical of Lipari, Contrada Diana), where the distinct motifs are repeated and regularly spaced. To this category, we can also add the 'island'-like elements incised on the outside of the pot bases (**Fig. 3.4, CGD105)**. A more complex layout, following the same mode, is represented by the case of four 'islands' separated by a cross made of wavy lines, incised on a pot base from Lipari, Acropoli. This extraordinary combination could therefore be interpreted as a 'map', emphatically developing the geographical meaning of these decorations (**Fig. 3.4, CGD17**). The bases with incised 'islands' include this small circular and peculiar decorative space, where – in general – two main versions are attested, possibly reflecting different ideas or representations of space: 'circular' and 'cross' structural patterns (Levi *et al*. 2014: fig. 10) combined together in vase CGD17.

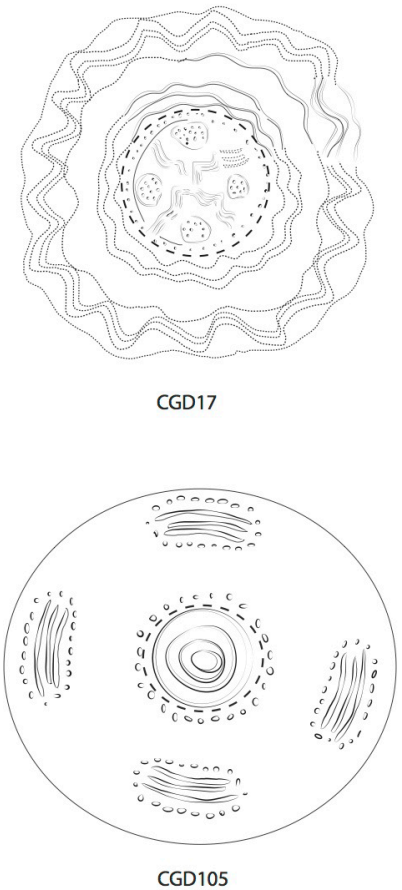

Fig. 3.4 Incised decorations on the base and lower part of bowl bodies. Vase CGD17: the complex decorative mode, possibly a 'map' with four 'islands', from Lipari, Acropoli; vase CGD105: example of *Boetti* style from Lipari, Contrada Diana (drawing by P. Vertuani)

5. The ‘geographic’ decorative motifs

It is necessary to expand the discussion of the decorative motifs defined as ‘geographic’. These particular motifs have been selected because of their design, isolation on the vase’s body or base and – possibly – significance, as explained above, which make them best suitable for a more detailed enquiry. Compared to what proposed in Levi *et al.* 2014, a more detailed classification of the ‘islands’ and ‘metope’/’framed metope’ is proposed. The present study is not limited to bowls but also includes different other shapes of vessels as well as fragments and decorated bases with ‘islands’, and ‘metopes’. This allows adding about 40 other published finds from Lipari-Acropoli[11], Lipari-Contrada Diana[12], Lipari-Castellaro[13], Lipari-Pignataro[14], Salina-Portella[15], Stromboli-San Vincenzo[16] and Milazzo-Viale dei Cipressi[17] to the original selection[18]. We also included about 50 new finds from the recent excavations at San Vincenzo-Stromboli[19] (**Figs 3.5-6**) and three from Lipari-Contrada Diana (**Fig. 3.7**).

Altogether, this study hence includes 50 ‘metopes’ and 53 ‘islands’, incised in vessels and sherds from Lipari, Filicudi, Salina, Stromboli and Milazzo. When the same motif type is repeated on a single vessel (*e.g.* the frequent iterations in the *Boetti* style), only one presence is counted. Of the ‘islands’, 11 are located on the base of vessels. ‘Islands’ and ‘metopes’ are usually not combined on the same vase, although there are some exceptions, especially at Lipari[20].

This can allow us to identify different distributions inside the Capo Graziano facies, with possible consequences on the interpretation of the communication patterns throughout the region.

11 Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980: tavv. CXX 1, CXXI 2a, CXXXII 5c (metope); CXVI 5, CXXI 1e, 3b, 3i, 4d, 4e, CXXIX 1a, 1b, 1c, 1e, 1f, 2a, 2c, CXXXII 1b, 3b, 3d (islands); CXXXII 4 (island and metope); CXXVIII (bases).

12 Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980: fig. 96A (island); Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1994: tavv. CXLIV 1 invv. 14643, 14647, 14653a-b (islands on bases); CXLIV 3 (metope and island), CXLIV 4 invv. 15191, 15192 (bases).

13 Nomi & Speciale 2017: fig. 5, cat. 50 (metope).

14 Bernabò Brea 1985: fig. 30 (base).

15 Martinelli 2010: 290, fig. 125 (base).

16 Levi *et al*. 2011: figs 8.4 inv. 317 SU350 (metope), 8.7 inv. 411 SU316 (island on base); Bettelli *et al*. 2016: figs 6.1 inv. 2100 SU573, 6.2 inv. 2804 SU 613, 6.3 inv. 2849 SU648 (islands); 6.4 inv. 3698 SU690, 6.5 inv. 441 SU360, 6.6 inv. 2861 SU648 (bases).

17 Levi *et al*. 2009: tavv. X inv. 17 SU31, XXIII inv. 292 (islands), XIV inv. 10 SU31 (island, relief version); XXIII inv. 294 SU16 (island on base); XX inv. 242 SU17 (base).

18 Levi *et al*. 2014: CGD11, 104, 106, 204, 301, 501 (metope); CGD115 (metope and island); CGD2, 15, 18, 105, 108, 111, 112, 304, 901, 902, 903 (metope and bases); CGD107 (island); CGD114 (island and base); CGD 1, 5, 17, 103, 119 (islands on bases and bases); CGD4, 8, 10, 16, 102, 110, 113, 201, 206, 209, 211, 303, 305, 401, 502 (bases).

19 New finds from San Vincenzo (see **Figs 3.5-6)**: inv. 2859 SU649, inv. 3222 SU609 hut 4, inv. 3644 pul (metope); inv. 2033 SU611, inv. 2871 SU703, inv. 3392 SU765 hut 3, inv. 4066 SU698 (islands); inv. 2710 SU716, inv. 3670 SU685 (bases). Not illustrated: inv. 46 SU6, inv. 291 SU314, inv. 356 SU208, inv. 444 SU320, inv. 453 SU360, inv. 602 SU303, inv. 649 tg.II, inv. 677 SU502, inv. 773 SU603, inv. 879 SU313, inv. 2063 SU5988, inv. 2785 SU759 hut 3, inv. 2859 SU649, inv. 3222 SU609 hut 4, inv. 3644 pul, inv. 3578 SU716, inv. 4089 SU7005 hut 5 (metope); inv. 2906 SU618 (metope and islands); inv. 3822 SU7004 hut 5 (metope and base); inv. 408 SU313, inv. 506 SU72+81+82+86, inv. 782 SU602, inv. 717 SU314, inv. 2033 SU611, inv. 2271 SU648, inv. 2579 SU613, inv. 2640 SU 630, inv. 2871 SU703, inv. 3392 SU765 hut 3, inv. 3403 SU683, inv. 4066 SU698, inv. 551+558 SU209+253 hut 1 (islands); inv. 2429 I-II tg, inv. 4040 SU7010 (islands on base and base); inv. 2710 SU716, inv. 3110 SU645, inv. 3670 SU685 (bases).

20 Sub-styles *Boetti* 2 and 4 in Levi *et al*. 2014; see also the central *Boetti*-style example in **Fig. 3.3**.

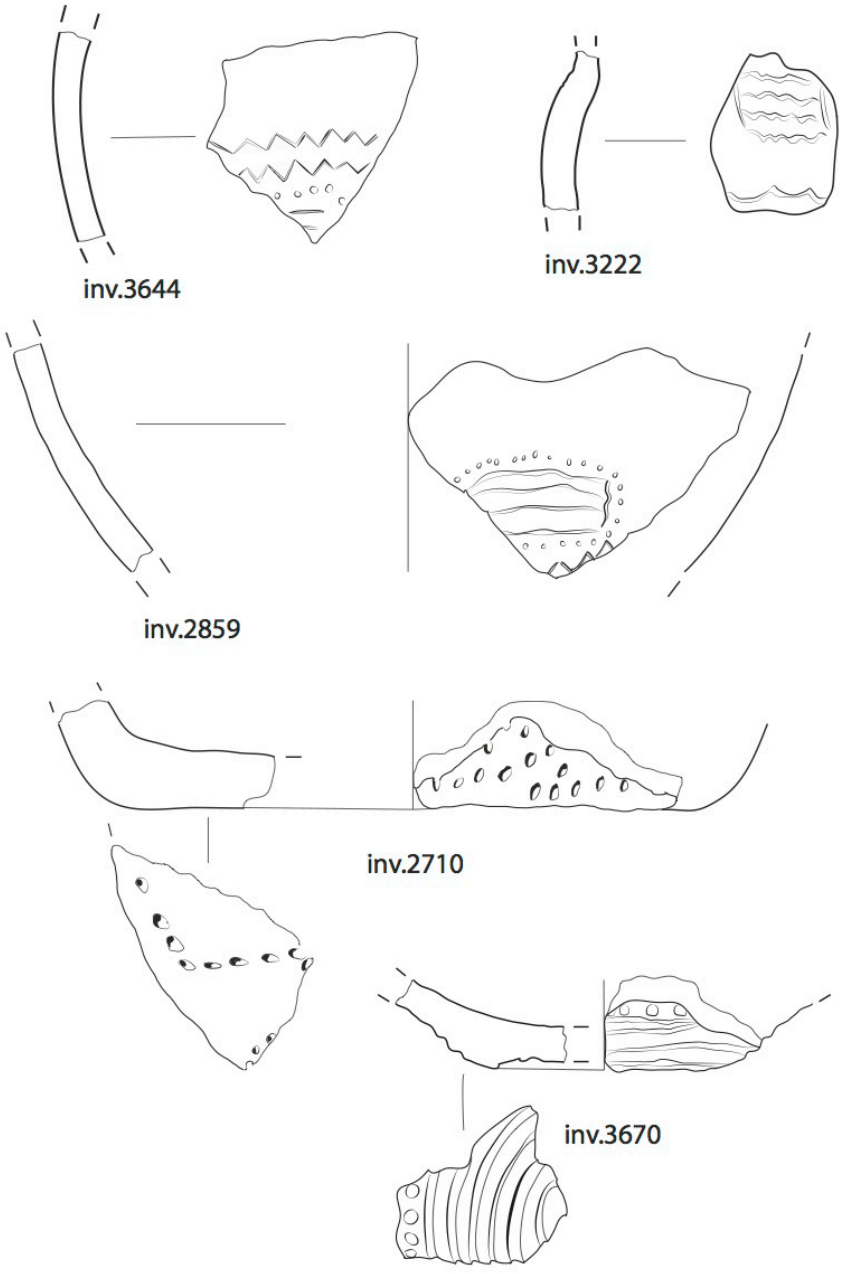

FIG. 3.5 NEW DECORATED FRAGMENTS FROM STROMBOLI-SAN VINCENZO. 'METOPES': INV. 2859 SU649, INV. 3222 SU609 HUT 4, INV. 3644 PUL; BASES: INV. 2710 SU716, INV. 3670 SU685 (DRAWING BY P. VERTUANI)

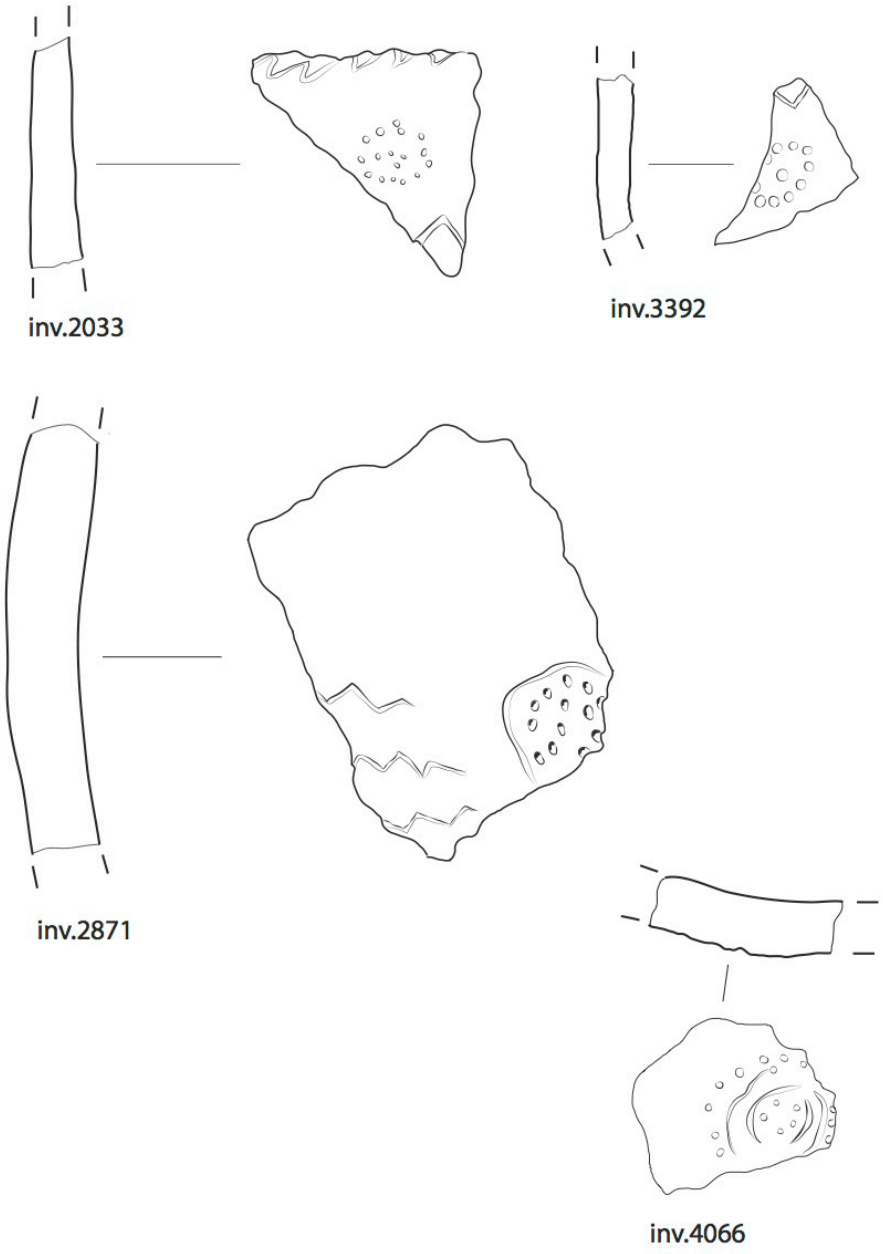

FIG. 3.6 NEW DECORATED FRAGMENTS FROM STROMBOLI-SAN VINCENZO. 'ISLANDS': INV. 2033 SU611, INV. 2871 SU703, INV. 3392 SU765 HUT 3, INV. 4066 SU698 (DRAWING BY P. VERTUANI)

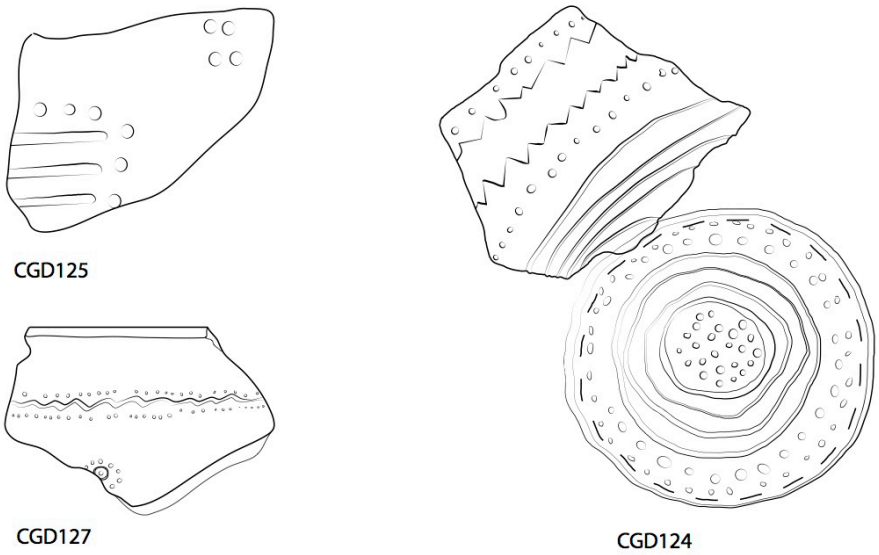

Fig. 3.7 New decorated fragments from Lipari-Diana. Vases CGD125 SU90 trench L hut 1, CGD127 and CGD124 SU 101 trench L, channel between hut 2 and 3 (drawing by P. Vertuani)

5.1. Classification

The new classifications of 'metopes' and 'islands' follows an open logic that aims at presenting an inclusive system that can easily be further expanded with the discovery of new motifs in the future. The system is organised in bidimensional grids and is tailored for the two motifs with slight differences and also takes the probably different relevance of the various parts of the motifs into consideration.

'Metope' motifs (**Fig. 3.8**): the classification merges the two previous categories of 'metope' and 'framed metope' (Levi *et al.* 2014), assuming that for the 'metope' motif the characteristic part is the centre rectangular decoration, which can be (or not) inserted inside an external 'frame' made of lines or dots. These are likely an accessory element used to underline the border of a self-contained motif[21]. 50 'metopes' have been classified in seven types, as shown in the figure (**Fig. 3.8**).

- the numbers indicate the type of filling/core of the 'metope': 1 = alignments of dots; 2 = lines; 3 = wavy lines
- the letters indicate the frame: a = no frame; b = dot frame; c = line frame

'Island' motifs (**Fig. 3.9**): the classification takes into account both the centre (usually represented by dots in a variable number, from one to several, but also by a cross) and the surrounding circular elements that mostly identify and characterise the motif: they are incised in various combinations of linear circles and circles of dots. 53 Islands have been classified in 12 types.

- the numbers indicate the centre of the motif: 1 = one dot; 2 = few dots (3-5 *ca.*), 3 = many dots; 4 = cross.
- the letters indicate the circles around the centre, following a general trend of increasing complexity: a = one circle of dots; b = one linear circle; c = two linear circles; d = one circle of dots and one linear circle; e: two linear circles and one circle of dots; f = alternating linear circles and circles of dots.

21 It is worth noting that alignments of dots were generally used to underline the borders of some other decorative spaces, such as it is frequently observed at the junction between the pot body and the base. Obviously, we cannot exclude that their use was connected with other meanings.

An earlier study of decorated bases has been expanded and now includes about 50 specimens, classified according to the already published typology (Levi *et al*. 2014: fig. 10). The classification is not presented here again but some aspects are discussed below.

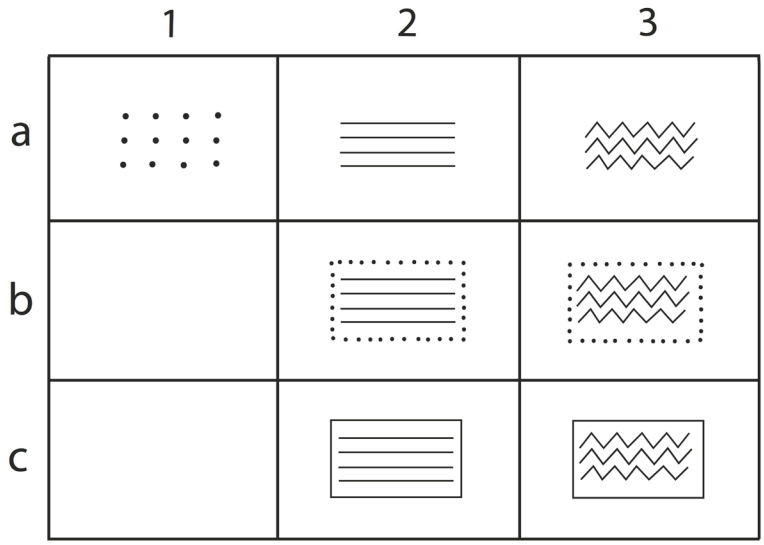

Fig. 3.8 Typological classification of the 'metope' motifs (drawing by P. Vertuani)

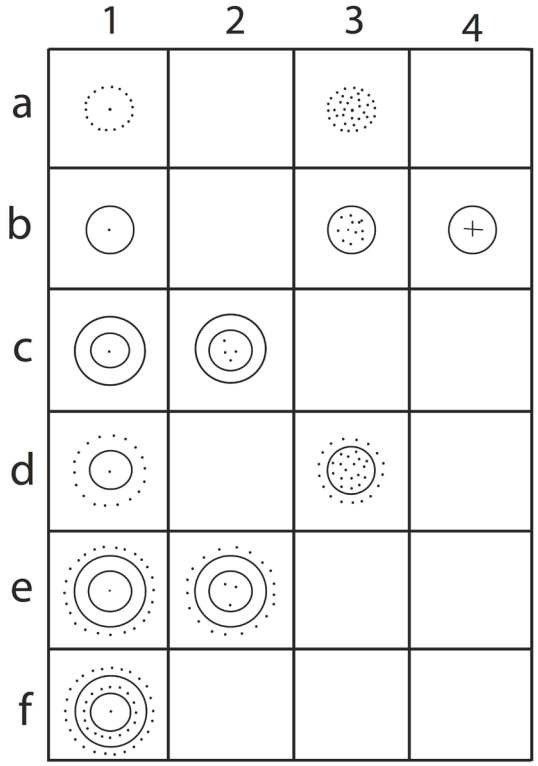

Fig. 3.9 Typological classification of the 'island' motifs (drawing by P. Vertuani)

5.2. Distribution

A previous analysis of the decorations had already shown that, against a background of general homogeneity and cultural identity, different decorative styles and motifs existed on the islands of the Aeolian archipelago and that it was also possible to observe some change in taste over time (Levi *et al*. 2014). The distribution of the 'islands' and 'metopes' according to the new typology is here presented and discussed and some remarks are made about the most characteristic patterns of the incised bases. Because of the novelty of the Stromboli data, we first present an intra-site analysis.

Intra-site analysis: preliminary notes on Stromboli

The methodology of this study has allowed to include more finds and contexts and in particular to present a first systematic classification of the material of the village of San Vincenzo on Stromboli island. The formation processes of the stratigraphy of San Vincenzo resulted in a high fragmentation of artefacts[22]. The analysis of single motifs is therefore more efficient and statistically significant. Capo Graziano decorations are present on numerous other sherds with the basic elements of the 'abstract' modes and styles (alignments of dots, straight and wavy lines) or with other motifs not considered in the present study. Although the detailed study of the formation processes, stratigraphy, chronology and spatial organisation[23] of San Vincenzo is still in progress, some preliminary data can be used in the present discussion.

More than 50 ^{14}C dates and the cross-dating with Mycenaean pottery (mostly LH I with some LH II specimens: Bettelli *et al*. 2016) indicate a long occupation of the village between the 20th to 16th c. BCE, with several phases involving architectural and spatial reorganisations (Vidale *et al*. 2018). The majority (2/3) of the almost 50 decorated fragments with 'metopes' and 'islands' (and incised bases) were found in Bronze Age layers while the others were recovered from secondary contexts since the area was reoccupied after the Bronze Age and the majority of the later remains belongs to a Late Roman necropolis (4th-5th c. CE) and a Late Medieval church with burials (12th-14th c. CE) (Ferranti *et al*. 2015; Rosi *et al*. 2019).

The chronology of the Bronze Age contexts with the here relevant motifs ranges from the 19th to the 16th c. BCE, with a concentration around the 18th-17th c. BCE[24]. Both 'metope' and 'island' motifs were encountered on sherds dispersed over the excavation areas[25] and contexts including the huts. 'Metopes' are present in huts 3 and 5, 'islands' in huts 1 and 3. There is a possible higher concentration in the southern part of the western area (trench 6), also considering fragments found in secondary contexts (four 'metopes', nine 'islands' and four decorated bases). All the available data indicate that decorated pottery was used for a long time and its distribution included almost all possible use contexts, similarly to Lipari but different from Filicudi-Montagnola where the decorations are concentrated in few huts (mainly in hut I).

'Metopes' across Capo Graziano archaeological facies

The occurrence of 'metopes' types (**Fig. 3.8**) in the sites of the Capo Graziano facies under discussion is summarised in **Table 3.3**. The most common types are M2b, abundant on Stromboli and at Lipari-Contrada Diana, and M3a, abundant on Stromboli and at Lipari-Acropoli. The 'metopes' with dots M1a are attested at Milazzo, Stromboli and Filicudi-Filo Braccio, but not on Lipari and other sites. At Milazzo, this is the only type of 'metopes' attested, a fact

22 An experimental study on the stratigraphy, distribution and fragmentation has been designed and carried out by our team, the so-called "*Progetto pozzi*". Students Andrea La Torre, Cristian Balafas, Eloisa Lombardo, Emanuele Saletta, Filippo Trogi and Matteo Dongiovanni participated in the investigation and presented the results for their undergraduate and graduate dissertations at Modena and Ferrara Universities. The measurements, performed with a standardised size-chart, include 2313 fragments of Capo Graziano *Impasto* pottery from selected locations representing the complex topography and morphology of the site: 10 % sherds are larger than 10 cm^2, while 65 % are smaller than 5 cm^2. More in detail the results are: <128 mm^2 = 4 %; 128-256 mm^2 = 22 %; 256-512 mm^2 = 39 %; 512-1024 mm^2 = 25 %; 1024-2048 mm^2 = 8 %; 2048-4096 mm^2 = 2 %; 4096-8192 mm^2 = 0.3 % (corresponding to only three fragments).

23 Spatial analysis of the site is performed with GIS using a 1 x 1 m grid (Levi *et al*. 2018: fig. 4).

24 For example, one 'island' is from the shell deposit SU683 dated 1730-1625 cal. BCE (Vidale *et al*. 2018: tab. 2).

25 The excavation is divided in three main areas: east (trenches 1, 2 and 5), west (trenches 4, 6 and 7) and north (trench 8), see Vidale *et al*. 2018: fig. 2. The first number of each Stratigraphic Unit indicates the trench, for examples SU 246 and SU 2015 belong to the trench 2.

coherent with the *Seurat* Style, typical of this site, displaying a predominance of dots in the decoration. 'Metopes' with lines (M2) are only attested on Lipari and Stromboli, with a possible occurrence at Filicudi-Filo Braccio. In general, the 'metopes' are frequent and varied on Lipari (considering all sites together) and Stromboli but whilst the two islands share the most common types M2b and M3a (the last one also present on Salina), Lipari has some specific types (M2c and M3b, mainly from Diana) whilst, to the contrary, on Stromboli the two other attested types (M1a and M3c) are shared with Filicudi and Milazzo.

	Milazzo	Filicudi		Stromboli	Salina	Lipari		
	Viale dei Cipressi	Filo Braccio	Montagnola	San Vincenzo	Serro dei Cianfi	Acropoli	Castellaro	Contrada Diana
M1a	3	1		3				
M3c		1v	1	1				
M3a				8	2	7		
M2b				8		2	1	6
M2a		?				1		
M3b						1		2
M2c								2

TAB. 3.3 'METOPE' MOTIFS: TYPOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION (SEE FIGS 3.8, 3.10). NUMBERS OF POTS WITH EACH MOTIF; V = VARIANT

'Islands' across Capo Graziano archaeological facies

The occurrence of 'islands' types (**Fig. 3.9**) is summarised in **Table 3.4**. The data suggest that the distribution of 'islands' is more restricted and limited to Lipari (Contrada Diana and Acropoli) and Stromboli, with a few cases at Milazzo. One type is unique at Milazzo (I4c), where another type occurs, (I2c), which is shared with Stromboli but not with Lipari. At Milazzo, there is also a large relief version of I1c on the shoulder of a locally produced jar (Levi *et al*. 2009: tav. XIII, inv. 10). The same motif, as incised version, occurs at Lipari-Acropoli. Both at Lipari (Contrada Diana and Acropoli) and Stromboli, there is a great variety of types, which are mostly shared by the three sites (I1a, I1d, I1e, I3b; I1f in common only with Contrada Diana) but there are still a certain number of types that are exclusive to Lipari (I1b, I3a, I3d), while type I2e is exclusive to Stromboli. 'Islands' on the bases are mostly I3b motifs (Lipari-both Acropoli and Contrada Diana and Stromboli) but some are I3d (Lipari-Acropoli) and a single one is the *unicum* I4b (Milazzo).

Base decorations

Although a systematic study of decorations on the base of vases is in progress, some preliminary remarks are already possible, in particular where the match between the different distributions of 'circular' and 'cross' structural patterns is concerned. 'Circular' patterns are more abundant than 'cross' patterns and about 1/3 of these show an 'island' incised in the centre. Both circular and cross patterns are attested at Milazzo and Lipari-Acropoli. At Stromboli[26] and Diana (and possibly also Castellaro Vecchio) only the circular pattern occurs. At Stromboli, at least one circular pattern is on a vase imported from Lipari (sample CGD401). Both circular and cross patterns are also attested at Salina; the circular one belongs to a vase of which the composition shows that it is an import from Lipari (sample CGD303). At Lipari-Pignataro, Filicudi-Filo Braccio (and possibly at Salina-Serro Brigadiere) only the cross pattern occurs. At Milazzo, the pattern is random while at Lipari-Acropoli and at Salina-Portella a linear pattern can be recognised.

26 There is a fragment of a base from Stromboli but it is not clearly recognizable; it is certainly not a circular pattern (inv. 2710).

	Milazzo	Stromboli	Lipari	
	Viale dei Cipressi	San Vincenzo	Acropoli	Contrada Diana
I4b	1			
I2c	1	1		
I2e		1		
I1a		9	1v	1
I3b		6	4	7
I1d		1	2	2
I1e		1	3	2
I1f		1		1
I1c	1v		1	
I3d			3	
I1b			2	1
I3a				1

Tab. 3.4 'Island' motifs: typological distribution (see Figs 3.9, 3.11). Numbers of pots with each motif; v = variant

Core-periphery dynamics in the Archipelago

The geographical distribution of the 'metope', 'island' and base patterns is summarised in **Figs 3.10-12**. The distributions of 'metopes' and – especially – of 'islands' appear to be limited to distinct spots of the Archipelago. Both 'metopes' and 'islands' are more abundant on Lipari and Stromboli and the two locations share a good number of types, especially of 'islands'. Lipari, the Archipelago's core, maintains a certain degree of specificity, with more types that are only attested in this central place. There is a group of types shared between the peripheral islands and coastal Sicily (Stromboli, Filicudi and Milazzo), which does not involve Lipari. Although these similarities at the periphery of the archipelago, shared between Filicudi and Stromboli, may point to the existence of a different sub-network, the decorations on the bases of vases of these two locations are completely different, with the eastern node (Stromboli) choosing the circular pattern while the western one (Filicudi) clearly prefers the cross pattern.

6. Discussion

The Capo Graziano period was a very long one and is characterised by a distinctive pottery production, and even more by its decorative style. The decorative repertoire comprises 'abstract' motifs as well as a series of motifs that we have defined as 'narrative' and 'geographic'. The close link with the maritime landscape is clearly recognisable in the 'geographic' motifs, and even more so on a number of vases where a series of 'island'-like elements is assembled in a sort of 'map' potentially showing the Archipelago surrounded by the sea, the latter represented by a combination of different versions of the abstract 'wave' motif (Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980, CXXVIII 2).

An even more explicit link with the seafaring landscape is shown by the complex decoration on a cup from Filicudi-Filo Braccio, that we have classified as 'narrative'. Some have even argued that the composition should be read as a tale about the sea, boats and people moving among the islands (Martinelli *et al*. 2010: 312; Martinelli 2018). A similar attitude towards a conceptualisation of the sea was noted for the Bronze Age Aegean (Vidale *et al.* 2018) and, in general, for the Mediterranean (Martinelli 2018). The hypothesis that the incised decoration expresses the identity of the Capo Graziano people is grounded on these observations and is strengthened by the large quantity of finds. Nevertheless, archaeological theory has often recognised pottery decoration as a by-product of communication systems, a measure of social interaction and/or information exchange (Levi 1990). The matrix-like structure of our classification clarifies, however, how the decorative repertoire is comprised of the repetitive use of the same elements and patterns, proposed in different variations: a well-defined graphic language shared among the communities of the islands.

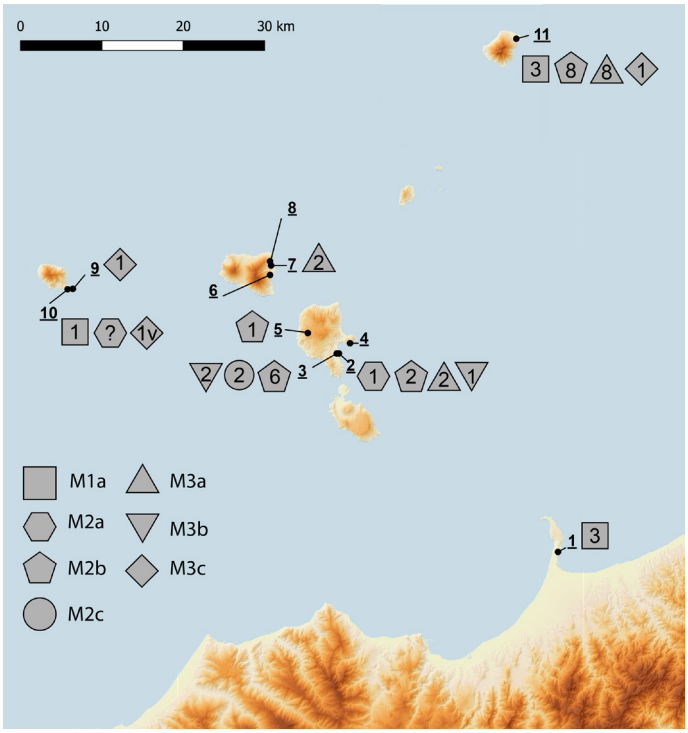

FIG. 3.10 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'METOPE' MOTIFS (SEE **FIG. 3.8, TAB. 3.3**). 1 MILAZZO-VIALE DEI CIPRESSI, 2 LIPARI-ACROPOLI, 3 LIPARI-CONTRADA DIANA, 5 LIPARI-CASTELLARO, 7 SALINA-SERRO DEI CIANFI, 9 FILICUDI-MONTAGNOLA, 10 FILICUDI-FILO BRACCIO, 11 STROMBOLI-SAN VINCENZO (DRAWING BY A. DI RENZONI)

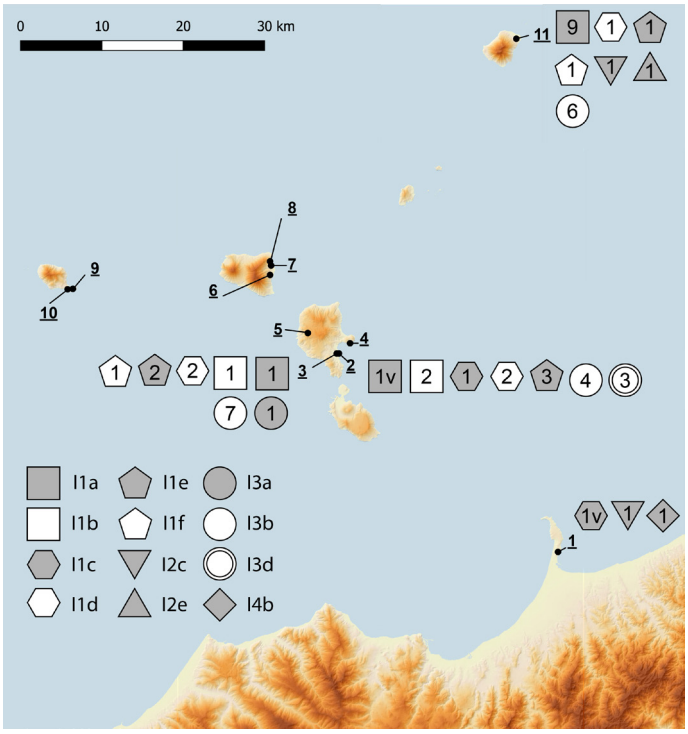

FIG. 3.11 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'ISLAND' MOTIFS (SEE **FIG. 3.9, TAB. 3.4**). 1 MILAZZO-VIALE DEI CIPRESSI, 2 LIPARI-ACROPOLI, 3 LIPARI-CONTRADA DIANA, 11 STROMBOLI-SAN VINCENZO (DRAWING BY A. DI RENZONI)

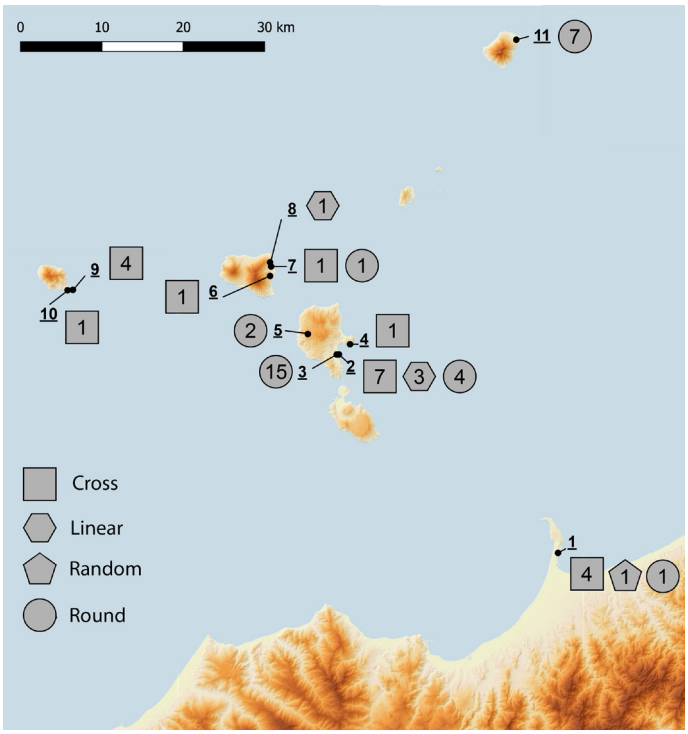

FIG. 3.12 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BASE PATTERNS. 1 MILAZZO-VIALE DEI CIPRESSI, 2 LIPARI-ACROPOLI, 3 LIPARI-CONTRADA DIANA, 4 LIPARI-PIGNATARO, 5 LIPARI-CASTELLARO, 6 SALINA-SERRO BRIGADIERE, 7 SALINA-SERRO DEI CIANFI, 8 SALINA-PORTELLA, 9 FILICUDI-MONTAGNOLA, 10 FILICUDI-FILO BRACCIO, 11 STROMBOLI-SAN VINCENZO (DRAWING BY A. DI RENZONI)

Although the distribution of decorated pots may, at least partially, reflect differences in the intensity of research, some patterns in the circulation of the motifs and their versions are evident. At Lipari Acropoli and Contrada Diana, the main sites on the largest and most centrally located island, both 'metope' and 'island' motifs are well attested (21 and 31 respectively) covering almost the entire typological span (5/7 of the 'metope' types and 9/12 of the 'island' types). On Stromboli, approximately the same proportion (20 'metope' and 20 'island') is attested but there is less typological variability (4/7 'metope' types and 7/12 of 'island' types). At Filicudi, only four 'metope' motifs are attested, belonging to three of the seven types recognised, and none of the 'island' motifs has been recognised. Salina shows a similar situation, as only two examples of the same type of 'metope' motifs are attested. Outside the Archipelago, at Milazzo, both 'metope' (three examples pertaining to a single type) and 'island' (three examples pertaining to three types) motifs are known. The dichotomy represented by the presence/absence of the 'island' motifs underlines two different networks.

M3a and M2b are the most frequent types of 'metope' with 34 out of a whole of 51 examples, mostly (31/34) from Lipari Acropoli, Diana (15) and Stromboli (16).

Type M1a is attested at Stromboli, Filicudi and Milazzo and M3c at Stromboli and Filicudi. Filicudi and Lipari only share just a single type of 'metope' motif, that is attested on both islands by a single item. The island of Salina (Serro dei Cianfi) appears to be linked to Lipari and Stromboli but published data are few and limited to a preliminary report. 'Island' motifs seem to be typical of Lipari and Stromboli. They share 5/12 types but most of the specimens from both islands belong to type I1a and I3b (15/20 at Stromboli, 13/31 at Lipari). 'Island' motifs have also been found in Milazzo. It is possible that some differences in the distribution also reflect chronological differences, but many of the pots must almost certainly be considered as roughly contemporary, and therefore indicative of the shared communicative patterns hypothesised.

It is intriguing that the two production/exchange networks defined by compositional analyses (the core-centred network originating from Lipari and the peripheral network originating from Filicudi/Stromboli), as discussed above, seem to match the different distributions of the 'geographic' motifs. The close connection between Lipari and Stromboli that can be recognised in the distribution of decorative types overlaps with the petrographic data: at

Stromboli, 20 % of the analysed pots were imports from Lipari. On the contrary, only 5 % of the analysed pots of Filicudi are Liparian products. These data confirm the existence of two patterns and clarify the direction of the link between Lipari and Stromboli, the latter receiving products and models from the former.

It is also important to underline the different intra-site distributions: the scarcity of decorated pots at Filicudi matches with their spatial distribution, concentrated in a specific area of the Montagnola village (three nearby huts). To the contrary, in the villages of Lipari and Stromboli, decorated vessels were widely distributed.

Regarding possible patterns of interaction within the lower Tyrrhenian Sea, it is worth noting that petrographic and typological analysis on the huge quantity of pottery from the site of San Vincenzo on Stromboli revealed a strong presence of shapes well attested in the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria and in the north-eastern corner of Sicily. About 50 % of the sherds are from vessels imported from outside the archipelago, mainly from Calabria (Levi *et al.* 2019a). The same phenomenon is not attested at Lipari and Filicudi, where non-Aeolian shapes are practically absent.

At Milazzo, on the north coast of Sicily, two large pithoi and a cooking pot have a composition matching with that of the Filicudi (or Stromboli)[27] productions while decorated pots were locally produced. The same happens at Tindari where decorated vases are locally produced but undecorated closed shapes are imports with a Filicudi/Stromboli composition.

Decorated pots that have certainly been imported from Lipari have further been found at Messina and Vivara, two sites at the opposite ends along the route from the strait of Messina to the mid-Tyrrhenian coast.

In a recent paper (Levi *et al*. 2017: 152), data on the combination of wares, shapes, and functions of Aegean pottery from southern Tyrrhenian archipelagos (Aeolian Island and Vivara in the Phlegraean islands) were analysed to verify the existence of different distributive patterns. Stromboli and Lipari fall in the same cluster as the Vivara-Punta Mezzogiorno site, while Filicudi falls in a different cluster (Levi *et al*. 2017: 152).

The compositional and typological data presented here contribute to define a more complex picture. An apparent, unidirectional link connects Lipari with Stromboli (and perhaps Salina) in an eastern network. The periphery of this network is permeable to outer models while the centre is not. The direction of the information flow from the outside also seems to have been unidirectional (Calabria/Sicily to Aeolian). Filicudi, on the west side of the Archipelago, participated in another network that avoided the central Lipari islands. Filicudi, on the contrary, was probably an important node of the second network that was mainly linked to the Sicilian coast. The geographical position of the islands may have played a role in differentiating communication flows, with Stromboli and Lipari being closer to the communication crossing represented by the Messina Strait and both sharing a similar visual potential toward the Strait and the Calabrian coast. Filicudi is located farther from the Messina Strait route and the site of Montagnola had a different visual potential toward Sicily (Di Renzoni *et al*. 2016: fig. 4).

These observations support the above stated hypothesis of the existence of two networks, an eastern one, centred on Lipari, and a western one, involving mainly Filicudi. The communication flow of the eastern network had a clear direction from Lipari to the surrounding areas and involved information embedded in the decorative syntax that shaped the identity of Capo Graziano communities. Capo Graziano decorated pots found outside the Archipelago are often Liparian (petrographic) exports, that underline the central role of this island. Even with a general uniformity in the facies, unevenness clearly existed and continuous overlapping of different communication flows have been recognised. At Stromboli, Capo Graziano models (defined as decoration and shape of pots and technological solutions adopted) were shaped by (uneven) connections with Lipari and Filicudi. Aeolian models where diluted with allochthonous models from the lower Tyrrhenian sea, where some Liparian imports are attested. At Filicudi, the 'graphic language' had a different, but not less important usage in shaping the communities' identity (*cf*. the Filicudi cup with figurative decoration in *Michelangelo* style). At Milazzo, at the border of the Capo Graziano world – already outside the Archipelago – the two components described are merged together, as is shown by the significative presence of locally produced pots decorated with the same motifs that occur on Lipari and Stromboli but also with a number of imported storage vessels from the Filicudi/Stromboli network. The coexistence of imported storage vessels and locally produced decorated pots was also recognised at Tindari, another site on the north-east coast of Sicily and this confirms that the two hypothesised networks acted on the basis of two distinctive

27 Fabric EA103 produced at Filicudi and/or Stromboli.

modalities: the spread of the most common Capo Graziano 'geographic' motif from Lipari was locally adopted (possibly through matrimonial exchange), while the spread of semi-specialised vessel productions (such as large pithoi and storage vessels) at Filicudi seems rather the result of the export of finished products.

All in all, this study demonstrates that the various modes and motifs of Capo Graziano decorations were clearly discontinuous components and represent a good archaeological example of uneven communication.

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4. Acceptance and Resistance

Local Communities and Aegeans in 2nd Millennium BCE South-Eastern Sicily

Pietro M. Militello[1]

1. The relationship between Sicily and the Aegean in the 2nd millennium BCE has generally been considered an example of uneven connection since the first studies by the father of Sicilian archaeology, Paolo Orsi, at the end of the 19th c. (Orsi 1895; 1899). The Mycenaean presence in Sicily was subsequently likened to Greek colonisation as a form of 'precolonial' contact (Voza 1985) in the light of the ongoing interaction between Sicily and the Greek mainland in the 2nd and 1st millennium BCE. Various hypotheses emerged well into the 1980s, suggesting the existence of veritable colonies (Bernabò Brea 1982; 1985; Kilian 1990: 456; Karageorghis 1995: 96) or communities within indigenous settlements (Pugliese Carratelli 1959; Smith 1987) exerting some form of political influence or control. From the 1990s, more elaborate theories embraced the Wallerstein World System notion (Wallerstein 1974) to explain the relationship between the Aegean and the West according to the core-periphery model (Marazzi 1983; Sherratt 1990; D'Agata 1997): western peripheral societies were structured 'to meet external demands for raw materials' (from the Aegean, in our case) (Rowlands 1988), with what can be considered more a form of exploitation than direct political control (Peroni 1982: 265-266) through *Ports of Trade* or *Gateway communities* (Smith 1987; Marazzi 1997; Bietti Sestieri 2002). Indeed, some scholars as early as the 1980s went as far as suggesting a purely commercial relationship (Vagnetti 1982: 28-29; French 1986) with or without the presence of Aegean intermediaries (Harding 1984), and more recently Emma Blake (2008) minimised the extent of Mycenaean presence in the West.

A more nuanced perspective has surfaced over the last 20 years following two specific developments. In the first, the Mediterranean and even central Europe during the 2nd millennium increasingly appear to have been a locus of interactive networks that grew in density and complexity from the end of the 3rd millennium to connect not only the Eastern parts with the Central and Western areas of the Mediterranean, but also the less sophisticated populations in the Adriatic, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Spain among them (Broodbank 2013). In the second, our broader understanding of materials and contexts and the way in which assemblages of pottery imports varied in provenance and typology over time and across regions (Bettelli 2002; van Wijngaarden 2002) has revealed differing patterns and modes of contacts, as suggested more than 30 years ago by Bietti Sestieri (1988; 1998). As a consequence, the role of local communities as active players in this trade network has been more and more stressed.

The same happened for Sicily (Leighton 1999: 164) and even the authors investigating Aegean influences in Sicily pottery production and architecture of the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Alberti 2004; 2005; 2006; Tanasi 2004; 2008; Tomasello 2004; Militello 2004), supported the idea that local communities controlled commercial activity in Sicily (Alberti 2004: 124; Militello 2004: 330; 2005; Tanasi 2008b: 170-175; 2010: 109-110). In the very last years, the approaches have focused on how products were received and interpreted in the Island, according to the concepts of entanglement, hybridisation, and appropriation proposed by globalisation studies (Bietti Sestieri 2014; Russell 2017; Militello 2018; Militello & Żebrowska 2017; 2020), as we will see in our conclusions.

For the goal of this volume, I propose an analysis of cultural contacts between Sicilian groups of the Sicilian Middle Bronze Age and Aegean people in South-Eastern Sicily, focusing mainly on the important harbour site of Thapsos, because the Aegean presence in the island varies heavily according to geography, chronology and modes of interaction, and there are significant differences in terms of trajectories and consumption of foreign goods among individual sites and areas (Bietti Sestieri 2014).

I will focus not only on the positive evidence of exchange (imports, imitation, transfer of know-how) but also on the lack of evidence, interpreted not as a lack in documentation, but as the result of choices made by local communities. But let us start by presenting a brief overview of the available data (**Fig. 4.1**).

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	Aegean (low chronology)	Sicily
2300/2200	EH III MH	*Early Bronze Age* Castelluccio (Sicily)/ Capo Graziano (Aeolian Islands)
1600	LH I	
1500	LH IIA	
1450/1400-1270/50	LH IIB LH IIIA LH IIIB1	*Middle Bronze Age* Thapsos (Sicily) Milazzese (Aeolian Islands)
1250-1200	LH IIIB2	*Late Bronze Age* Pantalica (Sicily) Ausonio I (Aeolian islands)
1200-1050	LH IIIC	

Fig. 4.1 Comparative table of Sicilian and Aegean chronology. The Helladic chronology follows the traditional, low system (Warren & Hankey 1989)

2. Sicily's participation in long distance exchange networks is patently clear in the Castelluccio/Capo Graziano cultures from just before the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE (for a general survey see Tusa 2000; van Wijngaarden 2002; Alberti 2008: 6-16).

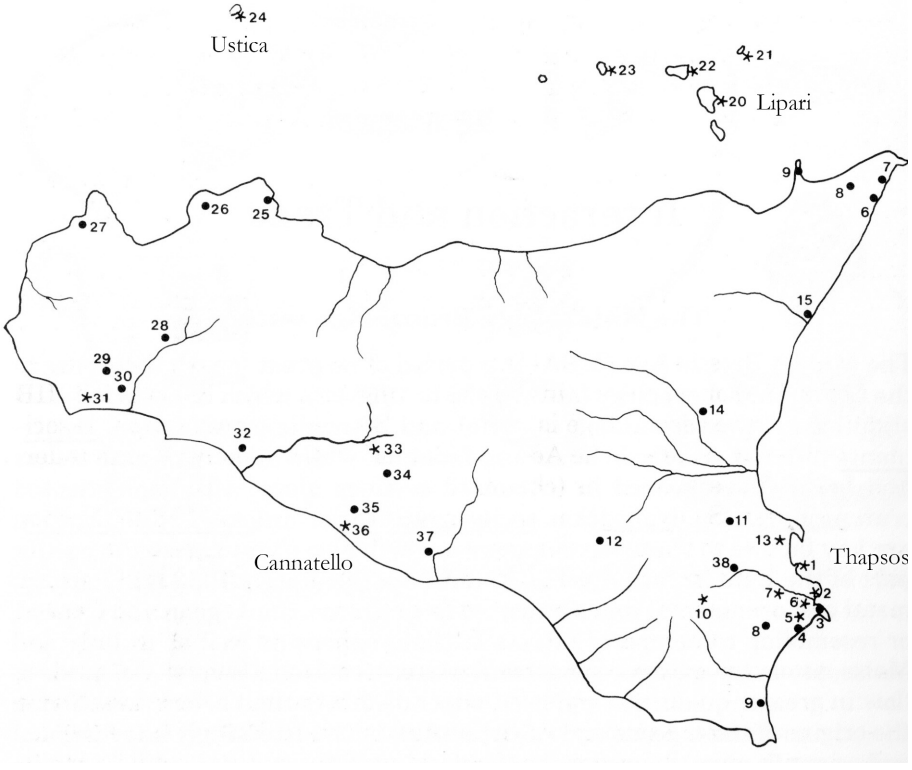

Fig. 4.2 Map of Sicily with Early and Middle Bronze Age sites quoted in the text (elaborated from Leighton 1999)

Imported pottery from Greece first appears in Monte Grande in southern Sicily (province of Agrigento) **(Fig. 4.2)**, where sulphur was extracted from at least around 1600 BCE (Castellana 1988). Here, among the findings, 364 fragments of transport vessels were identified including matt and polished painted ceramics, Aegean Gold Mica Ware, and Levantine pottery. True Mycenaean pottery is notably absent, but this is consistent with the relevant chronology. A similar trade route or perhaps another from northern Africa extended as far as the island of Pantelleria. In the village of Mursia, matt painted and Levantine ware, dating to the 17th and 15th c. BCE, has been found in a purely local context (Cattani *et al*. 2012; 2016), together with earrings, necklaces, pendants of 'Egyptian production', as well as copper objects of central European origin (Tusa 2014).

In south-eastern Sicily, imported pottery is not present until the end of the 15th c. BCE, but some objects do trace back to the outer world: in the Hyblaean Mountains, a bone pommel from Monte Sallia (probably a Maltese import) and a bronze dagger from Monte Racello (La Rosa 2005); in the Aitna area, a bronze cup from Grotta Maccarrone (Cultraro 2007: 76-79). This largely scattered and inconsistent body of evidence suggests only secondary level circulation, but bronze scales from tombs in Castelluccio, Cava Secchiera and Fiumedinisi (Crispino & Cultraro 2015) importantly demonstrate the adoption of an until then unknown weight system.

True Mycenaean pottery does appear, however, only in the Aeolian islands, with several dozen LH I-II sherds and a dozen of matt-painted fragments from the Peloponnese recovered from Aeolian Island settlements in Lipari and Filicudi (Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980; 1991).

A change in routes and modes of contact involving the Thapsos/Milazzese cultures can be discerned between the end of the 15th and the first half of the 13th c. BCE, with increasing evidence of pottery imports from Malta, the Peloponnese, Cyprus and, to a lesser extent, Crete and Sardinia.

Whereas imports disappear from Mursia and Monte Grande, in southern Sicily, outside of some isolated examples at Marina di Girgenti and Madre Chiesa di Gaffe, imported pottery is largely concentrated in Cannatello (Levi *et al*. 2017, with earlier bibliography). This circular harbour site is around 60 meters in diameter with a huge fortification wall protecting circular and rectangular huts within. Three phases have been established, spanning the 14th to 12th c. BCE. Out of the 46 published Mycenaean pieces (LH IIIA-B) from Crete, the Cyclades or with a Peloponnesian origin, only eight belonged to open containers (a single krater, two bowls and a few kylikes), with the remainder consisting of closed amphorae, stirrup jars (some of them with Cypriot signs), and an alabastron. Other foreign pottery includes Cypriot White Slip vases, banded pithoi (one of them reported as locally produced, *cf.* Karageorghis 1995), Maltese Borg-in Nadur pottery and closed Sardinian forms, including pithoi, some of which were actually manufactured locally (Karageorghis 1995; Levi *et al*. 2017: 126-127). Cannatello can therefore be considered an important point of trade between the East and the West, as also demonstrated by a copper ox-hide type ingot found at the beginning of the 20th c., but now unfortunately lost (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 2009).

In eastern Sicily, Mycenaean imports between LH IIIA1 and LHIIIB1 appear in the necropolises of a few sites around Syracuse, but predominately in Thapsos, which represented an important harbour and possible gateway community from the 15th to the 11th c. BCE with some evidence for an interruption in the second half of the 13th c. (Militello 2004). Imported pottery originating from the North-Eastern Peloponnese (Jones *et al*. 2014) included closed shapes (three-handled jars and alabastra), and a few open vases (kylikes and skyphoi) from Thapsos (Tomb D) and Cozzo del Pantano. Cypriot jugs of Ring Base ware and White Shaved ware are also present at Thapsos and Syracuse, but they are perhaps of local production (Karageorghis 1995). Other imports include jewellery from Thapsos and Plemmyrion, with necklaces in glass paste and gold beads (Militello 2004: 310-311). A steatite cylinder seal from a tomb in Syracuse unfortunately remains unpublished, apart from a brief mention (Militello 2004: 311-312).

Aegean objects are not the only imports to Sicily in this period. Maltese pottery is widely attested in the area around Syracuse (Tanasi 2008a; Tanasi & Vella 2014), as well as spacers probably manufactured from Baltic amber in central Europe (Militello 2004) before finding their way to Sicily.

Pottery imported to the Aeolian islands during the Sicilian Middle Bronze Age is found alongside local pottery in almost every hut in the Milazzese (30 fragments) and Acropolis of Lipari (68 sherds) settlements (Alberti 2008). We find far better evidence of open vases than in Sicily, but the higher ratio of LH IIIA closed vases (piriform jars, alabastra and amphorae) with respect to their open counterparts is in line with Sicilian patterns.

Two objects from Lipari are of special relevance: a Mycenaean figurine discovered in a hut (*capanna* Gamma III in the Acropolis), which Borgna (2013-2014) suggests could have been used to sanction transactions at various

levels, as well as a seal now in the museum of Palermo, which Cucuzza (2006) considers proof of a deeper acquaintance between Lipari and the Mycenaean world in comparison with other areas.

Regarding metals, the fragments of copper ingots from Thapsos, Cannatello and Lipari confirm bronze as the second most imported material (Lo Schiavo 2017), but Western and Central European influences on metal production in terms of raw material and typologies are also present in the Erbe Bianche and Mokarta settlements (Giardino *et al*. 2012). There is also substantial evidence for local production, such as the Thapsos Pertosa type daggers (D'Agata 1986; Bettelli 2006).

While Mycenaean pottery imports to the Aeolian islands continue well into the 13th and 12th c. BCE, Sicily witnesses a decline by the end of the 13th c. The isolated Mycenaean jug from Pantalica, Tomb 133, is probably a local product (Tanasi 2005), whereas one of the two vases with LH IIIC motifs found in Milena (Caltanissetta) was also produced in Italy, perhaps Calabria (Jones *et al.* 2014: 226).

The circulation of bronzes nevertheless demonstrates continued interaction with the Aegean and Cyprus: bronze fibulae, bronze mirrors and enormous gold rings are present in the richest Pantalica tombs (Albanese 2017; 2019), and Caltagirone witnesses a rise in the range of imitated vases, as well as the general diffusion of Sandars' type hybrid A and B Mycenaean swords (Tanasi 2008).

A greater increase in interaction with Central and Western Europe (Spain), however, can be observed for the following 11th c. BCE.

3. Deep contacts with the Aegean are witnessed in south-eastern Sicily (**Fig. 4.3**), and especially at Thapsos, through different kinds of evidence: imports, imitation and transfer of know-how.

FIG. 4.3 MAP OF SOUTH-EASTERN SICILY IN THE THAPSOS PERIOD (AFTER MILITELLO 2005)

Imports. 46 Mycenaean vases were found in this area (van Wijngaarden 2002: 229-236; this figure is debatable, *cf.* Militello 2004: n. 43), mainly at Thapsos (39), and in the necropolis of Matrensa (two), Siracusa, Molinello, Cozzo del Pantano, Floridia, Buscemi (one each). All of them come from tombs and the majority are closed shapes

(three-handled jars, alabastra, pyxides) with the exception of a kylix from Cozzo del Pantano (Tanasi 2005), a bowl and a deep bowl from Tomb D in Thapsos (Tusa 1997b: 166) (**Fig. 4.4**). Six Cypriot jugs (White Shaved and Base Ring II ware) have been published from Thapsos (five samples, from Tomb A1, D and 7) and Siracusa (one) (Alberti 2005). Beyond pottery, imports included jewellery and perhaps a few long swords from Plemmirion, Tombs 20 and 44, and Matrensa, Tomb 1 (Militello 2004: n. 49).

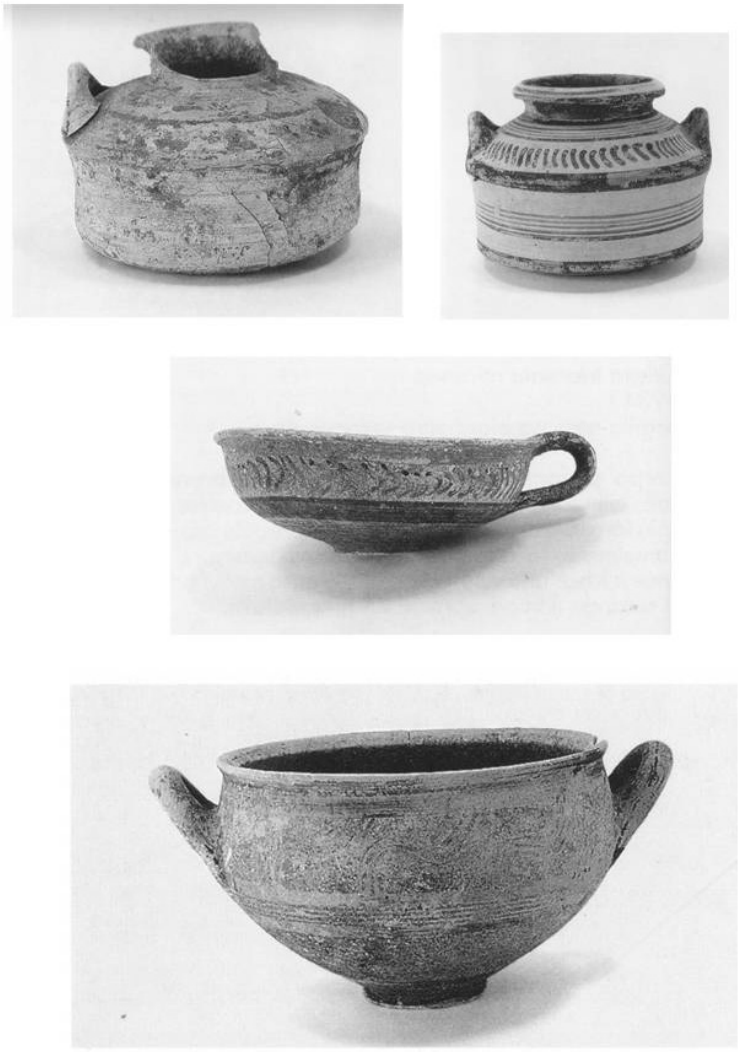

FIG. 4.4 IMPORTED POTTERY FROM THAPSOS, TOMB D (AFTER TUSA 1997B)

Imitations. Certain pottery examples are considered to be imitations of Mycenaean counterparts (Orsi 1895: 103; Karageorghis 1995; D'Agata 2000; Tanasi 2005: 565; Alberti 2006: 421) **(Fig. 4.5)**. These are the three-handled cup (compared with the well-known three-handled jar: Orsi 1895), the side-spouted jug (considered to derive from Cypriot prototypes) and the two-handled bowl, both known only in Thapsos from *ca*. six specimens each (D'Agata 2000), and the filter jug (supposed to come from Levantine models; for a critical survey, see Alberti 2004). Alberti adds his type II jug (Alberti 2004: 110-111), his dipper Type III (Alberti 2004: 112-113) and the pyxis (Alberti 2004: 121), and a few other shapes (bowls, jugs and a 'crater') considered to imitate Cypriote prototypes (Alberti 2005).

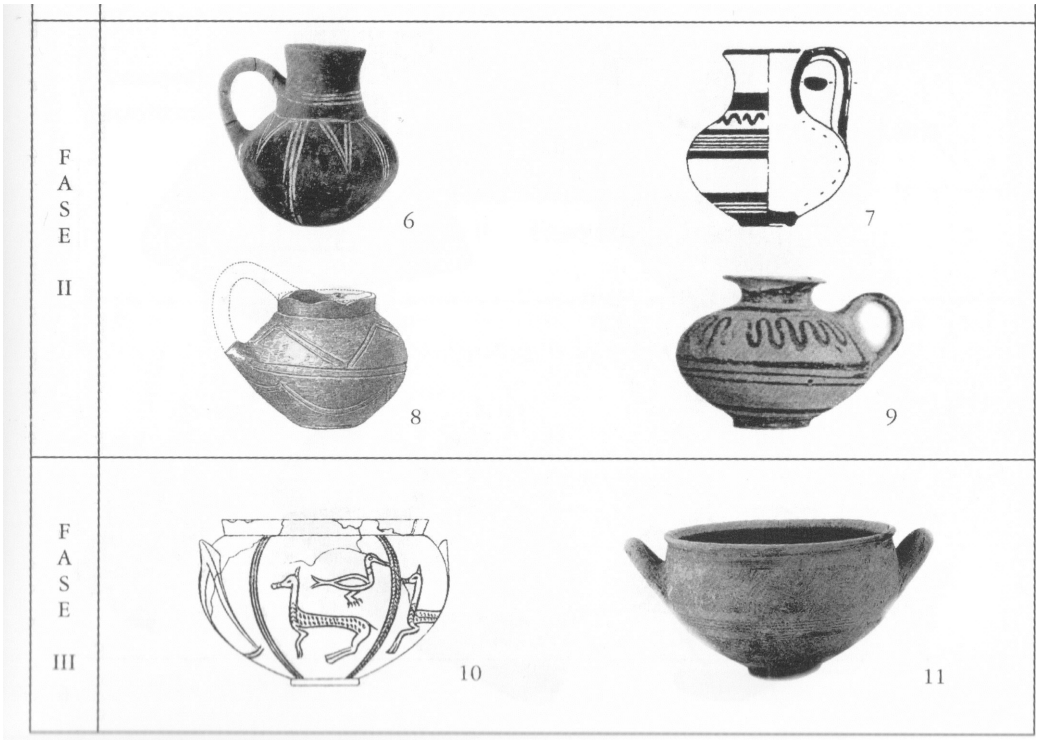

FIG. 4.5 MYCENAEAN INSPIRED POTTERY FROM THAPSOS (AFTER ALBERTI 2004)

Also incised zoomorphic decorations on pottery and figurines have been considered as attempts by local craftsmen to imitate Late Helladic pictorial pottery. In fact, such decorations are very rare in Sicilian 'art' of the Bronze Age, and it is telling that we find them only in Thapsos.

Nine motifs incised on pottery can be mentioned (**Fig. 4.6**) and these include: 1) a two-handled bowl with heraldic birds from Tomb 38 (Orsi 1895: pl. V,5); 2) a two-handled bowl with birds and quadrupeds from Tomb A1 (Voza 1973); 3) a fragmentary two-handled bowl with birds from the settlement (Hut XLIV/21) (Voza 1972: 183, fig. 6); 4) A jar with two heraldic birds from Tomb D (Voza 1972: 200 & fig. 13); 5) a flask with three birds from Tomb 10 (Orsi 1895: 104-105, pl. IV,14); 6) a pedestal basin handle from nearby complex B with two heraldic bird pairs (Voza 1973: 48, n. 155); 7) a vaguely specified vase fragment with a quadruped from tomb 56 (Orsi 1895: pl. V,11); 8) a vase fragment with a fish from a not further specified tomb (Voza 1980-81: 680, pl. CXX,2); 9) a pedestalled basin with a man on a boat (?) from tomb 1 (Orsi 1895: pl. IV,7). Two further unpublished motifs are cited by Alberti (2004: note 131).

Orsi was ambiguous as far as the origin of these zoomorphic pictures, which he considered fanciful attempts at lifelike reproductions (Orsi 1895: 104-105, 143-144). Following Voza (1972: 183), however, the same images have been considered deliberate imitations of Mycenaean prototypes. D'Agata (2000), Vagnetti (2000-2001) and Alberti (2004: 111, 133-134) identified such prototypes in the Mycenaean 'rude' or 'pastoral' style pictorial pottery dated to LH IIIA1-B2 (birds), IIIB1-IIIC (birds and quadrupeds) or in the Ripe Pictorial I style (IIIB1, man and ship, Alberti 2004: 116-117). The double axe motif, instead, considered by Alberti (2004: 103) to derive from Furumark motif FM-53, is in our opinion an evolution of the EBA butterfly motif.

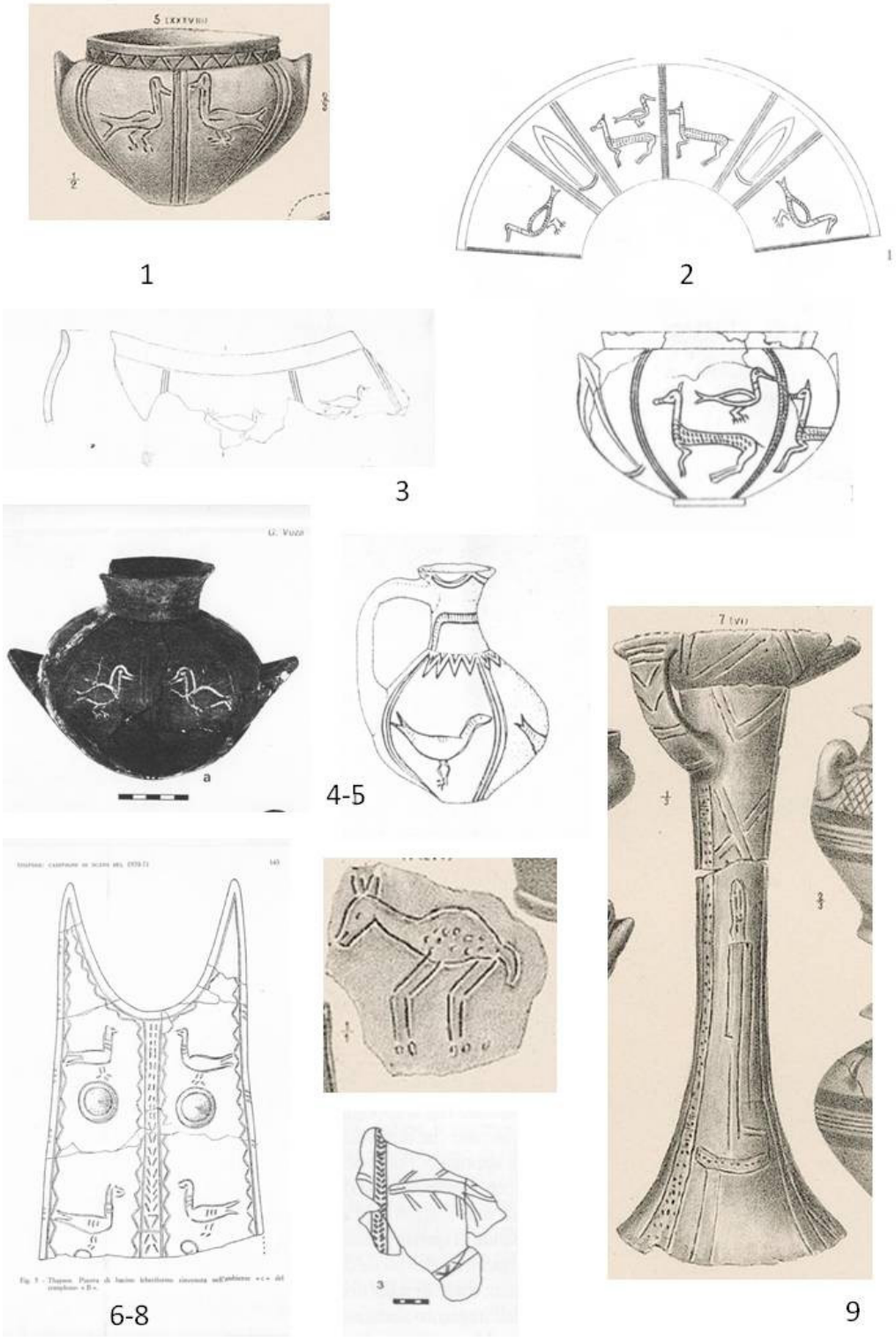

Fig. 4.6 Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures in pottery from Thapsos. 1) two-handled bowl from tomb 38 (Orsi 1895: pl. V,5); 2) two-handled bowl from tomb A1 (Voza 1973: 43) two-handled bowl from Hut XLIV/21 (Voza 1972: 183, fig. 6); 4) Olla from tomb D (Voza 1972: 200 & fig. 13); 5) flask from tomb 10 (Orsi 1895: 104-105, pl. IV,14); 6) pedestal basin handle from nearby complex B (Voza 1973: 48, n. 155); 7) Vase fragment from Tomb 56 (Orsi 1895: pl. V,11); 8) Vase fragment from a tomb (Voza 1980-81: 680, pl. CXX,2); 9) pedestal basin from Tomb 1 (Orsi 1895: pl. IV,7).

In the same way, three out of four terracotta models from MBA Thapsos (**Fig. 4.7**) also find a close resemblance in Mycenaean prototypes (Tanasi 2004).

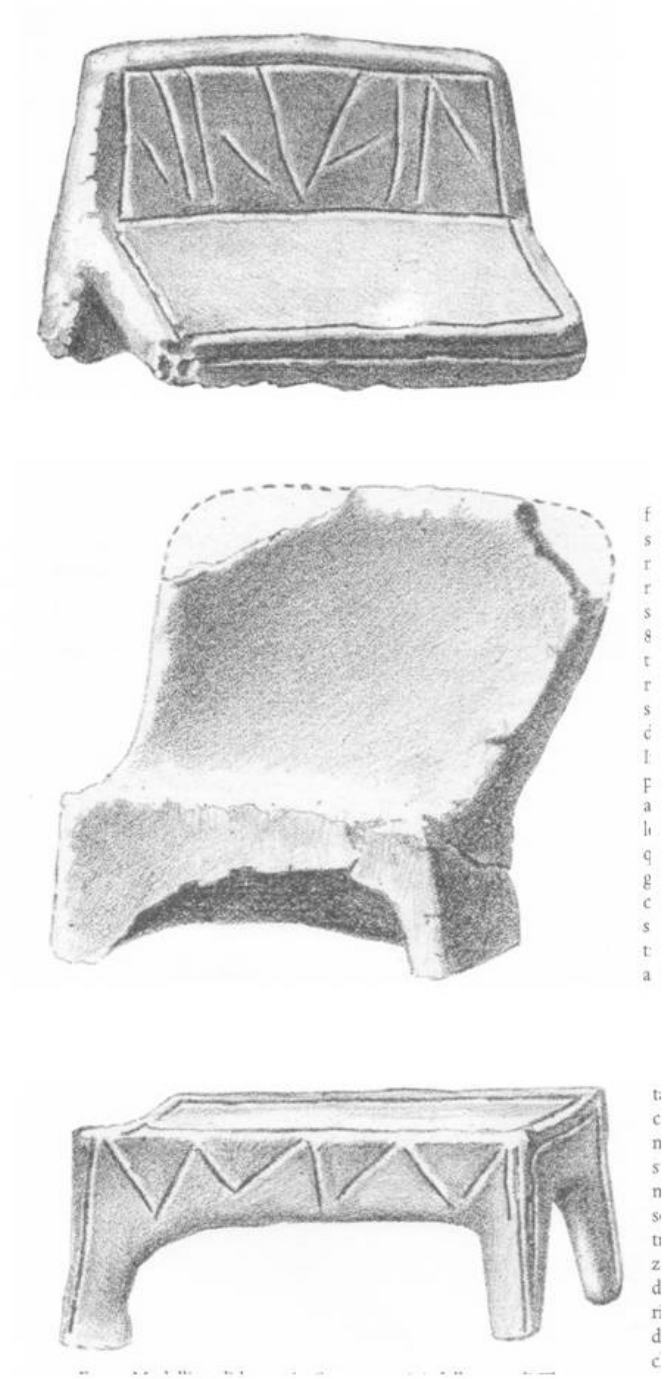

Fig. 4.7 Terracotta Models of furniture from Thapsos (after Tanasi 2004)

The terracotta models representing furniture are a bench from Tomb 14 (Orsi 1895: 106-107, pl. IV,9), and a throne and a bed or table from Tomb 56/53 (Orsi 1895: tav. V,10, 13). They have been convincingly brought back to Mycenaean prototypes by Tanasi (2005). A fourth terracotta model is a rough representation of the long neck of a quadruped (Orsi 1895: 96, pl. IV,5) while other bronze figurines of quadrupeds from the same settlement (Voza

1973b: 51-52) more probably date to the later Final Bronze Age or even Early Iron Age period.

Transfer of know-how. In the second phase of the Thapsos settlement, we observe a sudden change from the traditional Sicilian round or elliptical architecture to that of spacious rectangular dwellings (Complexes A and B), measuring around 40 by 7 m and counting numerous rooms with different functions, including meeting places, working areas, storage, and perhaps religious spaces, as well as a courtyard and a well. Already Voza recognised in Thapsos Complexes A and B a possible derivation from Mycenaean architecture such as the palace of Gla. Further studies by Tomasello demonstrated, however, that these buildings (and the later *Anaktoron* in Pantalica) hinted, rather than at the transfer of a 'model', at the introduction of a formal layout and the use of units of measures, linked with the Levant and Cyprus (Tomasello 1992; 1996; 2004) (**Fig. 4.8**).

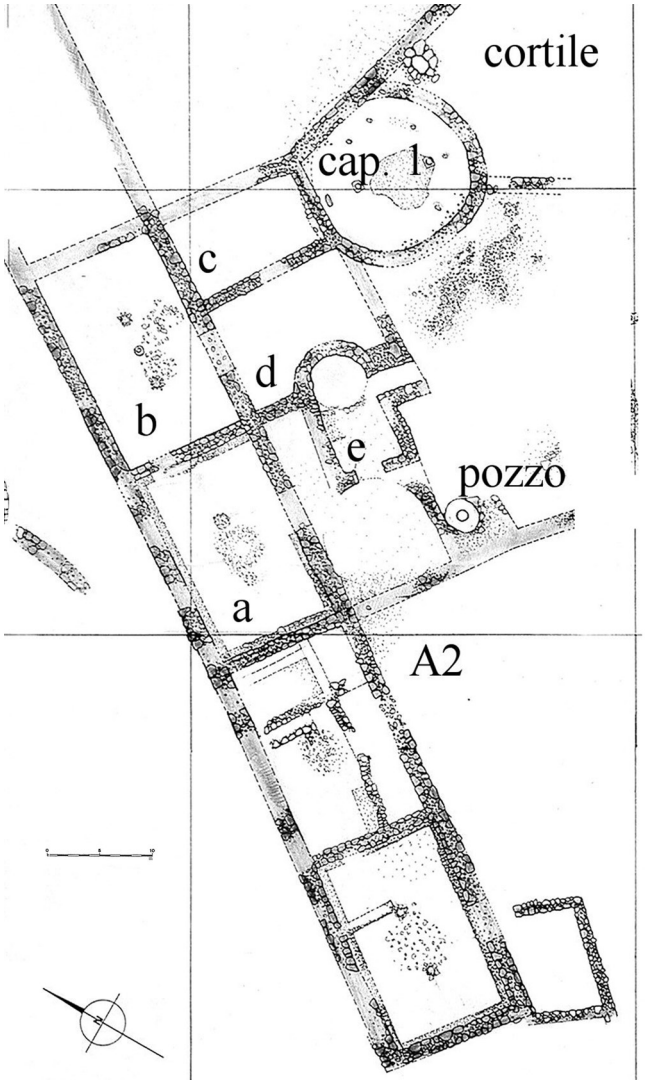

Fig. 4.8 Thapsos Building A (after Tomasello 2004)

Their plan implies knowledge of geometry and the implementation of modules that were previously unknown in Sicily, and suggests the adaptation of foreign know-how to local circumstances and the possible presence of Mycenaean architects. The same scholar recognised the origin of the so-called Sicilian rock cut tholos of the Middle and Late Bronze Age in similar tombs in Messenia (and a few other sites), where we find a less frequent and humbler version of the more popular tholos tombs (Tomasello 1995-96) **(Fig. 4.9)**.

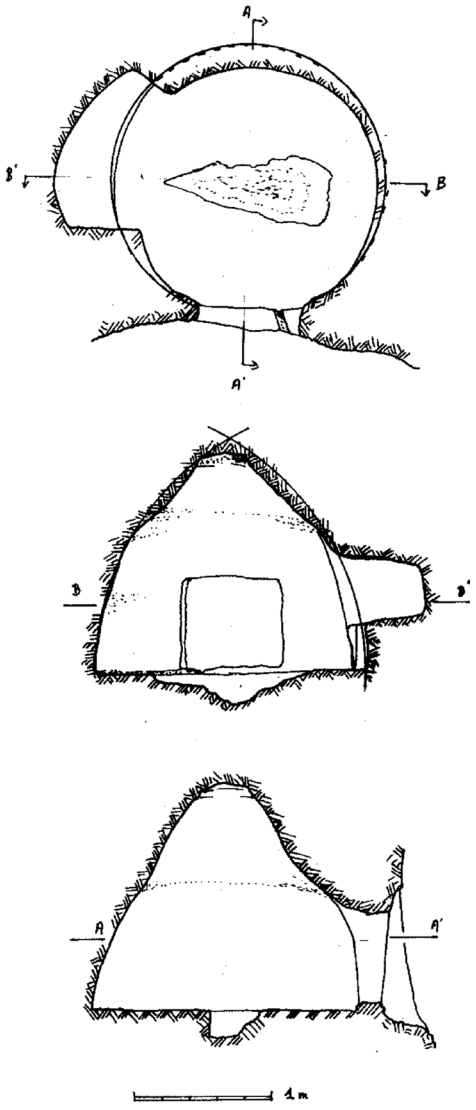

FIG. 4.9 PLANNING OF A ROCK CUT THOLOS TOMB (AFTER MILITELLO 2005)

4. It is important, at this point, to understand the meaning and impact of these features within local culture. The excavator of Thapsos, G. Voza, shifted from the idea of a coexistence between natives and Mycenaeans (Voza 1972: 184), to the possibility that Complexes A and B were residences of Mycenaeans or local people (Voza 1973a: 140). Proto-urbanisation and increasing social diversity should have been determined by contact with Eastern Mediterranean groups (D'Agata 2000: 62).

As far as imports are concerned, this cumulation of Mycenaean and Cypriot imports may at first seem substantial, but it is less impressive if we consider the far greater quantity of Maltese imports (from tombs and settlements, *cf.* Tanasi 2008b; Tanasi & Vella 2014) and the extended interval of time (*ca*. 150 years, from LH IIIA to LH IIIB1, with a mean of one pot every three years and only 10 % of the furniture in the tombs). One possible explanation could be that visits from Aegean ships were infrequent. As a comparison, we can quote the Book of Kings in the Bible (1 *Kings*, 10), telling us that the fleets of King Salomon brought back gold, silver, ivory and monkeys every three years. Nevertheless, beyond the prestige value attributed to them, these Aegean artefacts (be they Mycenaean or Cypriot, Alberti 2006) clearly did not represent primary trade items for local people.

Still more important, Aegean pottery does not seem to exercise a deep impact on local pottery. The repertoire

from Thapsos culture demonstrates a strong continuity with that of preceding centuries (D'Agata 2000: 65; Alberti 2004: 122-123), especially in the use of the pedestalled basin, the bowl and the dipper. This set, already present in the EBA, alludes to the consumption of solid food by an individual either sitting or crouching, resting the bowl between the legs. Its monumental version, present both in the EBA and MBA, instead hints at a different form of communal consumption with the large vase serving a group of people. A novelty in Thapsos is the introduction of a different typology of pedestalled vases, sometimes monumental, with the rim oriented internally probably for hosting liquids, used together with the pedestalled basin. This innovation appears early in the Thapsos culture and is likely to represent a local design perhaps owing to the introduction of a new kind of beverage such as beer or wine.

The new 'Mycenaeanisation' of shapes, of which there are few, would therefore have only marginally affected the local way of eating and drinking (*pace* Tanasi 2010: 104 "The pottery set in tombs displays a high degree of Mycenaean features"): two of them are simply updated versions of preceding examples (Alberti 2004: 132), whereas the entirely new version seems to be limited to a local setting. The kylix and the krater, most representative of the Mycenaean lifestyle of drinking wine, have no counterpart in the local repertoire.

Figurines and zoomorphic decorations carry greater ideological and religious significance than pottery forms. Early Bronze Age Sicily seems to be largely aniconic where bidimensional and three-dimensional art is concerned. Figurines are very limited in number, with about 30 known examples from EBA contexts, all of them very schematic (disc-shaped, zig-zag-shaped, *etc*.), and only a single group of more or less faithful human forms has been found in San Giuliano (Caltanissetta) (Leighton 1999: 141; Scaravilli 2016). Bidimensional representations are also very rare in 2nd millennium Sicily: the two famous door slabs from Castelluccio remain isolated examples (Leighton 1999: 126-127). Painted decoration in the EBA is based on abstract motifs (Gennusa 2015) and only two narrative scenes appear on 2nd millennium BCE pottery in Sicily: the possible representation of Mount Etna painted on a plate from Marineo (Tanasi 2014, figs 5-6), and the ships and human figures on a bowl from Hut F, Filo Braccio, Filicudi, in the Aeolian islands (Martinelli 2010). A few other pieces show schematic figural motifs: a fragment again from Marineo (Tanasi 2014: fig. 7), a vase from Pietralunga (Cultraro 2007, 68, fig. 5 and a), and an incised pebble from the Basile collection at the Museum of Syracuse (Orsi 1914: figs 1-2). On the other hand, these rudimentary but lively examples suggest that perhaps similar representations may have existed, perhaps incised or painted on perishable materials such as wood or skins.

The mentioned representation of birds on Thapsos pottery, and especially the association of birds and quadrupeds are in the distinctly Mycenaean style, with birds used as a filling motif on the back of the animal, and the general resemblance with birds on pictorial pottery is initially quite striking. On further inspection, however, certain differences in style come to light. Moreover, the quadruped from Tomb A1 (our n. 2) can be interpreted as a young deer without horns or a doe, rather than a horse for its short tail and spotted coat, and deer are normally depicted as looking backwards in Mycenaean iconography, whereas the deers on the Thapsos bowl are poised to jump[2]. Finally, the stylistic rendering of the quadruped is far removed from the typical pictorial pottery style, characterised by heavy bodies and filiform legs or necks. The deer from Tomb A1 should also be considered in conjunction with the more rudimentary deer representations almost certainly in a local style from Tomb 56 (our n. 7), and with the highly puzzling male figure on a boat from Tomb 1 (our n. 9), which could be considered as a by-product of the Mycenaeanisation phenomenon, but could, in the same way, be considered as a proof of the existence of a previous tradition, for which some examples exist: Castellana identified 'ships' on a fragment from Monte Grande (Castellana 2002: 174, fig. 15), Orsi the prow of a ship on a fragment from Milocca-Matrensa (Orsi 1903: 144), and images of ships have been incised on the wall of the Temple at Tarxien, in Malta, but their chronology is uncertain (Trump 2002: 214).

The anthropomorphic figure deserves special attention (**Fig. 4.10**). The image includes an oblong head, a deformed neck, two vertical strokes possibly representing the eyes, and a horizontal stroke for the mouth. The body starts with a horizontal line for the shoulders, from which three vertical lines extend: the central one is longer, ending with what seems to be a foot or both feet, while the shorter lateral arms terminate at waist length. From the left arm, a broken line extends down to a cross probably representing an object such as a staff or, according to Orsi, a sword (in this case held upside down, *i.e*. decommissioned?). Shortly below the right arm, a second

2 I thank dr. Erica Platania, archeozoologist, for her help in the identification of the animal.

vertical stroke extends to a dotted slightly curvilinear object with a horned motif to the right of the observer. Orsi interpreted the figure as a man on a boat. The rounded hull is typical of the Aegean LBA I (Giorgianni 1999: 332-333); the vertical line could be the mast of the ship, suggesting the presence of a sail; the motif at one end of the hull (the prow?) could hint at a figurehead or at a schematic representation of rigging. These features would indicate an Eastern Mediterranean type of ship.

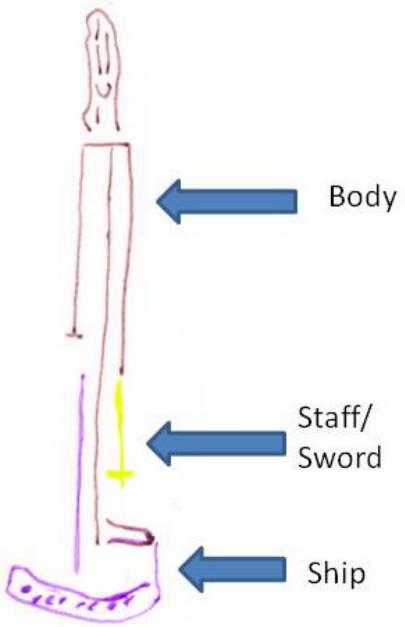

Fig. 4.10 Thapsos. Man and ship in a vase from Tomb 1. Proposed interpretation

Regardless of the interpretation, we feel it is too far removed from men on boats depicted in LH IIIB (and especially C) Mycenaean pottery to suggest any degree of inspiration. Comparisons proposed by Alberti (2004: 117) are not convincing where style and iconography are concerned and our image is far more likely to be a purely local invention.

The three terracotta furniture models (seat, throne and bed/table) found in Tombs 14 (together with a three-handled jar) and 56 (together with a stirrup jar) are puzzling insofar as they do not correspond with anything in Sicilian culture and show a striking resemblance with LH IIIA models correctly identified by Tanasi. No examples of preserved wooden furniture have been found in Sicily, but it seems unlikely that displaceable wooden seats and beds (of the kind represented by the model) were used considering also the limited available space in the round huts and even less in tombs. Their function was probably taken over by the occasional use of stone benches, perhaps with wooden covers (McConnell 1992: 40; Doonan 1995: 64). Our models therefore represent something foreign or hitherto unseen for the inhabitants of Thapsos if we surmise that such furniture was first introduced in the larger Complexes A and B. We do find another throne in indigenous art, but on a much later, 6th c. statue from Grammichele. In both cases, the ideological significance of our models is important.

The impact of Eastern Mediterranean architectural know-how has also been questioned. Doonan (2001) interpreted Complexes A and B as the result of an independent evolution of architectural concepts in Sicily, while other scholars considered the tholos not as an imitation of Mycenaean models, but of the indigenous round huts (McConnell 1993; Albanese Procelli 2003: 111; Vianello 2005: 93-94; Nicoletti & Tusa 2012: 909-911), or the

development of a "Sicilian praxis" (Russell 2017: 68). In proposing this alternative hypothesis, they, however, miss one central point: the presence of a geometric procedure in the excavation of the rock cut tomb, which is foreign to the earlier EBA tradition.

5. At the end of our survey, how can we try to reconcile apparently contrasting data? Is it possible to find a balance between the conflicting ideas of local autonomy and foreign influences?

On the one hand, it would not be accurate to suggest that contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean did not stimulate (influence?) the material culture of Thapsos. Exchange, *per se*, is the most powerful stimulus for transformation. Contacts with the Other suggest new ways of thinking and new ideas which, on their own, challenge the traditional *habitus*, determining acceptance or rejection, and the reinforcement of identity (Jones 1997). Surely, Eastern Mediterranean habits exercised a deeper impact, in this perspective, than those coming from Malta or Peninsular Italy, with which a long acquaintance existed.

On the other hand, the term 'imitation', implying passive replication of objects, can be misleading. In a recent paper, Russell (2017) presented a subtle analysis of foreign contacts against the framework of globalisation studies, by reminding us how foreign objects and ideas can be introduced in a new culture, undergoing a deep transformation of meaning, as in the case of Barbie and Barbie-like dolls in the Yucatan Peninsula, or Coca-Cola in north-western Argentina (Russell 2017: 65). As a consequence, Aegean derivatives should be seen as "creative, local expressions" (Russell 2017: 78), the result of a "negotiation" (Russell 2017: 72), which does not mean, however, that they did not exist, despite the provoking title of the article (Sicily without Mycenae).

A similar interpretation was independently proposed by the author with regard to architecture (Militello & Żebrowska 2017; 2020; Militello 2018), using the model proposed by Peter Hahn (2004: 218-220), who distinguishes four aspects in the way an object is introduced into a new culture: appropriation (possessing the object); objectivisation (assigning the object a place in the new cultural context); incorporation (acquiring the competence to handle the object), and transformation (attributing a new meaning to the object). Sicilian groups incorporated and transformed technical knowledge and architectural models, adapting them to their needs and probably attributing them new meanings. From this point of view, it is not useful to discuss if the rock-cut tholoi imitate Mycenaean prototypes or Sicilian round dwellings, since the foreign model could have been accepted, and used, because it indeed reminded of the round huts (Militello & Żebrowska 2017; 2020).

Returning to the topic of this volume, acceptance and resistance, it needs to be underlined how the uneven distribution of types of pottery and modes of influence should be traced back to political and cultural choices by local groups, more than to decisions on the side of the foreign merchants (and, eventually, the political powers behind them). The lack of evidence can be interpreted in a positive way: Mycenaean pottery distribution (only?) in tombs (differently from Cannatello or the Aeolian area) could mirror a refusal to use it in daily life. Pictorial pottery – the supposed model for zoomorphic images on Thapsos pottery – is also absent, and it is rare in the Central Mediterranean, with the exception of Termitito (van Wijngaarden 2002: 253-254). A few Sicilian potters could have seen a few specimens among the cargo of a ship, but they did not manage to acquire them and decided, on the contrary, to experiment with a new way of decorating vases. Differences in style could be interpreted as misunderstandings or 'barbarian' versions, but could also be seen as a deliberate transformation to suit local traditions and uses. The round hut connected with Building A (personal observation) would represent, according to Russell (2017: 75), the "reluctance to erase traditional buildings with new ones".

Resistance is more difficult to detect, but the absence of evidence for resident Aegean communities, which should be attested by the presence of Mycenaean tableware, is striking (see also Alberti 2004: 138). We can also imagine that diachronic changes in the provenance of *stimuli* (from the Peloponnese in pottery during LH IIIA-B1, from Cyprus and the Levant in architecture during the 13th c.) could be due to the exclusion of previous partners.

The local balance of power between the small groups of visitors from distant Aegean cultures and the native populations, was not in favour of the former, but at the same level, given their equal footing in metal and bellicose technologies (Militello 2004; Russell 2017: 76), notwithstanding the idea of an aggressive attitude of Mycenaean centres (Bietti Sestieri 2014: 88).

Seafarers required some shelter, food and fresh water after their long journeys. Complexes A and B might represent suitable facilities (Militello 2004), not imposed foreign models, but resulting from the meeting of local demand and tradition with foreign architects. Such facilities would certainly not have been erected exclusively for

these (*e.g*. triennial) encounters, but rather for intensive business activities involving other parties from the same island or the Aeolian area and Malta, in what should be regarded as a 'polyglot' community.

Shifting our perspective away from the prestigious aspects of Mycenaean and Cypriot artefacts to their real quantitative significance allows us to assign due importance to the role of key entrepreneurial figures in the Thapsos affairs, who at least for a certain period directed the redistribution of goods, as I proposed many years ago (Militello 2004; 2005). Hints of local entrepreneurship as mediator between Maltese and Aegean groups has been convincingly supported by Tanasi (2008b), whereas the circulation of items of the Thapsos culture is demonstrated by the bronze sword of Thapsos type found in the Ulu Burun shipwreck, and by the presence of a Thapsos jug in Beirut (Lo Schiavo 2017: 239).

The discussion surrounding the representation on the long vase pedestal from Tomb 1 is therefore highly intriguing. Orsi interpreted the figure as a man *on* a boat, whereas we would suggest that it represents a man *in front* of a boat. In this case, the prominent figure (in view of his size) in the depiction is not the imposing captain of an Aegean ship sailing into Thapsos port, but a representative bearing the weight of the local authority, who approaches in order to appraise the foreign contingent.

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5. Crete enters the Wider Aegean World?

Reassessing Connectivity and Cultural Interaction in the Southern Aegean between the Late Neolithic and the Beginning of the EBA (5th and 4th Millennium BCE)

Simona Todaro

In a landmark article published in 1996, L. Vagnetti argued that Crete in the Final Neolithic period (4500-3000 BCE) ended a seclusion lasting two millennia, and entered the wider Aegean world in the context of "a new trend of establishing long-distance communications, urged by the introduction of new technologies, such as metallurgy" (Vagnetti 1996: 38). The basis for this statement was provided by the pottery found at Nerokourou, in west Crete (**Fig. 5.1**), which linked more strongly with sites located in other Aegean islands than with sites located in Crete itself[1].

Subsequent research into the Final Neolithic of Crete confirmed its importance as a period of major socio-economic reconfiguration, but opened up a debate regarding the trigger that initiated these changes, because some scholars interpret them as the result of the arrival of new groups from overseas late in the Final Neolithic (henceforth FN) (Nowicki 2002; 2014), and others as the outcome of an increase in long-distance connectivity originating from Crete (Papadatos & Tomkins 2013). In the first scenario, based on the appearance of new types of sites with new ceramic types, the Cretan population had a rather passive role in the process of reconfiguration; in the second, based on the results of analytical studies conducted on pottery from old and newly excavated sites, the change started from Crete thanks to sites like Kephala-Petras that established long-distance relationships with areas as remote as Attica to get products and raw materials that were not locally available (Papadatos 2008; Papadatos & Tomkins 2013).

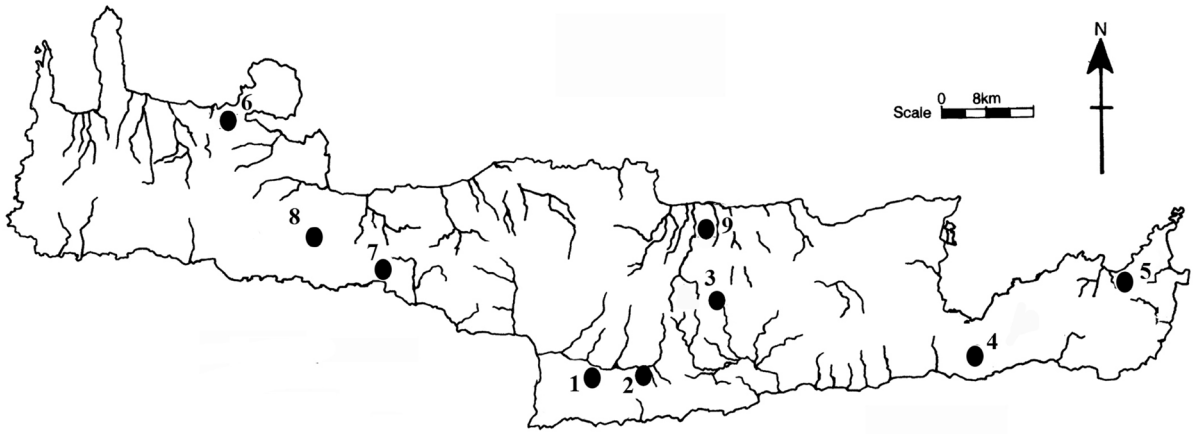

Fig. 5.1 Map of Crete with sites mentioned in the text. 1. Phaistos; 2. Gortyn (acropolis; Kannia); 3. Styronas; 4. Vainia Stavromenos; 5: Kephala Petras; 6. Nerokourou; 7. Plakias; 8. Asphendos; 9. Knossos

1 The closest parallels were offered by sites belonging to the Attic Kephala culture, but also by Emporio (level X-VI, but especially VII-VI) and Tigani, located respectively in the islands of Chios and Samos, and Partheni and Yali in the Dodecanese (Vagnetti 1996).

This hypothesis of a direct long-distance trading relationship between Crete and Attica, while perfectly plausible in the light of new data showing that the long-boat was available to Aegean seafarers already in the 5th millennium BCE (Televantou 2008; Renfrew 2010), is not corroborated by the presence of Cretan exports in Attica or in any other region of the Aegean. One might speculate that Cretan communities traded for foreign products using textiles or other archaeologically invisible products, in a manner that is also regularly proposed to explain why, in the earlier phases of the EBA, in the face of the lavish amount of Cycladic imports found in Crete, there is but a single convincingly Minoan import in a secure EC II context in the Cyclades (Renfrew 2010)[2]. However, for the EBA the idea that the products of a Cretan textile-industry were traded across the Aegean is supported not only by the fact that foreign materials such as Melian obsidian and copper in Crete were often found with textile implements, but also by the early appearance in the island of devices such as the fibre-wetting bowl, better known as the spinning bowl, clearly conceived to increase the output of production (Burke 2010: 29-31)[3]. For the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd millennium BCE, instead, the existence of a textile-industry producing trading commodities cannot be inferred by the appearance of new spinning or weaving tools and/or devices, as such items have not been found.

The results of recent geological and archaeological research conducted at Phaistos, an elevated site located in south-central Crete, permits the reconsideration of some of these issues because it has been shown that the site, until the very end of the 4th millennium BCE, was on the coast (Fytrolakis *et al.* 2005) and, after sporadic frequentations that occurred during the 5th millennium BCE, was settled by people who shared the same material culture as the extremely mobile groups that colonised most of the Aegean islands between the end of the 6th and the end of the 4th millennium BCE. Phaistos therefore provides a good opportunity for ascertaining whether and to what extent substantial changes in material culture could have been triggered by human mobility, and also allows questions of where, and why people moved, to be addressed while also providing important insights for interpreting the uneven nature of the relationship between Crete and the southern Aegean between the 5th and 3rd millennia BCE.

Phaistos and the occupation of south-central Crete in the Late Neolithic period: a refuge site or a foreign colony?

Setting aside claims made regarding the presence of hominids in southern Crete during the end of the early Pleistocene period (Strasser *et al.* 2010), the earliest known permanent settlement on the island remains Knossos, which, dating to the early 7th millennium BCE, also represents the earliest village to be established on an Aegean island. In fact, the foundation of Knossos does not seem to be part of a wider phenomenon of colonisation of Aegean islands, but rather the outcome of a unique, long-range planned effort by a group of Anatolian farmers[4], probably motivated by Crete's favourable environment (Broodbank & Strasser 1991). In contrast, the foundation of Phaistos on a hill located on the opposite side of the island, occurred much later as part of a wider phenomenon of colonisation that, between the end of the 6th and the last quarter of the 4th millennium BCE, brought about the settlement of many of the islands of the northern and southern Aegean (Todaro 2019b).

A correct evaluation of this phenomenon should take into account three elements: (1) the long time-span during which it took place, which does not seem to indicate that the Aegean was the end destination of a migratory movement involving large masses of people; (2) the relatively small number of sites established on each island; (3) the relatively short duration of these sites, which, as a rule, did not span more than one ceramic phase.

The latter point is extremely important as it raises the question of whether these communities failed due

2 Warren (1984) mentions three probable imports and Karantzali (1996) four. The sherd material from Akrotiri should also be included (see Renfrew 2010).

3 Burke (2010: 29) following R. Barber (1991: 74-76) suggests that spinners in Egypt and in the Near East adopted the idea of fibre-wetting bowls from Minoan spinners, and proposes that the 10th Dynasty wall paintings in Egypt that depict 'Minoan style double heart spiral pattern', were probably inspired by Cretan textiles produced at Myrtos, which being located in the south-eastern coast could have provided easier communications with Egypt and the Near East.

4 The bread-wheat attested in the earliest levels at Knossos is present in west Anatolia, but not in Greece (Broodbank & Strasser 1991).

to their reduced size; moved back to their place of origin; or moved elsewhere, as addressed in different papers by A. Sampson (*e.g*. Sampson 2018). The cases of Ftelia, Saliagos and Strofilas, respectively on the islands of Mykonos, Antiparos and Andros, are paradigmatic because, although it is not possible to exclude a partial overlapping between them, their main phases of use seem to alternate in chronological succession, and cover the time span between 5200 and 3400 BCE. Similar sites were founded on Thasos (Limenaria), Lemnos (Poliochni), Samos (Tigani), Chios (Emporio), Paros (Koukounaries) and Kea (Kephala), to cite just a few, and these were also usually abandoned before the beginning of the EC I or immediately afterward, a circumstance that explains why so many EC II sites are new foundations[5].

In the case of Crete, there has been an inclination to interpret the foundation of new sites as clustering in the last quarter of the 4th millennium BCE, a circumstance that has then been used to argue in favour of the arrival on the island of significant groups of migrants that, ultimately, were considered the trigger of a series of important socio-economic changes that led to the beginning of the Bronze Age (Nowicki 2002; 2014)[6]. This hypothesis, proposed and strongly defended by K. Nowicki over the past 20 years, is based on the belief that two different categories can be distinguished amongst the sites established on elevated positions: (1) *newcomers' sites*, which, aside from being located on promontories, coastal hills or internal hills controlling crucial communication axes between coasts and hinterland, were also associated with new ceramic shapes that had a long history outside of Crete (*e.g*. the cheese-pots), and with classes of pottery made in a non-Cretan technological tradition; (2) *refugee sites* located on the hills of the hinterland, and characterised by high quality pottery made in the typical Cretan technological tradition (Nowicki 2002; 2008; 2014; 2016). Sites such as Katalimata, Phaistos and Gortyn-acropolis were, for example, considered by Nowicki *refugee sites* where the Cretan population retreated for fear of newcomers not only for their position, at a certain distance from the coast, but also for their nicely burnished pottery, decorated with incisions, impressions and, in the case of Phaistos, geometric motifs encrusted in red ochre. In the case of Gortyn-acropolis, moreover, this interpretation seemed to be supported by a supposed cause/effect relationship between the foundation of the site on a hill, and the abandonment of an earlier site located on the plain, at Kannia/Mitropolis (Vagnetti 1973b). However, on the acropolis at Gortyn, and likewise at Phaistos, not a single sherd has been found of the type of pottery attested at Kannia, so one would have to assume that the relocation of these groups, from the plain to the hill, entailed the abandonment of the previous pottery and a radical change in the ceramic style (Santaniello & Todaro 2016).

Indeed, leaving aside the presence of cheese-pots at both Gortyn-acropolis and Phaistos, which, if indicative of the presence of new groups on the island as proposed by Nowicki, could have been adopted by local inhabitants due to cultural interaction, it is the bulk of the pottery from Gortyn and Phaistos that appears strikingly different from the local tradition represented by Kannia[7]. Furthermore, if we assume that Kannia was similar to Knossos not only in terms of pottery but also in other aspects of material culture, then the differences between lowland and elevated sites in the Mesara become too big to sustain a view that the latter developed from the former. From this perspective, the only way to maintain a cause-effect relationship between the abandonment of the lowlands and the occupation of the hills, could be by inverting the sequence and causality of events, and assuming that it was the occupation of the hill, by a different cultural group, that determined the abandonment of the site on the lowlands, and its relocation somewhere else.

While awaiting the completion of study of the pottery from Gortyn-acropolis and the resumption of the excavations at Kannia, which may help ascertaining the type of relationship that existed between lowland and upland sites in the central part of the Mesara plain (Todaro *et al.* forthcoming), it is Phaistos that provides the best opportunity for reassessing the settlement history of south-central Crete, with regard to the dynamics that led to its peopling, the actors involved, and the time-span in which it took place.

The ancient site of Phaistos was articulated on three hills that run in an E-W direction along the south bank of

5 Poliochni in fact represents an exception as it continued through the later phases of the Bronze Age.

6 P. Tomkins has, however, argued for a longer process with different stages, rather than a single horizon, drawing attention to evidence for LN and early FN settlements (*e.g*. Tomkins 2008: 36ff).

7 The preliminary results of the study of the pottery from Gortyn suggest that the site was established at the same time during which the frequentation of Phaistos became more stable (Phaistos Ph IC), *cf*. Todaro 2020. The pottery from Kannia, instead, is indistinguishable from that found at Knossos (stratum III, FM IA-B), *cf*. Tomkins 2007.

the Geropotamos river, but the earliest traces of frequentation were detected on the easternmost hill, located at the intersection between the Geropotamos and the Gria Saita rivers. While today the site lies at a distance of 5.6 km from the sea, during earlier prehistory, and until the mid-4th millennium BCE, it was probably on the coast (Todaro 2018; **Fig. 5.2A**). Geo-archaeological research conducted in the area by N. Fytrolakis since the 1980s has indeed suggested that the infilling of the Tymbaki gulf, and thus the formation of the westernmost part of the Mesara plain, occurred late in the Holocene, and resulted from sediment accumulation caused by human driven soil erosion (Fytrolakis 1980; Fytrolakis *et al*. 2005). In his reconstruction, recently made available to the wider public by D. Panagiotopoulos (in Guttandin *et al*. 2011), the Phaistos hill was located in the centre of a narrow V-shaped bay that recalls very closely the bays in which sites such as Ftelia, Koukonaries and Strofylas were founded at the beginning of the LN I period, respectively on the islands of Mykonos, Paros and Andros (**Fig. 5.2B**).

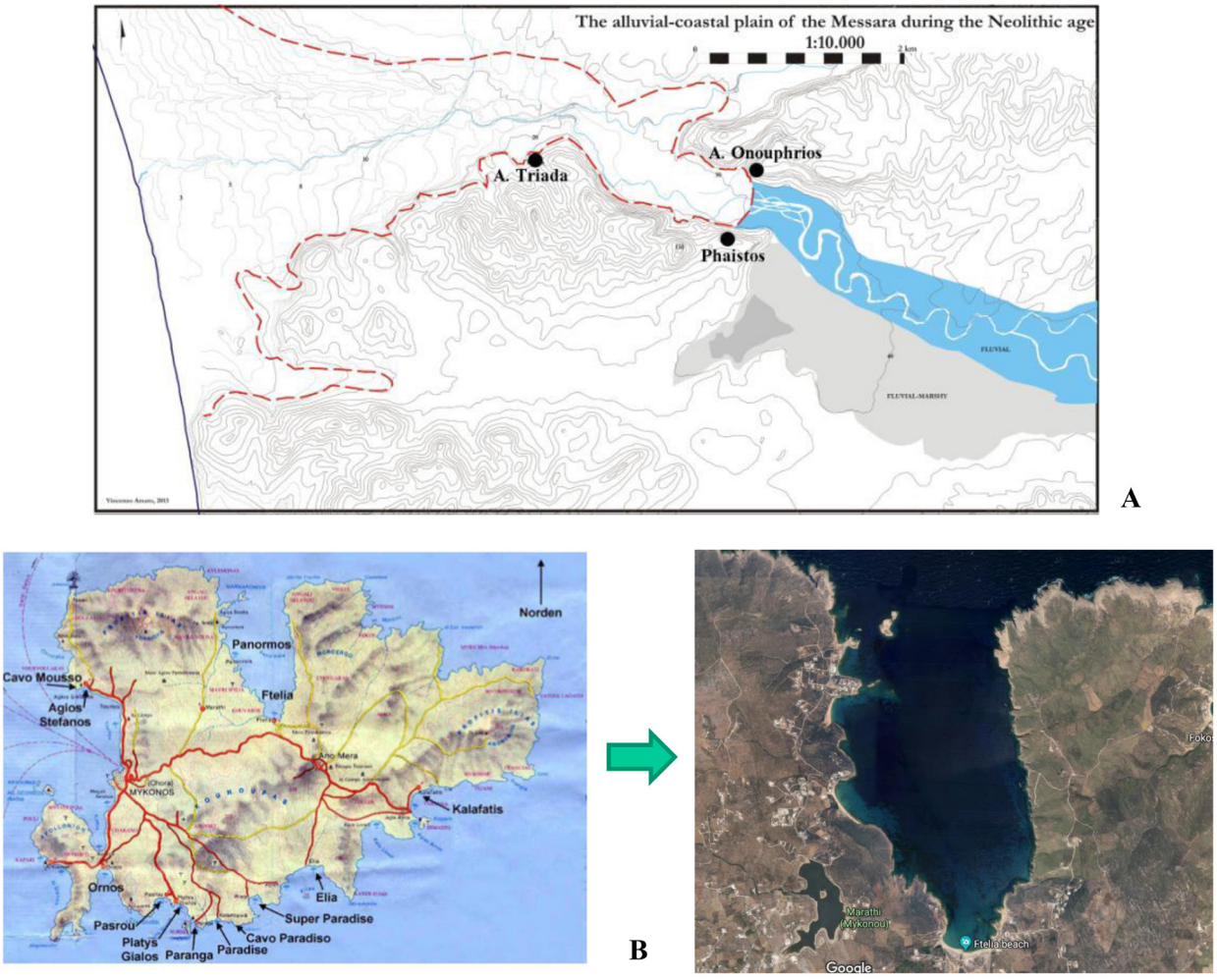

FIG. 5.2 A. TYMBAKI BAY, WITH COAST-LINE AS HYPOTHESISED FOR THE 6TH-4TH MILLENNIUM BCE; B: MYKONOS WITH DETAILS OF THE BAY WHERE THE LATE NEOLITHIC I SETTLEMENT OF FTELIA IS LOCATED (BY AUTHOR)

This acknowledgment, coupled with the results of a re-study of the earliest Neolithic contexts found on the Phaistos hill, has led to a fundamental re-evaluation of the chronology and nature of the human activities performed on the hilltop (Todaro 2018; 2019b: 168-169). In particular, through a new focus on formation processes and contextual analysis, it has been possible to clarify that the earliest deposits are not the debris of a community that was permanently settled on the hill, but rather the result of open-air activities entailing the

manipulation and modification of the bedrock through the excavation of cavities and pits, and the creation of petroglyphs with cup-marks of the type known from Strofylas, but also in the Asphendou cave, in west Crete (Strasser *et al.* 2018, figs 6, 7d)[8]. The pattern of deposition, on the other hand, very closely recalls that usually observed in caves, because it shows an alternating sequence of levels of activity characterised by pottery and animal bone (cattle and swine, but also ovo-caprine), and sterile levels testifying to periods of non-use/abandonment, which were then followed by a resurfacing with new activities on top[9]. This has therefore led to the conclusion that the Phaistos hilltop originally represented an open-air *place of encounter*, where people periodically gathered from other locations (Todaro 2019b), as suggested for most Neolithic caves (Tomkins 2009).

It has been more difficult to ascertain where these people might have lived, because on available evidence the territory around Phaistos started to be settled at the end of Phaistos I (phase IC-D) and the beginning of Phaistos II (Todaro 2013; 2018). More specifically, Phaistos IC has close ceramic links with Gortyn-acropolis, but also with Styronas, an elevated site located near Viannos[10], and with Vania Stavromenos, another elevated site located not distant from the sea, on the south-eastern coast of Crete (Nowicki 2014: 163-164). The assemblages from the earlier phases (Phaistos IA-B), instead, do not find close comparisons in the assemblages from other sites in Crete[11], but have many similarities with sites located in several Aegean islands (for example, Ftelia, in Mykonos; Saliagos in Antiparos; Strofilas in Andros; Emporio in Chios; Limenaria in Thasos, but also in Euboea [Tharrounia cave] and Thasos [Limenaria]). One context excavated by A. Mosso at the beginning of the last century has provided a fat female figurine, originally provided with a removable stone head (acrolith), and a spherical piece of magnetic iron, with a link as far north as Thessaly where deposits of magnetic iron are attested alongside acroliths (**Fig. 5.3**).

FIG. 5.3 FAT FEMALE CLAY FIGURINE ORIGINALLY PROVIDED WITH A STONE REMOVABLE HEAD (ACROLITH) AND PIECE OF MAGNETIC IRON FROM PHAISTOS (TODARO 2013)

Recognition of this led to a questioning of the traditional interpretation of Phaistos as a *refugee site*, founded by local groups in search for safety against natural or human factors (respectively Vagnetti 1973; Nowicki 2002) and raised a series of strictly related questions concerning not only the actors involved, but also the timing and the nature of the frequentation.

Most of the sites that provide the closest comparisons with the earliest assemblages from Phaistos date to

8 Petroglyphs of the cup-marks type have been reported also from Mesorachi, East Crete, *cf.* Strasser *et al.* 2018: 106.

9 The whitish limestone levels often reported in caves are usually interpreted as deriving from the decomposition of the roof during periods of non-frequentation, and are thus considered proxies of the discontinuity of their frequentation (Tomkins 2009); the possibility should, however, be considered that also in caves, each re-visitation was marked by the creation of a new surface that, being made of crushed *kouskouras*, recalled the bedrock (Todaro 2019b: 168-169).

10 The site, identified during a survey directed by V. Watrous (Watrous *et al*. 2017), was subsequently excavated by the Greek archaeological service under the direction of K. Galanaki. The material, entrusted for publication to the author and P. Tomkins, has not been studied as yet: the vessels displayed in the Heraklion museum, however, include a cheese-pot and an amphora with a knobbed handle, both attested in Phaistos IC; Todaro 2020.

11 A study conducted together with P. Tomkins has in fact allowed to find single individual parallels between Phaistos I and LN Knossos: they are however outweighed by the differences across the assemblages, and serve mainly to underline that the two sites were the expression of different cultural groups; Todaro & Tomkins forthcoming.

the end of 6th/beginning of 5th millennium BCE, almost 2000 years earlier than the conventional date when Phaistos was assumed to have been settled (3600 BCE), and belong to a particular category of sites inhabited by maritime communities, involved in long and middle-distance relationships across the Aegean in search of metal and raw materials (Sampson *et al*. 2018). It may therefore be proposed that the earlier frequentations of the site should be ascribed to the maritime communities responsible for the foundation of sites such as Ftelia, Saliagos and Emporio. However, Phaistos is located on the southern coast of Crete and therefore one cannot help but wonder what was it that drew these groups to southern Crete, and to Phaistos in particular? Why did they choose this site?

Phaistos' location, within a narrow and deep bay, was certainly an important factor, as underlined by C. Broodbank (2000) for sites like Saliagos, Ftelia, Koukonaries, Strofilas and Emporio, which occupy near-identical settings. In the case of Phaistos, moreover, the presence of two rivers and of a coastal lagoon must have represented a plus factor because it guaranteed plenty of fresh water and food to these seafarers, in terms of animals and plants. But why had these groups from the central Aegean reached the southern coast of the island in the first place? Were they looking for land to settle, or were they looking for something specific?

The assemblages found on the bedrock at Phaistos provide some possible answers because, aside from debris from food/drink consumption, they comprise a large amount of red ochre, either loose on the bedrock or in ochre containers, querns and pestles stained with red ochre, and a large amount of quartzite chunks and debitage (**Fig. 5.4**), indicating *in situ* production of large and small tools (macroliths and microliths)[12]. They also yielded obsidian blades, stone axes and a few mace-heads that, judging from the presence of a few drill-bores, were produced *in situ*, and the piece of magnetic iron already mentioned.

Fig. 5.4 Large chunks of quartzite and ochre found in ochre containers at Phaistos (phases IB-C) (by author)

While obsidian and magnetite were certainly introduced to Crete from the outside world[13], quartzite and ochre, so abundantly found on the hilltop, were certainly from a local source. As far as the ochre is concerned, it can be obtained from *terra rossa* clay deposits, abundantly attested at the foot of the Phaistos hill (Mentesana *et al.* 2016), or from various types of iron ores, the most common being hematite, goethite, and limonite. While limonite has not been reported from Crete, and goethite has only been found at Vouno Vrisina (near Spili), four major sources of hematite have been identified: two in the White Mountains in the Sphakia region (at Nopigia and Ravdhousa); one at Viannos, at the border between the plain of Mesara and the Pediada, and one in East Crete along the road connecting Stavromenos and Katsidoni.

12 The material is currently under study by P. Sferrazza, whom I thank for the information provided.

13 Deposits of magnetic iron are attested in Thessaly, but also in Attica and in some of the Cyclades; their use at the end of the Neolithic is so far attested only by the piece found at Phaistos and by similar spherical pieces found in the Alepotrypa cave (Papathanassopoulos 2011: 133-138).

Interestingly, each of these locations has also provided quartz deposits, and the coastal area between Sphakia and Plakias has yielded microliths and macroliths, which, although famously considered to be of Lower Paleolithic date (Strasser *et al*. 2010), appear to include also picks and tranchet axes of a typically Campignian industry, tools that in the Mediterranean are attested until the first millennium BCE and used for the extensive exploitation of quarries (Todaro 2020)[14]. In Sicily, for example, at the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th millennium BCE, when hematite is procured for use in pottery production and the funerary sphere and is also traded with Malta (Maniscalco 1988), quartzite is used to make large tools in a Campignian industry, which has also previously been mistaken for Lower Paleolithic (Nicoletti 1997). This is not to say that all the large quartzite tools found in Crete or in the Plakias region post-date the Paleolithic; it is however important to note that, if one overlays Nowicki's map of locations where FN material has been found with Strasser *et al*. 2010's plan of the locations where they collected large quartzite tools, there are at least two locations that coincide.

In light of the above, one could contend (a) that the maritime communities that had occupied some of the islands of the central Aegean were indeed responsible for the earlier frequentations of southern Crete; and (b) that their interest in Crete was triggered by the search for minerals and raw materials such as hematite. That this might have indeed been the case is suggested by the fact that when the frequentation of the southern coast developed into some form of permanent occupation or habitation, these groups seem to have settled in places that were located in proximity to the sources of hematite. Aside from the Asphendou cave, located in the White Mountains, and aside from Phaistos, other elevated sites were established at Gortyn, on the route to Viannos, or at Styronas, within the Viannos mining district, while Vania Stavromenos is near a source of quartzite (**Fig. 5.1**).

The pattern emerging therefore suggests that Phaistos started to be frequented in the late 6th or early 5th millennium BCE by groups arriving from the central Aegean in search of various types of raw materials that had become particularly desirable at the time, and at the beginning functioned as a *place of encounter* where seafarers of different origin could acquire fresh water and food from the active wetland in which the hill was set. Within a couple of generations, the site hosted a more stable settlement, established on the hilltop roughly at the same time in which other elevated locations, placed in proximity to sources of hematite and quartzite, were also occupied.

While the data provided by these other sites are too scanty to provide corroboration for a hypothesis that they were founded by newcomers, the data yielded by Phaistos is much more telling. The few architectural remains identified on the hilltop (mainly in phase IC) include two circular structures and a few stretches of walls showing a mixture of rectilinear and curvilinear architecture (**Fig. 5.5**). The circular structures link the site with Maroulas, a Mesolithic site on the island of Kythnos, and with Ftelia, Saliagos and Emporio, all of which date to LN I. In fact, the so-called *capanna neolitica* (**Fig. 5.5A**) with its diameter of 2.50 m, recalls more closely the huts from Maroulas, measuring on average 3 m (Sampson *et al*. 2014). It should, however, be considered that, despite the name it received, the so-called *capanna neolitica* was more probably used as a storeroom for items that were used outside. The other circular structure (**Fig. 5.5B**), having a diameter of 4 m, can be more closely compared with the circular building from Ftelia (building E), in terms of dimensions and findings (Sampson 2018: fig. 7). In fact, its Neolithic attribution is a recent discovery owing to a re-study of the associated materials that include cheese-pots and red crusted ware: previous scholars had instead thought that it belonged to the Prepalatial period and represented either a granary or a raised platform[15]. Other architectural remains found at Phaistos, showing a mixture of rectilinear and curvilinear architecture, appear less relevant for establishing meaningful links because a similar mixture appears also at Knossos (see for example the apsidal wall identified in the central court in later Neolithic levels excavated in 1997 by the Greek Ephoreia; Efstratiou *et al.* 2013).

14 The Campignian industry, named after the site of Campigny (Seine-Inférieure, Gabel 1957), is a Mesolithic stone industry that in some areas of Europe persists well into the Neolithic and in the central Mediterranean endures until the II millennium BCE.

15 Levi (1976: 334-335) in fact had interpreted the arch-shaped section of wall brought to light under the paving of the west court of the palace as the earlier border of the court; Damiani Indelicato (1988) later proposed that it was of an earlier granary while La Rosa (2004) has argued to see it as part of a raised platform dating to MM IA. The materials associated with it showed instead that it was built at a time in which red crusted ware and cheese-pots were in use and was sealed in EM IIA, on the occasion of the building projects that initiated Phaistos V (*cf*. Todaro 2013).

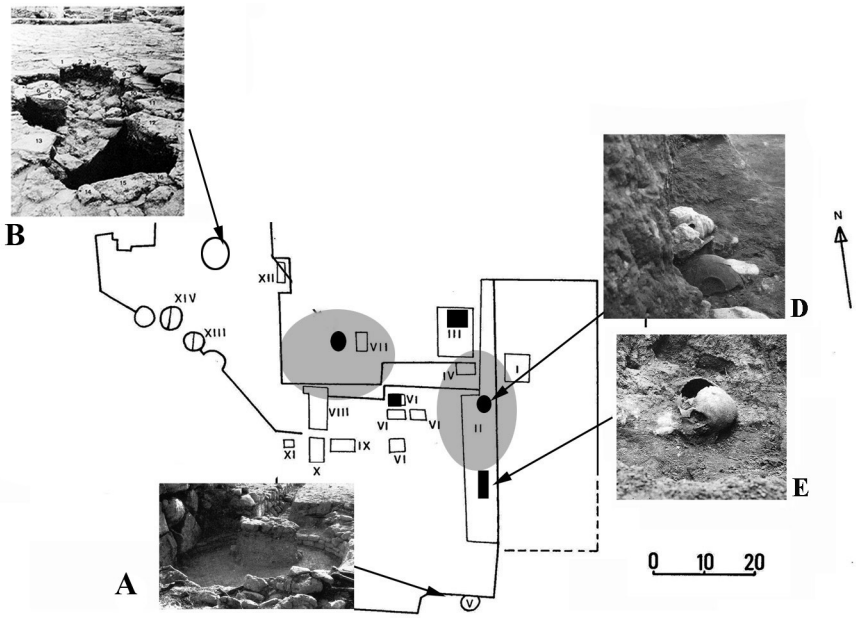

Fig. 5.5 Phaistos I. A: *capanna neolitica*; B: circular structure found by Levi underneath *piazzale* I, near the theatral staircase; D: ritual assemblage comprising triton shell and sieving vessels encrusted with red ochre; E: skull with a stone in the mouth and red ochre (by author)

Another element that points more decisively toward the Aegean islands is the presence of adult human remains within the settlement (**Fig. 5.5C**; Todaro 2012), which allows a close link to be established with Maroula and Emporio VIII. In fact, the burials from Maroula, despite being of Mesolithic date, provide a very close match not only because they are associated with red ochre, as is the case at Phaistos, but also because of the specific treatment reserved to the skeleton (Todaro 2012). The presence of pottery from the level on which the skeleton was laid at Phaistos confirms that the burial belongs to the Late Neolithic period, like the one found at Emporio VIII (Hood 1982: fig. XXX), and could testify to the survival at Phaistos of a practice that had gone out of use in the other Aegean islands[16].

Overall, the material culture and the social practices performed on the Phaistos hill in all the sub-phases of Phaistos I, seem to be more in line with the groups who in the late Neolithic occupied the Aegean islands, than with those living at Knossos. Consequently, even without wanting to stretch the evidence too much, it seems possible to contend that the groups who settled the hilltop arrived from the central Aegean at the end of Sampson's LN I, *i.e*. after the abandonment of Ftelia, and might have experienced a period of isolation during which practices that had gone out of use in the central Aegean continued to be performed. An indirect proof of this might come from the fact that almost the totality of the pottery consumed at the site in the first settled phase (Phaistos IC) was produced in a single fabric, which is consistent with a type of *terra rossa* retrieved from a bore-hole drilled in the plain at the foot of the hill (Mentesana *et al*. 2016). It also needs to be considered that while in other sites of the Attic-Kephala culture in LN II (*i.e*. FN in Greek/Cretan terms) red ochre was used for an overall encrustation of the surface of vessels (Katsarou & Schilardi 2004; Mastrogiannopoulou 2018), at Phaistos it continued to be used to create patterns, as in the precedent LN I phase (**Fig. 5.6**).

16 It should, however, also be considered that some of the 14C dates obtained from Maroulas (Honea 1979; Sampson *et al*. 2014), fall in the second quarter of the 6th millennium BCE and the lithic industry includes microliths in quartzite of a type that is also attested at Phaistos I and II. Consequently, one wonders if some of the burials from Kythnos might indeed be closer in date to the one from Phaistos.

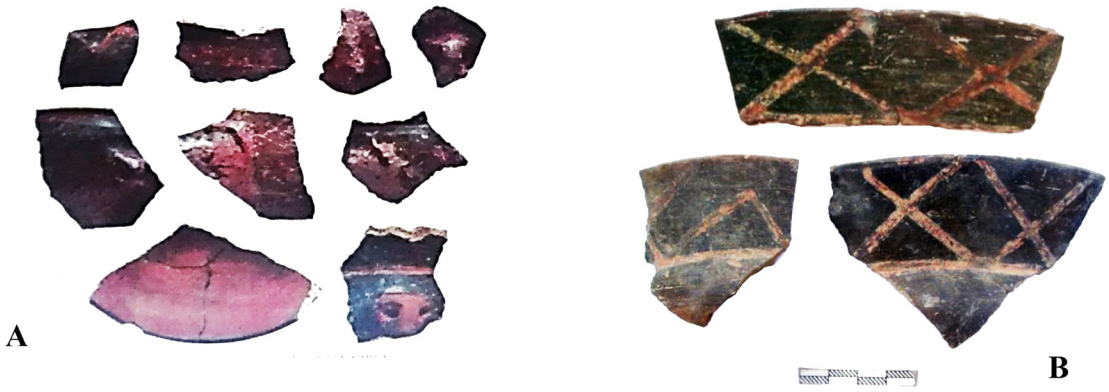

FIG. 5.6 PHAISTOS I. POTTERY WITH GEOMETRIC MOTIFS ENCRUSTED WITH RED OCHRE (BY AUTHOR)

Ahead of a study of the assemblages from Styronas, which may clarify the functional destination of the site and also its relative duration, it can be said in the case of Phaistos that the earlier frequentation turned into a more stable form of occupation thanks to its favorable location, on a coastal hill set in an active wetland that certainly provided a wide range of resources to exploit, which might have also included flax cultivation. Phaistos IC sees the appearance of spindle whorls, and this could be linked to the need for increasing textile production. With flax, indeed, thigh spinning is quite easy to perform but very time-consuming and thus not ideal. It is in this regard also important to note that some of the so-called cheese-pots could be interpreted as tools related to textile activity. The internal lugs with holes, attested for example at Nerokourou, recall a type of spinning bowl identified in the Balkans at the time of the Vinča culture (Svilar 2017); the holes attested on the rim, on the other hand, could turn these vessels into portable horizontal looms, explaining the lack of loom-weights in most of the elevated sites.

A main difference between Phaistos and the other sites established on the Aegean islands seems to be the relatively short duration of these sites, which do not normally exceed a single ceramic phase. As a matter of fact, however, the buildings constructed on the hilltop at Phaistos were not used for a long period of time and were abandoned before the end of the ceramic phase in which they were built. Their ruins were levelled when the hilltop was occupied by groups who introduced new technological traditions at the site, in terms of architecture and pottery production, but also new pyro-technological know-how connected with the firing of pottery, and probably also with the processing of copper. A lump of copper ore found in 2004 in a Phaistos IIA context is particularly interesting, as it resembles examples of ore found on the islets of Gavdopoula and Gavdos, where chopping tools in quartzite and pottery of the same type as that found at Phaistos have also been recovered (Kopaka *et al*. 2018). Metallurgy, although probably practiced at the site, did not have a leading role as most of the activities documented on the hilltop continued to be related to acts of consumption of food and drink entailing the killing of massive numbers of ovo-caprids.

This trend continues into the next phase, which developed so smoothly from the previous one that it is often difficult to attribute non-stratified material to Phaistos IIB or Phaistos III. Architecture is more monumental than before and consists of rectangular buildings provided with very large rooms that, like those discovered at Strofylas, had internal wooden posts that supported mezzanines made with rammed earth and mudbrick (Todaro 2013; 2019; forthcoming). Interestingly, the pottery consumed on the hilltop is homogeneous, but more varied in terms of fabrics, suggesting that new sources of clay were exploited and thus indirectly confirming that the territory around Phaistos had started to be filled with sites in a phase that might have coincided with Nowicki's FN II (2014). In this sense, and considering the strong impact that these sites had on the landscape, and mainly on the delta of estuary of the river and the coastline, one could understand why Nowicki thought that Crete had been invaded by people from overseas. The new reading of the stratigraphy of Phaistos, however, suggests that the peopling of the region started much earlier than assumed and involved different actors who arrived in different phases in the course of 1500 years and could settle in the area thanks to their predisposition to mobility (Todaro 2018; 2019a-b).

Crete and the southern Aegean between the 5th and the end of the 4th millennia BCE: a particular case of uneven communication

In light of the evidence yielded by Phaistos it seems possible to contend that Crete entered the wider Aegean world not because its local communities suddenly stretched outward, but because the island entered the sphere of interest of the maritime communities that between the end of 6th and the first half of the 4th millennium BCE colonised most of the Aegean islands, probably in search of raw materials. Unfortunately, most of the sites established on elevated places in later Neolithic times have been identified through survey, and this prevents a clear assessment of their date or functional destination. Data from Phaistos, Gortyn-acropolis and Styronas suggest that at least some of these sites were founded in the same period, in areas that provided raw materials such as hematite and quartzite.

This obviously does not mean that these sites were controlling the sources, which are also attested in other Aegean islands, also because they could have represented temporary installations, rather than settlements[17]. However, building on the data yielded by Phaistos, which so far is the only site that has allowed a visitation phase to be discerned from an occupation phase, one is tempted to interpret the *habitation phase* as belonging to a colony that was purposefully established in previously unoccupied land that offered a good landing and mooring point, and also water and plenty of fauna and vegetation from the lagoon.

Obviously, considering the relatively widespread presence of hematite/limonite/goethite in the Aegean, it seems difficult to imagine that the interest of these maritime groups could have been triggered by red ochre. Ftelia, however, where red crusted pottery was abundantly used, was located near a deposit of hematite. Moreover, it should also be considered that hematite is usually found in mine districts that comprise other types of minerals. One cannot, therefore, exclude that hematite was originally collected while searching for other types of mineral ores. This would explain the presence of a spherical piece of magnetite, another type of iron ore, which could not be used as such as proved by the fact that the specimen found at Phaistos, albeit interpreted as a hammer by Mosso, disintegrated in the moment in which he hit it to get a sample for analyses (Mosso 1908). It does not seem therefore too heretical to assume that in the early stages of metal exploitation, the earliest metal-workers were also metal-prospectors and were trying to find their way in the vast array of possibilities available in nature.

Regardless of the specific reasons that might have guided these maritime groups to the Cretan coasts and then to their deserted hinterland, their presence on the island seems to be well supported by the data available and allows three types of consideration to be made at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. The micro-level refers to the settlement history of Phaistos, which, far from representing a refugee site, appears to be a *place of encounter* for seafaring people in search of mining resources to exploit, more than as land to settle. Only at a later point did the hilltop host a community that resided more or less permanently, using and exploiting large amounts of red ochre and probably also making textiles from flax cultivation, the location of the hill being ideal for this as it lay in an active wetland.

The macro-level refers to the territory around Phaistos, and by extension, to the territory in which it has been possible to recognise elements of the Phaistos I culture (pottery with red ochre and or impressed decoration; macroliths and microliths in quartzite; cheese-pots), and it shows that the locations of these sites were probably dictated by their proximity to a desired source of materials. This is not to say that groups were seeking to control access to the source, because Ftelia was also located near a source of copper ore probably to facilitate its exploitation, but perhaps not with the intention to limit or forbid access to it (Sampson *et al*. 2018). The metal found at the site is indeed also from different sources suggesting that early metal-workers, even after the identification of a source, went looking for new ones (Sampson *et al*. 2018). In any case, it is clear that while originally it was hypothesised that the expansion towards the margins was directly linkable to herding and was even considered by some as a proxy for the practice of transhumance, it is becoming obvious that some of the elevated sites established during the later Neolithic period should be connected with the prospection and the exploitation of particular mineral sources.

This introduces the third type of consideration, regarding the wider Aegean world and the way(s) through which the communities that lived in it interacted with each other. The model more commonly taken into account implies

17 The building excavated at Magasa (Dawkins 1905), dating to the Later Neolithic, could provide a good example of how these installations might have operated.

interaction between existing communities, which, for whatever reason, found it advantageous to establish and maintain some form of middle to long-distance connectivity. Knossos, founded early in the 7th millennium BCE, is paradigmatic of this type of contacts as a notable proportion of the pottery found at the site ever since the Early and Middle Neolithic was produced at a certain distance from the site (Tomkins & Day 2001). The trigger for this early type of interaction might have been social more than economic, as the objects exchanged in these transactions were usually hardly distinguishable from a functional or even typological point of view from other products that were made locally (Tomkins 2004). In the 5th and 4th millennium BCE, instead, people moved in the Aegean searching for new sources of the raw materials that were most desired in that period, *i.e*. mainly copper. Due to the knowledge required for working metal, it has been assumed that the prospection for new sources of copper ore were carried out by specialists, rather than directly by the various communities (Sampson *et al*. 2018; Nazou 2020). In this sense, although it has been underlined that until EB II sources were free of access without control (Broodbank 2000), it is also true that only restricted categories of people could recognise rocks rich in minerals and distinguish, for example, hematite, from graphite or magnetite. It cannot be a simple coincidence that the first pottery decorated with red ochre/hematite and/or graphite, a mineral that macroscopically can be undistinguishable from hematite, appears in the Balkans in coincidence with the first exploitation of metal sources, *i.e.* at the beginning of the Early Chalcolithic (Amicone *et al*. 2020). In this context, one could also explain the presence of pieces of magnetite, another type of iron ore that can only be distinguished from hematite with difficulty.

However, if seafaring was incentivised by the search for new sources of metal on behalf of metalworkers, then the distribution maps of this human mobility would appear unidirectional in a way that could be mistaken for some form of mass migration or human relocation. The cases reviewed from southern Crete clarify that these supposed metal-prospectors visited areas not previously inhabited that, within a couple of generations, started to be inhabited by small groups of people occupying two or maximum three buildings (*e.g*. Phaistos IC). Evidence from Phaistos suggests that these sites were most probably foreign enclaves that were almost self-sufficient, and did not entertain close contacts with the communities of the north coast (*e.g*. Knossos). The discovery at Knossos of Phaistian-like elements in fact suggests that the Knossians were aware of the presence of these other groups, but it is so far difficult to ascertain whether they entered in direct contact (Todaro & Tomkins forthcoming). From this perspective, one wonders if this particular type of contact between the Aegean islands and Crete continued until the end of the EB I/beginning of EB II, *i.e*. in the so called Kampos group phase, when in the face of hundreds of Cycladic and Cycladising items found in Crete only one Minoan import was found in the Cyclades (Renfrew 2010).

As has already been anticipated, this type of asymmetric relationship between Crete and the Cyclades has been considered only an apparent one, *i.e*. due to the fact that Cretans exchanged foreign products with textiles and other types of archeologically invisible products. It should, however, be considered that, apart from Poros-Katsambas, which since the very beginning of the EBA (Grotta Pelos culture phase) had established a 'commercial relationship' with the Cyclades to get obsidian and copper, most of the other Cycladic evidence found in Crete belongs to the Kampos group phase (end of EB 1/beginning of EB 2) and has been interpreted as the outcome of the presence of Cycladic immigrants. The most convincing case for population mobility is the cemetery of Agia Photia that comprises 250 tombs of Cycladic typology, used for a couple of centuries by people buried with Cycladic imports and Cycladising items. The cemetery was abandoned at the beginning of the EM II period, either because the groups using it moved back or because they moved elsewhere in Crete. Many EM IIA sites are new foundations and show little if any Cycladic influence, which might persist in shapes that appear as hybrids; in this phase Minoans founded a settlement colony on the island of Kythera, probably to establish a direct relationship with the Peloponnese. One wonders, therefore, whether the decrease of Cycladic imports in Crete in EM IIA late could mirror a change in connectivity or rather the more active involvement of Cretans in trade.

Unfortunately, no studies have so far been conducted to ascertain whether the 250 tombs of the Agia Photia cemetery differ in terms of percentage of imports or Cycladising items and whether this could indicate that the interments were first or second-generation colonists. More information could derive from a settlement, as colonial studies have generally demonstrated that through time the colony tends to diverge from the motherland, especially when the links between them start to loosen. A settlement might also clarify whether the colony was established for specific reasons, such as trade and exchange, and whether its abandonment might hint at a change in connectivity. It is in any case undeniable that Cretans in EM IIA played a more active role, because aside from the foundation of a

colony in Kythera, some groups established a flourishing gateway community at Mochlos in this phase (Betancourt 1991). A real inversion of the directionality of the flow of goods occurred at the very end of the EBA/beginning of the MBA, and this is generally put in relationship with the introduction/adoption of the sailing ship, on which, however, scholars have not reached an agreement (Wiener 2013).

What seems more important to stress in this context is that the involvement of Crete in Aegean maritime connectivity in the 5th and 4th millennia BCE, but probably also for a good part of the 3rd millennium BCE, does not seem to have been triggered by the inhabitants of the island. The agency behind this connectivity is mainly 'Cycladic' and resulted in the asymmetric or uneven relationship that several scholars have sought to resolve by implying that Cretans exchanged raw materials and finished products with textiles or other products in perishable materials. On the basis of the picture outlined in this paper, it seems worth considering the possibility that asymmetric or uneven relationships imply human mobility, with or without a significant amount of population relocation, and could be functional to trading relationships of the type that in later phases of the 2nd millennium are known as 'enclave colonies' (Branigan 1981).

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6. Exotica and Boundary Maintenance on Minoan Crete[1]

Jan Driessen

"*An important mechanism for preventing cultural change is the creation and maintenance of cultural boundaries that distinguish people from the members of other groups. Sometimes these boundaries are physical to the extent that most or all of the people live in close geographic proximity. The more physically isolated a group is, the less susceptible it is to cultural diffusion. A culture does not need to be physically remote from other cultures, however, to avoid, or at least retard, cultural change. Rather, a culture can maintain its distinctiveness by imposing certain cultural boundaries that strengthen and glorify its own cultural traditions and discourage cultural borrowing from other groups. Aspects of culture, such as language, eating habits, clothing, folklore, and humor are used to both emphasize a culture's uniqueness and to exclude outsiders*" (Ferraro 2008: 401).

If one believes the likes of Braudel (1975), Guilaine (1994), Horden & Purcell (2000), Vianello (2011), Broodbank (2013), Manning (2018) and many other writers, the Mediterranean has always been an 'open' sea, an area in which connectivity played a major role, where human societies and their relations were entangled with the sea itself. Coastal and island communities, it is argued, developed networks with some sites gradually being promoted as emporia or hubs where goods and services were collected and distributed throughout terrestrial or maritime interconnections (already Runnels & van Andel 1988; *e.g*. Guttandin *et al*. 2011; Alberti & Sabatini 2013; Kiriatzi & Knappett 2016; Leidwanger & Knappett 2018). It was surely this entanglement, it is claimed, which resulted in a remarkable cultural uniformity and moments of extraordinary cultural achievement during the long history of this extended 'sea-land'. Through a web of interconnectedness people moved, new ideas spread, objects were traded and technologies diffused.

While advances in aDNA and various types of isotope research have been instrumental in framing and refining such processes of exchange and mobility (*e.g*. Leary 2014; Triantaphyllou *et al*. 2015; Meiri *et al*. 2017; Prowse *et al*. 2018), it is especially Social Network Analysis (SNA), following in the footsteps of World Systems Theory (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997, *cf*. Parkinson & Galaty 2011) and Peer Polity Interaction (Renfrew *et al*. 1986), which have proved to be powerful tools in the simulation of past interaction (*e.g.* Brughmans 2010; Knappett 2013; Mills 2017). SNA, as argued by Knappett (2013, *cf*. Fulminante 2014), allowed moving beyond simple distribution maps and paying attention to nodes, connectivity, directionality and frequency. Likewise, various types of GIS and spatial modelling have considerably helped in fleshing out earlier studies that were simply based on shared material attributes or the movement of commodities from one to another culture (Knappett 2013: 8; Déderix 2017). The force of both SNA and GIS lies, however, more in the recognition of presence, not of absence, of sites, features or shared material culture between spatially distinct nodes as proxies for human interaction. And although Kossinets (2006) as well as Bevan and Wilson (2013) have discussed the importance of absent variables, resulting from an incomplete record or recovery bias, in a general remedial way to reconstruct spatial or social networks, the present paper suggests another explanation for the scarcity of non-local materials and objects. It was, I argue, a conscious way to prevent their abuse in local power strategies and, at the same time, to protect local culture. By focussing on Minoan Crete and its culture primarily between the Early Bronze Age and the beginnings of the Late Bronze Age (*ca*. 2600-1450 BCE), I argue that the dearth of exotica at specific moments does not imply an absence of interaction but reflects a conscious action that aimed at maintaining distinction and protecting key cultural values (already Papadopoulos 2012: 84).

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Following Bevan's (2010) attempt to model the Bronze Age political geography of Crete, Bevan & Wilson (2013) assumed that quite a few sites had not yet been identified or localised and, by using spatial modelling, were able to fill in the landscape and to visualise flows between settlements and reconstruct potential hierarchies and territorial organisations. Their analysis, combined with that by Knappett, Rivers & Evans (2008; 2011) on Crete's international network and many material culture studies, gives the impression that Crete was a very connected, entangled island, both internally integrated and externally linked with the other civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean (Guttandin *et al*. 2011). It is indeed likely that this was the case. The constantly increasing number of publications on Cretan exchanges and entanglements (*e.g.* Stampolidis & Karageorghis 2003; Antoniadou & Pace 2007; Bevan 2007; Alberti & Sabatini 2013; Eder & Pruzsinszky 2015; Gorogianni *et al*. 2016; Kiriatzi & Knappett 2016; Leidwanger & Knappett 2018; Iacono 2019; Gheorghiade this volume, but the bibliography is endless), while useful to obtain general, synthetic historical reconstructions, are largely based on positive evidence – the presence of imports – while neglecting or downscaling the fact that most sites have not or barely yielded the material correlates of such connections. Such material correlates are, however, essential to reconstruct a place's position as a node in some kind of maritime network (*e.g*. Evans 1895; Gale 1991; Cline 1999).

The number of imports has been appreciated variously with minimalist and maximalist views but, with E. Cline (2011; 2013: 26), we may assume that the surviving quantities represent about 10 % of what once existed. The remaining 90 % should include a hypothetical proportion of perishable elements (foodstuff, textiles *etc*.), intangible ideas, technology as well as human traffic (and trafficking). Minoans were, for example, famous for their leather and medicinal plants according to the Mari letters (*cf*. Guichard 1999; Foster 2018). It is also difficult to adequately judge the quantities of imported raw materials (*e.g.* **Table 6.1**) – copper, tin, gold, silver, stones *etc*. –, used for tools, weapons, vases, sealstones *etc*, but the quantities must have been considerable. Many stone vases and sealstones were made out of imported raw materials and transformed into typical Minoan products even if the 'foreignness' of the object may have been retained in some examples while this may not have been the case for metal objects (Krzyszkowska 2005; Bevan 2003; 2007).

Source	Prepalatial	Protopalatial	Neopalatial	Postpalatial
N° of analysed objects	43	73	154	161
Lavrion	6 %	11 %	42 %	44 %
Anatolia	6 %	7 %	21 %	19 %
Cyclades	58 %	66 %	3 %	11 %
Cyprus	26 %	15 %	17 %	19 %

TAB. 6.1 SOURCES OF COPPER USED FOR MINOAN OBJECTS DURING CONSECUTIVE PERIODS – MINOR AND/OR UNKNOWN SOURCES NOT INCLUDED (AFTER GALE & STOS-GALE 2007: 106-107)

To be fully appreciable, all these issues require more sophisticated analyses (*e.g*. Bevan 2007; Cutler 2016; Gorogianni *et al*. 2015; Kiriatzi & Knappett 2016), which is why, in the remaining of this paper, I only consider imported finished products. I refer to Cline's 1994 (with subsequent updates) corpus of Late Bronze Age imports and to Phillips (2008) for Aegyptiaca in particular for more details on the material imported to Crete during the entire Bronze Age. Reference may also be made to Parkinson (2010) who has partly re-organised the material of the Late Bronze Age, translating it in the number of contacts, recognising different systems of acquisition and distribution between Crete and the Mycenaean Mainland.

Making abstraction of (transformed) raw materials and perishable goods, the presence, nature and number of durable exotica on Crete, while not negligible, seem somewhat overvalued. If exotica show up at all between the Early Minoan and early Late Minoan periods, they only form a tiny percentage of the finds made in residential or funerary contexts – usually much less than 1 % (*e.g*. Malia [pers. com. J.-C. Poursat], Palaikastro [pers. com. J.A. MacGillivray], Zakros [pers. com. E. Platon], Myrtos Pyrgos [pers. com. G. Cadogan], Chryssi and Papadiokampos [T. Brogan pers. com.]). Outside of Crete, however, there are cases where the situation seems entirely different. At Late Bronze Age Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* on Cyprus, for example, almost 20 % imports – ceramics, stone vases,

sealstones *etc*. – have been identified among its excavated material. Much of it is Minoan, Egyptian or Ugaritic but there are also Mycenaean, Sardinian and Hittite objects (Karageorghis & Demas 1984; Karageorghis & Kanta 2014; Bretschneider *et al*. 2016; 2018). The Amman Airport site also had 35 % non-local products of which 19 % was Mycenaean (Mumford 2015: 100). These are late examples, however. But even in earlier periods, we observe large quantities of Minoan material in certain off-island sites. At Neopalatial Akrotiri on Santorini, this is around 15 %, while on Kythera almost all pottery is said to be Minoan (Knappett & Nikolokopoulou 2008). There are evidently chronological differences since at Middle Bronze Age Akrotiri, imports only formed a mere 0.2 % in MM IA-B, gradually rising to 1.96 % in MM II and up to *ca*. 10 % in MM IIIA (Knappett 2019: 314-315). Some other, non-Cretan Aegean sites show similar percentages: at Kea, it is between 8 and 18 % (Gorogianni 2016: 140) and at Miletus, at some moments "Minoan fine decorated wares…overwhelm the site" (Raymond *et al*. 2016: 64), reaching 95 % (Niemeier 2009: 157), although they only formed 2 % during the Middle Bronze Age (Raymond 2009: 151). In other sites, the quantities, however, are lower (for Iasos, see Momigliano 2009: 129). While quantifiable data are difficult to obtain (*cf*. Papadopoulos 2012), it clearly shows the Minoans' entanglement with the wider Mediterranean world. Add to these the frescoes, signs of administration, loomweights *etc*. and it is clear than the Minoan web of interconnections covered a large area of the Aegean (Knappett 2018).

The picture on Crete itself is different, however. Considering all Cretan evidence and conflating chronology, foreign products primarily and, at first glance consistently, show up in three sites: Kommos (Watrous 1985; Day *et al*. 2011), Poros (Wilson *et al*. 2004; 2008) and Mochlos (Branigan 1991; Carter 2004), respectively on the south, north and northeast coast (*cf*. Cline 1994; 1999; Guttandin *et al*. 2011). These port sites were secondary players in the local settlement hierarchy – the first for Phaistos, the second for Knossos and the third possibly for Gournia. The presence of exotica in these three sites is, with regard to other Cretan settlements and proportionally speaking, assumed to be relatively high throughout the various periods of Minoan history and this is why they are usually regarded as 'gateway communities', sites through which exotic goods entered the island and from which, it is argued, they were distributed or proliferated (*e.g.* Branigan 1991). If one takes a closer look, however, this point of view should be nuanced. Kommos was only settled from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age onwards and the presence of exotica in South Cretan circular tombs in the Prepalatial period (as at Platanos, Koumasa *etc*.) is usually assumed to have arrived from the North, via a route that passed Archanes (Déderix 2017). For Middle Minoan Kommos, Van de Moortel (2010: 879) mentions that "excavations … have yielded fragmentary remains of more than 450 non-local pottery fragments and vases, the majority coming from among the *ca*. 27,000 pottery fragments recovered from the foundation fills of Building AA. The local pottery from these fills ranges in date from MM IB through MM IIB Early with very few earlier fragments. With the assistance of many colleagues I was able to identify macroscopically about 130 non-local pieces. About fifty come from various regions in Central Crete, but 22 pieces are from the nearby islet of Gavdos; 25 fragments are from East Crete, and seven from the Cyclades. In addition, Betancourt has published two fragments of an Aiginetan Redburnished carinated bowl with red micaceous fabric from a MM IB context in the residential area north of Building AA". She was able to add 25 lentoid flasks from Lemnos (Van de Moortel 210: 881). All in all, it means that about 2 % of the material encountered at Middle Bronze Age Kommos can be regarded as imports. A first general study of all imports at Kommos by Rutter & Van de Moortel (2006: table 3.115) counted 353 vases but only 33 were found in Neopalatial contexts, *i.e*. less than 10 %. The others came from LM II-IIIB levels. The study by Rutter of the pottery of House X confirms this. Of the 868 vases, 46 can be regarded as non-Minoan imports (5.5 %) but only four of these are Neopalatial, the rest is later (Rutter 2017: 219). Imports during MM and LM I are hence relatively low and the real rise only starts during LM II and especially LM IIIA. Mochlos has an impressive series of imports that come from its Prepalatial house tombs (Colburn 2008) but, apart from some metals, exotica almost entirely disappear during the Middle Bronze Age when only intra-Cretan non-local products appear (G. Doudalis, pers. com.). Their number rise again in the Neopalatial period when there are some Cycladic fragments from LM IA levels and more than 25 fragments of southeast Aegean jars in LM IB levels (T. Brogan, pers. com.). The evidence at Poros remains largely unpublished but especially in the Prepalatial levels there was lots of obsidian, evidence for metal working and Cycladic imports, especially sauceboats, and local imitations (Day 2004), of which the "sheer number" is stressed (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki *et al*. 2007: 93). In later periods, Poros keeps on revealing plenty of evidence for imported raw materials but no mention is made of finished products or ceramics till the LM IIIA period (Dimopoulou 2004). With Papadatos & Tomkins (2014: 331) we may conclude that "trading was not a widely

accessible venture but was controlled by groups or individuals located in a few large trading communities". The idea is that, from these trading communities, exotic goods subsequently arrived in or filtered through to the other settlements. It is here that we face problems since, once outside these gateway communities, foreign goods are very scarce. Despite long histories of excavation, the main palatial centres – Knossos, Phaistos and Malia – have yielded only a limited number of imports (Parkinson 2011: 24, fig. 2.3). If Kommos, Mochlos and Poros indeed served as port towns for respectively Phaistos, Gournia and Knossos, the absence or dearth of exotica from their respective major centres is striking. This has been expressed most strongly for EM I Knossos (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki *et al*. 2007: 88) but it is repeated elsewhere and at other times. This only changes somewhat in the 'Mycenaean' period where Knossos is concerned (Warren 1991; 1995; Bevan 2003)[2].

Two further examples may illustrate this unbalanced picture. Palaikastro in East Crete is a large and important settlement, located on primary land and sea routes, with visual linkage to the Dodecanese (Guttandin *et al*. 2011: 29, 142). It also possesses an important agricultural hinterland and was undoubtedly at the top of its own regional settlement hierarchy. All conditions were met to see it developing into an important node in an overseas network. Foreign products, however, even following 100 years of archaeological research, are extremely rare – trinkets as it were (MacGillivray & Driessen 1990[3]; Gheorghiade, this volume). The same goes for Sissi, on the north coast of the island, only 4 km from the palatial centre of Malia. Located on ideal land and sea communication arteries, the settlement has a long history and has been extensively excavated. But non-Cretan products in EM to LM I levels are more or less absent[4]. This lack of exotica seems almost certainly not a recovery bias. So, we should ask why sites that are ideally located on appropriate sea currents, have been extensively excavated and have long histories, lack distinctive and recognisable finished exotic products while we know that the island was in close contact with the rest of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, as hinted at by the existence of what have been called trading communities and the Minoan evidence abroad.

There are different possible explanations to account for this absence. Since commerce is usually considered as inherently reciprocal, Minoan objects abroad are regarded as some kind of payment for raw materials, which Crete itself lacked (Warren 2009: 265). Whitelaw (2015) too assumes that reciprocity could have meant arrival of perishable goods in exchange of commodities shipped in pottery. In regions with strong state interference, however, trade monopolies and embargoes may have existed (*cf*. Stantchev 2012). We know, through texts, that rulers occasionally used such embargoes as a political tool. During a specific period of the Late Bronze Age, Hittite finds, for example, are quasi-absent from the Mediterranean and this has been interpreted along such lines (Cline 1991). A treaty between Hittites and Amurru of *ca*. 1250 BCE also called for a mutual trade embargo against the Assyrians (Bederman 2004: 145). A decree, proposed by Pericles in 433/432 BCE, excluded Megarian merchants from Athenian markets and ports (Baltrusch 2016). Romans and Carthaginians too regularly imposed such bans on each other (Diamidis 2016). Embargoes, however, would probably result in a *total* and not a *partial* absence of exotica. Since exotica are present in the port sites and at low numbers elsewhere, this explanation seems not applicable. Still, a local embargo could have prevented their proliferation outside their points of arrival. Cultural contacts can lead to many responses and, in recent years, mobility, hybridisation, creolisation, conflict-based acculturation and related developments have received plenty of attention (*e.g*. Stockhammer 2012; Maran & Stockhammer 2012; Beaudry & Parno 2013; Hahn & Weiss 2013; Dietler 2015). I follow another avenue, which concentrates on resistance to these phenomena as the main explanation for the rarity of exotica.

In *The art of not being governed*, James C. Scott (2009), inspired by Pierre Clastres' *Society against the State* (1974), discusses modern-day communities that willingly and reactively remain outside nation states for the fear of being exploited, developing various ways of escapism. Communities as these often look for marginal lands, borderlands or shatter zones. González-Ruibal (2014) has explored this concept on three groups in Western Ethiopia taking an archaeological perspective. He presents a good case to underline how material culture is used in practices that aim at independence from and resistance to centralising political forces. Both Scott and González-

2 Dating objects according to contexts remains difficult, especially where Knossos is concerned. Parkinson (2011: fig. 2.3) conflates LM I-II, a chronological attribution only valid for Knossos, to arrive at 25 objects, but of the other sites, only the port towns of Kommos and Kato Zakros have about 10 objects and these can be regarded as LM I.

3 L. Lancelotti's unpublished M.A. dissertation (U. Melbourne, 2004) gives a detailed appreciation.

4 Apart from a few sealstones and a few vases that come from other regions on the island itself, non-Cretan products are very rare: an occasional Mycenaean sherd, a sealstone in lapis lacedaemonius, copper-based objects and a few scraps of gold…

Ruibal write from an explicitly stated anarchist perspective (Scott 2009: x; González-Ruibal 2014: 11) whilst cultural resistance does not need a particular political condition to be operational. Cunningham (2012) has applied the concept in his study on the cultural particularism and intermittent occupation of Palaikastro and I use it here to explain the uneven presence of finished exotic products on Crete. A culture of resistance and the creation of physical or social boundaries to enable continual existence of traditions is what Barth (1969) coined 'boundary maintenance'. Through the construction of social confines, communities or groups are able to maintain their identity when members interact with others (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995). This not only demands the creation of group membership criteria and ways of signalling these but also indicates a conscious structuring of interactions, which allows the maintenance of the cultural differences. It is an 'Us and Them'-game (*cf*. Sommer 2011). This identity-creation process happens at all scales, from the household to the level of the largest community, and often takes the form of purposeful or imposed choices made through material culture (McGuire & Painter 1991; Reycraft 2005). Boundary maintenance also reinforces a group's unity and distinctness by emphasizing traits that set its members apart from others (Gabler 2007), hence forming communities of practice or of faith (Buckser 1996). Although it is mostly studied as a strategy to protect the exploitation of spatially restricted resources – and especially marine ones (Yesner 1985) – it is also a protective mechanism against 'culture death' in which, through a total acculturation, the disappearance of local culture is avoided. The Amish community is usually considered as an eloquent but extreme example of such boundary maintenance (Kraybill 1990) but Stacy Kozakavich (2017) has reviewed several of such examples in *The Archaeology of Utopian and Intentional Communities*, where the Americas are concerned. It is a community of practice that is encountered in many societies: Regev (2009), for example, explores table ware at Khirbet Qumran to suggest ritualisation of meals and distinctive burial and ritual practices that were meant to be exclusive, while Galaty and colleagues (2013: 4, 13, 85-106) have described how Albanian tribes demarcated and maintained boundaries, sometimes marked in the landscape, but otherwise also operational through specific social customs such as exogamy and exchange patterns. In all these cases, locally produced objects and indigenous practices play an active role in the construction of identity, for the creation and display of social status, that set the members apart from outsiders.

In specific archaeological contexts, boundary maintenance and processes of resistance have successfully been employed to explain, *e.g.*, anomalous mortuary ceremonialism in pre-contact Vermont (Loring 1985), a particular style of personal ornaments setting locals apart from incoming Neolithic farmers in Europe (Rigaud *et al*. 2015), Copper Age tribal societies on the Great Hungarian Plain (Parkinson 2006) or the maintenance of a Philistine identity in the Early Iron Age (Faust & Lev-Tov 2014). Doric Sparta and Crete too, among Archaic Greek city-states, were known for their practices of cultural resistance and the ethnic label 'Eteocretans' or True Cretans may refer to this (Cartledge 2003; Whitley 1998). Plenty of other examples exist but these cases illustrate the use of material culture in helping to shape and to maintain boundaries and hence community identity. Practices through which socio-cultural differences were ascribed and communicated act as a defensive mechanism. The presence of an isolated exotic object does not change this perception since it may either have been stigmatised through fetishism or it may not have been considered sensitive or offensive. In the latter case, it may have crossed group boundaries and could have been adopted or adapted as happened, for example, with the transformation of the Egyptian Tawaret into the Minoan Genius (Weingarten 1991 and, most recently, Kuch 2017), a clear sign for syncretism, or with several technologies, including the potter's wheel, metallurgy or administrative devices (Kiriatzi & Knappett 2016; Knappett 2018).

Since "material things represent choices, and assemblages of things are considered as aggregated choices through time" (Borck & Mills 2017: 30), the practice of boundary maintenance in particular may then present an explanation that accounts for the biased distribution of exotica on Minoan Crete. In this context, we may stress Cretan (or 'Minoan') choices or particularism and the originality of its Bronze Age culture. Typical for Minoan ontology is, for example, a stress on places for communal gatherings (near tombs, on the west and central courts of its public buildings) and their accessibility and permeability. A more outspoken preference for ritual gatherings in natural environments such as caves, water sources and mountain tops is also manifest. Religious practices are also unmistakably different from contemporary practices elsewhere as is their attention, at some point, to a primary female divinity. Key cultural traits that may be considered as meaningful locally abound in the material record of the Middle and early Late Bronze Age: dress and hairstyle (Jones 2015; Younger 2016), for example, but also modelled plaster and frescoes (Blakolmer 2018), shapes and decorative styles for pottery (Knappett 2015),

the miniature art of seals (Krzyszkowska 2005), symbolism such as the double axe and horns of consecration, architectural features such as pier-and-door partitions, lustral basins (Palyvou 2018), *etc*. One may be confident that food (Morrison *et al*. 2015) and language (Davis 2018) were likewise prime markers. 'Minoans', it appears, wanted to be recognisable as such – at home, but also abroad if we include the Keftiou representations in the Tombs of the Nobles in Egyptian Thebes as indicative (Matić & Franković 2017). This advertised distinctive material culture and a general unreceptiveness towards external influences and stimuli, however, can only correctly be appreciated if we consider the island's primary position within a network of entanglements in the Eastern Mediterranean context as discussed above. It was *because* of this primary entanglement that Cretans developed, and adhered to, their own specific cultural idiom, which set them apart from their neighbours. It is this what made them Cretans, 'Minoans'. It was an intentional and deliberate move to protect local customs within a world that became more and more international, interconnected and globalised.

It must be added that this unreceptiveness to foreign features appears to have been temporally charged and especially a mature Middle and early Late Bronze Age feature of Cretan society. Exotica – objects perceived as having been made by 'others' or 'outsiders' – in fact *do* seem to have occupied a more important place in the advertisement of local identity during earlier periods, although intermittently (*cf*. Cherry 2011: 137). The construction of vertical differentiation during the Prepalatial period, as has been shown in various studies by Bevan (2003; 2007), Papadatos (2007), Colburn (2008), Cherry (2011) and Legarra Herrero (2012), lavishly made use of exotica, manipulated for local identities and accompanying incumbent state formation. Knapp (1993: 341) also assumes that the "most significant incentive for trade in the Bronze Age Mediterranean was the desire by emergent elites to acquire goods which had a special social significance" (*cf*. also Manning & Hulin 2005; Papadopoulos 2012). Although it is generally agreed that these exotica were instrumental in shaping emergent hierarchy in Prepalatial Minoan society, their precise role remains difficult to appreciate since certain aspects need more study: do exotica on Crete reflect, for example, a specific regime of value, different or similar to the one that ruled the objects in their homeland (already Warren 1995; Bevan 2003)? Does the specific nature of the imported objects suggest that they were specifically used by women (Wengrow 2011: 150)? Did some kind of indigenous fetishism of foreign objects take place, *i.e.* were objects considered as representing outsiders? Matthews (2010: 3) explores this in the *Archaeology of American Capitalism* and it is also discussed by Cipolla (2017: 6) in the context of American archaeology. These are some potential avenues that stress the multivocality of such exotic objects and need to be considered together with their variable contextual associations. Fact is that Cycladic, Levantine and Egyptian exotica are much more common in the Early Minoan period up to MM IA (*e.g*. Ferrence 2007: 173), when there is an obvious increase just before the First Palaces were constructed (Wiener 2013: 36). My claim here is that it was because of their use in processes of vertical differentiation during the Prepalatial period, as is obvious from the rich grave assemblages, that they were largely discouraged or rejected in subsequent, palatial periods by a society that seems to have advertised more egalitarian principles, corporatism and collective identity (Driessen 2018; also, Legarra Herrero 2016). It was all right to transform exotic raw materials in local products (*e.g*. Muhly & Betancourt 2015; Panagiotaki 2015), but it was not, it appears, to import and actively use finished ones. It is then perhaps no surprise that, when the court-centred buildings, which we know as 'palaces', are built and monumentalised early in the Middle Bronze Age, foreign exotica do no longer play a crucial role in local identity construction and advertisement. As Warren (1995: 14) already observed in the case of Minoan-Egyptian contacts: "Minoan civilisation undoubtedly derived benefit from Egypt in the different forms we have examined. But those benefits, on the surviving evidence, appear to have formed only a small part in the totality of the Minoan achievement". This could then reinforce the idea that an externally more purist 'Minoan' facade was advertised, which was a conscious reaction against experiences in the past. Exotica also rapidly disappear from funerary contexts and, within mature Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze burials, attempts at differentiation remain relatively discrete. Only in the mature LM IB period (and afterwards) this may change again, with especially Egyptian (-inspired) stone vases being used in specific ritual contexts, as suggested by their presence in the treasuries of the palaces of Zakros and Knossos (Platon 1971: 133-148: Bevan 2007: 124).

To conclude, the Mediterranean Sea, while it may have been something like a no-man's land and an interface that allowed free interconnections between various groups, facilitated mobility and the use of imports in local social strategies. The sea could, however, also be transformed in an active borderland and a barrier that protected, and helped the creation of, local identities through a conscious manipulation of and resistance to foreign material

culture. The island of Crete, within its enduring network of multiple entanglements, after a period when exotica were used in the construction of a vertical hierarchy, seems to have deliberately steered away from such a use because it may have led to excesses, which henceforth were incompatible with local sensitivities and an ideology of collectiveness, even if this was evidently a mirage.

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7. Beyond Maritime Connectivity

Assessing Regional Interaction and Mobility in Late Bronze Age Crete[1]

Paula Gheorghiade

1. Introduction

"The paradox of the Mediterranean" according to Horden and Purcell (2000: 24) "is that the all-too-apparent fragmentation can potentially unite the sea and its coastlands in a way far exceeding anything predictable of a continent. Distance is, in effect, inverted: places linked by sea are always 'close', while neighbours on land may, in terms of interaction, be quite 'distant'" (Horden & Purcell 2000: 133). A lot of attention has been devoted to exploring how and why people travelled in the Mediterranean, from reconstructions of sea routes, navigation, possible itineraries and types of goods they transported (Lambrou-Phillipson 1991; Broodbank 2000; 2013; Stampolidis & Karageorghis 2003; Sauvage 2012; Yon & Sauvage 2014; Papageorgiou 2008; Knapp & Demesticha 2017; Kiriatzi & Knappett 2016; Leidwanger 2013; Leidwanger & Knappett 2018). The discovery of long-distance imports on Crete and at sites across the Mediterranean was highlighted in the many catalogues produced since the early 1990s (*e.g.* Lambrou-Philipson 1990; Cline 1994; Leonard 1994; van Wijngaarden 2002; Vianello 2005; Phillips 2008). As proxies of Mediterranean connectivity, their ubiquity in this period was argued to underscore the complexity of long-distance trade networks operating in the second millennium BCE.

The acquisition of exotic products for conspicuous elite consumption has been touted as especially significant in the Early Bronze Age (EBA) and featured prominently in debates of prehistoric economies and the role of Crete in the larger social and economic history of the Mediterranean (*e.g.* Earle 1982; Sherratt & Sherratt 1998; Sherratt 1999; 2003; Burns 2010). Such quantitative, artefact-centred approaches have been criticised for mischaracterising the frequency of this long-distance contact. Critics such as Manning & Hulin (2005: 283) have pointed out that the recorded quantities are highly inflated when compared against the span of time during which they accumulated (Cherry 2009; Parkinson 2010), and quantitative approaches alone fail to adequately address the nature of Mediterranean trade and exchange. These minimalist approaches (Manning & Hulin 2005; Blake 2008) highlight the problem of emphasising one class of data – exotic, long-distance imports – in interpretations of prehistoric interaction, trade, and exchange (*cf.* Murray 2017), without also considering their reception and use alongside other objects in new contexts.

Still, these data do have merit for highlighting the diversity of goods made and used by various cultures in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (LBA). For example, the social and cultural impact of these prestige items, especially hybrid exotica exchanged as political gifts, was emphasised by Feldman (2002; 2006) in discussing the proliferation of an 'International Style' in this period. On Crete, these long-distance imports provide a glimpse into the variety of products that circulated while highlighting the possibilities for maritime travel across the Mediterranean. However, such long-distance travel was very likely conducted by a small number of people and a singular focus on maritime imports limits the perspective of island connectivity to one scale of interaction. Habitual interaction between local, regional, and inter-regional Cretan settlements and communities was probably far more common. Unlike long-distance ties, these local and regional interactions formed the backbone of social and economic networks that were important for the development and maintenance of social ties, subsistence, trade, and intermarriage (Tartaron 2018: 62). In this paper, I consider these local, regional, and inter-regional connections through a discussion grounded in local Cretan ceramic assemblages. My specific focus is on LM II–IIIB ceramic imports – instead of prestige or exotic artefacts – from the sites of Kommos and Palaikastro. I argue that despite the variability in long-distance imports on Crete, this network of island-wide connections helped cultivate and

1 Many thanks to Carl Knappett, Rachel Dewan, and Tia Sager for providing valuable feedback and criticism on earlier drafts of this paper.

preserve a relatively homogenous material culture. The unifying commonality in inter-regional Cretan imports suggests a pervasive Minoan influence across the island (Driessen & Langohr 2007: 185), relatively unaffected by the ebb-and-flow of long-distance commodities. This emulation of Knossian practices that invoked a local Minoan past for the legitimisation of power (Driessen & Langohr 2007) is also reflected in the importation and imitation of Knossian ceramics during LM II-IIIA1 attested, for example, at Mochlos, Hagia Triada, Malia, Chania (Driessen & Langohr 2007: 185), and Kommos (Gheorghiade 2020).

2. Beyond maritime connectivity

Despite the freedom afforded by maritime connectivity for the acquisition of long-distance goods, the emulation and importation of Knossian ceramics in the advanced LBA seems to have continued a tradition of Knossian influence that can be traced back to the Neopalatial period. Driessen (2020; this volume) notes that a lack of exotic goods was already evident during the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) on Crete, and he considers this as a deliberate strategy of resistance that was meant to protect local traditions and customs. Despite local idiosyncrasies and regional ceramic production and decoration, these local customs were very much influenced by Knossian tastes and traditions and also spread beyond the borders of the island to sites like Akrotiri on Thera (Knappett & Nikolakopoulou 2008) and Agia Irini on Kea (Broodbank 2004; Abell 2016). This unfolding process of 'Minoanisation' exemplifies Horden and Purcell's characterisation of a paradoxical Mediterranean where distant places can nonetheless be considered 'close' through shared practices and traditions. In the case of Akrotiri and Knossos, this contact was exemplified through the exchange and incorporation of new ceramics favoured among the local elite (Knappett & Nikolakopoulou 2008: 37).

In many ways, this bears similarities with Granovetter's (1973; 1983) theory of the strength of weak ties that can be defined as loose connections of surprising value through which new ideas, goods, and technologies can infiltrate otherwise tight-knit networks or communities. These weak ties could be considered as value added connections, especially significant for island communities in maintaining social and perhaps economic links over vast geographic distances. It is such relationally weak ties that Horden and Purcell considered as instrumental for a networked Mediterranean; however, it is also these ties that perhaps were seen as threatening to the survival of local traditions and customs. Centola & Macy (2007) have argued that in certain instances, such ties can become strong, resulting in 'wide bridges' with multiple ties through which complex ideas and technologies are easily adopted and incorporated by connected communities (Knappett 2018: 977). Driessen (2020; this volume) suggests that in the face of such expanding interaction and connectivity with the larger Mediterranean, communities on Crete increasingly sought to protect their cultural boundaries by rejecting outside influences and exotica. This conscious social strategy might explain the absence of exotica especially during a mature MBA into early LBA period, especially at coastal sites that under other circumstances might have had ample opportunities to access these types of goods.

Unlike the weak ties that criss-crossed the Mediterranean, Cretan settlements were linked through a dense web of island-wide connections that did not emerge all at once in the LBA. Their genesis can be traced back to the MBA (*cf.* Knappett & Ichim 2017), and perhaps even earlier into the EBA, much in the same way as the gradual intensification of maritime interaction across the Aegean (Broodbank 2000) paved the way for a network of connections traversing the Mediterranean. From a path dependence perspective, the organisation of past networks can have a big impact on the options available for subsequent ones (Pierson 2000; Ruane & Todd 2004; Blake 2013). It is plausible then that these island-wide connections continued a pattern of growth and expansion into the advanced LBA, despite the destructions that ravaged the island at the end of the Neopalatial period. The continuity of these connections and robustness of these ties certainly favoured the Knossian strategy of using the local Minoan past to consolidate and legitimise power during the LM IB-IIIA2 period (Broodbank 2004; Driessen & Langohr 2007), even if this Knossian cultural package was variably incorporated by settlements across the island. An in-depth examination of local ceramic assemblages highlights these various connections and mobilities that are often masked by a focus on only long-distance, maritime imports. It is these small-scale, localised interactions that eventually result in the larger, visible patterns of the surviving archaeological record. Utilising the surviving

archaeological record as a proxy for the reconstruction of inter-regional connections and exploring intra-Cretan mobility can elucidate actual historical patterns of mobility for this period (Woolf 2016: 447; Knappett 2018: 975). Such a bottom-up approach can be informative, for example, in also considering why and how certain regional centres such as Chania emerged after the final destruction of Knossos.

In this paper, these inter-regional connections are explored through patterns of mobility evident in ceramic datasets. Imports are taken as proxies of some kind of mobility, although the processes whereby these objects moved are not presently considered. Such definitions have been considered for imports manufactured outside the Aegean (Burns 1999; Cline 2005); however, for ceramics produced on Crete these definitions become more nebulous (Gheorghiade 2020). Regional and pan-Cretan imports are likewise problematic to define, as the boundaries for what constitutes 'regional' and 'local' are not always clear, nor are the definitions for 'local' and 'import' (*cf.* Vitale 2016). For example, it becomes much easier to identify an import produced at an off-island centre of production based on fabric and shape than a Cretan import of a common shape produced at a regional, Cretan centre of production. Nonetheless, here any ceramics identified as not having been produced at the site of deposition are considered as imports.

3. The material evidence: Imports from Kommos and Palaikastro

The data are discussed for two sites – Kommos and Palaikastro – with the caveat that the availability of published material from both sites differs significantly (**Fig. 7.1**). This material is part of a larger collected dataset of 13,300+ ceramic entries discussed in tandem with spatial and terrestrial modelling elsewhere (Gheorghiade 2020). While both sites are coastal settlements, the material evidence suggests that they interacted very differently both with hinterland settlements and maritime neighbours. For the LBA, the most diverse number of imports have been identified from Kommos. This is undoubtedly because it is one of the best excavated and published for this period (Watrous 1992; Shaw & Shaw 1995; 1996; 2006; 2012; Rutter 2017) and a harbour on the southern part of the island (Shaw 1990; 1998).

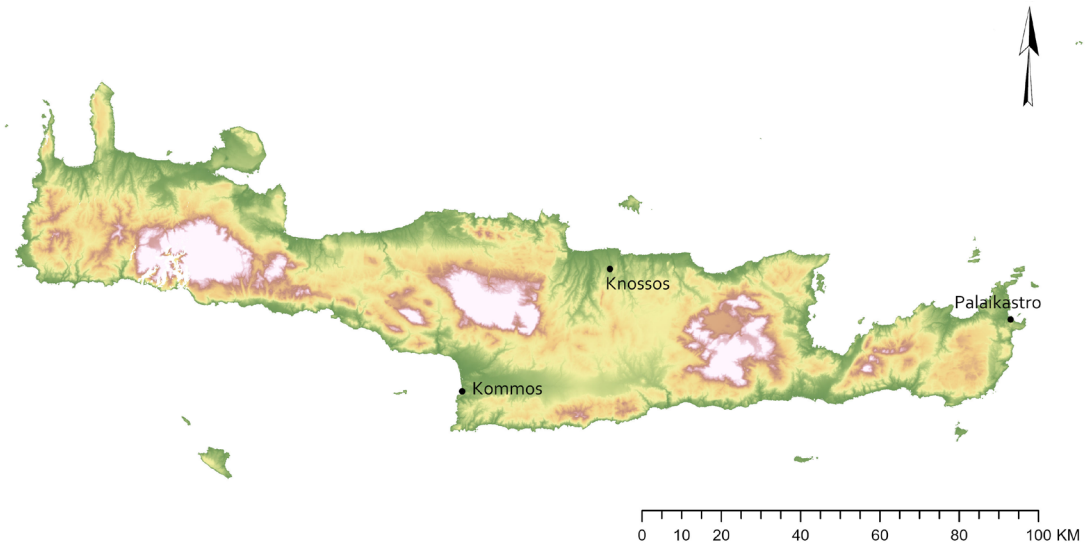

FIG. 7.1 MAP OF CRETE WITH LOCATIONS OF THE SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (MAP BY THE AUTHOR)

The collected ceramic material from Kommos totals 2,592 entries dating to LM II–LM IIIB. Of these, 572 entries are imports comprising 22 % of the total number of published ceramics. Within this import assemblage, 209 entries are imports from Crete, while 304 are imports outside Crete (off-island) constituting 37 % and 53 % of the total number of imports recorded (**Table 7.1**). The remaining 10 % are imports without certain provenance. Kommos is also an atypical site, with ceramic imports identified from across the Mediterranean.

	Kommos	Palaikastro
Quantity of local ceramics	2,020	866
Quantity of imported ceramics	572	211
Total	2,592	1,077

Tab. 7.1 Recorded ceramic quantities for Kommos and Palaikastro datable to LM II–LM IIIB

The Palaikastro material comes from three different contexts: Building 1, two wells, and several relevant ceramics from Block M (MacGillivray *et al.* 2007; Knappett & Cunningham 2012; MacGillivray & Sackett 2019) and is less abundant than at Kommos. Even within the collected dataset, the pattern is quite different (**Table 7.2**). For example, of the total 1,077 ceramics recorded at Palaikastro, 211 are identified as imports. At Palaikastro, the largest number of these imports are from other Cretan sites, amounting to 34 % of the total. While a large quantity of imports remain unidentifiable, it is likely that they too came from elsewhere on Crete. This lack of certainty highlights an ongoing obstacle in quantitative approaches to interaction, and data-driven methods specifically, in trying to identify imports based on macroscopic analysis alone. Additional methods, including petrographic analysis (*e.g.* Rutter 1999; Day *et al.* 2011; Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2011; Jones 2011; Mühlenbruch & Mommsen 2011), should help to clarify some of the uncertainty in identification and misidentification of ceramic imports, not only at Palaikastro, but at other sites across the Mediterranean.

	Kommos	Palaikastro
Region of origin		
Crete	209	72
Outside Crete	304	45
Unknown	59	94
Total	572	211

Tab. 7.2 Recorded ceramic imports by broad region of origin for Kommos and Palaikastro

Looking at Cretan imports, a different pattern emerges (**Table 7.3**). At Kommos, Cretan imports from Central and Western Crete are more common than from other parts of the island suggesting that contact between these regions might have been more pronounced. In addition to imports, the local Kommian assemblage bears strong similarities with ceramic traditions at Knossos. According to Rutter (2017: 175) "the impact of Knossian stylistic developments on local ceramic production at Kommos is overwhelming", perhaps reflective of an increase in direct contact through the presence of imports, and the unidirectional flow of influence manifested through the adoption of select ceramics and decorative styles. For example, in LM II changes in decorative style are more noticeable not only on newly introduced vessels, but also regional styles produced locally. Despite the presence of a range of long-distance open vessels, none seem to have had an effect on the production and consumption of local Cretan style ceramics. Indeed, Cretan open vessel imports are far more common at Kommos than long-distance examples. They include a range of drinking containers such as cups, bowls, goblets, and kylikes from Knossos and Chania, but also pulled-rim bowls and bell cups from Palaikastro. Closed vessel imports represent approximately 41 % of the published quantities recorded for LM II–IIIB2. These imports include storage and transport containers, as well as pouring vessels from Knossos, Chania, Eastern Crete and Hagia Triada and Phaistos, in the Mesara (*cf.* **Table 7.4**).

	Kommos	Palaikastro
Region of origin		
East Crete	8	2
Mirabello	-	3
Central Crete	96	59
South Crete	12	5
West Crete	43	2
Crete (unspecified)	50	1
Total	209	72

TAB. 7.3 RECORDED QUANTITIES OF CRETAN CERAMIC IMPORTS BY REGION OF ORIGIN FOR KOMMOS AND PALAIKASTRO

	Imports			
	Cretan			Total
	Closed	Open	Other	
Kommos	87	119	3	209
Palaikastro	45	24	3	72
Total	132	95	6	281
	Off-Island			
	Closed	Open	Other	
Kommos	201	102	1	304
Palaikastro	8	35	2	45
Total	209	137	3	349

TAB. 7.4 RECORDED CERAMIC IMPORTS BY VESSEL TYPE AND BROAD REGION OF ORIGIN FOR KOMMOS AND PALAIKASTRO

Two Knossian imports found at Kommos deserve special mention: a ceramic adaptation of a metallic bridge-spouted jug (*cf*. **Fig. 7.3**), and a Knossian imitation of a mainland Greek carinated cup (*cf.* **Fig. 7.2**; Rutter 2017: 34-35). The carinated cup (**Fig. 7.2**) features a low, flaring pedestal foot which is an atypical feature of the shape; on mainland Greece this shape favours a ring or hollow raised base (Rutter 2017: 35). This clearly Minoan imitation is solidly coated, but Minoan patterned examples also appear for the first time in LM IIIA1 (Popham 1970: 70, type D, fig. 8:4, 5; Rutter 2017: 35). Interestingly, these patterned versions are also found imported to Crete, for example in a LM IIIA2 context at Chania (Hallager & Hallager 2011: 221, 369, no. 77-P0565; Rutter 2017: 35). The presence of both imported and locally made variations is not limited to these vessels. Cretan and imported kylikes are found across Crete, despite differences in shape and decoration. Driessen & Langohr (2007: 187) have argued that this mainland derivation should be read not as a sign of Mycenaean presence, but as evidence of a larger legitimisation strategy by Knossian elites. It is possible that this Minoan imitation of a mainland Greek carinated cup might be considered in the same vein, suggesting that kylikes were not the only drinking containers used for this purpose.

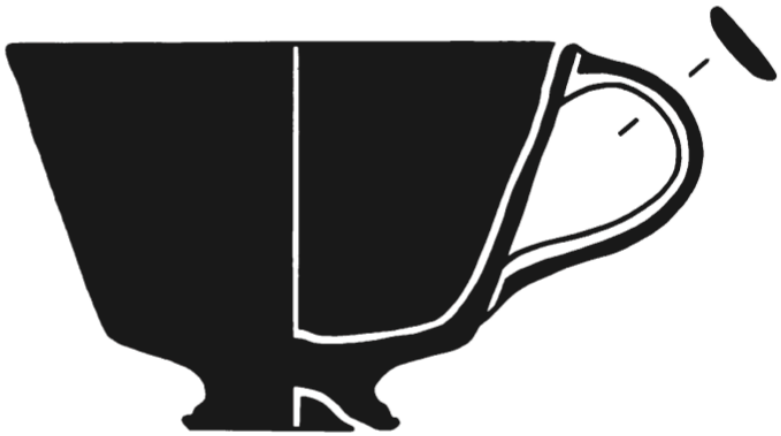

Fig. 7.2 Carinated ring-based cup from House X, Kommos. LM II Knossian import. Originally published as X2:Misc/5 in Rutter 2017: 35 (Drawing by J.E. Pfaff and T. Ross, ASCSA)

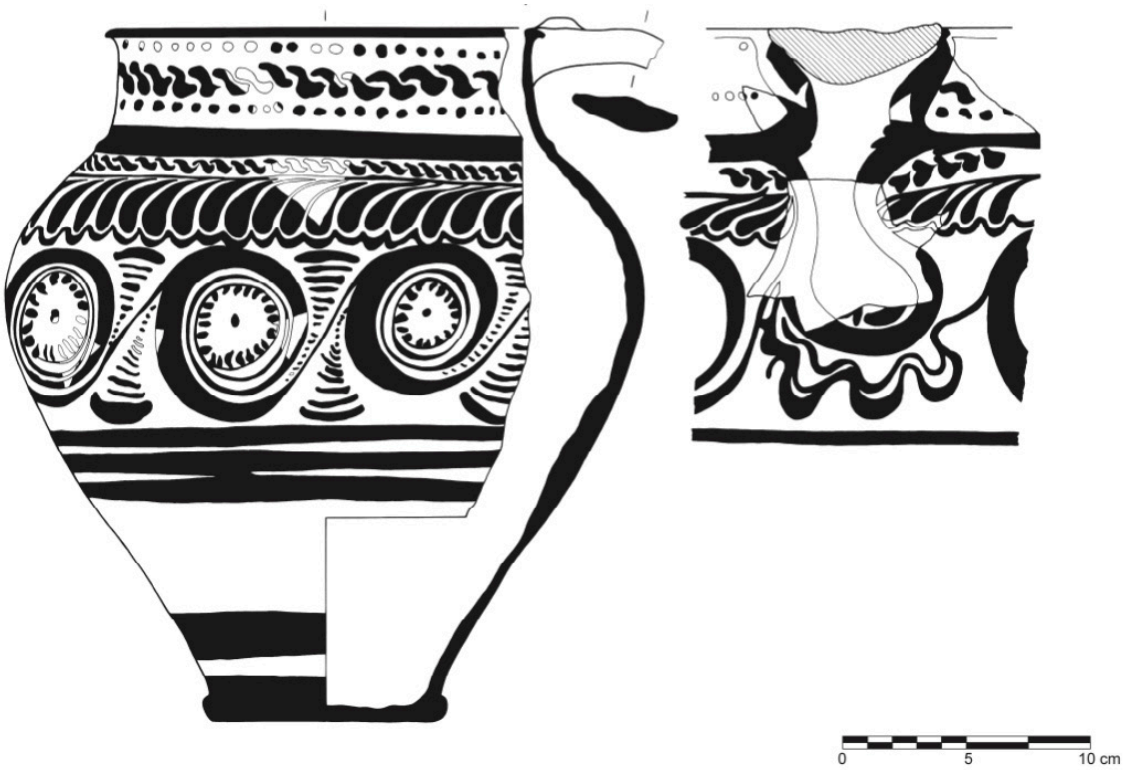

Fig. 7.3 Bridge-spouted jug from House X, Kommos. LM II Knossian import. Originally published as X7:2/2 in Rutter 2017: 64 (Drawing by J.E. Pfaff and T. Ross, ASCSA)

The bridge-spouted jug (**Fig. 7.3**) features a "broad vertical strap handle with a large plastic imitation of a metallic circular rivet at the handle's junction, [and] a hollowed, sloping lip" (Rutter 2017: 64-65). The addition of the rivet did not serve the same practical purpose of securing the handle to the body of the vessel as it would have for its metallic counterpart. Rather, it signalled the association of this vessel to a metallic prototype that it was meant to imitate. Metal and tin coated vessels were recovered from many tombs at Knossos (Popham 1970:

pl. 9:c) suggesting ample access to this raw material and metal objects. The production of metallicising, clay versions of these metal vessels at Knossos suggests that, despite access to the original, clay versions capturing key elements of metallic production were in demand and exported to settlements such as Kommos (Gheorghiade 2020). The presence of clay made metallicising vessels, especially at Kommos, is interesting. Evidence of metallurgy suggests that metal examples could have been produced locally (Shaw 2006: 717-729; 2012: 75-78). The variety of pan-Cretan and long-distance connections that Kommos is famous for surely afforded the possibility for the importation of such metal vessels as well. The reasons behind the presence of such imitations and the absence of metal examples, may have to do with the contexts in which these vessels were used. For example, perhaps metallic vessels were used in tombs and the clay counterparts in settlement contexts. This may explain the presence of an imported Knossian metallicising jug at Kommos, while at Knossos, such metal counterparts are found deposited in tombs. However, it is equally possible that this metallicising jug might be more than a product of economic exchange, perhaps of social significance enacted through use in conjunction with other kinds of vessels used for pouring and drinking at Kommos (Gheorghiade 2020).

These imitations and skeuomorphs also point to the complex interplay between value, production, and consumption that perhaps did not so much prioritise and place value on the origin of a vessel, but rather emphasised capturing the 'essence' of what made these vessels important, regardless of production origin. Such examples are often omitted or lost in larger discussions of interaction and mobility that place heavy emphasis on exotica or long-distance imports. They are, however, significant to consider in discussions of regional and inter-regional interaction because they constitute a class of imports not easily categorised. Whether such objects were produced as imitations with the intention to deceive, perhaps as a result of an inability to access the originals, or as an experiment in mimicry by local artists does not seem to matter. They appear to have been acquired and used by local inhabitants, suggesting something about the physical quality and visual narrative that was functionally and aesthetically significant. McCullough (2014: 489) has suggested that at least in the Middle Minoan (MM) period, ceramic skeuomorphs of metallic vessels were used by individuals who could not afford or were not permitted to use the originals, presumably in an effort to raise their owns status or prestige in the community. This contrasts with what Panagiotopoulos (2013: 149) has suggested [that] "in a pre-modern context material was always an essential part of a thing's biography" in contrast to what we today value as an object's design. If the object that was imitated looked, felt, and functioned as required within whatever context it was used – which seems to be the case – then this distinction between 'copy' and 'original' is a modern construct. The perception between these two in the past was one of cognitive variance shaped by experience, exposure, and engagement with such objects both in their original contexts and in an adoptive context such as at Kommos. Perhaps this practice of reproducing vessels and decorative motifs should be seen as a locally and culturally embedded practice, influenced by local tradition and external contact. Frequent inter-regional contact could have supported the spread, incorporation, and local production of new shapes and decorative styles; for example, the proliferation of Knossian type decorative motifs and new drinking vessels such as goblets and kylikes across Crete. This certainly seems to be the case until at least LM IIIB, when imitations of southern Italian Gray Ware appear at Chania and at Mochlos, suggesting a shift in the types of vessels certain settlements chose to emulate (Gheorghiade 2020: 129).[2]

Nonetheless, the Knossian character of many of the locally made Kommian ceramics suggests an affiliation with at least some cultural practices and traditions at Knossos. Despite the extremely close parallels with Knossos, the local Kommian assemblage also includes a range of tableware from across the island, suggesting an amalgamation of regional, idiosyncratic traditions with more widespread consumption practices modelled after Knossos. The incorporation of tableware and drinking vessels made at Knossos, some of which allude to mainland Greek prototypes, suggests that a new Cretan identity that borrowed certain elements from the mainland was enacted through the creation of an "emblematic cultural package by Knossians in the LBA" (Driessen & Langohr 2007: 189).

2 The slipped and burnished examples at Chania are products of the local workshop, although the production origin for the Mochlos examples remains unclear.

When off-island imports are considered, the narrative changes. The export and import of commodity goods transported in stirrup and Canaanite jars suggests the presence of a long-distance relationship between the southern part of the island and the eastern Mediterranean basin. For example, at Kommos, 60 closed vessels were identified as imports from the Eastern Mediterranean. The presence of collar-necked jars from Sardinia, Canaanite jars, and amphorae from Egypt suggests the use of large containers for the trans-shipment of perishable goods from outside Crete. Several Base Ring II juglets from Cyprus indicate that more specialised commodities such as oils or opiates (Merrillees 1962; Bunimovitz & Lederman 2016) were also part of the cargo, as were other refined goods transported in Egyptian flasks.

Overall, most off-island imports at Kommos are from the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, but a range of jars and alabastra were also imported from mainland Greece. Interestingly, despite this range of wider Mediterranean products, very few to almost none have been discovered in the hinterland. For example, no evidence of Cypriot 'milk-bowls' were identified at the nearby sites of Hagia Triada and Phaistos, even though these vessels are quite common at Kommos. Imports from Hagia Triada and Phaistos are found at Kommos however, suggesting that the lack of evidence for off-island imports is not the result of lack of contact between these Mesara sites (Gheorghiade 2020). Indeed, pan-Cretan import evidence at Kommos suggests that it was connected with the island from coast-to-coast, for example, with Chania, settlements around the Ierapetra isthmus, and Eastern Crete. The lack of similar Mediterranean imports at these sites suggests that the mobility of goods between Kommos and the wider Cretan hinterland was of a different nature. Cline (1994: 95-97; 1999: 120) has argued that perhaps perishable, long-distance imports were unloaded and repackaged before transportation inland, possibly even in containers that were more locally acceptable so as to maintain the status quo in protecting local interests and traditions. On the other hand, perhaps these imports served only the needs of the local settlement, in which case the atypical nature of Kommos needs to be taken into account in larger discussions of LBA interaction, trade, and exchange. It is equally possible that maritime contact between Kommos and the wider Mediterranean was less robust, and the import quantities recorded reflect an inflated perception of LBA interaction when compared diachronically (Manning & Hulin 2005).

By contrast, Cretan imports at Palaikastro are predominantly from Central Crete, accounting for 81 % of the total identified imports in the dataset. Central Cretan imports in this instance include both Knossian and other imports identified from the broader region, making it difficult to assign or to pinpoint an exact centre of production. Langohr (2019) has noted that Knossian influence is largely rejected in local pottery production despite the reach of Knossian imports to the eastern part of the island. Although Palaikastro was connected to Central Crete, the settlement seems to have rebuffed certain ceramic traditions and decorative styles. When examined in more detail, the majority of Cretan imports to Palaikastro are closed vessels, suggesting that perhaps the nature of contact was different than between Kommos and Knossos. At Palaikastro, the acquisition of bulk commodity goods from sites across Crete seems to be more common. Examples include transport amphorae, stirrup jars, jugs, and pithoi from Central Crete and Knossos as well as a range of other closed vessels from Zakros, Chania, Southern Crete, and the nearby Mirabello region. Unlike Kommos, the acquisition of long-distance commodity goods is limited at Palaikastro. Among closed vessels several solitary examples of jars and jugs can be traced to Italy, Egypt, Syro-Palestine, and mainland Greece, with one bowl and kalathos originating from Italy and Pseira respectively.

4. Discussion

Presently, the data suggest that while Palaikastro maintained contact – whether direct or indirect – with settlements as far away as Italy, goods acquired from other settlements on Crete were more common. The presence of East Cretan and Palaikastrian material at Chania, Knossos, Mochlos, and Kommos suggests that the movement of goods was reciprocal between these sites, even if the types of goods that moved between these settlements alternated between transport containers and everyday tableware such as drinking and pouring vessels and, in some instances, ladles and strainers. But why import ladles or strainers when both can be made locally? Were such examples part of an original set that we have failed to identify archaeologically? Or, are they

evidence of small-scale, habitual interaction and exchange between settlements without economic motivations? The unequal representation in the dataset cannot simply be taken as a result of publication or preservation bias. At Palaikastro, the selection of specific types of goods, and the rejection of others, suggests a diverse range of regional and trans-island interactions that do not neatly fit simple models of commodity exchange. Indeed, despite the tendency for other sites on the island to adopt a very Knossian ceramic repertoire, Palaikastro remains resistant to this tradition even eschewing the use of the kylix in the local assemblage, which is otherwise very popular across Crete in this period. At Palaikastro, this shape is present only in a few fragments that were most likely imported (Langohr 2019: 45). The local tradition of ceramic production and consumption at the site shows strong continuity with earlier LM IB practices even with the introduction of a new ceramic tradition of large, coarse ceramic vessels in LM IIIA2 (Langohr 2019: 39, 42).

This regionally rooted continuity highlights important links between Palaikastro and other East Cretan sites such as Mochlos, a settlement with a large quantity of imported Palaikastrian pulled-rim bowls, but also a range of stirrup jars (Gheorghiade 2020: 127-130). Comparable drinking sets and consumption practices are attested at many other sites in East Crete including Kato Zakros, Petras, Pseira and Chrysokamino-Chomatas (Langohr 2019). A cache of 42 conical cups from Building 1 and Well 576 seem to have been imported from a yet unidentified off-island centre of production. Palaikastro is noted in this period to also have close ties with the Dodecanese, and especially with the island of Karpathos. It is possible that at least some of these imported conical cups might be products of a workshop from this region (Melas 1985; Langohr 2019). If true, it would suggest that, instead of looking to the west and the rest of Crete, Palaikastro looked further east to the Dodecanese and Karpathos for the acquisition of certain types of vessels. Despite these maritime ties to the Dodecanese, a more robust connection seems to have been maintained with other East Cretan settlements, exemplified by a distinctive ceramic tradition and shared drinking customs (Langohr 2019).

It is therefore not enough to assume that in LBA Crete coastal settlements on the island acted as mere ‘gateway communities’ (Hirth 1978; Branigan 1991) for the acquisition of exotica, wine, perfume, oils, unguents and other perishable commodities (Cline 1994). While closed vessels that transported perishable goods were certainly imported by various sites on Crete, their unequal presence and distribution at Palaikastro and Kommos reflects different patterns of interaction and consumption. This variability and intra-Cretan exchange suggest that, while a leading Knossian ceramic repertoire certainly extended beyond the regional boundaries of Knossos, this influence was not uniform across the island. The presence of a range of imported vessels from the Eastern and Western Mediterranean highlights a complex network of weak ties at both Kommos and Palaikastro. Nonetheless, at each site the local assemblage remains wholly Cretan; while one follows Knossian stylistic ceramic production, the other continues a long tradition of regional ceramic production and inter-regional exchange with other East Cretan settlements.

5. Conclusions

Everyday interactions between settlements relying on terrestrial distance and topography instead of maritime travel were essential in shaping the extent and frequency of contact. It is these kinds of mobilities that are often missed when only exotica and long-distance imports are considered as part of the conversation for LBA interaction. On an island like Crete, the importance of regional and inter-regional interaction should not be underestimated. In the Bronze Age these connections were of primary importance for social and community cohesion, localised and regional economies, and the emergence and growth of central sites on the island (Gheorghiade 2020). In many ways, these intra-Cretan connections were more influential than outside, long-distance contacts. From a path dependence perspective, their resilience in the face of changing geopolitics could be attributed to the organisation of past networks that had a big impact on the options available for subsequent ones. These island-wide connections continued a pattern of growth and expansion into the advanced LBA, despite the destructions that ravaged the island at the end of the Neopalatial period. It is these local and regional interactions that formed the backbone of larger social and economic networks, and it is through these island-wide networks that communities continued to engage with one another in the Monopalatial and Postpalatial periods.

For the LBA, weak ties served the crucial function of linking otherwise unconnected segments or landmasses of this larger Mediterranean network (*cf.* Granovetter 1983: 217). For Cretan sites such as Kommos and Palaikastro, intra-Cretan connections served to strengthen social and cultural ties, perhaps for the maintenance of a collective and regional identity (Driessen 2020) in the face of ever-expanding interaction. Perhaps the lack of resistance to the spread of Knossian style products was supported by a strong continuity of Minoan tradition and identity, and a robust, pre-existing intra-Cretan settlement network. Rather than collapsing, this network was able to re-adjust in the wake of the island-wide destructions of major palatial centres. Such strong intra-Cretan ties made the spread and incorporation of these ideas that much easier, whilst any long-distance 'weak ties' that former palaces exploited simply re-rerouted to active, more convenient coastal harbours such as Kommos.

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8. Urbanisation and Formation of Palatial Towns in Mycenaean Culture

Foreign Influences or Indigenous Development?

Piotr Zeman[1]

1. Introduction[2]

In the Late Bronze Age/Late Helladic period (LBA/LH; *ca.* 1700-1050 BCE; Manning 2010), Mycenaean culture became the dominant cultural entity in the Aegean. During its development, it became the first palatial culture on the Greek Mainland and experienced urbanisation, which is a matter much less investigated than similar processes occurring on the island of Crete in Protopalatial and Neopalatial times. The formation and the use of urban space in Minoan culture has indeed been the subject of multiple studies (see *e.g*. Branigan 2001a; Letesson & Knappett 2017). In this paper, I will connect these two topics, by discussing the adaptation of urbanism and palatial culture in Mycenaean culture, mainly in the context of its relations with Crete. The Mycenaean palatial socio-economic system was a unique result of local social changes influenced by adaptation of diverse Minoan cultural traits by the Mainland elite groups. Cretans influenced Early Mycenaean culture in concrete and abstract ways, transforming not only Mycenaean craftsmanship, iconography, weaponry, and architecture, but also religion and processes of identity formation (*e.g*. Dickinson 1977; Whittaker 2002; Cadogan & Kopaka 2010; Maran 2011; Molloy 2012). We can rarely identify the exact mechanisms behind the acculturation of foreign social and economic practices, but we can try to understand those processes through careful examination of available archaeological data. In the case of the urbanisation of the Mycenaean settlement system, it seems to be closely entangled with appropriation of Minoan palatial architecture and administrative practices by the Mycenaean elites in LH IIIA. The transfer from chiefdom to state and from kinship economy to palatial economy is what enabled the functional and structural division of the Mycenaean settlement system (Voutsaki 2010a).

This division is of crucial importance, as in this paper I accept a relational definition of urbanism (Woolf 1993: 227-228). In this definition, urbanism is determined by two main criteria. Firstly, urbanism is not only a property of individual sites but rather of entire settlement systems, which must develop functional differentiation and specialisation between sites in order to be called urban. "Towns, in other words, imply the countryside" (Woolf 1993: 227). The second criterion is that urban sites have to show significantly more developed internal differentiation than other sites in the settlement pattern. In other words, an urbanised settlement has to be more complicated inside than other settlements in the system. Thus, urbanisation is a process in which we can see growing functional and structural differentiation within the settlement network and inside its most prominent sites. The relational approach is an alternative to traditional definitions and replaces a search for arbitrarily fixed features that are supposed to make a city (*e.g*. Renfrew 1972; Konsola 1990). If one assumes that a settlement is urbanised only when it includes certain elements, such as an appropriately high population density, fortifications, large public buildings, features related to trade and craft *etc.*, most of the Aegean settlements would fail to be recognised as such. The relational approach to urbanisation allows one to focus more on the social processes underlying it, than on the development of specific urban forms that differ from region to region. It provides an

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opportunity to investigate why similar processes of population movement and stratification of settlement systems occur in different societies and how they affected the history of those societies.

2. Mycenaean palatial towns

Already in the Early Bronze Age (3200-2100 BCE), some settlements on the Greek Mainland show features that prompted scholars to call them urban or proto-urban centres (*e.g.* Renfrew 1972; Konsola 1990; Symonds 2018). However, urbanisation as understood in its relative sense seems to appear on the Greek Mainland only in the Late Bronze Age with the onset of the palatial period of the Mycenaean culture in the 14th c. BCE (LH IIIA) (Manning 2010). At this time, after a formative period of rivalry between various local centres, Mycenaean culture entered a new era, dominated by the institution of the palace, which now embodied the much more centralised power of the elite. After the Early Mycenaean elites had subordinated other regional centres and obtained control over conspicuous funerary architecture and prestigious goods, they turned towards forming a new social and economic organisation, centred around the palace. It involved all of the settlements dominated by the palatial centres into networks of various dependences (Voutsaki 2001; 2010a).

Mycenaean palaces have been a focus of scholarly attention for decades. On the one hand, they are monumental architectural complexes, usually centred around a *megaron* (a rectangular hall with an open front porch) and possessing residential, defensive, administrative, economic and religious functions. At the same time, it is the highest institution of Mycenaean society, embodying the power of a *wanax* (king) and an elite supporting him, over a hierarchical social system and centralised palatial economy (Shelton 2010: 143-145)[3]. The emergence of palaces supported the urbanisation of the Mycenaean settlement system, as it catalysed the formation of hierarchical regional networks and the gradual centralisation of administration and economy around the palaces themselves. This centralisation solidified the palace's role in the settlement network and led to the development of the so-called lower towns (Halstead 2007; Voutsaki 2010a). These lower towns functioned as the economic and social background of the palaces and if viewed as a single entity with the palace, can certainly be called urbanised. At the least, the basic internal division between the palatial elite zone and the settlement surrounding it is always archaeologically visible. In this view, the dualistic layout of two entangled entities acquires urban features and I would call it a 'palatial town'. This alternative term refers to a settlement consisting of a palace and a lower town, two parts that are mutually related to and dependent on each other. They form an entanglement of objects (people, buildings, artefacts), with multiple internal and external relations (Hodder 2012). They were the key points of the Mycenaean social, economic and administrative system. With the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces (late LH IIIB2/IIIC Early), not only do the palatial towns cease to exist, but entire regional networks completely shifted. Although some of the palatial sites persisted, they functioned under new conditions, with a new internal organisation and occupied new positions in the settlement network (Kramer-Hajos 2016; Maran & Papadimitriou 2016; Murray 2017).

There are twelve Mycenaean sites on the Mainland that at various points have been called 'palatial' and may therefore be analysed as palatial towns. These sites are Kastro Palaia/Volos, Dimini, Orchomenos, Gla, Thebes, Athens, Mycenae, Argos, Midea, Tiryns, Agios Vasileios and Pylos (Galaty *et al.* 2014: 455). However, most of them, for various reasons, lack any substantial parts of a lower town known either from excavation or surface survey. Some of them also lack definitive evidence for an actual palace. These shortages come from our state of research, but also from the great variety of sizes, forms and regional contexts in which Mycenaean palatial towns functioned. Even a brief survey of available data shows that palatial towns were non-standardised and adapted to local socio-economic situations. It is worth asking if something like a 'standard' Mycenaean town even exists. In the light of the growing body of evidence, it becomes increasingly clear that regional differences, which characterised Early Mycenaean elites, continued also into the palatial era. Despite a certain level of cultural homogeneity, different economic and social organisations functioned in every region of the Mycenaean world (Pantou 2010: 383), including differing administrative practices (Shelmerdine 1999), forms of palaces and settlement networks

3 However, the level of economic and political integration of Mycenaean states, as well as the political organisation of the Mycenaean palatial world are all contested issues.

(Galaty & Parkinson 2007). However, this does not mean that there are no overall social, economic and political patterns related to palaces and palatial towns that can be seen across the Mycenaean world. Regional variability does not exclude more general, trans-regional processes occurring across the Aegean.

As a comprehensive analysis of Mycenaean palatial towns and their various forms is well beyond the scope of this paper, I will solely focus on the sites of Pylos and Mycenae, the two best-known and undoubtedly palatial Mycenaean sites. They will be used as case-studies to present the concept of palatial towns and provide valuable examples of sites with data on both the palaces and the lower towns. They are also valuable settings for the examination of Cretan influence on the cultural and political reality of the Mainland. This influence will further support the following discussion on the origins of Mycenaean palatial towns and the appropriation of palatial culture by the Mycenaean elite.

3. Messenia and the palatial town of Pylos

In Messenia, the palatial administration and organisation of the state towards the end of LH IIIB is particularly well-known, thanks to an extensive archive of Linear B tablets (Blegen & Rawson 1966: 76-94). In the course of the LH period, the site of Pylos dominated Messenia and subordinated other significant centres, like Iklaina and Nichoria, which formed a second tier in the regional settlement network (Bennet 2007). The formation process could have lasted very long, with Iklaina being incorporated into the Pylian administration only in the advanced LH IIIB period (Cosmopoulos 2019: 372-373). The second tier of settlements could have had various historical trajectories, and thus differing relations with the palace[4], as suggested by marked differences between Iklaina and Nichoria (Cosmopoulos 2018: 109). All together there were 17 or 18 towns that served as capitals of the districts, into which the state was divided. Each of them had a local governor *(ko-re-te* in Linear B), most probably appointed by the palace, and who had administrative and political roles (Cosmopoulos 2006: 208). They also had specialised economic functions, focusing on producing and providing different goods for the palace. This functional economic division was at least partially planned by the palace and controlled from it, which is suggested by various Linear B tablets (Stavrianopoulou 1989: tab. 16). They list not only various goods transported to or from the palace, but also multiple individuals playing different roles within the regional administration (Nakassis 2013). Those officials were mainly overseeing economic production and acquisition of goods, thus ensuring that the functional division within the settlement system continued to operate. The network was further supplemented with villages, of which we know 12 names, that formed a third tier of the hierarchy. Some of them also had assigned economic tasks, although from the examples we know, they seem to be less varied than those performed by second tier centres (Cosmopoulos 2006: 211-212). We can identify the lowest, fourth tier, composed of farms and hamlets that were spread around the landscape, solely through surface concentrations of ceramic material. Those sites do not appear in the archives, possibly escaping the scope of palatial administration (Cosmopoulos 2006: 222). On the contrary, settlements of higher tiers are mentioned in the Linear B tablets, but in a few instances have also been identified in the landscape or even excavated. In some cases, it was even possible to propose a link between the actual site and the toponym appearing on the tablets[5].

The centre of this settlement network was the palatial town of Pylos (**Fig. 8.1**). By the end of the LH IIIB period Pylos had developed into an urbanised centre, occupying around 15 ha, and so far estimated to have around 3000 inhabitants (Whitelaw 2001a: 62-67; Bennet 2007: 32-35). Those numbers have been proposed solely on the basis of a distribution of ceramic material on the surface, which was investigated during the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP, see Davis *et al.* 1997). The acropolis went through several architectural phases, with the first monumental architecture and ashlar style masonry attested as early as LH I (Nelson 2001: 113-117). By LH IIIA, an early palace most probably existed, very much Minoan in form (see below; Nelson 2001: 180-205; Rutter 2005: 26-27; Wright 2006: 1). This complex was destroyed at the end of LH IIIA, and at the beginning of LH IIIB replaced by a new Mycenaean palace centred around the *megaron* (Rutter 2005: 28). By

4 For example, processing of metal and especially weapon production could be entrusted rather to faithful allies than recent rivals. Such can be also an alternative explanation of differences in taxation of various districts (Shelmerdine 1973).

5 Those are the sites of Pylos, identified as *pu-ro* (Chadwick 1972), Nichoria, identified as *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* (Shelmerdine 1981) and Iklaina identified as *a-pu*$_2$ (Simpson 1981: 147; Cosmopoulos 2006: 215-217).

the end of LH IIIB, it became a closed residence, with strictly limited and controlled access (Wright 1984; Thaler 2016). It was the seat of a bureaucratic administration, as evidenced by the extensive archives of Linear B tablets (Blegen 1966: 76-95). The palace also served multiple economic functions, storing massive amounts of various goods, including olive oil, and possibly even holding some of the production (Shelmerdine 1984). In LH IIIB, the acropolis was most probably not extensively fortified, with the palace being separated from the Lower Town only by its superior topographic position on the top of the ridge (Bennet 2007: 34). There is a possibility that in LH IIIB, the fortification wall was moved away from the acropolis itself, *i.e.* it would also protect at least parts of the Lower Town. This was suggested by the results of a geophysical survey conducted by Zangger's team as part of PRAP, although never verified by excavation (Zangger *et al.* 1997: 606-613). However, in the earlier phases, the walls possibly encircled only the acropolis, and a massive, fortified gateway was built on its north-eastern edge (Blegen *et al*. 1973: 8-18).

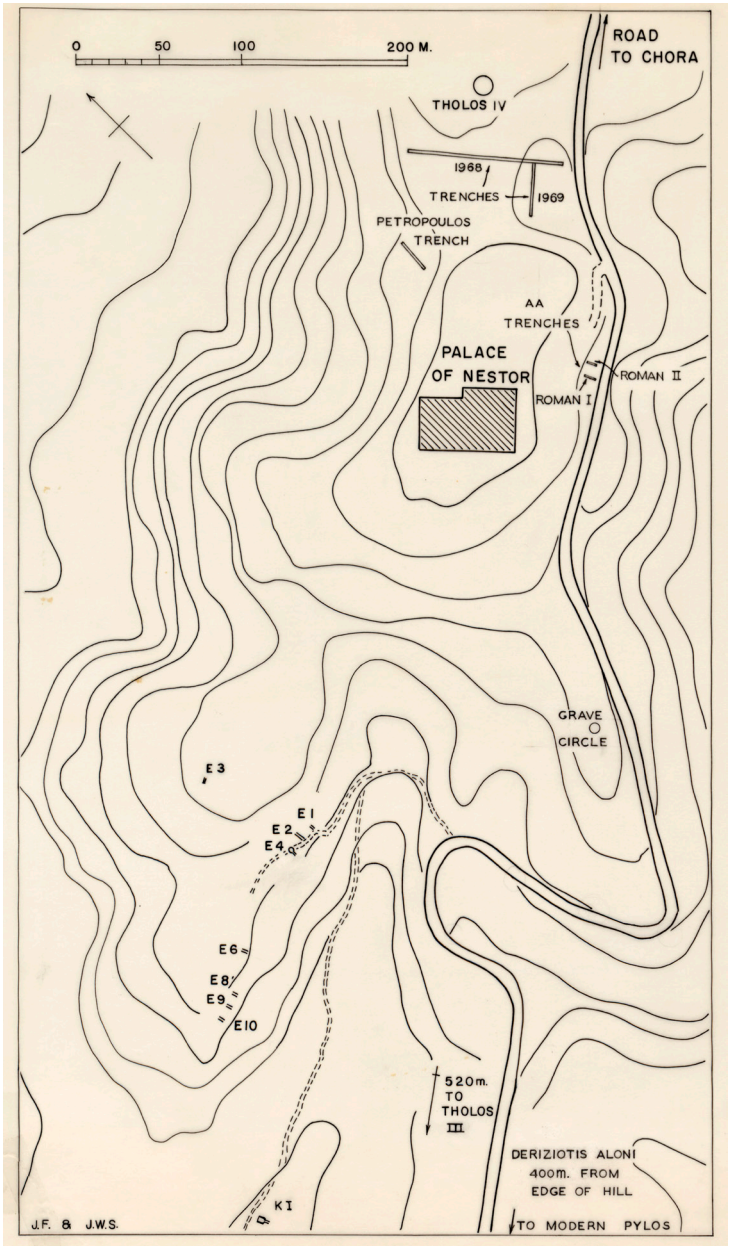

FIG. 8.1 PALACE AT PYLOS AND THE SURROUNDING AREA (BLEGEN *ET AL*. 1973: FIG. 301; COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI)

The gateway was put on the axis between the early palace and a large tholos tomb built in LH I, that stood in the centre of the site (Tholos IV). The two may have been linked by a processional road, although this connection was abandoned in the advanced LH IIIB period. During this time, the palace went through a serious reconstruction that resulted in the overbuilding of its north-eastern facade and moving the main entrance of the complex to the other side of the acropolis (Wright 1984). Another tholos (Tholos III) was built in LH II about a kilometre south-west of the palace. Only this one was still used in LH IIIB (Bennet 2007: 34-35). In the close vicinity of the acropolis there were also other elite Early Mycenaean tombs, although it is difficult to reconstruct their appearance in LH IIIA and IIIB. The first is a Grave Circle located to the south-west of the acropolis. It functioned between MH III and LH IIIA1, possibly then being encroached upon by the settlement (Bennet 2007: 32-34). Another tomb in the vicinity of the palace is a single shaft-grave, dated to LH IIA and excavated in 2015, very close to Tholos IV (Davis & Stocker 2016). It has provided multiple signs of close contacts between Crete and the Early Mycenaean elite of Pylos and was filled with numerous works of Cretan art deposited as grave goods (Davis & Stocker 2016; 2018; Stocker & Davis 2017). Although there is no evidence of its visibility above the surface, it is hard to believe that a grave of such importance would be completely unmarked. I would rather see it as part of a larger elite cemetery set to the north-east of the acropolis, of which Tholos IV would also be a part of. The funerary landscape of Pylos is further supplemented with a cemetery of chamber tombs used between LH I and LH IIIB, established below the south-western slope of the acropolis (Murphy 2016: 53-54).

Unfortunately, not much can be said about the actual settlement and its structures. Blegen excavated some scarce remains on the western slope of the acropolis that suggest the existence of non-funerary structures in this area. He also made some test trenches to the east of the acropolis, in front of Tholos IV, although without any substantial results, which some interpreted with the suggestion that a large open plaza could have existed here (Blegen *et al*. 1973: 47-68; Bennet 2007: 34). However, these claims have recently been challenged by the results of the on-going excavations (Palace of Nestor Excavations). Remains of structures, the functions of which are presently not known, were found directly in front of Tholos IV. They were used in the LH IIIA2-IIIB1 period, although it is not clear if they were supposed to further block the access to the tholos, or emphasise its importance[6].

4. Argolid and the palatial town of Mycenae

In the Argolid, there are three palatial sites – Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea – although Midea is sometimes considered to be only a citadel and not a palatial site (Voutsaki 2010b). This creates difficulties in interpreting the political landscape, especially regarding the question of Mycenaean hegemony over the entire Argolid (Pantou 2010: 396-698; Maran 2015: 280-283). However, in terms of regional settlement hierarchy it is difficult not to see Mycenae at the top (Kelder 2018: 206). It was both the largest and the wealthiest site, concentrating most religious structures, the most elaborate tombs and most of the prestigious goods found in the region (Voutsaki 2001; 2010a; Maran 2015: 281-282). The control over the flow of imported objects and crucial resources and limiting the access to more elaborate tomb forms were possibly the primary ways for palatial sites, and particularly Mycenae, to mark their own power and authority over other settlements in the region (Voutsaki 2001; 2010a). Thus, the first tier of the regional settlement system would comprise Mycenae, serving as economic, administrative and political centre. The second tier comprised Tiryns and Midea, playing the role of supportive, secondary palatial towns. They could also have served as additional residences for the king, although the evidence suggests that this was only the case for Tiryns (Maran 2015: 281-282). The next tier would comprise local centres like Mastos in the Berbati Valley (Klintberg 2011) or Kalamianos on the coast of the Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015; this volume), with many others identified by multiple archaeological surveys (Cherry & Davis 2001: figs 10.1, 10.4). Then we have the lowest, fourth tier of sites, attested by the excavations of the hamlet at Tsoungiza (Wright 1990) and further visible through the distribution of ceramic material. The functional division within the network can be seen by the palatial involvement in various projects, like controlling the pottery production in the Berbati valley (Klintberg 2011: 112), developing settlements in the Nemea Valley in pursuit of new land (Cherry & Davis 2001: 155) or founding the port of Kalamianos, in search for a maritime access to the Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015:

6 http://griffinwarrior.org/griffinwarrior-excavations.html, accessed on 2.05.2019.

389-390). Moreover, Tiryns was one of the major Mediterranean harbours, having a very specialised economic function in the organisation of supra-regional exchange (Maran 2010). One can see that the settlement system was not only hierarchical and structurally divided between palatial and non-palatial centres, but also had at least some degree of functional division, with various settlements playing different roles. Of course, our knowledge about the exact organisation of the settlement network in the Argolid cannot be compared with what we know about Messenia, as we lack an extensive archive of written documents. However, the evidence suggests that the lower-tier settlements were controlled by Mycenae and served it in a planned way that also included economic specialisation.

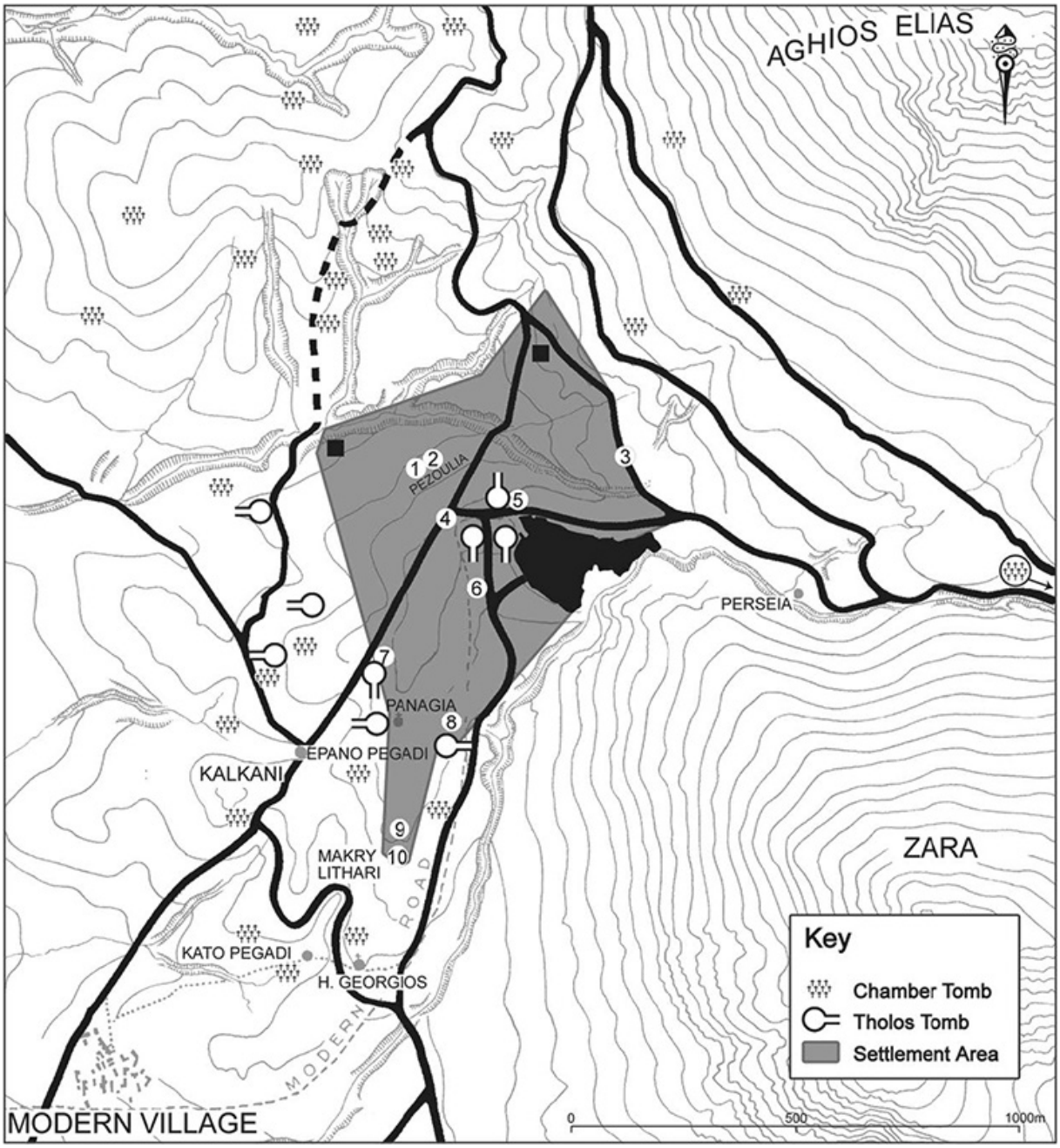

Fig. 8.2 The site of Mycenae (after French 2010: fig. 50.1; Copyright Mycenae Archive)

The centre of the settlement network in the Argolid was the town of Mycenae (**Fig. 8.2**). On the basis of a detailed archaeological survey, the site has been estimated to cover *ca.* 30 ha[7], with a population of 6400 (French 2002: 64). The site was formed around the citadel, which went through multiple architectural phases, spanning the entire LH period. In LH IIIA2, the new elite residence, presumably the first palace, was built on top of the citadel. It was repeatedly rebuilt and developed, together with the entire acropolis. By the end of LH IIIB, the acropolis formed an extensive and heavily fortified citadel that comprised a palace, various administrative buildings, the Cult Centre, and incorporated Grave Circle A of Early Mycenaean shaft graves (French 2002). Despite these various changes, the citadel was always a restricted elite zone, serving administrative, economic and religious functions. It was separated from the rest of the settlement not only topographically and architecturally, but also symbolically, as in order to enter the citadel one had to pass through the Lion Gate[8]. Before reaching the gate, the visitor had to pass three large tholoi, erected directly in front of the citadel. They are part of a group of nine tholoi built on the site from LH IIA to LH IIIB (Wace 1949; French 2002). Multiple chamber tombs are also known from the area around the settlement (Gallou 2005: 7).

Around the citadel there were a few large, wealthy houses with not only a residential but also economic functions, which is suggested by finds of prestigious goods, large storage vessels and Linear B tablets (Burns 2007: 114-118; Crowley 2008: 266). On the other hand, the Panagia Houses, about a kilometre to the south-west of the citadel on the southern edge of the settlement, are an example of a more ordinary structure that probably served as a simple household or a few families (Mylonas-Shear 1987; Burns 2007: 111-115). Altogether, there are 39 houses excavated around Mycenae (Darcque 2005), but in isolation from each other, and no detailed plan of any larger part of the settlement is available. In an attempt to obtain such a plan, the area directly to south-west from the citadel was subject to an extensive geophysical survey (*Mycenae Lower Town Archaeogeophysical Survey*, 2003-2014), followed by excavations of selected features (*Beyond the Walls of Agamemnon: Excavation of the Mycenae Lower Town*, 2007-2013). Despite huge efforts and promising results of the geo-prospection (Maggidis & Stamos 2006), the excavations actually failed to locate large scale remains of a Mycenaean Lower Town[9]. Only a few long stretches of isolated walls and one apsidal building of an unknown function could be dated to the period. In particular, no Mycenaean houses or streets have been identified. Most of the geophysical anomalies appeared to have been caused by multiple Protogeometric/ Archaic structures. Despite this, the geo-prospection provided a variety of other interesting results, including a large anomaly that so far has been interpreted as a massive, fortified gateway, although this needs to be verified by excavation. It seems that at least this part of the settlement was not densely occupied or not used for residential purposes at all.

5. Pylos and Mycenae – a preliminary re-assessment

Both Pylos and Mycenae, together with their regional settlement networks, following the relational definition of urbanisation, were definitely urbanised. Both regional networks were divided structurally into a multi-tiered, hierarchical order, with sites serving diverse functions, often having specialised economic tasks assigned by the palace. Both Pylos and Mycenae have archaeologically visible divisions within the settlement. The elite, palatial zone was clearly separated from the rest of the settlement. Within the rest of the settlement more divisions can possibly be identified, as some areas appear to be restricted for a specific use, even if we are not able to identify this use so far (like in the recently excavated area south-west of the citadel of Mycenae). Most prominent of those are elite cemeteries located inside settlements, although even in this case we are far from understanding how they interacted with other parts of the settlements, especially after the tombs were no longer used to bury the dead[10]. To refine this picture, more research and more data are needed.

7 See http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/gis.html, accessed 2.05.2019.
8 The lion is often interpreted as a heraldic device of the kings of Mycenae (Rutter 2005: 33-34).
9 See http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html, accessed 2.05.2019.
10 For example, we do not know what the structure built in front of Tholos IV in Pylos was and what the entire area between the tholos and the palace actually was.

Some of the more general assumptions regarding lower towns, especially concerning their size and population, should also be revised. For both discussed sites, the size of the settlement was estimated mostly on the basis of distribution of surface ceramic material[11]. As Whitelaw's (2004: 150-152) study of Neopalatial Knossos showed, this method is likely to overestimate the size of the settlement. As the number of non-palatial and non-funerary structures at Pylos and Mycenae is very limited, it does not allow one to reconstruct the actual size and population density of settlements. The number of 200 inhabitants per hectare, often accepted for estimations of populations of Mycenaean sites (Whitelaw 2001a; French 2002)[12], seems significantly too high, even in the light of the brief overview of data presented above. The same has to be said about calculating the population on the basis of the size of entire settlements (Whitelaw 2001a: 63; French 2002: 64; Murray 2017: 236). So far, attempts to excavate actual residential areas (and not single buildings) of the Lower Town in both Pylos and Mycenae have failed, proving that both settlements included large spaces not used for residential purposes. When space occupied by elaborate elite tombs is added to this, one has to ask how much of the estimated sites' extent was actually residential. Whitelaw estimated that about 75 % of Neopalatial Knossos served residential purposes (Whitelaw 2004: 153-154). However, at the Mycenaean site of Kalamianos, which presents the most extensive available plan of a LH IIIA–IIIB Mainland settlement, only about 3.5 out of 7.5 ha is occupied by buildings (Pullen 2015: 378-379, 383). This gives slightly less than 50 % of the settlement being residential, and this under the assumption that all the buildings were at least partially residential. Taking into consideration all the factors listed above, it seems reasonable to assume that both Pylos and Mycenae would fall somewhere between Kalamianos and Knossos when it comes to extent of residential space.

The actual density of the population within residential areas is virtually impossible to reconstruct without extensive excavations providing examples of houses from various parts of the site (Whitelaw 2004: 152-153). The same can be said about the actual appearance of Mycenaean urban space. One can only guess here, for example using sites that give a better perspective as parallels. I would again turn to Kalamianos here, as it provides a large area with diversified buildings, some of which possibly not served only residential functions. That is something that one can expect from the palatial town too, as visible at Mycenae (elite houses surrounding the citadel) and to some extent also at Pylos (building in front of Tholos IV). About 50 buildings with 120 rooms have been identified at Kalamianos (Pullen 2015: 378). Two building types appear on the site most often: small, four-roomed buildings set at a distance from other structures, and larger, multi-roomed complexes, some of which may have contained more than one functional unit. Some of the multi-roomed households have a four-roomed core, that was probably later supplemented with additional rooms. It would require detailed research to calculate a possible density of population of Kalamianos, and little accuracy can be achieved without additional excavations (the site was mapped and researched only by an intensive, multi-disciplinary survey, as all the structures are visible on the surface; Pullen 2015; this volume) that would identify functions of various buildings and rooms with greater detail and certainty. However, it is already possible to say that the number of 200 inhabitants per hectare mentioned above is essentially impossible to reach. It would require each of the buildings to be inhabited by an average of 14 people[13]. This is highly doubtful, as only some of them could contain more than one nuclear family household, and others were possibly not residential, or only partially residential[14]. Moreover, historical analyses of pre-industrial agrarian contexts provided an average estimate of four to five individuals per nuclear family household (Gallant 1991: 11-33). Of course, it is not certain that residential spaces of palatial towns like Mycenae or Pylos would look like Kalamianos, but in general the evidence suggests that current estimates of their population should be treated with caution and possibly significantly reduced.

11 In case of Mycenae, the survey also identified and mapped all visible remains including structures, buildings, guard towers, beacons, wall remains, tombs, roads, and bridges (http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/gis.html, accessed on 19.06.2019).

12 However, it has to be noted here that E. French also suggested that the proposed estimation of population density might be too high (French 2002: 64).

13 3.5 ha of a possibly residential space x 200 inhabitants = 700 inhabitants. This number divided by 50 buildings gives an average of 14 people per building.

14 For example, building 7-1/7-III (Pullen 2015: 386-388), a large structure of possibly mostly administrative and economic functions.

6. Appropriation of palatial culture on the Greek Mainland

The situation described above characterised the LH IIIB period, which saw the greatest development and expansion of Mycenaean culture and was the acme of palatial culture on the Mainland, when palatial towns dominated hierarchical settlement networks (Voutsaki 2010a). The period also witnessed significant growth in the number and population of settlements, together with increased exploitation of land and resources, all of which further supported growth of settlement networks (Shelton 2010). However, crucial for the beginning of urbanisation on the Mainland is the appropriation of palatial culture, including written administration, by the Mainland elites. The appearance of palaces on the Mainland not only further separated the ruling class from the rest of the community, strengthening internal settlement divisions but, most importantly, marked the transition from a chiefdom and kinship economy to a palatial hierarchy and the bureaucratic early state. The latter form of government is possible only with the use of written documentation, which allowed the palatial sites to move from dominating other settlements through controlling their access to various goods and tomb forms, to actually affecting their economy so that it worked for the palace[15]. This is the key to forming an urbanised settlement network, with sites being not only structurally but also functionally differentiated. It seems reasonable to see the main impulse for appearance of palaces on the Mainland coming from Crete.

Minoan culture had an immense influence on the formation of Mycenaean material culture, but also possibly affected Mycenaean religion and identity (*e.g.* Dickinson 1977; Whittaker 2002; Cadogan & Kopaka 2010; Maran 2011; Molloy 2012). Mycenaean material culture was heavily influenced by Cretans in terms of craftsmanship, iconography and architecture. Contacts with Crete, of diverse nature, were one of the triggers that started the transformation of Early Mycenaean social, economic and political systems, allowing some of the centres to rise above others (Shelton 2010; Maran 2011: 286). All of this suggests long-lasting permanent contacts between the inhabitants of the Mainland and Crete, possibly with some migration, especially of skilled craftsmen. The Mainland could interact with Crete in multiple fields, including the transfer of goods and skills, but also through warfare (Molloy 2012). Concerning the latter we should not limit our interpretations only to Mycenaeans raiding Crete or serving as mercenaries in Minoan palaces. Those ideas dominated the discussion on warfare between Crete and the Mainland for years, being based mostly on the widespread assumption that warlike Mycenaeans were set against peaceful Minoans (*e.g.* Evans 1930: 89-99; Hooker 1967; Wright 2008: 243). However, this view has changed and it has become increasingly clear that war and warrior identity were in fact important and common in Minoan society (Molloy 2012). It is clear that Cretans at least indirectly affected the political situation on the Mainland through contacts with various Mycenaean centres, but we should also accept the possibility that they could have been actively involved in conflicts on the Mainland, taking part in shaping the local political situation. In fact, in the MH III–LH II period, the flow of military ideologies was coming to the Mainland from Crete (Maran 2011: 284; Molloy 2012: 120). It seems possible that the cultivated warrior identity of the Mycenaeans was actually formed through contacts with Crete and was not in any opposition to Minoan identity (Maran 2011: 284-287)[16].

In such a connected environment, transfer of palatial culture from Crete to the Mainland is not surprising. It is likely that it was a long-lasting process, spanning LH II to LH IIIA, and somehow connected with the crucial changes occurring at the end of the Neopalatial period. In LM II, Crete enters the so-called Monopalatial or Final Palatial period (Hallager 2010). All the Minoan palaces except Knossos were destroyed, while Knossos itself dominated the island but also underwent dramatic changes, including a change in the language of administration from whatever is represented by the undeciphered Linear A, to Greek, in the form of Linear B (Macdonald 2010). Change of the administrative language at Knossos is usually interpreted as evidence of a Mycenaean/Mainland takeover of the site, and considering the situation at other sites, of the entire island (Rutter 2018: 210). At the same time (LH IIB-LH IIIA1), the first monumental Mycenaean residence, although not a palace yet, is attested on the Mainland at the site of the Menelaion in Laconia (Shelton 2010; Rutter 2018: 210). It was suggested that this period also marks the beginnings and sudden growth of a Mycenaean political and military complex that at some

15 However, we have to remember that this was very limited, and presumably most of the local economic and social life was still in a non-palatial sphere, see for example Nakassis 2013 for a study of palatial involvement into the economy using the example of Pylos.

16 It was also suggested that the Mycenaeans' approach to war and warrior-hood was closely connected to their Indo-European origins (Czebreszuk 2011: 62-68). This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of Minoans affecting the development of a Mycenaean identity.

stage could form a united Mycenaean kingdom (Eder & Jung 2015)[17]. Knossos was once again destroyed in LM IIIA2 Early, never regaining its former position and most probably losing political control over the island. This key moment marks the rise of the first palatial centres on the Mainland at Mycenae, Pylos and Agios Vasileios (Rutter 2018: 210-212).

Even if the exact political reality behind the narrative presented above escapes us, the sequence of events is probably not coincidental. The transfer of palatial culture to the Mainland must somehow have been entangled with the political history of the Bronze Age Aegean and interactions between the Mainland and Cretan centres, particularly with Knossos, which became the first 'Mycenaean' palatial town, but of a very peculiar, very much Minoan, nature. However, it is still possible to suggest some of the processes that led to the transfer of palatial culture to the Mainland. Two key ones would be the transfer of architectural techniques that enabled the construction of monumental, elaborate residences and the development and spread of the Linear B script that enabled palatial administration to function and control the regional settlement networks. The former included the use of timber framing, rubble core in the interior walls, and also covering them with plaster. The exterior walls of the palaces were constructed of ashlar blocks. Mortar was also occasionally used. All of these techniques derived from Minoan Crete (Nelson 2001; Rutter 2005: 22-35). Some Minoan-style mason's marks have been identified on the Mainland, most prominent a double axe on an ashlar block at Pylos of presumable LH II date, but others were found also in the dromos of the tholos at Peristeria (Rutter 2005: 26). Noteworthy, a careful examination of architectural phases of the palace at Pylos shows that the earliest pseudo-ashlar walls could be as early as LH I (Nelson 2001: 113-117). They are later replaced by LH II orthostat walls (Nelson 2001: 117-125). Nothing certain can be said about the actual plan of those earliest remains, but in LH IIIA there were already at least three separate ashlar-style buildings centred around a large courtyard (Nelson 2001: 125-154). It has repeatedly been suggested that these remains formed an early palace with a Minoanising plan (Nelson 2001: 180-205; Rutter 2005: 27; Wright 2006: 14). This complex is destroyed by the end of LH IIIA and is replaced in LH IIIB by a Mycenaean palace centred around the *megaron* (Rutter 2005: 2008).

Another crucial site for our understanding of the development of palatial architecture on the Mainland is Agios Vasileios. A palace excavated here, erected in LH IIIA2 Early and destroyed early in LH IIIB (Kardamaki 2017: 111), provides us with the best example of an early Mycenaean palace. It has some features that are so far unique for the Mainland, especially the presence of the West Stoa, a large courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. This is a feature unparalleled at any other Mainland palace, resembling closely Minoan court-centred palaces and having a close parallel at Kommos (Vasilogamvrou 2013: 104-110).

The first Mainland palaces could not have been erected without the use of new building techniques for the construction of monumental architecture. The evidence suggests that those techniques were transferred to the Mainland from Minoan Crete, although the exact mechanisms behind this transfer remain unknown. It seems possible that they could have included both direct participation of Cretans in the construction and also appropriation of new techniques by Mainlanders, through direct contact with Minoan craftsmen. Transfer of technology in prehistoric societies was a generational process that could only happen within a continuative master-pupil relation. As shown by Gosselain's ethnographic studies of African potters, common technology is actually a better indicator of mutual connections than any kind of stylistic similarity of pottery (Gosselain 1992; 1999). Architecture, a craft more complicated than pottery, could have needed even more intensive and long-lasting interactions to be taught properly. Even if some of the first palaces on the Mainland were built by or with the help of Minoan craftsmen, they had to transfer their knowledge, as is evidenced by the continuous building programs of Mycenaean palaces (Shelton 2010: 140). It is crucial to remember that while Minoan architectural tradition influenced the development of Mainland palaces, their form largely derived from an indigenous, Middle Helladic tradition. The latter is mostly manifested in the continuous use of the *megaron* (Hitchcock 2010: 187). It is also clear that the level of Minoan influence on the development of each Mainland palace differed greatly. At Pylos, the architectural styles used between LH I and LH IIIA do not only derive from Cretan models, but also appear in exactly the same relative chronological sequence as they do on Crete (Rutter 2005: 27). Moreover, the form of the LH IIIA complex at Pylos

17 The latter hypothesis has also been formulated by J. Kelder (2010; 2018), although he does not include Crete in his reconstruction of Mycenaean political reality, which flaws the hypothesis and brings problems to his narration of a way in which such a kingdom was supposedly formed. However, he still has assembled multiple arguments for the hypothesis.

appears to resemble a Minoan palace. The latter can be also said about the LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1 palace at Agios Vasileios. On the other hand, Mycenae never showed a strong Minoan influence on its architecture, except for the use of ashlar masonry (Crowley 2008: 265).

The second crucial technology for the transfer of palatial culture was script and written documentation. The Linear B script is derived from earlier Linear A and therefore preserves a lot of Minoan elements (Palaima 2010). It is not clear exactly when and where the script was developed[18], but the earliest preserved Knossian collection was convincingly dated to LM IIIA1 (Driessen 2000; 2008: 70-72), so the period broadly contemporary with the earliest tablets on the Mainland (Palaima 2010). Again, we do not know the exact causes that led to the formation of Linear B, but the whole process can certainly be seen as the acculturation of a foreign practice by the Mycenaean elite (Feuer 2011: 519-520). To utilise the accepted practice, it was modified, with the language of the script being rejected and replaced with Greek. The function of the appropriated script was limited solely to serving administrative and economic functions, by listing various goods and lands assigned, sent or owned by various members of society (Palaima 2010). This also seems to have been the main function of the Linear A script (Tomas 2010). This suggests that the acculturation, modification and then spread of the script on the Mainland was a deliberate process, that was supposed to support one particular function. Its appearance in each Mainland region had to be closely related with the acceptance of the palatial culture and the need of the local elite to control the flow of people and resources in a more organised way. Without this need there was virtually no reason for the use of Linear B[19]. Use of the script was also another technology transferred on the base of a master-pupil relation, and long-lasting, intense human-human interactions. This process was certainly more complicated at the beginning, when the new script was being formed.

7. Acceptance and rejection of Minoan influence

The palatial culture that was transferred to the Mainland from Crete, which enabled the transformation of Mycenaean reality, was beyond technology. Most likely it was closely connected with a local ideology of power. In this case, we can assume that Mycenaean and Minoan social systems differed greatly and that palatial culture was introduced in a much different way on the Mainland than it was on Crete. Ultimately, the transfer of technology was not necessarily accompanied by the transfer of ideology. This is suggested by marked differences between Mycenaean palaces and palatial towns and their Minoan counterparts.

In comparison with Minoan palatial sites, the Mycenaean communities seem to have been much more dominated by the palaces rising over them. Archaeologically, this is most easily seen in two features. First, massive fortifications dividing the elite zone from the rest of the community, and secondly a proportionally larger share of the elite zone in the overall size of the settlement (Tiryns 1.8 of 25 ha – 7,2 %; Pylos 1 of 12 ha – 8,3 %; Mycenae 3 of 30 ha – 10 %). The Mycenaean palace with its surroundings (so the entire elite zone separated from the rest of the settlement) occupied 7 to 10 % of each site. In comparison, Minoan palaces occupied only 2 to 5 % of the settlement (Branigan 2001b: 44). This can also point towards greater economic imbalance between the elite and the rest of the community, but to examine that we need more excavated households from Mycenaean lower towns.

Secondly, empty spaces in Mycenaean towns seem to have been designed for processions, rather than for communal gatherings (Cavanagh 2001). Since we lack good excavated portions of lower towns, this idea is based mostly on the frequent appearance of processions on Mycenaean wall paintings and the layout of roads cutting through Mycenae. The processions were designed to pass the most monumental structures of the town, possibly giving other inhabitants the opportunity to observe members of the elite in procession (Cavanagh 2001: 131-132). This hypothesis fits well with other characteristics of a Mycenaean palatial town such as the presence of large elite tombs inside the settlement, which happens at both Pylos and Mycenae. Such tombs possibly supported interactions between the elite members, burying their dead, and the rest of the community, observing or even

18 The most widespread hypothesis is that the script was formed in Knossos sometime between LH IIB and LH IIIA1 (Rutter 2018: 211).

19 This assumption is based on the fact that all the known Linear B documents truly served this single function. However, it is not impossible that there existed other, more perishable categories of written documents, that could have served a different purpose. This of course would make the whole matter more complicated and the spread of the Linear B script would not always have to relate to economic changes.

to some extent taking part in the funerary ritual. This is perhaps also suggested by the continuous lengthening of *dromoi* in Mycenaean funerary architecture, which could be caused by the need to extend the ritual space (Papadimitriou 2015: 104). However, this again only focuses the social interaction on the elite. This is in contrast with Minoan open access courts and squares, that supposedly allowed more egalitarian and inclusive interactions to take place (Letesson & Vansteenhuyse 2006: 111-112).

The Mycenaean palace in its form differed greatly from the Minoan palace, being centred around a *megaron*, an architectural form probably deriving from the Middle Helladic tradition (Hitchcock 2010: 186-187). It was also a closed complex, with a control of access gradually increasing as one entered inside (Cavanagh 2001: 130-131; Thaler 2016). Outer courts, where most of the economic activities probably took place, were still accessible for some of the members of the lower classes, providing the palace with various goods. Inner courts and the centre of the palace were reserved for an elite and their guests only, and presumably even among the elite only a very restricted audience was allowed to be present inside the main *megaron*. Interestingly, Mycenaean palaces were always separated from the rest of the settlement, often by massive fortifications. All of this is in contrast with Minoan palaces, being relatively open, accessible and centred around large courtyards, with no clear boundary set between the palace and the surrounding town (Branigan 2001b: 44).

It seems that, while Minoan influence on Mycenaean culture was immense and included transfer of technologies necessary for development of palatial culture, the Mainland social system and ideology of power developed independently. The Mainland elites appropriated the palatial culture but also transformed it for their own purposes and according to the different social situation on the Mainland. They chose what they needed from it while rejecting what they considered unnecessary or even a threat to their own position. Palaces were used to formalise power, further restrict access to the ruling class and concentrate administrative, economic and religious functions. Most if not all of the social interactions with the rest of the community were linked to residences and tombs of the elite. Even the large communal feasts that took place in the Mycenaean palaces (Wright 2004; Hruby 2006) did not escape this logic, as they provided the opportunity for the *wanax* to host some members of the community in his own house – the palace. Furthermore, feasts could actually furnish the opportunity to further emphasise social divisions, as various guests could have been divided into groups of different status (Bendall 2004).

8. Conclusions

During the LH period, the Mycenaean elite appropriated the Minoan palatial culture and modified it to fit the needs of the local social situation. The idea of the palace was used to formalise power and authority secured by the elite groups during the preceding period of rivalry. The form of the palace was modified to become a closed residence of a Mycenaean *wanax*, separated from the rest of the settlement. This architectural development was supported by the use of Minoan craftsmanship and building techniques on the Mainland. At the same time, the use of the modified Minoan script enabled changes in the Mycenaean economic system, supporting functional specialisation of settlements. Structural differentiation of settlements was originally formed by rivalry between various centres in the Early Mycenaean period and was later fixed by political control of the palaces over surrounding regions. All those processes caused urbanisation (understood relationally) of regional Mainland settlement systems, which began in LH IIIA and reached its peak in LH IIIB. Lower towns were developed, as people gathered around centres of power, and settlement networks gradually transformed, forming structural and hierarchical division of settlements that due to use of written documents was supplemented with a functional division based on assigning specific economic tasks to various settlements.

One of the aspects of the urbanisation of Mycenaean culture was the formation of palatial towns: entities formed by the palaces and the lower towns surrounding them. Although our knowledge about lower towns is limited, some preliminary conclusions about their characteristics can be formed on the basis of what we know regarding the settlements surrounding the Pylos and Mycenae palaces. They were small in size in comparison to contemporary Near Eastern centres (see Whitelaw 2001b: 27-31; Branigan 2001b: 38-42 for a comparative perspective, although focused on Minoan sites) and heavily entangled with elaborate elite residences and tombs that occupied prominent locations in their very centres. A large share of the palatial zone in the overall size of the settlement, the lack of monumental public buildings, the processional nature of empty spaces and the multiple elaborate funerary structures inside the settlement all suggest an overwhelming domination of the elite over the town's community.

Mycenaean palatial towns may not have been that densely occupied, having probably less than 200 inhabitants per hectare (see above), which, together with their small size, suggests rather small communities in comparison to Near Eastern centres. This is significant, as size and thus population of the settlement is an important factor to estimate its economic needs and capabilities (Murray 2017: 211-212). Even if the Mycenaean elite was sometimes able to present itself as equal to rulers of Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt[20], the community behind it certainly was not. However, Mycenaean palatial towns were still the most prominent sites within their respective regional settlement networks, serving as political and administrative capitals of Mycenaean states. Changes occurring on the Greek Mainland – growth of palatial sites, movement of population and an increasing level of organisation of settlement systems –, despite a specific local form, represent, in general, the same processes of formation and development of palatial societies that appeared widely in the Bronze Age Mediterranean (Van de Mieroop 2007: 129-144). They were closely connected with more general and common processes of growing social stratification and increasing levels of political organisation of communities that were shared through the wide Mediterranean cultural zone.

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20 For example, when the king of Ahhiyawa was named brother by the Hatti emperor (Mee 1998: 143; Taracha 2006: 145). See for example Kelder 2010 for an overview of relations between the Aegean and the great powers of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean.

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9. Transforming the Landscape

An Idiosyncratic Response towards Increasing Overseas Influences in the Tremitos valley (SE Cyprus) at the Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age

Jan Coenaerts
Melissa Samaes
Karin Nys[1]

1. Introduction[2]

At the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (Middle Cypriot (MC) III and Late Cypriot (LC) I, *ca*. 1700-1450 BCE)[3], Cyprus was gradually moving away from isolation and towards increased participation in East Mediterranean exchange networks. A more complex society emerged, which is evidenced by the development of a stratified society derived from mortuary assemblages with an increasing amount of exotica and imported objects (Keswani 2004; Knapp 2013a: 19-22). As a response to the opening up of the Cypriot society, the socio-political organisation changed significantly from the preceding Early and Middle Cypriot agropastoral and egalitarian society. The exact makeup of the MC III-LC I society is a matter of scholarly debate, wavering between maximalist views for the formation of a hierarchical (secondary) state led by Enkomi (Smith 1994; Webb 2005; Knapp 2013a) and minimalist interpretations suggesting a society managed by autonomous regional polities led by local, economic elites (Merrilees 1992; Keswani 1996; Peltenburg 1996; Manning & De Mita 1997). Peltenburg (2012) mediated between a regional and centralised governed island by proposing a confedered socio-political organisation emerging at the start of MC III-LC I. In this view, there is a single ruler (a king) residing at Enkomi, who is the representative of the regional powers in Cyprus embodying an overall unity of the island, especially towards international contacts.

The socio-political changes also triggered transformations in the settlement systems during this transitional phase. The agropastoral villages typical for the Early and Middle Bronze Age made way for more complex modes of managing the landscape with the emergence of proto-urban coastal centres. These were often linked to settlement systems used for the transport and trade of copper, fortified sites and production sites (mining, pottery *etc*.), as observed in the transport route from the mining area in the lower Troodos to Enkomi (Peltenburg 1996; Brown 2013). In addition, we perceive an increase in the number of sites in a previously unoccupied territory, together with an intensification in agricultural practices, technological developments, an exploitation of less suitable soils and an increased clearance of forests, implying a higher human impact on the landscape (Knapp 2013a: 28).

The appearance of imports in mortuary assemblages testifies to the growing contacts and exchange of goods, especially Egyptian and Syrian pottery as well as Near Eastern cylinder seals, in return for Cypriot copper extracted from the Troodos foothills and other more perishable commodities at the onset of MC III-LC I (Keswani 2004: 124). While there are indications that the local communities were more than passive recipients of luxury foreign products (Crewe 2012: 226), it is clear that the initiative for exchange came from foreign traders. During MC III-LC I, the first indications for the adoption of overseas symbols and imagery related to elite behaviour and Levantine warrior burials appeared in mortuary assemblages across the island (Crewe 2012: 225-226). Typical artefacts include elaborate military equipment such as maceheads, bronze belts and shaft-hole axes (Keswani 2004: 388-390). Emerging elite groups managed this exchange in their desire to emulate Levantine or Near Eastern elites (Steel 2014: 578; Knapp 2013b: 398-399).

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3 The transitional period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age is often denoted as MC III-LC IA, which corresponds in absolute terms to 1700-1550 BCE (Knapp 2013b: 27-28). Since most of the contexts in the Tremitos valley derive from cemeteries explored during the 19th c. CE, it is difficult to determine a more specific chronological delineation.

Although the Cypriot rise from isolation starts at the north-west coast of the island during MC I-II (Webb 2018), the majority of overseas trade and contacts shift to the east of the island at the start of the MC III-LC I period, as shown by the extensive trade relations at Kalopsida during MC III (Crewe 2010) and, subsequently, by the substantial remains of copper production in the MC III-LC I 'fortress' and the imported commodities and exotica in the tombs at Enkomi (Kassianidou 2012: 97-98).

Along the south coast, we observe two ways of organising the settlement system as a response towards the increasing foreign influences during MC III-LC I depending on topographical differences and distances to copper-mining areas. The first method, which is visible in the Kalavasos valley (Keswani 1996), implies a river valley with a long occupation sequence, and a coastal site sufficiently close (5 km) to the copper mines; thus, there existed no need for intermediary sites between the coastal gateway and the mining area. The Diarizos valley illustrates an alternative response (Georgiou 2019). Here, intermediary sites are a prerequisite for bridging the distance for the emerging coastal gateways to the upriver mining areas. In the south-east of the island, specifically in the Tremitos valley, we also find indications of foreign contacts at the start of MC III-LC I, but it remains unclear if this region followed similar or divergent trajectories towards the integration into foreign trade networks. Therefore, this article seeks to investigate how the landscape was transformed by the communities of the Tremitos valley as a response to increasing external interactions, thereby contributing to a more region-specific understanding of the influence of external relations in the changing society of MC III-LC I. We will explore the changing settlement system in relation to the Tremitos valley landscape and topography, and we will follow this with a discussion of the evidence for the adoption of foreign ideas with the valley as a marker for societal change. This will be placed within an island-wide context. Before exploring the settlement system of the Tremitos valley, it is useful to take a closer look at its physical evidence and how people populated the region before the MC III-LC I transition.

2. The Tremitos valley: the physical evidence (Fig. 9.1)

The Tremitos river, located in south-east Cyprus, runs about 25 km north-west to south-east. The river catchment represents about 175 km^2. It has an intermittent character and a heavily meandering run, which makes the river quite unsuitable for navigation with a boat (Stewart *et al.* 2014; Coenaerts 2016: 35-36).

The Tremitos river wells up at two sources in the copper-rich cretaceous igneous rocks (Pillow Lavas) of the Troodos foothills forming an east branch and a west branch. The eastern part of the river is located to the north of Stavrovouni and runs south towards Klavdia village. The western part meanders intensely in the direction of Agia Anna, cutting deep into the low Palaeocene-Miocene marl and limestone hills, passing west of Kalo Korio (Ghilardi *et al*. 2015: 184-187) and joining the east arm at Klavdia-*Tremitos*. After the confluence, the river runs directly south in the direction of Tersefanou village and Arpera Chiftlik. Next, it bends south-west in the direction of Kiti village and then south towards the Mediterranean Sea. Due to the deep cutting of the river, it seems that the current river follows the same run as during the Bronze Age (Gifford 1978). The area around the current mouth, although dry now, has long been indicated as a marshy area (Gifford 1978: 141, 167-168), possibly forming a tributary in ancient times. According to Leonard (2000: 131-137; 2004: 88-91), it is not unlikely that there was an unknown gateway community near the mouth of the river, perhaps along a not-yet-identified part of the tributary.

Interesting to note is the connection of the Tremitos river with the Larnaca Salt Lake, which was a navigable lagoon connected to the sea and one of the finest sheltered natural harbours of the island during the greater part of the Bronze Age (Devillers *et al*. 2015). After passing Kalo Korio village, an older river-arm runs east towards the north of the ancient lagoon, which is identified based on its gradient, deep cutting nature and alluvial deposits (Coenaerts 2016). Near the Kamares Aquaduct, it flows into the present-day Larnaca Salt Lake.

The topographical layout of the Tremitos valley makes it an attractive region, whereby the river facilitated trade and communication connecting the copper-bearing lower Pillow Lavas in the Troodos Mountains with the coastal plain and the coast. Furthermore, the river was part of the trade and communication network in central Cyprus during the Bronze Age, organised along the major river valleys (*e.g*. Georgiou 2015; Manning 2019). In this way, it seems that the Tremitos river connected the Larnaca Bay area with sites, such as Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi*, Alambra, and Agios Sozomenos, in the centre of the island (Satraki 2019).

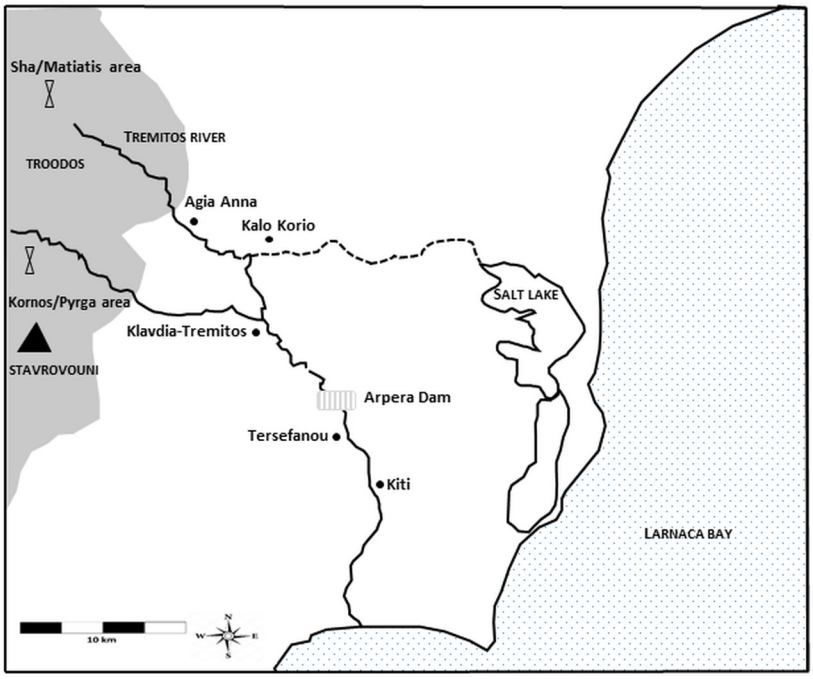

FIG. 9.1 PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE TREMITOS RIVER (J. COENAERTS)

3. Landscape and settlement in the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 9.2)

Before turning to the changing landscape of the MC III-LC I period, it is important to sketch the island-wide situation in order to understand the changes in the settlement system from the previous Early and Middle Bronze Age.

Viewed from an island-wide perspective, Cypriot society during the EC and MC periods is characterised by village communities involved in agriculture, coarsely clustered into regional networks based on their local topography (Frankel 2014). Cyprus was not completely isolated, but imports suggest that trade did not occur in a regular and organised way, although this may have been different during MC I-II in the north-west of the island (Webb 2018). Settlements were preferably located in the interface between the upland sedimentary soils and copper-bearing Pillow Lavas at the foot of the Troodos Mountains.

During MC I-II, it seems that social inequality increased in the north-west part of the island (Peltenburg 1996: 27; Keswani 2004: 153-154). Tomb gifts from cemeteries at Vasilia, Vounous and Lapitos show a more sumptuous mortuary representation (*e.g.* metal weaponry), suggesting social differences (Webb 2017; Crewe 2017; Manning 2019). In contrast, cemeteries along the south coast and in the centre of the island do not show such rich funerary displays.

Turning to the situation in the Tremitos valley, it is clear that this was a sparsely populated area. Six sites are known for EC and MC. Three cemetery sites are located on the banks of the river, namely Agia Anna and Arpera Chiftlik-*Agios Andronikos* and -*Mosfilos*. Their location, 3 to 4 km inland in the fertile river valley close to a crossroad of land and river routes, fits the pattern of contemporary sites elsewhere in Cyprus (Frankel 2014).

The cemetery of Larnaca-*Kato Vlakos Chiftlik* is located immediately north of the ancient lagoon along an older Tremitos river-arm. Tomb evidence suggests that during MC II Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou* emerged. This site is located about 600 m south-west from Larnaca-*Kato Vlakos Chiftlik*, suggesting that the cemeteries of *Laxia tou Rhiou* and *Kato Vlakos Chiftlik* were both outlying cemeteries that served the same settlement (Coenaerts *et al*. forthcoming). Although not directly connected to the Tremitos valley, it is important to mention low-density occupation on the east and west sides of the lagoon, 2 to 3 km from *Laxia tou Riou*. The cemetery of Kiton-*Agios Prodromos*, 2 km east of *Laxia tou Riou*, appears to continue into MC II, although its main use can be assigned

to the Early Bronze Age (Herscher 1988). Three kilometres south-west, on the highest point in the vicinity of the lagoon at 20 m above sea-level, the MC I-II cemetery evidence at Dromolaxia-*Melissari* indicates the earliest sign of human activity on the west site of the lagoon.

The limited and damaged mortuary datasets of the sites in the Tremitos valley point to village-based communities involved in an agropastoral economy. The absence of imports in the sites' assemblages indicates that this region did not have foreign trade connections, which is in contrast with the situation in north-west Cyprus. The low-density occupation close to the shore (*e.g*. at Dromolaxia-*Melissari* or Kition-*Agios Prodromos*) probably indicates that local trade along the coast prevailed.

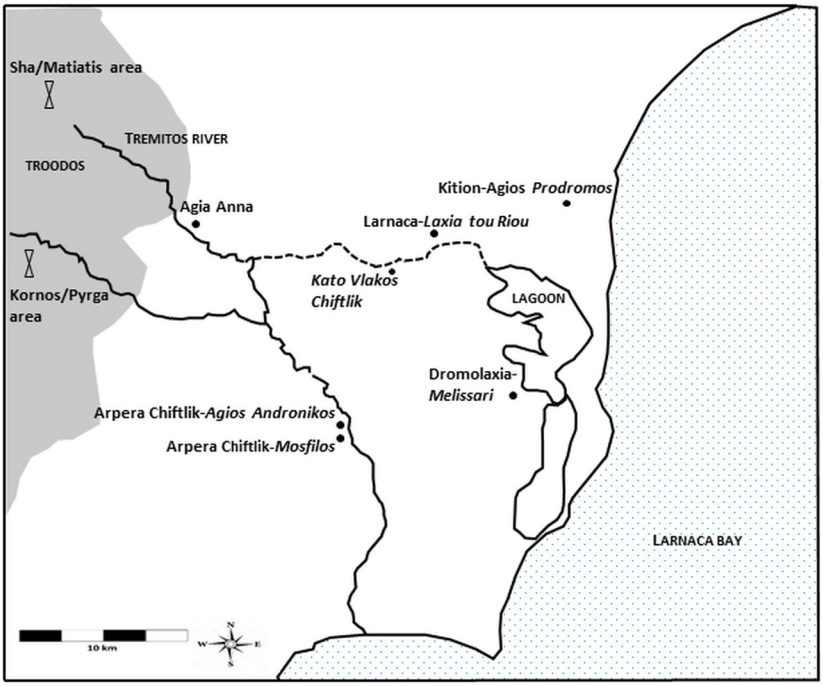

FIG. 9.2 SETTLEMENT ORGANISATION IN THE TREMITOS VALLEY AND AROUND THE LARNACA SALT LAKE DURING MC I-II (J. COENAERTS)

4. Shifting landscapes during MC III-LC I (Fig. 9.3)

The settlement system in the Tremitos river valley underwent a significant change during MC III-LC I. The communities of the river valley founded three new sites (*i.e*. Hala Sultan Tekke, Klavdia-*Tremitos*, Kalo Korio) at strategic locations in the landscape to facilitate trade and communication from the copper procurement areas in the lower mountains to the sea. Older sites, such as *Kato Vlakos Chiftlik*, were abandoned, perhaps to populate the newly developing Hala Sultan Tekke (Coenaerts 2016).

Somewhere during MC III, Hala Sultan Tekke emerged as a nucleus of several sites at the western shore of the lagoon, which functioned as a fine sheltered harbour. The Hala Sultan Tekke nucleus consisted of a dispersed-site structure with probably the core at Dromolaxia-*Trypes* and outlying site parts at Dromolaxia-*Vyzakia* and Dromolaxia-*Melissari* within a radius of about 1 km. Although the extensively excavated settlement remains of *Vyzakia* are predominantly dated to LC IIIA (Åström 1996), previous occupation can be demonstrated by mortuary data from the British tombs (Åström 1976: 60; Bailey 1976: 29-30) and habitation vestiges in trial trenches (Håkansson 1989). The bulldozed site of *Trypes*, located *ca*. 650 m west of *Vyzakia*, undoubtedly shows convincing MC III-LC I settlement evidence (*e.g*. wells, pits), as well as two tombs in use during this period (Åström 1977; Admiraal 1982). Tomb evidence at *Melissari*, a third locality 700 m south-west of *Vyzakia*, probably represents an outlying cemetery (Coenaerts 2016). Earlier occupation at the eastern shore (*e.g*. at Kition-*Agios Prodromos*) disappeared, perhaps to populate newly merging sites in the vicinity.

The fact that the Hala Sultan Tekke nucleus did not consist of a continuous built-up area, but of open spaces between different site parts, possibly points to a heterogeneous social stratification that, according to Keswani (1996: 136), arose from different groups from abandoned inland villages that were eager to take part in the new trade opportunities (Keswani 2004: 124). It is, however, also conceivable that it reflects a spatial diversification of functional use with habitation quarters separated from craft areas.

The other two sites that arose during MC III–LC I (*i.e.* Klavdia-*Tremitos* and Kalo Korio) were founded at strategic topographical nodes. Klavdia-*Tremitos* emerges at the junction of the eastern and western arm of the Tremitos river at the foot of the Metsavouno plateau, where it is possible to see both the lagoon and the Tremitos river down to its mouth. Nearly all evidence from this site comes from different tomb clusters, which are all fairly closely located to the junction of both river arms. Minor habitation traces such as wells point to a settlement at the same spot (Catling 1962; Coenaerts 2016). Notwithstanding, although the tombs' contexts were damaged due to the 19th-c. British Museum explorations (Malmgren 2003), the typochronology of the tomb offerings reveals that Klavdia-*Tremitos* came into use during MC III and continued until mid-LC IIC (Kiely 2011).

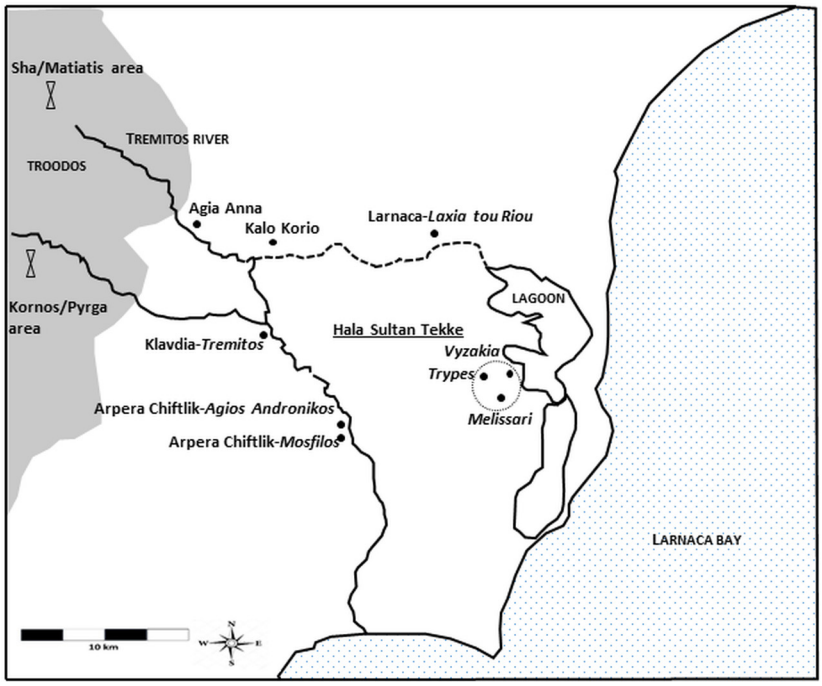

FIG. 9.3 SETTLEMENT ORGANISATION IN THE TREMITOS VALLEY AND AROUND THE LARNACA SALT LAKE DURING MC III-LC I (J. COENAERTS)

Kalo Korio is located about 300 m from the interface between the Tremitos river and the old Tremitos river arm leading to the lagoon. Seen from a landscape perspective, it is situated strategically at the verge of a coastal lowland and the chalky hills at a point where the landscape rises quite swiftly (Coenaerts 2016). Three tombs were accidentally found in the southern part of the village (Karageorghis 1982). The exact character and extent of the site are unclear, but based on preliminary observations of the tomb assemblages, the site comes into use during LC I.

From the six settlements that already existed in the previous period, Arpera Chiftlik seems to have played a key role in the development of the settlement system in the Tremitos valley. It is located on a limestone Pleistocene plateau, *ca*. 4 km inland, overlooking the coastal lowlands on the west bank of the Tremitos river. It appears to consist of a dispersed site structure comparable to that of the Hala Sultan Tekke nucleus with scattered cemetery remains at the localities of *Agios Andronikos*, *Mosfilos* (Markides 1916) and *Kokkinadi* (Flourentzos 2001), intermingled with local patches of settlement vestiges such as wells and walls (Catling 1962: 161, 228; Leonard 2004). Arpera Chiftlik and Hala Sultan Tekke provide evidence for a demographic growth, but also point to a restructuring of

the site patterning. In addition, in view of the presence of one of the earliest Canaanite jars (Crewe 2012: 229), the occurrence of the earliest variant of both Tell el-Yahudiyeh (Merrillees 1974: 47) and Syrian Red/Black Burnished ware (Georgiou 2009: 72) and the site's long history, it seems that Arpera Chiftlik was involved at an early stage in the development of foreign contacts. As a result, it probably played a major role in the development of the settlement system in the Tremitos valley. Firstly, it is not unlikely that Arpera Chiftlik was looking for easier access to the sea in order to facilitate (foreign) trade and communication; consequently, it had a hand in the foundation of Hala Sultan Tekke because of the opportunities the nearby lagoon offered as a sheltered harbour (Coenaerts 2016: 308-309). Next, the close proximity and overlapping catchment areas (at radii of about 3 km) of Arpera Chiftlik and Klavdia-*Tremitos* imply a close association between these two sites, and thus point to Arpera Chiftlik's agency in the creation of Klavdia-*Tremitos*. After all, the development of the settlement system along the Tremitos river, as a consequence of the foreign demand of copper exploitation and international exchange networks, initiated the need for establishing a second site (*i.e*. Klavdia-*Tremitos*) at the strategic conjunction of the two Tremitos arms, in order to administer the growing movement of goods and people along the river.

Interesting to mention is also the transformation of the already existing Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou*. Increasing tomb evidence dated to MC III most likely indicates that Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou* started to function as a transhipment point in this period, since the site is strategically located at the interface of the end of an old branch of the Tremitos to the lagoon. Goods received from the inland could thus be transhipped here on smaller boats into the lagoon up to Hala Sultan Tekke, and, *vice versa*, imported commodities could be brought in via Hala Sultan Tekke and transported further inland (Coenaerts *et al.* forthcoming).

Both the west and east branches of the river well up in the Troodos foothills near the mining areas of Pyrga/Kornos and Sha/Matiatis. Although no traces of LC mining sites have yet been discovered in both mining areas, it has been suggested that 20th-c. extraction may have obscured earlier mining activities (Kassianidou 2012). Nevertheless, numerous slag heaps and scanty settlement remains in the neighbourhood of Kornos and Pyrga (Markou 2014), as well as mortuary evidence from Matiatis and Sha (Fasnacht & Georgiou 2006: 201), may provide evidence for assuming Bronze Age mining activities.

Based on the above overview, it is clear that the layout of the Tremitos valley reveals an organised settlement system in which the river was used for facilitating trade and communication. Goods, ideas and people were exchanged throughout the river valley. The new use of the landscape, resulting in the MC III-LC I settlement system, indicates that Hala Sultan Tekke arose as a coastal gateway with six intermediary sites up to the mining area, all located near the river bank (*i.e*. Arpera Chiftlik-*Agios Andronikos*, Arpera Chiftlik-*Mosfilos*, Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou*, Kalo Korio, Klavdia-*Tremitos*, and Agia Anna). People going up the river had the opportunity to take a direct route starting from the lagoon near Hala Sultan Tekke to the transhipment point at Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou*, then following the old Tremitos river arm in the direction of Kalo Korio connecting to the main Tremitos drainage. Upstream, the river could be followed passing Klavdia-*Tremitos*, where either the west or east arm could be taken up to the mining areas passing Agia Anna. Alternatively, people could also take a more direct route from the mouth of the river, since it cannot be excluded that a not-yet-identified anchorage existed here (Leonard 2004). From there, the river could be followed through the coastal plain up to Arpera Chiftlik, where it was possible to continue upstream towards Klavdia-*Tremitos* or take the land route by the sea to the lagoon.

Undoubtedly, the location of the newly founded sites was intentionally considered in function of the foreign demand for Cypriot copper and the gradual integration of Cypriot sites in international trade networks during MC III-LC I.

In addition to the changes in the settlement system, the increase of foreign influences percolates also into the world of symbols and ideas in the Tremitos valley. Local elites identify themselves with Levantine 'warrior elites', as they mimic ritual behaviour like removing metal and stone weapons out of circulation and depositing them in a tomb (Webb 2018). Other expressions of the warrior are also found in tombs in the Tremitos valley, *e.g.* the image of warriors on imported cylinder-seals that were found in Dromolaxia-*Trypes* and Klavdia-*Tremitos*, as well as on a Bichrome Wheel-made tankard from Dromolaxia-*Trypes* Tomb 2 (Admiraal 1982). Spearheads, daggers, socketed axes and stone maceheads were discovered in the MC III-LC I tombs at Arpera Chiftlik-*Agios Andronikos* (Coenaerts 2016), Klavdia-*Tremitos* (Kiely 2011), as well as in Tomb 1 at Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou* (Coenaerts *et al*. forthcoming), which may indicate that weaponry was used in mortuary rituals (Keswani 2004: 83). In this way, it is clear that the imports and foreign imagery influenced the growing social stratification in the Tremitos valley.

5. The Tremitos settlement system in an island-wide context

Based on the abovementioned settlement shift, it is clear that after an initial wait-and-see period at the start of the transitional MC III-LC I phase, in which the region came into contact with foreign goods in return for copper, the settlement system in the Tremitos valley gradually transformed to facilitate trade and communication from the mining areas to the sea and *vice versa*. Concurrently, imports became exponents of the desire of leaders of the local communities to emulate the rulers from the trading Levantine polities**.**

Returning to our initial question, is the settlement development in the Tremitos valley during MC III-LCI similar or divergent to other regions in Cyprus? Viewed from a landscape perspective, it seems that the layout and organisation of the hinterland systems vary according to the topographical conditions and proximity to copper ores and the sea (Georgiou 2006; Coenaerts 2016). Hinterland systems developed along rivers located in coastal plains at a reasonable distance from the copper-mining area in the mountains. This is visible in the structuring of the settlement systems around the Diarizos (Palaepaphos), Gialias (Enkomi), and the Tremitos (Hala Sultan Tekke) rivers, where intermediary sites were needed to bridge the distance between the mountainous copper-mining areas and the coastal gateway.

The settlement system that is most comparable to the Tremitos valley is situated in south-west Cyprus in the Diarizos river valley. Trade and communication routes seem to have emerged there from MC III-LC I onwards, with the development of a settlement system with intermediary sites from the (possible) copper mining area of Kedares in the lower Troodos foothills in the source area of the Diarizos river to the coastal gateway at Palaepaphos during MC III-LC I (Iacovou 2008: 268-269; Georgiou 2019: 196-199)[4]. The Diarizos and Tremitos valleys share an increase in the number of sites and a transportation network along the river using intermediary or hinterland sites forming a network from the copper mines to the coast (Georgiou 2006: 425, pl. 11.2). Both catchments have, moreover, a comparable distance from the mines to the sea (*i.e*. about 20-25 km)[5]. Both river valleys may correspond to Keswani's heterarchical socio-political organisation, in which a loose regional settlement system was favoured. In this system, intermediary sites were needed to bridge the distance from the mines to the sea.

In south Cyprus, the Kouris, Kalavasos and Agia Mina valleys did not develop a hinterland strategy, because the coastal gateways were located close to the copper mines and therefore did not depend on intermediary sites. As a result, these coastal centres' relations with their neighbouring sites (*e.g*. Kourion and Alassa in the Kouris valley) were often hierarchical (Keswani 1996).

Enkomi, on the other hand, shows elements of both settlement systems. Enkomi's long distance from the copper mining areas, *ca*. 30 km, on a terrain without any topographical obstacles (*i.e*. the Mesaoria Plain) led to a different approach for the procurement of copper than the hinterland systems in the Diarizos and Tremitos valleys. This is clearly visible in the emergence of fortified sites and other intermediary sites along the Gialias and Pediaios rivers during MC III-LC I (Peltenburg 1996), which were the main transport and communication routes across the Mesaoria Plain (Brown 2013). Copper was probably obtained from the lower Troodos foothills near Agios Sozomenos in the source area of the river. Furthermore, the monumental layout and proto-palace-like structure of the MC III-LC I 'Fortress' at Enkomi suggests a direct and hierarchical control (Fisher 2014) related to its settlement system.

In sum, it is clear that the topography and distance to both the sea and the copper mines played a vital role in the development of the settlement systems. It may also explain the diversity in regional response towards the increasing demand for copper and the influx of foreign commodities and ideas.

Viewed from the Tremitos valley, it seems that Enkomi did not exert a hierarchical island-wide control during MC III-LC I because the communities in the Tremitos valley most probably exploited different copper mines than Enkomi, and they could rely on their own coastal gateway at Hala Sultan Tekke. Furthermore, the absence of fortifications from the Tremitos valley or from its immediate neighbouring areas points to a nonviolent environment. The fact that the mortuary datasets with imported goods and exotica from hinterland sites such as

4 During MC III-LC I, the coastal gateway of Palaepaphos probably comprised several dispersed localities located within a radius of 2 km, *i.e*. *Asproyi*, *Eliomylja*, *Evreti*, *Hadjiabdoulla*, *Kaminia*, *Kato Alonia*, *Mantissa*, *Tersadoudia*, and the temple precinct of Aphrodite (Iacovou 2008), reflecting the situation at Hala Sultan Tekke and other contemporaneous coastal sites (Coenaerts 2016).

5 Also the Esouza river in south-west Cyprus shows a similar developing settlement system, although the exact location of a coastal gateway remains unclear (Georgiou 2019: 202-203).

Arpera Chiftlik and Klavdia-*Tremitos* are more comparable to those of the coastal gateway at Hala Sultan Tekke probably implies that Arpera Chiftlik and Klavdia-*Tremitos* had a similar socioeconomic position within the local site organisation as Hala Sultan Tekke. Conversely, the mortuary datasets of Larnaca-*Laxia tou Riou* and Kalo Korio may indicate a lower site ranking, since their tombs contained less valuable objects and hardly any pictorial-decorated vessels (Keswani 2004: 184; Coenaerts *et al*. forthcoming). Although the imports in the Tremitos valley indicate early contacts with foreign traders, the hierarchical organisation of the settlement system in the east with fortifications, monumental remains and imported commodities and exotica found at Kalopsida and subsequently at Enkomi suggest that East Cyprus was the first region to strongly respond to the increasing foreign demand for copper. Hence, Peltenburg's hypothesis (2012) seems very plausible, namely that Enkomi was the residence of a principal leader accountable for foreign contacts, albeit with a solid regional autonomy in the rest of Cyprus as a consequence of the island's topography. The Cypriot regions could thus presumably sail their own economic course at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

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10. Greeks and Thracians at Abdera and the Xanthi-Nestos Area in Aegean Thrace

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1. Introduction

The harbour city of Abdera in Aegean Thrace was a 'double' Ionian colony, first colonised by people from Clazomenai and, later, from Teos. It was the birthplace of the famous philosophers Protagoras and Democritus, the 'father' of atomic theory, and of other illustrious people. Greek mythology relates the city to the eighth labour of Herakles, the capture of the man-eating horses of Diomedes, King of the local tribe of Bistones, which will be discussed below (for the Thracian myths and their iconography: Tsiafaki 1998; 2000; 2002).

Since the 1950s, important archaeological research has been conducted at Abdera and its surrounding area, as well as at the large plain of Xanthi (the modern capital of the Xanthi Prefecture) and the nearby Rhodopi mountain range, including the valley of River Nestos (see **Fig. 10.4**). It includes several rescue and systematic excavations by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Greek Ministry of Culture and an extensive survey, the 'Archaeological Program of Abdera and Xanthi, 2015-2022 (A.P.A.X), which is an international and multi-disciplinary intensive survey project centred in the area of the city of Abdera (**Fig. 10.1**). A large number of studies on landscape, sites, finds, coins, and inscriptions have been published up today; they provide important data that present a rare opportunity to review the relations and socio-cultural dynamics that developed between various cultural groups, namely between the Greek colonists from Ionia and the local Thracian tribes (for an overview: Tiverios 2008: 91-107).

Our present paper aims to shed some light on the types of interaction between the different groups residing in this part of Aegean Thrace, on the way they viewed each other, and/or on the resistance to the cultural influence of the 'other'. Our study incorporates archaeological and historical data to address these issues during a long time span, mainly from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (a term used for the Northern Aegean and the Balkan hinterland, *i.e*. Sub-Mycenaean, Geometric and Orientalizing Eras for the Southern Greeks), and to the Archaic and early Classical Period. The Aegean Sea played a vital role in long-distance trade networks, which were dominated by the Greeks. However, the role of the Thracians in this framework remains unclear and the degree it was influenced by these interactions will be reviewed. Our research is focused both on the cultural influence that the Greeks had on the local population and on the character of the indigenous groups, their culture and the form of their resistance or the degree and character of the newly arrived social, economic, political and cultural influence, elements which will be assessed and analysed.

In a post-colonial analytical framework, this line of inquiry also emphasises the fact that the interaction between the two populations was not one directional, but it had an effect on both and it was not static, but varied through time. The work conducted by Dietler in France had similar aims, underlining various cultural influences on both groups. The Greek colony of Massalia brought the wine cultivation and drinking ethos to the locals (Dietler 1990). At the same time, they traded wine in amphoras as well as other clay and bronze drinking vessels with the Hallstatt population of southern France (Dietler 2010: 193-216). However, other cultural influences were far slower and were resisted by the locals who continued to follow their own traditional practices. The adoption of tiles in the roof construction of buildings is one such example: although it lies far away from Thrace, it is worth mentioning that tiles have been used by the Greek colonists in 6th century BCE Massalia; however, they appeared in Hallstatt settlements only from the late 2nd century BCE, sporadically at first and more widely later on, from the period of Augustus onwards (Dietler 2010, 276). A similar set of data will be analysed and discussed in the case of Abdera and its surrounding region in the Aegean Thrace.

2. The indigenous Thracians, from Herodotus to the Hellenistic period

The ethnography of the Thracians needs not be repeated, since this has been done long ago (Asheri 1990: 134). However, some issues must be mentioned and discussed here.

According to Herodotus, Thrace is a four-sided area surrounded to the south and east by two seas, the Aegean and the Black Sea, and to the west and north by two great rivers, Istros and Strymon (Hdt. 4, 99.1-2 & 5. 1-2). Asheri (1990: 136) argued that the choice of rivers as ethnical and political boundaries is not coincidental "especially Strymon marked the western boundary before entering Greece". We cannot be sure what Asheri means when using the term 'Greece'. 'If entering Greece' means entering into another cultural environment then one should reconsider the nature of the relationships between the Thracians and all the Greek colonies founded at the shores of Aegean Thrace.

The Greeks often used to call the local populations of the North Aegean with the general name "Thracians" although some of them were not of Thracian origin (Graham 1982: 115). The fact that the whole area was known or designated as Thrace by the southern Greeks, especially the Chalcidice peninsula and the various (Greek) cities on its coasts, becomes obvious in the Athenian Tribute Lists down to 438/7 BCE: the Chalcidice cities belonging to the Delian League are recorded either as ἐπί ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης φόρος or simply Θρᾴκιος φόρος (*i.e.* the tax from Thrace). Besides the epigraphic evidence, literature confirms this perspective with numerous references to the Greek colonies in Macedonia and Thrace. But the boundary between 'Hellenism' and 'barbarism' – which the Greeks always found most problematic – was amongst the tribes of the mainland in northern Greece, where Hellenic influence was at its strongest (Xydopoulos 2007b: 10).

In Greek literary sources, especially those of the Classical Period and later, the Thracians appear to comprise the warlike and ferocious tribes living in the mountain ranges of Haemus and Rhodopi as well as the more (but not always) peaceable inhabitants of the plain. The latter were those who had first come in contact with the Greek colonies on the Aegean coasts and the Propontis. The written sources also mention a tribal system that existed among the Thracians and, in many occasions, the specific region each tribe resided in (Xydopoulos 2007a: 696; for the region of our study see below, 3). In any case, by the mid-7th and mid-6th century BCE, Greek settlements had been established at various coastal sites of Thrace, *i.e.* at Abdera, Dikaia, Stryme, Maroneia, Mesambria, Ainos, Perinthos, Byzantion and Apollonia (Xydopoulos 2007b: 9-10).

The Thracian speech – Herodotus' second criterion of Hellenicity – was not intelligible to Greeks. In addition to this, certain traits of these indigenous tribes (*ethne*) must have contributed to this 'foreign' image: they had their own material culture, cult, and other customs. In any case, the proximity and close interaction between Greeks and Thracians prevented the first to place the latter (*i.e.* the Thracians they had contacts with, not those far in the hinterland who were perceived as ferocious) among the 'barbarians' (Xydopoulos 2007a: 697; 2007b: 12).

The Thracians are described by Herodotus as the most numerous people of all mankind, next to the Indians[1]. In the beginning of his description (Hdt. 5, 3.1), he uses the general ethnic name Θρήϊκες while later he writes about certain tribes belonging to the Thracians, such as the Getai, the Trausi and 'those above the Crestonai', whose customs and rituals are described in detail. Some of these tribes are treated favourably as, for instance, the Chersonite Dolonci who are said to be civilised as they are ruled by kings (Hdt. 6, 34.1; cf. 5, 3.2). We must assume this positive characterisation is due to his Athenian sources, for the Dolonci had extremely good relations with the Athenians and had taken part in a joint colonial enterprise (Asheri 1990: 139) while other tribes, like the Brygoi, the Edones and the Apsinthians are mal-treated, like the Apsinthians, being enemies with the Dolonci therefore hazardous to the Athenian interests in the area.

Herodotus often refers to the physical appearance of the 'exotic' people he describes. Regarding the Thracians, apart from their dresses (Hdt. 7, 75.1), not a single comment is made. However, the Thracian tattooing drew his attention: "to be branded is a mark of noble birth and not to be branded is a mark of low birth" (Hdt. 5, 6.2; for the images of Thracian on Attic pottery: Tsiafaki 1998; Avramidou & Tsiafaki 2015: 77-110). The same attitude

1 Hdt 5, 3.1-2: "The Thracians are the biggest nation in the world, next to the Indians. If they were under one ruler, or united, they would, in my judgment, be invincible and the strongest nation on earth. Since, however, there is no way or means to bring this about, they are weak. The Thracians have many names, each tribe according to its region, but they are very similar in all their customs, *save the Getai, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonai*" (our italics).

is shown towards the phenomenon of polygamy (Hdt. 5, 5.1). Although Greeks thought this was typical for the Thracians, Herodotus views it mere as a neutral mark of diversity than as a sign of inferior civilisation (Asheri 1990: 145). Also, selling their children "for export" (ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ: Hdt. 5, 6.1), namely to slave traders, is a practice well-known to Athens which was a major importer of slaves.

In 341 BCE, Philip II conquered the Odrysian kingdom, after defeating the Thracian king Cersobleptes. Philip finally succeeded after two long years of continuous fighting, as the Odrysians proved to be a hard opponent. We know the final results of this campaign: He made the 'barbarians' pay a tribute to the Macedonians and he founded important cities "in the right places" (according to Diodorus' estimation: Diod. 16, 71, 1-2, 1st c. BCE) so that the Thracian audacity would be paused for good. But the issue had not yet come to an end: Plutarch (*Alex*. 9) records that Alexander the Great, already in 340 BCE, led a campaign against the Maidoi in the area of the middle Strymon valley while Philip's generals were busy trying to eliminate every resistance in the Thracian realm that used to be one of the three stronger in the ancient world, after Persia and Sparta.

Nevertheless, the Thracians residing in the vast area of the Odrysian kingdom were not the only *ethne* (tribes) in Thrace. There were also other *ethne,* called autonomous by ancient authors, probably because they were not subjects of the Odrysian king, *i.e*. tribes that were trying to find their way out of the political chaos caused by the liquidation of the Odrysian power. Archibald (1998) has pointed out that the tribes that did not belong to the Odrysian kingdom (Getai, Scythians and Triballi) tried to profit from the Macedonian conquest as they thought that the anarchy, which followed the loss of power by Cersobleptes was to their advantage. The Triballi had kept their independence after a fierce battle with the Macedonians in 339 BCE and as long as Philip II was alive. Therefore, it was natural to be the first ones to cause problems right after his death. Although we have no sources on the grade of their dependency on Macedonia after their subjugation to Philip II, it is highly probable that they either refused to pay tribute to the Macedonian king or they wanted to invade Macedonia.

Arrian (*Anab*. 1, 1, 4 ff., 2nd century CE) states that those were the main objectives of Alexander's campaign in the spring of 335 BCE, immediately after his father's murder, since he wanted to punish them for their uprising against his authority. Alexander put a Lyncestian (*i.e*. a Macedonian from an Upper Macedonian canton) noble, also called Alexander, in charge as general of Thrace. There is not a single reference in our sources indicating any troubles in the period between 335 and 330 BCE although the defeated tribes as well as the inhabitants of the province that Philip II had acquired (*i.e*. of what used to be the Odrysian kingdom) were treated as servile.

However, the situation changed after 330 BCE. At that time we know that Seuthes III (*ca*. 330 - *ca*. 295 BCE) was ruling Thrace in dependence from Macedonia as *basileus* (king) of the Thracians, a title attributed to him in the 1st BCE by Diodorus (18, 14.2; 19, 73.8). To the Athenians, who were again using the close connection with their Thracian 'relatives' in the North, new hopes for an anti-Macedonian move in Thrace and an increase of their influence in the area may have arisen. But their help to Seuthes was confined only to words since written sources are quite absolute that they were not in a position to help him effectively. A few years later, in 325 BCE, Seuthes had another opportunity to escape from the Macedonian dependence when Zopyrion, the last general of Thrace appointed by Alexander, met a total disaster during his campaign against the Getai and he himself got killed. According to Curtius, our main source (*Historiae Alexandri Magni*, 1st c. CE), Macedonians lost political control of Thrace and Seuthes' power must have risen considerably. Seuthes' opposition to Lysimachos, to whom Thrace was given as his area of control after Alexander's death in 323 BCE, gave no winner for a decade, but in 313 BCE he was forced to submit to his Macedonian overlord (Xydopoulos 2010: 213-216).

3. Ionian colonists, southern Greeks, and indigenous Thracians in the Nestos and the Xanthi Plain

The two colonisation episodes brought to Abdera, within a century, two Ionian populations from neighbouring (*metro*)*poleis*. The coexistence of Greeks and natives from the mid-7th c. BCE onwards is part of our analysis and some dynamic elements with ethnic characteristics will be highlighted. Furthermore, the political domination of the Persians in the late 6th-early 5th c. BCE, and of the Athenians later in the 5th c. BCE could reveal aspects of cultural resistance or emulation.

It is not easy to define the specific Thracian tribes which inhabited the area of the Xanthi plain (*IThrAeg* 157; Kallintzi 2011: 97). For example, the Bistones, after whom Lake Bistonis was named, are placed between myth

and history (Hdt. 7, 110; Strabo 7, frg.18a; Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 13-14). At the time of the colonisation, the Sinties or Sintoi or Saioi, who according to Strabo were later renamed Sapaians, lived at the lower east bank of the Nestor river (Archilochos fr. 5-West; Strabo XII, 3.20) while the Satres lived around the Nestos valley and towards the North (Hdt 7, 110).

The Nestos river area has similar cultural remains with the rest of Northern Greece during the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Andreou *et al*. 1996; 2001; Kalllintzi 2011: 1302-1304 and n° 080, 087, 090; Kallintzi & Papadopoulos 2017: 490-491). The evidence of contacts with the rest of the Aegean Sea was so far limited to a sporadic occurrence of obsidian from Melos in both coastal and inland Early Bronze Age (EBA) sites as the recent survey conducted in the area suggests (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b).

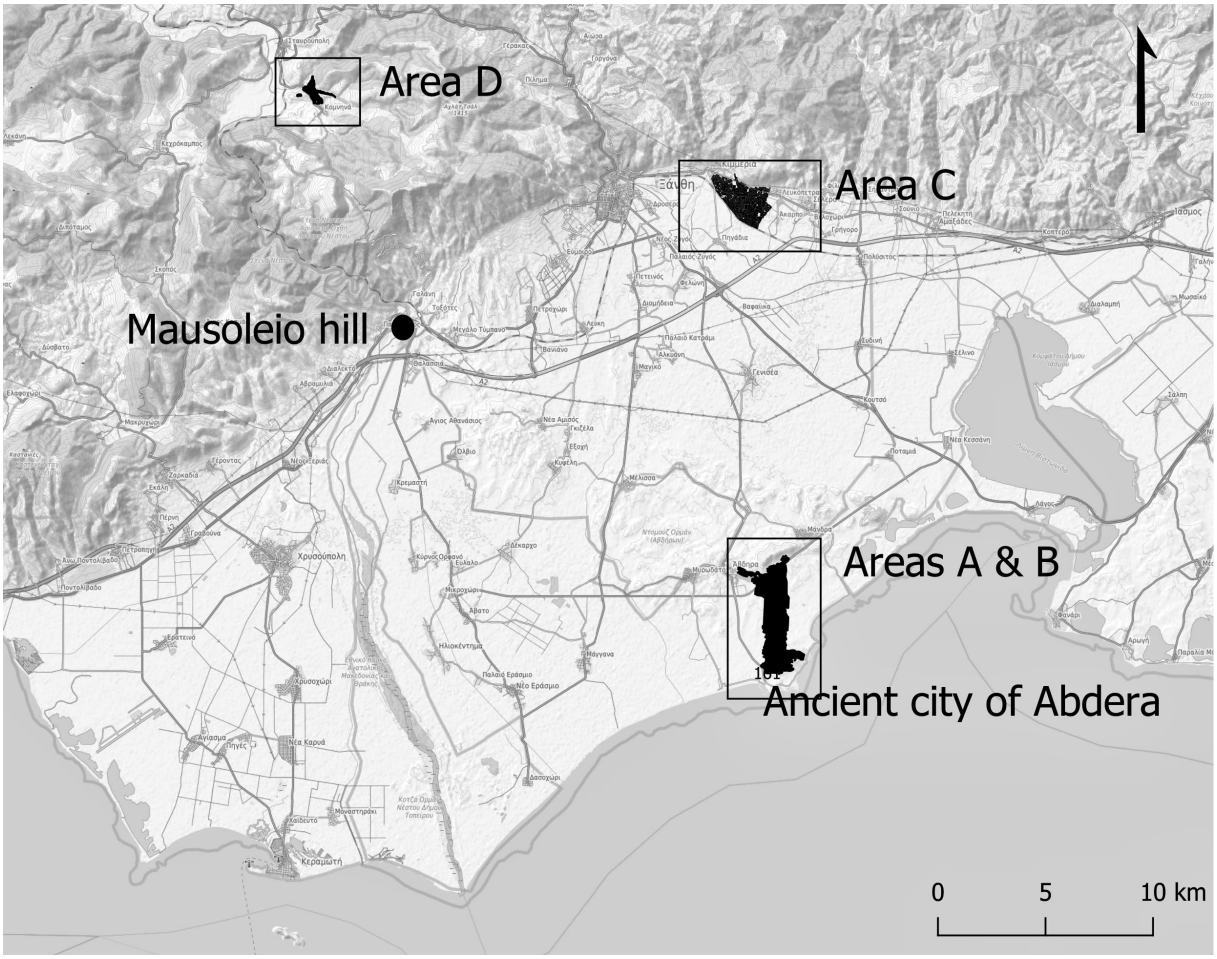

Fig. 10.1 The plain of Xanthi and part of the southern Rhodopi Mt: the polis of Abdera, the four areas the APAX systematic survey has been conducted and Mausoleio hill

3.1. Mid-7th to mid-6th c. BCE

The Clazomenians came from Ionia to Abdera in *ca*. 654 BCE, according to the historical records, and founded their colony on the modern Voloustra peninsula, south of the modern village of Abdera (**Fig. 10.2**). The presence of an Early Iron Age (EIA) settlement in this specific area, as was the case of the neighbouring *polis* of Thasos and its *peraia* (Boardman 2000: 229-230; Tiverios 2008: 66-67, 76-78) cannot be substantiated with our current knowledge.

Of special interest is the modern Mausoleio hill (**Fig. 10.1**), on the eastern bank of river Nestos, in an area which could have been coastal during the EIA and the colonisation period (Kallintzi 2011: 516-525, site n° 127). No excavation has been carried out, but surface pottery and limited architectural remains confirm the presence of a Thracian EIA settlement. Fragments of 7th and 6th c. BCE imported painted pottery suggest that that this site was one of the first areas where the colonists encountered the native inhabitants. In later years, handmade 'Thracian' pottery seems to coexist with Greek vases of Ionic and North-Greek production (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986: 88-89; Skarlatidou 1986: 617). A similar early interaction between Greeks and locals may also have been practiced in more inland locations (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986: 86, 87; Kallintzi 2011: sites n° 134, 144, 155, 161: Petrolofos-Mandra, Agios Athanasios, Profitis Ilias).

On the Abdera peninsula itself, no positive evidence of pre-colonial trade contacts between Clazomenai (and the Ionian coast in general) can be supported with material remains from that era, as it has been hypothesised and/or proved in other sites of Greek colonies. The location where the North Precinct has been founded (**Fig. 10.2**), *i.e*. the Archaic and Classical *polis* of Abdera, had been quite attractive (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 235). It provided an excellent anchorage unlike the coastal area of Aegean Thrace from Thasos/Neapolis to Maroneia, several kilometres to the west and east, respectively. Furthermore, it was separated from the inland coastal plain and it could have been more easily defended. Finally, it had a strategic position along the sea trade routes of the Northern Aegean and could potentially have access to the rich resources of inland Thrace via the Nestos River. On the negative side, Abdera was placed too close to the mouth of the river and within a zone of stagnant waters (to this we will return).

One of the first things that the Clazomenians did was to construct a robust fortification that surrounded their settlement (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 238, figs 6-19; Kallintzi 2012). Safety against the Thracians was a primary concern for the newly arrived Greek population. The wall was not just a symbolic barrier demonstrating the capabilities of the colonists, but a necessity against the Thracians. According to Herodotus, the Ionians were defeated by the Thracians (probably the Saians) at some battle and their leader, Timesios, had to leave the area (Hdt. I, 168-169; *cf*. *IThrAeg* 158 and Kallintzi 2011: 98-99; for the battles during the 7th and 6th c. BCE: Veligianni-Terzi 1997; 2004; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 242; Kallintzi 2012; see also the Second *Paean* of Pindar, below).

Interestingly enough, the adult male skeletons from two cemeteries of this period (**Fig. 10.2**) (in Ammolophos/previously Koum Tepe, and in Hortolivado) show no traces of traumas that could be attributed to hostile activities (Agelarakis 2001; 2004: 336-338; Kallintzi 2004: 271: cemeteries K and X; Skarlatidou 2010: 363-365). Moreover, other available archaeological data from the mid-7th to the mid-6th c. BCE argue that there were limited buildings or settlements established by the Greeks outside their *polis*' walls and that they were restricted to the immediate surrounding land of the city (Skarlatidou 2010: 363-365; Kallintzi 2011: *passim*).

The choice of this particular peninsula had other consequences for the first colonists, since the location of the *polis* in a swamp environment placed a heavy toll on their lives. The five known necropoleis of this period were placed in close proximity to the city (Kallintzi 2004: 271-274, figs 1-5). In one of those, in Ammolophos, more than 80 % of the graves consisted of infants up to 1.5 years old. Anthropological studies of the bones have shown that many adults suffered from various diseases and that their diet included mainly fish and, in second place, vegetables; also, that subadults provided evidence of anaemia and scurvy which are related to the marsh environment that surrounded them (Agelarakis 2001; 2004: 336; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 241; Skarlatidou 2010: 358-362 and 371-388 [A. Agelarakis]). Therefore, the environment had a dramatic effect on the sustainability of this colony, which was invigorated in *ca*. 545 BCE, with the arrival of another group of Ionians, this time from Teos, to which we return below.

The pottery consumed during this phase was mainly produced locally, while certain luxury/painted wares were imported from the metropolis (or Ionia in general) and from Corinth. We can mention some Ionian bowls, Aeolian (and Clazomenian) wares and small Corinthian pots (Skarlatidou 2004: 249-256, figs 10-13, 17-25). Moreover, imported transport amphoras from Clazomenai and from other Ionian cities have been recovered (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 241; Skarlatidou 2004: 256, fig. 28; 2011: 361 and *passim*; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2012), while no pottery from nearby Thasos or from the Cycladic islands has as yet been identified in the settlement or the burials. The common use of the griffin as the main coin/*polis* symbol for both Abdera and Clazomenai reveals their close interrelation (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007).

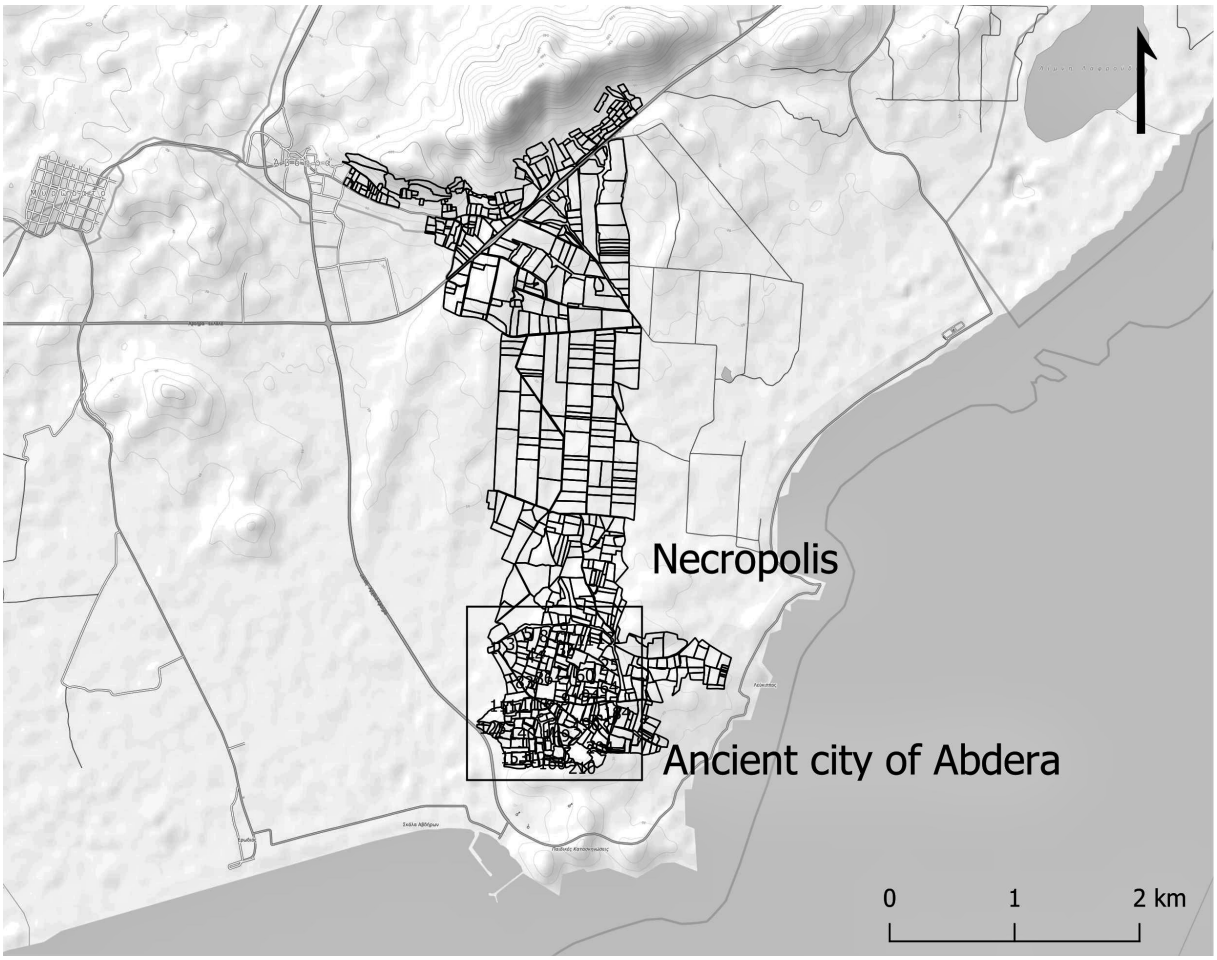

FIG. 10.2 THE *POLIS* OF ABDERA (ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL) AND THE AREA NORTH OF IT WHERE THE NECROPOLEIS WERE LOCATED

3.2. Politics and intergroup dynamics from the mid-6th to the Macedonian conquest

The Teians that came to Abdera in *ca*. 545 BCE had their own metropolis in Ionia, located south of Clazomenai (Hdt. 1, 168). The new group was much larger than the declining Clazomenians of Abdera. Again, one of the first actions they took was the construction of a new wall along the lines of the old to strengthen the defences of the *polis* against the 'Thracian threat'. Pindar's Second *Paean*, commissioned to him by the Abderitans in the first half of the 5th century BCE, emphasises the recurrent hostilities between the Greek citizens of Abdera and their Thracian neighbours (Dougherty 1994). In fact, the poem itself commemorates a recent victory over the Thracians at Mount Melamphyllon, and in this context records the original Greek acquisition of this fertile territory by force (*Paean* 2. 59-63; for the issue of 'Paeonians' mentioned in this context: Dougherty 1994: 213-214). The poem closes with a reference to Delos and Delphi and an appeal to the eponymous hero of the city, Abderos, to help the Abderitans in one final battle (v. 96-106).

The cemeteries that had already been established by the Clazomenians for one or two more generations continued to be in use after the mid-6th c. BCE. Along with the coming of the Teians a new burial practice emerged: large earth tumuli were constructed which contained numerous burials, both inhumations and cremations, quite

often in pithoi or in terracotta and stone sarcophagi (see also below and **Fig. 10.5**)[2]. In any case, the burial tumuli possibly represent family or kin-groups' resting places (Kallintzi 2004: 264-275, fig. 6). They lasted from the late 6th c. BCE until the early 3rd c. BCE and hundreds of them dominated the landscape for several kilometres north and northeast of the city. A rather large number, however, has been destroyed due to cultivation and other earthwork interventions (Kallintzi 2013).

In the case of the flat cemetery at Hortolivado, a continuation of the older burial tradition is attested (Kallintzi 2004: 276-279, figs 9-13). The existence of a parallel burial system, *i.e*. with and without tumuli, in the late 6th - early 5th c. BCE argues that for at least a generation or two the Clazomenians and the Teians had a different 'burial identity'. The intensity of this dynamic relationship between the two Ionian populations can only be speculated at the moment. However, this difference appears to have died out with the beginning of the Classical period and an amalgamation of the two groups in a common Abderitan identity seems to have taken place.

The Persian conquest of Abdera and Aegean Thrace by Darius in *ca*. 513 BCE must have had a certain social and political impact on the area, which unfortunately remains unknown, due to the lack of information regarding the character of the Persian rule in the area. Indirect hints exist, however, if one reads Herodotus' narrative on Macedonia. He informs us that in 505 BCE, the Macedonian king was a client of the Great King of Persia, Darius. One can then assume that Amyntas must have had a full jurisdiction in his kingdom, but not in areas which were not included in it and were controlled by the Persians (Xydopoulos 2012: 26). After its subjugation to Persia, Macedonia was a client kingdom and not part of a satrapy (Hdt. 5, 2.2), Persian approval for any action on the Macedonian king's part was necessary, therefore one should date this subjugation during Amyntas' reign and not later, as it has been argued (Xydopoulos 2012, 21-37). The epigraphic evidence from Persia seems to support our view since in some of the inscriptions, dated to *ca*. 513 BCE, Darius' possessions 'Beyond the Sea' (*i.e*. the Hellespont) are mentioned, while the inscriptions dated to *ca*. 492 BCE refer to the people who had become the Great King's subjects. These people are named as *Saka paradraya*/Saces beyond the sea, *Skudra*/ probably the Thracians, and *Yaunã takabarã*/Ionians with a hat as a shield (Xydopoulos 2012: 26-27).

During Megabazos' campaign in 512-510 BCE, Abdera came under Persian rule that lasted until 476/5 BCE. The port of Abdera acted as a base for the Persian fleet; in fact, a shipshed excavated at the northeast edge of the harbour, parallel to the city wall at a distance of 6 m, may have been constructed by the Persians for their warships possibly during the last decades of the 6th c. BCE (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004: 244-246; Kallintzi in press b).

In 480 and 479 BCE, the city of Abdera had the economic capability to host Xerxes and his large army, although this was not an easy task (Hdt. 7, 118-121; *cf*. the already mentioned *Paean* commissioned to Pindar [2. 25-26, 60] who praises its bountiful, prolific and full of vine land; for Xerxes' presence at Abdera see also: *IThrAeg*: 61, T 96; 74, T 160; 91, T 248). Soon afterwards, an enormous mass of clastic sediments from river Nestos in the port facilities suggests that a process of port silting was under way (Syrides & Psilovikos 2004). A strong water break has been constructed in the mid-5th c. BCE. Large unworked boulders of granite were employed probably coming from the surrounding area (Kallintzi 2011: 85). Moreover, two main local sandstone quarries were also used in this period (Kallintzi in press a).

Did the aforementioned situation affect Greek-Thracian relationships? A period of peace would have been expected considering the Persian campaigns which were organised and passed through this area in 490 and 480 BCE, respectively. The Persian defeat brought about the Athenian political domination in the area east of the Strymon River after 477 BCE. This also included Abdera and the emphasis was once again on the democratic political system with an anti-Persian agenda, on the sea routes, and on the safety of trade in the Aegean (for the administration of the city: *IThrAeg*: 170-173).

Later, during the Peloponnesian War, it was important for Athens to maintain strong relationships with Thrace in order to keep its allies and to protect the sea routes to the Black Sea. In 431 BCE, the Athenians made Nymphodoros of Abdera their *proxenos* in Thrace (Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 118-119, 122-125; Parissaki 2007: 223). Interestingly enough, Nymphodoros' sister was one of the wives of the Thracian king Sitalkes, therefore this powerful Abderitan managed to play an important role in keeping the balance between Abdera, Athens, the Odrysian Kingdom and the Macedonian king Perdikkas.

2 The sarcophagi of the A.P.A.X survey are being studied by Dr. Nicholas Dimakis.

Despite the political relation between Abdera and Athens, the material record so far offers little evidence for this interconnection. For example, the import of fine Attic wares at Abdera is rather minimal and local simple linear fine pottery versions were preferred. Until now, Attic pottery occurs mainly within burial contexts. However, the 5th c. BCE houses have not been excavated yet (generally for Attic pottery in Thrace: Avramidou & Tsiafaki 2015: 121-159).

3.3. The economy from the late 6th c. BCE to the Macedonian conquest

The Teians brought with them new ideas and concepts, which culminated during the 6th c. BCE in Ionia, such as the introduction of coinage and new burial practices. Coinage was introduced in the later part of the 6th c. BCE at Abdera (Chryssanthaki 2004: 311, with references; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007), an element that interconnected this part of the Aegean with the rest of the Greek and non-Greek trade that used coins as a common currency[3].

The annual records of the Delian League recovered in Athens reveal that in the 430s BCE Abdera paid the second highest tax. This supports the hypothesis that this *polis* was one of the richest among the allies of Athens as mentioned already by Diodorus (XIII 72, 2, referring to the 5th c. BCE: πόλιν ἐν ταῖς δυνατοτάταις οὖσαν τότε τῶν ἐπί Θράκης). The source of this wealth is an open issue that still needs to be clarified. A combination of primary and secondary productions and trade through the sea and mainland routes can be expected to have played a main role in the success of the Abderitan economy during this peaceful period. Untroubled symbiotic conditions have been proposed in other areas where the Greek-Thracians coexisted such as in Samothrace and the opposite mainland coast of Mesimvria-Zone (Ilieva 2007: 218-219; Matsas 2007; Iliopoulou 2015: 25-41), where late Archaic and Classical inscriptions in a Thracian language have been found (Brixhe *et al*. 2015: mainly graffiti on pot sherds inside the temple of Apollo, but also some stone inscriptions from other areas of the city).

The first analysis of material remains from the *polis* of Abdera provides us with useful information regarding the local economy, production and trade (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b; in press c). Large terracotta pithoi have been recovered throughout the city emphasising the degree of storage taking place within the settlement. The agro-silvo-pastoral local produce must have been collected and stored for local consumption or export. Remains of iron working have been identified concentrated in various areas within the city, arguing that the material was brought from the primary sources and worked in metalworking facilities, which, however, cannot be dated yet. The origin of these materials is unknown at the moment, but the surrounding Rhodopi, Lekane, and Pangaion mountain ranges to the north and west, as well and the island of Thasos to the southwest, were very rich in metals of all types (**Fig. 10.1** & **10.4**).

The gender roles and the contribution of women to the household economy, but in some cases also to trade, can be seen in textile-working. The dispersal of loom weights has been attested in several parts of the *polis* in contexts, which can be called domestic[4]. It seems that women in their homes produced textiles for family needs, but at least in some instances a surplus could have been formed. In other contemporary Classical *poleis*, like Athens, there is positive evidence of their role in the market (MacLachlan 2012: 65-67) and we should not overlook the fact that they may have been an additional means of trade, even on a local level, although it is difficult to evaluate its bulk and market value.

The extent of international trade can be more easily measured through the remains of transport amphoras found at Abdera (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b; in press c)[5]. The plethora of the amphora sherds throughout the settlement and outside of the city is a very rich source of data. It seems that there were two amphora types consumed in this area, the imported and the locally produced ones; the last suggest that the local product(s) had significant quantities of surplus to allow exports outside Abdera. Thus, the participation of the city in Mediterranean trade was two-directional in character.

The large numbers of imported amphoras show that the Abderitans were able to consume (and/or circulate, see below) foreign imports to a large scale. Close to 80 % of the imported amphoras found in the A.P.A.X survey come from the northern Aegean coast, from Mende and Chalcidice to the east to the Aenos to the west. The

3 The coins from the A.P.A.X survey are under study by Kyriaki Chatziprokopiou (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b).
4 The loom weights from the A.P.A.X survey are under study by Dr. Bella Dimova.
5 The transport amphoras from the A.P.A.X survey are under study by Dr. Chavdar Tzochev (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b).

remaining 20 % of the imports come from the eastern Aegean, from Lesbos to the north as far as Kos and Rhodes to the south. There are even a few examples of amphoras from the Greek colonies of the Black Sea. Thus, the main focus of these trade interactions was the immediate area to which Abdera belonged, *i.e*. the Northern Aegean, and the Eastern Aegean, including its metropoleis in Ionia, only in second position.

These data (so far) do not seem to support the hypothesis of very close ties, at least commercial ones, between Abdera and its (second) metropolis, Teos, based on the scarce available epigraphic evidence (Loukopoulou & Parissaki 2004: 307). The amphoras' provenances include some of the *poleis* that produced what was considered the highest quality and priced wine in the Greek world, *i.e*. Mende and Chios. Thus, expensive and high end products were imported in a *polis* that thrived economically during the 5th c. BCE and possibly also during the 4th c. BCE.

The large number of burial tumuli (erected after the end of the 6th c. BCE and discussed above) suggests that they were destined for all the inhabitants of the city, not only for some distinct members, such as the landowners. This is a unique phenomenon in the cities of Aegean Thrace. The only other city with similar (but far fewer) tumuli is Stryme, where this custom seems to have been used only for prominent citizens (Triantaphyllos & Terzopoulou 2012: 147). The Abdera tumuli had a permanent impact on the landscape. Symbolically, the tumuli may have signified the claim of the Greek colonists over land ownership demonstrated by the generations of the ancestors buried in these earth ('chthonic') monuments. The expansion of the different necropoleis to several square kilometres around the city emphasised this message (Kallintzi 2004: 275). At the same time, it reflected the expansion of Greek control over the hinterland in areas outside its dominance, which were probably considered as Thracian land until the late 6th c. BCE.

However, the tumuli were not an isolated phenomenon, but occurred with another important trend. From the 5th c. BCE onwards, a new settlement pattern developed outside the walls of Abdera. Small sites, most probably farmsteads, either isolated or sometimes a cluster of few, were constructed. In some cases, these seem to be directly associated with a tumulus, underlining their connection to the specific plot of land as discussed earlier. The preliminary data suggest that the storage of agro-silvo-pastoral produce was taking place in these 'farmsteads', while some positive evidence of textile and metal working has also been identified. This settlement pattern that continued during the entire Classical and part of the Hellenistic periods, introduced a new economic model of exploiting the land and suggests that the Greek colonists expanded their control towards the hinterland (*i.e.* to the north of Abdera) (Kallintzi 2011: 1320-1331 and *passim*).

The *chora* of Abdera included almost half of the Xanthi coastal plain during the Classical period up to the Kossynthos River (**Fig. 10.1**) (Kallintzi 2011: 1331). This expansion was achieved both in aggressive and peaceful ways, as discussed above. In any case, this area used to be part of the Thracian land and contributed to the economic growth of Abdera (Kallintzi 2011: 1257; *cf*. also Kallintzi 2012). A turning point for broader Aegean Thrace was the conquest of this region by King Philip II of Macedon in 350 BCE. In the following centuries, this region became under the political domination of large kingdoms and empires. Intercommunity tensions between Thracians and Greeks must have decreased or they were small scale since there are no historical references to such events. Perhaps a slow process of cultural, economic, social and political homogenisation under these regimes was progressively achieved throughout the centuries.

3.4. Recent archaeological data

The tribal system of the Thracians developed within the diverse landscape of Thrace, which included sea shores, plains, river valleys and plateaus, and high mountainous areas (Triantaphyllos 1991; 2009; Veligianni-Terzi 2004; Xydopoulos 2007a; 2007b). In some cases, their way of life included seasonal movement and relocation of settlements, especially in the mountainous part of the Rhodopi mountain range. This may have caused intertribal tensions and conflicts over resources and land. The exploitation of the (mainly marshy) coastal areas was probably minimal during the Early Iron Age, as mentioned above, and their participation in trade is archaeologically almost invisible. In any case, in the present state of research, we cannot be sure whether the arrival of Greek colonists and the establishment of *poleis* and *emporia* deprived these coastal areas from the Thracian control or the Thracians were generally indifferent with regard to the coastal areas.

Recent research on the identification of Thracian settlements in Aegean Thrace gives us a clearer picture,

complemented by the first results of our A.P.A.X extensive survey (**Fig. 10.1**). Large settlements have been identified, located at the northern edge of the Xanthi plain by the lower slopes of the Rhodopi range (Kallintzi *et al*. in press a; in press b; in press c; *cf*. Triantaphyllos 1990a; 1990b; Veligianni-Terzi 2004). They tend to occupy a strategic position with an overview of the valley and are located very close to rivers and streams. Two of these sites are close to each other at Leukopetra hill, possibly sharing a fortified citadel on top of the hill. Smaller sites appear to have also existed in the plain south of the Rhodopi Mountains, where limited ceramic evidence has been found making their character difficult to assess. Therefore, a rather complex settlement pattern becomes progressively more evident in this part of Aegean Thrace. Additionally, the strategic position of the larger sites may suggest certain measures against threats, thus supporting the hypothesis of inter-community or intertribal conflicts as well as tensions with the colony at Abdera.

The surface remains from these sites are limited as far structures are concerned. Their exact character can only be recovered after systematic excavations. So far, the A.P.A.X survey revealed a conspicuous lack of clay tiles, thus it is very likely that the houses were constructed with the wattle-and-daub technique and/or they had mudbrick walls with thatched roofs, despite the fact that tiled roofs were widely used by the Greek colonists on the coast[6]. There may have been a resistance or refusal to follow the Greek forms in architecture in everyday life during the Archaic and Classical periods. The same applies to the manufacture of pottery that continued to be handmade while a few kilometres to the south more sophisticated techniques of using the wheel and kiln firing techniques were employed in the colony of Abdera[7]. The persistence of handmade pottery can be seen in Aegean Thrace until the Roman period (Papadopoulos 2001; Kallintzi *et al*. in press d).

The identification of burial sites belonging to the Thracians is limited although tombs were usually covered by tumuli (Iliopoulou 2015: 25-27). In the area of our investigations, only three pithos burials have so far been found, and only one case of multiple adult burials, possibly belonging to the 8th c. BCE (Triantaphyllos & Kallintzi 1998: 2-6; 2011: n° 080, 087, 090)[8].

The erection of a fort during the 2nd half of the 4th c. BCE in Polysitos, at the northern part of the Xanthi plain, suggests that the main aim of the garrison was to ensure peace in the area (Kallintzi *et al*. in press d). Later, during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, a wider fortification system developed in strategic positions of the mountainous passages of Rhodopi (Triantaphyllos 1988: 443, fig.1; 1990). Some of these forts were erected on hills that had earlier Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age fortifications.

The Thracian economy would have been based on locally available agro-silvo-pastoral resources. Overpopulation and lack of food have been mentioned in Greek sources that refer to the volunteer enslavement of some of their children in order to cope with this pressing issue (Xydopoulos 2007a: 696). Their control over the mountainous part of Thrace ensured access to good quality wood, as well as to the metal resources that were available on a local or regional level. The identification of metal slags in the larger settlements shows that metalworking was practiced *in situ*, underlining the easy access they had to this material, as in the site identified on the Leukopetra hill. However, this slag is not dated yet therefore we cannot be more specific about the process of metalworking in the area. The rearing of horses is another commodity for which Thracians and Aegean Thrace were famous. The mythical labour of Herakles who stole the man-eating horses of the Thracian king Diomedes has already been mentioned.

All these products could have potentially been collected in Abdera with its *agora* and organised harbour. Slave and horse trade are mentioned in an inscription from Abdera that dates to the Classical period (*IThrAeg*: 186-190, E3 on p. 189: before 350 BCE, a law on the trade of slaves, pack animals, and horses).

The goods imported by the Thracians from the colonists are, so far, elusive. The local economies appear not to have been directly linked to the international maritime trade conducted throughout the Mediterranean Sea. The limited amount of wheel-made pottery, most probably coming from Abdera, suggests an eclectic importation of objects and a conscious cultural distance from the colonists, including technological elements, like construction techniques and pottery-making.

6 The tile fragments from the A.P.A.X survey are being studied by Dr. Daniela Stoyanova.

7 The Thracian pottery from the A.P.A.X survey is being studied by Dr. Petya Ilieva.

8 One of those pithoi lay inside a circular enclosure which served as a tumulus base. It is important to mention that the EIA level of the Xanthi plain was several meters lower than today, due to aggradation process. This explains the scarcity of EIA findings in this area, where all discoveries so far have been due to earthworks or erosion.

The Nestos valley was a natural passage and a major road since the prehistoric period until the construction of the *Via Egnatia*. Its importance is demonstrated by the numerous archaeological sites that have been identified along the valley. Of these, the Mourgana Hill with a settlement of the Early Iron Age (which existed already from the Late Bronze Age: Triantaphyllos 1990b: 627-630) may be mentioned.

Further east, a Thracian site in Komnina (near modern Stavroupolis) identified in the highland plateau of Nestos can provide a better understanding of the sociocultural processes that were taking place (**Fig. 10.3**), acting as a case study for the broader area under research (Triantaphyllos 1993: 607-610). The site was located on a slope a few kilometres away from the Nestor River already during the prehistoric period. The site may have been called *Nestos* or *Nastos* and continued to be occupied until Late Roman times. Handmade pottery was dominant in the settlement, but a burial of the Classical period at the northern side of the site is different in character (Triantaphyllos 1993: 609-610, figs 26-27). Among the locally made offerings, a 5th c. BCE small black figure Attic lekythos and two silver coins from Abdera stand out. Clearly, the lekythos with its content was valued and its use within the burial context, according to Attic custom, was appreciated and followed. Moreover, it is doubtful if this object was the result of direct contacts and trade transactions between Athenians and local Thracians. It is more likely that it was an object that was exchanged between Athenians and Northern Greeks (Abderitans?), and Northern Greeks and Thracians, and perhaps more Thracians until it reached its final destination. In any case, a degree of cultural interaction with the Greek world and its practices is evident even in this far northern mountainous area during the 5th c. BCE.

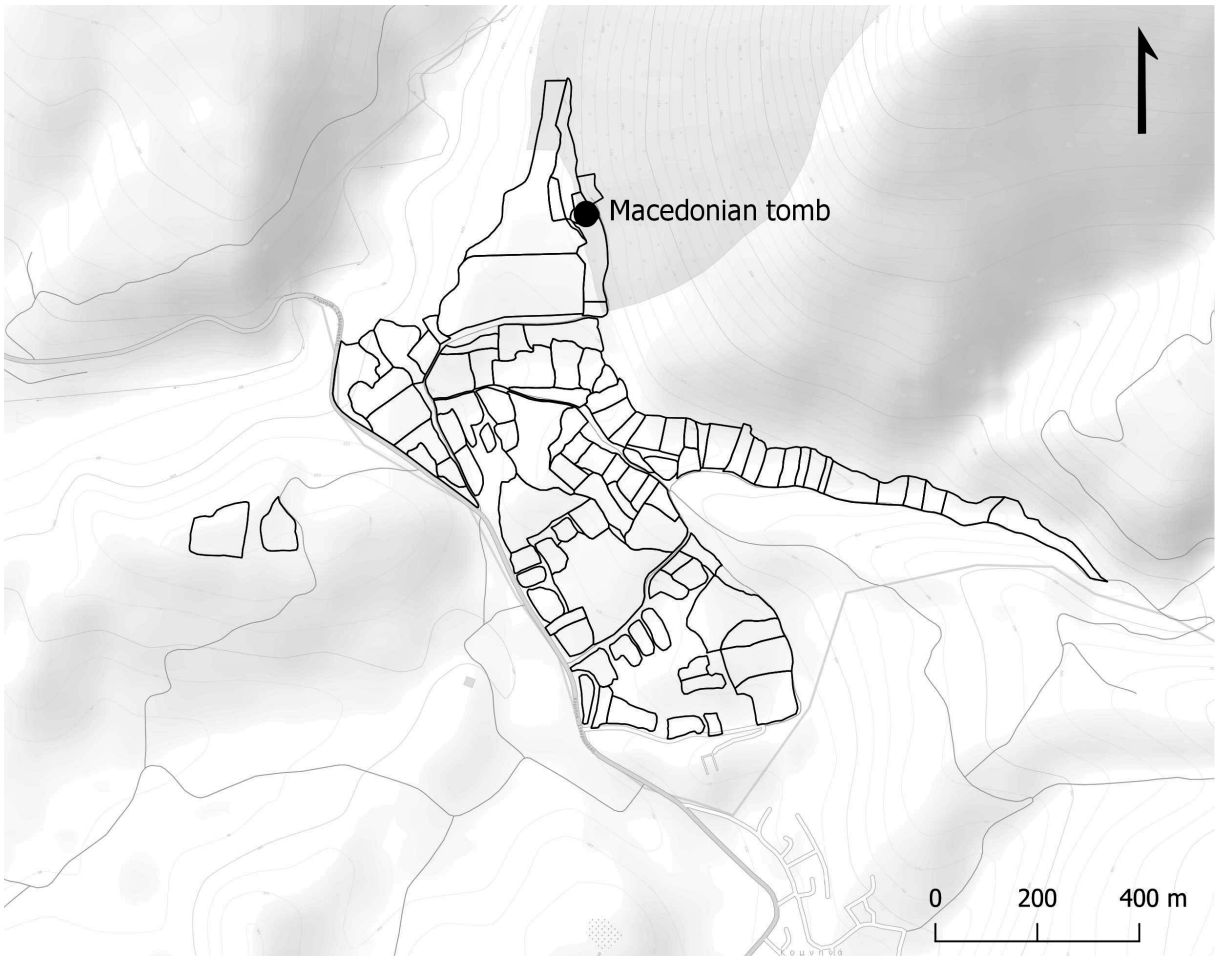

FIG. 10.3 AREA D AT THE KOMNINA AREA: THE THRACIAN SITE NEXT TO THE RIVER NESTOS AND THE MACEDONIAN TOMB

A part of a Hellenistic marble statue was also recovered from the settlement (Triantaphyllos 1993: 610), while a tomb of the Macedonian type of the 2nd c. BCE, the 'Stavroupolis Tomb' (**Fig. 10.3**), was constructed just a few hundred meters north of the Classical burial mentioned above (Makaronas 1953). The construction techniques and the architectural elements of this monumental tomb follow those attested in Macedonia. It may therefore be an attempt by a wealthy local family to emulate the burial tradition of the Macedonian elite during this period. The cultural integration of at least the local upper class within the cultural, social and political ethos of the Macedonian kingdom is rather clear. Finally, during the Roman period, tiles were used in the buildings of the settlement. It seems that by this phase at least, this particular construction technique was adopted but the ongoing study of tiles will provide more evidence on this important issue.

On the basis of these highland Nestos' sites, a broad chronological scheme regarding changes that the Thracians accepted/adopted from the Greek colonists can be developed. During the Archaic and Classical periods, there were some trade contacts and interactions between them, which seem to have intensified in the latter phase. There were tensions and severe conflicts, while at the same time an expansion of the land ruled by the colonists in the coastal plain is attested. In the beginning, imports were minimal and selective while, no obvious adoption of Greek cultural elements by the Thracians can be seen. From the time of King Philip II onwards, it seems that at least the leading social groups of the Thracians imitated the Macedonian elite, while symbolic elements with Greek characteristics were incorporated in the local context. During this process, the construction techniques introduced by the Greek colonists were adopted in Thracian settlements in the Roman period, if not earlier.

4. General discussion and remarks

The relations as well as conflicts between Greeks and Thracians must have been more frequent between colonists and tribes that resided in the Xanthi plain, where many conflicts of interest existed. The available land and its resources in the coastal valley of Xanthi was an issue of hostility from the 7th c. BCE until *ca*. 350 BCE. Perhaps this feeling of insecurity along with the tendencies towards land expansion that the colonists had, made the Thracians of the Xanthi plain resent and resist Greek cultural influence.

Economy was central in the relationships between the Greek and Thracian communities. It appears to have been mutually beneficial, but the material remains are uneven between the two parties. Metal from the Rhodopi Mountain sources, which were controlled and exploited by the Thracian tribes, is the only product that has left positive evidence of exchange, since it has been traded through various circulation networks (and possibly through other tribes) to the Greek city of Abdera. However, as mentioned, other products that have left no material remains must have been traded with the colonists, such as slaves, pack animals and horses, as mentioned in an early 4th c. BCE inscription.

The same scarcity of evidence applies largely to the items and goods exported from Abdera to the Thracians, apart from a few sporadic traces of pottery. Abdera was one of the most important ports in the Northern Aegean with an international character. It acted like a hub, which consumed a lot of the goods traded in its port and some beyond the *polis* and in its *chora*, while it is also clear that it produced (and collected) enough goods for export.

However, it remains unclear if Abdera was the destination of Thracian produce intended to be exported beyond this region. In other words if it were a port of call, where both Greek and Thracian products circulated with the intent to be funnelled from the Thracian inland area to the Aegean, and vice versa. Metals could have been one such case but the exchanges that Thracians received are not known. In any case, the wealth of Abdera must have also been (at least partly) the result of its exchange contacts with the markets of the various Thracian communities during the Classical period.

The first results of the A.P.A.X survey show that there is a significant drop in the distribution of transport amphoras outside the city and the *chora* of Abdera. If this proves true, the maritime international circulation network of Abdera city may not have aimed at the markets of the Thracian tribes in any direct way. One may wonder if this was a decision of the local communities or if we must search for other possible explanations of their non-involvement in the maritime trade transactions. The size of the settlements, as much as we can tell from the available data, may support the necessary socio-economic complexity for participation in trade networks. There must have been sufficient agro-silvo-pastoral Thracian products in order to be part of this circulation. At the same time, the possible lack (or the limited quantity) of specialised and/or secondary products for exportation

probably made this area unattractive to larger markets. In any case, the overall picture appears to support the hypothesis of a conscious abstinence from becoming members of these exchange networks.

As discussed above, the case of pottery that continued to be manufactured by hand rather than adopting the wheel is perhaps revealing for the degree of traditionalism that the Thracians retained. The same can be seen in the continuity of the landscape model for the location of their settlements and the construction of their buildings. Innovations may have been equated with the colonists and may have been avoided to a large extent.

This cultural resistance (or, in some cases, indifference?) to Greek influence was possibly becoming an important aspect of local identity. It seems to have involved various social, economic, and cultural aspects, although at least one Thracian king, Sitalkes, had married a Greek woman from Abdera, the sister of Nymphodoros mentioned above.

As already discussed, the tension between Greek colonists at Abdera and the indigenous Thracians appeared with the arrival of the first and the construction of a robust fortification wall, which was rebuilt a century or so later. So far, the hostilities between them are known mainly through written sources, since the anthropological studies of adult males from the two cemeteries dating from the mid-7th to the mid-6th c. BCE do not provide positive evidence for traumas connected with warfare activities. Further anthropological analyses may perhaps elucidate the conditions for the late Archaic and Classical periods.

In any case, as discussed above, the written sources refer to warfare between the Greeks and Thracian tribes during the Archaic and Classical periods. It is interesting to notice that one of these sources, Pindar's *Paean*, incorporates some important themes and strategies of 'colonial discourse', especially towards the formation of ethnic identity (Dougherty 1994). In any case, the expansion of settlements and the claim of land in the Xanthi valley by the colonists in the 5th c. BCE, together with the lack of references for hostilities during the second half of the same century, and the wealth that Abdera had (as contemporary Athenian tax records reveal), argue for peaceful conditions and prosperity at least during those years.

The last recorded war of the Classical period was related to the Triballi tribe, who threatened to besiege Abdera in 376 BCE (after a coalition with Maroneia), which was saved by an Athenian squadron. In this episode there was no localised tension between Abderitans and the Thracian tribes. Instead, there was a wider movement of alliances that aimed at plundering the city, as far as the Thracian attackers were concerned, and weakening Abdera for gaining strategic and economic benefits from nearby Maroneia, another strong Greek *polis*.

As mentioned above, a single fort has thus far been located in the wider area of the Xanthi plain. Its establishment close to the area where the Thracian tribes lived could have been an attempt to control any unrests as well as a protection of the land route that passed through the area and pre-dated the Roman *Via Egnatia*, with a similar east-west direction. This route was first opened by Xerxes to be used by his vast army, thus the ancient name 'Royal Road' (*Vasilike Odos*). From then on, it was used both by Greeks and Thracians according to Herodotus (Hdt. 7, 115.3)[9].

In any case, even during times of peace, the two ethnic groups did not seem to have closer relations nor were they partners in trade. Exchanges took place between them but they seem not to have been regular or they were restricted to specific materials, such as metals, as well as animals and slaves. Abdera was a significant hub in maritime international trade but, so far, it seems that a few kilometres inland the Thracians retained their own cultural identity. However, this trend would change with the arrival of King Philip II and the incorporation of this area into broader and more complex political entities in the centuries to come.

9 Hdt. 7, 115.3: "The entire road along which king Xerxes led his army the Thracians neither break up nor sow, but they hold it in great reverence to my day" (written *ca*. 430 BCE).

Fig. 10.4 Rhodopi mountain range seen from the plain of Xanthi (source: Googlearth)

Fig. 10.5 A burial tumulus near Abdera

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11. Thoughts on the Reception and Rejection of Aegean and Cypriot Ceramics in the Amuq Plain during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages

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Ekin Kozal
Robert B. Koehl

1. Introduction

Located on the north-east of the Mediterranean **(Fig. 11.1)**, the Amuq plain (currently in the Hatay province of Turkey) is a fertile valley, through which three rivers flow: the Kara-Su from the north, the Afrin from the east, and the Orontes from the south. Following the Orontes valley, the plain opens to the Mediterranean Sea in the south-west. It is here, where the Orontes disembogues into the Mediterranean Sea, that the Late Bronze - Iron Age (hereafter LBA and IA) harbour town of Sabuniye and the IA harbour town of Al Mina were located. Thus, the Orontes Delta is characterised by Hatice Pamir as the 'Gateway of the Amuq' to the Mediterranean (Pamir 2006: 535-543). The plain is surrounded by the Amanus mountains, the low hills of the Kurt Dağ, and the Syrian limestone massif. Due to its position as a crossroad between the Mediterranean, Cilicia, the Anatolian plateau, the Islahiye plain, the Afrin valley, the Idlib plain, and the Qoueiq plain, the region is naturally open to external contacts, through which not only the imported materials both from the neighbouring and distant overseas regions arrived, but also to direct contact with individuals from different cultural regions. These communications stimulated various aspects of mutual influences and transferences of knowledge between societies.

This article focuses on the contacts between the Amuq plain and the Mediterranean, in particular with the Mycenaean and Cypriot cultural spheres, over a period of six centuries, from the mid-15th to the mid-10th century BCE (hereafter, all dates are BCE), with special reference to the sites of Tell Atchana/ancient Alalakh and Chatal Höyük **(Fig. 11.2)**. During this period, the region underwent large-scale political changes: from being a Mittanian vassal state in the 15th -14th c., the Kingdom of Mukish, with its own dynasty and capital located at Tell Atchana/ Alalakh, to its conquest by the Hittite Empire in 1340, when it became a province under the control of the viceroyalty of Karkemish in the 1320s (Weeden 2013; Singer 2017). With the collapse of the Hittite empire at the end of the 13th c., the area gained back its independence and by the 11th c., was part of a kingdom called Walastin (Weeden 2015), with its capital at Tell Tayinat, located only *ca*. 1 km north of the former capital Alalakh (Harrison 2019). Chatal Höyük, probably one of the villages quoted in the Alalakh census list from the 15th c. (Casana 2009: 16), experienced the same political changes although, considering the different political role, it managed to be continuously inhabited until the end of the 6th c. and to become, during IA II-III, a second ranking settlement in a three-tier system (Osborne 2013; Pucci 2019a).

Chatal Höyük and Alalakh lay at the centre of this study as two extensively investigated sites in the Amuq. The data set on which the Chatal Höyük analysis is based refers to the results of the four seasons of excavation carried out there by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in the 1930s (Haines 1971; Pucci 2019a). Chatal Höyük, located at the entrance to the Afrin valley on the eastern part of the Amuq, consists of a large mound of approx. 1.2 ha. The lower town on its western side has never been excavated. Four areas and several trenches on the mound were extensively excavated to different depths, revealing a continuous occupation from the 15th to the 5th centuries, followed by a Hellenistic and Byzantine settlement[1]. The quantity and type of imports presented in this contribution were identified from the analysis of the whole assemblage kept and preserved at both the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago and at the Hatay Archaeological Museum in Hatay.

1 A small trench at the base of the mound revealed an occupation dated to the end of fourth millennium suggesting a longer history of the settlement.

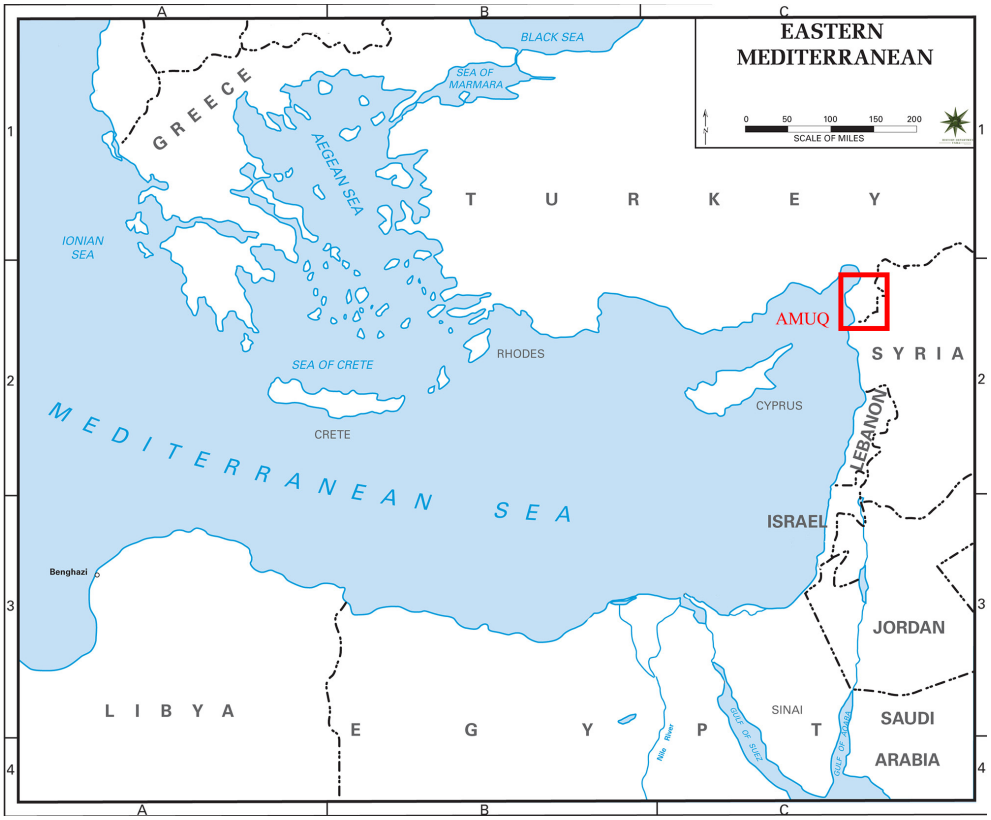

FIG. 11.1 GENERAL MAP OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN (MODIFIED BY MARINA PUCCI FROM CATHY SCOTT'S ORIGINAL MAP AT HTTPS://WWW.D-MAPS.COM/CARTE.PHP?NUM_CAR=3162&LANG=EN)

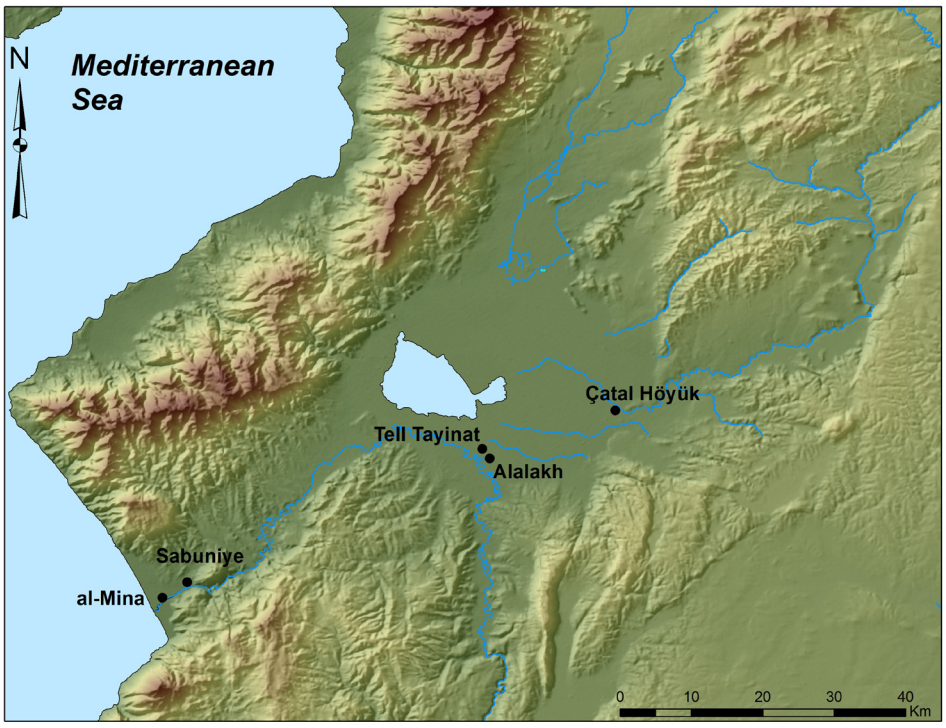

FIG. 11.2 MAP OF THE AMUQ PLAIN (DRAWING BY STEPHEN BATIUK, COURTESY OF THE CRANE PROJECT)

The Alalakh dataset is by far larger and richer: the mound extends over 22 ha and was extensively excavated from 1936-39 and in 1946 by the British Museum under the directorship of C.L. Woolley (Woolley 1955), and since 2003 by the Chicago Oriental Institute/Koç University/Mustafa Kemal University, under the directorship of K.A. Yener (Yener 2010; Yener *et al.* 2019). Woolley's excavations brought to light the area of the so-called northern royal precinct. The recent excavations were active not only in the same area, but also in the southern and eastern areas of the mound, to gain a clearer understanding of the urban structure and development of the settlement through time. The recent excavations have also focused on fine-tuning the Middle Bronze Age to IA sequence first published by Woolley in the 1950s, hoping to clarify issues raised by Woolley's dating of the site.

The authors of this contribution use the most recent stratigraphic sequencing at both sites. The Mycenaean imports from Alalakh referenced here come from both the material excavated by Woolley and from the current excavations, whereas the Cypriot imports are selected mainly from the recent excavations.

In terms of chronology, according to the Amuq regional sequence (Swift 1958: 4 and Haines 1971: 1-2), phases M to O identify in the whole region the period from the Late Bronze Age II to Iron Age III, and generally speaking, the equivalence of phase M = Late Bronze Age, phase N = Iron Age I and phase O = Iron Age II–III can be accepted. However, at Chatal Höyük, the rich and detailed stratigraphy as well as the possibility of correlating assemblages from different areas allowed a further subdivision into three sub-phases for each Amuq period. For this reason, terms such as N_Beginning, N_Middle or N_Late apply only to the stratigraphy of Chatal Höyük. The correspondence with the Alalakh sequence is provided in the table below **(Table 11.1)** but should be considered provisional.

Approx. dating BCE	Chatal Höyük	Alalakh periods[2]
1450	M_Middle	4, 3
1350		2, 1
1250	M_Late	
1150	N_Beginning	0
1100/1050	N_Middle	
950	N_Late	
850	O_Beginning	
750	O_Middle	
600	O_Late	
500		

TAB. 11.1 PHASING AT CHATAL AND ALALAKH DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE AND THE IRON AGE

2. The Amuq in the LBA

2.1. The archaeological evidence

At Alalakh **(Fig. 11.3)**, the LBA evidence is well known in the northern precinct and in all other areas recently excavated (Yener periods 6 to 1; *cf*. Yener *et al*. 2019: tab. 1.1). During period 4, the settlement probably extended over the entire mound and consisted of a palace structure (Woolley palace/Castle IV) located in the royal precinct (limited by the level IV city wall and rampart) on the northern spur of the mound, together with several private houses (house 37, 39 a-c) along the north-eastern rampart, and a small central temple (Temple IV or III). On the eastern side of the mound, habitation quarters have been identified in area 2 (local phase 2, building A-C, *cf*.

2 The periodisation published here reflects the chronological table published in Yener *et al*. 2019 and does not mirror ongoing research on pottery in specific areas at Alalakh.

Yener & Yazıcıoğlu 2005) and a necropolis in Area 3 (local phase 1, separated from the settlement through a stone enclosure wall, Yener & Yazıcıoğlu 2005: 24-29). During the same period 4, in Area 4 on the southern edge of the mound, domestic and craft production areas have been identified. During the following period 3, the castle IV was re-used, and fortress III was built, while the domestic quarters identified along the north-eastern edge continued in use. The Temple was also reconstructed. To the south in Area 4, a large domestic structure with central courtyard has also been tentatively ascribed to this period. Period 2 includes the construction of the fortress II (northern fortress) and of the southern one in Area 4 (Akar 2019), however the settlement started to become less dense. In fact, recent investigations showed that the settlement during period 1 underwent a progressive process of abandonment. The occupation of the site became scattered and only few areas, such as the area surrounding the Temple (square 42-10), were continuously occupied until IA levels (Montesanto & Pucci 2019), while others (such as Area 4) reflect a passage from well-built architecture (Area 4, phase 2), to open spaces with scattered occupation (Area 4, phase 1).

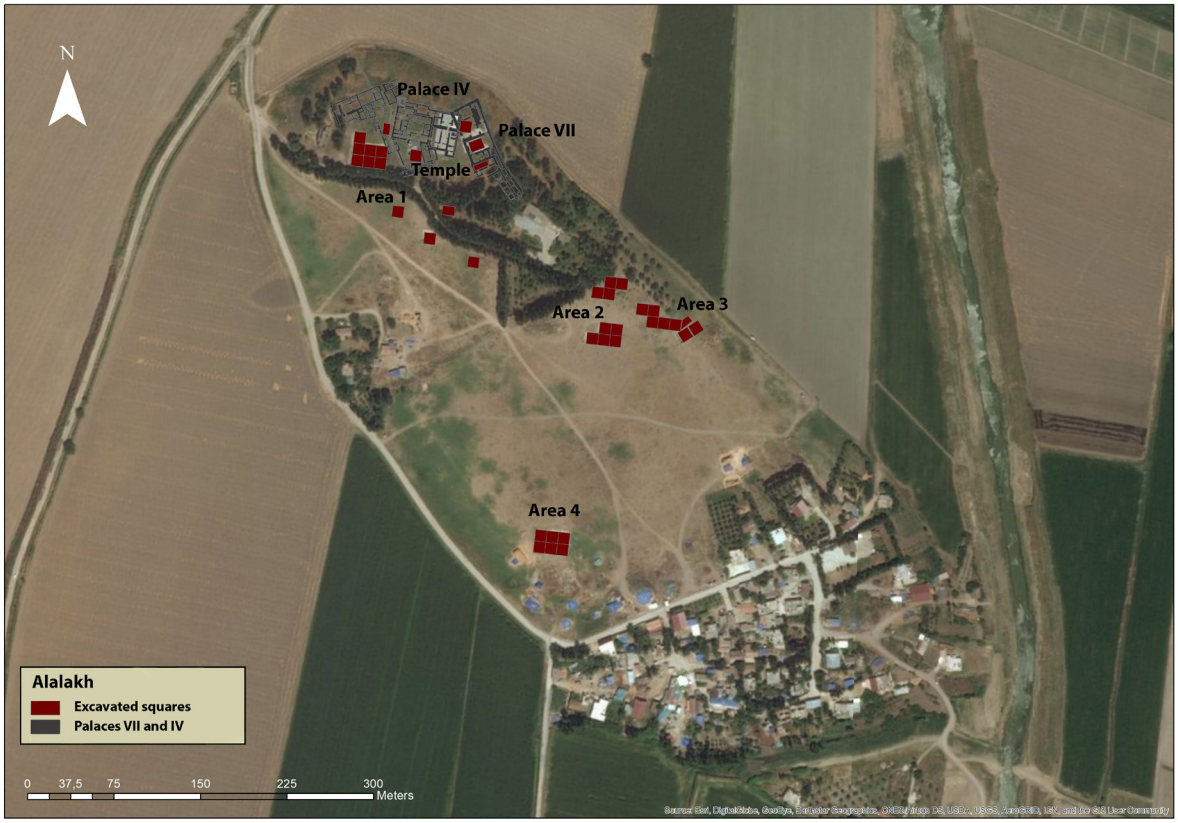

Fig. 11.3 Alalakh: general map with excavation areas (photo Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana excavations)

At Chatal Höyük **(Fig. 11.4)**, LBA contexts were reached only in two areas and exposed over several phases (M_Middle and M_Late) dated to the 14th and 13th centuries. While the extent of Area V was too small to fully understand its architectural sequence, the stratigraphic evidence from Area II provides more information: in level II_12 a large building with storerooms destroyed by fire was followed by a pebbled open area with large mud brick structures and burials in the open space. Pebble floors were frequently renewed until the open court was rearranged with a new silo, new scattered inhumations, and two domestic units. Thus, it is possible to state that at least this part of the settlement underwent an urban change during the last stages of the LBA, from a large well-built monumental structure to a scattered domestic occupation, with internal storage facilities.

FIG. 11.4 CHATAL HÖYÜK. GENERAL MAP WITH EXCAVATION AREAS (BY MARINA PUCCI)

2.2. The Mycenaean imports to Alalakh during the LBA (LH IIIA and LH IIIB)

In attempting to frame our understanding of the Mycenaean pottery from Tell Atchana, in the context of its acceptance and/or resistance by the inhabitants, one needs to examine the evidence over the long durée. From the recent discoveries of a fragmentary Middle Minoan 'Kamares' ware cup **(Fig. 11.5a)** (Koehl 2020: 202, fig. 2), and a Late Helladic (hereafter, LH) IIB 'Vapheio' cup **(Fig. 11.5b)** (Koehl 2020: 204), both of which are rare in Levantine contexts, it may be surmised that the earliest encounters with Aegean ceramics were in the form of luxurious or exotic tableware. Indeed, the Aegean elements in the wall-paintings from the Middle Bronze Age palace at Tell Atchana only reinforce the notion that its populace was open to and appreciative of Aegean culture (Koehl 2013).

A lacuna in the occurrence of Aegean pottery at Tell Atchana from the LH IIIA1 period, or the first quarter of the 14th c., is not unique to Tell Atchana but rather a wide-spread phenomenon. This absence is surely more reflective of the unsettled conditions within the Aegean itself, including perhaps the conquest of Crete by Mainland Mycenaeans, the establishment of a Mycenaean dynasty at Knossos, and the establishment of Mycenaean settlements on Rhodes and on the Asia Minor coast than a resistance to or rejection of Mycenaean ceramics (Wiener 2015). Thus, when trade-routes to the east were firmly re-established in the LH IIIA2 period, Alalakh was a leading recipient of Mycenaean wares **(Figs 11.5c** and **11. 6)** (Koehl 2019a; 2019b, 2019c; 2019d; 2020: 206-209, figs 6-9).

FIG. 11.5 LATE BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE MYCENAEAN IMPORTS TO ALALAKH: A. MIDDLE MINOAN IIB-IIIA KAMARES WARE CUP; B. LATE HELLADIC IIB 'VAPHEIO' CUP; C. LH IIIA2 GLOBULAR FLASK. D. LH IIIB1 ARGOLID (?) STIRRUP JAR; E. LH IIIB SIMPLE STYLE STIRRUP JAR; F. LH IIIC STYLE DEEP BOWL (PHOTOS BY MURAT AKAR, COURTESY OF TELL ATCHANA EXCAVATIONS

In fact, the distribution of Mycenaean shapes at Tell Atchana seems to reflect both an appreciation of Mycenaean pottery *per se*, and its contents. The vast majority of LH IIIA2 pottery throughout the Levant consists of closed vessels, specifically stirrup jars, angular alabastra and small piriform jars, which undoubtedly were originally purchased for their perishable contents, probably wine, perfumed oil, honey, herbs and spices (Leonard 1994; van Wijngaarden 2002). It is also likely that these pots were kept after their contents were consumed, and perhaps refilled with local equivalents, as might be surmised from their frequent discovery in habitation and funerary contexts, rather than in dumps.

Although these three closed shapes are among the most frequent at Tell Atchana, the two most common Mycenaean shapes at the site are the vertical globular flask and the amphoroid krater (Koehl 2005: 418-420; 2010; 2019a: 258-259). Outside of Tell Atchana, the vertical globular flask is the most common shape only at Tell el Amarna, in Egypt and Tell Aphek, in Israel (Hankey 1973; Koehl 2005: 418-419). Elsewhere the stirrup jar predominates (Leonard 1994: 45-78). The vertical globular flask, classified as Furumark shape (hereafter FS) 189 (Furumark 1941: 616), has an average height of 15 cm and consists of two hemispherical bowls joined at their rims. Sitting on a ring-shaped base, a narrow, concave cylindrical neck with thick, down-sloping rim was inserted at the top, and two vertical handles were attached to the neck and shoulder **(Fig. 11.5c)**. A minimum of 40 of these were found at the site (Koehl 2005: 429; 2019: 258-259).

The amphoroid krater, classified as FS 53-54 (Furumark 1941: 593), has an average height of 40 cm, a piriform body with high vertical neck and two vertical handles from rim and shoulder **(Fig. 11.6)**. A minimum of 64 have been identified at Tell Atchana (Koehl 2005: 418-420; 2019a: 258-259), of which at least 28 were decorated in the Pictorial Style, comprising the largest assemblage of LH IIIA2 Mycenaean Pictorial Style pottery in the Levant (Koehl 2019c). Furthermore, based on a stylistic analysis, it appears that there are examples of LH IIIA2 early and LH IIIA2 late Pictorial Style kraters from Atchana (Koehl 2019a: 257; 2019c: 555-564), suggesting that the reception of Mycenaean pottery at the site continued over the course of at least two generations during the 14th c. Yet it should also be noted that kraters seem to have been particularly common at Atchana, examples of which occur in several of the imported Cypriote and locally made decorated wares, including the local version of Nuzi Ware. Thus, while Mycenaean pottery was obviously enthusiastically received by the inhabitants of Alalakh, the preponderance of kraters may also reflect the drinking habits or proclivities of the local population, as much as their appreciation of Mycenaean pottery (see below).

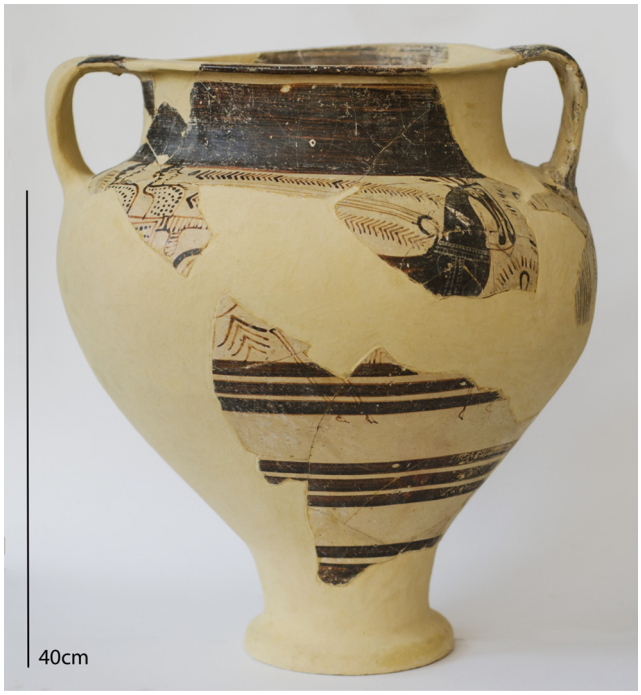

Fig. 11.6 Alalakh, LH IIIA2 Amphoroid krater (photo by Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana Excavations)

The scarcity of LH IIIB1 (**Fig. 11.5d**) pottery at Tell Atchana is unlikely to be attributed to a sudden rejection of Mycenaean wares. Rather, as discussed above, the site seems to have been largely emptied of its population during the 13th c., while it was under Hittite control, when it seems that only the Temple continued to function. Thus, while at least 200 Mycenaean vases of various shapes arrived at Tell Atchana during the 14th c., only three date to the 13th c., all of which are stirrup jars (Koehl 2005: 416; 2020: 409). In fact, a fragmentary Simple Style stirrup jar, perhaps made on Cyprus (Koehl 2020: fig. 11) and a stirrup jar with parallels in the Argolid (Koehl 2020: fig. 10) are indicative that Aegean imports did not stop altogether. Rather, it appears that the focus of 13th c. trade in Mycenaean ceramics, including Pictorial Style kraters, shifted south, to the Hittite-controlled city of Ugarit (Ras Shamra*)*.

2.3. The Cypriot imports to Alalakh (LB I and LB II)

The interactions between Cyprus and Alalakh had already begun in the Middle Bronze Age in Level VII. Textual evidence yields similar evidence. Alasia was mentioned in the tablets belonging to Period VII and IV (Wiseman 1953: cat. n° 188, 269, 385; 1959: 28-29; Astour 1964: 241-242; Hellbing 1979: 56-57; von Dassow 2005: 13, 21, 34, 38, 62, 64; Lauinger 2011: 41). In the LBA, the connections not only became more intense but also the imported pottery represents a great variety. Moreover, there is a consistency and continuity in the importation of Cypriot pottery to Alalakh throughout Period 7-2 (MB II-LB II). Represented wares are White Painted **(Fig. 11.7)**, Bichrome, Red-on-Black/Red, Black Lustrous Wheel-made Ware, Monochrome **(Fig. 11. 8)**, White Slip I-II **(Fig. 11.9)**, White Slip II, Base-ring I-II **(Fig. 11.9)**, Bucchero **(Fig. 11.9)**, White Shaved (**Fig. 11.10**) (Woolley 1955: 354-369; Gates 1981: 17-22; Bergoffen 2005; Kozal 2010; 2019a; 2019b; Kozal *et al*. 2020). These wares show a chronological pattern. White Painted is the earliest ware observed in Period 7. Bichrome and Red-on-Black/Red appear in Periods 6 and 5, whereas Monochrome was encountered throughout Periods 6-2. White Slip I is evident in Periods 6-4 and White Slip II in Periods 5-2. White Shaved ware appears only in Period 2 (Kozal *et al*. 2020: 224, fig. 4 with an updated version here **Fig. 11.16**). Cypriot pottery is revealed in all types of context of the LBA. It is present in palace, castle, temple, tomb as well as in housing and workshop quarters as well.

FIG. 11.7 ALALAKH, CYPRIOT IMPORT, WHITE PAINTED V FRAMED BROAD BAND STYLE (PHOTO BY MURAT AKAR, COURTESY OF TELL ATCHANA EXCAVATIONS)

Fig. 11.8 Alalakh, Cypriot import, Monochrome (photo by Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana Excavations)

Monochrome stands out from this group as it is represented longer than any other Cypriot ware. Its percentage among Cypriot wares varies between *ca*. 70 % and *ca*. 30 % decreasing from Period 6 onwards until Period 2. Petrographic and trace elemental analysis have shown that Monochrome and White Slip I-II were made from different clays and different sources. The Monochrome vessels of Alalakh have a geochemical match with eastern-Cypriot examples from Phlamoudhi and Kalopsidha (Hacıosmanoğlu *et al*. 2018). D. Frankel's mapping of Monochrome on Cyprus based on Paul Åström's catalogue (Åström 1972) has shown a concentration in eastern Cyprus (Frankel 2009: fig. 1). Assuming the origin of Monochrome Ware as eastern Cyprus, it is possible to show a long-term connection between eastern Cyprus and Alalakh. It should be mentioned here that in contrast to the Levant, Monochrome did not find such an acceptance in the Aegean. A single vessel is known from Kommos on Crete (Watrous 1992: 156-157, n°1930, pl. 51.1930). Nor was there a single example of Monochrome among the cargo of Uluburun (Hirschfeld 2005). Troy's assemblage is very consistent with Uluburun's assemblage of Cypriot pottery. Similarly, Troy did not yield any Monochrome although it yielded one of the most numerous assemblages of Cypriot pottery in the eastern Aegean (Kozal 2017: 188-195).

Fig. 11.9 Alalakh, Cypriot import, White Slip II, Base-ring I-II and Bucchero Ware (photo by Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana Excavations)

Fig. 11.10 Alalakh, Cypriot import, White Shaved Ware (photo by Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana Excavations)

In contrast to Monochrome, White Slip I-II has a wider distribution in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean. Its percentage at the site varies as well. White Slip I represents *ca*. 4 %-11 % of the Cypriot assemblage between Periods 6-4, whereas White Slip II has an increasing pattern from Period 5 onwards till Period 2, from *ca.* 10 % to 50 %. Petrographic and trace elemental analyses of White Slip I-II from Alalakh indicate that the possible source is on the southern coast of Cyprus around Limassol (Hacıosmanoğlu *et al*. 2018). Regional differences in the distribution patterns of Monochrome and White Slip I-II point to the existence of two different ports with local products. The absence of Monochrome from the Uluburun shipwreck and from the Aegean raises the question whether these two ports of eastern and southern Cyprus acted as separate trading mechanisms. Further analysis of other Cypriot wares is necessary in order to have a complete picture.

The bowl is the most frequent form among Cypriot pottery in Alalakh, followed by jugs. Kraters, bottles and amphora are rare. In general, Cypriot pottery is comprised of utilitarian table wares. Bowls were used for eating and drinking, whereas jugs, kraters and bottles were for serving. However, special types, such as the wall-bracket, Base-ring II bull-shaped vessels, and a bird-shaped White Painted V Pendant Line Style vessel were also found. In addition, two Base-ring I kraters with relief decoration from Palace IV have recently been discussed by Celia Bergoffen (2007). Her study has shown that these kraters are very rare or unique in many ways, including their form, their lustrous surface and the motif of the relief decoration. Bergoffen discussed the significance of finding such a rare type of Cypriot import at Alalakh, and suggested that the form of the krater and its lustre must have been a reflection of metal predecessors. She compares their form to Aegean style kraters, discussed above, which appear to have circulated in the Eastern Mediterranean among the elites (Bergoffen 2007).

Attention should also be given to the harbour site of Sabuniye at the Orontes delta, which was excavated briefly under the directorship of H. Pamir on behalf of Mustafa Kemal University (Pamir 2005; 2006; 2013). Among other finds, Sabuniye yielded a scarab of Tuthmosis III, Mittanian style cylinder seals as well as Cypriot and LH IIIA2 Mycenaean pottery. The Cypriot wares discovered thus far at Sabuniye are Red-on-Black/Red, White Slip II, Base-ring II, White Shaved (Pamir 2005: 71, 72, 83, fig. 3.7: 1-4, 7-8; 2013: 177, fig. 7a-b). These Cypriot wares are comparable to the assemblages from Alalakh, which strongly suggests that Sabuniye acted as the main harbour for Alalakh and other sites in the Amuq, such as Chatal Höyük and Tell Judaidah.

Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware (hereafter RL) is evidently an import at Alalakh **(Fig. 11.11)**. Geochemical characterisation of RL from Alalakh and the clays of Amuq Plain has shown that the ware is not local at Alalakh (Gutsuz *et al.* 2017; Kibaroğlu *et al.* 2019). Archaeological research at Kilise Tepe in Rough Cilicia has demonstrated that the greatest variety of forms was found there. In addition, Kozal has shown that the RL forms have their roots in the repertoire of Anatolian ceramics beginning in the 2nd millennium (Kozal 2015, with further literature). Based on an archaeometric comparison of Cypriot and Anatolian clays with RL, it would appear that the most likely source of RL is Rough Cilicia (Kibaroğlu *et al*. 2019). Rough Cilicia is also the likely location of the Hittite port of Ura, based on Hittite texts, though its location has yet to be archaeologically attested (Dinçol *et al*. 2001: 82, 83, 86 with further literature). At Alalakh, RL is represented through Periods 6-2 (Kozal *et al.* 2020: 424, fig. 4) with bowls, spindle bottles, jugs and arm-shaped vessels, which occasionally have pre-firing marks.

Fig. 11.11 Alalakh, Anatolian import, Red and White Lustrous Ware (photo by Murat Akar, courtesy of Tell Atchana Excavations)

2.4. The Mycenaean and Cypriot imports to Chatal Höyük during the LBA II

Imports to Chatal Höyük in the M_Middle (14th mid-13th century) and M_Late phases (mid 13th mid-12th century) barely represent 1 % of the entire ceramic assemblage. Furthermore, they appear to decrease from phase M_Middle (1 %) to phase M_Late (0.89 %). The imports show almost exclusively one place of origin, Cyprus: Red Monochrome bowls with wishbone handles (four individuals) **(Fig. 11.13b)**, White Slip II bowls (eight individuals) **(Fig. 11.12b)** and one complete Base-ring jug **(Fig. 11.13a)** are the only imported shapes, and are found both in funerary (as the complete jug) and in domestic contexts (Monochrome and White Slip). Of the 1 % of imports identified in these levels, two much smaller groups of 'wares' were included: the RL spindle bottles and the Nuzi Ware. In both cases, the fabric differed in colour and composition from the local pottery. At Chatal Höyük, only five fragments of Nuzi ware were found in M_Middle contexts, and one in M_Late, while five more were collected in later N_Beginning deposits (Pucci 2019a: 216-217). Considering the relatively small dimensions of the sherds collected, only one (Pucci 2019a: 65, pl. 44a) clearly shows very strong connection to the local Alalakh production of Nuzi ware (Erb-Satullo *et al*. 2011; Bataray 2019), emphasising the bond between Chatal and the local capital Alalakh and pointing to an intra-regional exchange.

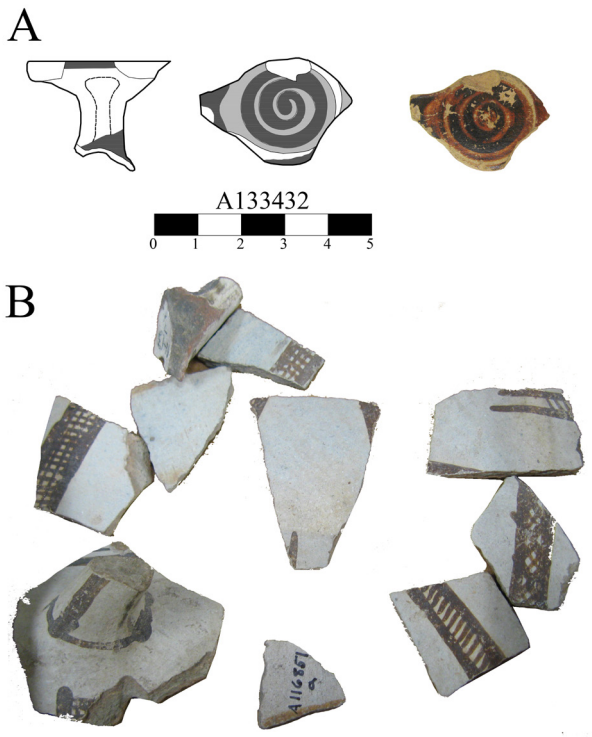

Fig. 11.12 Chatal Höyük, LBA imports. A. LH IIIB stirrup jar (phase M_Late); B. Fragments of White Slip II pottery (Phase M_Late) (photo by Marina Pucci)

Four of the six examples (one is complete) of RL spindle bottles **(Fig. 11.13c)** were found in M_Late contexts, showing that the import of this specific vessel increased during the latest phase of the LBA, in contrast to the general decrease in imports observed above. Though based on the relatively small quantity of fragments, it is not possible to argue that they reflect an increase in the political connections of Chatal Höyük with Anatolia. One only sherd from a Mycenaean LH IIIB **(Fig. 11.12a)** imported stirrup jar has been identified in a M_Late context **(Fig. 11.12a)**, and no imitations of Mycenaean vessels could be identified in the LBA assemblage.

FIG. 11.13 CHATAL HÖYÜK LBA CYPRIOT AND RL IMPORTS. A. BASE RING JUG (PHASE M_MIDDLE) (PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE CHICAGO); B. MONOCHROME CUP (DRAWING BY TIZIANA D'ESTE, PHOTO MARINA PUCCI) (PHASE M_LATE). C. RL SPINDLE BOTTLE (PHASE M_MIDDLE) (DRAWING BY TIZIANA D'ESTE)

2.5. Acceptance and refusal in the LBA Amuq

The very small number of LH IIIB imports to the Amuq plain (three at Alalakh; one at Chatal Höyük), when compared with the situation just south of the Orontes valley, begs for further explanation. Although Ugarit is considered, to quote Leonard (2003: 89), "*the* major player in Aegeo-Levantine coastal trade", LH IIIB imports, amphoroid kraters in particular, are also attested at other sites along the Orontes valley in Syria, not to mention the numerous settlements in the southern Levant (Leonard 1994; van Wijngaarden 2002: maps 6 and 7). The north Levantine LB II tradition of visually emphasising the krater as the main element of the table set and regarding it as a possible symbol for social distinction, as amply discussed by Louise Steel (2013) among others, is well rooted in the assemblage at Chatal Höyük and at Alalakh, even without the Mycenaean imports, and remains an important difference with the Anatolian ceramic set. At Ugarit in particular, the Mycenaean krater, often with Pictorial Style decoration, seems to have been regarded as a status symbol, following the Levantine tradition, and has even been associated specifically with the *maryannu,* a distinct class of warrior aristocracy whose presence is documented there (Yon *et al.* 2000: 12).

The scarcity of LH IIIB imports at both Chatal Höyük and Alalakh could find an easier explanation when considering the archaeological evidence. Chatal Höyük was only a village which experienced a serious economic decay in the last phases of the LBA (in particular phase M_Late), while Alalakh, once the seat of the Hittite prince Tudhaliya (period 2, end of the 14th c. very beginning of the 13th c.), experienced a process of depopulation during the 13th c. (probably during the second half of the 13th c.), with scarcely any monumental architecture, other than

the Temple. This phenomenon, common at both sites, may indicate that after the rule of prince Tudhaliya, the region suffered an economic crisis (*cf*. Pucci 2020: 330-333) most likely related to a drought which affected the highlands of Anatolia (Cohen 2017: 300; Müller-Karpe 2008), and the Amuq plain (Avşar *et al*. 2019: 801). Thus, economic decay and consequent depopulation of the region may explain the decrease (but not disappearance) of Mycenaean imports, rather than an intentional refusal.

Indeed, the Alalakh excavations have yielded great amounts of Late Cypriot pottery from period 7 to period 2, indicative of its high demand and consumption. It is even possible that the trickle of Mycenaean pottery that did arrive in the Amuq in the 13th c., came via Cyprus. This seems to be particularly true of the Simple Style, an example of which was found at Tell Atchana **(Fig. 11.5e)** (on the Cypriot provenance of the Mycenaean Simple Style, see Mommsen *et al.* 2005; Koehl & Yellin 2007). Since Cypriot pottery does not have an intrinsic value, compared to raw materials, its presence must have had another desirable benefit as a form of acceptance. The Uluburun shipwreck can be taken as a model and projected onto the LBA in order to examine the motivation for the importation of Cypriot pottery. Although Uluburun represents a single instance in history from around 1300, it represents the best of the very few cases to illustrate the thriving dimensions of trade in the eastern Mediterranean. The main cargo of the ship consisted of 11 tons of metal, comprising the exact proportion of copper and tin to produce bronze: 10 tons of copper and one ton of tin. This was accompanied not only by other raw materials, such as ivory, ebony, glass, and resin, but also by Cypriot pottery and luxurious objects made of gold, as well as many other items (Pulak 2010). As for Cypriot pottery, there were approximately 130 vessels on board, which were placed inside three pithoi, filling them halfway to the top (Hirschfeld 2005). Therefore, the pottery was imported for itself and not for its contents, so that the value of Cypriot pottery must have been symbolic. The Cypriot pottery on board consists of White Shaved juglets, White Slip II bowls, lamps, Base-ring II bowls, Plain Ware trefoil jugs, Bucchero ware jugs and wall brackets, listed here in the order from most to least common on board (Hirschfeld 2005). In general, the assemblage comprised a mixture of table wares (*i.e.* bowls and jugs), lamps and White Shaved juglets. In contrast to pottery, metal would have lost its identity as an import once it was turned into a finished, locally made object presumably fashioned in a local style. Pottery, which is by nature a finished product, would have maintained its foreign or exotic identity and hence, retain its value as a status symbol, in this case communicating involvement in trade with Cyprus. It is therefore possible that the Cypriot pottery, with its distinctive and easily noticeable types, functioned as a symbol of elitism and internationalism.

3. The Amuq in the IA I (12th and 11th century)

3.1. The archaeological evidence

IA I architecture at Alalakh has been identified only in square 42.10, located close to the Temple (**Fig. 11.3**). Here a sequence of external floors, pyrotechnical installations and mud brick structures (Yener 2017: fig. 4, Montesanto & Pucci 2019) bear witness to the persistence of a settlement in the area surrounding the Temple and in those structures, which Woolley identified as belonging to level 0 (Woolley 1955: 89-90, pl. 13a). The function of the structure named Temple 0, its layout, and its exact location, although close to the temple sequence, is not clear. As far as the archaeological evidence shows, the IA I settlement at Alalakh was limited to the area of the royal precinct (Area 1). However, in several squares to the east and to the south of the precinct (Area 2 and 3) the top soil accumulations included several pottery sherds dated to the IA I (Period 1) but no deposits or architecture were related to it **(Fig. 11.3)**. Moreover, a large building identified in Area 1 with floors paved with large quantities of sherds has been dated to the IA II and shows that the site was sporadically occupied until the 8th c.

Nearly one km to the north west, the site of Tell Tayinat became the new ‘main centre’ in the region. After an initial settlement on the mound in the Early Bronze Age**,** the site was ‘re-founded’ at the beginning of the IA I with a scattered occupation characterised by the presence of mud brick silos and fragmentary walls (Field 1, phase 6c-a. *cf*. Welton 2019: 296-330). This kind of occupation is similar to the one observed in the transition between the LBA to the IA (M_Late to N_ Beginning) at Chatal Höyük, as is the local production of LH IIIC Late pottery

sets at both sites at the beginning of the IA, in the last third of the 12th c. While at Chatal Höyük, the occupation during the 11th c. dramatically increased in density, other than the storage system with silo and the fortifications, the settlement at Tell Tayinat seems scattered until the mid-10th c., when the first monumental buildings (Building Phase 1) were constructed on the acropolis (*cf*. Welton *et al*. 2019: fig. 26 for the chronological setting and Haines 1971 for Building Phase 1). However, according to the textual evidence, during the 11th c., Tell Tayinat was the seat of a powerful king named Taita and the capital of the kingdom of Walistin (Weeden 2013). Yet, as just noted, the archaeological evidence from this period remains ephemeral and limited to a storage area (Field 1) and a workshop area (Field 4). During the so-called Building Phase 1 of the acropolis, the settlement was fortified and included several large structures surrounding a courtyard (Haines 1971). From the mid-10th to the 7th c., this part of the settlement would host the palaces and two temples, while the settlement grew to an extent of more than 40 ha, including a large lower town. The Assyrian conquest of the city in 738 modified only in part the internal architectural arrangement, adding a second residential area to the south with the construction of the Neo-Assyrian residence, building IX (Denel & Harrison 2018). No IA domestic architecture has been excavated so far at the site.

By contrast, the settlement at Chatal Höyük manifests a slow process of densification in the first levels of the IA (phase N_Beginning) without clear breaks: new houses were added, old ones rebuilt, storage facilities and large open areas gave the place to a denser settlement **(Fig. 11.4)**. During phase N, the village was fortified, and the entire acropolis was occupied by domestic structures, that were not divided into functionally different neighbourhoods. Only during phase O_Middle (end of 9th and 8th c.) was the settlement articulated into neighbourhoods, which not only had different functions, but hosted different social groups (Pucci 2019a: 293-296).

3.2. The Mycenaean (LH IIIC) style pottery and the local production in the Amuq

It is to this period, Woolley's Level 0, that a new assemblage of ceramics was discovered at Alalakh with affinities to the Aegean, but locally produced **(Fig. 11.5f)** (Woolley 1938: 4; Koehl 2017). However, this material is entirely different in ware and shape distribution than the Aegean pottery from previous eras. Rather than a range of closed vessels and specialised luxury items, such as amphoroid kraters, this 12th c. assemblage has its closest parallels among the domestic assemblages from the Aegean (Koehl 2017). The open shapes represented include the monochrome and decorated deep bowl (FS 284), the most common shape in 12th c. Aegean domestic assemblages, the shallow angular bowl (FS 295), the kylix, the one-handled conical bowl (FS 242), and the basin (FS 294), none of which were found among the earlier Mycenaean imports. Likewise, there is no overlap in the occurrence and distribution of closed shapes in the 12th c. assemblage with earlier ones. Rather than the globular flask, stirrup jar, small pithoid jar, and angular alabastron, it now contains the lekythos, a new shape in the 12th c. Aegean repertoire, the large jug or amphora, and the cooking jug (Koehl 2017). That all this pottery was made locally is indicated by the ware which, based on autopsy using a 10x lens, contained the same inclusions and range of colours as the locally-made shapes.

A similar scenario occurs at Chatal Höyük. Here, the extent of the excavation and the quantity of material collected allowed a larger dataset to understand the Mycenaean impact. In terms of imports, *i.e.* pottery not produced locally and identified as 'foreign' due to its difference in fabric from the local one, it is possible to state a slow increase in percentages during the IA (phase N at the site), as it reaches approximately 3 % of the whole assemblage. However the Mycenaean style imports are limited to only 0.7 % (all percentages are calculated on diagnostic sherds): these range from deep bowls (FS 285, seven specimens) **(Fig. 11.14.a, b & f)**, a shape which was also produced locally, to shapes such as the kylix **(Fig. 11.14d)** or the dipper **(Fig. 11.14c)**, which were never locally made, to stirrup jars **(Fig. 11.14e)**. However, unlike the Aegean-style assemblage from Tel Atchana, which has been dated to LH IIIC Middle (Koehl 2017: 279-282), the Aegean style pottery from Chatal Höyük is based on LH IIIC Late prototypes (Pucci 2019a: 179-184) as also at Tell Tayinat (Janeway 2011; 2017).

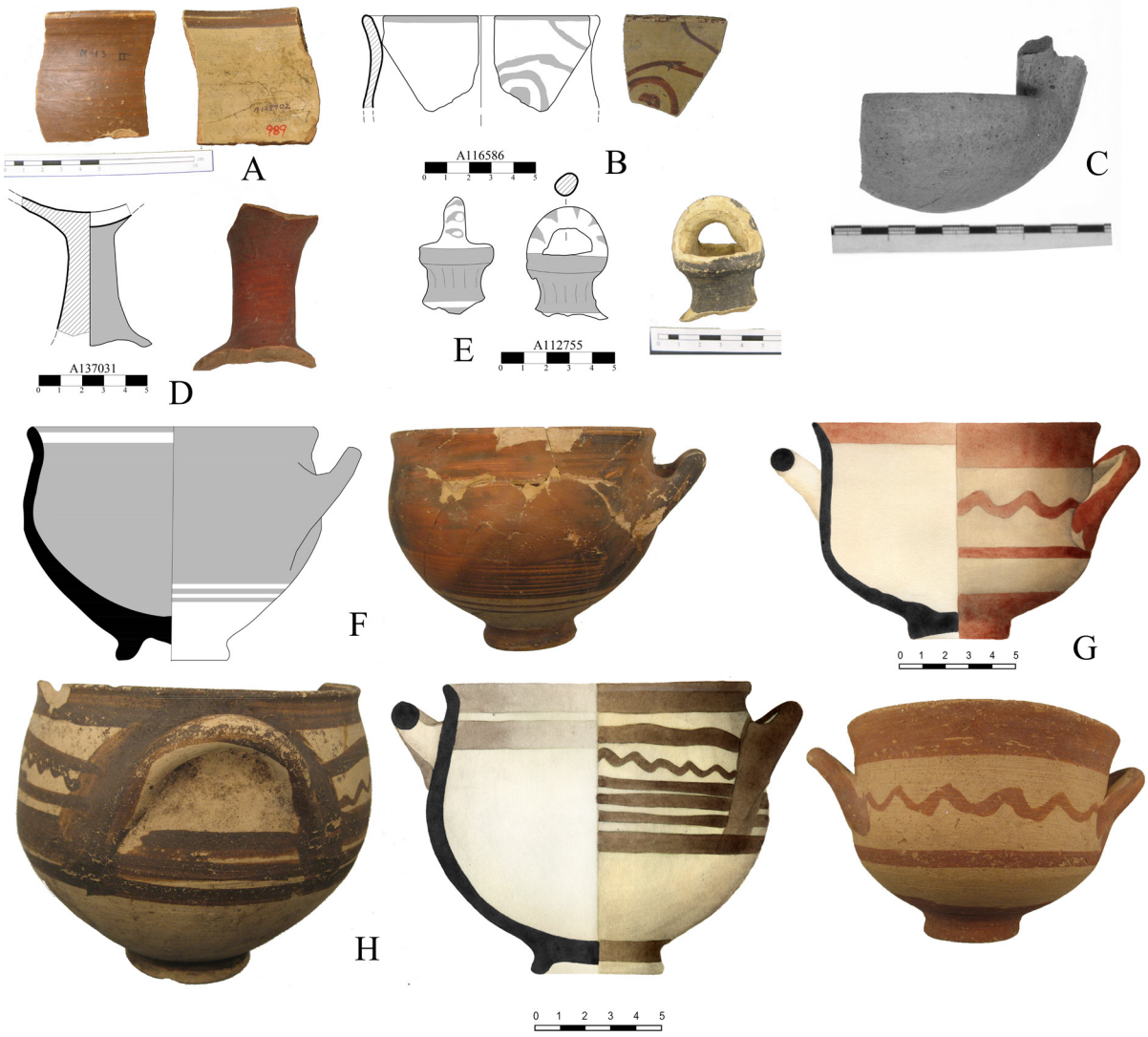

Fig. 11.14 Chatal Höyük IIIc Late imports and local imitations. A. Imported Bell shaped bowl (A128702, phase N_Middle); B. Imported bell shaped bowl with spiral (A 116586; N_Beginning); C. Imported dipper, simple ware (B-2543, phase N_Beginning), D. imported skyphos fragment; E. Imported stirrup jar with basket handle (A112755, N_Middle); F. Imported cup, sub-mycen. (A26695, N_Beginning); G. Locally made bell shaped bowl, painted red (A26950, N_Beginning), H. Locally made bell shaped bowl (A26670, phase N_Middle) (drawings by Angela Altenhofen, Tiziana d'Este and Marina Pucci, photos by Marina Pucci except for C courtesy of the Oriental Institute archive)

Interestingly, at this time, the visual impact of the local pottery assemblage changed dramatically: the earliest assemblages from all three areas dated to phase N_Beginning show that locally produced painted pottery **(Fig. 11.14g & h)** strongly increases in number, variety, and production. Kraters develop by keeping a local painted tradition of cross hatched or opposed triangles, and also by introducing new motives such as the wavy line, or figurative patterns, ranging from those which are very Mycenaean in style, such as the bird and the panel, to a composition of bird and fish in a row (less common), to very geometricised caprids. But the main change takes place in the single portion bowls. Here not only are patterns strongly influenced by the LH IIIC Late repertoire, but also new, Mycenaean shapes were introduced, such as the deep bowl and the shallow angular bowl. These 'foreign' shapes coexist and intermix with local variations of the local s-shaped bowl, conical plates, and shallow

bowls, which become also painted: everything which concerns the table set becomes eclectic, hybrid, and mixed between local traditions and Aegean innovations. These changes, however, are visible only in the table set. In fact, none of the local habits seem to be affected by this strong 'influence': food preparation, storage, transport, space organisation of the houses, fire installations, all continue local traits. This stands in contrast to the situation in the southern Levant, as described by Yasur-Landau (2010), where changes were more deeply incorporated into Philistine culture. However, there is no doubt that knowledge transmission of Aegean shapes and painted patterns took place at both regions through the agency of people and not objects: imports are very rare and usually belong to shapes which were not imitated, while the painted vessels are all locally made, as the discovery of a pottery kiln on the southern edge of the site clearly demonstrates (Pucci 2019c).

Thus, the phenomenon of a local production of foreign pottery in IA I suggests that the local community with its own pottery tradition intentionally selected and accepted in their own table set shapes and patterns from a foreign table set. This receptivity might be the result of a long process of transformation that already started in the mid-13th c.**,** when the region had undergone an economic crisis a concomitant of which might have been a weakening of the local cultural identity**.** By the mid-12th c., the town was not only slowly rebuilding economically, but had already begun a new process of community building, which would be visible one century later. Yet, power was communicated through the use of the Luwian writing system and a southeastern Anatolian iconography (*i.e*. the Hittite legacy). The country, however, was called Walistin, which seems strongly related to the term, Palasatin, used for one of the Sea People[3] and the populace used a table set that was at least 'new', having Aegean and local elements already entangled, mixed, hybridised. Thus the arrival during the 12th c. of small group of settlers in the region seems to be likely. Since Koehl (2017) has suggested that the Aegean-style pottery from Atchana finds its closest parallels in the LH IIIC Middle repertoire, whereas the Aegean-style pottery from Tel Tayinat and from Chatal Höyük is based on LH IIIC Late prototypes (Janeway 2017; Pucci 2019b), Aegean settlers probably arrived in small groups over the course of the 12th c. and intermixed with the local population. What remains to be proven is whether the appreciation of Aegean style pottery was inspired by a positively valued Aegean world, quoting Mühlenbruch (2009: 225) or, to the social role of a specific group of people during the period of identity formation.

3.3. The Cypriot and Greek imports in the IA Amuq

At Chatal Höyük, the remaining 2 % of imports in phase N (IA I) included several residual imports of LBA White Slip II, Cypriot Monochrome and Nuzi Ware (a total of 10 individuals), and Cypriot Proto-White **(Fig. 11.15a)** and White Painted jars (one whole pot, three fragments), Cypriot Black Slip I **(Fig. 11.15g)**, and Greek Protogeometric vases (two individuals) **(Fig. 11.15f)**. None of the new imports were imitated in the local production of the IA I. Therefore, although they suggest that the commercial bonds to Cyprus were active, the real increase in imports is really visible during phase O_Beginning and O_Middle (IA II) and during phase O_Late (IA III). Imports comprise 6.7 % of the whole assemblage and their distribution can be simplified as follows: White Painted (IV) bowls and jars (33 %); Black on Red juglets (28 %); Bichrome globular jars and bowls (23 %); miscellaneous Greek imports (Ionian bowls, Protocorinthian juglets, Black Slip bowls, 15 %); 1 % Assyrian bottles and beakers. NAA of the Black on Red juglets (Matthers *et al*. 1983) demonstrated their Cypriot provenance. NAA of the White Painted and Bichrome vessels from Chatal Höyük also confirmed a Cypriot provenance, specifically the Circum-Troodos sediments of central and southern Cyprus (Karacic & Osborne 2016). Thus, 84 % of the pottery imports came from Cyprus and clearly testifies to intense trade with this region. The most frequent imported shapes were Black on Red juglets **(Fig. 11.15b & c)**, Bichrome and White Painted barrel-shaped jars **(Fig. 11.15e)**, and deep bowls **(Fig. 11.15d)**. The barrel-shaped jars were the only shape which was also locally produced. However the ratio (more imported vessels than locally produced ones), the difference in forming the vessels (absence of surface treatment in the local ones), general dimensions (the local ones are smaller), and the different colour of the red pigment, clearly show that the imitations were produced by observing the imported products.

3 Hawkins (2011) has plausibly suggested that the name of this kingdom is equivalent to the Sea People tribe of the Peleset or Philistines, whose king, Taita, proclaimed his hegemony over these sites.

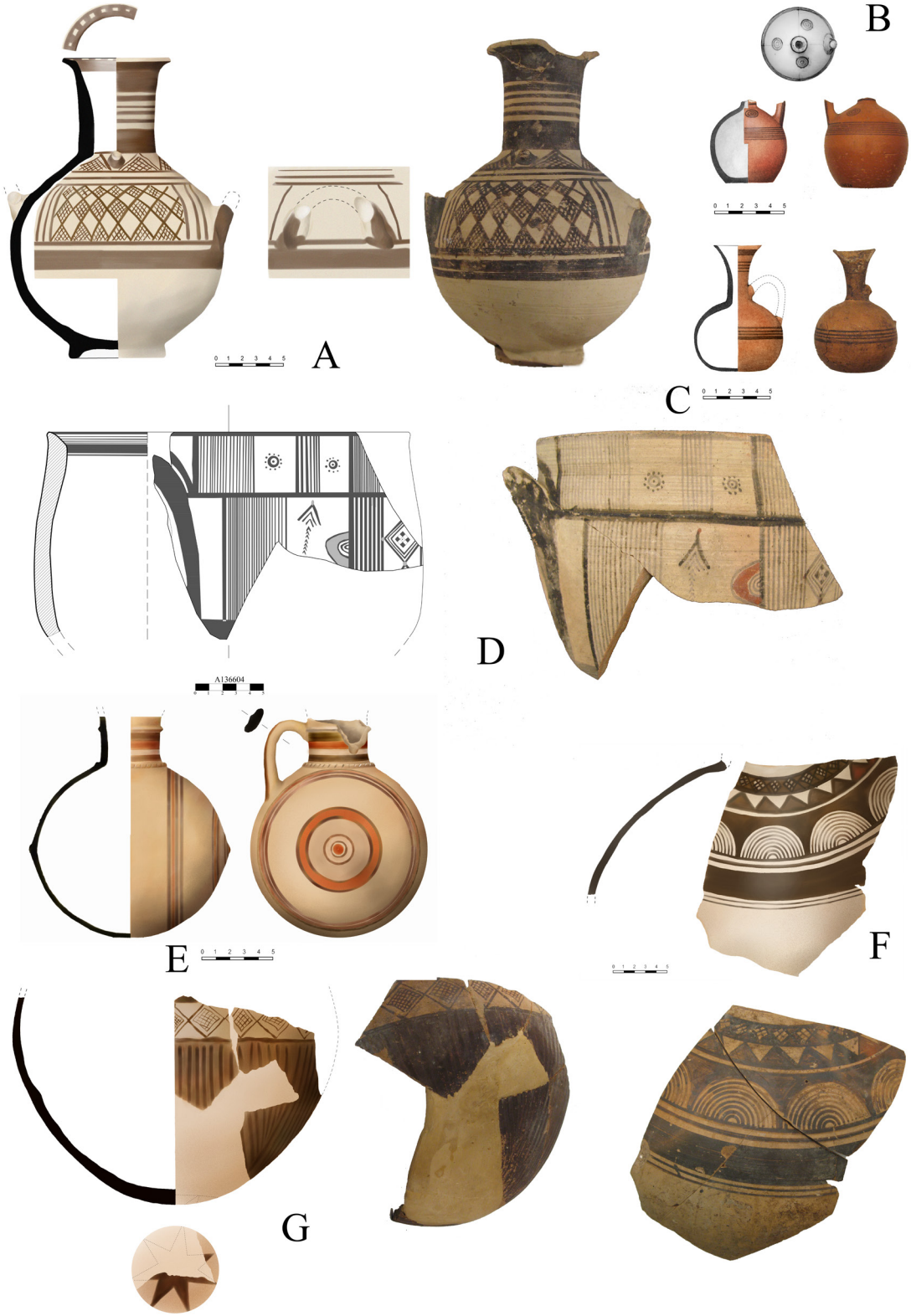

Fig. 11.15 Chatal Höyük IIIc Iron Age Cypriot and Greek imports. A. ProtoWhite Painted jar (A26685, phase N_Middle); B. Red-on-Black juglet (A26578, phase O_Beginning); C. Red-on-Black juglet (A26653, phase O_Middle); D. Cypriot Bichrome bowl (A136604, phase O_Beginning); E. Bichrome barrel-shaped jar (A26623, phase O_Middle); F. Greek Protogeometric amphora (A27007, phase N_Late); G. Cypro-geometric black slip jar (A27012, phase N_Middle) (photos by Marina Pucci, drawings by Angela Altenhofen, Tiziana d'Este and Marina Pucci)

4. Conclusions

It seems useful to assess the impact that Aegean and Cypriot ceramics had on the settlement populations of the Amuq during the LB and IA in terms of reception and rejection. In this context, it appears that the Amuq was continuously on the receiving end of these contacts. Indeed, it is interesting to point out that whereas imports from the Aegean and Cyprus begin to arrive at Tell Atchana in the Middle Bronze Age, as outlined above, no elements of local Amuq material culture have been identified in either the Aegean or Cyprus. It is impossible that the relations were entirely one-sided, yet, what Cyprus and the Aegean received from the Amuq remains unknown.

In the preceding discussion, it appears that the earliest contacts between the Amuq, specifically Tell Atchana, and the Aegean were with MB Crete, and included luxury tableware, in the form of a Kamares Ware cup, followed by early Mycenaean tableware, in the form of a Vapheio cup. After a brief hiatus, Alalakh became the recipient of Mycenaean commodities, arriving in closed Mycenaean vessels, notably the globular flask, which may have contained a thick, syrupy wine-based concentrate, known in Linear B as *de-re-u-ko* (Koehl 2010: 83). Based on the occurrence of nearly equal numbers of kraters, it would seem reasonable to imagine that these two shapes travelled as a kind of set, with the krater used to dilute the substance that was stored in the flasks.

By the 13th c., for reasons which still remain uncertain, the level of trade between the Aegean and Amuq seems to have dropped off precipitously with only three LH IIIB1 stirrup jar fragments from Tell Atchana and a fragmentary one from Chatal Höyük. Rather, the focus of Mycenaean trade seems to have shifted to the south, centred on the city of Ugarit. Considering, however, that Mycenaean pottery continues to be found on Cyprus, in the same range of shapes as found at Ugarit, it is also worth considering the role of Cyprus as middlemen in the exchanges with the Levant.

This entire system of trade relations, which as noted, appears one-sided, at least until the exports from the Amuq can be identified, was disrupted with the collapse of palatial civilisations in the Aegean and Near East. When the dust settled, so to speak, it seems that rather than imports of pottery, the Aegean-style ceramics in the Amuq may have been crafted by migrants from the Aegean, perhaps initially associated with the Sea Peoples, who produced a typical LH IIIC Middle domestic ceramic assemblage, but in the local clay (Koehl 2017). While this pottery belongs to the latest phase of occupation at Tell Atchana, it does not represent the end of Aegean ties to the region. Rather, at both Chatal Höyük and Tell Tayinat, Aegean-style pottery has been identified but seems inspired by ceramics from a subsequent phase, LH IIIC Late. Since this pottery is locally made, rather than imported, the same explanation for its occurrence may apply here; that is, the arrival of new settlers from the Aegean who brought their local pottery with them. However, this pottery represents the end of a long line of Aegean elements in the material culture of the Amuq. When these interconnections revive in the early first millennium, they again are in the form of imported Greek pottery.

The connections between Cyprus and the Amuq were uninterrupted from the end of the Middle Bronze Age through the end of the Late Bronze, when goods flowed in continuously, although they seem to have arrived in different amounts from one phase to the other (**Table 11.2**). Cypriot pottery represented one of the traded goods from Cyprus to the Amuq, but obviously it was secondary to copper. At Alalakh, there are usual types of Late Cypriot pottery but also special types, like the Base-ring lustrous kraters from the Level IV palace (Bergoffen 2007) and a White Painted V Pendant Line Style bird-shaped vessel. Moreover, the presence of Monochrome Ware throughout the LBA shows that the Amuq had intense connections to eastern Cyprus. Similarly, White Slip I (Alalakh periods 6 to 4) and White Slip II (Alalakh periods 5 to 2) also point to a relationship with the southern coast of Cyprus, that continued into the IA with White Painted IV and Bichrome IV imports, with the only possible difference that in some cases as the barrel shaped jars, their content may also have been important.

All of these goods, be they Cypriot or Mycenaean, would have arrived by sea during the LBA *via* the harbour of Sabuniye located at the Orontes' mouth and from the 9th c. onwards at Al Mina (level 9 and 8, Lehmann 2006b: 21-25) at which point Egypt joins Greece and Cyprus as a cultural and economic presence in the Amuq (Hoelbl 2017).

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12. Deconstructing the Image of the Warrior

Adaptation, Alteration and Rejection in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean from an Aegean Perspective

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The period during the 14th and 13th c. BCE was a time of intensive trade between polities and states, resulting in the exchange of religious beliefs, craftsmanship and ideologies, and diplomatic correspondence between the political allies within the Eastern Mediterranean littoral. The advances in maritime technology facilitated the expansion of trade networks, establishing communication patterns and, therefore, creating fertile grounds for the transmission of belief systems and the mechanisms to project them through artistic visual practices.

The aim of this essay is to suggest that resistance against foreign influence can be identified at that time as well, as not all regions followed the same artistic patterns, but rather there was space and even necessity for local and regional preferences, according to specific traditions and practices that can be considered as artistic resistance to foreign or imported traits. In other cases, even within the same society, artistic and cultural 'filters' were visible as they dictated the adoption of certain motifs or themes, albeit after a certain degree of manipulation and re-birth to fit micro-regional belief systems.

1. Politics and art in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean

In the Eastern Mediterranean, the Egyptians seemed to dominate the political arena as the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE) expanded to the north and south, in order to secure their borders after the turmoil of the 2nd Intermediate Period and the ruling of the Asian Hyksos (Shaw & Nicholson 1995; also Aruz *et al.* 2008). For Egypt, the period of the New Kingdom was a time of prosperity, intensive trade and gift exchange. Their rivals, the Hittites, lived in a rather turbulent time, struggling with the regional powers, but also strengthening their capital, Hattusa, and clashing with the Egyptians (Bryce 2005; see also Aruz *et al.* 2008). The Battle of Kadesh in 1274 BCE led to a peace treaty between the two superpowers and eventually to the *Pax Aegyptiaca* (or *Pax Hettitica*) that seemed to have been enjoyed by many states and polities in the region. Some of these (vassal) states were located along the Syro-Palestinian coast, a region of major economic transactions and mercantile activities, already from the Middle Bronze Age. Perhaps one of the most thriving and major kingdoms was that of Ugarit, with its palace, two temples and the mansions of significant merchants, some of whom also had military and administrative duties. Semi-independent, under the rule of the major players, the harbour-towns in the area literally joined east and west through land and sea (Aruz *et al.* 2008).

The island of Cyprus had become a major supplier of the much needed copper and clearly the status of the king of *Alashiya*, accepted by the majority of scholars as the name for Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age (hence LBA), was that of an equal to the Egyptian Pharaoh, at least according to the Amarna letters (see Knapp 2013). Cypriot merchants travelled around the Eastern Mediterranean, associated with Aegean pottery that they most likely distributed to the East (Papadimitriou 2012; 2017). Although there are suggestions that they were under Hittite rule, the political geography and settlement hierarchy of the island is far from clear, despite the presence of sites of major importance and significant size, such as Enkomi and Kalavassos-Agios Dimitrios and thriving harbour-towns, like Hala Sultan Tekke, who are strong candidates for regional power centres.

1 College Year in Athens. I should express my warmest thanks to the editors for the opportunity to contribute to this volume and for their patience regarding the preparation of the manuscript. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Jan Driessen for all the support and the inspiration. Prof. Giorgos Papassavas, University of Cyprus (**Fig. 12.2**), Prof. Ian Shaw, University of Liverpool (**Figs 12.1 & 12.5**) and Dr. Elena Kountouri, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports (**Fig. 12.4**) kindly allowed me to reproduce the relevant illustrations and I am most thankful to them. The *CMS* archives of the University of Heidelberg have the copyright for **Figs 12.3**, **12.6** & **12.7**. I also express my gratitude to Mr Robert Pitt, College Year in Athens, for correcting my English text, but naturally I take full responsibility for any mistakes or omissions in this essay.

The Aegean seems to have been enjoying a level of stability, as the Mycenaean palaces dominated the political and economic arena in the Mainland. At the same time, the islands and Crete were most likely under the political and economic control of the Mainlanders, so that Aegean people were living within what could be called a Mycenaean cultural and political *koine*. Although not really great players in the political arena of the Eastern Mediterranean, Aegean people were clearly participating in the vast trade networks, especially at sea. The Eastern imports found in a variety of contexts within the Aegean and the Mycenaean pottery discovered around the Mediterranean highlight that (for Mycenaean pottery abroad, see Papadimitriou 2012; 2017).

It was at this time when a common artistic language *seems* to appear in the region. This has been the focal point of several studies (see for example Kantor 1947; Smith 1965; Crowley 1989) that presented a series of artistic motifs and narrative scenes evidently common in most, if not all of the Mediterranean states and societies of the time. This is not observed during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE only, but it started centuries before, at least from the 17th c. BCE onwards. The so-called 'International Style' has been discussed to a great extent and seemingly certain motifs and narratives can indeed be found in the arts of a variety of social groups in the region (*e.g*. Feldman 2002; 2006). These include mythological beasts such as griffins, bull leaping, female figures, *etc*. Hunting scenes belong to this category and clearly the status and prowess of the hunter is expressed through what can be addressed as a truly universal artistic language.

However, if one deconstructs the constituents, it will become clear that not all artistic elements were adapted or altered by the aforementioned group and, in fact, sometimes traditions prevailed. It is then possible to identify the presence of a selective mechanism that defined *which* (as well as *how*) certain iconography did become available to the audiences and the *extent* of it. It also becomes clear that this artistic *koine* should not be considered as a monolithic phenomenon throughout all societies.

For the purposes of this essay, the selected case study will be that of the image of the armed human figure, a pictorial motif commonly used by all cultures in the East Mediterranean throughout the LBA. This figure is usually of the male gender, although there are some noticeable exceptions. The armed man (or man-at-arms) frequently representing the warrior and/or the hunter can be seen either individually, *i.e*. the warrior depicted alone on a pictorial medium or, very frequently, as part of a greater narrative scene usually related to warfare or hunting activities[2]. The motif of the armed man/warrior/hunter offers a unique opportunity to discuss the regional variations of its use in the artistic repertoires of the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. Simultaneously, it can form a case study focusing on the Aegean region during the Mainland palatial period, *i.e*. the 14th and 13th c. BCE, as the local artistic agenda clearly stands out as very different compared to the arts of its neighbours.

The image of the man at arms, frequently associated with hunting and military prowess is indeed an ancient symbol. Depictions of armed individuals can be seen as early as the Neolithic (Ferrill 1985: 22) and it became a popular motif/theme reaching its peak in terms of distribution and variation during the LBA. In order to appreciate the appearance of the armed man in the pictorial arts of the Eastern Mediterranean and to discuss how the Aegean appears to be quite different in terms of meaning and visual techniques, it is necessary to explore the presence of the motif regionally. This is a representative survey, by no means exhaustive, in order to serve this purpose.

1.1. Egypt

The tradition of depicting men with arms and/or military activities, as well as the gesture of the so-called *Smiting God* himself has a long history in Egyptian arts. Already from Predynastic (5500-3100 BCE) and Early Dynastic (3100-2686 BCE) times, bowmen were depicted on a variety of media. A scene of an armed figure threatening a row of smaller scale individuals (probably bound prisoners) is portrayed in the Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb (Shaw 1991: 32, fig. 19). The Narmer and Battlefield Palettes portray the Egyptian king triumphing against his enemies or the fate of defeated enemies (Ferrill 1985: 32-35; Shaw 1991: 8- 9, figs 1- 2; 1996: 241-242, fig. 1). Bound captives, injured/dead individuals, mutilated enemies, and a smiting scene are portrayed on these early portable works of art. This pictorial tradition of violence continues in the Old Kingdom (2686-2181 BCE) as, for example, in two private tombs of the Sixth Dynasty that are decorated with scenes of siege warfare (Shaw 1996).

2 The term "he" is applied here as, despite some exceptions, the majority of the armed individuals is male.

Siege warfare is also portrayed in the Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BCE) tombs at Beni Hasan on which archers are clearly visible behind the fortifications of a city fighting against an army that is using a kind of battering ram. Wooden models of warriors armed with shields, spears and bows were found in the roughly contemporary tomb of Mesehti and at Thebes (Shaw 1991: 42, fig. 32).

It was during the New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE) when this iconography included a great variety of martial subjects: the king, often on a larger scale than the other figures, on board his chariot ready to use his bow (*e.g.* Seti I at Karnak Temple [Shaw 1991: 42, fig. 32**;** 2019: fig. 16]) **(Fig. 12.1)** or Ramesses II in action at the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel (Curto 1970: 23, 28); preparations for war are also visible (*e.g.* at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu [Curto 1970: 25]) as well as the aftermath of a battle (*e.g.* counting the severed hands of the enemies at Abu Simbel [Shaw 1996: 251-252, fig. 7]), siege warfare (*e.g.* on the reliefs of the Ramesseum [Shaw 1996: 247-251]), land battles (Battle of Kadesh in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel), naval battles (against the Sea Peoples in the mortuary temple at Medinet Habu [Shaw 1991: 62-63]), hunting scenes (the mortuary temple at Medinet Habu [Curto 1970: 25]), hunting and battle scenes combined (*e.g.* on the chest of Tutankhamun [Schulz 2000: 247-266]), as well as the well-established smiting of the enemies (see Sales 2012 for Medinet Habu). At that time, the iconography of the Pharaoh warrior, the mighty king and protector of Order against Chaos, is crystallised (*e.g.* Shaw 2019). The temple reliefs are connected to ritual and – according to some – to the commemoration of real events (see Luiselli 2011). Naturally, the question arises whether the scenes are meant to be real or purely artistic. Although there is no clear answer, the accompanying textual evidence is very helpful as it gives voice to otherwise 'invisible' stories, such as for the case of two captives that became servants (Shaw 2019). It seems that Egyptian iconography is amongst the richest in the region in terms of martial iconography, but it clearly serves a political purpose, that of the mighty Pharaoh.

Fig. 12.1 Seti I in his chariot, fighting against Libyans, Temple of Amun at Karnak, *ca.* 1294-1279 BCE (courtesy of Ian Shaw)

1.2. Levant

The Syro-Palestinian coast has given a wealth of images related to the Smiting Deity type, extremely popular in the area (Seeden 1980; Cornelius 1994). The dynamic body posture of a male individual ready to deliver the fatal blow or simply to hit an opponent is clear, but the term 'Smiting God' seems to be misleading and most likely the 'Menacing God' is more appropriate (Cornelius 1994). In any case, this body posture is frequently associated with the gods Reshef and Baal, popular deities in the Levant. The origin of the posture can be found most likely in Predynastic Egypt where the mighty ruler is killing his opponents. The Smiting/Menacing God posture is one of the most characteristic images in the LBA Levant and it has been identified on stone stelae, sealstones and metal figurines (Zevulun & Ziffer 2012; also several examples in Aruz *et al.* 2008). The image of the hunter, whether on foot or in a chariot, appears frequently and also on a variety of media, including two exquisite gold vessels from Ugarit. One of them, a gold patera, is understood as symbolising hunting as a widespread expression of power, connected to the privileges of royalty, as well as suggesting the defeat of an enemy threat. This object "displays a traditional representation of power, but set in relation to local deities" (Cluzan in Aruz *et al*. 2008: 243).

1.3. Hittites

Despite the rather military character of the Hittite state, their art does not focus on this theme and one of the most popular weapons, the chariot, is suspiciously missing from the agenda. However, in terms of size and choice of material, Hittite art offers examples of monumental stone art, much of which represents armed individuals and hunting scenes. These include a relief of an armed male figure at the King's Gate at Hattusa; the so-called 'Dagger-God' depicted on the east wall of rock chamber B at Yazilikaya; orthostat reliefs from the city walls of Alaca Höyük showing archers, charging bulls, and hunting scenes with men armed with spears and bows against stags, wild boars and lions (Akurgal 1962: 98, 109, 111, 117- 118, 302-303; Feldman 2002; Taracha 2009). A very limited number of Hittite portable objects known as the 'Reshef figurines' has been found in the Aegean showing some level of interconnection between the two regions (Canby 1969; Cline 1991: 133-143).

1.4. Cyprus

The island of Cyprus, contrary to the visual tradition of its neighbours, does not seem to appreciate nor to seek local production of warrior, hunting or battle scenes. During the Early and Middle Bronze Age, aspects of everyday life are depicted on three-dimensional objects, the well-known terracotta clay models representing shrines, pastoral activities and humans undertaking a variety of activities (even if not always clear) (see Karageorghis 2006). However, the pictorial record of the island during the later Bronze Age is particularly poor in comparison to the previous periods. Especially in relation to the theme of the armed individual, with the exceptions of a handful of images on pottery, clay sealings and ivory handles, armed figures are not frequently portrayed in the local arts (Karageorghis 2006; Papadopoulos 2010). This does not mean that the Cypriots are not aware of this narrative. The many Aegean-made pictorial kraters with chariots, bowmen, men with hounds and even boxers are well attested in the local archaeological record (Papadopoulos 2018) and it is quite likely that Cypriot merchants functioned as mediators for these vessels and supplied them to the Eastern Mediterranean markets, perhaps via Ugarit. The decoration of these Aegean-made vases with scenes involving armed male individuals, processions, *etc*. is clearly a sign that the local clientele, with an interest in consuming, or re-distributing these objects, was aware of this theme, yet it was not interested in reproducing them. Chariots, however, were part of the local artistic agenda, especially on sealstones, judging from a variety of finds, the more impressive being the pithoi from Alassa-Paliotaverna and Maa-Palaeokastro (*cf*. Karageorghis 2006: 61-63).

One exception – as Cyprus seems to be an island of exceptions – is the case of the Ingot God, to this day a unique bronze statuette discovered in a 12th c. BCE structure in the major town of Enkomi (Papasavvas 2011a) **(Fig. 12.2)**. The human figure depicted has a particularly well-known and established body posture, that of the attacking individual, frequently described as the Smiting God, although in this case no enemy is shown. So perhaps the Menacing God stands better as a descriptive term. The person carries a spear, a small round shield

and wears a helmet, while evidently at a later stage of his life a miniature ingot has been added as a base. Despite the fact than another figure is also placed on a small ingot, that of an unarmed female (Papasavvas 2011b), this is a unique figurine and quite logically it is understood to represent a deity protecting the copper industry of Cyprus, represented as an ingot.

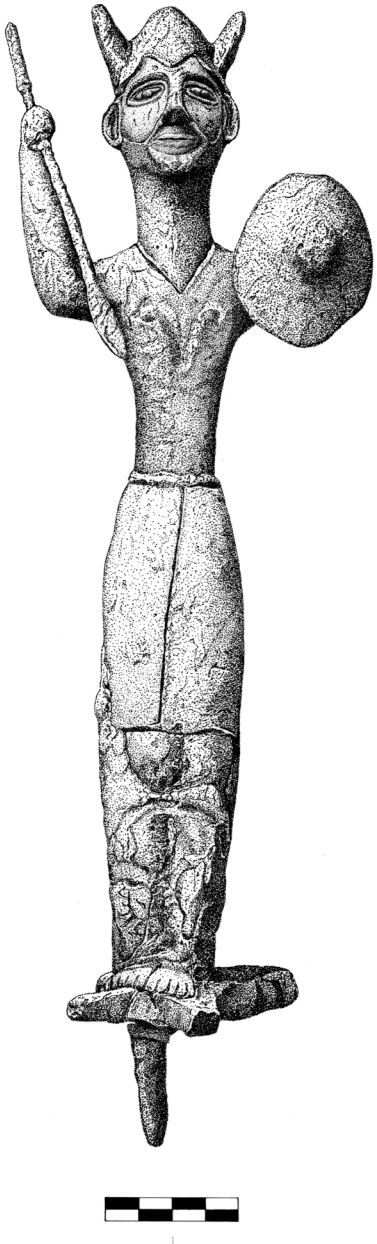

Fig. 12.2 Drawing of the Ingot God, Enkomi, Cyprus, 12th c. BCE (courtesy of Giorgos Papasavvas)

Another example of hybridisation and expression of local artistic taste is the Kition faience rhyton, a unique object. An Aegean vessel shape, made in a very oriental material (faience), depicts a hunter, popular in the entire Eastern Mediterranean region yet with characteristics that may have Eastern origins (for bibliography, see Koehl 2006 and for a discussion on hybridisation, see Knapp 2012). Perhaps one of the most characteristic cases of

hybridisation we have is the category of warriors on ivory handles that seem to encompass Aegean and Near Eastern characteristics; they have received significant scholarly attention (see Papadopoulos 2010 for discussion and references; also Poursat 2014: 200, figs 264a-b). It can be said, as is widely accepted, that this amalgam of artistic elements is in fact what constitutes the art of Cyprus.

1.5. Aegean

The imagery of the armed individual can be traced back at least to the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean with the marble 'warrior-hunter' figurines (Getz-Preziosi 1979; 1980) and it continues to appear on limited media, primarily sealstones and pottery (Papadopoulos 2006b). During the early Late Bronze Age, on the Mainland, the Shaft Graves at Mycenae remain the most popular case study with several depictions of combat, such as the example in **Fig. 12.3**, duels, battles and hunting activities portrayed on gold, silver, bronze, semi-precious sealstones and even funerary stelae. The contemporary Cyclades have produced some wall paintings of major importance, yet the theme of the battle remains rather limited and was definitely not the focal point of artistic representations. This kind of iconography appears to be more frequent, but also quite restricted in Neopalatial Crete, as warriors and hunters were depicted primarily on glyptic art and stone vases in small numbers, despite the importance of these images as possible *insignia* of authority and of some kind of central administration (see Papadopoulos 2006b for a survey of the available material; also Molloy 2012 for a different approach).

Fig. 12.3 The 'Battle of the Glen', Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave IV, LH I (*CMS* I, n° 16)

This particular set of motifs continued into the following periods and, during the 14th and 13th c. BCE, the Mycenaean common artistic language included terracotta figurines on chariots, horsemen, and some limited sealstones depicting combat (Papadopoulos 2006b). The pictorial agenda in wall paintings continued the tradition of depicting chariots, men and women at arms, battles and hunting scenes (see Rodenwaldt 1912; 1921; Lang 1969). The mural paintings decorated the walls of structures within, or associated with, major political and administration centres, such as at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Orchomenos and, according to recent work-in-progress, Thebes **(Fig. 12.4)**[3]. The chariot that first appeared in the Aegean during the 16th c. BCE at Keos and on Neopalatial seals (Abramovitz 1980) seems to have been greatly appreciated by both Aegean elites as well as the middle-class, based on the fact that it is depicted both on frescoes and pottery vessels. As a matter of fact,

3 This is an ongoing project under Dr. E. Kountouri with Dr. A. Papadopoulos and Mr. N. Sepetzoglou studying the fragments from an assemblage of 3000 fresco fragments discovered at Spourlis Plot in Thebes. The drawing presented in **Fig, 12.4** is tentative and by no means final.

clay kraters were frequently decorated with chariots and their passengers, a pictorial medium that seems to have been widely accepted and consumed by many and not only by the upper classes. It is worth bearing in mind that these chariot kraters are one of the major export products of Mycenaean industry, as they appear in a variety of contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean, frequently associated with men-at-arms (also wearing dotted robes), as is highlighted by several finds, including some very recent ones from Cyprus (Fischer & Bürge 2019).

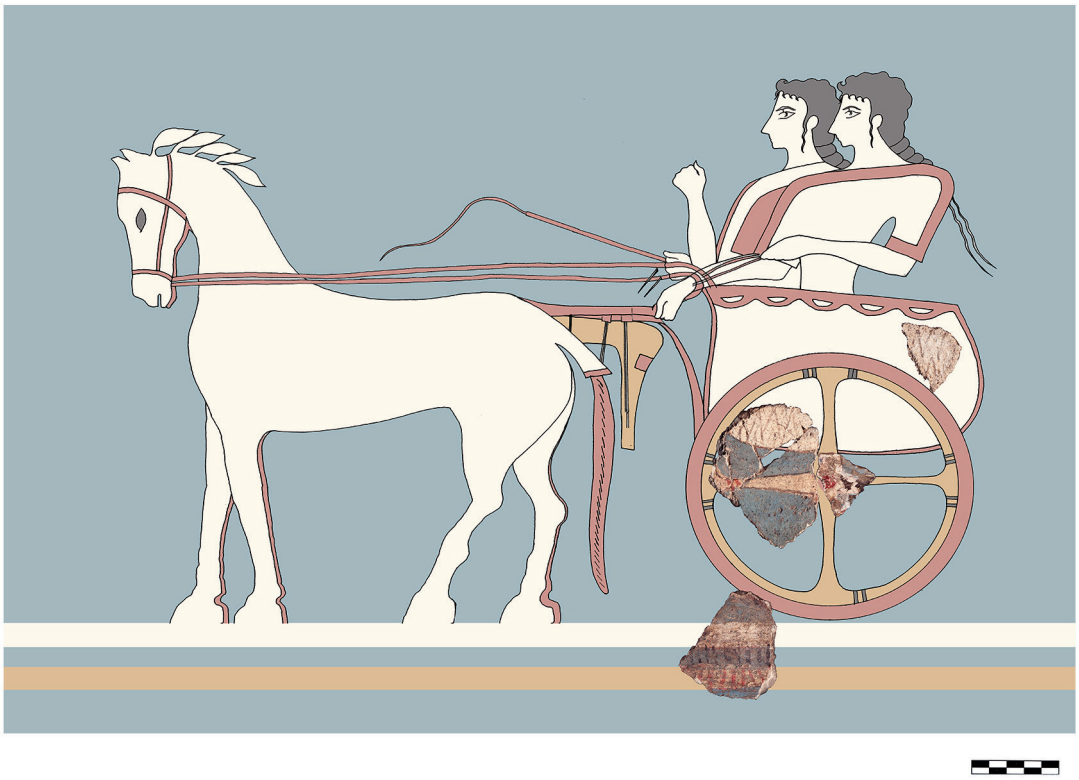

Fig. 12.4 Suggested reconstruction of a chariot scene, perhaps LH IIIB, Spourlis plot, Thebes (©E. Kountouri, A. Papadopoulos & N. Sepetzoglou)

Two ancient and very popular iconographic motifs related to warriors and hunters are the figure-of-eight shield, that as a design goes back to the Early Bronze Age, and the boar's tusk helmet that became an essential part of the iconography of violence, as well as a real protective gear found in burial contexts around the entire Aegean region (Papadopoulos 2006b; 2008-2009). These two elements will dominate local iconography until the collapse of the palatial administration and the relevant arts *ca*. 1200 BCE, and they are exclusively local. So local that in a number of occasions, in Egypt and Hittite Anatolia, modern scholarship has interpreted them as signs of ethnicity (see Papadopoulos 2008-2009).

2. The Aegean and the East: a pictorial comparative approach

Based on the aforementioned short list of man-at-arms' imagery in the Eastern Mediterranean, it is necessary to make some observations on the similarities and differences between the Aegean and the arts of its neighbours in order to suggest that certain motifs do indeed show artistic resistance and preference to local traditions. Starting with the similarities, and to an extent, adoptions, it is suggested that the Aegean is not left out of this common artistic language, that is so frequently met in the wider region. Hunting scenes, usually in association with chariots, horses, and hounds were known to the LBA Aegean from the end of the Middle Bronze Age to the Mainland Palatial times and even, although limited, during the Postpalatial period (which is beyond the

chronological scope of this essay, yet worth noticing). Mural painting was the main medium for depicting these scenes, judging from the surviving material culture from Tiryns, Orchomenos and Thebes but definitely not the only one. Having said that, there is one major difference in the Aegean arts when compared with the Eastern parallels, that with the exception of the one and sole example from Late Helladic (LH) I (*CMS* I, n° 15), no chariot hunt scenes were created in the Aegean, unlike for example the Ugaritic Patera or the Hittite stone reliefs. This does not mean that the chariot was not included in hunting expeditions, as seen in Tiryns and possibly Orchomenos. The chariot in these cases is not used as a mobile platform for throwing missiles (spears or arrows), but in a more ceremonial way as passenger carrier.

Considering that in order to characterise a violent engagement between armed individuals as a battle, a minimum of three is perhaps needed, then battle scenes were very rare in the Aegean, although they clearly existed. With the limited finds from LH I and LH II to the battle scenes at Pylos and perhaps Mycenae in LH IIIB (Papadopoulos 2006b; Stocker & Davis 2017), the narrative of the battle was attested in this region, just like in New Kingdom Egypt. However, the themes are rather limited as after LH I, it is hard to find even a handful of siege narratives. It has been argued elsewhere that in some limited cases during the early LBA, there were indicators of battles taking place before cities, usually coastal, although this is not a 'siege' *per se* as no battering rams, nor siege towers or similar constructions have been identified in Mycenaean art (Papadopoulos 2006a).

The one case that has been neglected and is perhaps surprisingly similar to Near Eastern traditions, is the extremely limited corpus of media representing captives. Prisoners of war, or even the result of raids and attacks, are known to the Eastern arts and especially in Egypt **(Fig. 12.5)**, which indeed seems to have had the most complex iconography in terms of violent themes. One gold ring from the Athenian Agora (*CMS* V n° 173), admittedly of problematic chronology (as it was found in a LH III context, but stylistically fits LH I) **(Fig. 12.6)**, may be a distant pictorial relative to these scenes. The so-called 'Minotaur ring' shows a male (?) individual wearing a mask and carrying a staff, dragging behind him two women. The same scene can be identified on the Late Minoan (LM) IB sealing from Chania (*CMS* VS 1A, n° 173), as what appears to be a rope is visible **(Fig. 12.7)**. On the same hermeneutical grounds, a LM III pyxis from Crete (Banou 2005) may also depict a female prisoner at the end of a rope. In any case, although these could have indeed been captivity scenes, clearly images of the captured enemy were not enjoyed or appreciated in the Aegean world, as part of a particular propaganda mechanism.

FIG. 12.5 NUBIAN PRISONERS, TOMB OF HOREMHEB, SAQQARA, *CA.* 1330 BCE (COURTESY OF IAN SHAW 2019: FIG. 21)

Fig. 12.6 Gold ring, Agora of Athens, found in a LH III context (*CMS* V, n° 173)

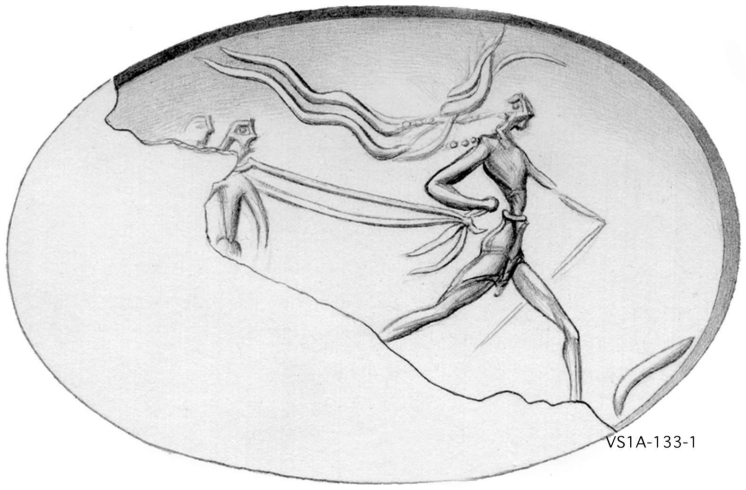

Fig. 12.7 Sealing from Chania, Crete, LM IB (*CMS* VS, 1A, n° 133)

The artistic similarities concerning the individuals with arms end here. In this part, the deconstruction of the iconographic contexts of the individuals bearing arms will be discussed, bearing in mind that, firstly, this is a comparison between Aegean arts and the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean societies, as briefly presented previously and, secondly, that the greater differences are primarily with the arts of Egypt.

The theme of the Menacing or Smiting God is nowhere to be identified in the Aegean arts on objects of local craftsmanship. With the exception of the limited imports of metal figurines that clearly depict this specific body posture (Canby 1969; Cline 1991), this is a motif that was not adopted or reproduced, neither on the small figurines, clay or metal, nor on any other medium. At Phylakopi, Mycenae and Tiryns, statues of Reshef have been recovered (Phylakopi: Rutkowski 1986: 182, figs 264-265, 185, fig. 268. Tiryns: Canby 1969: 141-169; see also Seeden 1980: 127-129). It is not easy to identify the origin of these figurines, but it has been suggested that they could be of Syro-Palestinian origin (Cline 1991: 135, 138-139). Despite their powerful character, Aegeans never adopted this gesture for their warriors.

To take this observation even further, since the Menacing God represents authority and power, as well as certain religious connotations, in the Aegean this gesture, and the symbolism that accompanies it, is not a theme appreciated or imitated. The same observation can be suggested for the case of the enemy who is about to be hit, executed or decapitated. Even the scenes of the death of the enemy are very scarce in the Aegean and, judging from the available iconographic data, it was more of a conscious choice, rather than a lack of modern archaeological discovery. It can be suggested that Aegean people had a very different view and perspective of the (defeated) enemy. This is not to say that there are no alternative interpretations. A notable example is that of the LH IIIB 'fallen warrior' fresco fragment from Mycenae (Rodenwaldt 1921: folded pl. II). A number of working hypotheses have been expressed in order to 'read' the line above the falling figure. It could have been the belly of a horse, of a lion or simply the outline of a landscape feature, such as a mountain range. However, in a rather provocative way, Hood (1993: 37) considered this line as the belly of a horse yoked to a large-scale chariot which must have had an equally large charioteer, directly connecting the narrative with that of the mighty Pharaoh on his chariot. A very Egyptian or Egyptianizing approach and so different from what modern scholarship is used to dealing with in prehistoric Greece. However, despite the methodological issues, it seems that according to the large corpus of surviving images on frescoes, pottery, figurines and glyptic art, Aegean craftspeople were not willing (or they were obliged not) to follow certain traditions popular elsewhere and sometimes extremely popular.

On the same level, the absence of bloodshed, especially in the colourful wall paintings, is noticeable. Similarly, the complete avoidance of gruesome scenes is also attested in the arts of the area (Papadopoulos 2006b). Despite the obvious option of depicting blood on painted plaster, if needed, as for example on the LH IIIA-B Agia Triada sarcophagus, another conscious choice can be identified, that of not showing bloody scenes. In terms of bloodshed and in relation to massacre and gruesome representations, even at the Pylos Hall 64 frieze the 'Pylians' do not annihilate their opponents, in fact the battle is still ongoing, judging from the surviving fragments (for the latest restoration, see Brecoulaki 2018: 403, fig. 14). Although not popular outside Egypt either, the depiction of a scribe recording the severed hands of the enemy soldiers, is something completely unknown in the Aegean. In general, the mechanisms selected for political propaganda by the upper classes do not reflect violence and authority over the opponent.

Expanding on this, from the surviving iconography, when a battle or a duel is depicted, the vast majority of the images do not portray what we may call a 'clear winner' over another individual or group of individuals. This tradition, if it can be called as such, seems to be practiced throughout the LBA, from the narratives on the silver surface of the 'Battle Krater' from Shaft Grave IV (Blakolmer 2007) to the much richer in information and detail, mural paintings. Some notable exceptions come primarily from micro-glyptic examples as the rather heroic swordsman seems to defeat his opponents (with the well-known examples from LH I Mycenae and the later Pylian 'Combat Agate'). Unlike Egyptian iconography, this selection of not depicting the defeated enemy can be seen elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, but especially in the Aegean it can be even more confusing as not only the winner is not directly suggested, but also the sides of the combatants and battle participants are not clear. The 'other' – the enemy, the opponent, the foreigner – is not clear with only a handful of possible cases. This, again, can be observed on artworks from the 16th c. BCE all the way down to the end of the 13th c. BCE. The topic of ethnicity should be mentioned here since, despite some suggestions by a limited number of case studies, the aspect of narrowing down the ethnic origin of individuals or groups remains blurry, unlike Egyptian art where the 'others' are clearly shown, at least according to local beliefs. The Warrior from Delos, the 'Tarzans' from Pylos and the – difficult to date – individuals of black colour from the 'Captain of the Blacks' from Knossos have been characterised as non-Aegean peoples, but this is far from definitive (for discussions see Lang 1969; Gallet de Santerre 1987; Bennet & Davis 1999; Blakolmer 2002; 2012; Papadopoulos 2006b).

Unlike the mighty Pharaoh, and the Levantine and Hittite gods, a major issue in reading prehistoric Greek arts is that of identifying deities and rulers (Blakolmer 2019). Indeed, despite some candidates, it is not possible to identify the *wanax*, or the deity, or the leader/commander/officer in pictorial contexts related to warfare. Ironically, this is also a problem for other non-military categories of iconography, as the ruler is absent from Aegean iconography (see Rehak 1995; Langohr & Drappier 2004). A possible connection between weaponry and the divine can perhaps be suggested for a small number of finds, all related to female individuals. Wall paintings have been identified at Mycenae (Room of the Frescoes) depicting women carrying weapons or a small-sized griffin while wearing a boar's tusk helmet or portraying a figure-of-eight shield with arms and legs flanked by two lavishly dressed ladies,

perhaps a *palladion* (Papadopoulos 2006b). At Pylos, a woman carrying a bow, in fact using it to aim at something/someone was recently discovered (Brecoulaki *et al*. 2008). Female warriors do not seem to be found in Near Eastern contexts and while this could be an Aegean association between warfare and deities, this is also a major iconographic difference with other regions.

A rather intriguing Aegean characteristic is that of the chariot being used cautiously and not really in action (see Crouwel 1981; Papatsarouha 2000; Papadopoulos 2006b). Unlike most of their neighbours, Aegean societies refrain from using the chariot as a weapon during battle or hunt, as it is used in Egypt, the Levant and even Cyprus. With the exception of the already mentioned gold ring from the LH I period, the chariot is never seen in action, but only as a transporting vehicle related to warriors, hunters and processions, yet not within the hunting or fighting narrative.

Finally, a number of major differences appear in a two-folded issue: that of the pictorial medium used and the access to it. Unlike the Egyptians and the Hittites, Aegean societies seem to have had the tendency not to create monumental art in terms of size and scale. The only large scale sculpture that can be considered monumental is the Lion Gate at the citadel of Mycenae, which remains the only one of its kind (see Blackwell 2014). Subsequently there are no stone reliefs or carvings, statues or representations on walls, let alone warriors on the exterior walls of large structures. This brings to the surface the question of access and who could actually see and eventually appreciate the motifs.

But what about intra-regional versus inter-regional decline and acceptance? It is noteworthy than even in the micro-scale of the Aegean region, in comparison with the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, if one looks closely, a pattern becomes clear concerning the distribution of the iconography of the warrior. The pictorial products of several centuries of visual evolution, *i.e*. the image of the man-at-arms and the battle and/or hunting scenes, were not used and understood by the Aegean societies equally, even during the so-called Mycenaean *koine* of the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. Traditionally, the cultural geographic division of the Aegean identifies three major areas, mainland Greece, the islands of the Aegean (including occasionally the northern Aegean islands) and Crete. A detailed survey of the regional art has shown that these regions had their own artistic agendas. This is to say that these three areas developed and consumed the warrior imagery at a different pace and with varying degrees.

Contrary to the previous Neopalatial period, the island of Crete almost entirely lacks the image of the warrior engaged in some kind of action during the period of the Mainland palaces. With some noticeable exceptions, such as the ivory helmeted heads from Phourni and Chania, a common decorative element of wooden stools or boxes within the Aegean, even the armed man is now scarce (Poursat 2014: 182-185, figs 227-229). The limited number of hunting scenes on clay larnakes cannot be compared with the pluralism of themes and media of the previous period. In general, Crete of the time has not yielded the same number of pictorial examples as the Mainland has, as if there was not such a need, political or otherwise for using or appreciating this set of images.

The islands of the Aegean have produced even less. Delos has given a unique example of an ivory warrior with a figure-of-eight shield, helmet and possibly a spear, as well an imported Smiting God figurine (Gallet de Santerre 1987; Poursat 2014: 199-200, fig. 261). Faithful to their selective artistic repertoire, the islanders did not depict warriors, battles or hunting scenes during this time.

The Mainland remains the only area within the Aegean that frequently uses this repertoire, usually in the form of mural decorations and occasionally on pottery. The palatial complexes of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos show this preference. Orchomenos, another strong candidate for a palatial centre, has yielded some of the most characteristic frescoes of martial character, as currently seen exhibited in the new Archaeological Museum of Thebes[4]. Finally, and as expected, excavations at Thebes have produced fragments of chariots and men, reminiscent of the Tiryns frieze. Beyond the mural paintings, terracotta chariot models and scenes on pottery add to this mosaic of images.

3. Warriors, politics, emblems and symbols: a discussion of the available data

It is true that in the arts of the Late Bronze Age societies of the Eastern Mediterranean certain motifs were reproduced frequently, while several narrative scenes appeared in the visual arts of many of them. It is also clear

4 For some of the fragments prior to their restoration, see Spyropoulos 2015.

that several, if not all, of the Eastern Mediterranean social groups have joined, one way or the other, the trade networks, both through sea and land routes, facilitating the iconographic transmission of motifs. However, a rather obvious observation is that, despite the many similarities in the artistic expression (secular or religious), each area had its own preferences, following specific sets of beliefs and ideologies. This is something that Feldman & Sauvage (2010: 161) have already expressed in the case of the chariot iconography stating that "although […] scholars typically have understood chariot imagery as belonging to the international sphere that also produced the so-called international style, the regionalism made evident in this study sets it apart".

In the Aegean region, there seems to be an iconographic pattern very different in comparison with the other states and polities of the wider region. The iconography of violence and the warrior/hunter was used in a much more structured and systematic way, unlike Cyprus; it did not focus on a certain leading figure, nor on a war god[5], unlike their neighbours in Egypt and to a great extent in the Levant and Anatolia; the scenes of battle and violence are very action-specific and there are no scenes of battle preparation and weapon workshops, such as those depicted on some Egyptian tomb mural paintings (Curto 1970: 25; Ferrill 1985: 44); finally, there is a clear preference for not creating large scale artworks, as monumental art carved in rock or on large scale buildings, unlike the Egyptians and, to a lesser extent, the Hittites. On the other hand, the Aegeans depicted the occasional female warrior, or at least a woman bearing arms, and they seem to limit visibility and access to certain groups, judging primarily from the location of the wall paintings. Are all these observations signs of resistance to a generalised pictorial repertoire and persistence to local traditions?

Clearly the limitations of study should be considered in any discussion of that kind. The two major problems in the study of Aegean Bronze Age iconography are a) the fragmentation and poor preservation of several of the images, especially those on frescoes, and b) the lack of relevant information deriving from contemporary written records.

Firstly, the level of preservation of the pictorial arts, a result usually of the deposition processes, is something that should always be considered when discussing matters of interpretation from a quantitative perspective. In other words, what cannot be seen today was by no means necessary absent or unknown during the LBA. This is definitely the case with perishable materials that are easily lost or destroyed in the Mediterranean environment and climate, especially in Greece, such as wood or textiles. In fact, we may well be missing interesting scenes depicted on textiles, like tapestries or on wooden surfaces. Equally, with some rare noticeable exceptions, such as the Late Cycladic I wall paintings from Akrotiri on Thera, mural paintings do not survive, leaving scholarship with a small percentage of what was depicted on the walls of Aegean structures. Furthermore, even within the surviving fragments, there is always room for personal perspectives in the interpretation of the surviving scenes. Such is the case of the so-called 'Captain of the Blacks' from Knossos, as according to Fortenberry (1990: 309) this is "… showing a clear leader followed by a row of identically clad and armed men". As Blakolmer (2002) showed, it is not the safest conclusion as many fragments are missing. Equally, new 'discoveries' and readings allow academia for further comments and new approaches, such as the recent additions on the famous Hall 64 battle scenes from Ano Englianos, in Pylos (Brecoulaki 2018).

Secondly, simply by looking at what is available in Syria, Anatolia and Egypt in terms of written records it becomes clear that the scholarship of the Aegean Bronze Age lacks essential pieces of information on religious beliefs, the roles of deities, their characteristics as well as the results of hybridisation. The equivalent characters of Ba'aal, Reshef and Montu (Shaw & Nicholson 1995), major deities related directly to warfare in Egypt and the Near East, cannot be identified in the Aegean LBA societies. Despite the fact that it would have been tempting to consider some similarities between Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean as social practices, the relationship between the role of the divine, the highly symbolic position of the leader(s) and warfare is not straightforward. Equally it is not possible (to this day) to fully understand the political systems of Aegean societies, at least through the readings of correspondence and taxation or mercantile activities as in the case, for example, of the port-of-trade Ugarit in Syria. There have been suggestions that in New Kingdom Egypt the iconography of battles and the Pharaoh's victories may have functioned as commemorations of real events, perhaps spiced up with the element of hyperbole in order to serve the political needs of the ruler (for discussions, see Luiselli 2011; Shaw 2019). Equally, in Anatolia the 'missing' chariot scenes, despite the definitive and significant use of the actual vehicle in

5 Although the existence of a female deity related to warfare remains a strong possibility (see Rehak 1999).

war and battle, seems to suggest that the local belief (or need to believe) was that the ruler was compassionate, chosen by the gods and thus there was no need for his authority to be highlighted via martial iconography (see Raulwing 2009; Lorenz & Schrakamp 2011; also Feldman & Sauvage 2010).

These two scholarly perspectives cannot easily be applied in the archaeology of the Bronze Age Aegean, primarily due to lack of parallel data from texts and written records. This is a major handicap towards the hermeneutics of the idiosyncrasy of Aegean art and the two limitations of study are persisting problems in Aegean archaeology. However, the material record provides enough evidence to suggest that the symbolic practices of the Aegean elites were not the same as those met almost everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean littoral (perhaps with the exception of Cyprus). The fact that LBA Aegean societies could not be considered as true members of the 'Superpowers Club', nor that they were under direct Egyptian, Hittite or other cultural influence, may have been a major factor impacting or even defining the use of iconography in prehistoric Greece.

Despite its fragmented 'history' of the warrior imagery, the Aegean has shown a strong tradition in this motif and its uses. To be more precise, representations of armed individuals do not appear, nor continued to exist simultaneously at all regions, yet their presence is attested from the Early Bronze Age onwards. From the Early Cycladic II so-called 'warrior/hunter' marble figurines, through the Middle Bronze Age Aeginetan vessels (see Siedentopf 1991: 18, 24-25, nos. 75, 158, 162, pls 14, 35-38; Papadopoulos 2006) and the Protopalatial micro-glyptic to the more complex Mainland iconography of the 13th c. BCE, the figure of the man/men at arms is a well-known iconographic motif, albeit restricted in circulation (Papadopoulos 2006b). The message-senders and message-recipients existed all this time, and clearly this type of pictorial repertoire has its own codes and meanings. This tradition, maybe not always popular and well understood, yet an established practice, had created a set of rules, always according to the needs and will of the ruling individuals or elites.

Unlike the glyptic art of the LH I and LH II, it is rather safe to suggest that there are no scenes of clear winners in Mainland palatial Aegean art, as up to this date no predominant warriors or groups of armed individuals seem to have the upper hand in battle. This might change at some point, with a new set of frescoes, but this possibility looks rather unlikely based on the quantity of available data. For some reason, the Mainland elites preferred images of struggle and combat, rather than domination over the enemy or opponent. This 'iconography of humiliation' (Janzen 2013) is not available in the Aegean, perhaps because there is no need for it. This very Egyptian notion is related to the divine and the single protector of Order against Chaos, *i.e*. the Pharaoh, and in times of distress, when his/her authority was challenged, these images became a useful propaganda tool. In the Aegean, the evidence does not support a single ruler, nor there are clear indications of symbolic connections between warriors and single rulers, so to highlight the prowess of the One[6]. That is to say that, in the Aegean, there must have been sufficient awareness and knowledge of the iconographic repertoire of the warrior in the neighbouring areas, at least by some members of the travelling elite and/or certain merchants. In addition, the presence of the imported Reshef figurines within the region could point towards this direction, unless they were personal belongings of foreign travellers and entrepreneurs. The development of a certain set of depictions in the Aegean world and its use according to local needs, in a non-homogenous way in terms of geographical diaspora, suggests a conscious choice and carefully planned manipulation of these images by the local elites.

4. Conclusions: resistance, tradition and political necessity?

The pictorial motif of the armed individual and the narrative theme of the warrior, the hunter and the chariot/charioteer was used by all societies of the LBA eastern Mediterranean. Despite the international character of the period, primarily of the extensive trade networks and the development of inter-regional communications, the *international artistic koine* cannot be studied or understood as a practice used and appreciated by all regions. Several differences between the Aegean and the East can be identified, when studying the formulaic depiction of the warrior. Local Aegean societies never appreciated the extremely popular body gesture of the 'Smiting Deity', although they were very well aware of it. Commemorating events, glorifying the leaders, and showing

6 It is worth mentioning at this point that the matter of a single and unified Mycenaean kingdom as opposed to a series of Mycenaean polities, with or without a palatial centre, is still debated. For different points of view on this matter, see Kelder 2010 and Eder & Jung 2015.

the divine power of the warrior were most likely not Aegean customs. On the contrary, they remained faithful to local symbols, namely the figure-of-eight shield and the boar's tusk helmet over a very long period of time and almost throughout the entire Aegean region. According to Morris (1990: 155) "an emblem: the flag of a country or a heraldic blazon, is unireferential, that is it signals a single country, family or person, though an emblem may at the same time be composed of symbols. Symbols, on the other hand, are multireferential and can condense meaning". In the case of the Aegean, the figure-of-eight shield and the boar's tusk helmet were archaic and diachronic symbols. Resistance to certain popular images, while adopting others suggests a selective process. A mechanism that adopts or ignores specific symbolisms. It is quite likely that the needs served by the Eastern Mediterranean iconography of violence did not exist in the Aegean: the single ruler and his/her connection to the divine, the unified kingdom that needed protection, the urgency to persuade the subjects that the state (and the ruler) are safeguarding peace and order, the propaganda for the masses, both local and visitors. The iconography of violence was clearly a political tool in the Aegean, just like in the neighbouring lands. Yet its use was different and unique to a great extent. This uniqueness of the warrior imagery could, or perhaps should, be understood as an emblem of the Aegean LBA society.

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13. Merchants, Ports, and Market Exchange

Strategies for Coping in an Interconnected Mycenaean World[1]

Daniel J. Pullen

The study of ancient economies of Bronze Age and Iron Age societies in the Aegean has become increasingly sophisticated in the last decade or so. Perhaps the most important developments have been the recognition that the Late Bronze Age polities exhibit much variation among themselves and that their economies were not palatially-controlled, or perhaps not even palatially dominated (Parkinson & Galaty 2007; Pullen 2010; Nakassis *et al.* 2010). Rather, large segments of economic activity lay outside the control or interest of the palatial authorities (Parkinson 2007; Galaty 2010). Non-palatial sectors of the economy have been identified in agriculture and craft production, and undoubtedly additional sectors too had significant non-palatial activity (Halstead 1992; Trusty 2016). Regional variation in material culture raises questions about modes of production and distribution of craft products. There has been an increasing use of cross-cultural comparison, and an interest in placing Aegean societies into their greater context within the eastern Mediterranean and southeastern Europe (Parkinson & Galaty 2009; Sherratt 2009; Broodbank 2013; Marazzi 2018). And scholars are increasingly moving away from strictly adhering to Karl Polanyi's paradigm of the ancient economy, and towards a consideration of the variability and multiplicity of exchange modes (Nakassis *et al*. 2011; Parkinson *et al*. 2013b; see also Bennet & Halstead 2014). As we see all too often in archaeology, the establishment of hard dichotomies can hinder our understanding through oversimplification. Most often, advances in interpretation come through the realisation of a continuum, or a multiplicity of dimensions to a situation.

Unfortunately, most studies of trade and exchange in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, especially those dealing with the Aegean, still focus on long-distance maritime trade, either because the products are generally easier to identify (non-local or exotica, raw materials, luxury goods) and/or have privileged (royal or palatial) gift exchange as the mechanism for that trade (see Alberti 2016 for an exception). No doubt this focus is largely due to Late Bronze Age textual evidence centred on palatial sources. Non-royal exchange, especially local or medium-distance exchange, has not received as much interest by scholars. However, the growing realisation of the importance of the 'small worlds', that is networks of local and medium-distance interactions, has drawn attention to the significant role of non-palatial exchange for ancient Aegean economies (Tartaron 2013; Alberti 2013; 2016). The actual mechanisms of exchange within BA and IA Aegean societies have begun to be more rigorously investigated (Galaty *et al*. 2011; Parkinson *et al*. 2013a; Nakassis *et al*. 2016; Rahmstorf 2018). A number of studies point to the integration of several different institutions within the political economy, including elite control of prestige goods, market exchange (with the involvement, or even outright control, by elites), reciprocity, gift exchange, and so on (Routledge & McGeough 2009; Alberti 2013: 23; Liverani 2015). The multiplicity of exchange modes is not just a feature of the political elite, but also of individual households, whereby they can participate in market exchange, reciprocity, redistribution, gift exchange – all at the same time (Aprile 2013; Hirth & Pillsbury 2013). Thus, we should consider market exchange along with gift exchange, redistribution, and other modes of distribution of products (Cline 2015; but see the cautions expressed by Liverani 2015).

In the last two decades the study of markets and marketplaces in other regions of the world by archaeologists has grown (Feinman & Garraty 2010; Garraty & Stark 2010). This increased interest coincides with the reconsideration of political economies and the emergence of the state, coupled with an increasing critique of the Polanyian paradigm. The identification of markets, market exchange, and marketplaces is problematic: for

1 I would like to thank Jan Driessen for his invitation to contribute to this volume. This paper is based in part on the introductory paper to Session 200 on "Merchants, Markets, and Exchange in the Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age Mediterranean", organised by Dimitri Nakassis, Lorenz Rahmstorf, and myself at the 24th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, held in Barcelona in September 2018, and in part on a paper by Tom Tartaron and myself delivered to the Korakou Centennial Conference in Athens in September 2015. I would like to thank Dimitri, Lorenz, and Tom for allowing me to make use of those works, and of course all mistakes and misinterpretations are solely mine.

example, much of the literature on Mesoamerican markets focuses on the identification of marketplaces *per se*. Hirth (1998; 2012) and others have outlined several approaches to detecting market exchange, such as the contextual approach, based on logical inferences but without direct evidence; the configurational approach, looking for the physical evidence of marketplaces; the spatial approach which compares empirical observations against ideal patterns; the distributional approach, which examines the household-level distribution of goods; and the regional production-distribution approach which examines the scale of production of craft goods and their distribution in comparison to other modes of distribution of those products. As several people have pointed out, though, all of these approaches have the problem of equifinality, in that one cannot rule out alternate modes of exchange to explain the patterns predicted by the approach (Parkinson *et al*. 2013b: 418). Another factor is that marketplaces are often also production places, and archaeologically difficult to distinguish. To overcome these problems, Feinman & Nicholas (2010) advocate a multiscalar approach, one that incorporates elements of the previously mentioned approaches but at various analytical scales such as the household, the site, and the region, together; this approach has been successfully applied by Rahmstorf (2018) in his recent suggestion of market behaviour in prehistoric Britain.

When we turn to the Aegean, we have a mixed bag of approaches and relevant data. Direct evidence for marketplaces as physical spaces in the Bronze Age Aegean is very scarce (see Rahmstorf 2018 for possible categories of evidence for marketplaces). Parkinson *et al*. (2013b: 419) suggest that the courtyards of Mycenaean palaces could have served as locations for markets, in addition to the presumed activities associated with feasting (Bendall 2008), though they note that other open spaces or courts might have seen market exchange (Cavanagh 2001 for courts in Mycenaean architecture). Likewise, data at the household level are extremely limited, certainly far too limited to systematically assess patterns of exchange and consumption (but see Aprile 2013). Both of these situations are more likely issues of how Aegean archaeologists operate than reflecting a real lack of data. On the other hand, the Aegean Linear B tablets are exclusively a palatial product, unlike the wealth of textual evidence from Karum Kanesh, Ugarit and elsewhere that comes from palatial and non-palatial contexts, including those locations directly associated with merchants. If one steps back from a purely philological approach to the Linear B texts and places them within their larger archaeological contexts, there are hints (but only hints) of mercantile and other exchanges beyond redistribution in the textual record (Bennet & Halstead 2014).

It is clear to a number of scholars of prehistoric Aegean political economy that market exchange was one of the modes of exchange operating in the Late Bronze Age Aegean world (Sjoberg 2004; Parkinson *et al*. 2013a; Rahmstorf 2018). Even some of the realms of craft production with significant palatial interest, such as metalworking and textiles, must have had a non-palatial component in their production and distribution to the populace beyond the palatial elite and their followers. Market exchange does not mean that there must have been physical marketplaces, since those activities can take place in locations that lack archaeologically identifiable characteristics, such as along roads; the frequency of markets is also a factor in whether there is a need for formal marketplaces. Market exchange can be supported by infrastructures other than physical marketplaces, such as harbour installations or roads. My colleague Tom Tartaron and I have suggested that the establishment of the harbour town at Mycenaean Kalamianos on the Saronic Gulf was intended to take advantage of and compete in the increasing variety of trade in the Saronic Gulf, including local, medium, and long-distance trade (Tartaron 2013; 2015; Pullen 2015). The well-known Mycenaean road systems in the Argolid include segments that seem to function more for local circulation of people and goods, than for other functions such as defence of borders (Jansen 2002). Road systems, like small maritime worlds, link communities, facilitating horizontal integration among the inhabitants of different communities.

Market exchange involves a notion of value, especially equivalent value, that allows for the exchange of two different commodities (Alberti 2016). In the absence of money in its strict economic sense, weighing or counting of the commodities involved are the most common methods of assessing relative value. The presence of weights and systems of weighing is one indication of exchange, whether through market exchange or some other mode (Schon 2015; Rahmstorf 2016). A discussion of weights is beyond the scope of this paper.

We must also consider the concept of merchants. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a merchant as ‘a person or company involved in wholesale trade, especially one dealing with foreign countries or supplying merchandise to a particular trade’, whereas Merriam-Webster defines a merchant as ‘a buyer and seller of commodities for profit [or a] trader’. Thus, a merchant is someone who is involved in market exchange, often dealing with

commodities in larger quantities than a household might need for its own provisioning, or commodities not available locally, or products of a more specialised nature. This is not to say that households cannot function as merchants; rather, I wish to emphasise the more specialised role of the merchant in exchange, one who is engaged in trade for purposes beyond just provisioning of his or her household.

Nakassis (2013) has demonstrated that individuals named in the Linear B tablets at Pylos often recur in different contexts, suggesting that an individual could be involved in more than one role in the Pylian political economy. Some roles seem to be directly associated with the palace, while other roles seem to be associated with the regions, district capitals, and institutions outside the palace. This implies that individual actors operated at multiple levels within the hierarchy of the Pylian state (see, for example, Nakassis 2012). While we would not want to assume similar patterns among the Late Bronze Age states without direct evidence, in this instance the assumption of multiple roles played by an individual is well grounded in anthropological theory of the social *persona*. Indeed, it would be surprising to find that individuals did not play multiple roles in their interactions with others. It is likely, then, that local elites, interacting occasionally with the palace centres (with those interactions recorded in the Linear B tablets), also interacted with individuals and institutions in their own communities (with those interactions not recorded); in economic interactions, this would have involved market exchange, and not just at the local level: the tablets themselves even refer to wages and a few texts record 'purchases' (the *o-no* tablets) of materials from named individuals (see Bennet & Halstead 2014: 275-278 for a recent discussion of the *o-no* tablets). One of the characteristics of markets is not only that they facilitate the horizontal integration of many actors, but also that they provide opportunity for relationships to emerge between actors at different levels, that is, vertical integration. We would go so far as to suggest that one of the roles these elite individuals played was that of merchant, facilitating trade and exchange not only on the regional level within a Late Bronze Age kingdom but also at a larger scale, such as the Aegean merchants referred to in the Ugaritic texts. The presence of sets of weights in wealthy tombs (*e.g*. the lead weights found in the Vapheio tholos tomb, Schon 2015) could be seen to corroborate this suggestion of elite involvement in trade and exchange.

Scholars working in the Levant and Mesopotamia are increasingly recognising the importance of merchants in those societies, even when, as in the case of Ugarit, the palatial officials are also involved in trade and exchange (McGeough 2007; Monroe 2009). At Ugarit, for example, there is a wide range in types of arrangements for trading activities, with the long-distance trade perhaps having greater involvement of palatial officials and individuals associated with the palaces. Attempts to assess the scale of long-distance exchange between the Aegean and the East Mediterranean regions generally reveal infrequent exchange events (Cline 2007; Parkinson 2010; Ward 2010), though the Ulu Burun shipwreck often skews our perceptions. Little attempt has been made to assess the scale of medium-distance or short-distance exchange within the Aegean.

The study of the distribution of obsidian constitutes one of the few instances where there have been attempts to address this issue of short- and medium-distance exchange, though mostly in Early Bronze Age contexts (Parkinson 2010; Parkinson *et al*. 2013b: 416): several coastal sites seem to be major processing centres whose products are then distributed inland, so while the quantities of material inland may be high, it is the types of products and where these were made that differs from coast to inland (Karabatsoli 1997). Our lithic data from SHARP show exactly this – production centre at the coast, whereas inland sites show mainly blades and flakes (Parkinson n.d.). The increasing number of petrographic and other similar sourcing studies will provide much needed data to address the issue of medium- and short-distance exchange in the Mycenaean period. In particular we note William Gilstrap's study of LH IIIB ceramic production and exchange throughout the Saronic Gulf (Gilstrap 2014; Gilstrap *et al*. 2016), Debra Trusty's study of LBA cooking pot vessel production and exchange in the northeast Peloponnese (Trusty 2016), and Clare Burke's work on Early Bronze Age ceramic production and distribution in the same regions (*e.g*. Burke *et al*. 2018). Kim Shelton (2010) and Patrick Thomas (2005) have each argued for large-scale production of ceramics at Mycenae by a few potters, such as the owner of the Petsas House. If one considers the scale of distribution systems needed to supply the population of a region with ceramics, market exchange provides a more reasonable mechanism than centralised palatial redistribution or mobilisation (Whitelaw 2001: 64-65; Thomas 2005: 536-537; Hruby 2006: 203 note 74; Stark & Garraty 2010: 43-44; Pullen 2013b: 441-442).

It has long been recognised that Mycenaeans were involved in long-distance trade throughout the Mediterranean, though the mechanisms, scale, and frequency of these interactions are still debated (Cline 2009; 2015; Burns

2010; Parkinson 2010). But the recognition of Mycenaeans as truly maritime peoples engaged in maritime activity at scales from local to intraregional to interregional is recent (Tartaron 2013). This development arises in part from the increasing interest in the 'small worlds' approach to interaction in the Aegean and Mediterranean (*e.g*. Broodbank 2000; Horden & Purcell 2000), and from new regional approaches to issues of political economy and interaction, such as the ceramic studies mentioned above.

Although we currently lack direct evidence for market places in Bronze Age Greece, ports (along with harbours and anchorages[2]) as nodes in exchange networks form one component by which we can explore exchange at a variety of scales from the local level to the inter-regional level.

In part because of the paucity of evidence for built facilities at harbour sites in the Bronze Age (Shaw 2009), there has not been much attention paid to these ports through which trade might have been conducted, though the increasing number of discoveries of shipsheds on Crete indicate the existence of built structures associated with harbour activities (Shaw 2019), and it may perhaps be only a matter of time before such facilities are found on the mainland of Greece.

In the remainder of this article I want to explore how ports might work in the Mycenaean political economy within a framework of variable scales in trading connections and multiple modes of exchange, from palatial-elite controlled exchange to small-scale local exchanges. I suggest that the elites at Mycenae and other centres, whether palatial or not, optimised their opportunities for trade by exploiting ports on all three of these bodies of water surrounding the Argolid/Corinthia, but to varying degrees of palatial control. I focus on three ports, one on each of the three major bodies of water that surround the Argolid/Corinthia, namely Tiryns on the Argolic Gulf, Kalamianos on the Saronic Gulf, and Korakou on the Corinthian Gulf (**Fig. 13.1**). The political and economic mechanisms through which this exploitation may have occurred, from outright palatial control to independent merchants, are also explored in light of recent evaluations of Mycenaean political economy and maritime interactions. There is little direct evidence for Tiryns, Nauplion, and Asine on the Argolic Gulf, Palaia Epidavros on the Saronic Gulf, or Korakou on the Corinthian Gulf in their role as harbours in the Bronze Age, other than their geographical location and presumed importance. The evidence from Kalamianos, however, indicates that its establishment was due in part to its potential role as a port. Despite the paucity of direct evidence for Mycenaean harbours and ports, we would be hard pressed to maintain that they did not exist, for the material culture, geographical situations, and later history of the region all indicate that ports existed.

Scholars have presumed that Tiryns served as a significant port in the Argolic Gulf, but whether the sole (unlikely, given the importance of Lerna and Nauplion, as well as Asine) or most important port is unclear, as is the exact location and form of the port. Its international connections have been noted many times before (*e.g*. Maran 2004; Kardamaki *et al*. 2016). Zangger's geoarchaeological study of the Argive Plain suggests that the shoreline in the Late Bronze Age was significantly closer to the citadel than it is today, probably only around 1 km distant (Zangger 1993; 1994). But other than the suggestion that the Late Bronze Age shoreline would most likely have been suitable for 'beaching' ships, with the mouth(s) of the Manessi stream providing additional shelter for ships, no evidence for a harbour or other maritime facility has been reported (Marazzi 2018: 103 claims the port "appears to have been closely linked to a series of hydraulic engineering constructions similar to those we saw for Pylos"). The large quantity of imported objects (Burns 2010: 36-40) at Tiryns compared to other Late Bronze Age sites shows connections throughout the Mediterranean. Finds such as the ivory rod inscribed in Ugaritic cuneiform (Cohen *et al*. 2010), Cypriot wall brackets, and faience animal-headed vessels (Kostoula & Maran 2012), along with other imported and hybrid materials point to a particular association with Cyprus and the Levant, and perhaps even the presence of craftspeople from that region at Tiryns in the Lower Citadel near the north gate. Kostoula & Maran (2012: 218) explicitly connect these finds (and perhaps the craftspeople) to the system of palatial gift-exchange found throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age.

More direct evidence at Tiryns of the palatial elite's interest in long-distance trade is seen in the presence of Transport Stirrup Jars, some of which are inscribed; a large number of these were found in the recent excavations of the Western Staircase and thus can be directly linked to palace storerooms (Kardamaki 2015; Kardamaki *et*

2 See Tartaron 2013: 4-5 for distinctions among these terms. Essentially, an anchorage is any coastal location for mooring a boat or ship; harbours are specific coastal spots for maritime traffic, while ports indicate a permanent settlement attached to a harbour. None of these necessitate permanent installations such as docks or quays.

al. 2016). Transport Stirrup Jars [TSJ] are almost exclusively a feature of major palatial sites on the mainland (Haskell *et al*. 2011), with a marked absence at other sites such as those around the Saronic Gulf. Those TSJs at Tiryns date primarily to LH IIIB2, the last phase of the Mycenaean palace period, and nearly two-thirds come from western Crete (Chania) and the western Mesara (Agia Triada/Phaistos). Kardamaki *et al*. (2016: 157-158) argue that the TSJs represent the "literate, planned administration of taxes/tribute to the palaces" or at least "the establishment of an administrative relationship between the Mycenaean Palaces and Crete during [LH IIIB]" (Kardamaki *et al*. 2016: 160-161). Thus at least some activities of the port of Tiryns can be directly tied to the palatial elites and their interests.

Fig. 13.1 Map of Saronic Gulf and northeast Peloponnese sites in the Mycenaean Period (by author)

Korakou has usually been identified as the principal Late Bronze Age site on the northern Corinthian Plain at the eastern end of the Corinthian Gulf (Blegen 1920; 1932), but recent work in and around Ancient Corinth has revealed a more complicated picture (Tzonou-Herbst 2015). A tholos tomb at Cheliotomylos (Kassimi 2015) and extensive cemetery and settlement evidence to the north of Ancient Corinth suggest a substantial Late Bronze Age centre away from the coast, in addition to that at Korakou, though the historical trajectory of the relationships among the northern Corinthian sites remains to be established (see Pullen & Tartaron 2007). In a contribution to the 2007 *Rethinking the Mycenaean Palaces* volume, Tom Tartaron and I addressed the question of why no Mycenaean palace has been found in the Corinthia, in terms of the emergence of Mycenaean states in the Peloponnese and Saronic Gulf (Pullen & Tartaron 2007; see also Tartaron 2010: 166-172). We suggested that the situation of long-term social and economic stability of settlements in the northern Corinthian plain was not favourable to the emergence of a complex hierarchical polity through the domination by one site over others. Additionally, the northern Corinthia was peripheral to the competitive states of Mycenae and Kolonna; that is, the northern Corinthia was beyond the direct control of either state. We argued that Kolonna's position as the centre of the Saronic Gulf hampered the emergence of competing economic centres and expansion of the Argive centres

into the coastal zones of the Saronic, thus affecting the Corinthia, at least until the decline of Kolonna in the later Mycenaean period. Blegen envisioned Korakou and the Isthmus in general as the funnel through which trade from southern regions, such as the Argolid and as far away as Crete, made its way via maritime connections from Korakou to Central Greek sites such as Thebes and Orchomenos. We would argue that this situation increased in importance only after the decline of Kolonna. Blegen pointed to the nearby port of Lechaion as the most likely location for Korakou's harbour. The construction of the harbour works at Lechaion has been dated to the later 1st millennium BCE (Rothaus 1995; Stiros *et al*. 1996), though parts were constructed earlier in the Roman period (Rothaus *et al*. 2003). Current archaeological work at Lechaion by the Lechaion Harbor and Settlement Land Project, concentrating on levels dating to the 3rd-5th centuries CE, has recovered slight evidence for prehistoric use of the area (Paul Scotton, pers. com.), but we should not necessarily expect Bronze Age harbour constructions. The Bronze Age coastline here, as elsewhere along the Aegean shores, was undoubtedly very different, and the Mycenaean port may have been closer to Korakou. For the time being, then, Lechaion's role as the harbour for the Mycenaean settlement at Korakou or Ancient Corinth, however likely it is, must remain hypothetical.

Kalamianos, investigated through the *Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project* [SHARP], directed by Tom Tartaron and me, provides us with some of the most direct evidence for the importance of ports in Mycenaean Greece. As we have shown elsewhere (Tartaron *et al*. 2011; Pullen 2013), there was a small Early Bronze Age settlement adjacent to a small peninsula that provided shelter for two basins. We have not found any ceramics dated to the Middle Bronze Age, and there is only limited evidence for early Mycenaean occupation. By the palatial Mycenaean period, the relative sea level had risen sufficiently that the peninsula was now a shallow reef connecting an island to the mainland, but still with two protected basins for anchoring ships (Tartaron *et al*. 2011: 571-575; Dao 2011). At this time, in the ceramic period late LH IIIA or early LH IIIB, the settlement at Kalamianos underwent a rapid expansion into a walled urban settlement of over 7 hectares, oriented towards the two harbour basins. With the collapse of the palaces at the end of LH IIIB, Kalamianos ceased to be occupied, perhaps exacerbated by local tectonic events that rendered the harbour unusable.

These tectonic events and subsequent eustatic changes have unfortunately rendered the Mycenaean shoreline now several metres below the current sea level. The systematic underwater exploration of the 2009 SHARP season concentrated on a bathymetric profile, supplemented by limited snorkelling exploration. Piles of ballast stones attest to anchorage of ships, but no architecture was discovered, in part due to sedimentation and erosion from wave action. A fuller exploration of the underwater portions of Kalamianos is definitely warranted. On land we have documented a large number of buildings, many of which are substantial in size, but none have been excavated and thus our knowledge of their functions remains limited. A recent analysis by Donna Nagle using Spatial Analysis techniques of a few structures at Kalamianos suggests that at least one building, 5-VIII, was most likely used for workshops and storage, not domestic purposes (Nagle 2015); analysis of additional buildings using these techniques would undoubtedly suggest more. The largest building complex at Kalamianos at 925 m^2, Building 7-I/III/X, has characteristics of a public structure in terms of its access as well as architectural features such as orthostates (Pullen 2015; 2019a; Pullen & Sapirstein 2020). Many of these architectural features have parallels with elite architecture at the Argive centres. No structure that could be identified as specifically related to a harbour such as a ship shed or quay was found, but if these existed they were probably closer to the ancient shoreline and consequently are now underwater.

Though ashlar masonry is not employed at Kalamianos, nevertheless there is a distinctive 'monumental' quality to the masonry. The huge blocks (often 1.0 x 1.0 x 0.50 m) found in relatively small structures are quite different from the construction of most residential structures at other Mycenaean sites (Hiesel 1990: 6; Adrymi-Sismani 2016: 42-46), as is the often great height of the stone component of the walls, with perhaps only a metre of mudbrick atop the walls. The masonry technique is closest to Loader's Type III Cyclopean style (Loader 1998: 27-31; Pullen & Sapirstein 2020), though the biggest blocks at Kalamianos are much smaller than those found in the last phases of palatial fortifications and tombs at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Gla. Kalamianos lacks the roughly squared and coursed blocks of pseudo-ashlar construction attested by the first phase fortifications at Tiryns (Iakovides 1983: 5-7). However, quite similar to the Kalamianos construction are the lack of preparation of the bedrock foundations, the irregularities in the size and shape of the blocks, the filling of the resulting wide joints with smaller stones and earth, and the sporadic use of blocks laid as stretchers to unify the two faces of the wall – all of which characterise the first fortifications at Mycenae (Iakovidis 1983: 27-29), which are roughly

contemporary with the initial occupation of Kalamianos (late LH IIIA/early IIIB) and also employ smaller blocks than in the later circuit walls at Mycenae (Pullen & Sapirstein 2020). In sum, the monumental masonry system used at Kalamianos closely resembles those at the Argive centres, indicating direct ties to the Argolid. Though falling short of the huge dimensions of stones in the large palatial building projects, the Kalamianos masonry system is most comparable to retaining walls and other intermediate-scaled constructions (Iakovidis 1983: 39-40; Loader 1998: 75), which nonetheless is consistent with palatial sponsorship. The architectural parallels point to Mycenae, which is also the closest site in the Argive plain by overland distance.

In the hinterlands of Kalamianos, we documented one additional large Mycenaean site, Stiri at 1.4 ha, and two small LBA sites that controlled various points of access. All around these sites, and even within the walls of Kalamianos, are hundreds of agricultural terraces, many constructed in typical Mycenaean masonry style. Lynne Kvapil (2012) estimates that terraces covered more than 15 ha outside the walls of Kalamianos and 2 ha within the walls. If these terraces were built during the same period as the rapid expansion of Kalamianos, which seems highly likely, the total construction effort of town, circuit wall, buildings, and terrace walls represents a tremendous investment of capital and labour. The huge labour and capital investment in constructing the agricultural terraces indicates that a certain degree of agricultural self-sufficiency was part of the plan for the 'colonisation' of Kalamianos and its hinterland, if not from the beginning, then at least after the establishment of the settlement (Pullen 2019a; 2019b).

This large investment in infrastructure at Kalamianos points directly to one of the major issues in Mycenaean scholarship – the degree of palatial control over the economy. Who might have been responsible for this investment, and why? How does the situation at Kalamianos compare to that at other ports, such as Korakou or Tiryns?

The political and economic dynamics in the Saronic Gulf need to be taken in account. Our current hypothesis is that Kalamianos was established on the Saronic Gulf as an outpost of the Argive palatial centres near the end of the LH IIIA2 period, perhaps soon after the time Kolonna ceased to be the dominant centre in the Saronic by the beginning of LH IIIA, if not before. Kolonna no longer was the endpoint of maritime traffic into the Saronic (Gauss 2010). At the same time, several other sites around the Saronic emerged as important centres, including Megali Magoula (Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003), Kanakia on Salamis (Lolos 2012), Eleusis (Cosmopoulos 2014), Athens, and Kontopigado Alimos in Attica (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2011), though most of these sites were long-established and not new foundations like Kalamianos. Kalamianos was founded by the end of LH IIIA2 in order for the Argive centres to participate in this multi-centric economy of the Saronic Gulf. Palaia Epidavros, on the east end of the Mycenaean road from Nauplion, undoubtedly also prospered at this time. What sets Kalamianos apart from these other circum-Saronic centres, however, is its foundation by, and close association with, Mycenae.

In contrast to this picture of Argive elite involvement in the establishment of the port of Kalamianos, the ceramic record presents a very different picture of interconnections. So far, no evidence for the local production of ceramics has been found. The petrographic and chemical study of Late Bronze Age cooking pot vessels from Kalamianos and Stiri (among other sites in the northeast Peloponnese) by Trusty shows that all were produced on Aegina (Trusty & Gilstrap n.d.). The importation of Aeginetan cooking pot vessels might be expected, given the proximity of Kalamianos to Kolonna and the long-term cultural preference for cooking pot vessels in Aeginetan fabrics throughout the circum-Saronic region, at least from the Early Bronze Age (Gilstrap *et al*. 2016). Fineware ceramic vessels found at Kalamianos and Stiri, on the other hand, were produced at several production centres, including the Corinth area, Kontopigado Alimos in Attica, and even from Aegina (Gilstrap 2015). Lacking among the fineware samples examined are any that could be associated with the Argolid. This is a surprising situation, given the proximity of Mycenae (*ca*. 50 km via a series of upland basins: Tartaron *et al*. 2011: 614-615 and 621, fig. 40) and the hypothesised connections between Mycenae and Kalamianos in architecture and construction discussed above. But the consumption at Kalamianos of pottery from multiple sites in the Saronic Gulf to the exclusion of inland Argive sources is a good example of the need to consider the importance of short-distance maritime trade and other modes of exchange besides palatially-centred redistribution or administered trade.

Kanakia on Salamis presents a similar picture of ceramic consumption in LH IIIB as that at Kalamianos: none of the analysed samples are apparently local, but rather the cooking pot vessels seem to be from Aegina with the remainder of vessels deriving from Attica, probably from Kontopigado Alimos (Day *et al.* 2013; Gilstrap *et*

al. 2013; see also Gilstrap 2015). Trusty's analysis of cooking pot vessels from Korakou indicates a combined strategy of importation of vessels from Aegina and local production – perhaps even local imitations of Aeginetan cooking pots (Trusty 2016). In sum, in the LH IIIB period, pottery was produced at three centres (or areas) around the Saronic Gulf, namely Kontopidago Alimos, Aegina, and somewhere in the Corinthia, and the products distributed throughout the region. As Gilstrap (2015: 218-219) notes, the consumption patterns of pottery seem to cross "political" boundaries, and he suggests that markets and merchants might be responsible for this pattern. But given the scale of production at Kontopigado Alimos, the workshops may have been attached – in the sense of Costin's (1991: 5) definition – perhaps to elites based at the Mycenaean settlement around the Acropolis at Athens (Gilstrap 2015: 219; Gilstrap *et al*. 2016: 9), though of course like the Petsas House workshop at Mycenae (Shelton 2010) not all of the production of the Kontopigado Alimos workshops may have been for distribution and consumption by the elites.

I argue that when the Saronic Gulf saw the transformation from the single economic centre of Kolonna dominating interactions to one with multiple centres, Korakou, indeed the Isthmus of Corinth as a whole, gained importance as a conduit for trade between the Saronic centres and regions to the south and east on the one hand, and central and western Greece on the other, as those areas became increasingly linked to the rest of the Mycenaean world. Late Bronze Age remains have been reported both at Kenchreai and at Isthmia, the two Saronic ports of the Isthmus. It is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate the nature of the Late Bronze Age constructions at Isthmia (walls? roads? terraces? see Morgan 1999 for the most recent evaluation of these remains; also Tartaron 2010: 171-172), but an indisputable "cyclopean" wall at Perdikaria reported by Blegen (Blegen 1920: 7 and fig. 7) and confirmed by the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey, as well as the Mycenaean remains excavated at Gonia by Blegen (Blegen 1930; see also Rutter 1974; 2003: 78-79) suggest the emergence of other centres in the Isthmus in the later Mycenaean period. Perdikaria is at the crossroads of two paths, one from Kenchreai to Korakou/Lechaion and one from Isthmia towards Ancient Corinth. Large-scale excavations of Korakou, as Jerry Rutter called for back at the Corinth Centenary conference two decades ago, would undoubtedly reveal the increased importance of this site in the later Mycenaean period (Rutter 2003: 80). Blegen had discovered a wall and possible tower at the northwest corner of Korakou, overlooking the Corinthian Gulf, but little was uncovered of the construction. Both Blegen and Rutter indicate a date in LH III for the wall but it remains poorly dated (Blegen 1921: 98; Rutter 1974: 414-420, fig. 169 and 170:1). It is my contention that the increased external impetus of maritime trade in the LH III period sparked the development of some sites in the northern Corinthia, such as Korakou, to increased importance vis-à-vis neighbouring sites. In other words, the long-term socio-economic heterarchical stability of the preceding Neolithic through early Late Bronze Age was disrupted by the new emphasis on short- and medium-distance trade through the Isthmus.

By examining the three ports of Korakou, Kalamianos, and Tiryns on the coasts of the Argolid/Corinthia, and the patterns of production and consumption of material goods associated with them, a complicated picture of varying modes of exchange and elite control emerges. I would suggest that distance from palatial centres plays a factor, such that Korakou (or the Corinthia in general) demonstrates more flexibility in patterns of exchange, what one might call resistance to centralised or elite control. Kalamianos presents an interesting case where, despite the elite-affiliated establishment and construction of the town, its patterns of consumption (at least of ceramics) reflects maritime short-and medium distance exchange with multiple economic centres in the Saronic Gulf and the Corinthia.

After the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palaces, and with the palace-centred redistributive component of the political economy removed, individuals pursued alternate modes of obtaining goods, including the market. Perhaps those local elites, who in one of their economic roles during the palatial period had engaged in trade as merchants, were able to establish local authority after the collapse of the palaces through their access to commodities and goods and were able manipulate the market to maintain their power, forging new networks of economic exchange (Murray 2017). Tiryns and Asine in the LH IIIC period fit this model, and of course Ancient Corinth emerged to become one of the premier economic centres in the Greek world. Kalamianos, however, did not continue into the LH IIIC period, perhaps due to local tectonic factors rendering the harbour unusable or because of the demise of the patronage of the Argive palatial elites. Its function as a consumer, not a producer, of material goods apparently did not fit into the new patterns of exchange of the LH IIIC and Early Iron Age.

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14. Merchants, Cultural Boundaries, and Structures of Orderly Interaction in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Mediterranean

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The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the dispute. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red, and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was at that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians came to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when their wares were almost all sold, many women came to the shore and among them especially the daughter of the king, whose name was Io (according to Persians and Greeks alike), the daughter of Inachus. As these stood about the stern of the ship bargaining for the wares they liked, the Phoenicians incited one another to set upon them. Most of the women escaped: Io and others were seized and thrown into the ship, which then sailed away for Egypt (Herodotus 1.1-4, transl. A. Godley).

Although recent decades have seen the emergence and canonisation of an area of scholarship centred on the Mediterranean Sea as a cultural unit[1], interactions amongst the peoples of the Mediterranean are not quite always as seamless and frictionless as the new paradigm in scholarship might suggest, as the opening anecdote from Herodotus' *Histories* demonstrates. Part of the canon of ideas underpinning the modern study of the Mediterranean is the frequency and intensity of mobility and cultural contact, hence of communication, facilitated by the maritime nature of the Mediterranean (Abulafia 2005: 85-90; Horden & Purcell 2006). However, it seems apparent that mobility and contact were not uniformly constituted throughout the entire arc of Mediterranean history, and that our scholarly focus on connectivity has grown partly from our experience of a globalised, connected world, rather than from the empirical truth of the historically consistent nature of maritime connectivity (Morris 2003: 51). The existence of forces preventing or hindering communication should not be forgotten, simply because such forces are currently relatively weak in a 21st century experience of the world. This paper will explore the way in which such forces may have been manifest at the level of individual interactions among merchants and traders.

While scholars of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Mediterranean have increasingly emphasised the role of merchants in mediating trade and interregional communication in the Mediterranean at both large and small scales, the mechanisms of long-distance exchange and transaction that facilitated merchant-centred interactions remain undertheorised (Curtin 1984; Melas 1991a; 1991b; Agbe-Davies & Bauer 2010). This paper considers how we might better understand economic transactions in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, especially from the point of view of social order. A considerable quantity of textual evidence from the early Greek world shows that merchants were often viewed with suspicion, perhaps particularly because they operated across meaningful cultural and political boundaries (*e.g.* Winter 1995; Bass 1997; Murray 2017: 53-54). The fact that these suspicions were not entirely misplaced, as the unfortunate debacle between the Argives and Phoenicians in Herodotus, is borne out by the quantity of such anecdotes likewise preserved in ancient texts (discussed below). If we accept that mistrust and suspicion were prevalent among consumers of merchant-based trade, it follows logically to interrogate the mechanisms by which frictions arising from ideological boundaries were mitigated in order to facilitate transactions. My aim is to work towards framing these transactions in a way that may help us to understand the rules that surrounded them, even when they are difficult to detect archaeologically.

1 Beginning with Horden & Purcell 2000, but see also, *e.g.* Shaw 2001; papers in Abulafia 2003; Peters 2003; Purcell 2003; papers in Harris 2005; Horden & Purcell 2006; papers in van Dommelen & Knapp 2010; Broodbank 2013; papers in Harris 2013. Morris 2003 discusses the phenomenon in the context of globalisation in the modern world.

I begin with a consideration of the generally fraught nature of exchange transactions, especially when they require communication across cultural boundaries. Then, I present some ideas concerning how we might better understand how interactions among merchants, states, and individuals were structured through formal and informal institutions and social conventions in Mediterranean prehistory. Within the framework of the current consensus on the nature of exchanges in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, I consider some mechanisms that may have constrained interactions among merchants, states, and individuals in order to allow transactions across meaningful cultural boundaries to proceed without undue friction. I argue that, although there was a structure of formal rules and institutions that facilitated exchanges with merchants and traders in the Palatial Late Bronze Age, it is most likely that Postpalatial transactions were constrained primarily by informal consensus rather than coercion. I suggest that interactions among Postpalatial merchants were conducted in an orderly fashion largely as the unintended consequence of people separately pursuing their own interests rather than because of overt policies, rules, or regulations. While there are observable fluctuations in the intensity and quantity of merchant-based trade in the Late Bronze Age, the remarkable florescence of such interactions in the Early Iron Age seems (perhaps counterintuitively) to have taken place in a weak institutional environment, where cooperative order arising from merchants themselves, rather from state regulation, enabled communication to proceed with reduced frictions.

1. Transacting as fraught interaction

The business of going about as an individual in the world is full of highly fraught encounters with our fellow humans. These encounters can be broadly defined as transactions – any action taken when an entity is transferred from one social unit to another[2]. When we conduct an economic transaction, there is much cause for worry. We worry whether the price is fair, whether the property is as advertised, and whether the quality of the merchandise is sufficient to meet our needs or standards. In response, society has devised a variety of customs, laws, enforcement methods, and modes of allocation in order to ease the anxiety that revolves around the possibility of getting a bad deal. These features are commonly known as institutions: "systems of social factors that conjointly generate a regularity of behaviour" (Grief 2006: 30).

Modern institutions often exist specifically in order to facilitate orderly exchange. Restaurants list prices clearly on the menu, so that customers can be assured that the proprietor will not upcharge them if they are looking particularly desperate for a meal. Shop owners keep a machine on hand able to scan banknotes and screen for counterfeit money. Expensive items are equipped with warranties to protect the purchaser from merchants hawking faulty or defective products. Merchants feel comfortable transporting their goods to markets for sale, because a structure of property rights and indemnity protects them from the repercussions of theft or loss along the route. In sum, modern states and economies tend to govern economic transactions through institutional rules and practices designed to ease anxiety about information asymmetries inherent to economic exchange, thus reducing transaction costs and contributing to relatively frictionless exchange (North 1990: 3-4). In addition to formal rules, there are also informal institutions, effectively customary behaviours, that govern economic exchanges (North 1990: 36-45; Posner 1996; 1997; 2000).

Of course, just as institutions change over time, the nature of transactional institutions is not fixed across cultural or state borders (Kehoe *et al.* 2015: 5). There is no option to haggle over the price of a sweater at a retail store in Canada, but fluid pricing subject to negotiation is normal in Istanbul's bazaars. In exchange for a cursory treatment at police checkpoints in Kenya, I am expected to proffer some shillings, but how much is appropriate? Such an exchange is not a part of my own culture's institutions, and the asymmetry of expectation and the uncertainty this asymmetry precipitates inevitably creates tension, as does the informality of the institution of palming guards a little money 'for a coffee'. Beyond formal differences in the institutions of exchange across cultures, our innate tendency to mistrust those who are unlike us inevitably leads me to believe that I am not likely to be swindled by transaction partners in Toronto, but suspect that I might be in a Peruvian market.

2 This definition draws from the ideas associated with Douglass North and Neoinstitutional economics, especially in its historical use for understanding the changing economic functions of institutions through time. North's work emphasises the centrality of transacting in any economic or institutional framework. See the ideas laid out in North 1990; North 2005; Brousseau & Glachant 2008.

Some economic historians conceptualise these varying constraints of transactional environments as 'rules of the game' – tending to then analyse them using game theory (*e.g.* Mahoney & Sanchirico 2003; Penard 2008[3]). However, for archaeologists, it may be more helpful to think of different transactional environments using Bourdieu's flexible concept of the 'field of practice' (Bourdieu 1990: 52-65; 1991: 37-42). According to Bourdieu (1990: 64), who also discussed human interactions in terms of a regulated game, when a transactor is operating outside of a known cultural context, she is comparable to a fish out of water, therefore increasing the sense of anxiety and uncertainty involved in any given set of circumstances (*cf.* Kehoe *et al.* 2015: 5).

So, transacting is already fraught, but transacting across fields of practice is even more so. The general points are straightforward. First, economic exchange is always governed by some kind of formal or informal institutions that allow parties to conduct exchange in an orderly fashion with minimal friction. Second, economic exchange across cultural boundaries can be challenging, because expectations about the rules governing exchange are not always aligned across cultural boundaries. All of these ideas have been developed in the context of modern economies, but the conditions under which they apply – "expensive information, structural information asymmetries (*e.g.* highly variable goods) and the perceived potential for taking advantage of those asymmetries (*i.e.* opportunism)" – were probably even more abundant among agents of exchange in prehistory, and so they may usefully be applied in a premodern context (Berdan 1989; Kehoe *et al.* 2015: 11).

2. Transacting in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean

During the Late Bronze Age, as far as we can tell, trade across cultural boundaries was relatively common, as major states (Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Hatti, Alashiya, Ahhiyawa) and smaller kingdoms (Ugarit) thrived partly through an exchange system that allowed the transfer of prestigious goods and asymmetrically distributed commodities (Tartaron 2013: 19; Monroe 2015: 7-8). Bronze Age accounts of the interactions between merchants and states, and merchants and consumers underline the fraughtness of transacting in prehistory. Already in the early 2nd millennium BCE, Old Assyrian letters from the site of Kanesh/Kultepe in Anatolia attest to the frequency disputes between merchants and the state regarding the conduct and adjudication of orderly economic processes (Michel 2001; Larson 2015: 113-120). Some of these rules specifically govern exchange across cultural boundaries, suggesting that instances of such exchange were a source of special concern. For example, one of the king's letters (Kt 79/k 101) to the colony's governance stipulates that "no Assyrian at all may sell gold to an Akkadian, an Amorite, or a Subarean". The punishment for breaking with the dictate was death. Similar documents exist from Late Bronze Age Ugarit. In the Amarna letters, an exchange between Burnaburiash and the Egyptian king demonstrates the risks inherent in a warranty-less world: Burnaburiash complains because gold sent from Egypt appeared to have been debased somewhere *en route* (EA 7, see Murray 2018: 39). Accounts from the Homeric poems, if we can take them as any kind of evidence for Early Iron Age relations between individuals and merchants, also demonstrate the *basileis'* distrust in the fidelity of those make a living primarily from exchange (*Il.* 23.740-747; *Od.* 5.445-473; *Od.* 8.160-164; *Od.* 9.125-130; *Od.* 15.41-429[4]). It is clear from these sources that merchants and traders were often viewed with suspicion by the state – as mobile individuals and individuals operating between cultural spheres, they were difficult for the state to 'see' and thus to govern.

Notwithstanding these frictions, people in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages did get on with the business of transacting. Given that these transactions were probably fraught, we might consider what kinds of institutions might have existed to enable economic exchanges between independent parties to operate across cultural boundaries. A recent and salutary trend in Mediterranean history has pivoted discussion of economic exchange away from a focus on palaces and kings and their prestige goods (the state's eye view of trade) and towards a more nuanced understanding of the role of entrepreneurial individuals – often stateless, mobile, and marginal – traders and merchants in facilitating trade (Knapp 1990; Oka & Kusimba 2008; Monroe 2013; 2015; Tandy 2015). This move has opened up fascinating avenues of research: into the role of individuals as resistors of rather than instruments

3 See also disciplinary reviews in Eggertson 1990 (economics); Hall & Taylour 1996 (history); Brinton & Nee 1998 (sociology); Thelen 1999 (political science).

4 For attitudes towards traders in the poems, see von Reden 1995, 58-76. There is a general sense in the epic that travel to unfamiliar lands could often be highly treacherous, if sometimes profitable. On perceptions of traders in the epic, see Sherratt 2010.

working for the state, the mobility of people seeking fortune through entrepreneurial exchange, and the material cultural correlates of mobile traders and merchants. With so many actors operating across sociocultural boundaries, what kinds of institutions can we detect that might have contributed to orderly exchange between merchants, traders and states in the Late Bronze Age?

There are a number of visible correlates of these institutions in the archaeological and textual record from the Palatial Late Bronze Age (Monroe 2015: 10-17). An obvious example is writing, *e.g.* the production of receipts and lists of goods that can be checked against actual goods exchanged: indeed, much of the documentary record from the Late Bronze Age consists of records of transactions (Hooker 1980: 21; Bennet 1985). Presumably the purpose of adopting writing in these contexts was primarily to "confirm ownership and to make records" of transactions (Hooker 1980: 7; *cf.* Palaima 2011). These written records provide a relatively complex and full picture of merchants' relationships with states, especially in Akkadian and Ugaritic texts from Ugarit, as Chris Monroe has shown (Monroe 2009; 2015). Sealing and writing on transport jars, likewise, would have served a valuable function in ensuring that materials reached their destinations in the state the sender intended (Catling & Millett 1965; Catling *et al.* 1980; Collon 1987: 61-62; Palaima 2000; Rehak & Younger 2000; Rubinson 2003; Monroe 2009: 62)[5]. Practices of weighing likewise speak to the development of institutions related to the mitigation of mistrust among transactants (Monroe 2009: 40-47). The development of a 'weighing koiné' can be usefully understood as a shared technological institution that allowed traders to go through with transactions while circumventing information asymmetries and preventing the practice of opportunism that goes along with them (Alberti & Parise 2005). Legal frameworks from the Late Bronze Age likewise speak to the fraught nature of transacting and efforts to assuage the anxieties that hindered states' willingness to communicate freely with their neighbours through economic mechanisms (*e.g.* RS 17.346; RS 17.146; RS 17.133).

3. Transacting in an environment with weak formal institutions

It is apparent from a review of these archaeologically identifiable correlates for institutions that might have facilitated interactions between states and merchants that they effectively encompass formal institutions; such institutions tend to be the domain of some kind of state. While evidence from the Late Bronze Age suggests that states facilitated economic transactions by way of some formal institutions, an interesting question to address is the issue of post-collapse transactions. Most of the states that we associate with Late Bronze Age transactions more or less cease to exist in the 12th c. BCE. However, exchange continued, probably undergoing a structural change that most scholars would characterise as a repositioning of trade as primarily merchant-led: (the result of individual entrepreneurial behaviour on the part of traders) rather than state-led (the result of political entities consuming, producing, and directing goods and commodities) (Sherratt & Sherratt 1991; 1993; Crielaard 2000; Sherratt 2001; Murray 2017). How was orderly exchange possible, even without strong political structures to govern it, and with the abandonment of many technologies, like writing, that might have contributed to orderly exchange? There is no evidence that writing had a role in this economy, eliminating the possibility of providing receipts or enforceable contracts among exchange partners. Standardised weights would have been difficult to trust, in the absence of any kind of official state structure enabling their certification.

In short, there is something of a paradox to be faced when we consider trade during this period. For the Postpalatial period, it is difficult to see archaeologically any kind of institutions that might have governed transactions, yet we know that the quantity and intensity of cross-cultural interaction and exchange seems to continue. Unless we are prepared to accept that transactions in the postpalatial period were essentially chaotic, ungoverned by any social order, we should conclude that some kinds of informal, materially invisible institutions continued to govern these transactions (Grief 2006: 20). In an environment lacking much evidence for visible, formal institutions of social order amongst transactors, however, it is challenging to reconstruct how these institutions might have worked. Exploring the relationship between merchants, customers, and social order in the Postpalatial Bronze

5 An inscribed cuneiform rod from Tiryns (Cohen *et al.* 2011) and inscribed clay balls from Cyprus (Vetters 2012) might conceivably have also helped to ensure that counting and accounting proceeded according to plan. However, these technologies may instead have been used as memory aides for internal use by merchants, instead of mechanisms to control information asymmetries during transactions.

Age necessarily involves wrestling with complex questions that exceed the limits of what empiricism alone can manage, introducing the need for the use of at least some theory. In making sense of the apparent thriving of trade networks in a stateless or 'state weak' world, it is helpful to draw on both the framework of neoinstitutional economics, and also on theories of social order, especially Bourdieu, whose work is fundamentally connected to the question of how people organise behaviour in the absence of explicit rules (Bourdieu 1990: 65).

I suggest that we need to refine our thinking about the way that rules and order work, both informally and formally, from the point of view of the individual, motivated actor in order to make sense of the continuation and apparent thriving of trade networks in a relatively stateless world (Adams 1992: 142). We should begin by critiquing the notion that the presence of strong states underpinned by formal rules are a requirement for the existence of orderly exchange. This position brings with it the assumption that rules really are the thing that creates order in a system. This is effectively a Hobbesian position – we need the Leviathan: the state is necessary for order, because man's natural state is to pursue his own interest, and so ungoverned communities descend into bloody wars of all against all (North *et al.* 2009: 13-21). But focusing on the presence of formal rules imposed by the state disguises the fact that, on the ground, it is not the mere presence of rules, but the willingness of individuals to follow the rules, which creates order. As Grief (2006: 31) has noted "Rules that prescribe behaviour ... do not influence behaviour unless people are motivated to follow them". Whether or not there are perceived sanctions for breaking rules, individuals will only follow rules if they feel motivated to do so. That willingness to behave in a generally predictable and regular way is what generates an orderly system. In fairness to Hobbes, it should be said that often the motivation to follow the rules comes from the fear of enforceable sanctions, *i.e*. fear of the state (North *et al.* 2009: 53). Scott (2009) has shown that individuals who do not see the state as acting in their own interests will go to considerable extent to eschew governance, and for every piece of evidence that rules existed in the Late Bronze Age, there is another suggesting that they were frequently spurned or rejected by merchants and traders. This suggests that formal institutions were not particularly effective at creating desirable levels of order in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

In the absence of easily enforceable state-sanctions, it might be preferable to reconstruct a world in which transaction partners followed a set of informal rules conducive to orderly communication and exchange because they were motivated to do so. Conducting exchange in an orderly way would make sense for merchants on either side of a transaction even in the absence of enforceable sanctions if all parties stood to gain substantively from an environment in which orderly exchange was possible (Earle 1997: 106; Dixit 2004). Comparative study of environments in which orderly exchange occurs outside systems of formal regulation suggests that the key components of such environments include (a) a shared understanding of regular behaviour, (b) adherence by individuals to expected behaviour, and (c) recurrent situations between individuals of recognisable types (Grief 1989; Clay 1997; Grief 2006; Edwards & Ogilvie 2008; Grief 2012; Terpstra 2013[6]). As Bourdieu explored at length, there are many ways in which behaviour is regulated without the existence of formal obedience to rules (Bourdieu 1990: 65).

4. Merchant communities in the Postpalatial and Early Iron Age Mediterranean

It is perhaps in light of these *desiderata* for exchange environments in scenarios of transacting outside of formal institutions that we may situate merchants and traders in Postpalatial exchange systems. In the absence of state structures or formal, reliable trading partners, the formulation of recognisable stateless merchant cultures in the Aegean would have generated a fixed, recurring role that eased anxieties around transactions exacerbated by the lack of formal institutions. So, while in the Palatial Bronze Age the fixed, recurring role of the Egyptian envoy or the merchant from Ugarit allowed transactions to take on some repeatability, in the absence of durable states, these roles were replaced with a more general cultural unit of the itinerant merchant.

The emergence of such transcultural trading communities, with recognisable, shared attributes facilitating cross-cultural exchange, effectively created a less fraught space for transacting in an environment of especially

6 On general theories and approaches to these issues of cooperative self-governance and social conventions, Lewis 1969; Cremer 1986; Elster 1989; Ellickson 1991; Dixit 2004.

weak state power (Mac Sweeney 2009; Panagiotopoulos 2011; Monroe 2018). Where they come into being, such communities tend to eventually formalise into permanent (if often marginal) communities within communities (Polanyi 1963). There are a number of potential examples of this general phenomenon in the prehistoric and early historical Mediterranean: the merchant colony of Kanesh/Kultepe (Larsen 2015), the port of Ugarit (Monroe 2009), the Naucratite trading hub in Archaic Egypt (Möller 2005). Identifying such communities purely based on the archaeological record (*i.e.* without the kind of textual evidence available from sites like Kanesh, Ugarit, or Naucratis) is challenging, but I have recently argued that the bay of Porto Rafti in East Attica might have harboured a transcultural trading community in the process of development during the immediate institutional aftermath of the Mycenaean Palatial collapse (Murray 2018). Elsewhere, Bauer has suggested that the 12th century Sea Peoples' phenomenon of the end of the Late Bronze Age represents the "emergence of decentralised maritime trade" communities rather than a military disruption (Bauer 1998: 149).

In cooperative frameworks, it has been observed that group solidarity and efficiency increases with the duration of the organisation (Saloner 1985; Cremer 1986), and so it is perhaps not surprising to observe that such communities underwent a process of solidification during the 11th and 10th centuries, emerging as the nebulous entity known as Phoenicians in the Early Iron Age. In current scholarship, the Phoenicians are increasingly being recast as this kind of community, a group of powerful outsiders who "controlled the rules of the game, that is the logic of social fields involved in creating and maintaining the information networks through which flowed wealth and power" (Monroe 2018: 230; *cf.* Noonan 2011; Quinn 2018). Perhaps because of the growing distancing of archaeology and art history (Fowles 2017) scholars of the prehistoric economy have generally ignored the importance of visual cues in structuring relations within a transacting environment, but there was probably an aesthetic vector to these communal relationships, whereby the transcultural and cosmopolitan styles in Early Iron Age material culture served to discourage Bourdieu's 'fish-out-of-water' sensation among transactors (Terpstra 2019: 33-82). Overall, there seems to be strong evidence that trading communities in prehistory could collectively form institutions that generated potential for seamless transacting even in the absence of technologies or legal frameworks to govern exchange.

When we reconstruct a stateless world of entrepreneurial, independent traders replacing or in large part operating outside of a state-centred world of exchange, we may imagine that order grew not from prescriptive dictates, *i.e.* from coercion, but through rules arising from consensus, designed by and for traders and merchants in order to facilitate successful economic exchanges necessary for their survival. Along these lines, it is plausible to reconstruct a kind of private 12th century and Early Iron Age order arising from the behaviour of transacting parties rather than from oversight by a third party. This allows us to square the circle of a seemingly unstructured exchange environment within which orderly transactions continued to occur.

Thinking of transactions along these lines also helps us to make sense of the increasingly personal nature of exchange relationships in the Early Iron Age, as evident, for example, in the Homeric poems and what seem to be material residua of gift exchange between wealthy Cypriots, Cretans, Greeks, and Etruscans in the Early Iron Age archaeological record. In the absence of formal rules for transacting it makes sense for commercial enterprise to revolve around individual relationships, where trust based on experience with an individual replaces state institutions as the prime facilitator of transactional order (Terpstra 2013: 65, 92-93). By engendering relatively smooth transactions across cultural boundaries, and thus encouraging the building of social bonds and increased communication (Agbe-Davies & Bauer 2010: 18-20), this private order ultimately paved the way for a more connected, more socially integrated Iron Age Mediterranean than was the normal state of affairs during most of the Late Bronze Age.

5. Conclusion

In sum, I contend there are insights to be gained from thinking about Postpalatial traders and merchants through the lens of the transaction. While there has been a recent trend towards reconstructing traders in the Postpalatial Mediterranean as a frightening amalgam of pirates and raiders, thinking about transactions helps us to reclaim another possibility, that although merchants and traders were self-interested in a Hobbesian sense, they also recognised the utility and desirability of orderly exchange over the pursuit of coercive transactions (*i.e.* theft and rapine). Although the absence of formal rules or state guarantees of sanctions or protections may have engendered

a certain amount of anxiety and uncertainty around exchange, we may nonetheless reconstruct the existence of a merchant community in which order grew not from prescriptive dictates, but from consensus that ensured traders and merchants could conduct exchanges beneficial for their prosperity.

Viewing Postpalatial trading communities, including those that are invisible to us except through archaeological inference and those, like the Phoenicians, that grew to be so crucial for the formation of the Early Iron Age economy, as the social agents of their own orderly system of exchange creates a new understanding of the possible explanations for the growth of exchange economies and communication in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. The development of informally recognised communities that were reliable transactors would have increasingly facilitated greater intensity and frequency of exchange as their relationships and reputations solidified over time. Instead of attributing the growth of 1st millennium economies to external political events or to the actions of states or state actors like Greek colonisers or Assyrian imperialists, this line of thinking credits the marginalised traders themselves with creating the institutional environment in which growth was possible, with tight-knit merchant communities serving as primary intermediaries of communication (Grief 2006: 24).

Another outcome of considering the evolution of institutions governing exchange across the Bronze/Iron Age transition is the revelation that institutions need not be formal to function as a salient force engendering order in the context of cross-cultural exchanges. In the current context, it is not possible to make detailed or substantive strides in developing a clear understanding of, or confidently identifying clear archaeological correlates to, the nature of social order in exchange across cultural boundaries in the LBA and EIA. However, thinking about social order may provide a helpful frame for theorising the role of merchants as motivated actors capable of working together towards common objectives and moderating trans-cultural communication, even in the absence of an imposed state apparatus.

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