

This pdf of your paper in *Of Odysseys and Oddities* belongs to the publishers Oxbow Books and it is their copyright.

As author you are licenced to make up to 50 offprints from it, but beyond that you may not publish it on the World Wide Web until three years from publication (May 2019), unless the site is a limited access intranet (password protected). If you have queries about this please contact the editorial department at Oxbow Books (editorial@oxbowbooks.com).

SHEFFIELD STUDIES IN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

ADVISORY EDITORIAL PANEL

Professor Stelios ANDREOU, University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Professor John BARRETT, University of Sheffield, England

Professor John BENNET, University of Sheffield, England

Professor Keith BRANIGAN, University of Sheffield, England

Professor Jack DAVIS, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece

Dr Peter DAY, University of Sheffield, England

Dr Roger DOONAN, University of Sheffield, England

Dr Paul HALSTEAD, University of Sheffield, England

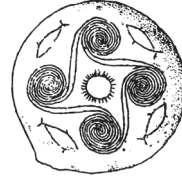
Dr Caroline JACKSON, University of Sheffield, England

Dr Jane REMPEL, University of Sheffield, England

Dr Susan SHERRATT, University of Sheffield, England

AN OFFPRINT FROM

SHEFFIELD STUDIES IN
AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY



Of Odysseys and Oddities

Scales and modes of interaction between prehistoric
Aegean societies and their neighbours

Paperback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-231-0
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-232-7 (epub)

Edited by
Barry P.C. Molloy

 **OXBOW** | books
© Oxbow Books 2016
Oxford & Philadelphia
www.oxbowbooks.com

Published in the United Kingdom in 2016 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual contributors 2016

Paperback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-231-0
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-232-7 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Molloy, Barry.

Title: Of odysseys and oddities : scales and modes of interaction between
prehistoric Aegean societies and their neighbours / edited by B.P.C. Molloy.

Description: Oxford ; Philadelphia : Oxbow Books, 2016. | Series: Sheffield
studies in Aegean archaeology | Papers from the 2013 Sheffield Aegean
Round Table. | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016007208 (print) | LCCN 2016008303 (ebook) | ISBN
9781785702310 (paperback) | ISBN 9781785702327 (digital) | ISBN
9781785702327 (epub) | ISBN 9781785702334 (mobi) | ISBN 9781785702341 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Aegean Sea Region—Antiquities—Congresses. | Prehistoric
peoples—Aegean Sea Region—Congresses. | Social interaction—Aegean Sea
Region—History—To 1500—Congresses. | Intercultural
communication—Aegean Sea Region—History—To 1500—Congresses. | Spatial
behavior—Social aspects—Aegean Sea Region—History—To 1500—Congresses.
| Material culture—Aegean Sea Region—History—To 1500—Congresses. |
Aegean Sea Region—Relations—Congresses. | Neolithic period—Aegean Sea
Region—Congresses. | Excavations (Archaeology)—Aegean Sea
Region—Congresses. | Social archaeology—Aegean Sea Region—Congresses.

Classification: LCC GN776.22.A35 O34 2016 (print) | LCC GN776.22.A35 (ebook)
| DDC 551.46/1388—dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016007208>

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any
means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and
retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in the United Kingdom by Hobbs

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

Front cover: The MBA village of Punta Milazzese on Panarea. Photograph by Helen Dawson.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	vii
1. Introduction: Thinking of Scales and Modes of Interaction in Prehistory.....	1
BARRY P.C. MOLLOY	
2. An Elite-Infested Sea: Interaction and Change in Mediterranean Paradigms	25
BORJA LEGARRA HERRERO	
3. Scales and Modes of Interaction in and beyond the Earlier Neolithic of Greece: Building Barriers and Making Connections.....	53
PAUL HALSTEAD	
4. Impressed Pottery as a Proxy for Connectivity in the Neolithic Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.....	75
ÇILER ÇILINGIROĞLU	
5. A Question of Scale? Connecting Communities through Obsidian Exchange in the Neolithic Aegean, Anatolia and Balkans.....	97
MARINA MILIĆ	
6. Salting the Roads: Connectivity in the Neolithic Balkans.....	123
DUSHKA UREM-KOTSOU	
7. Aspects of Connectivity on the Centre of the Anatolian Aegean Coast in 7th Millennium BC.....	143
BARBARA HOREJS	
8. Kanlıgeçit – Selimpaşa – Mikhalich and the Question of Anatolian Colonies in Early Bronze Age Southeast Europe.....	169
VOLKER HEYD, ŞENGÜL AYDINGÜN AND EMRE GÜLDOĞAN	
9. The Built Environment and Cultural Connectivity in the Aegean Early Bronze Age	203
OURANIA KOUKA	

10. Emerging Economic Complexity in the Aegean and Western Anatolia during Earlier Third Millennium BC	225
LORENZ RAHMSTORF	
11. Trade and Weighing Systems in the Southern Aegean from the Early Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age: How Changing Circuits Influenced Changing ‘Glocal’ Measures.....	277
MARIA EMANUELA ALBERTI	
12. ‘Brave New Worlds’: Islands, Place-making and Connectivity in the Bronze Age Mediterranean.....	323
HELEN DAWSON	
13. Nought may Endure but Mutability: Eclectic Encounters and Material Change in the 13th to 11th Centuries BC Aegean	343
BARRY P.C. MOLLOY	
14. Distributed Practice and Cultural Identities in the ‘Mycenaean’ Period.....	385
MICHAEL J. BOYD	
15. Anatolian-Aegean interactions in the Early Iron Age: Migration, Mobility, and the Movement of People.....	411
NAOÍSE MAC SWEENEY	
16. Komai, Colonies and Cities in Epirus and Southern Albania: The Failure of the Polis and the Rise of Urbanism on the Fringes of the Greek World.....	435
JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS	

Acknowledgements

The 2013 Sheffield Aegean Round Table took place during a rather frigid January with snowfalls threatening to cut our plans short. Thankfully, we had a very fruitful meeting and a lively discussion over the course of three days. Most of those who engaged in the Round Table have been able to publish their papers in the volume, though the event was much enhanced by the oral contributions of John Bennet, Sue Sherratt, Sara Strack and Roger Doonan. We were also fortunate to have Kristian Kristiansen deliver a thought (and discussion) provoking keynote address and our meeting concluded with an eloquent final discussion by John Barrett.

The event took place during a Marie Curie Fellowship that the editor held at the University of Sheffield 2011–2013. I was very fortunate to work with and learn from Roger Doonan during this period. Along with acting as mentor for the fellowship, he co-organised the Round Table event with me and played a key role in designing the research agenda for the event and this publication. Thank you also to all of the student helpers who made the event run so smoothly. The Round Table is generously supported by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, to whom we are most grateful.

The Sheffield Aegean Round Table is a type of event that is relatively rare these days, as it takes place in a relaxed atmosphere where people freely speak their minds. This is really made possible through the welcoming environment that is created by Debi Harlan, Valasia Isaakidou and John Bennet. The home baked fare that they so kindly made on the opening night (thanks also to Vuka Milić) set the guests up for a very comfortable and enjoyable event. Debi and John also hosted all of the guests at their home the next evening, making a very memorable climax to the convivial environment that makes the Round Tables such unique events.

The panel of reviewers, including many of the contributors, provided invaluable advice that was vital in bringing this volume to publication, for which we are grateful. I would finally wish to express my gratitude to the participants at the event and contributors to this volume who made the entire process so stimulating. It was indeed testimony to our aspiration to work across political and traditional boundaries that have influenced Aegean archaeology that we had participants representing eleven nationalities from institutions on three continents. A final note on behalf of the authors is that papers in this volume were submitted in 2013 and 2014, and as a consequence many will be missing citations to some important more recent publications.

Chapter 14

Distributed Practice and Cultural Identities in the ‘Mycenaean’ Period

Michael J. Boyd

Concepts of Mycenaean identity

This paper will consider the usefulness of the term ‘Mycenaean’. In particular, it addresses how our varied understandings of it may relate to past realities experienced by widely dispersed actors and entities. It will assess if at any time in the past, a concept like our modern notion of ‘Mycenaean’ was current. Fundamentally, the underlying issue to be explored is whether people, groups, or artefacts identified or identifiable by this or a similar epithet. In relation to the theme of scales and modes of interaction at the heart of this volume, the contribution addresses the relevance of the local scale negotiation of identity through modes of dealing with the dead using a range of case-studies from the Aegean later Bronze Age. This is relevant in approaching questions of wider social frameworks of cultural and ethnic identity in prehistory, including those emerging from our own research traditions.

The term ‘Mycenaean’ emerged in the earliest days of the discipline, and its proper reconsideration would involve a historiographical excursus (see Burns 2010: 41–72), which is not the purpose of this chapter. But it is important to question what we mean today when we use the term as freely as we sometimes do. In the abstract for the colloquium from which this volume arose, contributors were invited to consider scales and modes of interaction, spatial and temporal gradations of influence, sub-regions or composite entities – in other words to employ a discerning subtlety for which the term and concepts of ‘Mycenaean’ might seem bluntly unsuited. ‘Mycenaean’ may be used as shorthand for a chronological period, or for certain styles of pottery or other material culture; but it is also widely employed as a cultural term, in the traditional archaeological sense (Childe 1929; 1933; cf. Jones 1997: 15–26), and even as an ethnic term (Davis and Bennet 1999: 112). More ‘neutral’ period and geographic designations such as ‘Late Bronze Age’ or ‘third palace period’ (Dickinson 1994) are used more rarely because they mask the *intended* (though usually ill-defined) cultural or ethnic sense of ‘Mycenaean’.

The subject of this volume is connectivity and interaction, and individual ‘Mycenaean’ traits or the complete Mycenaean ‘package’ are certainly evidence of that. Demonstrating connectivity is straightforward but interpretation much less so: connectivity can be demonstrated in many different periods over varying regions, but it is not often used to demonstrate an identity or even ethnicity as persistently and specifically as it has been in the Mycenaean case. Yet the Mycenaean identities seen to arise from the material evidence of the Late Helladic world have not often been explicitly examined. A recent paper (Feuer 2011) takes up this challenge. ‘Identity’ can refer to different individual and group attributes or characteristics, some more fluid than others (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005); an investigation of the ongoing creation and reproduction of Mycenaean *identities* through the manipulation of symbolic materials in practice could be sensitive to variation in time and place. Yet Feuer argues much more specifically for the appropriateness of ‘Mycenaean’ as an ethnic term: as a clear modern reflection of a past ethnic reality. The past reality of a Mycenaean ethnic group is for him self-evident, and he asks, for example, ‘Could one choose to be Mycenaean’, or ‘How did the people we today term ‘Mycenaean’ come into existence?’ (Feuer 2011: 507). That a people called the Mycenaean existed as a point of historical fact is a given. He argues that through ‘ethnogenesis’ the Mycenaean ethnic identity was created by elite groups in the Early Mycenaean period: he equates Mycenaean ethnicity with the ruling class, a group either already ethnically distinct, or transformed into a separate ethnic group in the process of creating a distinct elite Mycenaean identity marked by features such as tholos tombs, palaces, iconography and writing. This process of ‘ethnogenesis’ was catalysed by contacts with Crete: “these mainland Proto-Mycenaeans first became Minoanized during Middle Helladic III and Late Helladic I before becoming Mycenaean through the process of ethnogenesis” (Feuer 2011: 529). In many ways this is a forceful reassertion of mainstream positions of the twentieth century (*e.g.* Caskey 1960; *cf* the more nuanced analysis in Davis and Bennet 1999).

The recognition of ethnicity, and indeed of identity more generally, in prehistoric periods is widely regarded as methodologically challenging (Jones 1997; Emberling 1997). The presumption of a common identity for Early Minoan Crete, for example, has recently been challenged: Legarra Herrero notes that “a continuum of possibilities’ lies ‘between the traditional perception of a homogeneous... culture and... [separate] human populations with completely different traits co-existing...” (2009: 31–32). In many prehistoric examples, most expressions of identity will fall within this ‘continuum of possibilities’ rather than in the two extremes. Broodbank, in considering a possible Minoan ethnicity, suggests “the chances of identifying ethnic groups and boundaries in prehistory are in fact vanishingly thin” (2004: 52). In the present case, Feuer’s argument hinges on three assumptions: first, his assertion that there was a historical Mycenaean ethnicity; second that what he calls ‘ethnic markers’ – palaces, Linear B, tholos tombs and so on – would have been

widely understood in the past as indicating such an identity; and third that the distribution of these markers defines a homogeneous 'ethnic' region in space. One aim of this paper is to examine evidence which might undermine these assumptions. One basic problem with mapping the spread of sets of 'ethnic markers' and drawing boundaries around them is that the maps do nothing to explain the adoption and employment in practice and subsequent development of those traits in specific local or regional circumstances. In a more nuanced analysis Burns notes Hall's assertion that "the association of objects with ethnic categories is neither self-evident nor stable" (Burns 2010: 42; Hall 2002). Broodbank notes that "even if specific elements of material culture did gain emblematic status... the choice of such elements is extremely hard to ascertain even when other information sources suggesting the existence of ethnic groups are available, and effectively impossible if the data consist entirely of patterns of spatial variation in material culture, that might signify a variety of social, economic or other processes" (2004: 53). Mac Sweeney (2009: 106) notes a "current problem where group identities are unthinkingly ascribed to patterns in material culture, and where ethnicity is assumed to lie at their root". A related problem is the assumption of correlation between material culture distribution and common linguistic traits (Davis and Bennet 1999: 113).

Objects and other aspects of context, such as architecture, as material structural conditions, are implicated in practice, which may be both constrained and enabled by them (Barrett 2000). For Feuer, being Mycenaean is the replication of practice: it is to live in a palace or bury in a tholos tomb. The combination of practice and material structural conditions is a basic unit of archaeological study within which it is possible to examine evidence for connectivity and sometimes to question notions of identity. However, the coarse replication of material and architectural forms does not in itself demonstrate conscious replication of practice, and indeed the replication of dominant meanings or ideologies. In particular, as hinted above, we might question how nuanced and diverging identities were created and reproduced in practice (Lucy 2005). Mac Sweeney's approach to the instantiation of group identities seems particularly relevant here: "a form of ideology that must be actively created, negotiated and ascribed to through social practice" (2009: 105). However, with an emphasis on variation in practice, the creation of variable and contextually-specific group identities may offer a useful approach to the study of connectivity in Late Bronze Age.

This paper examines manifestations of one such field of practice in selected areas of the Aegean in order to face this question. This coverage is not meant to be even or exhaustive: instead, the areas are chosen to highlight differing trajectories in the adoption and employment of traits at different local and regional scales, and questioning the possible expressions of identity produced as a result of adherence to, deviation from and recreation of practices and symbolic forms in differing circumstances.

Being and becoming Mycenaean in death?

The field of practice in question is that of mortuary practices. Although mortuary practices are somewhat removed from everyday experience, the mortuary field is the obvious choice as, alongside pottery, it is the only facet of the more common definitions of ‘Mycenaean’ which is maintained throughout this long period. Other aspects – the palaces, texts, or perhaps aspects of cult and iconography – are only really evidenced in the late Mycenaean period. So not only do mortuary practices have the advantage of longevity, but if there were a period of ‘becoming Mycenaean’, archaeologically this can only be addressed through mortuary practices and pottery. Mortuary practices have the advantage of letting us begin at the beginning. As a field of practice, it offers opportunities for demonstrative practice in communally expressed action which may draw on non-routine knowledge, materials and symbols and thus may be used to marshal and channel notions of group identity.

The study of mortuary practices in the Aegean has been undergoing a renaissance. For the mainland the work of Voutsaki has emphasised the creation of Mycenaean elite identity through conspicuous funerary consumption (Voutsaki 1995; 1997; 1998; 1999; 2010). However, the glittering attraction of the Mycenae shaft graves sometimes detracts from the breadth of the data. Mycenaean funerary practices can tell us about more than just the concerns of the elite (Papadimitriou 2011), but curiosities more voyeuristic than forensic have led to methodological emphases on elite and ‘pristine’ contexts, and the often woeful recording of ‘disturbed’ or ‘poor’ contexts. As Barrett has said, “we must confront the full diversity of our data... [through] a theoretically competent framework designed to expose the nature of specific practices” (Barrett 1988: 32). Approaches to Mycenaean funerary practice have too often been top-down, with the evidence being aggregated into typological groupings whose presence might indicate certain states of being, roles or social structures (generally with an elite emphasis). The structuring of assemblages in typological rather than contextual nexus can leave the data struggling to surprise us, or tell us anything we didn’t already know (Boyd 2014a). A bottom-up approach that centres on the material conditions of human practice would allow us to theorise variation as well as conformity. An emphasis on variability allows us to acknowledge repeated and stereotypical forms and practices as widely and variably understood and developing resources of symbolic representation, rather than as essential components of a reified concept. These forms and practices were inherent in multiple modes of mortuary architecture, material culture and practice, emphasising the range of symbolic resources within which different groups chose to situate themselves. Approached in this manner, we open the way to more nuanced notions of identity through the differential adoption of certain practices across time and space.

Framework of practice

In order to begin it is essential briefly to review developments in mortuary forms and practices in the Peloponnese around the end of the Middle Helladic period and

into the Late Helladic – the formative period for Mycenaean identity, if such terms are appropriate. These five developments, which I have analysed in detail elsewhere (Boyd 2016) and so will only briefly review here, occur broadly simultaneously, and it is not clear that any one precipitated any other. Once established, they underpinned much of the mortuary activity for the remainder of the Bronze Age (although their adoption was not accomplished at the same rate in all areas, and cannot be detected in some regions, as discussed below). However, my point here is not simply to produce a more tightly defined version of what death and burial meant in 'the Mycenaean world', nor is it my contention that these developments are in themselves indicative of Mycenaean identity. Instead I am sketching a framework within which to understand human action and especially variation through time and space, and within which it may be possible to address connectivity, interaction and identity.

The five areas of development are: first, new tomb types which changed the possibilities for action during funerals and other interventions; second, the introduction of collective burial; third, the development of a rich variety of secondary treatments of funerary contexts; fourth, significant developments in the use of material culture in funerary contexts; and fifth, the creation of funerary landscapes.

Let us begin with architecture. New tomb types were developed in the Middle Helladic III period (Boyd 2002, 54–64). Their evolving design enabled specific aspects of funerary practice, while constraining others. Prior to this, most Middle Helladic grave types, including shaft graves, shared the characteristic of being more or less elaborate holes in the ground whose scale was prompted by that of the corpse (Boyd 2002: 92). The new types were designed to accommodate the ingress and activities of the mourners, as well as the corpse. The construction of reusable tombs facilitated not only the actions of a group of mourners in the deposition phase of a funeral, but also allowed for and constrained movement and circulation between interior and exterior space over potentially extended periods of time, including beyond the timeframe of a single funeral.

These architectural innovations facilitated practice in two areas. Previously, during a funeral, at the end of the procession stage, the acts at the graveside and the interment itself were conducted in plain view of the mourners. A crowd of mourners may sometimes have restricted viewpoints: some Middle Helladic burials took place on the raised stage of a tumulus in order to counteract this (Boyd 2002: 80). The acts were accessible from multiple angles, and the architecture of simpler graves neither facilitated nor constrained the movements of those involved. The new types of tomb consisted of hidden chambers either built of stone and covered by a prominent mound (tholos tombs), or dug underground (chamber tombs). These chambers were approached by a closable doorway (stomion), and usually this doorway itself was at the end of a narrow passageway (dromos). This created a very directed, very narrow focus, and served to facilitate two groups among the mourners – those few who could fit inside the tomb to observe or

direct proceedings, and the larger number remaining outside – though during the proceedings no doubt there would be considerable interchange between these groups (Boyd *in press*; Papadimitriou 2011).

Beyond the funeral itself, these new tomb types facilitated re-entry, both for future funerals but also for other activities. This relates to the second area of innovation, the introduction of collective burial. Middle Helladic burials had always shown a strong sense of association: not only between burials, often grouped together, but also through focus on certain locales, such as a burial mound, or a disused part of settlement. However, graves were not designed or usually intended for reuse: although instances of reuse exist (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 31 note 100), many Middle Helladic graves were single inhumations. The new tomb forms created a specific collective space for interment. The innovation of collective interment involved far-reaching changes in the flow of activity in funerary practice, opening up opportunities on several fronts. At the start of the process, the choice was now more often to reopen an existing tomb rather than to dig a new one; this of necessity involved engagement with the material remains of prior activity in the tomb. This may have prompted the development of up to three stages in secondary treatment of material within the tombs (the third area of innovation). These three opportunities, not necessarily evidenced at all times and places, were first, interaction with and rearrangement of material on reopening the tomb prior to the interment; second, the production of a new arrangement of material, including the corpse, at the end of a funeral; and third, the opportunity to return to the tomb at a time other than during a funeral to carry out further activities.

All three of these were opportunities for meaningful engagement with the material remains of the past, not merely to be dismissed as expedient activity involving ‘cleaning’ or ‘sweeping aside’. Without secondary treatment, in many tombs after one or two interments it would become very difficult to move freely without damaging funerary contexts. These tombs would have been quite unsuitable if their purpose were to hold multiple, intact interment contexts. Instead, the tombs facilitated and encouraged practices of interference with material on almost every visit. Interaction with and rearrangement of material became one of the foremost aspects of funerary activity.

A fourth key aspect of mortuary practice was the use of a much wider range of material culture than during preceding periods (Boyd 2014a). Broadly speaking, artefacts were utilised in one of three categories of practice. Some items relate to the laying out or presentation of the corpse: items such as jewellery or dress ornaments may have been fixed as part of the corpse’ raiment away from the tomb, at the graveside, or within the chamber. A second group of items – often weaponry – were not fixed to the corpse but nonetheless relate to its presentation. These may often have been introduced as part of the production of the interment context within the tomb during the latter stages of the funeral. The final group of material evidences activities not directly related to the corpse. In many cases drinking and pouring vessels

are the primary representatives in this category, both within the tomb and outside its entrance. None of these were new categories of practice, but previously each had been much less common, if not rare; and their co-occurrence is a new feature.

The final aspect of practice is the inhabitation of a new kind of funerary landscape. While isolated tombs are known, most were built in close proximity to each other. Procession is an aspect central to almost any funeral, dictated by the need to move the corpse to the place of burial (Boyd in press). It was certainly an aspect of Middle Helladic practice (Boyd 2002: 39). But the clustering of tholos and chamber tombs facilitated procession through an ancestral landscape, which became an active means to experience, create or rediscover relationships between groups in a landscape full of mnemonic points of reference (Galanakis 2011; for Wright, 2008: 147–148, the inscription of family sub-groups and their place in the community). The act of moving to the grave may sometimes have come to include visits to other tombs where the material remains of past acts might have been redeployed within the present context, allowing for the active participation of different groups, making manifest relations between the mourners. Beyond the funeral itself, ancestral landscapes were still present in many everyday routes of movement. Aside from a few instances where roads have been detected, tombs are by far the commonest evidence we have for landscape routes: in some cases, it would scarcely have been possible to approach a habitation site without negotiating a landscape of tombs.

This is the framework of practice within which any notions of Mycenaean or other identity would have been articulated. The variability in adoption of or reference to aspects of this framework is the space within which we may question broader and narrower questions of identity. What follows is a regional and chronological overview aimed at addressing these questions. We begin with the Peloponnese, often regarded as the Mycenaean heartland, and then move on to selected regions that would normally be regarded as more peripheral.

The Peloponnese

It is well-known by now that the first tholos tombs appeared in Messenia in Middle Helladic III (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 44; Boyd 2002: 55), and indeed it is still unclear, recent discoveries notwithstanding, that any tholos tombs were built beyond that region's borders before Late Helladic II (for the Corinth tholos, see Kasimi 2013; Servais and Servais-Soyez 1984 for Thorikos; Boyd 2002: 187 and references for Samiko). I have argued elsewhere, following the lead of Korres (Korres 1996; Korres 2011; Boyd 2002: 54–56), that tholos tombs were first invented on a small scale as constructed improvements on pithos burials in tumuli, but quickly underwent a secondary transformation, becoming larger and dominating the funerary monument, with usually only a single tomb within each mound. These rapid architectural changes were driven by the changing funerary practices just outlined, while at the same time the new possibilities presented by architectural developments also drove changes

in funerary practices, accelerating the process. Funerary activity within all five of the key areas sketched above can be demonstrated in Messenia at the Middle-Late Bronze Age transition.

It is interesting to compare Messenia with the Argolid at this time, and first with the site of Mycenae in particular. The shaft graves seem so emblematic of twentieth century notions of Mycenaean identity that it is important to be reminded of how anomalous they are. In the field of tomb design, far from adopting the reusable forms appearing elsewhere, the 'Mycenaean Mycenaeans' went down an entirely different route of innovation (Boyd 2015; Papadimitriou 2011). The innovation of the shaft grave was the roof above the burial in the lower part of the shaft; the reason for this innovation may have been to preserve intact and undisturbed the funerary tableau created during the interment process (Boyd 2015). The tombs were not designed for reuse: in early instances where reuse does take place we see a number of responses which make it clear that meaningful engagement with the remains of prior burials was not embraced as part of the ritual framework. Instead, burial contexts were often fairly carefully moved aside, with an intent to keep their material together in a recognisable part of the tomb, and not mix contexts (*e.g.* graves Λ2, I and Ξ: Mylonas 1973). Later in the sequence, shaft graves were made larger so that three or four burials could take place, each having its own space on the floor. So the practices evidenced in the shaft graves differ from the basic framework I have set out above: collective burial was often not intended, except for some of the latest graves; and secondary treatments were entirely different in nature to those attested in the graves of Messenia and elsewhere at this time, or to widespread later practice.

However, innovations in funerary discourse were taking place elsewhere in the Argolid. At Argos, Papadimitriou has shown that all of the burial traits I have outlined were in operation at least by LH I (Papadimitriou 2001a, 2001b). There are two examples of what he calls 'built chamber tombs' – small built tombs with a bipartite or tripartite design not unlike the tholos and chamber tombs. Closer to Mycenae, at Prosymna at least three chamber tombs seem to have been in use in LH I (Blegen 1937; Shelton 1996); there are also suggestions of two further LH I chamber tombs at Schoinohori (Dickinson 1977: 64) and Kokla (Demakopoulou 1993: 59–60).

So, not only were the Mycenae shaft graves anomalous in terms the framework of practice I have sketched, they were also surrounded by sites where the new funerary practices had begun to be adopted. This brings us to a central point about Late Bronze Age burial practices. The activities at the shaft graves clearly speak of an elite, and the case is often further made that burial in tholos tombs as well as some chamber tombs should be taken as evidence of elite activity and particularly elite self-representation. Because of this inferred elite status, activity at these different sites is often treated as interchangeable: although the details of practice may differ, we can still class the activity as 'elite' and hence infer comparable hierarchical organisation at different sites. The disregard for the details of contextualised practice again creates the position where difference is downplayed in favour of a normative synthesis. This is

a misreading of the evidence. While the later burials in the Mycenae shaft graves can scarcely be understood as other than elite, elsewhere the evidence is clear: changes in burial practice were not first developed among rarified social groups which were then emulated further down the hierarchy. They were developed and adopted widely, and their use in what we might call elite contexts is a secondary aspect of adoption.

Mycenae itself is an interesting example of this (Boyd 2015; Wright 2008, 147). In LH I burials that embraced the new framework of practice had begun to encroach ever closer to the site: Prosymna, as mentioned, and then the Kalkani hill, close to the existing Mycenae cemetery, but separated from it by the Panayia ridge. One or more chamber tombs were probably built in the Kalkani hill in LH I, although the evidence is ambiguous, and it could be argued, in the case of tomb 518 for example, that the few LH I items found therein could have been introduced during LH II, and thus may not reflect the date of construction accurately (Blegen 1937: 261; Wilkie 1992: 247; Boyd 2002: 87; Boyd 2014b). Nonetheless, whether late in LH I or early in LH II, chamber tombs and then impressive tholos tombs were being built and used in the peripheral regions of Mycenae. This alternative mortuary discourse, effectively alien to the practices evidenced at the shaft graves, brought about the end of that sequence, and impelled those carrying out funerals close to the Mycenae acropolis to adopt the same practices now used around them. To continue to differentiate themselves, they built bigger, finer tombs designed to draw in the largest group of people possible; in scale they misunderstood the point as their huge tombs dominated the landscape and the individual human as she approached and entered. But despite their impressiveness, the tholos tombs of Aegisthus and the Lion represented the capitulation of one group in the face of the irrelevance of the practices they had promoted to wider society, in which new groups found favour in promoting their alternative discourses.

In this case we turn Feuer's (2011) argument of Mycenaean elite ethnogenesis on its head. It was the elite at Mycenae who were late to the party, who had to adopt the 'Mycenaean' practices that others were promoting. If there is a core 'Mycenaean' identity to be found in these practices, at the site of Mycenae it was adopted, not innate, and the groups burying in the shaft graves were the last of the classes or factions at Mycenae to adopt it. In doing so they reimagined the framework through their particular concerns. This late adaptation underlines the diffuse origins of these practices. It is also just one instance of the variable take-up of these practices notable throughout the Peloponnese. The question of the proportion of members of society who might expect chamber or tholos burial has often been debated (Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Dickinson 1983), but it is clear that this proportion varied considerably in time and space. The possibility of burial in a chamber or tholos tomb was open to different numbers of people in different contexts, and this suggests questions of social and corporate group membership – identity – which differed widely (and thus could only very loosely, and not exclusively, have related to ethnicity).

Turning therefore to look at the adoption of these practices elsewhere, it is interesting to contrast the seeming eagerness of some communities to adopt many of

the aspects of this package of practice, and to think about the variation in take-up and in implementation. In Messenia, most of the earliest tombs were built in pre-existing Middle Helladic mounds, and hence into an established, and developing, funerary landscape (Boyd 2002: 56). Isolated tombs remained rare throughout; instead groups of two to five were often the norm, with these groups often loosely associated in a wider landscape. By LH II there was a concentration of sites in the Argolid, where besides the tholos tombs at Mycenae and a handful of other sites, chamber tombs began to be used in cemeteries. These early, and small, chamber tomb cemeteries presage their widespread adoption and enlargement in LH III.

Beyond the Argolid and Messenia, adoption is piecemeal. A few individual sites appear elsewhere in the Peloponnese (as well as in Attica and in Boeotia), mostly LH II in date and in many cases again precursors to the explosion of chamber tomb use in LH III (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: fig. 5.3). However, when those LH II outliers were built, they were themselves isolated examples. Such isolated tombs did not in themselves express community burial practices, but rather the idiosyncratic actions of the early-adopters. The well-known tholos tomb at Vapheio (Tsountas 1899), for example, required the import of an architect to create a version of the impressive tombs of the Argolid or Messenia. This tomb stood in isolation, not built into an existing funerary landscape, nor encouraging the creation of one around it. The burial within it also only partly engaged with the framework of practice under discussion: the burial context was preserved in its cist and the remains were neither disinterred nor reused in any activity after the funeral, even though later activity in the tomb did occur (taphonomic processes accounted from the loss of bone material, but the other material was undisturbed). This recalls more the shaft graves than the usual practices of tholos tombs: one may speculate (given the lack of excavation evidence) that similar practices may have occurred in the great tholos tombs of Mycenae, at least initially – the depositional aspects of shaft grave practice may have simply been transferred to the interior of the tombs. The practices at Vapheio suggest, initially at least, the inclinations of a particular group whose control of the action was not ceded to any wider, communal grouping, and where no cemetery of chamber tombs was encouraged, or allowed, to grow around this tomb. Vapheio may well be an example of simple emulation with little significant input from existing local practice.

Many of the more elaborate tholos tombs of LH II may indeed have been encouraged by emulation between corporate or social groups, perhaps ‘elite’ in nature, even some in Messenia, such as Peristeria 1. However not all of the isolated adoptions of this period fall into this category. The chamber tombs of Epidauros Limira (Dickinson 1977: 63–64; Boyd 2002: 206–208; Gallou 2009), for example, have no obviously ‘elite’ features. Their adoption in this remote corner of the Peloponnese may be considered in the light of developments in Messenia, the Argolid, and to the south in Kythera and Crete, although local factors have recently also been emphasised (Gallou 2009). It is unknown how many of the tombs date to LH II as those excavated continued in use in LH III, and it is said that ‘more than 100’ are to be found nearby (Gallou 2009: 88).

However the early adoption in this case is understood, elite emulation is not a likely explanation. In terms of burial practice, as far as can be understood from the limited evidence, the use of these chamber tombs falls within the framework of practice under discussion without significant deviation.

Moving into LH III, the spread of chamber tomb cemeteries is well-documented (Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Dickinson 1983). However a lack of homogeneity is apparent even from a glance at their distribution (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: fig. 6.3): distinct clusters are apparent in Messenia, Elis, Achaea, and in the Argolid; beyond the Peloponnese, they are common in southern Attica, in eastern Boeotia and central Euboea, and farther afield in Kephallonia; elsewhere they are found less commonly in Fthiotida and Phokis, and in the other areas of the Peloponnese numbers are sparse, while elsewhere on the mainland they are rare. Farther afield in the Aegean significant numbers are located on Rhodes and Crete. Geography is obviously part of the explanation for these distribution patterns. But it is also the case that communities of practice grew in some places where elsewhere they simply did not. Regions of long-lived, widespread practice existed beside other areas where Mycenaean burial practices are hardly attested (Cavanagh 2008: 330–331).

In the southwest Peloponnese in LH I-II, as already noted, numerous tombs and cemeteries were in use: these mostly continue into LH III, although fewer new tombs and cemeteries come into use (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 77–78). In the northwest, in Elis and Achaea, the picture is very different. In LH I-II, apart from the southern part of Elis, most of this large area has very little evidence for any burial practices; in LH III, however, there is an explosion of chamber tomb cemeteries in two distinct clusters, one centred on southern Elis, and the other in Achaea. The choice in LH III of the chamber tomb, dug out of the ground, rather than the built tholos tomb, differentiates these northwestern areas from Messenia: although there are some very early chamber tombs in Messenia at Volimithia, (and in LH III there are some very significant chamber tomb cemeteries in the east of Messenia at Ellinika), in general the form never became common there, and there are none in the northern part of Messenia. Moreover, the explosion of chamber tomb building in the northwest Peloponnese was taking place at the same time that tomb construction was winding down in Messenia (Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 63–64; Boyd 2002: 213), although mortuary activity did continue in many of those that were already in existence (Zavadil 2013: 239–242). The burial practices of Messenia in LH III had become much less relevant to its neighbours than those of more distant areas such as the Argolid, Attica and Boeotia.

Explanations for the anomalous situation in Messenia have centred on the possibility that emergent palatial elites sought to manipulate manifestations of authority by directly controlling the construction and use of tholos tombs (Bennet 2007). Bennet also notes a general lack of objects of “cultural and intrinsic value” in LH III contexts in Messenian tombs, which he suggests results from palatial control of the funerary sphere, and a move away from conspicuous consumption in view of the lack of competition for authority. It might also be noted that the two tombs

he postulates as constructed under palatial authority, tholos III at Englianos, and tholos M1 at Nichoria (if indeed it was built in LH III: Boyd 2014b; Zavadil 2013: 425), are architecturally relatively modest and lack the pretensions of some large early tholoi of Messenia, such as Englianos IV and Peristeria I (see also Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 64). In LH III at Mycenae the great tholos tombs now named after Atreus and Klytemnaestra demonstrate a quite different trajectory for elite funerary practices. But the general paucity even of architecturally modest tomb construction in Messenia in LH III is also a significant contrast with other areas. The great tholoi of Mycenae were accompanied by a swelling funerary landscape composed of at least 27 cemeteries of more than 250 tombs (Shelton 2003). At Englianos only a few chamber tombs were constructed (Murphy 2014), and as noted above great cemeteries of chamber tombs were not widely initiated in LH III elsewhere in Messenia: some of the tombs at Volimithia might have been constructed in LH III, although the suspicion must be that many were built in the Early Mycenaean period (Boyd 2002: 144–145), and other chamber tombs in Messenia tend to be found individually or in very small groups, with the important exception of the impressive Ellinika cemetery (Zavadil 2013: 274–287). The early chamber tombs at Volimithia (along with the formally similar examples at Pellana in Laconia) seem symbolically to reference tholos tombs much more explicitly than most later chamber tombs do, and so emphasise once again the possibilities for practice created by such spaces, rather than their mode of construction.

Continuing funerary activity, but with a much reduced emphasis on new tomb construction, may be seen as one possible outcome of long-term funerary activity within the framework of practice set out previously. Given the emphasis on the ancestors (Boyd 2016), the active maintenance of many existing tombs suggests the greater importance of local factors in funerary practice rather than the influence of the LH III palatial hierarchy. The lack of funerary emphasis on Englianos in LH III is a marked point of contrast with the Argolid. In Messenia in LH III burial practices remained a distributed and relatively low-key aspect of wider society and seem not to have been of much concern to the palatial sphere. In the Argolid, on the other hand, both the overall numbers of tombs increased markedly, drawing in ever wider groups to participate in funerary practices, and through the great tombs at Mycenae, as well as the ever-expanding cemeteries there, funerary activity was closely associated with the routine ritual practices of that site, while perhaps drawing in participants from different social groups.

Both of these areas contrast again with the northwest Peloponnese. Here Mycenaean funerary practices begin with the remarkable sites of Portes in Achaea (Kolonas 2009) and Samiko in Elis (Yialouris 1965; Papakonstandinou 1981, 1982, 1983; Boyd 2002: 186–189), both of which are small, complex cemeteries including tumuli (at Portes) or grave enclosures (at Samiko) with subsequent tholos tombs (and, at Portes, other built tombs, and chamber tombs). Samiko is close to the border with Messenia and may well be regarded as within the wider Messenian community of practice (Eder 2011). Portes, however, seems much more isolated. In both these areas,

however, until LH III, other evidence for Mycenaean burial practices is almost absent. Nonetheless in LH III chamber tomb burial quickly became a widely-adopted practice that drew in communities and groups. While aspects of social exclusion may have been at work, and not everyone was buried in a chamber tomb, there can be no suggestion that these are purely elite practices. At Kallithea, for example, in Achaea, a cemetery initiated by building a tholos tomb soon became much larger through the construction of numerous chamber tombs. Even if it could be shown that the tholos was purely representative of the elite, which must be questionable, in any case it is clear that a large subset of the community was able through LH III to take part in burial practices here. It is often (though certainly not always) the case that Peloponnesian chamber tomb cemeteries are not the result of socially highly-restricted burial practices, but drew in a much wider segment of their communities (a point originally made by Mee and Cavanagh: 1978).

Thessaly

In Thessaly, the picture is rather different (Voutsaki 1993; Adrimi-Sismani 2007; Papadimitriou 2008). Feuer regards it as a “zone of decreasing integration” (2011: 525). There is no evidence for the development of burial practices within the framework of practice referred to above during the early Mycenaean period. Moreover, there is virtually no Mycenaean pottery – imported or local – in use during this period. Instead, beginning in LH IIB but really taking off in LH IIIA1, we see a wholesale importation of cultural traits: burial practices and pottery at the same time. However, instead of large chamber tomb cemeteries, tholos tombs were constructed with an energy that is unmatched farther south where far fewer tholos tombs were being built by this time. Within a small area around Dimini and Volos, at least four large tholos tombs were built. In these tombs there is a complete shift from prior practice to embrace collective burial, secondary treatment, the use of material culture, and so on. There are also indications of local peculiarities, such as a scarcity of drinking vessels (Voutsaki 1993: 111), indicating less emphasis on drinking or toasting rituals; and ritual burning of bones as part of the secondary treatment after disarticulation has been demonstrated for the recently excavated Kasanaki tholos, and was probably the case in the two Dimini tholoi as well (Adrimi-Sismani 2007; Galanakis forthcoming). Meanwhile at several other sites smaller tholos tombs were constructed and used in small groups throughout LH IIIA and B, and sometimes continuing into LH IIIC. Very few chamber tombs were constructed and used in Thessaly.

In this case, it could be argued that those building and using the large tholoi were acting in conscious imitation of their counterparts farther south: as part of a construction of identity, entailing not only pottery but also burial customs, and at the same time some (but not all) aspects of a palatial system, the latter introduced during LH IIIA and maintained in LH IIIB (Adrimi-Sismani 2007). The relationships between sites and thus between different groups is a matter of discussion, with some

favouring the identification of Dimini as a palatial site in the mould of Mycenae or Pylos at the top of a settlement hierarchy (Adrimi-Sismani 2007); others suggest more diffuse relations between sites (Papadimitriou 2008; Pantou 2010; Feuer 2011). In this regard the smaller tholos tombs built in numbers at several sites surrounding the Dimini and Volos area are of great interest. It would be difficult to argue that these were built as an adoption or imitation of 'Mycenaean' practices farther south, as rather few tholos tombs were being built at this time, and even fewer in the very small size relevant here. It seems obvious that these were inspired principally by the larger tholos tombs of the Volos area, most of whose construction dates are early enough in the Thessalian sequence to play that role (Papadimitriou 2008). Yet although we seem therefore to have a handful of 'elite' tombs near Volos and some more modest tombs in the surrounding area, the overall number is very low, and thus compares badly with areas such as the Argolid where much larger numbers of tombs (in the form of chamber tombs, which are very rare in Thessaly) were in use. This suggests that the smaller tholos tombs of Thessaly were nonetheless quite restricted in their demographic. Hence the processes of adoption and use of these burial practices in Thessaly seem quite different to those farther south: whereas elsewhere burial practices were driven by wider communities, with sometimes the elite trailing behind innovation, in Thessaly the opposite may have been the case, with new burial practices trialled in the upper echelons of widely dispersed groups, and perhaps ultimately not penetrating very deeply into everyday use.

Crete

Cretan mortuary practices have been cited in relation to possible Mycenaean presence or control at Knossos, both in general terms in relation to the supposed importation of Mycenaean burial practices, and more particularly in terms of the 'warrior burials' (Popham 1974; Macdonald 1984; neither author takes a definitive view). Laura Preston has challenged this analysis and cast the adoption of new burial practices in LM II at Knossos very much in terms of local elite activity (Preston 1999, 2005, 2007), specifically 'status advertisement', and indeed sees the subsequent adoption of varied burial practices over the rest of the island in LM III also in terms of the actions of local elites, taking their cue from Knossos rather than farther afield (Preston 2004a, 2004b). More can perhaps be said from the point of view of the postulated framework for burial practice: in what sense, if any, were 'Mycenaean' burial practices adopted?

First, the use of bi- and tripartite tombs is certainly evidenced in the Knossos valley in LM II-III, but alongside other types of burial. Moreover, chamber tombs had a long history at Knossos, and one need not invoke mainland precedent to explain their presence (Alberti 2004). The architecturally impressive tombs of LM II Knossos, such as the Kephala tholos and the stone-built Isopata tombs, share some basic features with mainland tholoi. The LH I-LH II transition on the mainland is the time-period of the first adoption of tholos tombs outside Messenia, and as was noted

above with the Vapheio tholos, it seems likely that specific architectural expertise was a requirement before architecturally impressive tholoi such as those at Vapheio, Mycenae, Thorikos, Marathon or Kakovatos could be constructed. The Knossos LM II tombs, which probably slightly post-date this group, are architecturally innovative and eschew the stylistic conventions of the mainland. If architectural expertise were imported in this case, perhaps in relation to the corbel-vaulting, it was not employed in creating a copy of a mainland tholos, but rather in creating a hybrid form. In a similar vein, Preston notes that “the inspirations for these tombs are not only distinctly heterogeneous, and diverse in their cultural and contextual origins, but they are combined here in such innovative ways that the overriding impression they convey is of eclectic experimentation with mortuary symbolism” (2000: 125–126). She offers some intriguing insights into specifically local forms of practice that might have been facilitated by these design variations (2007: 300–303).

Second, the tombs at Knossos are indeed collective in form, but where information is available many may have held only one or two inhumations (Preston 1999: 135). While these tombs retain the basic design features that imply reuse, in fact they may not have been reused: even where two burials are found, these may have been carried out simultaneously. As both Alberti (2004) and Preston (2000: 116, 135) have pointed out, this stands in contrast to Middle Minoan practice. We might add that it stands in contrast to mainland practice: while collective burial became the norm on the mainland, the tombs of Knossos, and (slightly later) more widely on Crete (Preston 2000: fig. 9.2) were generally used for rather few burials. Voutsaki noted a similar discrepancy between the tombs of the Argolid and those of the Dodecanese (1993: 133 and figs. 7.2 and 9.3). Whereas in the Peloponnese the inception of Mycenaean burial practices is marked by the intensification of association in burial by the adoption of collective burial, on Crete the practices of LM II–III mark a *reduced* emphasis on the collective aspects of burial.

Third, and in consequence, often the evidence for secondary treatment of the dead is far from clear. Where only one burial is found, there may be little evidence of subsequent activity in the tomb. Excavators have speculated that some of the dead were placed in wooden coffins or on wooden biers as part of interment, and these closed contexts seem often to have been left intact. The use of larnakes – almost totally alien to the mainland – in wider LM IIIA2 Crete has been suggested by Preston as a driving factor in the adoption of new burial practices at this time (2000: 226). The evidence for a lack of concern for the activities of rearrangement, disarticulation and redeposition is a significant departure from mainland practice, and the use of coffins and larnakes in preserving and protecting the individual funerary context suggests that the concern for maintaining an individual presence outweighed in many cases any concern for communal incorporation in an ancestral group.

Fourth, evidence for use of material culture is plentiful, though not unprecedented. Where more than one burial took place in a tomb, it was often clear to the excavators which item was associated with which burial. It is indeed remarkable that in these small

spaces, subsequent interments – if they were not all interred simultaneously – could be introduced into such a restricted space without much damage to the existing interment contexts. This, in combination with the occasional emphasis on bronze weaponry which has been much remarked on, contributes further to a sense of the individual's personal image being carefully created and subsequently curated. This, again, is unlike mainland practice, though perhaps the similarities with the shaft graves are telling.

Finally, the growth of cemeteries does mirror to some extent similar events on the mainland. Nonetheless the landscape of the Knossos valley must have been more overburdened by meaning than most other landscapes in Greece by LM II: new tombs and cemeteries were more a re-purposing of resonant zones and pathways than an expansion of the cultural landscape. However, the construction of new tombs and cemeteries can still be seen as a new and meaningful way of occupying the landscape, evocative, however, of the practices of the past (see also Preston 2000: 115) – perhaps in this aspect Cretan burial practices were closest to those of the mainland.

This analysis demonstrates, if such demonstration still be needed, that these were not 'Mycenaean' burials practised by ethnic, embedded Mycenaeans; nor do they demonstrate simple adoption of Mycenaean practices, or indeed identity. Instead they were a pastiche of ideas imported from the mainland in combination with innovation and the memory of past funerary (and other) practice at Knossos. The emphasis on the presentation and segregation of the individual might make sense in terms of the practices of elite groups, but not all the early burials could be termed elite, and this holds true in subsequent periods as well. Instead, we see the creation and differential adoption of new and variable practices which owed only a part of their inspiration to the practices of the mainland.

If LM II-III Cretans were actively and knowledgeably selecting their sources in forging newly appropriate burial practices, the same must surely be true elsewhere. Cretan influence on mainland burial practices has long been noted. Just as on Crete there is nothing to be gained in an analysis that considers how the 'pure' or 'fundamental' Minoan aspects of mortuary practice were subverted by mainland dominance, so on the mainland we should not consider the adoption of Mycenaean burial practices as an internal expression of identity devoid of heterogeneous inspiration. Cretan-derived symbolism in the shaft graves has long been noted (*e.g.* Evans 1929), and such symbolism is found more widely in the iconographic aspects of objects such as seals (Younger 2010), usually Cretan imports. Even Mycenaean pottery is a local expression of styles much more widely distributed. The magnificent palatial jars, for example, commonly used in Peloponnesian tholos and chamber tombs of LH IIA, display a mixed Cretan and mainland ancestry, and when no longer produced on the mainland in LH IIB nonetheless continued to be produced and used as palace style jars on Crete in LM II (Dickinson 1972; Mountjoy 1993: 41–44; Kalogeropoulos 2011) – at just the time that other aspects of mainland practice were being adopted into Cretan funerary practice. The use of these jars in mainland burial practices speaks of the

active appropriation and manipulation of symbolism within a specific framework of practice, and their subsequent use on Crete demonstrates the reappropriation of this hybrid icon into a different framework of practice, in each case the echoes of distant times and places knowledgeably emphasised.

Summary of regional and chronological variation

Each tomb, throughout its history, presents its own evidence for varying agency drawing on – or sometimes eschewing – the framework of practice sketched at the outset of this section. Drawing together regional and chronological trends, as I do below, identifies some of the more widespread replications or developments in practice, though also gives a false sense of homogeneity. Yet the many examples of variability discussed above do much to dispel any thought of homogeneity. Turning first to the Peloponnese, it is clear that we are in fact dealing with several smaller regions within a broader geographical entity – a point which is hardly novel (*e.g.* Dickinson 1982). In the southwest, broadly speaking Messenia and southern Elis, developing from the Middle Helladic and continuing to the end of the Bronze Age, widely dispersed cemeteries of tholos and (some) chamber tombs hosted collective burials and secondary treatments accomplished with a wide array of material culture. Beginning slightly later in the Argolid, chamber tomb cemeteries and some tholos tombs hosted similar activities, again until the end of the Bronze Age; the evidence in the Corinthia is less abundant. Moving west, in most of Achaea and northern Elis few funerary activities can be detected before LH III; but during LH III large cemeteries of chamber tombs appeared, concentrated in two geographical areas, and exhibiting all the activities mentioned. Finally, in the southeast Peloponnese, broadly Laconia and Arcadia, far fewer examples of tombs and cemeteries exist in both LH I-II and LH III, though they are found widely dispersed and present throughout, beginning in the far southeast at Epidauros Limira, and inland at Vourvoura. This brief overview shows that adoption was piecemeal, with large areas lacking evidence, but with two intensive areas of activity in Messenia and the Argolid in the earlier period, with some quite widespread but isolated evidence elsewhere, and then several additional areas of concentrated activity in LH III. Regional variation between areas with tombs in LH III is not strong: where adopted, all the aspects of practice under discussion are present, though no doubt close examination of tombs and cemeteries would discern differing emphases. These are much more evident in comparing the practices of Thessaly and of central Crete. In Thessaly a few standard-sized tholos tombs, with rather more small tholos tombs, were adopted by restricted groups, and very large cemeteries did not develop. The range of material deposited in tombs was more restricted, suggesting some differences in funerary rituals; ritual burning of bones was perhaps more common here than elsewhere. In the Knossos valley the evidence for reuse of tombs is poor, and the small size of tombs suggests fewer persons inside performing fewer activities. Although disturbed contexts are known, a much greater

proportion of undisturbed contexts is seen, sometimes through the use of coffins or larnakes. The emphasis on weaponry here is a strong contrast with Thessaly. Later on, elsewhere in Crete (e.g. Chania: Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Protopapadaki 2009), chamber tombs were found with better evidence for reuse and some evidence for secondary treatments (though in this example were a minority type in a larger cemetery of non-mainland types). The conclusion is clear that different groups and communities widely dispersed in time and space developed burial practices which drew to a greater or lesser extent on this framework of practice: from practices which grew within, maintained and replicated themselves and developed within this framework, to others which merely drew upon some aspects of it for inspiration. Moreover, in the southwest and parts of the northeast Peloponnese, the adoption of this framework of practice can be understood as a development with roots in pre-existing practice, whereas elsewhere this seems less to be the case, and effectively new practices were relatively suddenly adopted, sometimes quite widely, and sometimes in much more isolated circumstances.

Conclusions

Mac Sweeney (2009) concludes that group identities need not arise necessarily from ethnicity, nor need they inhere in archaeologically-defined collectives such as sites or regions. She also emphasises the fluidity of group identities. Identities are an evolving project whose material instantiation must always be partial and grounded in momentary concerns (Lucy 2005: 101–108). Two questions arise from the analysis in this paper. First, insofar as notions of identity are projected at all in funerary practices, at what scales might they operate? If fractured reflections of identity are multi-scalar, our analyses must similarly operate in multiple dimensions. Second, and related, the material and symbolic markers mentioned earlier, while no simple reflection of ethnicity, are notably recurrent in the material under consideration. What is invoked in the reproduction – and reimagining – of symbols and practice which do have a wide, though variably understood, recognition?

To address the issue of scales, we should consider the issue of identity at the levels of the individual funeral, the community of the living and the dead as invoked by the tomb and cemetery, regional communities of practice, and the wider ‘Mycenaean’ world. The projection of individual identity was perhaps most strongly evidenced in preparation for the funeral and the procession to the tomb, when the emphasis of funerary activity was centred on the corpse: its cleaning, dressing, presentation, and public transport (Boyd *in press*). Aspects such as dress and body modification are largely invisible archaeologically, and might have been used either to promote individual or group identity. The processional and depositional acts incorporating the dead within cemetery and tomb highlight group identity more strongly: wider community networks in the cemetery, and family, or other corporate groups, in the tomb. Variation in practice, such as burial in prominent or isolated tombs rather than

cemeteries, and delay in, or eschewing of, subsequent dissolution of the funerary context, vary the balance between communal and individual. Practices perhaps related to social differentiation, involving architectural or material aggrandisement, form another significant variation. The growth in chamber tomb cemeteries in some areas in LH III, the use of tholos tombs in LH I-II Messenia, the sudden appearance of 'Mycenaean' practices in LH III Thessaly, or similarly in LM III Crete, are all regional phenomena indicating strong intra- and inter-site discourse and much weaker inter-regional interaction.

Identities draw variably on individual, local, regional and wider discourse. It is apparent that the specifics of practice are the result of individual choices drawing upon wider frameworks of practice operating at multiple levels. The 'markers', widely reproduced tomb forms, material culture types, or instances of practice, arose out of inter-regional interaction, but are only a sign of weak integration: locally reproduced traditions were much more strongly integrative.

Burial practices did not arise out of and reflect a Mycenaean culture or ethnicity, but rather formed a widely but unevenly adopted and implemented framework of practice. The inception and much of the adoption of these practices did not result from concerns of elite aggrandisement, although there were instances where elites did seek to co-opt and perhaps control the funerary sphere by adopting and adapting aspects of this framework of practice. Burial practices belonged most of the time to a much wider and diverse social groupings, and so to the extent that concepts of identity were projected through these practices, the identities projected were not merely those of the elite. It is also salient to note that in some areas these practices are evidenced far less frequently than others. This differential adoption, implementation and longevity says more about local choices than it does about a reflection of some overarching identity or ethnicity. Nonetheless it also says much about interconnectedness. The echoes of other times and places, distant or near, form a part of the attraction of Mycenaean burial practices, then as now. There can be no doubt that people felt themselves part of traditions of practice, even when operating creatively within those traditions. It is important, in that light, to emphasise again the non-elite aspects of many mortuary acts. For those outside the palaces, many different expressions of identity may have been articulated through funerary practices: local, family, corporate group; and also, by the development and maintenance of widely understood customs, and the use of specific material forms, expressions of identity within wider margins, wider than the borders of any palatial territory. In LH III some areas of practice, such as burials, may stand as alternative discourse to specific elite identities emanating from the palaces.

Where does that leave the Mycenaeans? There can be no doubt that the term, as we use it, is far too generally applied. Late Bronze Age identities were fractured and differentiating, as well as inclusive or widely resonant. Where some aspects of identity seem to us widely reproduced, they are nonetheless evidenced in divergent circumstances. Examination of these circumstances can bring partial understanding of

the local chains of consequences which led to their appropriation. But the adaptation or reproduction of these traits does not in itself indicate an adherence to a fixed cultural or political identity, much less an ethnic one. By continuing to use the term ‘Mycenaean’ as freely as sometimes we do, we run the risk of implying the opposite.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the organisers of the Round Table for the invitation to speak, and all of the participants for a lively and useful meeting. This paper has benefitted greatly from the discussions arising from the meeting, and from the suggestions of John Bennet, Borja Legarra Herrero and Barry Molloy.

References

- Adrimi-Sismani, V.
2007 Mycenaean northern borders revisited new evidence from Thessaly. In M.L. Galaty and W.A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II*: 159–177. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute.
- Alberti, L.
2004 The Late Minoan II-III A warrior graves at Knossos: the burial assemblages. In G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki and A. Vasilakis (eds.), *Knossos: Palace, City, State*: 127–136. London: British School at Athens.
- Andreadaki-Vlazi, M. and E. Protopapadaki
2009 “Kouklaki” Excavation (73–77 Igoumenou Gabriel Street). In *Khania (Kydonia) a Tour to Sites of Ancient Memory*: 152–165. Khania: Ministry of Culture and Tourism – 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.
- Barrett, J.C.
1988 The Living, the Dead and the Ancestors: Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Mortuary Practices. In J.C. Barrett and I.A. Kinnes (eds.), *The archaeology of context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: recent trends*: 30–41. Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
2000 A thesis on agency. In M.-A. Dobres and J.E. Robb (eds.), *Agency in Archaeology*: 61–68. Oxford: Routledge.
- Bennet, J.
2007 Pylos: The Expansion of a Mycenaean Palatial Center. In M.L. Galaty and W.A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II*: 29–39. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute.
- Blegen, C.W.
1937 *Prosymna. The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Boyd, M.J.
2002 *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
2014a Materialities of performance in Mycenaean funerary practices. *World Archaeology* 46(2): 192–205.

- 2014b The Development of the Bronze Age Funerary Landscape of Nichoria. In D. Nakassis, J. Gulizio and S.A. James (eds.), *KE-RA-ME-JA Studies Presented to Cynthia Shelmerdine*: 191–208. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- 2015 Explaining the Mortuary Sequence at Mycenae. In A.-L. Schallin and I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up to Date: The Archaeology of the NE Peloponnese – Current Concepts and New Directions*: 433–447. Athens: Swedish School.
- 2016 Becoming Mycenaean? The living, the dead and the ancestors in the transformation of society in the second millennium BC in southern Greece. In C. Renfrew, M.J. Boyd and I. Morley (eds.), *Death shall have no dominion: the archaeology of mortality and immortality – a worldwide perspective*: 200–220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- in press Fields of action in Mycenaean funerary practices. In A. Dakouri-Hild and M.J. Boyd (eds.), *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Broodbank, C.
2004 Minoanisation. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 50: 46–91.
- Burns, B.E.
2010 *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caskey, J.L.
1960 The Early Helladic Period in the Argolid. *Hesperia* 29: 285–303.
- Cavanagh, W.G.
2008 Death and the Mycenaeans. In C.W. Shelmerdine (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*: 327–341. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cavanagh, W.G. and C.B. Mee
1998 *A private place: death in prehistoric Greece (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 125)*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Childe, V.G.
1929 *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford: Clarendon.
1933 Races, peoples and cultures in prehistoric Europe. *History* 18: 193–203.
- Davis, J.L. and J. Bennet
1999 Making Mycenaeans: warfare, territorial expansion, and representations of the other in the Pylian kingdom. In R. Laffineur (ed.), *Polemos le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze (Aegaeum 19)*: 105–119. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Demakopoulou, K.
1993 Argive Mycenaean Pottery: Evidence from the Necropolis at Kokla. In C. Zerner, P. Zerner and J. Winder (eds.), *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939–1989*: 57–75. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. and S. Lucy
2005 Introduction. In M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babić and D.N. Edwards (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*: 1–12. Abingdon: Routledge.

Dickinson, O.T.P.K.

1972 Late Helladic IIA and IIB: Some Evidence from Korakou. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 67: 103–112.

1977 *The origins of Mycenaean civilisation (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 49)*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.

1982 Parallels and contrasts in the Bronze Age of the Peloponnese. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1(2): 125–138.

1983 Cist graves and chamber tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78: 55–67.

1994 *The Aegean Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eder, B.

2011 Zur historischen Geographie Triphyliens in mykenischer Zeit. In F. Blakolmer, C. Reinholdt, J. Weilhartner and G. Nightingale (eds.) *Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 2009*: 105–117. Vienna: Phoibos.

Emberling, G.

1997 Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5(4): 295–344.

Evans, A.

1929 *The shaft graves and bee-hive tombs of Mycenae and their interrelation*. London: Macmillan.

Feuer, B.

2011 Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery. *American Journal of Archaeology* 115: 507–536.

Galanakis, Y.

2011 Mnemonic landscapes and monuments of the past: tumuli, tholos tombs and landscape associations in late Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age Messenia (Greece). In E. Borgna and S. Müller Celka (eds.) *Ancestral Landscapes. Burial mounds In The Copper And Bronze Ages (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 58)*: 219–229. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux.

Forthcoming Fire, fragmentation, and the body in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. In M. Mina, S. Triantaphyllou and Y. Papadatos (eds.), *Embodied Identities in the Prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean: Convergence of Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Gallou, C.

2009 Epidaurus Limera: the tale of a Laconian site in Mycenaean times. In W.C. Cavanagh, C. Gallou and M. Georgiadis (eds.), *Sparta and Laconia: from Prehistory to Pre-Modern (British School at Athens Studies 16)*: 85–93. London: British School at Athens.

Hall, J.M.

2002 *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, S.

1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity Constructing identities in the past and present*. London: Routledge.

Kalogeropoulos, K.

2011 The social and religious significance of palatial jars as grave offerings. In H. Cavanagh, W. Cavanagh and J. Roy (eds.), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese Proceedings of the conference held at Sparta 23–25 April 2009*: 207–235. Nottingham: Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies. <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/documents/honoringthedead/kalogeropoulos.pdf> (accessed 26 February 2013).

Kasimi, P.

2013 Ένας πρώιμος θολωτός μυκηναϊκός τάφος στην Αρχαία Κόρινθο. In K. Kissas and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese: Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity*: 45–53. München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.

Kolonas, L.

2009 *Network of visitable Mycenaean settlements and cemeteries in the Prefecture of Patras*. Athens: Ministry of Culture.

Korres, G.S.

1996 Προϊστορικοί τύμβοι της Μεσσηνίας. *Η Καθημερινή*, *Επτά Ημέρες* 28/1/96: 22–24.

2011 Middle Helladic tumuli in Messenia. Ethnological conclusions. In E. Borgna and S. Müller Celka (eds.), *Ancestral landscapes. Burial mounds in the copper and Bronze Ages (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 58)*: 585–596. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux.

Legarra Herrero, B.

2009 The Minoan fallacy: cultural diversity and mortuary behaviour on Crete at the beginning of the Bronze Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 28(1): 29–57.

Lucy, S.

2005 Ethnic and cultural identities. In M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babić and D.N. Edwards (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*: 86–109. Abingdon: Routledge.

Macdonald, C.F.

1984 Part II: Aegean swords and warrior graves: their implications for Knossian military organization. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 79: 56–74.

Mac Sweeney, N.

2009 Beyond Ethnicity: The Overlooked Diversity of Group Identities. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 22(1): 101–126.

Mee, C.B. and W.G. Cavanagh

1984 Mycenaean tombs as evidence for social and political organisation. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3(3): 45–64.

Mountjoy, P.A.

1993 *Mycenaean Pottery An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Murphy, J.

2014 The varying place of the dead in Pylos. In D. Nakassis, J. Gulizio and S.A. James (eds.), *KE-RA-ME-JA Studies Presented to Cynthia Shelmerdine*: 209–221. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.

Mylonas, G.E.

1973 *Ο ταφικός κύκλος Β τῶν Μυκηνηῶν* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 73). Athens: Archaeological Society.

Pantou, P.A.

2010 Mycenaean Dimini in Context: Investigating Regional Variability and Socioeconomic Complexities in Late Bronze Age Greece. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114(3): 381–401.

Papadimitriou, N.

2001a *Built Chamber Tombs of Middle and Late Bronze Age Date in Mainland Greece and the Islands*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

2001b T. 164: An Early LH Built Chamber Tomb from Argos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 96: 41–79.

2008 Both centre and periphery? Thessaly in the Mycenaean period. In A. Tziaphalias (ed.), *Περιφέρεια Θεσσαλίας. 1ο Διεθνές Συνεδρίο Ιστορίας και Πολιτισμού της Θεσσαλίας. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου, 9–11 Νοεμβρίου 2006*: 98–113. Thessaloniki: Peripheria Thessalias.

2011 “Passing away” or “passing through”? Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition. In H. Cavanagh, W. Cavanagh and J. Roy (eds.), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese Proceedings of the conference held at Sparta 23–25 April 2009*: 467–491. Nottingham: Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies. <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/documents/honoringthedead/papadimitriou.pdf> (accessed 26 February 2013).

Papakonstandinou, E.

1981 Κάτω Σαμικό. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 36B1: 148–149.

1982 Κάτω Σαμικό. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 37B1: 133–134.

1983 Κάτω Σαμικό. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 38B1: 109–110.

Popham, M.R.

1974 Sellopoulo tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 1969: 195–257.

Preston, L.

1999 Mortuary practices and the negotiation of social identities at LM II Knossos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 94: 131–143.

2000 A mortuary approach to cultural interaction and political dynamics on Late Minoan II-IIIB Crete. PhD dissertation, University of London.

2004a A Mortuary Perspective on Political Changes in Late Minoan II-IIIB Crete. *American Journal of Archaeology* 108: 321–348.

2004b Final Palatial Knossos and Postpalatial Crete: a mortuary perspective on political dynamics. In G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki and A. Vasilakis (eds.), *Knossos City Palace State (British School at Athens Studies 12)*: 137–145. London: British School at Athens.

2005 The Kephala tholos at Knossos: a study in the reuse of the past. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 100: 61–123.

2007 The Isopata cemetery at Knossos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 102: 257–314.

Servais, J. and B. Servais-Soyez

1984 La ‘tholos’ oblongue (tombe IV) et le tumulus (tombe V) sur le Vélaturi. In H.F. Mussche (ed.) *Thorikos VIII 1972/1976: rapport préliminaire sur les 9, 10e, 11e et 12e campagnes de fouilles*: 15–71. Bruxelles: Comité des fouilles belges en Grèce.

Shelton, K.S.

1996 *The Late Helladic Pottery from Prosymna* (SIMA Pocket-Book 138). Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.

2003 The Chamber tombs. In S. Iakovidis and E. French (eds.), *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae* (Archaeological Society of Athens Library 229): 35. Athens: Archaeological Society.

Tsountas, C.

1899 Ἐρευνᾶν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Βαφειοῦ. *Ephemeris Archaeologiki* 28: 129–172.

Voutsaki, S.

1993 Society and culture in the Mycenaean world: an analysis of mortuary practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge.

1995 Social and political processes in the Mycenaean Argolid: the evidence from the mortuary practices. In R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia society and state in the Aegean Bronze Age Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference (Aegaeum 12)*: 55–66. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège.

1997 The creation of value and prestige in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. *Journal of European Archaeology* 5(2): 34–52.

1998 Mortuary Evidence, Symbolic Meanings and Social Change: A Comparison between Messenia and the Argolid in the Mycenaean Period. In K. Branigan (ed.) *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1)*: 41–58. Sheffield: Academic Press.

1999 Mortuary display, prestige and identity in the shaft grave era. In I. Kilian-Dirlmeier and M. Egg (eds.), *Eliten in der Bronzezeit Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Monographien 43.1)*: 103–118. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Kommission bei Dr Rudolph Habelt.

2010 Agency and personhood at the onset of the Mycenaean period. *Archaeological Dialogues* 17(1): 65–92.

Wilkie, N.C.

1992 The MME Tholos Tomb. In W.A. McDonald and N.C. Wilkie (eds.), *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece Vol. II. The Bronze Age Occupation*: 231–344. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wright, J.C.

2008 Chamber tombs, family and state in Mycenaean Greece. In C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis and G.M. Muskett (eds.), *Dioskouroi Studies presented to W.G. Cavanagh and C.B. Mee on the anniversary of their 30-year joint contribution to Aegean Archaeology*: 144–153. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Yialouris, N.

1964 Μυκηναϊκὸς τύμβος Σαμικοῦ. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 20A: 6–40.

Younger, J.G.

2010 Mycenaean Seals and Sealings. In E.H. Cline (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*: 329–339. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zavadil, M.

2013 *Monumenta Studien zu mittel-und späthelladischen Gräbern in Messenien*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

