UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

Department of Archaeology

‘The Transition from LHIIIB2 to LHIIIC and Sub Mycenaean in Achaia’

by

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I certify that:

a) The following dissertation is my own original work.
b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.
c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.
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Signed:

ABSTRACT

This work constitutes a comprehensive study of Late Helladic IIIC and Submycenaean Achaia, examining continuity and change after the upheaval of the collapse of the palaces in c.1200BC.

The aim of this thesis is to examine Achaia's changing role, and whether this could be directly related to, or affected by, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. This research attempts to determine how power and influence shifted and flowed throughout the region at the time, and how trade and exchange may have changed across the Aegean. During the upheavals of the LH IIIC period, new sites emerged, and it is worth considering why these sites became important during this period.

The LH IIIC period in particular is thought to have been one of prosperity for Achaia, perhaps in part due to the ability of the region being able to control some seaways (e.g. the Ionian Sea), and this resulted in Achaia being susceptible to influences coming from overseas – as shall be explored through the material culture.

I will seek to examine the wider context of Achaia's position in relation to the Aegean. Scholarly interest has suggested that the aforementioned disruptions were not a global phenomenon, but rather occurred within a regional pattern of local trade routes. By reassessing the material culture from these areas, we could potentially chart the development of trade and exchange relations. The material culture (including pottery and metal finds) from various habitation sites and cemeteries, and the evidence from the so-called 'warrior graves', will form the basis of my analysis and interpretation.

The importance of this research lies in the fact that this area had only been sporadically studied, and it is only recently that archaeological scholarship has started to consider it alongside the core regions of the Mycenaean world. Thus it is time for a reassessment of the region.

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ABBREVIATIONS

EH – Early Helladic

MH – Middle Helladic

LBA – Late Bronze Age

LH – Late Helladic

LHII – Late Helladic II

LHIII – Late Helladic III

LHIIIA – Late Helladic IIIA

LHIIIB – Late Helladic IIIB

LHIIIC – Late Helladic IIIC

SM – Sub Mycenaean

EIA – Early Iron Age

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aims, objectives and research questions

This thesis will aim to examine Achaia's changing role in the post-palatial period, and how this role was affected by the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. I will seek to examine the wider context of Achaia's position within the Mediterranean, and to explore the influences and connections of LH IIIC Achaia.

Through examining the tombs, settlements and material culture I will build up an overall picture of the landscape of post-palatial Achaia, and aim to chart the development of trade and exchange relations after the collapse of the palaces.

Methodology

The main source of information for this thesis has been scholarly literature, articles, and internet resources. I also travelled to Achaia, visited some of the archaeological sites, and toured the Patras museum - in order to see some of the artefacts mentioned within this thesis first-hand.

Limitations

Although this research was carefully undertaken, there were still some shortcomings faced. The main limitation faced was language constraints, with much of the literature being written in Greek or German. To overcome this, I translated key passages where possible, and read as widely as possible to ensure I had not missed any key information.

This is also an area in the Aegean that has only been studied sporadically, and many of the older sites have been poorly excavated, poorly published, or not published at all. This affected the number of available sites and settlements that could be used within this project.

1.1 Chronology

When discussing the Aegean Bronze Age, we must incorporate any findings into a set chronology. For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to use the following chronology proposed by Weninger and Jung (2009) (Fig. 1.1.1). Not only is this one of the most recently devised chronology for the Aegean Bronze Age, but is also includes set dates for each of the phases of the LH IIIC and includes the Submycenaean period. The chronology has been based on stratified settlements so I believe this to be one of the easiest chronologies, comparatively, to use. Other problems, such as unpublished settlements, or early settlements with no recorded stratigraphy (Thomatos 2006, 5) also present difficulties. Many different chronologies have been created, with different subdivisions and phases preferred by different scholars, which makes creating an agreed, set chronology extremely difficult.

In choosing to use this chronology, I have chosen to believe that the Submycenaean period is an existing chronological phase. The existence of the SM period has been much debated, and with the evidence for this period in Achaia not being substantial, opinion is divided as to whether the LH IIIC and SM should be different phases. However, based on the findings from Achaia, I believe that enough evidence of the Submycenaean period has survived the archaeological record to support its existence. Papadopoulos *et al*. believe the length of the SM period ranges from 25-100 years (2011, 187), and the SM period lies after the LBA, but before the beginning of the Iron Age.

Rutter has argued for the abandonment of the term ‘Submycenaean’, and there is some merit to this idea. As Papadopoulos *et al*. inform us, an absolute chronology has not been set for the SM period (2011, 195), and so it is difficult to assign material to the period with certainty. The basis of Rutter’s argument, in wanting to abolish the term ‘Submycenaean’, is that the almost all of the SM material originates from tombs, and there is no stratigraphic record of SM material above LH IIIC – this, of course, may change with future excavations.

Phases / Architectural horizons at Tiryns, Lower Citadel (Podzuweit 2007)	Tell Kazel, Ugarit (historic-archaeological, Jung 2008)	Italy, Switzerland (dendro and ^{14}C)	Kastanás (^{14}C)	Proposal (BCE)
1 Hor. III B Final (palace destruction)	c. 1197/75 destruction at the beginning of III C Early	– 1070/40 FBA 2/ Submycenaean	Level 15 (III B Developed and Final)	– 1210/00
1st Hor. III C Early			Levels 14b and 14a	1210/00 – **LH III C Early** – 1170/60
2nd Hor. III C Early			1180/70 start Level 13 (still in III C Early?)	
1st Hor. III C Developed				1170/60 – **LH III C Developed** – 1150/40
2nd Hor. III C Developed				
1st Hor. III C Advanced			1130/20 start Level 12 (in III C Advanced)	1150/40 – **LH III C Advanced** – 1100
2nd Hor. III C Advanced				
3rd Hor. III C Advanced				
1 Hor. III C Late				1100 – 1085/80 **LH III C Late**
1 Hor. Submycenaean				1085/80 – 1070/40 **Submycenaen**
				1070/40 – 1000 **EPG**
			c. 1000 start Layer 11 (MPG)	
			middle of 10th cent. during Layer 10 (LPG)	

Figure 1.1.1: Proposed chronology for the Bronze Age Aegean (Weninger and Jung 2009).

It is also not always easy to differentiate between the LH IIIC and the SM period, whether through pottery styles or chronological phases (Ruppenstein 2003, 183), an opinion also supported by Moschos who states that SM is often confused with LH IIIC pottery (2009, 245). Ruppenstein (2003) also reminds us that it is entirely possible that two different styles could have been in use at the same time, making it even more difficult to try and separate these two ceramic phases. Some scholars believe that LH IIIC and SM pottery are, in fact, identical, and should therefore be assigned to the same chronological phase (Ruppenstein 2003, 185). However, Ruppenstein makes the interesting point that even if LH IIIC Late and SM pottery were contemporary, it is still worth using the term 'Submycenaean' to characterise a different pottery style (2003, 187).

Deger-Jalkotzy informs us that characteristics of the SM phase include arched fibulae, long dress pins and various kinds of single burials (1998, 116), this is corroborated by Styrenius (1967, 156) who stated that 'pins, fibulae and rings are very common' in the SM and as the SM period progresses more iron artefacts are deposited.

Little has been written about the SM period in Western Achaia specifically, mostly due to the suggestions of some that there was not much to investigate (Moschos 2009, 235). Mountjoy's exhaustive catalogue of regional Mycenaean pottery includes the SM as a separate phase, in regards to the ceramic record from Achaia (1999) – and I am inclined to yield to other scholars' authority on the matter.

Achaia is a particularly tricky case, and Moschos is one of the only scholars to have focused his research on the SM period in the region so far. He believes that the burial rituals in Achaia, through from the LH IIIC to the SM, did not change (Moschos 2009, 250). This, again, makes it difficult to determine a SM presence in the material culture. Another difficulty in identifying the SM, is that there is (so far) no evidence for a tomb that was newly constructing in the SM – tombs where SM finds may be identified were deposited in earlier tombs that were being reused (Moschos 2009, 247). Thus, no stratigraphic evidence from Achaia has yet been discovered (Moschos 2009, 242)

The truth so far seems to be that the 'Submycenaean' has not, yet, been stratigraphically distinguished from the LH IIIC (Papadopoulos *et al*. 2011, 191) –

but, does it need to be? The ceramic record, according to various specialists (e.g. Mountjoy) shows that there is a different chronological ceramic phase present – after the LH IIIC and before the EIA. Until more studies of the ceramic record from Achaia, and indeed from the rest of post-palatial Greece, are undertaken, it is unlikely the debate will be completely settled. In the case of Achaia, with many older excavations lacking detailed reports or being completely unpublished, further work must be conducted to define the SM period.

1.2 The Collapse of the Palaces

It is a consensus that at the end of the LH IIIB 2 the Mycenaean palatial system came to an end. The reasons for this ending have been much debated, and many different theories as to what caused the collapse have been put forward. There can be no doubt that the collapse of the palaces around 1200BC had a remarkable effect on society and life in the Aegean. Although we still do not know the cause, it is clear that the breakdown of the palace system was the result of a process that had started considerably earlier, as the archaeological record of the last decades of the 13th century BCE reflects instability and decline (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008).

The palaces were the centres of ceremony and administration, and Dickinson (2006, 26) informs us that Mycenaean settlements would have been substantial, with populations of several thousands. We see the destructions of these palaces and buildings (for example at Mycenae and Tiryns), the abandonment of sites at the end of the LH IIIB, and also the disappearance of writing (Dickinson 2006, 38). According to Linear B documents, all institutions functioned until the very end, administrations worked normally, and religious ceremonies and state banquets were still celebrated by the palace elites. The final disaster seems to have struck all of a sudden at the end of the LH IIIB2, and by the early 12th Century BCE, the palace system was wiped out. Attacks by foreign enemies, social uprising, natural catastrophes, systems collapse, and changes in warfare have all been blamed (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 390).

It is easy to attribute the widespread movement of peoples and refugees we see at this time, to movement away from a threat or invading force. However, the evidence

does not seem to fully support this idea. The idea of the ‘Coming of the Dorians’ was once a popular theory; however, this is now a somewhat outdated idea. Dickinson believes that there may have, in fact, been a ‘Dorian’ invasion, but that this may have come later and was not a contributing factor in the collapse of the palaces (2006, 44). The ‘Sea Peoples’, as referred to in Egyptian sources, being the invading force was also a popular idea. Deger-Jalkotzy suggests that groups coming in from the Danube entered Greece, and that these were the Sea Peoples, it is probably likely that the term ‘Sea Peoples’ covered many different ethnicities (Drake 2012). However, the pottery in the Levant that began to show Mycenaean affinities suggests that there was a migration of peoples from the Aegean into the Levant area at the time (Drake 2012, 1863).

The destructions dating to within the 13th Century, notably at Mycenae and Tiryns, have been interpreted as evidence of warfare (Dickinson 2006, 42). However, as of yet, there has been no material trace of invaders or an invasion. But we must question what could have caused this destruction and to what purpose. It has been presumed that it is in response to these troubled conditions that the Mycenaean palaces strengthened their fortification systems, and impressive technical efforts were made to ensure water supply of the citadels. Workshops, storage areas and administrative buildings were transferred to areas inside the fortification walls (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 388).

Deger-Jalkotzy (2008, 389) makes the point that fortifications are usually built to protect against other human attacks. However, as Dickinson (2006, 42) points out, these fortifications cannot be built instantaneously – so if there had been an immediate threat it would not have been much use to them at that point in time. The idea has instead been put forward that these new builds were expressions of wealth. It is also a possibility that these large building projects put additional strain on the Mycenaean economy that was perhaps already in trouble, accelerated any issues and possibly contributing to the collapse. It must also be pointed out that some important sites that were not palaces, such as Teichos Dymaion in Achaia, were also fortified - showing that there were sites of local importance in operation outside of the main palatial system (Dickinson 2006, 25).

Shelmerdine believes that there is evidence for of a state of emergency at Pylos in its final days (1999), whilst Palaima does not believe there is enough evidence to state this (1995, 632). Shelmerdine admits that, although there is limited evidence for military equipment that would suggest signs of conflict at Pylos (1999, 403), the possible traces of what could be a Cyclopean wall are likely to have been for protective purposes (1999, 407). She also cites the architectural modifications at Pylos as more evidence that the palace officials were facing a human threat, and therefore became more centralised to try and defend against this threat (1999, 408). The Linear B documents from Pylos also reference a coast watching system that was put into place (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 389) – suggesting there was a threat to the palaces and that precautions were being taken.

The tablet Tn 316 has often been used as an example to show that Pylos was facing an external military threat prior to its destruction (Palaima 1995), and the apparent untidy appearance has led some to suggest that this shows the urgency of the information written in Pylos' final days. Palaima disagrees with this opinion, reminding us that these clay tablets were only intended to be used for short term record keeping, and that as we have been able to interpret them today, they clearly fulfil their purpose (1995, 625).

One problem we face when trying to determine why these palaces were destroyed by using the records they kept, is that we do not know the 'normal' practice (Palaima 1999, 625) of what would be recorded and what would not, or for how long it would stay recorded or would not. When trying to recreate the final days of the palatial societies the only evidence we can use is what survives, and we are missing much of the picture. Ultimately, the fact that other tablets had been processed after Tn 316 (Palaima 1999, 624) and that the evidence from the tablet was not conclusive has led Palaima (1999, 632) to state that the "offerings on Tn 316 then were not a last measure, nor were they a desperate measure" and that we still do not know the cause of the destruction of Pylos.

Economic problems could have also contributed to the collapse of the palaces. Some believe that there may have been an overstretching of resources, and possibly also the destruction of overseas contacts. As the basis for Mycenaean economy was extremely centralised, and perhaps too specialised (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 389),

when parts began to fail, this quickly accelerated and resulted in the destruction of the economy. The importance of trade and exchange routes in the ancient world cannot be underestimated, as it is these routes which impacted on the way different peoples and goods were influenced and moved across the Mediterranean. It was in this way that goods, ideas and different people, all came into contact, and as this activity decreased [as we know it did, we see a decrease in the amount of Mycenaean pottery being traded to the eastern Mediterranean at this time (Dickinson 2006, 41)], it would have put further strain on a perhaps already fragile economy. An interruption in interregional trade, particularly between the Levant, Cyprus and the Aegean, occurred after 1200BC (Sherratt 2003, 38), surely a consequence of the demise of the palaces. After the collapse of the palaces it was not that trade completely ceased, but that "the extent and nature of this trade and the way in which it operated had undergone a radical change" (Sherratt 2003, 40).

Another possibility put forward is that of a natural disaster occurring. Earthquakes have been blamed for the destructions at Mycenae and Tiryns (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 387). Earthquakes are a recurring hazard in the Aegean, but could a single event have affected so many places at the same time? Drake (2012, 1863) informs us that these often occur in clusters and so it could be a possibility that a "series of earthquakes over one or two generations could have contributed to the destabilisation of several polities". Dickinson (2006, 46) brings up the valid point that if a series of widespread earthquakes are believed to have been the cause of the collapse, then why did these have such a monumental impact at this time – when in earlier periods sites affected by natural disaster were followed by "substantial recovery".

Climate change is another theory. Some scholars think that around 1200BC there was an extended drought that affected many parts of Greece. However, this has been met with much criticism as it would be likely that, with such an organised and centralised economy – provisions would have already been made for such circumstances. If there had been a drought of some kind, Drake (2012, 1862) rightly reminds us that this should be reflected in multiple climate proxies, proxy records such as palaeorainfall from stable oxygen-isotopes, stable carbon isotope chronologies from pollen records and various sediment core records. As the palatial centres depended so much on agricultural produce, Drake (2012, 1862) believes that

any decline in this produce could have led to an unsustainable population. Related to this, there seem to be signs that at around the time of the collapse of the palaces, there was a period of heightened aridity and lower amounts of rainfall in the Aegean region (Drake 2012, 1863). Whilst these would have been enough to put stress on the agriculture and resources of the palaces, it is unlikely that a short term drought could have caused the collapse of the LBA society – as this would have taken decades (Drake 2012, 1866). Middleton believes that climate change could be considered “the primary driver of historical change” (2012, 258), and in this case believes that it was the effect of “several disasters over time on an already overstretched economy” (2012, 284). The idea that the overcentralized palatial economies could not recover effectively from a natural disaster, be it an earthquake or drought, has been put forward by several scholars. Again, it would seem odd that - in an economy and system as organised as the Mycenaean one - provisions would not have been made for such circumstances.

It is also quite possible that internal issues within the Mycenaean states led to tensions or conflict between the palaces themselves, perhaps over competition for materials and resources? Deger-Jalkotzy (2008, 389) believes that the agricultural capabilities of the palaces may have been over exploited, due to an increase in the general population and also a lack of arable land available. The evidence for the widespread movement of people and refugees may support this suggestion that the Aegean palace societies had been suffering from overpopulation and land-exhaustion (Dickinson 2006, 45), and groups were forced to relocate to better land.

What we see after the collapse of the palaces is a continuity in some aspects of the material culture, but we do know that the Aegean world of the period after the collapse was very different from that period when Mycenaean civilisation was at its height (Dickinson 2012, 484). It is likely that, though we may never know the definitive and exact cause of the collapse of Mycenaean society, it was due to a combination of several of the factors briefly explored here.

1.3 The Achaia Region

Papadopoulos tells us that until around 1960 Achaia was “one of the most neglected areas in Greece”, and that there are still many gaps in our knowledge of the area (1991, 31). Whilst there is still much we do not know about the region, there has been much work conducted since then.

Achaia is a mostly mountainous area, and there are three mountain ranges that dominate the area (Panachaikon and Chelmos, and Erythamos, see Fig. 1.3.1 below) (Papadopoulos 1979, 21), and these could make movement around Achaia tricky (Mountjoy 1999, 399).

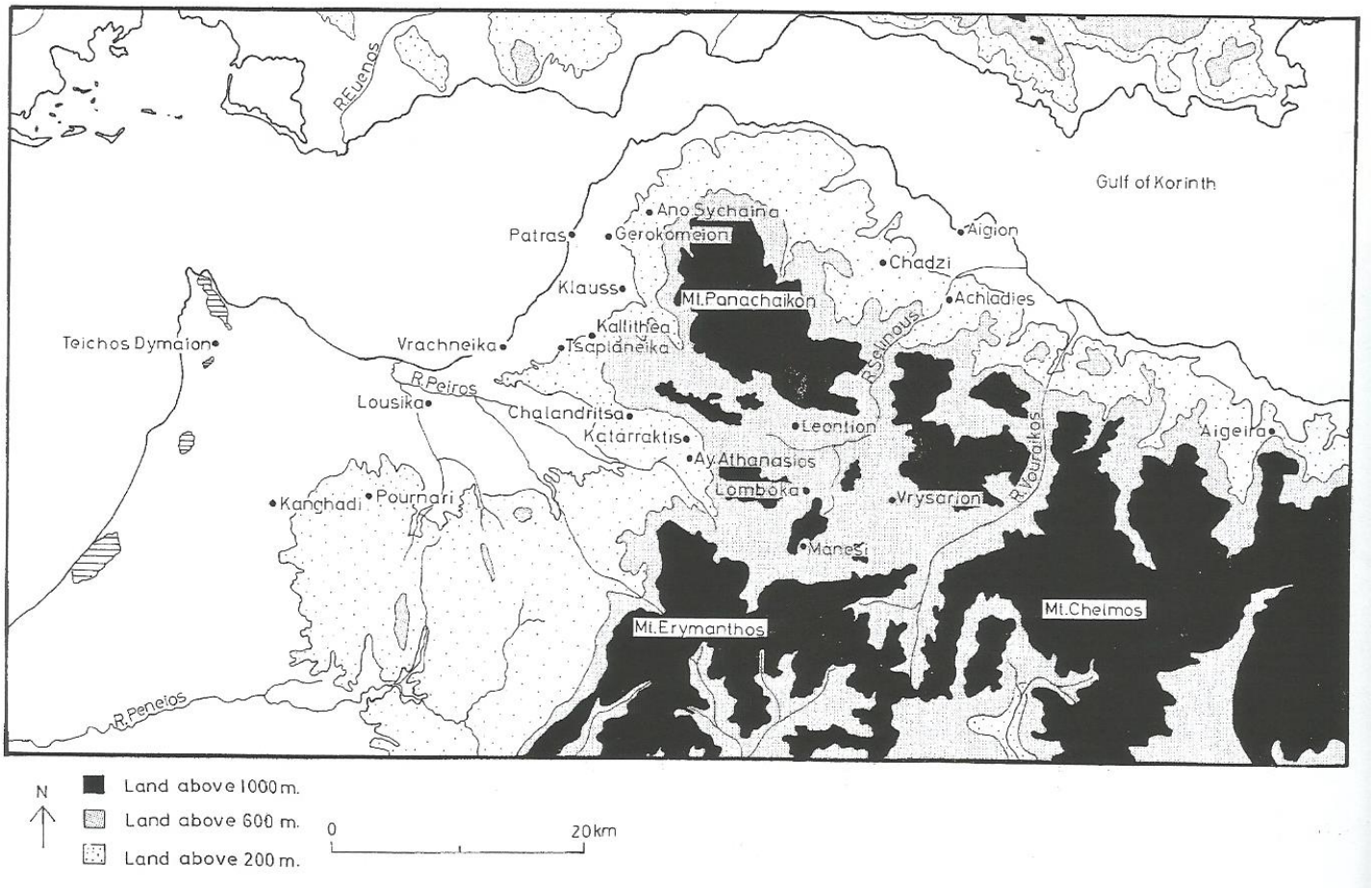


Figure 1.3.1: Illustrations showing the three mountain ranges in Achaia (Mountjoy 1999, 400).

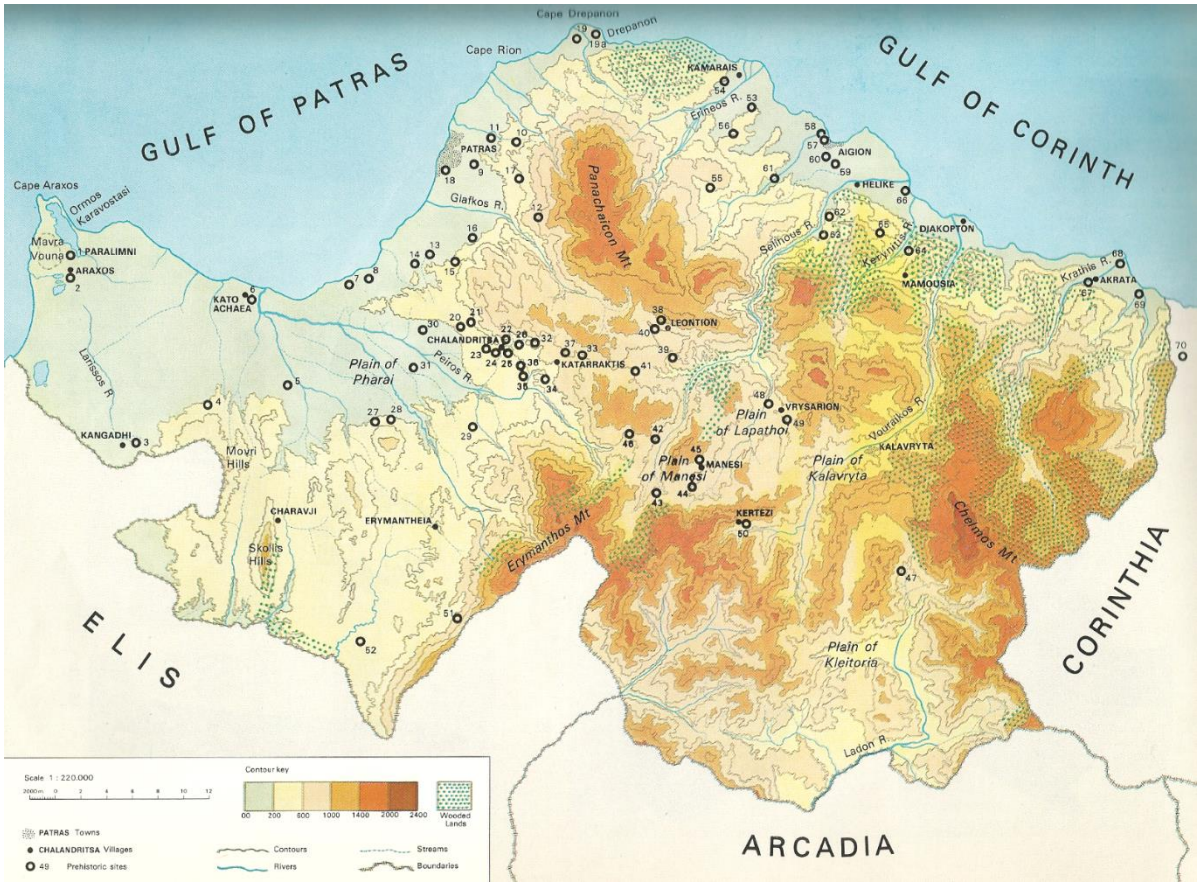


Figure 1.3.2: Illustrations showing the three mountain ranges in Achaia (Papadopoulos 1979a).

The plains on either side of these mountain ranges were extremely fertile, and there were large numbers of springs in Achaia – particularly near Aigion and Chalandritsa (Papadopoulos 1979, 21); these sites shall be explored in the settlements chapter. Papadopoulos (1979, 22) also informs us that Achaia was 'notoriously ill-equipped' with harbours in antiquity, and I believe this could also be a contributing factor as to why Teichos Dymaion was such an important and strategic site in post-palatial Achaia.

Deger-Jalkotzy also writes about the role of Achaia at this time, and that the area was in a prime location for safeguarding the transportation of goods between the Adriatic and the Aegean (2006, 169). This map (Fig. 1.3.3.) illustrates the proximity of the two regions, and shows how the two areas could have worked together to the benefit of both. The fact that there was also no decline in ship production (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 174) would also point to trade in the area either having no interruption after the collapse of the palaces, or recovering quickly from this catastrophe and re-establishing overseas contacts.

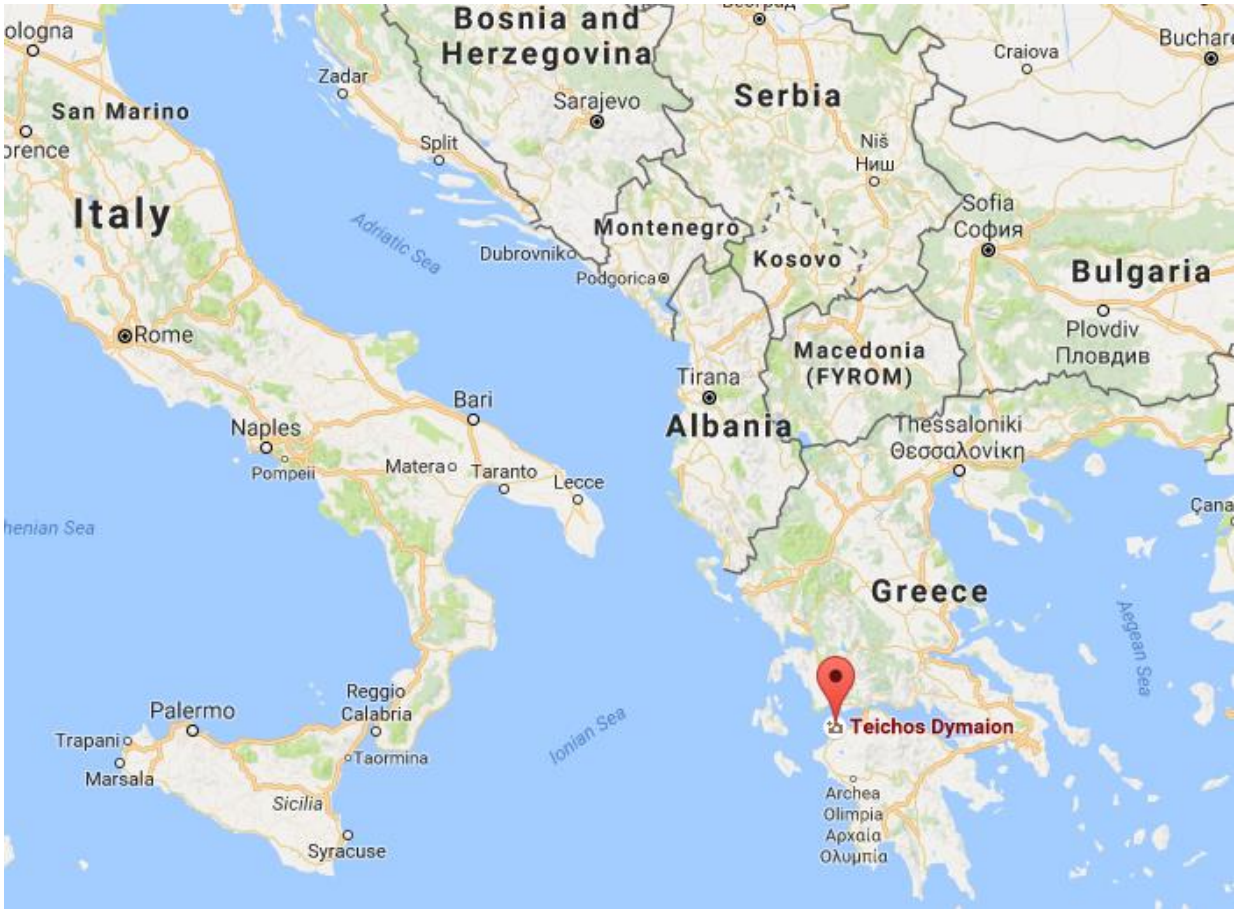


Figure 1.3.3: Map to show the Adriatic and Achaia (with the location of Teichos Dymaion) (Google 2016).

During the LH IIIC the population in Achaia increased (Papadopoulos 1991, 35; Arena 2015, 30), and in western Achaia we see the sudden increase of the warrior tombs – identified by the Naue II type swords and other weaponry (Arena 2015). Many ideas have been put forward for this increase in population, including a "sudden and overwhelming immigration of refugees" after the collapse of the palaces (Papadopoulos 1991, 35). However, this is not agreed upon by other scholars, who argue that whilst there was an influx of refugees – it was not overwhelming (Moschos 2009, 348). As shall be explored in greater detail in chapters to come, the sheer number of warrior burials is a unique phenomenon in the Patras region. Many scholars have interpreted the warrior burials as a sign of the need for protection from a threat, possibly the one that caused or influenced the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.

Moschos (2002, 32) does not believe that the changes in social structure that we see was down to the arrival of refugees, but more to do with the collapse in the centralised power of the palaces. Papadopoulos (1991, 36) notes some disturbance in LH IIIB-C, with what he believes is the gradual arrival of refugees, although he states that the LH IIIC as a whole was relatively peaceful. As Achaia was an area famous for its fertility (Papadopoulos 1991, 32), it is no stretch to believe that this is an area that would have been an attractive one to possible refugees.

So far there is no evidence for a palatial structure having been present in Achaia during Mycenaean times (Arena 2015, 1), although Teichos Dymaion has been put forward as a possible administrative centre. The Dymaia region, where Teichos Dymaion is located, was also known for its fertility (Moschos 2002, 19) - this perhaps attracted refugees and new groups of people to the site. Moschos writes in 2007 that the population increased after the 12th century, with the introduction of refugees following the destruction of some palatial centres (2007, 9).

Achaia formed an important part of the Mycenaean culture since its origins, but given its geographical location it should be considered on the periphery of the Mycenaean geographical world. Arena also agrees that Achaia must be considered to have been "substantially separated from the palatial state" (2015, 29), but the area was still very much a part of the Mycenaean world. This integration of the area "into a broader cultural area with similar socio-economic characteristics", has been named the "Western Mainland Koiné" (Moschos 2007, 7). Papadopoulos identified shared elements between the material from Achaia, other areas in western Greece, and the Ionian Islands (1995, 201), and the evidence for the Mycenaean Koiné comes mostly from the burial evidence, there is little evidence from the settlements. The Western Mycenaean Koiné shows that areas in western Greece were connected, through their trade and exchange interests, to other areas of close proximity during the LH IIIB and LH IIIC period (Papadopoulos 1995, 208). After the collapse of the palaces it is thought that trade began to open up from under the centralised control of the (now non-existent) palaces, allowing more regional and also free trade enterprise.

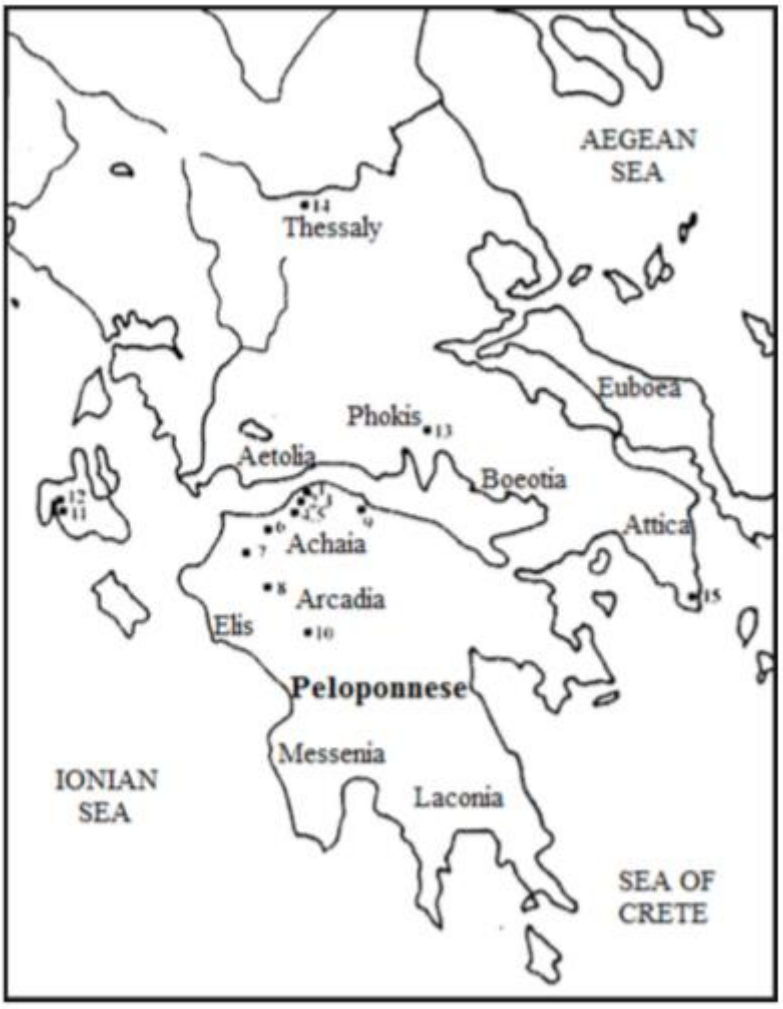


Figure 1.3.4: Map to illustrate the position of Achaia within the wider Mediterranean, and the concentration of warrior burials in Achaia (Senn 2013, 69).

Western Achaia seems to have been far more populated than eastern Achaia, and this is probably to do with the trade routes and links Achaia may have been able to take advantage of. In the Mycenaean period Achaia was at the edge of an eastward-looking world (Moschos 2009a). This disparity is illustrated by the difference in numbers of artefacts found in eastern and western Achaia; Petropoulos informs us that out of the all the Naue II type swords to be found within Achaia, only one was found in the east (2012, 198). The Naue II type swords will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

During the Mycenaean period, we know that Achaia was “geographically the northernmost part of a common civilisation” (Moschos 2002, 15), the Mycenaean

civilisation. Moschos believes that it was Achaia's geographical position that enabled it construct the shared common elements we begin to see in Achaia during the Late Helladic, such as the burial customs, pottery and metalwork (Moschos 2002, 17). Arena (2015), believes that this was one of the benefits of the collapse of the centralised power the palaces perhaps had over the area.

During the entire Mycenaean period Achaia maintained relations with the rest of the known world, taking part in regional commerce and being involved in sea trade (Moschos 2007, 7). Arena believes that western Achaia and the Ionian islands would have provided a port of call for the Cypriot ships heading towards southern Italy and the Adriatic (Arena 2015, 30). If this was the case, then it illustrates the power of the elites and their role in local and international trade (trade and exotica will be explored further in later chapters). This is one part of what has led scholars to theorise that the collapse of the palaces enabled the region of Achaia to flourish, when not under the centralised and perhaps oppressive rule of the palaces (Arena 2015; Moschos 2009).

CHAPTER 2: DEATH IN POST-PALATIAL ACHAIA

In order to try to reconstruct the socio-political landscape of post-palatial Achaia, one must turn to the burial evidence. Due to the lack of literary records and the few published LH IIIC settlements in Achaia, the funerary record forms the majority of the evidence that we can use. This chapter will thus explore the funerary architecture, burial and post-funerary ritual in Achaia, with special emphasis placed on the phenomenon of the so-called “warrior burials”.

As some publications of the tombs are written in Greek and with a large number of excavated tombs remaining unpublished, I have not been able to create a complete catalogue of all known tombs and warrior graves. Earthquakes, the continuous use of cemeteries and the softness of the rock have also resulted in some tombs’ roofs collapsing, however I have made every effort to include most relevant information and to provide a comprehensive study of the LH IIIC Achaian funerary landscape.

The most common type of burial in LH IIIC Achaia is undoubtedly the chamber tomb. Some chamber tomb cemeteries cease at the end of the LH IIIB as the settlements they were associated with were abandoned. However, Cavanagh and Mee (1998) inform us that where settlements continued so did the corresponding cemetery. New settlements with new cemeteries also appear, and we also see new tombs built in existing cemeteries (Papadopoulos 1976; Cavanagh and Mee 1998). It seems that many LH IIIC sites continued in use from the LH IIIB or even earlier (Papadopoulos 1979, 173).

2.1. Architecture

2.1.1 Chamber tombs

Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 90) state that although much of our evidence of Late Mycenaean chamber tombs come from Achaia, most of the data comes from early

excavations and have not been thoroughly recorded. Excavations reports have been largely lacking, although the Papadopoulos excavations have all been to an extremely high standard.

At many sites we see the continued use of tombs that had been built in earlier periods and see the widespread re-use of abandoned tombs (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92), illustrating re-use and continuity into the LH IIIC period. The majority of tombs in Achaia are of the chamber tomb type (Papadopoulos 1979; Lewartowski 1995; Papadopoulos 1999, 267; Moschos 2000, 21), which usually consist of a burial chamber (where both primary and secondary burials may be deposited), a *stomion* (entrance) and a *dromos* (passageway). The dromoi were cut directly into the hillside, with two types becoming apparent (Papadopoulos 1979). We see short, fairly wide dromoi with a steep descent (e.g. Klauss), and longer, narrower dromoi that were not as steep (Papadopoulos 1979, 51). The LH chamber tombs in Achaia consist of a single chamber, and so far there has been no evidence of there being a fixed orientation for the tombs (Papadopoulos 1979, 51). The shape of these chambers vary, with a rounded chamber being the most common shape – rectangular, square and irregular shapes being less known (Papadopoulos 1979, 53).

At the site of Achaia Klauss 12 chamber tombs were discovered and excavated in the 1930's, however much of the skeletal finds and materials from that excavation were subsequently lost. Later excavations by Papadopoulos revealed 16 new tombs, and it has been suggested that the cemetery belonged to a fortified settlement that is still yet to be excavated (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 79). The cemetery is thought to have been in use from the LH IIIA until the end of the LH IIIC, with the primary burials dating to LH IIIC and the secondary to LH IIIA/LH IIIB (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 81). Unfortunately, Paschalidis and McGeorge only discuss the finds from the tombs, and not the burial architecture itself – so that cannot be commented on at this time.

Aigion is arguably the most extensively and well excavated chamber tomb cemetery we have for LH IIIC Achaia. Eleven tombs were excavated by Papadopoulos in 1970, although these account for only a small proportion of the entire cemetery (Papadopoulos 1976). Chamber Tombs A and 5a were in use in the LH IIIC period.

The dromos of Chamber Tomb A was completely destroyed; the tomb itself was circular in shape, the blocking wall was still standing and was built to a height of 0.70m (Papadopoulos 1976, 1). The dromos for Chamber Tomb 5a had also been completely destroyed, along with the doorway, lintel and part of the roof. The chamber featured an irregular semi-circular shape (Papadopoulos 1976, 21).

The cemetery at Nikoleika, near Aigion, also contains chamber tombs. Chamber Tomb 2 (containing Primary Burial T2/A, Primary Burial Λ1/A and Primary Burial Λ2/A) and Chamber Tomb 4 (with a removed skeleton, and pits 1-7). Petropoulos reckons the cemetery had over seventy graves in total, although he only discusses a few of the excavated ones (2007, 253). Chamber Tomb 2's construction showed an irregular, circular shape and a dromos that, at the time of excavation, had been almost completely destroyed (Petropoulos 2007, 254).

Monodendri is another cemetery that features chamber tombs as the primary type of funerary architecture. The cemetery also provides evidence for a concentration of warrior burials deposited within the tombs, and, according to Giannopoulos (2009, 118), these chamber tombs with warrior burials deposited within had no "outstanding architectonic features".

Twelve chamber tombs, including a warrior burial, were excavated at Portes, thought to date from the LH IIIA to the LH IIIC (Moschos 2000, 12). Access to the circular chamber was through a long, downward sloping dromos – leading to the stomion (OMCS date unknown).

Chamber tomb 3 at Krini near Patras consisted of a single circular chamber, with a rounded roof. The chamber was approached by a dromos that was 4 metres long (see Fig. 2.1.1.), and this led to a blocking wall of unworked stones (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 173).

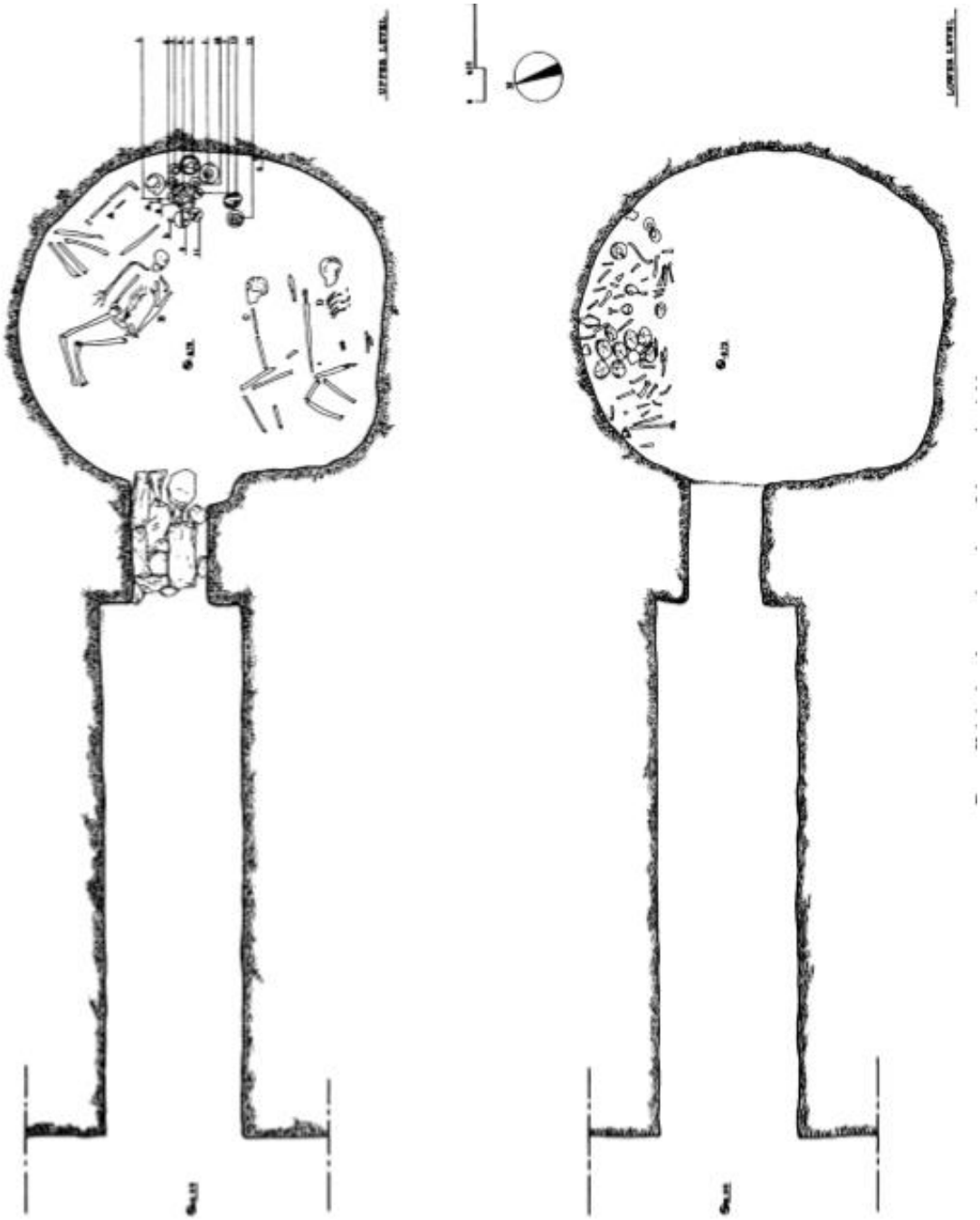


Figure 2.1.1: Plans of Chamber Tomb 3, at Krini (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 174).

2.1.2 Tholos tombs

Tholos tombs, also sometimes known as ‘beehive tombs’, were constructed using a technique named corbelling. This resulted in the ‘beehive’ shape as construction gradually narrowed. The doorway comprises of a lintel, with a relieving triangle on top – in order to evenly distribute the weight, and the tomb would be approached through the dromos, which was the entrance passage.

Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 96) believe that the ‘small LHIIIC tholos tombs represent local traditions, on the periphery of the Mycenaean world, and contain offerings less impressive than many of the chamber tombs’. However, they do make the point that the amount of labour involved in the construction of the tholos tombs would have advertised the status of those interred therein. The LH IIIC tholos tombs could be seen as ‘a continuation of local tradition or looking back in a modest way to the monumental tombs’ (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92). This is a very interesting point, as the tholos tombs build in the LH IIIC were small in size, with an average diameter of 3.8m, but the energy and resources put into building them would have still been significant.

The cemetery at Katarraktis has two tholos tombs that are thought to be of LH date. The tombs were roughly circular in shape and had both partly collapsed. There was a short and narrow dromos to Tomb A, which had been strengthened by built walls (Papadopoulos 1979, 58). The dromos of Tomb B had been partly covered by large broken slabs. As the tomb had been plundered and not well recorded, the date is not certain. It is mostly accepted that these tombs belong to the LH period (Papadopoulos 1979), but we cannot be sure that these tombs date to the LH IIIC period specifically – however we do know that the itself cemetery continued in use up until the LH IIIC Late period (Morgan 2003).

2.1.3 Simple graves

Simple graves such as pit, cist and built tombs, can be especially useful when studying Mycenaean burial customs, as they usually contain single burials and the tombs are then not reopened again (Lewartowski 1995, 103). There are not many known instances of simple graves in LH IIIC Achaia; one example we have is at

Skoura: a cist tomb that was 2x2 metres square large, covered with slabs of sandstone (Papadopoulos 1979, 59). Although they are rare in the LH period, their existence implies continuity from previous periods, as they had been more common in the MH.

It is thought that those buried within simple graves were perhaps assigned to a different social class, or that there was a difference in wealth between those in the simple graves, and those in the chamber tombs (Lewartowski 1995, 103). The construction of simple graves would have been less energy consuming than a chamber tomb (Lewartowski 1995), however there is still an expenditure of energy and resources when building a new tomb. Indeed, it would have been less effort to use an existing chamber tomb – and the work by Cavanagh and Mee (1998) shows that tombs were re-used, so this would have been an option. Another difference is that these simple graves were intended for single use, and not built with the intention of future re-use. This could show that people in LH IIIC Achaia did not plan for the future, that their beliefs may have changed, or perhaps they did just not have the resources (Lewartowski 1995, 110) to build larger, more elaborate tombs. Social and economic upheavals after the collapse of the palaces may have contributed to these effects.

2.2 Death and Ritual

According to Cavanagh, burial customs reflect metaphysical beliefs, concerning both the living and the dead - forming a core part of culture (1998, 103). These beliefs may be subject to change, but we are informed that anthropologists recognise characteristics distinctive to all ritual. These characteristics include ‘formulaic, stylized action, repetition of acts or phrases …and the use of high flown or archaic language’ (Cavanagh 1998, 104). These elements would be used for special occasions, and serve a specific purpose – giving the occasion an authoritative nature (Cavanagh 1998).

2.2.1 Interment of bodies

The predominant form of interment in Greece during the LH IIIC is inhumation. Cremations become more common but are still rarely attested. Inhumation was the only practice noted in the tombs (Papadopoulos 1979, 55) for a long period of time, however we do have some evidence for cremation too (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 84) at Achaea Klauss, Kallithea, Koukora and Lousika (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 93).

2.2.2. Position of the bodies

In simple graves, the position of the bodies seems to have been in four main positions: crouched, contracted, supine (body lying on its back with contracted legs), and extended, whilst in chamber tombs the predominant position was extended or supine (Lewartowski 1995). Although there is not much data for child burials, Lewartowski (1995, 105) believes that children in chamber tombs were mostly buried in supine and contracted positions.

The primary burial T2/A on the floor of Chamber Tomb 2 at Aigion was buried in a contracted position, although only the skull and parts of the thighbones have survived (Petropoulos 2007, 254). Primary Burial Λ1/A is a pit in the centre of Chamber Tomb 2, the skeleton was disturbed and also buried with vases dating to LH IIIC Late, close to the SM period (Petropoulos 2007, 256). Primary Burial Λ2/A was also buried in a contracted position with 4 vases dating to the LH IIIC Late period, the tomb had been in use from LH IIIA to LHIIIC Early (Petropoulos 2007, 257).

Similarly to Krini, burials at Chalandritsa, Aigion, Kallithea, Klauss and Patras were all facing the door (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 176). At Aigion (Chamber Tomb A), skeleton A was deposited in a reclining position, whilst skeleton B on its back with its knees contracted (Papadopoulos 1976, 1). Papadopoulos also comments that, in Mycenaean Achaia as a whole, our knowledge of the orientation of skeletons is lacking due to older excavation reports often not including such details (Papadopoulos 1979, 55). However, Papadopoulos' excavations at Aigion were very detailed. He states that bodies in chamber tombs were often buried on their sides in

a contracted position, and bodies placed on their back were less common (Papadopoulos 1979, 56).

At Nikoleika a large amount of bones were found on the chamber floor, all thought to belong to one individual, and the tomb had been in use continually from LH IIIA until the LH IIIC (Petropoulos 2007). Chamber Tomb 4 was enlarged, as burials were added later, no primary burials were found but the bones belonged to at least 20 people. This tomb was in use from LH IIB to LH IIIC (Petropoulos 2007, 257).

Chamber Tomb 3 at Krini, near Patras had the remains of four adults on the upper floor of the tomb, the skeletons were placed parallel to each other, and had their feet pointing towards the door (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, 173). Three of the bodies were placed on their sides in a contracted position (the most common position according to Papadopoulos [1979, 56]), whilst one was laid flat on the back (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011).

Lewartowski's work on LH simple graves led to the conclusion that in chamber tombs, the orientation was mostly to the east, south and north – whilst in the simple graves a north, north-east or north-west was more common (1995, 106).

2.2.3 Grave offerings

According to Senn, grave offerings in the post-palatial are meagre compared to previous periods (2013, 68). In the post-palatial period the most common form of vessel in simple graves was the storage vessel, followed by drinking and pouring vessels (Lewartowski 1995, 108). In the chamber tombs (the most common type, and the majority of examples that will be discussed in this section) Lewartowski informs us that skeletons were more likely to be buried alongside, weapons, tools, mirrors, seals and buttons – whilst in simple graves dress fasteners, jewellery and pottery were deposited (1995, 107).

Wine and libations were part of common Mycenaean practice when toasting to the dead, and this is often shown with fragments of smashed drinking cups and kylikes in the entrance passage to the tombs (Cavanagh 1998, 106). However, this practice does not seem to have been as well established in LH IIIC Achaia (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 94). Papadopoulos' comprehensive 1979 study of Mycenaean Achaia

revealed that kylikes were ‘almost unknown’ (1979, 117) from tombs. Cavanagh rightly questions that this may in fact be as a result of poor recording techniques and excavations, and that newer excavations may yield more examples (which, indeed they have at Achaea Klauss), but he admits that the libation ritual does not seem as prominent in Achaia (1998, 107).

Pottery

Chamber Tomb 2 at Nikoleika contained a large number of vases, with 4 dating to the LH IIC period. As the tombs had been in use from the LH IIIA to the LH IIIC Early, Petropoulos is not certain is the vases can be attributed to the LH IIIC burial (2007, 254). Chamber Tomb 4 at Nikoleika contained 37 vases, and stirrup jars belonging to a local workshop (Petropoulos 2007, 258). Achaian stirrup jars can be used as a terminus ante quem in order to establish when tombs were abandoned. At Krini there were no stirrup jars, and so this sets a date for the abandonment of the tomb (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 199).

At Achaea Klauss the 16 post-palatial period chamber tombs belong to the transitional LH IIIB/LH IIIC/SM (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 84). We see examples of stirrup-jars, ring vases, alabastron and some small amphorae. Tomb H at Achaea Klauss contained the remains of a male, who was buried with a complete set of tableware (flask, stirrup-jar, deep bowl, handmade tripod cup), and a ‘fenestrated razor’ (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 85)., which is explored in more detail in the following chapter. The fill of the dromos was also filled with hand-made vases and sherds, but these are not described in any detail (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 86). The drinking assemblage (e.gg. jugs, cups) is not common in Achaia, which Cavanagh and Mee state is a ‘striking departure from a tradition which in most of Greece stretches back thousands of years’ (1998, 94).

Metals

The warrior burials provide much of the metal artefacts that have been deposited in LH IIIC Achaia. At Krini the warrior buried there was deposited with a sword and a

spearhead, probably signifying a high military rank (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011). The sword of the warrior in Burial D, pictured below (Fig.2.2.1) was a long sword of Naue II type, with a decorated scabbard (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011, 173).

Chamber Tomb 2 at Nikoleika yielded 2 bronze daggers, 4 bronze tweezers, 3 bronze knives and a bronze razor (Petropoulos 2007, 254). Part of a bronze spearhead.

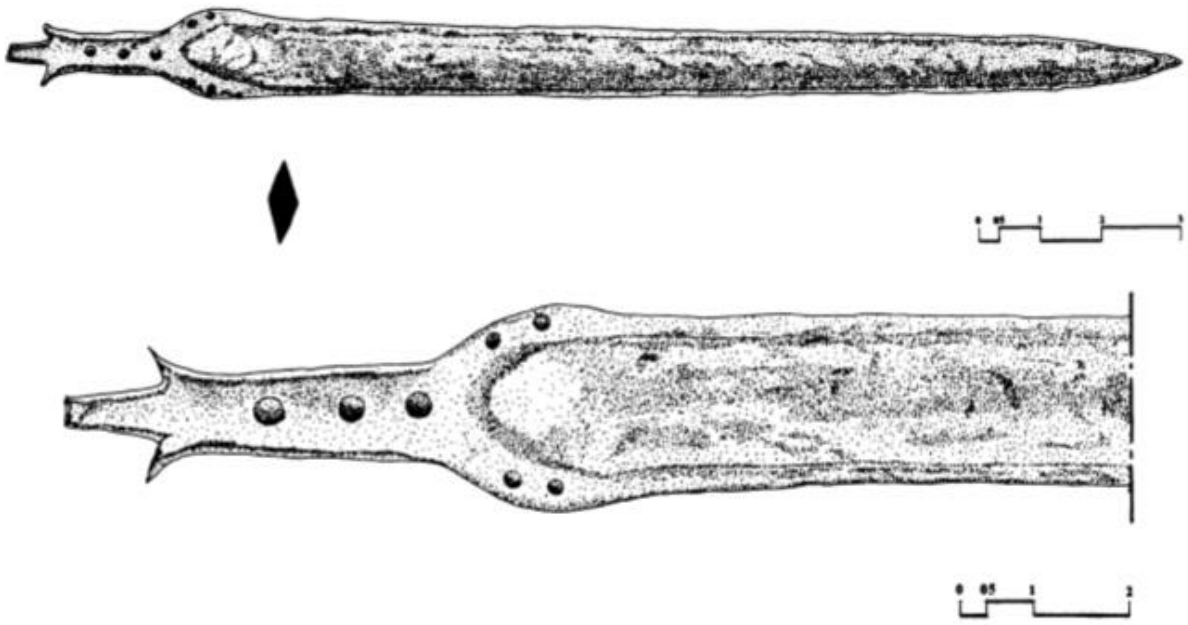


Figure 2.2.1: Bronze sword of Naue II type, from Krini (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 178).

Achaea Klauss, Tomb Δ, had the burial of a young man, who was buried with a set of tools including a whetstone and a knife. Paschalidis and McGeorge believe that these perhaps illustrated that the man buried was a craftsman of some type (2009, 84).

Figurines

There are few figurines found in the post-palatial tombs of Achaia; three have been found at Aigion (Papadopoulos 1976), and Cavanagh questions whether there were just not many figurines deposited at this time or whether Aigion is one of the first excavations to properly record the finds (1998, 110). Chamber Tomb 2, at Nikoleika, had ‘half of a naturalistic clay figurine of a woman’ (Petropoulos 2007, 254).

Small finds

The Krini tomb produced an ivory comb and a silver ring, that was still on the skeleton (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 173). As silver and ivory are rare in Achaian tombs, it is a reasonable assumption that the person in this grave was of a high status (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 186).

Nikoleika, Chamber Tomb 4 contained a whetstone, glass beads, 14 buttons of steatite, 7 clay whorls, 1 bronze needle, 2 bronze rings, 3 sea shell pendants and 4 seals (Petropoulos 2007, 254). The Chamber Tomb 4 also yielded 2 beads of cornelian, a bone comb, more clay whorls, and 7 steatite buttons (Petropoulos 2007, 257).

The dead in Achaea Klauss had 4 seal stones, some pieces of jewellery, and ‘lot of toiletry equipment’ (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 81).

2.3 Post funerary ritual

We see examples of tomb re-use in post-palatial Achaia, and it does not seem to have been unusual or out of the ordinary. In most cases the earlier remains are thrown out of the tomb, pushed into a corner or swept aside into a heap – they seem to have been treated with little care (Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 42; Papadopoulos 1979,57).

There are several possible reasons as to why a tomb would have been re-used. It could have been that the family line whose tomb it had initially belonged to had died out, that the family wanted to build a new one, or that the family had left the area (Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 31). The last scenario, with the population movements after the collapse of the palaces, links in with the changes we see from the LHIIIB period to the LH IIIC. It was during this period that we see these social upheavals, and this could be a reason why old tombs were used again instead of constructing new ones (Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 44), as a convenient tomb already existed.

At Achaea Klauss secondary burials date to earlier IIIA, IIIB and were found in shallow pits under the floors or heaps at the sides of the chamber, and in one case in an ossuary cut into the side of a dromos (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 80).

The secondary burial layer at Krini contained the remains of what is thought to have been around 10 individuals, and these had been brushed to the side of the chamber – in order to make space for the new burials (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 176).

2.4 Warrior graves

We see that in the LH IIIC warrior tombs become common in post-palatial Achaia, and these tombs are seen as being funerary monuments to individuals who “held or were entitled to hold the title of *basileus* and to obtain the positions of a political leader (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 176). These warrior graves are identified mostly through the deposition of Naue II type swords (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 172), other weaponry and sometimes their architectural structure.

Other characteristics such as the boar tusk helmets, bronze greaves and weapons other than the Naue II type swords, Senn believes, could be “representative of the process of “militarization”” after the collapse of the palaces (Senn 2013, 68). Swords in particular become greater in value, and Senn believes that they became more symbolic and also had more practical value during the LH IIIC (2013, 71). The weapons deposited are clearly indicative of a society with experience of warfare and combat (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001, 128).

Giannopoulos states that the warrior burials are “undoubtedly the relics of the most important development in Achaia’s social history in the Late Bronze Age”, as they

document the emergence and establishment of a ruling class (2009, 118). I would agree with this, as the warrior burials in western Achaia are a phenomenon we do not see elsewhere, and goes some way to show that what happened in Achaia was different to what happened to places directly connected to (and in closer proximity of) the palaces after the collapse.

The grave goods deposited within the warrior burials show the high status of those buried within, and also illustrate the change in social organisation and the ruling class in post-palatial Achaia (Giannopoulos 2009, 119). We can never know for sure who exactly was buried in these special graves, but it would not be a stretch to believe that they were a part of a high-status militant ruling class (Papadopoulos 1999, 269) which the inhabitants of Achaia had turned to after the uncertainty during this time. Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou (2001, 127) reiterate this, stating that the warrior graves are likely to be as a result of the existence of a 'well organised society with local centres, leaders, officials and warriors' that were capable of protecting the inhabitants of LH IIIC Achaia in possibly turbulent times.

The warrior burial at Kallithea-Spenzes (Burial 1) contained the remains of two adult male burials, identified as warrior burials based on the bronze greaves (see Fig. 2.2.2.) and Naue II type swords discovered with the remains (Papadopoulos 1999, 268). Also found in the burial was a bronze spearhead and a LH IIIC fragmentary stirrup jar, which allowed for the dating of the burial. Papadopoulos (1999, 268) informs us that the bronze greaves are quite rare, so this is likely to indicate the high military rank of the warrior buried there.

Tomb B at Kallithea, which had unfortunately flooded and damaged many of the remains and finds, contained 4 adults – one of which is thought to have been a warrior. In this tomb a Naue II type sword, spearhead, spear butt-spike and a knife were found (alongside some other finds) (Papadopoulos 1999, 269).

The warrior burial at Krini is believed by Papazoglou-Manioudaki (1994) Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos (2001, 134) to also contain the burial of highly ranked military members.

Chamber Tomb 3 at Krini contained Burial D, which is believed to have been a warrior burial. This burial was equipped with a sword of Naue II type and also a spearhead (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 173). This burial is also associated with a

bronze ornament and an ivory comb, which would have been prestige items, further illustrating the warrior's status.



Figure 2.2.2: LH IIIC bronze greaves from Kallithea (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011, 663)

A warrior burial attributed to the LH IIIC Developed/IIIC Advanced stage was found at Achaea Klauss. Tomb **Θ** contained the burial of a man thought to be around 30 years old, he was surrounded by pottery, and small finds such as ivory pins. A Naue II type sword was also found, and also a set of weapons and tools (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 89). A spear (thought to be used more for hunting than for battle), and a knife (possible an import from Italy) were also found to be associated with the warrior (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 92).

This is not by any means an exhaustive list of all the warrior burials in LH IIIC Achaia, of which there are many, but this section goes some way to show the prominence of these burials – and the high status of those buried within them.

As most of the warrior burials are assigned to the LH IIIB/C transitional period, a period of uncertainty after the collapse of the palaces, it may be that Achaians were

able to protect themselves through their military, and the military elite (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001, 136).

Papadopoulos believes that the maintenance of “Mycenaean-like organisation” was under the control of military elite (Papadopoulos 1999, 272; Senn 2013, 69). While we definitely see the evidence for an increasing emphasis being placed on the military, it is unclear whether this military force was used in trying to recreate the previous “Mycenaean-like organisation” that had previously been in place. Arena is of the opinion that after the collapse of the palaces a “new social order arose” (2015, 31), and that the increased number of chamber tombs are evidence of this new order during the Late Helladic (2015, 26), Senn (2013) is in agreement.

Some scholars (Senn 2013, 71; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169) believe that Mycenaean society, after the collapse of the palaces, placed more importance on power that was based on ‘personal capability’ (Senn 2013, 71) rather than power inherited through family. This is dissimilar to how power was perceived in the preceding periods, and this likely changed due to the unstable conditions at the time – people would have looked to the military to protect them in times of uncertainty.

Concluding remarks

What we can see from the tombs examined in this chapter, is that the situation in LH IIIC is considerably different to that of the rest of the Aegean, and that there is a lot of change (but also some continuity) from LH IIIB to LH IIIC. We see new tombs being built, tombs being abandoned, and existing tombs being re-used. Burial practices are also continued in similar ways as before, but we see, again, that Achaia had its own rituals. The collapse of the palaces would have resulted in some families moving away, new families coming in, and new communities being formed. Cavanagh and Mee are of the opinion that this uncertainty led to people clinging to their traditional practices, as evidenced by the fact that ‘collective burial in chamber tombs remained the norm’ (1998, 97).

We do see other kinds of tombs (e.g. tholos, simple/pit graves), but in general it seems that in this period of uncertainty there was less care in the construction of the tombs, and not as much though placed on whether these tombs would be used for future burials. However, it must still be said that the construction of tombs itself requires an input of time and resources, and we still see that burials contained many offerings (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 97).

The warrior graves perhaps provide the best evidence for upheavals in post-palatial Achaia. The emergence of this type of burial led many to believe that those who lived in Achaia were prepared to defend themselves (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001, 134). If these graves, and the weaponry deposited within them, are indicators of status, then it would be sensible to suggest that these ‘warriors’ were the ruling elites of the LH IIIC (Eder 2006, 557).

Overall it seems that whilst we have much evidence of the Late Helladic period in Achaia, there is also much evidence that some of these tombs had been in use from earlier period, suggesting a maintained Mycenaean presence in Achaia after the collapse of the palaces. The emergence of the warrior burials illustrates the changes in post-palatial Greece, as a new social class seems to emerge.

CHAPTER 3: SETTLEMENTS

Whilst the majority of our knowledge of LH IIIC Achaia comes from cemeteries, settlements can provide a unique insight into this period too. Archaeologists possess information from many habitation sites, although the excavated and fully published examples are limited (Gauss 2009). For the purposes of this dissertation, and due to the limitations presented to me by language constraints, I have chosen to examine the sites of Aigion, Aigeira, Teichos Dymaion and Chalandritsa, in order to construct an overview of LH IIIC settlements in the region. It is also possible to tentatively identify the existence of some more settlements on the basis of known cemeteries nearby (Papadopoulos 1979, 43), as it is almost certain that there could have been a settlement close to these burial sites. However, we cannot know for sure that these places were in fact settlements, and therefore these will not form the focus of this chapter.

As mentioned, there are few settlements found or excavated in LH IIIC Achaia and it is not entirely clear why this is the case. Papadopoulos believes it could be due to the buildings being washed away over time, or perhaps that the building materials were later re-used (1979, 47). What we can infer from the settlements excavated so far is that, like contemporary burials, there was some continuity from the MH through to the LH period in terms of population size and settlement types. From the evidence available, the housing units of settlements in LH IIIC Achaia seem to be made up of one main room, with smaller rooms along its two sides (Papadopoulos 1979, 48), this continued from the MH to the LH period – and we will see this shown in some of the settlements to follow. There are of course still more settlements to be discovered, and as more excavations and reports are being published, we should be able to piece together more of daily life in LH IIIC Achaia.

3.1 Aigion

The site of Aigion was naturally fortified, with the Panachaikon range separating the area from western Achaia (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 130), this separation is believed to have led to a different set of circumstances for Aigion – notably the absence of the warrior burials that were seen in western Achaia (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2016). Aigion is built on a flat hill, around 60 metres above sea level (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2016).

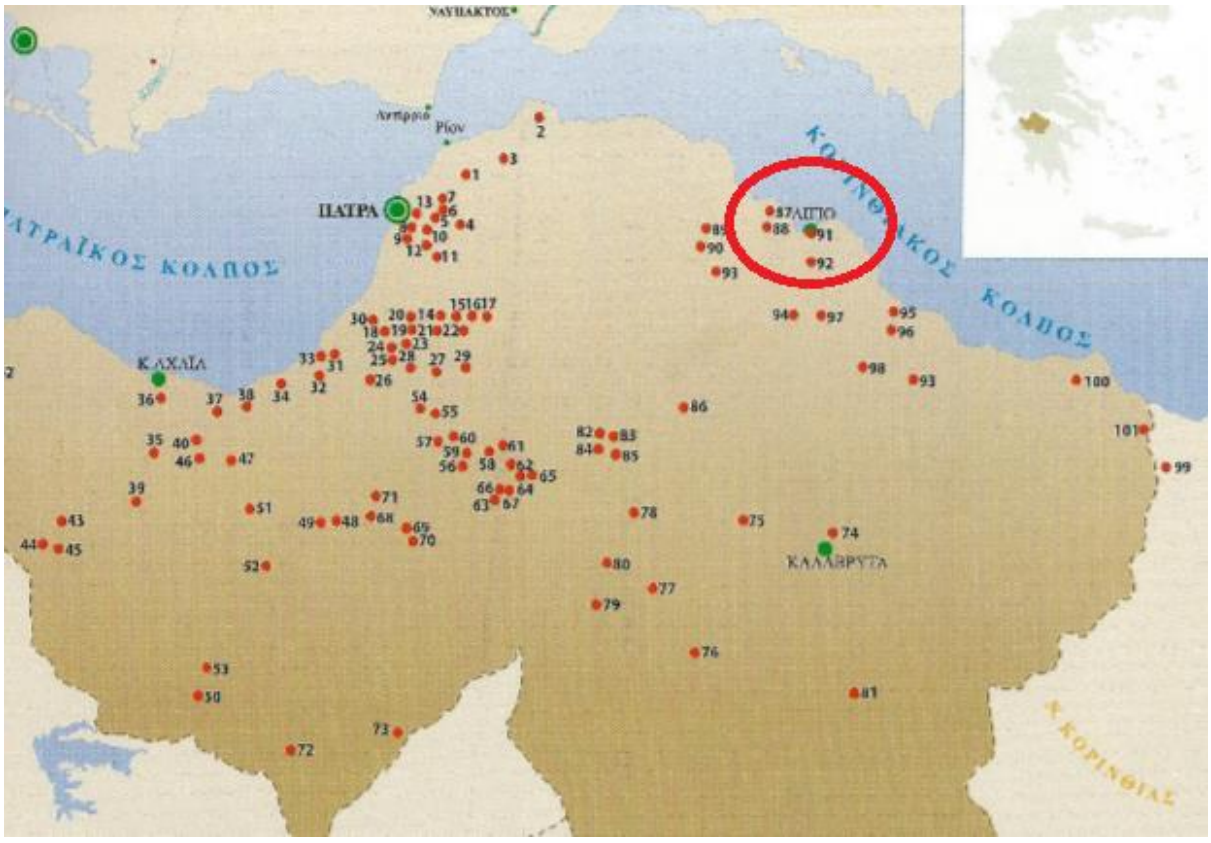


Figure 3.1.1: Map showing the area surrounding Aigion, and the site itself (Moschos 2007, 17).

The site is shown to have been continuously occupied since Neolithic times, although Papazoglou-Manioudaki (2010, 131) notes that there was some destruction of the EH II settlement and the site appears to have then been abandoned until the

Middle Helladic II. The modern city is in the same location as the ancient one, and whilst this means the all the remains of the ancient city are covered and not visible, rescue excavations have enabled us to see the development of the city (VTMMA date unknown).

The LH period at Aigion sees the settlement extending westwards and new buildings being constructed (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 134). A large rectangular building (see below, Fig. 3.1.2), oriented north-south, belongs to this period – the stone foundations of the wall still remain. Unfortunately, no occupation layer was preserved (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 135). This ‘megaron-like’ (Moschos 2007, 39) building is dated from LHIIIA/B period, and the rescue excavations from 1967 to 2000 revealed the cemetery at Aigion that dates from the LH IIIB to LH IIIC period (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2016).

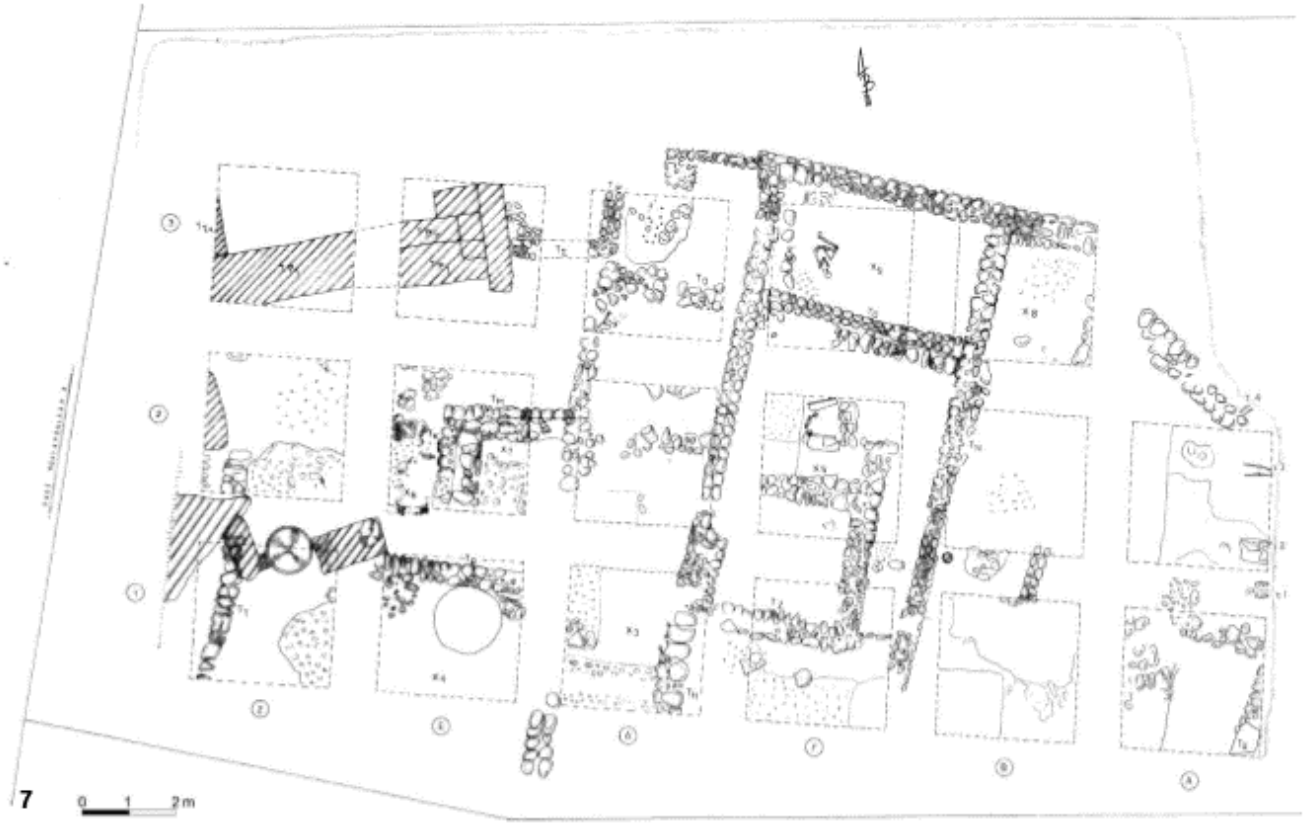


Figure 3.1.2: Plan of a large rectangular building belonging to the LH period at Aigion (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010).

3.2 Aigeira

Deger-Jalkotzy (2003, 53) informs us that during the LH IIIC Aigeira was not an important or large settlement, however it is one of only a few settlements we have in an important region within the Mycenaean world after the collapse of the palaces. More recent work has also revealed that the site could actually be larger than initially thought (Gauss 2009). The site sits on a rocky outcrop of a hill (see below, Fig. 3.2.1), with an area of around 750 m².



Figure 3.2.1: The site of Aigeira (Gauss 2009).

Austrian excavations from 1975-1980 revealed the acropolis of Aigeira. During the first year the excavations consisted of a trench from west to east on the plateau, over the following years a systems of 4 X 4m square excavations were dug on either side of the trench, as can be seen below (Fig. 3.2.2.).



Figure 3.2.2: Plan of the excavations and phases at Aigeira (Alram-Stern 2003).

We know that the site was inhabited until the end of the LH IIIC, due to the pottery finds, with the earliest phase of habitation (**IA**) being dated to LH IIIC Early (Alram-Stern 2007, 15). There are over seven phases of occupations at the site, but phase **IA** and **IB** are the ones that are of interest. Unfortunately, later Geometric or Archaic occupation of the site resulted in the destruction of some of the Mycenaean habitation layers (Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, 54; Alram-Stern 2007, 18; Gauss 2009, 163), and so some layers are compromised. The image below shows the Phase **IA** and **IB** layers (Fig.3.2.3.).

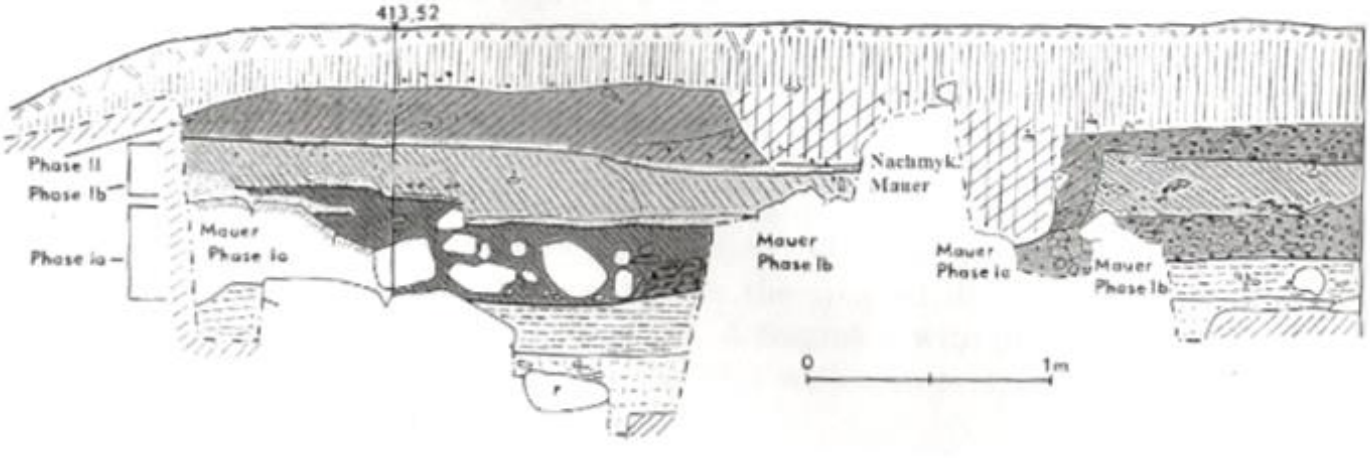


Figure 3.2.3: Stratigraphy of phases IA and IB (Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, 54).

Phase **IA** had the architectural remains of two half-timbered houses separated by a passage, the southern house also had a hearth (Alram-Stern 2007, 15). The stone foundations of the houses survive, and are thought to have had wooden posts set in between the stones (Alram-Stern 2003). Little of Phase **IA** survives, probably due to the levelling of the ground when constructing the houses of Phase **IB** (Alram-Stern 2003, 18).

Phase **IB** was a destruction layer (Alram-Stern 2007, 16) but is believed to have had several household areas; the destruction level preserved part of a pottery kiln (Alram-Stern 2003, 19). To the northeast of the kiln were storage rooms, with carbonised fruit, fig, barley and beans – and several other houses and storage rooms were also found belonging to Phase **IB** (Alram-Stern 2003).

Phase **IB** was rich in small finds with a high number of bronze objects also. Alram-Stern believes the significant amount of bronze on the site may be attributed to these objects being produced on the acropolis (2007, 16). The destruction within this layer is also likely to illustrate the reason that these valuable objects were left. There were also concentrations of lead, which are likely left from a place of lead processing, similar to areas seen at Tiryns (Alram-Stern 2007, 16).

The small finds in the settlement strata are comparable to other Mycenaean sites, but the group of Mycenaean terracotta figurines are interesting (Alram-Stern 2007,

15) – especially as Cavanagh and Mee (1998) mention that sites in Achaia do not typically have many of these. Terracotta figurines, pictured below (Fig. 3.2.4) have also been discovered in layer **IB**, and date to LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Developed, in association with the pottery found in this layer (Alram-Stern 2007, 17; Moschos 2007, 45).



Figure 3.2.4: Psi type figurines from the acropolis at Aigeira (Alram-Stern 2007).

With the evidence of bronze working, lead production and also wool production (with spindle whorls and spindles found) in layer **IB**, we see that the site of Aigeira had an important role in the production and storing of goods (Alram-Stern 2007, 19). It would seem that agricultural and economic activities did not stop in this phase, further supporting the continuity of this site after the fall of the palatial system.

3.3 Teichos Dymaion

Excavations during the 1960's and from 1998-2009 revealed extensive occupation of Teichos Dymaion, the only example we have of a fortified settlement in LH IIIC Achaia – occupation of the site dates from the Neolithic period to at least the Byzantine period (CSMA TD 2012). The Cyclopean walls (see Fig. 3.3.1.) are thought to have been constructed during the LH IIIB period (Moschos 2007, 27;

CSMA TD 2012). They were built with massive stone block, and stood up to 10 metres in height with a thickness of around 5 metres (Papadopoulos 1979, 24).

The site is not thought to have been particularly large (Middleton 2010, 7), but the defensive value of the site would have been of great importance (Papadopoulos 1979, 24) as illustrated by its continuous habitation from Neolithic times to the Byzantine period. The location of Teichos Dymaion would have been ideal for controlling the sea routes on the Ionian Sea and the islands nearby (Moschos 2009a, 345), and the site would have enabled many strategic and defensive possibilities (Moschos 2002, 31). We do know that Teichos Dymaion was destroyed by fire during the LH IIIB-C and also at the end of the LH IIIC (and at many other times before and after Mycenaean occupation) (Papadopoulos 1979, 24; Moschos 2009, 236), so it may be that the site was a target for destruction due to the importance it held– the fact that the site needed to be fortified would also support this.

Teichos Dymaion is a particularly important site in LH IIIC Mycenaean Achaia as, firstly, it is the only fortified site we have, and, secondly, the long occupation from Neolithic to LH times (and beyond) allows us to witness the continued development (Papadopoulos 1979, 48) of a Mycenaean site, even after the collapse of the palaces.



Figure 3.3.1: An image to show the Cyclopean walls at Teichos Dymaion, as they are today (CSMA TD 2012).

The acropolis at Teichos Dymaion has often been thought to have been where a Mycenaean ruler may have sat, if there had been one of any kind in Achaia. We still have no evidence for a palatial structure, but the location and fortifications mean that it would have made sense to have had a ruler there. As of yet there has not been a building context in Achaia with evidence of Linear B clay tablets, which would hint at the building having had an administrative purpose (Arena 2015, 31), and no evidence found to definitely confirm the existence of a palatial centre at Teichos Dymaion (Moschos 2009, 347).

However, Papadopoulos believes that there was likely to have been a local ruler at Teichos Dymaion, thus leading him to state that Achaia may have been one of the last strongholds of Mycenaean civilisation - following the collapse of the palaces (1991, 36). Arena (2015) points out that we do see indications of local rulers in Achaia (e.g. the military elite), but we do not know if these were in any way of a palatial nature, which is what has so often been debated.

Moschos informs us that that the smaller communities in Achaia each had some kind of military or political organisation, which “must have been controlled by some central power” (Moschos 2002, 30). With regards to Teichos Dymaion, it is unclear whether this acropolis was a refuge site for the surrounding peoples, or if it was the location of a palace (Moschos 2002, 31). The Dymaia region, where Teichos Dymaion is located, is an extremely fertile area (Moschos 2002, 19), and the area was well known for its fertility (Papadopoulos 1991, 32) - this perhaps attracted refugees and new groups of people to the site.

Moschos (2007, 9) believes that the population increased after the 12th century, with an introduction of refugees following the destruction of the palatial centres. He cites the warrior burials, and the imported pottery from the Argolid found at the site, as evidence of new groups of people coming into Achaia (Moschos 2007, 9). But does this illustrate that the area and Teichos Dymaion were completely safe, or perhaps just safer than the areas that had been close to the palaces and perhaps under their direct influence?



Figure 3.3.2: The foundations of the LH houses inside the Cyclopean Walls (CSMA TD 2012).

As we can see above (Fig.3.3.2) the settlement shows the foundations of LH houses inside the walls (CSMA TD 2012), with the majority of the sherds discovered belonging to the LH IIIC - stirrup-jars, deep bowls and kylikes being the main forms. Papadopoulos describes the finds at Teichos Dymaion as coming from an acropolis with a fortification wall enclosing several buildings (1979, 44). Other finds include iron knives (Papadopoulos 1979, 24), which were Late Mycenaean.

Papadopoulos' (1979) account of the buildings and finds discovered at Teichos Dymaion is an incredibly helpful summary of scattered information elsewhere. There are the architectural remains of at least four houses, ranging in date from the EH to LH IIIC. The filling of a trench cut against the Cyclopean wall revealed many LH sherds, and also EH pottery. A house of post-Mycenaean date covered the walls of a room that was of LH date (**A**), to the west of the south-eastern gate (Papadopoulos 1979, 46). Houses thought to be of LH IIIB date were also covered by more construction of LH IIIC date near the wall. More LH remains were also found in an area west of the Middle Gate, and also in in the area between (what is thought to be) the main gate and the Middle gate (Papadopoulos 1979, 47).

3.4 Chalandritsa

Chalandritsa was first identified in 1985, the site was excavated in 1996, and then again from 2002-2004. These excavations revealed a site dating to the LH IIIB/C period. This site occupied a very strategic position, and had been on a road that led from the coastal areas to the mountainous areas (Moschos 2007, 33). Its position on a hill allowed control of the surrounding valleys and the plain of Tritaia. The settlement also had visual contact with Teichos Dymaion (Rizio 2011, 44). Occupation of the site is witnessed from the LH IIIB-IIIC period, and it may also be possible that it had been in use since the LH IIIA period also.

Figure 3.4.1. shows the layout of the settlement, and the buildings were arranged in concentric circles on the hilltop (Moschos 2007, 33; Rizio 2011, 44). The buildings were rectangular or trapezoidal, and would have had either one or two floors (CSMA CH 2012). Each room featured one or two internal spaces, and the ground floor of

these rooms would have been used either for storage or for warming the house by use of a hearth (Rizio 2011, 46). Similarly to Aigion and Aigeira, the walls of the buildings were made from mud-brick superstructure standing on a stone foundation, with the foundations being all that survive today (see Fig. 3.4.2.).



Figure 3.4.1: The foundations of the settlement at Chalandritsa, as seen today (Rizio 2011).



Figure 3.4.2: The foundations of the settlement at Chalandritsa, as seen today (Rizio 2011).

The finds from Chalandritsa include utensils, stone and bone tools, whorls and loom weights, flint cores, marine shells for decorative purposes (many of them had been perforated in order to wear as amulets), and bronze objects (CSMA CH 2012). Coarse pottery (mostly LH IIIC), weaving implements and many unfinished seals have led to the conclusion that there was some kind of workshop at Chalandritsa (Rizio 2011, 46). These finds go some way to show the different activities and industries that may have been operating within Chalandritsa, and show this settlement was prosperous in the LH IIIC period.

Concluding remarks

Overall, it is difficult to attempt to reconstruct LH IIIC settlement patterns in Achaia, when there are so few well documented sites. Teichos Dymaion provides us with the only known fortified site in LH IIIC Achaia – although it is entirely possibly that future projects and excavation could yield more examples. Papadopoulos makes the excellent point that, as of yet, no major settlement site had been found in a coastal area where rich LH cemeteries have been excavated – leading him to also believe that such settlements could be discovered in the future (1979, 47).

The building plans and layouts of the known settlements are particularly hard to find. This means we are forced to use the few we do have to form a picture of LH IIIC settlements in Achaia. This is, of course, a dangerous assumption – and one that may well be altered in light of future excavations and surveys. What we can see is that many of these sites share the same construction methods, settlement layouts, and also evidence for continued occupation from before the LH IIIC period. These sites also took advantage of naturally fortified areas, or areas that are not immediately accessible to surrounding areas – often choosing places with views over these surrounding areas. This may be a reflection of the uncertainty of the post palatial period, and a need for a feeling of protection and safety.

A lack of archaeological data hinders our analysis in some ways, but does allow in depth and detailed analysis of the settlements that are known at this moment in time. By exploring the architecture, building materials, and finds from these sites we can, in some way, reconstruct the settlements of LH IIIC peoples in Achaia.

CHAPTER 4: MATERIAL CULTURE

It is important to examine the ceramic record, metals and small finds, in order to see what types or artefacts were in use in Achaia during the period under discussion. By exploring and increasing our understanding of trade, communications and exchange in post-palatial times we can increase our knowledge and hopefully make new discoveries. The imports and exports from LH IIIC Achaia can go some way to inform us on the external connections and contacts at the time. This chapter will explore the different finds and artefacts that may illustrate these interconnections, placing these in a wider Mediterranean context – and within a Western Mycenaean Koiné tradition.

4.1. Pottery

The ceramic record will form the majority of this chapter, due to the amount we have from excavations in LH IIIC Achaia, and most of the ceramic record that we have comes from the tombs.

Peloponnese: Links with the Argolid are evident in Achaia. The cemetery of Nikoleika has produced many stirrup jars dating to the LH IIIB that are imported from the Argolid; these are also found at Aigion and at Teichos Dymaion (Petropoulos 2007, 257). At Drimaleika a vase and parts of a stirrup jar were also found to be imported from the Argolid (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 172). With these imports being found at several Achaian sites in the LH, this goes some way to show the contact between the two areas.

Dodecanese: As Aigion is one of the better documented sites of LH IIIC Achaia, this is where we begin to see a lot of evidence for connections with other areas of the Mediterranean. The excavations show that there was contact between Achaia and Rhodes in the Dodecanese, during the post-palatial period (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980). The style of some of the pottery found at Aigion is seen to be similar to those from Rhodes. The three handles jars from the cemetery would seem to illustrate a long-term relationship between Achaia and Rhodes in the LH, and that

there may have possibly been a small colony of Rhodians in Achaia (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980). The style of decoration on the vessel below (Fig. 4.1.1.) and another example from Asine are so far the only vessels to show this style of knob decoration in the Greek mainland, there are also two examples from Cyprus – but all other examples come from Rhodes (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 226). There are also globular stirrup-jars that are not of local Achaian style, but similar ones from Rhodes (Kameiros) and dating to LH IIIC, the jar from Aigion is from an unknown context – but due to the stylistic similarities it is also though to date to the LH IIIC (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 226).



Figure 4.1.1: A large three handled jar from Aigion, with most of the known examples of this decoration coming from Rhodes (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 227).

Piriform stirrup jars are common in Rhodes, but they are considered rare in Mainland Greece. However, there are 5 examples from the Aigion region and 3 from South western Achaia. One of the examples from Achaia came from a large piriform jar,

with some relief decoration (Papadopoulos 1979, 132) with common stylistic elements similar to those from Rhodes.

There is one example of a LH IIIC legged square-sided alabastron from Aigion and also another four from south-western Achaia (specific sites are not given), with connections to Rhodes (see below, Fig. 4.1.2.) (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980). The design on this (Fig. 4.1.3.) shallow cup could possibly illustrate a Levantine origin or influence, and Papadopoulos and Jones inform us that this design is also similar to those from the Dodecanese or Cyprus (1980, 228).



Figure 4.1.2: A legged square-sided alabastra from Achaia (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 227).

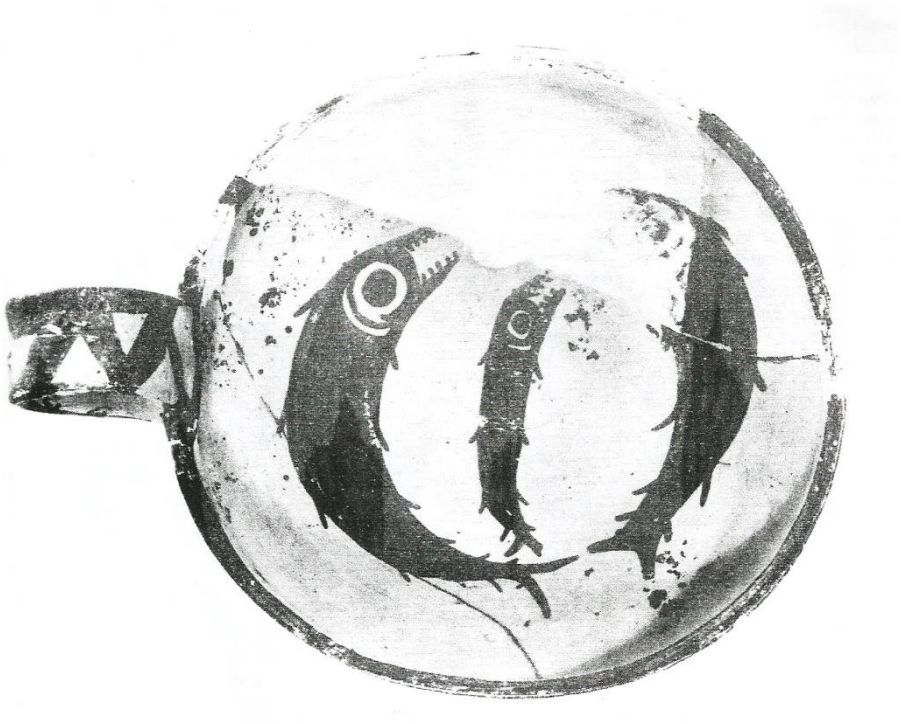


Figure 4.1.3: Shallow cup from Achaea Klauss, possibly showing Levantine influence (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 229).

Papadopoulos is also of the opinion that these finds could show a trade route along the northern Peloponnese to southern Italy, but admits the evidence is poor (1979, 132). What we can say with certainty is that Achaia was, in some way shape or form, in contact with the Dodecanese.

Crete: We see possible Cretan connections from Achaea Klauss cemetery, some of the vessels found look as though they may have been imported from Crete – or possible produced locally as an imitation, as the fabric seems to be the common Achaian fabric of the time (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 95). The possible presence of a Minoan potter has not been out ruled.

Naxos: Achaea Klauss has also produced possible evidence of a connection with Naxos. A stirrup jar from the cemetery has ‘significant similarities’ (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 95) to one from Kamini in Naxos, and it is possible that it may have been imported to Achaia.

Ionian Islands: Kefallonia also seems to have been in contact with Achaia during the LH period. Common shapes (stirrup jars, amphoriskoi, kylikes) and decorative motifs (semicircles, triangles) shared between the two areas would seem to suggest that potters from Kefallonia followed Achaian fashions. Papadopoulos (1979, 130) believes this is the case as the versions from Kefallonia were cruder, and hand-made – in comparison to the Achaian ceramics which were made on a wheel.

Italy: Tentative pottery links with southern Italy may have also been found. The 4 handled jars found that are found both in Achaia and south Italy could serve as evidence of this connection (Papadopoulos 1979, 132).

Cyprus: Papadopoulos has also written about possible connections with Cyprus, or rather 'the problem of relations between Achaea and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age' (1985). As of yet there have not been too many artefacts found to show contact between the two places, however there are some examples. Common elements in the ceramic record would indicate 'close and constant interconnections', as opposed to an exchange of goods which may only show commercial links (Papadopoulos 1985, 141). These common elements can be seen in the bird-askoi (see Fig. 4.1.1.) of LH IIIC/SM date from Klauss, Kangadhi and Kallithea, similar to examples from various Cypriot sites (Papadopoulos 1985, 142). This shape is the best evidence known for a link between Achaia and Cyprus (Papadopoulos 1979, 103; 132). As the clay and paint are of local Achaian production (Papadopoulos 1979, 103; Papadopoulos 1985, 143), it has been suggested that it was the idea behind making this shape or vase that originated from Cyprus. The variations that are seen in the decoration and form of these vessels has been interpreted as the result of Achaian potters visiting Cyprus, and then altering the ceramics locally (Papadopoulos 1985, 143; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011, 660) to fit their own needs.



Figure 4.1.4: An example of one of the bird-askoi found in Achaia (Papadopoulos 1985).

Six Achaian (specific sites are not given) LH IIIB-C stirrup jars and one amphoriskos could be regarded as Cypriot imports, as the decoration is rare except for Late Cypriot III pottery (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011, 659). Stylistic features, such as a semicircle within a triangle, has been found of LH IIIC Achaian stirrup jars – and this is also seen on stirrup jars and other shapes in Cyprus (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011, 661).

4.2. Metals

Aegean (Dodecanese): A bronze spear butt-spike found at Kallithea dates to the LH IIIB/C (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 230), measuring 0.088 m. long (Papadopoulos 1979, 165), and has Rhodian influences.

Italy: A bronze fibula, bronze dagger, and lead six-spoke wheel were discovered at Teichos Dymaion. The fibula below (Fig. 4.2.1.) was dated to the LH IIIC Late, and normally occurs in the Aegean, Italy and the Balkans (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 143). This specific one has the most similarities with those from Italy, and is believed to be an Italian import brought via the Adriatic (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 144). The six-spoke wheel is thought to date to the LH IIIC; this type is thought to have been prominent in Italy and is considered an Italian import (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 144).

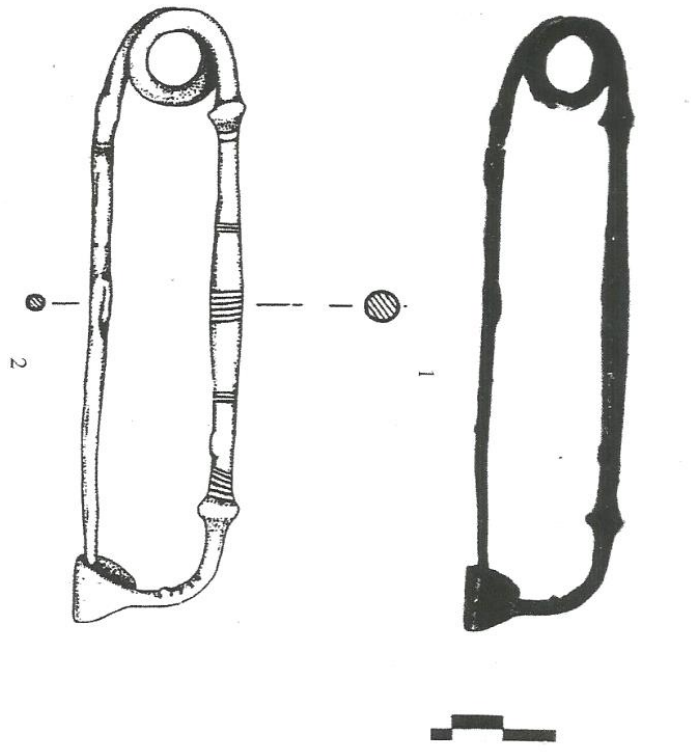


Figure 4.2.1: LH IIIC bronze fibula from Teichos Dymaion (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999).

The ‘Peschiera’ dagger is a bronze dagger (below, Fig. 4.2.2), with an ivory handle, and seems to be from the north of Italy (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou

1999, 144). The dagger has been dated to the early LH IIIC. At the cemetery at Achaea Klauss, a razor with no Aegean parallels was discovered (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 144; Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009, 85) that is 'undoubtedly an Italian import' (Giannopoulos 2009, 119).

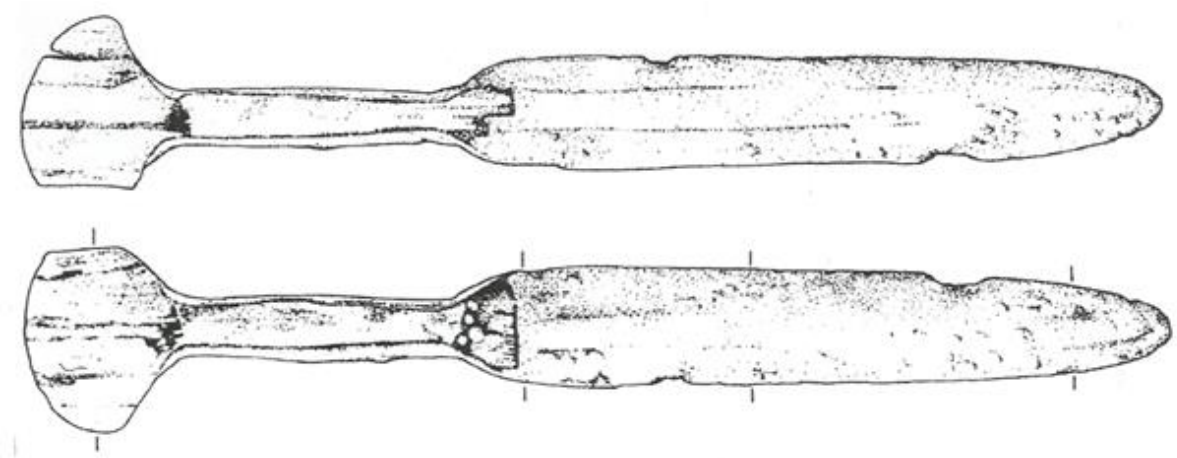


Figure 4.2.2: The 'Peschiera' dagger (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999).

Cyprus: Teichos Dymaion has yielded a possible metal import from Cyprus: a LH III leaden six-spoke wheel was discovered, which has parallels with bronze wheels in Cyprus (Papadopoulos 1985, 142). The wheeled stand to which it belongs is known only in Cyprus to Papadopoulos (1979, 159), and so it is a reasonable conclusion that this could have been imported from Greece.

A pair of LH IIIC bronze greaves from Kallithea are also similar to those from Enkomi in Cyprus (Papadopoulos 1985, 145; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011, 663) and could illustrate links between Achaia and Cyprus. A bronze cup from Katarraktis is also thought to be influenced by Cypriot forms, it could be that this cup was influenced from clay Cypriot prototypes, or was possibly even an import (Papadopoulos 1985, 145). Two iron knives and three iron spearheads from Achaia are thought to have possibly reached Achaia from the Near East, through Cyprus

(Papadopoulos 1985, 145). Iron knives are rare in the Mycenaean world, so two LH IIIC (Eder 2006, 559) iron knives from Teichos Dymaion serve as excellent indicators of the kinds of contact Achaia had during the LBA (Papadopoulos 1979, 156).

4.3. Small finds

Most of the jewellery in the Bronze Age comes from burial contexts, and during the LH IIIC there is only a very small amount found (Thomatos 2006, 234), there have also been dating issues – as jewellery and small finds are often dated in relation to the ceramics they are deposited with. With LH IIIC burials being reused it makes it particularly difficult to accurately date. Other small finds from the tombs include combs and pins.

Small finds with connections to the Dodecanese have been excavated. 27 relief glass beads originally from a necklace, dated to LH IIIC, was found at Katarraktis-Bouga in southwestern Achaia. Katarraktis also yielded 31 glass plaques, and there are 11 similar from Aigion in the LH IIIC too (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980).

At Achaea Klauss necklaces of agate, and glass paste beads, alongside bone and ivory pins and alabaster pyxis, were discovered (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2012, 517).

A ring with amber inlay was also found, with more necklaces and beads too, at the LH IIIC Achaian cemetery of Prostovitsa-Drosia (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2012, 517).

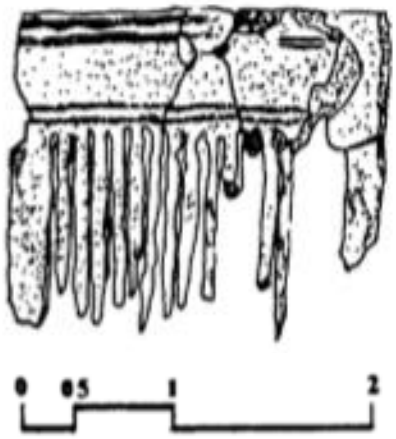


Figure 4.3.1: Ivory comb from Krini (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 185).

Issues with jewellery include difficulty distinguishing everyday jewellery, and funerary jewellery (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2012, 515). There are also gaps in the burial record, and some gifts are not well preserved. However, jewellery can be ‘useful for reconstructing social organisation and social differentiation, either for display of pleasure or distinction and differentiation in their society’ (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2012, 515).

Concluding remarks

It is obvious from the finds presented in this chapter that during the LH IIIC period, Achaia had been in contact with several places outside of their immediate surroundings. The finds from the Dodecanese have led Papadopoulos and Jones (1980, 232) to suggest that people from Rhodes visited various port of calls on the western coast of the Peloponnese – perhaps on their way to southern Italy. The Gymnasium at Aigion is cited as possible proof of a small Rhodian colony being present in the area, and Papadopoulos and Jones think that areas such as Patras and Teichos Dymaion may have provided suitable bases for these proposed Rhodian traders (1980, 232).

The evidence from the Italian imports would suggest that Achaia maintained contacts with Italy during the LH IIIC period. It seems that Italian metal products were attractive for the Mycenaean inhabitants of post-palatial Achaia (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 145).

We also see the evidence of commercial contact with Cyprus as the pottery and artefacts suggest maintained contact between the two areas – especially in the LH IIIB, LH IIIC and SM periods (Papadopoulos 1985, 148; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2011). This is particularly interesting as after the collapse of the palaces, and the centralised systems in place, it seems as though these trade link began to flourish. Further supporting Arena's claim that being on the periphery of the Mycenaean world and not under direct control of the palaces ensured that Achaia survived, and even flourished into the LH IIIC.

The evidence of these trade contacts and long lasting contacts within the Aegean (Papadopoulos and Jones 1980, 232) has also resulted in the opinion that Achaia may have been, along with Cyprus, 'one of the last… strongholds of Mycenaean culture and civilisation' (Papadopoulos 1985, 148).

CHAPTER 5: ACHAIA IN THE WIDER MEDITERRANEAN AND CONCLUSIONS

In trying to determine the changes from LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC/SM Achaia, we must use all the evidence available to us in order to make an informed decision. Unfortunately, the lack of well documented sites from LH IIIC Achaia means we must rely heavily on the funerary evidence.

The material wealth deposited in the tombs could be telling us that people were actually flourishing in a society that was no longer under centralised control from an overarching Mycenaean power (Arena 2015), and that the status of those who could protect them was now elevated to elite.

According to Senn, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces left a “structural vacuum” (2013, 67), in which Achaian communities sought military protection from a threat to which we still do not know the origin. Deger-Jalkotzy reminds us that the idea of the Mycenaean palace collapse leading to the Dark Ages is perhaps not correct, as the period is by “no means devoid of creativity and innovation” (2006, 152).

The desperation of the time can also be seen in the discovery of hoards that were deposited (Senn 2013, 68; Spyropoulos 1972) suggesting people feared for their possessions and were attempting to find a safe place to bury them. However, there is evidence to suggest that despite the uncertainty at the time, it was not all bad. We can see from artefacts examined in the previous chapter that Achaia was maintaining commercial contacts with areas outside of its immediate surroundings during the LH IIIC.

As the 12th Century BCE saw instability, the abandonment of sites, and also the large movements of people (Senn 2013, 68) the immediate effect of the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces would have been one of insecurity. This is likely why people turned to the proposed ‘military elite’ for protection. Papadopoulos believes that it was an influx of refugees to the region of Achaia that could have led to the

introduction of these new weapons and equipment that we see deposited in the LH III C warrior burials (Papadopoulos 1999; Senn 2013).

An increase in the visibility of the military corroborates with the increase in LH III C iconographic representation, where war themes and warriors become more popular (Senn 2013, 73). This also links in to the social order and hierarchy at the time; Senn believes that it is possible that the "communities of Achaia may have maintained a relative independence from each other" (2013, 69). She believes that the region would not have acquired a "Mycenaean-like" central structure where there had not previously been one in existence (Senn 2013, 69). This would disagree with Papadopoulos who, as mentioned earlier, maintained that the military elite were maintaining a Mycenaean-like organisation (Papadopoulos 1999, 272).

Deger-Jalkotzy further discusses the possible social organisation of the time, with the possibility of it now being "small autonomous polities, each under a local political leadership" (2006, 169). We can see from the warrior burials, to be explored further in later chapters, that there is a certain amount of social differentiation during the LH IIIC. With the richer warrior burials, it is possible that we may be seeing the burials of these local political leaders.

Being situated on the periphery of the Mycenaean world, Achaia actually seems to have benefited from the collapse of the palatial system. We see that settlement patterns are more or less unchanged, and we do not see much evidence for people leaving the area (based on the number of burials, and the re-use of the chamber tombs). We see finds in the tombs of desirable materials, such as ivory and iron, so we have evidence of prosperity in the LH IIIC period (Eder 2003, 38).

It has been suggested that after the collapse of the centrally organised trade of the palatial period, regions such as Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus would have benefited from free trade enterprise (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 142). I believe that this could have also been the case for Achaia following the collapse of the palaces. The evidence that has been examined throughout this dissertation, primarily from burial sites, has shown that Achaia still very much maintained, and perhaps even extended, their commercial trade and exchange links - despite the interruption to trade. Moschos (2009a, 383) is also of the opinion that due to the disruptions to

trade following the collapse of the palaces, Achaia was then able to conduct the ‘unobstructed continuation of commercial relations between the East and the West’.

Common elements are shared between the Mycenaean material of Achaia and the Ionian islands, specifically Kefallonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca (Papadopoulos 1995, 201). These common elements led Papadopoulos to suggest that ‘a distinctive west Peloponnesian provincial style of Late Mycenaean ceramics had been developed there (in Achaia), forming a miniature Mycenaean Koiné’ (1976, 131). With the presence of Achaia- produced pottery on Kefallonia and also of Kefallonian imports in Achaia (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 141), we see that these two areas were engaged in a commercial relationship of some kind. These external relations of the LH IIIC period are also shown in the adaption of western technologies in the local metal workshops (Moschos 2009a, 386). This also links into the warrior burials of the LH IIIC, and the change from the Aegean type sword, to the appearance of the Naue II type swords that are deposited in the warrior burials.

Eder and Jung (2005, 486) are of the opinion that after the collapse, contact between Greece and Italy became stronger, and we do see evidence of these continued contacts with artefacts such as the fibula and other metal finds from Teichos Dymaion (Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999). This is evidence for Italo-Mycenaean relations in the LH IIIC/SM period reaching ‘complex levels of interaction’ (Eder and Jung 2005, 493) at the time.

Eder and Jung (2005, 489) write that it would have been the acquisition and other desirable resources would have been the main motivation for pursuing and creating relations and trade after the collapse of the palatial economic and trade systems.

Trade was now in the hands of private individuals (Eder 2003, 49), and trade was on a much smaller and regional scale. Despite this, the material culture from the toms illustrates that these connections were strong, and able to provide the resources and items that were desirable to the people of post-palatial Achaia. Access to routes, with trade in raw materials ad also luxury items, would have become less limited on a regional as well as on an inter-regional level (Eder 2003, 37).

To summarise, it is believed that after the fall of the palaces it was the chiefdoms, surviving after the palaces, that became the “dominant form of organisation in the LH III C period” (Arena 2015, 37). The rise of the military elite places more emphasis on personal capabilities rather than kinship (Papadopoulos 1991, Senn 2013), illustrated that people were looking for protection. As Achaia was on the periphery of the Mycenaean world, it is believed by many (Moschos 2009, 362; Arena 2015) that the area was less affected by the fall of the palatial states, as they had not been under as much direct control or influence. This could perhaps be why we do not see the same situation in Achaia as in the rest of the Mycenaean world, in terms of the continuation of parts of the Mycenaean culture – and also the introduction of a new social order evident through the warrior burials.

The strategic location of Achaia within the Mediterranean, with direct access to the Adriatic region and the Ionian Islands, is likely what enabled the area to be a part of these trade networks and to access materials and valuables. Teichos Dymaion, I believe, would have been an extremely important site in this Western Mycenaean Koiné.

The LH IIIC/SM period cannot be thought of as a period of deterioration, we see intensive contact and communication (Eder 2003, 37), and the collapse provided new to establish connections with places and regions outside Achaia itself. The tombs, settlements, and material culture of LH IIIC/SM Achaia would seem to very much illustrate a region in transition, but by no means one of decline.

APPENDICES

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