Chapter 3

Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

In the previous two chapters the research problems which are central to this PhD study (Chapter 1) and the methodological approach used to address them (Chapter 2) have been introduced. The aim is to establish the degree of the deployment of Mycenaean material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean. For this purpose, in Chapter 2 a methodology, referred to as neo-culture history, based on the contextual production of groups in tombs was developed. In this chapter, the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland in the Late Bronze Age will be approached from this perspective. The aim is to establish whether it is possible for different tomb assemblages to be recognized in it, which may be seen as the manifestation of distinct groups in Mycenaean society. Before discussing this, however, attention will first be paid to the various uses of the term “Mycenaean” in the archaeological literature.

3.1 The use of the term “Mycenaean”

The term “Mycenaean” is typically used to refer to the dominant archaeological culture of the central and southern Greek mainland during the Late Bronze Age.\(^1\) An archaeological culture essentially provides an overview of – what are considered to be – the most characteristic cultural traits found within a specific area during a certain time period. The concept and the research paradigm it constitutes part of, the culture-historical approach, were discussed in section 2.2.1. An example of a culture-historical definition of the term “Mycenaean”, as an archaeological culture, is given below:

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\(^1\) Gates 1995, 290; Wright 2004, 134; Mac Sweeney 2008, 105-6; Burns 2010b, 41-72; Sherratt 2010, 10-1.
The term Mycenaean indicates a cultural assemblage consisting of LH pottery and other artifact types that have been associated with it, such as figurines, metal objects, architectural forms and techniques, tomb types, and [Linear B] writing.\(^2\)

As discussed in Chapter 2, it is commonplace to equate archaeological cultures with distinct peoples or ethnic groups. Similarly, there has been a tendency to regard the material traits listed above as the manifestation of the “Mycenaean people”.\(^3\) It is, however, usually not necessary for the whole assemblage to be present in order for ‘Mycenaeans’ to be ‘identified’ in the archaeological record. A case in point is represented by the trend to see the occurrence of Mycenaean pottery as a confirmation of the presence of ‘Mycenaeans’.\(^4\) In this way, ‘Mycenaean’ settlements, mostly of a commercial nature (also known as “emporia”),\(^5\) have, for example, been identified in the central\(^6\) and eastern Mediterranean.\(^7\) But if it is possible for ‘Mycenaeans’ to be identified on the basis of pottery alone, then how objective can the “cultural assemblage” from the citation above be considered to be? In order for this question to be answered, we need to look at the circumstances under which this definition was formulated.

Until recently, archaeological research targeting the Late Bronze Age in Greece was mainly concentrated on élite centers, which were usually readily identifiable because monumental features, such as fortification walls and gates, had never completely disappeared under the surface. Clear examples are the Cyclopean constructions of Tiryns and Mycenae, which were being discussed by scholars long before H. Schliemann began his excavations there in the late 19\(^{th}\) century.\(^8\) Both of these sites have been under excavation for over one hundred years now.\(^9\) Other well-known élite centers in mainland Greece are Pylos in Messenia\(^10\) and Thebes in Boeotia.\(^11\) The number of excavations of sites with monumental architecture\(^12\) has not been counterbalanced by a corresponding interest for lower-level,
particularly rural sites, although their number has been increasing in recent years.\(^{13}\) The result of this research bias is that our understanding of Mycenaean culture is strongly elitist in nature.\(^{14}\) The same bias is also reflected in the culture-historical definition of the term “Mycenaean” presented above, since some of the criteria listed in it have a distribution limited largely to palatial centers. This, for example, applies to Linear B tablets\(^{15}\) and specific building and tomb types, such as the megaron\(^{16}\) and the tholos.\(^{17}\) We can thus conclude that the culture-historical definition of “Mycenaean” is a construct reflective of contemporary research interest in ‘Mycenaean’ élites.

Even though what tends to be considered as typical “Mycenaean” is strongly elitist in nature, and therefore applies to only a small part of Greece’s Late Bronze Age population, the traits associated with it have come to be used in such a way as to be representative of Mycenaean society as a whole. As noted in Chapter 2, this is also what characterizes the culture-historical approach: the tendency to equate archaeological cultures with ethnic groups.\(^{18}\) Besides a common or material culture, in the case of Mycenaean Greece this picture of ethnic unity is reinforced by the apparent linguistic homogeneity on the Greek mainland during the Late Bronze Age. Clay tablets found at a number of sites distributed across the Mycenaean cultural realm have revealed the use of a shared writing system, called Linear B. This script was used to write an early form of ancient Greek.\(^{19}\)

Another source which seems to suggest that the Mycenaean Greeks might have constituted an ethnic – and possibly also a political – unity are the Homeric epic poems. It is said that the Greeks, who are collectively being referred to as the Achaioi (also see section 1.2), were united under king Agamemnon of Mycenae, whence they crossed the Aegean and fought the famous war against Troy. Most scholars agree that the Homeric poems were written down around the 8\(^{\text{th}}\)-7\(^{\text{th}}\) century BC. Rather than an accurate representation of Greece during the Late Bronze Age, the world created by Homer is regarded as a patchwork or a bricolage with influences from the various chronological phases in the course of which these poems were written down, copied, reinterpreted, etc.\(^{20}\)

\(^{13}\) Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 308.
\(^{14}\) Bennet 1999, 224; Mac Sweeney 2008; Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 308.
\(^{15}\) Driessen 2008; Palaima 2010, 358.
\(^{16}\) Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 290-1.
\(^{17}\) Ibidem, 290-1.
\(^{18}\) Díaz-Andreu 2005, 2.
\(^{19}\) Palaima 2010.
\(^{20}\) Raaflaub 1997 (see, also, Hall 2002, 54, fn. 101-2).
The cultural assemblage we call “Mycenaean”, as well as the assumption that it is representative of the Mycenaean people in general can thus be seen as a construction based on the research standards of the late 19th-20th century. The developments in the contemporary archaeological discourse have, however, not gone unnoticed in Aegean archaeology. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the problems with the culture-historical approach is its normative conception of culture, which essentially means that members of one ethnic group all think – and on the basis of that act – alike. These shared norms manifest themselves in a homogeneous material culture (see section 2.2.1). What is stressed in the contemporary discourse is the active role of social agents in the formation of the archaeological record. Rather than passively reflecting ideas, material culture is actively used by social agents for a variety of different purposes. One way material culture might be used is to express and manipulate identities. In a recent article entitled “Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery” B. Feuer (2011) has attempted to use these insights to develop a new more up-to-date conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”. This article is briefly discussed below.

The argument of Feuer is based on the supposition that “Mycenaean” denotes the ethnic identity of the members of the élite governing class of Late Bronze Age Greece (for comments on the elitist nature of the culture-historical conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”, see above). Based on a review of relevant anthropological and sociological sources, he stresses that the meaning of “Mycenaean” is contextually constituted. Feuer, subsequently, wonders how Mycenaean ethnicity may have differed regionally. In his research, the focus is on the opposition between the Mycenaean heartland, which he identifies with southern Greece, and such ‘peripheral’ areas as Thessaly, Crete and the Cycladic islands. In contrast to the Greek mainland, where the political hegemony of the Mycenaes would have been largely uncontested, in these peripheral areas, because of the relational or dyadic nature of ethnic identity (see section 2.1), it would have been necessary for the Mycenaeans to ‘redefine’ themselves socially, vis-à-vis any ethnic ‘others’. According to Feuer, this combination of factors (the presence of ethnic ‘others’ and the contingent ‘redefinition’ of what it meant to be a “Mycenaean”) manifests itself in culturally ‘mixed’ archaeological assemblages consisting “of two or more cultures or ethnic groups”. The question remains,
however: how do we recognize ‘Mycenaeans’ in the archaeological record? If the meaning of “Mycenaean”, as suggested by Feuer, is contingent on the context of interaction, the criteria marking this identity might have differed from context to context. Because of this uncertainty, according to Feuer, the only ‘Mycenaeans’ that can be positively identified, with some degree of certainty, are those that have the “full range” of Mycenaean cultural diacritics associated with them.  

He considers those traits as diacritics which from the culture-historical perspective are regarded as characteristic of Greece in the Late Bronze Age. Hence, we see the same features as in the definition of “Mycenaean” given at the beginning of this section: Linear B writing, architecture, tomb types (chamber and tholos tombs), (decorated) pottery and terracotta figurines.

The conclusion reached by Feuer makes clear the extent to which our conception of what is “Mycenaean” is entrenched in the culture-historical framework, in which it was developed (see above). The approach developed here acknowledges the importance of the insights which have been gained in connection with the culture-historical perspective, but I believe that in order to further increase our understanding of the Mycenaean world new ways of studying it have to be developed. In Chapter 2 the approach used in this PhD study, which is referred to as neo-culture history, was introduced. The aim is to investigate the nature and degree of the deployment of material culture to express group identities in the archaeological burial record. As discussed in Chapter 2, groups are defined on the basis of structural relations between artifacts within funerary assemblages. Two such types of relations are distinguished: relations of similarity and difference. The former can be seen as a way of expressing similarities between groups, manifested in traits cross-cutting the different types of assemblages identified. It was hypothesized that these similarities might be ethnic in nature. Relations of difference relate to features distinguishing groups from each other. These manifest themselves in combinations of objects that do not appear in any of the other groups. The meaning of such differences might be religious, political or economic in nature. The aim of this PhD study is to define these groups in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference. We can only speculate about the meaning behind these relations. In this chapter the archaeological burial record of the central and southern Greek mainland will be approached from a neo-culture historical perspective (see sections 3.3 to 3.7 below). Before

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27 Ibidem, 528.
28 For a bibliography see Feuer 2011, 512-4.
this, it is necessary for certain methodological aspects, such as the chronological and geographical range of this PhD study, to be considered.

### 3.2.1 Chronological and geographical range

This research concentrates on the Late Bronze Age, which on the Greek mainland is also known as the Late Helladic Period. In absolute terms, it corresponds to about 1700 to 1100 BC. This study focuses on only part of this period, namely on the so-called “Palatial period of Late Helladic IIIA-B” (hereafter LHIIIA-B), i.e. 14th-13th centuries BC. This period has been divided into four sub-phases, which are distinguished on the basis of the different kinds of Mycenaean pottery associated with them:

- LHIIB-IIIA1 (1st half of 14th century BC)
- LHIIIA2 (2nd half of 14th century BC)
- LHIIIB1 (1st half of 13th century BC)
- LHIIIB2 (2nd half of 13 century BC)

The study of Mycenaean pottery can be seen as its own distinctive research topic. There are many scholars who have made major contributions to this field of research. One of the most important reference works is A. Furumark’s “The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification” (1941). He introduced a system for classifying individual pot shapes and motifs, the so-called Furumark Shape (henceforth FS) and Furumark Motif (henceforth FM) number indices. Mention should also be made of E. French, who has published numerous important articles on the evolution of Mycenaean pottery on the basis of her work at Mycenae. She trained my students, including P.A. Mountjoy, who has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 for her role in the debate on the Mycenaean ‘presence’ in the south-eastern Aegean (see section 1.2). She is especially well known for the two-volume monograph “Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery” (henceforth RMDP) (1999a) published by her in which a chronological overview (from LHI to LHIIIC) of the decorated pottery from every major region of (modern) Greece is offered. Most of the stylistic dates used in this dissertation have been adopted from this work.

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29 Mountjoy 1999a, 17, Table 1; Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2.; Rutter 2010, 418-20.
30 Mountjoy 1999a, 17, Table 1.
31 Furumark 1941 (for a recent critique of Furumark’s classificatory systems, see Sherratt 2011).
32 See, for example, French 1964; French 1965; French 1966; French 1969.
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

The geographical range of this chapter coincides with the supposed ‘heartland’ of Mycenaean civilization, which is the area upon which our current understanding of what is meant by the term “Mycenaean” is based (see section 3.1 above). The following regions of the Greek mainland will be taken into consideration: Boeotia (Map 4), Attica (Map 5), the Korinthia (Map 6), the Argolid (Map 7), Laconia (Map 9) and Messenia (Map 10). With the exception of the Korinthia, where so far no settlement with monumental architecture has been discovered, in all of these regions one or more palace-centered citadels have been localized. Palatial structures have, for example, been excavated at Thebes in Boeotia, Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, the Menelaion in Laconia and Pylos in Messenia. There was probably a monumental building on top of the Acropolis of Athens in Attica, although, because of building activities in later periods, few remains of it have survived. Most scholars believe that these palace-centered citadels formed the centers of small to medium-sized territorial states.

3.2.2 Tombs and burial practices in Mycenaean Greece

Since, from a contextual perspective, funerary assemblages cannot be considered outside the context from which they were retrieved, before moving on to discuss these (see section 3.3 to 3.7), attention shall first be paid to the different types of tombs and burial customs found on the Greek mainland in LHIIIA-B.

A variety of tomb types is attested on the Greek mainland during the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. The most characteristic are the so-called beehive or tholos and chamber tomb. Chamber tombs are rock-cut graves. They consist of three integral components: a

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33 Snodgrass 2002; Shelton 2010, 142; Feuer 2011, 515.
34 Pullen/Tartaron 2007.
35 Shelmerdine 2008, 117-27; a Mycenaean state was probably also located on the island of Crete in this period. However, as noted above, the geographic scope of this study is limited to the conventional Mycenaean heartland (Shelmerdine 2008, 115). For the same reason, more peripheral areas, such as Thessaly (Feuer 2011), and Epirus (Tartaron 2004) and Achaia in north-eastern and north-western Greece respectively, are also not included in this study. To what extent the patterns observed in the Mycenaean heartland also appear in these more peripheral areas may be investigated in a future research project.
36 See, for example, Mountjoy 1995a, 22-4.
37 Shelmerdine/Bennett 2008, 289; Shelton 2010, 144; Tartaron 2013, 16-7 (for a different view, see Kelder 2012a; Kelder 2012b).
39 Another related type is the built chamber tomb (Papadimitriou 2001). This type is, however, not very common. (A large number of such tombs were excavated at Eleusis in Attica. These are discussed in section 3.6.2 below.) In this case, similar to the tholos, the walls are made of dry-stone walling rather than being rock-cut.
sloping dromos or entranceway, a blocking wall closing the entrance and the actual burial chamber (Fig. 1). The layout of tholoi principally follows the same general scheme. However, instead of rock-cut, their dromos walls and vaulted chamber are made of dry-stone walling. Both types are multiple tombs. This means that they were designed to be reopened for successive burials and other (post-mortem) rituals. Single graves, like earth-cut pits and slab-lined cists, also occur, but are considerably fewer in number than the chamber tombs, which clearly predominate the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B period. As noted in Chapter 1, the chamber tomb is also the most common tomb type in the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean.

The distribution of tholos and chamber tombs in the different parts of the Greek mainland during the LHIIIA-B period is not homogeneous. Many chamber tombs have, for example, been excavated in Boeotia, Attica and the Argolid. In the Korinthia, Laconia and Messenia, on the other hand, their number is much more limited. It is important to point out, however, that there are quite a number of sites in these regions that have not yet (fully) been published. The highest concentration of tholoi is found in Thessaly, the Argolid and Messenia. We know of only a few beehive graves from other parts of the Greek mainland, including Boeotia and the Korinthia. In any case, in comparison with the chamber tomb, their overall number is quite small.

Besides a difference in number, there are several other notable differences between chamber and tholos tombs. The tholos, which is often monumental in size, appears to have been reserved for the leading families or élite minority of Mycenaean society. In addition to their monumental character, which may be seen as an indication of the large-scale organized labor required for their construction, they also often contained – although many of them were found in a robbed state – a considerable number of objects made from rare and exotic materials, including gold, silver, ivory, alabaster and rock-crystal.

Chamber tombs come in different shapes (e.g. rectangular, circular, trapezoidal, etc.) and sizes. There are both small and large graves. In general, in terms of the number and

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40 Cavanagh 2010, 328.
41 Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 62.
42 Mee 2010, 286.
43 Korinthia: Aedonia (Demakopoulou 2006); Laconia: Sykia (Efstathiou 2008) and Epidauros Limera (Demakopoulou 1968; Gallou 2008); Messenia: Ellinika (Koumouzelis 1996).
44 Cavanagh 2010, 330.
46 Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 63-4 (see, also, Georgiadis 2003, 59).
47 Voutsaki 2001, 199.
variety of objects other than pottery, they are less ‘wealthy’ than tholos graves. There is, however, a tendency for larger chamber tombs to contain more artifacts made from rare and exotic materials associated than smaller ones (e.g. Athenian Agora Tomb 1 and Prosymna Tomb 2). As shown in the discussion of the assemblages below, this is definitely not a fixed pattern. We also have large tombs with only a few offerings other than pottery (e.g. Prosymna Tomb 15); or vice versa, small graves that contain many (e.g. Prosymna Tomb 51).

Apart from tomb type, there is also some (regional) variation in the treatment of the dead. At the chamber tomb cemetery of Tanagra in Boeotia the dead were, for example, placed in clay coffins or larnakes. This practice is well known from Minoan Crete (e.g. LMIIIA chamber tomb cemetery at Mochlos). The Tanagra casus is exceptional, however, since it was commonplace in the Mycenaean world for the dead, either in a chamber or tholos tomb, to be laid out on the floor.

From this point onwards, my focus will mainly be on chamber tombs. Even though this is not the only type of tomb found in Late Helladic Greece, it is the most common and widespread. As noted in Chapter 1, with a few exceptions, the archaeological burial record of the Late Bronze Age south-eastern Aegean has also almost only yielded chamber tombs.

In order to understand why chamber tombs constitute a suitable context for studying the expression of group identities, we need to take a closer look at how and by whom they were used. In the first place, it has be stressed that the whole concept of the chamber tomb – a grave designed for successive burials – marks a change from a funerary culture in which it was common to be buried individually to one in which it was customary to be placed with others in collective graves. It is generally assumed that these others were family members and/or other close relatives, although this is yet to be confirmed genetically. In this light, it is unfortunate that the bones are often found in a poor state of preservation. Not everybody buried their dead in chamber tombs, however. As indicated above, although they are much less numerous than chamber tombs, we still find single inhumations in pits and cists in Greece in the LHIIIA-B period.

By constructing a chamber tomb and attending to it on a regular basis, to bury the recently passed and/or to celebrate the memory of those who have gone before, an emotional

49 Smith 2010.
50 Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 71-7; Cavanagh 2010, 328, 338-9; Mee 2010, 286.
51 Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 77.
52 Ibidem, 55, 131.
53 Mee 2010, 286.
connection is forged between a tomb and the group who is burying their dead there. A place of memory is created. Although we know only very little about the rituals and ceremonies performed in connection with a ‘Mycenaean funeral’, there is reason to believe that it might have involved a potentially large group of mourners.\(^{54}\) We have depictions on clay larnakes from Tanagra in Boeotia (see above) from which it can be derived that the beginning of a burial ceremony involved a procession (\textit{ekphora}) by which the deceased was escorted from one location (e.g. his/her house) to the tomb/cemetery.\(^{55}\) In this procession objects which were to be deposited inside the grave (e.g. personal possessions or ‘gifts’ from friends or relatives) may have been displayed.\(^{56}\) Our main source of information regarding the rituals and ceremonies that were carried out in and/or outside the tomb is represented by the grave goods and human remains recovered from it. As noted above, dead bodies were usually placed on the floor of the burial chamber. When room for new burials had to be made, it was common for the remains of earlier ones to be heaped together in a corner, alongside one of the walls or placed in a pit cut into the floor of the burial chamber.\(^{57}\) According to W.G. Cavanagh, this involved the removing of the bones, to be secondarily reburied, from the tomb into the dromos, where, before returning them, the main ceremony would have taken place (possibly the cleansing or anointing of the bones) (for further discussion of this topic, see Chapter 6).\(^{58}\)

Internments which are still in situ at the time of excavation are called “primary burials”. They are often – but not always – the final burial to have been placed inside a particular tomb. In such cases, the skeleton is usually found in good order (unless a tomb was robbed or the roof collapsed) with any pots and/or other objects positioned around it. The heaps of bones found in many Mycenaean chamber tombs are called secondary burials.\(^{59}\) They often contain the (re-buried) remains, consisting of both bone material and burial offerings, of multiple internments. In such secondary deposits, it is usually not possible for the remains of individual burials to be kept apart. Because chamber tombs have often been used for multiple generations, undisturbed primary burials are not as common as secondary ones.

Other rituals which may have been performed in and/or outside the tomb include the consumption of a funerary meal, the offering of libations and burial gifts to the deceased and

\(^{54}\) Voutsaki 1998, 45-6; Burns 2010b, 184-5.
\(^{55}\) Burns 2010b, 183; Mee 2010, 286-7.
\(^{56}\) Burns 2010b, 185.
\(^{57}\) Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76; Cavanagh 2010, 339-40; Mee 2010, 288.
\(^{58}\) Cavanagh 1978, 171-2 (see, also, Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 76).
the drinking of a final toast in his/her honor,\textsuperscript{60} which might be supported, archaeologically, by the discovery of numerous fragments of mainly unpainted kylikes or (stemmed) drinking cups at tomb entrances, in particular in the Argolid, where this appears to have been a common practice.\textsuperscript{61} This provides additional evidence for the supposition that in the Mycenaean world funerals might have attracted potentially large groups of mourners (see above). All of these activities contributed to the formation of what in this study are called funerary assemblages. In connection with the relation between a tomb and the people burying their dead inside of it (see above), we may conclude that the various rituals and ceremonies described above ultimately “serve[d] to reproduce the collective identity of a group over a long period of time”.\textsuperscript{62} For this reason, I believe that chamber tombs are suitable contexts for studying the expression of group identities in the archaeological burial record of Late Bronze Age Greece. It is to the dating of the funerary assemblages through which these identities are studied here that I shall now turn.

3.2.3 The dating of funerary assemblages

In contrast to settlement sites, where the different phases of habitation have often led to a series of superimposed cultural layers or strata, such a vertical stratigraphy is not common in tombs.\textsuperscript{63} The only stratigraphically closed burial deposits found within Mycenaean chambers tomb are represented by the items placed in sealed containers like pits or cists cut into the floor of the burial chamber. Such receptacles usually contain secondary deposits, which, as noted above, often have associated with them the remains of multiple interments. These can belong to more than one generation. Consequently, rather than as closed ‘time capsules’, Mycenaean multiple tombs can, as argued by G.J. van Wijngaarden, best be characterized as “open archaeological contexts”.\textsuperscript{64} This openness relates to both the past as well as the present. Concerning the past, when a tomb had to be reopened for the introduction of a new burial, new objects were added to the tomb. At the same time, it was possible for ‘old’ items stemming from previous burials to be reused, or, alternatively, be removed from it altogether.\textsuperscript{65} Hence, a tomb assemblage should be seen as the dynamic outcome of a long

\textsuperscript{60} Burns 2010b, 182-4.
\textsuperscript{61} Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 115.
\textsuperscript{62} Van Wijngaarden 2012, 64.
\textsuperscript{63} There are some examples of tombs, in which the remains from successive periods were separated by a layer of earth (e.g. Athenian Agora Tomb 7; Prosymna Tomb 44; Pylos Tombs E-6 and E-9).
\textsuperscript{64} Van Wijngaarden 2012, 63.
\textsuperscript{65} Gallou 2005, 112-7.
process. Another factor adding to the open character of these funerary assemblages is the possibility that a tomb and its finds were looted, either in antiquity or in more recent times.

The most important way to establish the length of time during which a Mycenaean chamber tomb was used is by means of the stylistic dates that have been assigned to the ceramic vessels found inside of it. It is also by association with the pottery that the offerings other than pottery are dated, since most do not have their own typo-chronology and, therefore, cannot be dated out of context. Individual pots, in particular vases with a pattern-painted decoration, can usually be dated on the basis of morphological and/or stylistic criteria. These indicators are, for example, based on the presence of a certain kind of decoration, such as the use of stipple (FM 77), which is mainly found in LHIIB-IIIA1 (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above).  Another criterion is represented by vessel types which were in circulation only during a specific period of time, such as the LHIIB-IIIA1 handleless jar (FS 77), which often has stipple (FM 77) as its main decorative motif. Another example is the so-called “Zygouries kylix” (FS 258A), which is typical of LHIIIB1.

It is, however, not possible for all vases or pottery fragments found in a particular tomb to be dated with certainty. This applies especially to vessels without painted decoration, including cups (FS 222), bowls (FS 295) (Fig. 7), jugs (FS 109) (Fig. 56) and amphorae (FS 68). These pot forms typically exhibit only minor inter-period morphological changes. Because these vessels can belong to more than one stylistic phase, it is usually possible for them to be dated by association with the decorated pottery together with which they are found. Apart from most unpainted vases, there are also some decorated vase types, which are difficult to date in isolation, especially when dealing with fragments. For example, stirrup jars (FS 171-178) (Fig. 72), miniature jugs (FS 112-115) (Fig. 69) and feeding bottles (FS 159-162) (Fig. 99) can often be assigned to both LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB (for an overview chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above). This has to do with the life span of individual pot forms. The issue might be resolved when it is possible for the rest of the pottery from a particular assemblage to be assigned to a single stylistic horizon (i.e. LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB). This, however, need not always be the case. There is, for example, also the possibility that stylistically older pots, either new ones imitating old ones or heirlooms, are placed in a tomb together with vases of a much later date.

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66 Mountjoy 1986, 51.
67 Ibidem, 93.
68 Ibidem, 79-81.
69 Mühlenbruch 2009, 24.
Another problem is related to the dating of tomb assemblages from LHIIIB. This period has been divided into two sub-phases, namely LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2 (see section 3.2.1 above), which roughly correspond with the first and the second half of the 13th century BC, respectively. The distinction between both phases is based on several indicators. For example, typical of LHIIIB1 is the Zygouries kylix (FS 258A).\(^70\) There are no more pattern-painted kyliles in LHIIIB2, which, at least in the Argolid, is characterized by the presence of two distinctive types of deep bowls (FS 284), i.e. the deep bowl type B and rosette bowl.\(^71\) However, both vessel forms have mainly been found in settlement contexts. They are rare in tombs.\(^72\) Consequently, on the Greek mainland as well as outside of it, it is generally difficult to make a distinction between tomb assemblages from LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2. For this reason, in this research, LHIIIB is treated as a single, admittedly rather long, period.

Having established the methodological framework of this PhD study, in the rest of this chapter the attention will be on the funerary assemblages yielded by the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland in the Late Bronze Age. I will first focus on the materials from the cemeteries excavated in the Athenian Agora in Attica (see section 3.3 below) and at Prosymna in the Argolid (see section 3.4 below). As discussed in section 3.1 above, the assemblages are compared in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference, which form the basis on which in this dissertation group identities are defined. Both sites are compared with in section 3.5 below. In the remainder of the chapter, other sites from the different parts of the Greek mainland will be considered (e.g. Kolonaki in Boeotia, Eleusis in Attica, Kalkani in the Argolid and Pylos in Messenia) in order to see whether there are any trends which are common to the Greek mainland in general. Alternatively, it may also be possible for certain traits to be limited to only one or several regions. The results of this inter-regional comparison are presented in section 3.7.

### 3.3 The cemetery in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (see Appendix I)

\(^{70}\) Mountjoy 1986, 93.
\(^{71}\) Ibidem, 121.
\(^{72}\) Shelton 1996, 290, 293; Shelton 2000, 38, fn. 10.
About fifty tombs have been excavated in the Agora at Athens (Map 5). An overview of the individual grave inventories is provided in Appendix I at the back of this dissertation. There are about twenty-three chamber and twelve pit or cist tombs. In contrast to the chambers, usually containing multiple (primary and/or secondary) inhumations, the pit- and cist-graves produced only single burials. The rest is comprised of graves, of which the original type(s), because of the poor state of some of the tombs, could not be established with certainty.

Ceramic vessels of all major stylistic phases have been found: LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. There were more tombs in use LHIIB-IIIA1 than in any other period; circa twenty-three in LHIIB-IIIA1, seventeen in LHIIIA2 and five in LHIIIB.

The study of the funerary assemblages from the Agora has led to the identification of three groups. In what follows, they are referred to as “Agora-1”, “Agora-2” and “Agora-3”. Before discussing these groups in terms of their constituting relations of difference – what separates them from each other – I will first pay attention to the features they have in common. As noted in section 3.1 above, such features are seen as the manifestation of relations of similarity, which are interpreted here as an expression of a shared, possible ethnic, collective identity.

### 3.3.1 Relations of similarity: LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB

There are a number of material traits the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” graves have in common. These similarities are discussed in chronological order below.

Twelve of the sixteen assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 come from chamber tombs. The remainder consists of two pit and two cist graves. Apart from tomb type, what the majority of these tombs have in common is that in most of them unguent containers were found. Fourteen of the sixteen graves (c. 88%) had one or several small piriform jars (FS 28
and 31) (Figs. 7, 15, 22, 24 and 27) associated with them. Rounded alabastra (FS 84) also occur in both groups of assemblages (Fig. 16), but predominantly in connection with the “Agora-1” group. With regards to the offerings other than pottery, we see that in both groups of assemblages, but especially in the “Agora-1” group, there is a tendency to include stone conuli and glass beads.

Nine of the eleven assemblages from LHIIIA2 come from chamber tombs. The remainder consists of two pit graves. Unguent containers appear in seven assemblages (c. 64%). Small piriform jars (FS 45) (Fig. 20) and rounded alabastra (FS 85) (Fig. 19) both occur in four graves, two times in combination. Similar to LHIIB-IIIA1, rounded alabastra are mostly found in association with “Agora-1” assemblages. Finally, from two tombs we have a globular stirrup jar (FS 171), one time in combination with a small piriform jar. No shared elements can be discerned with respect to the offerings other than pottery in LHIIIA2. Stone conuli and glass beads are still found in both groups, but are much less common than in the previous period.

The “Agora-1” group is not attested in LHIIB. From this period, we only have three chamber tombs with “Agora-2” assemblages. Only one of these included a rounded alabastron (FS 85-86) and a stirrup jar (FS 180). The above overview shows that in LHIIB-IIIA1 and, albeit to a lesser extent, in LHIIIA2, the “Agora-1” and the “Agora-2” group were

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82 Small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1 were present in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 1 (chamber), 3 (chamber), 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 8 (chamber), 16 (pit grave), 23 (chamber, lower stratum), 24 (chamber), 40 (chamber) and Grave K 2:5 (chamber). The same shape was found in the following “Agora-2” assemblages: Tomb 14 (chamber), 17 (cist grave), 21 (chamber, bone pit), 36 (pit grave) and 37 (cist grave).

83 Rounded alabastra from LHIIB-IIIA1 were present in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 1 (chamber), 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 8 (chamber), 16 (pit grave), Grave K 2:5 (chamber) and Grave J-K 2:2. The only “Agora-2” assemblage with this pot shape is Tomb 21 (chamber, bone pit).

84 Seven of the ten “Agora-1” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 (70%) contained stone conuli versus two of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (c. 33%) from this period. Five of the ten “Agora-1” assemblages (50%) contained glass beads versus two of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (c. 33%). Note that three of the six “Agora-2” assemblages (50%) from LHIIB-IIIA1 did not have any offerings other than pottery associated with them.

85 Tombs 5, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 26, 32 and 35

86 Tombs 11 and 39

87 Small piriform jars from LHIIIA2 were found in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 5 (chamber), 18 (chamber) and 35 (chamber). The only “Agora-2” assemblage from LHIIIA2 is which this shape is present is Tomb 13 (chamber).

88 Rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 were found in the following “Agora-1” assemblages: Tombs 15 (chamber), 18 (chamber) and 35 (chamber). The only “Agora-2” assemblage with a rounded alabastron from LHIIIA2 is Tomb 11 (pit grave).

89 Tombs 5 (chamber) (“Agora-1”) and 26 (chamber) (“Agora-2”)

90 Tomb 5 (chamber) (“Agora-1”)

91 There is one “Agora-1” tomb, of the total of seven (c. 14%), with a stone conulus (Tomb 18) and one with a string of glass beads (Tomb 39). Two of the four “Agora-2” graves (50%) yielded a stone conulus (Tombs 11 and 13).

92 Tombs 14, 20 and 25

93 Tomb 25 (chamber)
connected with each other through the following shared features: tomb type (chamber tomb) and the presence of unguent containers, especially small piriform jars. What is interesting to point out is that the “Agora-3” group lacks exactly these characteristics. This group, which is attested only in LHIIIA2, is made up four graves, consisting of two or three cists and one or two pits. In none of them, any small piriform jars, rounded alabastra or stirrup jars were found. Although there is no connection between these types of tombs and the absence of such vessels, which is clear from the occurrence of small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra in pit and cist graves with “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2, the contrast between the “Agora-3” group on the one hand and the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” group on the other is striking. The members of the “Agora-3” group clearly did not use material culture to show their affiliation with the collectivity with which the “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” groups associated themselves (for more comments on this, see section 3.3.5 below).

3.3.2 Relations of difference: “Agora-1 (1)” in LHIIB-IIIA1

There are two main variants to the “Agora-1” group. In what follows, these are referred to as the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Agora-1 (2)” group (for comments on the “Agora-1 (2)” group, see under section 3.3.3 below). The former is attested with certainty only in LHIIB-IIIA1 (for comments on LHIIIA2, see below). It is possible for two tombs from this period to be associated with this group: Tombs 1 and 3. The “Agora-1 (1)” group, in terms of the pottery, is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 23) (Fig. 2), a stirrup jug (FS 150) (Fig. 3) and a number of open vases which have been tinned in imitation of silver vases, especially kylikes of different shapes (Figs. 4-6). Typical of this group are tinned kylikes with high-swung handle(s) (FS 272-273) (Fig. 6). Another pot shape of which the distribution is limited to the “Agora-1 (1)” group is the tinned shallow angular bowl or shallow bowl with ribbon handles (FS 295).

The “Agora-1 (1)” group, in terms of the offerings other than pottery, is characterized by the presence of a collection of gold leaf ornaments, with the majority consisting of thin discs decorated with a rosette pattern. Apart from that, the assemblages from Tombs 1 and 3,

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94 Tombs 19, 27, 28 and 29
95 Note that the stirrup jug (FS 150) from Tomb 3 was tinned (Immerwahr 1971, 172).
97 Examples of the kylix with high-swung handle(s) came to light in both Tomb 1 and Tomb 3. The shallow angular bowl has a distribution limited to Tomb 3.
which are associated with this group, both included a unique concentration of a specific category of objects. Tomb 1 contained a set of toiletry objects, which consisted of a bronze mirror, two ivory boxes or pyxides (Fig. 8), a pair of ivory hair ornaments, several ivory pins and (probably) part of an ivory comb. Two bronze swords (Sandars type Ci) – both furnished with gold rivets – and a cleaver (Fig. 9) were recovered from Tomb 3. Although individual toiletry articles, such ivory combs\(^98\) and pins,\(^99\) are also known from a number of other tombs at the site, in none of these, a concentration similar to that from Tomb 1 was found.\(^100\) In addition, the distribution of some of the items recovered, most notably the ivory boxes or pyxides, is limited to this one grave. The same applies to the bronze swords from Tomb 3. Although bronze weapons also occur in a number of tombs with “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages, rather than swords,\(^101\) these contained spearheads\(^102\) and/or daggers.\(^103\)

Tombs 1 and 3 are situated in relative proximity to each other on the north slope of the Areopagus, nearest to the Athenian Acropolis. In terms of the length of their dromoi and the size of their chambers, these can be considered the most monumental graves of the cemetery in the Athenian Agora. The chamber of Tomb 1 (Fig. 10) had an area of 24 m\(^2\),\(^104\) that of Tomb 3 an area of roughly 13 m\(^2\) (Fig. 11).\(^105\) This is in stark contrast to the rest of the cemetery. Most of the Agora tombs had burial chambers with surface areas of less than 6 m\(^2\).\(^106\) Although only a few dromoi had been preserved to a considerable length, in view of the large size of its chamber, it seems notable that Tomb 1 had the longest (extant) dromos of the cemetery, at least 11 meters long.\(^107\) Only a small part (c. 3.80 m) of the dromos of Tomb 3 was preserved.\(^108\)

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\(^{98}\) Ivory or bone combs came to light in Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”), 16 (pit grave) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and 23 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”).

\(^{99}\) Ivory or bone pins were found in Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) (“Agora-1 (2)”), 16 (pit grave) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and 21 (chamber, bone pit) (“Agora-2”).

\(^{100}\) We only have combinations of combs and pins from Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 16 (pit grave) (for further comments on these graves, see discussion of the “Agora-1 (2)” group in section 3.3.3 below).

\(^{101}\) The long sword from Tomb 3 has a length of 74 cm (Immerwahr 1971, 175), the shorter one 46 cm, although nothing of the hilt, except two small pieces, was preserved. It must originally have been longer, thereby exceeding the average length of daggers measuring between 30 to 40 cm (ibidem, 176). The daggers from Grave K 2:5 are, for example, 32 and 35 cm in length (Camp 2003, 268). The one from Grave J-K 2:2 is slightly longer with a length of 41 cm (ibidem, 262).

\(^{102}\) Single spearheads come from Tomb 40 (chamber) (“Agora-1 (2)”) and Grave J-K 2:2 (“Agora-1 (2)”).

\(^{103}\) Daggers were found in Graves K 2:5 (“Agora-1 (2)”) and J-K 2:2 (“Agora-1 (2)”).

\(^{104}\) Immerwahr 1971, 159.

\(^{105}\) Ibidem, 171.

\(^{106}\) Immerwahr 1971, 99; Mountjoy 1995a, 36-7.

\(^{107}\) Immerwahr 1971, 159.

\(^{108}\) Ibidem, 171.
A characteristic architectural feature of Tomb 1 is that there were two rock-cut benches along the lateral sides of the burial chamber, on top of which in situ burial offerings were found.\textsuperscript{109} Moreover, beside one of these benches was a cist grave cut into the bedrock. There were no human remains found inside of it.\textsuperscript{110} Tomb 2, which based on the pottery associated with it can be dated LHIIIA2, is the only other chamber tomb with a cist grave cut into the bedrock.\textsuperscript{111} Unfortunately, this grave was badly damaged. Its (extant) ceramic assemblage consisted of only four vessels: a stirrup jar (FS 171), the base of a (large) piriform jar,\textsuperscript{112} a shoulder fragment of a jug and part of a kylix. The original shape of the kylix was either a carinated FS 267 or a FS 272 with one high-slung handle.\textsuperscript{113} Recognizable on its surface were “traces of white”, which may be remnants of an original tin-covering. No other items have been reported from Tomb 2. Although the evidence is limited, based on its location, adjacent to Tombs 1 and 3 on the north slope of the Areopagus (see above), and the possible presence of a tinned kylix and a large piriform jar (see fn. 112), it may belong to the “Agora-1 (1)” group (for an overview of the features characteristic of this group, see Table 1 in section 3.3.4 below).

3.3.3 Relations of difference: “Agora-1 (2)” in LHIIIA2

The “Agora-1 (2)” group is attested in LHIIB-IIIA1\textsuperscript{114} and LHIIIA2.\textsuperscript{115} In terms of the pottery, the assemblages associated with it are characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (FS 109, 133, 144 and 150) (Fig. 12) and open pot shapes, especially (unpainted) kylikes. An important difference with the “Agora-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.3.2 above is that the kylikes found together with the “Agora-1 (2)” group are, as a general rule, not tinned. They are either left unpainted (FS 266) (Fig. 13) or have a painted decoration (FS 264) (Figs. 14 and 21).

Although there are no marked changes in the pot shapes which are typically associated with this group between LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2, this does not apply to the offerings other

\textsuperscript{109} Ibidem, 159.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibidem, 159-160.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibidem, 169-70.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibidem, 170, II-2. The total height of the preserved fragment is circa 13 cm. However, rather than a FS 44-45, as suggested by Immerwahr, which usually have a height of ca. 15 cm, based on the fact that less than half of the vessel was preserved (break below biggest diameter) it seems likely that it originally belonged to a larger vessel, either a large piriform jar (FS 35), a piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) or a stirrup jug (FS 150).
\textsuperscript{113} Ibidem, 170, II-4.
\textsuperscript{114} For “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1, see Appendix I Tombs 7, 16, 23, 24, 40, Grave J–K 2:2 and Grave K 2:5.
\textsuperscript{115} For “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Appendix I Tombs 5, 10, 15, 18, 32, 35 and 39.
than pottery. The “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 usually include glass (c. 63%) and/or stone jewelry beads (75%). Another category of objects which occurs in 50% of the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period is represented by bronze weapons, comprising spearheads (Fig. 17),

daggers (Fig. 18) and arrowheads. Ivory or bone toiletry articles, such as small combs and pins, were present in c. 38% of the assemblages. Such items were found together with bronze weapons (arrowheads) in only one assemblage.

While the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 typically included a variety of different types of objects other than pottery (glass and stone beads, stone conuli and bronze weapons and/or toiletry articles), this was not the case in the subsequent LHIIIA2 phase. Of the seven assemblages attributed to this period two consisted exclusively of pottery. The remaining five each produced a single offering other than pottery, comprising a bronze dagger, a bronze pin, a terracotta figurine, a glass bead necklace and a stone conulus.

3.3.4 Relations of difference: “Agora-2” in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB

The “Agora-2” group is attested in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB (for comments on LHIIB, see below). There are no vase forms which can be considered generally characteristic of it. The only (possible) exception is constituted by ritual vessels (FS 128 and 201). There are only examples of this vessel type from LHIIIA2, during which its distribution is limited to the “Agora-2” group. What distinguishes this group from the two “Agora-1” groups discussed above is that medium or large jugs and open vessel types are usually absent.

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116 Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 40 (chamber) and Grave J–K 2:2 (chamber)
117 Graves J-K 2:2 (chamber) and K 2:5 (chamber)
118 Tomb 7 (chamber, lower stratum)
119 Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum), 16 (pit grave) and 23 (chamber, lower stratum)
120 Tombs 7 (chamber, lower stratum) and 16 (pit grave)
121 Tomb 7 (chamber, lower stratum)
122 Tombs 5 (chamber) and 35 (chamber)
123 Tomb 15 (chamber)
124 Tomb 32 (chamber)
125 Tomb 10 (chamber)
126 Tomb 39 (pit grave)
127 Tomb 18 (chamber)
128 Tombs 8 (chamber), 14 (chamber), 17 (cist), 21 (chamber), 31 (chamber), 36 (pit) and 37 (cist)
129 Tombs 11 (pit), 13 (chamber), 21 (chamber) and 26 (chamber)
130 Tombs 14, 20 and 25
131 Ritual vessels are comprised of a pegtop rhyton (FS 201) from Tomb 21 (chamber) and a hydria with a pierced base (FS 128) from Tomb 26 (chamber).
Offerings other than pottery are more common in LHIIIB-IIIA1 than in LHIIIA2. Of the six assemblages attributed to LHIIIB-IIIA1 three consisted exclusively of pottery.\textsuperscript{132} Common among the remaining three are stone conuli and glass beads, which were found together in two assemblages.\textsuperscript{133} Bronze knives also occur twice.\textsuperscript{134} Finally, we have a pair of toiletry articles, consisting of a bone pin and a bronze mirror from Tomb 21 (chamber, bone pit). One of the four assemblages from LHIIIA2 did not have any offerings other than pottery associated with it. Of the remaining three two produced a stone conulus.\textsuperscript{135} Single finds include a bronze needle and bowl and two terracotta female figurines and a few bits of lead wire.\textsuperscript{138} As is clear, in contrast to the two “Agora-1” groups discussed above, the “Agora-2” assemblages have, as a general rule, no weapons associated with them.

There are three tombs from LHIIIB of which the assemblages might be attributed to the “Agora-2” group.\textsuperscript{139} What these have in common with the “Agora-2” assemblages from previous periods is that they do not include any kylikes and only one has a medium jug (FS 109) associated with it.\textsuperscript{140} A difference, however, is that in two of the tombs under consideration here a small mug (FS 126 and 226) was found (Fig. 23). This pot shape appears for the first time at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIIB and remains limited to this group – since we have neither “Agora-1” nor “Agora-3” graves (for comments on the “Agora-3” group, see section 3.3.5 below) from this period. The only offering other than pottery is represented by a small terracotta female figurine from Tomb 20.\textsuperscript{141}

3.3.5 Tomb assemblages from the Agora: “Agora-3” (LHIIIA2)

A separate group of assemblages is represented by Tombs 19 (cist), 27 (cist or pit), 28 (cist) and 29 (pit), which are all cist or pit graves and dated to LHIIIA2.\textsuperscript{142} The only pattern we see is that with one exception, the tombs included in this group yielded single medium or large

\textsuperscript{132} Tombs 31 (chamber), 36 (pit grave) and 37 (cist grave)
\textsuperscript{133} Tombs 14 (chamber) and 21 (chamber, bone pit)
\textsuperscript{134} Tombs 14 (chamber) and 17 (cist grave)
\textsuperscript{135} Tombs 11 (pit grave) and 13 (chamber)
\textsuperscript{136} Tomb 11 (pit grave)
\textsuperscript{137} Tomb 13 (chamber)
\textsuperscript{138} Tomb 26 (chamber)
\textsuperscript{139} Tombs 14 (burial on top of ceiling), 20 (chamber) and 25 (chamber)
\textsuperscript{140} Tomb 14 (burial on top of ceiling)
\textsuperscript{141} Immerwahr 1971, 212.
\textsuperscript{142} Tomb 19 (cist), 27 (cist or pit), 28 (cist) and 29 (pit)
jugs only. Tomb 28 (cist) produced a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) (Fig. 24). In two of the four assemblages some offerings other than pottery were found.\textsuperscript{143} A stone conulus came to light in Tomb 28 (cist). The following items were recovered from Tomb 29 (pit): a stone mould for making glass beads (Fig. 25), a stone celt, and a bone implement and handle.

To conclude this section on the Late Bronze Age cemetery in the Athenian Agora, in Table 1 below a concise overview of the different groups discussed above, in terms of their most characteristic features, is provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Agora-1 (1)” (LHIIB-IIIA1) (section 3.3.2)</th>
<th>“Agora-1 (2)” (LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2) (section 3.3.3)</th>
<th>“Agora-2” (LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB) (section 3.3.4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by combination of</td>
<td>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large</td>
<td>Group usually does not contain any medium or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirrup jug (Tombs 1 and 3) and open</td>
<td>jugs and plain and/or painted kylikes (LHIIB-IIIA1 and</td>
<td>large jugs or open pot shapes (LHIIB-IIIA1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vessel types, especially unpainted and/or</td>
<td>LHIIIA2).</td>
<td>LHIIIA2 and LHIIB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinned kylikes.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Open vessel type limited to this group is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinned pottery is limited to this group.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(LHIIB):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Small mug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group are:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Large piriform jar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kylix with high-swung handle(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shallow angular bowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offerings other than pottery</td>
<td>Offerings other than pottery</td>
<td>Offerings other than pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assemblages contain a heavy concentration</td>
<td>Assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 typically include some</td>
<td>The number of offerings other than pottery is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of items made of exotic and/or rare</td>
<td>glass and stone beads, and stone conuli.\textsuperscript{144}</td>
<td>limited (LHIIB-IIIA1 to LHIIB). Relatively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials, such as ivory toiletry articles,</td>
<td>Other categories commonly associated with this group in</td>
<td>common in LHIIB-IIIA1 are bronze knives, glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold jewelry, bronze weapons and metal</td>
<td>LHIIB-IIIA1 consist of bronze weapons (spear and arrowheads and</td>
<td>beads and stone conuli.\textsuperscript{145} Half of the assemblages from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vessels.</td>
<td>daggers, i.e. no swords) and ivory toiletry articles</td>
<td>LHIIIA2 contained a stone conulus.\textsuperscript{146}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object types limited to this group are:</td>
<td>(combs and pins).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ivory pyxides</td>
<td>Offerings other than pottery are comparatively rare in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ivory inlays</td>
<td>LHIIIA2; no artifact</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gold rosettes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze (long and short) swords</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Bronze lamp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{143} Tomb 19 (cist) and 27 (cist or pit) are without any offerings other than pottery.
\textsuperscript{144} For more comments on stone conuli and glass beads, see discussion of relations of similarity in section 3.3.1 above.
\textsuperscript{145} See fn. 144.
\textsuperscript{146} See fn. 144.
It can be inferred from the overview in Table 1 that of the different groups of assemblages recognized in the archaeological burial record of the Athenian Agora in the Late Bronze Age the two “Agora-1” groups in general and the “Agora-1 (1)” group in particular are most clearly defined in terms of the different pot shapes and types of objects other than pottery typically associated with them. This observation mainly pertains to LHIIB-LHIIIA1, since, in the subsequent LHIIIA2 phase, the “Agora-1 (1)” group is not attested and most of the items considered characteristic of the “Agora-1 (2)” group in LHIIB-III A1, such as glass and stone beads and bronze weapons, are found in only a limited number of assemblages.

The two “Agora-1” groups have in common the combination of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially kylikes, although, as indicated above, it is possible for a distinction to be made between both groups in terms of the types of kylikes found in association with them. This combination does not appear in any of the “Agora-2” or “Agora-3” assemblages. What all groups, except the “Agora-3” group, have in common is that they usually include a number of unguent containers (small piriform jars, rounded alabastra and stirrup jars). Since this explained here in relation to the manifestation of relations of similarity (for more comments on the manifestation of relations of similarity, see section 3.3.1 above), this may be interpreted as an indication that in the tombs with “Agora-3” assemblages a different collective identity, if any, was expressed.

### 3.4 The Mycenaean cemetery at Prosymnna (Argolid) (Appendix II)

The largest cemetery of Mycenaean Greece which has been completely published is situated at Prosymnna, to the north-west of the Argive Heraion, i.e. the famous Hera sanctuary of ancient Argos. The site was founded in the Middle Helladic Period (c. 2100 to 1700 BC).

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146 Blegen 1937; Mountjoy 1999a, 64.
During this period mainly cist graves were in use.\textsuperscript{149} The first chamber tombs appeared at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age or LHI-II in Mycenaean terms (c. 1700-1450 BC).\textsuperscript{150} There is a monumental tholos of approximately the same early date in relative proximity to the cemetery at Prosymna. It had been robbed, but contained LHIIA and LHIIIA potsherds.\textsuperscript{151}

C.W. Blegen uncovered fifty-one chamber tombs at Prosymna. The tombs, the excavation of which was undertaken from 1925 to 1928, were extensively published by Blegen in 1937.\textsuperscript{152} There is a more a recent, detailed publication of the pottery by K.S. Shelton (1996).\textsuperscript{153} An overview of the individual grave inventories is provided in Appendix II at the back of this dissertation.

The study of the funerary assemblages from Prosymna has led to the identification of two groups. In what follows, they are referred to as “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2”. Before discussing these groups in terms of their constituting relations of difference – what separates them from each other – I will first pay attention to the features they have in common. As noted in section 3.1 above, such features are seen as the manifestation of relations of similarity, which are interpreted here as an expression of a shared, possible ethnic, collective identity.

### 3.4.1 Relations of similarity: LHIIB-III\textsuperscript{A1}, LHIIB-III\textsuperscript{A2} and LHIIB-III\textsuperscript{B}

There are a number of material traits cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages at Prosymna. These similarities are discussed in chronological order below.

Since in the cemetery of Prosymna only chamber tombs with primary and/or secondary inhumations from the LHIIIA-B period were found (for comments on the robbed tholos situated in proximity to it, see above), the different groups of assemblages have the tomb type in common.\textsuperscript{154} There are also some offerings, consisting of ceramics and objects other than pottery, that because they occur frequently in both groups of assemblages may be regarded as the manifestation of relations of similarity.

\textsuperscript{148} Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2.
\textsuperscript{149} Blegen 1937, 30-50.
\textsuperscript{150} Tombs 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 17, 18, 24, 28 and 52 (ibidem, 261)
\textsuperscript{151} Mountjoy 1999a, 64, fn. 73.
\textsuperscript{152} Blegen 1937.
\textsuperscript{153} Shelton 1996.
\textsuperscript{154} Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 71-2.
Concerning the pottery, there is a general tendency at Prosymna to deposit unguent containers in graves. Single or combinations of such vessels were present in a relatively large number of the tombs containing “Prosymna-1” (c. 83%) and “Prosymna-2” assemblages (c. 84%). This can be seen throughout the LHIIIA-B period. It is possible to recognize a number of chronological developments in the repertoire of the vessel forms most frequently found. In LHIIB-IIIA1 (for an overview of chronological phases, see section 3.2.1 above), rounded alabastra (FS 84) (Fig. 28) are the most common, although small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44) (Figs. 29 and 34) also occur relatively frequently. A new pot form is developed in LHIIIA2, namely the stirrup jar (FS 171) (Fig. 72). This shape occurs more frequently than the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Figs. 38, 53 and 63) and is about as popular as the rounded alabastron (FS 85) in this period. The same vessel types are also found in LHIIIB. In this period, however, we see the stirrup jar (FS 173, 180 and 182) (Fig. 64) clearly exceeding the rounded alabastron (FS 85-86) (Fig. 65) and the small piriform jar (FS 45 and 48) in popularity.

There are also some offerings other than pottery, which are common in both groups of assemblages. One category of items which occurs frequently in tombs with “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages is represented by stone conuli (Fig. 39). This can be seen

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155 This percentage is based on the presence or absence of small piriform jars, rounded alabastra or stirrup jars from LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB in the tombs with “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

156 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIB-IIIA1 are Tombs 2, 3, 29, 33, 34, 37 and 43; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIB-IIIA1 are Tombs 11, 13, 17, 40, 45 and 48.

157 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1 are Tombs 2, 3, 28, 34, 42 and 43; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages containing small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1 are Tombs 11 and 25.

158 For a general discussion of pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIB-IIIA1, see Shelton 1996, 281-4.

159 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 44 and 49; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 4, 16, 25, 32, 36, 45 and 48.

160 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 3, 8, 11, 18, 21, 22, 24, 34, 42, 43 and 51; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 36, 40 and 48.

161 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 8, 11, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49 and 51; Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 are Tombs 18, 25, 32, 36, 40, 45 and 48.

162 For a general overview of the pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIIA2, see Shelton 1996, 284-9.

163 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 7, 8, 21, 22, 28, 33, 41, 43 and 44; Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with stirrup jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 1, 5, 10, 19, 20, 36 and 45.

164 “Prosymna-1” tombs with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB are Tombs 21 and 33; “Prosymna-2” tombs with rounded alabastra from LHIIIB are Tombs 6, 10, 36 and 50.

165 Tombs with “Prosymna-1” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 12 (?) and 28; tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages with small piriform jars from LHIIIB are Tombs 1 and 19.

166 For a general overview of the pot shapes popular at Prosymna in LHIIIB, see Shelton 1996, 290-4.

167 For a general discussion of the popularity of these object types, see Gallou 2005, 364.
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

throughout the LHIIIA-B period. Stone conuli are not the only types of objects which appear relatively frequently in both groups of assemblages; they are, however, the commonest. Other categories of items, such as glass beads and terracotta figurines, although we know of examples from both the “Prosymna-1” and the “Prosymna-2” group, are best discussed in connection with the relations of difference, to which we will now turn.

3.4.2 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-1 (1)” in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIIB

In the archaeological burial record of Prosymna it has been possible for two variants of the “Prosymna-1” group to be identified. These are referred to here as the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.3 below).

With regards to the pottery, the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 35) (Figs. 26, 35, 40 and 54) and medium or large jugs (FS 105, 109-110, 120, 133, 144-145 and 150) (Figs. 27, 36-7 and 55), and a certain amount of unpainted and/or tinned open vessels, especially different types of kylikes. Typical are the kylix with high-swung handles (271-273) and the shallow angular bowl (FS 295) (Fig. 40).

The “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2 (for comments on LHIIIIB, see below) usually have a wide variety of offerings other than pottery associated with them, including glass and stone jewelry (Figs. 31, 42 and 43), toiletry items (bronze pins and mirrors), bronze weapons (for comments, see below), seals (Figs. 32, 46

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168 C. 25% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 (1 of 4) contain stone conuli; 100% of all Prosymna-2 assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 (5 of 5) contain stone conuli. C. 93% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2 (14 of 15) include stone conuli. 60% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from this period (9 of 15) include stone conuli. Four “Prosymna-2” assemblages did not comprise any finds other than pottery. C. 63% of all “Prosymna-1” assemblages from LHIIIB (5 of 8) have stone conuli. One “Prosymna-1” assemblage from LHIIIB has no objects other than pottery associated with it. Stone conuli were found in 75% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIB (6 of 8).


170 See Tomb 2 (chamber) in Appendix II.

171 See Tombs 3 (chamber), 29 (chamber + recess, cist IV), 37 (chamber, lower level), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber) in Appendix II.

172 Tomb 2 (LHIIB-IIIA1) contained both glass and stone beads. All tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 yielded glass beads. With the exception of the assemblage from Tomb 37 (chamber, lower level), this also applies to stone beads. For comments on LHIIIB, see main text.

173 Bronze mirrors were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 3 (chamber), 29 (chamber + recess) and 42 (chamber). There are bronze pins from Tombs 29 (chamber + recess) and 42 (chamber).
and 56)\textsuperscript{174} and terracotta figurines (Figs. 33, 47 and 48).\textsuperscript{175} Apart from the general wide range of the objects found, there are a number of specific types of artifacts which can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, which, however, does not mean that they appear in every such assemblage, but rather that their distribution in general is limited to this group. These include gold jewelry, such as rosettes and (relief) beads (Fig. 30),\textsuperscript{176} glass relief-beads, especially rosettes (Fig. 44) and beads in the so-called “bracket-shape” (Fig. 45),\textsuperscript{177} amber beads\textsuperscript{178} and ivory toiletry articles, such as combs and containers (with inlays).\textsuperscript{179}

Another distinctive trait of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is that the assemblages – from LHIIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2 – have far more metal objects, mostly bronzes, associated with them than any of the other groups at Prosymna (see below). Some items, such as bronze mirrors, cleavers\textsuperscript{180} and daggers (Fig. 41),\textsuperscript{181} are (almost) completely limited to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. The distribution of others, for example knives\textsuperscript{182} and arrowheads,\textsuperscript{183} also includes a small number of “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages.

The description given above provides an overview of the features most assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group have in common (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). There are, however, also some differences. In Tomb 3, for example, no

\textsuperscript{174} A seal was found in Tomb 2 (LHIIIB-IIIA1). Additional seals come from the following LHIIIA2 contexts: Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber) and 41 (chamber). There is also a gold signet ring from Tomb 44 (LHIIIB).

\textsuperscript{175} Terracotta figurines come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 3 (chamber), 37 (chamber, lower level), 38 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber).

\textsuperscript{176} Gold jewelry comes from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{177} Glass relief-beads come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 37 (chamber, lower level) (LHIIIA2), 38 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{178} Amber beads come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 7 (chamber) (LHIIIB?), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{179} Ivory inlays come from Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2). Toiletry items were found in Tombs 29 (chamber + recess) (LHIIIA2), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 42 (?) (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{180} Bronze cleavers come from the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 7 (chamber) (LHIIIB), 15 (chamber) (LHIIIB), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{181} Bronze daggers were found in the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages: Tombs 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1), 3 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 29 (chamber + recess) (LHIIIA2), 42 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), 37 (chamber, lower level) (LHIIIA2) and 43 (chamber) (LHIIIA2).

\textsuperscript{182} Bronze knives were found in Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze knives are Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber). Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIB-IIIA1 with bronze knives are Tombs 13 (lower stratum, rear wall) and 36 (main chamber). The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 with a bronze knife is Tomb 34 (chamber, inner right corner). Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIB with bronze knives are Tombs 1 (chamber) and 10 (chamber).

\textsuperscript{183} Bronze arrowheads were found in Tomb 2 (chamber) (LHIIIB-IIIA1) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze arrowheads are Tombs 3 (chamber), 38 (chamber), 41 (chamber), 42 (chamber) and 43 (chamber). Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with bronze arrowheads are Tombs 34 (chamber, inner right corner) and 49 (chamber, lower level). The only tomb with a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIIB containing bronze arrowheads is Tomb 10 (chamber).
kylikes were found. Other notable features include the presence of a rhyton (FS 201) and four unpainted amphorae (FS 68). Neither one of these pot shapes occurs in any of the other “Prosymna-1 (1)” graves. Despite these differences, Tomb 3 has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group here, because of the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 30) and a wide variety of offerings other than pottery, comprising a number of ivory inlays (?), two gold ornaments, a gold chain, three bronze daggers and a bronze mirror. Tomb 43, on the other hand, did not produce a large piriform jar. Its assemblage did, however, include a considerable number of unpainted kylikes, among which there was one with high-swung handles (FS 272), an ivory rosette, a silver spoon, three bronze daggers, and a cleaver and a mirror of the same material.

A number of changes take place in the composition of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages in LHIIIB. While the pottery repertoire is more or less the same as in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2 (see above), there is a clear decline in the number and variety of the offerings other than pottery found. The only piece of gold jewelry is a signet ring from Tomb 44 (Fig. 56). Moreover, there are no glass relief-beads, nor any bronze weapons. In terms of variation, Tomb 15 yielded only one kylix. Because its assemblage also comprised a large piriform jar (FS 35) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295), this tomb has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Another reason is that this is one of the largest tombs of the cemetery – in terms of the length of its dromos and the size of its chamber. As argued in section 3.4.5 below, this is another feature the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs have in common and through which they distinguish themselves from the tombs belonging to the other two groups at Prosymna, to which the attention shall now turn.

3.4.3 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-1 (2)” in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB

The “Prosymna-1 (2)” group in several respects resembles the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.4.2 above. However, since the assemblages associated with it generally do not include any of the items which can be considered as most characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, such as large piriform jars, gold jewelry and glass relief-beads, it is treated as a separate group here.

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184 See Tombs 7 (chamber), 15 (chamber) and 44 (chamber, upper level) in Appendix II.
What the two Prosymna-1 groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” – have in common is that the assemblages associated with them typically comprise one or more medium or large jugs (FS 109-110, 120, 136, 144-145, 150) (Figs. 49-50, 57) and kylikes. An important difference, however, is that we have no evidence of tinning among the kylikes recovered from “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts, which are generally left unpainted (FS 266-267). Moreover, the kylix with high-swung handles (FS 271-273) is (almost) completely limited to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. The same applies to shallow angular bowls (FS 295) (for exceptions, see below).

No major changes can be observed in the vessel types typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group from LHIIB-IIIA1 to LHIIIB. There is, however, at least one pot form which appears relatively frequently in combination with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 (c. 63%). This is the so-called wide-necked jar (FS 74) (Fig. 51). Otherwise, it is only known from two “Prosymna-2” contexts, one from LHIIIA2, the other from LHIIIB. There is also a pot shape of which the distribution is limited largely to “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB: the amphora (FS 66-68) occurs in c. 63% of all “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2. By LHIIIB, this has decreased to only 20% (for comments on the amphora and the “Prosymna-2” group, see section 3.4.4 below). As noted above, a concentration of unpainted amphorae came to light in Tomb 3, which contained a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage. This is, however, the exception rather than the rule.

In terms of the offerings other than pottery, we see that in most “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages, especially from LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2, there are glass and/or stone

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185 See Tombs 8 (chamber, cist I), 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII) and 33 (chamber, cist II) in Appendix II for “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1. For “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 see Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 21 (chamber + cist), 24 (chamber), 27 (chamber + double cist), 28 (chamber), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V), 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level) and 51 (chamber) in Appendix II. For “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Tombs 12 (chamber, lower level), 21 (chamber, center), 22 (chamber), 33 (chamber + side chamber) and 37 (chamber, upper level).

186 The wide-necked jar occurs in the following tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 8 (chamber, rear niche), 24 (chamber), 27 (chamber), 49 (chamber, lower level) and 51 (chamber).

187 Tomb 47 (dromos cist)

188 Tomb 50 (chamber)

189 Tombs containing “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with amphorae are Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 24 (chamber), 28 (chamber), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) and 51 (chamber).

190 The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIB with an amphora is Tomb 12 (chamber, lower level).

191 Glass and stone beads were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1: Tombs 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII) (glass and stone) and 33 (chamber, cist II) (glass and stone). Tomb 8 (cist I) (see fn. 168) did not yield any offerings other than pottery.
jewelry beads represented. In this respect, it resembles the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group discussed in section 3.4.2 above. Glass and stone jewelry appears to be less common in both “Prosymna-1” groups in LHIIIB. It should be noted, however, that glass relief-beads, which, as argued above, can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, generally do not occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. Another important difference between both “Prosymna-1” groups is that bronzes in general and bronze weapons in particular are not common in “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts (for comments on bronzes in relation to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, see section 3.4.2 above). The only weapons found in any quantity in association with this group – in LHIIIA2 – are arrowheads, of which we have examples from two “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts. A category of objects which is present in 50% of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and 40% from LHIIIB is made up by terracotta figurines, in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids). This is less than the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above) but more or less the same as the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 below).

Other categories of items, such as seals, also occur but their numbers are relatively limited. The same applies to objects made from such rare or exotic materials as gold and ivory, of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above).

Since, as noted in section 3.4.2 above, in LHIIIB we see a decline in the number and variety of the offerings other than pottery found in association with “Prosymna-1 (1)”

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192 Glass and stone beads were found in the following “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2: Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche) (glass), 21 (chamber + cist) (glass and stone), 27 (chamber + double cist) (stone), 28 (chamber) (glass and stone), 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) (glass), Tomb 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level) (glass and stone) and 51 (glass and stone). No beads came to light in Tomb 24 (chamber).

193 We have glass beads from Tombs 22 (chamber) and 33 (chamber). No jewelry was found in Tombs 12 (chamber, lower level), 21 (chamber, center) and 37 (chamber, upper level).

194 Tombs 34 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V) and 49 (chamber, lower level + chamber, upper level).

195 Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 with terracotta figurines are Tombs 8 (chamber, left side rear + niche), 27 (chamber), 28 (chamber) and 49 (chamber, lower level).

196 Tombs with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIB with terracotta figurines are Tombs 22 (chamber) and 33 (chamber + side chamber).

197 There is also one “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIB-IIIA1 with a female terracotta figurine: Tomb 29 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII).

198 About 71% of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 had terracotta figurines associated with them (see fn. 175).

199 Seals come from c. 38% from all “Prosymna-1 (2)” contexts from LHIIIA2 and 20% from LHIIIB. For the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group this is c. 43% for LHIIIA2 (see fn. 174). The only “Prosymna-1 (1)” tomb from LHIIIB-IIIA1 – Tomb 2 – yielded a stone cylinder seal. The only tomb with a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIB with a seal is Tomb 44 (c. 33%). In it was found a gold signet ring.

200 The only gold item found is a small bead from Tomb 49 (LHIIIA2). An ivory female statuette (Fig. 52) came to light in Tomb 51 (see main text).
assemblages, it can be concluded that in this period this trait cannot be used to distinguish between the two “Prosymna-1” groups. In this case, the distinction is based primarily on the pottery, especially the presence or absence of a large piriform jar.

Even though in many assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group most of the features discussed above can be found (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below), it is important to stress that there is also some variation between the individual assemblages. Mention should, for example, be made of the assemblage from Tomb 51 (chamber) (LHIIIA2), which produced a bronze dagger, an ivory female statuette (Fig. 52) and a collection of amber beads. Moreover, no kylikes have been found inside of it. As noted above, objects made from ivory (almost) only occur in tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see also Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). The same applies to the distribution of bronze daggers and amber beads (see section 3.4.2 above). Despite this, and the lack of kylikes, Tomb 51 has nevertheless been included in the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group because of the absence of a large piriform jar and the presence of four medium jugs (FS 109-110) and a wide-necked jar (FS 74).

I also want to make mention of some of the finds from Tomb 33, particularly those recovered from its side chamber (LHIIIB). In it were found two lentoid seal stones and a concentration of bronzes, consisting of a pair of tweezers, a chisel and a serrated saw. As argued above, such concentrations of bronzes are not common in association with “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. This is more typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group in LHIIIA2 (see section 3.4.2 above), although for the objects themselves this group does not provide any parallels. Comparatively speaking, more bronzes were found here than in any of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs from LHIIIB. Also in terms of the pottery, we see similarities between the materials from the side chamber of Tomb 33 and the assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group in general. In it were found two kylikes with high-swung handle(s) (FS 273) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295). There was also an unpainted shallow bowl with high-handles (FS 241), which is similar in appearance to the kylix with high-swung handles (FS 273). Despite of this, however, Tomb 33 has been considered as part of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. The main reason is the absence of a large piriform jar (for comments on the role of the large piriform jar in the definition of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, see section 3.4.2 above).

The same applies for such other criteria typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group as tin-covered kylikes, gold jewelry (beads and rosettes) and glass relief-beads (for comments on these features, see section 3.4.2 above).
3.4.4 Relations of difference: “Prosymna-2” in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB

The “Prosymna-2” group is attested in LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIB. It differs in a number of ways from the two “Prosymna-1” groups described in the previous sections. In contrast to these, the assemblages associated with the “Prosymna-2” group usually do not include any medium or large jugs (with an average height of c. 20-30 cm). Present in most “Prosymna-2” assemblages are a number of small jugs or juglets (FS 112-114 and 149) (Fig. 58) (with an average height of c. 10 cm). Another common pot shape, especially in LHIIIA2 (60%), but also attested in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIB, is the amphora (FS 66-68). As noted in section 3.4.3 above, this vessel type is rare in combination with the “Prosymna-1 (1)" group, but common in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (2)" type.

Open pot shapes are not numerous, usually consisting of only one or two vessels (for exceptions, see comments below). In contrast to the two “Prosymna-1” groups discussed

202 For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIB-IIIA1, see Appendix II Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum real wall), 17 (chamber, 15 cm above floor), 18 (chamber), 34 (chamber, cist IV) and 36 (chamber, rear).
203 For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIIA2, see Appendix II Tombs 4 (chamber + cist I), 11 (chamber), 13 (chamber, left outer/inner corner), 16 (chamber), 17 (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor + east chamber, upper level), 32 (chamber), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 36 (side chamber), 40 (chamber), 45 (chamber + cist I + dromos, cist), 47 (dromos tomb) and 48 (chamber).
204 For “Prosymna-2” tombs from LHIIB, see Appendix II Tombs 1 (chamber), 5 (chamber), 6 (chamber), 19 (chamber), 20 (chamber), 36 (chamber, left of door/center) and 50 (chamber).
205 Medium or large jugs from “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 come from Tombs 18 (chamber) and 34 (chamber, cist IV). Assemblages from LHIIIA2 with such jugs came to light in Tombs 11 (chamber), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 36 (side chamber), 45 (chamber + cist, cist I + dromos, cist) and 47 (dromos cist). Assemblages from LHIIB with medium or large jugs are Tombs 1 (chamber), 6 (chamber) and 36 (chamber, left door/center).
206 For the heights of these vessels, see for example the linear jug (FS 105) (c. 26 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 6 (#31) (Shelton 1996, 15), the cutaway-necked jug (FS 136) (c. 23 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 21 (#233) (ibidem, 48) and the narrow-necked jug (FS 121) (c. 22 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 22 (#888) (ibidem, 54). For the heights of small jugs, see for example the juglet (FS 114) (c. 7 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 19 (#276) (ibidem, 46) and the juglet (FS 114) (c. 11 cm) from Prosymna Tomb 32 (#873) (ibidem, 87).
207 Small jugs were found in c. 67% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1, 80% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and 38% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB.
208 Of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1, 80% contained a small jug. C. 80% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and 38% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB.
209 Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 with amphorae are Tombs 11 (chamber), 17 (chamber, 70-45 cm above floor), 25 (north chamber + central chamber, 55 cm above floor), 35 (chamber + cist II, III + IV), 36 (side chamber), 39 (dromos tomb), 40 (chamber), 46 (chamber + cist I) and 48 (chamber).
210 The only tomb with a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIB-IIIA1 with an amphora is Tomb 18 (chamber).
211 Tombs with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIB with amphorae are Tombs 19 (chamber + cist), 36 (chamber, left door/center) and 50 (chamber).
212 About 62% of all “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages from LHIIIA2 contained one or more amphorae (see section 3.4.3 above).
above, unpainted kylikes are not particularly common. We only have a few single kylikes (FS 266-267) from “Prosymna-2” contexts dating to LHIII A2. What is most characteristic of this group, however, is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes associated with it. This combination is typical of the two “Prosymna-1” groups discussed in the previous two sections.

More frequently found are the conical cup (FS 204-206), the shallow cup (FS 219-220), and the carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 60) and the small mug (FS 126 and 226) (Fig. 61). Neither one of these pot shapes is limited to the “Prosymna-2” group per se. The conical cup and the shallow cup frequently occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. Carinated conical cups and small mugs appear less often. For this reason, I want to briefly focus on the combinations in which these two pot shapes occur in assemblages classified here as belonging to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. Consider the following examples: Tombs 37 (Prosymna-1 (1)) (LHIIIA2), 8 (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIIIA2) and 33 (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIIIB). What these assemblages have in common besides the presence of a small mug and/or a carinated conical cup is that they contain a relatively high concentration of small ceramic vessels. All of them comprised one or more small jugs and a feeding bottle (FS 159-161). In addition, Tomb 33 produced an askos (FS 194), two small stemmed cups and a miniature cup. These assemblages also included one or more terracotta figurines.

The individual pot shapes listed above in connection with Tombs 37, 8 and 33 – small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149) (Fig. 58), feeding bottles (FS 159-161) (Fig. 59) and askoi (FS 194) – also occur in several of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages. An important difference,
however, is that since these assemblages tend to be smaller in size – in terms of the number of vessels found – than those associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups, in which case these small ceramic vessels often constitute part of large deposits containing the remains of many secondarily reburied inhumations, it is much easier to recognize the possible salience of these combinations of small ceramic vessels. Consider the finds recovered 70 to 45 cm above the floor of Tomb 17 (LHIIIA2). The assemblage consisted of an amphora (FS 66), a small jug, a feeding bottle, an askos, a conical cup (FS 204) and a small mug (FS 226). A very similar assemblage dated to LHIIB-IIIA1 was found at a deeper level in the same tomb (chamber, 15 cm above floor).

Two other small pot shapes of which the distribution can be approached in a similar way are the handleless jar (FS 77) and the squat jug (FS 87). The former occurs in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIII-A2; the latter appears in contexts dating from LHIIA to LHIIB-IIIA1. Here, I will only pay attention to the combinations in which the handleless jar occurs. The FS 77 is attested in two “Prosymna-2” assemblages, namely Tombs 18 (chamber) and 36 (chamber). Other small ceramic pots recovered from the latter context include two squat jugs (FS 87), a small jug (FS 112), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) and a miniature cup. In Tomb 18 were found: two handleless jars, two squat jugs, a small jug, an askos (FS 194) and a small mug (FS 225). The only “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage with a handleless jar is Tomb 27 (chamber + double cist) (LHIIIA2). Besides a handleless jar, it included a small jug, a feeding bottle (FS 160) and an askos.

From the perspective developed above, I would like to suggest that these combinations of small ceramic vessels found in association with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages should not be seen as arbitrary but rather as indicative of the presence of (secondarily removed) burials similar to the “Prosymna-2” group (for comments on variety in the “Prosymna-2” group itself, see below). Admittedly, the possibility can also not be excluded that we are dealing with a separate group here which occurs independently both in combination with the two “Prosymna-1” groups, as well as with the “Prosymna-2” group.

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222 An example is Tomb 43 (“Prosymna-1 (1)”). The heap found in the inner right corner contained at least seven skulls and other bones belonging to adults and children (Blegen 1937, 187-8). The assemblage included twenty-two vases, comprising five medium or large jugs, a feeding bottle, a miniature handmade jug, a carinated conical cup and a small angular bowl. There were also five terracotta figurines recovered.

223 Ibidem, 53-4.

224 Squat jugs occur in the following “Prosymna-2” contexts: Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-IIIA1), 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-IIIA1), 32 (chamber) (LHIII-A2), 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-IIIA1) and possibly 45 (LHIII-A2). In the latter case, the squat jugs are dated to LHIIA, in an assemblage predominantly consisting of vases from LHIII-A2.
In terms of the offerings other than pottery, no specific object types can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-2” group. We actually have four assemblages from LHIIIA2 which consisted exclusively of pottery. What is interesting about these is that, according to Blegen, they all (probably) belonged to the burials of children. Besides stone conuli (see section 3.4.1 above), the remaining assemblages usually include some glass and/or stone beads, especially in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIB. Jewelry beads appear to be less common in LHIIIA2.

Categories of items which are comparatively rare in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group are bronze weapons (for exceptions, see comments below) and seals. The only bronzes found consist of some tools (knives, a pair of tweezers and a scale pan), jewelry (rings) and toiletry articles (wire pins and a mirror) (LHIIIA2).

A category of items present in c. 33% of all “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and c. 38% from LHIIIB is represented by terracotta figurines, in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids). Terracotta figurines are, together with stone conuli and glass and stone jewelry beads (see above), among the objects most frequently found in...
combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. (In connection with the comments made above regarding the possible relation between the “Prosymna-2” group and the presence of small ceramic vessels in tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages, it is interesting to point out that most such tombs with terracotta figurines also typically have a concentration of small ceramic pots associated with them.\textsuperscript{237})

The “Prosymna-2” group should not be conceived of as a homogeneous group. Even though in many assemblages associated with it most of the features discussed above can be found (for an overview, see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below), it is important to stress that there is also some variation between the individual assemblages. As noted above, most “Prosymna-2” assemblages have only one or two open vessels. There are, however, several containing a much larger number of open vase forms: Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-IIIA1), 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-IIIA1), 25 (north chamber + east chamber, upper stratum), 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-IIIA1), 45 (chamber, rear + chamber, cist + dromos, cist) (LHIIIA2).\textsuperscript{238}

Two assemblages which I have also included in the “Prosymna-2” group are Tombs 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIIIA2) and 47 (dromos cist) (LHIIIA2). The former, in terms of the pottery, is made up by a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), a stirrup jar (FS 171) and a stirrup jug (FS 150); from Tomb 47 come a medium jug (FS 109) and a wide-necked jar (FS 74). The main reason why – despite the absence of any small ceramic pots – I have included these assemblages in the “Prosymna-2” group is that both contain a medium jug, but no kylikes. The occurring together of these vessel types is what the two “Prosymna-1” groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” – have in common.

In terms of variation in the offerings other than pottery, there are four assemblages that have to be mentioned here, because they had bronze weapons associated with them, which, as noted above, are not particularly common in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group: Tombs 13 (left outer/inner corner) (LHIIIA2), 25 (east chamber, upper level) (LHIIIA2), 25 (north chamber, cist) (LHIIIA2?) and 10 (chamber) (LHIIIB). In Tomb 13, a bronze dagger and a glass seal were found. As noted above, seals (see fn. 231) but in particular bronze

\textsuperscript{237}Tomb 38 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”) (LHIIIA2) produced two small jugs, two askoi and seven terracotta figurines. Another example is Tomb 43 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (1)”) (LHIIIA2) which had one miniature handmade jug, two feeding bottles, a carinated conical cup and six terracotta figurines. From the other “Prosymna-1” group, we can mention Tomb 28 (chamber) (“Prosymna-1 (2)”) (LHIIIA2). This grave yielded three small jugs, three carinated cups and two terracotta figurines.

\textsuperscript{238}Tombs 13 (chamber, lower stratum rear wall) (LHIIB-IIIA1) included five, 18 (chamber) (LHIIB-IIIA1) nine, 25 (north chamber + east chamber, upper stratum) five, 36 (chamber, rear) (LHIIB-IIIA1) thirteen and 45 (chamber, rear + chamber, cist + dromos, cist) (LHIIIA2) five open vessels.
weapons (see fn. 230) generally do not occur in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages. In Tomb 10 no less than seven bronzes were found: three spearheads, an arrowhead, a knife, a pair of tweezers and a (fragmentary) shallow basin. From Tomb 25 (east chamber, upper level) come two bronzes, a spearhead and a mirror. The other assemblage from this chamber tomb, from its north chamber, originates from a cist that had been cut into the floor. Recovered from it were a long sword, a dagger and two glass beads. Although there was no pottery directly associated with this assemblage, on the floor itself – into which the cist had been dug – a considerable number of vessels from LHIIIA2 were found. The main reason why – despite the presence of bronze weapons – the assemblages discussed above have been included in the “Prosymna-2” group is that there are no examples of medium or large jugs and kylikes occurring together. This is one of the most important ways of distinguishing between the two “Prosymna-1” groups and the “Prosymna-2” group (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 below). Furthermore, the assemblages from Tombs 10 and 13 had some small ceramic pots associated with them.239

3.4.5 “Prosymna-1” and “Prosymna-2” compared: some architectural considerations

In the previous four sections the similarities and differences between the “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages were discussed. The distinction between them, as reflected in the pottery and the offerings other than pottery, also manifests itself in certain aspects of the architecture of the tombs. In general, the tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages are among the largest of the cemetery. This applies to the length of their dromoi as well as to the size of their burial chambers. Seven of the eleven “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs (c. 64%) had dromoi of ten or more meters in length.240 Tombs 2241 and 44242 had the longest dromoi, measuring 17.25 and 18.80 meters, respectively. Among the other two groups, we see that most graves (c. 73%) were approached via entrances between four to seven meters long.243

239 Tomb 13 produced a miniature jug. The assemblage from Tomb 10 yielded three small jugs and two handmade small mugs.
240 Tombs 2 (Blegen 1937, 173), 7 (ibidem, 156), 15 (ibidem, 170), 41 (ibidem, 142), 42 (ibidem, 147), 43 (ibidem, 185) and 44 (ibidem, 206)
241 Ibidem, 173.
242 Ibidem, 206.
243 Tombs with dromoi four to seven meters long (in numerical order) are: Tombs 1 (ibidem, 69), 6 (ibidem, 154), 8 (ibidem, 160), 12 (ibidem, 204), 13 (ibidem, 193), 17 (ibidem, 53), 18 (ibidem, 57), 19 (ibidem, 59), 20
Apart from the longest dromoi, the “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs were also the largest in terms of the size of their respective burial chambers. Four “Prosymna-1 (1)” tombs had floor-sizes exceeding 20 m² (c. 36%). Most other graves had floors measuring between 10 and 20 m² (c. 45%). By contrast, the majority of tombs belonging to the other two groups had floor-sizes ranging from 4 to 8 m² (c. 61%). The main difference between the “Prosymna-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-2” group is that the former contains a larger proportion of graves with floors measuring between 10 to 20 m² and 8 to 10 m². In addition, the “Prosymna-2” group includes a number of tombs with floor-sizes between 2 to 4 m² (c. 18%). This category is not found in any of the other groups at Prosymna.

From the above overview it can be derived that tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages were generally more monumental in character than the other two groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of the site. The builders of Tomb 2 further enhanced this monumentality by decorating the door jambs and lintel with a unique color-painted fresco.

A general overview of the most distinctive characteristics of each of the three Prosymna groups – “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” – as established on the basis of the discussion of the assemblages (see sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.4 above) and the architecture (see this section), is provided in Table 2 below.

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244 Tombs 2, 7, 42 and 44 (ibidem, 244, fn. 4).
245 Tombs 3, 15, 29, 41 and 42 (ibidem, 244, fn. 5).
246 Tombs with floor-sizes between 4 to 8 m² are (in numerical order): Tombs 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 35, 36, 40, 45, 46, 48, 50 and 51 (ibidem, 244, fn. 7–8).
247 “Prosymna-1 (2)” tombs with floor-sizes between 10 to 20 m² are: Tombs 8, 24 and 34 (ibidem, 244, fn. 5).
248 “Prosymna-1 (2)” tombs with floor-sizes between 8 to 10 m² are: Tombs 21, 27, 33 and 49 (ibidem, 244, fn. 6).
249 “Prosymna-1 (2)” tombs with floor-sizes between 2 to 4 m² are: Tombs 5, 16, 20 and 52 (Blegen 1937, 244, fn. 9).
250 There are three tombs which have assemblages from two different groups associated with them. Tomb 29 has yielded a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber + recess) and a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIB-IIIA1 (chamber, cist II, III, V, VII and VIII). In Tomb 37 were found a “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber, lower level) and a “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblage from LHIIIB (chamber, upper level). Finally, Tomb 34 produced a “Prosymna-2” assemblage from LHIIIB-IIIA1 (chamber, cist IV) and a Prosymna-1 (2) assemblage from LHIIIA2 (chamber, inner right corner + niche + cist I, III and V). In the calculations on which the percentages presented above are based, Tombs 29 and 37 were included in the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group and Tomb 34 in the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group.
251 Blegen 1937, 174.
252 For details and variations, see main text above.
### “Prosymna-1 (1)” (LHIIIB-IIBIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB) (see section 3.4.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pottery</th>
<th>Pottery</th>
<th>Pottery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or tinned kylikes (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
<td>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and unpainted kylikes (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
<td>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes (LHIIIB-IIBIA1, LHIIIBA2 and LHIIIB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tinned pottery</strong> is limited to this group.</td>
<td>Closed vessel type limited (mostly) to this group is (LHIIIBA2):</td>
<td>Closed vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the Prosymna-1 (2) group is (LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group are (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB):</td>
<td>• Wide-necked jar</td>
<td>• Amphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Large piriform jar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kylix with high-swung handle(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shallow angular bowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### “Prosymna-1 (2)” (LHIIIB-IIBIA1, LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB) (see section 3.4.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offerings other than pottery</th>
<th>Offerings other than pottery</th>
<th>Offerings other than pottery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group usually contains concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as ivory toiletry articles, gold jewelry and bronze weapons (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 and LHIIIA2).</td>
<td>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory (cf. Prosymna-1 (1)), are very rare (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
<td>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB); most common are glass and stone beads, stone conuli and terracotta figurines (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other common categories of objects include glass and stone beads, stone conuli, terracotta figurines and seals (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 and LHIIIA2).</td>
<td>Most common are glass and stone beads, stone conuli and terracotta figurines (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
<td>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory (cf. Prosymna-1 (1)), are very rare (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gold rosettes and (relief) beads (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIA2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Glass relief-beads, especially rosettes and beads in the bracket-shape (LHIIIA2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Amber beads (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze daggers (LHIIIB-IIBIA1 to LHIIIA2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze cleavers (LHIIIBA2 and LHIIIB)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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For more comments on stone conuli and glass beads, see discussion of relations of similarity in section 3.4.1 above.

See fn. 253.

See fn. 253.
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• 10 meters or more long dromoi</td>
<td>• 4 to 7 meters long dromoi</td>
<td>• 4 to 7 meters long dromoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 10 to more than 20 m²</td>
<td>• Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 4 to 20 m² with, proportionally speaking, more chambers with floor-sizes measuring between 8 to 10 m² (see fn. 248) and 10 to 20 m² (see fn. 247) than the Prosymna-2 group</td>
<td>• Chambers with floor-sizes ranging from 2 to 20 m² with, proportionally speaking, less chambers with floor-sizes measuring between 8 to 10 m² (see fn. 248) and 10 to 20 m² (see fn. 247) than the Prosymna-1 (2) group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Prosymna-1 (1)”, “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” groups

It can be inferred from Table 2 above that the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is the group with the clearest distinguishing features associated with it. In contrast to the other two groups – “Prosymna-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-2” – there are a considerable number of artifact types of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to this group, such as large piriform jars, tinned kylikes and shallow angular bowls, gold (relief) beads and rosettes and bronze daggers. Even though the defining criteria of the other two groups, in particular the “Prosymna-2” group, are less clear and therefore tend to exhibit more intra-group variability (for comments on variety, see the appropriate group-specific sections above), I do believe that the three-group scheme developed here in order to describe the archaeological burial record of Prosymna (see Table 2 above) offers a good representation of the most important patterns discernible in it.\(^{256}\)

3.5 Mycenaean Athens and Prosymna:

A comparison

\(^{256}\) A small number of tombs have been left out of this analysis, either because they did not fit into any of the groups described above (Tomb 52) or they fell outside the chronological range of this study (Tomb 13 and 30). In addition, the materials from Tomb 26 (side chamber, upper level) were secondarily dumped there (Shelton 1996, 212).
In sections 3.3 and 3.4 above, the Late Bronze Age cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) were discussed. At both sites, it has been possible for a number of different groups of assemblages to be identified. The aim of this section is to compare the two sites by concentrating on the similarities and differences between the individual groups associated with them. As was explained in section 3.1 above, in this PhD study tomb assemblages are principally seen as constituted by two types of relations: relations of similarity and relations of difference. In the previous two sections, the individual groups from the Athenian Agora and Prosymna were described in terms of these two relations, or rather what in this dissertation are considered to be the material manifestations of it in the archaeological burial record. These relations also form the basis for the comparison of both sites that will be carried out in this section.

3.5.1 Athenian Agora and Prosymna: relations of similarity

We can see a number of notable similarities in terms of the different ways relations of similarity were expressed at the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna. At both sites, there clearly is a preference for using chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary inhumations, although the cemetery in the Athenian Agora also contained a number cist and pit graves from LHIIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2 (see section 3.3 above). Another notable similarity is that at both sites it was commonplace to deposit unguent containers with the deceased. There are, however, some differences in the types of unguent containers that are most frequently found at the two sites. Firstly, at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora, there was a clear preference in LHIIIB-IIIA1 for small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44). Although rounded alabastra (FS 84) occur in both groups of assemblages known from this period – “Agora-1” and “Agora-2” – their distribution is limited largely to the “Agora-1” group (see section 3.3.1 above). A different pattern emerges from the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. At this site, rounded alabastra were more popular than small piriform jars (see section 3.4.1 above). Another difference between the two sites becomes apparent in LHIIIA2 with the development of the stirrup jar (FS 171-178). While this pot shape constitutes part of many assemblages at Prosymna – although still less common than the rounded alabastron (FS 85) in this period – the stirrup jar is very rare at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIIA2, where we mainly see small piriform jars (FS 45) and rounded alabastra appearing in the tombs,
thus continuing the tradition from the previous LHIIB-IIIA1 phase. There do not appear to be any major changes in LHIIB, although it is difficult to compare the two sites because of the limited number of tombs in use in the Athenian Agora in this period (see section 3.3 above).

The offerings other than pottery also reveal similarities and differences among the two cemeteries. At both sites, it is commonplace to find stone conuli and glass beads in the tomb assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1. This also applies to the assemblages from LHIIIA2 and LHIIB at Prosymna. In the Athenian Agora, on the other hand, there is a strong decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found in LHIIIA2. Although stone conuli appear in all three groups of assemblages from this period – “Agora-1 (2)”, “Agora-2” and “Agora-3” – it in no way compares to the frequency with which these objects occurred in the previous LHIIB-IIIA1 phase. Glass beads have also (almost) completely disappeared. A category of objects comparatively common at Prosymna in LHIIIA2, being attested with varying frequencies in all three groups of assemblages from this period, is made up by terracotta figurines, in the shape of standing females and animals (bovids). In the Athenian Agora, on the other hand, these objects are found in only a limited number of graves.257 (This category of items is discussed in more detail in section 3.5.2 below.) It can thus be concluded that in terms of the relations of similarity the two sites most resemble each other in LHIIB-IIIA1, although as noted above, even in this period it is possible for a number of differences between them to be identified, for example in the different types of unguent containers placed inside the tombs.

### 3.5.2 Athenian Agora and Prosymna: relations of difference

The groups that most resemble each other are: “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1”. I will focus first on the “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above). Since the former is attested only in LHIIB-IIIA1, our discussion is inevitably limited to this period. Characteristic features, in terms of the pottery, the two groups have in common are comprised of the presence of one or more large piriform jars (FS 19 and 30) and medium or large jugs (FS 150), and a large quantity of unpainted and/or (sometimes possibly)

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257 The only figurine from a LHIIIA2 “Agora-1 (2)” context comes from Tomb 10. We have two figurines from a LHIIIA2 “Agora-2” context: Tomb 26. A single figurine came to light in Tomb 20, which is an “Agora-2” context from LHIIB.
tinned open vases, including shallow angular bowls (FS 295) and kylindates of different shapes, among which examples with high-swung handles (FS 271-273).

There are also similarities in terms of the offerings other than pottery among the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. At both sites, the distribution of items manufactured from rare or exotic materials such as ivory and gold – gold jewelry, such as rosettes and (relief) beads, ivory toiletry articles – is limited largely to tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. A feature typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group from LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIIB2 is the presence of a high concentration of bronzes, comprising weapons, such as daggers and arrowheads, tools and toiletry articles. Although we have only two “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages, both from LHIIB-IIIA1, it is notable that at least one of these – Tomb 3 – produced a collection of four bronzes, consisting of two swords (weapons), a cleaver (tool) and a bowl (vessel). From Tomb 1 come a bronze mirror (toiletry) and lamp.

A notable difference between the two groups is that while the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group typically has glass and stone beads associated with it, no beads were recovered from any of the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages. In the Athenian Agora, beads occur only in combination with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Agora-2” group.

A final point to be addressed here is represented by the architecture or the monumentality of the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see section 3.4.5 above). Although we have only two “Agora-1 (1)” tombs at our disposal (Tomb 1 and 3), it is notable that the tombs containing “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages were among the largest – in terms of dromos length and chamber floor size – of the respective cemeteries they constituted part of.

It is also possible for some similarities to be observed among the “Agora-1 (2)” (see section 3.3.3 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.3 above). The former is attested in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIIB2; the latter occurs in contexts dating from LHIIB-IIIA1 to LHIIB. Characteristic features they have in common and by which they are connected to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, respectively, comprise the presence of one or more medium or large jugs (FS 109-110, 120, 133 and 144-145) and a certain amount of open vases, especially unpainted kylindates of different shapes (FS 266-267).

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, the assemblages associated with both groups from LHIIB-IIIA1 usually include a number of stone and/or glass beads. A notable difference is that the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period often comprise some bronze
weapons, such as spear- and arrowheads and daggers. This is not the case at Prosymna. As noted above, there is a strong decline in the number of offerings other than pottery found at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora in LHIIIA2. As a result, there are hardly any offerings other than pottery associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” assemblages from this period. One tomb yielded a bronze dagger.\textsuperscript{258} Another one produced a collection of glass beads.\textsuperscript{259} No changes can be observed at Prosymna in LHIIIA2, during which it is still commonplace to find glass and stone beads – together with a variety of other items – in association with the “Prosymna-1” (2) group. We do, however, see a strong decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found at Prosymna in LHIIIB, but this seems to have mainly affected the “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages from this period (see section 3.4.2 above).

As noted in the previous sections, the defining criteria of the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups are less clear than those associated with the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups. Nevertheless, it is possible for some similarities between the “Agora-2” (see section 3.3.4 above) and the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 above) to be identified. Both are found in contexts dating from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIIB. A notable similarity is that the tomb assemblages with which they are associated usually have no, or only a few, medium or large jugs and/or open vessels. If medium or large jugs are present, they, as a general rule, do not occur together with kylikes. This combination is what characterizes the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups. It should be pointed out that, overall, the number of kylikes found in association with “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages is comparatively limited.

A feature typical of the “Prosymna-2” group, from LHIIB-III A1 to LHIIIB, is that the assemblages with which it is associated often have a number of small ceramic vessels (for more comments on combinations of small ceramic vessels, see below). Among the tombs in the Athenian Agora, no such pattern can be recognized. At Prosymna, small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149) are particularly common. In total 80% of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 yielded one or more juglets. This pot shape was present in half of the “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2. It should be pointed out, however, that this percentage is based on only four tombs (the total number of “Agora-2” assemblages from this period), while the 80% from Prosymna takes into the account the finds from no less than fifteen graves.

The “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” assemblages usually have only a limited number and variety of objects other than pottery. Stone conuli and glass beads are the commonest,

\textsuperscript{258} Tomb 15 (chamber)
\textsuperscript{259} Tomb 39 (pit grave)
although after LHIIB-IIIA1, glass beads are only found at Prosymna. (As noted above, in LHIIB-IIIA2 we see a strong decline in the number of offerings other than pottery found at the cemetery in the Athenian Agora.) A category of items which is relatively common at Prosymna (see section 3.4.3 above) but comparatively rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora is formed by terracotta figurines. They occur in c. 33% of the “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2, and in c. 38% of the same group from LHIIB. Only one of the four “Agora-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 (25%) and one of the three from LHIIB (c. 33%) yielded terracotta figurines.

A final comment concerns the tendency which was observed at Prosymna for small ceramic vessels, such as handleless jars (FS 77), small jugs (FS 112-114 and 149), feeding bottles (FS 159-161) and small mugs (FS 225-226), to occur together in the same assemblage. The same pattern may also be observed among the tombs in the Athenian Agora in LHIIB-IIIA1 and LHIIIA2. A good example from LHIIB-IIIA1 is Tomb 24 (“Agora-1 (2)”), which yielded a handleless jar, an askos (FS 194) and a carinated conical cup (FS 230). From Tomb 7 (Agora-1 (2)), which is also LHIIB-IIIA1 in date, come a squat jug (FS 87), a small jug and an askos. Notable LHIIIA2 contexts are Tombs 18 (“Agora-1(2)”) and 39 (“Agora-1 (2)”). The former produced a small jug in combination with an askos; the latter a small jug and a feeding bottle. In general, it may thus be noted that while at Prosymna combinations of small ceramic vessels occur in all groups of assemblages (see section 3.4.4 above), in the Agora cemetery this is limited to the “Agora-1 (2)” group. The only (possible) exception is constituted by the assemblage from Tomb 21 (Agora-2), which included two small jugs. In contrast to Prosymna, it is not possible for a general relationship to be observed between tombs in the Agora cemetery containing such combinations and the presence of terracotta figurines (for comments on this relationship, see section 3.4.4 above). The only (possible) exception is Grave K 2:5 from LHIIB-IIIA1, which produced two handleless jars together with two terracotta figurines. There are no other graves from the Agora cemetery with figurines from this period.

It can thus be concluded that with respect to the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record, there are clear similarities and differences among the two sites that have so far been discussed in this dissertation. In the next section, attention will be paid to a number of other sites on the Greek mainland. The aim is to establish

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260 As noted in section 3.4.4 above, if the assemblages without offerings other than pottery other excluded from this, the number increases to c. 45%.
whether the patterns observed at the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna may also be found in other parts of the Mycenaean heartland.

3.6 Mycenaean Athens and Prosymna versus the rest of the Greek mainland

A comparison-based survey

In the previous sections, the focus was on the tomb assemblages from the Late Bronze Age cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (section 3.3) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (section 3.4). In this section the finds from a number of other sites on the Greek mainland will be discussed. These are compared with those from the Athenian Agora and Prosymna in order to assess the extent to which the patterns observed there (see section 3.5 above) can also be recognized in other parts of the Mycenaean heartland. The following regions will be taken into consideration (from north to south and east to west): Boeotia (section 3.6.1), Attica (section 3.6.2), the Korinthia (section 3.6.3), the Argolid (section 3.6.4), Laconia (section 3.6.5) and Messenia (section 3.6.6). From every region, a number – the list is not exhaustive – of well-published tombs and/or cemeteries have been selected.

3.6.1 Boeotia

Several Late Bronze Age necropoleis have been excavated in Boeotia (Map 4).\(^{261}\) In what follows, the focus will be on the chamber tomb cemeteries of Kolonaki and Ismenion which are situated in the hills outside Mycenaean Thebes.\(^{262}\) The sites were published by A. Keramopoullos in 1917.\(^{263}\) The publication includes photographs of only a selection of the excavated finds.\(^{264}\) The eleven best documented LHIIIA-B tombs are taken into consideration here.\(^{265}\)

We will first focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes. Besides the common use of chamber tombs at the

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\(^{261}\) Dakouri-Hild 2010, 702.

\(^{262}\) Another major tomb site in the region is represented by the cemeteries of Tanagra. So far, however, only preliminary reports have been published (for an overview see Mountjoy 1999a, 642, fn. 41).

\(^{263}\) Keramopoullos 1917.

\(^{264}\) The non-pictured artifacts were mentioned in the text.

\(^{265}\) Ismenion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 9, 14, 21, 25 and 26
different sites,\textsuperscript{266} there is a general tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased.\textsuperscript{267} Although only a relatively small selection of vessels has been pictured by Keramopoullos, from the inventory lists he published it can be derived that at Thebes there was a clear preference for rounded alabastra (FS 84-85).\textsuperscript{268} Most specimens pictured in the original publication have been dated to LHIIB-IIIA1. We also have a few small piriform jars (FS 31 and 44) from this period (Fig. 70), but this shape is much less common than the rounded alabastron.\textsuperscript{269} This is apparent from the number of tombs in which these vessel types occur, as well as the relative amount of each of these pot shapes. Most graves containing small piriform jars produced only one or two examples of this vase form.\textsuperscript{270} Rounded alabastra, on the other hand, appear in greater numbers. Most assemblages comprised four or more of this pot shape.\textsuperscript{271} The LHIIIA2-B phase is marked by the development of the (globular) stirrup jar (FS 171, 173 and 180) (Figs. 67-8), of which examples are present in almost all tomb assemblages under consideration here.\textsuperscript{272} Only one rounded alabastron (FS 85)\textsuperscript{273} and no small piriform jars (FS 45) from this period were pictured by Keramopoullos.

In terms of the offerings other than pottery, we see that stone conuli\textsuperscript{274} and terracotta figurines\textsuperscript{275} are the commonest. Both are present in five of the eleven tomb assemblages (c. 45\%) under consideration here (for an overview, see fn. 265). They appear together in three graves.\textsuperscript{276}

Comparing the patterns described above with those associated with the cemeteries in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.5 above), it can be concluded that the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes most closely resembles that of Prosymna. At both sites, the rounded alabastron (FS 84-85) is clearly more popular than the small piriform jar (FS 31 and 44-45). Moreover, while terracotta figurines and stirrup jars are comparatively rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora, they are common to very

\textsuperscript{266} Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 67-8; Gallou 2005, 180.
\textsuperscript{267} Unguent containers have been reported from Isemion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 9, 14, 25 and 26. The only tomb without unguent containers is Kolonaki Tomb 21.
\textsuperscript{268} Rounded alabastra were present in the following tombs: Isemion Tombs 2, 3 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 7, 9, 14, 25 and 26.
\textsuperscript{269} Small piriform jars come from Isemion Tombs 2 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 14 and 26.
\textsuperscript{270} One or two small piriform jars were found in Isemion Tombs 2 (N=1) and 5 (N=1); and Kolonaki Tombs 1 (N=2) and 26 (N=1).
\textsuperscript{271} Four or more rounded alabastra came to light in Isemion Tombs 2 (N=5), 3 (N=4) and 5 (N=4); and Kolonaki Tombs 9 (N=5), 14 (N=4) and 26 (N=11).
\textsuperscript{272} Stirrup jars from LHIIIA2-B appear in Isemion Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 7, 14 and 25. There are no stirrup jars in Kolonaki Tombs 9, 21 and 26.
\textsuperscript{273} Isemion Tomb 2
\textsuperscript{274} Stone conuli were found in Isemion Tombs 2, 4 and 5; and Kolonaki Tombs 14 and 25.
\textsuperscript{275} Terracotta figurines came to light in Isemion Tomb 3; and Kolonaki Tombs 1, 14, 21 and 25.
\textsuperscript{276} Isemion Tomb 2; and Kolonaki Tombs 14 and 25
common at Prosymna. Besides similarities in the way relations of similarity are expressed, it is also possible for parallels to be observed in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference between the archaeological burial records of Thebes on the one hand and the Athenian Agora and Prosymna on the other.

There are four assemblages that can be compared with the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. These are Ismenion Tomb 3,\(^{277}\) and Kolonaki Tombs 9,\(^ {278}\) 21,\(^ {279}\) and 26.\(^ {280}\) Kolonaki Tomb 21 is dated to LHIIIIB.\(^ {281}\) The other assemblages can be attributed to LHIIB-III1.\(^ {282}\) Similar to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, most of these assemblages included one or more large (piriform) jars (FS 15 and 25) and a number of undecorated kylikes (FS 266 and 273). Two exceptions have to be mentioned here. There was no large piriform jar found in Kolonaki Tomb 21. No kylikes have been reported from Ismenion Tomb 3. The assemblage from Kolonaki Tomb 21 has nevertheless been included in this group because it yielded a number of other categories of objects which are typically associated with the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group: a gold bead, a collection of glass relief-beads – in the shape of papyrus heads – and a set of undecorated pottery, consisting of a conical cup (FS 204), a carinated kylix (FS 267), a kylix with two high-swung handles (FS 273) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295). Even though no kylikes have been reported from Ismenion Tomb 3, its assemblage did include several large (piriform) jars and a number of offerings other than pottery made of exotic and rare materials, such as an ivory comb and (fragments of) an alabaster vase. As noted in section 3.5 above, the presence of such items is a feature the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups have in common. In this light, note the collection of offerings other than pottery from Kolonaki Tomb 26, which consisted of several pieces of gold leaf, a gold relief-bead in the shape of a lily, a gold needle (?), part of a silver vase, a bronze tool and knife, and a glass bead.

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277 Keramopoullos 1917, 85-93.
278 Ibidem, 141-6.
281 This date is primarily based on the presence of a handmade miniature jug (FS 126), which are generally dated to LHIIB (Mountjoy 1986, 93, 101-3). The rest of the assemblage consists of undecorated pottery.
282 Mountjoy dates the palatial jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 652, fn. 109), the large piriform jar (ibidem, 652, fn. 115) and the rounded alabastron (ibidem, 659, fn. 154) from Tomb 3 to this period. Three palatial jars (ibidem, 652, fn. 110-1) and two rounded alabastra (ibidem, 654, fn. 118) from Kolonaki Tomb 9 are assigned by her to LHIIB-III1. Pot shapes from Kolonaki Tomb 26 dated by Mountjoy to LHIIB-III1 include a beaked jug (ibidem, 654, fn. 126), a medium piriform jar (ibidem, 654, no. 23) and a large piriform jar (ibidem, 652, fn. 115).
Three tomb assemblages may be compared with those associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. These are Ismenion 4,\textsuperscript{283} and Kolonaki Tombs 7\textsuperscript{284} and 14.\textsuperscript{285} All three contained pottery from LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1} and LHIIIA\textsuperscript{2}.\textsuperscript{287} Similar to the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group, in these tombs were found combinations of medium or large jugs (FS 132, 144 and 150) (Fig. 66) and (undecorated) kylikes. Moreover, the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials is limited (largely) to the tombs discussed in the previous paragraph (Ismenion Tomb 3; and Kolonaki Tombs 9, 21 and 26) (for an exception to this pattern, see the discussion of Kolonaki Tomb 25 below). There are, however, also some differences among the different sites. As noted in section 3.5 above, the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages usually have glass and/or stone beads associated with them.\textsuperscript{288} It seems that beads are generally underrepresented in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes.\textsuperscript{289} Among the three tombs discussed here, we only have two glass beads from Kolonaki Tomb 14.

The final group of assemblages from Mycenaean Thebes consists of Ismenion Tombs 2\textsuperscript{290} and 5,\textsuperscript{291} and Kolonaki Tombs 1\textsuperscript{292} and 25.\textsuperscript{293} These most closely resemble the “Prosymna-2” group. Ismenion Tombs 2 and 5 contain pottery from LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{294} and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{283} Keramopoullos 1917, 93-5.
\item \textsuperscript{284} Ibidem, 137-41.
\item \textsuperscript{285} Ibidem, 150-9.
\item \textsuperscript{286} The following ceramic vessels from Ismenion Tomb 4 are dated by Mountjoy to LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1}: a beaked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 660, fn. 165) and a stirrup jug (ibidem, 660, fn. 170). Dated to the same period from Kolonaki Tomb 7 are two stirrup jugs (ibidem, 656, no. 33; ibidem, 660, no. 64). LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1} vessels from Kolonaki Tomb 14 include several rounded alabastron (ibidem, 654, fn. 119), a beaked jug (ibidem, 660, fn. 165) and a cutaway-necked jug (ibidem, 660, fn. 162).
\item \textsuperscript{287} Ismenion Tomb 4 yielded two LHIIIA\textsuperscript{2} stirrup jars (inventory numbers 5 and 6). These have not been discussed by Mountjoy. Dated by her to LHIIIA\textsuperscript{2} from Kolonaki Tomb 9 are a spouted cup (ibidem, 656, no. 33) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 675, no. 135). Pot forms from LHIIIA\textsuperscript{2} from Kolonaki Tomb 14 include a dipper (ibidem, 667, fn. 215), a bowl with two high-swung handles (ibidem, 667, fn. 218) and an askos (ibidem, 666, fn. 204).
\item \textsuperscript{288} As noted in section 3.5 above, beads are mainly common among the tombs in the Athenian Agora in LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1}. We see a general decline in the number and variety of offerings other than pottery found at this site in LHIIIA\textsuperscript{2}.
\item \textsuperscript{289} The possibility cannot be excluded that not all beads were recovered in the excavation of the tombs in the hills around Thebes.
\item \textsuperscript{290} Keramopoullos 1917, 81-6.
\item \textsuperscript{291} Ibidem, 95-7.
\item \textsuperscript{292} Ibidem, 126-8.
\item \textsuperscript{293} Ibidem, 187-94.
\item \textsuperscript{294} Pot shapes from LHIIB-IIIA\textsuperscript{1} from Ismenion Tomb 1 include a rounded alabastron (Mountjoy 1999a, 665, fn. 118), a small piriform jar (ibidem, 659, fn. 148) and a beaked jug (ibidem, 660, no. 63). Vessel types from the period from Ismenion Tomb 5 are made up of two rounded alabastra (ibidem, 659, no. 56) and a small piriform jar (ibidem, 659, no. 50).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

LHIIIA2.295 The other two assemblages can be dated to LHIIIB.296 Similar to the “Prosymna-2” group, medium or large jugs are not common and, if found,297 do not occur in combination with kylikes, which as noted above, is characteristic of the assemblages discussed in the previous paragraph (Ismenion Tomb 4; and Kolonaki Tombs 7 and 14). Another notable feature they share is that three of the four assemblages included one or more small ceramic pots of the same types which we find in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Ismenion Tomb 1 yielded three small jugs (FS 112-114), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 72) and two small carinated bowls. The only small ceramic pot from Ismenion Tomb 5 is an askos (FS 194) (Fig. 71). In Kolonaki Tomb 25 were found a small jug and two feeding bottles (FS 161). No small ceramic vessels were recovered from Kolonaki Tomb 1. Because of the absence of jugs, it is, nevertheless, considered as part of this group. Another reason is that the only ceramic offering from this tomb is a terracotta figurine. As noted in section 3.5 above, it is commonplace to find terracotta figurines in “Prosymna-2” assemblages. As a matter of fact, three of the four assemblages considered here had terracotta figurines associated with them.298 While Ismenion Tomb 2 and Kolonaki Tomb 1 yielded three and one terracotta figurines, respectively, Kolonaki Tomb 25 had no less than ten terracottas, comprising six figurines – five standing females and one bovid – and four pieces of furniture. The assemblage from this tomb also had a number of other unique features associated with it. Among the objects other than pottery there are fifteen ivory beads, an ivory plaque, eight gold foil rosettes and a glass relief-bead in the shape of a cockle shell. As noted above, both the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials and glass relief-beads is otherwise largely limited to tombs with assemblages that can be compared to the “Agora-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Kolonaki Tomb 25 is also unique in terms of the variety of open pot shapes found. The assemblage included a decorated deep bowl (FS 284), a one-handled bowl (?) (FS 283), two spouted bowls (FS 250) and three coarse ladles (FS 311). None of the other tombs discussed in this section either had deep bowls or coarse ladles associated with them. Despite of its unique features, Kolonaki Tomb 25 is, nevertheless, considered here as part of the same group.

295 Pot shapes from LHIIIA2 from Ismenion Tomb 1 consist of a rounded alabastron (ibidem, 663, fn. 190) and a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 667, no. 95). Vessel types from this period from Ismenion Tomb 5 are comprised of a stirrup jar (ibidem, 666, fn. 198) and an askos (ibidem, 666, no. 90).
296 Pot forms from Kolonaki Tomb 1 dated by Mountjoy to LHIIIB are made up of two spouted bowls (ibidem, 676, fn. 277) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 673, fn. 261). Dated to the same period from Kolonaki Tomb 25 are – among others – three stirrup jars (ibidem, 673, fn. 259; ibidem, 675, fn. 262; ibidem, 675, no. 132), a deep bowl (ibidem, 678, fn. 285) and a flask (ibidem, 675, fn. 266).
297 The only medium jug found is a beaked jug from Ismenion Tomb 1 (inventory number 17). Moreover, there are kylix sherds from Kolonaki Tomb 1, which, however, did not yield any jugs.
298 Ismenion Tomb 2; and Kolonaki Tombs 1 and 25
of assemblages as Ismenion Tombs 2 and 5, and Kolonaki Tomb 1. The main reasons are the lack of medium or large jugs, the concentration of small ceramic pots and the large number of terracotta figurines (see above).

In section 3.4.4 above, I argued that combinations of small ceramic pots are not limited to the “Prosymna-2” group per se, but also appear in the other groups of assemblages at the site. A clear example of this in the archaeological burial record of Mycenaean Thebes is represented by Kolonaki Tomb 14, which, based on the presence of medium jugs and kylikes, has previously been compared to the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups (see above). It, however, also yielded a concentration of small ceramic pots, comprising a handleless jar (FS 77) (for comments on the handleless jar in relation to the “Prosymna-2” group, see section 3.4.4 above), a small cutaway-necked jug (FS 135), a small stirrup jug (FS 150), an askos (FS 194), a small goblet (FS 254) (Fig. 69) and a miniature kylix with two high-swung handles (FS 273). In connection with the relation proposed in section 3.4 above between the presence of small ceramic vessels and terracotta figurines, it is notable that there were two figurines (bovids) found in Kolonaki Tomb 14.

The previous discussion of the tomb assemblages from the cemeteries in the hills outside Mycenaean Thebes clearly shows that in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are clear similarities with the groups identified among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (Attica) (see section 3.3 above) and at Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.4 above).

### 3.6.2 Attica

Several necropoleis from the Late Bronze Age have been excavated in Attica (Map 5). The tombs in the Athenian Agora were discussed in section 3.3 above. In what follows, I will pay attention to the cemetery at Eleusis, round the coast to the north-west of Athens. Mention is also made of a chamber tomb excavated at Limniones on the island of Salamis.

The so-called “West Cemetery” at Eleusis was investigated and published by G. Mylonas (1975). The dominant tomb types are cist graves and supra-terranean built

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299 Many necropoleis were published without any contextual information. This especially applies to south Attica (Mountjoy 1999a, 488). A good example is the cemetery of Vourvatsi (Polychronakou-Sgourtisa 2006; Benzi 1975). Another cemetery, of which the publication is in preparation, is the recently excavated site of Glyka Nera (Polychronakou-Sgourtisa 2007).

300 Mylonas 1975.

301 Most cist graves were MH in date (Papadimitriou 2001, 87).
chamber tombs, of which about forty were found.\textsuperscript{302} The cemetery also contains four subterranean chamber tombs. The site was in use from late MH/LH I to LHIIIB.\textsuperscript{303} In what follows, the focus is on the tomb assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1, LHIIB-IIA2 and LHIIB.\textsuperscript{304}

We shall first pay attention to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of the West Cemetery at Eleusis. As indicated above, the dominant tomb type during the “Palatial period of LHIIB-B” is the supra-terranean built chamber tomb, which was used for primary and secondary inhumation burials. In addition to a common tomb type, there is also the tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased (c. 65%).\textsuperscript{305} Rounded alabastra (FS 84) (c. 67%)\textsuperscript{306} are slightly more popular than small piriform jars (FS 28, 31 and 33) (50%) in LHIIB-IIIA1 (Fig. 73).\textsuperscript{307} Both vessel types\textsuperscript{308} occur in LHIIB-IIA2 as well (c. 19%), but they are much less common than the stirrup jar (FS 171),\textsuperscript{309} which is present in 75% of the assemblages from this period. The stirrup jar (FS 173) is the only unguent container found at Eleusis in LHIIBI B (Fig. 78).

A notable difference between the West Cemetery at Eleusis and the Late Bronze Age necropoleis excavated in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna is that at Eleusis there were almost only supra-terranean chamber tombs discovered. At the other two sites, the archaeological burial record consists (almost) exclusively of underground chamber tombs. This tomb type only appears at Eleusis in LHIIB (see below). A notable similarity between the different sites is the tendency to deposit unguent containers with the deceased. In terms of the variety of different vase forms found, the archaeological burial record of Eleusis most closely resembles that of Prosymna (see section 3.4.1 above). This is most clearly reflected in the popularity of stirrup jars (LHIIB-IIA2-B) at the site. Such vessels are remarkably rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (see section 3.3.1 above). We also notice differences

\textsuperscript{302} Ibidem, 65.
\textsuperscript{303} Mountjoy 1999a, 488
\textsuperscript{304} Note that the necropolis remained in use until the Hellenistic period (Papadimitriou 2001, 65).
\textsuperscript{305} Four (Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5, θπ13, λπ16) of the six assemblages from LHIIB-IIIA1 produced unguent containers (c. 67%). No such vessels were found in Tombs Zπ6 and Mπ9. Twelve (Tombs Bπ18, Bπ20, Γπ1, Επ1, Επ3, Ηπ3, Θπ4, Θπ24, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4 and Μπ6) of the sixteen assemblages from LHIIBI I A2 contained unguent containers (c. 75%). There were no unguent containers in Γπ17, Θπ5, Μπ8 and Mπ11. Four (Zπ3, Hπ15, Hπ22 and Ωπ5) of the seven built-chamber-tomb-assemblages from LHIIBI (c. 57%) and two (λπ13 and λπ15) of the four chamber-tomb-assemblages from this period produced unguent containers (50%). No such vessels were found in the following built chamber tomb assemblages: Γπ19, Hπ16 and Ωπ15. Chamber tombs without unguent containers are Tombs λπ11 and λπ14.
\textsuperscript{306} Rounded alabastra from LHIIB-IIIA1 came to light in Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5, Θπ13 and λπ16.
\textsuperscript{307} We have small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1 from Tombs Hπ1, Hπ5 and λπ16.
\textsuperscript{308} Rounded alabastra from LHIIBA2 were found in Tombs Bπ18, Ηπ3 and Θπ4. Small piriform jars came to light in Γπ1, Ηπ3 and λπ4. This equals c. 19% of all assemblages from LHIIBA2.
\textsuperscript{309} The following assemblages from LHIIBA2 contained stirrup jars: Tombs Bπ18, Bπ20, Γπ1, Επ1, Επ3, Ηπ3, Θπ4, Θπ24, λπ4, λπ16, Μπ4 and Μπ6.
between Eleusis and Prosymna. While the rounded alabastron (FS 84-85) is found relatively frequently at Eleusis in LHIIIB-IIIA1 (c. 67%), in LHIIIA2 it is clearly outnumbered by the newly developed stirrup jar (FS 171) (see above). At Prosymna, on the other hand, rounded alabastra remain common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIA-B”. In LHIIIA2, they are (almost) as popular as the stirrup jar (see section 3.4.1 above). Another difference between Eleusis and Prosymna is related to the offerings other than pottery. At Prosymna – but also among the tombs in the Athenian Agora – the assemblages often contain stone conuli and glass beads (see section 3.5 above). Both categories of objects also occur at Eleusis, but only in a limited number of graves.\(^{310}\)

It is also possible for similarities to be observed between the West Cemetery of Eleusis and Prosymna in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. Among the tombs that have been excavated at Eleusis only one group of assemblages has been identified. It is attested in LHIIIB-IIIA1, LHIIIA2\(^{312}\) and LHIIIB.\(^{313}\) This group closely resembles the “Prosymna-2” group (see section 3.4.4 above). Similar to this group, the Eleusis assemblages usually have no or only a few medium or large jugs (FS 109-110 and 150)\(^{314}\) and open vessels. Moreover, kylikes are rare\(^{315}\) and never occur in combination with medium or large jugs. Another characteristic feature is the presence of one or more small ceramic pots. The same vessel types as those typically associated with the “Prosymna-2” group are found. Most common at Eleusis in LHIIIB-IIIA1 is the small jug (FS 112 and 135) (50%) (Fig. 74),\(^{316}\) but there are also single examples of the handleless jar (FS 77),\(^{317}\) the feeding bottle (FS 159) (Fig. 75)\(^{318}\) and the askos (FS 194)\(^{319}\) from this period. In LHIIIA2, the small jug (FS 112, 114 and 149) (Fig. 76)\(^{320}\) and the feeding bottle (FS 160)\(^{321}\)

\(^{310}\) Glass beads came to light in Tomb Θπ4 (LHIIIA2). Stone conuli were recovered from the same tomb, as well as from Θπ5, Ζτ3 (LHIIIB), Ηπ22 (LHIIIB) and Θπ15 (LHIIIB).

\(^{311}\) Tombs Ζτ6, Ητ1, Ητ5, Θτ13, Λτ16 and Μτ9.

\(^{312}\) Tombs Βτ18, Βτ20, Γτ1, Γτ17, Ετ1, Ετ3, Ητ3, Θτ4, Ωτ5, Ωτ24, Λτ4, Λτ16, Μτ4, Μτ6, Μτ8 and Μτ11.

\(^{313}\) We have one medium stirrup jug from LHIB-IIIA1 from Tomb Μτ9. From a LHIIIA2 context comes a medium linear jug: Tomb Μτ6. An undecorated jug from LHIIIB was found in Tomb Ητ22.

\(^{314}\) A monochrome kylix came to light in Tomb Ητ1 (LHIIIB-IIIA1). A kylix with two vertical handles below the rim was found in Tomb Ετ3 (LHIIIA2).

\(^{315}\) Small jugs from LHIIIB-IIIA1 were uncovered in Tombs Ζτ6, Ητ1 and Λτ16.

\(^{316}\) Tomb Ζτ6.

\(^{317}\) Tomb Θτ13.

\(^{318}\) Tomb Μτ9.

\(^{319}\) The following tombs yielded assemblages from LHIIIA2 with small jugs: Tombs Βτ20, Ετ1, Λτ4, Λτ16, Μτ4 and Μτ11.

\(^{320}\) The following tombs yielded assemblages from LHIIIA2 with feeding bottles: Tombs Βτ18, Βτ20, Γτ17, Θτ4, Μτ4 and Μτ6.
are equally popular (c. 38%). Other small ceramic pots from this period include an askos and two small mugs (FS 225) (Fig. 77). Small vessels also appear in contexts dating from LHIIIB. Two assemblages included a small jug (c. 29%). Single pot forms are comprised of a feeding bottle, an askos and a handmade basket vase (FS 317).

The assemblages from LHIIIA2 (c. 56%) and LHIIIB often have terracotta figuines in the shape of standing females associated with them. Seven of the sixteen assemblages from LHIIIA2 did not yield any offerings other than pottery. The remaining nine all contained one or more terracotta figurines (100%). Three of the seven assemblages from LHIIIB were without objects other than pottery. Three of the remaining four had terracotta figurines (75%). Other types of objects, such as bronze daggers, stone conuli, glass beads and seals, have only been found in a limited number of graves. As noted in section 3.4.4 above, terracotta figurines are also regularly occur in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. A notable difference, however, is that in that in many of these assemblages glass and/or stone beads were present.

As indicated above, there were also four sub-tellanean chamber tombs excavated at Eleusis. Unfortunately, all four had been extensively robbed. The only tomb from which any pottery was recovered is Tomb Λπ13. Its assemblage, which can be dated to LHIIIB, consisted of a stirrup jar (FS 173), a narrow-necked jug (FS 120) (Fig. 79) and an unpainted conical kylix (FS 274). There is no other tomb at Eleusis of which the assemblage comprises a medium or large jug in combination with a kylix. As noted in section 3.5 above,
this is what the “Agora-1” and the “Prosymna-1” group have in common and what distinguishes them from the “Agora-2” and the “Prosymna-2” group, respectively.

Another example of medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes comes from a chamber tomb excavated at Limniones, on the east coast of the island of Salamis, just offshore from Attica (Map 5). It had been used for three inhumation burials and a (possible) cremation. Based on the pottery the assemblage from the tomb can be dated to LHIIIB. We notice similarities between the tomb excavated at Limniones and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. As noted in section 3.4.1 above, features the different groups of assemblages have in common at Prosymna in LHIIIB consist of the presence of unguent containers, mostly made up of stirrup jars in this period, and stone conuli. These are among the various types of objects considered here as the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. In this light, note that the Limniones assemblage contained six unguent containers, comprising five stirrup jars (FS 167, 173 and 180) and a small piriform jar (FS 48), and three stone conuli.

The finds recovered from the tomb excavated at Limniones also have features in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Objects found in this grave that are characteristic of this group include a large piriform jar (FS 40) (Fig. 80), a shallow angular bowl (FS 295) and a glass relief-bead (Fig. 82). The assemblage also comprised two large jugs (FS 120) (Fig. 81) and three undecorated kylikes (FS 266-267). A similar combination of ceramic vessels came to light in Tomb λπ13 at Eleusis (see above). The other finds from Limniones consisted of three bronzes, comprising a mirror, a scale pan and a razor or cleaver. Note that at Prosymna the distribution of bronze mirrors and cleavers is limited mostly to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). A final comment concerns the discovery of a small jug (FS 114) and a feeding bottle (FS 161) in the tomb at Limniones. As noted in section 3.4.4 above, such combinations of small ceramic pots (cf. “Prosymna-2”) also regularly occur in combination with “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages.

In general, we can conclude that both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference, there are a considerable number of similarities between the sites discussed in this section and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. The assemblages from the supra-terranean chamber tombs excavated at Eleusis can be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. Moreover, although limited in number, we also discussed some

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342 Ibidem, 70.
343 Mountjoy 1999a, 488.
assemblages (Eleusin Tomb λπ13 and the chamber excavated at Limniones) which have features in common with the “Prosymna-1” group.

3.6.3 The Korinthia

There are only a few published Late Bronze Age cemeteries from the Korinthia (Map 6). In what follows, attention will be paid to a robbed LHIIIA2 chamber tomb excavated at Barnavos and two graves dated to LHIIIB which have been cleared outside the Bronze Age settlement of Zygouries.\footnote{Another cemetery consisting of – at least – five chamber tombs is situated at Ayia Sotira, to the north of the Bronze Age settlement of Tsoungiza. The publication is currently in preparation (Wright et al. 2008, 628). There is another Late Bronze Age cemetery at Aedonia. The site, which is largely unpublished – pottery vessels and other objects are on display in the Nemea archaeological museum – consists of seventeen chamber tombs, two dromoi without chamber and a shaft grave (Krystalli-Voti 2006, 23).}

Located at Barnavos, to the west of the Bronze Age settlement of Tsoungiza, is a (robbed) chamber tomb.\footnote{Wright et al. 2008, 628.} The assemblage has been dated to LHIIIA2. It includes five unguent containers: a rounded alabastron (FS 85), two stirrup jars (FS 167 and 171) (Fig. 83) and one or two small piriform jars (FS 45). In LHIIIA2, these vessel types are also very common at Prosymna. They are found in all different types of assemblages there.

The Barnavos assemblage also had three medium jugs (FS 109) and a carinated kylix (FS 267) associated with it.\footnote{Ibidem, 615-20.} Offerings other than pottery consisted of a bronze cleaver or razor\footnote{Ibidem, 617, no. 5.} and a stone bead.\footnote{Ibidem, 620, no. 12.} The occurring together of one or more medium or large jugs and kylikes is a feature characteristic of the “Agora-1” and “Prosymna-1” groups (see section 3.5 above). Glass and stone jewelry beads also constitute a typical feature of these assemblages.

Located to the south-east of Tsoungiza is the Bronze Age settlement of Zygouries.\footnote{Blegen 1928.} Two chamber tombs (Tombs 33 and 35) from LHIIIB\footnote{Mountjoy 1999a, 199.} were discovered circa 500 meters to the west of it.\footnote{Blegen 1928, 57-65.} The two graves have in common the presence of a number of unguent containers. Tomb 33 produced three stirrup jars (FS 179, 180 and 182); recovered from Tomb 35 were two stirrup jars (FS 180) and a small piriform jar (FS 48). As indicated above, stirrup jars are among the various types of objects the different groups of assemblages at Prosymna.
have in common with each other (cf. relations of similarity). The same applies to stone conuli. However, we only have stone conuli from Tomb 33 at Zygouries.

Both assemblages may be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. Neither one of the assemblages included any open vessels. Apart from usually containing no or only a few open pot shapes, “Prosymna-2” assemblages also often have one or more small ceramic pots (see Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). Such vessels are present in Tombs 33 and 35 at Zygouries as well. The former yielded a juglet (FS 112-114) and a feeding bottle (FS 161) (Fig. 84). Recovered from Tomb 35 were a feeding bottle, an askos (FS 194) and a handmade basket vase (FS 317). In conjunction with this, “Prosymna-2” assemblages also regularly include terracotta figurines. In this light, note that in both Zygouries tombs such items were found: Tomb 33 produced three terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females; in Tomb 35 no less than eleven figurines in the shape of standing females came to light.

Mention should be made of the large number of jugs found in Tomb 33; in total six were found (FS 105, 110 and 120) (Fig. 85). Tomb 35, on the other hand, only had a single large jug (FS 105) associated with it. It is not uncommon to find a medium or large jug in a “Prosymna-2” assemblage (cf. Tomb 35). However, their number usually does not exceed one or two (see section 3.4.3 above).

The overview above indicates that both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are similarities between the sites discussed above and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna. While the two chamber tombs excavated at Zygouries provide us with good parallels for the “Prosymna-2” group, the evidence for the “Prosymna-1” group is less unequivocal (cf. robbed tomb at Barnavos).

### 3.6.4 The Argolid

We know of a large number of chamber tomb cemeteries in the Argolid (Map 7). Chamber tombs have, for example, been excavated at Mycenae, Prosymna, Berbati, Dendra (Midea), Argos (Deiras), Kokla, Evangelistria (Nauplion) and Asine. In what follows, I will only focus on the chamber tombs located on the hill slopes around the citadel of Mycenae (Map 8). The cemetery of Prosymna has been discussed in section 3.4 above.

Several groups of chamber tombs have been excavated at Mycenae. Here we will only focus on the tombs excavated by A.J.B. Wace (1920-1923) in the Kalkani area and the “Third

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352 Mountjoy 1999a, 60-7.
Kilometer Cemetery” (Map 8). Both areas had previously been explored by Chr. Tsountas (1887-1898).\(^\text{353}\) The tombs excavated by Wace are, however, better documented\(^\text{354}\) and therefore more suitable for the assemblage-based analysis carried out below. The results of Wace’s explorations are published in the monograph “Chamber Tombs at Mycenae” (1932).\(^\text{355}\) The finds from thirteen of the tombs\(^\text{356}\) investigated by him are discussed below.\(^\text{357}\) Among these, it has been possible for three groups of assemblages to be identified. Before discussing the features defining the individual groups, attention is paid to the elements they have in common. As noted before, such cross-cutting features are conceived here as the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

The assemblages were found in chamber tombs which had been used for primary and/or secondary inhumation burials.\(^\text{358}\) Other features the different groups of assemblages have in common include the presence of unguent containers (100%), stone conuli (c. 77%)\(^\text{359}\) and glass beads (c. 77%).\(^\text{360}\) With regards to the different types of unguent containers found, the archaeological burial record of Mycenae – at least the part of it investigated by Wace – most closely resembles that of Prosymna (see section 3.4 above). Since the Mycenaean-assemblages discussed here mostly date to LHIIIA2 and/or LHIIIB, our comparison of the two sites is chronologically limited to these periods.\(^\text{361}\) A notable similarity between both sites

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\(^{353}\) Tsountas investigated one-hundred-and-three chamber tombs, but (with the exception of four preliminary reports) he never published a definitive account of his expeditions (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 337). It was not until 1985 that part of his work was published (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985). This important monograph by A. Xenaki-Sakellariou contains photographs and descriptions of a large amount of the (mainly) objects other than pottery which were recovered by Tsountas. There was only a small number of pottery vessels included in the publication. It has proven difficult – and often impossible – to connect the pots, in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, with Tsountas’ excavation records. Moreover, it appears that pot sherds and fragmentary or incomplete vessels, which are usually numerous in Mycenaean chamber tombs, were not included in Tsountas’ inventory lists. As a result, there are many tombs ‘without’ pottery (ibidem, 352-3).

\(^{354}\) It has to be pointed out, however, that although listed in the tomb finds lists, not every vessel or small find for that matter was actually depicted by him in his publication “Chamber Tombs at Mycenae” (1932). As a result, the shape, decoration and date of some of the vases described by him have been difficult to establish.

\(^{355}\) Wace 1932.

\(^{356}\) These are Tombs 502, 515, 520, 524, 525, 530, 533, 513, 516, 519, 521 and 527.

\(^{357}\) Not all twenty-four tombs included in the original publication are taken into consideration here, because some of them were found empty, robbed or to mainly contain pottery from LHIIA. Left out of the following discussion are Tombs 504, 505, 522, 531, 514, 517, 518, 528, 529 and 532.

\(^{358}\) Wace 1932, 138-41 (see, also, Cavanagh/Mee 1998, 65-6, 71-2).

\(^{359}\) Of the tombs listed in fn. 353, no stone conuli were found in Tombs 519, 521 and 527.

\(^{360}\) One or more glass beads came to light in Tombs 502, 515, 520, 523, 524, 530, 513, 516 and 521. We have stone beads from Tombs 502, 515, 520, 524, 516 and 519.

\(^{361}\) Wace did not discover any ‘intact’ assemblages from LHIIIB-IIIA1. The only exception is a collection of finds unearthed in the dromos of Tomb 515. These had been removed from the chamber, which was reused in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIC. Otherwise, some assemblages consisting mainly of LHIIA and/or LHIIIB pottery (e.g. Tombs 517 and 518) include a few single vessels from LHIIIB-IIIA1. In general, based on these finds, it seems that similar to Prosymna, the rounded alabastron was more popular than the small piriform jar in LHIIIB-IIIA1. Small piriform jars from this period appear to be very rare among the tombs excavated by Wace. However, as noted in the main text, these changes in LHIIIA2.
is the popularity of the newly developed stirrup jar (FS 171) (Figs. 93 and 99). As noted in section 3.3 above, stirrup jars are very rare among the tombs in the Athenian Agora. We can, however, also observe a number of differences between Prosymna and Mycenae. At Prosymna, the rounded alabastron (FS 84-86) remains common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B” (see section 3.4.1 above). In LHIIIA2, this pot shape is as, if not more popular than the stirrup jar. The rounded alabastron is also found at Mycenae in LHIIIA2 (for comments on this shape in LHIIB-IIIA1, see fn. 361), but it occurs in much fewer tombs than the small piriform jar (FS 45) (Fig. 94) and the stirrup jar, which are clearly the most popular unguent containers found at Mycenae in LHIIIA2-B.

We now turn to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of Mycenae. Similar to the features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages discussed above, it is possible for similarities to be observed with some of the groups established among the tombs in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna (cf. section 3.5 above). Three of the tombs excavated by Wace at Mycenae yielded assemblages that can be compared to those associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)’’ and the “Agora-1 (1)’’ group. These are Tombs 502 (LHIIIB) (Third Kilometer Cemetery), 515 (LHIIIA), Kalkani, 520 (LHIIIA2) (Kalkani). What they have in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)’’ and “Agora-1 (1)’’ groups is the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 35 and 40) (Fig. 86) and a considerable number of undecorated and/or tinned open vases, especially different types of kyliles (FS 266-267 and 273) and shallow angular bowls (FS 295). No large piriform jar was found in Tomb 515. However, because its assemblage included four tinned vessels, three kyliles and a shallow angular bowl, and a wide array of offerings other than pottery, this

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362 Rounded alabastra from LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB came to light in Tombs 520 (LHIIIA2), 527 (LHIIIA2-B) and 533 (LHIIIA2-B).
363 Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB containing small piriform jars are Tombs 520 (LHIIIA2), 523 (LHIIIA2), 524 (LHIIIA2), 525 (LHIIIA2-B), 530 (LHIIIA2), 513 (LHIIIB), 519 (LHIIIA2-B) and 527 (LHIIIA2-B).
364 Tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB with stirrup jars are Tombs 502 (LHIIIB), 515 (LHIIIA2), 520 (LHIIIA2), 523 (LHIIIA2), 524 (LHIIIA2), 525 (LHIIIA2-B), 530 (LHIIIA2), 533 (LHIIIA2), 516 (LHIIIA2), 519 (LHIIIA2-B), 521 (LHIIIA2) and 527 (LHIIIA2-B).
365 Pottery vessels from this grave dated to LHIIIB by Mountjoy include a large piriform jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 132, no. 223) and a feeding bottle (ibidem, 138, no. 247).
366 Wace 1932, 3-10.
367 The finds from the dromos are of LHIIB-IIIA1 date, including eight rounded alabastra (Mountjoy 1999a, 98, fn. 370-1, 375) and a medium piriform jar (ibidem, 98, no. 72). In the chamber, a LHIIIA2-B stirrup jar and a group of tinned vessels from the same period were found. The majority of the decorated pottery from the chamber is of LHIIIC date.
368 Wace 1932, 50-63.
369 Pottery vessels from Tomb 520 of LHIIIA2 date include two large piriform jars (Mountjoy 1999a, 115, no. 140; ibidem, 115, fn. 510) and a rounded alabastron (ibidem, 116, no. 149).
370 Wace 1932, 21-8.
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

tomb is nevertheless considered as part of this group. It is to these other objects that we shall now turn.

The three Mycenae-assemblages under discussion here contained a variety of objects other than pottery, comprising, among others, gold jewelry (Fig. 87), various types of seals, and glass and stone beads. The assemblages also include some items which can be considered as characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). In all three graves, gold leaf rosettes and/or (relief) beads were found (Fig. 87). The same applies to glass relief-beads. A variety of different shapes is attested. A bead in the shape of an argonaut and fragments of beads in the bracket-shape came to light in Tomb 515. The assemblage from Tomb 520 has beads associated with it in the shape of papyrus heads and ‘ivy’ leaves (Fig. 89). Finally, beads in the shape of curls-of-hair were found in Tomb 502 (Fig. 90). Another notable find is a gold signet ring (Fig. 88) from Tomb 520. Tomb 44 at Prosymna, which is considered as part of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group, also contained a gold signet ring (Fig. 56) (see section 3.4.2 above). Despite these similarities, it is also possible for some differences between these Mycenae-assemblages and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Agora-1 (1)” groups to be observed. The clearest example of this is the relatively small number of bronzes recovered from the tombs at Mycenae. As noted in section 3.5 above, a characteristic feature of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group is the presence of a strong concentration of bronzes, consisting of weapons (e.g. daggers and arrowheads), tools (knives and cleavers or razors) and toiletry articles (e.g. mirrors and pins). There were no bronzes recovered from Tomb 502. The only bronze found in Tomb 520 is a pin. The only exception to this pattern is represented by Tomb 515, in which a larger concentration of bronze objects came to light. Its assemblage included, among others, several arrowheads, two knives, a pin and a scale pan.

We have three assemblages which can be compared with the “Agora-1 (2)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.5). These are Mycenae Tombs 524 (LHIIIA2)\textsuperscript{371} (Kalkani), \textsuperscript{372} 525 (LHIIIA2)\textsuperscript{373} (Kalkani)\textsuperscript{374} and 533 (LHIIIA2)\textsuperscript{375} (Kalkani).\textsuperscript{376} What they

\textsuperscript{371} Pottery vessels from this tomb from LHIIIA2 include a small jug with cutaway neck (Mountjoy 1999a, 119, fn. 556), a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 127, fn. 596) and a handmade basket vase (ibidem, 122, fn. 567).
\textsuperscript{372} Wace 1932, 38-43.
\textsuperscript{373} Vases from Tomb 525 of LHIIIA2 date are made up by a cutaway-necked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 119, fn. 553) and a small piriform jar (ibidem, 115, no. 146). Other finds include a small undecorated stirrup jug and two plain kylikes with two vertical handles below the rim. Both shapes mostly occur in LHIIIA2. The assemblage also includes a LHIIIIB deep bowl (ibidem, 143, fn. 706) and piriform jar (ibidem, 132, no. 222).
\textsuperscript{374} Wace 1932, 89-92.
\textsuperscript{375} Pottery vessels from this tomb from LHIIIA2 include a beaked jug (Mountjoy 1999a, 136, fn. 663), two cutaway-necked jugs (ibidem, 119, fn. 555-4) and a monochrome rounded kylix.
\textsuperscript{376} Wace 1932, 113-20.
have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the “Agora-1 (2)” (cf. Table 1 in section 3.3.5 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group on the other (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above) is that the assemblages from these graves contained medium and/or large jugs (FS 109, 120, 133 and 146) (Fig. 92) in combination with one or more unpainted kylkles (FS 266, 269 and 273). Another similarity is that there were no objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory, found in these tombs at Mycenae. It is also possible for a number of differences to be observed. Jewelry beads only came to light in Tomb 524. As argued in section 3.5 above, jewelry beads constitute a common component of most “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” assemblages. Interestingly, Tomb 524 yielded a glass plaque with spiraliform design and a relief-bead in the shape of an ‘ivy’ leaf. In general, at Prosymna the distribution of glass relief-beads is limited mostly to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages. As noted above, the three tombs excavated by Wace at Mycenae – Tombs 502, 515 and 520 – which can be compared to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group all had collections of glass relief-beads associated with them. Another difference relates to the kylkles found in Tomb 533. Its assemblage included two kylkles with high-swung handles (FS 273). The distribution of this vessel type is limited largely to tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (for exceptions, see sections 3.3 and 3.4 above).

A different group of assemblages is represented by Mycenae Tombs 513 (Kalkani), 516 (Kalkani), 519 (Kalkani), 521 (Kalkani), 523 (Kalkani), 527 (Kalkani) and 530 (Kalkani). The finds from Tomb 513 and the chamber of Tomb 527 are LHIIIB in date. The remaining assemblages can be attributed to LHIIB.387 The finds from these

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377 We should note that in the case of the Agora-1 (2) group, this mainly applies to LHIIB-IIIA1. As argued in section 3.5, in LHIIIA2 there is a strong decrease in the number of objects other than pottery found in the tombs in the Athenian Agora.
378 Wace 1932, 45-8.
379 Ibidem, 63-7.
382 Ibidem, 35-7.
383 Ibidem, 94-8.
384 Ibidem, 106-110.
385 Vessels from Tomb 513 dated to LHIIB include a small piriform jar (Mountjoy 1999a, 132, no. 226) and a flask (ibidem, 140, fn. 682).
386 Pottery vessels from the chamber of Tomb 527 dated to LHIIB are a narrow-necked jug (ibidem, 134, fn. 652), a feeding bottle (ibidem, 134, fn. 654) and a small jug (ibidem, 134, fn. 651).
387 Vases from Tomb 516 from LHIIBA2 include a small jug (ibidem, 118, no. 166) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 124, no. 190). In Tomb 519 the following ceramic vessels from LHIIBA2 were found: a small piriform jar, a stirrup jar (ibidem, 124, no. 191) and an askos. A linear jug is dated to LHIIB (ibidem, 134, fn. 650). Pottery vessels from Tomb 521 from LHIIBA2 include a small jug, an askos (ibidem, 125, no. 193), a stirrup jar (ibidem, 124, no. 188), a flask (ibidem, 124, no. 192) and a monochrome kylix. LHIIBA2 finds from Tomb 523 are comprised of three stirrup jars (ibidem, 124, no. 186; ibidem, 124, fn. 574, 578) and a jug with a cut-away neck.
tombs can be compared to the “Prosymna-2” group. What they have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the “Prosymna-2” group on the other is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring together with unpainted kylikes. Note that jugs (FS 109, 120 and 133) (Fig. 91) (c. 57%)\(^{388}\) and unpainted kylikes (FS 267 and 273) (c. 14%)\(^{389}\) do appear, but in different assemblages. Moreover, similar to the “Prosymna-2” group, the Mycenae-assemblages under discussion here have no or only a few open vase forms associated with them (cf. Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above). Three tombs (c. 43%) did not include any open vessel types: Tombs 513, 516 and 519. Tombs 521, 523, 527 and 530 yielded two, four, one and three open vessels, respectively.

Three of the seven assemblages (c. 43%) contained one or more small jugs (FS 112-114) (Fig. 97).\(^{390}\) As commented in section 3.4.4 above, juglets also frequently occur in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Another notable similarity is that the small jugs discovered within these tombs at Mycenae – Tombs 513, 516, 519, 521, 523, 527 and 530 – are not found in isolation but typically have a number of other small ceramic pots associated with them. Tomb 521 yielded a juglet, a small hydria (FS 129) and an askos (FS 194) (Fig. 98). Two small jugs were found in Tomb 516 (Fig. 97). Recovered from the dromos of Tomb 527 were the following small ceramic pots: a juglet, a feeding bottle (FS 160) and a miniature handmade basket vase (FS 317). The chamber of this tomb produced a small jug, a feeding bottle and a miniature handmade hydria. Although there was no juglet found in Tomb 519, its assemblage did include an askos.

Four of the seven Mycenae-assemblages comprised terracotta figurines (c. 57%).\(^{391}\) As noted above, such items are also relatively common in combination with assemblages of the “Prosymna-2” group. In two tombs,\(^{392}\) one or more glass relief-beads were found (Fig. 100), of which the distribution, as noted in section 3.5 above, is limited largely to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. The same applies to the distribution of items made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory. In this light, it is notable that in four of the seven Mycenae tombs

\(^{388}\) Medium or large jugs were found in Tomb 519 (FS 110), 521 (FS 109), 523 (FS 109 and 133) and 527 (FS 120).
\(^{389}\) Unpainted kylikes came to light in Tomb 530 (FS 267 and 273) only.
\(^{390}\) Tombs 516, 521 and 527
\(^{391}\) Tombs 513, 519, 521 and 527
\(^{392}\) One glass relief-bead in the shape of a lily was found in Tomb 521. In Tomb 523, four glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads came to light.
under consideration here (c. 57%) one or more small, ivory (engraved) discs were uncovered (Fig. 100). These may originally have been fastened to a background of some kind, perhaps a wooden box or casket. Other notable objects are comprised of a gold ring from Tomb 513 and a silver ring from Tomb 530. No items made of exotic and rare materials are associated with the assemblages from Tombs 524, 525 and 533, which were compared above to the “Agora-1 (2)” and Prosymna-1 (2)” groups.

As argued in section 3.4.4 above, combinations of small ceramic pots also sometimes occur in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. There is also one example of this from among the tombs excavated by Wace. Tomb 524 yielded four medium jugs (FS 109 and 120) and fragments of unpainted kylikes. In this grave were also found two small jugs (FS 113 and 134) (Fig. 95), a feeding bottle (FS 160) (Fig. 96), three askoi (FS 194), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) and a handmade basket vase (FS 317). Interestingly, its assemblage included nine terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females. As noted above, such items also relatively frequently occur in combination with the “Prosymna-2” group. Moreover, four of the seven Mycenae tombs of which the assemblages were compared above to the “Prosymna-2” group had figurines associated with them.

As is clear from the previous discussion, both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference there are similarities between Mycenae and Prosymna (and the Athenian Agora). We also pointed out a number of differences, such as the small number of bronzes found in tombs comparable to the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups and the relative frequency (c. 57%) with which ivory discs (part of box or casket) appeared in assemblages similar to the “Prosymna-2” group. There is also one tomb of which the assemblage does not fit into any of the groups discussed above: Tomb 526. It did not contain any pottery. An adult female was buried with only stone and glass jewelry. In addition, the assemblage included three Egyptian faience scarabs, based on the cartouches of which, belonging to the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III. Tomb 526 has been dated to LHIIIA.

3.6.5 Laconia
Late Bronze Age cemeteries have been excavated at a number of sites in Laconia, such as at Pellana, Melathria, Sykia and Epidauros Limera (Map 9).\[397\] Unfortunately, with the exception of Melathria (see below), none of these sites has so far been fully published.

Six chamber tombs from LHIIIA2, of which five had been plundered, were uncovered at Melathria.\[398\] Despite of its disturbed state, it is nevertheless possible for similarities between this site and the archaeological burial record of Prosymna to be noticed. If we concentrate on the unplundered grave (Tomb A1), its assemblage shows affinity with that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. This is most clear from the presence in the tomb of four medium jugs (FS 110 and 145) and two unpainted kylikes (FS 267). As argued in section 3.5 above, this combination is typical of the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group. Other finds from the tomb at Melathria are made up of four stone conuli and a large number of stone and glass beads.\[399\] Stone conuli and glass and stone beads are common in all three groups of assemblages at Prosymna in LHIIIA2. For this reason, these items have been regarded as the (possible) manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of this site (see section 3.4.1 above). A similar interpretation has been proposed for the unguent containers having been found in most tombs at Prosymna. In this light, note that the assemblage from the unplundered tomb at Melathria included a stirrup jar (FS 171). This pot shape is also very common at Prosymna in LHIIIA2 (see section 3.4.1 above). Note that there were also stirrup jars, as well as other types of unguent containers, such as a rounded alabastron (FS 85) from Tomb Σ2 and a small piriform jar (FS 45) from Σ1, recovered from the disturbed graves at Melathria.

Four chamber tombs have been excavated at Sykia. They are largely unpublished.\[400\] Based on a recent publication (2008), it is, however, possible for part of the assemblage from Tomb 2 to be reconstructed. The ceramic finds can be dated to LHIIIA2. Its assemblage appears to be similar to that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group.\[401\] This is clearest from the presence of a large piriform jar (FS 35), a strong concentration of bronzes, comprising a sword, a dagger and a razor, and glass relief-beads in Sykia Tomb 2. As noted in section 3.4.2 above, these features are typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group.

\[397\] Mountjoy 1999a, 244-7.
\[398\] Demakopoulou 1979.
\[399\] Ibidem, 48.
\[400\] Efstathiou 2008, 269-72.
\[401\] Note that we have no examples of the “Agora-1 (1)” group from LHIIIA2 (see section 3.3.2 above).
It can be inferred from the discussion above that despite the limited amount of (published) information available from Laconia there are clearly similarities between the archaeological burial record of this region and that of Prosymna.

3.6.6 Messenia

A large number of Late Bronze Age cemeteries have been excavated in Messenia (Map 10). One of the few sites which has been completely published is the cemetery located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos). It is on this site that we will concentrate in this section.

There are several burial areas located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos). For chronological reasons, we will focus here on the materials from Tholos III and the (chamber) tombs. Tholos III was constructed in LHIIA. The grave had an 8.10 meters long dromos and a circular chamber with a diameter of c. 7.70 m (c. 46.5 m$^2$) (Fig. 101). LHIIIA sherds are mentioned (but not illustrated) in the excavation report. It appears that the use of the tholos lasted into LHIIIB, to which the majority of the pottery found has been attributed. The assemblage, which had been looted, resembles that typically associated with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group (see section 3.4.2 above). This is especially clear from the presence in Tholos III of two large piriform jars (FS 35) and nine undecorated vases, including seven kylikes (FS 266-267) and a shallow angular bowl (FS 295). As indicated in Table 2 in section 3.4.5 above, these objects are typical of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. There are also similarities in terms of the offerings other than pottery between the assemblage from Tholos III at Pylos and the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Objects recovered from it that are characteristic of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group include gold leaf rosettes and (relief) beads (Fig. 103), and glass relief-beads, comprising such motifs as

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402 Mountjoy 1999a, 303-6.
403 Other burial areas comprise another tholos and a grave circle, both of which were founded in LHI (Mountjoy 1999a, 304) and fall outside the chronological range of this PhD study (Blegen et al. 1973, 95-176).
404 Blegen et al. 1973, 94, N.M. 9139 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 318, no. 11).
405 Blegen et al. 1973, 79.
406 Ibidem, 73, 75.
407 Pottery vessels from Tholos III from LHIIIB include the two large piriform jars (Mountjoy 1999a, 345, no. 86), a deep bowl (ibidem, 352, no. 114) and a decorated chalice (ibidem, 352, no. 107).
409 Mountjoy 1999a, 345, no. 86.
410 Blegen et al. 1973, 92-5.
411 Note that although similar as a group, we have no “Agora-1 (1)” assemblages from LHIIIB (see section 3.3.2 above).
cockle and murex shells, ‘ivy’ leaves and rosettes. Several beads in the bracket-shape were also found.\textsuperscript{413} Other notable finds from Tholos III are made up of fragments of one or more pyxides or boxes and a pin made of ivory,\textsuperscript{414} a bronze sword or dagger\textsuperscript{415} and pieces of amber beads.\textsuperscript{416} As indicated in section 3.4.2 above, at Prosymna, the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials such as gold, ivory and amber is limited largely to the “Prosymna-1 (1)” group. Although from an earlier period, i.e. LHIIB-IIIA1, a pair of ivory pyxides was found in the Athenian Agora Tomb 1, which has been classified as belonging to the “Agora-1 (1)” group (see section 3.3.2 above). In addition, we noticed that at Prosymna, bronze weapons, such as swords and daggers, are mostly found in “Prosymna-1 (1)” contexts (see section 3.4.2 above). In this light also note the bronze swords recovered from Tomb 3 in the Athenian Agora, which, although from an earlier period, i.e. LHIIB-IIIA1, contained an “Agora-1 (1)” assemblage (see section 3.3.2 above).

The only excavated cemetery in Messenia which has been completely published is that located outside the palace of Nestor at Pylos (Epano Englianos).\textsuperscript{417} It is made up of six chamber tombs\textsuperscript{418} and a pit grave.\textsuperscript{419} The use of the cemetery lasted from LHIIA to LHIIB. Most burials are, however, LHIIB-IIIA1 in date.

Among the tomb assemblages, it is possible for a number of shared features to be defined. In addition to the use of chamber tombs for primary and/or secondary inhumation burials, every assemblage included one or more unguent containers. The most common in LHIIB-IIIA1 is the rounded alabastron (FS 84). This pot shape occurs in all five tombs containing pottery of this phase.\textsuperscript{420} Small and/or medium piriform jars (FS 28, 31, 33 and 44) (Fig. 104) also appear but in only three of the five graves (60%).\textsuperscript{421} The newly developed stirrup jar (FS 166, 171 and 178) (Fig. 105) is the most popular in LHIIBIA2. All five tombs with pottery of this phase yielded one or more stirrup jars.\textsuperscript{422} Rounded alabastra (FS 85) and small piriform jars (FS 45) appear in only two (40\%)\textsuperscript{423} and one tombs (20\%),\textsuperscript{424} respectively. The only assemblage from LHIIB included a small piriform jar (FS 48) and a stirrup jar (FS

\textsuperscript{413} Ibidem, 87-92.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibidem, 84-6.
\textsuperscript{415} Ibidem, 84.
\textsuperscript{416} Ibidem, 82, 87.
\textsuperscript{417} Ibidem, 176-215.
\textsuperscript{418} Tombs E-4, E-6, E-8, E-9, E-10 and K-1 (ibidem, 179)
\textsuperscript{419} Tomb E-3 (ibidem, 176)
\textsuperscript{420} Tombs E-3, E-4, E-6, E-8 and E-9
\textsuperscript{421} Tombs E-6, E-8 and E-9
\textsuperscript{422} Tombs E-4 and E-9, E-10 and K-1
\textsuperscript{423} Tombs E-4 and E-8
\textsuperscript{424} Tomb K-1
173). There are no objects other than pottery which based on the frequency with which they occur can be considered as a (possible) manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Pylos. In terms of the different types of unguent containers found, Pylos most closely resembles the trends observed at Prosymna (see section 3.4.1 above). This is especially clear from the popularity of the newly developed stirrup jar at both sites in LHIIIA2. A notable difference is, however, that at Prosymna the rounded alabastron remains common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. In LHIIIA2, it is as, if not more popular than, the stirrup jar. As indicated above, although the rounded alabastron is still found at Pylos in LHIIIA2, it is much less popular than in LHIIB-IIIA1 and occurs in far fewer tombs than the stirrup jar. If we turn to the manifestation of relations of difference among the tombs at Pylos, we also notice similarities and differences with the archaeological burial record of Prosymna (and the Athenian Agora).

There is one assemblage, from LHIIB-IIIA1, of which the composition is similar to those typically associated with the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups. The assemblage from Tomb E-6 includes a large piriform jar (FS 31) and a strong concentration of bronzes, comprising a sword, a spearhead, a dagger and a cleaver or razor. These items were found together ca. 45 cm above the floor of the chamber. On the floor itself, more bronzes, two mirrors, a dagger and a knife, were found in combination with a pair of jugs and four so-called three-handled conical bowls (Fig. 106). We have no kylikes from either one of these levels. Large piriform jars and strong concentrations of bronzes are typical of the “Agora-1 (1)” (see section 3.3.2 above) and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups (see section 3.4.2 above). As indicated above, a similar group of bronzes was found in one of the “Agora-1 (1)” tombs in the Athenian Agora (i.e. Tomb 3). A notable difference is, however, that in association with these finds in Pylos Tomb E-6 no unpainted or tinned kylikes were found. The three-handled conical bowl is a locally developed shape. It should be pointed out, however, that there were more burials made at slightly higher elevations in the tomb. At ca. 80 cm above the floor a single burial was interred, accompanied by a feeding bottle, a necklace made of gold and ivory beads and a group ivory inlays. Finally, ca. 2.35 m above the floor three burials were encountered. They had with them a linear cutaway-necked jug and two unpainted kylikes (FS 267). While the pottery from the floor of the tomb and that associated with the burial placed 45 cm above the floor can securely be dated to LHIIB-IIIA1,

426 Mountjoy 1999a, 332.
Ch. 3. Neo-culture history and an assemblage-based conceptualization of the term “Mycenaean”

this does not apply to the other burials in the tomb. The pottery associated with them is undiagnostic. It is unclear whether these vessels belong to LHIIA1 or perhaps to a later period (LHIIIA2?). In any case, the presence of gold beads, and ivory beads and inlays in Tomb E-6 is notable, because among the tombs in the Athenian Agora and at Prosymna, the distribution of such items is mostly limited to the tombs with “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages (see section 3.5 above).

We also have a few assemblages which might be compared to the “Agora-1 (2)” (see section 3.3.3 above) and the “Prosymna-1 (2)” group (see section 3.4.5 above). The assemblages concerned are Tombs E-4 (chamber, pit B), 427 E-9 (40 cm above floor) 428 and K-1 (chamber, west side). 429 The former is dated to LHIIA1 430; the latter two to LHIIIA2. 431 What they have in common with each other on the one hand, and with the assemblages associated with the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups on the other is that they contain medium or large jugs (FS 120, 135 and 144) (Fig. 107) in combination with one or two kylikes (FS 264 and 267). There were undecorated kylikes found in Tombs E-4 and E-9. Tomb K-1, on the other hand, yielded a pattern-painted kylix with horizontal handles (Fig. 108), which is a locally developed pot shape (cf. three-handled conical bowls from Tomb E-6 above). 432 The only objects other than pottery found in association with these assemblages from Pylos are glass and stone beads, 433 and a stone seal. 434 As noted in section 3.5 above, jewelry beads are also among the objects most frequently found in combination with assemblages of the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. Interestingly, however, the glass beads from Tomb K-1 had been made in a mould. In it were found eight glass relief-beads in the shape of lilies (Fig. 109). At Prosymna, the distribution of such beads is limited largely to tombs with “Prosymna-1 (1)” assemblages.

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427 Blegen et al. 1973, 180-3
428 Ibidem, 201-7.
430 The only vessel from Tomb E-4 (chamber, pit B) which can stylistically be dated is a beaked jug. It can be attributed to LHIIA1 (Mountjoy 1999a 327, no. 40). The other vessels are either monochrome or left unpainted.
431 Pottery vessels from above the floor in Tomb E-9 dated to LHIIIA2 are comprised of a feeding bottle (ibidem, 336, fn. 290), a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, no. 71), a small beaked jug (ibidem, 336, fn. 289) and a straight-sided alabastron (ibidem, 334, fn. 283). A selection of LHIIIA2 vessels from Tomb K-1 (chamber, west side): a stirrup jar (ibidem, 338, no. 72), a small piriform jar (ibidem, 334, no. 62), a straight-sided alabastron (ibidem, 334, no. 66) and a narrow-necked jug (ibidem, 336, fn. 286). The assemblage also includes three stirrup jars which are dated to LHIIIB (ibidem, 338, no. 76; ibidem, 341, fn. 324-5).
432 Ibidem, 332, 338.
433 Tombs E-4 (chamber, pit B) and K-1 (chamber)
434 Tomb E-9 (40 cm above floor)
A third group of assemblages is represented by Tombs E-3, E-4 (chamber, floor), E-9 (chamber, pits 1 and 2), E-10 (pit in dromos) and K-1 (chamber, east side). The assemblages from Tombs E-3 and E-9 are dated to LHIIB-IIIA1, that from K-1 to LHIIIB and the rest to LHIIIA2. It is possible for a comparison with the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups to be made. Shared features include the general lack of medium and large jugs and open pot shapes (see section 3.5 above). The only jug found is a plain FS 109 from Tomb K-1. Open pot shapes only occur in Tomb E-9. This assemblage included two carinated kylikes (FS 267) but no medium or large jugs. In other words, there are no kylikes found in combination with medium or large jugs. This is also a feature typical of the “Agora-2” and the “Prosymna-2” group. A notable trait of the latter is that the assemblages associated with it often contain one or more small ceramic pots, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi, small mugs and carinated conical cups. From among the assemblages under consideration here, there is one that contained a strong concentration of such vessels, namely Tomb E-9. In it were found a miniature piriform jar (FS 28), a small rounded alabastron (FS 83), a small jug (FS 112-114), a carinated conical cup (FS 230) (Fig. 110) two miniature kylikes with high-swung handles (FS 273).

Among the objects other than pottery most frequently found in association with the “Agora-2” and “Prosymna-2” groups are glass and stone beads, and terracotta figurines (Prosymna). One of the Pylos assemblages included a pair of terracotta figurines (E-9). Glass and/or stone beads were found in Tombs E-3 (pit) and E-9 (chamber, pit 1 and 2). A stone conulus came to light in Tomb E-4 (chamber, floor). There were no other objects recovered from Tombs E-10 (pit in dromos) and K-1 (chamber, east side).

It was argued in section 3.4.4 above that it is possible to find combination typical of the “Prosymna-2” group in assemblages of the “Prosymna-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)”

436 Ibidem, 180-3.
437 Ibidem, 201-7.
438 Ibidem, 207-8
440 Pottery vessels from pit Tomb E-3 from LHIIB-IIIA1 are comprised of four rounded alabastra (Mountjoy 1999a, 325, fn. 219-20).
441 The assemblage from the pits 1 and 2 in the chamber of Tomb E-9 included the following pots from LHIIB-IIIA1: a carinated conical cup (ibidem, 331, no. 51), four rounded alabastra (ibidem, 324, fn. 201; ibidem, 325, fn. 219) and two small piriform jars (ibidem, 324, no. 27; ibidem, 325, fn. 215).
442 The following vases from the east side of Tomb K-1 have been dated to LHIIB: a small piriform jar (ibidem, 345, no. 89) and a stirrup jar (ibidem, 341, fn. 323).
443 Pottery vessels from Tomb E-4 (chamber, floor) dated to LHIIIA2 include a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, fn. 294) and a flask (ibidem, 338, fn. 300). From Tomb E-10 (pit in dromos) come two pot shapes from LHIIIA2: a stirrup jar (ibidem, 336, fn. 294) and a flask (ibidem, 338, fn. 298).
groups. Interestingly, a similar phenomenon may be observed at Pylos. As argued above, Tomb E-6 (LHIIB-IIIA1) has several features in common with the “Prosymna-1 (1)” (and the “Agora-1 (1)”) group. This tomb also contained a strong concentration of small ceramic pots, comprising a miniature hydria (FS 128), a feeding bottle (FS 159) and two very small rounded alabastra (FS 84). These vases were associated with the burial of two children. Also belonging to this group of items were a bronze mirror, a large number of glass beads and two terracotta figurines. As indicated above, figurines are relatively common in combination with “Prosymna-2” assemblages. We also have small ceramic pots occurring together in Pylos Tomb E-9 (40 cm above floor). Based on the presence of a medium jug (FS 135) and two unpainted kylkikes (FS 267), this assemblage was compared above to the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. It, however, also includes a pair of small ceramic pots: a feeding bottle (FS 160) and a small beaked jug (FS 149). There were no figurines associated with this assemblage.

It can be derived from the above overview that, both in terms of the expression of relations of similarity and difference, there are similarities and differences between the archaeological burial record of Pylos on the one hand, and that of Prosymna and the Athenian Agora on the other. We discussed assemblages which have features in common with the “Agora-1 (1)” and “Prosymna-1 (1)” groups, as well as with the “Agora-1 (2)” and “Prosymna-1 (2)” groups. The “Prosymna-2” group appears to be less well represented. There are only a few tombs containing concentrations of small ceramic pots. In any case, the fact that we also find combinations of small vessels in Tombs E-6 and E-9 – in the former case together with a pair of terracotta figurines – clearly shows that people were familiar with this practice at Pylos as well.

3.7 Mycenaean comparanda

In section 3.6 above, a comparison was made between the archaeological burial records of Prosymna and the Athenian Agora on the one hand, and that of the other areas making up the Mycenaean heartland on the other. The focus has been on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference. The aim of this section is to summarize the conclusions reached and develop a number of general archaeological guidelines or comparanda that can be used to characterize the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland on the one hand, and

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444 Blegen et al. 1973, 186.
make comparison with different geographic regions adjacent to the Greek mainland on the other. In the final chapter of this dissertation, these guidelines will be employed to compare the Greek mainland and the south-eastern Aegean. In that chapter we will also address the extent to which the different groups of assemblages discussed here may be seen as expressions of distinct group identities.

### 3.7.1 Mycenaean comparanda: relations of similarity

Tomb assemblages are constituted by two different types of relations: relations of similarity and difference. The former manifest themselves in specific traits cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. On the basis of the results of section 3.6 it is possible to define a number of features which can be seen reappearing in tomb assemblages in the different areas making up the Mycenaean heartland.

An important shared characteristic is that most of the assemblages that have been discussed in this chapter were recovered from multiple graves, especially chamber tombs. Such tombs are usually used for successive burials (see section 3.2.2 above). Another notable feature most assemblages have in common is that they include one or more unguent containers. We discussed three types: small piriform jars, rounded alabastra and stirrup jars. It was possible for some chronological and geographic variation to be observed. With regards to chronology, the commonest in LHIIB-IIIA1 are the small piriform jar and the rounded alabastron. Very popular in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB is the newly developed stirrup jar. The only exception to this pattern is represented by the cemetery in the Athenian Agora, where only a limited number of stirrup jars has been found (see section 3.5 above). In terms of the relative proportions of the individual types, we should point out that there is some regional variation. A good example of this is represented by the relative popularity of the rounded alabastron in LHIIIA2. At Prosymna, this pot shape is just as popular (if not more popular than) the stirrup jar in this period (see section 3.4.1 above). It is notable that at no other site discussed in this chapter a similar pattern was observed. In general, the rounded alabastron is much less common than the stirrup jar in LHIIIA2. At Eleusis (Attica), for example, only 19% of the tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 contained one or more rounded alabastra. The stirrup jars appears in 75% of the assemblages (see section 3.6.2 above). Similar patterns can be observed at Mycenae (Argolid) (see section 3.6.4 above) and Pylos (Messenia) (see section 3.6.6 above).
Unguent containers are not the only types of objects appearing in most of the assemblages discussed in this chapter. This also applies to several kinds of offerings other than pottery. These are glass and stone beads and stone conuli. Beads and conuli are common throughout the “Palatial period of LHIIIA-B”. Similar to the unguent containers discussed above, it is possible for some differences between sites to be observed. For example, beads and conuli are not particularly common in the assemblages recovered from the tombs excavated at Eleusis (Attica) (see section 3.6.2 above) and Pylos (Messenia (see section 3.6.6 above). A third group of items present in many of the assemblages discussed here are terracotta figurines in the shape of standing females (and bovids). We have some examples from LHIIB-IIIA1, but they occur most frequently in LHIIIA2-B. Although figurines are found in all different types of assemblages, they appear most often in assemblages containing one or more small ceramic pots. Such vessels are especially common in the so-called “Greece-3” group (see section 3.7.2 below). It should be pointed out that similar to the other types of objects discussed above there is also some regional variety in the popularity of figurines. For example, only a relatively small number of tombs in the Athenian Agora contained figurines (see section 3.3 above). The same applies to the cemetery of Pylos (see section 3.6.6 above). From Pylos, we only have figurines from LHIIB-IIIA1. Figurines show up many more times in tombs at Thebes (Boeotia) (see section 3.6.1 above), Eleusis (Attica) (see section 3.6.2 above) and Prosymna (Argolid) (see section 3.4 above).

### 3.7.2 Mycenaean comparanda: relations of difference

It can be concluded on the basis of section 3.6 that there are a good many similarities between the different groups of assemblages identified among the tombs in the Athenian Agora (Attica) and at Prosymna (Argolid) on the one hand, and those in the other parts of the Mycenaean heartland on the other. Three general groups of assemblages can be identified. These are here referred to as “Greece-1”, “Greece-2” and “Greece-3”. In what follows, each of these groups will be described in general terms. As indicated above, it is possible for variation to be observed, both within and between sites. The descriptions given below, however, mainly take into account the features found in most assemblages classified as belonging to a certain group.
Tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages are usually – if sufficient information is available and the tombs are preserved well enough – among the largest graves, in terms of the length and the size of their respective dromoi and burial chambers, of the cemeteries to which they belonged (e.g. Athenian Agora Tombs 1 and 3; Prosymna Tombs 2 and 44). The “Greece-1” group is characterized by the presence of one or more large piriform jars, medium or large jugs and a certain amount of unpainted and/or tinned open vases, especially different types of kylikes and shallow angular bowls. In addition to pottery, “Greece-1” assemblages often have a large number and wide variety of offerings other than pottery associated with them. Common types of objects are stone and glass beads, seals, bronzes, including weapons (e.g. daggers and arrows), tools (e.g. cleavers or razors and knives) and toiletry articles (e.g. mirrors and pins) (for comments on stone conuli and terracotta figurines, see section 3.7.1 above). While, as indicated in section 3.7.1 above, beads appear frequently in all different types assemblages, there are some categories of items, of which the distribution is limited largely to the “Greece-1” group. This does not mean that these objects are present in every “Greece-1” assemblage, but rather that if they occur in a certain cemetery they are mostly restricted to this group. These are bronze swords, gold jewelry, comprising gold leaf rosettes and (relief) beads, glass relief-beads (e.g. rosettes, papyrus heads, curls-of-hair and brackets), amber beads and ivory toiletry articles, such as pins and pyxides or boxes. In general, it can be stated that the distribution of objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold and ivory, is (almost) completely limited to the “Greece-1” group.

The “Greece-2” group has a number of features in common with the “Greece-1” group. The assemblages typically contain medium or large jugs in combination with unpainted kylikes. Specific vessel types such as the large piriform jar, the kylix with high-swung handle(s) and the shallow angular bowl (FS 295) have a distribution limited largely to tombs with “Greece-1” assemblages. The same applies to the technique of tinning, which has not been attested on any of the kylikes connected with the “Greece-2” group.

In contrast to the “Greece-1” group, there are no objects other than pottery which can be called characteristic of the “Greece-2” group. Most common are stone and glass beads (for comments on stone conuli and terracotta figurines, see section 3.7.1 above). Some tombs also

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445 Examples of “Greece-1” assemblages are Ismenion Tomb 3 and Kolonaki Tomb 9 (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Tombs 1 and 3 (Athens, Attica); Prosymna Tombs 2, 41 and 44 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 515 and 520 (Mycenae, Argolid); Sykea Tomb 2 (Laconia); and Tholos Tomb III and E-6 (Pylos, Messenia).

446 Examples of “Greece-2” assemblages are Ismenion Tomb 4 and Kolonaki Tomb 7 (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Tombs 24 and 40, and Grave K 2:5 (Athens, Attica); Eleusis Tomb λν13 (Attica); Barnavos (?) (the Korinthia); Prosymna Tombs 21, 24 and 49 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 524, 525 and 533 (Mycenae, Argolid); Melathria Tomb A1; Pylos Tombs E-4, E-9 and K-1 (Messenia).
contain bronze weapons (e.g. daggers and arrowheads) and stone seals. In general, the
distribution of glass relief-beads and objects made of exotic and rare materials, such as gold
and ivory, is limited largely to “Greece-1” assemblages (see above).

The “Greece-3” tombs are usually – if sufficient information is available and the
tombs are preserved well enough – among the smallest graves, in terms of the length and size
of their respective dromoi and burial chambers, of the cemeteries to which they belonged.
While the assemblages may contain medium or large jugs and unpainted kylikes, these never
occur together. In general, however, “Greece-3” assemblages include no or only a few
medium or large jugs or open pot shapes. Another notable feature of this group is that the
assemblages associated with it typically contain one or more small ceramic vessels, of which
examples are the handleless jar, small jug, feeding bottle, askos, small mug and carinated
conical cup. There are no objects other than pottery which can be considered characteristic of
this group. Most common are stone and glass beads and terracotta figurines.\textsuperscript{447} As indicated in
the text above, small ceramic pots are not limited to the “Greece-3” group per se. They also
occur in the other two groups described above. It is interesting to point out, however, that it is
relatively common to find terracotta figurines in tombs with “Greece-1” and “Greece-2”
assemblages containing concentrations of such small ceramic vessels.\textsuperscript{448} This seems to
reinforce the suggestion made above that there is a link between these pots and the presence
of terracotta figurines.

The Mycenaean comparanda that have been established in this chapter will be used as
benchmarks with which to compare the ‘Mycenaean’ tomb assemblages from the south-
eastern Aegean. Before this comparison can be made, however, we need to develop an
understanding of the different groups of assemblages in the archaeological burial record of the
south-eastern Aegean. It is to these assemblages that we will now turn.

\textsuperscript{447} Examples of “Greece-3” assemblages are Ismenion Tombs 2, 5 and Kolonaki Tomb 1 (Thebes, Boeotia);
Agora Tombs 11, 21, 20 and 25 (Athens, Attica); most Eleusis graves (Attica); Zygouries Tombs 33 and 35 (the
Korinthia); Prosymna Tombs 16 and 17 (Argolid); Kalkani Tombs 513, 516, 519, 521, 523 and 527 (Mycenae,
Argolid); Pylos Tombs E-3, E-9 and E-10.

\textsuperscript{448} Examples are Kolonaki Tombs 14 (“Greece-2”) and 21 (“Greece-1”) (Thebes, Boeotia); Agora Grave K 2:5
(“Greece-2”) (Athens, Attica); Prosymna Tombs 42, 43 (“Greece-1”), 8 and 28 (“Greece-2”) (Argolid);
Melathria Tomb A1 (“Greece-2”); and Pylos Tomb E-6 (“Greece-1”).