The 'Mycenaeans' in the south-eastern Aegean revisited
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Chapter 5
Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

The main purpose of the previous chapter was to provide the background against which to consider the tomb assemblages discussed in this chapter. Attention was paid to tomb types, funerary customs and the ceramic repertoire in general. Having discussed these matters in the previous chapter, here the focus is on the actual tomb assemblages, which means that besides pottery we will also take objects of a different nature, such as bronze weapons and stone and glass jewelry beads, into account. Similar to Chapter 3, in which I dealt with the tomb assemblages from the Greek mainland, the assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean will be discussed in terms of their constituting relations of similarity and difference. These terms are explained in more detail in Chapter 2. The basis of this discussion is formed by the tomb assemblages themselves, an overview of which can be found in the appendices at the back of this dissertation. There, I will present in tabular form the materials from Ialysos (New Tombs) (Appendix 3), Lelos (Appendix 4) and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Appendix 5) on Rhodes, Eleona/Langada on Kos (Appendices 6 and 7) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (Appendix 8).

In what follows, the tomb assemblages shall be discussed in chronological order: LHIIB-IIIA1 in section 5.1, LHIIIA2 in sections 5.2 and 5.3, and LHIIIB in section 5.4. Each of the regions considered in Chapter 4 – Rhodes, Kos, Astypalaia, Karpathos and the Anatolian west coast – will be treated separately within these periods.

5.1 LHIIB-IIIA1: introduction
The south-eastern Aegean

The first chamber tombs appeared on Rhodes and Kos in LHIIB-IIIA1. A few vessels from this period have also been found on Astypalaia (see section 4.3.1) and Karpathos (see section 4.4.1), as well as at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 4.5.1). The
earliest Mycenaean-style vases from the cist-grave cemetery at Archontiki on the islet of Psara, situated off the coast of Chios, are of LHIIA date. There is also some pottery from LHIIB-IIIA1 (see section 4.13).

5.1.1 Rhodes

There are more than thirty chamber tomb cemeteries on Rhodes (Maps 11-2 in Chapter 4). Sadly enough, a large number was illicitly excavated (see section 4.1). As a result, the original archaeological context of a large part of the material is unknown and is, therefore, not suited for the assemblage-based analysis that forms the basis of the methodology of this PhD study. The excavation of the New Tombs at Ialysos has (Maps 17-8 in Chapter 5), however, been relatively well recorded. There is only little (extant) information about the Old Tombs (for an overview of the excavation history of the site, see section 4.1). The original archaeological contexts of a considerable number of pots are known, but a large amount of the other finds (e.g. bronze weapons, stone and glass jewelry beads and stone conuli), which are now in the British Museum in London, can no longer be assigned to a specific tomb number.

Most tombs at Ialysos contained only a few (one to three) vases from LHIIB-IIIA1. Actual assemblages from this period are rare. This is probably due to the fact that most tombs established in this phase continued to be used in later periods. Nevertheless, the two assemblages containing pottery only from this period may be classified as belonging to the same group, which is referred to here as the “Ialysos-1” group. Its defining criteria are discussed below. First, however, I want to point out that although, with the exception of the two tombs discussed below, it is not possible for any groups to be defined, we do see clear similarities between the tombs containing pottery from LHIIB-IIIA1 in terms of the vessel types found. Eighteen of the twenty-eight tombs at Ialysos with pottery from this phase (c. 62%) yielded one or more, small piriform jars (Fig. 1) and/or rounded alabastra. The piriform jar occurs in fourteen, and the rounded alabastron in six tombs. Another group of

3. NT 37 and 74
4. NT 3-4, 10-1, 17, 19, 21, 31, 32A, 35-7, 45, 50-1, 62, 69, 74, 78-9; OT A, 23-4, 26, 28-9, 30 and 32
5. The following tombs contained small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1: NT 17, 19, 32A, 35-7, 45, 74, 78-9; OT A, 26, 28 and 30 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 27).
6. In the following tombs rounded alabastra dated to LHIIB-IIIA1 were found: NT 4, 11, 19, 74; OT 24 and 29 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 31).
tombs is characterized by the presence of a large piriform jar (Fig. 2),\(^7\) which, with one exception,\(^8\) does not occur in combination with small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra. What is interesting about this is that in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB small piriform jars and rounded alabastra almost completely disappear, while large piriform jars are then found in the majority of tombs with pottery from these phases (see below). Based on the widespread distribution of small piriform jars and rounded alabastra at Ialysos in LHIIB-IIIA1, I would like to suggest that these can be seen as the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of that site. Outside Ialysos, we know of only one other (semi-intact) tomb assemblage on Rhodes that has been dated to LHIIB-IIIA1. It comes from a semi-destroyed tomb at Tolo, to the south-west of the cemetery at Ialysos (Map 12 in Chapter 4). In the light of the observations made above, it is interesting to point out that among the finds recovered from it was a small piriform jar.\(^9\)

As noted above, we can identify only two assemblages that exclusively consisted of pottery from LHIIB-IIIA1: New Tombs 37 and 74. In this period, the “Ialysos-1” group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs (Figs. 3-4), especially beaked jugs, and painted and/or undecorated kylikes (Fig. 5). With regards to the offerings other than pottery, New Tomb 37 only had a few non-descript pieces of bronze and ivory associated with it.\(^10\) New Tomb 74, on the other hand, produced two bronze weapons, a long sword (Sandars Type Ci/Cii) (Fig. 6) and a spearhead (Fig. 7). As shown below, bronze weapons are also typical of the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 below) and LHIIB (see section 5.4.1 below).

### 5.1.2 Kos

Only one large chamber tomb cemetery has been excavated on Kos. It is situated at Eleona/Langada (Map 13 in Chapter 4 and Map 19 in Chapter 5), which is in close proximity to the Bronze Age settlement of the “Serraglio”.\(^11\) There are only a few other cemetery sites on the island, consisting of single chamber\(^12\) and tholos tombs (see section 4.2.1).\(^13\)

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\(^7\) Large piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1 appeared in the following tombs: NT 10, 31, 37, 50, 62 and OT A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 32).
\(^8\) NT 37
\(^9\) Benzi 1992, 411, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 990, fn. 208).
\(^10\) Benzi 1992, 319, A-B.
\(^11\) Morricone 1967; Georgiadis 2003, 40; Vitale 2012, 408.
\(^12\) Kastello, Mesaria and Pyli (tomb type not certain)
\(^13\) There are two known tholoi. One is located west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”, the other in Kos town.
Twelve chamber tombs from Eleona contained pottery from LHIIB-IIIA1.\textsuperscript{14} Five of these can be considered as LHIIB-IIIA1 assemblages, since they did not have any pots from later periods associated with them.\textsuperscript{15} There are no tombs from Langada with vases from this phase. Based on insights gained from later periods, it is possible for the assemblage from Eleona Tomb 21 to be assigned to a specific group, which is referred to here as the “Kos-1” group. This assemblage will be discussed below. First, however, I want to point out that although, with the exception of Eleona Tomb 21, it is not possible for any groups to be defined at Eleona in LHIIB-IIIA1, we can clearly see similarities between the different tombs containing pottery from this phase in terms of the vessel types found. Eleven of the twelve tombs with pottery from LHIIB-IIIA1 (c. 92\%) produced one or more, small piriform jars (Figs. 8-9)\textsuperscript{16} and/or rounded alabastra.\textsuperscript{17} Small piriform jars occur in eight and rounded alabastra in six graves. It may be postulated that it is through these vessel types that in the archaeological burial record of this site relations of similarity are expressed. The use of chamber tombs can, of course, also be added to this list (see section 4.2.1).

As noted above, Eleona Tomb 21 may be considered as part of the “Kos-1” group. Typical of this group are medium or large jugs, painted and/or undecorated kylikes and bronze weapons. No medium or large jug was found in Eleona Tomb 21, but it did contain an unpainted rounded kylix and three bronzes, comprising a spearhead (Fig. 10), a razor or cleaver (Fig. 11) and (part of) a knife (?).

\textbf{5.1.3 LHIIB-IIIA1: inter-regional comparison}

The majority of pottery comes from Rhodes (Ialysos) (see section 5.1.1 above) and Kos (Eleona/Langada) (see section 5.1.2 above) in LHIIB-IIIA1. Although there are also other cemeteries in the region that yielded vessels from this period, such as Armenochori on Astypalaia, Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) on Karpathos\textsuperscript{18} and Mûskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia,\textsuperscript{19} at these sites only small numbers of vases were found. For this reason, in this

\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.
\textsuperscript{15} Tombs containing ‘homogeneous’ assemblages dated to LHIIB-IIIA1 are the following: ET 14, 17-8, 21 and 22.
\textsuperscript{16} The following tombs contained small piriform jars from LHIIB-IIIA1: ET 7-8, 10, 16-8 and 21-2 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 179).
\textsuperscript{17} Rounded alabastra dated to LHIIB-IIIA1 were found in the following tombs: ET 2, 7-8, 12, 14 and 18 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 181).
\textsuperscript{18} In Chapter 4, these vessels are described as Minoan or Mycenaean/Minoan hybrids. They are dated to LM/LHIIIA1.
\textsuperscript{19} For an overview of these early vessels, see section 4.5.
inter-regional comparison we will focus mainly on the materials from the islands of Rhodes and Kos.

There are similarities and differences between the tomb assemblages from Rhodes and Kos in LHIIIB-IIIA1. With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, on both islands we see that most tombs in use in this period contained one or more small piriform jars and/or rounded alabastra. It is interesting to note that even though we only have a few vessels dated to this period from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) on Karpathos, among them we find examples of the small piriform jar. Less common than the small piriform jar, but still relatively well represented on Rhodes in LHIIIB-IIIA1 is the large piriform jar. This pot form is very rare on Kos. This is also the case in LHIIIA2. This is interesting, because, as indicated below, large piriform jars are found in practically every tomb on Rhodes in LHIIIA2.

The only groups that can be identified on Rhodes and Kos in LHIIIB-IIIA1 are the “Ialysos-1” and the “Kos-1” group. Their numbers are limited in this period (see above), but since they are also attested in LHIIIA2 and LHIIB, their identification as such does not have to be questioned. Features these groups have in common are the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, such as spearheads and swords. In LHIIIA2 we notice an increase in the number of tombs containing “Ialysos-1” and “Kos-1” assemblages. At the same time, at both Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona/Langada on Kos new groups can be seen to emerge. It is to this period that we shall now turn.

LHIIIA2: introduction (I)

The south-eastern Aegean

Mycenaean cultural influence was restricted mostly to Rhodes and Kos in LHIIB-IIIA1. This influence expanded in LHIIIA2. New chamber tombs were constructed on the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos (see section 5.2.3 below), as well as at Mıskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.2.4 below). Moreover, Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona/Langada on Kos see an increase in the number of tombs in use in this period. On Rhodes, new cemeteries were also being founded (see section 5.2.1 below). In the case of Kos the evidence is limited largely to Eleona/Langada. We know of only a few other sites on the island (see section 5.2.2 below).
5.2.1 Rhodes

We see a strong increase in the number of tombs in use at Ialysos in LHIIIA2 (see section 4.1.2). This section is divided into two parts. In the first part the assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos are discussed (see section 5.2.1.1 below). There is also an increase in funerary activity in other parts of Rhodes. In the second part of this section a comparison will be made between Ialysos and the assemblages from a number of other cemetery sites on the island (see section 5.2.1.3 below).

5.2.1.1 Tomb assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos

It is possible for two groups of assemblages to be distinguished at Ialysos in LHIIIA2. They are referred to here as “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2” (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 1 below). As noted in section 5.1.1 above, the “Ialysos-1” group is also attested in LHIIB-IIIA1. Before discussing the distinguishing traits of these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. There are several vessel types and categories of objects other than pottery that are common to both the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. With regards to the pottery, the majority of assemblages associated with these groups contained one or more large piriform jars (c. 92%) (Figs. 12-3) and stirrup jars (c. 88%). The most common types of stirrup jars are the piriform (Fig. 14) and the globular stirrup jar (Fig. 15). Another vessel
type which is found in fewer tombs than the large piriform jar and stirrup jar but may still be considered relatively common is the tripod incense burner or brazier (50%).\footnote{Incense burners were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: NT 7, 19, 27-8, 31, 48, 50 and 54-5; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising incense burners come from the following tombs: NT 10, 22-3 and 63. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 122-3.}

Besides certain pot forms, there are also some types of objects other than pottery which might be regarded as common to both groups of assemblages. These are (glass and/or stone) beads (50%),\footnote{Glass and/or stone beads occur in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: NT 3, 28, 31, 54 and 56-7; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including glass and/or stone beads come from the following tombs: NT 8, 25-6, 29, 51, 58 and 63.} of which different types and shapes are found, and stone conuli (c. 42%).\footnote{Stone conuli were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: NT 4, 27, 31, 48, 50, 54 and 56; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising stone conuli come from the following tombs: NT 10, 25, 51 and 63.} Although some of the features listed above are more common than others, since they are fairly equally represented in both groups of assemblages, they are here tentatively considered as material manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos.

We will now turn to the ways in which relations of difference are expressed archaeologically. The first group to be discussed is the “Ialysos-1” group (for an overview of the most characteristic features of this group, see Table 1 below). Assemblages of this type have been found in about fourteen New Tombs at Ialysos.\footnote{See fn. 21 above.} This group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and kylikes. The cutaway-necked jug (Fig. 18)\footnote{Cutaway-necked jugs came to light in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 4, 19, 28, 31, 55-6 and 57. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 48.} and the stirrup jug (Fig. 19)\footnote{Stirrup jugs were found in the following tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIII A2: NT 3-4, 19, 27 and 55-7. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 49.} are especially common. There are also some vessel types which, although they are not included in every “Ialysos-1” assemblage, do have a distribution which is generally limited to this group. This applies to the large domestic stirrup jar (Fig. 20) (c. 46%)\footnote{“Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2 including domestic stirrup jars are the following: NT 3-4, 7, 28, 50 and 55. The only “Ialysos-2” assemblage with a domestic stirrup jar is New Tomb 6. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 44.} and the krater (Fig. 21) (c. 36%).\footnote{Kraters were found in the following “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: NT 4 and 50. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 45-7.} We also have a group of ritual vessels (c. 36%), consisting of two conical rhyta (Fig. 22),\footnote{NT 4 and 50} two hydriae with a pierced base (Fig. 23)\footnote{NT 19 and 56} and a Cypriot terracotta bull figure with a pierced mouth.\footnote{NT 31} It is interesting to point out that the only ritual vessel (a conical rhyton) (Fig. 24) found in a tomb containing a “Ialysos-2” assemblage...
(NT 6) also had a large domestic stirrup jar associated with it. Concerning the relation between the “Ialysos-1” group and the presence of ritual vessels, it is relevant to remark that New Tomb 37, which yielded an “Ialysos-1” assemblage from LHIIB-IIIA1 (see section 5.1.1 above), also produced a rhyton-like vessel (Fig. 25).

The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Based on surface treatment it is possible for three groups of kylikes to be distinguished: unpainted, pattern-painted and tinned (for comments on tinned ware, see section 4.1.2). Five tombs yielded mainly examples in plain and/or tinned ware.\(^{38}\) The rounded (Fig. 26) and the carinated kylix are the commonest. There is a kylix with two high-swung handles\(^{39}\) from New Tomb 50 (Fig. 27),\(^{40}\) in which was also found a tinned shallow angular bowl (Fig. 28).\(^{41}\) Interestingly, four of the five tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages with a majority of unpainted and/or tinned kylikes had a ritual vessel associated with them.\(^{42}\)

This sub-group shall henceforth be referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

Graves with pattern-painted kylikes (Figs. 29-30) usually do not have any undecorated or tinned ones associated with them. Ritual vessels are also generally absent.\(^{43}\) This sub-group shall henceforth be referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. There are eight tombs associated with it.\(^{44}\)

The distinction between the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group is so far based on a number of ceramic indicators. It is, however, also apparent in the tomb architecture and the diversity of objects other than pottery found. Graves with “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages usually have a larger burial chamber and are approached via a longer dromos.\(^{45}\) In addition, there are a number of categories of objects other than pottery of which the distribution is (almost) completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. This does not mean that these items are present in every assemblage classified as such, but more that they generally do not occur

\(^{38}\) NT 4, 28, 31, 50 and 56

\(^{39}\) A second kylix with high-swung handles FS 273 was uncovered in New Tomb 62, which contained pottery dating from LHIIB-III A1, LHIIB, and LHIIC (Benzi 1992, 365-7). Interestingly, it also yielded a pot in the shape of a conical rhyton, but without the distinctive aperture at its bottom. Benzi calls it a “bottiglia senza anse” (ibidem, 365-6, no. 2). Apart from the FS 273, there were a LHIIB basket vase, a flask, two piriform stirrup jars and a fragmentary large piriform jar.

\(^{40}\) Benzi 1992, 337, no. 13.

\(^{41}\) Ibidem, 337, no. 16.

\(^{42}\) NT 4, 31, 50 and 56

\(^{43}\) The only exception is New Tomb 19, in which a hydria with a pierced base was found.

\(^{44}\) NT 3, 7, 9, 19, 27, 48, 54 and 57

\(^{45}\) Benzi has divided the New Tombs into three size-classes, based on the area of their respective burial chambers: small (0.40 to 3.00 m\(^2\)), medium (3.00 to 7.00 m\(^2\)) and large (7.00 to 15.70 m\(^2\)) (Benzi 1992, 228). The comparisons made in the main text are based on this model. An overview of size-classes represented per group is given in Table 1 below.
in combination with other types of assemblages. This applies to the following categories of objects: gold (relief) beads\(^{46}\) and rosettes,\(^{47}\) bronze swords, comprising a long (Sandars type Ci) and two short ones (Sandars type Dii and Eii) from New Tomb 4 (Fig. 31), a sword pomme\(^{48}\) (Sandars type C or D) from New Tomb 31 and part of a dagger (?) from New Tomb 50,\(^{49}\) metal vessels\(^{50}\) and stone (lentoid) seals.\(^{51}\) Glass relief-beads also typically occur in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. Plaques are quite common in this sub-group (Figs. 32-3),\(^{52}\) but also occur in two tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages (see below).\(^{53}\) Rosettes, on the other hand, are only found in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages.\(^{54}\) There is one type of which the distribution is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. These are the so-called bracket-shaped beads, of which we have examples from two graves, i.e. New Tombs 4 and 31 (Fig. 34).\(^{55}\)

Characteristic of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group is that the assemblages often have a variety of bronzes associated with them. Four of the eight tombs yielded spearheads and/or arrowheads (Fig. 35)\(^{56}\) and in four razors or cleavers were found (Fig. 36).\(^{57}\) We also have two tombs without any bronzes, one of which only produced pottery.\(^{58}\) The other\(^{59}\) contained a small collection of jewelry, consisting of some fragments of amber and a few glass beads, including an oval-shaped plaque with double rosettes and a pendant in the shape of a curl-of-hair.\(^{60}\) The only other “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblage that contained some jewelry is New Tomb 54. In it were found an amethyst bead, a piece of amber and a few glass beads, including one or two relief-beads in the shape of rosettes. It is interesting to point out that, although not common, at Ialysos the distribution of amber beads is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. Apart from the two “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages mentioned above, amber beads were found in only two other graves, i.e. New Tombs 4 (LHIIIA2) and 53 (LHIIB), both of which belong to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” sub-group (for New Tomb 53, see section 5.4.1 below).

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\(^{46}\) NT 4, 31 and 50 (Benzi 1992, 185-8)  
\(^{47}\) NT 4, 28 and 31 (Benzi 1992, 189-90)  
\(^{48}\) Benzi 1992, 171.  
\(^{49}\) Ibidem, 171-3.  
\(^{50}\) NT 56 (Benzi 1992, 181-2)  
\(^{51}\) NT 50 (Benzi 1992, 338, A)  
\(^{52}\) NT 4, 28 and 31  
\(^{53}\) NT 26 and 58  
\(^{54}\) NT 54 (“Ialysos-1 (2)”) and 56 (“Ialysos-1 (1)”)  
\(^{55}\) Benzi 1992, 199-200.  
\(^{56}\) NT 7, 19, 27 and 54  
\(^{57}\) NT 9, 27, 48 and 54  
\(^{58}\) NT 55  
\(^{59}\) NT 57  
\(^{60}\) Note that these objects could no longer be identified by Benzi and their identification is based on the description in Maiuri’s publication of the tomb (Benzi 1992, 355).
We can identify about twelve tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages (for an overview of the most characteristic features of this group, see Table 1 below). The graves tend to be smaller, in terms of the size of the burial chamber and the length of the dromos, than those containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages (see above). With regards to the pottery, we do not see any medium or large jugs occurring together with kylikes. This combination of vessels is, as indicated above, characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. In general, medium or large jugs and open pot shapes, especially kylikes, are not common in tombs with “Ialysos-2” assemblages.

A characteristic feature of the “Ialysos-2” group is that more than half of the assemblages associated with it (c. 58%) include one or more small ceramic vessels. The small jug or juglet (Fig. 37) is the most common, occurring in five tombs. Feeding bottles are found in three graves. We also have single examples of the rounded alabastron (Fig. 38) and the askos (Fig. 39). Small open pot forms include the small mug and the small stemless goblet.

In contrast to the “Ialysos-1” group discussed above, there are no specific categories of objects other than pottery that can be called typical of the “Ialysos-2” group. Overall, it can be said that the “Ialysos-2” assemblages usually do not have a large number of objects other than pottery associated with them. We have four tombs that contained only pottery. Glass beads and stone conuli are the most common. However, as noted above, since these also frequently appear in combination with the “Ialysos-1” group, they can probably best be seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that there is quite some variety in the number of glass beads found per tomb. No more than two pieces are associated with New Tombs 8, 29 and 63.
New Tomb 26 yielded fourteen beads. The largest quantities were recovered from New Tombs 58, 25 and 51, which produced fifty, sixty-one and more than one-hundred glass beads, respectively.

New Tomb 51 clearly stands out from the other graves with “Ialysos-2” assemblages. Besides a large collection of glass and stone beads, it also yielded an object made of silver (probably a diadem) and a bronze razor or cleaver. It should be noted that metal items are very rare in the “Ialysos-2” group. The only other metal objects found are some pieces of lead wire from New Tomb 8 and a bronze knife from New Tomb 26 (Fig. 40). Bronze weapons are completely absent, of which the distribution, as argued above, is completely limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. Other distinguishing features of New Tomb 51 are the length of its dromos (c. 8.00 m) and the fact that it – or rather its location – was marked by a tomb stone. Similar stones also appear in New Tombs 27, 48, 50, 54 and 55 (Fig. 41), all of which contained “Ialysos-1” assemblages (see above). New Tomb 51 is, however, not included in this group because its assemblage did not have any medium or large jugs or kylikes associated with it.

So far, I have strictly separated the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. New Tomb 51 shows, however, that certain “Ialysos-1” traits (tomb architecture and presence of valuable or exotic materials) can also appear in “Ialysos-2” assemblages. The reverse may also be true. As indicated above, many “Ialysos-2” assemblages have one or more small ceramic pots. As a matter fact, the “Ialysos-1” group also includes a number of tombs in which several such small vessels were found.\footnote{New Tomb 19 contained a feeding bottle and a small mug. In New Tomb 28 were found a small jug, two feeding bottles, a small mug, a carinated conical cup and a small stemless goblet. New Tomb 31 produced two small jugs. Among the finds from New Tomb 50 were a carinated conical cup and a feeding bottle. A small jug and three small stemless goblets came to light in New Tomb 56. The contents of New Tomb 57 included a small piriform jar and a small jug.} Consider New Tomb 28. Among its contents were a small jug, two feeding bottles, a small mug, a carinated conical cup and a small stemless goblet. Indeed, this shows that the definition of the groups as developed in this chapter – and in Chapter 3 for the Greek mainland – allows for variation between individual assemblages.

Another type of variation is represented by assemblages deviating from both main patterns described above: material manifestations of relations of similarity and difference. This applies to the following three tombs: New Tombs 76,\footnote{Benzi 1992, 11, 384-5.} 81\footnote{Ibidem, 11, 389.} and 86.\footnote{Ibidem, 11, 395.} The assemblages from New Tombs 76 and 86 consist exclusively of Cypriot-style pottery. The former yielded a
lekythos (Fig. 42), the latter a jug, a lekythos and a bull figure.\textsuperscript{79} New Tomb 81 had been extensively robbed, but contained fragments of two Minoan-style clay larnakes. The lack of large piriform jars and stirrup jars within these tombs is striking. As indicated above, in the majority of tombs with “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2” assemblages large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars were found. Another important difference is represented by the tomb type, since neither one of the tombs listed above can be classified as a ‘classic’ Mycenaean-style chamber tomb used for multiple inhumations, which was the norm at Ialysos in LHIIIA-B (see section 4.1.1).\textsuperscript{80}

5.2.1.2 LHIIIA2 assemblages from the Old Tombs at Ialysos

The original archaeological contexts of a large part of the pottery from the Old Tombs at Ialysos are known.\textsuperscript{81} There is, however, also a large collection of finds, mostly objects other than pottery, of unknown provenance. As indicated in Chapter 4, we have hardly any documentation of the excavation of these tombs. Judging from the relative size of some of the assemblages, sometimes consisting of no more than one vessel,\textsuperscript{82} it seems likely that many tombs were found in a robbed state. Moreover, with a few exceptions, the assemblages ‘consist’ almost exclusively of pottery. We usually do not know which objects other than pottery were found in which tomb. For these reasons, in the following discussion I will only concentrate on the question whether there are any similarities between the groups recognized among the New Tombs (see above) and the (extant) materials from the Old Tombs. In order to do this I will focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record.

With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity, we noted in section 5.2.1.1 above that the majority of assemblages from the New Tombs included one or more large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars, of which there are a number of different types. The most common are the piriform stirrup jar and the globular stirrup jar. About 60% of the Old Tombs

\textsuperscript{79} Mee 1982, 22.
\textsuperscript{80} New Tomb 76 is a pit grave with a single burial; New Tomb 81 a shaft grave (no burial remains found); and New Tomb 86 a chamber with two dromoi containing only a single inhumation (see section 4.1.1).
\textsuperscript{81} For an overview of the ceramic vessels per tomb, see Mee 1982, 122-4.
\textsuperscript{82} OT 2, 10, 14, 16-8, 30 and 34
containing assemblages from LHIII A2 had stirrup jars associated with them.\textsuperscript{84} We see a clear preference for the piriform stirrup jar (c. 42\%\textsuperscript{.}).\textsuperscript{85} The extant corpus includes relatively few large piriform jars. Only three of the twelve Old Tombs with LHIII A2 assemblages yielded a large piriform jar.\textsuperscript{86} Less common than the large piriform jar and the stirrup jar, but still occurring in a relatively large number of assemblages from the New Tombs (50\%) is the tripod incense burner or brazier. Among the Old Tomb assemblages two\textsuperscript{87} included examples of this vessel type (25\%). Therefore, we might conclude that in terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity – at least as far as the pottery is concerned – there are similarities and differences between the assemblages from the Old Tombs and the New Tombs.

We also see similarities between both groups of tombs when it comes to the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. Below I give two examples that show that the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group also occur among the Old Tombs. The inventory of Old Tomb 26 may tentatively be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. It includes two pattern-painted kylikes and a cutaway-necked jug. The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group.

The finds from Old Tombs 38 are similar to those typically associated with the “Ialysos-2” group, comprising two feeding bottles, two small mugs and a carinated conical cup. As indicated above, the lack of medium or large jugs and/or kylikes and the presence of one or more small ceramic vessels are features characteristic of the “Ialysos-2” group. In the next section we will address the question whether the two “Ialysos” groups established here also occur in other parts of Rhodes.

### 5.2.1.3 LHIII A2 assemblages from other sites on Rhodes

Since as indicated before many sites on Rhodes were robbed or illegally excavated it is only possible for a few sites to be compared to Ialysos. These are Kalavarda (Aniforo), Mandhriko, Kariones, Lelos, Kattavia, Passia and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Map 12 in Chapter 4).

\textsuperscript{83} In this count I only include the tombs with two or more ceramic vessels from LHIII A2. These are Old Tombs 5, 19-21, 25-7, 31, 36-8 and A. Graves that had only one pot form from this phase and were therefore not included in the count are Old Tombs 12 (kylix), 16 (basket vase), 23 (flask), 32 (beaked jug) and 34 (incense burner).

\textsuperscript{84} OT 19, 21, 31, 36-8 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42-4)

\textsuperscript{85} OT 19, 36-8 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 42)

\textsuperscript{86} OT 20 and 36-7 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 38)

\textsuperscript{87} OT 5 and A (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 122-3)
Five Mycenaean-style chamber tombs were excavated at Kalavarda (Aniforo). The graves (apparently) did not contain anything but pottery. Four tombs yielded vessels from LHIIIA2. Of these two – Tombs 48 (3) and 49 (4) – only had a single pot from this period. They were intensively reused in LHIIIC. In terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity, we see clear similarities between the assemblages from Kalavarda (Aniforo) and those from Ialysos. Three of the four tombs contained large piriform jars, in two cases in combination with a stirrup jar. With regards to the manifestation of relations of difference, there are similarities between the finds from Tomb 46 (1) and the “Ialysos-1” group. The assemblage of the former included a stirrup jug, a pattern-painted kylix and a conical rhyton. The combination of medium or large jugs and kylikes is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. The distribution of ritual vessels is also usually limited to this group at Ialysos (see section 5.2.1.1 above). The assemblage from Tomb 47 (2) did include two beaked jugs but no kylikes were found inside of it.

To the south-west of Kalavarda is Mandhriko where a single chamber tomb has been cleared. Its assemblage consisted of a large piriform jar and a small piriform jar. All that can be said about it is that it includes an example of the vessel type present in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos. Because of this, at Ialysos the large piriform jar is seen as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

East of Mandhriko is Kariones where two Mycenaean-style chamber tombs have been discovered. Tomb 2 is LHIIIB in date (see section 5.3.1.2 below). The assemblage from Tomb 1 is not fully preserved. Only six of the thirteen vessels found have been published. There are no objects other than pottery. The extant LHIIIA2 assemblage consists of a large piriform jar, four globular stirrup jars and a conical cup. It suffices to state here that

88 Jacopi 1933; Mee 1982, 50-3; Benzi 1992, 413-17; Georgiadis 2003, 37, 71-3.
89 Tomb 50 (5) is LHIIIC in date (Mee 1982, 52).
90 There were a large piriform jar in Tomb 48 (3) and a globular stirrup jar in Tomb 49 (4).
91 Tomb 46 (1): no. 2 (Benzi 1992, 413); Tomb 47 (2): nos. 1a-c (ibidem, 414); Tomb 48 (3): no. 1 (ibidem, 415)
92 Benzi 1992, 413, no. 3.
93 Ibidem, 413, no. 4.
94 Ibidem, 413, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, fn. 320).
96 Benzi 1992, 419, no. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 231).
97 Benzi 1992, 419, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 246); Georgiadis 2003, 37-8.
99 Benzi 1992, 420, nos. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1001, fn. 305), 3-4 (ibidem, 1001, fn. 310), 5 (ibidem, 999, fn. 293).
100 Benzi 1992, 420, no. 6.
large piriform jars and stirrup jars are also present in most assemblages at Ialysos. On these grounds, they are interpreted as manifestations of relations of similarity at that site.

Nearby Kariones is the cemetery of Lelos,\textsuperscript{102} which consists of nine Mycenaean-style chamber tombs.\textsuperscript{103} Four tombs had been robbed or cleared by clandestine excavators.\textsuperscript{104} With regards to the material expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we notice that, with the exception of Tomb 2, all assemblages included one or more stirrup jars (80%). The piriform stirrup jar\textsuperscript{105} and the globular stirrup jar\textsuperscript{106} are equally popular, occurring in three assemblages each. Incense burners appear in two contexts (40%).\textsuperscript{107} We see similar patterns at Ialysos in this period. A notable difference, however, is that at Ialysos besides stirrup jars the majority of tombs also included one or more large piriform jars. At Lelos, on the other hand, only one tomb contained a large piriform jar from LHIIIA2.\textsuperscript{108} Apart from pottery, many assemblages from Ialysos also had stone conuli associated with them. In this light note in three of the five tombs in use at Lelos in LHIIIA2 (60%) stone conuli were found.\textsuperscript{109}

It is possible to see similarities between Lelos and Ialysos when it comes to the manifestation of relations of difference. The assemblages from Tombs 5 and 6 can be compared to the “Ialysos-1” group. Both included medium or large jugs and pattern-painted kylikes. Another similarity is represented by the offerings other than pottery. Among the finds recovered from Tomb 6 were several glass plaques and a crystal lentoid seal stone. As noted above, glass plaques also typically occur in combination with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. Moreover, at Ialysos the distribution of seal stones is also limited this group. There are no such items from Lelos Tomb 5, of which the assemblage included a bronze knife, a shell and a stone conulus (see above).

Lelos Tombs 2 and 7 may be compared to the “Ialysos-2” group. In both tombs pattern-painted kylikes but no medium or large jugs were found. In addition, among the finds from the two graves were a number of small ceramic vessels. Tomb 2 yielded a small jug and Tomb 7 a feeding bottle and a rounded alabastron. The only tomb which has not been mentioned so far is Tomb 1. With the exception of a stirrup jar and an incense burner (see

\textsuperscript{102} Mee 1982, 55-8; Benzi 1992, 422-31; Georgiadis 2003, 37, 71-3.
\textsuperscript{103} For an overview of the finds per tomb, see Appendix 4 at the back of this dissertation.
\textsuperscript{104} Benzi 1992, 422-31.
\textsuperscript{105} Tombs 1, 5-6
\textsuperscript{106} Tombs 5-7
\textsuperscript{107} Tombs 1, 6
\textsuperscript{108} Tomb 5
\textsuperscript{109} Tombs 1, 5-6
above), its assemblage is comprised only of open vessels, including a goblet from LHIIIB-IIIA1, a pattern-painted kylix from LHIIIA2 and an undecorated (conical) kylix.\textsuperscript{110} We have no parallel for this from Ialysos.

Another cemetery, which consists of at least three chamber tombs, is situated at Kattavia, in south Rhodes.\textsuperscript{111} The vessels from Tombs 2 and 3 could no longer be identified.\textsuperscript{112} The assemblage from Tomb 1 can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group, because it included a stirrup jug\textsuperscript{113} and several (painted and undecorated) kylikes.\textsuperscript{114} This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Objects other than pottery consist of a steatite seal,\textsuperscript{115} a stone conulus,\textsuperscript{116} a bead\textsuperscript{117} and a lead weight.\textsuperscript{118} At Ialysos, the distribution of seals is also limited to the “Ialysos-1” group. The Kattavia assemblage also included three large piriform jars,\textsuperscript{119} four (piriform and globular) stirrup jars and an incense burner.\textsuperscript{120} Although we have only one assemblage here, I want to point out that these are also the vessel types which are present in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos in LHIIIA2. Because of this, they have been interpreted here as possible manifestations of relations of similarity (see section 5.2.1.1 above).

The cemetery of Passia is situated to the north-east of Kattavia, nearby the large, but robbed necropolis of Vati (Apsaktiras). There are four chamber tombs at Passia.\textsuperscript{121} The only assemblage from LHIIIA2 comes from Tomb 1. It exclusively consists of pottery. The assemblage can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. Among the finds recovered were two medium or large jugs\textsuperscript{122} and two kylikes.\textsuperscript{123} This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. The assemblage also included a large piriform jar.\textsuperscript{124} As noted above, large piriform jars, together with stirrup jars, are present in most assemblages at Ialysos in LHIIIA2.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Benzi 1992, 422, no. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Dietz 1984, 78; Benzi 1992, 434-5; Georgiadis 2003, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Dietz 1984, 78.
\item \textsuperscript{113} Ibidem, 80, no. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Ibidem, 80-1, nos. 4-5, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Ibidem, 84, no. 20.
\item \textsuperscript{116} Benzi 1992, 81, no. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{117} Dietz 1984, no. 21.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Ibidem, 83, no. 14.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Ibidem, 78-81, nos. 1, 3, 7.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibidem, 81-4, nos. 12-3, 15, 18.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Dietz 1984, 21-50; Georgiadis 2003, 38-9, 71-3.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Dietz 1984, 26-9, nos. 5 (stirrup jug) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 999, fn. 284), 8 (beaked jug) (ibidem, 997, fn. 278).
\item \textsuperscript{123} Dietz 1984, 25-9, nos. 3 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1007, fn. 349), 9.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Dietz 1984, 29, no. 10 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 994, fn. 240).
\end{itemize}
Located to the north-east of Passia and near the coast is the cemetery of Pylona (Aspropilia),\textsuperscript{125} which consisted of six chamber tombs.\textsuperscript{126} Tomb 4 is LHIIIC in date\textsuperscript{127} and Tomb 6 was emptied in late Roman times.\textsuperscript{128} The main phase of use of the rest of the cemetery is LHIIIA2.

With regards to the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we notice that the assemblages of all four remaining tombs included one or more large piriform jars and stirrup jars. The piriform stirrup jar and the globular stirrup jar are equally popular, occurring in all four tombs each. Incense burners\textsuperscript{129} and stone conuli appear in two of the four graves (50%).\textsuperscript{130} Glass beads are present in three of the four tombs (75%). We see comparable trends at Ialysos in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1.1 above).

The assemblages of Tombs 1, 2, 3 and 5 can be compared with the “Ialysos-1” group. In all four tombs medium or large jugs (Figs. 43-4) and (painted and undecorated) kylikes were found. This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Other features Tombs 1, 2, 3 and 5 have in common with this group are the presence of (amphoroid) kraters (Fig. 45) in Tombs 1 and 3, and conical rhyta in Tombs 1 and 2 (Fig. 46). As indicated above, at Ialysos, the distribution of these vessel types – kraters and ritual vessels – also tends to be limited to this group. Among the objects other than pottery there are items which can be considered characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. These are glass relief-beads (Figs. 47-9), which were found in Tombs 1, 2 and 3, and bronze weapons: a spearhead and a razor or cleaver came to light in Tomb 1, and recovered from Tomb 3 were a short sword (Sandars type Eii) (Fig. 50), a spearhead (Fig. 51) and a razor or cleaver. Tomb 3 also yielded a unique necklace of gold relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair. At Ialysos, the distribution of gold beads is (almost) completely limited to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, which is also the sub-group with which most bronze swords are associated. The “Ialysos-1 (2)” group mostly contains spearheads and arrowheads (see section 5.2.1.1 above). The remaining two graves – Pylona Tombs 2 and 5 – did not produce any bronze weapons. Tomb 2 yielded some bronze rings and a pair of tweezers. In Tomb 5 a bronze knife was found.

\textsuperscript{125} Karantzali 2001; Georgiadis 2003, 39, 71-3.
\textsuperscript{126} For an overview of finds per tomb, see Appendix 5 at the back of this dissertation.
\textsuperscript{127} Karantzali 2001, 18-9.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibidem, 21.
\textsuperscript{129} Tombs 1 and 3
\textsuperscript{130} Tombs 2 and 5
To conclude, in section 5.2.1.1 above it was argued that we can recognize two main groups of tomb assemblages at Ialysos in LHIIIa2. These have been referred to as “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2”. As shown above, assemblages similar to the “Ialysos-1” group also appear at a number of other cemeteries on Rhodes, such as at Kalavarda (Aniforo), Lelos, Kattavia, Passia and Pylona (Aspropilia). There is much less evidence outside Ialysos for the “Ialysos-2” group. The only convincing parallels are Lelos Tombs 2 and 7.

Besides in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference, we can also compare these sites with Ialysos by focusing on the material expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. As indicated above, at these cemeteries we see the same general trends as at Ialysos in LHIIIa2. The majority of assemblages include one or more large piriform jars and/or stirrup jars. Incense burners are, albeit more infrequently, also regularly found. To conclude this section on Rhodes, in Table 1 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Ialysos-1 (1)”</th>
<th>“Ialysos-1 (2)”</th>
<th>“Ialysos-2”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or tinned kylikes.</td>
<td>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and painted kylikes.</td>
<td>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tinned pottery</strong> is limited to this group.</td>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group:</td>
<td>Assemblages associated with this group often contain one or more small ceramic vessels, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi, small mugs and carinated conical cups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group:</td>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group are:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Domestic stirrup jars</td>
<td>• Kraters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ritual vessels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kylikes with high-swung handle(s)</td>
<td>• Pattern-painted kylikes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shallow angular bowls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kraters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<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 gold jewelry and bronze weapons.</td>
<td>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory are very rare.</td>
<td>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object types limited to this group are:</td>
<td>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
<td>Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory, and bronze weapons generally do not occur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gold rosettes and (relief) beads</td>
<td>• Bronze spearheads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Glass bracket-shaped beads</td>
<td>• Bronze razors or cleavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stone seals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze swords</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ch. 5. Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

Object types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:

- Metal vessels
- Amber beads
- Glass relief beads, especially plaques and rosettes
- Bronze arrowheads

Table 1 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2” groups in LHIII A2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 of 4 tombs of which data is available(^\text{131}) had dromoi of 8.50 meters long or more.(^\text{132})</td>
<td>4 of 9 tombs had 3 to 4.50 meters long dromoi(^\text{133}); the other five had 6.30 to 8.20 meters long dromoi.(^\text{134})</td>
<td>6 of 10 tombs of which data is available(^\text{135}) had 3 to 5.50 meters long dromoi(^\text{136}); the length of the dromoi of the other four ranged between 5.80 to 8.10 meters.(^\text{137})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of 4 tombs of which data is available had “large” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2))(^\text{138}); the other two “medium” (3.00 to 7.00 m(^2)).(^\text{139})</td>
<td>8 of 9 tombs of which data is available had “medium” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2))(^\text{140}); one had a “small” chamber (0.40 to 3.00 m(^2)).(^\text{141})</td>
<td>6 of 11 tombs of which data is available had “small” chambers (0.40 to 3.00 m(^2))(^\text{142}); the other five had medium chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2)).(^\text{143})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2 Kos

In LHIB-IIIA1 the cemetery at Eleona/Langada was limited completely to Eleona. In the following LHIIIA2 phase, on the other hand, the focal point of the site was shifted to Langada, where the majority of tombs in use in this period are situated. We know of only a few other cemetery sites on Kos where funerary activity has been recorded in LHIIIA2 (see section 4.2.1). These are a tholos located west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” and single chamber tombs located at Mesaria and Pyli (Map 11 in Chapter 4).

\(^{131}\) No information about the length of the dromos is available from New Tombs 28, 31 and 54.
\(^{132}\) NT 4 and 50
\(^{133}\) NT 31 and 50
\(^{134}\) NT 4 and 56
\(^{135}\) NT 27 (?), 48 (?), 54 and 57
\(^{136}\) NT 3, 7, 9, 19 and 55
\(^{137}\) NT 3, 7, 9, 19, 27, 54-5 and 57
\(^{138}\) NT 48
\(^{139}\) We have no information about the length of the dromos of New Tombs 26 and 63.
\(^{140}\) NT 8, 10, 18, 22-3 and 58
\(^{141}\) NT 6, 25, 29 and 51
\(^{142}\) NT 8, 10, 18, 22, 29 and 63
\(^{143}\) NT 6, 23, 25, 51 and 58
5.2.2.1 LHIIIA2 assemblages from Eleona/Langada

It has been possible to identify two groups of assemblages at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIA2. They are referred to here as “Kos-1”\(^{144}\) and “Kos-2”\(^{145}\) (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 2 below). As noted in section 5.2.1 above, the “Kos-1” group is also attested in LHIIB-IIIA1. Before discussing the distinguishing traits of these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. There are two vessel types that are common to both the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group. These are stirrup jars, mostly of the globular type, and small jugs or juglets (Fig. 52). The former occur in ten of the thirteen tombs with assemblages from LHIIIA2 (c. 77\%),\(^{146}\) the latter in nine (c. 69\%).\(^{147}\) Since these vessel types appear so frequently in both groups of assemblages, they are here considered as possible material manifestations of relations of similarity. We now turn to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada.

There are three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2.\(^{148}\) This group is characterized by the presence of medium or large jugs, (painted and undecorated) kylikes (Figs. 53-4) and bronze weapons. One spearhead came to light in Langada Tomb 16 (Fig. 55).\(^{149}\) Two arrowheads (Fig. 56)\(^{150}\) and an axe were found in Langada Tomb 37.\(^{151}\) Other finds from this tomb consist of a bronze ring and pin, a lead button, a rubber’s stone, a stone conulus, some fragments of amber and a few glass beads.\(^{152}\) We have no objects other than pottery from Langada Tomb 51.

The “Kos-2” group is comprised of seven assemblages from Langada and three from Eleona.\(^{153}\) What characterizes this group is that there are no medium or large jugs occurring in combination with kylikes. As noted above, this combination is typical of the “Kos-1” group.

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\(^{144}\) For “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Langada Tombs 16, 37 and 51 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

\(^{145}\) For “Kos-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Eleona Tombs 2, 10 and 16 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 3, 25, 29, 38, 41, 54 and 56 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.

\(^{146}\) Stirrup jars occur in the following tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: LT 16, 37 and 51; “Kos-2” assemblages comprising stirrup jars come from the following tombs: ET 10; LT 3, 29, 38, 41, 54 and 56. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 184-7.

\(^{147}\) Small jugs were found in the following tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2: LT 16 and 37; “Kos-2” assemblages including juglets come from the following tombs: ET 2, 10, 16; LT 25, 38, 41 and 56. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, 210-5.

\(^{148}\) See fn. 144.

\(^{149}\) Morricone 1967, 124.

\(^{150}\) Ibidem, 176.

\(^{151}\) Ibidem, 175-6.

\(^{152}\) Ibidem, 174-6.

\(^{153}\) See fn. 145.
In general, medium or large jugs\(^{154}\) and open pot shapes, especially kylikes,\(^{155}\) are not common in association with the “Kos-2” group. Another trait of this group is that it includes a good many assemblages containing one or more small ceramic vessels. The most common is the small jug (70%).\(^{156}\) This pot shape was discussed above in relation to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada. Other small ceramic pots occurring in combination with the “Kos-2” group are the small carinated cup (Fig. 57), the feeding bottle and the rounded alabastron. The cup appeared in three tombs,\(^{157}\) the feeding bottle\(^{158}\) and the alabastron\(^{159}\) in two each.

“Kos-2” assemblages usually include only a small number of objects other than pottery. There are about four tombs without any other finds.\(^{160}\) “Kos-2” assemblages do not comprise any bronze weapons, of which the distribution is limited to the “Kos-1” group in LHIIIA2 (see above). Terracotta buttons\(^{161}\) and stone conuli\(^{162}\) are the commonest, of which examples were found in four assemblages each (40%). Note that no terracotta buttons were recovered from any of the tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages. Jewelry beads also appear in four assemblages (40%).\(^{163}\) Of the three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages only one had some beads associated with it.\(^{164}\) However, we notice considerable differences within the “Kos-2” group in the number of beads per tomb. Eleona Tomb 16 and Langada Tombs 25 and 56 produced only a single (glass or stone) bead. Two-hundred-and-seventy-six pieces came to light in Langada Tomb 38.

So far, we have focused our analysis of Kos on the cemetery of Eleona/Langada. In the next section, we will explore a number of other sites to see if the “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” groups also occur in other parts of the island.

### 5.2.2.2 LHIIIA2 assemblages from other sites on Kos

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\(^{154}\)The only medium or large jug found comes from Langada Tomb 25.

\(^{155}\)The only kylix found comes from Langada Tomb 54, which yielded a monochrome FS 264.

\(^{156}\)See fn. 147.

\(^{157}\)LT 29, 38 and 56 (for bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 219-22)

\(^{158}\)ET 10: no. 4 (338); LT 54: no. 1 (220) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, fn. 778)

\(^{159}\)ET 16: no. 1 (370) (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1087, fn. 772); LT 25: no. 1 (80) (ibidem, 1087, no. 19)

\(^{160}\)ET 2, 10 (note that we have no information on most of the small finds from the Eleona Tombs); LT 3 and 29

\(^{161}\)LT 25, 38, 41 and 56

\(^{162}\)ET 16; LT 38, 41 and 54

\(^{163}\)LT 38, 41 and 54

\(^{164}\)LT 16; LT 25, 38 and 56
Only a few other cemetery sites have so far been excavated on Kos. Of interest here are the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” and the chamber tombs at Pyli and Mesaria (Map 11 in Chapter 4). Unfortunately, the tholos is still largely unpublished. We nevertheless see a number of similarities between the assemblages from the tholos and the tomb at Pyli on the one hand and the “Kos-1” group on the other. These have in common in the presence of (painted) kylikes and bronze weapons. The tholos produced a spearhead and a short sword or a dagger. Amongst the finds recovered from the tomb at Pyli are a short sword (Sandars type H) (Fig. 58) and a spearhead (Fig. 59). Moreover, the assemblage from the tomb at Pyli had a linear stirrup jug associated with it. As noted above, medium or large jugs also typically occur in combination with the “Kos-1” group in LHIIIA2.

We can also notice some differences. In both the tholos and the tomb at Pyli a krater was found. This pot shape does not appear in any of the tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages at Eleona/Langada. In addition, apart from bronze weapons, the tholos also yielded gold rosettes and beads and glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads. Besides Langada Tomb 37, which contained three glass beads and some fragments of amber (probably belonging to beads), in none of the other tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages any glass or stone, let alone gold, jewelry was found.

The chamber tomb at Mesaria had been disturbed by a bulldozer. Its (extant) inventory may tentatively be compared to the “Kos-2” group from Eleona/Langada. We do not find any medium or large jugs or kylikes. Its assemblage consists of closed pot forms only, comprising a small jug, a linear handleless jar and a large piriform jar stylistically dated to LHIIIB.

We have so far concentrated on similarities and differences with the archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada in terms of the manifestation of relations of difference. Although the complete assemblage from the tholos is unknown, it is notable that none of the tombs discussed in this section yielded any stirrup jars. At Eleona/Langada, this is one of the vessel types present in most assemblages that have been excavated at that site. For this reason stirrup jars are seen as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity here. The same
applies to small jugs or juglets, of which we do have an example from the (destroyed) chamber tomb at Mesaria.

To conclude, at Eleona/Langada, two main groups of assemblages were identified, which have been referred to as “Kos-1” and “Kos-2”. The evidence from the rest of the island is very limited. We discussed several tombs which have features in common with the “Kos-1” group. Except for the (destroyed) chamber tomb at Mesaria, the “Kos-2” group is attested only at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIA2. To conclude this section on Kos, in Table 2 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Kos-1”</th>
<th>“Kos-2”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by the presence of painted kylikes.</td>
<td>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group:</td>
<td>Assemblages associated with this group often contain one or more small ceramic vessels, such as small jugs, feeding bottles, askoi and carinated conical cups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Medium or large jugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offerings other than pottery</td>
<td>Offerings other than pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object types limited to this group are:</td>
<td>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze weapons: spearheads and arrowheads</td>
<td>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Terracotta buttons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Stone conuli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” groups in LHIIIA2

5.2.3 Astypalaia and Karpathos

The island of Astypalaia is located to the south-west of Kos, and to the north-west of Karpathos (see below). Two pairs of two chamber tombs have been excavated at Armenochori and Synkairos (Map 11 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.3).\(^{175}\) The assemblages from both sites are quite similar. They are made up of a number of open vessels, several (plain and pattern-painted) kylikes and one or two kraters, and a variety of closed pots. The main difference between the two sites is the range of closed shapes found. At Armenochori, we find a large piriform jar and a large number of stirrup jars, including examples of the piriform FS

\(^{175}\) Georgiadis 2003, 74.
166 and the globular 171. The repertoire of closed pot shapes from Synkairos consists of a small piriform jar, a straight-sided alabastron and a hydria.

There are also similarities between the two sites when it comes to the offerings other than pottery. In both pairs of tombs a variety of bronzes was found. Both assemblages included spearheads. Other bronzes recovered from Armenochori are made up by a cauldron, a dipper (?), two knives, a razor or cleaver and an axe. Other finds consist of a rubber’s stone, some stone conulii176 and a few glass beads, including two relief-beads – one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette.177 Because the tombs at Armenochori were also in use in LHIIIB, and LHIIIC (Chapter 4), the possibility that some of these finds belong to a later period cannot be completely excluded. Besides two spearheads, other bronzes from the Synkairos assemblage comprise two chisels and a fish hook. Other finds include a large collection of lead fishing weights and a rubber’s stone.178

There is more evidence of funerary activity in LM/HIIIA2 on Karpathos. Unfortunately, however, for several reasons only a small number of tombs have actually been excavated. The rest of the material was handed in to the museum or washed out from destroyed tombs. The only two tombs that have been excavated are situated at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) and Vonies (Arkasa) (Map 11 in Chapter 4).179 The assemblages from these tombs are very similar in nature. They are comprised a large number and a wide variety of open vases, including different types of kraters, cups and kylikes. There are also closed vessels, such as large piriform jars and different types of stirrup jars. Since we also have many large piriform jars and stirrup jars in collections of which the original context or provenance is (partially or completely) unknown, it is tentative to see these vessel types as possible material manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Karpathos. Concerning the offerings other than pottery, at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) mostly bronze weapons were found, namely a short sword (Sandars type B) (Fig. 60),180 two spearheads (Fig. 61),181 a dagger182 and a razor or cleaver.183 There also were two non-descript lead items.184

176 Ibidem, 239.
177 Triantafyllidis 2002-2005.
178 Georgiadis 2003, 239.
179 Melas 1985, 39-40; Mountjoy 1999a, 970.
181 Ibidem, 330, C104-5.
182 Ibidem, 330, C102.
183 Ibidem, 330, C103.
The only objects other than pottery from Vonies (Arkasa) consisted of two plain bronze rings.\footnote{Ibidem, 40.}

We have one incomplete assemblage from the north side of Karpathos which can be compared to the materials from the two tombs discussed above. The assemblage comes from a (destroyed) tomb at Kambi (Diafani).\footnote{Melas 1985, 43-4, 78, nos. 1266-73; Mountjoy 1999a, 970.} It consists of a stirrup jar, a small jug, two pattern-painted kylikes (Figs. 62-3), an angular cup and two rhyta (Figs. 64-5).\footnote{Melas 1985, 78, nos. 1268-9.} The assemblage also comprised a short bronze sword (Sandars type Dii) (Fig. 66).\footnote{Melas 1985, 299, no. 1273; Georgiadis 2003, 217.} We find the same combination, open vessels, especially kylikes, occurring together with bronze weapons, at Pigadia (Anemomili-Makeli) (see above).

### 5.2.4 South-western coastal Anatolia: Müskebi

Three chamber tomb cemetery sites have been excavated on the south-west coast of Anatolia: Müskebi (see below), Pilavtepe (see section 5.4.5 below) and Değirmentepe (see section 5.4.6 below).\footnote{For comments on a group of newly discovered tombs in the vicinity of Müskebi, see Chapter 1, fn. 136.} I will discuss Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe under LHIIIIB below.

The Müskebi necropolis (Map 11 in Chapter 4) consisted of forty-eight badly-preserved Mycenaean-style chamber tombs (see section 4.5). Only the pottery and the bronzes have been fully published.\footnote{Boysal 1969; Akyurt 1998, 29-34.} Of other find categories, such as glass and/or stone jewelry beads, we have only limited information.

Three groups of assemblages can be recognized in the archaeological burial record of Müskebi. These are referred to here as “Müskebi-1”, “Müskebi-2”\footnote{For “Müskebi-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Tombs 6, 9, 10, 26, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 40 and 42 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.} and “Müskebi-3”\footnote{For “Müskebi-2” assemblages from LHIIIA2, see Tombs 2, 12, 16, 20, 21, 34, 35 and 39 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.} (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 3 below). It is not possible to find any traits all these different groups of assemblages have in common. Therefore, we will now proceed in discussing the defining or distinguishing criteria of these groups. We have eleven chamber tombs with “Müskebi-1” assemblages. The assemblages are characterized by
consisting of only one ceramic vessel. The small jug, occurring in five tombs (c.45%),\(^{194}\) and the straight-sided alabastron, which is found in four graves (c. 36%),\(^{195}\) are the commonest. There is also one assemblage with a small carinated cup\(^{196}\) and another one with a globular stirrup jar.\(^{197}\) Objects other than pottery appear to be absent.

A vessel type that appears in five of the eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (c. 63%) and in nine of the fourteen with “Müskebi-3” assemblages (c. 65%) is the stirrup jar. In combination with the “Müskebi-2” group we mostly have examples of the globular stirrup jar FS 171 (Fig. 67).\(^{198}\) Among the “Müskebi-3” assemblages the globular stirrup jar\(^ {199}\) and the piriform stirrup jar (Fig. 68)\(^{200}\) are more or less equally represented. As noted above, only one of the “Müskebi-1” assemblages included a stirrup jar (FS 171).\(^{201}\) Although not as popular as the stirrup jar (see above) but also relatively common in association with the two groups is the large piriform jar (Fig. 69). This pot form appears in three of eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (c. 38%)\(^{202}\) and in five of the fourteen with “Müskebi-3” assemblages (c. 36%).\(^ {203}\) Since the stirrup jar and, albeit to a lesser extent, the large piriform jar are common to both the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group, we might see their popularity as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. It is to the expression of relations of difference that we will turn next.

There are about eight tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages.\(^ {204}\) The main characteristic of this group is that the assemblages associated with it typically include one or more (painted or undecorated) kylikes. The monochrome kylix (Figs. 70-1), occurring in seven graves, is the most common.\(^ {205}\) Pattern-painted\(^ {206}\) and undecorated kylikes\(^ {207}\) have been found in three and two tombs, respectively. There are a number of features that distinguish this group from the “Müskebi-1” group discussed above and the “Müskebi-3” group to be dealt with below. These

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\(^{194}\) Tombs 9, 10, 29, 40 and 42 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374)
\(^{195}\) Tombs 6, 26, 31 and 37 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 353-4)
\(^{196}\) Tomb 30 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 383)
\(^{197}\) Tomb 38 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)
\(^{198}\) Globular stirrup jars were found in Tombs 2, 21, 34 and 39. Tomb 2 also yielded a piriform stirrup jar. What appears to be a domestic stirrup jar came to light in Tomb 35. For further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348-9.
\(^{199}\) Tombs 4, 23, 32 and 45 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)
\(^{200}\) Tombs 15, 24, 32, 36, 45 and 47 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 349)
\(^{201}\) Tomb 38 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 348)
\(^{202}\) Tombs 2, 35 and 39 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 357)
\(^{203}\) Tombs 11, 15, 22, 27 and 36 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 357)
\(^{204}\) See fn. 192.
\(^{205}\) Tombs 2, 16, 20, 21, 34, 35 and 39 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 350, 352)
\(^{206}\) Tombs 2, 12 and 21 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 351)
\(^{207}\) Tombs 2 and 16 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 366-7)
are that “Müskebi-2” assemblages generally do not include any small jugs or straight-sided alabastra, both of which occur relatively frequently in combination with “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages.

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, we should make it clear that of four of the eight tombs we do not know whether anything else than pottery was found. Based on the available information, it seems that the “Müskebi-2” group often has a bronze spearhead associated with it (Fig. 72). In addition to this, in Tomb 34 two razors or cleavers were found (Fig. 73).

About fourteen tombs contained “Müskebi-3” assemblages. In none of these any kylikes were found. Ten of the fourteen tombs with “Müskebi-3” assemblages produced one or more open shapes (c. 71%), but these mostly consisted of shallow cups (5 of 14), small mugs and carinated cups (4 of 14). Interestingly, in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group discussed above these pot forms are not common.

We can identify several pot forms which are particularly common in association with the “Müskebi-3” group. These are the small jug (6 of 14) (see below), the straight-sided alabastron (6 of 14) (Fig. 74) and the small piriform jar (5 of 14). As noted above, small jugs and straight-sided alabastra also frequently appear in combination with the “Müskebi-1” group. The distribution of the small piriform jar, on the other hand, is (almost) completely limited to tombs with “Müskebi-3” assemblages. Since the small jug and the straight-sided alabastron are common to both the “Müskebi-1” and the “Müskebi-3” group, we might see their popularity as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. Whereas the stirrup jar connects the “Müskebi-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group, these vessel types establish a link between the “Müskebi-1” and the “Müskebi-3” group.

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208 The only “Müskebi-2” assemblage dated to LHIIA2 with a small jug is Tomb 12 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374).
209 Of all eight “Müskebi-2” assemblage the only one with a straight-sided alabastron is Tomb 35 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 354).
210 Tombs 16, 21, 35 and 39
211 Tombs 2 (?), 12, 20 and 34
212 See fn. 193.
213 Shallow cups and carinated cups were found only in Tomb 2. We have a conical cup from Tomb 16.
214 Tombs 4, 15, 27, 32, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 356, 383)
215 Shallow cups and carinated cups were found only in Tomb 2. We have a conical cup from Tomb 16.
216 Tombs 4, 15, 27, 36, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374, 377-80)
217 Tombs 7, 15, 24, 27, 32 and 47 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 353-4)
218 Tombs 11, 22, 32, 41 and 45 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 358)
219 The only small piriform jar from another group comes from Tomb 34, which contained a “Müskebi-2” assemblage (see fn. 192).
A typical “Müşkebi-3” trait is the presence in some tombs of one or more small ceramic vessels, of which the most common examples are the small jug (Fig. 75), occurring six graves,\(^\text{220}\) and the small mug and carinated cup, which are found four tombs (Fig. 76).\(^\text{221}\) Perhaps the small piriform jar should also be included in this category of vessels (see above). Other pot forms which belong to this group of vessels and occur only once are the rounded alabastron (Fig. 77)\(^\text{222}\) and the askos (Fig. 78).\(^\text{223}\)

We only have little information about the offerings other than pottery from the tombs with “Müşkebi-3” assemblages. A variety of different items has been found. Tomb 7 produced a bronze knife (Fig. 79)\(^\text{224}\) and Tomb 15 a gold ring (?) and a stone blade.\(^\text{225}\) An actual set of bronzes came to light in Tomb 11, which yielded a short sword (Fig. 80), a spearhead (Fig. 81) and a needle.\(^\text{226}\) Tombs 32 and 22 contained a bronze razor or cleaver and a necklace consisting of thirty-three glass relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair (Fig. 82), respectively.\(^\text{227}\)

To conclude this section on Müskebi, in Table 3 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the different groups is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Müşkebi-1”</th>
<th>“Müşkebi -2”</th>
<th>“Müşkebi-3”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by assemblages consisting of single vessels only. The most common are the small jug and the straight-sided alabastron.</td>
<td>Group is characterized by the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes.</td>
<td>Group does not include any (painted or undecorated) kylikes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vessel types rare in combination with group are:</td>
<td>Vessel types common in combination with this group:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Small jugs</td>
<td>• Small jugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Straight-sided alabastra</td>
<td>• Straight-sided alabastra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Shallow cups</td>
<td>• Small piriform jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Small mugs and carinated cups</td>
<td>• Shallow cups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Small mugs and carinated cups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offerings other than pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Offerings other than pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Offerings other than pottery</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no information about any offerings other than pottery found in connection with this group.</td>
<td>Assemblages of this group regularly include a bronze spearhead.</td>
<td>No object types can be considered typical of this group. A variety of objects, including bronze weapons and glass beads, is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{220}\) Tombs 4, 15, 27, 36, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 374, 377-80)

\(^{221}\) Tombs 22, 32, 45 and 46 (for further references, see Chapter 4, fn. 336, 383-5)

\(^{222}\) Tomb 24: 723

\(^{223}\) Tomb 32: 1017

\(^{224}\) Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 14, no. 28 (7).

\(^{225}\) Boysal 1967, 37; Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 13, no. 24 (15).

\(^{226}\) Akyurt 1998, Tabl. 14, no. 29 (11).

\(^{227}\) Pulak 2008, 384.
5.2.5 South-eastern Aegean: inter-regional comparison (LHIIIA2)

In the previous sections, the LHIIIA2 tomb assemblages from the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean were considered. The focus was on the material manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record. In what follows, I will concentrate on the most important similarities and differences in terms of these relations within the region as a whole. It is to the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record that I will now turn.

So far, we discussed three major sites/regions. These are Ialysos on Rhodes (see section 5.2.1 above), Eleona/Langada on Kos (see section 5.2.2 above) and Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast (see section 5.2.4 above). In terms of the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record we can identify a number of important similarities and differences. A feature found throughout the region in LHIIIA2 is that the majority of tombs discovered yielded one or more stirrup jars. This also applies to the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos (see sections 5.2.3 above), from where we have just single tombs since no large cemeteries have so far been excavated there. Although stirrup jars are present throughout the south-eastern Aegean, it is possible to see differences in the specific types of stirrup jars found at the different sites in the region. On Rhodes, we mainly find examples of the piriform and the globular stirrup jar. The same mix is present at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast and at Armenochori on the island of Astypalaia, but the tombs at Eleona/Langada on Kos contained almost only globular stirrup jars. A similar picture emerges when paying attention to the distribution of large piriform jars in the region. This vessel type occurs in practically every tomb assemblage on Rhodes in LHIIIA2 and may therefore, similar to the stirrup jar, be seen as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record. Although not as common as on Rhodes, the large piriform jar also appears relatively frequently at Müskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast and we also have examples from tombs on Astypalaia and Karpathos, where, similar to Rhodes, it is present in practically every tomb used in LM/HIIIA2. The situation is different on Kos,
however. The large piriform jar is a relatively rare pot shape and cannot be considered as a manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record.

We also find traits of which the popularity clearly is of local significance only. This applies to the incense burner or brazier with tripod legs on Rhodes and the small jug at Eleona/Langada on Kos. It has to be stressed that juglets also occur in many tombs at Möskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast. However, in contrast to Eleona/Langada where the juglet can be seen cross-cutting all different groups of assemblages, at Möskebi there is one group – the “Möskebi-2” group – in which it is structurally absent. A characteristic typical of Möskebi is represented by the popularity of the straight-sided alabastron. Similar to the small jug discussed above, it is very common in two of the three assemblage groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of this site: “Möskebi-1” and “Möskebi-3”. To sum up this part on the expression of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record, we can clearly see similarities and differences between the different parts making up the south-eastern Aegean. It is notable, however, that the ‘origin’ of most of these similarities can be traced back to Rhodes.

We will now turn to the expression of relations of difference. Similar to the manifestation of relations of difference discussed above, also in this respect, it is possible to find clear similarities and differences between the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean. We can identify two clusters of assemblage groups which have common features associated with them. These are the “Ialysos-1 (2)”, the “Kos-1” and the “Möskebi-2” group, and the “Ialysos-2”, “Kos-2” and “Möskebi-3” group.

Features the “Ialysos-1 (2)”, the “Kos-1” and the “Möskebi-2” group have in common is that they are all characterized by the presence of (painted or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, especially spearheads. We may also define a number of differences. The “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, for example, typically has one or more medium or large jugs associated with it. Kraters also regularly occur in combination with it. Neither at Eleona/Langada on Kos nor at Möskebi on the Anatolian south-west coast have any kraters been found. Medium or large jugs are also not common at these sites, but we do see that the distribution of such vessels is limited largely to tombs with “Kos-1” and “Möskebi-2” assemblages. This suggests that similar to Rhodes, also at these sites there is a relationship – albeit not a structural one – between the occurring together of kylikes and medium or large jugs. Although, because of the limited number of tombs excavated, we cannot really speak of “groups” as far as Astypalaia and Karpathos are concerned, it should be pointed out that we also find assemblages
containing (painted and undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons there. As a matter of fact, the assemblages from these islands are more similar to those associated with Rhodes because they also often include one or more kraters.

Besides kylikes and bronze weapons, “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages also regularly include glass relief-beads. At Eleona/Langada, none of the “Kos-1” assemblages comprised any such beads. The same applies to the assemblages associated with the “Müskebi-2” group. A notable exception is represented by the pair of chamber tombs excavated at Armenochori on Astypalaia. Here several glass beads, including two relief-beads – one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette – came to light. As stated above, these tombs are also notable for having yielded a LHIIIA2 krater. This shape, while occurring relatively frequently in association with the “Ialysos-1” group, has not been found in any of the tombs at Eleona/Langada containing “Kos-1” assemblages or at Müskebi with “Müskebi-2” assemblages. This clearly shows the close relation between Astypalaia and Rhodes in general and the “Ialysos-1” group in particular.

As indicated above, at Ialysos on Rhodes we can distinguish between two sub-groups: the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. The latter was discussed in the previous paragraph. The former is geographically confined to Rhodes in general and Ialysos in particular. It is characterized, among others, by the presence of tinned pottery, especially kylikes, and it also often has ritual vessels associated with it. While tinned pottery has not been found anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean, ritual vessels are known from a few other sites in the region as well. We have one pegtop rhyton from Langada Tomb 51 on Kos and a pegtop rhyton and a rhyton in the shape of bull’s head from Kambi (Diafani) on Karpathos. What is interesting about these graves is that contained assemblages characterized by the presence of (painted and undecorated) kylikes. Although no offerings other than pottery came to light in Langada Tomb 51, among the finds from Kambi (Diafani) was a bronze sword. This shows that the connection between ritual vessels and tombs with kylikes and bronze weapons also exists outside Rhodes. As a matter of fact, while at Ialysos ritual vessels are limited mostly to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, which has tinned kylikes instead of pattern-painted kylikes associated with it, elsewhere on the island – for example, at Kalavarda (Aniforo) and Pylona (Aspropilia) – we also find rhyta in combination with assemblages comprising no tinned but only painted and/or undecorated kylikes. This situation is more similar to that evinced at Eleona/Langada on Kos and Kambi (Diafani) on Karpathos (see above).
The second cluster of assemblages mentioned above is made up of the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Muskebi-3” group. Features they have in common are that they usually do not include any kylikes or medium or large jugs. And if they do, these never occur in combination in the same assemblage. (This combination is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group, and to a lesser extent of the “Kos-1” and “Muskebi-2” groups.) Another shared trait is that a good many tombs contained one or more small ceramic vessels, of which the most common example is the small jug or juglet. Other vase types which belong to this category of vessels are the rounded alabastron, the small piriform jar, the feeding bottle, the askos and – among the open shapes – the small mug and the carinated (conical) cup. With regards to the objects other than pottery, it seems that these assemblages usually include only a small number and limited variety of other finds. Stone conuli, terracotta buttons and (small quantities of) glass beads appear to be the most frequent. Nowhere else in the south-eastern Aegean have assemblages similar to the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Muskebi-3” group been found.

The previous discussion of the two clusters of assemblage groups shows that there are clear similarities and differences between the different sites in the region. I would like to point out the widespreadness or pervasiveness of the group characterized by assemblages including kylikes and bronze weapons. In addition to Rhodes, Kos and the Anatolian south-west coast, we also find such assemblages on Astypalaia and Karpathos. This does not apply to the other cluster of assemblage groups of which the distribution appears to be limited to only the major sites on Rhodes (Ialysos), Kos (Eleona/Langada) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (Muskebi). In this light, one assemblage group I have not yet mentioned is the “Muskebi-1” group. It is characterized by assemblages consisting of only a single vessel, usually a small jug or a straight-sided alabastron. There is no convincing evidence for such a group from anywhere else in the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2.

5.3 LHIIIA2: introduction (II)

The middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia

In the previous sections, the focus was on the tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean. Section 5.3 is devoted to the area to north of the island of Samos and the Samsun
Ch. 5. Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

Dağ/i/Mykale promontory: the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. Mycenaean vessels occurred, often in relatively small quantities, side-by-side with local ones in different types of graves, such as pithoi, small tholoi and freestanding ‘houses’. The largest sites are Archontiki on the islet of Psara adjacent to Chios (see section 5.3.3 below), and Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 below) and Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 below) on the Anatolian mainland. Unfortunately, final publications of the cemeteries of Archontiki and Panaztepe are not yet available. The aim of this section is to give an overview of the different types of assemblages found at these different cemeteries. At some sites, such as at Miloi and the Heraion on Samos and Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) on the Anatolian mainland, only a single tomb has been found. In such cases only a description of its inventory shall be given. In section 5.3.6 below I will make a comparison between the different sites and address how they compare to the groups identified in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean discussed in section 5.2 above.

5.3.1 Samos

Two tombs from the island of Samos have been published (Map 11 in Chapter 4), a robbed built chamber tomb below the foundations of the Archaic Hera temple, which was originally covered by an earthen mound, and a small chamber tomb at Miloi, north-west of it. In both graves only closed vessel types were found. The Heraion assemblage consisted of three stirrup jars and two straight-sided alabastra. In the chamber tomb discovered at Miloi came to light two stirrup jars, a flask and a piriform jar. Both graves also yielded some objects other than pottery. The Heraion assemblage included a stone pommel, a steatite rosette and a silver bead.228 At Miloi some glass beads and a few gold items were found.229

5.3.2 Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill)

The remains of a disturbed tomb, of which the type could no longer be established, were uncovered at Ayasoluk Hill, the Byzantine citadel of the ancient city of Ephesus (Map 11 in Chapter 4).230 The extant assemblage, which is LHIIIA2 in date, consists of a large piriform

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229 Georgiadis 2003, 239.
jar, a flask, a small jug, a stemmed krater, a conical rhyton (Fig. 83) and a handleless flask with a pierced bottom (Fig. 84). No finds other than pottery are associated with it.

5.3.3 Archontiki on Psara

The cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki is located on the islet of Psara to the west of Chios (see section 4.13) (Map 11 in Chapter 4). The only assemblage from Chios itself comes from a cist-grave which contained a straight-sided alabastron, a small mug, a conical cup in Grey ware and a bowl with painted decoration.

The cemetery at Archontiki on Psara is still largely unpublished. The inventories of a selection of tombs are on (temporary) display in the Chios archaeological museum. The artifacts come from Tombs 27, 28, 38a, 42, 47 and 47a. Judging from the finds on display, it seems that we can identify at least two vessel types which are present in every assemblage. These are the stirrup jar and the straight-sided alabastron. Because of the popularity of these vessel types, it is tentative to see them as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of this site.

It is more difficult to discuss the expression of relations of difference because the extent to which the assemblages on display can be considered complete is unknown. I will therefore only describe the finds from the tombs here which, as they are displayed, seem to exhibit similarities with the groups identified in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean (see section 5.3.6 below). These are Tombs 27 and 42.

The repertoire of closed pot forms from Tomb 42 consists of a large number of stirrup jars and straight-sided alabastra (for further comments, see above), a large piriform jar and a conical rhyton. In addition, a considerable amount of kylikes was found, including four pattern-painted and three undecorated ones. There also were a few local cups and two (tinned?) shallow angular bowls (?). Other finds include a bronze spearhead, a number of stone conuli, several stone and glass beads and a carnelian and a glass lentoid seal.

The repertoire of decorated closed shapes on display from Tomb 27 consists of four stirrup jars, including two of the piriform FS 166 type and two of the globular FS 171 type, a straight-sided alabastron and an askos. The rest of the pottery assemblage is made up of a small jug, a feeding bottle and four small cups, including one or two small carinated cups.

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232 Mountjoy 1999a, 1147, 1149; Privitera 2005, 232.
and/or small mugs. Objects other than pottery are comprised of a bronze pin and a Mycenaean terracotta figurine.

5.3.4 Panaztepe

Although situated a few kilometers inland today, recent research has shown that during prehistoric times Panaztepe was probable an island settlement (Map 15 in Chapter 4). The west cemetery contains a wide variety of tomb types, of which the commonest are the pithos and the small tholos (see section 4.16). Only a small part of the cemetery has so far been published. In what follows, I will mainly focus on the (extant) materials from the tholoi, many of which were robbed in antiquity.

The assemblages from the tholoi consisted of a mix of local vessels, including adaptations of such Mycenaean vessel types as the straight-sided alabastron and the small piriform jar, and Mycenaean-style vases. No complete tholos assemblage has so far been published. However, through a series of single finds, it is possible to develop a general understanding of the different sorts of objects typically associated with this type of tomb at Panaztepe. Two robbed tholoi, Tombs D and E, each yielded a large piriform jar (Figs. 85-6). In two other tholoi, Tombs A and İ, there are fragments of pattern-painted kylikes (Fig. 87). Another unique find, recovered from one of the beehive graves at Panaztepe, is a LHIIB-IIIA1 or LHIII A2 beaked jug (Fig. 88).

The above described vessels were uncovered during the excavations of the site between 1985 and 1990, of which the pottery has been published by S. Günel (1999). Additionally, there is a group of stolen vases, which was acquired from an antiquities’ dealer by the Manisa museum in 1982. They are said to have come from one or more tholoi. Apart from two small piriform jars (Fig. 89) and two straight-sided alabastra (Fig. 90), the group included a pattern-painted (Fig. 91) and an unpainted kylix (Fig. 92). Also dated to LHIII A2 are an Anatolian-type juglet and lentoid flask and two Grey ware kraters of Trojan-type.

Other types of objects found in these tholoi graves comprise bronze weapons, stone seals and glass-relief beads. There was part of a sword (Sandars type Di) among the materials acquired by the Manisa museum (see above). Another (largely unpublished)
Ch. 5. Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

Tholos yielded a collection of bronzes consisting of one spearhead, eight arrowheads, three bowls, three knives, three chisels and a saw.\(^{238}\) The same tomb also produced a unique bronze seal bracelet with a decoration inspired by Hittite rather than Mycenaean prototypes (Fig. 93).\(^{239}\) Stone seals, mainly lentoids, are also quite common (Fig. 94).\(^{240}\) There is also a (probably imported) cylinder seal from the Levant (Fig. 95).\(^{241}\) Finally, in at least two tholos tombs, glass-relief beads were found. Tomb A produced a rosette (Fig. 96)\(^{242}\) and several rectangular plaques with spiraliform and ‘ivy’ leaves design (Fig. 97).\(^{243}\) A rosette was also recovered from Tholos B (Fig. 98).\(^{244}\)

5.3.5 Beşiktepe

Another large cemetery is located at Beşiktepe, in the north-west part of the Anatolian west coast (Map 16 in Chapter 4). The necropolis consisted of more than one hundred graves (see section 4.17). The most common tomb types are pithos (total of more or less 59) (Fig. 99)\(^{245}\) and pot burials (total of 34).\(^{246}\) There are also a few cist-graves (total of 8)\(^{247}\) and two rectangular built tombs (Fig. 100).\(^{248}\)

With regards to the assemblages, most pot graves did not contain any (additional) ceramic vessels. There are also hardly any finds other than pottery associated with them. The same applies to the assemblages from the cist-graves. Moreover, Mycenaean pottery has not been found in any of the pot or cist-graves.

Besides the burial container itself, the majority of pithoi (43 of 59)\(^{249}\) yielded no or (fragments of) only one or two other vases, also including a few Mycenaean-style vessels. Most others (13 of 59)\(^{250}\) produced between three to five additional vases. This group includes a much higher percentage of Mycenaean pottery.

\(^{238}\) Erkanal-Öktü 2000, 71.
\(^{239}\) Eerbeek 2010, 6-7.
\(^{241}\) Ibidem, 73, Abb. 4.
\(^{242}\) Çınardalı 1996, 81, Şek. 1-2.
\(^{243}\) Ibidem, 84, Şek. 3-5, 86, Şek. 6-9.
\(^{244}\) Ibidem, 81, Şek. 1-2.
\(^{245}\) Basedow 2000, 14-6.
\(^{246}\) Ibidem, 36-8.
\(^{247}\) Ibidem, 48-50.
\(^{248}\) Ibidem, 45-7.
\(^{249}\) Tombs 1, 3, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 21, 25-6, 31, 33-7, 39-42, 46, 49-52, 61-3, 67, 71, 82, 89, 92, 98, 100-1, 106 and 111.
\(^{250}\) Tombs 4, 15-Ost, 23, 32, 68, 77, 80, 88, 93-4, 97, 105 and 110.
Concerning the finds other than pottery, most pithoi (44 of 59) contained no or only one type of object. Small bronze rings (Fig. 101) and single clay beads are the commonest (Fig. 102), occurring in four and three pithos graves, respectively. Among this sub-group of pithos graves we do not notice any stone beads at all. Most were also ‘poor’ in terms of the total amount of ceramic vessels found. The majority (36 of 44) either had no or only one or two vases associated with them.

Among the remaining fifteen pithoi, there is a group of nine graves characterized by the presence of stone, mainly carnelian, often in combination with glass beads. We notice considerable differences in the number of beads per tomb. In Tombs 25, 26 and 33, between two to five stone beads were found. Interestingly, in all of these graves, the total number of pots is two. Moreover, none of them contained any Mycenaean decorated pottery. The largest collections of beads came to light in Tombs 21 (43), 58 (21), 68 (56) and 93 (61) (Fig. 103). With the exception of Tomb 21, which produced only two vases, the other graves had between five to seven (additional) ceramic vessels associated with them. Moreover, in all of these pithoi one or more Mycenaean pots were found. The assemblage from Tomb 58 included part of a pattern-painted kylix. The other graves yielded only closed pot shapes, namely small piriform jars (Tombs 68 and 93) (Fig. 104) and rounded (Tomb 21) and straight-sided alabastra (Tomb 68 and 93) (Fig. 105).

Other types of objects which are relatively common in pithoi containing stone beads are small bronze rings and needles, and terracotta beads and buttons. Gold items are very rare at the Beşiktepe. Single gold beads were found in Tombs 21 and 58 (Fig. 106). Both graves yielded a relatively large collection of stone beads (see above). On top of that, Tomb 58 also produced a group of bone items, comprising several beads and two engraved seals (one rectangle and one lentoid) (Fig. 107). Two other notable pithos graves are Tombs 15-Ost and 68. Apart from a large number of carnelian beads (see above), the latter also contained a unique pair of bronze ankle bands (Fig. 108). There are parallels for the use of ankle bands

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251 Tombs 1, 3-4, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 27, 31, 34-7, 39, 41-2, 46, 48, 50-2, 61-3, 67, 71, 77, 80, 82, 92, 94, 97-8, 100-1, 105-6 and 111
252 Tombs 3, 4, 46 and 106
253 Tombs 27, 94 and 105
254 Tombs 1, 3, 6, 8-14, 16, 18, 31, 34-7, 39, 41-2, 46, 50-2, 61-3, 67, 71, 82, 92, 98, 100-1, 106 and 111
255 Tombs 15-Ost, 21, 23, 25-6, 32-3, 40, 49, 58, 68, 88-9, 93 and 110
256 Tombs 21, 23, 25-6, 33, 38, 68, 89 and 93
257 Tombs 25, 33, 58 and 93
258 Tombs 40, 58, 89 and 93
259 Tombs 21, 26, 89 and 93
260 Tombs 25, 58 and 68
261 Basedow 2000, 29 (see, also, Lassen 1994).
from Anatolia, as well as from Cyprus and Syria-Palestine.\textsuperscript{262} A third arm or ankle band came to light in Beşiktepe Tomb 110.

The limited number of tombs with carnelian beads (9 of 59) and the circumstance that they were often found in combination with other ‘rare’ objects, such as gold and glass beads, and bronze ankle bands indicates that these objects were probably used to express a specific social identity.

A unique type assemblage is associated with the freestanding rectangular built tombs, which are referred to as “Grabhaus 15-West” and “Grabhaus 85”. Sadly enough, hardly anything remains of the latter.\textsuperscript{263} The inventory of “Grabhaus 15-West” consists exclusively of open vases, including fragments of four pattern-painted kylikes (Fig. 109) and two one-handled bowls (Fig. 110). There was also local pottery found, comprising three kraters (Fig. 111), one of which had been used as an urn, and a number of cups and bowls. Placed in the krater/urn were part of a bronze short sword (Sandars type Dii) and implement, and two terracotta buttons.\textsuperscript{264}

In a later stage, the walls of “Grabhaus 15-West” were leveled and a burial pithos – Pithos 15-Ost – was inserted into floor of the former front chamber or “Ostraum”. Similar to the pottery from Grabhaus 15-West (see above), the pithos yielded only open vases, namely a pattern-painted and an unpainted rounded kylix (Fig. 112), and two local bowls (Fig. 113). Other finds include a piece of bronze and a Mycenaean lentoid seal stone (Fig. 114).\textsuperscript{265} The only other seals found at Beşiktepe were made of bone: two engraved lentoids and a rectangular plaque from Pithos Tomb 58.\textsuperscript{266}

\textbf{5.3.6 The middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia: inter-regional comparison (LHIIIA2)}

This section addresses the question whether it is possible to find any similarities between the tomb assemblages from the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia and the

\textsuperscript{262} Basedow 2000, 126.
\textsuperscript{263} Ibidem, 48.
\textsuperscript{264} Ibidem, 47-8, 122-3.
\textsuperscript{265} Ibidem, 19-20 (see, also, Pini 1992, 158, no. 1).
\textsuperscript{266} There might be another lentoid bone seal from Pithos Tomb 88. However, no engravings remain, because of which it is unclear whether it was an actual seal or not (Basedow 2000, 134).
groups recognized in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean, that were discussed in section 5.2 above. Most relevant to our discussion here are the groups characterized by the occurring together of (painted and/or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons. The groups with which we are concerned here are the following: “Ialysos-1”, “Kos-1” and “Müskebi-2”. On the islands of Astypalaia and Karpathos single assemblages were found which, in composition, are similar to these groups (see section 5.2.5 above). Although these groups and assemblages have specific features in common there is also some variation among them. For example, we regularly find kraters, ritual vessels and glass relief-beads in tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages. The distribution of ritual vessels outside Rhodes is limited to single tombs on Kos and Karpathos. Kraters are more frequently found. They are common in tombs on Astypalaia and Karpathos and there are a few graves on Kos in which kraters came to light. However, in none of the tombs containing “Müskebi-2” assemblages any kraters were found. Outside Rhodes glass relief-beads appear at only one site on Astypalaia and in one of the two tholoi on Kos. In the previous sections, we came across a number of assemblages in which one or more of these combinations of objects are represented. These are the (destroyed) tomb at Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) (see section 5.3.2 above), Tomb 42 at Archontiki on Psara (Tomb 42) (see section 5.3.3 above), “Grabhaus 15-West” at Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 above) and the (incomplete) tholoi assemblages from Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 above).

At Ephesus (Ayasoluk Hill) we find a krater in combination with two ritual vessels. As indicated above, these vessel types are especially common in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. In this light note that the same assemblage also included a large piriform jar. It was argued in section 5.2.1 above that because this pot shape is found in the majority of tombs on Rhodes in LHIIIA2, it can probably be seen as a material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of the island.

Another tomb in which a ritual vessel and a large piriform jar were found is Tomb 42 at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. The same assemblage also included a large number of kylikes and a bronze spearhead. As indicated above, this combination appears at many different cemeteries in the south-eastern Aegean. In addition to Archontiki on Psara, two other

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267 LT 51
268 Diafani (Kambi)
269 Armenochori and Synkairos
270 Pigadia (Anemoni-Makeli) and Vónies (Arkasa)
271 Tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” and Pyli (tomb type uncertain)
272 Armenochori
273 Tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”
sites to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dağ/Mykale promontory containing tombs with inventories including combinations of kylikes and bronze weapons are Panaztepe and Beşiktepe.

At Panaztepe, several small tholoi, of which the majority had unfortunately been robbed prior to the excavation, have been explored. Among the finds recovered were large piriiform jars, a beaked jug, (fragments of) kylikes, kraters, of Anatolian or Trojan-type, bronze weapons and glass relief-beads. Although we know of kylikes and bronze weapons appearing together at a large number of sites in the south-eastern Aegean, the distribution of combinations of medium or large jugs, kraters and glass relief-beads is (almost) completely limited to tombs on Rhodes (cf. “Ialysos-1” group). This apparent ‘Rhodian’ influence is also reflected in the fact that in at least two tholoi at Panaztepe a large piriiform jar was found. As argued above, this vessel type appears in most tombs on Rhodes in LHIIIA2. Because of this, it is seen as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Rhodes.

No large piriiform jars or medium or large jugs were found at Beşiktepe, nearby the citadel of Hissarlık-Troy. We do, however, notice an assemblage characterized by the presence of a large number of open vessels, including a good many decorated kylikes and a pair of Anatolian or Trojan-type kraters, and (part of) a bronze sword. This is the only assemblage of this kind that has come to light at the site. The tomb from which it was recovered is also of a unique type. It has the shape of a freestanding house, i.e. “Grabhaus 15-West”. There is another tomb of this type at the site, but because it was (almost) completely destroyed only very little about its original contents is known.

The previous overview makes clear that the distribution of assemblages characterized by the presence of kylikes and bronze weapons is not limited to the south-eastern Aegean in LHIIIA2, but also includes the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dağ/Mykale promontory. Moreover, several of the tombs discussed contained additional traits (large piriiform jars, kraters, ritual vessels and glass relief-beads) which are especially typical of Rhodes in this period.

In contrast to the kylix-bronze weapons tombs discussed above, it seems that assemblages similar to those associated with the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müşkebi-3” group do not occur outside the south-eastern Aegean. I know of only one clear exception. The assemblage concerned comes from Tomb 27 at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. It included a small jug, a feeding bottle, an askos and one or two small carinated cups. The
presence of one or more small ceramic vessels is one of the features the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group have in common.

5.4 LHIIIB: introduction

The south-eastern Aegean and the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia

The period known as LHIIIB covers roughly the 13th century BC. Even though it lasted twice as long as the LHIIIA2-phase that preceded it, which corresponds with the second half of the 14th century BC, LHIIIB is not marked by a general increase in the number of tombs. Only at Eleona/Langada on Kos an increase has been recorded (see section 5.4.2 below). In addition, there was a new cemetery founded at Değirmenetepe which is situated in relative proximity to the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (see section 5.4.6 below). By contrast, in other parts of the south-eastern Aegean, such as Rhodes (see section 5.4.1 below) and Astypalaia (see section 5.4.3 below), as well as at Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.4.4 below), there is a clear drop in the number of tombs in use in LHIIIB in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. Moreover, no graves from LM/LHIIIB have so far been discovered on Karpathos.

We also have less material from LHIIIB from the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dağı/Mykale promontory. No new tombs were built at Beşiktepe (see section 5.3.5 above). The situation at Panaztepe is less clear (the site is largely unpublished). In any case, the published evidence does not include any distinctive vases from LHIIIB. The cist-grave cemetery of Archontiki on the islet of Psara, which is also largely unpublished, has produced a considerable number of vessels from this period. Other cemetery sites with pottery from LHIIIB are the built chamber tomb at Baklatepe and probably the (robbed) small tholos discovered at Kolophon (see section 5.4.7 below).

274 For comments on a group of newly discovered tombs at Değirmenetepe and the nearby hill of Kalabaktepe in the summer of 2012, see Chapter 1, fn. 135.

275 However, note that a recently published group of pots originating from a destroyed chamber tomb at Avlona in northern Karpathos includes several vessels from LM/LHIIIB (Platon/Karantzali 2003). In this light, it should be stressed that most LM/LHIIIA2 cemetery sites are in the south part of the island (ibidem, 190, Fig. 1; ibidem, 200). In other words, the apparent lack of tombs from LM/LHIIIB may also have to do with a bias in archaeological research.

276 However, since the ‘completeness’ of the assemblages that are on display in the Chios archaeological museum is unclear, and there are no combinations of vessels dated to LHIIIB directly relevant to our discussion, the site shall not be further considered here. For an overview of vessel form popular at this site, see section 4.13.
5.4.1 Rhodes

The LHIIIB-period on Rhodes is marked by a relative decline in the number of tombs in use in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. The archaeological record seems to indicate that north-west Rhodes was largely abandoned. This view is based on a general lack of LHIIIIB material from this part of the island.\textsuperscript{277} The major site here is still Ialysos but there is a clear drop in the number of tombs at this site as well (see section 5.4.1.1 below). We have relatively more sites with material from this period from south Rhodes, but unfortunately most of them were illicitly excavated (e.g. Apollakia and Vati (Apsaktiras)). Because of this – and similar to LHIIIA2 – our discussion of LHIIIIB Rhodes will mainly be based on the well documented cemetery of Ialysos.

5.4.1.1 Tomb assemblages from the New Tombs at Ialysos

Pottery of LHIIIIB date has been found in twenty-three New Tombs at Ialysos.\textsuperscript{278} This marks a sharp decline in comparison to the previous LHIIIA2-phase. There are forty-four New Tombs of which the assemblages comprised one or more vessels of LHIIIA2 date. Thus, we see a drop of about 50\% in LHIIIIB. Nevertheless, no major changes can be observed in the groups manifesting themselves in the archaeological burial record of the site.\textsuperscript{279} The same two groups as in LHIIIA2 are found in LHIIIIB: “Ialysos-1”\textsuperscript{280} and “Ialysos-2”\textsuperscript{281} (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 4 below). Before discussing the distinguishing traits associated with these groups, first, attention will be paid to a number of features cross-cutting the different groups of assemblages. These features are regarded here as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos.

\textsuperscript{277} However, Benzi stresses that this ‘shortage’ of evidence should be treated with caution. The main reason is that there are a number of sites in this region (e.g. Kouri, Asprovilo, Maritsa and Damatria) of which the vases are no longer available for study (Benzi 1992, 215).

\textsuperscript{278} See Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation (see, also, Benzi 1992, 214-5).

\textsuperscript{279} In this section tombs reused in later periods and with only a few vessels from LHIIIIB remaining are usually not taken into account. The same applies to tombs which have (almost) completely been destroyed. Examples of this are New Tombs 1, 6-7, 9-10, 43, 51, 60, 62 and 66.

\textsuperscript{280} For “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIIB, see New Tombs 5, 38, 53, 59 and 75 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{281} For “Ialysos-2” assemblages from LHIIIIB, see New Tombs 24, 30 and 49 in Appendix 3 at the back of this dissertation.
There are several vessel types that are common to both the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group. These are the stirrup jar (c. 63%) (Fig. 115), 282 the incense burner or brazier (c. 63%) 283 and the large piriform jar (50%). 284 Among the objects other than pottery, we see that glass beads are clearly the most common (c. 63%). 285 Glass beads, stirrup jars, incense burners and large piriform jars were also among the objects most frequently found in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 above). We do, however, notice a proportional change, since in LHIIIA2 large piriform jars and stirrup jars were present in almost 90% of the assemblages. 286 Similar to the objects conceived here as manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos, there do not appear to be any major changes in the ways relations of difference are expressed. It is the expression of these relations that we will now turn.

There are five tombs containing “Ialysos-1” assemblages. 287 Three of these (60%) 288 have large burial chambers 289 and dromoi eight to eleven meters in length. 290 With regards to the pottery, the assemblages typically include one or more medium or large jugs (Fig. 116), 291 kylikes and kraters (Figs. 117-8). 292 In LHIIIA2 it was possible to make a qualitative distinction between “Ialysos-1” assemblages containing tinned and pattern-painted kylikes. The former is referred to as the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group, the latter as the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group. Although we have fewer tombs to base this on, 293 the same distinction can also be made in LHIIIB.

282 Stirrup jars were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB: NT 38, 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including stirrup jars come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 30. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 68-71.

283 Incense burners came to light in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB: NT 5, 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages comprising incense burners come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 30. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 125.

284 Large piriform jars occur in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB: NT 53 and 59; “Ialysos-2” assemblages including large piriform jars come from the following tombs: NT 24 and 49. For bibliographical references, see Chapter 4, fn. 74.

285 Glass beads were found in the following tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB: NT 5 and 53; “Ialysos-2” assemblages containing glass beads come from the following tombs: NT 24, 30 and 49. 286 We should stress that among the tombs containing ‘incomplete’ LHIIIB assemblages (cf. fn. 279) there are also stirrup jars and large piriform jars: NT 6 (large piriform jar), 7 (stirrup jar), 9 (large piriform jar), 10 (large piriform jar), 23 (large piriform jar), 26 (large piriform jar), 51 (stirrup jar), 62 (stirrup jar) and 64 (stirrup jar).

280 See fn. 281.

287 NT 5, 38 and 59

289 See fn. 45.

290 NT 5 (Benzi 1992, 239); NT 38 (ibidem, 319); NT 59 (ibidem, 356).

291 With the exception of New Tomb 5, every assemblage includes one or two pattern-painted jugs.

292 The only “Ialysos-1” tomb without a krater is New Tomb 75.

293 We had fourteen tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages from LHIIIA2 (see fn. 21) versus five from LHIIIB (see fn. 281).
Classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (1)” sub-group are New Tombs 5 and 53. In both a number of unpainted and tinned kylikes was found. The two tombs produced a similar set consisting of one rounded and two or three carinated kylikes, and a shallow angular bowl. New Tomb 53 also yielded two pattern-painted kylikes. In LHIIIA2 none of the tombs with “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages had any such kylikes associated with them. The distribution of this type of kylix was limited to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in that period. There are also three tombs containing only pattern-painted kylikes from LHIIB. These are New Tombs 38, 59 and 75. They can be classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” sub-group.

It was noted in section 5.2.1.1 above that in LHIIIA2 “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages often have a ritual vessel associated with them. One of the two LHIIB tombs with tinned kylikes\textsuperscript{294} yielded a narrow-necked jug with a pierced bottom, for which there is a parallel from Old Tomb 35 (see section 5.4.1.2 below).\textsuperscript{295}

In LHIIIA2, “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages usually have a wide variety of objects other than pottery, including gold jewelry, bronze swords, metal vessels, amber beads, stone seals and glass relief-beads. Such items are also present in New Tombs 5 and 53. Among the items recovered from New Tomb 5 are gold relief-beads in the shape of curls-of-hair (Fig. 120), glass relief-beads in the shape of rosettes (Fig. 119) and a stone bead capped in gold (Fig. 120). Finds of interest from New Tomb 53 include some gold wire rings/earrings, a gold plaque in the shape of a cuttlefish, a perforated silver disc, two bronzes, a short sword (Sandars type G) (Fig. 121) and a basin (Fig. 122), some amber beads, an amethyst lentoid seal stone and a number glass relief-beads in the shape of papyrus heads and rectangular plaques with spiraliform design.\textsuperscript{296}

Apart from a lack of tinned kylikes, another characteristic of the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group, as defined on the basis of the LHIIIA2 assemblages,\textsuperscript{297} is that objects other than pottery are not very common and mostly consist of bronzes, especially spearheads and razors or cleavers. In LHIIB, of the three tombs classified as belonging to the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group (see above) only New Tomb 59 produced a large collection of objects other than pottery. Recovered were five bronzes, comprising one spearhead (Fig. 123), one razor or cleaver (Fig. 124) and three knives (Fig. 125), two terracotta figurines (Fig. 126), a rubber’s stone (Fig. 127), a stone conulus and four glass beads. Thus, in terms of the offerings other than pottery, the finds from

\textsuperscript{294} NT 53
\textsuperscript{295} Benzi 1992, 344, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 394).
\textsuperscript{296} Benzi 1992, 346-7, no. 23-5, a, A-N.
\textsuperscript{297} See fn. 44.
New Tomb 59 are similar to those associated with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIIA2. Apart from the materials from New Tomb 59, we only have a few lead coils from New Tomb 75.

There are three tombs containing “Ialysos-2” assemblages. Two of these have small burial chambers. Of the tombs with small chambers one had a 5.50 long dromos; the length of the other has not been recorded. The third tomb had a medium-sized chamber and a slightly longer dromos, i.e. 7.00 meters.

The assemblages include one or two open vessels. One tomb, namely New Tomb 49, had two monochrome kylikes, but, similar to LHIIIA2, we do not find any kylikes in combination with medium or large jugs in association with the “Ialysos-2” group. This combination, as noted above, is characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group. Moreover, it should be pointed out that medium or large jugs are generally not common in association with the “Ialysos-2” group. In LHIIB we have one example from New Tomb 30. Instead of medium or large jugs, two of three “Ialysos-2” assemblages included one or more small jugs. The juglet is not the only type of small ceramic vessel that occurs in combination with the “Ialysos-2” group. Two assemblages had a feeding bottle. One of these also included a rounded alabastron (Fig. 128) and a pair of small stemless goblets. In LHIIIA2, “Ialysos-2” assemblages also usually have one or more small ceramic vessels associated with them. In both LHIIIA2 and LHIIB the small jug and the feeding bottle are the most common. What is interesting to point out is that whereas in LHIIIA2, small jugs and feeding bottles also regularly in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIB we find them only in connection with the “Ialysos-2” group. Small ceramic vessels are, however, not completely absent from these groups. New Tomb 5 yielded a small piriform jar and a small carinated cup and we have a rounded alabastron and a small semi-globular cup from New Tomb 59.

With regards to the offerings other than pottery, in all three tombs only glass beads were found. Most notable is New Tomb 49 for it contained a collection of glass plaques decorated with spirals and double rosettes. While glass plaques are mostly found in

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298 See fn. 283.
299 NT 24 and 49
300 See fn. 45.
301 NT 24
302 NT 30
303 NT 24 and 49
304 NT 30 and 49
305 NT 30
connection with the two “Ialysos-1” groups, in LHIIIA2 we also noticed two “Ialysos-2” assemblages that had glass plaques among their contents.

While the majority of assemblages found at Ialysos can be ‘fitted’ into either one of the two groups developed here, there are a few tombs that seem to ‘resist’ any such straightforward classification. In section 5.2.1 above I paid attention to the shaft grave and the two ‘Cypriot’ graves that have been discovered at Ialysos. In LHIIIB we have New Tomb 41. This is a pit grave. Its (extant) ceramic inventory consists only of open pot forms: a linear cup, a pattern-painted kylix and a stemmed bowl. There are also two fragments of glass. The lack of closed pot shapes, particularly stirrup jars and large piriform jars, is striking especially since these are present in the majority of chamber tomb assemblages dated to LHIIIB.

5.4.1.2 LHIIIB assemblages from the Old Tombs at Ialysos

The original archaeological contexts of a large part of the pottery from the Old Tombs at Ialysos are known. There is, however, also a large collection of finds, mostly objects other than pottery, of unknown provenance. As indicated in Chapter 4, we have hardly any documentation of the excavation of these tombs. Judging from the relative size of some of the assemblages, sometimes consisting of no more than one vessel, it seems likely that many tombs were found in a robbed state. Moreover, with a few exceptions, the assemblages ‘consist’ almost exclusively of pottery. We usually do not know which objects other than pottery were found in which tomb. For these reasons, in the following discussion I will only concentrate on the question whether there are any similarities between the groups recognized among the New Tombs (see above) and the (extant) materials from the Old Tombs. In order to do this I will focus on the manifestation of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record.

There are about nine Old Tombs that contained one or more vessels from LHIIIB. With regards to the expression of relations of similarity, we see that in six tombs one or more stirrup jars were found (c. 67%). Large piriform jars occur in three graves (c. 33%). No incense burners can definitely be assigned to LHIIIB. The relative popularity of the stirrup

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307 For an overview of the ceramic vases per tomb, see Mee 1982, 122-4.
308 OT 2, 10, 14, 16-8, 30 and 34
309 OT 4, 7, 11-2, 17, 25, 27, 35 and A
310 OT 11-2, 17, 27, 35 and A
311 OT 4, 12 and A
jar is similar to that observed among the New Tombs at Ialysos (c. 63%). The large piriform jar occurs less frequent.

Turning to the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record, it may be possible to identify some similarities between the finds from Old Tombs 7 and 35 and the “Ialysos-1” group. The objects recovered from Old Tomb 7 include a rounded kylix with traces of tinning, a handleless monochrome carinated bowl with what appears to be a pierced base and a bronze sword (Sandars type Di). As noted above, ritual vessels and bronze weapons mostly occur in tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages. Moreover, tinned pottery and bronze swords are only found in connection with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group. Examples are New Tombs 4 (LHIIIA2) and 53 (LHIIIB). Note that both of these tombs also contained a ritual vessel. A ritual vessel also came to light in Old Tomb 35, i.e. a hydria with a pierced bottom. Other finds from this tomb are comprised of a narrow-necked jug (Fig. 129), two Egyptian glass vessels and a bronze cup. Although the assemblage does not include any kylikes, the presence of a pattern-painted jug, a ritual vessel and three objects made of exotic or rare materials – glass and bronze – are all features typically found in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

Finally, I want to make mention of the (extant) assemblage from Old Tomb 4. It consists of two large piriform jars and a variety of objects other than pottery, notable among which are a bronze sword (Sandars type Dii), three bronze spearheads, four thin gold plaques stamped with a figure of a recumbent winged sphinx, a number of gold foil rosettes and a collection of glass relief-beads, comprising (rectangular) plaques and rosettes. We cannot link the pottery to a specific group recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos. The offerings other than pottery, on the other hand, are similar to those typically found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group. While bronze spearheads mostly occur in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIIA2-B, gold jewelry and bronze swords are usually

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312 Benzi 1992, 6 (see, also, Farnsworth/Immerwahr 1966, 394).
313 OT 7: A849 (see, also, Benzi 1992, 119-20).
314 This observation is based on the pictures available in the BM Online catalogue of this vase.
315 Its attribution to this grave has been questioned by Mee on chronological grounds (Mee 1982, 26-7, fn. 148; Benzi 1992, 171, fn. 16).
316 OT 35: A881 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 399).
317 OT 35: Glass 1 (Registration number: 1872,0315.100.1) (BM website).
318 Registration number: 1872,0620.33 (BM website).
319 Mountjoy has dated only one vessel, namely the one (A833) that has a decoration consisting of flowers (FM 18) on the shoulder, to LHIIB (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 385). The other vessel (A831) is dated by Mee (1982, 122) to LHIIBA2. Benzi dates both vessels to LHIIBA2 (1992, 16-7). However, based on the crude execution of the decoration of the second vessel, it has been assigned to LHIIB here.
320 E.g. NT 7, 19 and 59.
found together in tombs containing “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages. Glass relief-beads appear in both groups, although we find them more often in association with the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group.

Thus, whereas in terms of the expression of relations of similarity we see similarities between the pottery from the New Tombs and the Old Tombs (esp. popularity of the stirrup jar), finding good parallels for the two groups that have been recognized among the former – “Ialysos-1” and “Ialysos-2” – is more problematic. This can probably to a large extent be attributed to the incomplete nature of most of the assemblages (see above).

5.4.1.3 LHIIIB assemblages from other sites on Rhodes

So far, I have only paid attention to the tombs that have been excavated at Ialysos. In this section we will look at a number of cemetery sites outside Ialysos. The aim is to establish whether there are any parallels for the groups that have been identified among the tombs there. Cemeteries to be taken into consideration are Kariones, Passia, Pylona (Ambelia) and Pylona (Aspropilia) (Map 12 in Chapter 4).

The cemetery of Kariones consists of two chamber tombs. Tomb 1 contained an LHIIIA2 assemblage and was discussed in section 5.2.1 above. Of the ten vases of which the assemblage from Tomb 2 was originally made up nine have been published. No finds other than pottery have been reported. The assemblage consisted of a large piriform jar (Fig. 130), two stirrup jars, a basket vase and five open vessels, among which there were three kylikes, two with a pattern-painted decoration, the third one is tinned. At Ialysos large piriform jars and stirrup jars in particular are found in most tombs dated to LHIIIB. The presence of kylikes, especially tinned ones, constitutes a feature typical of the “Ialysos-1” group, although there is no medium or large jug among the extant finds. As indicated above, this combination can be considered characteristic of this group.

Passia is situated in the south-central part of Rhodes. Pottery dated to LHIIIB has come to light in Tombs 1, 2 and 4. With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity,

321 E.g. NT 4, 31 and 53
322 Examples of “Ialysos-1 (1)” assemblages containing glass relief-beads are New Tombs 4, 28 and 56. “Ialysos-1 (2)” assemblages with glass relief-beads are New Tombs 54 and 57.
323 Benzi 1992, 420.
324 Ibidem, 421, no. 1.
325 Ibidem, 421, nos. 2-3 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407).
326 Benzi 1992, 421, no. 9.
327 Ibidem, 421, nos. 5-6
328 Ibidem, 421, no. 7.
we notice that all three tombs yielded two stirrup jars. Three large piriform jars were found in Tomb 4. The stirrup jar is also the vessel type found in the majority of assemblages at Ialysos. The large piriform jar, although less common than the stirrup jar in LHIIIB, is also regarded as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of Ialysos (see above).

The assemblages from Passia Tombs 1 and 4 have features in common with the “Ialysos-1” group. Tomb 2 was reused in LHIIIC and did not contain any other LHIIIB vases than the two stirrup jars mentioned above. It will therefore not be considered below. Tomb 1, which was first used in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 above), yielded a krater and an undecorated rounded kylix. The assemblage lacks a medium or large jug of LHIIIB date. It should be noted, however, that among the finds dated to LHIIIA2 there are two, a pattern-painted beaked jug and stirrup jug. No small finds have reported from this grave. Tomb 4 did yield a jug of LHIIIB date (Fig. 131). The assemblage also included two kraters, and one pattern-painted and four undecorated kylikes. Kraters, jugs and kylikes constitute characteristic elements of the “Ialysos-1” group (see above). As noted above, a krater and a kylix also came to light in Tomb 1 at Passia. Whereas Tomb 1 had no objects other than pottery associated with it, Tomb 4 yielded a terracotta figurine (Fig. 132) and some glass beads, including five rectangular plaques with spiraliform design (Fig. 133). Glass plaques are typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2-B.

The chamber tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) constituted part of a larger robbed cemetery. The earliest pottery from the grave, which was excavated by G. Jacopi in 1929, may be LHIIIA2 in date. Dated to this period by Mountjoy are a stemmed krater and two cups. Note, however, that all of these vessels have been assigned to LHIIIB by Benzi. The grave remained in use in LHIIIC. With regards to the LHIIIB assemblage, it included a

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329 Tomb 1: Dietz 1984, 26-8, nos. 6, 7 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 412); Tomb 2: Dietz 1984, 33-3, nos. 1, 3 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 407); Tomb 4: Dietz 1984, 43-6, nos. 7, 10
330 Dietz 1984, 37-48, nos. 1 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 385), 5 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 385), 11 (ibidem, 1015, fn. 384).
331 Dietz 1984, 34, no. 2 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1061, fn. 643).
332 Dietz 1984, 21, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 462).
333 Dietz 1984, 39-40, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1016, fn. 397).
334 Dietz 1984, 46-7, nos. 8 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1021, fn. 433), 9 (ibidem, 1025, fn. 462).
335 Dietz 1984, 41, no. 4 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1025, fn. 459).
336 Dietz 1984, 46, nos. 4, 8, a-d.
339 Ibidem, 446, Pilona, no. 2 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1003, fn. 325).
340 Benzi 1992, 447-8, Pilona, nos. 8 (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1005, fn. 341), 13 (ibidem, 1005, fn. 341).
341 Benzi 1992, 446.
stirrup jar\textsuperscript{343} and an incense burner.\textsuperscript{344} As indicated above, the same vessel types are found in the majority of New Tombs containing assemblages dated to LHIIIB.

Concerning the groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos, we can best compare the assemblage of the tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) with the “Ialysos-1” group. Besides the krater mentioned above, it included a medium jug and a group of undecorated pottery, consisting of a dipper,\textsuperscript{345} two kylikes\textsuperscript{346} and a shallow angular bowl.\textsuperscript{347} The offerings other than pottery are made up of two bronzes, namely a spearhead and a knife.\textsuperscript{348} Medium or large jugs and kylikes often occur together in connection with the “Ialysos-1” group.\textsuperscript{349} Bronze spearheads are especially common in combination with the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group in LHIIIA2-B.

The cemetery at Pylona (Aspropilia) was in use mostly during LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.1 above). In two graves a few LHIIIB vessels were also found, i.e. Tombs 2 and 5. In both graves several stirrup jars came to light.\textsuperscript{350} As indicated above, stirrup jars also appear in most of the New Tombs at Ialysos containing assemblages dated to LHIIIB. The only ‘intact’ LHIIIB assemblage from Pylona (Aspropilia) comes from one of the two side or ancillary chambers of Tomb 2.\textsuperscript{351} Tomb 5 was reused in LHIIIC and disturbed in Roman times.\textsuperscript{352} Apart from the stirrup jars mentioned above, the assemblage from Tomb 2 also had five open vessels, including one pattern-painted and three unpainted kylikes. There are no finds other than pottery associated with it. Of the groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos in LHIIIB (see above) none provides a good parallel for this assemblage. The presence of kylikes constitutes a feature typical of the “Ialysos-1” group – although they also sometimes occur in combination with the “Ialysos-2” group. Tombs with “Ialysos-1” assemblages, however, also usually have one or more medium or large jugs associated with them. There were no jugs found in the side chamber of Tomb 2 at Pylona (Aspropilia). The assemblage seems to come closest to that from Tomb 2 at Kariones discussed above.

We can thus conclude that in other parts of Rhodes the evidence for the two groups recognized among the New Tombs at Ialysos is limited. There are a number of parallels for

\begin{footnotes}
\item[343] Benzi 1992, 448, Pilona, A (see, also, Mountjoy 1999a, 1019, fn. 409).
\item[344] Benzi 1992, 446, 448, no. 16.
\item[345] Ibidem, 446, 448, no. 17.
\item[346] Ibidem, 446, 448, no. 14-5.
\item[347] Ibidem, 446-7, no. 12.
\item[348] Ibidem, 448, nos. 18-9.
\item[349] Ibidem, 448, nos. 18-9. Because the tomb at Pylona (Ambelia) was reused in LHIIIC, the attribution to LHIIIB of the unpainted pots is not completely certain. The same applies to the objects other than pottery recovered from it.
\item[350] Tomb 2: 17951, 17954 (Karantzali 2001, 16); Tomb 5: 18646, 18658 (ibidem, 20)
\item[351] Karantzali 2001, 16.
\item[352] Ibidem, 19-20.
\end{footnotes}
the “Ialysos-1” group, i.e. Tombs 1 and 4 at Passia and Pylona (Ambelia). Mention also has to be made of the recently published cemetery of Ayio Georgio (Gennadi), in north-eastern Rhodes. The tombs discovered here were found in a robbed state. Among the finds recovered were a good many (painted and undecorated) kylikes (Fig. 134). There were also a few medium or large jugs and a collection of glass beads, including a number of plaques with spiraliform design (Fig. 135). Although we do not know which of these objects were found together within the same tomb, it is notable that these are all find categories – kylikes, jugs and glass plaques – commonly found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group.

With regards to the manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record we saw that in most tombs at Ialysos stirrup jars and/or incense burners were found. Large piriform jars also regularly occur (see section 5.4.1.1 above). As is clear from the overview above, stirrup jars are present in many tombs across the island. Ayio Georgio (Gennadi) (see above) can also be added to this list, since there were a large number of LHIIIB stirrup jars among the finds recovered from the robbed tombs excavated at this site (Fig. 136). Incense burners and large piriform jars seem to be less common outside Ialysos. Large piriform jars are known from Passia (Tomb 4) and Ayio Georgio (Gennadi). Moreover, we have a single incense burner from the chamber tomb excavated at Pylona (Ambelia). To conclude this section on Rhodes in LHIIIB, in Table 4 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Ialysos-1” and the “Ialysos-2” group is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Ialysos-1 (1)”</th>
<th>“Ialysos-1 (2)”</th>
<th>“Ialysos-2”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by combinations of medium or large jugs and open vessel types, especially unpainted and/or tinned kylikes</td>
<td>Group is characterized by combination of medium or large jugs and painted kylikes.</td>
<td>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinned pottery is limited to this group.</td>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group:</td>
<td>Vessel type limited to this group:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group:</td>
<td>• Pattern-painted kylikes</td>
<td>• Small jugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ritual vessels</td>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (1)” group are:</td>
<td>• Feeding bottles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shallow angular bowls</td>
<td>• Kraters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel types limited (mostly) to this group and the “Ialysos-1 (2)” group are:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kraters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

353 Karantzali 2009, 235.
354 Give ref.
Offerings other than pottery

Group usually contains concentration of items made of exotic and/or rare materials, such as gold jewelry and bronze weapons. Object types (mostly) limited to this group are:

- Gold jewelry (rings and beads)
- Bronze swords
- Metal vessels
- Stone seals
- Amber beads
- Glass relief beads, especially plaques and rosettes

Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory are very rare. Object types limited to this group are:

- Bronze spearheads

Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery. Items made from rare or exotic materials, such as gold and ivory, and bronze weapons generally do not occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
<th>Architectural details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One tomb has a dromos with a length of 11.00 meters(^{355}); the other one of 4.05 m long.(^{356})</td>
<td>Two tombs have a dromos with a length of between 8.50 to 8.80 meters(^{357}); the third one has a 4.50 meters long dromos.(^{358})</td>
<td>One tomb has a dromos with a length of 5.50 meters(^{359}); the other about which information is available(^{360}) has a dromos with a length of 7.00 meters.(^{361})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One tomb has a “large” chamber (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2)))(^{357}); the other a “medium” one (3.00 to 7.00 m(^2))(^{358})</td>
<td>Two tombs have “large” chambers (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2))(^{357}); the third a “small” one (0.40 to 3.00 m(^2))(^{358})</td>
<td>Two of the three tombs have “small” chambers (0.40 to 3.00 m(^2))(^{356}); the third a “medium” one (between 7.00 to 15.70 m(^2))(^{357})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Overview of the main characteristics of the “Ialysos-1 (1)”, “Ialysos-1 (2)” and “Ialysos-2” groups in LHIIIB

5.4.2 Kos

In LHIIIIB, we notice an increase in the number of tombs in use at Eleona/Langada on Kos (Map 19 in Chapter 5). There are thirteen tombs containing vessels from LHIII A2 and twenty-seven with vases from LHIII B (Chapter 4).\(^{368}\) In the archaeological burial record the same two

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\(^{355}\) NT 5
\(^{356}\) NT 53
\(^{357}\) NT 5
\(^{358}\) NT 53
\(^{359}\) NT 38 and 59
\(^{360}\) NT 75
\(^{361}\) NT 38 and 59
\(^{362}\) NT 75
\(^{363}\) NT 24
\(^{364}\) We have no information about the length of the dromos of NT 49.
\(^{365}\) NT 30
\(^{366}\) NT 24 and 49
\(^{367}\) NT 30
\(^{368}\) See Appendices 6 and 7 at the back of this dissertation.
groups of assemblages as in the previous LHIIIA2-phase can be recognized, i.e. “Kos-1” and “Kos-2” (for an overview of their most characteristic features, see Table 5 below). Similar to LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above), a feature the two groups have in common is that most assemblages associated with them included one or more stirrup jars (Fig. 137) (c. 80%). Small jugs were also present in the majority of assemblages in LHIIIA2. In LHIIIB, however, they are predominantly found in combination with “Kos-2” assemblages (see below). For this reason, this vessel type will be considered below in connection with the manifestation of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. It is to the expression of these relations that we will now turn.

There are three tombs with “Kos-1” assemblages dated to LHIIIB: Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tombs 15 and 46. This group is also attested in LHIIIB-III A1 (see section 5.1.2 above) and LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above). One of the most characteristic features of this group is the combination of kylikes and bronze weapons, particularly spearheads. We also find this combination at other sites on Kos, such as at Pyli (LHIIIA2) and the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio” (LHIIIA2). Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tomb 15 both contained several kylikes (Fig. 138) and a bronze spearhead (Fig. 139). Bronze weapons also came to light in Langada Tomb 46. Among the finds recovered from it are a short sword (Sandars type Fii) (Fig. 140), a spearhead (Fig. 141) and a cleaver (Fig. 142). In contrast to the assemblages from Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tomb 15, the one associated with Langada Tomb 46 did not include any kylikes. There was, however, a group of capacious drinking vessels found in Langada Tomb 46, consisting of two truncated stemmed bowls (Fig. 143) and one deep bowl. This apparent ‘lack’ of kylikes may have a chronological explanation. According to S. Vitale, the pottery from Langada Tomb 46 should be dated to the very end of LHIIIB, what he calls, LHIIIB2 Late. The same date is assigned to Langada Tomb 21 (see below). Another notable feature of Langada Tomb 46 is that its

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369 For “Kos-1” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Eleona Tomb 4 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 15 and 46 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.
370 For “Kos-2” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Eleona Tombs 5, 15 and 19 in Appendix 6 and Langada Tombs 21, 23, 30, 36, 40, 48-9 and 59-60 in Appendix 7 at the back of this dissertation.
371 “Kos-1” assemblages containing stirrup jars from LHIIIB are the following: ET 4 and LT 46. Stirrup jars from LHIIIB were present in the following “Kos-2” assemblages: ET 5; LT 21, 23, 30, 36, 40, 48-9 and 59-60.
372 In this section tombs reused in later periods and with only a few vessels from LHIIIB remaining are usually not taken into account. Examples of this are Eleona Tombs 6 and 20, and Langada Tombs 28, 35 and 52.
373 See fn. 147.
374 ET 21
375 LT 16, 37 and 51
376 The attribution of this spearhead to Eleona Tomb 4 is not completely certain. It might also have come from Eleona Tomb 5 (Morricone 1967, 83).
377 Vitale 2012, 410.
assemblage included a medium or large jug. While the other two tombs associated with the
“Kos-1” group in LHIIIB – Eleona Tomb 4 and Langada Tomb 15 – do not have any medium
or large jugs, we do see this vessel type appearing in several tombs containing “Kos-1”
assemblages from LHIIIA2, i.e. Langada Tombs 16 and 51 and the finds from the chamber at
Pyli (see section 5.2.2 above).

I would like to make a final comment with regards to the assemblage of Eleona Tomb
4. Apart from the kylikes and the bronze spearhead upon which the attribution of this tomb to
the “Kos-1” group is based there is one more aspect that has to be mentioned here. This is that
Eleona Tomb 4 contained a fairly large number of small ceramic vessels, consisting of a
rounded alabastron, two small jugs, two askoi and a miniature monochrome kylix with two
horizontal handles. In LHIIIA2 we also find small jugs in combination with the “Kos-1”
group, but the distribution of other small ceramic vessels, such as feeding bottles, small mugs
and carinated conical cups appears to be limited mostly to the “Kos-2” group. For that reason,
in LHIIIA2 we regarded small jugs as a possible manifestation of relations of similarity in the
archaeological burial record of Eleona/Langada. In the period under review in this section,
however, just one of the three tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages had small jugs
associated with it. Because in LHIIIB small jugs predominantly occur in combination with the
“Kos-2” group, it is probably better to consider them as marking a relation of difference. It is
to the “Kos-2” group that we shall now turn.

There are about eleven tombs with “Kos-2” assemblages, three from Eleona and eight
from Langada.378 Similar to LHIIIA2, kylikes and bronze weapons do not occur together in
association with this group. Bronze weapons only rarely appear in combination with it. We
know of no examples from LHIIIA2. The only grave that had a “Kos-2” assemblage with
bronze weapons is Langada Tomb 21. Among the finds recovered are a spearhead (Fig. 144)
and a (ritually killed) sword (Naue type II) (Fig. 145).379 We nevertheless consider this tomb
as part of the “Kos-2” group because it contained a fairly large number of small ceramic
vessels, of which the presence is regarded here as a feature typical of the “Kos-2” group. Six
of the eleven tombs (c. 55%)380 that had such assemblages produced one or more small
ceramic vessels. The most common is the small jug, of which examples were found in six
graves (for comments on the popularity of the small jug in combination with the “Kos-1”

378 See fn. 370.
380 ET 15, 19; LT 21, 23, 40 and 49
Two tombs that stand out because besides juglets they also had a number of other small ceramic vessels associated with them are Eleona Tomb 15 and Langada Tomb 21. The assemblage of Eleona Tomb 15 includes a rounded alabastron, a feeding bottle, a small mug and a carinated cup (Fig. 146). Apart from a small jug, the assemblage from Langada Tomb 21, which is also notable for the presence of a pair of bronze weapons (see above), comprises a feeding bottle (Fig. 147), two small lipless bowls (Fig. 148) and a small stemmed bowl. According to Vitale, the pottery from this grave dates to the same period as that from Langada Tomb 46 (see below), namely to the end of LHIIIIB or LHIIIB2 Late.

The “Kos-2” assemblages typically include only a limited number of offerings other than pottery. Similar to LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.2 above), the terracotta button and the stone conulus are the commonest. The former is attested in five tombs, the latter in four. Other finds of interest are an ivory button, a bronze spiral and a bronze knife. I already mentioned Langada Tomb 21 above, which is unique for the presence of a bronze spearhead (Fig. 144) and sword (Fig. 145). Bronze weapons are generally found in combination with the “Kos-1” (see above), not together with the “Kos-2” group.

Four tombs from Eleona/Langada have assemblages that cannot be fitted into any of the groups defined above, i.e. Eleona Tomb 3, and Langada Tombs 4, 27 and 58. Langada Tomb 4 has only a single small jug or juglet associated with it. This type of vessel is difficult to date out of context (see section 3.2.3). It is especially common at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIA-B. Langada Tomb 58, which is assigned to LHIIIB by Vitale and Mountjoy, consists of a dromos – the chamber has not been excavated – containing a large pithos with the remains of a child burial and two bronze tools. Assemblages without any Mycenaean decorated pottery were also found in Eleona Tomb 3 and Langada Tomb 27. The former yielded a small cup, a spouted bowl and an askoid vessel. The assemblage from Langada Tomb 27 consists of a trefoil-mouthed juglet (Fig. 149) and a small bowl. The date of the finds from both of these tombs is unclear. Benzi suggested a general date in LHIII for the materials from Langada Tomb 27. There is a parallel for the askoid vessel from Eleona

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381 ET 15, 19; LT 21, 23, 40 and 49
382 Vitale 2012, 410-1 (see, also, Mee 1982, 88-9).
383 ET 19; LT 21, 30, 36 and 60
384 ET 15, 19; LT 48 and 60
385 LT 60
386 LT 23
387 ET 15
388 ET 15
389 LT 23
390 Vitale 2012, XCI, Table 1.
391 Mountjoy 1999a, 1078.
392 Benzi 1996, 955, fn. 54.
Tomb 3 from Eleona Tomb 12, which also contained a local copy of a Mycenaean rounded alabastron (Fig. 150). Based on its shape, close to the FS 83, the vessel might be as early as LHIIB-IIIA1. As shown in Chapter 4, the rounded alabastron was also common in Mycenaean painted ware during this period.

### 5.4.2.2 Assemblages from other sites on Kos

Only a few other cemetery sites with tombs containing assemblages from LHIIIB have so far been published from Kos (Map 11 in Chapter 4). A single chamber tomb at Kastello produced (the base of) a stirrup jar, a deep bowl and a kylix. As noted above, we also find stirrup jars in the majority of tombs excavated at Eleona/Langada and are seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record of that site.

Kylikes and bowls appear in combination with both the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group, but since no bronze weapons have been reported from the tomb at Kastello, we can best compare it to the “Kos-2” group (see above). Finally, there is a small tholos adjacent to the settlement of the “Serraglio”. According to T. Marketou, it can be dated to LHIIB (cf. beehive grave at Kolophon below). No vessels from this tomb have, however, so far been published. Besides pottery, it also contained pieces of gold jewelry (rosettes and beads).

We can thus conclude that outside Eleona/Langada there is no (convincing) evidence for the two groups identified there in LHIIIB. This is in contrast to LHIIIA2 when we at least were able to find parallels for the “Kos-1” group (see section 5.2.2 above).

To conclude this section on Kos, in Table 5 below an overview of the most important characteristics of the “Kos-1” and the “Kos-2” group is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Kos-1”</th>
<th>“Kos-2”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pottery</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group is characterized by the presence of painted kylikes and/or other large drinking vessels, such as deep bowls.</td>
<td>Group usually includes no or only a few medium or large jugs or open pot shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
<td>Assemblages often have one or more small ceramic vessels, including rounded alabastra, small jugs, feeding bottles and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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391 Ibidem, 956, 964, Fig. 23.
392 Ibidem, 1097, fn. 850.
393 Ibidem, 1095, fn. 839.
394 Marketou 2010, 766.
396 Pyli and the tholos west/south-west of the settlement of the “Serraglio”
Ch. 5. Funerary assemblages in the south-eastern Aegean and on the west coast of Anatolia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium or large jugs</th>
<th>small carinated cups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vessel type limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Small jugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Feeding bottles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offerings other than pottery</th>
<th>Offerings other than pottery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object types (mostly) limited to this group are:</td>
<td>Group usually contains limited number and variety of offerings other than pottery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bronze weapons: spearheads and swords</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object types limited (mostly) to this group are:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Terracotta buttons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stone conuli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Overview of the main characteristics of the "Kos-1" and "Kos-2" groups in LHIIIB

5.4.3 Astypalaia

Of the two pairs of chamber tombs on the island of Astypalaia only the one at Armenochori remains in use in LHIIIB (Map 11 in Chapter 4). The assemblage is made up of a large number of closed and open vases. Closed vase types are comprised of several large piriform jars (Fig. 151), different types of stirrup jars and a narrow-necked jug. Open vessel forms found are a krater (Fig. 152), a large number of (painted and undecorated) kylikes, four deep bowls, a stemmed bowl (Fig. 153) and a tall mug.

The assemblage also includes a good many objects other than pottery. Notable finds are two metal vessels, a cauldron and a dipper, a bronze spearhead and razor, and a number of glass beads, among which there are two relief-beads, one in the shape of a curl-of-hair, the other in the shape of a rosette (Figs. 154-5). Stone conuli and terracotta buttons were also found. It should be pointed out, however, that since the tombs at Armenochori remained in use until LHIIIC (Chapter 4) and the exact archaeological context of the individual finds is unknown we cannot be sure that all of the undecorated vessels (mostly kylikes) and objects other than pottery belong to this or the previous LHIIIA2-period.

397 Mountjoy 1999a, 1140.
398 Ibidem, 1140.
399 Ibidem, 1140.
400 Ibidem, 1142, no. 3.
402 Georgiadis 2003, 239.
5.4.4 South-western coastal Anatolia: Müskebi

There are only a few tombs at the cemetery of Müskebi on the south-west coast of Anatolia that contained pottery from LHIIIB (Map 11 in Chapter 4). Only six assemblages can be attributed to this period. These belong to two different groups of assemblages, both of which appeared for the first time in LHIIIA2, i.e. “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3” (for comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403). In terms of the manifestation of relations of similarity, we notice that three of the six assemblages (50%) had several stirrup jars associated with them (Fig. 156).

In LHIIIB, there are three tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages. Similar to LHIIIA2, in the period under consideration in this section the “Müskebi-2” group is characterized by the presence of one or more (undecorated and/or painted) kylikes (Figs. 157-8). One of the three tombs also had a medium or large jug associated with it, which appears relatively frequently in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group in LHIIIA2 as well (see section 5.2.4 above). Another similarity with LHIIIA2 is that we find no straight-sided alabastra in association with the “Müskebi-2” group in LHIIIB. The distribution of this vessel type is limited to the “Müskebi-3” group. In LHIIIA2, it also often occurs in combination with the “Müskebi-1” group (for comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403). Whereas in LHIIIA2 we noticed that “Müskebi-2” assemblages regularly had bronze spearheads associated with them, neither one of the two assemblages dated to LHIIIB (see fn. 405) included any objects other than pottery.

The remaining three tombs have “Müskebi-3” assemblages associated with them. They do not include any kylikes, of which the distribution is limited to the “Müskebi-2” group (see above). There are several features which can be considered characteristic of this group. Firstly, two of the three tombs produced a straight-sided alabastron. We do not find this pot shape in any of the tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages in LHIIIB (see above). A second

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403 However, it is possible that some of the one-vessel graves (“Müskebi-1” group) discussed under LHIIIA2 above belonged to this period (see section 5.3.4). Indeed, juglets and straight-sided alabastra, which predominated in these “Müskebi-1” tombs, are difficult to date in isolation or out of context.
404 Müslé Tombs 3, 13, 14, 18, 28 and 33
405 For “Müskebi-2” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Tombs 3, 13 and 18 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.
406 For “Müskebi-3” assemblages from LHIIIB, see Tombs 3, 14, 28 and 33 in Appendix 8 at the back of this dissertation.
407 Two “Müskebi-2” tombs had stirrup jars associated with them: Tombs 3 and 13. One of the four “Müskebi-3” graves produced stirrup jars: Tomb 28.
408 Tombs 13, 14, 28 and 33
feature typical of the “Müskebi-3” group is the presence of one or more small ceramic vessels. In two of the three tombs\(^{410}\) such vessels were found. In both graves one or two small jugs came to light. Tomb 33 also yielded a number of other small ceramic vessels, i.e. a feeding bottle (Fig. 159) and two small carinated cups (Fig. 160). In LHIIIA2, we hardly find any small jugs occurring in combination with the “Müskebi-2” group. The pot shape mostly appears together with “Müskebi-1” and “Müskebi-3” assemblages. In LHIIIB, however, this contrast appears to be less strict, since in two of the three tombs with “Müskebi-2” assemblages a small jug was found.\(^{411}\)

There were only objects other than pottery found in Tomb 14. This “Müskebi-3” assemblage included four bronzes, comprising two spearheads (Fig. 161) and two knives (Fig. 162). It has to be stressed that in LHIIIA2 we mostly find bronze weapons in association with “Müskebi-2” assemblages (see section 5.2.4 above).

### 5.4.5 South-western coastal Anatolia: Pilavtepe

A single chamber tomb is located at Pilavtepe, which is nearby the Bronze Age settlement of Iasos (Map 11 in Chapter 4). Vessels from different periods were found inside the grave, i.e. LHIIIA2-B and LHIIIC. In what follows, mention is made only of the pots dated to LHIIIA2-B. Closed vases that can be assigned to this period are made up of three stirrup jars, several alabastra, including a rare rounded and a few straight-sided ones, and two small jugs. Open vessel forms dated to LHIIIA2-B are comprised of an Anatolian-style krater (Fig. 163), two painted kylikes, a small stemless goblet and (possibly) a small carinated cup.

The tomb yielded a large number of objects other than pottery. Most of these can, however, not be dated with certainty. This is due to the fact that the tomb was reused in LHIIIC (Chapter 4) and that the archaeological context of the individual finds is unknown. There are several bronze items, such as a small knife, a chisel, a spatula and a bodkin.\(^{412}\) Stone objects include a rubber’s stone, three steatite seals and a number of stone conuli. Jewelry was also found. We have three elements of amber and a good many ‘plain’ glass beads. There are also some glass relief-beads: four in the shape of papyrus heads and two in the shape of rosettes, of which one had been set in a frame consisting of four fine gold rings. Another find of interest from the tomb at Pilavtepe is a gold three-ribbed band or ring.

\(^{410}\) Tombs 28 and 33

\(^{411}\) Tombs 3 and 18

\(^{412}\) Benter 2009, 354-8.
5.4.6 South-western coastal Anatolia: Değirmentepe

A cemetery consisting of eleven chamber tombs is located at Değirmentepe near the Bronze Age settlement of Miletus (Map 11) (see section 4.9). The graves were excavated by T. Wiegand in 1908. The final publication is currently being prepared by W.-D. Niemeier.

The cemetery has a chronological time span from LHIIIB to LHIIIC Early. Although the site is still largely unpublished, by combining the information from a number of different publications, it has been possible to develop an idea of part of the inventory of at least one grave, namely D 33 or Tomb 2. It had an impressive dromos with a length of about 9.50 m (Figs. 164-5). The chamber had sides of over three meters in length. The following vases may be assigned to Tomb 2: a large piriform jar (?), a conical stirrup jar, a tall mug, a deep bowl, a pattern-painted kylix, an amphoroid krater (if correctly identified and dated to this phase), a deep conical bowl and a dipper. Finds other than pottery include at least three bronzes, namely a short sword and two spearheads, and a number of glass-relief beads in the shape of curls-of-hair. In addition to these, of (currently) unknown provenance are several pierced boar’s tusks from a helmet, a pair of bronze horse bits and a number of gold and glass rosettes. Moreover, there are also at least three more...
bronze swords. Of the four published swords, one is of an Aegean type (Sandars type Fii). For the others an Anatolian\(^{432}\) or Levantine origin has been suggested.\(^{433}\)

### 5.4.7 Kolophon and Baklatepe on the Anatolian west coast

To the north of Değirmenatepe, there are only a few cemetery sites with (published) pottery from LHIIIB. Two built graves which have been dated to this period are a small tholos at Kolophon and a rectangular built chamber tomb at Baklatepe (Map 15 in Chapter 4) (see section 4.15). The interior of the tholos had been robbed.\(^{434}\) Fragments of Mycenaean pottery associated with it have been dated to LHIIIB-C.\(^{435}\) There are also a few objects other than pottery, namely a glass plaque with spiraliform design (Fig. 166) and a bronze needle and knife.\(^{436}\)

According to the excavators, the tomb at Baklatepe was built by the inhabitants of the nearby Bronze Age settlement-site of Kocabaş Tepe (Map 15 in Chapter 4).\(^{437}\) The grave, which had probably originally been covered by an earthen mound or tumulus, had been robbed.

The Baklatepe grave, which is largely unpublished, produced a mix of Mycenaean, Mycenaean-imitating and local vessels. The assemblage consists of many closed shapes and open ones, of which the latter includes a pattern-painted Mycenaean kylix and stemmed bowl.\(^{438}\) Based on the very wide panel (FM 75) with half rosette (FM 74),\(^{439}\) the bowl can probably be dated to LHIIIB2. Additionally, four large bowls were found, of which (at least) one may be called ‘Mycenaeanizing’ on the basis of the use of panel (FM 50) decoration, which is a LHIIIB ‘Leitmotiv’.\(^{440}\) Other open pot forms comprise a krater and three red-slipped shallow bowls. The Baklatepe grave has a variety of offerings other than pottery associated with it, including ivory inlays,\(^{441}\) gold jewelry\(^{442}\) and a lentoid seal stone.\(^{443}\)

\(^{432}\) Niemeier 1998, 37, Photo 12.

\(^{433}\) Genz 2011, 304.

\(^{434}\) Bridges 1974.

\(^{435}\) Ibidem, 265.

\(^{436}\) Akyurt 1998, Şek. 21, a-c.

\(^{437}\) Erkanal 2008, 166.

\(^{438}\) Erkanal/Şahoğlu 2012, 97, Res. 6.

\(^{439}\) Mountjoy 1986, 123.

\(^{440}\) Mountjoy 1986, 95.

\(^{441}\) Erkanal 2008, 166.

\(^{442}\) Ibidem, 166.
5.4.8 Inter-regional comparison (LHIIIB)

In the above, the LHIIIB tomb assemblages from the different parts of the south-eastern Aegean were considered. We also briefly paid attention to the area to the north of it, but the number of (published) sites with tombs containing pottery from LHIIIB is very limited (see section 5.4.7 above). It is known that many graves with pottery from this phase have been excavated at Archontiki on the islet of Psara. Unfortunately, the site has so far remained largely unpublished. As a result, in what follows, the focus will mainly be on the south-eastern Aegean. In the preceding, every region (Rhodes, Kos and the south-west coast of Anatolia) was discussed individually by paying attention to the expression of relations of similarity and difference in the archaeological burial record. In what follows, I will concentrate on the most important similarities and differences in terms of these relations within the region as a whole. It is to the material manifestation of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record that our attention will now turn.

What connects the south-eastern Aegean as a whole in LHIIIB is the predominance of sub-terranean chamber tombs and the fact that in most of these tombs stirrup jars were found. This applies to Rhodes (see section 5.4.1 above), Kos (see section 5.4.2 above), Astypalaia (see section 5.4.3 above) and the south-west coast of Anatolia (see sections 5.4.4 to 5.4.6 above). We also notice some regional differences. As noted in section 5.2.1 above, besides stirrup jars, two other vessel types that are found in many tombs on Rhodes in LHIIIA2 and may therefore be seen as possible manifestations of relations of similarity in the archaeological burial record are the large piriform jar and the incense burner. Even though our understanding of Rhodes in LHIIIB is to a large extent based on the finds from the New Tombs at Ialysos, where both pot shapes continue to be popular in this period, it seems that the large piriform jar is also common in other parts of the island. The incense burner appears to occur less frequently. Although we cannot interpret it as a manifestation of relations of similarity, since we are dealing with single tombs here, it is notable that there were large piriform jars among the finds recovered from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Değirmentepe (Tomb 2 or D 33) on the south-west coast of Anatolia (see section 5.4.6 above).

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444 Large piriform jars dated to LHIIIB were for example found at Kariones, Passia, Ayio Georgio (Gennadi) and Vati (Apsaktiras) (Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Pl. 39.5 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, no. 78); Blinkenberg/Johansen 1924, Tav. 41.1 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1015, fn. 383); Morricone 1986, 232-8, nos. 16, 22 (Mountjoy 1999a, 1012, fn. 378).
445 Incense burners from outside Ialysos come from Passia and Pylona (Ambelia) (see section 5.4.1.3 above).
At Müskebi, where only a relatively small number of tombs were in use in LHIIIB, a few large piriform jars were also found (see section 5.4.4 above). Similar to LHIIIA2, the large piriform jar is very rare at Eleona/Langada on Kos in LHIIIB. At that site we saw that in LHIIIA2 besides stirrup jars most tombs contained one or more small jugs (see section 5.2.2 above). While juglets are still common at Eleona/Langada in LHIIIB, they are mostly found in combination with the “Kos-2” group and can therefore best be considered in connection with the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record. This is similar to Rhodes, where small jugs also only occur in combination with a specific group in LHIIIB, i.e. “Ialysos-2”. At Müskebi, on the other hand, juglets are evenly distributed over both groups attested in this period, i.e. “Müskebi-2” and “Müskebi-3”.\textsuperscript{446} This is especially interesting since in LHIIIA2 small jugs were mostly found together with “Müskebi-1”\textsuperscript{447} and “Müskebi-3” assemblages.\textsuperscript{448} In association with the “Müskebi-2” group there were usually no or only medium or large jugs found in LHIIIA2 (see section 5.2.4 above).\textsuperscript{449} In LHIIIB, we only have one such jug occurring in combination with a “Müskebi-2” assemblage. This brings me to the expression of relations of difference in the archaeological burial record of the south-eastern Aegean.

We can distinguish two clusters of similar assemblage groups. The first one is constituted by the “Ialysos-1”, the “Kos-1” and the “Müskebi-2” group, the second one by the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. The same clusters have also been defined for LHIIIA2. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the most notable similarities and differences between the different groups making up the two clusters. The assemblages that are associated with the “Ialysos-1” and the “Kos-1” group often include (painted and/or undecorated) kylikes and bronze weapons, especially spearheads and short swords. The “Müskebi-2” group also has the presence of kylikes as one of its most distinctive features, but no bronze weapons have been found in combination with it. This is in contrast to LHIIIA2 when kylikes and bronze spearheads regularly appear together (see section 5.2.4 above).

Apart from the three groups listed above, similar assemblages dated to LHIIIB have come to light at Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pilavtepe (see section 5.4.5 above) and Değirmentepe on the south-west coast of Anatolia.

\textsuperscript{446} Small jugs found in combination with “Müskebi-2” assemblages come from Tombs 3 and 18; “Müskebi-3” assemblages containing juglets were found in Tombs 28 and 33.

\textsuperscript{447} For comments on the “Müskebi-1” group in LHIIIB, see fn. 403.

\textsuperscript{448} It should be kept in mind, however, that there were many more tombs containing assemblages dated to LHIIIA2 (N=33) (see section 5.2.4 above) than to LHIIIB (N=6) (see section 5.4.4 above).

\textsuperscript{449} The only tomb with a “Müskebi-2” assemblage dated to LHIIIA2 that had a small jug is Tomb 12.
The lack of bronze weapons found in conjunction with the “Müskebi-2” group has already been mentioned above. Some other differences also have to be noted here. The “Ialysos-1” group often includes a krater and one or more medium or large jugs. Another local characteristic is that “Ialysos-1” assemblages also sometimes comprise a collection of glass relief-beads. The same features are found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group in LHIIIA2. Of these three features, only jugs appear in a small number of tombs containing “Kos-1” assemblages at Eleona/Langada and “Müskebi-2” assemblages at Müskebi. We have better parallels from Armenochori on Astypalaia and Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe on the Anatolian south-west coast. Apart from kylikes and a bronze spearhead, at Armenochori were found a narrow-necked jug, a krater and some glass relief-beads. The tombs at Pilavtepe and Değirmentepe (Tomb 2 or D 33) yielded kylikes, a krater and a number of glass relief-beads. In addition to this, Tomb 2 or D 33 at Değirmentepe also had a set of bronze weapons associated with it, consisting of two spearheads and a short sword.

The second cluster of similar assemblage groups is constituted by the “Ialysos-2”, the “Kos-2” and the “Müskebi-3” group. There are several features the assemblages associated with these groups have in common. Firstly, kylikes and medium or large jugs are rare. However, if they occur they are never found together, since this combination is considered characteristic of the “Ialysos-1” group discussed above. Secondly, we usually find only a limited quantity and variety of offerings other than pottery. In addition, bronze weapons are generally absent. A third trait the groups listed above have in common is that the assemblages associated with them often include one or more small ceramic vessels. Most popular is the small jug or juglet. Other vessel types belonging to this category of pottery are the rounded alabastron, the feeding bottle, the small mug and the small carinated cup. With regards to LHIIIA2, I noted that at Ialysos we have examples of such small ceramic vessels occurring in combination with assemblages of the “Ialysos-1” group (see section 5.2.1 above). A possible example of this in LHIIIB is represented by the tomb excavated at Pilavtepe on the south-west coast of Anatolia. As noted above, the assemblage of this tomb includes several items (two kylikes, a krater and glass relief-beads) which are also typically found in association with the “Ialysos-1” group. Apart from that, it also produced a collection of small

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450 LT 46
451 Tomb 18
452 The exceptions are Langada Tomb 21, which yielded a bronze sword and spearhead, and Müskebi Tomb 14, in which two bronze spearheads were found.
ceramic vessels, consisting of a rounded alabastron, two small jugs, a small stemless goblet and a small carinated cup.

A final consideration addressed here is how the different assemblage groups discussed above compare to the tomb assemblages from the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. It has to be stressed that only very little is known about the LHIIIB period in the area to the north of the island of Samos and the Samsun Dağı/Mykale promontory. In section 5.4.7 above, mention was made of the small tholos at Kolophon and the built chamber tomb at Baklatepe. A glass plaque with spiraliform design has been published from Kolophon. The tomb had been robbed, but on the basis of the pottery found the excavators dated it to LHIIIB-C. We know of some earlier tholoi (LHIIIA) from Panaztepe (see section 5.3.4 above), which is situated to the north of Kolophon. Among the finds recovered from the tholoi at Panaztepe, most of which, similar to the one at Kolophon, had been robbed prior to excavation, were bronze weapons, stone seals and glass plaques and rosettes. Moreover, the pottery assemblage included fragments of Mycenaean large piriform jars and kylikes. There was also one beaked jug found. The pottery can be dated to LHIIIA1-2. As noted in section 5.3.6 above, there are similarities between the finds from the tholoi and those typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group. It is worth speculating whether, originally, the Kolophon grave may have had a similar assemblage.

The built rectangular tomb at Baklatepe was used only for cremation burials. It contained a large number of open vases, including a local krater and a Mycenaean kylix and stemmed bowl. Note that comparable groups of artifacts dating from LHIIIA1-2 have also come to light in some of the tholoi at Panaztepe as well as in the rectangular built tomb at Beşiktepe (see sections 5.3.5 above). Since kraters and kylikes are also typically associated with the “Ialysos-1” group, might it be possible to see south-eastern Aegean ‘influences’ in these assemblages?

This concludes our discussion of the tomb assemblages from the south-eastern Aegean and the middle and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. In the next chapter, the groups established here will be compared with those recognized in the archaeological burial record of the Greek mainland, which were described in detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Attention will also be paid to the question what the groups defined in Chapters 3 and 5 can tell us about the degree to which identities were expressed in tombs on the Greek mainland and in the south-eastern Aegean in the LHIIIA-B period. Another point of interest is what we may learn from similarities between groups in terms of the connectivity between people. The
aim is to develop a better understanding of the social dynamics characterizing the south-eastern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.